Chapter 4

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

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Chapter 4

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

4.1. Introduction

Review of relevant literature provides useful directions and helpful suggestions for proper investigation. This exercise will help eliminate duplications and wrong assumptions. There is no dearth of literature in the field of Development Administration. A survey of some studies in the field of development administration gives a theoretical perspective and provides tools to a researcher which can be helpful in examining views of tribal development. An attempt is made in this chapter to review the available literature on tribal development, Education, Health and Poverty. This chapter is therefore intended to study the important findings of scholars for general studies on tribal community, studies on administration, tribal development and impact of development programme related studies.

A number of studies on the tribal situation, their culture and social changes are available. Helmendorf (1945) had examined the conditions of Hill Raddies in Andhra Pradesh. In another study, Helmendorf (1948) analysed the conditions of Raj Gonds in Andhra Pradesh, Naidu (1981) studied the conditions of tribals living in Tumkur district of Karnataka, and Ramajah (1981) studied on Koyas of Warangal in Andhra Pradesh. Thakur (1986) conducted a study on the Santhal Tribe of Bihar, Mahapatro (1987), investigated the conditions of the Tribals of Koraput district of Orissa, Swarup and Bhati (1987) conducted a study on the Thanu tribe of Uttar Pradesh, Amitabh Mitra (1993) conducted a study on Sherpas of West Bengal and Mohana (1993) analysed the living conditions the Gonds, Koyas, Chenchus and Lambads in Andhra Pradesh.

The studies conducted by Majumdar (1972), Ramesh Chandra (1974), Eswar Reddy (1975) and Vidyarthi (1977) focused on the impact of mainland culture on the tribals over the years and concluded that the tribals, as part of Sanskritisation, have adopted certain Hindu rituals with respect to birth and death ceremonies, marriage, dress pattern, food habits and personal hygiene and adoption of modern ways of life by the younger generation. However, G.N. Chaudhari (1979), analysing socio-cultural changes among the tribals residing in villages near Ranchi found that
even when the tribal villages are in the process of rapid but selective transformation, the core of faith and culture reflects certain trends of persistence.

Detailed consideration to the development of different aspects of tribal life has also been given in the reports of various committees and commissions most of which were anthropologically oriented. Among these mention may be made of those of D.N. Dhebar, Renuka Ray, Shilu A.O., Symington and Thakkar Bapa which have had considerable influence on the evolution of strategies and planning of tribal development.

In pre-independent India, the British administration had a couple of interlinked strategies towards the tribal problem. One was to exercise hegemonic control over their land and the other to exploit mineral, forest and other resources that could further development of its economy in Britain. For this they started laying down railway lines and roads to strategic areas of their interest. In order to isolate the tribals from the rest of the country they declared certain areas as excluded and partially excluded. However, the British Government also established a number of schools and hospitals in tribal areas with the help of Christian missionaries. Along with partly solving their health and educational problems, they did succeed in converting a large number of tribals to Christianity even in remote inaccessible forest and hilly areas.

There are more than 550 tribal communities scattered throughout India. As per 2001 census, their total population is more than 8 crores. The socio cultural and economic conditions of these tribals vary considerably. Though the Central and State Governments have been trying their best for the development of the tribals, yet it has not achieved the desired results. The tribals have been victims of colonial feudalism, domination, ethnic prejudices, illiteracy, poverty and isolation.

Because of their socio-economic backwardness, provisions in the Constitution of India have been made to safeguard their interests and promote development and welfare activities. After independence, Gandhiji did pioneering work among the tribals. He initiated several programmes for the development of Scheduled Castes SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) who have been historically disadvantaged groups of the country. Thakkar Bapa (Amritlal Thakkar) a social worker and a contemporary of Gandhiji prepared an outline of a programme for the welfare of SCs and STs and introduced several activities for educational and economic development of the tribals.
About five decades ago the policy of Panchsheel for tribal transformation was enunciated by the first Prime Minister of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru which rests on the following principles:

(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 tribals’ own traditional art and culture.

(2) Tribal rights on land and forest should be respected.

(3) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will no doubt be needed specifically in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.

(4) We should not over administer the tribal areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through and not in rivalry to their social cultural institutions.

(5) We should judge results; not the statistics or the amount of money spent, but the quality of human character that has evolved.

A number of social scientists have made interesting analysis on various issues relating to tribal development. Here mention may be made of AO (1969), Chari (1975), Sahay (1969), Tripathy (1988), Tripathy et al. (1981), Mehta (1981), Sharma (1976, 1977a, 1977b, 1978a, 1982), Singh (1983), etc. who have done some useful work in this direction.

In 1960, under the chairmanship of Shri U.N. Dhebar, the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribe Commission was set up which upheld the first principle of ‘Panchsheel’ i.e. not to disturb the harmony of tribal life and work for their advancement and integration as part of the Indian family. A study team appointed by the Planning Commission in 1969 headed by Shri P. Shilu AO remarked that the Tribal Welfare Policy should aim at the progressive advancement of the social and economic life of the tribals with a view to their gradual integration which a rest of the community on a footing of equality within reasonable distance of time. The period may vary from tribe to tribe. It may be five or ten years in the case of certain tribes, more particularly the tribes who have already come into contact with the general population by living in the plains. However it may be two decades or even more in the case of tribals who are still in primitive food gathering stage.
Till Second-Five Year Plan (1961-65) the development programmes were confined to community level in general but during third Five Year Plan (1966-1970) the welfare of the scheduled tribes was taken under small Sub-Plan Sector viz. Welfare and Backward Classes Sector. In 1954 few Special Multipurpose Tribal Development Projects (SMTDP) were started in 43 blocks to supplement the development programmes in the tribal areas. A committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Verrier Elwin was appointed in 1956 by the Ministry of Home Affairs to review the working of SMTDT Blocks. The “Report of the Committee on the Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks” known as Elwin Committee report by Elvin laid relatively more emphasis on the anthropological approaches and the Five Fundamental Principals enunciated by the Late Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. This report is more realistic in the sense that it advocates the development of the tribal people along the lines of their own genius.

The Committee in its report recommended intensive development programmes in the tribal areas and the norm for a tribal development block was applied to smaller area of 150 to 200 square miles with smaller population coverage of about 25,000 with strong suggestion that the personnel engaged in tribal development should stop imposition and begin understanding, appreciating and approaching the tribal people with their mind and their heart.

By the end of the Third Five Year Plan, there were about 500 Tribal Development (TD) Blocks covering about 40 percent of the total tribal population.

A programme for tribal areas was also taken up on a pilot basis in areas of special agrarian unrest with an establishment of 6 Tribal Development Agencies (TDAs) in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Towards the end of the Forth Plan, two more TDAs were created in areas not based on any agrarian unrest. This programme envisaged a comprehensive frame covering protective measures, economic development and social services.

A study team on Tribal Development Programme under the chairmanship of Shri Shilu AO was appointed by the All India Committee on Plan Projects. The Planning Commission which submitted its Report in 1969 observed that the scheme of T.D. Block was inadequate for dealing with the complex problems of tribal development. These blocks were too small to function as the basic unit for planning and implementation. The major problems of tribal communities are related to indebtedness, land
alienation, educational backwardness and inadequacy of communication. They called for vigorous action to implement the recommendations of the Dhebar Commission for preparing comprehensive development programmes (Sivaraman Committee Report P-14). The Renuka Ray’s (1954) Report emphasised that while each aspect of development was important in its own place, integrated programmes based on agriculture, forestry, handicrafts and village industries needed greater degree of emphasis to be determined by systematic survey of the needs and possibilities in each area. The Dhebar Commission also stressed on the integrated approach by touching the broad strategy and indicating socio-economic development as a general goal. The Expert Committee (1972), under the chairmanship of S.C. Dube advised the formation of a new strategy for tribal development through time-bound integrated area development and offer programmes as per the genius of the people.

A review of development of Scheduled Tribe was under taken on the eve of Fifth Five Year Plan, where upon the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) mechanism was designed to channelise the flow of benefits arising out of outlays from the general sectors in the plans of States and Central Ministries for the welfare of the tribals. The TSP strategy consists of two pronged approaches viz. (1) socio-economic development of tribals (2) protection of tribals against exploitation. The State Government and Central Ministry are required to quantify funds proportionate to tribal population out of their plan budgets for programmes of welfare and development of tribal population out of their plan budgets for programmes of welfare and development of tribal population. These objectives have been emphasised in the letter issued on March 25, 1980 by the then Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

In this backdrop important studies, research and other literature has been discussed in details.

4.2. Studies on Tribal Administration

A few interesting studies on tribal administration and bureaucracy is presented here. Generally the researchers, across the country, have found that the Indian bureaucracy has completely failed to resolve the issue of tribal development. In fact, they may aggravate it. The studies of Satyanarayananmurthy and Vijayalakshmi Kumari (1974) and Ratna Bhattacharya (1977) found that the Tribals adopt modern methods of cultivation, if institutional credit and other facilities are available. On the other hand, Sitakanth Mahapatra (1978) has attributed the lack of modernisation of their agriculture to factors like small and uneconomic
landholdings, lack of irrigation facilities etc. Besides, Satchidananda (1978), Heimendorf (1979) and Lakshmajah (1992) observed that socio-cultural change is taking place among the Tribals, largely on account of developmental programmes and spread of education, communication and transport facilities in the tribal areas.

The Tribal Research Centres in the tribal belts of Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Assam, while dealing with tribal problems, have reflected sympathy as well as appreciation for the tribal culture, and recommend implementation of the development schemes through persuasions and on principle of self-determination rather than imposition and paternalism.

L.C. Jain (1981), concluded that implementation of various strategies adopted for anti-poverty programmes have been implemented in such a way that they seem to be rather anti-people. He found complete mismatch between ideas and the institutions created to translate them into reality as local approach was not followed. Paul and Subramania (1982) have, while studying implementation of various development programmes, suggested that careful attention to programme strategy which aim at structural changes in society and effective implementation. R.B. Lal (1982) also attributed failure to a big gap between programmes and their execution. Many studies have emphasised the need of grass root planning and involvement of locals in planning and implementation.

Padam Nabh Gautam (1987) in his article, ‘Role of Administration’ in ‘Development Administration in a Changing Society’ edited by R.D. Sharma, while emphasising the role of administration in development, has suggested the need to transform the bureaucracy to sync with the development process as the present administrative set up is faulty and is, rather than economic factors, an impediment to the development. L.P. Vidyarthi (ed.) (1981) in ‘Tribal Development and its Administration’, while emphasising management of administration, says “that tribal development should be planned properly to take care of implementation and feed-back so that evaluation and assessment can be made concurrently.”

L.M. Prashad (1981) in his paper “A survey of Administration in Tribal Areas with special reference to Bihar” in L.P. Vidyarthi’s book mentioned above has emphasised the need that bureaucracy changes its attitude towards development and tribals. It has therefore, been suggested by him that “tribals should be given due share in civil services and other services too so that the entire tribal mass should not feel alienated’
especially as the urban middle class bureaucracy have to implement programmes in predominantly rural areas.

**Tarlok Singh (1974),** Ex-Member, Planning Commission in his article, ‘Administration for Development’ in ‘Development Administration in India’ by **V.A. Pai Panadiker (ed.)** has suggested a system of open exchange and communication between various levels so that gaps caused by present system of hierarchy may be overcome though comradeship. Though, he argues, such comradeship is difficult to build in bureaucracy as it is largely based on concepts of policing and regulating. He suggests training, capacity building and institutional reforms for the result oriented developmental administration.

### 4.3. Studies on Tribal Development

A study of Tribal economy in Gujarat undertaken by **Vimal Shah (1967)** was based on the all India Rural Debt and Investment by Gujarat state, which effectively brought out that the tribal economy, still continues to be stagnant due to little diversification in occupations. Agriculture continues to be the mainstay of the tribal population, very little investment is taking place to modernise it, very few inputs are made to increase the productivity of land and many people mostly depend upon traditional agencies for their credit requirements which are mainly for meeting their household expenditure. All these are obviously characteristics of a subsistence economy.

**M.L. Patel (1974)** was mainly concerned with the land problems of tribals. According to him, during 17th and 18th centuries there were many tribal kingdoms in India. Gradually the expansions of the more advanced groups forced the tribals to retreat in to be the nearest hills and less fertile areas. During the British period, dispossession of tribal lands continued. A large number of tribals were reduced to agricultural labourers. This had made their economic condition deplorable. For generations tribals have continued to live on their subsistence agriculture and earned their living as serfs or bonded labourers.

**S.G. Deogaonkar (1992)** in his book ‘Tribal Development Plans, Implementation and Evaluation’ carries out an evaluation study of the implementation of Tribal Sub Plan Schemes in Maharashtra State. The study concentrates on an area which is inhabited by primitive tribes and many parts of the area are inaccessible even after years of development efforts.

The study traces historical growth of the tribal development administration and covers the latest instruments like the Special Action
Plan. Development Schemes have been empirically studied in an inquisitive manner and the impact on tribal beneficiaries studied to find out the factual position in a pragmatic manner. The bungling of schemes and funds has been mercilessly exposed and corrective measures suggested. This study recommends some far reaching changes in the administrative organisation of tribal development.

Further the impact of tribal cultural values has been considered vis-à-vis development. A perspective view listing and analysing the direction of development efforts during 8th Plan period also appears in the book.

In the book ‘Tribal Development in India, an Appraisal’, Amir Hasan (1992) traces the evolution of the various strategies of tribal development with special reference to Uttar Pradesh. The author has tried to distinguish the development measures taken for development of the tribal people from those for development of tribal areas. The findings of the study show that there is hardly any official tribal policy, and how to approach the tribal people is still a matter of debate. No wonder, the development measures have failed to promote the uplifting of the tribal people according to their genius. There has been little success in tackling the problems of exploitation of tribal people. Instances are not wanting when tribal interests have been subordinated to non tribal vested interests. Many state governments have willingly subordinated tribal interest to those of the non-tribal. In setting of mega projects in tribal areas rich in natural resources, tribal interests have been thrown to winds. The author feels that this messy situation has developed because the tribal policy is a terra incognita and a lack of unanimity on the approach to be followed for the development of the tribal people.

M Bapuji Kanishka (1993)’s study ‘Tribal Development’ is a micro-level analysis of the dynamics of tribal development administration at the grass-root level. Its analysis of the delivery system of tribal development institutions provides useful clues to understand the problem with the development administration in these areas. This study also suggests what institutional alternatives should be developed to carry out the task of tribal development more successfully. The study tries to provide answer to the question: “who should be blamed for the development stagnation of the tribal societies and what should be done to remove this stagnation?”

This research study was done in the district of Visakhapatnam of Andhra Pradesh with focus on major components of tribal development administration in the district. The study tries to assess the suitability of these institutional instrumentalities: The Tribal Development Blocks,
Integrated Tribal Development Agency and the Girijan Co-operative Development Corporation by focusing upon their structural characteristics, operational and delivery process, and their impact on the targeted group. This study shows that the purely bureaucratic model of development administration is a mismatch for the task of tribal development which requires a non-formal and humane model.

Devendra Thakur and D.N. Thakur (1997) in their edited book ‘Tribal Development and Planning (Tribal life in India-9)’ traces history of tribal development and planning. Economic planning since First Five Year Plan recommended that a positive policy of assisting the tribals should be formulated in order to develop their natural resources and evolve a productive life which can prevent exploitation by more organised economic forces. In the second Plan it was emphasised that all welfare programmes should be made in the context of tribal culture after reviewing their psychological and economic problems. In the third plan, it was accepted in principle that in facilitating health and education services the tribal people should be able to develop their own traditional wits and culture without pressure or imposition from outside. Under the Fourth Plan, six pilot projects for Tribal Development known as Tribal Development Agencies were taken up in Central Sector. The Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Plan saw the emergence of Tribal Development strategy in the country on a massive scale. The Tribal sub plan envisaged pooling of all available fiscal and personal resources. The Eighth plan emphasised a total integrated effort for all round Tribal Development.

‘Tribal Situation in India: Issues in Development (with Special Reference to Western India)’, edited by Vidyut Joshi(1998) is the first volume on socio-anthropological writings which deal with the tribal problems in four states viz. Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Maharashtra. This book brings together papers on issues like forest, land, tribal administration and rehabilitation. Some of the papers are also critique of our development model. This book is divided into four parts. Part I gives general and broad picture of tribal development and problems. Part II deals with tribal situation in four states. Part III deals with specific issues like land, forest, government, NGOs and Finance and Part IV deals with development and deprivation. This book is a collection of papers presented at the seminar by various scholars and researchers.

In the book ‘Tribal Development in 20th Century’, editor, Dr. P.C. Mehta (2000) has discussed the tribal development measures adopted by Karnataka and Rajasthan States along with general measures adopted in the country.
The overall review of tribal development measures adopted during the 20th century shows that they do not fulfill the ambitions and requirements of the tribals even when the government fails to provide them basic minimum needs for their survival. The first half of the century was administered by the British Government. They did not bother about their needs and welfare. Whenever tribals created problem or some sort of agitation in some areas, the British and the local rulers tried to compel them to withdraw the agitation or such agitation was crushed by hook or by crook. The British Government introduced few reform measures for their betterment in troublesome tribal areas of the country and states. Hence the tribals during the first half of the century were exploited by the then rulers and outsiders. After independence, the Central Government as well as State Governments paid attention towards the welfare of the deprived tribal areas. However the steps taken towards their welfare measures were negligible in the first three decades.

Even the tribal development measures adopted during the second half of the century are not sufficient; they have failed to improve the economic condition of the tribals. After introduction of several relief measures most of the tribals live a life of poverty and destitution.

Meenaxi Hooja (2004) in her book ‘Policies and Strategies for Tribal Development Focus on the Central Tribal Belt’ analyses the changes in approaches, strategies and schemes of tribal development in India over various Five Year Plan periods. Special attention has been paid to the problems and achievements of Tribal development programmes and administrative arrangements in India’s Central Tribal belt comprising the state of Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Chhatisgarh, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Rajasthan that contains nearly ¾ of the country’s tribal population.

Tracing the story from Jawaharlal Nehru’s Panchsheel for the tribals to the Dhebar Commission (1961) and Task Force under L.P. Vidyarthi (1974), the launching of Tribal Sub Plan during Fifth Plan period and on the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Area) Act, 1996, this study in policy and administration looks at issues of literacy and education, health and nutrition, lack of infrastructure, income and employment, displacement and growing extremism amongst the tribals of the Central tribal belt. Future challenges have also been discussed and a number of recommendations made.
Niranjan Pani and Jitendra Sahoo (2008) in their book ‘Tribal Development’ tries to analyse tribal development from varied angles. Majority of the tribals have remained in isolation. Yet with a few changes and globalisation, they have been empowered and, getting awakened. Still their socio-economic condition is far from satisfactory. Essentially, it is time to give attention to their development. This book humbly tries to explore their problems and to portray the measures for their development. A Special Focus is given on Koraput district of Orissa as a micro-area study.

A.K. Auja and A.K. Ojha, (Eds.) (2009) in their book ‘Welfare and Tribal Development Administration’ have selected and compiled articles written by various practitioners as well as scholars. They take the reader through the evolution of disputed issues and strategies over time. Some articles focus on the strategies and experiments while some others capture experiences through analysis of cases.

These articles have been arranged in two sections namely ‘Welfare Administration’ and ‘Tribal Development Administration’. These sections have been further arranged into two sub sections each. The two sub-sections under Welfare Administration have been entitled (1) ‘Survival and Sustainability: Strategies and Experiences’, and (2) ‘People’s Participation and Reacting People: Some Cases’. The Tribal Development Administration section similarly has two major sub themes captioned as ‘Tribal Development Issues and Concepts’ and ‘Tribal Problems and Justice’.

Tribal Development over the years has been a major concern of the Government, voluntary organisations, social reformers, social scientists etc. The topic of this work ‘Tribes through Ages’ has been conceived and edited by Suresh K. Sharma (2010), has four segments. Vol. I and II include Speeches and writings. Vol. III and IV contain Documents.

In Vol. I and Vol. II, there are speeches and writings of well known leaders, social workers and scholars like the President of India, Prime Ministers of India: Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi, Atal Bihari Bajpai, Lal Bahadur Shastri and scholars like VN.K. Bose, A.M. Somasundaram, Mildred Archer. F. Kingdon Ward, Verrier Elwin, Bhawani Shanker Bhargava, W.V. Grigson, G.N. Das, Social Workers like L.M. Shrikant, Kaka Kalelkar, Gopi Nath Sen, Ambalal Vyas, D.J. Nai, K.K. Lenva etc. Vol. III and IV deal with reports of various committees and sub committees, Advisory Committee and study Teams on tribal development and Tribal sub plan with recommendations and resolutions of the
different States like Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Manipur, Orissa, Tripura, West Bengal, Rajasthan, Nagaland etc.

4.4. Impact of TSP and Integrated Tribal Area Development Programme (ITDP)

This paper evaluates TSP in the Dangs against the main objectives, i.e. improvement in quality of life and narrowing the gap between Tribal and non-Tribal.

Segregation policy of British led to their exploitation by landlords, moneylenders and middlemen. The policy of assimilation anticipates that cultural contact will lead to the tribal joining the mainstream living. D.N. Majmudar (1950) recommends contextual approach for understanding tribal problem for each area and tribe as they subsist at various levels of development and distinct socio-economic development. Ghurey (1959) does not mind loss of homogeneity to some extent as part of social change. This approach has been criticised as one that leads to loss of tribal arts, culture and crafts and traditional knowledge. Based on the principle of unity in diversity, the integration approach emphasises the introduction of new schemes and technologies with the tribal consent and participation while taking care to preserve their culture. The Panchsheel principle and subsequent tribal policies, especially TSP, are based on this approach. However the Planning Commission of India (2001: 7) finds that Tribal are vulnerable due to their inability to cope with consequences of integration with mainland systems. James Scott while writing on the planned development in the world has advocated use of local knowledge and micro-plans (Scott 1988). Such policies are a crying need in the context of tribal development. Even some policies in this direction have been resisted. PESA is a good example where radical transfer of power has been diluted by the state and other actors. Sectoral approach might not yield desired results, opines Sharma (Sharma 1988: 148 - 155). He states that schemes planned at micro-level can act as binding force among various sectoral programmes. Here we may recall Forester who calls for various strategies to deal with resistance to development planning (Forester 1989). B.D. Sharma (1992) advocates non-interference in tribal life but welcomes spontaneous integration. This view allows Tribal to decide the pace and nature of integration and development. Assessment of TSP from this angle can be interesting.

According to B.K. Roy Burman, planning for tribals and their areas has become a gamble in ignorance. He emphasises need of inter
communication among planners, implementers, academicians of different
disciplines and tribals (Roy Burman, 1985: 20 -21). Many scholars have
found Panchsheel not being followed in practice (Kashyap, 1998: 37)

We have discussed in detail the evolution of the present strategy of Tribal
Sub Plan in the beginning of this chapter and Chapter 3. Also a detailed
administrative structure has been presented in that chapter. It may be
recalled that in order to fulfill TSP objectives, ITDPs were delineated in
Fifth Plan. So far, 193 ITDPs and 249 pockets outside ITDP area having
at least 5000 tribal population out of total population of 10,000 in each
pocket have been identified under Modified Area Development Approach
(MADA). In addition, 77 clusters with a total population of 5000 of
which 50 percent tribals in each cluster and 74 or 75 Primitive Tribal
Groups have been identified.

The flow of funds for TSP is primarily from four sources viz. State Plan,
Central Plan, Centrally Sponsored Schemes, Special Central Assistance
and Institutional Finance. Though TSP strategy has yielded results, these
are not commensurate with both the expectations and the investments
made so far. In several states, TSP strategy is interpreted as area
approach and therefore a heavy emphasis is laid on infrastructural
development without corresponding emphasis on the development of
Tribes. The present bias in favour of infrastructure development scheme
is showing an exaggerated national flow to TSP. There is a need to put
emphasis to be laid primarily on family oriented income generating
schemes in sectors like agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, co-
operatives, tribal crafts, skills etc. In addition to the above, emphasis has
also been laid on the programmes of social service sectors like education,
health, housing, etc. Schemes which could emancipate the tribals from
the clutches of exploitative agencies have also been supported. However,
it has been observed that for example, in a key sector like agriculture,
per-acre yield could not be increased for want of ground level water and
unsuccessful execution of minor irrigation schemes.

In the field of education, rapid progress has to be achieved in getting
improved literacy rates. In health sector several study reports have
commented that the tribals have been the worst victims of diseases such
as leprosy, malaria, skin and water borne diseases. Incidence of suffering
from malnutrition is reported very high. The reports of the Health
Ministry have indicated that the infant mortality rate among the tribals is
significantly on high side. Under the forest sector, the forest dwellers
have suffered a great deal. Consequent to the enactment of Forest
Conservation Act, neither the tribals have been able to reap the benefits
of the natural produce nor the developmental departments were able to take programmes to the door steps of tribals. With the stringent measures that the state has adopted the tribals have hardly benefited from their right to minor forest produce.

There are several programmes in operation for the integrated development of tribals in the sphere of co-operative credit, marketing, fisheries, forestry, industries, education, health, agricultural, animal husbandry, irrigation, transportation, culture and communications. Various research studies point out factors that have affected the outcomes of TSP. In the early days of TSP, the need of involving NGOs and social workers was brought out while evaluating TSP performance in Maharashtra (Kulkarni, 1977: pp 34-43). Lack of public awareness, absence of spirit of TSP and geographical constraints were identified as reasons of poor impact of TSP on Korga community (Bhatt, 1982). The element of felt needs was evident in an empirical study on the impact of welfare schemes on the Kanikars tribe in Kerala (Gopalkrishan, 1985: pp 237-258). It was found that overlapping of schemes and dole system were reasons for the poor policy outcomes (ibid.). Another study in ITDP Songadh in South Gujarat pointed out that multiple schemes do not necessarily mean or even seek to bring integrated tribal development (Lobo, 1993). In Gujarat, Patel identified forward and backward linkages and worldview of Tribal as important determinant in success or failure of TSP.

Roy Burman (1997) and many others consider the TSP strategy to be a failure. However, others disagree with this view (ibid). Different interpretations of TSP experiment are due to different criteria of evaluation. From viewpoint of poor human development, poverty and low level of development compared to that of the mainstream, the experiment can be labeled as a failure. However, others look at improvement in these indicators over a period of time despite difficulties.

With this backdrop we discuss some of the important studies on the implementation of TSP and its impact on the tribals with more focus in the ITDP area, the Dangs itself being an ITDP area.

Singh (1970) studied the agricultural development in tribal areas and stated that tribal economy was predominantly agricultural. Shifting cultivation, which was a significant feature of tribal agriculture in large tribal areas, was a direct outcome of the tribal habitation in the forest areas seriously undermining prospect of modern agriculture technology and practices where good or bad crop is attributed to supernatural forces.
The use of fertilizers, improved seeds, pesticides and modern agricultural implements etc., was therefore, seldom evident among the tribals. The tribal agriculture was the small size of land holdings. Mortgaging of their lands to the money-lenders for loans was quite prevalent resulting in land alienation. Even when about 88 per cent of tribal population depended on cultivation, it was an occupation with low per-acre returns, very little cash crops and subsistence agriculture. He also highlighted that most of the development benefits went mostly to the economically stronger and more vocal sections.

Srivastava and Singh (1970) stated that agricultural development was dependant on overall development communications, education and other necessary infrastructure. They also observed that some of the major problems of the tribals in most of the states were: low and insecure incomes, illiteracy, unemployment, primitive method of cultivation and inadequate communication system. They further stated that shifting cultivation was a common practice with most of the tribals in which they clear a particular forest area and indulge in terrace cultivation. They recommended suitability of Himachal Pradesh for commercial corps like saffron. They emphasised the need of a proper communication system for programmes to succeed.

Government of Himachal Pradesh has carried out regular studies on the impact of development programmes on the socio-economic conditions of the tribal people.

Government of Himachal Pradesh (1971) conducted an empirical investigation on 140 sample households; scattered over 12 villages of Kinnaur district. The results of this study clearly reveal that out of 140 sample households: 85 per cent were beneficiaries. Out of the total population, 57 per cent were workers, out of which 44 per cent were fully and 36 per cent were partly engaged in agriculture. Out of 140 sample households, 30.27 per cent were reported using improved seeds, 18.57 per cent had used chemical fertilizers, 39.72 per cent household were using chemical pesticides. In horticulture out of total sample households 96 per cent were having fruit trees, 26 per cent were having orchards in compact from 43 per cent were having trees in the fruit bearing stage and out of 135 horticulturists, 19 per cent had obtained horticultural loans. About 29.8 per cent households had no cows and about 42.14 per cent households owned 1771 sheep. On an average the number of sheep per sample household had been worked out 19, while the number of goats per household came out 22. Out of total sample households 77.86 percent were having one industry or other, 83.82 per cent were engaged in
spinning, 11.93 per cent were in weaving and 2.75 per cent households were engaged in carpentry. Out of the total 880 sample population 22 per cent were found educated, 16.43 per cent households were having Kachha and 76.42 per cent households were having semi-kachha and 3.57 per cent households were having pucca and wooden houses. Out of 140 sample households 50 households were found under debt and the average debt per indebted family amounted to ` 1064.

Dhir (1972), in a Study on North-Western Tribes, stated that the tribes of Western Himalayas live in environments and surroundings entirely different from other tribes of India. He remarked, for a change, that the tribes of Western Himalayas were economically definitely better off than the tribes in the rest of the country. In fact Lahaulis were amongst best dressed in the whole of Himachal Pradesh. Both Lahaulis and Kinnauris were intelligent and commercially minded.

Government of Himachal Pradesh (1974) conducted an empirical investigation of 215 sample households from Lahaul and 58 from Spiti block scattered over 22 villages in Lahaul and Spiti tribal district of Himachal Pradesh, to study the socio-economic conditions of the tribal people as well as to analyse the impact of the development programmes in the area under study. The results of this study reveal that 90 per cent of the sample population was dependent directly or indirectly on agriculture. Out of 215 selected households 54 per cent had used chemical fertilizers.

Government of Himachal Pradesh (1976) conducted a socio-economic survey of the backward areas of Mandi district, to assess the levels of development. The average size of holding and per capita annual income had been worked out 1.40 hectares and ` 588 respectively for the year 1974-75. About 45 per cent of the total income had been derived from agriculture alone. 15 per cent from animal husbandry and wages and services contributed to 40 per cent of the total household income in the area under study. It is found that the per capita consumption expenditure for the sample households was ` 540 during the year 1974-75. The food-items alone accounted for about 61 per cent of the household total consumption expenditure. Further, in the study it is stated that if we go by the definition of poverty line which had been laid down by the planning Commission in the approach paper of Fifth Five Year Plan and inflate it with price rise in terms of all India whole-sale price-indices, it reveals that the entire population among the sample households was living under poverty line during 1974-75.
Apte (1976) conducted an investigation in 15 Kolaba villages in Kolaba district of Maharashtra to study the status of the natural and other resources, the pattern of employment and earnings, village institutions and status of the economy in the region. He concluded that despite implementation of several schemes for the upliftment of the tribals, they have not benefited from these programmes. He attributed the failure to lack of awareness of the schemes and processes among the tribals. He suggested appointment of volunteers and trained youth so they can help the tribal to have access to such schemes.

S.D. Kulkarni (1977) explained in his paper ‘Adivasi: Sub-Plan: a Mid Term Appraisal’ the TSP and its impact on the tribals of Maharashtra State. After analysing the pros and cons of the TSP of Maharashtra, the author highlights certain problems confronting the tribals. Major hindrances in the implementation of schemes were also studied by the author. The programmes aimed at reducing the exploitation of Adivasis were reviewed by the author. The two acts passed by the Maharashtra Government and its effect on land alienation were studied. He points out the absence of absorption of new techniques and the benefits of schemes among the tribals. This problem can be solved by giving the plan wider possible publicity and by encouraging voluntary agencies and social workers working among tribals to participate in plan implementation. The voluntary organisations working in tribal areas are willing to cooperate with the government in the implementation of plan programmes. Efforts should be made to associate these groups and individuals with the implementation of the plan.

The Government of Kerala (1977) undertook a survey of the socio-economic situation of Tribals in Kerala in 1976. The survey was conducted by Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Govt. of Kerala. The survey was mainly intended to study the educational and socio-economic conditions of the tribals in the entire tribal areas in the State and to study their agrarian and allied problems.

This study mainly highlighted the major problems confronting tribals and put forward certain recommendations regarding tribal indebtedness, implementation of welfare schemes, executive and legislative measures for tribals and related aspects. The recommendations stand as an eye opener for the administrators but also for policy makers and planners formulating policy regarding tribal development.
B.D. Sharma (1978) studied “Tribal development – The Concept and the Frame” with special reference to the Baigas of Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh. In his study Mr. Sharma has studied the economic development of backward tribal regions, their relationship with forest, industrial complexes and their tribal hinter lands. The study gives a clear-cut picture of the socio-economic aspects of the tribal life and explains the potentialities for their development.

Singh (1978) studied the impact of development process on the tribals and stated that tribals did not mainly due to their large scale land alienation, heavy indebtedness, lack of extension network and inadequate infrastructure facilities and most importantly lack of communication facilities.

Sharma (1978), in his empirical investigation of five blocks in the Tehri Garwal district of Uttar Pradesh, he studied the effects of planning on the poor tribals. He found that the hilly areas and tribal areas constituted special problem areas as they were backward and inaccessible and also were neglected and exploited for centuries. He stated that the difficult and rugged nature of terrain precluded easy accessibility and isolated the tribals from rest of the world. Agricultural production was low due to the unfavourable conditions of land, lack or irrigation facilities, continuous use of primitive methods of cultivation and less area for cultivation in the isolated small holdings.

Narrating the impact of TSP Strategy on Korga communities, Vasudev Bhatt (1982), in his article, ‘Tribal Sub Plan for Korgas’ holds that tribals have not benefited from sub plan to the extent expected. The main reason for this is the lack of awareness among tribals. The author argues that the spirit of the sub plan is yet to percolate down to grass roots. In accessible interior villages and scattered habitation of tribals also account for slow progress.

An Appraisal, ‘Tribal Development in Bihar: An Appraisal’ by K.B. Saxena (1983) which appeared in the Bulletin of Bihar Tribal Welfare Research Institute, Ranchi, speaks of the marked deterioration in the condition of poor tribals who are now fighting a grim battle of survival. He takes a critical look at our development strategy towards tribal. He makes a systematic analysis of the problems of the poorer section in the tribal population of Bihar and steps taken to solve them under different heads.
N. S. Gopalkrishan (1985) has done an empirical study on the impact of welfare schemes on the Kannikars in Kerala. The implementation of welfare schemes without taking into account the needs of the beneficiaries is one of the factors for not achieving desired result. The overlapping of the schemes, the reluctance of the officials to visit the field and the present dole system without nurturing the dignity of labour are matters which need serious consideration. According to him the development of tribals must be through their labour and active participation. The viability and aptitudes of the tribals to utilise the schemes should be taken into account before introducing schemes.

B.K. Roy Burman (1985) in his paper, ‘Issues in Tribal Development’, presents certain issues to be considered at the operational level for an integrated approach to tribal development during the seventh plan. Issues concerning the implementation of protective measures envisaged in the TSP, appropriate methodology for estimating the number of tribal families above the poverty line. Strategies for bringing about inter-articulacy of the felt needs of the tribals, the issue of grant-in-aid under article 275 of the Constitution, the success and failure of tribal resettlement colonies and related matters. The author comments that planning for tribals and tribal areas has become almost a “gamble in ignorance”. A massive programme of inter communication among planning and implementing agencies, academicians of different disciplines and the seniors of the various tribal forums is needed to correct the situation within the short time at disposal before the seventh plan.

B.D. Sharma (1985), in his paper on ‘Integrated Tribal Development Projects’ draws attention to the planning frame adopted for achieving the objectives. He says that a sectional approach in the process of directed change which influences the total life style of a community may not yield desired results. There is a high degree of symmetry in the receptivity by a socio-economic system to the stimuli of change in relation to its different facets. The process of reception, assimilation and operationalisation of the policy goals by administrative system itself are very challenging, very selective and at times highly biased in relation to different sectors of its activity.

While preparing integrated plan, Sharma opines that four facts of integration have to be kept in mind. They are synchronisation of the geographical area, integration of programmes with a clear total perspective, organisational integration and financial integration. Each ITDP may not be a homogeneous area for planning and may have to be
sub divided into number of sub-regions. In the delineation of ITDPs and sub regions within ITDP, administrative boundaries have to be taken into account because they play an important role in planning and implementation. He identifies six areas for special treatment in the ITDP under the TSP, which included (a) Agriculture sub regions in the hilly areas; (b) forest areas; (c) zones of influence of Industrial and mining complex; (d) extremely backward tribal pockets; (e) areas with high proportion of landless labour and (f) other areas with distinctive resources potential for development of pastures, horticulture, animal husbandry etc. He says that a scheme at the State level or at the national level may not yield the desired results and may be discontinued. The author pleads for a Nucleus Budget at the micro level which could accommodate such a scheme. The concept of nucleus budget places great responsibility on the local authorities for its proper utilisation and purposive planning at every stage. Moreover it acts as a binding force among numerous sectoral programmes.

Gupta (1986) studied the functioning of the Integrated Tribal Development Project in Birbhum district of West Bengal. He concluded that the benefits of irrigation facilities provided under Integrated Tribal Development project were reaped more by non-tribals than the tribals. He found only 20 per cent workers in the various multi-purpose societies meant for tribal development were tribals. He remarked that the administrative structure of integrated Tribal Development project suffered from a number of limitations viz., the lack of control over resources, the complete absence of popular initiative and the complete failure of its monitoring system.

Thakur, Sharma and Moorti (1986) conducted an empirical investigation of 115 households in tribal areas of Lahaul in order to examine the efficiency and impact of Tribal Development Programmes. The results of this study reveal that there had been a substantial increase in the income of tribal households ever since the introduction of Tribal Sub-Plans. Nearly 70 per cent of household income was derived from agriculture alone. Non-traditional agricultural crops and animal husbandry had the capacity to further increase the income of the households. However, there was an urgent need to provide better agricultural inputs and improved marketing mainly for potatoes.

Hussain (1987) studied the socio-economic inequalities caused by the development process among the tribals of Assam. He came to conclusion that Liberation of tribals from oppression, exploitation, under-development and dependency depended fundamentally on a radical transformation of the socio-economic structure which at present permitted
inequality, exploitation and oppression. He concluded, on the basis of his study, that the present socio-economic structure and the pattern of development that we had adopted after independence had sharpened not only the caste, religion, linguistic and ethic distinctions, but also increased regional disparities and feelings of deprivation, negligence and insecurity among various ethnic tribal groups.

Bhupinder Singh (1988) in his paper, ‘Tribal Problems: ‘Some Reflection on Tribal Development’, analyses the strategies of TSP after viewing the recommendation of the commissions and committees on tribal development. He says that theoretically the approach adopted in TSP of the country is characterised by humanness and sensitivity. The TSP strategy emphasises that the distinctive ethos and identity of a tribal group need to be kept in force while planning for its socio-economic development. The recommendations of the working group on tribal development and the strategy of TSP implemented during Vth and VIth Plan were analysed. The prospective measures, the problem of bonded labour among tribals and the instruments of execution were dealt with in the paper.

R.R. Prasad (1988) in his paper ‘Tribal Development in India: Strategies and Programmes’ portrays the strategies and programmes followed for tribal development. After analysing the general features of the S.T. in India, he says that ‘Tribal Development’ may be defined as development of groups which are at different stage of socio-economic development on the basis of their techno-economic development, eco-cultural setting and acculturative influence. He categorised tribals into four broad types or groups.

He analyses the strategies and programmes for tribal development during the British rule and the Independent era i.e. during Five Year Plans. The strategy of tribal development blocks, the concept of ISP, the notion of ITDPs and MADP have been analysed in the national context by the author. The development programmes for the primitive tribes were also studied. State wise details of the above strategies were analysed.

Kulkarni (1989) in his study concluded that in Maharashtra the tribal sub-plan had been poorly implemented hence, it was necessary to accelerate the pace of tribal development through the effective implementation of tribal sub-plans in the State. He concluded that problems of tribals in Maharashtra vary from tribe to tribe and from region to region. Most of the tribal workers were both cultivators and agriculture labourers. He found law to prevent land alienation to be
inefficient even when the state had made an effective attempt in reducing tribal exploitation by private traders. He emphasised the need to effectively implement the Employment Guarantee Scheme which has the potential of improving the conditions of tribals.

Parmar (1989), on the basis of secondary data, analysed the tribal development of Kinnaur district. This study reveals that the majority of the tribals in Kinnaur were cultivators as about 61.97 per cent of the total work force was engaged in cultivation. The workers engaged in other activities such as livestock, forest, plantation of orchards, hunting etc., accounted for 30.37 per cent. He further stated that there had been a remarkable growth in the socio-economic infrastructure like education, medical and health, Transport and communication, banking and electricity supply. He suggested that concepts of mobile hospitals, mobile post-office, and mobile banks even mobile school can provide much more effective instruments of change rather than putting a lot of money in erecting buildings and maintaining offices.

4.5. Studies in Gujarat in the Dangs

A brief review of some important studies in Gujarat, with specific reference to the Dangs, has been reviewed here. A study ‘Changing Tribal Villages, Gadhvi - the Dangs district’ was done by Dr. Sidhraj Solanki and Mr. M.I. Masavi (1980). This is a comparative study of Gadhvi village between 1969-70 and 1979. The same 34 families and respondents were selected for the purpose of changes in economic condition of the Bhils of the village. Survey and participant methods were used for data collection. No change was found in housing and size of the land during 10 years. They were totally dependent on agriculture, its related activities and labour work. Both times, all the families were living below the poverty line. They had incurred debt for fulfillment of their daily needs. They did not get benefits from the development schemes for their economic upliftment.

An evaluation study was done in 1984 by Priyavardan Patel (1986) of ITDP Dahod, a major developmental intervention and to understand the process of change in the TASP region of Dahod project in Panchmahal (now Dahod) district. A good deal of resources has been, now for several years, allocated for the integrated development of tribal society in Gujarat. A sample household of 1198 and 200 other relevant respondents in 80 villages of 5 Talukas and 2 pockets under ITDP Dahod were selected. Agriculture is the main economic activity of the inhabitants of this region. About 80 percent depend on it for their livelihood. Because of insufficient irrigation facilities, untimely availability of farm inputs,
agriculture remains primitive and un-productive. The problem of poverty was also intensified due to the absence of round the year employment in the region. Unfavourable economic conditions induced large scale seasonal migration (80 percent) from the ITDP Dahod region to other neighboring districts in the State. It is found that tribal responders have expressed general satisfaction regarding the improvements in the condition of housing, water, medical and educational facilities. The area of this study is infested with diseases like malaria, diarrhea, dysentery, skin diseases, ordinary fever etc. Tribal faith healers like Bhuva – Bhagat are quite popular and tribals visit them for treatment regularly. Location of medical facility is still at a distance of 5 or more km. The major development achievement was found in the field of anti-exploitation. Borrowings are resorted to meet the daily house-hold expenses.

The forward and backward linkages of developmental activities are crucial in deciding their fate of success or failure. On the basis of a mix of primary and secondary sources, an assessment was done of all projects.

Another study ‘Bhils of the Dangs - A Socio-economic Survey and Development Plan’ by M.I. Masuvi & G.P. Pandya (1986) is based on data collected through a household survey covering Bhil families living in the Dangs district. Bhil tribes have inhabited the Dangs and are economically more backward than other tribal groups in the district. They are poor and engage in agriculture and labour. In view of the precarious economic condition of their living, special efforts are necessary to improve the socio-economic status of the Bhils. This study covered 195 Bhil families. The Bhils of the Dangs are economically more backward and not able to avail benefits of various development programmes. It is therefore felt that a special socio-economic upliftment will go a long way in improving their economic condition substantially. They are ready to accept anything which would bring them steady income at their door.

The implementers of the programme will have to be friendlier with the people and actively associate themselves. The poor people in their turn have to take up the programme as their own.

‘An Evaluation Study of Milk Co-operative Societies in the Dangs District’ was done by Prof. R.B. Lal and Mr. Bhikhabhai Patel (1986). Gadhvi, Pimpri and Chikaliya Milk Co-operative Societies were selected for this study. The tribals got economic benefits from the Co-operative society and regular income throughout the year, which is their secondary or subsidiary occupation. Some suggestions and recommendations were given in the last chapter.
An evaluation study was done by Mr. Chandrakant Patel (1988) **Kotwadia’s Bamboo Scheme.** Kotwadia is a primitive tribe totally dependent on labour and bamboo work. Total 200 families were selected from Chichinagaontha, Ahwa, Vagul and Singpur. Interview guide and case study methods were used for this study. Some changes were found in income, occupation, literacy, Housing & living condition. Some useful suggestions were made at the end of the study.

**S.L. Doshi (1990)** has, while surveying the Bhils of western India, observed that the Bhils fear that in wake of the process of their integration with the larger Indian Society, they may lose their ethnic identity.

A study ‘**An assessment of ITDP Programme in Songadh (1980-1990)**’ by **Lancy Lobo (1993)** was sponsored by the Ministry of Welfare, Tribal Division, New Delhi. This study intends to evaluate family-beneficiaries oriented economic programmes and examines the process of their implementation in Songadh Taluka of Surat district. This study examined socio-economic background, process of information dissemination about various schemes, the process of assistance loan and the impact of schemes on employment and migration. This study covers 54 villages of various tribal group and 435 beneficiaries. Gamits are the largest number of beneficiaries i.e. 95 percent and agriculture is the main source of their livelihood; while Kotwadia are the most backward. The beneficiaries were identified on the basis of low income (23 percent) status of marginal farmers and agricultural labourers (43 percent). The remaining did not know the reasons of their selection as beneficiaries. Out of the total households, 327 households possessed irrigated land, and 238 households have un-irrigated land. 228 beneficiaries procured milch cattle. IRDP is the most well known programme among the beneficiaries.

The label used by the State, “ITD” evokes grandiose and tall claims. Multiple schemes put together do not necessarily make an integrated development programme. ITDP programmes, to put it simply, are poverty alleviation programmes with limited objectives viz. alleviating hunger, and poverty by increasing employment and income generation. These limited objectives have been realised to some extent despite constraints. Three schemes viz. land development, dairy farming and animal husbandry, with large number of beneficiaries, have generated some employment and income. This does not mean that there are no deficiencies and short coming in these programmes. Some recommendations and suggestions have been given in the study.
A study ‘Problems of development among Kotwadia: A Study’ was done by Chandrakant Patel (1997). The Dangs, Valsad, Surat and Bharuch districts were selected for this study. 100 Kotwadia families were selected from the eight villages of four districts. The Kotwadia are staying outside the villages in kachha houses or in the huts as they are considered untouchables.

Some problems for development of Kotwadia and suggestions are given at the end of the study.

4.6. Studies on Tribal Labour Migration

Mankind has witnessed migration since the time immemorial. Wars, prosecution, climatic changes and economic forces have been the principal movers of the people all over the globe.

Labour is the crucial factor of production. It turns other resources into goods and income so as to satisfy needs of the population. It is a fact that out migration of labour which overwhelmingly occurs from the poorer regions of the country to the richer regions of other countries helps the migrant receiving regions more than the migrant sending regions in terms of production of goods, generation of income and the satisfaction of needs. Memory is the substitute for the tail that we lost in the happy process of evolution; it directs all our movements, including migration!

Genesis of Labour Out-migration

Ever since Columbus set for the discovery of India, he planned to supply slaves to the motherland in return for breeding cattle, seeds and food stuffs from Spain. ‘Indian slaves’ he wrote, ‘could provide cheaper labour for Europe and compensate for the financial expenditure required on overseas expeditions”.

Indian slavery was the first large scale system in the history of capitalism to exploit the workers of conquered territories outside Europe to any significant extent. The coolie system came into being during the second quarter of the 19th century, much before the abolition of slavery. Coolieism was a mixture of various labour systems and stood somewhere between slavery, forced labour and debt bondage on the one hand and free wage labour on the other. It contained elements of all these systems.

India’s export of coolies started in 1830s, had been preceded during the second half of the 18th century by the sale of Indians from the south of the
country as slaves. It had been estimated that, in 1921, there were 2.5 million Indians living abroad of which 2 million came originally from the Presidency of Madras (Ref. Lydia Potts, the World Labour Market (P.73-80).

In the thirties and forties of the last century, the recruiting ground was mainly the tribal regions. Most of the emigrants were so called ‘hill coolies’ who were recruited from Chhotanagpur division, Shahabad, Bankura, Birbhum, and Burdhawan and districts of Madras Presidency. The hill-coolies were considered suitable due to their experience of working in the jungle, lands, their docile nature and simplicity. The recruiters on false promises could easily recruit them especially at the melas or village fairs. But their number gradually decreased after 1840s because of heavy mortality at sea and partly due to starting of the tea districts of Assam. Therefore, the main recruiting operations were pushed westward into Bihar and Uttar Pradesh regions. In the South India the main recruiting districts were Trichinopoly, Madurai, Tanjore, Coimbatore, Salam, Nellor, Hyderabad, Rajmuddry, Bangalore, Vijnanagaram and Madras (now Chennai).

The oppression of the landlords and money lenders made the poor hill people paupers and they became easy prey to the unscrupulous recruiters. They were not any different from those who sell management, engineering or medical education in the nation in the present time. Dalton says that they had a tradition of migration because of their abject condition.

In short, labour out migration has been a continuous phenomenon in our country and more correctly among the poor segments of the society. It should be kept in mind that migration being the movement of human being in pursuit of certain cherished objectives like better employment, better wages and better quality of life, there is apparently nothing wrong. However, the problem becomes of serious magnitude when such migration leads to human misery and exploitation.

Some Migration Studies

Normally migration of labourers from rural to urban areas has been viewed as an economic phenomenon, even though non-economic factors have some bearing. Primarily due to lack of employment in their area of origin, migration occurs. With the growth of urbanisation and industrialisation, the trend of migration within the country has increased significantly.
A study ‘Tribal Migration: A study in KBK Districts of Orissa’, by S.N. Tripathi (1998) has concentrated on migrants of sample tribal villages of Kalahandi, Bolangir and Malkangiri – the poverty stricken, drought ravaged tribal dominated districts of Orissa. These three districts have been selected as these districts are the most backward districts in the country known as, KBK districts.

Three villages in each block were covered in this study by random selection of two blocks from each district and than three villages from each block.

Data were collected from the migrant households of sample villages with the help of personal interview method through schedules and questionnaire. The questionnaire was specifically designed to collect data on variables like the level of income, employment, consumption pattern, health status, the level of education, awareness, exploitation, indebtedness, work-environment, working hours, wage discriminations, remittances, etc. Field work was done during different intervals during May-2003 to June-2004. Important conclusions of this study are as follows:

Causes of migration are found as under:

(1) They did not possess the needed resources to develop the limited land that they own and as a result, the barren land is left uncultivated for years. They are forced to work as agricultural labourers in the land of the big landlords of the same or adjoining villages.
(2) The employment being seasonal and the wages being low, they find it hard to make ends meet.
(3) Other causes include insufficient income, more expenses and indebtedness.
(4) Land acquisition for Mining Industries Projects have displaced these tribals from their original habitat, deteriorated their economic condition and made them landless, jobless and homeless.

Some of the findings of the study are:
(1) No remittance household constitutes 44.67 percent in this study.
(2) A migrant household’s remitting within ` 2000 to ` 3000 annually.
(3) 62 percent migrant household annual expenditure is in the range of ` 10,000 to ` 14,000.
(4) 31 percent Migrants households are cultivators, 47 percent are engaged as agricultural labourers and 14 percent are engaged in other works and business.

(5) 60 percent migrant households are landless.

(6) 90 percent migrant households are unemployed for more than four months in a year in their native villages.

(7) The system of advance payment during the recruitment of labour for employment is a continuous process.

(8) Development programmes do not generate employment, reduce poverty or even provide goods and services in proportion to investment made to reduce poverty and create employment.

As a result of which there is a vicious cycle of poverty, employment, indebtedness and migration in the districts of Kalahandi, Bolangir and Makangiri districts. Lack of employment and distressed condition of living compels tribal migrants to take advance from the contractors resulting in migration. This vicious circle continues as a blot on the planned measures.

‘The Pattern of Migration and Occupation in a South Gujarat Village’

I.P. Desai (1964) undertook a research on migration and prepared a monograph, “The Pattern of Migration and Occupation in a South Gujarat Village.” The study on migration in Parujan was a forerunner in the field of sociology of migration in India. It was based on a unique method of data collection namely case-history, analysis, group-interviews. On the basis of information he tried to analyse

- the magnitude and the rate of migration
- direction of migration
- change in occupation
- reaction of different social and occupational groups towards migration

The most important observation was that migration was related to social structure of the village and not to the availability of opportunities outside the village. He noticed an important social change in Parujan village, namely change in relationships between the individual and groups. The inter-caste relations were transformed into employer-employee relations governed by market forces. This affected the hierarchical feature of caste system. Thus there was a change in direction of industrial society as well.
This study is an important landmark in the history of Indian sociology.

Jan Breman (1985) has done a study on labour migration titled ‘Of Peasants, Migrants and Paupers’ dealing with the situation of South Gujarat district which is the most famous study and import landmark study on the subject. In this study, he wrote that landless labourers have no access to the centres of power and the isolation in which they find themselves is a part of their economic and social pauperism. If we take their rapidly growing numbers into account as well; a prognosis cannot be other than pessimistic. It seems unlikely that the Dublas will know better times soon. Their lives offer them no prospects of improvement and they show themselves indifferent to what the future may bring. It can never be better than it is today and that is not enough. He has used observation techniques of anthropology and questionnaires for collection of quantitative detail to enrich his qualitative analysis.

The economic situation of Dublas, miserable as it was has deteriorated even more. As landless labourers for whom work has become a godsend even when it does not bring in enough to make ends meet, they have been forced further into corner, and the situation does not offer much hope in near future.

This study puts emphasis on the poverty conditions of Halpatis in rural areas of Surat districts. The analysis of the study attributes the mounting discrepancy in welfare between the rich and the poorest of the poor mainly to the functioning of capitalist relations which have become increasingly dominant in the plains of South Gujarat. Breman mentions that in a rural society, dominated by capitalist forces, state protection extended to these poorest of the poor remains all but ineffective owing the fact that such powerless groups, lacking even solidarity organisations, can hardly benefit from protective measures administered from the centre.

A study on ‘Tribal Migration’ by Y.G. Joshi (1997) was sponsored by Department of Science and Technology, Govt. of India, New Delhi. This study is based on the primary data of 2280 households from 66 villages of the tribal district of Jhabua from Madhya Pradesh. It produces a factual analysis of nature, volume, direction and causes of tribal migration.

Seasonal labour migration is an important dynamic constituent of the contemporary tribal scenario of India. This study analyses the basic issue that the large scale migration is one of the survival strategies adopted by the tribals to save them from starvation in a scenario of the failure of the
local support system caused due to increasing population and dwindling command over resources.

Besides migration analysis, the study rigorously deals with the manpower planning aspects of these poor areas, keeping in view the philosophy that in risk-prone condition the basic requirement should be to provide year round stable sustenance based on local resources rather than going for large scale industrialisation. With this philosophy, an operational model of cluster planning, centered on tribal markets is devised. This model deals with manpower planning aspect by providing a mix of diversified options suited to socio-ecological conditions.

Y.G. Joshi (2002) in his paper 'Rural Development and Seasonal Migration in Gujarat Pattern, Determinants and Consequences' states that seasonal out-migration is very common among tribals inhabiting the hilly regions of Gujarat. This is a consequence of unbalanced resources endowment and development between regions. Seasonal migration has acquired momentum over last two-three decades, partly because of the decrease in the size of operational holdings, productivity and cropping intensity in hilly regions and partly because of the increase in demand for labourers for transplanting and harvesting crops in plain Gujarat where canal irrigation prevails. The author analyses the magnitude and determinants seasonal migration among households displaced by the construction of major irrigation dam in Panchmahals. The author has discovered that the incidence of seasonal mobility is higher among the households with larger family size, smaller size of holding, low level of irrigation, cropping intensity and productivity. Furthermore author reveals that most of the households are living below poverty line despite significant income is earned. Thus the overall picture of displaced households is that of stagnation and modernisation. As a measure for improving the situation, an effective implementation of the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana and the ‘right to work’ as a new employment strategy would substantially help them to break the vicious circle of migrating season after season of livelihood, he suggests.

4.7. Conclusion

The preceding discussion and review of literature portrays a rather gloomy picture on the efficacy of the strategy and developmental efforts of the state. The developmental programmes seem to have achieved only limited success in improving the quality of life of tribal people. In view of the huge diversities among tribal communities and regions, it is difficult to arrive at conclusion on different dimensions of tribal development.
There, it seems, are serious problems of (a) accessibility of different development programmes to the tribals, (b) nature and extent of tribals’ participation in the development process and (c) devolution of powers to the tribals in any real sense.

It is, therefore submitted that geographical conditions, status of economy, status of the tribals and resources base vary from one tribal area to another. This may require a situational approach if TSP is to become a success. Such an approach should take care of the above factors.

However, planning based on such situational approach alone may not guarantee success. Implementation is a very complex process especially in a country like India which has serious problems with its political economy which is enmeshed with inhuman and hierarchal social and religious structure. Actual implementation at the grass root level gets diluted largely by the interplay of various actors. In this game, without score the poor is always a loser and that so largely due to the structure mentioned above. There is reluctance on the part of Indian policy makers and planners to accept this simple but bitter truth. There is a minority of experts and activists who do talk about this even at the risk of being termed anti-development or even pro-violence.

The present development model as implemented assumes removal of poverty; underdevelopment and exploitation of tribals as the economy grows so at the grass root level where actual battle of benefits occurs. It is a battle in which strong stake holder tries to usurp all development benefits. Also the strong will try to see that the weak does not get any benefit even when envisaged so by the state, if required, by distortion. For example, area development programmes targeted towards poor get mutated in favour of general infrastructure development which may not be required by or to which poor do not have access. Another example is the employment schemes of the 90s and new millennium, which were used by the administration and leaders more for creation of general public assets with least concern for the employment generation.

It is also wrongly assumed that the present development process will take care of the poor fully irrespective of the structural problems. It may be so; but the process is likely to be painful: painful only for the poor. Will they have the patience? It seems they are not ready to wait if one ponders over the violence in the tribal areas. What if such ‘trickle down’ does not happen, which is quite likely in light of absence of structural changes? This attempt resumes significance in the light of some emboldening
radical though inadequate policy initiatives taken by India towards dismantling this structure in the last ten years. The notable among them and which brings rights with dignity to the poor are: right to Information, right to Employment, right to Education, rights to agriculture land in forest area, right to minor forest produce and insurance and distress assistance to the vulnerable population are path breaking and changes the track of development strategy as most of them are backed by law. The initiative under consideration and require mention are: mineral auction and revenue share to tribals, and humane land acquisition. (Times of India: 2nd August, 2011, pp 8)

The present study “An impact of Tribal Sub Plan Schemes on the Tribal Community with Special reference to district of The Dang” along with impact assessment of TSP, examines implementation from the policy perspective: context and content point of view along with the worldview, role and behaviour of various actors/stakeholders.