REVIEW OF LITERATURE
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Most of the studies of anthropologists, social workers, reporters and some economists on tribals describe their socio-economic problems and viability of developmental programmes. The efforts of the government for tribal development are also reflected in their works which examine the impact of the programmes and suggestions thereby. In their paper Karuppaiyan and Elango (1990) made an attempt to present a review of the earlier works of the researchers on the development of tribal communities. They highlighted the major trends and orientation of the works published so far in the country. The review broadly covered the areas like impact analysis of government programmes across beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, tribal and non-tribal and inter- and intra-tribal groups along with the economic anthropologists’ views on the tribal economic systems. The present review in this study elicits prominent issues related to socio-economic environment, poverty alleviation programmes, tribal welfare programmes, agriculture and minor irrigation schemes. They are arranged in chronological sequences.

2.1 Tribal Socio-Economic Environment

The review presents a terse account of the socio-economic environment in which most of the tribal population live. In particular, it exposes the economic profile of various tribal beneficiaries in different parts of the country. This may help to understand better the impact of the tribal development programmes on economic life of the tribals. The first systematic study of tribal economy in India was launched by Nag (1958). He conducted a survey of 950 Baiga families belonging to the ryotwari and forest villages in Madhya Pradesh. The study revealed that the average income of Baiga families (Rs.339) residing in forest villages was almost double the income of ryotwari Baigas (Rs.167). The gravity of their economic disposition was reflected on the deficit budgets of about 75 per cent of families. Similarly, Saxena (1964) also studied the economic conditions of five tribal groups of Western Hills in Madhya Pradesh and made the observation that the economy of the tribals was merely for subsistence living (survival). Based on field survey, Sambrani (1975) made a comparative study on the socio-economic conditions of the tribals and non-tribals of Gujrát. The study revealed that even 90 per
cent of the tribals belonged to the category of poor whose resources yielded low income. The tribals were found worse off than their non-tribal counterparts in terms of education, skills and assets.

While studying the socio-economic conditions, a few authors delineated the various occupations prevalent among the tribals. Emphasizing the preponderance of agriculture, they narrated some of the subsidiary sources of income. In their studies, Chakravati (1969) and Lal et al (1984) presented the socio-economic conditions of the Gond and the Korku tribes of Betul district of Madhya Pradesh. From the survey of Chakravati, it was found that the majority of them depended primarily on agriculture and secondarily on agri-labour for their livelihood. Some of the families were engaged in log felling and collecting of minor produce from the forests. A few persons worked as chowkidars, postmen and teachers in the villages. The latter's comparative analysis between these two tribes revealed that the proportion of earning dependents was higher among the Gonds whereas the self-employment among the Korku. Similar study of Shah (1984) on the Chaudhari community of Gujrat observed that the Chaudhari community supplemented its income by work on road and canal construction, stone cutting, basket making, rolling bidis and poultry farming. Others migrated to urban areas for white collar jobs and self-employed professions.

Similar socio-economic surveys were conducted by the Tribal Research and Development Institute, Bhopal, for Konta Block of Bastar (1969), Jashpur block of Raigarh (1969) and the Jhabua District (1969) of Madhya Pradesh. Besides agriculture and agri-labourers, some of the tribals of these districts engaged themselves in fishing and hunting for their subsidiary income. Their annual income was spent only on food, for the rest they had to depend upon the money lenders. Swarup and Singh (1988) studied the social economy of remotely located tribal village, Chhitkul in Himachal Pradesh. For reasons of extremely cold climate, only one crop could be grown there. Therefore, agriculture along with sheep and goat rearing were the main sources of livelihood. The economy of Chhitkul was agro-pastral in nature. It showed that the tribals adopted various subsidiary occupation depending on environment but agriculture remained the mainstay.

In the same way, Alok Kumar (1986) studied the economy of Mal-paharias of Santal Parganas in Bihar, using land income and expenditure pattern, the factors responsible for the geographical concentration and the salient demographic
features of the society as indicators. Based on the survey, the income-expenditure pattern of the Malpaharia families revealed that they, basically, had a poverty stricken and agriculture oriented primitive economy. They used 50% of their income on food items, even though the calorie intake was very low at around 900 calories. Mahapatro (1987) in his study on the tribals of Koraput district of Orissa, commented on the obsolete agricultural practices. He indicated that the cropping pattern in the district was highly traditional, the agri-implements used were crude, primitive and inefficient; the modern weeding and manuring was still a novelty.

Most of the studies on tribals mentioned the wide spread of poverty in tribal regions. Of them some studies made an effort to identify the factors insinuating tribals into mass poverty. For example, Varshney (1968) made a comparative study of the Bhilalas of Bamanta and the Bhils of Gawhan tribal villages in Jhabua district of Madhya Pradesh, to know the main levels of social change and the direction of change, and how the social structure of the Bhilala and other adivasi groups in the region was connected with their economic behaviour. The study delved into the causes of as to why Gawhan was a backward and Bamanta a progressive village. The reference period for the study of Bamanta was 1960-1961 and that of Gawhan 1962-63. Although both the villages were in the same geographical, linguistic and cultural background, it was found that Bamanta’s response to the multipurpose tribal development was receptive whereas Gawhan was defiant. It was observed that all the environmental factors and relative communication and transport facilities of Bamanta and Gawhan were largely responsible for the divergent reaction of the people of these villages. Gawhan was found to be criminal village.

In his study Sirsalkar (1990) discussed the problems of economic development of the tribes of Maharashtra. He also found out the causes that forced the tribals to follow subsidiary occupations to supplement their income and withdraw themselves to inaccessible forests and hilly areas where the soil was barren. On the basis of field survey four factors were identified viz., uneconomic holding of land, lack of skill, lack of monetary resources and exploitation by the unscrupulous traders and money lenders.

Gupta (1989) made a study on the economic conditions of the Baigas, the Kols and the Gonds of Baghelkhand, Madhya Pradesh. The purpose of study was to
identify the factors responsible for their poverty and assess the effectiveness of the social welfare programmes since independence. Based on the stratified sampling design, schedules, personal observation and discussion with the heads of the sample families were applied to collect information. The primary survey revealed that the primary causes of poverty were: low income, poor soil, uneconomic holdings, primitive techniques and absence of employment potentialities. Secondly, it was due to unaccounted exploitation by the money lenders, traders, contractors and the privileged classes. He suggested that these problems should be tackled at three fronts, namely economic, social and administrative.

In their studies, Gupta (1976) and Ganguly (1968) made an attempt to identify the factors responsible for the wide spread of poverty among the Jhumias of Tripura. In their conclusion, they attributed poverty to the lack of employment opportunities. They also found that forestry programmes meant for employment generation, did not fulfill the purpose. Sharma (1980) concentrated on the social aspects of the tribal development in the Himalayan range, particularly in the area known as Jaunsar-Bawar, Rawain and Jaunpur tracts of Uttar Pradesh. The issues were examined based on social institutions, traditional pattern and responding to change. The study made use of non-participants observation method, informal and formal interviews and case studies. The socio-economic analysis based on the sample of 265 adults, showed that the area was deficient in infrastructural and social facilities and infected with indebtedness, bonded labour, prostitution, social distance all coupled with poverty. Among them, about 85% of Kolta families were indebted. He identified some progress nuclei for all round development, social change and progress. In her study, Parvatham (1984) covered the various aspects of social and economic conditions (demography, caste composition, education, occupation, politics, constitutional benefits etc.) of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes in Karnataka. From the empirical analysis, the authoress concluded that because of weak economic setting, the tribals were not in position to utilize the government assistance against the economic ills and evils.

Kalai (1972) presented a survey report on the economic conditions of the tribals of Harri and Tamia blocks of Chindwara District, Madhya Pradesh. These two blocks possessed phenomenal forest resources. He observed that despite of providing various facilities like fertilizers, improved seeds and technological know-how, the uneconomic land holding could hardly give a subsistence economy. In view of high poten-
tialities and resources of the forests, the study revealed that if forest resources scientifically exploited, it would result in prosperity of the tribals. Observing the physiographical environment of the region, he realized that the land based schemes would not be viable. Therefore, he suggested the forest based schemes such as, basket making, mail making, broom making, preparing medicine from herbs and forest co-operative societies.

Similar study was conducted by Shah (1984) on the Chaudhari tribe of Gujrat. He examined their socio-economic changes in the course of forty years prior to 1975-76. The survey analysis revealed that there were economic and educational differentiation among the Chaudharis. The economic status of the Chaudharis were based on the size of land holding. Those owning land below 5 acres were very poor peasants. They worked as farm or non farm labourers. They were deprived of bullock pairs, electric or diesel pumps for irrigation. Those who owned land between 5 acres to 15 acres, they neither starved nor did they have surplus. Most of them have a pair of bullocks, implements and dug wells. The Chaudharis owning more than 15 acres of land were rich cultivators. They produced surplus with their irrigation facilities. The land based economic life of the Chaudharis revealed a significant relationship between the size of land and the number of infrastructure facilities. One who had more land was in a better position to acquire better facilities like irrigation and fertilizers. However, the productivity depended upon the quality of land, irrigation facilities and the technological know-how.

In their studies Rao and Bhaskaradoss (1987) and Karuppaiyan (1989), (1990) highlighted the alarming extent of alienation of tribal lands in Tamil Nadu. They identified various forms of land alienation viz., sale usufructuary mortgage, leasing out, encroachments, manipulation of records of rights, oral transfer, concealment of tribal identity, fictitious adoption and marriage and hire. They observed that the ambiguous legislation as the most important supporting factor behind land alienation which weakened their resource position and led the tribals to poverty. In addition, Bhushkute (1989) observed that the method of eviction of land among the Dalits, Adivasis and Nomadic tribes of Maharashtra varied from deceit and fraud to abuse and terrorism.

From the studies reviewed above, it could be concluded that the tribal socio-economic life is poverty stricken which is sustained by the deficit budgets of the households. In tribal regions except agriculture and agricultural labour, there are not many
other sources of income. Owing to such circumstances, the tribals are resorted to forest based occupations, hunting, fishing and some government services (as teachers, postmen, chowkidars and chaparasis). According to some authors the main causes of tribal poverty are attributed to the absence of employment opportunities, deficiency of infrastructures, unethical social practices, land alienation, uneconomic land holding, low productivity, low income, lack of pecuniary resources, lack of skills, use of primitive techniques, and conscienceless exploitation by the banias, contractors, money lenders, middlemen and privileged classes.

2.2 Poverty Alleviation Programmes

This section makes an attempt to review the past works of some scholars with regard to the mode of selection of beneficiaries, manner of implementation and impact of poverty alleviation programmes. In most cases, the programmes had either partial success or no success. The review also pools together the views of researchers on various factors responsible for the failure of programmes. The study of Rao and Ram Reddy (1985) brought out the constraints in the selection and implementation of programmes. It was found that the implementation of the programmes in Andhra Pradesh suffered vehemently due to the lack of adequate publicity, unawareness of beneficiaries, dearth of co-ordination, lack of realization of common cause for tribal welfare by the government and NGOs. In his paper, Karuppaiyan (1989) discussed a few peculiar problems which inhibited poverty alleviation programme in Tamil Nadu. He felt identification of beneficiaries on the basis of land holding as faulty because of the fact that productivity of land was very low in the tribal areas, where even a large holding gave a very small income. Thus the poorest sections were excluded from ITDP and poverty alleviations programmes.

Bagchee (1987) and Bandopadhyay (1988) reviewed separately the evaluation studies conducted by PEO, NABARD, IFMR, RBI and ILO on the main poverty alleviation rural programmes viz., IRDP, NREP and RLEGP implemented during the Sixth Five Year Plan. Both of them agreed that schemes reached about 80% of the deserving beneficiaries, of which only 40% of eligible beneficiaries crossed the poverty line of Rs.3500. According to Bagchee, the failure of programmes in India was attributed to wrong identification of beneficiaries and improper activity selection without adjudging the feasibility. However, the studies do not form any basic differences in the approach but they emphasize on either self-employment or wage employment as a
strategy along with decentralizing programme formulation and implementation. On the other hand, Bandopadhyay observed a four-fold set of problems apart from Bagchee’s finding of wrong selection of beneficiaries. The prime problem was noticed as the leakage of assets in terms of quoting higher the asset cost over its worth. Immediate disposal of assets, negative and zero returns and misutilization of block loans by the beneficiaries were also identified for the failure of the programmes.

In their comparative studies of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries as a control group experiment, Pais and Singh (1986) emphasized the failure of the poverty alleviation programmes in Jhabua district of Madhya Pradesh. They attributed its causes to: (1) selection and implementation of programmes (2) faulty identification of beneficiaries (3) lack of administration (4) lack of infrastructural facilities and (5) the utter disregard of the ecological situation of the district. In his comparative study of the infrastructural facilities available in the tribal and non-tribal area, Bajpai (1985) pointed out that the infrastructural facilities were very poor in the tribal areas compared to non-tribal areas.

A review analysis was made by Bhownik (1988) based on the studies/articles submitted at the workshop organized by the Centre of Economic Appraisal, Calcutta, in 1988. The two-fold attempt was made in evaluating various official measures taken for development for the tribals and examining the socio-economic structure of tribal societies so as to understand the nature of change in these societies. The review stated that there was near unanimity on the woeful pace of development. The failure of most of the plans were ascribed to the lack of understanding the felt needs of the target groups. To resolve the problem, the study made a strong suggestion asserting that the tribals should have Self-Government (management) to be out of the clutches of the bureaucratic structure. Chaudhary (1990) made a survey of developmental programmes (IRDP) undertaken during various five year plans which aimed at securing social justice for the deprived and the disadvantaged population. In his assessment, it was found that the programmes had benefited only the richer and the stronger sections who continued their exploitation and oppression of the poor. Supporting the idea of self-government, he felt that there was a need to redesign the development policy so that tribals could keep themselves together by forming their own associations to replace the bureaucratic supporting system. He brought out four-fold bureaucratic behaviour: non-co-operation and rigid attitude of officials, malpractice in sanctioning loans and subsidy, the under-
hand dealing of middlemen and the benami transactions from the poor to the richer sections.

Similar study was conducted by Satapathy (1991) to assess the impact on income generation from IRDP in Orissa. The analysis was based on sample data of the Government of India and the Panchayat Raj Department of the Orissa Government. The success of programmes was adjudged on the basis of percentage of beneficiaries crossing the poverty line. From the analysis, it was found that 71% of the beneficiaries retained the scheme assets. Of them, 41% crossed the poverty line of Rs. 3500, and another 5% crossed the revised poverty line of Rs 6400. He observed that there was a big gap between beneficiaries retaining the assets and crossing the poverty line. This revealed that assets were not maintained properly. The possible reasons identified were: (1) inadequate supervision, (2) inadequate infrastructural facilities, (3) Working Capital needs not being met, and (4) tight repayment schedule. He put forward the suggestions for an efficient monitoring system at grass-root level, identification of problems through regular contact with the beneficiaries, timely solution to the problems, proper advice about maintenance of assets and arrangement for forward and backward linkages.

In addition, Haragopal and Bala Ramalu (1989) assessed the effectiveness of IRDP on the alleviation of poverty through asset creation and income generation. The objectives of the survey included the identification and assessment of beneficiaries and their holding/disposal of assets. The study employed a multi-staged sampling method for the primary data in Andhra Pradesh. It was observed that 40% of the sample households possessed the assets while the remaining 60% did not retain them for various reasons. In the case of STs, 54% of the households retained the assets. The three reasons for non-retention of the assets by the beneficiaries are found to be defective, non-viable and unsuitable scheme assets to the local conditions. Some disposed of the schemes due to socio-economic necessities. Others disposed of the assets to acquire new assets or to clear the old debts. With respect to scheme income, it was found that the schemes did not generate sufficient income to the beneficiary households. The net income generation under minor irrigation schemes (Rs 446) was more compared to other schemes. In case of agricultural schemes, the net income worked out to be Rs 293. The beneficiaries of animal husbandry suffered a loss of income to the extent of Rs. 280. It was observed that the marginal farmers in the case of agriculture and animal husbandry, medium and large farmers in the case of minor irrigation schemes received more income. While evaluating
the economic upliftment of the deprived sections plan-wise, Ram (1990) perceived that the success was far from satisfactory towards the welfare of socially, economically and educationally handicapped groups. Of all the factors, he singled out a low plan outlay as the most responsible factor for unsatisfactory achievements.

Sachchidanand (1989) made an assessment of the development policies and programmes implemented for tribals of India. He observed that the aim of anti-poverty programmes, such as to increase the income of the tribal people and raising their standard of life, was thwarted. About the achievements, he remarked that the development programmes lead to rise a middle class tribal elites who alienated themselves instead of becoming the agents for social transformation in their own society. He also pointed out four areas which had negative impact on development:

- major irrigation projects leading to large scale displacement of tribal people
- depletion of forest resources affecting tribals at different levels of development
- decline of cottage industries and pauperization of tribal artisans, and
- land alienation.

It is observed from the studies above that the poverty alleviation programmes are more a failure than a success. Most of the researchers point out that the inefficiency and bureaucratic attitude of administrators (officials) are detrimental to success of the programmes. Other inhibiting factors mentioned are lack of understanding of people, inadequate infrastructure, wrong identification of beneficiaries, misutilisation of assets, lack of working capitals, tight repayment schedule and oppressive attitude of non-tribals.

2.3 Tribal Welfare Programmes

In this portion, the review highlights some of the detrimental factors, as detected in the previous studies, which detract the tribal development programme from their full potential income generation. For instance, the report of Shilu Ao Team (1969) on tribal development programme expressed the view that the results achieved were not commensurated with the expenditure incurred. The resources were wasted on grandiose schemes of colonization, housing and co-operation which failed largely and conferred no tangible benefits on the tribals. The report stated that the planners were not able to identify the intended beneficiaries and their socio-economic conditions in which the
schemes were to be implemented. The other reasons were the lack of supportive co-ordination among the welfare programmes, incongruency between schemes and the felt needs and the dearth of simplicity in delivery system. While assessing the success of the tribal welfare programmes, the Report of the Commissioner for STs and SCs (1973-74) remarked that, in reality, the benefits of the socio-economic progress did not reach fully the tribal communities. In the words of the Planning Commission (1980), it was stated that the delivery system had not been effective in tribal areas because there was inadequacies in the administrative machinery, lack of sensitive and trained management, lack of general preparedness for large investments, deficiency in accounting system, procedural delays and lack of proper monitoring and evaluation. In his appraisal of the tribal development during the Five Year Plan period Hanain Nadeen (1983) observed that actual benefits trickling down to the tribal beneficiaries were not consistent and more than 75% of the total benefits did not reach them.

The concluding part of the report on Baster by Madhya Pradesh Unit of People's Union for Civil Liberties (1989) presented the sympathetic conditions of the highly populated tribals. The report said that the gamut of multifaceted government programmes had farcical consequences. The programmes did not assign any importance to land and agriculture, particularly irrigation. The same report also mentioned a study of Kondagaon (Baster) in 1976-81, which established that of the 499 farmers who received loans from the Land Mortgage Bank, 476 people lost their cattle or land because of their inability to pay back the loans. The chief of the District Rural Agency reported that the peasants simply have "no capacity to absorb all the credit that is being pumped, where it is going and what its implications are to the politicians and administration is a moot point. The point about these programmes is not that they generate corruption, which they do, but that they generate poverty and landlessness.

In this segment of the review, an effort is made to bring out some of the leading inhibiting factors related to the failure of tribal schemes identified in earlier studies. For example, Rao (1983) made an in-depth study of the tribal village, Kinchuman-da in the Paderu tribal block of Visakhapatnam district, Andhra Pradesh, to understand the development process. One of the objectives was to delineate the extent of impact of development agencies and to know the availability and utilization of developmental benefits by different groups and individuals. He used interview, quasi- participant
observation and case study for the collection of data. Based on the primary survey the following were his findings:

- that the traditional leaders, the village elders, and the religious functionaries joined hands with the migrant traders and development personnel and turned into internal exploiters.

- that the administrative personnel in the area were target oriented, bias towards influential individuals and road side villages.

Regarding the tribal development programmes, Lal et al (1984) noticed that a little more than half of the sample tribals of the Betul district of Madhya Pradesh were found to be aware of the government programmes. It was also observed that the unfavourable opinion was stronger than the opinion in favour of the programmes. This indicated that the tribals still did not feel confident to accept the schemes. Ramamani (1988) made an analysis on tribal economy, problems and prospects in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh. Taking tribal population as a criterion, the researcher selected Seethampeta block which had a maximum of 94% of tribal population. The respondents were chosen through a process of stratified random sampling method. The study presented the main features of the tribal economy under the postulates of the gap between tribals and non-tribals and the assessment of the development programmes. The study used both primary and secondary data. In his/her analysis, he/she identified the factors which contributed to the failure of the programmes. They were inefficient administrative machinery, erroneous diffusion of responsibility, inadequate control and lack of co-ordination. The administrative structure lacked simplicity and failed to get response from them. The bureaucratic attitude resulted in delays and unco-ordinated efforts in initiating and implementing development programmes.

Amanullah and Naharia (1989) attempted to assess the impact and constraints of tribal development of Dahod, the ITDP Centre of Panchamahal district in Madhya Pradesh. The reference period for evaluation was 1975-76 to 1982-83. The parameter used to assess the outcome of development efforts was ‘reach out extent’. The primary survey revealed that only 30% of households were recipients of the scheme. It was observed that most of the development inputs were welfarist or consumption oriented, having no direct earning or generating sustained income for a poor recipient household. Another observation was that the process of reaching out the needy was slow,
fragmented and meagre. The main reason for little success was attributed to the lack of control on the backward and forward linkages of a particular economic occupational activity that determined its survival or demise in the open market. Padhy and Satpathy (1989) made an attempt to study the political modernization of Prajas in Orissa. They were economically exploited, physically oppressed, socially ostracized and culturally isolated. It was found that the welfare programmes improved the economic condition of beneficiaries to some extent. However, the three-fold reasons were attributed to the plight and backwardness of tribals: faulty policy of the Government, the callousness of bureaucracy and the inherent flaws of beneficiaries.

In their empirical studies some researchers have presented a rare phenomena, a glimpse of success of the tribal development schemes. One of them is, Joseph (1980), who assessed the impact of tribal development programmes in Kerala incorporating the variables like, income, employment, land holdings, literacy, general health, occupation and level of modernization. The study revealed that the tribal development programmes generated more income and employment opportunities thereby reducing the disparities between the tribals and non-tribals. In his report, Minj Serejius (1990) made a similar observation that the impact of the tribal welfare programmes implemented in Jhabua district of Madhya Pradesh. The district had 83% of tribal population. This report revealed that the tribal development programmes made a quantifiable socio-economic impact on tribals in the areas of constructions of minor irrigation (dams, check dams and canals), fisheries, horticulture, generation of self-employment. For the success of the programmes, it was suggested that the tribal should be involved in planning, execution and management. The financial allocation should be done in lump sum, and decision should be taken in favour of the best scheme at the district level. The creation of self-employment should be adopted to socio-economic environment whereas wage employment should only play a supplementary role during necessity.

The study of Bhatt (1990) examined the poverty alleviation programme for tribals in Vansda taluk of South Gujurat district undertaken by Bharat Agro-Industries Foundation (BAIF), a Pune based voluntary organization. The author perceived the past approaches, models and institutional arrangements as temporary succor to the tribals. It did not have any lasting effect on the generation of income. He presented the Vansda project as a model for poverty alleviation programmes. He called it a Rehabilitation Approach since it attempted to settle the poor tribals of Southern Gujurat, displaced
by the development forces. With the help of primary and secondary sources, he made an indepth study of the project. Based on the analysis he found a positive impact of the project on different aspects of tribal life such as, improvement in environment better physical quality of life, better socio-political interaction and better economic benefits. The income generation of the beneficiaries before and after the implementation of the scheme is given in table II-1. The above income comparison showed that after the receipt of the scheme, there was a significant change in the income. The scheme was successful due to regular guidance, involvement co-operation and wage.

Table II - 1

Income of the Beneficiaries Before and After the scheme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Annual income</th>
<th>Before (Nos)</th>
<th>After (Nos)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Below Rs.1500</td>
<td>102 (69)</td>
<td>15 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rs. 1501 - 2500</td>
<td>35 (22)</td>
<td>38 (23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rs. 2501 - 4000</td>
<td>14 (09)</td>
<td>78 (48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rs. 4001 - 5000</td>
<td>01 (0.6)</td>
<td>22 (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Rs. above 5000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>09 (05)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bhatt(1990), Poverty, Tribals and Development: Rehabilitation Approach
Note: Figures in brackets indicate percentage.

In their comparative analysis of the impact of tribal welfare programmes on tribal dominated States/Union territories based on Census 1981, Sen (1989) and Sirsalkar (1990) found that though there was increased investment in tribal sub-plan during the last decade, the quality of Indian tribal life and their socio-economic conditions did not improve. The diversion of major resources to non-developmental activities
such as infrastructural development, maintenance of staff buildings, roads and transport system left little for the economic development programmes. Tanka (1989) focussed his study on the development of the Bhotia and the Lepcha tribes vis-a-vis the various caste groups of the dominant Nepalese. He observed that while implementing the programmes, there was no adequate consideration of the historical, social and cultural/religion aspects of the Sikkimese society. In addition, Karuppaiyan and Elango (1990) in their critical review highlighted the major trends and orientations of the research done in the field of tribal development. Based on the reviews of the earlier works, they observed that the failure of the programmes was due to lack of understanding of the socio-cultural and ecological background of the tribal people as well as the tribal areas.

In his study of ‘Tribal Development in India’, Singh (1984) discussed the tribal problems, ways and means to tackle them. The objective of the study was to investigate in detail as to why the government’s programmes for tribal development moved slowly and were ineffective. In order to elicit facts, he examined the community development programmes of Bishunpur block in Bihar. Based on primary survey he brought out three major findings. (1) The generation of income by utilizing local, natural and human resources was found to be absent. (2) About 95 per cent of the population hardly gained any benefit from the programme. (3) The financial requirement of tribal forced them to dispose the scheme assets to the non-tribals of the area in the name of the developmental programmes. Kunhaman (1989) in his study made a comparative analysis between the northern districts (earlier Malabar district) and the southern districts (State of Cochin and Travancore). He examined the extent of inter-regional variations in the level of socio-economic development of the hill tribes of Kerala. The sample used was 3900 households. It was observed that non-tribal immigrants remained to be the major beneficiaries of the programmes.

The two hundred Tribal Village Leaders of East Madhya Pradesh came together on 26th April, (1986), at Kunkuri to reflect on an approach to tribal development issues. All of them unanimously agreed that something has gone wrong somewhere in the present system of tribal development. The resumé of their discussion was presented into twelve points which constituted "A Janata Approach to Development". The Tribal projects looked good at the stage of planning but they failed to catch the progress and to achieve results. In their report they gave special emphasis on the ‘Panchashila’ of
People's Development, i.e. People's Awakening, Education, Organization, Power and Action or Inter-action with Government.

From the studies discussed above, it can be concluded that the delivery system of tribal welfare programmes failed due to the inefficiency of administrative machinery such as faulty policy of the government, wrong identification of beneficiaries, ineffective control and co-ordination, callousness of bureaucracy. The allotted resources are diverted to non-developmental works, to non-targetted groups as well as non-tribals. Besides, it viewed that there is a wide rift between the allotted schemes and felt needs of the concerned tribals, lack of understanding of socio-cultural and ecological environment, different infrastructure, a dearth of input supply to the scheme and non development of market outlet for the scheme products.

2.4 Agriculture and Minor Irrigation

Apart from the low productivity of land, the scarcity of irrigational facilities has further reduced the agricultural produce of the tribals. The Government's endeavours to help the tribals through schemes related to agriculture and minor irrigation seem to have dubious impact on their economic life. The survey of Chakravati (1969) showed that the coverage of the tribal development programmes like agriculture and irrigation was extremely low in Betul District of Madhya Pradesh. The tribals did not take advantage of the programmes because of high cost, lack of faith in officials and occasional crop failures. It was felt that a number of schemes were implemented without a sense of priorities. There was much scope for the construction of wells, horticulture, terracing, contour bunding for economic development.

Some analysis of the survey studies of different blocks presented the mournful success of the agriculture and irrigation programmes. For instance, from the survey of Konta Block of Bastar (1969), it was observed that the interior villages were untouched by the schemes. It was also noticed that the schemes benefited the progressive agriculturists only. The finding of the Jashpur block of Raigarh district (1969) showed that the improved seeds, chemical fertilizers and taccavi loans benefited the beneficiaries to some extent, but none of the households surveyed derived benefits from the irrigation programmes in the block. The report of the Kathiwar block of Jhabua district (1969) observed that the share of the investment in agriculture and irrigation was comparatively
very low, which caused the failure of the tribal economic development. Mukhopadhyay and Rao (1982) studied the economic impact of development programmes in Aland block of Gulbarga district, Karnataka. They conducted a scheme-wise sample survey of beneficiaries for the year 1978-79 to 1980-81. It was observed that the pace of rural development was slow and uneven among the villages of the block. More than one third of the total number of villages in the block was untouched by any agency. Moreover, the continuity of a particular programme over the years was not maintained. As regards the creation of assets, it was noted that irrigational wells covered more villages than any other assets. However, the area under irrigation increased from 3% in 1976-77 to 4.6% in 1980-81. From this it could be concluded that the development activities under IRD scheme did not have significant impact.

In their studies some of the authors found that in spite of conferring special benefits and privileges to scheduled tribes, the vast tribal population was outside the main stream of national development. Based on the primary data of the agriculture year 1979-80, in Gujrat, Pathy (1984) observed that the percentage of people getting the benefit from irrigation and land development schemes increased steadily with the increase in the land size. In terms of class, 62% of rich peasants, 42% middle peasants, 40% land lords, 15% small peasants and 5% are farm workers. This revealed that the welfare programmes were primarily biased in favour of advanced tribal communities with surplus land holding. He made a two point suggestion of collective farming and adequate political education. Examining the government efforts for the agricultural development in Panchmahal district of Gujrat, Iyengar(1983) also found that the big farmers benefited most from the government programmes. They also had better accessibility to resources than small and marginal farmers.

In his paper, Gupta Dipankar (1986) discussed the incongruities in the ITDP administrative structure, the lack of control over resources, the complete absence of popular initiative, the non-involvement of popular bodies, and complete failure of its monitoring system. Based on the primary information, he evaluated the irrigational and agricultural development programmes. It was found that the irrigational facilities were provided for the western region of Birbhum in West Bengal which really required more water. Regarding agricultural assistance, it was observed that about 70,000 beneficiaries could not be traced, nor they remembered that they were given the schemes. The implements they received were of little use, given the quality and the size of land holdings.
He suggested that in tribal welfare programmes, it was essential to win over the confidence of the target groups and then, involve them in the projects. Joshi (1990) studied the problem of under development and low absorption of innovations of Jhabua district in Madhya Pradesh. The study was based on secondary data, household interviews and group discussions with the villagers. The objective of the study was to identify the problems of agricultural retardation within the existing environment of the region. The study covered different agro-ecological regions. From the analysis of survey, it was found that there were wide gaps and contradictions between the planned inputs and achievements. Most of the agricultural inputs distributed to small farmers passed into the hands of non-tribal traders. It was also observed that the basic problem was the economic viability and the low absorption of innovation within the system. Much of the investment under various government programmes was used for subsistence consumption, wasted or drained out of the system through the corruption channel, without making any perceptible impact. Due to decline in production and higher risk of crop failure, agriculture was becoming less and less attractive and number of migration was increasing every year.

Some of the empirical studies present a gloomy picture of the working of irrigational pumps. For instance, Amanullah (1984) made a study of subsidized irrigation wells/pumps in Nainpur block of Bastar, Madhya Pradesh, in 1974. The total number of irrigation wells constructed since the inception of the block in 1956 till the date of inquiry was 211. The study observed that due to the paucity of irrigation facilities the agricultural schemes could not be implemented. With regard to diesel pumps, it was found that none of them had even been operated for irrigation purpose. Over and above, nobody bothered to solve the problems of the cost of operating, getting crude oil and repairing machines. In fact owning a diesel pump became a burden for the beneficiary. Similar study on subsidized diesel pumps was conducted by Dixit (1984) in Shahpur block of Betul district, Madhya Pradesh. The purpose of study was to find out the extent to which the beneficiaries were able to derive benefits from the scheme. The study covered 31 cases of diesel pumps distributed during the years 1969-70 to 1973-74. The owners of the pumps were the Gonds and the Korku tribes whose land holdings were below 30 acres. Out of 31 beneficiaries 26 were found using their pumps. It was observed that beneficiaries generally irrigated wheat and sugarcane during the season, otherwise the pumps remained idle. The general opinion of the beneficiaries as well as villagers was that there had been some increase in income.
Regarding the failure faced by the bullock pair scheme, Karuppayian (1989) reported that several beneficiaries in Tamil Nadu were given one bullock at a time and the second much later. In some cases bullocks were supplied either much before the starting of the pre-ploughing season or after the agricultural operations were almost completed. In certain cases the bullocks were either too young or too old. Another case was the high rate of disease and death among the bullocks. This was explained in terms of their disregard of the ecological situations of the district and lack of infrastructural support. Since the bullocks were reared in the plains, they failed to withstand the climatic conditions in the hilly regions. Besides, the beneficiaries did not have pasture or grazing fields to meet their fodder requirements. The exploitation by middlemen (brokers) with the support of the officials was pointed as another important cause for the failure of the bullock pair programme.

It is observed from the studies reviewed above that the irrigation assets compared to the other scheme assets cover more villages. But its benefit is in favour of the progressive tribals who have large size of land holding. The agricultural inputs and implements are passed on to non-tribals by the tribals due to their financial problems. Pumps have become impractical in villages as the cost of operating, crude oil and repairing is expensive. The failure of bullock pairs is attributed to untimely supply, unsuitable climatic condition to the supplied bullocks and lack of pastures and grazing fields.