CHAPTER 2: PLANNING AND THE TRIBES

2.1.0 This chapter is addressed to discuss as to how the process of planning for tribes got started in India, particularly in the tribal areas of Himachal Pradesh, vis-à-vis its impact on socio-economic development. The narrative can be divided into the following sections:

1. Growth vs. Development controversy vis-à-vis ‘change’.
2. Concept of ‘Tribe’ in the Indian context.
3. Quest for integration vis-à-vis genesis of tribal problems.
4. Administration of tribal areas in India and Constitutional safeguards.
5. India plans for tribal development --- a conceptual framework.
6. Administration of tribal areas in Himachal Pradesh.
7. Himachal Pradesh implements tribal sub-plan and plan-priorities.

2.1.1 CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT vis-à-vis CHANGE

Since this work is essentially addressed to evaluate the impact of planning on the three differently located socio-economic formations of the tribes, one has, therefore, to have a clear perspective on the concept of tribal ‘development’ as also on a set of indicators which would help objectify the real content and meaning behind it.

Putting briefly, ‘development’ means improvement --- both in absolute and relative terms and then transforming this improvement into a still better situation. In fact, ‘development’ implies an orderly movement of a socio-economic formation from a lower level of functioning to a higher level of functioning. This lower-higher level of continuum may be stated in terms of certain quantitative and qualitative values. Still, in a larger human perspective, ‘development’ may be defined in terms of a series of ‘cultural thresholds’ to be crossed by mankind. This crossing of several ‘cultural thresholds’ constitutes the story of man from the ‘state-of-adaptation’ to a ‘state of control’, enriching his material circumstances en route.

Seen in this light, the process of development is never complete and seems to pin-point two arrow-lines, i.e.
I. That development is a relative concept; and that
II. It denotes a change in a particular direction, that is, in terms of movement from the state-of-adaptation to a state-of-control in case of man’s material circumstances.

This ‘change’ may encompass material as well as non-material aspects, though it is the ‘material aspects’ which call for greater attention. The total well-being of a society can be measured in terms of:-

I. Extent of availability of facilities and services, and
II. The extent to which such services and facilities can be utilized in the interest of a community.

2.1.2 When development takes place, a number of changes accrue e.g. economic change, social change, political change, cultural change, technological change, etc. THUS ‘CHANGE FACTOR’ IS A BASIC COMPONENT OF DEVELOPMENT.2

This ‘CHANGE’ in the material circumstances of man is designated by different disciplines in their own jargon. What economists call ‘development’, political scientists call ‘modernization’, sociologists call it ‘role-differentiation’ and the anthropologists describe the same phenomenon in terms of ‘cultural change’.

John Kenneth Galbraith describes three types of economic development viz (i) Symbolic modernization, (ii) Maximization of economic growth, and (iii) Selective growth. First, the concept of symbolic modernization is not relevant to underdeveloped countries/developing countries. Second, the maximization of economic growth involves: (i) a significant increase in per capita real income, (ii) sustaining this increase on a continuing basis and accelerating it further. This is growth. Thirdly, the Selective Growth rests on the belief that the benefits of growth must accrue, as a matter of policy, to the more needy sections of population, called Inclusive growth in the Indian context.
2.1.3 GROWTH VERSUS DEVELOPMENT CONTROVERSY

Of late, the growth versus development controversy has generated considerable interest in the academic circles in deciding as to which one of the two terms is more relevant in describing the socio-economic change. Initially, the whole emphasis was on the ‘economic aspect of development’, as it was easily identifiable in terms of rise in real per capita income. In fact, this approach rested on the premise that the end-product of the process of development was the growth of national income or per capita income. The salient advantage of such an approach lay in its simplicity as the measurement of development was easily amenable to statistical tools.

However, the major weakness of this approach lay in its implicit assumption that, given the increase in per capita gross national product, the ends of social justice would be automatically achieved. In other words, the growth of output and its proportionate distribution among people supposedly went hand-in-hand. Obviously, the core of such a policy was its reliance on the trickle-down theory or percolation hypothesis, whereby the fruits of economic expansion would tend to be automatically distributed proportionately among all sections of the society.

Gradually, however, the economists began to realize that the process of development was far more complex than a mere increase in per capita income. For the growth-oriented school of thought, the problems of poverty, unemployment and income distribution were of secondary importance to “getting the growth-job done”. Hence, it also failed to take note of the fact that increase in income was not necessarily accompanied by simultaneous and proportionate change in all sectors or groups of society.

The foregoing realisation of amplifying the concept of growth came in the wake of U-shaped hypothesis which called into question the earlier premise that the growth process would automatically benefit all classes of people equally. The reason for skewed distribution of income is attributable, at least in the Indian context, to the fact that the distribution of income-generating assets is highly skewed, as a result of which the majority of the low-income people have a weak linkage with the rest of the economy.
2.1.4 Another very similar concept of development comes from Dudley Seers for whom the essential criteria of development are the reduction of poverty, inequality and unemployment. Articulating the concept of ‘development’, he raised a poser:

“The questions to ask about a country’s development, therefore, are: what has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all these three have declined from high levels, then, beyond doubt, this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all the three have, it would be strange to call the result ‘development’ even if per capita income has doubled.”

One good thing that emerged from the growth-development controversy is that a large variety of variables such as health, education, sanitary conditions, calorie-intake and other public amenities came to be added to the concept of growth. Although the reference-point to determine the extent of under-development still remained in the developed countries of the west, yet it served to highlight the need to build up institutions to provide a wide range of social services to the rural poor.

2.1.5 The foregoing paragraphs would reveal that the term ‘development’ is wider in connotation and implies ‘Growth plus change’.

Whereas, the emphasis in case of ‘growth’ is more on economic aspect, the concept of ‘Development’, on the other hand, is more holistic and emphasises economic as well as social, political and cultural aspects. What is needed in the case of developing countries is that quantitative transformation of Gross National Product (GNP) must occur concurrently with qualitative changes. It is in this context that the focus of development now rests more on:

i. Equitable distribution of income and wealth,
ii. Optimum utilization of manpower,
iii. Better utilization of natural resources,
iv. Protection of human environment,
v. Reduction of incidence of poverty through reducing unemployment,
vi. Reduction of income-inequalities, and
vii. Reduction in spatial imbalances.
It is thus seen that the concept of 'development' has come a long way, giving rise to the need for generating a new set of criteria to evaluate the developmental performance. This, in turn, has led to the formulation of the concept of development in terms of socio-economic criteria, in contrast to economic criteria alone. This change in emphasis on socio-economic indices is welcome, in so far as it gives development a character of its own, reflecting growth as well as its distributional aspects. This change in emphasis has a policy orientation too.

2.2.0 DEFINING ‘TRIBES’ IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT

2.2.1 The term ‘tribe’ has nowhere been satisfactorily defined and hence is suggestive of more than one meaning --- ranging from ‘simple folk’ to ‘a group of people’ whose socio-economic development is the special responsibility of the President of India. (cf. Nadeem Hasnain, 1991:189)

2.2.2 In the remote past, these socio-economic distinct groups, now known as ‘tribes’, were defined in the sense of ‘JANAS’ i.e., those communities whose socio-economic organisation was different from others. When Lord Rama, the main protagonist of epic Ramayana, reached the borders of central-India, the land was introduced to him as ‘JANASTHANA’, that is, the abode of ‘JANAS’. It is precisely these communities which, over passage of time, were designated as ‘tribes’ and subsequently notified in the post-Independence India as the Scheduled Tribes for special treatment (Vidyarthi and Raj, Ibid, p. 25).

According to P.L. Mehta, the present Scheduled Tribes of India are not necessarily in the same stage of development, as many of them are still in the food-gathering stage not knowing the use of metal and are perhaps on the threshold of a food-producing economy. (cf. Himachal Institute of Public Administration (HIPA) Journal Vol.II, No. 2, Aug-Dec, 1987: 73-74).

Oxford Dictionary defines ‘tribes’ as primary aggregate of people, living in primitive and barbarous conditions, under a head or a chief (Ibid, p.74). According to T.S. Negi, the term ‘tribe’ commonly signifies a group of people who speak a common language/dialect, observe uniform rules of social organisation, and work together for a common purpose (cf. Tribal Situation in India, in K. Suresh Singh
2.2.3 SOME COMMON DENOMINATORS OF TRIBAL COMMUNITIES

(I) The ‘tribes’ represent communities living in solidarity in the form of one composite unit. The twin characteristics of ‘primitiveness’ and ‘indigenousness’ suggest that they existed in a tract/territory prior to the arrival of other groups. According to S.C. Dubey, the ‘tribes’, if not the original inhabitants are, at least, the oldest inhabitants of the land. (HIPA Journal, Vol. II, No. 2, Aug-Dec. 1987, p. 74.)

(II) They still practise rudimentary and incipient technology (suggestive of low level of techno-economic formations and economic backwardness) — as evidenced by the practice of shifting-cultivation in some parts of India.

(III) They still continue to live in a well-defined habitat/eco-system from which they derive their food, forage, and firewood, showing thereby their intimate relationship with the forests since very early days.

(IV) Their socio-economic system is characterised by cultural and economic homogeneity. The cultural homogeneity implies lack of social ranking whereas economic homogeneity implies lack of emergence of economic classes.

(V) The ‘tribes’ represent a distinctive way of life which is different from others i.e., living away from the mainstream in terms of dialect, customary practices and religious faith (characterised by ‘animism’ and dominant role of village-deity). On the whole, their socio-economic destiny still continues to be determined endogenously.
2.2.4  **Locale of Tribes**

Tribal India mostly lives in the hills, forests, and isolated regions. They are known by different appellations/names such as Vanyajati (castes of the forests); Vanvasi (inhabitants of the forests); Pahari (Hill-dwellers); Adimjati (Primitive castes); Adivasi (First dwellers/original settlers); Janjati (Folk communities); Anusuchit Janjati (Scheduled Tribes) and so on. All these epithets signify either their sociological, cultural, or historical connotations.

According to the Anthropological survey of India, there were 212 tribal communities in India in 1951 (Basu, 1985:14) – the number now having risen to 700 Scheduled Tribes as notified under Article-342 of the Constitution of India (cf. Times of India, Mumbai, dated Feb 22, 2012, p.23).

Among the Scheduled Tribes of India, numerically more important tribes are the Gonds, the Bhils and the Santhals. The State of Madhya Pradesh has the highest tribal population (122.33 lakh), forming 14.5 percent of the total tribal population of India (8.4 crore). (cf. Internet and the Statistical Outline of HP 2009-10, DESHP, p. 179)

2.2.5  **Ethnicity**

As for ethnicity of tribes, there is no conclusive evidence as to which ethnic groups inhabited different parts of India in the pre-historic times. According to Hasnain (1991:24-25), the tribal population of India can be attributed to one of the three racial stocks:

i. The Negrito/Negroids;

ii. The Proto-Australoids; and

iii. The Mongoloids.

Although there is no conclusive evidence as to which ethnic groups inhabited different parts of India in pre-historic times, yet it is now unanimously held that all the tribal groups in the country have either Aryan or non-Aryan origin (Karam Chand, 1990, pp-16). The tribal communities living in different regions of India can be divided into the following territorial groups on the basis of their historical, ethnic and...
socio-cultural relations, viz:-(I) The North-east India; (II) The sub-Himalayan region of north and north-west India; (III) The Central And East-India; (IV) The South India; and (V) The Western India. (cf. Ibid, p.3)

The tribal communities of Himachal Pradesh fall within the second territorial group.

2.3.0 QUEST FOR INTEGRATING TRIBAL AREAS WITH A WIDER ECONOMY vis-a-vis GENESIS OF TRIBAL PROBLEMS

It is against this foregoing backdrop of growth-versus-development debate that we ought to understand the predicament of tribals, who had hitherto lived in self-sufficient economic system, protected by relatively isolated and inaccessible forest regions. They had their own unique and secure economic organization which had given them, for long, the means of sustenance and had also kept their subsistence-based economies afloat. Thus the process of economic development in their case has to be seen in the context of our effort to integrate them with a wider economy. Since the tribals are concentrated in certain parts of India, the process of their socio-economic well-being cannot be separated from the issues of regional integration. In their case, the economic development should aim at increasing their income through better utilization of environmental resources i.e. forests, minerals, flora and fauna, agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, industrial potential, etc. In fact, all those measures which tend to improve the economic conditions of the tribals within their culture, would, ipso facto, promote their welfare as well as social justice. Their socio-economic uplift can be seen in terms of the following three strands:-

Economic Development in terms of augmenting their productive base;

Social Development i.e., bringing about improvement in their social well-being by laying stress on provisions such as, health services, education, housing, cultural amenities, protection of children, a change in status for women, regulation of labour and improved status for workers, etc; and

Political Development which denotes their increasing involvement and participation in the political goals of development as well as evolution towards
democratic process and forms of government. In the tribal context, it means that the isolated and far-flung areas of tribal concentration would have to be linked with the larger framework of power politics of the Indian society as a whole.

2.3.1 SUDDEN APPEARANCE OF THE GOVERNMENT ON THE TRIBAL SCENE AROUND 1850 AND THE END OF TRIBALS’ GEOGRAPHICAL SEGREGATION

The foregoing predicament of the tribes cannot be understood without gaining historical perspective on the government’s growing interest in the tribal areas and the consequent need to integrate these areas into the wider national economy.

It was around 1850 that the British administration, missionaries, social workers and others (contractors) started taking keen interest in the tribal areas due to forest or mineral wealth in the tribal region. This set in the real rub resulting into deep resentment among the tribal people. So, until the outsiders came on the scene, everything was fine and the tribals continued to live in harmony with their natural habitat. Theirs was, no doubt, a low-equilibrium economy, but it was equally true that they were in a state of self-sufficiency, characterised by a subsistence-based closed-economy. So, the underlying cause for their resentment lay in the exploitation of their traditional resources viz (i) the land and (ii) the forests by the technologically and culturally more advanced outsiders in the guise of contractors and the immigrant labour. So, it was only after the tribals came in contact with others that their socio-economic system was jeopardized. The picture is characteristically summed up by Furer-Heimendorf (1939):

“Now and then, a military campaign, extending for a short while into the vastness of the tribal economy, would bring the inhabitants to the notice of the princes and the chroniclers, but, for long periods, there was frictionless co-existence between the tribal-folk and the Hindu-caste society in the truest sense of the word”.

As the interest of the government and the outsiders increased in the tribal areas with a view to exploiting their forest wealth, the means of communication and transport spread fast resulting into usual spread-effects and back-wash effects.
The foregoing events, particularly the spread of transport and communication facilities, combined to end the geographical segregation of the tribal areas, thereby bringing more and more tribal areas into the official orbit. As a result of it, the traditional habitat of the tribals and their socio-economic set-up came under increasing exposure. The large scale interaction of the official machinery with the hitherto isolated tribal society gave rise to the need for recognition of an external authority.

2.3.2 MONEY LENDER vis-à-vis LAND ALIENATION

The end of geographical isolation was followed by the entry of money lenders and traders from the plains into the tribal areas. The non-tribal immigrants very often advanced consumption loans to tribals on easy terms, keeping tribesmen’s land as security. Since the tribals (not having marketable surplus due to subsistence-based economy) were not able to repay the loans, this resulted into alienation of their land.

In the course of implementation of land reforms, these immigrant non-tribal lessees became the owners of such lands due to legal lacunae. As per the existing law, the claims of non-tribal lessees to tenancy on tribal lands had to be accepted because of the legal provisions that on-the-spot cultivators had to be converted into de-jure ownership titles.

Thus, in the wake of influx of the non-tribals and money-lenders from the plains, the process of land-alienation set in, jeopardizing, in turn, the very fabric of the tribals’ social organization.

2.3.3 DILUTION OF PATRON-CLIENT BOND

Traditionally, the tribes are basically endogamous and lived in social solidarity. On the other hand, the Hindu caste system centred on agricultural production, especially the control and use of land. It was organized on the basis of ‘JAJMANI’ or patron-client relationship, which formed the basis of social hierarchy in traditional India.

Scott defined patron-client relationship as: “a special case of dyadic ties involving a largely instrumental friendship in which an individual of higher socio-
economic status (Patron) used his own influence and resources to provide protection/or benefit to a person of lower status (Client), the latter, for his part, reciprocated by offering general support and assistance including personal services to the patron”. Hayami considers patron-client relationship as a substitute for a set of specialized markets for labour, land, credit, insurance, etc.

### 2.3.4 FOREST POLICY OF GOVT. OF INDIA-1894 AND 1952 vis-
à-vis INROADS INTO THE TRIBES’ TRADITIONAL RIGHTS ON THE FORESTS

After ‘land’, ‘forest’ is the second premier asset of the tribes. In fact, tribes have always lived in intimate relationship with the forests. The forests are their natural abode which provided them with i.e. (i) food in the form of edible roots, herbs, fruits and honey, (ii) fuel-wood and building material for their houses, and (iii) fodder for their live-stock. Even their religion and magical beliefs are built around the forests.

The tribal harmony with forests continued till about the middle of the nineteenth century. But once the various geological and botanical surveys revealed the mineral and botanical wealth of the forests, the then East India-Company and its successor British governments were tempted to tap the timber wealth of the colonial territories. This obviously gave rise to the need for management of forests and the problems related thereto. Thus it was only in 1894 that the first Forest Policy was enunciated, as summed up by the Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission 1961.

“The sole object with which the state forests are administrated is the public benefit ---- the constitution and preservation of a forest involves, in a greater or lesser degree, the regulation-of-rights and restrictions on privileges-of-the-user in a forest area which may have previously been enjoyed by the inhabitants of its immediate neighborhood.”

Therefore, it was only in 1894 that the forest officials suddenly appeared on the scene and claimed authority to limit and regulate tribals’ rights. From this junction onwards, the extension of government authority on forest has been the root cause of resentment among the tribals of India.
2.3.5 A NEW FOREST POLICY (1952)

After Independence, a new Forest Policy had to be spelt out in 1952 which was based on reassessment and modifications of 1894-policy, taking into consideration:

i. The increase in population by 40 percent between 1894-1950, and the resultant pressure on land;
ii. The importance of forest in the context of preservation of agro-climatic conditions;
iii. The importance of forests in the economic fields such as development of agriculture, industry, communications; and.
iv. The defence needs.

In this way, the pre-1894 unfettered rights of the tribals on forests were reduced to rights and privileges after 1894. Their rights on forests were further reduced in 1952 into rights and concessions. Under the new policy, the tribes had no statutory rights but only certain rights and concessions, duly recorded in village administration paper. Thus, the tribes, who were at one time the lords of the forests, found themselves at the mercy of the forest officials. Thus, though with the enactment of the forest laws, their age-old ties with the forests might have been snapped, but their dependence on forests continued as ever.

2.3.6 SOME OTHER IMPORTANT CHANGES SINCE 1950 vis-à-vis TRIBAL PROBLEMS

With the entry of an organized State on the tribal scene since the First Five Year Plan (1951-56), followed by reorganisation of States in 1956, some other concomitant changes also followed suit, giving rise to a new dimension to tribal problems:

The emergence of a unified market all over India, which, in turn, encouraged unhindered movement of produce throughout the country. A common unit of money as a unit-of-account. The introduction of a common medium of exchange affected the custom-based barter system of the tribals.
Expansion of means of transport and communication encouraged regional integration which further encouraged different agro-climatic zones to specialize in different produce and helped bring about commercialization of agriculture.

It also necessitated a rational allocation of productive resources in terms of resource-shifts. Free movement of inputs, particularly ‘labour’ due to increase in labour mobility. Introduction of ‘innovations’ in the use of factor-inputs, resulting into alterations into factor-combinations --- an important component of technical progress; and. Unprecedented growth of public services and educational facilities.

2.3.7 All these developments entailed some other important socio-economic changes, the more important of them being:

The transformation of feudalistic production structure thereby shaking the age-old ‘JAAMANI’ or patron-client relationship and also tenurial relations. The profit of cultivation rather than rent emerged as the main source of income. The expansion of private capitalism, and. The growth of state capitalism.

All the foregoing factors combined to affect the structure and the inner working of the tribal economy, underlining thereby the need to review and plan for tribal development.

2.4.0 ADMINISTRATION OF TRIBAL AREAS IN INDIA

2.4.1 Historically, there have been three main approaches to administration of tribal areas:

i. Policy of Segregation
   a. In the pre-Independence period, and
   b. In the post-Independence period.

ii. Policy of Assimilation or Detribalization (also called acculturation or sanskritisation)
   This follows as a result of the constant contact of the tribes with the rest of the population. This is also described as acculturation (sanskritization), etc.

iii. Policy of Integration
   It means the integration of the tribals in the regional and national setting.
2.4.2 **PRE-1947 POLICY OF SEGREGATION**

Till 1947, the tribal policy of British Government in India centred on the concept of non-interference and rested primarily on preserving law and order and, at the same time, to keep the tribal people insulated from the mainstream so as to prevent them from participating in the national movement.

But once the economic potential of the tribal areas became known (in the wake of botanical and geological surveys), the Britishers became active overnight and were eager to exploit the forest wealth of these areas, resulting in the consequent need for developing transport and communication network. Thus, in the pre-Independence India, the Britishers were probably the first people who seriously tried to tackle the problem of administering the tribal areas. They, in fact, were confronted with the delicate task of:

(I) making these areas accessible so as to tap the tribal forest-rich regions; and

(II) at the same time to keep the inhabitants of these areas insulated from the mainstream, so as to prevent their participation in any national movement.

Thus, during pre-1947 period numerous Acts and regulations were passed, culminating in the *Govt. of India, 1935 Act* which paved the way for special treatment of the tribal areas by converting these areas into ‘Totally Excluded Areas’ and ‘Partially Excluded Areas’.

The pre-1947 policy of the British Government is best represented by Verrier Elwin’s advocating the establishment of a National Park, in which not only ‘Baigas’ but also other tribesmen could live in a happy state. It was because of such views that Verrier Elwin and other like-minded people were labelled as ‘Isolationists’, ‘no-changers’, and ‘status-quoists’. However, he subsequently modified his views and came to stress upon a policy of assimilation.

2.4.3 **POST-1947 POLICY OF SEGREGATION**

In the post-Independence India, the tribal areas got special attention under the Constitution as these areas, though economically backward, had great economic potential in terms of natural endowments. With a considerable awakening about the
welfare of the tribal people, the effort for their quick economic development got underway. Consequently, the various constitutional provisos were passed, envisaging a policy of bringing the tribal people in the mainstream by way of providing special Constitutional safeguards in the form of Fifth Schedule and Sixth Schedule\(^{14}\) (appended to Article 244 of Constitution of India). As a sequel to the effort for speedy socio-economic development, a tribal welfare department was set up in 1951 for the protection and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes. The tribal areas were also brought under the aforesaid two Schedules of the Constitution.

2.4.4 THE POLICY OF ASSIMILATION OR DETRIBALIZATION ON THE BASIS OF CONSTANT CONTACT

Independent India is committed to follow a policy of progressive assimilation of the tribal people with the people of rest of India. This policy is based upon the realization that tribals have not to be preserved as a separate entity from others but have to be gradually assimilated into the mainstream. It may be in order to quote Guha (1938) as follows:

“Complete isolation has never led to progress and advancement, but always to stagnation and death, whether we look at lower animals or human beings. The history of human society shows that civilization everywhere has been built by the contact and inter-course of people, which has been the chief motivating force behind progress”.

2.4.5 POLICY OF CO-EXISTENCE IN THE REGIONAL AND NATIONAL SETTING: THE POLICY OF MIDDLE PATH

As a sequel to the review of the policies of ‘complete isolation’ and ‘assimilation’, the Government of India followed a policy of middle-path or policy of co-existence of tribals with the non-tribals. The underlying intention is to preserve the tribals’ economic and cultural independence, and, at the same time to develop them to a level on which they could compete with the non-tribals. The drift of the policy was to encourage this inter-dependence while affording them protected development.
In retrospect, we may say that whereas protagonists of policy of assimilation advanced the view that the tribals should be assimilated with their neighbouring non-tribal cultures, the advocates of integration concede the possibility of co-existence of numerous diverse cultures. This approach was, first of all, articulated by late Pt. Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, in terms of ‘Panchsheel’ or five fundamental principles. To recapitulate the policy.

(I) We should allow them to develop along the lines of their own genius (by encouraging their traditional arts and cultures) and we should avoid imposing anything on them. Tribals’ rights to land and forests should be respected.

(II) We should try to train and develop a team of their own people to undertake the work of administration and development. We should not over-administer or overwhelm them with multiplicity of schemes.

(III) We should judge results, not by statistics or by the amount of money spent alone, but by the quality of human character involved. (cf. Nadeem Hasnain, 1991:194)

2.4.6 Other salient features of the latest Tribal Development Policy are:

(I) Introduction of a Single-line Administration in the tribal areas. To make smaller districts in the tribal areas with a view to overcoming communication difficulties.

(II) Introduction of area-development approach as adopted during the Fourth Plan. The objective was to develop the tribal areas in their totality.

(III) Drawing up and execution of a separate Tribal sub-plan (as done since the Fifth Five Year Plan 1974-1978).

All these measures are a clear reflection of tribal integration within the regional/national setting.
2.4.7 CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS AND ADMINISTRATIVE SET-UP AT THE CENTRE

Given the nature of tribal problems as well as the policy approaches of the Government of India, it would now be in order to review the Constitutional and administrative framework at the centre. In terms of the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution of India, the development of the tribes is the special responsibility of the President of India, further strengthened by provisions of Article 339 which deal with the control of the Centre over the administration of the Scheduled Areas in the States.

Thus, it is clear that Independent India is under a Constitutional obligation to make the tribals catch up with the non-tribals in the race for socio-economic development. In this respect, Article-46 of the Constitution is crucial wherefrom flow all the safeguards for the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. To quote verbatim:-

“The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.”

Further, in order to enforce the Constitutional provisions, the President, in orders issued in 1950 and subsequently amended in 1976, declared, certain areas of the tribal concentration as Scheduled Areas. In fact, it would be relevant to reproduce from the Report of the Working Group (1978) which epitomizes the Constitutional framework of the tribal development In India:-

“Prevention and elimination of exploitation and accelerated socio-economic development of the Scheduled Tribes in the background of Preamble to the Constitution, with and support of the powerful infrastructure provided by the Fifth and Sixth Schedule of the Constitution.”

Thus, at the apex of these provisions, is the Preamble which provides for social, economic and political justice to all the citizens of the country. In this way, the Constitution of India stipulates a legal framework for an effective administration as well as for its adaptability to the local situation, compatible with tribal interests.
Union Government provides general policy framework and financial help whereas the State governments, on their part, are responsible for implementation of the policies. The Constitution also provides for the setting up of a Commission after each 10 years in terms of Article 339, requiring a review of the development of Tribal Areas and to make suitable recommendations for further action. The Constitutional framework for the tribes can be represented in the following flow-chart:

**FIGURE 2.1**

2.4.8

**CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK**

- **PREAMBLE**

  Article 244.1 (Fifth and Sixth Schedules are appended to Art 244.1)

  - Fifth Schedule
  - Sixth Schedule

Art 38 and Art 46

General Provisions

(a) Articles 38, 46, 244, 338, 339, 341, 342.

(b) Fundamental Rights (Art 12 to 35); and

(c) Directive Principles (Art 36 to 51).

**NOTE:** Constitution of India (enforced on 26\textsuperscript{th} Jan. 1950) starts with a ‘Preamble’ which reads as follows,
We, the people of India, solemnly resolve to Constitute India into a Sovereign, Socialist, Secular, Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens:

(I) Justice: Political, Social and Economic;

(II) Liberty of thought, Expression, Belief, Faith and Worship;

(III) Equality of status and opportunity; and

(IV) Fraternity based on the dignity of the individual and unity of nation. In other words, the main aim, in brief, is to establish a Socialist Society within a framework of Democracy and Socialism. (Source: New Rashtriya School Atlas, Indian Book Depot, 2007. p. 109)

2.4.9 ADMINISTRATIVE SET-UP AT THE CENTRE

Commensurate with the Constitutional provisions, a suitable administrative structure was simultaneously developed in order to safeguard the interests of the tribals. At the Centre there is Union Welfare Ministry (now Ministry of Tribal Affairs) which monitors all programmes for tribal development. This, in turn, is advised by two bodies at the Centre with regard to framing the policies and programmes for tribal welfare viz: (i) Tribes Advisory Council, and (ii) Tribal Research Institutes. For day-to-day administration, it is envisaged to have a Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, appointed in terms of Article-338 who is aided by Regional Deputy Directors at the zonal level. The following flow-chart (figure 2.2) illustrates the administrative set-up at the Centre:

**FIGURE: 2.2**

2.4.10 ADMINISTRATIVE SET-UP AT THE CENTRE

PRESIDENT OF INDIA

- UNION WELFARE MINISTRY
- Ministry of Home Affairs now dealing exclusively with service matters

Commissioner Regional Dy. Directors for SCs/STs

**NOTE:-** At the end of the Eighth Five year Plan, Union Welfare Ministry was designated as the Ministry of Tribal Affairs. (c.f. Preface to Tribal Sub-Plan 2006-07, Dept. of Tribal Development, Himachal Pradesh).
2.5.0 INDIA PLANS FOR TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.5.1 Next to Africa, India has the largest concentration of tribal population (Hasnain, *Tribal India Today*, 1991:197). Immediately, after independence, we, in India set the following objectives for tribal development namely,

**LONG TERM OBJECTIVES**

To narrow the gap between the levels of development between the tribals and the non-tribals; To improve upon the quality of life of the tribal communities.

Since these programmes have a long-term perspective and are designed to act as a nucleus for further socio-economic uplift, such positive measures therefore aim at

(I) development of infrastructural facilities like communications and power network,

(II) inducing flow of capital and entrepreneurship; and

(III) planning social change and strengthening local communities, etc.

**SHORT-TERM OBJECTIVES**

Short-term goals, on the other hand, are:-

(I) To eliminate the exploitation of tribals in all forms by enforcing protective measures like regulation of money-lending and law against land-alienation activities;

(II) To speed up the process of economic development by encouraging the tribals to improve qualitatively upon their traditional economic activities; and

(III) To improve organizational capabilities and inner strength of the people by raising their level of awareness.
2.5.2 A BRIEF REVIEW OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA:

1951-2000

Although the issues of planning for tribal development came into sharper focus only after the introduction of Tribal sub-plan in 1974-75, yet some spade-work had already been done during the earlier plans. During the First Plan (1951-56) itself, Community Development Programme (CDP) was launched on 2nd Oct. 1952, which aimed at providing an institutional back-up to community-based planning.\(^{16}\) It aimed at creating a network of basic extension and development services. During this period, emphasis was given to the schemes on health, communications, housing, etc. (cf. Hasnain, 1991:215)

During the Second Plan (1956-61), the emphasis of tribal planning shifted to rural development, aimed at developing agriculture, cottage industries, co-operative societies, besides setting up of Special Multipurpose Tribal Development Blocks (MTDBs).\(^{17}\) During this plan, economic development came in the forefront of tribal planning. Another highlight of the Second Plan was the introduction of Panchayati Raj system from Oct. 2, 1959 which, according to Dhebar Commission 1961, provided a fresh stimulus to Community Development Programme (CDP) through a new local leadership (cf. Hasnain, 1991: 215). The Third Plan (1961-66) saw the Special Multipurpose Tribal Development Blocks (SMTDBs) being renamed as Tribal Development Blocks (TDBs) in terms of the recommendations of the Elwin Committee. While still continuing to accord top priority to economic development, it now included inter alia education, health, housing, communications, etc.

However, during the Fourth Plan (1969-74), the focus now shifted to area development alongwith with the introduction of specific target-oriented programmes like (I) Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA), (II) Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labour (MFAL), and (III) Development of Drought-prone Area (DDPA). Area development-cum-target-oriented approach jointly aimed at minimising regional disparities. By the end of the Fourth Plan i.e. upto 31-03-1974, 43 percent of the tribal population of India was covered by 504 TDBs. (cf. Hasnain, 1991:216)

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2.5.3 **NEED FOR TRIBAL SUB-PLAN IN INDIA**

The development of tribal economy in Himalayas presents a special case of tribal development in India. Since each agro-climatic region presents a unique situation in India in terms of resource endowment and technology, hence every tribal group presents a different livelihood pattern, related directly to its immediate neighbourhood and, therefore, needs special treatment. Historically, the first comprehensive review of tribal planning was made by the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, 1961 (headed by U.N. Dhebar). This effort subsequently culminated into Shilu Ao Committee appointed by the Govt. of India in 1969 for reviewing the strategy for tribal development. Some of the main findings of this committee were viz:-

(I) Since the tribals are accustomed to certain time-honoured traditions and are endogenously governed, hence any planning relating to them ought to be dealt with cautiously because they tend to look at any attempt for ‘change’ with suspicion.

(II) There is no uniform solution to the diversity of the tribal problems in view of (a) degree of isolation of the tribal areas from the mainstream, and (b) differences in their resource-base. The earlier programmes for Community Development Blocks (CDBs) and Tribal Development Blocks (TDBs) were too schematic and failed to reckon with the relationship between plans and the felt-needs of the people. They also failed to take note of the stage of development as well as the intra-tribe and inter-tribe socio-economic differentials in the areas of their implementation.

(III) It was also felt that the development effort from the general sectors was not adequate in these areas. According to the report of the Task Force in 1975, the proportionate expenditure on Scheduled Tribes continued to diminish ---- from 1 percent of the total plan outlay during the First Plan (at the all-India level) to 0.04 percent during the Fourth Plan. (cf. Hasnain, 1991:216)

The aforesaid findings of the Shilu Ao Committee paved the way for devising altogether a new strategy from Fifth Plan onwards which came to be known as Tribal
Sub-Plan strategy (TSP). The year of inception of Tribal Sub-Plan (1974-75) is, therefore, rightly termed as the landmark year in the history of tribal planning in India. Its objective was spelt out as the development of the Scheduled Areas, with special focus on economic development of Scheduled Tribes living therein. A TSP is, in fact, a plan within a plan, envisaging a ceiling on the annual plan outlay of a State for exclusive utilisation in an Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP) ----- the basic unit for tribal planning.

2.5.4 The emergence of TSP led to a paradigm-shift during the Sixth Plan (1980-85) and the emphasis now shifted to helping the pre-selected Below Poverty Line (BPL) families to rise above the BPL status. A definite target of assisting 50 percent of the BPL Scheduled Tribe families to rise about to Poverty Line was adopted for the first time. Broadly speaking, the Sixth Plan objectives were:

(I) To assist the targeted BPL families in rising above the poverty-line by raising the over-all productivity level; and

(II) To narrow down the difference between the levels of development in the tribal areas vis-à-vis the surrounding areas; and

(III) To increase the coverage of Tribal Sub-Plan so as to include the Scheduled Tribe population living outside the Scheduled Areas. A Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) was adopted which aimed at covering Tribal Pockets in a State ----- comprising such contiguous areas as have a population-threshold of 10,000 people and of whom at least 50 percent were Scheduled Tribes.

The first category of programmes under TSP envisages special emphasis on schemes such as (I) minor irrigation, (II) soil and water conservation, (III) co-operation, (IV) connectivity of people through rural roads, and (V) land reforms. On the other hand, the second category of programmes envisages (I) provision for drinking water and rural electrification, (II) education and health, (III) promoting agriculture, animal husbandry, dairy development, forest produce, and (IV) promotion of small scale and cottage industries, etc.
2.5.5 Sixth Plan onwards, the focus of TSP has been to enlarge the coverage of tribal population still further as well as to augment their productive base. Accordingly, the planks of the Seventh Plan (1985-90) were:

(I) To increase the coverage of ST population to 100 percent;

(II) To follow a three-pronged strategy with emphasis on food, productivity, and work;

(III) Introduction of two new programmes into Tribal Sub-Plan viz. (I) Integrated Rural Energy Programme (IREP), and (II) Bio-gas development; and

(IV) Provision of adequate infrastructure for education and for anti-poverty programmes (cf. Hasnain, 1991:222)

On the eve of Eighth Plan (1992-97), it was realised that though the percentage of families living below the BPL has fallen, yet the impact of poverty was still palpable and the incidence of poverty was greater in rural areas than in urban areas, requiring therefore more emphasis on proper identification of eligible families and the distribution of benefits.

**TABLE 2.1:- PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES LIVING BELOW THE POVERTY LINE IN INDIA : 1977-78 to 1987-88**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>ALL-INDIA</th>
<th>SCHEDULED TRIBES</th>
<th>SCHEDULED CASTES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(I)</td>
<td>(II)</td>
<td>(III)</td>
<td>(IV)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>51.2%</td>
<td>64.6%</td>
<td>72.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>40.4%</td>
<td>53.1%</td>
<td>58.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987-88</td>
<td>33.4%</td>
<td>44.7%</td>
<td>52.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Accordingly, the main aim of the Ninth Plan (1997-2002) was to intensify the effort to bridge the income-level gap between the Scheduled Tribes and the non-tribes by following a three-pronged policy of (I) social empowerment, (II) economic empowerment, and (III) ensuring social justice.
2.6.0 ADMINISTRATION OF TRIBAL AREAS IN HIMACHAL PRADESH

The administrative set-up in the State can be broadly divided into three parts, namely:-

2.6.1 Pre-1947 Position

The tribal areas of the Pradesh were the last to come under the British rule because of difficult terrain and inaccessibility. Keeping in view the sensitivities of the tribals with regard to their traditional rights over ‘land’ and ‘forests’, the government of the day thought it expedient to follow a policy of maintaining law and order only. The concept of ‘development’ as a function of administration had not yet emerged. (cf. Basu 1985:281)

2.6.2 1947-1952 period

It may be described as a preparatory period when it was being felt that these areas should be gradually brought within the orbit of normal administration for the purpose of development.

2.6.3 1952-1974 period

During this period, the Community Development Programme (CDP) was introduced with effect from 2nd Oct. 1952. Since a CDP was expected to cover all the aspects of community life, hence the same principle was also applied to the tribal areas. It was followed by the implementation of Panchayati Raj Act, 1959 which gave institutional back-up to the CDP by organising community life. These two measures notwithstanding, one cannot but agree with Basu (1985) that till 1974 there was neither a separate machinery for tribal development nor a separate unit for administration of tribal areas in Himachal Pradesh.

2.6.4 However, once tribal development became the responsibility of the State government in terms of Articles 338 and 339 of the Constitution of India, the whole process of planning underwent finer orientation. The government of Himachal Pradesh enforced the following measures to strengthen the administrative machinery for tribal development:-
(a) **CREATION OF A SEPARATE DEPARTMENT OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN HIMACHAL PRADESH**

Immediately after the introduction of Tribal sub-plan in 1974-75, the first important step taken by the Govt. of Himachal Pradesh was to create a separate Department of Tribal Development in Jun, 1976. It was done so that this administrative unit could exclusively cater to the needs of tribal development. (cf. TSP 2010-11, p.100)

This department is under the over-all charge of Commissioner-cum-Secretary (Tribal Development), who is also responsible for co-ordinating the overall development programmes in the tribal areas.

(b) **INTRODUCTION OF SINGLE LINE ADMINISTRATION**

Further, with a view to improving administrative efficiency, the Govt. of Himachal Pradesh introduced a Single Line Administration in the tribal areas from April 15, 1988. (cf. Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 2006-07, p. 22). It vests all the administrative authority (in respect of all the departments of an ITDP) in one functionary i.e. the Deputy Commissioner. In other words, a Deputy Commissioner is Head of the Department for every department located in his ITDP. Single-line administrators report direct to the Commissioner (Tribal Development), resulting into improvement in administrative efficiency.

(c) **DECLARATION OF SCHEDULED TRIBES**

Yet another important step taken by the Govt. of Himachal Pradesh was to schedule the tribal communities as sections of society needing special care, among them being (1) Kinnaura or Kannaura, (2) Lahaula, (3) Gaddi, (4) Gujjar, (5) Pangwala, (6) Jad, (7) Lamba, (8) Bhot or Bodh.

**NOTE**

Till Jan. 2003, the Gaddis and Gujjars were treated as Scheduled Tribes, only if residing in the Scheduled Areas. But, since Jan. 13, 2003 the area-restrictions have been done away with, as a result of which these two communities will henceforth be
treated as Scheduled Tribes throughout the Pradesh. So far, the Govt. of India has declared 10 castes of Himachal Pradesh as Scheduled Tribes (cf. TSP 2010-11, p.90).

2.6.5 DECLARATION OF SCHEDULED AREAS

Another important step taken by the government of Himachal Pradesh was to convert the tribal areas into Scheduled Areas, after fulfilling the minimum criterion of 50 percent Scheduled Tribe population-concentration in a Community Development Block (CDB). Accordingly, the districts of Kinnaur and Lahaul-Spiti (in their entirety) and Pangni and Bharmour sub-divisions of district Chamba were declared as the Scheduled Areas under the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution of India vide the Scheduled Area (Himachal Pradesh) Order, 1975 (CD 102), dated Nov. 21, 1975 (cf. TSP, 2010-11, p.1).

2.6.6 DIVIDING SCHEDULED AREAS INTO SUB-UNITS OF INTEGRATED TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS (ITDPs)

The tribal areas were further sub-divided into well-defined administrative units. The entire tribal-belt was divided into five Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDPs), namely (i) Kinnaur, (ii) Lahaul, (iii) Spiti, (iv) Pangi, and (v) Bharmour.

The description of each ITDP is as follows:

The ITDP Kinnaur comprises the whole district by the same name. The ITDP Lahaul comprises the tehsil Lahaul and sub-tehsil Udaipur (District Lahaul and Spiti). The ITDP Spiti comprises the whole sub-division of the same name (district Lahaul and Spiti).

The ITDP Pangi comprises the tehsil of the same name (district Chamba). The ITDP Bharmour comprises the tehsil Bharmour and sub-tehsil Holi (both situated in district Chamba).
DIVIDING ITDPs INTO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BLOCKS (CDBs) -- STEP III

Further, for execution of development programmes, the aforesaid ITDP’s were further sub-divided into seven Community Development Blocks (CDBs) i.e.:-

Kinnaur ITDP comprises three CDBs namely (I) Kalpa, (2) Pooh, and (3) Nichar; Lahaul ITDP coincides with CDB Lahaul; Like-wise Spiti, Pangi, and Bharmour ITDP’s coincide with CDBs of the same name.

2.6.7 THREE APEX BODIES IN THE STATE

In addition to foregoing administrative set-up, there are also three apex bodies in the State to ensure the target-bound smooth implementation of developmental programmes in the tribal areas viz:-

(I) Project Advisory Committee (PAC);
(II) Tribes Advisory Council (TAC); and
(III) Monitoring and Evaluation system.

THE PROJECT ADVISORY COMMITTEE (PAC)

Each ITDP has one PAC which is responsible both for (i) formulation and implementation of Tribal sub-plan, as well as (ii) for distribution of nucleus-budget funds. The PAC is headed by local MLA, with the Resident Commissioner/Deputy Commissioner/Additional Deputy Commissioner as its Vice Chairman. It is also represented by the concerned member of Parliament of the area, the Chairman of Panchayat Samiti, members of Tribes Advisory Council, and the Project-level Heads of Offices. The Project Officer of the ITDP is also the member-secretary of the Committee.

TRIBES ADVISORY COUNCIL (TAC)

Under the provisions of Article 244 (I), Part-B, Para-4 of the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution, a Tribes Advisory Council (TAC) has been constituted in the State since Dec. 13, 1977. So far, 42 meetings of the TAC have been convened (the last in
the series was held on March 05, 2012). It consists of 20 members including the Chairman (Chief Minister). Its functions are:-

To advise on all matters referred to it. Though the recommendations of the TAC are advisory in nature, but the convention is that such recommendations are, by and large, accepted by the Government.

Besides, it also supervises the implementation of the tribal sub-plan in the State (cf. TSP 2006-07, H.P., p.23).

2.6.8 MONITORING AND EVALUATION SYSTEM

Since monitoring of Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) is an essential pre-requisite for successful execution of planning, it is done through reports, review meetings and field visits. Performance of TSP is reviewed quarterly at the project level by the Project Advisory Committee (PAC) as well as by the Commissioner (TD) or his representative while on tour to these areas. At the State level, the Chief Secretary also holds quarterly review meetings for stock-taking the performance of TSP. Expert evaluation studies are also undertaken by the Programme Evaluation Organisation of the Planning Commission as well as by the State Planning Deptt, with the object of assessing the impact of selected plan programmes (cf. Tribal Sub-Plan 2006-07, Govt. of H.P., pp. 19-21).

2.6.9 The foregoing administrative set-up in the tribal areas can be depicted by the accompanying flow-chart (figure.2.3).
Figure 2.3
FLOW CHART: ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE FOR TRIBAL AREAS IN HIMACHAL PRADESH

CHIEF MINISTER

Commissioner-cum-Secretary
(Tribal Development)

Deputy Commissioner
Kinnaur;
Vice Chairman
PAC, Kinnaur

D.C. Lahaul-Spiti
Vice Chairman,
PAC, Lahaul.

A.D.C. Spiti
Vice Chairman,
PAC, Spiti.

D.C. Chamba
Vice Chairman,
PAC Bharmour

R.C. Pangi
Vice Chairm
PAC, Pangi

ITDP KINNAUR

ITDP LAHAUL

ITDP SPITI

ITDP BHARMOUR

ITDP PAN

CDB Nichar
CDB Kalpa
CDB Pooh
CDB Lahaul
CDB Spiti
CDB Bharmour
CDB Pangi

PAC PROJECT ADVISORY COMMITTEE
DC DEPUTY COMMISSIONER
ADC ADDITIONAL DEPUTY COMMISSIONER
RC RESIDENT COMMISSIONER
ITDP INTEGRATED TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT
CDB COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BLOCK

NOTE: ITDPs were introduced in Himachal Pradesh in 1976.
2.7.0 HIMACHAL PRADESH IMPLEMENTS TRIBAL SUB-PLAN

2.7.1 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF TRIBAL SUB-PLAN IN H.P.

The concept of Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) was adopted in the State on the eve of Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-78), beginning with 1974-75 as the water-shed year.

OBJECTIVES OF TSP: Its two main aims were:-

A comprehensive development of the tribal areas, focusing particularly on the welfare of the individual tribal families and communities.

Ultimately, to bring the tribals up to and into the mainstream. In the words of Negi (1976), the main aim of the State is “to improve the lot of tribal communities with the ultimate aim of bringing them up to and into the mainstream”.

2.7.2 TRIBAL SUB-PLAN (TSP) vis-à-vis COVERAGE OF TRIBAL POPULATION

In a nutshell, the strategy for tribal development proposes to cover both:

The tribals concentrated in certain areas where their population concentration in a Community Development Block (CDB) is at least 50 percent or more. Such areas were designated as Scheduled Areas in the State in 1975; and those tribals who are dispersed in the State outside the Scheduled Areas.

It was essentially a two-pronged strategy i.e., an area-development approach as well as a community-based/ or beneficiary-oriented approach.

Immediately, with the onset of the Fifth Plan (1974-78), the areas of tribal concentration (now called Scheduled Areas) were taken up for planning in the first instance. For the “Dispersed Tribes”, a Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) was devised during the Sixth Plan (1980-85), which was intended to cover such pockets of tribal concentration as had a population-threshold of 10,000 people in the contiguous areas, of whom 50 percent or more were tribals. In Himachal Pradesh, two such pockets namely Chamba Block and Bhatiyat Block (both in district Chamba).
were identified in 1981-82, covering an area of 891 sq. km. and a population of 43,559 persons.

Further, with a view to covering all the Scheduled Tribes dispersed in the non-tribal areas, the following two sets of villages were also identified and included (since 2001) in order to prepare micro-plans at the habitation level:-

All those 341 villages in the State which had 50 percent or more of the tribal concentration; and Also those 349 villages which, though had less than 50 percent tribal concentration but had at least 100 or more than 100 tribal people living in them (cf. Draft Annual Plan 2011-12, Deptt. of Planning, Govt. of Himachal Pradesh, p.132).

NOTE: Till Feb. 1987, the Tribal Sub-Plan Strategy was applicable to Scheduled Areas and two Tribal Pockets in district Chamba (covered by Modified Area Development Approach or MADA). However, during the Seventh Plan (1985-90), the planning strategy was further extended to cover all those tribals who hitherto lived outside the aforesaid two sets of areas.

2.7.3 A LUMP-SUM ALLOCATION OF FUNDS vis-à-vis ITS DISTRIBUTION FOR EXECUTION OF TRIBAL SUB-PLAN

As per planning policy of the State Government, a lump sum nine percent allocation of State Plan Outlay is earmarked for tribal sub plan each year. The State’s Planning Department communicates a nine percent ceiling to the Department of Tribal Planning, which, in turn, allocates outlay to each of the five ITDPs on the basis of a pre-determined formula. This objective formula has been evolved by giving 20 percent weightage to geographical area, 40 percent weightage to population and the remaining 40 percent weightage to relative backwardness of the area. As per this formula, the funds are allocated to the ITDP’s in the following proportions:

1. Kinnaur - 30%
2. Bharmour - 19%
3. Lahaul - 18%
4. Pangi - 17%
5. Spiti - 16% (cf. Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 2006-07, p. 13)
Accordingly, each ITDP, in accordance with its own resource-configuration and felt-needs, draws up its priorities and allocates funds to only those schemes which are relevant to the area. In fact, the tribal sub-plan is formulated on the basis of recommendations of Project Advisory Committee (PAC).

2.7.4 INTRODUCTION OF A SINGLE CONSOLIDATED DEMAND (DEMAND NO. 31)

Further, in order to ensure smooth implementation of Tribal Sub-Plan, a lump-sum allocation of funds is reflected in the State Budget under a Single Consolidated Demand (Demand No. 31). It is a document which contains a ITDP-wise list of schemes alongwith corresponding outlays.

The introduction of a Single Consolidated Demand has the effect of making the sub-plan outlays non-divertible outside the sub-plan areas. This demand is prepared and controlled by the Deptt. of Tribal Development.

2.7.5 SOME OTHER PROTECTIVE/ANTI-EXPLOITATION MEASURES FOR TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

A. In pursuance of the guide-lines of the Government of India, Himachal Pradesh also simultaneously enforced the following measures for socio-economic transformation of the rural masses:

(I) Enactment of the Abolition of Big Landed Estates and Land Reforms Act, 1953. It aimed at the abolition of Big Landed Estates and conferring proprietary rights on occupancy tenants as well as ensuring security of tenure to other tenants.


(III) Introduction of Panchayat Raj Act 1959 followed by Panchayat Raj Act 1968. (Now Panchayat Raj Act 1968 has been repealed and replaced by the New Panchayat Raj Act 1994, providing for uniform system of Panchayati Raj throughout the country (cf. TSP 2006-07:103))
(B) **Introduction of the Himachal Pradesh Land (Regulation) Act, 1968:**

Section 3 (1) of this Act provides that no person belonging to any Scheduled Tribe shall transfer his interest in any land (by way of sale, mortgage, lease, gift or otherwise) to any person not belonging to such tribe, except with the prior permission of the Deputy Commissioner of the concerned district. The Act has further been amended since Jan. 2003. Now the prior permission of the State Govt. as well as the prior concurrence of the concerned Gram Sabha or Panchayat has also been made mandatory.

(C) **Implementation of the Money Lending Act, 1976**

Money lending in the State has been regulated in terms of provisions of this Act. It prescribes registration of all money lenders and making it obligatory for them to obtain a license for doing the money lending business.

(D) **LAW AGAINST BONDED LABOUR**

There is no bonded labour in the tribal areas of the State. As per section-4 of the H.P. Relief of Agricultural Indebtedness Act, 1976, all types of bonded labour has been forbidden by any custom or tradition or by any agreement (made before or after the ‘appointed day’).

The provisions of Government of India’s Act on the subject namely the ‘Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976’ have been made applicable throughout the State.

(E) **EXPLOITATION IN FORESTRY SECTOR**

There are no forest villages in the State. The tribals in the State have been granted recorded rights to collect minor forest produce for their own consumption or sale thereof.
(F) DISPLACEMENT OF TRIBALS BY MAJOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND REHABILITATION POLICY OF THE STATE

There is also a well defined policy of the Government of Himachal Pradesh for rehabilitation/resettlement of the population displaced on account of their land having been acquired for construction of projects in the tribal areas. (cf. Annual Tribal Sub-Plan 2006-07, p. 31)

2.8.0 FINANCIAL ALLOCATIONS DURING PLANS (HIMACHAL PRADESH)

2.8.1 STATE PLAN OUTLAY vis-à-vis PERCENTAGE SHARE OF TRIBAL SUB-PLANS IN THE STATE PLAN OUTLAY (1974-78 TO 2007-12) IS PRESENTED IN TABLE 2.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. NO.</th>
<th>PLAN PERIOD</th>
<th>STATE PLAN OUTLAY (In Lakhs)</th>
<th>FLOW TO TRIBAL SUB-PLAN (TSP) (In Lakhs)</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE COL. III to COL. II</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN TSP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>FIFTH PLAN (1974-78)</td>
<td>15,743.00</td>
<td>904.81</td>
<td>5.75</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>SIXTH PLAN (1980-85)</td>
<td>62,833.56</td>
<td>5,415.31</td>
<td>8.62</td>
<td>498.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>SEVENTH PLAN (1985-90)</td>
<td>1,15,919.00</td>
<td>10,179.24</td>
<td>8.78</td>
<td>87.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>EIGHTH PLAN (1992-97)</td>
<td>2,50,200.00</td>
<td>22,518.00</td>
<td>9.00</td>
<td>121.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>NINTH PLAN (1997-2002)</td>
<td>5,70,000.00</td>
<td>49,500.00</td>
<td>8.68</td>
<td>119.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>TENTH PLAN (2002-2007)</td>
<td>10,30,000.00</td>
<td>85,635.00</td>
<td>8.31</td>
<td>73.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>ELEVENTH PLAN (2007-12)</td>
<td>14,00,000.00</td>
<td>1,26,000.00</td>
<td>9.00</td>
<td>47.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Annual Tribal Sub-Plan 2010-11, Department of Tribal Development, Govt. of Himachal Pradesh (p-5 and p-9). Also see Tribal Sub-Plan 2006-07, pp 10-11.

NOTE: Figures In Lakh rupees denote approved Plan Outlay.
2.8.2 Sector-wise synoptic picture of Tribal Sub-Plan outlay (Rupees in Lakhs) during 1974-1990 is presented in Table 2.3

**TABLE 2.3: A SYNOPTIC PICTURE OF TRIBAL SUB-PLAN 1974-78 TO 1974-90**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Agriculture and Allied Activities</td>
<td>341.74 (31.24)</td>
<td>501.65 (30.44)</td>
<td>1173.00 (21.74)</td>
<td>2978.50 (27.96)</td>
<td>4994.89 (26.58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(including Rural Development)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Power &amp; Energy</td>
<td>182.28 (16.66)</td>
<td>296.90 (18.01)</td>
<td>1276.00 (23.64)</td>
<td>2848.50 (26.75)</td>
<td>4603.66 (24.50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(including Irrigation and Flood Control)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>TRANSPORT</td>
<td>241.72 (22.10)</td>
<td>359.06 (21.79)</td>
<td>1155.00 (21.40)</td>
<td>1985.00 (18.64)</td>
<td>3740.78 (19.91)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Social &amp; Community Services</td>
<td>249.78 (22.84)</td>
<td>311.08 (18.88)</td>
<td>1128.40 (20.91)</td>
<td>1906.00 (17.90)</td>
<td>3595.26 (19.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>OTHERS/MISC.</td>
<td>78.29 (7.16)</td>
<td>179.26 (10.88)</td>
<td>664.00 (12.31)</td>
<td>932.00 (8.75)</td>
<td>1853.55 (9.87)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Total Tribal Sub-Plan Outlay (1-5)</td>
<td>1093.81 (100.00)</td>
<td>1647.95 (100.00)</td>
<td>5396.40 (100.00)</td>
<td>10650.00 (100.00)</td>
<td>18788.16 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** H.S. Parmar, *Tribal Development in HP*, 1992, p.43.

**NOTE:** Sector-wise broad classification of economic activities:

1. Agriculture and Allied Activities include crop husbandry; soil and water conservation; forestry (development of pastures) and wild-life; animal husbandry; fisheries; co-operation, etc.

Rural Development includes promotion of special programmes like Sampuran Gramin Rojgar Yojna (SGRY), Rural Employment, Indira Awas Yojna, Desert Development Programme (DDP), Land Reforms, etc.

2. Power and Energy include power-generation and rural electrification. Irrigation and Flood control include programmes for minor irrigation/KUHLS and flood control.

3. Transport includes civil aviation, construction of State highways, helipads, bridges, rope-ways, cable-ways, bus-stands, etc.

4. Social and Community Services include Panchayati Raj Institutions, education, allied sports, etc.
It is clear from sector-wise plan-outlay during the period 1974-90 (Table 2.3) that nearly 70 to 75 percent of the plan-allocations were made for the creation of infrastructural facilities like transport and communications, social and community services, power and irrigation, in comparison to agriculture and allied sectors i.e., the sectors like agriculture, horticulture, forestry, industry and mining which are directly engaged in productive activities. Core infrastructure like roads, electrification, irrigation have been given weightage during the formative years of Tribal Sub-Plan and this seems to be in place in view of the fact that the creation of socio-economic facilities generate externalities and help dynamise the production-process.

Once the initial leeway was made up till 1990, the emphasis of planning thereafter shifted to the ‘economic services’ or economic-sector during Eighth Plan (1992-97) and Ninth Plan (1997-2002), accounting for more than 60 percent of the TSP outlay. This precedence continues to occupy the centre-stage even during the subsequent plans. (see Annual Tribal Sub-Plan 2006-07, p. 17).
NOTES AND REFERENCES


2. Richard T. Gill, Economic Development: Past and Present (second edition), (New Delhi: Prentice-Hall of India, Private Limited, 1970), p 14. Of late, total output has grown far more rapidly than can be accounted for by an increase in factors of production alone and this is suggestive of the changes which have taken place in the way we use our factors of production.

3. See A.K. Singh, Tribal Development in India (Delhi: Amar Prakashan, 1984), p. 1. The problem in case of underdeveloped countries is highly unequal distribution of wealth, being mostly concentrated in the hands of a small minority. The chief task of development, therefore, is to be seen in terms of reintegrating these people into the existing social structures.


equally in economic activities in any part of one’s country. In other words, a country has the right to invest its resources in any part where those are likely to prove more useful.

9. See Nadeem Hasnain, 1991, op.cit, pp. 101-118 (particularly pp. 114, 117 in point). In some of the States the forest boundaries run very close to the tribal habitations, resulting into conflict between the tribals and the officials of the Forest Department.


12. Cf. Nadeem Hasnain, op.cit, p.114. Since this Commission was headed by U.N.Dhebar, the report is therefore also referred to as Dhebar Commission Report.

13. See Internet for details on 1935 Act. Also see Nadeem Hasnain, op.cit, pp.184-185. As per 1935-Act, the British Govt. created two types of tribal areas for according special treatment to the tribes viz, “Totally Excluded Areas” and “Partially Excluded Areas”. In other words, the British Govt. decided on a policy of segregating the tribes into special areas where their lives and interest could be adequately protected.

14. Refer Nadeem Hasnain, 1991, op.cit, pp. 190-192 and p. 185. After Independence, in the wake of creation of a separate department for tribal welfare in 1951 (now Tribal Affairs Ministry), two special safeguards in the form of Fifth Schedule and Sixth Schedule (appended to Article 244 of the Constitution) were created for speedy development of the tribes.

15. Refer Nadeem Hasnain, ibid, p. 185.

16. Refer for import of Article 338 of the Constitution Nadeem Hasnain, ibid, pp. 226-227. Under Article-338 of the Constitution of India, a special officer known as the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has
been appointed at the all-India level since Nov. 1950, who serves as a link between the Constitution on the one hand and the Central/State governments on the other. He keeps them informed through periodic reports of the latest position on Implementation of various safeguards.

Article 339, on the other hand, has two strands:

(I) it stipulates that the President of India, at the expiration of 10 years from the commencement of the Constitution, shall appoint a Commission, to report on the administration of the Scheduled Areas; and

(II) Also enjoins upon the State governments to formulate and execute such schemes as would be deemed essential for the welfare of the STs.

17. See Nadeem Hasnain, ibid, p. 185 and p. 211. The crux of tribal development in India has been a policy of progressive assimilation of the tribal people in the national mainstream. The long-term objectives of the Tribal Sub-Plan are (I) to narrow the gap between the levels of development of tribals and non-tribals, and (II) to improve the quality of life of the tribal communities (ibid, p. 211).

18. Cf. Nadeem Hasnain, ibid, p. 228. Also see A.R. Basu, 1985, p. 74. The purpose behind Community Development Programme (CDP), introduced with effect from Oct. 2, 1952 was to provide an institutional set up, followed subsequently by the introduction of Panchayati Raj Institutions in Oct. 1959. (now over-ruled by the provisions of the 1994 Act, currently in force throughout the State). The latter was to provide the backing to the CDP by way of organizing village community through new leadership. (cf_ Hasnain, 1991:215). The Community Development Department is concerned with the working of the Tribal Development Blocks in the States (Hasnain, 1991:228).

19. Cf. Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 2006-07, Govt. of Himachal Pradesh, p.3. The experiment of Special Multi-purpose Tribal Development Blocks (SMTDBs) was started in the wake of the realisation that tribal areas needed special treatment in view of, (I) inadequate and tenuous communications, (II) sparsely populated areas, and (III) hilly and undulating terrain.

21. Cf. Nadeem Hasnain, op cit, p. 187. Given the sensitivity of the tribals for their time-honoured customs and mores, there is need on the part of Govt. of India to tread warily in its approach for integration and assimilation of the tribes in the mainstream.

22. Refer for MADA Tribal Sub-Plan 2006-07, Govt. of Himachal Pradesh, pp. 8-9.

23. Cf. Annual Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) 1989-90, p. 15. The Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Govt. of India, has further notified that Gaddis and Gujjars of the merged areas of Himachal Pradesh would be treated as Scheduled Tribes, on par with other Scheduled Tribes of the State, with effect from Jan. 13, 2003 (cf. Tribal Sub-Plan 2006-07, p.2 and Tribal Sub-Plan 2010-11, p. 90).

24. Cf. Annual Tribal Sub-Plan 2006-07, Deptt. of Tribal Development, Himachal Pradesh, p.7. Under the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution, the President of India (vide the Scheduled Areas Himachal Pradesh Order 1975 (co 102) dated the 21st Nov. 1975) declared the five ITDPs of Kinnaur, Lahaul, Spiti, Pangi and Bharmour as Scheduled Areas. Except Kinnaur, which has three Community Development Blocks (CDBs), the rest of the ITDPs comprise one CDB each. In case of H.P., the minimum criterion is that a CDB should have at least 50 percent ST population.

25. See details on administrative structure for tribal areas of H.P. in Annual Tribal Sub-Plan 2006-07, Deptt. of Tribal Development, Himachal Pradesh, pp. 19-23.


28. Cf. Annual Tribal Sub-Plan 2006-07, Deptt. of Tribal Development, Himachal Pradesh, p. 14. The Chief Minister, Himachal Pradesh, in his presidential address during 41st meeting of Tribes Advisory Council (TAC) in April 2011, made the announcement that the Govt. of H.P. has now made it mandatory to earmark nine percent of State’s annual budgetary outlay for Tribal Sub-Plan for concerted development of tribal areas.
