CHAPTER - II

Tribal Development: A Conceptual Framework

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Development is usually conceived as an aspect of change that is desirable, broadly predicted or planned and administered or at least influenced by governmental action.\(^1\) Thus the concept of development consists of:

(a) an aspect of change, (b) a plan or prediction, and
(c) involvement of the government for the achievements of that planned or predicted goal. The term 'development' is also used for the process of allowing and encouraging people to meet their own aspirations.\(^2\) It, therefore, must relate to transforming the entire society enmeshing together its economic, social, political and administrative aspects for an all round balanced upward change.\(^3\)

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Development and modernization are not interchangeable terms as development results from proliferation and integration of functional roles in a community whereas modernization is a particular case of development. The term 'development' cannot be used synonymously with 'growth' as well. Growth implies an increase in the gross national product. Its emphasis is mainly on economic aspect rather than on social, political or cultural aspects. Modernization implies a systematic process involving complementary changes in the demographic, economic, political, communication and cultural sectors of a society. Thus it entails a change from the existing ethos, mores, values and norms.

In the underdeveloped countries, development requires social and cultural change as well as economic growth, i.e. qualitative transformation must occur concurrently with quantitative increase. There is, in fact, a reciprocal relation between the two and neither process is likely to continue for long without the other. Hence development means change plus growth.

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growth, modernization, increase in social facilities, political awareness etc.

Development is thus, never complete; it is relative, a state of mind, a tendency, a direction; rather than a fixed goal, it is a rate of change in a particular direction. Therefore, the fulfilment of a certain goal alone cannot be termed as development. In the ultimate analysis, it results in a sense of well-being among the members of the society. Although non-materialistic aspects may enter into the picture for a sense of well-being, but it is the material aspects that have to be given greater consideration. The total well being of a community is often measured in terms of the facilities and services that are available. However, this is not to suggest that the social aspects and the non-material aspects can be completely overlooked. Whatever be the agency for achieving development, it must be aware of the nature of development in order to achieve the same.7

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The main aim of development is to increase national
as well as per capita income and to raise the standard
of living of the people and to secure justice, freedom,
equality and security for them in the society. The
focus of development is now increasingly on: (a) equitable
distribution of wealth and income; (b) full utilization
of manpower; (c) better utilization of natural resources;
and (d) protection of the human environment, etc. Thus
the major dimensions of development are (a) Economic (b)
Social and (c) Political.

Public administration has been considered as an
important instrument for achieving the goals and tasks
of development. There is, therefore, a great pressure on
governments to accelerate national development, make use of
up-to-date and relevant technological innovations, adopt
and facilitate necessary institutional changes, increase
national production, make full use of human and other
resources and improve the standard of living.

Public administration, in a simple language, consists
of management of men and materials engaged in the service

8. The United Nations. Development Administration:
Current Approaches and Trends in Public Administration
of the State. Development administration, in a still simple language, would be public administration with a special purpose. The strategies and goals of change may vary but there are always generic processes through which agreement on goals is reached and plans, policies, programmes and projects (four 'P's) are formulated and implemented. Development administration, therefore, is concerned primarily with the tasks and processes of formulating and implementing the four 'P's in respect to whatever mixture of goals and objectives may be determined.

To motivate people for development, institutions have to be created as development cannot be introduced in a society where a majority of the population does not become involved and participate in the developmental tasks. Development plans necessarily have to be accepted by the people. Alfred Diamant points out that development results from the proliferation and integration of functional roles in a community, and economic development alone does not do away with all the evils of the society. Proliferation in different roles is an aspect of a developed society. However, this proliferation should not

remain unintegrated. Different functional roles in a community must be well integrated. Fred Riggs points out that a refracted society develops because the functional roles of the institution differ and are not fused into one institution or person. The degree of refraction in role is an indicator of the stages of development of a society.

It thus appears that there is no agreement on one, single, universal meaning of development. Any explanation of development appears to be related to a particular focus, a set of values, goal priorities, system constraints or ideological differences. This is not to suggest that no agreements on development exist at all, but rather that the approach, recommended by theorists or governmental policy makers in any country may be seen as determined by their adherence to one or another model of development.

Options: With the above background we can conceive all different types of alternatives or models of development. These are not mathematical models, as such, but are mere symbolic abstractions. The models delineated here may not be always sharply distinguishable from each other. Nevertheless, there is sufficient distinction

12 Refer Fred W. Riggs, Administration in Developing Countries: The Theory of Prismatic Society (Boston, 1964).
among them to recognise three different approaches. The three different alternatives possible may be conceived as Model A, Model B and Model C.

The first development model (Type A) emphasises, above all, the maximization of economic growth in a society. This model demands that government policy must be directed towards establishing and promoting industrial economy and envisages the use of foreign aid to overcome the lack of sufficient capital in early stages for the desired industrialisation. Appropriate use of technology, whether created internally or imported, is intended to overcome some of the halting nature of the stages in growth envisaged by Model A.

The model directs government policy towards investing heavy resources in the infrastructure of the economy and requires that wages must remain constant during the early period of expansion so that the capital may be expended only on growth of enterprises and for the benefit of those who create and foster business and industrial enterprises. The model emphasises a polished system of public administration for efficient implementation of government plans and policies. Finally, there are social, psychological and


14. For a variety of views on this aspect of the model, see Joseph La Palombara, Bureaucracy and Political Development (Princeton, 1963).
cultural explanations offered by model A, purporting to show that some patterns of individual and societal behaviours are more supportive of maximum economic growth than others.15 These "prerequisites" of growth include innovative attitudes, entrepreneurial roles and achievement oriented personalities.

The main drawbacks of the model are said to be that it is dehumanizing, elitist, wasteful and imperialistic. Model A emphasizes maximization of economic growth and thus subordinates human values to gross national product. It is said to favor accumulation of individual wealth without regard to those who are unwilling or incapable of such achievements. Let us, therefore, now consider Model B which endeavors to overcome these drawbacks. In Model B the purpose of development is as important as the achievement of development. Instead of accumulation of possessions, the standard of success becomes the preservation of cultural strengths.16 Model A is charged as

elitist on the ground that it favours those elements of society that already have the resources to take advantage of new opportunities. As against this, Model $\alpha$ emphasises the adoption of those government policies which seek to relieve those societal elements who are at the bottom of the economic ladder, rather than subsidize those who are in the middle.

Model $\alpha$ is said to be wasteful as it requires further depletion of the world’s natural resources to achieve its goals and duplicate efforts to achieve production goals already shared in other areas of the globe. Model $\beta$ views development as a global enterprise instead of a national goal alone and expects nations to help each other in supplying their needs instead of duplicating the same policies and to reinforce each other’s efforts to control pollution and exponential population growth.\(^{17}\)

Another weakness of Model $\alpha$ is said to be that it fails to make clear the necessity for Third World nations to depend on the largesse of industrialised societies in order to achieve economic growth envisaged in Model $\beta$. Such dependency occurs, Model $\beta$ theorists contend, because development or underdevelopment is not a consequence of

each nation's own virtues or faults alone. Each country is rather linked to the controlling power of the international system.

Because of the differences among theorists critical of the Model A approach to maximum economic growth it would not be inappropriate to term their explanations as Model B-1, B-2, B-3 and B-4. The common point is then being that they constitute a reaction to Model A the kind of alternative that seeks to increase the value of other factors than economic growth alone. Model B attempts to reveal the pitfalls which accompany an emphasis on production without regard to the need to pay attention to equitable distribution of economic benefits. It also attempts to reveal the risks which accompany an uncritical use of foreign capital while ignoring or disregarding the kind of influences such usage may bring.18

The third model, i.e. Model C, emphasises productivity and economic growth. However, the main difference in Model A and C is that Model C lays strong emphasis on central planning, public ownership of industries and agricultural cooperatives. Moreover, political development plays an equal role with economic development in this

model. This model de-emphasizes expertise, limits urbanization, disperses industries and discourages imports.

Model C shares with Model A, a strong inclination to see heavy industrialization as an appropriate path toward improvement in a society, but it shares with Model B an inclination to emphasize equality of benefits and national independence in economic and political decision making. It, however, differs from the other two in its placing on a par with, or even raising above, economic development, the need to reconstruct individual commitments to the society by changing the nature of social institutions. 19

Implications: Model A's emphasis on the use of capital and technology to upgrade agriculture and promote industrial growth carries with it the implication that government policies should be so formulated as to benefit those capable of making good use of such capital and technology. This policy is likely to be favouring those who are not among the poorest in the society. In addition, Model A's reliance on aid and certain kinds of trade from industrialized countries, particularly in the form of capital investment, requires a close alliance between foreign interests and those government and economic circles

in a host country, who are in a position to make use of such investments. Thus, only the qualified persons are capable of dealing in such transactions. The 'cost' of such a policy, however, is the reliance on the trickle-down theory of economic expansion. The provision of direct benefits at the top of a social and economic pyramid may, in fact, aim the spread of such benefits to those lower on the pyramid, but there is little assurance that sufficient amounts will reach them, or that the time span will be short enough to bring about the predicted rise in their standard of living in their lifetime.

Model B's focus on more equitable distribution, rather than more production of goods and its emphasis on the need to take a global rather than merely national, view of development contain two types of implications. One is that government policy makers should give highest priority to those policies aimed at alleviating unemployment and increasing income of the lowest economic groups in the society.

The other implication is that government policies should serve the national interest by means of regional cooperation.20

The cost of the Model B approach includes the threat of what would appear to be slower economic progress, on the one hand,

20. Henry J. Friedman, op. cit., p.120.
and the need for greater international political success that have occurred in the past, or the other.

Model G requires a substantial number of dedicated, disciplined personnel who will devote their careers to working among large number of people to effect changes in political consciousness. Another implication is the necessity to pursue policies which invest the nation's resources, in the rural and less advanced sections of society, even if some sacrifice in production has to be temporarily made. The application of Model G strongly implies the capacity of the national leaders to accept the consequences of economic mistakes as they press for national self-reliance and a denial of many forms of assistance from other nations. The cost attached to this model is heavy regimentation of beliefs and behaviour and acceptance of the planned conversion to the development goals described in the Model G approach.21

These choices of development paths and their implications available to government policy makers do not necessarily contain an automatic clear cut guidelines to the most appropriate selection. What is more important is that options are available, and policy makers should be aware of them.

At present, Model A type of policies are being heavily criticised on the grounds that they yield inequitable results and are not suited to the overpopulated, constricting world of 1970's. Model A however, continues to be the development path actually being followed by most national governments in the Third World. Despite its sub types, wide-ranging alternatives and amassing growing support, particularly among intellectuals, few governments actively pursue Model B options and they too only in small parts. Model C is, however, followed mostly by Communist countries only.

With these three different types of models mentioned above, we may consider their applications in developing the tribal areas. The development administration in tribal areas is likely to disturb the existing equilibrium between the tribals and their environment. The economic and social development demand: introduction of better agricultural practices, better irrigation facilities, introduction of industry, facilities for health and education, etc. All these would require an influx of outsiders in the area. The introduction of developmental programmes is likely to change or at least affect the tribal norms and values. It would, therefore, require a cautious approach so that the development remains bound within their existing norms.
and values and in due course of time tribals get assimilated in the mainstream of the national life in a phased manner as equal partners.

**Development Administration in Tribal Areas**

Backwardness of an area is often attributed to the paucity of resources, in particular the inadequate availability of capital. Though there are a number of models and theories, they are reducible to what is commonly known as 'vicious circle' theory. Alternative versions of the theory may sometimes stress the scarcity of factors other than capital but it is always the inadequate availability of one or the other 'crucial input' which is identified as the binding constraints on development. However, in the present conjuncture of forces it is not always as much the inadequacy of resources as the inadequacy of demand which is the operative constraint on the rate of capital accumulation. In order to be effective, any strategy of intervention must, therefore, not only

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ensure the growth of physical capital stock in a backward area but also the expansion of effective demand for goods produced in that area. It, therefore, appears necessary to identify the 'economic base' (i.e., export sectors) of the area and concentrate on the growth of these sectors but whether such a strategy of development will succeed in a particular case or not depends on the specific set of circumstances attendant to that particular case. Moreover, whether or not the export sector of a backward area can serve as an effective basis for development of the area depends on the net balance of trade of the area. However, a surplus balance of trade need not always lead to the development of the area as it may coincide with a deficit on capital account and even when the balance of payment is so balanced that there is no net outflow of capital in the accounting sense, there may still be a leakage of surplus from an underdeveloped area because of a fundamental undervaluation of its products by more developed areas.


As the modern theory of underdevelopment points out, it is this leakage of the investible surplus which constitutes the very basis of the phenomenon of underdevelopment.  

It is also argued that private investment considerations might siphon away resources from a backward area rather than attract resources from outside.

Planners and administrators are coming to realize that their previous models have slighted some critical elements, namely the cultures and societies of the people for whom and on whom development plans were enacted.

Anthropologists not only look at development problems from the perspective of the people, they also tend to try to understand particular projects as part of a larger system. It is the system of social relations and cultural understandings that is critical for the success or failure of projects. For, as it is now recognized, development is not only the adaptation of advanced technology and economic programming, nor is it just another term for change. Development consists of purposive efforts by people, led by public figures and planners, to organize themselves in new technical, cultural and social ways.

These are ways that will enable them to achieve the style and quality of life to which they aspire. When their aspirations shift, the direction of development efforts must shift accordingly. 29

**Anthropology and Administration**

The influence of anthropology on the administration in the tribal areas has been accepted. Anthropology deals with the systematic knowledge of man. Social anthropology studies the total social behaviour of communities, different kinds of social relationships of people within and without a group in a community, the cultural contents of society and the total society as an integrated whole. Because of its scope, nature and methods of studying the society as such, the knowledge of social anthropology is likely to be useful to the administrators engaged in the development of the tribal areas.

The development programmes involve socio-cultural and economic change in the life of the tribal people. It is, therefore, necessary that the administrators must know the existing ways of life of the tribal people and the theories

of social change. It is to be realized that though economic change are often faster in the long run, both economic and social changes have to go together. The need for being careful with regard to the 'hard core' of culture and the utility of anthropological approach rather than bureaucratic method of dealing with the tribal people has to be realised.30

In the beginning, tribal communities are in a state of ecological equilibrium with their environment. In the early stage of development, ecological equilibrium may get disturbed due to a number of reasons. The forces responsible for ecological disequilibrium may be classified as in the diagram below:31

**Forces Responsible for Ecological Disequilibrium**

![Diagram showing forces responsible for ecological disequilibrium]


The intensity of contact of small tribal groups with other groups varies considerably. The small tribal groups can be classified on the basis of four characteristics, viz., size, isolation, confrontation and ecological equilibrium. Where the ecological equilibrium has been disturbed, the first step is to identify the precise nature of the ecological imbalance as this analysis is likely to help in evolving a suitable strategy. Ecological disequilibrium arises generally because a community had not been able to keep pace with the changing environment, both physical and human. This would require faster pace of change in the community so that it can catch up with the rest of the society by freeing self from the dependence on a narrow ecological field with the rest of the community but while planning for the initial phases of development, the fact of the 'loss of nerve' in many cases has to be fully taken into account. In this period, a benevolent outside contact may help them in getting over the 'confrontation complex' and establish new communication channels. The steps for removing the causes of ecological disequilibrium have to be as swift as possible. The pace of other steps, however, should be slow, preferably even imperceptible.

The stages in development of tribal communities in a state of ecological disequilibrium can, thus be envisaged as follows: 32

32. B.D. Sharma, op. cit, pp.9-10.
Stage I: State of confrontation

Stage II:

a) Countering external forces - Institutional.
   b) Institutionalising measures for countering individual or group forces
   c) Effective attention to problems of health; and
   d) Recognition of the native skills, restoration of self confidence and citizen education.

Stage III:

Pause

a) First aid to the traditional economy
b) Breaking the communication barriers and education; and
   c) Gradual upgradation of native skills and introduction of new elements in a longer time perspective.

Stage IV:

Confrontation Ceases

Challenges of Tribal Development:

With this background, the challenges to Development Administration in the tribal areas can be examined.

The environment of an area has its impact on the administration of the area. The tribal culture, its economy, social custom and political system also influences the administrative set up and practices in that area. The
administrative set up has to be suitably changed keeping in view the ecology of the tribal areas. The complexities arising out of the tribal ecology is quite different from those of other areas and hence requires a different approach. Moreover, in order to administer development plans the knowledge of the tribal social system, customs and socio-economic conditions are of great relevance.

The development administration in the tribal areas has its own problems. However, before the problems and strategies used for development administration in the tribal areas are discussed, it is worth-while to have an idea about the 'tribe' itself. Winick's *Dictionary of Anthropology* has defined 'tribe' as a social group usually with a definite area, dialect, cultural homogeneity and unifying social organisation. A tribe ordinarily has a leader or may have a common ancestor as well as a patron deity. The families or small communities making up the tribe are linked through economic, social, religious, family or blood ties. Anthropologists have identified the following characteristics of tribal communities, i.e., (a) smallness, (b) distinctive-

36. Ibid.
ness, (c) homogeneity, (d) isolation and self sufficiency, (e) sensitivity (f) anxiety to retain their identity, (g) fear of extinction, etc.

Many other definitions of 'tribe' have been given by both noted Indian and Western anthropologists. On the whole, it has been observed that, broadly speaking most of the 'tribes' exhibit some of the common features which are as follows:

i) common name, territory and language,

ii) strong kinship bonds and endogamy with distinct taboos,

iii) one social rank and political organisation,

iv) distinct customs, moral codes, religious beliefs and rituals,

v) youth dormitory,

vi) high illiteracy and absence of schooling and

vii) common ownership or simple economic profession of subsistence level and low level of technology of development.

Strictly speaking, there are few communities in India or for that matter anywhere in the world, which satisfy all the above mentioned criteria. Therefore, tribe in our context, implies those communities or groups which have been included in the list of Scheduled Tribes in the Indian Constitution. The communities which have been included in
the list of Scheduled Tribes have the following two important characteristics: (i) they were considered to be primitive in economy and social organisation till the recent past and (ii) they were considered to be different from the rest of the population. 37

Both geography of India and tribal demography permit a regional grouping and a monal classification of the tribal people. Accordingly, the following regional classification has been made:

(1) **Himalayan Region**: With three sub regions, viz. (1) North-Eastern Himalayan Region (2) Central Himalayan Region and (3) North-Western Himalayan Region. Assam, Meghalaya, the mountainous region of West Bengal, i.e., Darjeeling, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram and Tripura fall in the North-Eastern Himalayan Region whereas the Tarai areas of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar come in the Central Himalayan Region. Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir constitute the North-Western Himalayan Region. More than one-third of the regions' population consists of tribals, which is one-eighth of the tribal population of India.

(II) Middle India Region: It comprises of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh with more than two crores of tribal people, i.e. 55 per cent of the total tribals of India.

(III) Western India Region: It includes Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Goa, Dadra and Nagar Haveli with about one crore of tribal population.

(IV) South India Region: It comprises of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala with a meagre tribal population (1.66 per cent of the region) constituting one-sixteenth of the tribals of the country.

(V) The Island Region: Islands of Andaman and Nicobar in the Bay of Bengal and Lakshadweep in Arabian Sea where tribals comprise 54.3 per cent of its total population which constitutes a distinction of the sub region.38

The tribal population, region-wise, has been indicated in Table No.2.1(++)-5).

GOALS OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

The goals of tribal development in India was best summarised in Nehru's foreword to Verrier Elwin's book on NEFA as follows:

1. People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.

(2) Tribal rights in land and forest should be respected. (3) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical people from outside unit no doubt be needed, especially in the beginning but we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory. (4) We should not over administer these areas or overwhelm them with multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through and not in rivalry to their own social and cultural institutions. (5) We should guide results not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is involved.

This five point formula enunciated by Nehru optimises the Government policy. This was further elaborated by Elwin, who emphasised the need for the tribal people to come to terms with their own past, avoiding danger of pauperism and without creating a sense of inferiority. Elwin stressed on tribal people in helping the Indian society as a whole so that they may feel as part and parcel of India as any other citizen. The goals of tribal development can thus, be summarised as economic, social and political.


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<th>Tribal population in States/Union Territories</th>
<th>Percentage of total population of India in Territories of the States/Union Territories</th>
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Economic Development is a process whereby country's real national income increases over a long period of time. Economic growth means more output and economic development implies both more output and change in the technical and institutional arrangements by which it is produced. It entails the diversion of a nation's scarce resources and productive powers to the augmentation of its stocks of productive wealth and to the progressive enlargement of its gross and net national product of goods and services. The objective is in aggregate or in per capita terms. Economic development is, thus, an increase in real per capita income of a country.

In the context of tribal development, it aims at increasing the income and strengthening the material aspects of tribal culture through better utilization of the environmental resources, i.e., forests, minerals, flora and fauna, agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry and industrial potentials. The problem of equitable distribution of income


and wealth within the tribal culture vis-a-vis Indian society as a whole, needs further enquiry. All measures that tend to improve the economic conditions of the tribal within their culture would ipso facto promote their economic welfare as social justice. 43

(b) Social Goals

Economic development in terms of an increase in per capita income is no longer regarded as the only development objective. As a matter of fact, it may pave the way for a substantial improvement in the quality of the people. Social development, thus, means bringing about improvement in the social being of the people and as such lays stress on provision of health services, education, housing, cultural amenities, protection of children, a change in the status of women, regulation of labour and improved status for workers and reduction of disease, poverty and other social ailments.

All the tribal groups are not in the same stage of social development. There are some groups in remote and inaccessible tribal villages. On the other hand, there are some groups which have had the benefit of sufficient interaction with rural and urban population. There may be a third group of people, who have made adjustments with the rural-urban social environment and who are already on the way of

43. J.S. Mathur, op.cit, p.166.
assimilation into the larger complex. The fourth group comprises of those who have become a part of the urban and rural complex and as such are indistinguishable from the other population. A process of detribalisation may be said to have been taken in their case.

While it is generally agreed that sufficient time should be given to the first three groups to get them oriented to the Indian social life as a whole, there is a great deal to be said in favour of some of the important forms of tribal culture. It is evident that changes are bound to make inroads even into the hard core of the tribal culture as a whole. 44

It may be useful to outline criteria of cultural development for the four groups mentioned above on the basis of a differential approach. The main question then boils down to the comprehensiveness rather than the rate of change itself. Provided the proper approach is found, it may be possible for level-jumping in case of a many tribal groups so that the culture complex can undergo a rapid transformation as a whole. In other words, the problem of value orientation of tribal development is inextricably linked with the value framework of the emergent society in India as a whole. Otherwise there may be a lot of economic prosperity

brought to the tribal groups, Panchayati Raj system may be introduced, efforts may be made to keep up the older forms of non-material culture of non-tribal groups but serious problems of adjustment and assimilation are likely to arise in future, e.g. : (1) the tribal group may get absorbed in the highly complex caste structure of the society, which they do not have at present. In case they are placed at the lowest, it would be regression for them than progress, and (2) The tribal groups may be drafted into the highly complex and philosophically oriented religious system, which might undermine the very roots of tribal culture.

(C) Political Goals

The third aspect of development is the dimension of political development. The concern for political development is said to have resulted from the failure of economic development programmes which is attributed to political imperfections in the society. Political development refers to the process of politicization, that is increasing participation or involvement of the citizen in the State activities and in power calculations and consequences.45

The political goals of development imply evolution towards democratic process and forms of government. The approach to different tribal groups would, however, depend upon the existing social organisation and the tribal Panchayats/councils, if any. Each tribal group would have to be worked on an individual basis. Evolution of the political structure of democracy in tribal areas would mean that ultimately it would have to be linked with the larger framework of power politics in Indian society as a whole.

While in some areas, independent political parties from the tribal groups have emerged, it may be useful to draw up and abide by healthy communication among different political parties not to exploit the tribal groups politically. At the same time, interest orientation and politicisation of tribal groups is essential.

Thus the goals of tribal development can be grouped into the following two objectives, i.e., (i) long term objectives and (ii) short term objectives. The long term objectives are: (a) to narrow the gap between the levels of development of the tribals and the others, and (b) to improve the quality of life of the tribal communities. The short term objectives are: (a) elimination of exploitation in all forms, (b) speeding up the process of socio-economic development, (c) improving organisational capabilities, and
(d) building up inner strength of the people, etc.

Development is generally accompanied by economic inequalities and it also gives rise to various forms of socio-economic tensions. The development of tribal communities is one special aspect of this general process as the socio-economic situation of these communities is somewhat different from the general socio-economic situation in India. The tribal economy can be said to be at one end of the spectrum of India's general socio-economic scene. Tribal development poses a special challenge to the development administration due to two reasons. Firstly, administration itself in the tribal areas emerges as a very strong group in comparison to the local community. Secondly, the Constitution has placed a special responsibility for development of these regions on the administration. The powers of administration increase because of this special responsibility, and in the context of imbalance of power between administration and local community in these areas.

the responsibility of 'administration' further increases. 47

Though all the tribal areas are not at the same stage of socio-economic development, nevertheless, it can be said that there are some basic similarities in all these areas on the basis of which certain common policy issues can be formulated. 48 The tribal areas are characterised by their aloofness, a lower level of economic activity and a closed social structure. In a determined effort for economic development in tribal areas during the second half of the 20th century, these areas got special attention as they were the most backward areas and had a great potential for forest, mineral and agricultural development. The natural barriers were overcome; roads got built, mineral explorations started, forest potential exploited and a bigger stream of administrators, contractors, traders and other fortune-seekers started. As the new climate emphasises achievement, ignores the means and sanctifies competition, the articulate outsider has, therefore, one motivation—quick acquisition. The tribals become defensive, they are not able to meet this


group on terms of equality. The fastness in the new situation inhibits the harmonising influence of time. 49

**Group Mobility Within a Tribal Area**

Tribal communities are largely homogeneous, egalitarian and the distance between the highest and lowest is very small. These communities are largely closed and the fear of unknown further discourages the tribal from moving out. The emergent situation in urban and rural areas is different. In urban areas, broadly three groups can be identified - higher, middle and lower (say $U_h$, $U_m$ and $U_l$). In rural areas, there are generally two groups - higher and lower (say $R_h$ and $R_l$ respectively) and the local tribal communities comprise of the lowest groups in urban and semi-urban areas ($U_l$) while they form the vast majority or even the exclusive populace in rural areas. The migrant groups are concentrated in urban and semi-urban areas ($U_h$ & $U_m$) and have a sprinkling in rural areas ($R_h$). There may be some transgressions of economic boundaries by individuals, a few local tribals may find their way into $U_m$ group but none is able to move to the $U_h$ group.

Diagrammatic representation of group mobility within a tribal area and linkages with advanced areas.
Language and socio-psychological barriers restrict the group mobility. Conceptually, education should help in group movement even in a structured society. In advanced areas, although, social origin is important, economic forces play an increasing part in group formation. In these advanced areas, lines of movement between different urban and rural groups are well established because of common social bonds. In the tribal areas, the standard of education is relatively poor as a result of which the educated one may have a lesser chance in competition. Discovering the 'non utility' of education, the tribal is reluctant to send his child to the school. Secondly, even when a young man is enabled by education to cross the language barrier, the socio-psychological barrier becomes generally insurmountable, as a result of which the educated tribal often has to bounce back to his original environment. This creates a psychological schism and the educated tribal boy is torn between the two worlds.

The level of regional development is represented by the total income generated in the region, i.e., the sum total of income of the two groups (migrants and tribals) presuming that all the income is retained within

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the region. If at any time, \( N \) and \( n \) are the population of the tribals and the migrants, and \( I' \) and \( p' \) are their per capita incomes respectively, a group inequality index \( G \) may be defined as: \( G' \) (86)

\[
G' = \frac{1}{2} \left( \frac{N-n}{N} - \frac{p'-p}{p'p} \right) \quad \cdots \cdots \quad (i)
\]

If \( r = \frac{n}{N} \) and \( s = \frac{p'}{p} \),

Therefore \( G = \frac{(r-1)}{r(1+r)(1+s)} \) \( \cdots \cdots \quad (ii) \)

The group inequality index is zero

\[ i.e. \quad G = 0, \quad \text{if} \quad (i) \quad r = 0 \]
\[ \text{or} \quad (ii) \quad r = \infty \]
\[ \text{or} \quad (iii) \quad s = 1 \]

\( r = 0 \) means \( n = 0 \) i.e. disappearance of migrants
\( r = \infty \) means \( N = 0 \) i.e. disappearance of tribals
\( s = 1 \) implies their complete assimilation.

In the beginning, when migrant group is zero, \( G = 0 \).

It increases with passage of time. There are two phases in the regional economic history, the earlier phase (exploitation phase) when the total income \( T \) remains constant and the migrant group, through various devices,

\[ 86 \]

Individual incomes can be said to have two components:

\[ p = p + p_e \]  \hspace{1cm} (iii)
\[ P = P - P_e \]  \hspace{1cm} (iv)

where \( p_e \) and \( P_e \) are the transfer components arising from exploitation, in this phase

\[ G = A\Delta R + B\Delta p \]  \hspace{1cm} (v)

It is quite obvious that the group inequality index increases with migration and income transfers. The total regional income does not remain constant for very long as new economic activities are added. In this phase if, there is no further influx,

\[ \Delta G \propto \Delta S \]  \hspace{1cm} (vi)

The rate of growth of inequality is likely to slow down if suitable policies are adopted. In the real world situation, however, \( G \) cannot increase indefinitely as it gives rise to certain politico socio-economic forces. The ideal thing is to guide the economic development in such a way that group inequality index is reduced without much time lag, i.e., to make \( S = 1 \) as early as possible. Such attempts get reflected in special programmes for tribal areas.
A regional economic analysis does take into account the socio-economic conditions of the people of a region besides its resource configuration. However, it soon reverts to the traditional economic analysis and the people recede into background. Economic growth, implies an increase in the total real value of income in a region. Hence, in a country, internal factor mobility should tend to eliminate inter-regional per capita income differentials, geographical dualism or spatial polarisation. Under conditions of free factor mobility, and abstracting from transportation costs, special inequality can persist only via lags in dynamic adjustments.\textsuperscript{52} The diagnosis generally is that internal factor flows do not occur with sufficient speed and quality and the requirement is to induce this flow. In short, it means: (i) encouraging flow of entrepreneurial and specialised skills, (ii) inducing flow of capital, and (iii) development of infrastructure. A fourth dimension of planning social change and strengthening local communities is also accepted in principle. In the absence of proper appreciation of fourth dimension, group inequality index may rise steeply even if new wealth is

created and retained within the region. If the fact of outflow of incomes and destruction of natural resources is also taken into account the tribal group will be found to be still more adversely affected.

The factor mobility is expected to eliminate the inter-regional differences. This presumes a direct physical achievement and social development relationship. The important fact of social and economic discontinuities which separate the extremely backward regions from the mainstream of national life are ignored in this analysis.

With the opening up of an area, immigrants with higher skills appear on the scene and also bring with them higher technology and developed craftmanships. A macro analysis of the economic situation may show a general improvement in the level of various skills, particularly along the main arteries of communication. Though per capita income records a rise and inter-regional disparity gets reduced but in the process the tribals may withdraw from these pockets of development. As migrant population and their income grow, the local population, at the best, stagnate economically and the process of exploitation may get intensified reducing their share of gross regional product. The index of group inequality 'G' rises sharply.
as both 'r' and 's' increases. 53

The main reason for migration is search for better market and better utilisation of one's skill. Thus, while the advanced groups may be helped by this process, the tribal may slide back on the technology scale. Continued migration and multiplication may outstrip the new opportunities and even reservations for tribals may not be effective. Economic indicators of the region may show an upward trend, but so also the index of group inequality. Movement of capital may also present similar problems, its benefit to the people of the area will depend on its composition. The development of infrastructure means development of communication and power network. Development of infrastructure without due regard to its effect on the people is likely to accentuate group inequality. Thus, development of new infrastructural measures may result in intensification of exploitation process.

It is, thus, obvious to have necessary countervailing forces to neutralise the impact of these elements which tend to increase the group inequality. These forces can be social or economic and either spontaneous or induced.

The social forces can arise from: (i) spontaneous social change of migrants or indigenous communities, (ii) induced change through education, and (iii) a new class of migrants. The countervailing economic forces are of two types: (i) protective like regulation of transfer of land and money-lending, etc. and (ii) positive, like special development programmes.

Regional development in consonance with the development of the people can be identified as maximisation of the total regional product $T$, subject to the condition that: (i) group inequality does not increase, i.e., $p - P$ is minimum (ii) intra-group differences in the tribal communities themselves are also kept to the minimum, i.e., $P_N - P_1$ is minimum, where $P_N$ is the income of the $N$th individual, and (iii) the increase in income of any group is not a mere transfer of income but is production based, i.e., $P_e, P_e \rightarrow 0$.

**Tribal Development Programmes**

Uptill now major social services, like education and health, have not been treated as economic investment in true sense, though they are the most important social service programmes in the tribal areas. The economic

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programmes can be divided into two categories, i.e., (a) those which do not envisage any basic structural change and are of immediate nature, and (b) those which may act as nucleus of socio-economic transformation of the local community and have a long term perspective. The programmes in category (a) will generally include development of agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, etc. These programmes may be termed as 'traditional universalistic' as they have two important features, viz (i) they mainly concern the traditional economic activity, and (ii) they may benefit the group. The programmes in category (b) will generally include mining, an industry, etc. They may be termed as 'modern particularistic' because; (i) they mainly concern the modern economic activity, and (ii) they may benefit a select group only.

Administratively, the programmes for the welfare of the tribals fall under three main categories; (i) Centrally operated programmes (ii) Centrally sponsored programmes, and (iii) State Sector programmes. The planning and


56. S.N. Dubey and Ratna Murdia, Administration of Policy and Programmes for Backward Classes in India (Bombay, 1976), p.76.
execution of the Centrally operated programmes are the sole responsibility of the Central Government. The activities under the Centrally sponsored programmes are formulated and financed by the Central Government but executed by the State Government. The activities included under this category are those which have a high countrywide priority or relate to special disabilities of such a nature that intensive measures over a length of time are considered necessary. The welfare activities under the State sector programmes are incorporated in the development plans of the State Government.  

Most of the development programmes are carried out by the Government machinery. So far as the general Indian scene is concerned, the level of specialisation of the socio-economic system is supposed to be higher. The process of development and the nature of the programmes are designed according to the needs of this system with considerable specialisation. Whenever the need of a particular sector outgrows the limited means of the concerned institution and it is no longer possible for it

57. S.N. Dubey and Ratna Murdia, Administration of Policy and Programmes for Backward Classes in India (Bombay, 1976), p.78.
to satisfy that need, another institution is born. In this way, economic development and institutional specialisation continue to reinforce each other. The organisational structure designed at the State headquarters have same pattern for the tribal and non-tribal areas as a result of which there is a tendency of over specialisation in the tribal areas. The specialisation arises from the needs of a specific situation and stipulates full co-ordination amongst all institutions for achieving the central objective. Synchronisation of all services requires a good communication system and duty-conscious personnel.

The socio-economic situation of the tribal areas is extremely simple. When the over specialised system of administration is superimposed on these areas, the simple tribal community sees it from a distance as a strange phenomenon. The second important aspect in these areas is sectoral programmes in the context of the integrated life of the tribal. The simple tribal community leads a whole life, it has no sectors, hence individual oriented programmes might not succeed here. 50

50. B.D. Sharma, "Tribal Development - The Administrative Perspective", op. cit, p.443.
Thus, the problems of development administration of the tribal areas in this country are multifarious and complicated. There is a considerable diffusion of authority, inadequate control, lack of coordination and from the point of view of the tribals, difficulty in identifying persons concerned with specific programmes because of the growing complexity and multiplicity of the institutions. The problem of personnel is also equally acute and even the educated tribals migrate from their own areas and gravitate to towns and cities. In addition, much distinction cannot be made between regulatory and developmental administration in these areas in the context of the fact that elimination of exploitation has been given the highest priority. Thus, the problem of development administration in the tribal areas can be grouped as; (i) organisational problems and (ii) personnel problems.

The programmes for development of the tribal areas, the approaches and the problems faced in implementing the development programmes have been dealt with in the subsequent chapters.