

CONCLUSION

The explanation of the causes and factors of under-development is perhaps best suited to classify the overall set-up of the tribal communities in India in general and Bihar in particular. From time to time in the pages of anthropological publications, the theories of social development have been discussed. In the time perspective anthropological theories were developed to indicate the development of society. Literally, development implies orderly movements of an organism or a social system from a lower level of functioning to a higher level of functioning and integration. The lower higher continuum may be stated in terms of certain quantitative values. On the other hand, however, it also implies some qualitative changes reflected in the capacity of a community respond to the more complex and remote objects environment with complex and varying response. Hence, the question of integrations of various elements with reference to one another is therefore as important as the new differentiation of structures of the maturation of the old ones. Thus it implies that the development is a product of an unconscious maturation as well as that of conscious guidance through education, social controls and participation in organised life. Nevertheless, one must explain here the attributes of development. During the past several years that we have been speaking about it, the concept has progressed through four different phases and a fifth phase is beginning to dawn at the horizon.

i) Development – Growth of Income:

Initially there was heavy emphasis on the economic aspect of development of the need of raising the per capita income, especially by

the injection of outside investment, technology and know-how. The advantage of this approach was its simplicity. The development could be measured by means of statistics.

The reference point and yardstick were the developed countries of the West. They decided what development and under development meant, and did so, as can be expected, in their own image. The strategy for development was transfer of fund and technical know-how from developed to developing countries through aid-giving programmes. Aid, therefore, came from outside the needy groups.

2) Development – Social Progress:

The economists began to find out that they did not have all the answers, and that development was far more complex than increase in per capita income. A large variety of variables measuring health, education, etc. were therefore added into the equation.

This was the idea of development that roughly prevailed during the first development decade declared by the U.N. The reference point or yardstick remained in the developed countries. During this stage of evolution of the idea of development, a great effort was made to build up institutions to provide a wide range of social services to the rural poor. Many of the schools, blocks, and hospitals that dot the lands cope of Chotanagpur were built by the Government. The institutional approach involves that in a way the institution become the point of reference. The individual, in need of a service has to come to the block, the hospital, the school as clients or patients. It also involves the danger that institutions

are too often measured by their size and style rather than by the quality of personnel working in them, or the services they provide to the people. There is further, the danger of institutions becoming ends in themselves. This approach also brings in its wake the danger that those living a certain distance from and institution, can profit very little from it. Development thereby become spotty and begins to generate "centres of development" also called "demonstration forms". "Pilot projects" etc. On the one hand and large tracts of untouched terrain on the other, and then a growing disparity between the two even at the regional or local level.

3) Development – Integration:

In the above approach, development was seen primarily as something coming from outside, whether in the form of finance, capital or social benefits. By the mid-60s the failure of the First Development Decade were making increasingly clear that unless the process started within the poor country itself, it was unlikely to start at all. The problem was a highly unequal distribution of wealth, mostly being concentrated in the hands of a small minority, while the masses of the people lived in poverty and on the margin of society. The chief task of development therefore came to be seen as that of reintegrating these marginal people into the existing social-structures. Attempts were made to broaden the latter and thus, ensure a greater flow of benefits from those who had, to those who hadn't. The whole approach of the sub-plan (Mes project) for the tribal areas of Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas can be seen as a concrete expression of this approach to development.

During this phase, the point of reference shifts to the developing countries themselves, to their metropolitan centres, their organised sector of the economy and the elite of the decision makers, who themselves are fashioned according to western standards and values. Naturally enough these persons, inspired with best of intentions, view development of the ordinary people from their own angle, and thus one gets planning from above.

The strategy for development reaches out from the centres or from institutions, in the of projects and extension programmes, planned at the centre, started thoroughly outside initiative, financed by the Centre, through services manned by development workers who come from outside the community. This does not preclude the presence of self-help elements, but lip service is equally paid to this approach.

4) Development – Liberation:

There were two serious flaws in the third approach. First, it presumed that the benefits of development could “trickle down” from the top to the bottom of the social scale; that without any major changes in the existing social structure, those who have will be prepared to make the necessary concessions to provide for those who have not. Secondly, it presupposed that the poor would gladly accept development as a gift from above. There is now a growing awareness that real development can only start from below, from the people at the bottom. Words like “grass roots” and “bare foot” are now becoming the fashion.

In this fourth phase then one reaches the opposite of what the original ideas of development started out with. Now the ordinary man at the

grass roots becomes the point of reference and the yardstick for judging whether development has taken place or not. Any development measures at whatever level, it is taken, finds its justification to the extent that directly or indirectly it helps marginal man in the third word to become more fully himself.

The human aspect now takes precedence over the economic and "technological. Economic projects and progress are very much relevant but to the extent that they result from decision making by the ordinary man in his own community to the extent that they bring more equality and more participation in decision making.

5) Development Dialogue:

Pointers are already at the horizon to indicate that the "development debate" has done 360 degrees, and that in the near future, the so-called "developed" groups will begin to discover that they can learn very much from the poor, in matters of total and integral development, the quality of life, the warmth of human relations, the stability of family life. Once this fifth stage will have been reached, a real dialogue on the basis of mutual respect for each others dignity can begin to take place. It must also be noted that such and the "marginal" people. To be more concrete, real development is likely to take place in Chotanagpur once we, so called civilized, educated, and advanced and can therefore not plan on our own what shape development or liberation of the tribal people should take, without very seriously consulting them. This could be done only if we would be ready for a dialogue with the tribal people and a willingness to give a serious try to planning from below. At present this seems hardly

possible, because the people and the community is so little articulate that one does not even know to whom to address oneself. Now the question arises, why is it that so many well-meant development efforts in tribal areas have ended in failure? This is a question that baffles many people and to which one has to find the answers, lest further development efforts lead to the same results. It is small comfort for us in India to know that other countries with tribal populations face analogous problems, at times in a far more acute degree than here.

Very broadly the basic human problem of tribal areas, with regard to development in their low degree of absorption capacity for any development input. Practically, any effort at development brings along the danger of further disintegration of tribal society. A few explanations can be ventured to illustrate and explain this somewhat further.

Tribal society is different from general society, but the latter has refused to accept this, and continues to try to develop tribal people according to its own image. This leads to failure, for which the tribal is blamed. He is called backward again and again till a moment comes when he himself begins to believe that he is indeed so, and thereby loses his self-respect and much of his identity and dignity.

The problem will not be solved till we accept the fact of the tribal people being different and prepare ourselves for entering into dialogue with them (5th phase of development concept) so that they can question the values and presuppositions on the basis of which we have assumed the responsibility of developing them.

A great communication gap exists between tribal and non-tribal society, which leads to misunderstanding, mistrust, repression and adoption of policies that do more harm than good. To speak in terms of transactional analysis, "civilized" society tends to adopt the parent-child relationship when dealing with tribal people, rather than the adult-adult relationship. This stance vitiates all communications and keeps the tribal people in a situation of inferiority.

The means of communication and interaction created by modern society such as written language, money under the form of cash, the court system of dispensing justice, records of land-holding, have as a matter of fact been used against the tribal, whenever he enters into contact with civilized society. He is the loser practically every time that he steps out of his traditional environment; on the other hand, necessity forces him to do so more and more. Tribal society is therefore a vulnerable society. It almost inevitably suffers disintegration, once it enters into prolonged contact with civilized society. Its traditional economic, social, religious, political and other systems can hardly withstand the inroads of modern influences and maintain their identity. Other people to oppress the tribal, socially, economically, sexually and in other respects, have shamelessly exploited this vulnerability. The point where the tribal has perhaps been most exploited, and which touches the essence of his identity is his relationship to the land (the word "Adivasi" suggests their relationship). The land alienation has been carried out in a piecemeal but not less thorough manner. The tribal is relieved from his land by a land-hungry expanding population.

A necessity for adopting a different approach to develop the tribal societies arose out of these experiences of culture contact. It was soon realised that only a Constitutional Provision was not enough. The active participation and developing the initiative of the tribal community were designed with this end in view. Mass literacy programme and the problem of poverty were first to be tackled to develop the social climate and the mental atmosphere. Therefore, an approach was needed to knit together these activities into a coherent pattern. The emphasis on promoting better living condition of the whole tribal community was designed to meet this end. Hence an individual project was not being regarded as an end in itself. Actually the completion of a project was only the beginning process of development that would cover all aspects of tribal life. It involved a simultaneous use of surveying, studying and providing the social needs of the people as a whole. To me it is purely an anthropological technique where one can look at an individual project as a part of total development; unfortunately such an attempt to study the projects of tribal development has not been taken up in the past. The present dissertation is a humble attempt in that direction.