CHAPTER VII
SOCIO ECONOMIC CONSTRAINTS IN TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH- AN ATTEMPT AT AN EXPLANATION
7.1 Introductory statement

This chapter is designed with a view to understand the socio-economic constraint in tribal development. The discussions in forgoing chapters reveal that there are both inter and intra tribe variations in terms of fund utilization and in terms of scheme implementation. These differences do not corroborate a definite relationship between selected variables are literacy, remoteness and various schemes implemented in the sample villages. Hence an explanation is attempted to understand the causes of ineffectiveness of Plan programmes in terms of their implementation with reference to socio cultural factors in general.

At the outset it is to be mentioned that the level of poverty in a village is positively related to number of Arunachalee (ST) households. If the percentage of BPL households can be taken as an indicator of the level of village poverty then it is evident that less is the percentage of ST households to total households, less is the percentage of households below poverty line. With reference to Table No: 5.1 and Table No: 5.2 it is clear that Khampti villages have 22.10 percent of ST households to total households. Correspondingly it has the lowest percentage, that is 31.70 percent, of households below poverty line. Adi and Shyam villages have 60 percent and 85.30 percent of ST households corresponding 61.70 percent and 100 percent of households below poverty line. Evidently it can be argued that
more is the concentration of tribal households more is the concentration of poverty level.

But this trend has a different version altogether. Usually non Arunachalee households are tenant households and households of employees in different government and private sectors. They are not eligible for assistance under PAP because they do not belong to the village and they do not have the right to purchase and own land. A comparative study of Table No: 5.1 and Table No: 5.2 shows that numbers of BPL families in Khampti, Adi and Shyam villages are more than the number of ST households. Obviously non ST households are included in the BPL list. During field study and household survey it was learnt that in Wingko and Lathaw villages the non ST households were enumerated under BPL families. In Lathaw, the chief of the village, as the Khamptis have the chieftain type of the society, enumerated his tenant households as BPL families. But in Wingko the reason is something different. The BPL list was prepared without the knowledge of villages in general and Panchayat members of that village in particular. The VLW who usually stayed outside the village had prepared the list on his own. It was learned that he had included tenant households of those families who were not included in the BPL list. But interestingly the Gram Panchayat Member and the Gaobura who were not included in the list were assisted with wage employment scheme under EAS. This work was executed by two families with the help of hired labourers to construct dewatering channel in their rice fields which belonged to both of them.
Evidently it is ignorance, individual interest and power position that have influenced the implementation of schemes. In Lathaw, the tenant households assisted with plough bullocks which they used to cultivate the Chief’s paddy field. In exchange the chief used to get 5 quintals of paddy annually for one pair of bullocks. The scheme meant to provide self employment to beneficiary has been used as a tool to wrongly identify a beneficiary family and to exploit it in demanding obedience and earning. The family who got the benefit remained royal to the chief’s family as long as he used the bullock. The chief’s family on the other without investing anything created a source of earning.

In Wingko, schemes particularly to the families of G.B and Panchayat members have two implications. These families are in contact with the officers and officials because of their positions. So, they were more nearer to the implementing officers of Poverty Alleviation Programs. They could persuade and availed of the scheme though they were not eligible. On the other hand, the officers because of their weakness did not want to displease the man with power. The weakness lies in preparing the list of families and in creating awareness among the people who were socially invisible. This means those who were busy in their daily works and had little time to establish contact either due to lack of time or due to indifference are socially invisible to the government officers who implement the schemes.

During field study it was also learnt that those families who frequently visited Namsai due to one reason or the other have got more assistance under PAP
schemes directly or indirectly through their relatives or tenant households as compared to other households. In the Adi group of villages, Joipur being nearer to Namsai have got more schemes and more fund as compared to other villages. On the other hand, Mabira being the remotest village has not got anything except the IRDP scheme. Here though remoteness is evidently a determining factor it is not so in all the cases. Manmow in Khampti group of villages is only 5 K.m from Namsai, but it has received only 14.77 percent of total fund under various schemes. Even Nongtaw-Khampti, the remotest of the Khampti group of villages has received 15.57 percent of the total fund. It is not because of the number of BPL families because there is not difference between Manmow and Nongtaw-Khampti villages. If this apparent difference could be the guiding factor to draw inference, then it could be argued that distance factor has no influence in the distribution of schemes. Wingko has 69 percent families below poverty line, where as Nongtaw-Khampti 42 families. But in terms of sharing funds under IRDP, Nongtaw-Khampti shares 19.87 percent of the total fund allocated under IRDP while Wingko has shared only 16.67 percent. Understandably no definite criterion is followed in providing the assistance to BPL families.

But what is implicit and influencing are contact, power position and manipulative capacity in the process of implementation of scheme. The manipulative capacity is clear in the implementation of EAS work in Jona-IV. The chief’s family of Lathaw could manipulate fund under EAS against Jona-IV village to construct embankment in order to protect his paddy field from flood.
That is why during 1995-96 and 1996-97 four different works under EAS were recorded against Jona-IV village, though the work undertaken was the construction of embankment in Tengapani river. The work was executed with hired labours. Similarly, the Rural Link Road between Wingko and Chesing village was constructed by the GaoBura of Wingko village with hired labourers. But the assistance was recorded against Chesing village.

The contact and influence as determining factors are also evident as unlisted families whose members are in government jobs have got assistance.

In Lathaw under the leadership of the wife of ASM, the DWCRA group was formed for a weaving unit. When the unit was sanctioned, the leader of the group did not organize any work nor any meeting for the purpose. She owned the asset and avoided other members in one pretext or the other. Apparently, she embezzled the money and for that purpose she had formed the DWCRA group. On the other hand, the members who were less influential could not be assertive. Moreover, the social relation between families in different clans stood on their way, because the group members were from different clans. Differences between two families of two different clans in opposite groups which effect social and community works. Moreover, individual dignity of simple tribal mind was powerful in them as compared to the life of the ASM. This is because the wife of ASM is not as tradition bound as the other ladies due to her interaction with non traditional way of life. Being the wife of the ASM and belonging to the elite class,
she works more in mind than in hearts like others. Naturally, the traditional social relation also affect to some extent the implementation of schemes effectively.

The members of the DWCRA group other than the wife of an ASM did not complain to the BDO either. During discussions with these members the reasons which were found out mere interesting and thought provoking. Of course, there was the consideration of not antagonizing the family of the ASM and the individual dignity of the members. But associated with it was their outlook. There was a sense of hesitation in going to the office of the BDO. Though, they had gone earlier with the wife of ASM. They were more passive by standards. They had not talked to any body as they did not know what to talk and whom to talk. The office was totally a situation different from their normal way of life. The very idea of lodging complains, created a sense of discomfort and they could not muster of courage to go ahead with the idea. At the same time they could also rationalize of not going for the complain because to them the BDO and the ASM belong to the same group and so complain lodged before one group against the other would be meaningless. The simple event of forming the DWCRA group and becoming unsuccessful in operating relates to a deeper human understanding during the transitional phase of tribal communities consequent upon development interventions. Conclusively decentralization of power through Panchayat Raj system to ensure participation of the entire beneficiary in different stages of implementation of PAPs creates an intermediary group at the level of people’s
representatives from where benefits do not percolate down to the real beneficiaries unhindered.

Traditional role of the women has been found contributing factor to ineffectiveness of many schemes under IRDP. It was observed in Manmow that the sewing machine issued before Eighth Five Year Plan was lying ideal. This is because the beneficiary was not trend domestic work. She had no time to use it commercially or to mend the clothes of Household members. Though the instance is with reference to scheme before Eighth Five Year Plan it helps in driving at the inconsistency in at implementation stage. During the Eighth Five Year Plan their mere trainings in fish farming, tailoring, cane and bamboo work, embroidery under TRYSEM. Not a single case of beneficiary under TRYSEM was recorded in sample villages. Evidently the schemes where provided did not take into consideration the skill endowment of the beneficiary.

The schemes provided under IRDP did not have continuity. Though the study was limited to Eighth Five Year Plan was found in the register of the beneficiaries in BDO Office that in different Plan Periods different schemes were given weightage. During Eighth Five Year Plan the importance was given to such schemes as potato, ginger, plough bullock whereas in earlier plans importance was given to Rice Huller, Sewing machines, knitting machines. Obviously the schemes during Eighth Five Year Plan are different in nature from such schemes as Rice

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1 Traditional nature of work like collecting firewood, cooking, preparing rice beer, vegetable, agricultural work which keep herself engaged with household works
Huller, Sewing Machines, and 'Knitting Machines. Importance to a particular nature of schemes during a particular plan period indicates about the selection of schemes at a particular level. In other words the schemes were more likely elected as department level than by the beneficiary themselves.

When people are not involved in the process of selection of the scheme it is natural that they are not serious in its implementation to reap the benefit. This could be another reason why the sewing machine was kept ideal. What seemingly concerns people most are the desire to have schemes even though they do not have any practical utility. Traditionally Khamptis do not work as wage earners. When they get any scheme under wage employment programme they hire outside labourers. The football ground in Wingko village was constructed by engaging bulldozer of Rural Works Department. In execution of the work, wage component did not accrue to the so called beneficiaries, though the community asset was created in terms of the football ground. Similarly RLR (Rural Link Road) at Lathaw was constructed with the help of tenant households and the surplus money was used to organize a community feast.

Non selection of schemes by beneficiary has another implication. In the study area land is plentifully available. Households who could manage expanded their cultivation by engaging outside labourers. Others kept themselves engaged to earn their livelihood from different activities like agriculture, timber business and other forest activities. Because of their engagement, the new schemes did not seem important to add to their livelihoods.
Importance to different types of schemes in different Plan periods has sidelined the follow up actions. When the poultry and duckery farms died of diseases, no further doze of assistance was given to continue the schemes. At this level the objective of the scheme to eradicate poverty is weakly perceived. There are instances in Jona-IV, Manmow, and Wingko and in Namleng villages where the fish ponds were damaged by flood water. Then the scheme discontinued as no follow-up action was linked to the scheme in case of such eventualities.

That the beneficiaries were mere interested in obtaining schemes than in implementing it effectively to reap the benefit can be understood with reference to Table No: 5.3 and Appendix No: 5.2. In all the villages the loan component is less than the subsidy component but according to the IRDP guideline the cost of the scheme must constitute both loan and subsidy component in the ratio of 50:50. Since the loan component is less than the subsidy implies that many of the beneficiaries did not go for loan. In other words many schemes did not operate in its full cost structure. In this sense many schemes were financially inefficient. Clearly this shows the interest of the beneficiaries in subsidy money only.

Impact of poverty alleviation programmes in tribal villages has not been uniform. There are apparent differences which could be attributed to non-conventional factors like good governance, access to information and predominance of traditional way of life in villages. The “politician bureaucracy” nexus is found as a stumbling block towards the effective and meaningful implementation of poverty alleviation schemes. It is because of the nexus, a
politician from another village could manipulate funds under EAS scheme against Jona-IV village to execute work for the interest of his individual families. The nature of economic diversification is very fluid and superficial because traditional economic pursuits like subsistence cultivation supplemented by food gathering, hunting and fishing, ownership of land within customary framework and manufacturing activities for domestic consumption are predominant. Consequent upon this traditional nature of activities of the masses they do not have timely access to information about the schemes under PAPs and therefore do not have chance of obtaining such schemes. They do not have also the awareness about the forward linkages of these schemes in terms of market linkage for real benefit to be accrued from the schemes. Lack of access to information is quite evident when people were found ignorant about the execution of schemes by politically influential persons from other villages against their own villages. Even in the same village influential families manipulate to include those families in BPL which are not in fact entitled. This is the reason for which non-Arunachalee households are enumerated under BPL category. Compared to Shyams and Adis, Khamptis are more influential in the region. Adis are in fact migrants from other districts but they are entitled to these schemes because of their Arunachalee status. Shyams have ethnic affiliation with Khamptis and are less numerous and less politically influential. But their affiliation to Khamptis has made them comparatively more influential as compared to Adis. The consideration of ethnic superiority is a contributing factor for the differences in the impact of PAPs
between the tribes. The superiority consideration also exists in explaining the phenomena of intra-tribal differences.

Nature of decentralization through Panchayat Raj to empower people with a view to bring about all round rural development is screened at the level of people’s representatives. It is found that the wife of an ASM embezzled the money under DWCRA scheme in Lathaw village by forming a group of women who were ignorant of such formation.

### Table No.7.1

**Sample Tribe: Literacy, Sex-ratio of ST Population of each Sample Tribe under Study (1991)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the tribe</th>
<th>Total ST population</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Sex ratio</th>
<th>Literacy %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khampti</td>
<td>929</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>939</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adi Somuwa</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shyam</td>
<td>719</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>927</td>
<td>59.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>