CHAPTER- III

REVIEW OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA WITH REFERENCE TO NORTH EAST INDIA AND ARUNACHAL PRADESH
3.1 Introductory Statement

Amelioration of socio-economic condition of the weaker sections of the society, particularly of Scheduled Castes and Schedule Tribes is a Constitutional obligation. Provisions are there in Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles of State Policy and 5th and 6th Schedules of the constitution. To safeguard their interest accordingly the Five Year Plans take special steps for all round development of these sections. The present chapter has made an attempt to discuss the nature of development policies and plan measures towards Tribal Development in North-East India with special reference to Arunachal Pradesh.

Development of the tribes by the Government of India took place after independence. But it has also attracted the Nationalist leaders before Independence. Unlike British policy of isolation, the nationalist leaders had thought in terms of positive discrimination for the all-round development. In other words, an attempt has been made to present an overview of policies and schemes meant for the development of the Tribes.

The Constitution of India envisages that "the State shall promote special care the educational and economic interests of all the weaker sections of the people and, in particular of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation." A period of 10 years was set initially to achieve the goal but as the problem was deep rooted
and manifested a single decade was bound to persist through decades. Nevertheless a good beginning was made. We continue to guard the tribal interests, which reflect the sense of responsibility of Indian people towards their tribal brethren (Vidyarthi: 1977:411)

Tribal populations constitutes over 8.08 percent of the national population* and are concentrated mostly in the mountain belts and forest tracts of sub Himalayan region on the North and Northeast, the hilly terrain across central India and Southernmost parts of the Western Ghats. They remained isolated from majority of Indian communities and also remained socially and economically backward. Taking account of the above characteristics, the government of India has specified 427 communities and has included them in the schedule of tribes. The first list of scheduled tribe was notified in 1950 by the President of India. It was amended in the Parliament in 1956 on the recommendation of the Backward Classes Commission (Rao: 1986: 34). These Tribes are known as Scheduled Tribes and are entitled to special protection and privileges under the Constitution of India.

The basic problems of the Tribal people, as of the vast majority of the non-tribal population, are that of the poverty. The problem of low standard of living, hunger, starvation, malnutrition, illiteracy, diseases, poor sanitary facilities etc., are all common to the tribal and vast majority of the non tribal population. The difference is of only degree. Then why is it necessary to formulate special plan for

*Excluding Jammu & Kashmir where census enumeration could not be carried out in 1991
Tribal Development? Because the tribals, in addition to the problem mentioned above, face the problem that are specific and confined to them alone. Centuries of isolation from the main civilization has kept the tribal ignorant of the modern institutions, scientific developments and changing environment, and has contributed to their ignorance, illiteracy, primitive mode of living and poor resource base at their economy (Chand and Puri: 1983:454)

Keeping all these considerations in view, the government of India initiated special schemes for the development of tribal areas to supplement the benefit accruing from general programmes of development in different fields such as agriculture, cooperation, communications, health, housing etc. They can be grouped under four heading - (a) Communication (b) education and culture, (c) Development of tribal economy, and (d) health, housing and water supply (Second Five Year Plan, Planning Commission, 590).

The concept of tribal development is based on twin approaches, (Raha: 1989: xxvi), firstly, the protection of the Tribal people-legal administrative support and secondly to implement programmes to promote their standard and level of living. Presently the main instrument of such development is Tribal Sub Plans launched since 1974-75 and being implemented through the state plans, Special Central Assistance, Centrally Sponsored Programmes and Institutional Finance. Under the revised 20 points programmes, a high priority has been given to the development of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

3.2 Constitutional Safeguards for Tribals
With India attaining Independence, the British policy of isolation and non-interference towards tribals was replaced by a policy to integrate them through development. In perusal of this policy several provisions were made in Indian constitution. The most important of one is article 244 which provides for administration of Scheduled Areas in accordance with Schedule V to the Constitution and the administration of tribal areas (Assam State) under Schedule VI.

Article 5, 16, 19, 46, 244, 275, 330, 334, 332, 335, 339 and 342 of the Indian Constitution provided specific provisions for the advancement of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. There are reservations in educational institutions, services, political bodies, special relaxation in age, qualification, etc. Further the provisions allowed for the necessity for Tribal Development Programmes. Many special provisions were made in Schedule V of the Constitution in the interest of Tribal Areas. Clause 6 of the Schedule V empowered the President of India to declare any area where there is predominant concentration of Tribal people as Scheduled Area. This provision has two clear objectives. One, to assist the tribal in enjoying their existing rights, unhindered or unobstructed by other. Two, to develop the areas and promote economic, educational, and social progress among them. In these schemes, protection of their rights and interests come first (Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled tribes Commission, Vol. I P-39 and Government of India).
The Fifth Schedule also gave powers to State Governors empowering them even to modify the existing enactment and make regulations for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes. Article 338 of the Constitution provides for constituting a Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The objective of appointing the Commissioner is to report on the administration of Tribal Areas in general and about the provisions of educational, medical facilities and communications in such regions in particular. The Commissioner’s report is to be placed before the parliament.

3.3 Approaches to Tribal Development: A Historical Perspective

It is essential to know how these Tribal people have been approached so far by the administration. The approaches to the Tribals may be separately considered in the context of pre-independence and post-independence period. Historically, there have been three approaches viz., ‘Isolationalist Approach’, ‘Assimilationist Approach’ and Integrationist Approach.

The Tribal areas were the last to come under the British policy due to their inaccessibility. To avoid troubles from Tribal the British government adopted the policy of pacification through indirect rule with respect to Tribal areas and treated them different from the rest of the country. These were the formost policies which were adopted by the British colonial rulers to isolate these Tribal people from the general mass and separate the tribal areas from the purview of the normal administration.
The policy of isolation by the British Government was largely affected by their deliberate effort not to develop communication in the Tribal areas which, as a result, remained cut off from the rest of the population. The most burning example that can be cited in this respect is of North East Himalayan Tribes. They had no communication with the rest of the India and consequently a sense of separation has developed in them (Vidyarthi: 1977: 413)

Being scared of administrative difficulties and problems in far flung tribal belts and considering that the Independence movement could spread infection among tribes too, the people in power announced that the Tribal should not be disturbed by the outside administration, policies, programmes and elements. Such thinking led to the rise of “Excluded” and “Partially Excluded” Tribal areas, treating them as “reserves” against alien intervention. Thus originated the policy of Isolation and partially excluded areas act which come into existence in 1935 which resulted in the non appearance of any legislation of the provincial government to tribal areas except on the direction of central government. The Act also enabled Governors to pass special regulations for Tribal areas with prior consent of the Governor General.

Adoption of Isolation approach resulted in the widening gulf between the worlds of Tribal and Non tribal people and in the preservation of distinctive identity of the tribals, thereby minimizing their interaction and inhibiting their integration into the mainstream of the national life. Their distinctive identity and their relative isolation only fostered isolation. Ghurye pointed out that, in view of
the fact the tribals are often suffer and in occasions violent, the main purpose of the British policy was to secure peace and not necessarily to help to advance on the road to progress either by integration with plains Hindus otherwise". (Ghurye:1963:79) The out come of British administrative policy can be broadly summarized quoting from Sharma who writes that, “The administration in tribal areas during pre independence days was not formalized. The decision making both in British India and Indian States, was near enough the common mass. The system could respond to the needs of each specific situation. Development, as a function of the administration had yet to emerge. Therefore the socio economic life of the community was largely left untouched..........Maintenance of order and protection from unwanted elements where necessary, were the main objective of administration”. (Sharma: 1977:578) The British rule bequeathed more liabilities than assets, more problems than solution, in regard to the tribal areas and their people. They followed the policy of Isolation or "leave them alone". The isolation led to much exploitation by Non-Tribals, Contractors, Zamindars and Middleman.

Almost parallel to this emerged those who expressed concern about the problems and miseries inherent in tribal inhabited areas in the country. Among these lots were the missionaries, both Christians and Hindus whose ideology asked for radical reforms and changes in Tribal society, so much so that they expressed feelings and ideas of making the second rate copies of Christians and Hindus. This was made abundantly clear when they tried to assimilate tribals into the broader tenets of Christianity and Hinduism. The trend promoted the policy of
“Assimilation”. The later did not remain in tune with, the then British Government Policy of Isolation.

The assimilation of the Tribal people with the rest of the population is another approach and is a continuous process and the cultural contact with the neighboring population is held responsible for it. However, this has also created some problems for them, partly because of their limited world view. In India, the Tribal people have come in contact with the different Hindu and other communities and situations, different degree of cultural contact leading to assimilation in different parts. Some Tribals have gradually adopted the Hindu way of life and others have converted to Christianity.

The policy of assimilation worked as a double edged weapon. It affected the loss of identity while it also fostered emotional and cultural alienation. Strongly reacting to the Assimilationist Approach, Jairam Daulatram, the then Governor of Assam had epitomized his reaction in a figurative and rhetorical vein:

"Each section of our large population contributes to the making of the national in the same manner as each flower helps to make a garden. Every flower has the right to grow according to its own laws of growth, has the right to enrich and develop its colour and form and spread its own fragrances to make up the cumulative beauty and splendour of the garden. I would not like to change my roses into lilies nor my lilies into roses. Nor do I want to sacrify lovely orchids and rho do dendrons of the hills" (Elwin: 1960:57).
Neither isolation nor assimilation can solve the problem of the Tribals were appreciated in the integrated approach. For the first time, late Jawaharlal Nehru in his foreword to Elwin's book, A Philosophy for NEFA (1958:xiii) gave a "Panchaseela" i.e. five fundamental principles for the Tribal upliftment as an integrational approach. The five principles are as follow:

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

(ii) Tribal right to lands and forest should be respected;

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

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

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

From the working experience of the working of the "Panchahseel" for the tribal we find:

(i) That we should not force Tribals to do things;
(ii) That Tribal right aims at saving Tribal from exploitation which can be possible only by integrating them with the neighbouring people;

(iii) That only tribal officers may work in the area with some local bias, and in those conditions experienced non tribal officers have proved themselves to the anthropological approach;

(iv) That tribal Programmes be very simple;

(v) That, one has to serve the Tribals in a "dedicated spirit".

3.4 Tribal Development Under The Plan

Article 46 of the Constitution explicitly recognises that the Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes as the weaker sections of the society and calls for the promotion of their educational and economic interest as well as their protection from exploitation. What the Union and State Governments have been doing for the Tribal welfare can be had from several reports like the Annual Report of the Commissioner for the Schedule Tribe and Schedule Castes, from 1950 onwards, the Report of the Backward Classes Commission 1955, Report of the Study Team Social Welfare, Welfare of backward classes 1959, forty eight report of the Estimates committee of Parliament 1959, Report of the Committee on Special Multi Purpose Tribal Development Blocks1960, Report of the Schedule Areas and Schedule Tribes Commission, 1960-61, Report of the Study Group on the welfare of the weaker sections of the village community1961, Reports on the seminar

In India, Tribal development programmes have been merely an extension of the rural development programmes meant for the country as a whole. (Goswami: 1990: 17). Importance has been given for the Tribal Development right from First Five Year Plan. The percentage of plan outlay during the First Five Year Plan was 1.00 percent to 8.18 percent during the Eighth Five Year Plan. Table No: 3.1 shows the total outlay for Five Year Plans.

Table No: 3.1
India: Plan Outlay for the Scheduled Tribes in Plan Periods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plan Period</th>
<th>Plan Outlay (Rs. in Crore)</th>
<th>Percentage to total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Scheduled Tribes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Five Year Plan</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>19.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Five Year Plan</td>
<td>4672</td>
<td>42.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Five Year Plan</td>
<td>8577</td>
<td>50.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Five Year Plan</td>
<td>15779</td>
<td>79.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th Five Year Plan</td>
<td>39426</td>
<td>1157.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th Five Year Plan</td>
<td>109292</td>
<td>3640.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th Five Year Plan</td>
<td>180000</td>
<td>6744.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th Five Year Plan</td>
<td>181735</td>
<td>1487343</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Welfare
During the First Five Year Plan emphasis was on education and economic development, improvement of roads and communications and provision for medical and public health facilities. An extensive rural development programme commonly known as Community Development Programme, was launched in the year 1952 with the following objectives:

(i) To provide substantial increase in the country's agricultural production and to improve the system of communication, rural health, hygiene and rural education;

(ii) To initiate and direct processes of integrated culture change aimed at transforming the social and economic life of the villagers.

To carry out these programmes, Tribal Development Blocks were established on the lines of community development. Such tribal development blocks were constituted in the areas predominantly inhabited by the tribals and each block was intended to cover only about 25000 persons against the coverage of 66,000 persons in the community development blocks. Community Development programmes were considered to be people's programmes with government participation, the success depended to a considerable degree on the cooperation and participation of the people for whom the programmes were intended. The basic input of Community Development programme is “man” and all efforts were geared towards using this input in the best possible way to bring about an integrated development of the community life. It is a project of “the people, by the
people and for the people, wherein the role of the government and administrative authorities is to help the people to help themselves (Chand & Puri:1983:275).

During the Second Five Year Plan, multipurpose project blocks (M.P.P.Blocks) was the most significance step taken towards development of Tribal areas. The main objective of M.P.P. Blocks were to create a progressive outlook in the tribal economy and achieve higher level of material and cultural development. The Second Five Year Plan advocated the establishment of multipurpose pilot project for “intensive and coordinated development in tribal areas on the general pattern of community development, but modified to suit tribal condition and supplemented by additional resources”. The task of these project was to cover all aspect of tribal life. It also had such provisions as the encouragement of settled form of agriculture in place of shifting cultivation, improvement of agriculture, provision of medical and public health services, improvement of communication, development of art and crafts, organisation of cooperations and the establishment of community welfare center (Planning Commission, Second Five Year Plan:593). Further changes were brought in the functioning of Multi Purpose Blocks as a result of the two important reports which made several recommendation for the future of Tribal Development Programmes. An evaluation report submitted by the committee headed by Verrier Elwin on Special Multi Purpose Blocks (1960) led to the opening of
the Tribal Development Blocks from Third Plan Period onwards. The committee opined that the Multi Purpose Projects have created much awareness, though they suffered the usual disadvantages of pilot projects. The report made several recommendations regarding structure and functioning of Blocks. Important of them were:

(i) To adopt a more flexible approach towards schematic allocation;

(ii) Reduction in the outlay of expenditure, and

(iii) Introduction of Panchayat Raj bodies to supervise the functioning of the blocks.

Based on the recommendations, the multipurpose projects were converted into Tribal Development Blocks after the end of the project period.

During the Third Five Year Plan, 489 Community Development Blocks where percentage of tribal population was 66 or above, were converted into Tribal Development Blocks. Thus, the Tribal Development Blocks Programmes was rather on intensification of community development blocks programmes with higher investment of resources (Bordoloi :1989:117). The Tribal Development Blocks programme was expected to take care of all the problems in the tribal areas. By the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan the number of Tribal development blocks was increased to 504.

The Tribal Development Blocks which came into existence formed the major channel of Tribal Welfare Programmes from 1962 onward though
the Tribal Development Blocks have brought about some changes, their impact was said to have fallen short of expectations.

Some of the observations made regarding the making of Tribal Development Blocks were:

(i) The results and effort of the Tribal Development Blocks in most cases are exclusive effort of the tribal sector and general sector programmes failed to reward Tribal areas.

(ii) The benefits of development did not percolate beyond the upper crust of the tribal communities in most of the tribal areas (Roy Burman : 1975:54).

The Shilu Ao Committee (Report of the Study Team on Tribal Development Programmes : 1969, Planning Commission ) which has evaluated the impact of Tribal Development Programmes pointed out various snags in the functioning of Tribal Development blocks. They are ;

(i) A large number of standardised schemes in vogue among advanced communities have been applied to tribal areas;

(ii) The employment aspect of development has not been attended to;

(iii) Settlement of land disputes at pre-extension stage was not taken up;

(iv) In productive schemes like agriculture, irrigation and animal husbandry, 20 percent of the investment was on constructions;

(v) Sixty to seventy percent of the funds were spent on “brick and mortar” schemes;
(vi) In many cases co operatives have been started without much education and propagations among the tribals. And followed cumbursion procedures;
(vii) The benefits had mostly accrued to the more advanced among the tribals;

The report indicated that the fragmentory approach toward development planning formed an important limitation on Tribal Development Blocks. Due to their comparatively low economic base and the small size, the blocks could not take up long term programmes.

*Shilu Ao Team* (1969) suggested an integrated perspective development of each tribal community. The Dhebar Commission (1961) had also stressed integrated approach.

The expert committee set up in 1972 headed by Professor *S.C Dube* to formulate new strategy for Tribal Development in the country during the Fifth Five Year Plan has equated tribal development as social and economic development of the Tribal people through fast and time bound area development and other programmes suiting the genius of the people, progressive elimination of all forces of exploitation and ensuring a move towards the goal of equality and justice.

On the basis of the recommendation of the *Dube* committee mentioned on the above Para, the new strategy for Tribal Development were spelt out in the fifth Five year Plan document. Two important strategies are:-
(i) An integrated approach to tribal development with a view to bridging the gap between the level of development of tribal areas and other areas

(ii) Improving the ‘Quality of life’ of the tribal people.

Realizing the lopsided development, the National Planning Commision envisaged a new strategy of planning for Tribal areas in the Fifth Five Year Plan. During this period, Tribal Development project emerged in the line with the IRDP (Integrated Rural Development Programmes). The strategy for integrated approach to tribal development led to the launching of the Tribal Sub-Plan. The concept of Tribal Sub-Plan based on the fundamental facts (Bordoloi: 1989:119).

Firstly, there are variations in social, political, cultural milieu among the Scheduled Tribe communities in India.

Secondly, these communities are concentrated in some parts of states and dispersed in other states.

Thirdly, The most backward Tribes or primitive Tribes lived in secluded regions.

The immediate objectives of the Tribal Sub-Plan have been envisaged in the elimination of exploitation accelerating the pace of development, building inner strength of the people and improving their organisational capability.

Resources for tribal sub-Plan are pooled together by;

(i) on quantifying an amount from the divisible State plan outlay,
(ii) Special Central Assistance from the Home Ministry, Government of India,

(iii) Grants from the Central Ministries and

(iv) Institutional finance.

It may, however, be mentioned that during the Fifth Five Year Plan while more emphasis was given on the infrastructural development in the Tribal areas, in the Sixth Plan the approach has been changed and more emphasis has been changed and more emphasis has been given on the family oriented schemes.

It may, however, be mentioned that during the Fifth Five Year Plan while more emphasis was given on the infrastructural development in the tribal areas. *(Ibid)*

During the Sixth Five Year Plan more emphasis on the family oriented schemes and was laid on poverty alleviation and consequently the Sub-Plan areas also showed an intensification of Poverty Alleviation Schemes. There was a shift from infra structure development to beneficiary oriented scheme. The Seventh and Eighth Plans also continued the emphasis on poverty alleviation. But the programmes were beneficiary oriented and emphasised human resource development schemes with an aim of attacking poverty by providing income and wage employment.

3.5 Tribal Development Programmes In North- East India
The North east region consists of the seven States of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Tripura and Nagaland\(^1\). These States are popularly known as seven sisters. The Northeast India is surrounded by Bhutan, China, Burma and Bangladesh in all sides except a narrow corridor of Indian Territory that connects it with rest of the country. It comprises 7.1 percent of the country's area. The region has almost all types of physical formations ranging from alluvial plains to table lands, low hills and high mountains, narrow valleys and flat ranges. Consequently, two distinct kind of agricultural practices are popular; settled plough cultivation in the plains, valley and gentle slopes and Jhum (Slash and burn) agriculture elsewhere.

The Tribal population of North-East region is around 81.42 Lakh (Table No: 2.1) in an area of 2,55,083 square kilometer in seven states. In total there are almost 130 major Tribal groups and one third of the total number of listed Tribe for the whole of India are to be found in this region. The share of Scheduled Tribe population to the total population of each State of the North-East region is presented in the Table No: 3.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the States</th>
<th>Area (Sq K.m)</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Population Density</th>
<th>% of ST population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>83743</td>
<td>864558</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>63.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>78438</td>
<td>22414322</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>12.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amnipur</td>
<td>22327</td>
<td>1837149</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>34.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meghalaya</td>
<td>22429</td>
<td>1774778</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>85.53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Sikkim is not included in the discussion
The region is inhabited by a large and different number of tribal groups. In a state like Arunachal Pradesh there are about 25 major tribal groups. Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura have 39, 15 and 19 tribal groups respectively, while in Assam, Meghalaya and Mizoram these figures are 14 in the autonomous districts, 11 in Tribal areas other than autonomous districts and in other parts of Assam excluding Tribal areas.

During the pre-independence period the government did not formulate any rational policy for the development of the tribal communities of North-East India and as such they did not have any development strategy for them in true sense of the term. The areas inhabited by the tribals were either Excluded or Partially Excluded ones. The main intention of the British Government was to keep the tribals as far as practicable at a long distance from the rest of the population. They followed this policy to suit the needs of the administration and found that it has been working well in serving their interests in full.

During the British period, some development was however undertaken by the British Government. They were undertaken not in the interest of the Tribal people of this region, but to serve the interest, both administrative and commercial, of the rulers. New railway lines were laid to carry coals, timbers, oil, tea, etc., from this region to outside, roads were constructed to connect district and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Male Population</th>
<th>Female Population</th>
<th>Sex Ratio</th>
<th>Decadal Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mizoram</td>
<td>22081</td>
<td>689756</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>94.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagaland</td>
<td>16579</td>
<td>1209546</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>87.70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>10486</td>
<td>2757205</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>30.95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: NEC Shillong, 1995
Sub-Divisional Headquarters so that soldiers and police personal could be sent quickly as soon as possible. Some tribal people living in the North East region reaped some of the benefits of the tribal schemes primarily meant for providing basic amenities to the employees of the British rulers and other infrastructural facilities created for smooth running of the administration and also for serving the commercial interest of the rulers.

The British Government approach towards Tribals to make them feel the impact of administration was very gradual and from the team of reappraisal, no specific strategies for the tribal development was enunciated. Although the Government of India Act, 1935 had envisaged some development strategies for the tribal communities in India, they were primarily meant for the tribes of central India and not for the tribes of North East India. The British Government did not have specific strategies for the development of tribal communities of North-East India either.

The policy adopted by the post independence government broadly followed the same administration pattern and certain special provisions were made in the Constitution of India. While, Article 224 and 275 along with the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution provide the politico-administrative structure to suit the genius of the tribal folk. The Commissioner for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes also enumerated that the respective plans of the state are primarily meant for major tribal populace (Report of Commissioner for SCs and STs: 1986-87:36) and general in nature.
Article 244 empowers the President of India to declare the area under the Fifth and Sixth Schedules and (or) the Sixth Schedule separately. It is also very interesting to note that the Sixth Schedule was created only for the Hill tribal areas of Assam (Undivided). Since the Hill Tribal communities of Assam had their own system of administration through the traditional socio political institutions. The founding fathers of Constitution of India, created this special provision with a view to allow the Autonomous Districts Council to manage their own affairs including the development aspects according to their likings.

Article 339 (2) lays down that the executive power of the Union extend to the giving of directions to a State as to the drawing up and execution of schemes for welfare of Schedule Tribes in the State.

Article 275 provides for financial assistance to the state for implementation of schemes of development of Scheduled Tribes and raising the level of administration in the Scheduled Areas. The Constitution also makes provision for appointment of a Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Article 339 was provided or setting up of a Commission at the end of ten years of the commencement of the Constitution to review the Tribal situations and to recommend measures for their development.

Tribal development in general has been an extension of Rural Development Programme. But in North-East States, it is more rural development oriented. The Tribal Sub-Plan concept is not applicable to states like Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Mizoram and Meghalaya, where the majority of the population belongs
to Scheduled Tribes. Whatever development schemes are meant for the state, can therefore be regarded as Tribal Development Programmes (Bordolo:i1989:120). No special programmes like ITDP (Integrated Tribal Development Programme) are implemented there except in Assam where there are nineteen ITDP blocks.

In Arunachal Pradesh, Poverty Alleviation Programmes have been launched for the development of the Tribal and Tribal villages which are being implemented by Rural Development Department in the state. The Programmes launched in Arunachal Pradesh for employment generation and alleviation of rural poverty has, as elsewhere, two components:

(i) to create rural infrastructure for generating wage employment under JRY/EAS/IAY/MWS and;

(ii) To promote self employment under IRDP/DWCR/TRYSEM.

These two components are two different ways which aim at making a direct attack on rural poverty.

3.6 Concluding Statement

The review of literature regarding the tribal development in India with reference to North East India and Arunachal Pradesh leads to the following broad conclusion:

i) In India, tribal population constitutes 8.08 percent of the national population. They remained isolated from the majority of Indian communities and also remained socially backward. The development of the tribal took place after the independence with a shift in approach in various Five Year Plans. The basic problems of the tribal population are
poverty with low standard of living, hunger, starvation etc and their problem is specific and confined to them alone. Keeping in view their problem the government of India initiated special schemes for the development. Article 5, 16, 19, 46244,275,338,332,335,339 and 342 of the constitution provided specific provision for the advancement of scheduled caste and scheduled tribes. The Fifth schedule gave powers to state governors empowering them even to modify the existing enactment and make regulations for the welfare of scheduled tribes.

ii) The approaches to the development of tribal communities may be viewed in the context of both pre independence and post independence period. During the pre independence period, the British adopted the policy of isolation with respect to tribal areas. Being scared of administrative difficulties in far flung tribal belts and considering that the independence movement could spread infection among tribes too; the people power announced that the tribal should not be disturbed by the outside administration, policies, programmes and elements. Adoption of isolation approach resulted in the widening gulf between the worlds of tribals and non-tribals and in the preservation of distinctive identity of the tribals, thereby minimizing their interaction and inhibiting their integration into the mainstream of the national life, the policy of isolation led to much exploitation by the non-tribals and other external force. Almost parallel to this emerged those who expressed concerned about the problems and miseries inherent in tribal
inhabited areas in the country, those were the Christian and Hindu missionaries, the trend promoted the policy of assimilation. However this has also created some problems instead of developing them. The policy of assimilation worked as a double edged weapon. It affected the loss of identity while it also fostered emotional and cultural alienation. Both isolation and assimilation could not solve the problems of the tribals,

iii) The integrated approach formulated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India was better appreciate for the development of the tribals. For them he approaches consist of five fundamental principles for the tribal upliftment. The Panchasheel suggests that we should not force tribals to do things and they should develop along the lines of their own genius and tribal rights to land and forest should be respected, tribal programmes should be very simple and one has to serve the tribals in a dedicated approach.

iv) In India, Tribal Development Programmes have been merely an extension of the rural development programmes meant for the country as a whole. The percentage of plan outlay during the first five year plan was 1.00 percent during the Eighth Five Year Plan. During the First Five Year Plan emphasizes was on education and economic development, improvement of roads and communications and provision for medical and public health facilities. An extensive Rural Development Programmes commonly known as Community Development Programmes was launched in the year 1952.
To carry out these programmes, Tribal Development Blocks were established on the lines of community development.

iv) During the Second Five Year Plan, Multi Purpose Project Blocks (MPP) were the most significant step taken towards development of tribal areas. The main objective of MPP blocks were to create a progressive outlook in the tribal economy and achieve higher level of material and culture development.

v) During the Third Five Year Plan, 489 community development blocks where percentage of tribal population was 66 or above were converted into tribal development blocks. The Shilu Ao Committee which has evaluated the impact of tribal development programmes pointed out various snags in the functioning of tribal development blocks and suggested an integrated perspective development of each tribal community.

vi) Realizing the lopsided development, the national planning commission envisages a new strategy of planning for the tribal areas in the Fifth Five Year Plan in which tribal development projects emerged in the line with the Integrated Rural Development Programmes (IRDP). The strategy for integrated approach to tribal development led to the launching of the Tribal Sub-Plan.

vii) During the Sixth Five Year Plan more emphasis on the family oriented schemes and was laid on poverty alleviation and consequently the Sub Plan areas also showed an intensification of poverty alleviation schemes. There
was a shift from infrastructure development to beneficiary oriented schemes.

viii) In North east India, the tribals were either excluded or partially excluded ones. There was no any rational policy for the development of the tribals in the region. During the British period, some development was however undertaken by the British government but not in the interest of the tribal people in this region but to serve the interest, both administrative and commercial of the rulers.

ix) Tribal development in general has been an extension of rural development. But in North East states it is more rural development oriented. The tribal Sub-Plan concept is not applicable to states like Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Meghalaya, Mizoram, where the majority where the majority of the population belong to the scheduled tribes.

x) In Arunachal Pradesh, Poverty Alleviation Programmes have been launched for the development of the tribal which are being implemented by Rural Development Department in the state.