CHAPTER - II

INTEGRATED TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT: AN OVERVIEW
2.1. Tribes constitute 7.76 percent of the total population of India. These people live in miserable socio-economic conditions. Many tribals live in inaccessible hilly areas having no connection with the outside world. Culturally they are quite primitive and most of them are prone to drunkenness. For a pretty long time they were free from any political or administrative control. Obviously, they had a completely isolated life characterised by utter poverty, under/mal-nutrition and ill health. In course of time, they came in contact with the outside world. Unfortunately, such contact subjected them to exploitation at the hands of money lenders, merchants, middle men and government officials for a long time.

Geographically the tribals are unevenly distributed throughout the country. Each tribe has its own peculiar customs and traditions and culture. The demographic criterion of more than one million scheduled tribe population is applicable to a few provinces and one union territory, namely, Assam, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, West Bengal and Andaman Nicobar Islands. In the rest part of the country, the tribal

population is thin and scattered.

Many of the tribal communities still lead a primitive way of life. For food, they depend on hunting (birds and animals) and collection of fruits and roots from the forests. A few of them practise shifting cultivation and still fewer carry on settled cultivation. Another group of tribal communities lead a sort of nomadic and seminomadic life.

For a long time, these peculiar socio-economic conditions of the tribal population did not attract the attention either of the intellectuals or the rulers. It is commonly believed that this isolation from the rest of the people in the country was responsible for such deplorable backwardness of the tribals.

It is only after Independence that serious thought and systematic effort have been made for their development. The growing enthusiasm to improve the lot of the tribals resulted in the emergence of the Integrated Tribal Development Project (hereafter ITDP).

In order to have an overview of the functioning of the ITDP, it is necessary to look with a clear perspective into the various development programmes undertaken by different governments both before and after independence.
Prior to independence, very little attention was paid to the development of the tribals either by the British rulers or any other private/public agency. In the beginning, the British rulers were not at all interested for the tribal welfare. Their only motto was to maintain law and order in the colony. Hence, they followed the "policy of isolation" according to which the tribal communities should be left to themselves. It was thought that they were better off and happier in their own way of life and habitat. This policy of British government kept the tribals on backwardness.

For the first time, the Christian missionaries, with a view to promote Christianity, took up the problem of the different tribal communities. They observed that the absurd traditions, blind beliefs, backward culture and low level of technology of the tribal people were responsible for their deplorable conditions. Thus, they thought that unless the tribal people were freed from their irrational traditions and cultural belief, it would not be possible to bring out any development in their life. With such a viewpoint, the Christian missionaries went round the tribal areas and initiated welfare activities such as establishing educational institutions and hospitals. They also provided financial and other types of help to improve their socio-economic conditions.
Incite of the efforts made by Christian Missionaries, no significant improvement could be achieved because of the "Isolation Policy" adopted by the British government towards the tribal people. On the whole, the socio-economic conditions of the tribals remained almost the same prior to independence as it was centuries ago.

However, the activities of the Christian missionaries and views of different British administrators such as Dalton, Risley, Hutton and others expressed in the vast literature produced during the few decades before independence had attracted the attention of Indian national leaders. These leaders gave serious thought to take concrete steps towards solving the various problems of the tribal people.

2.3. **Tribal Development after Independence**

After Independence, the Indian national leaders gave serious attention towards the development of the tribal people and other weaker sections of the society. Accordingly, a special sub-committee was appointed by the Constituent Assembly to look into the various problems of the tribals with reference to their socio-economic and cultural background. The committee recommended for the inclusion of special provisions in our constitution for giving adequate protection to the tribals.

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1. Dalton, E.T., *Ethnology of Bengal*
2. Risley, H., *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*
3. Hutton, H., 'Primitive Tribes'
and other weaker section of the society. Accepting these recommendations, some special provisions were incorporated in various parts of our constitution. A few of them are listed below:

a) Part III On fundamental Rights
b) Part IV On Directive Principles of State Policy
c) Part X On Scheduled and Tribal Areas
d) Part XII On finance, property etc
e) Part XVI On special provisions relating to certain classes
f) Fifth Schedule On Administration and control of Scheduled areas and Scheduled Tribes
g) Sixth Schedule On Administration of tribal areas

Some of the salient features of these provisions are as follows:

A) It is the special responsibility of the state to bring about all round development of the tribals.
B) To promote their educational and economic interest and protection from injustice of all forms of exploitation.
C) Reservation in services.

E) Appointment of special officers to investigate all matters relating to the safeguard provided for the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes.

Thus the tribal development programmes were concerned primarily with two things: (i) Firstly, that of protecting the tribal population; and (ii) Secondly, that of integrating them with the national society through development.

Protection does not refer to maintenance of status quo. It means creation of conditions in which the tribal society will have its natural growth without imposition from outside and inside.

As per the provisions of the Fifth schedule, Tribal Advisory Councils were set up in the areas of tribal concentration to take initial steps for the development of such areas. Special grants-in-aid were given to the states to meet the target for developing the tribal areas and to raise the level of administration in such areas.

But, inspite of all such efforts as the development programmes and the provisions made in the constitution could not help the tribals in improving their condition for which our first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was very much interested. He insisted that the government should take suitable steps to develop the tribal people and to extend all help to them to grow according to their own genius and tradition. Thus Pandit Nehru evolved five fundamental principles, namely, the Panchas heel

for tribal development as follows:

i) Nothing should be imposed on the tribal people. Let them be allowed to develop along the lines of their own genius and tradition.

ii) To safeguard the interest of the tribals in land and forest and protect them from all forms of exploitation.

iii) Not to crowd the tribal areas with undesirable elements and unwilling personnel who will be a burden to the tribal people.

iv) To avoid over administration and not to adopt multiplicity of schemes in the tribal area.

v) To judge results not by statistics or the amount of money spent but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

2.4. **Tribal Development and Five Year Plans:**

The various problems of the tribals and other weaker sections of the community had attracted the attention of all the successive governments after Independence. So as to integrate the tribals with the main stream of national life. Many tribal development programmes along with other policies of the government, were incorporated in different Five Year Plans. Now we shall highlight on the efforts made for the development of the tribal people during various Five Year Plans undertaken by our government.
2.4. (i) **First Five Year Plan:**

During the First Five Year Plan no specific step was taken by the government for tribal development as its primary focus was to solve those problems which independent India had to face due to partition of the country. However, provisions were made for providing educational and medical facilities in tribal areas. For the rural areas a new scheme called "Community Development" (hereafter C.D.) was introduced which would benefit both the tribal and non-tribal people. Ultimately, it was realised that the benefits of the C.D. programmes did not reach the economically and socially backward sections of the community, particularly the tribals. Therefore a new strategy was to be devised for tribal development in the Second Five Year Plan.

2.4. (ii) **Second Five Year Plan:**

In the Second Five Year Plan attempts were made to devise a comprehensive development programme for the tribal people. Article 46 of the constitution lays down, thus, 'The state shall promote with special care 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'. In accordance with this policy, a special scheme was prepared to set up Special Multipurpose Tribal Development Blocks (hereafter SMPT) in the most undeveloped areas of tribal concentration. These blocks
were designed to bring about rapid improvement in the social and economic spheres of the tribal people. During this period, 43 Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks were started. They covered an area of 23,540.58 sq.miles and a total population of 16,85,325. Out of which 12,10,976 were tribals. Thus the average area, population and number of villages per block comes to 547.45 sq.miles, 39,144 persons and 182 villages respectively. The statewise distribution of these SMPT blocks is given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Blocks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>43</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The SMPT block was given more funds and staff than an ordinary C.D. block. For a SMPT block a special allocation of 15 lakhs was given in addition to Rs. 12.00 lakhs available to a normal C.D. Block. The work under this scheme was more intensive as

it gave more emphasis on the schemes of intensive agriculture, irrigation, soil conservation, development of communication, health, education, village industries, co-operatives, housing and rehabilitation. As against 66,000 persons covered normally by a C.D. Block, each S.M.T. Block covered only 25,000 persons in an area of around 200 sq. miles. The schematic budget of Rs. 27,00 lakhs was to be spent within a period of 5 years. It was not an easy task to spend all this money in an inaccessible tribal area. To achieve the target of spending this huge amount in five years period, the Block Development Officer had to spend it on constructing buildings and roads which were not of immediate benefit to the tribals. Thus the implementation of S.M.T. development programmes needed evaluation.

Accordingly, at the end of the Second Five Year Plan, a committee was appointed by the Government of India, under the Chairmanship of Mr. V. Elwin to review the work of S.M.T. Blocks and other programmes relating to Tribal Development. Two most important of the recommendations are : (1) to change the name of the S.M.T. Blocks to Tribal Development Block ; (2) to open Tribal Development Blocks (TD) in those areas which have 66% or more of tribal population. The government of India accepted these recommendations for implementation during Third Five Year Plan.
Third and Fourth Five Year Plans:

During the Third Five Year Plan the S.M.P.T. blocks were converted to tribal development blocks and many T.D. blocks were started. By the end of Third Five Year Plan 458 such blocks were established covering 32.50 percent of the tribal population of the country.

The aim of the Third and Fourth Five Year Plans was to remove the regional imbalance by developing the backward and underdeveloped regions. Therefore, more Tribal Development Blocks were introduced during the Third and Fourth Five Year Plans. By the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan 43% of the tribal population was covered in 504 T.D. blocks. These blocks undertook the programme of providing irrigation facilities, introducing cash crops, distributing fruit plants at subsidised rates, developing cultivable areas, developing new roads, maintenance of old ones, Poultry farming, Cottage Industry, Tribal arts and craft etc. So the highest expenditure was on economic development of the tribals and less on health, housing and other schemes.

A tribal development block was to cover about 200 sq. miles of area and a population of roughly 25,000 persons. These tribal blocks were located in and outside the scheduled areas. Areas predominantly inhabited by the tribal people are known as 'Schedule Areas'. In addition to the normal allotment of a CD block of Rs.12.00 lakhs a provision of Rs.10.00 lakhs for stage-I and Rs.5.00 lakhs for stage-II was made for T.D. Block. For further

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1. The Construction of India, Government of India Publication.
intensification of programmes supplementary allocations were made by the Central Government, as in the past, and the life of each Block was extended for another five years constituting stage-III.

During the Fourth Five Year Plan the Planning Commission of India set up a study team to review the tribal development programme. Mr. Shilu AO became the Chairman of the study Team and submitted its report in 1969. The most important finding was that it was necessary to adopt a flexible policy for tribal developments. In T.D. Block they had generally fallen short of expectation but nevertheless the programme had helped "to bring about a psychological change in the outlook of the tribals".

However the Team pointed out the main drawbacks of the T.D. Blocks some of which are enumerated below.

a) The T.D. Block failed to get any significant support from the general development programmes including the C.D. programme.

b) The schemes formulated for these Blocks were not adopted to the felt need of the specific areas.

c) The benefits were mostly derived by the more advanced among the tribals.

d) The T.D. Block was too small a geographical entity for coordinated planning. Programmes like education at secondary and higher level, soil conservation and other
programmes relating to infrastructural development which cut across block, district and even state boundaries could not be financed out of the meagre allocation for the T.D. blocks.

Therefore the Team suggested that the programme for tribal development should be based on an "Area approach" and should be financed out of the general plan supplemented in suitable cases by special allocation for tribals.

Then a period began when a number of programmes were taken up for small farmers, marginal farmers and also crash employment and rural employment schemes. With this emphasis on the rural poor some of the more backward tribal areas also received attention by establishing a Tribal Development Agency.

During the Fourth Five Year Plan a new programme of Tribal Development Agency was taken up by the Ministry of Agriculture, which was a variant of small farmers programme. Six such projects were started in the country - two each in M.P. and Orissa and one each in Andhra Pradesh and Bihar.

An important feature of these projects was that a special Agency was constituted and the total development outlays were placed at its disposal. But the creation of such agencies could not solve the problems of the tribals. Much thinking and preparation went into the concept of tribal development before the commencement of the Fifth Five Year Plan which actually gave birth to the sub-plan and I.T.D.P. concept.
In 1972 a Task force on "Development of Tribal Areas" was set up with Prof. L.P. Vidyarthi as Chairman to:

a) review the nature and level of development that had taken place so far;
b) suggest a perspective of development for a period of 15 years and
c) formulate proposals for the Fifth Plan indicating priorities, policies, programmes and outlays in the light of the suggested perspective.

To facilitate the Task Force committee to perform its task more efficiently and to cover all the aspects of tribal life, the Planning Commission set up five working groups. On the basis of the report of the five working groups the Task Force committee observed that the problem of development of tribal areas was primarily linked to the backwardness of these areas, the poverty of the people and the integration of tribals with the rest of the population. They expressed the view that a lot of investment was made by the central and state government for tribal development in the successive plans, but the socio-economic conditions of the scheduled tribes could not be changed to a desired extent. The reason was that in T.D. Block programmes emphasis was given on schematic pattern instead of adopting a flexible strategy. The Task Force also remarked that the Tribes of different areas faced different problems. They suggested that areas with a high concentration of tribal population should be identified and grouped, a combination of ecological, occupational
and social parameters properly assessed for policy formulation and implementation and a steady flow of benefits assured to the scheduled tribes. In their view, the obvious emphasis should be on the primary sector of the tribal economy i.e. agriculture and forestry; at the same time there should be a frontal attack in the field of alienation of land indebtedness, credit, marketing, and excise policy etc.

In the same year 1972, an expert committee on Tribal Development was constituted by the Central Government, Department of Social Welfare under the Chairmanship of Mr. S.C. Dubey. Its report defined the new strategy for tribal development in the Fifth Plan as follows.

a) The problem of tribal development should be defined at the national level and national effort required for tackling it should be worked out.

b) The precise part assigned to each state should be fully defined and the central sector should play an important supplementary role.

c) A review of important policies especially those covering forest, industry, mineral development and excise administration should be taken up.

d) An integrated area development approach in consonance with the development of the people should be adopted. The development programmes should give high priority to programmes minimising local communities to build up their inner strength.

1. P.K. Bhuyan, op. cit., p. 60.
e) Special schemes for extremely backward areas, neglected and isolated tribes and tribals affected by major projects should be formulated.

f) Strengthening and stream-lining of administration and economic institutions should be taken up urgently and evaluation should become an integral part of the administrative structure.

The evolution of such ideas on tribal development and the development of administrative machinery for it from time to time led to the emergence of sub-plan concept for the tribal regions in the Fifth Five Year Plan.

For the first time, an integrated sub-plan keeping in view the past experience of area development through Tribal Development Blocks, a new strategy was evolved to formulate separate sub-plans for areas of tribal concentration. The concept consists of identification of the development blocks within a state having more than 50% scheduled tribe population and launching a massive effort for tribal development within the sub-plan area. The effort has been conceived as total in the financial and physical senses. This means that the totality of financial resources available is required to be channelised for investment in the tribal areas. The unit of planning is an Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP) in a state, consisting of some Development Blocks. The I.T.D.P. being smaller than a district and bigger than a development block appears more feasible for planning. Programmes have to be planned for an I.T.D.P. in the
shape of a Project Report and for a state in the shape of a sub-plan for the tribal region of the state. Guidelines lay down that planning should be based on the needs of the area and the people and hence the process has to be started at the grass-root level.

The sub-plan has been conceived as a miniature plan for the areas of tribal concentration with the framework of the state plan. It represents the total developmental efforts which include investment from the state plan, central ministries plan, special central assistance and institutional finance. Its objective is to develop the area constituted as ITDPs with primary focus on the tribals. The focus on tribal is significant as the development of tribal areas by itself does not contribute to the welfare of tribals. Development of industrial and mining complexes have often resulted in major dislocation of tribal economy with little benefit to the tribals. Hence the strategy under the ITDP and the sub-plan is to harness the process of planned economic development to provide maximum benefit to the tribals. At the state level the outlays under various sectors meant for the areas included in the I.T.D.Ps are quantified and shown under a separate head. A separate plan known as the sub-plan showing the outlays has been prepared since 1974. Apart from state plan outlays the sub-plan also indicates the resources flowing into ITDPs from central sector schemes, Centrally sponsored schemes and the credit of various financial institutions.
Under the new approach, tribal development is not defined in terms of any sectoral programme. Tribal development here means the sum total of the efforts of whatever organisation is operating in the area, whether it is the state or the Co-operative, whether it is the private sector or the public sector. Thus, the sub-plan as a concept is even more refined compared with the conceptual frame of the state plans. The state plans represent the efforts of the state sector and do not include the Union government's efforts and the role of public sector enterprises. But the tribal sub-plan has different elements; viz.

1) Share from the state plan sector outlays.
2) The efforts of the Central Ministries.
3) Special Assistance of the Central Government for tribal development.
4) The institutional Finance.

Thus, the sub-plan effort is qualitatively different from the programmes which have been taken up so far under the names of Tribal Development Block and Tribal Development Agency.

The first sub-plan were prepared after the Fifth Plan of the State and Central Ministries were finalised.

The broad objectives of the Tribal sub-plans are:

1) To narrow the gap between the level of development of tribal areas and other areas.
To improve the quality of life of the tribal community.

These objectives can be realised through the integrated Tribal Development Projects and hence its concept and features need elaboration.

2.5. **I.T.D.P.: Concept and Features:**

For operational purposes, the tribal sub-plan areas have been organised into integrated Tribal Development Projects. It is the primary unit of planning and implementation of programmes in the tribal areas. Since the socio-economic situation in tribal areas vary considerably from one region to another and even within the same region, the strategy for the development of each Integrated Tribal Development Block is to be worked out separately with reference to its own specific problems. Distinct approaches have to be adopted for different sub-regions even within the same project area. It is the level at which the entire development efforts have been integrated. The problem of the areas, resource potentiality and felt needs of the people have been tackled under the programme implemented in these projects. Thus a schematic pattern or a formula approach is discarded as a matter of principle in planning for I.T.D.Ps.

In an ITDP the focus is always on the development of the tribal community and the individual families. The state

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plans keep out of its purview "non-plan" activity but in case of the tribal areas some of the non-plan items are crucial and touch the tribal life more intimately than even the 'high-priority' plan programmes. For example, the various protective measures like prevention of transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals, enforcement of the minimum wages Act, etc., are very much essential for the tribal people. Thus an ITDP in principle cannot exclude the 'non-developmental' or 'non-plan' aspects of state activity. It is all-inclusive. It is an attempt at influencing the entire socio-economic process in the area.

The I.T.D.P. encompasses the total developmental process in the area. It is not a special project for which a special staff is assignable. The entire administrative and developmental structure in the project area should form the implementing machinery for the total project programme.

The I.T.D.P. is to represent the total investment in the concerned area. Here programmes are to be built up from below and flexibility is central to its new approach. Consolidation of benefits of investments already made is an important starting point in an I.T.D.P. exercise. The flexibility in utilisation of special central Assistance and the decision to look beyond the 'plan-boundaries' as well helps in this endeavour. Therefore, before adding to the new institutions the benefits from

2. Ibid., p.4.
the existing institutes are to be optimised. For example, before taking up a new drinking water programme the existing works are to be fully utilised.

An I.T.D.P. envisages organic integration of all programmes. Different sectoral activities are to be mutually reinforced for achieving a common goal. For example Land Reclamation and Land Development programmes are to be linked with Dugwell. Like-wise input assistance and demonstration of crops are linked with irrigation. According to this new scheme an attempt is being made to look at the problem of development of the entire tribal community. This is in contrast with the position which prevailed for a decade when tribal Development became almost synonymous with the programme of T.D. Blocks. Whenever any problem of the tribal people arose the immediate solution was the extension of T.D. Block programmes notwithstanding the fact that only 39% of the tribal population were covered by it and that its limit was prescribed by the schematic outlays. In the new strategy the tribal problem has been divided broadly in terms of two distinguishable groups.

i) Tribals living in the areas of concentration and

ii) Dispersed Tribals.

Any area having more than fifty percent tribal population is regarded as an area of tribal concentration. The


remaining population is defined as dispersed. For defining areas with more than fifty percent concentration the basic unit has been taken as a taluk or block i.e. an administrative unit of a district. The suggestion of taking district as a unit for this purpose was given up on the ground that it would result in bringing large non-tribal areas within the sub-plan. So the block is now taken as the basic unit.

The approach in respect of these two has to be different. In case of areas of tribal concentration, a programme should be for area development with focus on the development of tribal communities.

In states where the tribal population is relatively dispersed, these norms have to be relaxed with a view to cover a reasonable proportion of tribal population. Thus a minimum threshold of about 20,000 are adopted in Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Assam. In case of Tamil Nadu and Kerala this norm is further relaxed to 10,000. In Tripura and West Bengal the tribal population is still more dispersed. Therefore groups of villages with more than 50% concentration are also included in the sub-plan. In Karnataka and Goa Daman due the tribal population is still more dispersed and therefore family based approach is adopted there.

No doubt an I.T.D.P. has its focus on the tribal communities but it has a broad framework which takes into account all aspects of the community life in the area. It has a comprehensive role to play in the project area.
With this background knowledge of the I.T.D.P., in general, it is proposed to discuss about the details of Kuchinda I.T.D.P. in chapter III.