CHAPTER - XV

Some Concluding Observations

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Development is increasingly concerned with raising the standards of living of the people, and to secure justice, freedom and equitable distribution of wealth and income. Government is, by and large involved today in accelerating the national development through making use of relevant technical innovations, and facilitating necessary institutional changes. Development cannot be achieved if majority of the population does not participate in the process. Development problems change from place to place, person to person and mostly consist of purposive efforts by a group of people led by public figures and planners to organise themselves in suitable ways. The tribal culture, its economy, and social custom have influenced the development administration to a great extent. Various programmes have been initiated by the Government from time to time to remove the backwardness of the tribal areas.

The two areas, Bharmour and Pangi which were the focus of the present detailed study have seen the impact of various development programmes. The basic objective of the
developmental effort has been to increase the per capita income and strengthen the material aspects of tribal culture through better utilisation of the environmental resources. Economic, social and political goals of tribal development have already been discussed (Chapter II). Different tribal areas are at different stages of socio-economic development, but there are basic similarities in all these areas on the basis of which certain policy issues can be formulated. The programmes for the welfare of the tribals under Centrally operated, Centrally sponsored and State sector programmes have also been discussed. The process of development and nature of the programmes are normally designed to suit the needs of the people and in the course of the present study, various factors which cut at the root of planned development came to light.

While critically examining the tribal development programmes it has been noticed that there is considerable diffusion and authority, inadequate control, lack of coordination and difficulty in identifying the beneficiaries. The problems of personnel are not less acute and even the educated tribals get motivated to migrate from their natural habitat and gravitate to towns and cities. The tribal belt in Himachal Pradesh with special reference to Bhamour
and Pangi Sub-divisions of Chamba District, has also been described to provide a background against which the working of development programmes can be critically examined.

The critical appraisal of the various development programmes covered in this study has already been given at the end of each chapter earlier, along with suggestions for bringing about improvements in the relevant areas. The present chapter presenting a conspectus supplements the suggestions already made, emphasizing some of the crucial areas where concerted action is called for.

Starting with the era of planned development, there has been a marked change in tribal set up both in terms of administration and in development strategies. The tribal areas were the last to come under the British domination because of their difficult terrain and inaccessibility and the alien rulers had no way but to respect and protect local customs and socio-economic life. After independence, the Constitution gave these areas a special status to the extent that no law about certain specified subjects can be extended to these areas without consulting the Local District Councils (Sixth Schedule).
Immediately after independence, the planned development (1951-56) of these areas started with greater emphasis on economic and educational development, improvement of roads and communication, and provision of medical and public health facilities. In the Sixth Plan, the priorities have been on agriculture, irrigation, water supply etc. The evolution of planned effort in the last thirty years is a story of rising expectations and comparatively lower investments with the result that there is a continuing gap between promises and performance.

Though some changes in the tribal economy are very much in evidence, the efforts made so far have not been adequate to solve the basic problems of poverty, malnutrition and exploitation of tribals in Sharmour and Pangi Sub-divisions. The programmes have made only a limited impact because of certain inherent problems like subsistence level of living of tribals, underdeveloped infrastructure and high level of illiteracy. The interviews and field studies show that the development programmes have failed to elicit popular support and participation of the local people. This is despite the fact that special emphasis had been given to the need for such a participation in all the plans.
Impressive organisational structures have been built up in most States for carrying the tribal welfare programmes. And yet there are complaints that qualitatively speaking, the achievements have fallen woefully short of the goals. One reason is undoubtedly the imposition, often unwillingly, of patterns of growth designed for more advanced and organised areas in the country on relatively simple tribal economies and cultures. These suffer from lack of relevance to the conditions and needs of those they are supposed to benefit.

India has an administrative 'steel-frame' which has served its diverse political and economic needs over several decades. In the wake of the launching of number of tribal development programmes, its forms as well as norms need to be realigned to meet the emerging challenges of administering a large number of projects and schemes scattered over a large area into which its penetration has been much. This study has gone into the nature and necessity of some of the changes which are required to reorganise the system. Tribal development is an administrative construct and it would be academically unsound to treat it as an administrative amalgam of series of development programmes. The Government of India as well as
State Governments have realised the necessity of decentralised planning. The studies have shown that planning from below has not helped much. The adoption of the target groups has not yet been accompanied by commensurate agencies in operational procedures. Unfortunately most of the tribal development programmes appear to be the fall out at the state level after having emanated from the Centre. In many cases, they form part of a package recommended by one international agency or the other which makes acceptance of the package as a whole, a pre-condition for financial and technical assistance. Serious efforts to frame an overall policy, originating from the local level is yet to take shape.

The issue of land reforms continues to dominate most of the thinking on development in the tribal areas. To some, land reform appears to be a necessary condition to facilitate development and regenerate stagnant economies. Vast majority of the tribals have to be provided relief from the exploitative character of land ownership. To some, equitable distribution of land also appears as a sign of greater equality and dignity of man. It is also viewed as a basic need for the achievement of political democracy.
Thus, whatever be one's concern, productivity or equality, land reform has become central to the developmental concerns of tribal areas. Land reform policies have been concerned with action on three points: (i) the abolition of intermediary tenures (ii) providing security of tenures to tenants and regulation of rent, and (iii) the imposition of ceiling on land holdings and distribution of surplus land to the landless and uneconomic land holders.

The issue of land reform cannot be isolated from the wider perspective of development and socio-political conditions prevailing in the country. Land reform seeks to change the basic property relations in the country which in turn determine the present fabric of the society. The social basis of power has to undergo drastic change if the landed interests have to be weakened. This can be done only if the political will of the tribals and the deprived is strengthened.

The evaluation of the working of land reforms in these regions shows that, however, radical the legislation may be, its implementation would be slow unless there is a proper back up in the form of the necessary administrative machinery for its execution. This study
shows that the administrative machinery was slow and wanting in coming up to the tasks expected of it. It required to be strengthened with adequate staff. The formation of local committees, as in Japan, to set right land rights at a fast pace can be considered. In fact, the National Commission on Agriculture has recommended the creation of a "Special Land Reform Agency" to improve implementation of land reforms. Further, implementation of land reform measures can be much improved if there is a concurrent evaluation. It was even emphasized in the Fifth Five Year Plan that a continuous study of land reform programme and its periodic evaluation should be undertaken simultaneously. The need and urgency of undertaking land reforms, for which a through understanding of customary rights of the tribal communities in respect of land and pattern of land distribution is necessary has already been dealt with at length. It has also been mentioned that a review of legislative and executive measures seems to be imperative.

Recently, the first report of the Committee on Land Reforms (December, 1978) under the Chairmanship of Prof. Raj Krishna has recommended eight steps to ensure constitutional
protection of land reform laws and institution of machinery for quick disposal of land reform cases. The Committee has also favoured that land reform laws in the States should be immediately amended to provide that all land reform cases are dealt with by revenue functionaries alone below the High Court level. The revenue machinery dealing with land reform cases should be suitably expanded to clear all pending cases. The revenue authorities should establish a time-bound programme for the disposal of land reform cases and efforts should be made to expedite disposal of selected categories of land reform cases by organising camp courts. The only contention is that problems of land relations are deficient in tribal areas and it is not possible to ensure a uniform approach for all parts of the country to identify the problems of tribal rights on land and forests (Chapter-V). In-depth and other case studies should, therefore, be encouraged.

Contribution of agriculture towards economic development of tribal areas is not only important but an urgent necessity. The predominant occupation of the people of the two sub-divisions under study being agriculture, bottlenecks in the implementation of agriculture development are to be
removed in one way or the other. Some corrective methods have been suggested (Chapter-VI). If properly undertaken, agricultural development will provide substantial additional labour demands, thus solving unemployment problem. This would enable the agricultural labour to get fair wages and larger opportunities of employment. If the irrigation system is well maintained, a large number of small and marginal farmers would come above the poverty line. It is hardly necessary to stress that the decisions of the farmers are influenced by the entire system of agriculture around which their daily life revolves. Hence paying attention to the farming system as a whole is a must. This study has shown that development efforts, so far have been either individual, group or animal oriented and not generally on the entire farming system.

The importance of improving the productivity of forests cannot be over-emphasised. Sylvi-pastoral, sylvi-horticultural, sylvi-agricultural and other combined land use systems are extremely important for meeting the food, feed, fuel and fertiliser needs of the people in hilly areas regions. In addition to launching new programmes for agricultural development, administrative set up should also
be modernised. It is only through improved management based on sound principles of economics, ecology and energy conservation that a dynamic agricultural system can be built up. India fortunately has a vast untapped production reservoir in most farming systems, but the gap between potential and actual yields in agriculture can be referred to as a 'resources-cum-extension-cum-management' gap.

Agricultural management can be divided into individual activities and group activities. Harvesting and recycling, soil conservation, supply and improved post harvest technology call for concerted group action. The absence of an institutional infrastructure for promoting and facilitating group action in certain wider areas of agricultural management is one of the constraints in improving productivity. If suitable institutional devices for promoting collective endeavour and for helping poor farmers to overcome their community gaps in undertaking any timely and scientific form of operations are not developed in these tribal areas, agriculture will continue to have a low cost competitiveness leaving a big gap between potential and average yields.
It is true that people in tribal areas are slow to adopt modern techniques. Changes in any traditional system of farming bring in their wake benefits as well as new problems. Every action has several reactions, some favourable and some unfavourable. There has to be a continuous monitoring of problems and anticipatory action to avoid serious setbacks caused by the new problems such as loss of soil fertility due to exploitative agriculture. Agricultural development programmes launched without adequate research and training base will meet with only limited success. It is time that separate cells in agricultural universities are set up which should look after particular needs of tribal areas.

Himachal Pradesh has great scope for development of horticulture because of varied topography and climate. But the net sown area is only about 10 per cent of the total geographical area. The inadequacy of impact in the field of horticulture development in the sub-divisions under study is due to lack of extension agencies and educational programmes coupled with poor communication system (Chapter-VII). To popularise it in far flung tribal areas, a lot of subsidy is needed. Preliminary studies
and surveys, particularly keeping in mind the types of fruit plants suitable for soil and agronomic conditions should also be undertaken. Need for a strong research base for expansion of horticulture in the entire State has already been stressed.

Efforts should be made to subsidise the cost of transportation of plants and fertilisers. Irrigation schemes, wherever possible, may also be introduced. Other techniques like marketing, grading etc. need careful consideration. The techniques for effecting improvement in apples such as (i) top working and (ii) to give preference to dwarf varieties should also be intensified. Dwarf varieties with compact canopies allow a higher density of plant population per unit area which is an important factor in their favour. Varieties which have shorter dormancy period and are disease free may also be tried. Other dry fruits like walnuts etc. may also be introduced in a large scale in these areas. The latest trends in some of the advanced countries in the field of horticulture should be studied and model orchards should be set up, which can also be used as centres for practical demonstration in better methods of cultivation. With the improved
communication and marketing facilities, the chances of reaping the economic benefits of horticulture in the area of the study are bright.

It is not easy to improve agriculture in India without giving suitable stress on animal husbandry. Cattle comprise of a most improved species among livestock in hilly areas and are deeply inter-woven in the economic life and well being of the hill people. The area being highly mountainous it is not easy to provide improved varieties of cattle.

The three methods of raising the productivity, i.e., accelerating animal breeding, disease control and improved feeding and management, are to be intensified for development of livestock. All the three methods should be intensified for the overall development of the livestock in these areas. Special steps should also be taken for improvement of feed and fodder. Research in the methods of conservation of grass and green fodder during winter is also necessary. Efforts should be made to improve the veterinary first-aid training to the people so as to reduce the mortality of the livestock. Introduction, on a large scale, of improved varieties of sheep and rams and improved breeds of cows should also be done in these areas. More
concentration - both on natural service and artificial
insemination-needs consideration as even after five
Five Year Plans, the breeding of cattle and sheep in these
areas has not been improved.

The Government of Himachal Pradesh has been conscious
of the role of power and electricity in the development of
tribal areas and vast majority of the projects in the power
plan had been given high priority along with irrigation but
much progress has not been reported. While there has, no
doubt, been some external constraints such as delays in
supply of indigenous equipments but by and large a major
contributory factor appears to be improper project manage-
ment. Whereas some suggestions to improve the power supply
have been advanced (Chapter-IX), it is necessary that the
State Electricity Board should take active steps to develop
a greater degree of professional management in various
disciplines both through direct recruitment as well as
through well-planned training programmes.

The planning side also needs tightening up and in
fact, the willingness of the State to invest in hydel
projects, which could provide not only much needed peak
capacity but also a renewable energy source, is also neces-
sary. Progress in putting up inter-state lines and making
maximum use of them in transferring surplus power between States through regional load despatch stations has also been defective. It is to be noted that an overall integrated view would have to be taken and various States would have to increasingly depend upon one another if the nation's scarce financial and energy resources are to be optimally utilised in power planning. The tendency towards setting up larger and larger unit of thermal stations, is bound to accentuate the need for such coordination. Ultimately, much serious effort will be necessary to invest more money so that the perpetual threat of shortages of power and fluctuations and interruptions in the supply completely disappears. While all future planning and thinking is welcome, it would be necessary to take a reasonable view about how much would be the real requirement and what can realistically be expected for implementation.

In passing, it may be mentioned that in keeping with the overall rural development programme of the Government of India, Bharat Heavy Electricals has undertaken to develop small decentralised solar power packages to make power available to remote rural areas where there is no likelihood of it reaching through conventional transmission lines. These packages are being designed to harness not
only solar energy but also other non-conventional energy sources such as wind and bio-gas. The package is likely to provide an optimum mix of electrical, thermal and mechanical energy to cater to the requirements of a particular site. The application of such packages would not be easily possible because of the weather conditions in tribal areas under study but can be pointers, of course, that the scientists of this country are aware of the problems that the nation faces and in due course of time, some supplementary methods may be possible.

Real energy problem facing the State is not only much larger but also much more complex requiring hard decisions. What is required is a basic examination of the people and technology of our programmes of growth in all the major sectors of the economy. Moreover, enough data can be collected to suggest that energy consciousness has yet to become a part of the ethos of industry regardless of the lip service which is paid to this aspect. This leads to a basic question as to how does one create the requisite degree of awareness about the compelling need for energy conservation? It is true that such a purpose cannot be achieved through regulatory or legislative measures and only economic levers are left. One such effort would be to
selectively raise energy prices to levels which begin to make a significant dent on margins. Another view would be to provide incentives for such capital investment as are required to encourage new ways of conserving energy. Efficiency in energy production and more attention to energy saving is, however, a partial solution because there are limits beyond which it is not possible to go. There will be, thus, a need to look much harder at less energy-intensive modes of economic growth and also turn increasingly to non-commercial sources of energy as well as renewable conventional and new energy sources. We must also examine more intensively how to utilize natural resources and the tremendous scientific, technical, and managerial personnel who can be harnessed to this vital task.

As far as industrial development of the tribal regions is concerned, the approach should be one of harnessing the large potential for decentralized development of village and small-scale industries and of maximising the output, particularly of essential consumer goods. Some of the limitations which hinder industrialisation have already been discussed (Chapter-IX), but the advent of mechanised means of production has substantially eroded
employment and output in the traditional industries. In this process, these studies have steadily declined, not always justified on any social cost benefit criteria. Such a situation can partly be attributed to the malfunctioning of credit, purchase, sale and technical institutions. They have also not been able to get a fair share in institutional credit. The main problems encountered by the small and cottage industries are in the matter of credit, marketing and technical assistance. The Government is already drawing specific programmes to deal with these problems. Some steps must be taken to set up a separate wing to deal exclusively with the credit requirements of the cottage and small industries sector. The banks should be expected to earmark a specific proportion of their total advances for promotion of these industries. Measures are also necessary to provide marketing assistance including market survey and services, testing facilities, quality control and standardization of products of selected industries. Further, purchase preference and reservation for exclusive purchase by the Government departments and the public sector undertakings could be adopted to support the marketing of these products. It is also envisaged that sooner than later, an effective and coordinated approach for the development and widespread
application of suitable small and simple machines and
devices for improving the productivity and earning capacity
of those engaged in different small industries would be
undertaken. It would also be helpful if technological and
other problems of small industries are identified on a
priority basis and arrangements made for research and
investigation on them through special study groups. Recently
the Government of India has recommended a new institutional
arrangement through the establishment of District Industries
Centres. These centres will be the focal points to provide
and arrange a package of assistance and facilities for
credit guidance, raw materials, training, marketing etc.
for rural and small entrepreneurs. Instead of seeking
assistance from multiplicity of agencies, the small and
rural entrepreneurs would be able to secure the entire range
of assistance required from the Centre. This scheme is
under consideration of the Government and is likely to be
applied in tribal areas with some modifications.

Tribal areas, usually inaccessible, suffer neglect
due to inadequate communication facilities. The shortage
of labour, want of appropriate pre-planning and lack of
resources accentuate the exclusiveness. Road construction
in a general way should have been on the priority list but
it was strange to discover a general tendency on the part of the administrators to utilise the budget provisions meant for these areas to the non-tribal portion of the District with the plea that these approach roads are necessary and would be ultimately beneficial to the tribal areas of Bhamour and Pangi. Such an approach should be discouraged.

To bring about modernisation in the region and to break the barriers of tradition, liberal financial grants and stringent checks at their appropriation would have to be provided on a continuing basis. The technical aspects of the problem have already been dealt with and suggestions offered (Chapter-X). Of late, there has been too much talk of planning. Social, economic, administrative and physical planning form one integrated activity but in the present region of study, physical planning was conspicuous by its absence. Planning is not an arbitrary affair but it has to reflect objectives. Various strategies are adopted towards developmental goals but this study shows that there is no coordination among planning agencies worth the name. The vertical chains of command through which the plans are executed are away from the location for fear of hazards of ecology and environment. There is very little horizontal
coordination as many agencies are not involved in road construction. The development effort emanating from the state hardly reaches the ground. It will therefore, be necessary to evolve a new strategy of proper supervision and inspection by establishing performance standards of various sub-systems at different stages of development as well as establishing an order of growth and form in terms of directions principles and spatial organisations. The problem is chronic.

The reasons for the slow progress of road construction in these areas must be studied. The difficulties coming in the way - both administrative and financial - should also be looked into so as the impediments can be overcome and the process of planning and implementation of these programmes can be streamlined. As roads provide the infrastructure for the development, it is essential that roads should be constructed in these tribal areas on priority basis and should be in the core sector of the Five Year Plan. It may also be seen whether capital intensive techniques could be more useful or the labour intensive techniques are required for these areas and proper approach may be adopted after examining all the pros and cons. Since there is a general feeling that Border Roads
organisation with more expertise and manpower can do the work at a greater speed; it may also be studied whether the road building in these areas is to be entrusted to Border Roads Organisation or not.

Rural and tribal planning, as a professional activity, is generally undertaken by engineers or experts who may, or may not have an additional qualification in town and country planning. However, the methods and concepts adopted to practise this expertise are normally based upon city and town planning principles originating from the industrially well-developed countries of the western world. Rural as well as tribal planning has suffered on that count and planning for tribal areas is twice far removed. Due to lack of reclamation and through grounding, the interpretation of data is faulty and the prescriptions ill-devised and at times quite irrelevant to the problems existing in tribal areas. This is a larger question which can be tackled within the broad national framework.

The educational system imposed by the colonial rulers has brought about a wholesale transformation of value systems of rural India in general and tribal areas in particular, creating thereby a situation of total cultural disruption and elite alienation. The increasing educated unemployment in India is a serious concern and is
having its impact in less developed areas as well. In the earlier chapter some suggestions to reform the system at the micro level have been advanced but the nation will have to completely reorient the educational system towards providing a direct link between work and education at all levels. Such links have to be direct and established after careful and systematic planning.

There are two facets to the success of educational programme in the tribal areas. One is the need for indepth, professional understanding of the tribal child and his world view; the other is for teacher training based on the principles which have emerged from the scientific study of the development of child's mind. Most plans that are put forward to improve education, ignore the classroom situation.

At times the point is raised whether education is a basic need or a social want or an instrument for achieving excellence. These three aspects have been sufficiently debated but education being a basic need cannot be ignored. However, granting that this approach is correct, unless this basic need is combined with the whole variety of other needs, education is bound to degenerate into a
social want, ultimately leading to a system yielding no productive or socially useful results. Most of the youth movements of the present decade claim to be radical in one sense or the other. This cultural radicalism has often been taken note of and publicised, and many of the institutions of higher learning really debate issues which relate to the cultural problems of other areas than of their own societies. Indian diversity and underdeveloped areas are often lost sight of. The real problem is whether the tribals are prepared to revolt against the existing order in a manner that could amount to their relinquishing some of the privileges.

Recently Government of India has announced National Policy for Education (1979) in which the aim of education has been outlined to be the growth of the individual theory to truthful life without detriment to the welfare and progress of society and education is expected to strengthen values of democracy, secularism and socialism besides promoting national unity, pride in cultural heritage and faith in the country's future. The content of education has also to be recast so as to make the education process functional in relation to the felt needs and potentialities of the people. Community service and
participation in constructive and socially useful productive work should be an integral part of education at all stages so as to foster self-reliance and the dignity of labour. Highest priority has to be given to free education for all up to the age of 14 and up to this stage, education should be general and not specialized. In particular, it has been outlined that a positive effort has to be made to ensure the integration of traditional and contemporary cultural elements with formal and non-formal education. The education system has so far not made full use of the rich and varied cultural heritage of the country and the vast cultural resources available in communities which are socially and economically backward. Special effort must be made to identify the problems of tribal areas and to bring all such people into the fold of education.

In tribal societies, the practice of medicine is associated with the religion, magic and astrology and, therefore the basis for modern medicine, as provided by the medical services with its scientific content, has to be explained for acceptance by the tribals. It is difficult in the case of tribal societies to study these problems isolated from other aspects of their culture as
health is the expression of harmony with the universe.

Physical illness is supposed to be one of the misfortunes arising on account of their discontinuity with their land and environment. Such a concept of continuity of body with land, environment, society and other objects of this universe and unity of functions of each of them underline the way in which medical treatment and hygienic measures are to be accepted and worked out.

Health services are organised and financed in the context of its political and welfare system. Raising of living, level of nutrition and public health are considered among primary duties of the State. Even before 1947, the pattern of health services in the country was based on the principles of public assistance with limited organisation for the delivery of health services, typical cost in the separate departments for curative and preventive services all along up to the most peripheral level. Actual services to the people radiate at three levels - State, District and the periphery. Since the commencement of the Five Year Plans, national objectives for the health services for the country have been well defined which required that adequate medical care should be available to every individual irrespective of his ability to pay for it, and
which should be comprehensive in terms of diagnostic and treatment facilities. These objectives lay special emphasis on preventive work, people's participation in health education, creating adequate facilities for the health care of rural population and placing these facilities near individual for their maximum benefit through small units of health administration. Besides, certain norms in the sphere of health, manpower and hospital beds etc. per unit of population were also suggested. There has been change in the objectives and the scope of various schemes from one plan period to the other. This study shows that though primary health centres have been opened in tribal areas, adequate measures for providing physical facilities have not been provided. Most of the programmes have partly failed due to lack of adequate finances. The difficult geographical situation makes setting up of the dispensaries and their staffing very difficult. Besides, belief in super-naturalism hinders a right type of reception by the people. A medical practitioner who is well versed in the tribal areas/life and culture, no doubt, can do better but it is not easy to get such committed personnel. The study has shown inadequacy of various welfare measures in the field of health (Chapter-XII) and
some suggestions have been offered. There is need to conduct a number of studies to identify the weak spots. Moreover, the shortage of medicines specially during winter months causes much hardships. Adequate accommodation, equipment, furniture, medicines and staff have to be provided to solve the problems of health care. The need to intensifying the health education and family welfare programmes cannot be overemphasised.

In a recent announcement of the National Medical Education Policy (1979) the Government of India has outlined two fundamental objectives of education in the field of medicine, first is the development of the basic knowledge and the other is the development of medical and allied manpower to provide the services. It is also desired that there should be (a) quantitative and qualitative development of adequate trained health personnel of all categories, (b) development of programmes of training for different categories of health personnel, (c) development of agencies for implementation of the educational programmes (d) organisation of an appropriate structure in order to bring about necessary modification in education depending upon the changing national needs; and (e) development of a proper and adequate evaluation system for health
professionals and health programmes. Ultimately it has been stressed that there should be utilisation of available knowledge from both ancient and modern systems of medicines in an effort, over a period of time, to develop an Indian system of medicine thus obliterating the caste system prevailing in the field of medicine. Those concerned with policy-making in the field of health for tribal areas should take note of the new proposed thrust, so that full benefits are derived for the tribal areas with this new experimentation.

Normally, personnel administration as a body of professional group claims to have a special knowledge of the human aspect of the organisation. Confrontation and problem-solving is a necessary requisite specially in tribal areas. The attitudes have to be those that produce an open, honest, helping climate for interpersonal relations where extensive and free communications with the tribal people can take place. The skills in relation to problem solving relate to those of defining the problems, seeking alternative solutions, selecting the best alternative solutions and finally their implementation. To act effectively, tribal development needs suitable personnel, immediately of course, but also in the medium and long
term. A sound administrative management, which may be sure of a satisfactory future depends on a combination of many efforts. The Government has to take a policy decision of attuning the system of personnel administration to the aspirations of the people so that it may abet rather than obstruct tribal development. Of prime importance is the development of sound personnel legislation and improvement of the policy-making and implementation capabilities of central personnel agencies and establishment wings in the Secretariat. Special arrangements may be needed for right type of personnel having requisite professional and technical skills, the demand for which greatly exceeds the supply. We have already mentioned (Chapter-XIII) that the process of adaptation of the personnel system in the tribal context in its changed role has been slow and inadequate. Mostly the response, whatever little there was, had been conceived within the traditional framework and standards which have insufficient orientation towards achievement of development goals and objectives. The field work in tribal areas done in the course of this study suggests that it is possible to discern two fundamental points round which the discussion seems to revolve. First, the competence and capacity of the development
administration personnel, whose knowledge and training sometimes differ appreciably from others, has not been enhanced in spite of considerable effort. What such knowledge and training ought to be there in relation to tribal programmes in Himachal Pradesh, is a question which has never been debated. It is connected with the real or alleged needs of the administrative authorities and with the general and administrative teaching facilities. Considerable formal and in-service training efforts are therefore necessary. Second, the development administrators are also required to know how to activate development by making the local inhabitants participate as much as possible, by using teamwork, by being loyal and even by actively supporting the government policy. Ultimately, it may not be easy to administer tribal development programmes unless the administrative management of development is taken seriously. In relation to tribal regions, the most keenly debated question centres round the serious gap between theoretical aspirations and practical possibilities. The management of human resources is also becoming increasingly relevant. Some regard it as a technical question but its appropriate treatment is one of the pre-requisites for the consistent administrative management.
It is a plea for making the best arrangements for having neither too many nor too few of the necessary personnel for the development work at the right time. There is hardly any doubt that the attempt is difficult and the results uncertain, but its success depends on the choices made and on measures taken in changing situations. But something can undoubtedly be done in this apparently unpromising field.

From the standpoint of management of tribal development programmes, the most important question is that of performance. Without a well-knit system of reporting, appraisal and evaluation, it would not be possible for an administrative agency to perform its vital managerial functions of planning, organising, controlling and directing the administrative apparatus. These functions are essentially inter-dependent. There is scope for improving the reporting system by laying down well-defined operational objectives, a better design of reports, greater specificity of content and improved organisation for processing the information. Appraisal is also another important aspect, a tool of management whereby it is possible to focus attention on specific aspects and areas of operation with a view to ensuring that the actual performance conforms as closely
as possible to established goals. Though in every plan
document it is emphasised that with every important
programme, provision should always be made for assessment
of results, and systematic evaluation should become a
normal administrative practice in all branches of public
activity, much care is not exercised. This study has shown
that monitoring and evaluation of the programmes is very
weak (Chapter-XIV). The need for these techniques is
much more in every developmental activity but more specially
in tribal areas where new or expanded activities are being
taken more vigorously.

The whole exercise of framing the programmes on one
hand and their implementation on the other, has been carried
out without free, full and fair involvement of the tribal
people themselves. Moreover, there is no significant
difference between development programmes for the general
rural population and the tribals. To a certain extent,
even the generalised type of development programmes would
have raised tribal levels of living along with those of the
rest of the rural population had they not been implemented
largely within the framework of political, economic and
social institutions, the country had inherited from the
British. Whatever institutional framework has been created
after independence has not resulted in any basic changes in the power structure operating on exploitative system of relations in the tribal areas.

One of the major impediments in the fulfilment of plan targets is that there are basic infrastructural difficulties in the States. Other drawbacks in implementation consist of basic lack of co-ordination which is essentially the result of excessive centralisation in the system. The District Officers have practically no say in the plan formation or implementation and in some areas there are overlapping responsibilities which lead to unnecessary expenditure. There is also the difficulty of a basic lack of uniformity in dispersion which is primarily because even implementation priorities are not laid down. The cultural distance between the planners and those in-charge of executing the programmes and the homes and fields, where the tribals toil is so great that there is seldom any possibility of real affinity, leave alone identity in the interests of the planners and their supposed beneficiaries.

A number of bottlenecks and weaknesses have come to light in the implementation of the tribal development programmes. There are many management techniques that are particularly relevant to administration of projects and can
easily be applied to solve some of the problems. Among these techniques, network analysis, the critical path method, PERT etc. have been tried elsewhere in other fields in the scheduling and administering of projects. These may be tried in tribal areas as well. When monitoring and evaluation techniques are coupled with systematic planning and proper feedback, these techniques can be helpful in pinpointing the weak spots. The correctives are ultimately to be applied in a broader perspective taking all factors, ecological, organisational, administrative and even political into consideration.

Some of the States (Orissa) have recently undertaken the implementation of a kind of intensive development programme for its tribal areas. A group of families in a compact area will be identified and special attention bestowed on allround development. Some 500 to 600 tribal families will benefit from various development projects, which centre around such relevant fields such as agriculture, horticulture, soil conservation and animal husbandry. These will be administered through a network of micro-agencies which will be located in the tribal areas. Madhya Pradesh Government has also announced a sub-plan for the socio-economic development of Adivasi in 173 tribal
development blocks in 21 Districts covering some 22,000 villages.

It is true that tribal communities should be rehabilitated in the national mainstream but their distinctive culture and local traditions should not be lost sight of. Care must be taken to see that in bringing the fruits of development to isolated communities, the administration does not go about performing this duty in an insensitive manner. While selecting personnel and programmes for the development of these areas, the State Government must be ensured not to hurt local sentiments or susceptibilities. The demand for the assertion of a separate tribal State - as is being mooted in Jharkhand region of Bihar arises in part because of the callousness that local administrations betrays in dealing with tribal areas problems.

Taking India as a whole, the indeshth studies undertaken by Planning Commission and other agencies have shown that many tribal regions had arrived at a stage of development in which the capacity for expansion, diversification and modernisation of their economies through industrialisation had increased significantly. Thus seeking to build on
The progress already achieved in the framework of earlier development plans, the State Governments are placing considerable emphasis in their plans for the acceleration of specific sectors. Thus targets and policies are being specified not only for production but also for allied activities but the regions which have been studied in depth in this study show comparatively lesser development and are hardly at a take-off stage. It may be useful for the planners, policy makers and researchers to investigate and study the peculiar local problems of these and other areas which are standing in the way of smooth development. Such feasibility studies may in the long run help the Government to plan for these areas in the right perspective.

The foregoing discussion reveals that a number of administrative realignments have, no doubt occurred, but number of issues remain virtually unexplored. How to identify the tribal areas and how to benefit the tribal people are among the questions which can be explored. What type of administrative arrangements are needed for various programmes can be a major policy issue. Apart from a few stray studies conducted by the National Sample Survey, even the basic data for a meaningful discussion has not yet been collected on a systematic basis. The criteria
and procedure for financial allocations can also be looked at length. How to ensure people's participation in these programmes, is a rich area of enquiry. If some of these questions are looked into by serious scholars and administrators in future, tribal development programmes are likely to be more effective in tackling the tribal problems, ensuring a better quality of life for the tribal people.