CHAPTER ONE

Introduction
1.1 Statement of the Problem: The advent of independence saw a plethora of legislative measures, special safeguard and various developmental measures launched by the Government of India for the welfare and all-round development of the tribal people. Provisions were made in the constitution to fund the state for the implementation of developmental programmes through various planning projects covering different sectors. Over the years, policies and programmes were evolved to better the lot of the tribal people and their area. It has however, been revealed that the progress made in the tribal regions is not up to the mark. Instead the policies have sharpened the social and economic inequality amongst them. Within the tribal region itself it has led to considerable regional imbalances and uneven development which in turn has accelerated the social inequality along the ethnic line. Various studies reveal that even after recognising the varied social structure, the approach to tribal development did not take due cognisance of the problem while formulating the developmental policies.

One of the major objectives of the Government of India after independence was to ameliorate the plights of the weaker sections and economically backward communities in the country. Two-fold objective viz. – ‘protective aspect’ and a ‘developmental aspect’ were thus exclusively adopted for the tribal areas. The former related to the protection and promotion of their interests in land and forests and their culture through legal administrative support. The latter was in relation to welfare schemes to raise their standard of living. Since then, it has been the endeavour of the Indian government to bring the tribals at par with the national level through the process of economic and social transformation. The impact of these efforts however was found to be only skin deep.

It is pertinent to mention at the very outset that the developmental planning process as adopted in Arunachal Pradesh is general in nature. Unlike other tribal belts of the country where special programmes like Integrated Tribal Development Programmes (ITDP), Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP), etc, were not implemented here.

While analysing the problem of the state it is imperative to mention that at the time when the planning process was launched in Arunachal Pradesh the data input for planning was

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entirely lacking. Besides, the planning process itself was not much organised because there was no proper agency particularly for the region, which could comprehend the developmental needs of the state. Moreover, the much-needed human resources for launching the plan measures were also almost entirely absent. Planners, officials, experts, executioners, extension officers were all naturally recruited from outside places which had little attraction to come and offer their contribution inspite of special allowances of varied nature as a compensation for their service in 'hard' places.

Not only that, the planners also lacked the philosophy of development in Arunachal Pradesh with its peculiar geo-economic and social condition coupled with a strange political situation. In the course of planning, the items of development were decided at apex level and the planners were to simply allocate the earmarked resources item-wise. Implementation of various measures seemed to be more of an obligation to achieve the annual target than to distribute the goods to the people. But, even the local people at large were reportedly not responsive to the developmental measures in the earlier stage of development. Those who could perceive took the major chunk of benefits for themselves thereby leading to the emergence of disparity in income distribution.

In Arunachal Pradesh the tribal communities exhibits heterogeneous beliefs, dialects, customary law and practices, and economic pursuits. There is still no lingua franca in the state nor any esperanto to provide inter-tribal or inter-district link. As per 1991 census Arunachal records as many as 106 tribes and sub-tribes, which are almost entirely independent of each other. Constrained by a rigorous environmental setting, the tribal population of Arunachal Pradesh has suffered physical and social isolation of varying degree. Their prolong isolation appears to have narrowed down their social, cultural, political and economic pursuits to such an extent that they still seem to prefer non-interference in their affairs. Apart from the problem of physical isolation the problem of social and economic development has its own dimensions in Arunachal Pradesh.

In fact, the problem of tribal development in Arunachal Pradesh in general differs from the tribals in the rest of the country, where the chronic problems of land alienation, indebtedness, bonded labour, deforestation, harassment and exploitation of the tribal people is well known to all. Besides, like the other hilly states of the Northeast exploitation of tribals by non-tribals is conspicuously absent in Arunachal. In addition, continued protection

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3 The Techno-Economic Survey of NEFA, Published by NCEAR, Shillong. p.17
4 Ibid. p.2-3
5 D.Ering (1972); "The North-East Frontier Agency", edited by KS.Singh, The Tribal Situation in India p.54.
of traditional rights on the land and forest resources makes the tribal situation different from that in the mainland. According to the commissioners of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Report:\(^6\)

"the problem of exploitation and deprivation which is plaguing other area is largely absent. Here the main problem is with regard to developmental efforts..."

It is in this light that the study of developmental planning gains its significance to probe the level of change and development that has taken due shape in the fifty years time period. Since the tribal development has a wide connotation that includes apart from economic advancement, the overall progress of society in education, in health care, basic amenities, political consciousness, and standard of living etc\(^7\), it is pertinent to analyse the problem that is evident at various level of developmental process. It is in this context that the present study intends to limit its investigations to the analysis of the impact that developmental activity has made on the tribal economy and social conditions.

Above 85 percent of tribal people in Arunachal Pradesh still live in rural areas with heavy dependency on jhum cultivation without having adequate alternative for their economic sustenance. Various developmental schemes like IRDP, TRYSEM, and DWCRA etc. for the economic upliftment of tribes does not seem to have made much impact since 54.5 percent of its population is still below poverty line.\(^8\)

In Arunachal Pradesh the economic pursuits and conditions of tribals are much in line with social conditions, which is reflected in their social behaviour, food habits, dress and ornaments, beliefs and practices etc. Economically more sound tribes/sub-tribes also have relatively more sound social development in terms of education, living standard, white-collar jobs etc. However, this variation in economic pursuit vis-à-vis their cultural attainment in no way differentiates the socio-economic problems among the tribals of the region because of the environmental similarities, identical level of development of materialistic culture and the long historical isolation from the rest of the world. Most of the rural areas still lack basic amenities like drinking water, dispensaries and health centres, electricity, and PDS etc\(^9\).

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\(^7\) Tiplut Nongbri (1990); Introduction, ed. Ashish Bose et al; Tribal Demography and Development in North-East India, B.R. Pub.Corporation, New Delhi. p.2
\(^8\) The Ninth five year plan projection (1997-2002) and annual plan (1997-98), Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Planning and Development Itanagar. p.68.
\(^9\) Gopal Krishnan (1985); Arunachal Pradesh, Land and People, Omsons Publications, New Delhi.
Infact most of the tribals living in inaccessible jungle areas are ill fed, ill clothed and ill sheltered and quite a few of them still living in “primitive” condition\textsuperscript{10}. Even those who are living in approachable places are having lamentable living standard. Apart from their heavy dependency on the shifting cultivation, even the sedentary practices adopted by some tribes is still primitive and out-dated and inefficient to meet the requirement of growing population. The government aided agricultural and allied activities seem to be confined to the core region (district headquarters) while far-flung areas remain devoid of such facilities. Various studies\textsuperscript{11} show that the lack of healthy economic support to the tribal people has left the potential resources of the state to be tapped properly. These studies also show that institutional and technological development in Arunachal Pradesh also differs from those of other places in the degree of presence and absence. While in other tribal places they were inadequate, they were altogether absent in Arunachal Pradesh. Credit and market facilities, human capital etc. were visibly absent till very recently.

The basic question here is neither to indicate that nothing has been done for the welfare of tribal communities nor directed at devaluing the enormous effort put in by those involved in the policy matters and in building the infrastructure in the state which was almost non-existent when Arunachal Pradesh attained its Union Territory status in 1972. The focus of this study is to analyse the nature of impact the developmental planning has made on the agrarian economy and pre-literate tribal communities of Arunachal Pradesh. And also to highlight if the planning measures were tailored according to the needs and aspirations of the tribal people based on the field study response.

As the experience shows, the path to development of tribal communities is strewed with innumerable difficulties, which is tribe specific and region specific, and the methods of development that generally works in one situation may not make much dent in other. Therefore, while developmental measures are introduced and dissipated to the people, it also calls for deeper understanding of the tribal lives - their values, cultural fabrics, economic practices, vis-à-vis their physical background so as to tailor these measures in accordance to

\textsuperscript{10} Chandrika Singh (1989); Emergence of Arunachal Pradesh as a state, Mittal publications, New Delhi.p12

their need so that they are prepared for greater participation and brought to a higher plane of prosperity

1.2 Objective: The objective of the present study is as under:

1. To study various developmental activities with special reference to agriculture and other economic activities as well as development of social infrastructure in Arunachal Pradesh.

2. To study the traditional economic structure and social set-up of the selected tribal communities in order to assess the changes brought in their lifestyle by various development programmes.

3. To analyse the impact of developmental measures on their economic practices, income generation and social conditions, by taking into account the occupational structure, per capita income generation, consumption pattern and educational status of the sample households.

4. To evaluate the attitude and response of the tribal people toward government sponsored schemes and other infrastructure facilities in order to examine the participation of people in decision making.

1.3. Research Questions: The main objective of the present is to examine the socio-economic structure of different tribal communities to find out how these factors have contributed in accelerating or retarding various changes in the tribal domain as a result of planned developmental processes. It is well-known fact that tribal communities are closely-knit and self-contained social units. Their comparative identity and isolation from the mainstream society would enable them to resist the forces of changes much more effectively than open societies. It is also understood that tribal societies are characterised by traditional values, use of primitive technology and non-rational behaviour patterns, which are incongruent with the values, technology and behaviour patterns of the modern world. It is in this light that various measures were adopted by the government to modernise the tribals in an attempt to integrating them with the modernised segments of the society. However, these welfare measures have not made a significant impact on the tribal population of the country. And some of the obvious reasons are due to- ‘the degree of isolation’, ‘the differential value system’, and social development already achieved, which creates in them differential capacities that enable them to absorb the government programme in different degrees. Although, based on empirical method there are some normative aspects that are not quantifiable, which makes it difficult to prove them with any degree of accuracy. Therefore in the present study, hypothesis has not been formulated instead a few proposition has been
raised to sharpen the enquiry, to facilitate the collection and analysis of data and to arrive at a meaningful conclusion based on field investigation.

The proposition may briefly be summed up as following:

1. The ecological and social setting of tribals are far from homogenous and have different resource potentials which results in different response to various exogenous (developmental) activity.

2. The process of developmental activity affecting the tribal regions gets differentiated in their manifestation depending upon the socio-economic structure of the indigenous groups.

3. The effect of developmental activity releases new forces to which the tribal communities get affected by the wind of change, directly or indirectly as a result of which they may witness transformation in their economy, marginalisation and disintegration of traditional social order.

Based on the above proposition few research questions have been raised to address the aim and objective of the present study, which are;

1. What is the nature and status of social and economic condition of the Arunachal tribes?

2. What developmental planning approaches were adopted by the government to develop and integrate the region with the mainstream?

3. What measures has been taken up by the state government to meet the challenges of people dependent on shifting cultivation, hunting and food gathering, and forest-based economy?

4. In which areas of farm and non-farm sectors were government sponsored schemes able to provide employment opportunity and higher income generation?

5. What is the nature of benefits acquired by the tribesmen in general and who are the main beneficiary of these developmental measures?

6. Are beneficiaries economically better off than what they were before the introduction of development programmes in the sample villages?

7. What are people's response and attitude toward change and development taking place in their families and in the village surrounding?

1.4 Methodology:

1.4.1 Sample Design: Out of 25 major tribal groups four tribes have been selected for the present study, they are Adi, Apatani, Khampti and Sulung. These tribes were selected on the following considerations: physical terrain, ecological set up, economic pursuits, social set
Fig. 1.1
ARUNACHAL PRADESH
ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS
(1991)

INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY
STATE
DISTRICT

STATE CAPITAL - ●
DISTRICT HEADQUATER - ●
up, dialect/language, settlement pattern, dress and food habits, religion etc. These tribes together constitute 30 percent of the state’s total tribal population.

Altogether seven villages in four districts and five circles were covered for the field study. Selection of households was done by simple random sampling. The field survey was conducted in four months time period from March to June 1998.

Seven villages were selected for detailed household investigations. These villages are located at the radial distance of 5 to 10 km from the Circle/Block headquarters. Due to various practical problems viz. transportation, lodging, time factor, language/dialect barrier etc., the selection of village was done in consideration to accessibility to a great extent. Nevertheless, the selected villages fairly represented the regional ethos of the sample tribes in terms of their social, cultural and economic characteristics and ecological condition.

**Table 1.1 Structure of Sample Design**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selected Tribal Communities</th>
<th>Circles and Districts</th>
<th>Sample Villages</th>
<th>Total No. of HHs (as per 1991 census)</th>
<th>No. of Sample HHs</th>
<th>% of Sample HHs to total HHs</th>
<th>Total population in the sample households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adi</td>
<td>Along Circle West Siang Dist.</td>
<td>Jirdin</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pobdi-1</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apatani</td>
<td>Ziro-I Circle Lower Subansiri Dist.</td>
<td>Siro</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reru-II</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khampti</td>
<td>Namsai &amp; Chowkham Circle Lohit District</td>
<td>Manmow</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chowkham - Grazing</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sanchu</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulung</td>
<td>Chowyntajo Circle East Kameng Dist.</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>1359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>


ii. Field Survey conducted in the Sample villages (1997-98).

Out of 208 total households in all the seven villages approximately 45 percent households was covered in the sample. However, this provides only the overall picture and does not reflect the proportion of sample households in individual villages which ranges between 30 to 100 percent depending on the size of the villages as shown in table 1.1.

Since all the surveyed villages were populated by mono-tribe along with some non-tribal households, only the sample tribes were interviewed and non-tribes were excluded since the main concern of the present study is on the tribal communities of Arunachal Pradesh. It would be imperative to mention that although it was decided beforehand to choose two villages each from each sample tribes but after reaching the field it was found that among the Sulung Tribe only one village in Chayengtajo circle was approachable. Other villages
required trekking of minimum 5 to 10 hours for an outsider. At the same time a few selected villages in other circles didn't have any provision of accommodation besides the security reasons. Therefore, in case of Sulung tribe, only one village was surveyed, however to compensate the limitation entire households in the village were covered. To reach Sanchu village trekking of 3 hours daily both to and fro was required from Chayengtajo- the Block headquarter of Chayengtajo block.

The Apatani villages are exclusively concentrated in Ziro circle and their villages are within the radius of 10 to 15 km from Circle headquarter of Ziro-I. Two village were selected for the household survey viz. Siro and Reru-II. The Apatani houses are built very adjacent to each other and the entire village is very compact and congested in pattern while the new settlements are sparse and irregular. In fact the tendency is toward angular and private farmstead and Siro is one of such village while Reru-II belongs to typical traditional Apatani village.

Two Khampti villages viz. Manmow and Chowkham-Grazing selected for sample survey is arranged in more organised way with lanes and bylanes cutting across each other. Almost all the houses have spacious compound and kitchen garden could be seen in the backyard of most sample houses.

The Adi villages on the other hand are neither very compact nor sparse. The houses are haphazardly located which are mostly in tune with the physical feature of the village. The two sample villages of Jirdin and Pobdi-I were such cases.

1.4.2 The Questionnaire: The village level questionnaire was structured in manner to elicit information on the following aspects: land use classification, social and economic infrastructural facilities and amenities, availability and use of resources, government sponsored schemes, cropping pattern etc. Due to non-availability of land-record the land use classification data could not be generated for the entire village, nevertheless the approximate landholding of sample houses should suffice to study and analyse the landuse pattern of different tribal communities.

The household questionnaires were designed to obtain information of basic demographic profile of the household members; work status and occupational structure-farm and non-farm activity, income, assets, etc. In the social sphere- education, health & hygiene, drinking water supply, etc. Moreover, various forms of benefits received from government departments, consumer items, their opinion and views on the socio-economic and political changes in their village & community, their aspirations etc. were also included in order to study peoples response and their participation.
The following table gives the gist of respondents interviewed by; sex, beneficiary status, education status, occupation, and income group on the basis of which the response from the villagers on various change and development that has taken place in the village.

Table 1.2 Distribution of Respondents on the basis of sex, beneficiary status, education, work, and income group for each tribe in the sample villages, 1997-98.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particulars</th>
<th>Adi</th>
<th>Apatani</th>
<th>Khampti</th>
<th>Sulung</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
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<td>25 (86.2)</td>
<td>25 (13.7)</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>30 (100.0)</td>
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<td>Non-Ben</td>
<td>Ben</td>
<td>Non-Ben</td>
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<td>1 (100.0)</td>
<td>5 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey, 1997-98.

1.5 DataBase: The present study is based on both primary and secondary data. The secondary data were collected from various department viz. Directorate of Census Operations, Government of Arunachal Pradesh; Directorate of Economics and Statistics,
Arunachal Pradesh; Central Statistical Organisation, New Delhi; Directorate of Agriculture Department, Arunachal Pradesh; Planning and Development, Arunachal Pradesh; Report of Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes; Ministry of Human Resources Development, New Delhi; National Family Health Survey (NFHS); Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy (CMIE), Bombay etc.
The primary data were collected at the household level with the help of household schedules designed to elicit information on demographic, economic, social status and their views and opinions on various aspects of the sample households and the members belonging to it. General information pertaining to the village as a whole was collected through the village schedules, which were filled in after consulting the village headmen and other elders. The questionnaire had both open ended and pre-coded questions. The responses obtained from the sample household were transcribed on the computer for further measurement and analysis.

Analysis of Data: After having collected both the primary and secondary data they were processed by using appropriate statistical tools such as – i) point percentage, ii) growth rate, iii) labour productivity, iv) gross enrolment ratio, v) net enrolment ratio. And some quantitative methods such as, i) bar diagram, ii) pie diagram, iii) line graph and iv) choropleth maps.

1.6 Review of Literature:
Review of literature on the impact of developmental planning on tribal communities has been done at three different levels i.e., at the national, regional and state level. The aim is to have a broader overview of the study already conducted in the subject matter in different situation/condition and at different time period, in order to see how the approach adopted in one situation vary from other and what has been its implication.

Studies at the National Level; In the pre-independence time the British administration had a couple of inter linked strategies towards tribal problems. One was to exercise hegemonic control over the land and the other to extract mineral, forest, and other resources that could enrich the development of their industries in Britain. For this they laid railway lines, roads in strategic areas of their interest and isolated the tribals from the rest of mainstream by declaring certain areas as ‘excluded’ and ‘partially excluded’

Since Independence, crores of money has been earmarked for the tribal development. The Central and State Governments took up various welfare measures. Transport and communication facilities were provided hitherto inaccessible area became accessible. Modern methods of agricultural practices with irrigation, HYV seeds, manure and fertilizer, etc. were introduced. Modern education, health care, banks, cottage industries and in some areas heavy industries were established. Apart from these developmental activities, 'reservations' were provided for the tribals in the field of education as well as employment (Satyanarayan, 1990). A study conducted by Walter Fernandes (1992) remarks that in the process of integrating the tribals in the mainstream, they have been integrated only as a second rated citizen. The five-year Plans were aimed to raise the productivity in agriculture and emphasized on industrialization also aimed at abolishing the poverty of 'weaker section', does not find mention of tribals directly in all the first three plan periods. While analyzing the differential growth among the Scheduled Tribes, Sachchidananda (1993) states that over the years, successive five-year Plans with programmes and schemes were drawn up, refined and restructured with a noble idea to give them tangible benefits. Yet, substantial ground still remains to be covered, and benefit. Similarly, Joshi (1990) states that the reviews of the development scene and development delivery arrangement at the ground level however point out that the quality and the quantum of development are far from satisfactory. All the planning efforts have resulted in a lopsided development and over the period the tribal people are continuously losing command over their resources on almost all accounts. Sharma (1994) while studying the Tribal development in Himachal Pradesh, states that even after four decades of planned development, the tribals have not been able to share the gains of development equally to that of non-tribals and as a result have remained backward and poor. The study shows that in the present socio-economic setup of the state, due to unequal distribution of income and wealth i.e. productive assets, a large number of marginal and small farmers, agricultural laborers, rural artisans, scheduled castes and tribes have fallen into the

poverty trap. According to Nanjundappa (1998) the development activity alone cannot bring about improvement in tribal welfare but only when it is integrated with the concerns of education or profession. Therefore the biggest challenge perhaps lies in integrating environmental concerns of tribal population with the exponents of those in charge of policy making for tribal development and programme implementation.

According to Jain (1985) various strategies adopted in anti-poverty programmes in India have been basically a complete mismatch between ideas and institutions created to translate the former into practice. The efforts have failed to spark off local initiative or produce a multiplier effect. While analyzing the obstacles in the tribal development, Narayan (1983) opines that the failure to improve the lots of the tribals is partly due to wrong policies and partly due to inherent weaknesses in the political and economic institution and administrative machinery. Jaganath Pathy (1984) after analyzing the impact of development on tribal welfare in Gujarat states that barely 10 percent of the tribals were actually availing themselves of the credit facilities. It was felt that an effort on the part of external agencies was required to pursue the tribal farmers to undertake new agricultural technologies thereby leading to an increase in their demand for credit. Apte (1978) while analyzing the natural and other resources, the existing patterns of employment and earning, institutions of the villages and various economic activities in the fifteen villages of Kolaba district of Maharashtra states that though the Government had implemented several schemes for the upliftment of the tribals yet it was found that they have neither benefited from these programmes nor were they aware of these programmes. Therefore they were unable to complete the required formalities for getting credit as well as other benefits. Another study on the problems of tribal development was conducted by Kulkarni (1989) who concluded that problems vary from tribe to tribe and region to region. In the case study most of the tribal workers were either cultivators or agricultural labourers. It was found that Tribal Sub-Plans (TSP) were

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poorly implemented and the legal provision to prevent alienation of lands held by the
tribals was inadequate. Parmer (1989) on the basis of secondary data, reveals that in
spite of the remarkable growth in the socio-economic infrastructure, a mere number of
education institutions, hospitals etc. will not mean much unless their real usefulness to
the local people is gauged. On the other hand, Srivastava and Singh (1970) remarked
that agricultural development is dependent on the overall development of
communication, education and other necessary infrastructure. They also remark that
some of the major problems in most of the states where low income, illiteracy and
unemployment, primitive method of cultivation and inadequate communication system.
Suranarayana and Gangadharan (1982) look at the impact of two development
programmes on the traditionally food gathering community- Chenchu, like (i)
colonization scheme and (ii) agricultural programme. It reveals that the programmes
could not succeed because the development policy did not take into consideration the
cultural pattern for bringing about the desired technological changes. The data on
occupation shows that most of them have taken up wage labour as the primary
occupation. Another community that has taken on wage labour are the Mullukurumbas,
whose economic dependency is now largely on wage labour which has come as a result
of various development programmes (Mishra and Mishra, 1982). It was found that the
Piniyan’s plight is much worse than the Mullukurumbas, who are the most exploited in
India who serve as agricultural labourer to their masters Chettiar/ Nayar in the Wynad
Taluka of Calicut district, Kerela.

Looking at various facets of tribal problem, Patel remarks that it can broadly be
classified into four categories, which will accordingly measure the state/ level of
development. They are socio-cultural; political-constitutional; economic; and protection
of tribals from exploitation. He pleads for action based research, which would look into
the matter that whether the development have made any impact on the quality of tribal
life or the benefits have centered to a few beneficiaries. A household level analysis by
Chakraborty (1999) on income, education and health status of SCs, STs and the rest of

24 H.S. Parmer (1989): Tribal Development in Himachal Pradesh with special reference to Kinnaur,
Economic Affairs, Vol.34 Qr. 2 April- June.pp. 100-107.
25 D. Srivastava and C.B. Singh(1970): Agricultural Development and Tribal Population In India, India
Choudhury, Tribal Development, Problem and Prospects. Inter-India Publications, New Delhi.
the population, points to successes and failure of development policies followed so far. It shows that the developmental policies on the quality of life of SCs and STs had its impact in the desired direction but the magnitude of the impact however falls far short of the requirement.

Studies on the North-East Region: The North-East is often spoken and treated as a region. Defined on the basis of geography, economics, social structure, pattern of life, etc. it has been taken as 'a cohesive geographical unit with certain economic, linguistic and cultural characteristics which distinguishes it from the neighbouring units'. On the basis of its geographical and geopolitical isolation from the rest of the mainland, the North-East may attract the status of a region, but it is marked by considerable geographical heterogeneity, demographic, linguistic and cultural mosaic (Singh, 1998). During pre-Independence, the British Government did not formulate any rational policy for the development of Tribal communities of North-East India and as such they did not have any development strategy in the true sense (Bordoloi, 1989). The laissez faire policy and policy of isolation paid them good dividend. They followed this policy to suit the needs of the administration. However the tribal people were able to reap some of the benefits of development schemes primarily meant for the employees of the British rulers and other infrastructural facilities created for the smooth running of the administration. Trivedi (1990) remarks that although there has been a considerable development of physical and institutional infrastructure but there still lay a wide disparity the rest of India and the North-East and also within different constituent units of the North-East. He opines that the approach to development in the North-East is governed by important considerations which are basic to its problem. First and foremost is the development of infrastructure without which a beginning cannot be made regularly because of health, education and economic activities. The need is to address the problem of ecology, the removal of backlog and building up of suitable manpower. Kanta Prasad (1990) puts forth the reason for infrastructural backwardness of the region saying, that given the remoteness and difficult terrain coupled with thinly distributed population, it may not be

44(6), June, pp. 34-40.
33 P.H. Trivedi(1990): Economic Environment in the North_eastern Region, ed. P.C. Barua,
34 Kanta Prasad (1990): An approach to the Industrial Development of the North-Eastern Region ed. by P.C. Barua op.cit.
possible, nor advisable to make a substantial jump in investments in infrastructure which are rather expensive. Sinha (1986) while studying the phenomenal change on the land and its people says that change has prominently touched both the hills as well as the plains. The only difference is the sequence and implications of their respective experiences. In the hills it is not only the religion and the dress of the people but the progress in education has played a great role in changing their lifestyle. Ganguly (1989) in his comprehensive review of the economic and social development of both the tribal and non tribal areas of the region concedes that despite a considerable flow of resources there has been no reduction in disparity in consumption and income levels when compared with the rest of the country. According to him the Government's development and welfare effort has given rise to new economic Political, social forces and institutions. In fact some of the wrong policies of the Government by generous welfare grants, special incentives, concessions etc. to buy the loyalties of some section has given rise to the propertied 'middle class' elite. Analysing the problems of rural development in North-East India, Goswami (1990) remarks that as there is little mobility of rural people in North-East India to urban centres, the number of unemployed and underemployed in rural areas has increased greatly. As a result the number of poor people has also gone up. Evaluating the anti-poverty programmes Nilkantha Rath (1985) pointed out that the IRDP has failed to integrate the plans of the beneficiary households with that of the overall plan of development of resources maintaining sectoral balance at the district level. However, Indira Hiraway (1985) is against abandoning the IRDP because self employment is a major form of employment in rural India covering 6252 percent of the rural working the farm and non farm sectors together as indicated by the 32nd round of NSS.

Studying the tribal attitude and aspirations towards education, Wolflang (1990) found that the socio-economic condition in the rural places is such that the parents are indifferent to education. The drop out at the rate at the primary level was found to be

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quite high (76.0 percent). However, in the urban areas the picture is somewhat better. The author remarks that the tribal area has rich economic potentials and even as development has come about through various development programmes the development of ‘human resources’ is nowhere near the take-off stage.

Studies on Arunachal Pradesh: Prior to independence, very scanty literature was written on Arunachal Pradesh and its tribal inhabitants. Even those available literatures basically comprised of reports on different tribes presented by the British administrators, philanthropists and travelers. Some of these studies were by Griffith (1873)\textsuperscript{41}, Dalton (1872)\textsuperscript{42}, Mackenzie (1884)\textsuperscript{43}, Waddell (1900)\textsuperscript{44}, Kennedy (1914)\textsuperscript{45}, Dunbar (1915)\textsuperscript{46}, Mills (1945)\textsuperscript{47} etc. These studies provide only a scrappy outline about the land and the people of Arunachal Pradesh basically from administrative point of view. Nevertheless, it also provides some insight on some of the selected tribal groups, their economy, social set-up and cultural moorings, which is valuable to understand and analyse the changes that has come in the tribal world of Arunachal Pradesh. In the initial decades of independence years, some of the pioneering works on various tribal groups was carried out by Verrier Elwin (1958, 1959, 1960, 1965)\textsuperscript{48}, Haimendorf (1956, 1962)\textsuperscript{49}, Roy (1960, 1966)\textsuperscript{50}, Mahapatra (1962)\textsuperscript{51}, Dutta (1959)\textsuperscript{52} etc. Although most of these studies are descriptive notes and Anthropo-Sociological in nature, it presents the material and cultural philosophy of the then NEFA and its indigenous people. A meaningful research

\textsuperscript{41} Griffith, W. (1837): 'Journey of a visit to the Mishee Hills in Assam,’ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol.6, pp. 325-41
\textsuperscript{42} Dalton, E. T. (1872): Tribal History of Eastern India, Cosmo Publications, Calcutta
\textsuperscript{43} Mackenzie, A. (1884): 'History of the Relations of the Government with the Hill Tribes of North-East Frontier of Bengal.' Calcutta.
\textsuperscript{44} Waddell, L.A. (1900): The Tribes of Brahmaputra Valley Sankaran Prakashak, Delhi.
\textsuperscript{45} Kennedy, R.S. (1914): Ethnological Report on the Akas, Khoas, Mijis and Monpas of Tawang, Assam Secretariat, Shillong.
\textsuperscript{46} Dunbar, G.D.S. (1915): Abor and Gallong, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol.5 (1)
\textsuperscript{47} Mills, J. P. (1945: Tours in the Balipara Frontier Tract, Assam, Man In India vol.27(1), pp.4-35
\textsuperscript{48} Verrier Elwin (1958): Myths of the North-East Frontier of India, NEFA, Shillong;
\textsuperscript{52} Dutta, P (1959): The Tangsas of the Namchik and Tirap Valley, Research Department, NEFA, Shillong.
based work was brought out by NCEAR (1967)\textsuperscript{53} in order to study the developmental possibilities in NEFA. Tracing the culture and history of Arunachal Pradesh, Chaudhury (1990)\textsuperscript{54} quotes a British Chronicle,

"...the history of this part of the frontier is chequered during the succeeding decades until 1920 with troubles of varying dangers of intensity".

He remarks that it is was no wonder, therefore, that the British government was reluctant to extend regular administration into the interior of the hills, and instead laid down restrictive regulations under the Inner Line Regulations of 1873. As a result of which the tribesmen lived in virtual isolation almost till the end of British rule.

Jha (1985)\textsuperscript{55} and Krishnan (1994)\textsuperscript{56} in their books have presented the economic condition, growth potential and economic needs of the tribals in Arunachal Pradesh. They have also highlighted the achievements of Arunachal Pradesh during the plan period. While Sachchidananda (1985)\textsuperscript{57} after studying the social and economic condition remarks that the impact of development has not been even in all tribal groups. Some tribes on account of certain favourable circumstances went ahead of others. Even Aggarwal (1989)\textsuperscript{58} while making an assessment on the achievement of planning in Arunachal observes that through government statistics and record shows remarkable progress being made in various sectors, the territory is woefully lacking in basic social and economic infrastructural. It also notes that as a consequence of planned development the concentration of resources is going in the hands of a few privileged class which has resulted in widening of income disparities highlighted by a high percentage of population below poverty line in rural areas. Studying the rural development in Arunachal Pradesh Jagirdar (1992)\textsuperscript{59} remarks that in midst of rich natural resources Arunachal remains poor with its excessive dependence on agriculture and lack of infrastructural facilities like transport and communications, power, marketing and credit facilities, lack of industries,

\textsuperscript{53} Techno-Economic Survey of NEFA, NCEAR, Shillong
\textsuperscript{57} Sachchidananda (1985): Economic Development, Education and Social change in Arunachal, Man In India, vol.65(1), March pp.33-57
skilled man-power etc., Dutta (1989)\(^{60}\) in the handbook has projected its history, geography, administration, the tribal communities and the process of development from the inception till the Five Year Plan supported by government records data’s given a rough overview of Arunachal Pradesh. Jagirdar (1987)\(^{61}\) has shown the signification of shifting cultivation in the absence of suitable land for settled cultivation, poor soil fertility and superstitious beliefs with special reference to the Minyongs of East Siang district. Shukla (1984)\(^{62}\) on the basis of a field-work conducted in the East Siang district he has assessed the agricultural potentialities. Lal and Dasgupta (1979)\(^{64}\) on the basis of a field work carried out in the lower region of Siang district to study whether a charge in the ecology of an ethnic group leads to corresponding changes in their social, political, economy and religious life observed that Arunachal Pradesh in general being district in particular are undergoing tremendous changes since independence. The economy of people was found to be gradually changing from the traditional from of shifting cultivation to settled cultivation. And this change in turn seems to have included other changes in their social, political and religious life.

Study conducted by Aggarwal (1985)\(^{65}\) presents five types of rural unemployment in North-East i.e., seasonal and perennial, which he has attributed to seasonal farming operations in a backward agricultural economy. The rapid increase of population development upon land want a corresponding increase in the area of cultivation has resulted in a surplus population engaged n agriculture. The registers of Employment call in Arunachal Pradesh shows the increase of job seekers from 1,873 to 6,228 with the time period of only 3 years. But still the conditions appears much better in Arunachal Pradesh as compared to other central belt tribal groups as is evident from the study conducted by Haimendorf (1981)\(^{66}\) .in his comparative study of Apatanis of Arunachal Pradesh and Chenchus of Andhra Pradesh, he has shown how the farmer has responded to the developmental measure and have accommodated the changes in their social life but at the

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\(^{66}\) Furer Haimendorf C.V (1982): *Tribes in India, The struggle for Survival*, Oxford University Press,
same time have wonderfully kept their cultural tradition from dilution while the latter had fallen prey to economic exploitation and socio-cultural degeneration. Behera (1994)\(^67\) has done a remarkable field study on the impact of plan programme on the traditional socio-economic life of the Khamptis. He has highlighted the deficiency in the planned approach in certain quarters as a result of which disparities have surfaced both between and within the clans. A study done by Dhar (1989)\(^68\) on the Miji tribes of Arunachal Pradesh observes that apart from aspiration the tribesman wants programmes to improve technical skills and raise living standards, mainly involving improvements in farming and other productive activities, such as health, education and development. Though steadily, the development process have been able to make inroad among the Mijis. While on the other hand Sulungs according to Deuri (1982)\(^69\), is one of the most backward tribe of Arunachal Pradesh is moving at snails pace toward development and change. Dasgupta (1985)\(^70\) says that in Arunachal Pradesh, implementation of plan programmes were seriously affected due to dearth of skilled manpower and special incentives were offered by the government to impart manpower for working since no indigenous manpower of any level suitable for implementation of development programmes was available at that time. Thus, the task before the government was gigantic as it was confronted with twin problems of developing the human resources of the territory from the very primitive level on the one hand and carrying out all developmental activities for socio-economic upliftment on the other. Chandrika Singh (1989)\(^71\) looks at the problem of backwardness of Arunachal Pradesh as a result of multiplicity of social, cultural, religious, near communication problems, while Dubey (1972)\(^72\) observes that while other North-Eastern Hill States witnessed change mainly due to the advent of the Christianity followed by modern education, improved means of transport and communication etc., the case of NEFA (now Arunachal Pradesh) tribes were different where no external agencies were

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allowed to operate and therefore whatever change has taken place it is the result of socio-economic planning and the efforts of the government.

1.7 The Study Area: Arunachal Pradesh is inhabited by diverse tribal groups each having a distinct ethnic identity. They have been designated as 'Scheduled Tribe' under the constitution of India. The list of Scheduled Tribe in Arunachal Pradesh has never been same but has changed every census years in 1971 when it was listed as 105,110 in 1981 and 106 in 1991. But the actual list of major tribal communities does not exceed 25 when all the sub-tribes and clan names in census are clubbed together. The following are the population distribution of major tribes as per out 1971, 1981 and 1991 census, which has been arranged in descending order according to its numerical strength as per 1991 census.

Table 1.3 Population Distribution of Major Tribes as per the Numerical Strength in 1991 Census.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No</th>
<th>Major Tribes</th>
<th>1991 CENSUS</th>
<th>1981 CENSUS</th>
<th>1971 CENSUS</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ADI</td>
<td>155914</td>
<td>122855</td>
<td>99372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>NISHI</td>
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<td>96013</td>
<td>80325</td>
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<tr>
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<td>WANCHOS</td>
<td>45182</td>
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<td>28650</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>MONPA</td>
<td>38952</td>
<td>34469</td>
<td>28209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>TAGIN</td>
<td>32720</td>
<td>27122</td>
<td>20377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>MISHMI</td>
<td>28157</td>
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<td>22561</td>
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<tr>
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<td>NOCTE</td>
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<td>25987</td>
<td>24327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>APATANI</td>
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<td>TANGSA</td>
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<td>15869</td>
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<td>HILLMIRI</td>
<td>8886</td>
<td>6936</td>
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<td>KHAMPTI</td>
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<td>KHAMANG/JOBIN</td>
<td>947</td>
<td>817</td>
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<td>BANGRO</td>
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<td>598</td>
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<td>KHAMAB</td>
<td>534</td>
<td>342</td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>MEYOR/ZHAKHRIANG</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>249</td>
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<td>KHOWA</td>
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The tribal communities of Arunachal Pradesh belong to Indo-Mangoloid and Paleomongoloid stock of race and their language/dialect belongs to the Tibeto-Burman group. Each group in the process of their settlement in the present land evolved their own culture and tradition exclusive to each other. Although they were living in neighbouring
Fig. 1.2
ARUNACHAL-PRADHS
SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF MAJOR
TRIBAL COMMUNITIES

CIRCLE BOUNDARIES ARE NOTIONAL
territories, their mutual interaction was much less than the occasional interaction they had with the people in the plains and the adjoining Himalayan countries. They were hardly conscious of their political status and territorial integrity until three to four decades back when they were politically administered as one unit\textsuperscript{73}. Even if they were having any close racial and cultural affinity amongst some tribes it was because of their original ancestral home before migration to their present habitat.

It was under British rule that the entire territory was put under "excluded area" and "inner line" permit was regulated to prevent the entry of outsiders\textsuperscript{74}. This regulation restricted the interaction of tribals with the outside world which limited them to their own territory while on the other hand the other hill states in the Northeast were having constant touch with the outside world through government officials, missionaries, philanthropies etc. It was only after independence and specially after the Indo-China War of 1962 that the indigenous people of Arunachal Pradesh came to have closer and constant touch with the mainland inspite of the continuation of Inner Line Regulation\textsuperscript{75}.

The Government of India took due cognisance of the multiplicity of the indigenous group, their habitat and physiographic condition and their over-all backwardness, which needed to be shaped and promoted for the all-round development of the state.

The multiplicity of tribes in Arunachal Pradesh and their heterogeneous character are due to the fact that these people migrated in different groups and after having found a suitable habitation they remained confined to their respective territory. Their age-old isolation and non-interference from any exogenous force in their tribal life resulted into the development of a separate and independent way of living. Even within the major tribes which is divided into several clans, one clan differs from other in respect of their culture, dialect, customary laws, beliefs, practices etc. Their clans and villages are entirely separate and independent of each other.

The major tribes of Arunachal can also be classified on the basis of religious beliefs and practices.\textsuperscript{76} Although most of the major tribes are still animists like Adi, Nishi, Apatani, Tagin, Hill Miri, Mishmi, Aka, Miji, Sulung, Tangsa etc., there are also tribal groups who profess Buddhism like Monpa, Khampti, Sherdukpen, Memba, Kamba, Singphos etc. and some are Vaishnavite Hindus like Deori, Noctes, Mishing, Mikir etc. The Monpa, Memba,

\textsuperscript{73} Bijan Mohanty(1984): Administrative development of Arunachal Pradesh (1887-1973), Uppal Publication, New Delhi. p.15

\textsuperscript{74} ibid.

\textsuperscript{75} J.N.Choudhaury(1992); "Arunachal Panorama", Directorate of Research, Arunachal Pradesh Itanagar. p.3-10.
Khamba, Sherdukpen and Zakhriang/Mayor tribes follow the Mahayana fold of Buddhism which is lamaistic in practice while the Khamptis, Singphos etc. follow the Hinayana sect mingled with animist faith. The number of tribes adhering to Islam and Christian faith is very less as the latter was barred from entering the state for mission work until recently. Most of the tribal population living in remote villages and hamlets appear to be still living in 'primitive' age. Their daily sustenance is still mostly met from jhum field and jungle. There are still some tribes whose livelihood is dependent on food-gathering, hunting, trapping and fishing like Sulungs. Even those who practise sedentary cultivation follow a very rudimentary method and modern appliances are rarely used resulting in low productivity.

But there are some sections in some tribal groups who have responded to the changes in positive way and have benefited tremendously like the Adis, Apatanis, Khamptis, Monpas.

In the present study four major tribes each one having a distinct ethnic identity from one another has been selected keeping in consideration their varied social structure, language/dialect, religious beliefs and practices, customary law and economic practices. The selection has been done with the understanding that these tribal communities would give adequate representation of all other tribal communities of Arunachal Pradesh inspite of distinct differences that exists.

Table 1.4 Geographical Distribution of Selected Tribal Communities at Circle Level as per 1991 Census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribes</th>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Circles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Adi</td>
<td>West Siang</td>
<td>Along, Basar, Liromoba, Gensi, Likabali, Payum, Kaying, Tato, Monigong Circles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>East Siang</td>
<td>Pasighat, Boleng, Pangin, Gelling, Mariyang, Singa, Tuting, Yingkiong, Mebo, Mori Circles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Upper Subansiri</td>
<td>Dumporizo Circle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dibang Valley</td>
<td>Roing and Dambuk Circle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lower Subansiri</td>
<td>Ziro-I Circle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Apatani</td>
<td>Lohit</td>
<td>Namsai and Chowkham circle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Khampti</td>
<td>Changlang</td>
<td>Deban &amp; Miao Circle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sulung</td>
<td>East Kameng</td>
<td>Chayengtajo, Pakke-Kesang, Waii, Bameng Circle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lower subansiri</td>
<td>Sarli, Damin and Nacho Circle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In order to assess and have a broader perspective of each tribal community it is imperative to have a proper understanding of all those aspects, which has its bearing on their economy and social condition. Therefore, the socio-economic profile of the selected tribal communities has been presented.

76 D.N.Pandey(1997); "Local Government in Arunachal Pradesh", Himalayan Publishers Itanagar pp.18-21
Fig. 1.3

ARUNACHAL PRADESH

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE VILLAGES AND THE SELECTED TRIBAL COMMUNITIES (1971)

District Headquater
Circle •
Sample Village ●

ADI CORE
ADI PERIPHERY
APATANI CORE
KHAMPTI CORE
SULUNG CORE
SULUNG PERIPHERY
Adi: There are numerous sub-tribes and clans scattered over a fairly large area with a lot of dialectical variation, however a similarity of cultural and temperamental affinity runs through all these groups. Geographically they are distributed over a vast territory covering two district and some parts of two district as shown in the above table.

Most of the Adi villages are located along the courses of rivers and their tributaries. Generally, hilltops are preferred. A majority of the Adi settlements are uni-ethnic. The houses are made of bamboo and thatch toko leaves. Inspite of many modifications in the structure and style, the kitchen hearth is still a common sight where cooking is done and guests are entertained.

The Adis are endogamous group divided into several exogamous clans. Though monogamy is general practice. Polygamy is practised in some parts. Family is usually of extended type and is both patrilocal and patrilineal. They practice primogeniture with regard to inheritance. The land is divided among the sons but the eldest one get the largest share however, it is also the youngest one who would get next larger share. Daughters may inherit their mother’s personal property. Clan exogamy is strictly followed and till today if anyone breaks it, the person involved are ex-communicated by the entire kinsmen. Women and children play an important role in agricultural activities, animal husbandry, and collection of fuel and water and in the household chores.

The Adis, like the majority of the tribal groups in Arunachal Pradesh believes in malevolent and benevolent spirits inhabiting mountains, rivers and waterfalls that protect crops and cause diseases etc. and therefore have to be propitiated. They also believe that the Sun and Moon are the source of all powers and are the supreme one, whom they call Donyi-Polo. They celebrate festivals like Mopin, Solung, and Aran all the festivals related to agricultural cycle and activity. They spend a lot on sick people by calling the priests and Shamans to perform rites to propitiate the spirits believed to have caused sickness. Most of the expenditure is on fouls, home-brewed liquor, fees and feasts are called to do so. Various taboos are observed at the time of sickness and even afterward.

With regard to health and hygiene they are neither as hygiene conscious as the Khamptis nor as unhygienic as the Sulungs and Apatanis. The houses does not have proper drainage system, the wastes are fed to the pigs and poultry. Generally, the animals are let loose to roam freely but in recent days they are usually kept in pigsty and fed.

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Their staple diet is rice, vegetables, bamboo and non-vegetarian. They brew local liquor made of rice and rice-husk, which is consumed almost daily and also served to the guests. However, in the recent past they have also started taking tea, changes could be seen in their diet, dress style and living conditions. Although utmost regard is given to their traditional dress and even use them for all-purpose, they also use factory clothes which is more popular among the youngsters.

They practice all form of cultivation from jhuming to terrace and WRC depending upon the nature and availability of the land in their locality. Although, most of them are self-sufficient and have enough surplus they still go for gathering, hunting and fishing not only to substantiate their diet but also as a part of recreation. The dependency and practise of shifting cultivation has essentially lessened but none of the farmers have totally given it up since it has become a way of life for them. In the recent days the farmers have become conscious of the benefits of surplus production and as such efforts are being made to increase the production and to cultivate as much area as possible. The horticultural crops have gained popularity amongst the people in recent days and many farmers use power tiller, fertilisers, pesticides, insecticides, pumping sets, irrigation canal, HYV seeds and saples.

In spite of many changes in the social and economic set up of the Adi society they are still a closely-knit social group. The village council body called kebang is esteemed by the people and they adhere to any decisions taken by it. Kebang is the decision making body which is democratic in its function and acts as decision making body for the entire community. The members of kebang are not hereditary but the elderly and wise person is made its members. Although there is government designated village headman (Gaonbura) yet kebang has still its hold in every village. However, in the present situation it is not totally immune from political influences and its hold on various laws and decisions, which were once binding on people is questionable today as evident from field investigation.

The Adis are politically very conscious and does not leave any chance when they get to assert it. They are also very vocal about their rights, their customs and traditions. Although, the families are becoming more individualistic yet the institution of kebang and festivities like Mopin, Solung etc. have kept them close-knit and have given them one distinct identity.

The Adis are well conversant in Hindi, Assamese, Nepali and to some extent even English. With more awareness and increasing interaction with the outsiders, they are spreading their working avenues and venturing into new areas. They have spread their

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\[80\] J.N.Choudhury(1992) op. cit. pp. 148-149
working avenues and have ventured into new areas. They taken up government jobs of various nature, business and contracts related to government supplies, timber supply, road and house-building construction, nurseries of various important sectors. Except for few, most of the villagers owned assets and land property including livestock.

**Apatanis**: The apatanis are exclusively found in Ziro Circle of Lower Subansiri district. They are a highly homogeneous tribe who is closely knitted to one-another. The Apatani society is divided into two broad divisions called *mite* comprising of upper class aristocratic people and *mura* which comprises of lower class that consists of landless labour people. Even though the class divisions of Apatanis involved an elaborate and intricate system of reciprocal social, religious and ceremonial obligations and duties, it is not so strictly observed and followed.

Amongst Apatani nuclear family is the basic social unit with regard to marriage the usual practice is monogamy but they are not averse to polygamy either. They strictly observe clan exogamy and tribe endogamy. Among them all the sons get equal share of their parental property. When the eldest son gets married, a separate house is built for the couple who start a new family of their own, likewise follows the other sons too, parents would usually stay with the youngest son who would ultimately inherit the ancestral house and other property.

The religious beliefs and practices of Apatani can be denominated as 'animist-shammist'. However, now they call their religion as Donyi-Polo and identify their ancestry from first man *Abotani*. Their major festivals are *Dree*, *Yapung* and *Myoko*. *Myoko* festival is celebrated very grandly which is participated by the entire community and is rotatory in nature, which keep on passing from one village to other every year. Gifts are exchanged, friends and relatives are visited from one village to another. The significance of the festivals are mainly to ensure better cultivation, protect the crops from the pests, rodent, natural as well as man-made hazards and in general the overall well being of villagers and their livestock. These festivals and ceremonies have a far-reaching impact on the society as it assumes the nature of social obligation and develops a bond, which unite them into a close social unit.

Within the village, social life and activities move around two focal points, namely *nago* and *lapang*. The former serves as a shrine and is the centre of ritual meetings of the clan within the village. While the latter serves as a meeting place for males especially the

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81 ibid. pp.126-127.
adult and elders where issues related to their family, society, economy is discussed. They give due recognition to personal possession of land and other wealth and at the same time they also work as a single social group. Thus, in Apatani society both capitalistic and communal co-operation exists side by side. Though geographically they are confined to small stretch of land yet they have sued every inch of their land very judiciously and have taken upon themselves the task to progress their community. Although they are basically agriculturist many of the educated youth and middle-aged man were employed in some government job or other and some of them have taken up business enterprise. The cash consciousness among the Apatanis is tremendous and they have learnt the secret of saving and investment. In fact, the significance of cash currency has seeped so much in every household that every effort is made to earn extra money either through farm and allied activity and other means. The Apatani women are taking active part in selling vegetables, fruits, fish and other items. Earlier the surplus vegetables were distributed to neighbours and kinsmen but today it has almost disappeared specially among those who have relatively small plots of land. The landless Apatanis are either engaged in liquor selling, lumbering or manual wages in agricultural fields, house construction, constructions, and building work. The Apatanis have developed a very good work culture amongst them and they don’t shun themselves from doing the daily wages work unlike other tribal groups.

Khampti: The Khamptis are one of the later migrants who came to Arunachal Pradesh in the early 18th century and settled in the lowlands drained by Lohit and Noa-Dihing rivers\(^82\). Unlike the other hill tribes of Arunachal the Khamptis have closer resemblance with the plains people of Assam in every means. Even before they entered Arunachal Pradesh they already had well-developed social and economic life. Not only that they also had deep religious understanding and belief which were based on script written in Thai language, above that they have good knowledge of farming and trade of various nature. All these factors had definitely far reaching consequences on Khampti communities, which has certainly put them on a higher level of cultural achievement.

The Khampti society is divided into three classes\(^83\) viz. the chief, followed by the priests and the class of common men from the bulk of the population. Each class signifying distinct status in the social hierarchy. Even though this social system may not be so apparent for an outsider to view but in principle it still exists although it may be in dwindling phase. The

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\(^83\) M.C. Behara (1994) op. cit. p.31
higher class does not participate in manual work and possess great property of both land and other assets. The lower classes are not only landless labourers but also do other manual services for the landed class and rare livestock for livelihood.

The Khamptis are Buddhist of Theraveda School and their religious ceremonies and festivals are based on the Buddhist philosophy of Hinayana cult. Interestingly the Khamptis believes in not only material gain and worldly happiness but also use it to gain spiritual welfare. Unlike other tribal communities, the festivals and rituals of the Khamptis can be studied under two distinct heads.

Some of the festivals and rituals are associated with their economic activity while others are based on their being Buddhist. Both categories are mutually exclusive. The first category is based on their "animistic belief" while the other on Buddhism. However, one faith does not effect other and both have their own sphere of influence.

Their economic activity can be categorised into agricultural and forest activity. The latter includes elephant catching, hunting, fishing and lumbering while the former include both wet rice cultivation and dry farming. They raise both kharif and rabi crops. The common practice among the Khamptis has been WRC. They have an indigenous method of irrigation by way of embarkment on the river and where there is no river in nearby area rainwater is stored and used, as done in any other plain area. The jhum/dry cultivation as practised by Khamptis is different from the usual practise to some extent. It is done because it is more of need based but is usually practised on a co-operative basis.

Land ownership can be put into two broad categories - community land and private land. Where the former includes the residents of a village as a whole, the clan, sub-clan, phratry or kinsmen. Though their society is divided into clans, the villages are not clan-based but are multi-clan. In the past individual ownership was restricted only to house site's and gardening plots, much of the land was held by community as a whole, but now the trend is changing. With the growing consciousness of cash currency and consumerism, in the recent past the shift of economic activity has been directed toward timber business and government jobs.

The family system is patriarchal and father is the head of household. Normally they live in a joint family system and observe monogamy even though polygamy has social sanction. The male children are sent to Monastery to learn their socio-cultural and religious values but this trend is at decline and instead the children are sent to convent and other schools.

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84 J.N.Choudhury (1992) op.cit. p.221
85 M.C.Behara (1994) op. cit. p.60-62
86 ibid. p.63-67
The Khampti society is divided into villages and each village is individualistic in some sense or other. Their customs and traditions are preserved within the village framework through different institutions. Their art and crafts still bear their traditional characteristics in respect of patterns, colour, schemes, shapes and technique. They also work in gold, silver, bronze and iron and forge their own weapons. Wood carving and ivory-work with finely curve images of Lord Buddha have persisted to this day. The outside contact in the past have not altered or had much influence on their distinct cultural life although the trace of alien way of life may be found in their material life.\textsuperscript{87}

The Khamptis in general observe cleanliness and hygiene more than any other tribal group of Arunachal Pradesh. The sick are either taken to the priests or local physician and to the nearby health centre. They also have rich and proper diet, which comprises of rice, vegetables, non-vegetables, milk, milk-product and pulses etc. The trace of modern comfort and luxurious lifestyle is almost common amongst the rich upper class and in the recent past the trend of individualism is becoming more evident. The once most progressive community in almost every field has witnessed a pitiable decline in almost every sphere. As the leaders and the government officials have their interest elsewhere the community development appears to have taken a back seat.

**Sulungs:** The Sulungs are one of the most backward tribal communities\textsuperscript{88} of Arunachal Pradesh widely spread over East Kameng and lower Subansiri district. They have been identified as the bonded labour by the government of Arunachal Pradesh\textsuperscript{89}. Each Sulung family is attached to a master who belongs to Bangni (Nishi) and Miji tribes for whom they work as serfs\textsuperscript{90}. Their masters can always make demand upon their services for any nature of work and they are to oblige to the master's demand. Their masters take all the major decisions, even when dispute arises between Sulungs. The Sulungs are acquired by their masters by hereditary or by purchasing. When the Sulungs fail to pay back the loan taken either for marriage purpose or illness etc. their master would either sell their woman to other Bangnis as slaves or keep the children for themselves as slaves. However, in general it is obligatory on the part of masters to produce the bride price for a Sulung boy intending to marry who has been under his suzerainty but on the principle, the masters also receives a share of the bride price paid for a Sulung maiden.

\textsuperscript{87} ibid. p.53-54  
\textsuperscript{89} High Power Committee on Bonded Labour, Government of Arunachal Pradesh, 1997.
Over the years the master-serf relationship has become such that both the party seems to have found it politically and economically expedient to their advantage and to some extent this arrangement appear to be a mutually worked out economic relation. However, this relationship has definitely been a great disadvantage for Sulungs whose right of freedom, liberty and free expression has been curtailed, who does not even enjoy any arbitrary right to take decision for their own self and their community. But, interestingly, the Sulungs have never been fully integrated with their overloads and have managed to keep their separate entity as a distinct social group by the virtue of their dialect, social values, customs, traditions and belief system.

The Sulungs are a compact social group and they too follow the rule of tribe endogamy and clan exogamy. But, of late some laxity in the strict adherence of tribe endogamy has been reported. In their society the men and women have equal footing and females are not considered inferior although they follow patriarchal pattern. Property is inherited in male line and is equally distributed among all the male children while the daughters may inherit their mothers belonging. In reality, the Sulungs hardly possess any landed or material property.

Their habitat is either attached to their master's village or is located in far and inaccessible terrain, which is approachable only by trekking and hiking. They are basically nomads who settle their village by clearing a patch of jungle. Generally, they encamp their village site where the wild-sago-palm trees are abundantly found. Out of this wild-sago-palm tree is extracted juice, which is turned into flour type powdered substance, which is preserved for daily consumption throughout the year. It is called Rang-Bang, which forms the staple diet of the Sulungs, it is either boiled, baked or roasted for consumption.

The Sulungs are basically food-gatherer, which involves an elaborate process, which is usually carried from a single village. It involves selection of a site, encampment, gathering and hunting and the preparation of Rang-Bang or Tashe forms the most distinctive feature of the Sulung way of life. A number of households might start out together on food-gathering expedition but on reaching the site they splits up into separate family unit. Each family put up a temporary quarter and stays there till enough is collected. While the males go for hunting and felling of sago-tree, females along with the children stay behind the campsite.

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91 Sachchidananda (1984) op. cit.
92 R.K.Deuri (1982) op. cit. p.8
and engage themselves in cooking, gathering and collection of edible wild leaves, shoots & roots.

Their barest needs are met by food gathering, hunting and serving their masters. Their dress and ornaments are not very distinct from their masters and they do not have the art of weaving but purchase the cloths from plains or from other tribes. They do not have traditional attire of their own. They also do not seem to be very particular about religious beliefs and practices. But, they do believe in the existence and power of malevolent and benevolent spirits and observes taboos, which are very few as, compared to other tribal communities. Their religious beliefs are in very primitive stage.

In Sulung society manual works are divided according to age and sex and all the members of a family works, be it jhum cultivation or house construction or carrying loads or rearing animals or hunting or gathering or trapping or lumbering. They also work as wage labourers in the government as well as private services.

The Sulung houses are one room apartment and are entirely built with forest product without or with least expenses. Their houses are very small in its length, breadth and height and occupied by a nuclear family. The general awareness among the people with regard to health and hygiene is almost absent. They do not have any drainage system nor have any shed for the animals. They have the barest of commonly used items.

The process of modernisation among the Sulungs has been far from reaching. Very few families have taken up jhum and settled cultivation. There are only handfuls of people who have managed to get some clerical job in government offices. Attempt has been made by the state government to settle them and provide with the basic needs and employment\(^93\). Sanchu, the surveyed village is one of such resettled village. Yet, out of 30 households only 18 were permanent residents while the rest are seasonal migratory\(^94\).

1.8 Organisation of the Study: The present study has been divided into seven chapters. The first chapter explains the problem as assessed from the literature survey, the objectives, propositions, the research questions, the methodology, sample design, statistical tools for the analysis, the study area, and the limitations of the study. The available literature on Arunachal and other region related to the subject matter has been reviewed in order to study, understand, assess and analyse the problem prevailing in various places, communities, and

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\(^93\) Sachchidananda (1984) op. cit.

\(^94\) The entire family moves to those jungle areas where wild sago tree grows abundantly to meet the requirement of all the groups that has moved in temporally to the site.
region. A special emphasis has been given to the studies related to Arunachal so as to have a more comprehensive and broader perspective of the study area and it tribal people. The socio-economic, cultural and political aspects of each selected tribe in the backdrop of their physical environment has been presented in detail so as to have a comprehensive understanding of the traditional life vis-à-vis the process of development planning in the region. The purpose of the study has been mentioned in the very outset of the chapter and accordingly the research questions have been raised with the objective, set to meet the purpose of the study.

The second chapter analyses the developmental planning in Arunachal Pradesh from pre-independence time to the attainment of statehood and the post statehood period. The study has been restricted to agriculture and rural development which are two important aspects in the tribal life since 86.3 percent of tribal population are confined to rural areas while more than 85.0 percent of the tribal population are directly dependent on agricultural activity which is still in its rudimentary stage. However, the profile of planning programmes and schemes for the state as a whole has been presented in brief to have a better picture of the changes and process that has been involved till date for the all round development of the land and people.

The third chapter examines the economic structure of tribal communities. This chapter looks at the tribal economy, economic activity - both age-old practises and present work status, the work force participation, source of income, assets etc. The study is substantiated with both secondary and primary data. The secondary data is at the state level while the primary data is at the household level to study the levels of living amongst the tribal communities. The basic aims of this chapter is to study how the tribal agrarian economy of Arunachal Pradesh has made progress in terms of net acreage under cultivation (specially settled cultivation), productivity, income etc. And also to study the shift in their economic practices over the plan periods in order to examine the impact of change and development in their economic and social condition. Various statistical tools and quantitative methods with table and diagrams have been incorporated.

The fourth chapter is more or less a continuation of the third chapter, which deals with the level of social development among the tribals in the state. Education, one of the most important indicators of social development has been chosen to study the impact of developmental measures on the social condition of the tribal communities. Attempt has been made to analyse if there is any link between economic betterment and literacy rate, enrolment ratio, drop out etc. Comparative study has been done among the different tribal
groups; as well as among the beneficiary and non-beneficiary household level in the same community and across the communities.

The fifth chapter evaluates the impact of developmental planning on the socio-cultural and economic life of the tribal communities. A study of their attitude and response toward developmental measures and the changes it has brought in the traditional lifestyle of the people. A special reference has been made on Panchayati Raj system in Arunachal Pradesh in order to study its role and place in the tribal society vis-à-vis the customary law of the local inhabitants so as to assess the role of rural people in decision making process for their greater participation.

Finally the sixth chapter highlights the important findings of the present study with the aim to have an overall view and assessment of the impact that has been made on the tribal people as a result of planned developmental measures and efforts.

1.9 Limitations of the Study: The present study utilises both secondary and primary dates but the availability of data from secondary sources relating to its performance and achievements were found to be very poor. Most of the time the data were not well maintained and recorded, and lots of discrepancy was found in records that were maintained in various departments. Most of the time the files were untraceable and missing. Another difficulty was interviewing the implementing authorities and agents in various departments who would intelligently twist the facts in their favour and their failure will be either put on the supposed beneficiaries or the system.

It would be imperative to mention here that even after the span of 30 to 40 years the names of tribes and sub-tribes as identified and enumerated in the census of India is still faulty. Every census year the list of Scheduled Tribes has changed which varies between 105 to 110. Among the major tribes like Adi, Nishi, Tangsa etc. their numbers have faulty been divided into innumerable tribes where their surname, clan name, sub-tribe name etc. has been identified and registered as tribes.

There is no record of area under village land, community land, private land, land under wet rice cultivation, forest area, irrigated area etc. The cadastral survey of the land has still to be carried on. Cultivated land is estimated according to local unit poora and crops produced are measured according to cane and bamboo baskets, gunny bag, and mustard oil tins. So the estimate of the total crops produced its yield and cropping area may be treated more as approximation than as something precise and absolute.

The selection of villages was based more on the distance factor and approachability apart from reasons mentioned in sample design. While conducting household interview
innumerable hurdles were faced, first of all owing to unavoidable natural vagaries like flood, incessant rainfall, weather condition, rugged terrain and long-distance trekking posed lots of problems. Difficulties were faced while interviewing the respondents first of all because of language barrier and also their indifferent attitude towards outsider and especially with regard to the questions pertaining to their income, government aid. Many of them were suspicious of the intention of the queries made to them, inspite of repeated assurance conveyed to them about the relevance of the research conducted and generation of information to be used only for research purpose. The educated respondents were more understanding and co-operative. However, their habit of concealing information as well as misinformation was commonly experienced. Most of it was out of fear and apprehension that if they divulge the information related to government aid, they might be barred from further assistance. Therefore, attempt was made to collect the required information through indirect question and other procedures, which has their obvious limitations. Utmost attempt was made to apply all the means and tactics of collecting the primary information and interviewing and persuading the respondents to deliver the facts and truths. However, it is difficult to say the extent to which the data and information collected are completely free from biases.