CHAPTER 3:
SURVEY OF LITERATURE

3.0.0 The Chapter on ‘Survey of Literature’ aims at contextualizing the academic problem under consideration so that it may be solved with the accumulated effort of several scientists whose works may have any bearing on the contemplated field of enquiry. Broadly speaking, its objectives are:

(I) To present an overview of the academic work/research work done so far that has bearing on the present study;

(II) To find out the missing links in the already done research work;

(III) To specify the objectives more clearly; and

(IV) To evolve the methodological framework for the present study.

Though not much work has been done on the tribal areas of Himachal Pradesh the works of Basu (1985), Jairath (1986), Swarup and Ranveer (1988), some evaluation studies of H.P. University, and Karan Chand (1990) notwithstanding, yet a number of studies conducted in other states in the Indian context offer a good insight into the tribal problems.

3.1.0 The following section is devoted to summarily review the broad methodology and observations of some of the works which have further been divided into sections, namely, section (A) and section (B). Section (A) deals with the works on the national scene, whereas the section-B epitomises the related studies in the context of tribal areas of Himachal Pradesh.

SECTION-A

3.1.1 The first serious effort in this direction was made by the Government of India in its Report on Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes, 1961 (Vol.1), which attempted to review the entire spectrum of tribal problems in the Indian context. The commission supplemented its personal observations with the benefit of a number of past studies and surveys. In view of widely different stages of tribal development, it divided the Indian tribes into the following broad categories:

(I) The tribes which are still in the primitive stage and are living in the
remote comers, practising shifting-cultivation;

(II) The tribes which have taken to regular cultivation; and

(III) The tribes which have already been assimilated.

The Commission observed that the tribals as a whole are highly susceptible to any random change in their traditional set-up, which has kept their self-sustaining economics afloat for a long time. Hence it advocated a two pronged strategy viz. (I) protecting their traditional rights on ‘land’ and ‘forest’; and (II) secondly, implementing positive welfare measures.

3.1.2 Gunnar Myrdal (1966 reprint) examined the conditions in the case of developing countries which must precede any plan for rapid economic development. One stipulation, among others, is the creation of a propitious politico-economic milieu which may promote the spread-effects of newly emerging growth-impulses. Since, most of the developing regions have often to contend against outworn social and economic institutions (as, for instance, Zamindari and Jagirdari tenure in India), there is, therefore, an imperative need to replace the old-order with a new system, which is amenable to the rising expectations of the masses. It calls for a pro-active role for the state government. Underlining the importance of land reforms, he observed that these are significant, not only as a pre-condition for raising productivity in agriculture, but also, primarily, as a means of shattering the foundations of the old stagnating class-structure. The socio economic inequalities which exist in these regions are not conducive to foster enterprise (p. 95).

3.1.3 Kurien and Josef (1972) have attempted to identify, interpret and evaluate ‘Economic Change’ in the State of Tamil Nadu over the decade since 1969-70. The main objective of the study is to depict the ‘process of change’ through a regionally and functionally disaggregated analysis, thereby underlining the distortion involved in following an aggregative approach. Taking a three-tier view of the economy in terms of (I) structure, (II) Activity and (III) Performance, they strike a key-note, “Economic changes do not happen, they are caused.” (Kurien, 1972:183).

Economic changes are always planned consciously by the decision-makers or owners of factors-of-production. The major finding emerging from this study was the extreme concentration of economic gains (even the gains of Green Revolution) in a few
isolated segments of the economy. Such an inference on ‘economic change’ cannot be equated with the over-all economic development of the State.

3.1.4 Tom Kessinger (1974) traces the extent of socio-economic change in a North-Indian village ‘VILLAYATPUR’ during a time-span of 120 years (1848-1968). It is a meaningful study of the social and economic history of rural India and hinges on the distinction between ‘what is changing’ and ‘what is stable’. He reconstructed the saga of ‘economic change’ on the basis of old village records, relying on the following indicators:

(I) The demographic pressure vis-à-vis its effect on the per capita availability of land;

(II) The extent of parcelisation i.e., the number of fragments per operational holding;

(III) The extent of double cropping (cropping intensity);

(IV) The proportion of resident work-force employed outside the village; and

(V) Increase in the use of improved agricultural inputs, purchased from outside the village.

3.1.5 Joshi (1975) deals with the emerging agrarian structure in India vis-à-vis the role of land reforms. Agrarian structure, he observes, denotes the control over ‘Land’ vis-à-vis the resultant socio-economic mutual relations among landlords, tenants, and labourers. While appraising the role of land reforms in India, the writer advocates a study of ‘change’ on the basis of comparative dynamics (rather than on comparative-statics). This will help us take cognisance of not only those forces which are resistant to ‘change’ but also those which are conductive to ‘change’. Concluding, he throws a poser:-

(I) Whether the disintegration of the ‘peasant economy’ and its traditions is necessarily a part of the modernization-process of the Indian society? Or

(II) Can India throw up an alternative paradigm to transition?

3.1.6 L.P. Vidyarthi and B.K. Roy (1976) highlight the major characteristics of a typical tribal economy vis-à-vis the cultural-shock experienced by it in the face of nascent economic change. Production structure of a typical tribal economy is
monolithic in character, as the tribal community represents a single body of economic-life characterised by mutual dependence. Hence, all the tasks of a village economy are done collectively, based on common economic interests. This general reciprocity includes, per se, the assistance given and taken in return (p. 105). Their mode of production is styled as ‘familial’ or ‘domestic’. The family as a whole represents one production unit, where production is carried out without any outside technological help or hired labour. The institution of mutual obligation and extension of free-of-cost help excludes the operation of profit-motive (p. 103).

3.1.7 Ranjeet Gupta (1976) presents the views of seminarists regarding the problems of tribes in the western region of India, touching on three major themes viz. (I) the region-specific problems, (II) the feedback or insights from the field, and (III) then spelling out a suitable strategy for tribal development. Dasgupta, one of the seminarists, for instance, cautioned against any hasty introduction of capital-intensive technology in tribal area, which, essentially being a package, presupposes the simultaneous availability and application of other inputs. Moreover, the technology may be outright inappropriate for marginal and small farmers who constitute the bulk of the peasantry and are not financially in a position to afford it. He, instead, advocated a land-intensive technology viz.: (I) land improvement-cum-water-harvesting measures, and (II) improving upon the existing agronomic practices. Yet, another participant underlined the need of a time-perspective for implementing the programmes for tribal development.

3.1.8 Joe Onyemelukwo (1981) examined the role of socio-economic indicators in the context of development planning in an African setting (Nigeria). Among important socio-economic indicators, he lists (I) levels of literacy, (II) health and access to modern health-care facilities, (III) access to social and economic infrastructures, (IV) extent of joint ownership or participation in a society’s means of production, (V) level of technical skills, (VI) opportunities for improvement in real income, (VII) increase in life-expectancy at birth, and (VIII) a feeling of social justice.

‘Progress’ in terms of the above indicators also results into changes at the macro-level, discernible in terms of (I) structural changes in the productive sectors and supporting services (i.e. infrastructure), (II) fuller and more satisfying employment opportunities, (III) economic resilience in terms of control over resources and

3.1.9 Kenneth C. Land (1981) attempted\textsuperscript{9} to explain the rationale of using socio-economic indicators in the context of integrated social and economic planning. These indicators are often used in the form of statistical-constructs for measuring ‘changes’ in the socio-economic conditions in contemporary societies. These consist of either numerical figures or proportions or rates, in the form of state-occupancy indices to denote proportion of people in a population who occupy a certain social status or who possess special social attributes at a given point of time (say percentage of literacy in a region at a point of time). The need for using these socio-economic indicators was realised in the wake of inadequacy of standard aggregative indices to portray a full picture of micro-level changes. It was this realisation that led Raymond A Bauer and his associates on the American Academy Projects to call for the establishment of a larger collection of socio-economic indicators (cf. ibid, Land, 1981:20).

3.1.10 P. Ramaiah (1981) conducted an empirical case-study\textsuperscript{10} on ‘Koyas’ of Warangal district (Andhra Pradesh). He selected a sample of 50 villages and 408 households, forming 22.5 percent of the total inhabited tribal villages and 10 percent of the total households, respectively. Out of the three approaches towards tribal development viz. (I) a policy of ‘isolation’ or ‘let them alone’ approach, (II) the policy of integration, and (III) a policy of Verrier Elwin’s middle path. He singles out the ‘Middle Path’ approach which is gaining ground in the current planning strategy.

For the success of any development plan, he observed that two factors need to be taken into consideration, namely, (I) the ‘incentive factor’ and (II) the ‘response factor’. While the first factor would propel the economy forward, the second factor, on the other hand, would take care of the direction of change. He asks whether the policy of protection-cum-development would indeed succeed, without upsetting the traditional harmony of the tribal life. He himself proceeds to answer that ‘development’, without touching the age-old customary structure, finds little support in history (words paraphrased). Some kind of shock, he says, is inevitable but it is the responsibility of the Government to ensure that the tribals do not lose their feet on the ground.

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3.1.11 Laxminarayan and Tyagi (1982) attempted to analyse the effects of land reforms on the traditional agrarian structure of India, with the help of secondary data derived from various rounds of National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) and Agricultural Census reports. The main findings are:

(I) That in the wake of introduction of land reforms, there has been a perceptible decline in area held by large holdings, with corresponding percentage increase in area held by marginal and small holdings;

(II) Emergence of a high proportion of marginal and small ownership holdings and a consequent further decrease in the average size of holding;

(III) By and large, India continues to be a country of small holdings inasmuch as 68 percent of the holdings are below 2.03 ha. Though some re-distribution of land has indeed taken place, yet 68 percent of the holdings account for only 24 percent of the ‘operated area’ (p. 157);

(IV) That there has been deterioration in the conditions of tenants, as more and more land has been brought under crop-sharing tenancy — mostly under informal and oral tenancy arrangements;

(V) In most of the States of India, livestock assets account for more than 60 percent of the total assets held by cultivating households;

(VI) The per hectare value of assets (other than land) decreases with the increase in the size of holding (p. 159);

(VII) Assets held by cultivating households are not equally distributed in relation to ‘area cultivated’ except in the case of medium-sized holdings;

(VIII) There has been no improvement in the economic condition of lower strata of rural population, as indicated by their share in consumer expenditure (cf. Laxminarayan, 1982:10).

3.1.12 Chadha (1983) interpreted the story of rural transformation of Punjab during the period 1950-51 to 1980-81. He divided the period under study into two sub-periods:-
(I) 1950-51 to 1965-66 i.e., the preparatory period for ‘change’ from early fifties to the eve of Green Revolution; and

(II) 1960-61 to 1980-81 --- the period of ‘economic change’ proper.

During the first sub-period, a massive public investment went into the creation of institutional and economic infrastructure in the form of (I) agricultural research and extension services, (II) irrigation and power development, (III) consolidation of holdings, and (IV) strengthening of co-operative credit structure. Briefly speaking, while the first phase prepared the ground for effective modernization of Punjab agriculture, the second phase consolidated the gains of the first phase by introducing a highly productive package of irrigation-seed-fertiliser technology. The other concomitant changes observed were:-

(I) Agriculture underwent commercial orientation, marking a shift from production-for-use to production-for-sale;

(II) Spread of irrigation infrastructure and its consequent uniform benefits to all size-classes; and

(III) Impetus to capitalistic mode of agriculture in terms of use of hired labour and application of better inputs.

3.1.13 Oomen (1984) attempted to analyse the social transformation of rural India through a collage of fifteen papers, out of which eight were based on the field work in Rajasthan and Kerala. Seeing the need to broadly recognise three types of communities viz. tribal, peasant and urban, he observes that a system should be understood to have undergone ‘change’ only if its ‘core or dominant institutional order’ undergoes structural changes. Since, in the Indian context, the land-based agrarian economy is the core-element, hence it is through ‘changes’ in this central aspect that we can understand the present ongoing social transformation; as, for example, in the form of (I) a new emerging social stratification, (II) issue of distributive justice gaining ground, (III) the evolving pattern of the agrarian realities, and (IV) the political mobilisation of the socially depressed sections of society.
Due to skewed distribution of productive assets and failure of percolation-hypothesis in the Indian economy, there is, he says, inherent potential for further accumulation of income inequalities. Therefore, he makes a strong case for pro-active stance of the Government agencies in order to condition and control the process-of-change for the lowest strata. The Govt. can intervene by way of (I) expanding educational facilities, (II) broadening employment opportunities, and (III) further building up the human-resource development (HRD).

3.1.14 Polly Hill (1986) has highlighted\(^\text{14}\) the need to look beyond the level of village economy in order to understand the basis of economic inequality. A village economy is based on ‘land’ resources where motivations of small-sized farmers are bound to be different from large farmers. He observes that external influence must always have been responsible for disturbing the ‘aboriginal equilibrium’. Commenting on penetration of cash-nexus in the village economy, he says that a cash-based economy always tends to operate in a manner that it raises the rich and depresses the poor. Observing that the dice is always heavily weighted in favour of the rich, he says:

“In general, as we know, the poor are always under duress and cannot seize economic opportunities which are open to richer people”. (Polly Hill, 1986:72)

3.1.15 Julka (1986) conducted an empirical\(^\text{15}\) study on 252 cultivating households of district Patiala (Punjab), with the base-year 1979-80. The study primarily addresses itself to measure income inequalities in respect of asset distribution (with the help of several regression models) vis-à-vis other factors accounting for inequality. The author concludes that

(I) There is a close link between the highly skewed distribution of ‘land’ and other productive assets vis-à-vis income;

(II) Inequalities in ‘area operated’ are uniformly less than those for ‘area owned’;

(III) Likewise, the inequalities in ‘Net Household Income’ are comparatively less than those observed for ‘Net Farm Income’, implying that off-farm incomes tend to soften the income inequalities;

(IV) While comparing the bottom 10 percent of the poor households with the upper
10 percent of the non-poor, he observes that the former employ more family-labour per acre than the latter and also carry out relatively more diversified activities on the farm.

3.1.16 Kunhaman (1989) conducted an empirical study\textsuperscript{10} with the objective of examining the extent of inter-regional variations in the levels of socio-economic development of the hill tribes of Kerala. He selected a sample of 765 households—462 tribals and 303 non-tribals in order to study mainly, among other things, (I) the sources of credit agency, (II) the security offered for loan, and (III) the rate of interest, etc. Among suggestions, he recommends an integrated free-market which should enable a producer to decide about the time and place of marketing his produce in order to realise the full value of the marketed surplus. In an imperfect market-situation, where there is an active operation of the intermediaries, these choices get restricted to the disadvantage of the producer. In practice, the tribals very often depend upon credit from the intermediaries against crop-secured loans and are therefore obliged to sell their products at the pre-determined price (cf. p. 74).

3.1.17 Thakur (1989) studied\textsuperscript{17} the Santhals (one of the three major hill tribes of India) of Amwar Santali (in South Bihar), with a view to studying the ‘process of change’ and ‘pattern of change’. The selection of Amwar Santali was based on its ‘isolation’ and ‘lack of communicability’, quite unknown to most other villages. The study was concluded in three phases --- Oct. 1968, in 1977, and finally in June, 1986. The focus of his study is:- how a tradition-based tribal village perceives and prepares itself to adopt the process of modernization and development, coming through outside contact and Government intervention (cf. title page of the book). As per his findings, agriculture is the mainstay of Santhals and is the main source of income and employment, supplemented by subsidiary occupations of poultry, mat-making, and sale of milk (p. 113). The people were opting to go outside the village in search of non-farm employment. A perceptible change in outlook was in evidence and is attributable to an inter-play of factors like (I) the spread of education, (II) interaction with non-tribals during market day, and (III) introduction of development schemes.

3.1.18 Dattaray (1989), an anthropologist by training\textsuperscript{18}, looked at the problem of tribal identity and tension in the North-East India, with the help of a questionnaire method. He concludes that there is a definite connect between the tribal problems and the
prevailing level of economic disparities between the tribal areas and the non-tribal areas. While making a passionate plea for preserving tribal identity, he concludes that the solution to the tribal unrest lies in reducing the incidence of economic inequalities.

3.1.19 G. Prakash Reddy (1987) selected a sample of two villages\(^1\) in Andhra Pradesh—one situated on the road-side and the other situated in the interior. He then conducted an empirical study in order to understand the socio-economic and cultural aspects of the native tribes. The tribal unrest, he observes, is mainly due to the skewed distribution of ‘land’ between the tribals and the non-tribals. While deprecating the introduction of cash-crops which resulted into mono-culture to the disadvantage of marginal and small farmers (constituting the bulk of the peasantry), he says:

“All change from food-crops to commercial crops in their case is fraught with danger, leading to food-shortage and malnutrition.”

He, therefore, cautions against hasty introduction of cash crops, which, apart from disturbing the traditional millets-based cropping-profile and subsistence-based nature of farming, also entail ecological implications. It is, after all, the ecology which helps in the selection of possible crop varieties in a given agro-climatic region.

3.1.20 Mohapatro (1987) made an empirical study of economic development\(^2\) of tribals of Korapur district of Orissa. He selected 25 percent of the households from each sampled village on the basis of systematic sampling. Relying on such indicators as (I) occupational pattern, (II) primitive character of the economy, and (III) sources of income, he recommends that development strategy for tribal areas should be a judicious mix of (I) socio-economic strategy, (II) spatial development strategy, and (III) administrative development strategy.

3.1.21 Nadeem Hasnain in *Tribal India Today*\(^3\) (1993) touches upon various facets of tribal life, like the origin of ‘tribes’, territorial distribution, racial classification, genesis of tribal problems, and the constitutional framework for their socio-economic development. Calling them the oldest inhabitants of the land, he observed that the tribals and the non-tribals co-existed for a long time in history, until their traditional rights on ‘land’ and ‘forests’ were infringed upon. According to him, the villain of the piece is the Government’s policy to make inroads into the mineral-rich tribal habitations, particularly on their traditional rights on forests in the wake of the latest
Forest Policy of 1952. The entry of the non-tribals resulted into alienation of tribals’ land through usurious money-lending activities of the former. While deprecating the tendency to impose the strategy for tribal development from above, he advocates the Panchsheel (five principles) enunciated by late first prime-minister Pandit Nehru (cf. Hasnain, 1993:194). In a key-note, he cautions against any hasty intervention of the Government into the custom-governed traditional set-up of the tribals.

3.1.22 Nanda (1994) conducted an empirical study on 23 villages of Korapur district (Southern Orissa) --- spread over 1027 households with a population of 4012. The study was designed to examine the impact of tribal development programmes on Bonda highlanders. He concludes that the Government’s steady inroads into the traditional set-up of the tribals have eroded their self-sustaining economy --- driven to what he calls the ‘near demise’ of a custom-based self-contained domestic community. Until the entry of the Govt. on the tribal scene, the Bondas led a secluded, unperturbed life in the highlands through the traditions of mutual reciprocity --- expressed in the form of barter-of-help. The whole village-level functioning exemplified itself into a corporate enterprise. As they are motivated to become an agricultural society under the forces of newly introduced wage-labour and its attendant rules of market economy, the Bonda highlanders are forced to give up their traditional practices --- time-tested tribal practices of mutual co-operation and self-sustenance. Consequently, a new organisation of work epitomises itself into a shift from ‘production-for-use’ to ‘production-for-exchange’. This new ‘economic change’ results into a qualitative change in the social life of a community.

3.1.23 Verrier Elwin (1939), once Adviser on Tribal Affairs to the Govt. of Assam, initially advocated ‘isolation or let them alone’ policy for tribal groups. In fact, his ‘National Park’ policy of keeping the tribals’ contact with the outside world to the minimum, became the model for the administration. However, subsequently, on a review of his thinking on the subject vis-à-vis Pandit Nehru’s ‘Panchsheel’ approach on tribes, Elwin changed his views from a status-quoist to a middle-path approach.

3.1.24 Gisbert (1978) called ‘primitive men’ or ‘tribes’ as pre-literates by which he meant that the only significant difference between them and the civilized societies is that they did not know the art of writing, denoting thereby the simplicity of their material culture. The manner of obtaining food (mode of production) is the most
important feature of an economic system which influences the structure and organisation of a society (Gisbert, 1978:4).

Among pre-literate people, the wider organisation of society relies on kinship or blood ties, rather than on any other type of union based on contract, agreement or subjection (ibid:2). The pre-liters are further grouped into two general categories viz. (I) food-gatherers and (II) the food producers. The food-gatherers are further sub-divided into (i) marginals --- the simplest of mankind verging on ‘animal’ state (also known as primitive or savage) and (ii) the lowest hunters. The food-producers, on the other hand, are also further sub-divided into higher hunters, pastoral people, and the agriculturists.

**FIGURE: 3.1**

**TRIBES DESIGNATED AS PRE-LITERATES**

- **Food-Gatherers**
  - Marginals (M)
  - Lower Hunters
  - Or
    - Primitives
    - Or
    - Savages

- **Food-Producers**
  - Higher Hunters
  - Agriculturists
  - (H H) Pastorals

(Source: Adapted from Gisbert, 1978)

3.1.25 Bhupinder Singh (1995) discussed the implications of implementation of Seventy-third and Seventy-fourth Constitutional Amendments to Scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas in the country, where there is still the existence of different traditional systems of self-government. These Acts underline the need to tread warily in respect of tribal areas which are governed by Fifth Schedule and Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. Accordingly, the Acts empower Parliament to enact legislation, providing for exception and modifications in respect of these areas. The writer makes
a special mention of Saora tribe in Orissa where there is still a very strong sentiment for continuing with traditional tribal leadership.

3.1.26 Explaining Marxian views on ‘Historical Materialism’, Ernest Mandel (1983) observed that all economic and social changes take place as a result of changes that a society makes in terms of its material production, paving the way in which subsequent social relations (or social organisation) are formed. ‘Change’ or ‘motion’ results from class struggle, which itself results from the existence of two antagonistic social classes viz. (I) the bourgeois or the capitalist class, and (II) the proletariat or the wage-earners who have nothing else but their labour-power to sell. The functioning of ‘dialectics’ helps us understand the dynamics of change unleashed by the contradictory class interests ------ in terms of relativity of things (Mandel, 1983:156). Consequent upon the occurrence of ‘economic change’, the largest social group no longer consists of agriculturists, but of artisans, merchants, and other functionaries, giving rise to a new milieu vis-à-vis other attendant problems in the form of development of (I) means of transportation, (II) communication, and (III) social services.

SECTION-B: STUDIES IN THE CONTEXT OF HIMACHAL PRADESH

3.2.1 Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Himachal Pradesh (DESHP) initiated the exploratory work on tribal areas by conducting bench-mark surveys in Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDPs) Kinnaur, Lahaul, Spiti, Pangi, and Bharmour with 1977-78 as the base-line year. The underlying idea was to prepare a data-bank in order to meet the immediate data-needs of Tribal Sub-Plan which was launched in the State during the Fifth Plan (1974-78), with 1974-75 as the pioneering year.

These bench-mark surveys were based on village studies, aimed at gaining a clear picture of socio-economic conditions obtaining in each ITDP. The indicators used were: (I) The number of cultivators and the extent of cultivable area in the village; (II) The cropping profile; (III) The extent of available infrastructural facilities; and (IV) The level of literacy. However, due to limited objectives of the bench-mark surveys, these did not make any attempt on analyzing the income and expenditure pattern of the tribal regions.

3.2.2 The District Gazetteer Lahaul-and-Spiti (1975), besides being a ready compendium on geographical and socio-economic dimensions of this border-cum-
tribal economy, gives an insight into the political formation of the district in 1960. Tracing the history of ‘economic change’ in this region, the Gazetteer observed that the economic progress has been perceptibly slow, primarily due to (I) terrain being craggy and mountainous and (II) extremely varying weather conditions. Hence, there is need for lot of innovation on this front (pp. 108-109). Due to undulating terrain, vehicular traffic was not possible in the district during fifties. In fact, goods were still being carried by human beings on their backs (p. 151), and the practice persists even now in the interior areas of the district. Limited availability of arable land is yet another big economic constraint and hence their economic salvation lies in promoting livestock (comprising snow-loving yaks, cows, sheep, goats, and pack-animals consisting of equine, mules, donkeys, etc.).

3.2.3 Basu (1985) selected two sub-divisions namely Pangi and Bharmour of district Chamba, with a view to studying the administrative viability of various development programmes being enforced in the State. Though, in his own admission, the study is primarily based on official studies eschewing all criticism, yet his attempt to include some case-studies (pp. 21-22) bring a stamp of authenticity on the observations. His major findings are that:

(I) The cumulative effect of inadequate infrastructure and low level of literacy has been to inhibit the ingress of ‘change’ in the tribal economy; and

(II) The major reason for partial success of various development programmes lay in their imposition from above, without proper feedback. The plans are being patterned on growth-models designed for advanced communities.

3.2.4 Jairath (1986) conducted an empirical study on levels of living on the hill tribes of Lahaul sub-division, district Lahaul-and-Spiti, Himachal Pradesh. Based on multi-stage random sampling, he selected an over-all sample of 101 households, spread over three-villages --- selecting one village each from Chandra Valley, Bhaga Valley and Pattan Valley of Lahaul sub-division, with 1982-83 as the base year. The main objective of his study was to examine the inter-village and intra-village inequalities of income and expenditure and to suggest ways to raise the standards of living. Using ‘Level of Living’ as a synonym of consumption, he observes that there are two approaches to determine the standards of living viz. (I) the disposable income approach
and (II) the total expenditure approach. Opting for the more practicable second approach, he concludes that a higher proportion of expenditure on food items indicates a low level of living and vice-versa (p. 156). This proportion of expenditure was found to be the highest (72%) in case of village Triloknath and the lowest (66%) in case of village ‘BEALING’. Among suggestions, he assigns top priority to investment (I) on communications (construction of tunnel across Rohtang Pass in particular), followed by, (II) development of agriculture, with particular focus on commercial crops like potatoes, hops, apple, vegetable seeds, as well as greater extension work for increasing crop yields.

3.2.5 Sharma (1987), using several indicators for appraising development performance, underlines the need to have a fresh look at the tribal sub-economy of the State, given the fact that it accounts for 42.5 percent of the total geographical area (55,673 sq.km) of the State, but encompassing barely 1.26 lakh of the Scheduled Tribes (i.e., 2.1 percent of the total State population of 60.8 lakh, as updated as per 2001 Census). It is indeed a case of harmonizing level of development with too few people, spread over too much area. The problem is further complicated by the fact that the tribal regions of Himachal Pradesh are situated in the high hills, with average altitude of habitations being 10,000’ above mean-sea-level. Among constraints, he lists customary set-up as the main hindrance which conditions the spread of modern ideas as well as the rate of economic growth. While on policy implications, he assigns top-priority to the diffusion of infrastructure in the wide-spread far-flung tribal areas.

3.2.6 R. Swarup and Ranveer Singh (1988) have drawn the portrait of ‘Chhitkul’ village situated in tehsil Sangla of district Kinnaur, Himachal Pradesh. A small village on Indo-Tibetan border, Chhitkul consisted of 67 households and had a total population of 442 persons during 1985-86, the reference year of this study. This village study was premised on the belief that it is only by undertaking the study of micro-level village economy that we can understand the process of-change. The study collected empirical data on (I) the size of the family, (II) the size of the operational holding, (III) the resource-base vis-à-vis capital structure, (IV) source-wise distribution of income and expenditure, and (V) even ‘culture’ which determines the type and growth of agriculture. The study specifically points out that:-

(I) The occupational structure of the village is heavily tilted in favour of
agriculture, with two-thirds of the work-force (67%) engaged in agricultural pursuits;

(II) Spinning and weaving are the major household industries, though these engage only an insignificant proportion of the work-force;

(III) ‘Other workers’ engage approx. 30 percent of the work-force;

(IV) The ‘Net area sown’ constituted only 6 percent of the total area by village-papers, while more than three-fourth of the area lay under ‘permanent pastures and other grazing lands’. This fact suggests that there is great scope for rearing animals without resorting to the practice of stall-feeding;

(V) That the major constraint of the village economy is land-use profile; and

(VI) that there is great scope for shifting work-force from other sectors of the village economy to cottage and small-scale industries for which the resources, including requisite skills, already exist in the village.

3.2.7 L.R. Sharma, J.P. Bhatti, and Dalip Thakur (1990-91) of H.P. University conducted an empirical study on Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP)13, Kinnaur, in order to examine the ‘change’ during the period 1950-51 to 1990-91. Keeping 1990-91 as the year of reference, development performance of the ITDP-Kinnaur was evaluated for the period 1950-51 to 1990-91 in general, and for the period 1974-75 to 1990-91 in particular, treating 1974-75 as the water-shed year for tribal sub-planning in the State. For this purpose, a random sample of 8 villages (having an over-all sample of 121 households) was selected. Sampled villages were selected on the basis of accessibility criterion —— 2 villages from Nichar Block, 3 villages from Kalpa Block, and the remaining three villages from Pooh Block. Following findings were recorded:-

(I) The share of agricultural and non-agricultural sector in the total household income was 66 percent and 34 percent respectively.

(II) Within the broad agricultural sector, the fruit cultivation alone accounted for more than 50 percent of the total household income.

(III) Accessibility of infrastructural facilities proved a major factor in determining the degree of inequality in household income.
(IV) The facility of access to institutional credit was uniformly available to all the households, irrespective of the proximity to road-head.

(V) There was enough empirical evidence to the effect that the Government played a significant role in reducing the inequalities of wealth and income.

3.2.8 Karam Chand (1990) attempted\textsuperscript{14} to evaluate the impact of Government’s ongoing rural development programmes on the ‘Levels of Living’ and ‘income inequalities’ in case of ITDP-Kinnaur, with base-year 1990-91. For empirical study, he made a purposive selection of district Kinnaur on the basis of its having the highest tribal population (43 percent) of the Scheduled Areas. He selected a sample of 200 households with population coverage of 1353, spread over 9 villages. He collected detailed information on (I) age-wise and sex-wise family composition, (II) educational status, (III) occupational structure, (IV) value of household assets (both productive assets as well as household durables, and (V) income and expenditure).

In order to reduce the over-all inequalities of income and wealth, the following recommendations were made:

(I) A proper identification of hard-core of the weaker sections for proper distribution of benefits of government programmes;

(II) In case of economic Infrastructure sector, the emphasis should be on (a) minor irrigation, (b) soil and water conservation, (c) rural roads and (d) land reforms;

(III) In case of social sector, the emphasis should be brought on such items as (a) drinking water supply schemes, (b) general education, (c) technical education, and (d) health;

(IV) In case of agricultural sector, priority should be on (a) horticulture, (b) animal husbandry, (c) dairy development, (d) fisheries and (e) forestry;

(V) In case of industrial sector, the emphasis should be on village and cottage industries.

In brief, the distributive policies must be built into the very pattern and organisation of production.
3.2.9 Himachal Institute of Public Administration (HIPA) \(^ {15} \) conducted an empirical Socio-Economic-cum-Concurrent-Evaluation of IRDP Beneficiaries in district Kinnaur, with the base year 1985. The Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) was launched in India during the Sixth Plan in 1978-79, with a view to reducing the incidence of poverty, and was based on providing income-generating assets to the poorest-of-the-poor families on permanent basis, so as to enable them to rise above the poverty-line. A below-poverty line in case of a BPL-family was defined to be the one deriving no more than Rs. 3600/- annual income from all sources. The field study was conducted in Sep. 1985 and covered 10 percent beneficiaries of total 77 villages of the district, i.e., a sample of seven villages.

The main findings of the study were:-

(I) All the 196 selected beneficiary households possessed pucca or semi-pucca houses.

(II) There were only three cases of landless families which means that 98 percent of the beneficiary families possessed land.

(III) The average size of holding (per family) was found to be 1.37 ha. The position of Scheduled Tribe families was better, as they possessed, on an average, 1.76 ha. of land per family.

(IV) Animal husbandry sector accounted for 60 percent of the total assets provided under the IRDP, followed by land development schemes (18%), secondary sector (11%), and others (2%).

(V) The data shows that 29 percent of the total beneficiaries were able to cross the poverty-line.

(VI) In view of availability of vast tracts of land under pastures in the village, there is lot of scope for tapping sheep-farming and promoting pack-animals (p. 62).

3.2.10 Yadav and Mishra (1980) studied \(^ {16} \) the impact of tribal development programmes on employment, income and asset formation on weaker sections of society in the Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh. The paper is based on an empirical study of 50 families, selecting an equal number of beneficiary and non-beneficiary families.
For the purpose of this study, a beneficiary was defined as a tribal family cultivating either (I) ‘less than four hectares of un-irrigated land’ or ‘two hectares of irrigated land’, (II) and is not economically viable.

Data was collected for the period 1975-76 to 1977-78 to assess the (I) increase in the number of employment days, (II) value of crop production, and (III) asset formation. The t-test was applied at the probability level of 5 percent to see any significant difference between the means of beneficiary and non-beneficiary families. The following findings were arrived at viz.:-

(I) That there is a significant difference between the two sets of families and the difference is attributable to the impact of the ongoing tribal development programmes;

(II) That, strategy-wise, to begin with, attempt should be made to develop agricultural sector alone, followed by expansion in irrigation, distribution of inputs and extension facilities.

3.2.11 Mehta (1987) in his article underlines the need to define the word ‘tribes’ unequivocally, particularly in the context of post-independence era, in view of the National Charter reminding us that the road to victory lay along the path of giving constitutional protection to all those who, hitherto, could not join the nation’s mainstream. In view of complexity and diversity of the term, he tries to hammer out some common denominators of ‘tribalness’ rather than attempting a foolproof definition. For him, the term ‘tribe’ has a historical and cultural connotation and stands for all those indigenous people who existed prior to the arrival of other groups and were either in the food-gathering stage or, at best, were on the verge of food-producing stage. They were ‘Janas’ or communities of people, like Bhils, Gaddis or Gujjars. But, now, the Constitutional provisions of Article 342 (i) of India have brought the whole polemics on the subject to rest by proclaiming that anyone who finds mention in the list of Scheduled Tribes is a tribe or vice versa.

3.2.12 Amar Chandel (The Tribune dated May 1, 1992, p.5), in the context of making a case for sustainable development, observes that the process of development has its flip-side too ---- in terms of its fall-out effect on the eco-system. It had been so because the macro paradigm of growth was premised on compartmentalized or sectoral
approach, rather than on a holistic or organic perspective on economic development. Hence, any sustainable model for economic and social growth must take a collective view of the economy and must necessarily make a direct attack on the roots of poverty.

3.2.13 Chib (The Tribune datelined, 1992), while defending Government strategy for tribal development, criticises those people who oppose such programmes on the plea that these dilute tribal ‘cultural entity’. He calls such views as a pure gimmick, because development approach essentially calls for dynamism. He observes:

“It is ironical that on the one hand we cry hoarse in favour of national as well as emotional integration throughout the length and breadth of the country”, while “On the other hand, it is vehemently vouched that there should be no interference in the social institutions and customary laws of tribal societies.”

3.2.14 The Tribune Editorial dated July 28, 1989 makes a special case for the ‘Tribes’ of Himachal Pradesh, pleading that they ought to be treated more as custodians of Himalayan ecology rather than merely as producers of economic goods and services. Out of the five perennial rivers of the Pradesh, namely, Chenab, Sutlej, Ravi, Beas and Yamuna, the first three rivers drain the tribal areas and form the hinterlands to the eco-system of Northern India. Though the undulating terrain has impaired the irrigation potential of these rivers, but that has more than been made good by the hydro-electric potential --- the modern engine of over-all socio-economic development.

3.2.15 Sharda (1975), while analysing the socio-economic transformation of Himachal Pradesh during the period 1950-51 to 1970-71, attributes it mainly to two causes viz. :- (I) a rapid expansion in the network of roads, linking the State internally as well as with the rest of the country and secondly, (II) to a phenomenal progress in the field of education. There were, in all, only 43 kms of metalled roads and 137 kms of unmetalled roads in the State in 1950-51. The literacy rate in 1950-51 was only 7.7 percent, which subsequently went up to 31.3 percent by 1970-71 --- higher than the all-India average. Among suggestions, he listed the following:-

(I) There is need for tapping new crops in the agricultural sector like soya-bean, sunflower and hops. Agriculture alone (including sub-sectors) accounted for 62.2 percent of the total State income at 1969-70 current prices.
Due to excessive pressure on land, there is urgent need for tapping alternative sources of occupation and income.

There is need to give special attention to the socio-economic uplift of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, who together constituted 26.3 percent of the total population of the State in 1971 (34.6 lakh).

3.2.16 M.S. Swaminathan, in his review of M.S. Randhawa’s book on ‘History of Agriculture vol. I’ in the Tribune dated Nov. 7, 1984, observes that it was only 10,000 years ago that ‘Man’ started domesticating plants. This transition from food-gathering to food-growing also marked the beginning of settlements and cultural evolution. The centres of origin of crop-plants have generally been the centres of ancient civilizations too. This shows an intimate interaction between man and the surrounding flora-and-fauna.

The neo-lithic agricultural revolution in Western Asia and the advent of Aryans in Asia and Europe brought further ‘change’ in the arts of agriculture viz. sophistication of crops and domestication of animals. The Vedic Age (from 1500 BC to 1000 BC) saw a further evolution of agriculture and animal husbandry.

3.2.17 Bansal, while reviewing the progress of land reforms in Himachal Pradesh since 1950, defines them in terms of all those measures which aim at proper management and distribution of ‘land’, as these would prove pivotal in reducing disparities of wealth and income. In the context of Himachal Pradesh, the following measures, interalia, need special mention viz.:-

(I) The Himachal Pradesh Abolition of Big Landed Estates and Land Reforms Act, 1953. This Act abolished the Big Landed Estates (i.e., Zamindari and Jagirdari) along with the institution of intermediaries, with a-view to bringing the actual tillers of the soil in direct touch with the Government. This Act also envisaged suo motu transfer of tenancy land to the actual cultivators against payment of nominal compensation.

(II) The Himachal Pradesh Tenancy and Land Reforms Act, 1972. This Act, in contrast to 1953-Act, specifically provides for resumption of land by the landowner in the event of his entire holding being with the tenant.
The Himachal Pradesh Ceiling on Land Holding Act, 1972 (enforced with effect from July 19, 1973). This Act provides for a ceiling on land holdings along with the distribution of resultant surplus land among tenants.

These changes proved helpful, not only in raising productivity of land, but also proved useful in shattering the foundations of the old class-structure (cf. Myrdal, 1966:93-94).

3.2.18 The Legal correspondent of the Tribune (dated Nov. 11, 1990) has highlighted the anomaly inherent in the customary laws on succession of property by women in district Kinnaur. As per the customary practice, a widow, in the event of absence of a male issue, inherits the property of her deceased husband but has no right to alienate it by way of sale, gift, will, etc., except with the consent of male reversionaries of her husband. Similarly, daughters have been completely debarred from inheriting the property of the deceased father --- the property to be inherited exclusively by their brothers. A woman, namely, Ganga Devi has challenged the customary law on the subject, through a petition before the High Court, Himachal Pradesh to expunge the customary provisions, and, instead to enforce the Hindu Succession Act, 1956, on par with other States. The provisions of 1956-Act were held in abeyance on the ground of preserving the cultural heritage of district Kinnaur.

3.2.19 Deshpande (1982) raised the question of reviewing the agrarian structure in India, in the light of its supposed tendency towards capitalism—particularly in the context of increasing use of hired labour by relatively larger size-classes. Capitalistic relations could emerge, he argues:-

(I) If there is a greater proportion of agricultural labour in the total work-force without causing any fall in the level of total employment.

(II) The Tenancy Laws might make the landlords prefer ‘hired labour’ to ‘tenant labour’.

(III) There could be a logical connect between the use of new technology and capitalistic transformation.

It is suggested that since new technology makes investment on ‘land’ more profitable as compared to giving the land on rent to tenants, hired labour, in such a case, would replace tenant cultivators.
3.2.20 Datta (1982), in the prelude to his paper on relative efficiency of ‘small versus large farms’, on the one hand, and ‘peasant versus capitalist farms’, on the other, attempted to define ‘technological change’ in agriculture. This change can be grouped under two categories:

(I) That part of ‘technical change’ which takes place through the application of biological inputs (e.g. high-yielding varieties, seeds, chemical fertilizers, irrigation water, etc.); and (II) secondly, that part of ‘technical change’ which takes place through mechanical inputs like tractors, pump-sets, combine-harvesters, and other machine-power.

The former component i.e., seed-fertilizer based technology is generally neutral to scale and farm-size and would probably leave the relative efficiency of small and large farms at the same level.

3.2.21 Bhati, Singh, and Sharma (1992) have discussed in their paper the farming systems of tribal economy of Himachal Pradesh. Their study is based on a sample survey of 135 tribal households of Kinnaur and Lahaul blocks. They observed that whereas livestock-based farming system is followed in Kinnaur, while farming system based on commercial crops is followed in Lahaul. Due to natural risks of low rainfall and severe winters in the tribal regions, farmers follow diversified farming system by taking recourse to a mix of economic activities like crop farming, livestock rearing, and off-farm (non-farm) employment. Due to hilly terrain, ‘net area sown’ is very scarce, as grazing lands-and-pastures occupy a major portion of land-use profile. Marginal and small farmers (who abound in the region) supplement their meagre farm incomes by keeping more livestock --- due to ready availability of pastures in the Alpine region. Livestock sector was found to be the major employer in both the blocks. Per household annual net income was Rs. 30,000/- in Lahaul and Rs. 28,000/- in Kinnaur. Production and disposal of cash crops depends heavily on external markets ---- both for obtaining inputs as well as for disposal of marketable surplus. Due to food-deficit, the tribal economy is heavily dependent on public distribution system (PDS).

3.2.22 Shah (1992), in his paper, discussed some issues of tribal development with special reference to the Himalayan region. He observes that tribals in India present a variety of ecological, socio-cultural and techno-economic settings. Each category
reflects a livelihood pattern which is a direct outcome of its interaction with its immediate environment. The tribes present both area-specific and tribe-specific problems. Settled agriculture is the primary source of livelihood for most of the tribes in India, though in the North-East Himalayan region a major portion of the agricultural area is under shifting agriculture. He further points out that according to the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission (Dhebar Commission) Government of India, 1961, the strategy of special Multi-purpose Tribal Development Projects (1954) and Tribal Development Blocks (TDBs) introduced in 1956, failed to tackle the major problems of tribal areas i.e., lack of investment and of adequate protective legislation. Similarly, Shilu AO Committee (1969) pointed out that the TDBs did not make any perceptible impact on the economic life of the tribals, as they failed to address themselves to the main tribal problems related to indebtedness, land alienation, educational backwardness, and infrastructural development. The paper specially highlighted the problem of sustainable development in view of the population (both human and livestock) eroding the life-support system of the Himalayan region (i.e., land, forests, pastures, and grazing lands).

3.2.23 Prof. B.K. Roy Burman, in his keynote address at the two-day session on “Tribal Development in Himachal — appraisal and alternatives” (organised by the Institute of Tribal Studies, Himachal University, Shimla, from July 28 to July 29, 1996) underlined the need for a paradigm-shift in tribal planning at the national level. The shift at the operational level is called for in the wake of appraisal of the Sixth Plan and Working Group reports of the Seventh Plan and Eighth Plan conceding the failure of Tribal Sub-Plan approach. He said that there is need for a uniform tribal policy, as, at present, the tribal areas of the North-East are administered by the provisions of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution, whereas 87.1 percent of the tribal population living in the rest of the country is governed by the Fifth Schedule. The Tribune editorial on the coverage of the aforesaid proceedings asks, “Why has poverty overpowered the natural plenty of the traditionally self-sufficient areas? Why have ecological considerations been written off from the tranquil landscape?”

3.2.24 National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER), 1961 attempted a techno-economic survey of Himachal Pradesh, with special reference to problems of tribal areas. Among the main problems the survey lists inter-alia, (I) lack of irrigation
facilities, and (II) inadequate transport facilities. Besides, it observed that a detailed
survey of the needs and development possibilities of the backward areas should be
taken in hand. The survey also underlined the need to spell out a clear-cut grazing
policy in the State, and the basic requirement should be to limit grazing to the essential
needs of a region. Main recommendations for tribal areas are summarized at p. 126 of
the report.

3.2.25 Sharma (1986) tried to articulate the concept of socio-economic development
in the context of Himachal Pradesh. The latest emphasis on socio-economic
development marks a shift from quantitative aspect of production (measurable in terms
of national income and per capita income) to a qualitative aspect, thus encompassing
both i.e., economic aspect of production as well as its socio-cultural aspect of equitable
distribution. In brief, it means a movement towards production as well as distributive
justice. The broad indicators of social economic development are :- (I) the increase in
per capita income; (II) reduction of poverty and unemployment; (III) reduction of
socio-economic disparities; and (IV) a structural change in favour of relative growth of
manufacturing and service sectors.

3.2.26 Sharma (1985) examined the concept of ‘absolute poverty’ and ‘relative
poverty’ in the context of estimating incidence of poverty in Himachal Pradesh. The
concept of ‘absolute poverty’ focuses on the absolute position of the poverty groups or
a region per se, rather than its comparison with other groups or a region. The concept
of relative poverty, on the other hand, refers to the position of a country, region or class
of people (in terms of per capita income) in relation to other regions or classes. While
analyzing the incidence of ‘absolute poverty’, two criteria are commonly used, viz.: (I)
the consumption criteria, and (II) the assets criterion. Absolute Poverty is, in fact,
coterminous with under-nutrition, it being defined by the Planning Commission during
the Sixth Plan (1980-85) in terms of failure on the part of a poverty-group to meet the
minimum daily calorie requirement of 2400 calories per person per day in the rural
areas, and 2100 calories per person per day in the urban areas.

3.2.27 Roshan Khosla (1985) underlined the need to recast the Government Plan
Programmes for the improvement in the economic conditions of socially and backward
classes of the society, of whom the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes form a big
chunk. The need to do so is further accentuated by the fact that empirical evidence in
the Indian context does not bear out the assumptions of the ‘percolation hypothesis’. The most backward and downtrodden sections of our people clearly share two common features: (I) first, most of them live in rural areas; and (II) secondly they are usually segregated from the mainstream either socially (as in the case of Scheduled Castes) or geographically and culturally (as in the case of Scheduled Tribes). Special Component Plan (SCP) has specially been designed for the upliftment of the Scheduled Castes and consists of two types of schemes: (I) the beneficiary-oriented scheme for generating income and employment opportunities; and (II) secondly, the infrastructure-based schemes.

3.2.28 Sikka, Dahiya and Grewal (1981) examined the impact of anti-poverty ‘Antyodaya’ programme, which was launched by the Govt. of Himachal Pradesh on October 2, 1978. ‘Antyodaya’ literally means the upliftment of the last man in the row. Main features of Antyodaya approach were viz.: (I) the poor family was identified by the administration itself; (II) the criterion of identification was strictly economic (i.e., income below the poverty line) which was defined at about Rs. 3600/- per family per year; (III) the family having no property or was landless and did not have adequate means of livelihood. The emphasis of the programme was to deliver the productive asset to the affected family.

The main conclusions, among others, were: (I) out of 19068 selected families, 50 percent of the families were found to be of the size of 5-and-above. The large size of the family is a major contributory factor for economic backwardness, and (II) the most attractive and remunerative activity of the programme was animal husbandry, as about 69 percent of the credits were given for dairy and poultry units.

3.2.29 Parmar, Y.S. (1985) made a case for specific strategy for development of Himalayan hill region, a sizeable proportion of whose population is either tribal or backward due to age-old traditions and, therefore, does not respond quickly to social or economic change. Among suggestions he lists are: (I) a re-orientation of economic activities, (II) speeding up the pace of infrastructural facilities, especially roads for commerce and horticulture, (III) improving the agricultural and horticultural practices in conformity with the terrain of the area, (IV) the development of irrigation facilities, wherever possible, (V) a tilt towards development of forests, pastures, and orchards for conservation of soil and optimum land-use, and (VI) exploring the possibility of
3.2.30 Pandey (1973), while elaborating the characteristics of labour in Himachal Pradesh, mentioned that ‘agricultural workers’, by far, constitute an overwhelming majority of rural workers (1971 Census). They are further sub-divided into two main categories: (I) cultivators and (II) agricultural labour. These include landless agricultural labour and sub-marginal cultivators. The ‘Agricultural Workers’ are basically unskilled and unorganized and have little for their livelihood other than their personal labour. According to 1971 Census, i.e., 75 percent of a total of 12.61 lakh workers were engaged in agriculture.

3.2.31 Swaminathan (2009), while paying tribute to the late Mexican Nobel Laureate Norman Borlaug for taking scientific innovations to the farmers, highlighted the need for paying adequate attention to agronomic practices. He also pleaded for raising cropping intensity, without over-exploiting the aquifer. He observed that the solution to hunger in the world lies in raising levels of food production through productivity-led Green Revolution of the mid-sixties. It was Dr. William Gaud of the US who coined the term “Green Revolution” in 1968 to denote productivity-led and ‘package-based-technology’ advances in agricultural production. For example, India produced 80 million tonnes of wheat from 26 million hectares in 2009. If this production was to be achieved at the pre-Green Revolution yield rates, it would have needed another additional 80 million hectares of land. That is why Green Revolution is also referred to as the land-saving or forest-saving agriculture.

3.2.32 The Tribune editorial (The Tribune dated January 8, 2011, p.12) highlighted the financial implications of linking up the wages with inflation from Jan. 1, 2011 ---- paid under the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act 2005 (NAREGA). This landmark legislation was proposed to cover all the 593 districts of the Country by 2008-end. It provides guaranteed employment to all the adult job-card holders for 100 days in a year, or unemployment allowance in the alternative, if no work is given. The objective of the scheme is to raise rural wage incomes, in addition to undertaking measures like flood control, water conservation, rural roads, etc. It would also check out-migration of labour from villages and promote inclusive growth.
3.2.33 Raghunandan (2007) observed that rural development can be seen as a catalyst to economic transformation of India. In this context, development of rural infrastructure holds the key for transforming a low-productivity economy into a fast-growing agro-industrial economy; as for example (I) the construction of rural roads, (II) electricity distribution facilities, (III) a network of telecom facilities, and (IV) expansion in irrigation facilities. All these can provide to the rural poor an easy access to a vast range of economically gainful activities. Expansion of rural roads, for instance, can (I) reduce the cost of transport and time involved in access to markets, (II) raise the productivity levels through better access to agricultural inputs and extension work, (III) create better conditions for generating off-farm employment opportunities. Similarly, assured irrigation facilities can reduce vulnerability to drought, besides helping in stabilizing yields and productivity.

3.2.34 With a view to highlighting the problems of indigenous and tribal people, the United Nations declared 1993 as the International year of the World’s Indigenous People (The Sunday Reading, the Tribune dated Jan. 16, 1994). It deplored the fact that despite much rhetorical support for them, not much was actually done to alleviate the poverty of the World’s 300 million indigenous people living in about 50 countries. The International Labour Organisation (I.L.O) drafted a UN Convention (1985) on the rights of these people, so that they could play a larger role in managing the planet’s natural resources on the basis of traditional knowledge of their eco-system.

3.2.35 Rajan (1995) observed (The Tribune dated May 2, 1995) that in Madhya Pradesh the sanctuaries and National Parks cover approx. 13 percent of the total ‘forest area’. With a view to helping them, the tribals have been allowed unrestricted access even into the National Parks for collection of minor forest produce; as for example ‘tendu leaves’, ‘Mahua’, ‘Aula’, etc. According to him, the best way to help the tribals is to ensure that they get remunerative price for the forest produce.

3.2.36 Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer (The Tribune dated Jan. 18, 1991, p.6), while reviewing the Narmada Project vis-à-vis role of Baba Amte for tribals’ rights, observed that models of material growth must be in consistence with the final balance-sheet of human happiness.
Development for whom? Growth of what? Production for whose consumption. These should be the germane questions in the context of economic development.

3.2.37 Khuswant Singh profiles Samuel Evans Stokes (1882-1946) --- the ‘Apple Man of Kotgarh’ (District Shimla), who initiated the hinterlands of Himachal Pradesh into growing ‘apple’, the biggest cash-earner among the commercial crops, and thereby helped monetize the barter-based hill economy. An American by birth, he came to India in 1904, embraced Hinduism, and took upon himself single-handedly the task of introducing ‘Apple Crop’ in Kotgarh. The people were initially reluctant to accept his farming innovation into their traditional cropping pattern but his patience finally paid dividends. To begin with, he himself planted apple-saplings on the edges of farms of other villagers and also nurtured the plants till their fruition. Apple cultivation, thereafter, spread to other temperate zones of the Pradesh and his efforts are now culminating into making this tiny state as the apple-bowl of India.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


Vilayatpur, in fact, is an extension of the parent village 'Barapind' (tehsil Headquarters: Phillaur, Punjab). The village in 1968 was the end-product of the numerous changes experienced by it since 1848 (see pp. 202-219).


11. H. Laxminarayan and S. S. Tyagi (1983), *Change in Agrarian Structure in India*. 

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Agricole Publishing Academy, New Delhi.


45. S.L. Shah, “Tribal Economy in India with special Reference to the Himalayan

46. cf. the Tribune dated June 29, 1996 (a two-day seminar was held at the H.P. University campus from July 28, 1996 to July 29, 1996).


Oxford University Press, New Delhi.
