CHAPTER – I

INTRODUCTION
It is very natural to describe India as a 'melting pot' of races and tribes. Considering the enormity, magnitude and complexity of the problem it is really a very difficult task for the pre-historian and anthropologist to arrange the people and cultures of India in the chronological sequence of their appearance on this sub-continent. Fuch (1973) Rightly stores that over their subsequent history well up to the Aryan invasion is surrounded in obscurity.1

Though stone implements of pre-historic man have been found in various sites dating back to the lower Paleolithic period. So far no skeletal finds have been made of these earlier times. And the human fossil finds of later periods are 500 few and insignificant to enable us to draw any definite conclusion as to the racial history of India in prehistoric times. But it has now become an established fact that the aboriginal tribes in India are in most cases.2

It is now pretty clear that the aborigines of the Indian sub-continent do not from a uniform race. Entering India from various directions and from various regions of Asia, they also belongs to different races. It has not yet been possible to arrange the aboriginal tribes of India into definite racial groups.3
The Indus valley civilisation is most probably a genuine gradual growth on Indian soil, but an importation by immigrant foreigners establishing a colony in India. The sudden, almost explosive rise of this civilisation and its spontaneous growth may have several causes.  

The Republic period (2000 to 3000 BC) witnessed wild Aryan tribes pouring into the north-western parts of the country fighting not only among themselves but waging a war unto death against non-Aryan tribes. Indian tribes have nonlari torpid on the fringe of civilisation but have responded to 'static and dynamic' rhythms of history. It is part of the process of the fusion of races and cultures in the sub-continent of the growth of Hinduism and its amorphous mass of myths and legends, magic and religion traditions and customs.

Tribes contents in Indian life may be composed to an ice-berg in an ocean and these can be identified as much as the Aryan or the Dravidian, the erosion of tribal mass, ethnic and cultural and its absorption in the dominant society is a process working even today.

The process of fusion of Aryan and non-Aryan tribes continued. The later Vedic period (1000 to 600 BC) is marked by further working of the twin processes of emerging Hinduism, Aryanisation of the tribals and the tribalisation of the Aryan. Whatever their historical value, refer to tribals such as the Sudras,
Abhiras, Dravidas, Pulindas and Saboras or Saoras. Of these "Saboras are the most familiar and they are probably the only Tribe existing today. Whose earliest reference could be traced to Aitareya Brahmam".

During the earliest phase of historical period small tribals pockets were subjugated by invaders or indigenous imperial powers. The concept of mixed castes is only a fanciful and convenient Brahminical way of explaining this trend these so-called mixed castes were the supposed progeny of male of or begotten on the woman of another caste. A few of these, probably Brahminised tribes labelled as mixed castes were Nishadas who last during this period their earlier position and lived by hunting.

Some streams of Hinduism like Bhakti movement also affected the tribals such as munda, oraon etc. The roots of subsequent Bhagt movement among tribals could be traced to the vaishnava influence nothing illustrates more eloquently than the conversion of the Athons in Asian."

Now appear the British colonialists with their modern technology, new approach and vested interests. The advent of British rule meant opening up of tribal areas along the sea coast and in Bihar and Bengal. Another very sufficient point to be noted in this historical journey of the Indian tribals is the status of the three major religions of India. While Hinduism and Islam had
stopped short at the fringes (in most of the cases) Christianity penetrated deep into the tribal areas under the patronage of British rulers.

With the departure of British colonialists and rise of independent India, the tribal citizens of the country were promised a fair deal in some cases privileged to become partners in progress. Upliftment of the Tribals was an article of faith for our constitution makers.⁶

DEFINITION OF TRIBE:

Interestingly but sadly the anthropologists, sociologists, social workers, administration and such other people who have been involved with the Tribe and their problems either on theoretical plane or on practical grounds are still not on the same wave length regarding the concept and the definition of their subject matter. From 1917 through the 1931 census for instance, the nomenclature referring to tribes underwent successive modifications, involving primarily changes in descriptive objectives such as “aboriginal or depressed classes”. By the 1941 census, these qualifying objectives were dropped a practice continued after independence with the adoption of the nation of scheduled tribes or as they are commonly called Adivasi.⁷

The differences on the concept and definition of tribe have certainly narrowed down to an appreciable extent, but a theoretical discussion senses
imperative to understand this problem in its proper perspective. Here are a few definitions of ‘Tribe’ being used as the basis of discussion. A Tribe is a collection of families bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying a professing to occupy a common and is not usually endogamous, though originally it might have been so-imperial Gazetteer of India.

A Tribe is a group of people in a primitive or barbarous stage of development acknowledging the authority of a chief and usually regarding themselves as having a common ancestor.

- Oxford Dictionary

In its simplest form the Tribe is a group of bands occupying a contiguous territory or territories and having a feeling of unity deriving from numerous similarities in culture frequent contacts and a certain community of interest.

- Ralph Linton

A tribe is an independent political division of a population with a common culture.

- Lucy Mair

A tribe is a group united by a common name in which the members take a pride by a common language, by a common territory, and by a feeling that all who do not share this name are outsiders ‘enemies’ in fact.

- G.W.G. Huntingford

A Tribe is a social with territorial affiliation, endogamous, with no specialisation of functions, ruled by tribal offices, hereditary or otherwise, united in language or dialect, recognising social distance with other Tribes or castes, as it does in the caste structure following tribal traditions beliefs and customs.

- D.N. Majumdar
Ideally, tribal societies are small in scale, are restricted in the spatial and temporal range of their social, legal and political relations and possess a morality a religion and world-view of corresponding dimensions self-sufficiency lacking in modern society.

- L.M. Lewis

Majumdar rightly comments that when one looks into the definitions given by various anthropologists, one is bound to be impressed by the dissimilarity of their views as regards what constitutes a Tribe.

A major hurdle of defining a tribe is that related with the problem of distinguishing the Tribe from peasantry. It is no doubt possible to use the labels tribal and peasant for this type of social organisation and characterise one by contrasting it with the other. But in spite of all the effort invested by anthropologists in the study of primitive societies, there really is no satisfactory way of defining a tribal society.\(^9\)

The above discussion shows that it is not easy to define a tribe or a tribal society conclusively and any standardisation in this regard is very difficult to obtain. Hence the regional connotation of the concept of Tribe and focus attention on gaining standardisation within the Indian universe to solve our own problems.

Now let us examine the problem specially in the Indian context. F.D.Naik raises the problem in proper perspective by taking of the criteria and indices of the tribal life in specifically Indian setting.
Thus, Naik goes on to present his own criteria for a tribe which are as follows:

1. A tribe to be a ‘Tribe’ should have the least functional interdependence within the community.

2. It should be economically backward, which means
   - the full import of monetary economics should not be understood by its members
   - primitive means of exploiting natural resources should be used
   - the Tribe's economy should be at an underdeveloped stage.

3. There should be a comparative geographic isolation of its people from others.

4. Culturally members of a tribe should have a common dialect which may be subject to regional variations.

5. A tribe should be politically organised and its community panchayat should be an influential institution.

6. A tribe should have customary laws and its members might have to suffer in allow court because of these laws.

Naik further elaborates that a community to be a ‘tribe’ must have all these attributes. It might be undergoing acculturation, but the degree of acculturation will have to be determined in the context of its customs, gods language etc.
CONSTITUTION AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

The term ‘Tribe’ is nowhere clearly defined in the Constitution and in fact there is no satisfactory definition anywhere. Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission (1961) has made some important comments in this context. It says that to the ordinary man the word suggests simple folk in living in hills and forests to people who are a little better informed. To an administrator it means a group of citizens who are special responsibility of the President of India.10

The tribes or the Tribal communities or ports of or groups within tribe or tribal communities. This ambiguity sometime leads to confusion in classifying and identifying a tribal population for declaring it a Scheduled Tribe, but it should not be regarded as hindrance in implementing tribal welfare programmes. The responsibility for their welfare was placed on the popular governments through the President and Governors. The result of this major provision was far-reaching. Following is the description of various constitutional provision for the safeguard of Scheduled Tribe in the whole of India.

Article 46 to be one of the Directive Principles of State Policy. The same article further mentions the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe as particular varieties of category of the weaker sections of the people. Article 46 of the Constitution declares that

14
“the state shall promote, with special care, the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular, of Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribe and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation

- Other articles empower the President to make arrangements for the implementation of the high of ideals of Article 46.
- Article 244, empower him to declare any area, where there is a substantial population of Tribe people, as a Scheduled Area under the Fifth Scheduled or in Assam, as a Tribal Area under the Sixth Schedule.
- Article 339 lays down that “the executive power of the Union Government extends to the giving of directions to a State as to the drawing up and execution of schemes specified in the direction to be essential for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the State”.

- Article 275 of the Constitution provides for assistance to the States for the implementation of the provisions of the Constitution.

There shall be paid out of the consolidated fund of India as grants-in-aid of the revenues of a State such capital and reoccurring Sunis as may be necessary to enable that state to meet the costs of such schemes of development as may be undertaken by the State with the approval of the Government of India for the purpose of promoting the welfare of the Scheduled
Tribes in that State or raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas therein to that of the administration of the rest of the State."

Article 330, 332 and 334 provide for reservation of seats for Scheduled Tribe in the House of the People and the State Legislatures.

Article 335 provides for reservation in the services, the policy of the Government of India in regard to communal representation in the services immediately before the coming into force of the new constitution was that in appointments made by open competition 12.5 percent of the vacancies filled by direct recruitment were reserved for candidates belonging to the Scheduled Castes, the principal communities in the country were given opportunity in proportion to their population.

Article 15, 16 and 19 make it possible while legislating on any matter to take into consideration the special conditions of the Tribals in the matter of enforcing the provisions relating to the equality of all citizens. The object is to safeguard their interests and way of life. After enumerating the above mentioned provisions of the Constitution, it will be in the fitness of things to review the Governor's powers under Fifth Scheduled which go a long way in safeguarding the interests of the Tribal population in any realistic and concrete way.

The Fifth Scheduled of the Constitution gives certain powers and lays certain duties on the Governor of every state that has Scheduled Areas. Part B, Para 5 of the Fifth Scheduled says.
No regulation shall be made under this paragraph unless the Governor making the regulation has, in the case where there is a Tribes Advisory Council for the state, consulted such council;

Tribes Advisory Council: The Fifth Scheduled, Part B paragraph 4 provides for the compulsory setting up of Tribes Advisory Council in each state, having or nor having Scheduled Areas but containing Scheduled Tribes. It should consist of not more than twenty members of whom as nearly as three-fourths shall be the representative of the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly of the State.

The Tribes Advisory Council was intended to be a channel of discussion about the stages in which the laws and rules generally obtaining should be applied to the Tribal areas.¹¹

Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes:

Article 338 is one of the most important provisions in the Constitution prescribing the machinery for implementing the safeguards for the Scheduled Tribes and the programmes for their development. Its the medium through which the Union Government and Parliament ate kept informed of the progress in the implementation of the safeguards for the Scheduled Tribes and various schemes for their welfare. It is the duty of the Commissioner to
investigate all matters pertaining to the safeguards and report to the President at such intervals as directed by him. These reports are laid before both houses of Parliament.\textsuperscript{12}

**Constitutional Safeguards for Scheduled Tribe**

“To secure so all its citizens; justice, social economic and political, liberty of thought; expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and opportunity, and to promote among them all fraternity assuring the dignity of individual and unity or the Nations. There exists further need for providing additional statutory safeguard to certain ethnic groups declaring them as "Scheduled Tribe" – the status which automatically entitled them to some special privileges in addition. Right of equality, including prohibition of discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth is deviating from the ideals cherished in the Constitution.\textsuperscript{13}

The British Government inclined, on the whole, to leave the tribesmen alone partly because of the task of administration, especially in the wild border areas, was difficult and unrewarding, partly because a number of officers sincerely held the view that the people were better and happier as they were. Any careful reader of India history would agree to the fact, that the reverse is rather true. The main purpose of the British policy was to secure peace and not necessarily to help the people to advance on the road to progress either by
integration with the plains Hindus or otherwise. Consistently with keeping the peace, gradual survey settlement was carried out, and by slow stages regular and revenue was levied wherever and whenever possible.

Simultaneously with their general policy of isolation characterised by non-intervention or limited intervention under dire political need was their often convert and sometimes direct encouragement to the Christian missionary activities, in the Tribal areas. That was an activity of high spirited social service and reforms as a result of which many of the tribal areas had schools, hospitals etc. Although the 'Service for the suffering humanity is considered to be a duty for the Christian missionaries but at the same time it is coupled with the right of conversion' this resulted in the large-scale conversion of many tribal groups. Especially of the states in Eastern India, which had far-reaching implications. With the passage of time it become more and more opponent to the people here that the primary goal of the missionaries was conversion and "the opening of schools, hospitals and other welfare agencies only bait in the trap of conversion.

Contrasted with the British policy the present Government of India’s foremost concern which moulded its policy was securing the welfare and socio-economic upliftment of the tribal people. This has amply been demonstrated in the five fundamental principles of the Tribal development evolved by Pandit
Nehru, the former Prime Minister of India, who was directly concerned with the Tribal policy of North-East region.  

1. People should develop along the lives of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them.
2. Tribal rights in land and forest should be respected.
3. We should train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development.
4. We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes.

In the Constitution of India various Articles have been provided with the objects of promoting and safeguarding the interest of the Scheduled Tribe. In many states there are Scheduled Tribes living within the Scheduled Area. Besides "Tribal Areas have been declared in States of Assam and Meghalaya and the Union Territory of Mizoram. These areas are administered according to the provisions of the Sixth Scheduled to the Constitution.

1. the management of any forest not being a reserved forest.
2. the use of any canal or water course for the purpose of agriculture.
3. the regulation of the practice, of Jhum or other forms of shifting cultivation.
4. the appointment or succession of Chiefs or Headmen.
5. the inheritance of property.
6. Marriage
7. Social customs.

The District Council of an autonomous district many regulations for the regulation and control of money-lending or tracing within the district by person other than Scheduled Tribes resident in the District.

The Tribals who live in the Scheduled Areas receive special treatment though the areas where they are in majority, as a result Tribals of these scheduled areas enjoy more benefits than their brethren residing outside the scheduled areas. Thus, we are aware that Constitution has provided numerous statutory measures to uplift these groups who are at a less advanced stage than the one reached by other sections of the national community. “The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the Scheduled Tribes and protect them from social injustice and all forms of Exploitation”.

The definition of Tribe as it has emerged from attempts of scholars to study different facets of tribal life is – a social group usually with a definite area, dialect, cultural homogeneity and unifying social organisation. For a scientific definition of tribe, the greatest emphasis has to be placed on historical
perspective. A tribe is a stabled, endogamous community with a cultural and psychological make up going back into a distinct historical past. On the basis of their integration to and interaction with other sections of the society and their exposure to the mainstream life – they are at different stages of development.\textsuperscript{15}

Development of these tribal groups became one of the prime concerns of the policy-makers and leaders of Independent India. They showed considerable interest and care for the elevation of the living standards of these communities. Hence, steps were taken to bridge the existing gap between the tribal communities on the one hand and the relatively advanced brothers of the plains. Even much before the independence, the deplorable plight of the tribal folks had caught the sight of our leaders. A careful observer of the national movement cannot miss the concern and sympathy that were shown by our national leaders. After Independence the constitution makes greatly felt the necessity of providing viable and lasting, safeguards to protect the tribal interest.

Hence, they were constitutionally assured of protective and promotive measures. Specific provisions for the protection and development of tribal communities were incorporated in the constitution. the V and VI Schedules to the Constitution make special provisions for the administration of specified tribal areas and social legislation / regulations for such areas. Besides a number of other relevant provisions have been laid down in the Constitution which aim at
providing some protective discrimination in the favour of tribals and also safeguarding their interest in a corporate life. Apart from all these constitutional provisions, a number of policy decisions have been made with an intention to bring about rapid socio-economic development of the Tribals.  

The Colonial Policy of Segregation

The history of colonial rule in India justifies much their motive of exploiting the country of its valuable resources and draining it to their own country. They ruled India for about 200 years but never thought of becoming a part of Indian society, instead remained as perpetual foreigners and treated Indians with much arrogance and contempt. They could realise the potentiality of the tribal areas and the restricted the entry of outsiders or the people from the plains by making the tribal areas as partially excluded and excluded areas. Their intention was to keep the tribals in isolation. Cut off from the advanced brothers and to insulate those areas from the constant resistant and mass movement. The obvious reason was that they were afraid and the tribal’s revolutionary potentiality.

The infiltration of people from outside including the agreement of government and the missionaries started disrupting their social, economic and political life and their sample, primitive and self-sufficient economy. From here starts the superisation of the tribes and appropriation of their measures by
unscrupulous elements, it is the colonial rulers who stratified the tribal society by giving privileges to the global leaders who could satisfy their vested interests by exploiting the people of their own community in the name of their betterment, who are today branded as tribal elites their policy of segregation made them stagnant and deteriorating.\textsuperscript{17}

\textbf{Post-Independence Policy}

Even after independence, government continued the policy of segregation for sometimes. This was to combat exploitation of tribal areas by outsiders. But it was realised soon that with development keeping the tribes and tribal areas segregated was not feasible and desirable hence they immediately starts with assimilation policy. The policy of assimilation was also criticised severely because of its imposing nature. Imposing an alien culture on them resulted in a lot of communication and a new policy was chalked out the policy of integration, the process being more and take and respect of both the cultures. We have gone a long way with the policy of integration still much needs to be done which depends on the response of these communities.

The tribal development has been approached by the policy-makers and scholars in a number of ways. They are broadly the political approach, administrative approach, voluntary organisation approach – Missionary approach and anthropological approach. The achievement of Christian Missionaries in
tribal areas is remarkable. They have enhanced the literacy rate, developed a sense of cleanliness and hygiene among the tribes. The voluntary organisations have improved their economic condition, helped them in combating exploitation and made them to fight for their rights. Administrations have come up with literature on the problems of administering and developing tribal areas and the anthropologists suggesting measures for the healthy implementation of policies in tribal areas.

Anthropologists, sociologists, administrations and voluntary organisations have dealt with the problem of tribal development. The problem of backward area development has been a major concern of the planning process in India for many years and a number of policies and programmes for accelerating the development of these areas have been tried out.\textsuperscript{18}

**Plans and Tribal Development in India:**

Various efforts have been made during the plan periods for the tribal development of tribals. During the first five-year plan certain important problems such as poverty, lack of roads and communication facilities, shortage of drinking water and irrigation, education and health were considered. During the second five-year plan, development programmes in tribal areas were divided into four groups viz., (i) communication, (ii) education and culture, (iii) development of economy and (iv) health, housing and water supply.\textsuperscript{19}
National extension service blocks were demarcated on the basis of an average population of 25,000. In the most backward tribal areas, it was planned to set up 40 multi-purpose pilot projects during the Second Plan.\textsuperscript{20}

The Third Plan provided for expansion of tribal development blocks aiming at intensive and coordinated development of tribal areas on the general pattern of community development, but modified to suit tribal conditions and supplemented by additional resources.\textsuperscript{21}

An important dimension of tribal development in the Fourth Plan was to intensify protection of tribal population from exploitation by more sophisticated elements through legislative and executive measures. The entire issue of Tribal Development was critically reviewed on the eve of 5\textsuperscript{th} five-year plan and the issue of tribal development was broadly classified into two categories (a) in areas of tribal concentration and (b) for dispersed tribals.\textsuperscript{22}

In India about 65 percent of the tribals are living in areas of more than 50 percent of tribal concentration for whom tribal plans or sub-plans were prepared during the fifth plan. Generally the tribal sub-plan is much wider than the State and Central plan. The tribal sub-plan gives importance on the one hand to elimination of exploitation of scheduled tribes, especially in the fields of land alienation, money-lending forestry operation etc, and on the other hand to
the development of population and the area through plan schemes. So the basic objective is to speed up the process of social and economic development to build-up the inner strength of the tribal people and to improve their organisational capabilities.

In order to ensure effective implementation of the tribal sub-plan, 184 Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDPs), 227 pockets of tribal concentration known as Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) pockets, 73 micro projects for primitive tribal groups and 32 clusters have been established or identified in the country during sixth five year plan.23

The development of scheduled tribe has been given recognition in the 20-point programme, 1986. The Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) makes special provision for scheduled tribes. Similarly the National Rural Employment Programmes (NREP) and Rural Landless Guarantee Programme (RLEGP) prescribe a minimum 10 percent of the works taken up under these two schemes for the benefit of scheduled castes scheduled tribes.

Apart from the above, the scheduled tribes are given economic assistance for beneficiary-oriented schemes to raise their income through the ITDPs and other projects.
Educational development has been given top priority in the programmes of tribal development, as education is considered to be a potent agent not only for special and psychological changes but also in influencing productivity and economic development. The percentage of literacy among STs has risen from 8.54 percent in the 1961 Census to 16.35 percent as per 1981 Census. Apart from reservation in admission to various education institutions they are provided scholarships and loans. Special hostels are established for their residential accommodation.

The provision of adequate medical facilities in the tribal areas continues to be given high priority. The norms for establishment of primary health centres and subsidiary centres in tribal areas are more liberal more than other areas.

Efforts have been made over the years to eliminate the exploitation of tribals in the field of collection and sale of minor forest products by organising cooperatives at primary and State levels.

The Seventh and Eighth Finance Commissions have suggested to make special provisions for the improvement in the standards of administration in tribal areas through payment of compensatory allowances to the staff posted in
tribal areas, construction of staff quarters and provision of infrastructural facilities in selected tribal villages.\textsuperscript{24}

Tribal Research Institutes have been set up in various States, to take up research and evaluation in various fields connected with the welfare and development of tribes.

\textbf{A Critique and Perspective}

Despite of all such efforts and massive input, the results have fallen short of expectation as only a nominal benefits have reached the tribals.

The reasons of the failure of the tribal development programmes may be located at the overall policy level or within the nature of strategies that were developed to concretise the policy. Whether the fault lies with the development policy or programme implementation needs further discussion from different perspectives.

The process and degree of development is determined both in quantitative and qualitative terms. Although economic growth is an indication of development the concept development implies changes in several other sectors such as political, social, cultural and technological etc., which in a composite form mean the overall development of a community.
While taking of tribal development one has to redefine the concept of development in the specificities of tribal society. All plans for development have greater chances of success if the relevant cultural and social, factors are taken into account while formulating plans and programmes. Imposition of ideas and value frame of the planners or policy-makers as well as their own priorities on the tribal society without taking due note of the specific cultural traits of the tribals and their felt needs may frustrate the very purpose of the policy decision.

Each tribe has its distinctive pattern of living – but at the same time contacts with non-tribal people have made dent in the tribal cultural configuration. In this process each tribal area has reached a particular level of development and acculturation. Social structure of the developing societies whether conceived at the national or regional levels is inhibitive or real development. The benefits of increased investment in economic and social activities in these areas go to those who need them least.

The report of the study team on Tribal Development Programmes (p.82) states that the expectation that the industrialisation of the tribal areas would help in improving the economic conditions of the tribal communities have proved to be largely illusory – major industrial projects like the mammoth steel plants located in the tribal territory, far from providing employment opportunities to the tribals have operated to their detriment by uprooting them from their
hearths and homes and offering them no satisfactory alternative to the traditional methods by which they eked out a living in their old environment. The task force on development of tribal areas, 1972 constituted by the Planning Commission on the eve of the fifth plan after revising the past performance observed that in spite of investment for tribal development in the special sector of welfare of backward classes in the successive plans, special problems of tribals such as primitive methods of agriculture, land alienation, indebtedness, adverse effect of industrialisation, low rates of literacy, poor health and nutrition etc. have not been solved.

A fundamental weakness lies in the fact that the people for whom development is intended are not involved. It is however, clearly noted as experienced showed that area development programmes by themselves have not benefited tribal communities in the past, sometimes development had been at the cost of tribal interest.25

The programmes for the welfare and development of the tribal people so far have had a limited coverage. It seems that the usual gap between intent and implementation, a gap bridging of which is the prime concern of the overall policy decision on tribal development still exists.
Due to unplanned and spontaneous nature of tribal development programmes, various forces often acted at variance and instead of bringing about any improvement in the existing living conditions of the masses, further worsened them. That is not to say that there has been no planning and strategy the tribal development but the inherent loopholes in the planning generate a number of problems both at implementation level and at the time of final assessment. It leaves room for some spontaneous and haphazard programmes which are bound to end on failure.

Planners and administrators overlook the cultural background of the community and make desperate efforts to alter the way of life which is bound to meet with resistance.

The tribal problem as it appears is essentially a problem of backwardness. It is a two-fold problem of the backwardness of the areas which constitute tribals homeland and of the backwardness of the people themselves, wherever they may happen to live, Marx and Engels in their several writings about the East had however never reduced the problem of backwardness to a comparison with relatively advanced areas at the sphere of material production alone. According to them the chief indicator of backwardness was the stagnation of the social structure. Tribal society is characterised by precisely such social stagnation. 26
The strategies of tribal development adopted in India appear to bypass this pivotal issue. What is fundamentally wrong with the tribal development programme is a lack awareness of social dimension and the stunted vision on what needs to be done and how. The statutory reservations, discriminations, special provisions, guarantee of minimum needs etc., as a means of social change is, no doubt a welcome approach. But the reality is that the tribal plans in appearance look elegant and egalitarian, but in actual practice the approach is shabby and inequalitarian as now the areas of elite catchment have widened to enlightened towns of integrated social groups.

An Overview:

The tribal development strategy calls for a change and reshuffle in the administrative structure so as to move it towards those on whose behalf it is supposed to function. Otherwise it can only buttress social fragmentation.

Lack of interest in tribal development on the part of administrative and implementing personnel has also help up developmental process to a general extent. Moreover lack of training of the administrative personnel meant to implement the ambitious tribal development schemes has also been responsible for the poor development.
Developmental programmes meant for the tribals are uniformly planned. As a result the neediest tribal groups got the least benefit, those more advantageously placed in terms of population, size, economic strength and better education cornered most of the gains of development. Many of the development projects were expenditure oriented rather than need oriented. Thus it is evident that the developmental plan for the tribals should have a wide range of variability and should be formulated according to the felt needs of tribals of different types living in different parts of the country. Uniformity in the frames of plans being divorced from the needs of particular tribal communities has resulted in the failure. What is required is not a separate plan for each tribal group, but one based on comprehension of differing needs. The benefit should reach one and all not to a selected few. Further differentiation in tribal society should be checked and any unholy nexus between tribal leaders, better off tribals or administrative officer should not be allowed to develop. The plans should be more need based, comprehensive and decentralised in specific applications. The participation of the mass in the implementation of various programmes should be ensured.
REFERENCES


5) Ibid., P.3.


8) Majumdar, D.N., Pseudo Rajputs, Mart in India, June-September 1926, PP.152-160.


12) Ibid., P.25.


14) Ibid.


22) Ibid. Fifth Five Year Plan, 1974.

23) Ibid. Sixth Five Year Plan, 1980.

