CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

The lifestyle and tradition of each indigenous tribe is unique and is based on particular area, where they live, natural resources available to them and the stages of development of that particular tribe living in the area. Malayali’s are one such tribe who are living along the contiguous hill ranges of Javadhu, Kolli, Yercard, Pachamalai and so on. However, this study focuses on the Malayalis living in the part of Javadhu hills of Vellore district, Tamil Nadu.

A section of Indian population is classified as tribes under Indian Constitution. In official usage the tribes have been termed as adivasi, which meant the original inhabitants. The term ‘tribe’, in anthropological sense, denotes a geographically isolated or partially isolated group identified with a distinct territory following distinct way of life and culture, which include language, customs, religious practices, economy, polity and their own folk traditions. These specified groups were termed by the British administrators as “aboriginals”, “forest tribes”, “hill tribes” and “backward tribes”. After independence, the expression “scheduled tribes” has appeared for the first time in the Constitution of India in 1950. Thus, the term ‘tribe’ refers to distinct social groups, the members of which live in a common territory and have a common dialect, uniform social organization and possess cultural homogeneity, having a common ancestor, political organization and religious pattern. Perhaps it would be very difficult to find many tribal groups in India who possess all these characteristics. Again, the government recognizes a number of tribal groups and they are known as scheduled tribes. All the tribal and analogous social groups are not considered as scheduled tribe.

In 1950, the number of scheduled tribes was 212. The anthropological survey has enumerated 314 communities in 1967. Roy Burman (1971) has noted 427 tribal communities. Already it has been stated that there are several tribal communities who are not enjoying special concessions extended to the scheduled tribes; this often creates
operational problems. Non-availability of ethnographic details is often a critical problem. There are a number of communities of which we have little knowledge. Danda (1973) noted that out of 642 communities identified, data on 32 tribes are lacking and in 226 cases, they are mostly sub-tribes. Keeping aside the controversies that exist between administrators and anthropologists for the proper use of the term “tribe”, today we accept and use the term ‘tribe’ for that segment of population of the country whose names are specified by the President of India under Clause (I) of Article 341 and Article 342 of the Constitution of India. Malayalis are one of such tribes living in Vellore district of Tamil Nadu.¹

After India’s independence, the national leaders were eager to lift the tribals above poverty and deprivation. As such several anti-poverty programmes have been introduced and all these were aimed at increasing the income of the tribal people and raising the standard of their lives. In 1951, National Extension Schemes (NES) and subsequently Tribal Development Blocks schemes (1962) were implemented. Since these schemes were not in tune with tribal primordiality, there were structural constraints in tribal development.²

The development of the tribal population in India has been a major concern of the government, voluntary agencies, NGOs, social reformers, social scientists etc. But even after seven decades we are not nearer to the solution of the problem. Rather, things appear to be more muddled than before. Schemes after schemes have been conceived and implemented. Most of them have not achieved their targets. In most cases the tribal life has worsened. The biggest mistake in the tribal development planning in India has been the clubbing together of all tribes, as if they constitute a homogenous cultural group. The scheduled tribes exhibit a whole spectrum of human and cultural evolution form hunter, gatherer, fisher through shifting cultivation, pastoralism, marginal farming and to agriculture based on irrigation. It is immature to think that they all have similar problems and that same or similar development or welfare schemes will be useful to them all equally.³
The tribal communities all over the world in general and in the third world countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in particular are the worst sufferers of the basic amenities of life so far health, education, social rehabilitation and socio-economic uplift are concerned. The developmental processes in the third world countries have posed serious dilemmas before them. These dilemmas can be perceived in terms of (i) development for social equity, (ii) development for cultural diversities and (iii) development for ecological and environment protection.4

Indian Council of Social Welfare classifies the Indian tribes into four main categories. They are as follows:

1. Tribes: Those who still live away from the civilized world in the forest and still maintain their primitive pattern of life.
2. Semi-Tribes: Those who have more or less settled in rural areas and taken to agriculture and allied occupation.
3. Accelerated Tribes: Those who have migrated to towns and semi urban areas and engaged in ordinary occupation and have adopted source of the traits culture of the civilized population at the same time continuing contacts with their tribal culture totally assimilated and
4. Totally assimilated Tribes: Those who have been totally assimilated in the normal urban way of life.5

**Statement of the Problem**

Tribal population is one of the neglected lots in our society and is now facing a problem of development. Despite variations in the specific political and historical circumstances surrounding non-dominant native population, nearly all tribal groups share a common set of problems. Common problems concerning the plight of tribes include: environmental degradation, deforestation, tourism, militarization, cultural breakdown, colonization, invasion, mining projects and a host of other ills. Many tribal areas in India are still identified as the areas of illiteracy, ignorance, indebtedness, poverty, landlessness, morbid-health conditions, unemployment and lack of techno-economic skills.6
Special constitutional arrangements have been made with the set of separate Ministry. Special committees were set up to deal with fundamental problems. Special training opportunities for officers to deal with the problems of tribe – staffing, training, land acquisition, shifting cultivation, forest, tribal culture and research. Steps were taken in the Five Year Plans for their gradual development. Now starting from Panchayat to District Level, State and Central Levels, offices were established to look after tribal welfare programmes. Things have changed for them but not changed enough as:

- Policies are not prepared with 100 per cent accuracy to solve the issues in tribal development.
- Gap between framed policies and their implementations.
- Officers’ in-charge is not so committed to deal with the tribal issues.
- Sometimes bureaucrats follow the rules and regulations meant for tribal welfare only in letter not in spirit and essence and
- Lack of research work and institutions.  

The scheduled tribes live in contiguous areas unlike other communities. It is therefore much simpler to have areas approach for development activities and also regulatory provisions to protect their interests. In order to protect the interest of scheduled tribes as regards land alienation and other social factors and provision of “fifth schedule” and “sixth schedule” have been enshrined in the Constitution of India.

The fifth schedule under Article 244 of constitution defines “scheduled areas” as such areas as the President may declare to so in any state or union territory after consultation with the Governor relating to State. The sixth schedule under Article 244 and 275 of the constitution are those areas in the North East which are declared as “tribal areas” and provides for an elected District or Autonomous Councils for such areas. These councils have wide ranging legislative, judicial and executive powers as provided in the sixth schedule. 

**Socio- Cultural Factors**
The tribals are integral part of Indian civilization and possess a very rich cultural heritage. It has stood the test of time. The first Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru while addressing a conference in 1952, had said, “I am not at all sure which way of living is better, ours or theirs tribals. But in some ways, I am quite certain theirs is better. A great deal of things could be learnt from their culture”.

Pandit Nehru was opposed to imposition of anything on the tribals. In one of the five fundamental principles, generally called “Tribal Panchsheel” he mentioned, “Tribal people should develop along the lines of their genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture”.

Tribal development poses a special challenge to the development administration due to two reasons. Firstly, administration itself in the tribal areas emerges as a very strong group in compare to the local community. Secondly, the constitution has placed a special responsibility for development of these regions on the administration. The powers of administration increase because of this special responsibility, and in the context of imbalance of power between administration and local community in these areas, the responsibility of administration further increases. Though all the tribal areas are not at the same stage of socio-economic development, nevertheless, it can be said that there are some basic similarities in all these areas on the basis of which certain common policy issues can be formulated.

Efforts for Tribal Development

Tribal population has remained under the main focus in various government plans and strategies soon after independence. Many policies and programmes have been adopted in order to develop the socio-economic conditions of tribal communities and to bring them at par with the mainstream of the country. Attempts have been made to protect them from social and economic injustice and for bridging up the existing gap and inequalities between different sectors of population and make quicker the process of national integration.

It was only during the fifth five year plan that a new strategy i.e., Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) was evolved on the basis of the attention of scheduled tribe population in specific
areas. Thus areas with 50 per cent or more tribal population were incorporated under TSP. The main objectives of Tribal Sub-Plan are

i. To narrow the gap between the levels of development of tribal and other areas; and to

ii. To improve the quality of life of the tribal communities (Planning Commissions guidelines during the fifth plan period).

The urgent focus was on the elimination of exploitation in all forms, speeding up the processes of social and economic development, building up inner strength of the people and improving their organizational capabilities. The sub-plans were expected to

a) Identify the resources for sub-plan areas

b) Prepare a broad policy frame for the development of tribal areas and

c) Define a suitable administrative strategy for its implementation.

There are various approaches to understand the processes of tribal development.  

**Approaches for Tribal Development**

a) **The Integrated Approach:** Government already working along this approach to some extent after experiences of many years after independence. But to make it a real success all the political, administrative, religious and social combine will work in harmony with the anthropological approaches. Anthologists should be allowed to work as experts and those responsible for execution of development programmes should seek their guidance.

This is suggested because, in many areas, the welfare activities are looked upon by the general tribal population with great suspicion. The tribal leaders particularly have been very critical of the social workers in whom they find political competitors. With the emergence of a new tribal consciousness, tribal political parties, the government as well as social workers are becoming conscious of their expected paternal attitude towards the tribal population, and are now trying, though half-heartedly still, to take the applied anthropologists and the tribal leaders
into closer collaboration in the planning and implementation of tribal welfare schemes. And now that the government has fully realized the utility of an integrated approach and a need for a work relationship between scientists and administrators should more properly be established.

b) **The Area Development Approach:** The development works in tribal areas may be carried out on an area basis. This may cover areas of major tribal concentration as well as tribal packets. The broad framework for the purpose may cover successively an area, i.e. micro-area, meso-area, macro-area and tribal pockets and isolated and comparatively backward tribes, for smooth and all purposive development programmes. The micro-area should consist of an area with special reference to a few villages and a population of 10,000 for a specified period. In due course the whole area of the region may be converted.

The meso-area, should be limited to a sub-division with special attention to a few blocks and a population of, say 5 lakhs, for a specified period with an ultimate aim to cover the whole sub-division. In the same way a district or a particular geographically demarcated regional area may be designated as macro-area. Tribal pockets and numerically minor tribes should get special priority and treatment. The tribes with more than 5 per cent literacy should get preference. Comparatively, backward tribes need our special attention.

c) **Single Line Administration Approach:** The administration given to the tribals should be of single line. Area development commissioner for the area should be held responsible for the whole development work of the region. This must suit the tribals who lead a simple cultural life. The area development commissioner with the help of an anthropologist, an expert on tribal culture, as the co-administrator should co-ordinate all the affairs of the region.

d) **Smaller District Approach:** To ensure good results of the inputs and easily approachable administration smaller districts should be carved out of big districts. This will ensure a fuller development of the area.

e) **Separate Tribal Development Programme:** The tribal development should not be tagged with the development of scheduled castes as both are having a distinct ecology, concentration and socio-economic life. Along with the acceptance of the
area-development approach, the concept of “welfare” needs to be replaced by that of “development”. The welfare approach of helping by just giving aid has not yielded the desired results. The development of the people and area will in itself be an impetus for a better future.

It is heartening to note that the Ministry of Home Affairs has started implementing these proposals of the Planning Commission from 1975. A new strategy for the development of tribal areas is implemented under a “Director of Tribal Welfare” in the home ministry. The new development plans are aimed at an integrated development of the tribal areas and primitive pockets. These may be broadly divided into three parts, namely. (i) Areas with majority of tribal population. For such an area with 50 percent or more tribal population, a sub-plan (with several projects areas) is under prepared and implemented; (ii) Areas with dispersed tribal population for which micro-area projects are prepared and (iii) Isolated primitive communities for which special schemes and action research projects are implemented.

In general, several legislations have been enacted and are implemented with the following vision:

- To end bonded labour and other forms of exploitation
- Restore land to the tribals
- Free them from indebtedness, and
- Ensure speedy implementation of development schemes.

The perpetuation of socio-economic backwardness among the Scheduled Tribes, in spite of the efforts made so far, presents a formidable challenge demanding effective and result-oriented steps in every developmental sector in the twelfth plan. The approach of the twelfth five year plan strived to achieve overall improvement in the socio-economic conditions of the Scheduled Tribes with the following objectives:

- Relaxing the normative prescriptions about taking up a programme or a scheme in the tribal majority areas.
➢ Administrative strengthening of the implementing agency so as to enable
taking up implementation of these programmes in the scheduled tribal areas.
This may also require a clear cut personnel policy with regard to posting of
officials in those positions, fixity of their tenure and incentivizing these
officials for having rendered their services in those areas for a prescribed
period.

➢ Preferring to engage people from the tribal community itself in the areas
predominantly inhabited by tribal for government efforts at spreading
education, health and extension services, nutrition, public distribution, and
so on. If necessary, the basic minimum qualification for such engagements
could be relaxed for a specified period (say during the twelfth five year
period). For example, engaging a twelfth student from the nearby locality
for teaching tribal students in primary classes.

➢ Sensitizing officials with detailed information for serving in the tribal areas
so that they become empathetic to the sensitivities of tribal lives and their
traditions.

➢ Reorganizing basic services such as nutritional interventions, education,
health services, public distribution system, employment generating activities
under MGNREGA with posting adequate staff with surety of tenure and
assurance of funds to implement these programmes.

➢ Emphasis on education, health and livelihood support. For education,
schools must be opened wherever necessary and for matriculation and
above, facilities at designated places should be created. For health,
necessary extension work and facilities for preventive edictal – care should
be ensured. For livelihood support, apart from the land and forest based
activities under MGNREGA imparting of skills and creating employment
opportunities near their habitations should be encouraged. For this skills
relevant to the tribal should be identified on the basis of a socioeconomic
survey and then necessary skills training should be provided to them.

➢ No post in the implementing agencies in scheduled areas with tribal
majority should be left vacant; every post must be filled up and wherever
necessary, additional post scheduled tribes should be created for effective implementation.

- Implementation of the schemes must be monitored closely at prescribed periodicity. Implementation should not be made to suffer on account of problems associated with transfer of funds. Better coverage of roadways for tribal areas (population of 500-1,000), with population up to 100 being to be connected. Better connectivity through railways and tribal areas.

- Land acquisition of tribal land to be addressed as required under PESA and displaced tribal population to be resettled and rehabilitated.

- Tribal communities to have full right to minor forest produce.

- Converge MGNREGA with artisanal work to provide livelihood to tribal, many of whom are engaged in artisanal work.

Land and Tenancy Reform: Deal with outstanding matters of tribal ownership.

- Increase coverage of the most vulnerable within the scheduled tribes in the health sector. Increase cadre of health workers to better serve tribal.

- Plan within a plan of the Twelfth Plan: Suitable programmes for Central Indian Tribal Belt, border and backward areas and those who suffered discrimination like DNTs.

- Better and speedy implementation of PESA and FRA institutional mechanism of conflict resolutions.\(^{13}\)

**Assimilation Approach**

The prime purpose of this approach is to bring the tribal community to the mainstream. There are three types of assimilation currently practiced with similar objectives.

1. **Development Through Protection**

   Efforts are made to preserve the tribal community under various facilitated safeguards. This is a combination of isolation and assimilation. But, development in their case, destroy their potential rather than enriching it. It increases their dependence on others.
2. Development Through Resettlement

Naturally the tribes live with nature and they develop their own way of life and occupation e.g., collecting forest produces, etc. This approach of development influences the policy to resettle the tribes for instance in plain areas with agriculture facilities.

They may not have inclination and skills for a settled agriculture life. Had they been encouraged to continue their traditional occupation and given training of marketing, it would have improved their interest and existing potential in witnessing development on their own.

3. Developer as Providing

In the light of this approach the tribes are made to involve in various business, which are alien to them. For instance, the tribes are provided economic assistance for the above purpose under the scheme of Integrated Rural Development Programme. But instead of using the assistance of productive activity they use it for consumption e.g., in festivals, marriages, etc. This is because they are not accustomed to the business or productive activity what the developers want them to practice.14

Constraints in Tribal Development

There are innumerable constraints responsible for lower pace of tribal development process than desired. Some of the major constraints are:

i) Destruction of forests: The forests are not only the source of livelihood for tribals but there exists an intricate relationship between tribals and forests in forest Eco-system. The depleting forest resources are threatening imminent food security for a good portion of the tribal population.

ii) Lack of awareness: There exists lack of awareness among tribal population about various developmental programmes launched by Government of India and States, resulting in their exploitation.

iii) Protection of Tribal Rights and Concessions: The tribals have been given numerous rights and concessions under various statutes of central as well as
state governments but they remain deprived of the benefits arising out of such statutory provisions due to their ignorance and apathy of enforcing agencies.\textsuperscript{15}

**A Systemic Change is Needed**

It is unfortunate that Ministry of Tribal Affairs (MOTA) does not give sufficient attention to the important problems of the tribals on the plea that many of these subjects, such as land alienation, displacement, and PESA, have not been allotted to it. Even then the Ministry should play a more activist role in addressing these issues by pursuing with the concerned Ministries excuse is that they are concerned with bigger and more general issues. At least, MOTA can set up a monitoring mechanism to bring out the dismal picture of tribal areas that would put pressure on the sectoral ministries and the states to improve their policies and implementation. MOTA would be taken seriously by other ministries only if it does evidence based advocacy by analyzing why delivery in the forest regions is not improving. When a new ministry is set up to help the marginalized people, it is expected that it would take a holistic view of their problems, and coordinate the activities of all other ministries that deal with the subjects impinging on the work of the newly created ministry. It has been observed that the new ministry takes a minimalist view of its responsibility, and reduces itself to dealing with only such schemes (such as distribution of scholarships and grants to NGOs) that are totally outside the purview of the existing ministries. Such ostrich like attitude defeats the purpose for which the ministry is created.

It is rather sad that the Ministry of Tribal Affairs is more concerned with spending its budget (through NGOs that create opportunities for clientelism and partronage) and less with the impact of overall policies of other ministries on tribals. It is surrounded by reportedly manipulative NGOs who hog the entire attention and time of the senior officers, leaving little time with them for the real pressing tribal distress. This attitude results in continuing neglect of tribal issues. It also under plays the role of non-monetary policies and the impact they have on the lives of the people. Minor Forest Product policies in the states are often dictated by the desire to maximize state revenues, and nor maximize welfare of gatherers, who are often women.\textsuperscript{16} We have discussed in detail about the significance of the tribal development and various other issues involved in it. Now it would be desirable to review the available literature on the origin of the tribe, approaches to tribal development,
planning processes, constitutional provisions relating to tribes, NGOs role in tribal development, etc., for better understanding of the various dimensions of changing pattern of tribal development. In this part published books, articles in the journals, government documents and other occational publications have been reviewed.

**Review of Literature**

**Misal Dilip** in his study made an attempt to understand and analyze the impact of the constitution on tribal development. The constitution has two clear objectives. Firstly, to assist the tribals in enjoying their existing rights unhindered or unobstructed by others, secondly, to develop the tribal areas and promote economic, educational, and social progress among them. In this clause, protection of their rights and interests come first. Keeping in view the various policies advocated by different organizations, distinguished personalities and constitutional safeguards, the government of India has formulated different strategies for the tribal development in India during the post-independence period.

The government has appointed committees, task forces and working groups to help in the formulation of strategies for tribal development from time to time. The tribal development policies are aimed to protect and initiate the all-round development of tribes to stay in the society by mingling with others.\(^\text{17}\)

**Virginius Xaxa** in his article arques that it is ironical that despite a large number of well meaning constitutional provisions and laws aimed at protecting and safeguarding the welfare and interest of the tribal communities, the process of marginalization of the tribals has gone on unabated. Paradoxically, at the root of such marginalization are the laws themselves. Of all the provisions, protective discrimination has been seen as one of the most important rights given to tribal people. The government evolved specific measures with a view to executing rights conferred on tribal people in the Constitution. It earmarked 7.5 per cent of the jobs in government, semi-government and also educational institutions for people hailing from the scheduled tribe category.\(^\text{18}\)
Gopal Lal Jain in his book *Rural Economy and Society* observes that tribes all over the country basically live below the subsistence level and most of them still use primitive instruments. They live in the forests and hills and keep themselves absorbed in food gathering, hunting and fishing. The tribals living on hills have been found rearing cattle. Some are engaged in cultivation but they often change their place. Some tribes are skilled in weaving and embroidery, preparing ropes and skins, and utensils of different metals. Some tribes are skilled in cottage industries. The tribal system of earning a livelihood and their methods employed are quite different from the instruments used in the contemporary civilized societies.\textsuperscript{19}

Anuradha Manav in her work *Indian Tribes and Culture* discussed the fact that government schemes have not reached the tribals and still many villages do not have basic amenities like drinking water, schools, electricity, road and transport. Exploitation, ignorance and discrimination are some of the stumbling blocks for the development of adivasis. Their problems may be classified into socio economic problems, health problems, educational problems and employment problems. In India, we have enough laws and regulations, policies and welfare schemes to uplift the tribes, but the root problem is that the government and its officials do not have commitment and determination to implement them properly.\textsuperscript{20}

Amar Kumar Singh, M.K. Jabbi and C. Rajyalakshmi in their edited volume have analyzed a wide range of development issues relating to tribals. To improve the health, education, employment status of the tribals, the focus, as in any other social group; should be in the tribal child and tribal women. This study also aimed at measuring the effects of tribes and effective education programme on elementary school children. The role of women in the tribal society is even more important than in other social groups in India, because of the fact that the tribal women, more than women in any other social group, work harder and the family economy and management depends on them.\textsuperscript{21}

In his book *Tribal Education, Trends and Future Scenario*, B.C. Das observes that the tribal community for a long time has not been able to realize their potentials due to low level of education. Education is therefore, essential for tribal development. This fact gains ground through the experiment of different approaches to tribal development. This
recognition ends us to see enormous possibilities of enhancing the quality of tribal life through elementary education. Reducing their dreadful poverty by raising household income, bringing down the status of fertility and mortality, making them aware of health and nutrition, enabling them to have awareness and capitalize various schemes operated for their upliftment, discouraging child marriage and delaying the age of marriage of girls, exercising their freedom and overcoming cheating and exploitation by non-tribals, landlords, traders, contractors, political leaders, forest guards, government officials and others. Participating in political activities and exercising their democratic freedom and gaining the social equality and participation in development programs significantly contribute towards transformation in tribal life. The process of determining the content and goals of education for the tribes needs their participation and acknowledge the potentials they already have.  

Nishakar Panda analysed the significance tribal area development programme. Area development approach has been adopted on the pretext that since the tribal areas have remained isolated for long due to inaccessibility, the tribal people living in such areas could benefit them. They could not receive exposures of the developed societies. Hence, various state governments, central government and voluntary organizations have undertaken the development programmes of time bound nature. According to Panda, for want of awareness, family programmes do not make headway and so are the community programmes for want of initiative and leadership. Some area development, infrastructure development programmes and people’s development and income generating poverty eradication programmes have not fared well. The promulgation of the constitution and the implementation of the five year plans, we have been making efforts for the development of these scheduled tribes.  

Khali Sahoo elaborates that the concept of development is multi-dimensional. Although terms like growth, modernization, social change and transformation has been used to depict social transformation, the origin of such terms date back to the 1940s, when colonial nations became free from the clutches of the colonizers. The biggest challenge before them, after attaining political independence was to rebuild their economy which has been stagnant since long.
The economists took the lead and attempted to determine the referents to developments of specific areas in economic terms, to investigate into the factual aspects of economic situation, education, health conditions of the tribes. An important instance of this is to be found in the introduction of provisions in India’s constitution and institutional mechanisms, not only to protect the interests but also to promote the welfare of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The government and other agencies have been making tall claims with regard to ameliorative measures taken by them to initiate and generate social changes among the scheduled tribes.24

The book **Dynamics of Tribal Development** written by Basant Mehta and P. C. Mehta, has evaluated the tribal development programmes. According to the authors, tribal development has suffered because, programme, planning and implementation have remained stereotyped. The ultimate result of such defective planning and implementation is the emergence of undulating socio-economic situation in which certain tribal groups and areas have progressed, while others have remained static.

It has been observed that our tribal development programmes are largely target oriented programmes and take care of the disbursement of a given amount of funds in the so-called tribal areas. They are not need based programmes. The problems of the tribals differ from region to region. So, they need micro level analysis and immediate attention and moreover, local solutions. Unless important aspects of tribal life are well understood, it is believed that the programme however good and useful cannot yield fruitful results.25

**Bhupinder Singh** argues that after sixty years of planned development and huge investments of manpower and material and financial resources, the level of development of India’s Scheduled Tribes continues to remain unsatisfactory. Among the reasons usually cited for this are maldevelopment, the inferior, forest and rough terrain inhabited by many tribal communities as well as cultural barriers that inhibit the acceptance of modern ideas and technologies. The author looks at certain other factors, including the failure of the official agencies charged with tribal development.26

**Neeti Mahanti** identifies how NGOs also have been active in creating self-employsments for tribals and forest development is considered as a total governmental
implemented project. During the eighties when the eco-environmental hazards were perceived with vast areas having no rainfall or scanty rainfall, generations of thousands of acres of wastelands, vast areas coming under draught prone and arid-zones, alarming loss in ground-water level etc. suddenly there was a lot of consensus about involvement and participation of NGOs, social action groups, people and the communities as well as the tribal people closest to the forest land. It has been universally acknowledged as a planned action to be undertaken to preserve and develop the forest land and the wastelands through a people oriented programme. Wastelands development and social forestry schemes need to be scrutinized from the point of view of the present co-ordination between these two partners i.e. tribals and the agencies involved in this task.²⁷

Ramesh Panwar, has argued that certain basic services like drinking water, health, housing, nutrition, rural roads, etc, need to be provided in the tribal areas. Sanitation and hygiene are major casualties on account of these handicaps in tribal areas. Basic education lies at the heart of development. Lack of educational access, and securely acquired knowledge and skill, is both a part of the definition of poverty, and a means for its diminution. Sustained access to meaningful learning has value in long term improvements in productivity, the reduction of inter-generational cycles of poverty, demographic transition, preventive healthcare, the empowerment of women, and reductions in inequality.²⁸

Mohan Rao in his book Tribal Development in Andhra Pradesh has attempted to examine the impact of development programmes designed for STs families in India in general and Andhra Pradesh in particular. National policy on tribals and their culture is imperative to give policy guidelines for recognition and strengthening of core aspects of tribal culture. This policy may be formulated in such a way that it could serve as fulcrum for promotion of sustainable development of tribes and ethnic and cultural identity. Such a national policy has to be operationalised systematically through all the constitutional directives. In view of fast changing cultural scenario of tribal communities, National Policy on tribals and their culture is imperative to give policy guidelines to recognize and strengthen the core aspects of tribal culture.²⁹
Nang Helina Mantaw in his book *Tribal Development* has discussed various aspects relating to tribal development such as socio-economic condition, land alienation, agriculture, forestry, co-operation and industrial development and has provided altogether a new direction towards resolving the problems of tribals under development. Poverty alleviation programmes are special programmes to provide income and employment to the people who otherwise would have been deprived of it in the absence of such programmes. The Ministry of Home Affairs was the nodal ministry responsible for the formulation and implementation of schemes for the welfare of the tribes and maintained liaison with the state governments. The functional ministries take up their own schemes and programmes for the tribes and the nodal ministry coordinates all these activities. The process of implementation emphasizes on the participatory role of beneficiaries and follows decentralized planning processes.30

Dinesh Sharma in his research work *Tribal Development Schemes in India* acknowledge the fact that tribals who are residing in other than tribal concentrated areas are receiving less attention by the government, whereas Special Tribal Development Blocks have been created by the government at the State level to supervise tribal policy and programmes. Both central and state governments and NGOs take continuous efforts to improve the life of tribals by providing basic infrastructural facilities such as educational institutions, health care facilities, laying roads, building houses and co-operative societies. Awareness camps, medical camps and training camps are frequently organized. Women empowerment is also aimed through starting of self help groups by providing micro credit. It is necessary for people to understand the relationship between their poverty and the degraded environment in which they live in, they must also be provided with an equally good, if not better, economic alternatives. Social empowerment, improve the quality of life including health and women development, in tribal predominant areas of the country through demonstration projects supported by NGOs and community based organisations.31

Aradhana Shukla in his edited volume *Indian Tribes: Psychological and Social Perspectives* observed that there are some organizations that have devoted their activity for the improvement of the tribal society in excellent ways. The central government and other state governments have recognized their efforts and have provided encouragement.
The tribal people have not been able to avail the opportunities to grow and develop like other communities and education is the main reason for this gap. The overall development of the tribal people is not possible only by the governmental agencies. The people’s participation is therefore very necessary in planning and effective implementation of the tribal developmental programmes. Such voluntary organizations, who have a good record of services need encouragement and a few of them who are not providing the services as per the rules, will have to be weeded out. So that the work of voluntary organizations is projected properly in the field of tribal development. The voluntary organizations can ventilate the grievances of these people and get redressed through the governmental agencies. They can play an important role of bridging the gap between the people and the government it is through their selfless services, character and dedication that they can impress the tribal people and the government.  

Lakshminarayan in his book *Approaches and Strategies of Tribal Development in Maharashtra* examined the various issues of tribes and their development. The author made a detailed analysis of road facilities, sinking of drinking water wells and agriculture, health and sanitary conditions in tribal areas which present a grim picture. The major indices of health are the birth and death rates and both are comparatively on the high side in the tribal areas. Since the supply of drinking water facility is a serious problem, especially in summer months, in tribal areas, water borne diseases are common among them. Their response to modern medicine is still weak. The tribals generally suffer from scabies, yaws, T.B., leprosy, ring-worm, malaria, cholera etc. The socio-economic conditions of tribals, as elsewhere, have been influenced by the degree of their isolation and the differential value system. Similarly, the social development already achieved has created in them differential capacities to absorb the governmental programmes in different degrees. It is suggested that a detailed knowledge of the cultural factors of the tribals is very essential before any development programmes for them are taken up and successfully implemented. 

Radhakrishna in his work *Economic Conditions of Major Tribal Groups in India* has enlisted the various disadvantages of tribal communities in India. According to Radhakrishna, tribal people face several socio-economic problems like poverty, illiteracy,
exploitation, unemployment, indebtedness, lack of self-confidence, lack of marketing and
information facilities, problems of finance, problem of middle men and low levels of
mobility. Agriculture plays a significant role as more than 80 per cent of the populations
depend on agriculture, modern technology is not in much use, many tribes do not stick to a
piece of land permanently, still shifting cultivation is prevalent in some areas, economic
and religious purposes are always mixed, organizations is more collective than
individualistic, tribals usually produce for their own consumption and they collect minor
forest produce for their consumption as well as sale, barter system still prevails in some
tribal areas, there is no system of regular marketing in the tribal society. There is no
exploitation among themselves for making profits and there is no proper division of labour.
They have been exploited by traders, contractors and outsiders. Their ignorance has been
taken advantage by the money lenders and outsiders to rob their land and money. They
suffer from land alienation on one side and restrictions of the forest departments on the
collection of minor forest produce which is a source of their living.  

Sanghamitra Kannongo explains how the Ministry of Tribal Affairs supports a
scheme for coaching for disadvantaged ST candidates in quality coaching institutions to
enable them to successfully compete in examinations for jobs and admission to
professional courses. The author observes that a number of steps have already been taken
by the government and considerable progress has been achieved in improving the level of
literacy and education during the last 60 years, but there is still a long way to go before
respectable levels of literacy are achieved. Special central assistance is given to states to
supplement their efforts in tribal development though tribal sub-plan. This assistance is
basically meant for family-oriented income-generating schemes in the sectors of
agriculture, horticulture, minor irrigation, soil conservation, animal husbandry, forest
development, education, cooperatives, fisheries, village and small scale industries and for
minimum needs programmes.  

Reddy and Raghava Rao in their work Population Structures Among Tribes
have discussed how the tribal problems are varied and many in different eco-systems.
Since tribal groups have a social pivot around which the life revolves and keeps them in a
close – knit groups by their values and other social norms. The social rules play a very
important role in bringing the group very close for its survival at length. The superstitions and beliefs which make the mind of the tribal more fearful and having close interaction with its environments play an important role in the maintenance of the viability of the group as well as its functions both social and biological. In most ecosystems, economy and level of technology are by far the most important factors determining tribal population growth and size.\textsuperscript{36}

\textbf{Naresh Kumar Vaid} in his research work opined that development refers to the “Changes in desired direction with in stipulated time”, and it is a well known fact that we have neither cared for the desire of tribals nor adhered to any self–imposed time limit. However, when we talk about sensitive issue like tribal development, the question that automatically comes is: whose desires-those of the planners, or implementers or of tribals themselves. The question becomes more relevant when we realize that in the name of ‘tribal development’ others have tried and have imposed their will on tribals. The major programmes implemented by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs for the welfare and development of scheduled tribes can be categorized into (a) infrastructure development, (b) employment generation, (c) education and vocational training, (d) ensuring fair prices, (e) research and training and (f) prevention of starvation and disaster mitigation.\textsuperscript{37}

\textbf{Sundara Rao’s} book \textit{Impact of SHGs Activities on Empowerment of Tribal Women} highlights the role of women in tribal societies and opines that tribal societies are more industrious compared to men as well as their counter parts in non tribal communities inhabiting in the tribal and urban areas. A tribal women is considered as an economic asset. She attends to all kinds of economic activities. The processing of minor forest produce is largely done by women folk. She carries heavy loads of either minor forest produce some items of agricultural produce and go to weekly markets along with her husband. It is significant to note that both wife and husband attend to weekly markets in the areas and sell whatever they brought to markets and purchase some items for their domestic necessities. Women plays vital role in all kinds of economic transactions along with her husband in selling or purchasing their essential items. Tribal women plays crucial and vital role in all kinds of economic productive activities. They constitute more than half of the labour force and large numbers of women supplement their meger family income by wage
income. Moreover, several schemes such as horticulture, sericulture, soil and water conservation, improved varieties of crops, joint forest management, construction activities etc., are being introduced in tribal areas. It should be made as mandatory to all the departments to introduce all these schemes through participatory management. Tribal women folk have to be imparted skills in exclusive groups in management of various development activities. As tribal women folk possess innate skills in raising nurseries, grafting etc., they plants required trees under joint forest management and all other aorestation and social forestry schemes.  

P.N. Pandey in his article, *Human Rights and Tribal Communities* argues that most of the tribes are forced to sub-human conditions with abject poverty, illiteracy, indebtedness, landlessness, displacement, unemployment, morbid health conditions, diseases and increase in mortality. A proper solution for the problems of development to create a widespread awakening among them by enhancing literacy rate, their own involvement in the management of their community, command over ownership of the resources and means of production by the tribal communities themselves and proper rehabilitation of the displaced population caused by development projects - these and many other measures such as their easy accessibility to the resources of education, recreation and employment will solve the question of discontent, reduce the desire of insurgency and isolate movements. A real development to increase the availability and widen the distribution of basic life sustaining goods such as food, shelter, health and protection, to raise the level of living including increase in income, provision for jobs, increase in literacy and attention to cultural and humanist values and to liberate the tribal people from servitude and economic dependence and exploitation by the middlemen. This is possible only by increasing the literacy and more facilities for better education among them because education is key to a proper developmental temper.

Makhan Tha in his book *An Introduction to Indian Anthropology* enlists the difficulties in doing research in tribal development and the various issues involved in it. Accordingly, the lack of proper data on tribal indebtedness is a great hurdle. Although, some studies were made on tribal indebtedness long back about which some references are available in the reports of the commissioners for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes,
Government of India, but no efforts have been made to get an up to date figures of tribal indebtedness at the micro-level or at the level of particular ethnic groups, so that immediate steps could be taken to remove the indebtedness. Among other forces of change, special mention may be made of the problem of depopulation, regionalism, acculturation, assimilation etc. all these processes, a set of forces has been released which are leading the tribal communities from the phase of acculturation to that of accelerated cultural mutation. These forces may be enumerated as the development of communication within the tribal areas and with the outside world, introduction of monetized economy, spread of formal and modern education, extension of the services by the modern institutions including medical and administrative aids and introduction of advanced technology to exploit the mineral, forest, power and other industrial resources. All these forces are bringing about significant changes in the tribal areas, but the rate of change evidently differs in the different types of tribal culture and sometimes at different points of time in the same continuum.  

Naganna and Uma Mohan in their work *Tribal Development Programmes and Social Transformation* critically view the impact of tribal development programmes and observes that despite several development programmes, the conditions of tribals continue to remain quite unsatisfactory. Poverty still remains a major issue calling for a serious attention from the development agencies. Health, education, infrastructural and communication facilities are still in a rudimentary state. One more issue which has become extremely important in the contemporary tribal development is the issue of identity. The so called development programmes instead of improving the conditions have actually worsened them. It was rightly pointed out that the protectionist policies, uneven development and tribal exploitation, forest policy, displacement and alienation, educational policy, political socialization etc. have promoted primordial loyalties among the tribals to make them apprehensive of the rest of India.  

Nishi K Dixit, in the book *Racial Identity and Right of Tribes* elaborates the role of panchayats and observes that they have been confined to the implementation of state policies and programmes meant for the grassroots. But the people like tribes concerned have little control over resources, especially land, forests and water, and even less the ability to control or re-direct state sponsored or facilitated programmes at the grassroots
level. This lack of control is becoming more and more evident, especially in the context of globalization and the related privatization of key natural resources such as water and land. Development activities and institutions committed to devolution of power to the local level, especially through the Panchayati Raj System, have tended to operate in the assumption that political devolution can itself solve the question of local control and management of resources or address questions of equity in the share, use and benefits of natural resources.\(^4\)

Bhose has pointed out that NGOs enable tribes to gain power and authority so that they access and control over resources. NGOs have begun to address a variety of development concerns like drinking water, economic activities, literacy, adult and non-formal education and social issues like poverty, injustice etc. NGOs have contributed towards development of many innovative approaches to strengthen socio-economic status of the poor and the deprived. Their approaches towards planning, interventions in socio-economic programming etc. have been very innovative, flexible and impactful. As a result, in many countries the ideas derived from the work of such NGOs have been attempted to be utilized in national policies. Therefore, the role of NGOs in tribal development becomes inevitable.\(^4\)

**Tribal Economic Development in India**, the research article by Harishankar Banothu emphasizes the need for an integrated development approach to develop the tribal areas quickly. The greatest challenge that the Government of India has been facing since independence is the proper provision of social justice to the scheduled tribes, by ameliorating their socio-economic conditions. Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and denotified tribes constitute the weakest section of India's population, from the ecological, economic and educational angles. A review of the tribal situation would indicate that the strategy for development would require an intensive approach to the tribal problems in terms of their geographic and demographic concentration, if the faster development of the community is to take place inclusive growth should result in lower incidence of poverty, significant improvement in health outcomes, universal access of children to school, increased access to higher education and improved standards of education including skill development. It should be reflected in the form of better opportunities for
employment and livelihood and also in improvements in basic amenities like water, sanitation, housing, electricity etc.\[^{44}\] 

**Donthi Ravinder** while analyzing tribal development programme in Andhra Pradesh explains that the Government of India has provided a number of provisions in the constitution as safeguard for the tribal welfare and to achieve faster economic development. The Indian Constitution has laid down various protective as well as ameliorative measures to develop the tribals. These measures have been in the form of assuring their political representation as well as their representation in services through reservation. In order to advise on matters pertaining to the development of scheduled tribes, compulsory Tribal Advisory Councils have been formed in the states where tribals live both in scheduled areas and outside. Changes have been made in the forest policy, guaranteeing the tribals certain rights on forest produce. The long term credit should be provided to enable the tribal to free himself from the strangle hold of the spurious moneylenders and the tribals repaying capacity should be raised by improving their economic conditions.\[^{45}\]

**Soundarapandian** has thoroughly documented the experiences of various tribal development programmes. He also analysed the fact why that tribals of the certain area can hardly have any share in the development due to extreme poverty. In order to integrate the efforts of various programmes and schemes, plans were outlined for tribal areas for the removal of development bottlenecks, elimination of exploitation, oppression, suppression of money-lending businessmen, non-payment of minimum wages and right to collection of minor forest produce etc. According to him in the tribal areas agriculture and allied activities are dependent on forest to a large measure. The agricultural implements are usually manufactured from the raw materials collected from the forest. The practice of animal husbandry is equally dependent, as the forest provides rich grazing field for the cattle and other domesticated animals with this huge repository of grasses and green foliage. The author concludes that elaborate care has been taken during different five year plans to spell out tribal development strategies for promotion, welfare and socio-economic upliftments of the tribals.\[^{46}\]
Sharma, G. Amarjit has reviewed the rights of the tribals while quoting the background of the debate in the Constituent Assembly between assimilationists and liberals on the issue of tribal autonomy. Sharma argues that the provisions for autonomy in tribal areas are the byproduct of the liberal logic which excludes people of ‘territorially concentrated and insulated cultural experiences while at the same time controlling them through a range of measures. Such selective acts of exclusion and inclusion produce a fragmented plural society which, by virtue of creating differences, is on this account easy to control. So, the provisions for autonomy under the Sixth Schedule in practice constitute a game of both ‘democratic exclusion’ and ‘control’. Discussing the underlying relation between the logic of the liberal state and provision of tribal autonomy, the article also illustrates the notion of ‘collective agency’ in modern democracies and its role in self-government.\(^47\)

Swati Girase has observed the fact that while implementing tribal development programmes only very few officers and employees are interested to serve in remote tribal areas. It has various causes like fear of naxals, familial problems, interior area, lack of transportation, lack of efforts of NGOs and social reformers. It can be seen in urban and rural society many NGOs and social workers are actively involved in all the sphere of activities. But about tribal society this situation is not favorable and suitable.\(^48\)

Neeti Mahanti in his edited volume *Tribal Economy, Health and Wasteland Development* has collected many articles on the status of Indian Tribes and observes that India has the largest concentration of the tribal population in the world. The tribals are believed to be the earliest settlers in the Indian peninsula and are generally called Adivasis, implying original inhabitants. Each tribe had its own system of administration. There was decentralization of authority among the tribes. The traditional tribal institutions were vested with legislative, judicial and executive powers. Under the Constitution of India certain tribes have been specified as ‘Scheduled Tribes’. Only those tribes which have been included in the list of Scheduled Tribes are given special treatment of facilities envisaged under the constitution.

Further Mahanti also adds that the tribal economy is apparently, environment-related and land oriented. Tribal labour depends on the product of the land and resources,
but they also dependent on nature’s boundary. Apart from what he grows for food by way of agriculture and tools with forest timber uses that systems prevail in such tribal areas. The main criteria adopted for specifying communities as the Scheduled Tribes include: traditional occupation of definite geographical area, distinctive culture which includes whole spectrum of tribal way of life, i.e. language, customs, traditions, religions, beliefs, arts and crafts, etc., primitive traits depicting occupational pattern, economy and lack of educational and techno-economic development.49

Ritambhara Hebbar in his article Reflections on Marginalization of Tribes in South India lists out the advantages of Forest Rights Act and assertain that the Scheduled Tribes and other Traditional Forest Dwellers Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006, also known as FRA, brought hope to the large number of tribal forest dwellers in western Ghats, as it sought to regularize land holdings of tribal and other forest dwellers on forest land, by giving them legal titles on the same. It also gave them the right to collect and use minor forest produce, besides making them responsible for protecting and conserving the forest. It recognizes community rights on gazing in the forests, use of water bodies and other resources for daily use. However, the evocation of the FRA has not helped matters. For example Gudalur in Nilgiri district, Tamil Nadu is located within the elephant corridor and is also the buffer zone for the proposed tiger reserve, both of which would lead to displacement of the local inhabitants that include tribes such as the Kota, Kurumba and the Paniya. Numbers of organizations particularly in Andhra Pradesh and also in Tami Nadu have been actively working with local tribes to challenge random and undemocratic acquiring of land for development and environmental projects. One of the issues that have come up regularly is the resistance from the forest department to the implementation of the Act. The dominance of the forest department in the forest rights committees and the weak presence of the tribal welfare departments has also been a significant factor for the slow progress in the implementation of the Forest Right Act.50

Thakur in his work Tribal Development and its Paradoxes discussed how the tribal people maintain their livelihood development in their areas. The tribal groups have variations in their psychological, cultural, social, economic and political background. Tribals are socially and culturally very strong and during the recent decades some of them
have developed a radical ethnocentric attitude. Their approach was always tinged with the motive of evangelization. The tribal development component has regularly been emphasized in the Five Year Plans besides the specific Tribal Sub-Plans. Both retributive and recitative arrangements are made available to the tribals by the Constitution. The State’s contribution to their socioeconomic development is based on the understanding that the axis of tribal development is their ultimate integration in the mainstream of national life.⁵¹

The book **Policies and Strategies for Tribal Development** by Meenakshi Hooja, suggests that the change in attitude and approach towards tribal development can come when the government servants, politicians, NGOs and others develop a sensitivity and concern towards the tribal groups, who have survived over the centuries, but some of whom are facing even survival threats and deprivation today. This is the only way how the problem of education, health, land alienation and displacement can be faced squarely. Also in the overall policy, strategy and administration, tribal and non-tribal harmony rather than conflict and exploitation has to be built in. While the tribal communities of India do share some of the concerns and problems with those of the indigenous peoples of other parts of the world, the solutions need to be found and worked out in the Indian context.⁵²

**Archana Sinha** in his article **Economic Empowerment and Amelioration of Tribals in India** has pointed out that the awareness creation, income generation, education and health programmes are implemented to address the problems of the backward communities. However, the gap between so-called tribes and other groups has not yet narrowed. There have hardly been any changes in the society or in the living standard of the poor. Consequently, the people of backward and tribal communities have felt discriminated against and could not believe that the government was doing anything for their welfare and development. The main reasons for this are: lack of integrated programmes, weak implementation and sustainability, failure to mainstream backward and tribal communities and repressed people into the national development process, centre-oriented programmes rather than community-based or participatory programmes, little attention to human resource development and lack of encouragement to the development
and modernization of traditional occupations and skills as well as lack of effective institutional mechanisms.\textsuperscript{53}

Mohanty in his book \textit{Development of Primitive Tribal Groups in India} has analysed the impact of tribal development programmes which brought some sort of transformation with various degrees. But it is also true that for bringing transformation the total responsibility does not lie either with the government machinery or with the voluntary organizations. The coverage of programmes could include health education and economic activities. Provision of social amenities should form a part of the village development programmes. Similarly, provision of drinking water could be taken up in state sector, because these are the weakest groups. Lack of basic facilities like safe drinking water, irregular attendance by teachers in schools, inputs given to farmer not in accordance with their needs and lack of proper supervision of agriculture programmes. In spite of old age pension scheme, the villagers are not aware of it. Liquor vending is still prevalent in the tribal villages. The houses are very small. Very few households own lands and even the land owing families face food insecurity problems due to poor productivity of land.\textsuperscript{54}

A critical review of tribal education policy has been undertaken by Gupta in his book entitled \textit{Administration for Educational Development of Tribes} explains that education has to play a significant role in the socio-economic development of the tribal people of India. The impact of tribal education policy after independence can neither said to be much satisfactory, nor can it be taken to be very disappointing. The tribal educational policy should be continuously studied and there should be modification in the policy in accordance with the result of the studies. The State Governments are required to quantify the funds from state plan for tribal area development in proportion to the percentage of tribal population in the states. These funds are to be used for implementing development programmes in the tribal areas primarily from the scheduled tribes, in the fields of education, health, agriculture, horticulture, small industries, artisans and other income generating activities. Lack of awareness among tribal population about various development programmes launched by government of India and States, results in their exploitation. The tribals have been given numerous rights and concessions under various statutes of Central as well as State governments as they remain deprived of the benefits
arising out of such statutory provisions due to their ignorance and apathy of enforcing agencies.\textsuperscript{55}

According to \textbf{Hansa Jain} an overwhelming majority of tribal communities in the country have been living in the remote and exclusive areas of the thick forests, hill slopes and plateaus and in areas generally with poor natural resources. Plans were formulated to eradicate the factors inhibiting socio economic development to help in the self development of an individual and groups, to increase income and employment potential and to provide adequate social facilities like education, health, housing and communication etc. So the development of the tribals has been made an integral part of planning and policy making both at the centre as well as state level. As such the most important task in all the developmental programmes is to develop awareness and consciousness which includes diffusion of information about local administration, institutions, relevant legislations, rights of responsibilities of tribal citizens and the necessary information regarding the change in the programmes. The isolation has deprived them of the fruits of scientific and technological advances. It has also led to their distinctive cultures, languages and life style. Hence, integrating the tribals with mainstream is one of the visions of tribal development strategies.\textsuperscript{56}

\textbf{Ajit Menon} and \textbf{C R Bijoy} in their article \textit{The Limits to Law, Democracy and Governance} have pointed out the fact that the Integrated Tribal Development Programmes (ITDP) and Tribal Sub Plans (TSPs) have come under a cloud for not having had any significant impact on tribals due to inefficient delivery of schemes, often marred with corruption and diversion of funds. Most states, moreover, do not allocate proportionate funds as required. Despite central guidelines from the Ministry of Tribal Affairs and other agencies, most states have also failed to set specific targets for TSP expenditure, and no states have field monitoring mechanisms to verify how well the funds are being spent. Considering that ITDP and TSPs are the primary development and welfare strategy of the Government of India for STs, there has been a clamour to provide them statutory character.\textsuperscript{57}

The book entitled \textit{Tribals, Socio-Economic and Cultural Perspectives} is an evaluative study of the implementation of tribal sub-plan schemes in Orissa. It is found that
one of the reasons to exploit the tribal people is the lack of proper marketing facilities. The tribal people collect various forest products from the nearby forest and walk along distance to the nearest market centers and weekly markets to dispose of their produce and but for their daily necessities. As a measure to stop exploitation, a Tribal Development Cooperative Corporation has been set up and registered as Co-operative Corporation in the year 1972. The main objectives of the corporation is to purchase the surplus agricultural produce and minor forest products from the tribals at reasonable price and arrange their marketing in the best possible manner and supply essential commodities and other consumer goods to the tribals at fair price. As a result, Large-sized Multipurpose Societies (LAMPS) are established to deal with the purchase and sale of minor forest produces and other products collected by the tribes.\footnote{58}

Neeta Lodha conceptualizes the nature and dimensions of the status of tribal women and finds that possession to share abundant responsibilities and perform multiple duties in running the family and maintaining the household, attending to farm labour, tending domestic animals and poultry birds. But to discharge all these activities she is an unpaid servant to man whose labour is never measured in economic terms. In agriculture, tribal women perform a number of significant roles. They participate in harvesting of crops, weeding, planting, raising seedling, maturing and threshing and storage of grains. They also help in rearing of livestock, poultry keeping. Besides, they manage the house and bring up the children. Thus, tribal women like their other counterparts perform a multiplicity of roles in providing economic support to the family and also maintaining the house hold. The extent of women’s economic contribution is determined not only by particular environmental conditions and the economic organizations in various cultures but also by widely varying conceptions of femininity, sex roles and female status vis-à-vis male status.\footnote{59}

S.M. Siddiqui, in his book \textit{Socio Economic Responsibility of Tribal Women} has stated that skill development among tribal women is the need of the hour so as to make them confident, self reliant and to develop in them the ability to be a part of decision making at home and outside. Indeed it may not be wrong to say that still tribals women are backward. Therefore, there is a need on the part of the government and civil society to
enable improvement in the quality of life of such vulnerable sections of the Indian population. More importantly the developmental process in India should give priority to welfare schemes and programmes meant for scheduled tribes including women. The social assessment for the training and skill development clearly reflected that tribal landless from an integral part of poverty-ridden and marginalized groups. By empowering tribal woman through education can thus enable them to live with dignity and self reliance cutting across the barriers of customary biases and prejudices, social barrier of caste, class, gender, occupation and institutional barriers that prevent them from taking actions to improve their state both at the individual and collective levels. Therefore, free education and necessary employable skill development programmes must be launched for tribal students, particularly for women so as to make them self reliant and economically independent.\textsuperscript{60}

The book \textit{Intellectual Property Rights and the Tribals} by Bhupinder Shigh and Neeti Mahanti has highlighted the significance of “intellectual property rights” related to traditional medicine and medicinal herbs of tribals. Authors have accepted the fact that the Government of India is paying increasing attention to the development of medicinal plants and herbs etc., one of the important aspects in encouraging and developing Traditional Systems of Medicine (Ayurvedic, Unani’s and Siddha) is the identification, cultivation and collection of traditional medicinal plants which are particularly grown in forests and tribal areas including related aspects of regeneration conservation etc., Due to increasing awareness of the usefulness and benefits of traditional systems of medicine, internal and external demands for our drugs of these systems are increasing phenomenally. In order to provide the full coverage to tribals particularly in health sector, government control is supplementing and assisting the state governments in their efforts. The funds are made available to states and union territories’ governments according to the set pattern of assistance for various centrally sponsored schemes. The important and commonly available medicinal plants being used by tribal people. It require literary and through clinical research to prove their efficacy.\textsuperscript{61}

\textbf{Padmaja Sen} discusses about the position of tribals and their relation with land, water and forest. In brief, it can be said that the above existentialist problems in adivasi community need immediate solution. To ameliorate the condition of tribals education can
be of great help. However, the tribal education policy should be such as to remove their superstitions and prejudices so that they become receptive to the modernization process, without however snapping a link with their healthy traditions. But no less important is that they should be made aware of their constitutional rights and the means to protect them from exploitation. Tribals are deeply attached to their land. Agriculture has been their only means of subsistence for ages. But due to poverty and social obligations they are forced to transfer their land to others through legal as well as illegal ways. Due to inadequacy of opportunities tribals are forced to migrate to other places for their livelihood. For this a possible means should be explored for the employment of the tribals in the government as well as non-governmental spheres, cottage industries, handicrafts, forest-based industries etc. To prevent the above evil it is necessary to review all the laws regarding holding of tribal land, remove complex procedures and ensure that the laws really serve the benighted.\textsuperscript{62}

\textbf{Justice. Anand and Afonso}, have explained the significance of Forest Right Bill which recognizes overall 13 rights of Forest Dwelling Scheduled Tribes. It includes the right to hold and live in the forest land under individual or common occupation for habitation or self cultivation; right of access to the use or disposal of minor forest produce; rights for conversion of a forest village into a revenue village; right of habitat and habitation for primitive tribal groups; community rights to intellectual property, etc., To protect and develop the tribals, the Government of India after independence formulated policies and programmes and also provided constitutional safeguards. As such the recognition of the tribal rights in land, forest, etc., by the constitution makers led to formulating tribal development and the schedule areas policies.\textsuperscript{63}

\textbf{Chaturbhuj Sahu}, in his book \textbf{Indian Tribal Life} suggested that we must review the thinking on the role and responsibility of tribal women in the field of protecting and preserving the forest. In the joint forest management approach the villagers and the state forest departments enter into partnership by signing a memorandum of understanding. The memorandum of understanding gives details of the composition, duties and functions, as well as the benefits to the forest protection committee. In general, it is expected that forest protection committees will provide protection against felling of trees, forest trees and free
grazing. The forest department will provide the necessary financial inputs and technical knowhow regarding forestry operations. The regenerations and plantation of biomass will be shared between the forest protection committee and the forest department in an agreed upon manner. Joint forest management gradually spread to neighboring areas and received increasing support from the villagers, forest department and voluntary organization. Thus, there is an urgent need for understanding contributions of tribal women which would facilitate women’s participation and involvement in forest related activities.64

**Nivedita Sarangi** critically analysed the Forest Right Acts implemented in 2006 and observes that the implementation of this Act is not going to be smooth. Tribal and forest-dwelling people would not get the rights to forest automatically. Only those families who have been primarily residing in forest areas for three generation will be entitled. The verification procedure to determine eligibility is not simple and could be quite time consuming, as disputes may arise among the forest-dwelling communities themselves. The act also prevents the use of forest land for development purposes such as mining, reservoir construction, and industrial plants without the consent of the tribal people who live in forests or in the vicinity through gram sabhas. But there is a risk that politically connected commercial interests could manipulate gram sabhas to obtain such lands for commercial purposes. The tribal rights activists also warn against the machinations of some bureaucrats, especially those in the forest department who think that the department is the master of all forest development in India. This could obstruct the implementation of the Act and deny its benefits for tribal people. The architects of the constitution being conscious of the separate identity of the tribal communities and their habitat provided certain articles exclusively devoted to the cause of the scheduled tribes.65

**Ambrish Gautam** has made a serious study the food security strategies of adivasi areas and suggests that chronic hunger in these areas does persist on a mass scale and has now assumed dehumanizing proportions. Food security of adivasis is inextricably linked to the ecological security and health of their subsistence base and sustainability, access and availability of that natural resource base is critical to adivasis food security. Therefore, any policy or strategy for removal of hunger and poverty from adivasi areas is bound to fail unless the superstructure of food security is built on the foundation of ecological security.
It is recommended that the government should make necessary rules and legal structures to implement the provisions of the scheduled tribes and other traditional forest dwellers and Recognition of Forest Right Act 2006 in letter and spirit.66

**Christer Norstrom** and **Lawrence Surendra** in their work deals with about Malayali of Tamil Nadu. Accordingly, they observe that the Malayali is one among the 36 Scheduled Tribes of Tamil Nadu. The Malayali is spread along the contiguous hill ranges of Javadhu, Kolli, Yercaud, Pachamalai and so on. In fact there are several contiguous habitations in these hill ranges, which are predominantly inhabited by the Malayali. Malayali basically depend for their basic survival on agricultural and forest activities. With the result a completely distressed livelihood strategy is visible and manifest in their day-to-day life. Most of the households, either the male singly or both husband and wife, migrate to nearby or sometimes distant urban places for generating additional livelihoods means by working as construction labourers and other kinds of work. The implication of such a migration is a significant disruption of normal households. The major problem is to have a secondary source of income or more precisely to generate their minimum needs of food during the crisis period.67

**Janaki** in her book *Socio-Economic Conditions of Tribal Women in South India* has also studied the Malayali tribes. According to her Malayali groups are patrilineal and patrilocal communities. Family is the basic social and economic unit of Malayalis. They inhabit the hill ranges of North Arcot, South Arcot, Trichy, Dharmapuri and Salem. The name Malayali means “hill dweller”. The economy of Malayali centers around on agriculture. Besides cultivation, sericulture, bee keeping, herding of cattle, goat and sheep, rearing of pig and poultry and collection of honey and minor forest produce are undertaken to supplement their subsistence. In spite of the existence of tribal development blocks, LAMP societies, and co-operative societies for honey, sericulture etc., primary health centers, agricultural extension agencies, veterinary doctors and schools, Malayali groups are yet to improve their living conditions.68

**Govindaraj** in his article analyzed the Malayalis’ social and economic infrastructure facilities. He appreciates great courage in gathering, honey from the wild. They have their own methods of reaching the beehives, even they reach at impossible
places. They are normally found in the precipitous rock crevices. A specially constructed vines ladder by means of a rope is tied to the trunk of a tree on the cliff rock, where the beehive is spotted. The rope is made of a creeper called 'kattukodi' (literally, jungle creeper). The rope itself is made by twisting four or five lengths of the creeper and is tied to one end of the latter which when hung from the trunk of the tree on the cliff provides a safe way to get down the cliff so that the beehive can be reached by the individual going down the ladder. The traditional self-sufficient agriculture-campestral economy of the Malayalis is linked with the collection of minor forest products and the occasional small hunting. It has been found that the traditional economy of the Malayalis is changing into a relative market economy through the improved transport and communication systems and the available tribal development programmes.69

The review of available literature clearly shows that tribal development is an ongoing process and it must be understood in a proper perspective. Moreover, it has also been found that more studies are not available on scattered semi-tribals like Malayalis living in Vellore district of Tamil Nadu.

It is in this context, this study entitled Changing Pattern of Tribal Development: A Case Study of Malayali Tribes in Vellore District, Tamil Nadu has been undertaken.

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is to analyze the impact of various tribal development programmes implemented both by the Central and State government, especially for Malayali tribes living in Vellore district. The other objectives are;

1. To trace the origin, growth and living conditions of the Malayali tribes living in Vellore district.
2. To identity the various difficulties and challenges faced by Malayali tribes to access the benefits of tribal development programmes
3. To analyze and document the socio-economic, health, educational, housing and infrastructure facilities created by the tribal development programmes and implemented for the Malayali tribes in Vellore district.
4. To suggest suitable policy measures to enhance the benefit of tribal development to Malayali tribes in particular and tribals of other areas in general.

Hypotheses

- Tribal development programmes are efficiently and effectively implemented both by the Central and State governments.
- The socio-economic status of the Malayali tribes living in Vellore district is considerably changed due to the impact of tribal development programmes.
- The impact of tribal development programmes is likely to vary on the basis of awareness and participation of the Malayali tribes living in various tribal areas in Vellore district.

Methodology and Data Collection

The primary data have been collected from the field through observation and employing interview schedule. Data have also been collected from official records and reports of various expert committees, commissions and working groups on tribal development. The information provided by gazetteers, the statistical accounts of the planning commission, census reports etc., have also been much useful. The secondary sources are the published books, research articles, newspapers and websites. An interview schedule was prepared for the purpose of intensive investigation. Most of the items in the schedule were structured. Since, a large number of the respondents were illiterate; it was not possible for them to fill up the interview schedules themselves. Therefore, the interview schedule was used. Observation was also used as supplementary technique to gather relevant information from the respondents. Pilot study was conducted during April 2015.

An interview schedule has been prepared to collect data from the respondents, which includes personal details like age, education, social status, income, occupation etc. Other items like their view on role of NGOs, strategies, attitude of forest officials, government functionaries, government’s efforts on educational development, role of cooperatives, road and communication facilities and so on have been included in the
interview schedule. During the pilot study interview schedule was tested and few more items have been included after the first field visit. On purposive random sample basis 360 respondents have been interviewed and data were interpreted through tabulation for this study.

**Limitations of the Study**

The main objective of this study is to indicate the changing pattern of development among Malayali tribes living in the parts of Vellore district, as such, this study has a few limitations. Though there are tribals like Irula, the researcher has chosen Malayali tribes only. Malayalis mostly live in Jarthankollai, Peenjamandhai, Alleri, Pudur Nadu, Yelagiri and other areas. The researcher strived her level best to reach the unreached tribals by two wheeler and climbing on foot. The respondents were only 360. To interview the respondents some time we have to walk 5 or six miles too. Most of the women respondents answered during the interview along with their husband only. It must be acknowledged that without the help of forest officials it would have been much difficult to collect data from the field. A comparative study must have been much useful to understand the tribal development programmes involving either all other tribes or adjoining districts but it was not possible to the researcher due to limited time and vast area of the field.

**Chapterization**

The First chapter, **INTRODUCTION** describes the significance and objectives of this study. It also deals with the hypotheses, methodology and data collection, the statement of the problem, need for the study, survey of existing literature on tribal development and limitations of the study.

The Second chapter, **CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS AND TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT** enumerates and analyse the Articles of the Indian Constitution which relate to the safeguards provided to the scheduled tribes and which ensures their development, Nehru’s Panchasheel and other relevant provisions.

In the Third chapter, **THE PROFILE OF VELLORE DISTRICT**, the study area is described with reference to the tribal people and their habitat.
The Fourth chapter, **INTERVENTION OF NGOs FOR TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT** describes the role of NGOs engaged in tribal development activities in Vellore district.

The Fifth chapter, **CHANGING PATTERN OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT** analyses the impact of the tribal development programmes implemented by both central and state government and the benefits achieved by the Malayali tribes in Vellore district. Besides the perception of the Malayali tribes on various tribal development programmes have also been documented through analysis of the data collected from the respondents.

The Sixth chapter, **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION** presents the important findings of this study and suggests a number of suggestions for tribal development both general and Malayalis’ development in Vellore district.

Now it would be more useful to discuss the tribal development with a constitutional perspective in the subsequent chapter.
References


