

## Chapter VI

### LAND, AGRICULTURE AND ALLIED ACTIVITIES

In the case of tribal communities, whose means of livelihood are almost entirely confined to primary activities, the extent and the nature of their agriculture land holdings is an important indicator, other things being the same, of their economic status and general well being.<sup>1</sup> Most of the tribal communities in India, like others, not only consider land as their dependable source of livelihood but also as the foundation of social prestige. Social status among the tribals is measured in terms of land ownership, particularly possession of hereditary land. Furthermore, land is sometimes linked with the perception of groups of tribal people with their autonomy. Land is useful to them in several ways: (a) as a source of food gathering and hunting, and (b) as a place to live and work.<sup>2</sup>

6.02 The complexity of land problem of the tribals stems from: (a) nature of association of the tribal population with their lands; (b) frequent loss of control of the communities over these resources on the introduction of the new land use pattern; (c) self image of the tribal elites and their perception about their actual or potential role in the decision making process at various levels of the national life; (d) conflict between traditional and modern elite in the perception of goal of economic and social development, and (e) absence of political preparation for changing production relations, stalemate in productive resources, production technology, but rapid change in

consumption norms.<sup>3</sup>

6.03 The policy implications of the types of relations with land are diverse. They are based on: (a) an understanding of the structure and organisation of customary rights; (b) changes under the impact of contact, technological change, government policy, growth of ideology and other measures, and (c) review of the legislative and executive measures with reference to recognition of the customary rights in land and forests, survey and settlement operations and preparation of records of rights, protection against land alienation, concession and facilities for development of land, restoration of alienated land, priority in settlement of land, elimination of exploitation including exactions by middlemen, collecting agents etc. and other measures.<sup>4</sup>

#### The Homestead Lands :

6.04 The following is the distribution of sample tribal households according to their possession of homestead lands.

**Table 6.1: Homestead land-wise distribution of Tribal Respondents**

Size of land possessed (in Katta)	Beneficiaries	Non-Benef.	Total
Nil	05(03.85)	02(06.67)	07(04.38)
1 - 5	71(54.62)	11(36.67)	82(51.25)
6 - 10	34(26.15)	09(30.00)	43(26.87)
11 & above	20(15.38)	08(26.66)	28(17.50)
Total	130(100.00)	30(100.00)	160(100.00)

It would be seen from the table that out of 160 tribal households canvassed for the study, as many as 07(4.38 percent) did not have homestead land of their own. They were staying either on rent or with their relatives, friends and others.

Majority of tribal households(51.25 percent) had homestead land having size only of 1 to 5 kattas while other 71(44.37 percent) had size of their homestead land of 6 kattas or more. Of all these 22 households at Sadhramjot were assignees of vested land. However, they were not issued of 'pattas'(certificates) for their possession, till the date of field investigation on this study. The tribal Panchayat member of the area anticipated the possibility of getting them soon from the concerned government department. It may also be noted that, except two, all the tribal houses were hutments of big or small sized. Two small dwelling houses were constructed by the government under the Indira Awas Yozana, a programme of the IRDP meant for the poorest of poor belonging to the SCs and STs and freed bonded labourers in the rural areas.<sup>5</sup> These were located one each at Panchkalguri and Mirjangla of the studied ITDP mouzas.

#### **The Operational Land Holdings :**

6.05 The respondents have been distributed below according to their operational land holdings. They have been broadly grouped as Marginal, Small, Medium farmers etc. on the basis of their quantum of lands (shown in the corresponding brackets in the table). This is also separately presented as 'irrigated' and 'unirrigated' lands. The irrigated lands for the purpose of this study include any lands irrigated either by wells or canals or other sources except rainwaters. It may also be noted that, in the state of West Bengal, farmers have been identified possessing agricultural land holdings either upto 0.50 hectare(irrigated) or 1.00 hectare (unirrigated) as Marginal Farmers; and upto 1.00 hectare (irrigated) or 2 hectare (unirrigated) as Small Farmers.

<sup>6</sup> The distribution of tribals operational land holdings in major

size group which were irrigated, is furnished in the following table:

**Table 6.2: Irrigated Land-wise Distribution of Tribal Households**

Size groups (area in hectares)	Beneficiaries	Non-Benef.	Total
Nil	127(97.69)	30(100.00)	157(98.13)
Marginal(upto0.50)	01( 00.77)	-	01(00.62)
Small (0.51 - 1.00)	02( 01.54)	-	02(01.25)
Semi Medium and others(1.01 & above)	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>130(100.00)</b>	<b>30(100.00)</b>	<b>160(100.00)</b>

It is evident from the table above that almost 98.13 per cent tribal households did not possess irrigated agricultural land . Only 3 houses informed possessing irrigated land but each of them had only less than 1 hectare in size. It may also be observed that not a single non-beneficiaries households possessed irrigated land to cultivate.

6.06 The following table, on the other hand presents the distribution of the respondents' households possession of unirrigated agricultural land according to size groups.

**Table 6.3 : Unirrigated land wise Distribution of Tribal Households**

Size groups (area in hectares)	Beneficiaries	Non-Benef.	Total
Nil	37(28.46)	03(10.00)	40(25.00)
Marginal(upto 1.00)	63(48.46)	13(43.33)	76(47.50)
Small (1.01 - 2.00)	22(16.92)	13(43.33)	35(21.88)
Semi Medium (2.01 - 3.00)	06(04.62)	01(03.34)	07(04.38)
Medium(3.01 - 4.00)	01(00.77)	-	01(00.62)
Medium & above (4.01 & above)	01(00.77)	-	01(00.62)
<b>Total</b>	<b>130(100.00)</b>	<b>30(100.00)</b>	<b>160(100.00)</b>

It may be observed from the table that 40(25 per cent) of the respondent households did not have even unirrigated

agricultural land. They were mostly agricultural or other labourers or pursuing some other occupations. While of those who possessed such unirrigated agricultural lands 47.50 per cent were marginal farmers and 21.88 per cent small. Only 9(5.62 per cent) were farmers having more than 2 hectares of unirrigated operational land. In case of non-beneficiary households as many as 26(86.66 per cent) were identified as marginal and small cultivators.

#### Nature of Lands:

6.07 The table below shows the nature of lands possessed by the beneficiary and non-beneficiary households:

**Table 6.4: Distribution of Nature of Tribals' Lands**

Sl.No.	Nature of Land	Beneficiaries	Non-Benef.	Total
1.	Nil(without land)	10(07.70)	02(06.67)	12(07.50)
2.	Recorded land	48(36.92)	19(63.33)	67(41.88)
3.	Benami(vest)	12(09.23)	01(03.33)	13(08.12)
4.	Govt.assigned	39(30.00)	01(03.33)	40(25.00)
5.	Barga(shared)	15(11.54)	04(13.34)	19(11.88)
6.	Recorded & vested	02(01.54)	01(03.33)	03(01.87)
7.	Recorded & assigned	03(02.30)	02(06.67)	05(03.13)
8.	Recorded & shared	01(00.77)	-	01(00.62)
Total		130(100.00)	30(100.00)	160(100.00)

It shows that 12(7.50 per cent) of respondent beneficiary and non-beneficiary tribals had neither homestead nor the agriculture land of their own. 41.88 per cent had recorded and 8.12 per cent had only *benami* or vest land without any record of right. Besides these, 25 percent tribals were assigned lands by government. This indicates that these tribals were beneficiaries of land distribution programme of the State Government undertaken as a part of Land Reforms programme out of implementation of land ceiling laws existing in this state. <sup>7</sup> But it was also informed by 28 of the assignees of the vest land that they did not possess

any *patta* (certificate) in support of their possession. They, however, anticipated to possess them in near future. 11.88 per cent of the tribal households informed of cultivating 'barga' or shared land on the basis of sharing 50:50 of the harvested crops. The rest of the tribal cultivators possessed lands combining two or more of recorded, vested, assigned and shared. Among the non-beneficiary tribal households the cultivators mostly (63.33 per cent) had the recorded lands. This implies that the non-beneficiary households should have been assisted with institutional finance from the nationalised banks which they were denied so far.

6.08 It may also be relevant here to state that not a single tribal household reported practicing *jhum* or 'shifting cultivation' as found in other parts of tribal habitations in the country.

#### **Land Reforms:**

6.09 The objectives of the national land reforms policy are: (i) abolition of intermediary tenures; (ii) tenancy reforms aimed at security of tenure, regulation of rent and conferment of ownership rights on tenants; (iii) ceiling on landholdings and distribution of surplus lands; (iv) consolidation of holdings; (v) compilation and updating of land records. <sup>8</sup>

6.10 In consonance with the objectives of the national land reforms policy, the Government of West Bengal undertook manifold works and activities under the Tribal Sub-Plan during the period of study. The following are the important aspects related to the land reforms measures for protecting and promoting tribals hold in their lands:..

- (i) updating land records of the tribal people;
- (ii) conferment of the land rights on the tribal people;
- (iii) restricting alienation of tribal lands;
- (iv) restoring tribal lands illegally appropriated by others;
- (v) giving free legal aids to the tribal people; and
- (vi) rendering financial assistance to the tribal people for enabling them to utilise their lands by cultivation or by any other means. <sup>9</sup>

### Operation Barga

6.11 Under the West Bengal Land Reforms Act, 1955, a share cropper (bargadar) is entitled to 75 per cent of the produce if he provides inputs of the cultivation. Otherwise the crop is shared between the land-owner and the bargadar on a 50:50 basis. A bargadar has heritable right of cultivation, though he has no ownership right. No bargadar can be evicted except through the process of law and that too on limited grounds, like failure on his part either to cultivate the land personally or for bringing the land under personal cultivation of the landowner for *bona fide* reasons. Even so, no bargadar will be evicted by the process of law so as to reduce the aggregate area of land cultivated by him to less than one hectare. Similarly a bargadar has a ceiling on the total holding he can cultivate either as a bargadar or as a raiyat or both. Though the law stipulated a rider of 'bona fide reasons' for resumption of land for personal cultivation it provided almost a *carte blanche* for the land-owners for eviction of the bargadars.

6.12 The Government of West Bengal brought in two amendments under the West Bengal Land Reforms Act in 1977. One related to

the restriction on resumption of land for personal cultivation. To resume for personal cultivation the land-owner has to live for the greater part of the year in the locality. He has to have his principal source of income from agriculture and he has to cultivate the land to be resumed himself and not by hired labour. It implies that there cannot be an easy resumption on the plea of personal cultivation.

6.13 The second amendment removed another deficiency in existing law. It related to the identification of bargadar. Before a bargadar could claim the the protection of law he has to cross the primary hurdles of establishing himself as a bargadar. A bargadar could hardly afford the costly and time consuming quasi-judicial process of establishing his identity. Under this amendment a person lawfully cultivating the land of another is presumed to be bargadar if such person is not a member of the family of the other person whose land he cultivates. The burden of proving that such a person is not a bargadar shall lie on the landowner. This amendment giving a presumption in favour of bargadar and shifting the onus of rebuttal to the landowner had brought a sea change in the technique of identification and recording of bargadars and has provided the legal frame of the massive **Operation Barga**.<sup>10</sup>

6.14 As such, as a part of the Land Reforms measures a sizable number of bargadars have been recorded in the record of rights prepared throughout the state under the the process of 'Operation Barga'. Though this programme has an universal coverage the main thrust is to provide the weaker section of the croppers including Scheduled Tribe cultivators, with documents

for security and title. Apart from this, as stated earlier, there has also been land distribution programme from out of vested lands coming into the fold of the State Government as a result of implementation of land ceiling laws. Beside these, homestead lands have also been distributed to landless tribals with the implementation of West Bengal Acquisition of Homestead Land for Agricultural Labourers, Artisans, and Fisherman Act, 1975.

6.15 The following table shows the number of recorded bargadars, beneficiaries of vested agricultural lands and homestead lands for all communities in general and Scheduled Tribes in particular of the State and the District under this study ( as on 31.12.1987)

**Table 6.5: State and District wise Distribution of Beneficiaries of Different Types of Lands.**

Sl No.	Nature of Beneficiaries	Total No. in W.Bengal		Total No. in Darj.	
		All commun.	STs	All Commun.	STs
1.	Recorded Bargadars	13,79,134	1,65,838	12,879	3,042
2.	Vested Agri. Lands	17,26,517	3,28,779	34,432	9,837
3.	Homestead Lands	2,32,159	44,831	3,845	834

Source: Das, A.K., and R.N.Saha, West Bengal SCs and STs: Facts and Information, Special Series No.32, Bulletin of the Cultural Research Institute, SC&TW Deptt., Govt. of W.B., Calcutta 1989, pp 164-166.

6.16 It needs to be emphasized here that mere recording the names of the bargadars in the record-of-rights or distributing vested agricultural lands to the assignees will not solve the economic problem of the downtrodden unless they are given necessary financial support needed for cultivation at least to start with in order to bring them out from the clutches of the vested interests and make them economically self reliant. Most of

the land that was being allotted to them were fallow and needed continuous nursing for a number of years.

6.17 The Scheduled Tribes bargadars and assignees of vested agricultural lands have, however, been covered through the institutional finance under the Tribal Sub-Plan. Under the scheme, each such tribal family was entitled to an assistance of Rs.770 per acre subject to the upper limit of one hectare for cultivation of improved traditional variety of paddy. Out of this total amount, Rs.250 was provided as outright grant, and the balance as institutional finance from nationalised banks at D.R.I. The same set of people were eligible for continued assistance for five terms, *Rabi* and *Khariff* season constituting a separate term. It was however, accepted that even though, the scheme rendered some sort of assistance to the bargadars and assignees of vested lands, the measures of assistance coupled with financial outturns, did not, as a matter of fact, solve their economic problem and enabled them to cross the poverty line.<sup>11</sup> The problem has further been looked into subsequently.

6.18 It is also understood that even in the areas where operation barga was launched there were many left out bargadars whose names could not be recorded. In this study out of 19 bargadars, 13 (68.4 per cent) did not go for recording of their names, while only 6 together from Panchkalguni and Fulbarichhat ITDP mouzas informed to have recorded at the instance of 'Kishan Sabha' and Panchayata. The primary reasons for not recording appeared to be - low level awareness among tribals, their simplicity, fear of their age old relations being soured with the landowners etc. Thus the bargadars were still afraid of their names to be recorded as sharecroppers. There were

also some cases of injunctions issued by the High Court against bargadars who were unable to defend the cases for various reasons among which poverty and lack of proper knowledge and guidance were most important.<sup>12</sup>

6.19 The success of 'Operation Barga' depended much upon the party organisation( constituents of ruling Left Front ). Where the party was strong , the programme was doing well; where the party was weak, the success was more limited. Active involvement of party, however, minimized bureaucratic corruption while short-circuiting the bureaucrat-land-lord alliance. In other words, the role of party was central in overcoming socio-structural and bureaucratic obstacles, enabling the government's reformist intervention to achieve a modicum of success.

6.20 The members of the party and the bureaucracy blamed each other for the shortcomings, while claiming the successes. A more complex pattern was at work. The obstacles were rooted in the social structure, the lower level of bureaucracy, and the uneven development of the party. Conversely, the forces pushing towards success were the result of momentum generated by the top government leaders and bureaucrats, as well as by the action of the party and *'the Kishan Sabha'*. The role of the party itself was central. Because where party development was uneven, so was the success of 'Operation Barga'.

6.21 In 1978, along with the launching of massive programme of 'Operation Barga', Panchayat system was also started with great promises in W.B. The revenue bureaucracy worked quite closely with the Panchayats and succeeded in recording the names of 1.2 million share croppers in three years or so. 'Operation

Barga' was a bureaucracy led state wide activity with which the newly elected Panchayat assisted themselves and established their credentials with the poor. But when the official 'Operation Barga' petered out, the Panchayats failed to evolve a programme of their own to carry on land reforms to its logical end. According to an estimate of the Govt.<sup>13</sup> there were about 2 million bargadars. The total number recorded so far is around 1.4 million. About half a million have yet to be recorded. The Panchayat did not show either any enthusiasm or even any inclination to complete this job as a programme of their own. The Panchayat also failed singularly in the matter of distribution of vested lands. According to aforesaid Report, the total amount of agricultural vested land free from Court injunctions, on Jan 1, 1982 was 3,52,799 acres. Between Jan 1, 1982 and Sept 30, 1992 the total land distributed was only 94,031 acres leaving a balance of 2,58,768 acres.<sup>14</sup>

6.22 It is however, reported that one of the effects of this Operation and the reduction in the land ceiling per family has been that it has increased the bargaining power of the landless labourers but at the same time the landlords have parceled out their land in the name of their relatives.<sup>15</sup>

#### **Transfer of Lands:**

6.23 Land alienation is one of the most complex problems in the tribal areas. The dispossession of the tribals from their land has become quite common. Due to economic backwardness, the tribals often have to mortgage their land or sell their land as a result of which they became landless.<sup>16</sup>

The loss of land from the tribal hands could be for discharge of loan liabilities incurred as a consequence of perpetual subsistence economy or due to legal lacunae. At any rate, land alienation in tribal areas has been continuing, unresolved, and serious problem since it means loss of their resource base.<sup>17</sup> Most of the state governments have enacted laws to prohibit transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals. Provisions to restore the alienated land to the tribals have also been made. The West Bengal Land Reforms Act, 1955, as amended from time to time imposes restriction on alienation of tribal land. Similarly, the West Bengal Restoration of Alienated Land Act, 1973, makes provisions for restoration of their illegally alienated lands. Provisions relating to alienation of tribal land were incorporated in Chapter II A of the West Bengal Land Reforms Act, 1955. This Chapter was added to the principal Act by an amendment made in 1965.<sup>18</sup> Further amendments were made to this Act subsequently in 1971, 1972, and 1977 which sought to restrict *malafide* and *benami* transfers of tribal lands and provided for speedy restoration.<sup>19</sup> However, certain loopholes and lacunae were still detected, and therefore to plug this effectively, a few additional provisions were inserted in Chapter II A of this Act by the West Bengal Land Reforms( Amendment ) Bill, 1981. The Bill was, however, reserved by the Governor of the State for the assent of the President<sup>20</sup> which was given to only after 5 years. Provision has also been made for free legal aid to the tribal people for restoration of their illegally alienated lands. Under the provision of the Act, the Revenue Officer will be a party to any land suit involving the tribals. But in spite of legislative and executive measures taken to prohibit transfer of lands belonging to STs to non-tribals,

alienation of tribal lands continued in varying degrees in the tribal areas in various States including West Bengal.<sup>21</sup>

6.24 Information in respect of lands sold, purchased and mortgaged were collected from the sample tribal households. In addition, the views of the knowledgeable officials of the interviewed personnels were also obtained on the problem of transfer of tribal lands. The information thus gathered from the sample tribal households and selected officials have been examined here with a view to furnishing idea about the extent and incidence of land alienation amongst tribals. It may be mentioned here that out of the total 160 tribal households investigated for this study, 48(30 percent) were found involved in sale, purchase and mortgage of their cultivated lands during the reference period. The following table shows the nature and extent of transfer of tribal land:

**Table 6.6: Distribution of Tribal Households according to transfer of Land**

Sl No.	Nature of transfer	To/from tribal	To/from non-tribal	To Financial institutions	Total
1.	Sold	06(12.50)	02(04.17)	-	08(16.67)
2.	Purchased	08(16.66)	02(04.17)	-	10(20.83)
3.	Mortgaged	13(27.08)	07(14.59)	09(18.75)	29(60.42)
4.	Purchased & Mortgaged	01(02.08)	-	-	01(02.08)
Total		28(58.32)	11(22.39)	09(18.75)	48(100.00)

6.25 It will be observed from the table that altogether 8(16.67 per cent) cases of cultivable land were reported of being sold. This included 12.50 per cent to tribals while 4.17 percent to non-tribals. On the other hand, 20.83 per cent of tribals involved in land transfer in fact purchased lands. These were mostly( 16.66 per cent) purchased from the tribals themselves

while only 4.1 per cent from the non-tribals. But of all, the cases of mortgaging were very high accounting to 60.42 per cent. Moreover, while institutional mortgaging was limited only to 18.75 per cent, non-institutional mortgaging or ezra accounted for 41.67 per cent. In other words, in the cases of ezra or mortgaging to other individuals and not to an institution, the owner-cultivator ceases to cultivate his land during the period of mortgage. This is very alarming because this implies that the poor tribal cultivators mortgaging their land on 'ezra' do not derive any income from the said land during the mortgaged period. This adversely effects financial condition of the poor cultivators. In spite of the obvious disadvantages, poor cultivators were used to it and generally availed it more easily whenever required than pursuing a rigid and complex procedure for getting institutional finances. Moreover, the financial institutions generally did not advance credit for consumption or ceremonial purposes which tribals needed occasionally. The government should promote institutional lending among tribals by simplifying the procedure of credit advancement and even for meeting the consumptional and ceremonial requirements against mortgaging of their land documents, so that leasing out the lands on ezra can be considerably minimised.

6.26 The table, however, reveals that the transfer of land --sale, purchase and mortgage together, took place among the tribals themselves (58.32 per cent). But at the same time, sale and mortgage of tribal lands to non-tribals were also not less. It accounted for 22.93 per cent in spite of the legal restrictions imposed on the alienation of tribal lands.

**Size of Land involved in Transfer:**

6.27 The table below reveals the size of land involved in the transfer of land of the selected tribal households:

**Table 6.7 : Distribution of size of Tribal Lands involved in Transfer**

Size of Land(in hectares)	No. of Households
Up to 0.50	36( 75.00)
0.51 - 1.00	07( 14.58)
1.01 - 1.50	03( 06.25)
1.51 - 2.00	-
2.01 & above	02( 04.17)
Total	48(100.00)

It may be seen from the table that as many as 36(75 per cent) of cases under the transfer of tribal land were below 0.50 hectares in size while 20.83 per cent of cases had land holdings ranged from 0.51 to 1.50 hectares. The other two cases involved more than 2 hectares of operational land which were reported of being mortgaged with financial institutions in order to avail loan for the cultivation of pineapples.

**Amount involved in Transfer of Land:**

6.28 The following table represents the actual amount involved in the transfer of land:

**Table 6.8: Distribution of Amount involved in Transfer of Tribals Land**

Amount ( in Rs. )	No. of households
1 - 500	07( 14.58)
501 - 1000	11( 22.92)
1001 - 1500	08( 16.67)
1501 - 2000	04( 08.33)
2001 - 2500	04( 08.33)
2501 - 3000	02( 04.17)
3001 - 4000	03( 06.25)
4001 - 5000	03( 06.25)
5001 & above	06( 12.50)
Total	48(100.00)

It will be observed from the table that most of the tribal households (62.50 per cent ) had transferred their land for an amount up to Rs.2000 only, that even nearly 15 per cent of households transferred for a mere amount of Rs.500 only. It may also be relevant here to mention that 8 cases of lands sold in the previous table (No.6.6) reported of being sold involving altogether 8 hectares in size and an amount of Rs.39,200 in total. Therefore, on computation it appears that on an average one hectare of operational land was sold in exchange of Rs.4,900 only.

**Reasons for Transfer of Land:**

6.29 An attempt has been made in the table below to identify reasons for the transfer of tribal lands as reported by the concerned respondents.

**Table 6.9: Reasons for Transfer of Tribals Land**

Sl. No.	Reasons of Transfer of Lands	No. of household responded
1.	To avail crop loans and extension of agricultural land	17( 35.42)
2.	To purchase bullocks for ploughing	08( 16.67)
3.	To construct Gobar Gas Plant	01( 02.08)
4.	To meet expenditures of sickness and medical care of family members	07( 14.58)
5.	To meet expenses of marriage/death ceremonies	03( 06.25)
6.	To meet consumption expenditures	03( 06.25)
7.	For both consumption and productive expenses	02( 04.17)
8.	For both consumption and ceremonial expenses	01( 02.08)
9.	For both medical and consumption expenses	03( 06.25)
10.	Others	03( 06.25)
Total		48(100.00)

It appears from the above table that in cases of 26 (54.17 per cent) tribal households land were transferred or mortgaged for meeting the expenses of productions. While 14.58 per cent of respondents stated that alienation of land was for the purposes of meeting the expenses on medical and health care, while other 6.25 per cent for meeting the expenses of marriage or death ceremonies. Remaining 31.25 per cent informed of more than a number of reasons for their lands being alienated. These also included for meeting the daily consumptional requirements. Most of the tribals could not meet the emergency expenditures on ceremonies and even the consumptional needs, because of their subsistence economy. Further, they needed money for meeting their primary expenses on cultivation, its extension and purchasing ploughing cattle etc.

#### **Officials' views on Alienation of Tribal Land:**

6.30 Officials' view was sought on the extent of alienation of tribal land. According to the senior State level officers of the SC&TW Department, the State Government had enacted and amended the West Bengal Land Reforms Act, 1955 to

safeguard the interest of tribals and had also taken administrative action to effectively implement this legislation. The loopholes appeared earlier have been plugged by amending the necessary provisions of the Act. Moreover, measures were also taken for the restoration of alienated land, under the West Bengal Restoration of Alienated Land Act, 1973. Since the enactment of this Act, the tribal land alienation cases were reported to have declined and steps were taken by the Government for restoration of them. Das and Saha (1989;112)<sup>22</sup>, quoting official sources, reported quantum of land transferred and restored year wise in the following table:

**Table 6.10: Distribution of size of Tribal Land Transferred and Restored in the State.**

Years	Land transferred (in acres)	Land Restored (in acres)
1974-75	1,465	299
1979-80	19	32
1984-85	218	45

Besides, the Government reports also recorded "the cases of *malafide* and illegal transfers of land made at the cost of a simple tribal; a good number of which are still avoiding detection".<sup>23</sup>

6.31 The official respondents of the Project area expressed their views on the question whether alienation of tribal land still persisted. The responses have been projected in the following table:

**Table 6.11: Distribution of Official Views on Persistence of Alienation of Tribal Land.**

Nature of responses	No.(percentage) of responses
Agreed	12( 19.35)
Disagreed	20( 32.26)
Undecided	22( 35.48)
No response	08( 12.91)
<b>Total</b>	<b>62(100.00)</b>

It may be observed from the table that only 19.35 per cent of the official respondents 'agreed' with the existence of the problem of land transfer among the tribals. However, 32.26 per cent of them 'disagreed' on the problem. They viewed that the restrictions imposed by the legislations had prevented the alienation of tribal lands, though some of them pointed out the prevalence of mortgaging of the lands to other tribals or non-tribals to meet their occasional requirements. On the other hand, 35.48 per cent remained 'undecided' on the question and 12.91 per cent gave 'no response'.

6.32 This implies that over the years, the alienation of tribal lands in accordance with the official records had declined possibly because of the restriction imposed by the legal enactments. But nearly 20 per cent of 'agreed' responses and a sizable numbers of 'undecided' responses indicate the existences of the problem in disguise or beyond the official detection. Thus, these officials afraid of the persistence of the problem expressed.

6.33 The important reasons cited by the officials about the problem may be summed up as : (i) Illiteracy, ignorance, timidness and poverty among the tribals; (ii) unawareness among the tribals about the existence of the legislative measures

preventing alienation of tribal lands, restoration of the alienated lands, and provisions of legal aid etc.; (iii) unofficial or *benami* transfer taking place through the *modus operandi* of mortgaging of land; (iv) by encroachment or without violating the provisions of law [such encroachment was also reported by the tribal inhabitants of Nunujot (Hetmuri-Singejhora G.P.) ITDP area by the nearby tea garden to extend the tea plantation]; (v) lack of effective enforcement of legislative measures; (vi) transfer in the name of tribal spouse, servant and others of a non-tribal individual and etc.

6.34 It may also be mentioned that not only the tribals were often unaware of the various enactments and protective measures taken by the government to protect their interests but also because of their extreme poverty and illiteracy the tribals were not able to avail of the protection provided to them. Obviously, outsiders-- money-lenders, shopkeepers and contractors etc.-- were able to acquire some land in tribal areas from non-tribals without directly violating the provisions of law. Land transfers, *benami* or unofficial, were made possible by these elements primarily through the methods of mortgaging or leasing out. At the same time it was also found out that the restriction on transfer of tribal land had put some needy tribals into difficulty in case when they were unable to sell out their land without transferring it to another tribal even at a low price or in such a situation when they were in dire need of money for expenditure purposes. Thus a view persisted among the officials that enactment of laws was not enough to deal with the problem. Measures to strengthen the educational and economic bases of the tribals should be effectively tackled

to counter such problems.

6.35 The Working Group on Development and Welfare of Scheduled Tribes during the Eighth Five Year Plan(1990 - 95) observed, " It has been found out that the STs are generally unaware of the protective laws in respect of alienation of lands. Even in States where awareness is more, the tribals' poverty and the cumbersome process of law prevented recourse to the legal process." It further observed," the unscrupulous money-lending and the unproductive quality of land in the TSP areas were prime causes of alienation of tribals' lands".<sup>24</sup>

6.36 The Working Group, however, suggested, for " eliminating exploitative practices and improvement in the productivity of lands. Further, a campaign should be undertaken to make the tribals themselves aware of their rights and modes of legal redressal. Given the existing level of awareness and economic situation of the tribals, they cannot be expected to approach the competent authority for restoration of alienated lands. A suitable machinery should be established for *suo moto* action to detect alienation and active legal process. The machinery need not necessarily be governmental. It could be a voluntary organisation or an organisation of tribals or a panchayat or any other non-governmental organisations. such organisations should be given legal recognition. .... The scope of 'transfer' should also be widened to include fraudulent or collusive transfer, transfers in favour of ST spouses of non-tribals, ST ploughmen or servants, encroachments, forcible dispossession, acquisition with bogus adoption deed in the name of transferee, bogus ST certificates, suppression of information about tribe status, consent decree,

declaratory suits, relinquishment, transfer by adverse possession etc."

**Agriculture:**

6.37 The contribution of agriculture towards economic development of an area is pivotal and can, in no way, be minimised. The importance of agriculture in Indian economy can also be seen from the fact that agriculture accounts for about half of the country's national economy and employs 70 per cent of its labour force.<sup>25</sup> About 87 per cent of the main workers were wholly or largely dependent on agriculture.<sup>26</sup> The main occupation of a considerable section of the tribal population is agriculture and therefore more attention is needed to be paid to improve their economic condition through the development of agriculture.

6.38 The Action Plan (1980 - 85) prepared for the TSP areas of Darjeeling stated, "ITDP area as a whole is primarily agriculture. more than 70 per cent of the total geographical area is net sown area and more than 80 per cent of population is primarily dependent on agriculture. The cropping pattern of the Project area indicates the main cultivation of jute, Aus and Aman paddy. 78 per cent of the gross cultivated areas are put under paddy cultivation of which Aman paddy alone accounts for 70 per cent. The other cereals like wheat, ragi and potato are cultivated in a very small area. 14 percent of the cropped areas are under fruit crops and vegetable of which a large portion are put to pine-apple cultivation."<sup>27</sup> According to the Reports (1991 - 92 and 1992 -93) of DRDA Siliguri(Darjeeling) the double or multiple cropped area and gross cropped area for the whole of the Sub-Division, including the ITDP areas, were spread over

11,115.34 hectares and 14,619.0 hectares respectively. The areas covered under the cultivation of the principal crops were as below:

**Table 6.12: Distribution of Area Under Cultivation of different crops**

Crops	Area under cultivation(in Hectares)
Aus Paddy	9,600
Aman Paddy	25,400
Jute	7,400
Oil seed	660
Potato	540
Maize	130
Vegetable	804
Pine-apple	3,480
Ginger	14

Source: Annual Action Plan(1991-92 and 1992-93 under IRDP of DRDA/Mahakuma Rural Development Agency, Siliguri (Darjeeling), p. 4.

6.39 But the terai and plains at the foot-hills of the district consist of almost horizontal layers of silt, sand, pebbles and gravels. The soil in the terai is composed of alluvium, a high sandy loam being the most common. There are also considerable tracts of sandy or gravelly soils, not very suitable for cultivation.<sup>28</sup> The soil of this area are alluvial in nature and the deposits are mostly sands and raw organic matters. The texture classes of soil varies from sandy to sandy loam. The soils are acidic in reaction. Although nitrogen, phosphate and potash status of the soil are high, yet their availability in quantity are low. All these make the fertility of the soil poor and yield of the crop low.<sup>29</sup>

6.40 Among the surveyed tribal households for this study 123(76.87 per cent) were cultivating families and derived income from the agricultural produces. All these families cultivated mostly Aman paddy. 39.03 per cent of these agricultural families also cultivated double or multiple crops in addition to paddy,

which included jute by 13(10.57 per cent), wheat by 06(4.88 per cent), vegetable by 19(15.45 per cent) and others including maize, oil-seed, ragi, fruits like pine-apples etc. by 10(8.33 per cent).

6.41 From this account, few implications may be derived. First, the tribals of the area grew paddy mostly as a mono-crop. Secondly, the overall pattern indicated the preponderance of the cultivation of the food-crops, and relatively much less of marketable commercial crops like jute, vegetable, pine-apples etc. This points to a generally self-contained, consumption oriented and subsistence nature of agricultural economy in tribal areas. Thirdly, considering that most of the crops were largely grown in unirrigated and rainfed conditions, and also that tribal communities in most of the cases follow traditional skill and cultivation technique, agriculture in tribal areas required special focus for development.

6.42 It is generally believed that the tribals, because of their mental and psychological make up and tradition bound outlook are averse to the adoption of improved agricultural techniques and practices. With a view to knowing the official perception, question was asked if the traditional agriculture practices persisted among the tribal cultivators even these days. The responses received have been presented in the table:

**Table 6.13 : Distribution of official views on persistence of Traditional Agricultural Methods**

Nature of responses	No. of official respondents
Agreed	13( 20.97)
Disagreed	20( 32.26)
Undecided	09( 14.51)
Not responded	20( 32.26)
Total	62(100.00)

It may be seen from the table that while 20.97 per cent of the officials 'agreed' with the view that traditional outlook persisted in the tribal agriculture, 32.26 per cent 'disagreed', 14.51 per cent remain 'undecided'. Others mostly bank personnel did not respond because of lack of knowledge. This implies that traditional belief and practice though persisted among the tribals, they were not altogether opposed to a change over and adoption to improved agriculture techniques and practices. It was also expressed that because of interspersed habitation of the tribal cultivators along with the non-tribals, have gradually been influencing the tribals to adopt improved methods as practiced by others.

#### **Schemes for Agricultural Development:**

6.43 Most of the schemes under agriculture sector are family oriented aiming at increasing the farm production of the farmers. Under these schemes, inputs are supplied either free of cost or at subsidised rates. For successful implementation of agricultural programmes in tribal areas supply of agricultural inputs is a must. The inputs which directly effect the purpose of agriculture are seed, fertiliser, plant protection chemicals and agricultural implements. Minikits containing High Yielding Variety (H.Y.V.) seeds of Paddy, Wheat, Maize, oil-seeds, fruits grafts etc. in areas predominantly inhabited by the Scheduled

Tribes farmers are distributed to popularise and create awareness about the improved varieties of crops. In addition, trial and demonstrations are also conducted for dissemination of improved package of practices amongst tribal farmers. The schemes are supervised by the local Agricultural Development Officers or Subject matter Specialists.<sup>30</sup> Besides these, the Short Term crop loans are also provided for the purchase of agricultural inputs and meeting other related expenses. These are generally provided in cash or kind during *Rabi*, *pre-Khariff* and *Khariff* seasons. Loans are sanctioned to the eligible farmers who are non-defaulters of previous loans on the recommendation of Panchayat Samity.<sup>31</sup> The target groups for these family oriented agricultural schemes are generally Small and Marginal farmers, share-croppers and the SC and ST farmers of the above categories.

6.44 Beside these family oriented agricultural schemes, there are many other area oriented schemes like Market Development, Market Link Road construction, Soil Conservation, Small and Minor Irrigations etc. However, the present study concentrates only on the family oriented schemes.

6.45 In the preparation of the list of beneficiaries for availing such inputs or minikits the expected procedure to be followed is that the Krishi Prajukti Sahayak (K.P.S.), the field level functionary would prepare the list containing the names and addresses of the eligible and prospective farmers and the same is submitted for the approval of the concerned Pradhan of Gram Panchayat, and subsequently formally accepted by the Panchayat Samity. The relevant guidelines of the Department expected: 'The Panchayat Samity will finalise the list of eligible farmers in

consultation with the Agricultural Officer or the local officer of the Agricultural Department authorised by the Principal Agricultural Officer. If the Panchayat Samities fail to finalise the list in time the PAO/SAO/ADO or Agriculture Extension Officer concerned will finalise the list keeping the Panchayat Samities informed and take immediate steps for the disbursement of the minikits'.<sup>32</sup>

6.46 But in actual practice, some alterations in the process were observed. Actually in almost all cases, as reported by the respondent K.P.S., that they were mostly guided by the Pradhan of Gram Panchayat in the preparation of prospective beneficiary farmers. The K.P.S. and other Agriculture Development Officers generally avoided confrontations with the Panchayats. As such the beneficiary lists as required by the Pradhans of G.P. were finalised in spite of incorporation of some ineligible farmers in the lists. Thus the Agriculture Deptt. could not provide the impartial and unbiased implementation of the schemes.

6.47 The members of the G.P. in general and the Pradhans in particular were more eloquent in this matter and opined that they knew the needy local farmers better than the government servants. This implies that the Panchayati Raj Institutions had more decisive role in matters of finalisation of lists of beneficiaries for availing agricultural minikits and other inputs. In fact, they prescribed or induced the administrators to adhere to their opinions. The administrators also generally acknowledged (willingly or unwillingly) such prescription or inducement by the Panchayat bodies. This may be taken as a sign of Riggsian concept of 'structural differentiation'.<sup>33</sup>

6.48 The respondent beneficiaries of these schemes (minikits, inputs, crop-loans etc.) expressed about their mixed experiences of the impacts. Some hailed because (i) they received the inputs either free of cost or at subsidised rates and expected to be continued; (ii) the crop loans were also helpful because these reduced their dependence on money-lenders and mahajans for borrowing money for the purpose of cultivation. Thus, they were relieved of possible debt burden. However, some had bitter experiences too, which may be summarised as : (i) lengthy and cumbersome procedure of availing minikits, other inputs, implements and crop-loans, (ii) sub-standard quality of inputs (iii) delay in disbursement of inputs as well as the crop-loans compelling the poor tribal peasants to get loan from other sources, thus involving in debt-trap of both government and other. (iv) utilisation of inputs and loans for other purposes or their misutilisation, (v) partiality in disbursement, (vi) non co-operation of officials etc.

#### **The Extension Services:**

6.49 Extension services are important inputs towards the development and modernisation of agriculture. The importance of extension services lie in the establishment of contact between the extension officials and the farmers. The duties of the extension officials are to know the problems faced by the farmers and also to educate, induce and enlighten them for the adoption of improved and modern methods in cultivation. While officials from various departments operated in the ITDP areas, not all of them, and in fact only a few of them, were designated as extension officials as such.

6.50 For the purpose of the present study, therefore, the

following categories of officials at the ground and supervisory levels, were identified whose role, in part or whole, could be reckoned as that of agents of the institutions or departments, particularly operating in this area, to which they belonged. These were : (i) V.L.Ws, (ii)K.P.S/A.D.Os, (iii) V.S (Veterinary Surgeon)/V.F.A (Veterinary Field Assistants), (iv) Junior Technical Officers of W.B. Comprehensive Area Development Corp., (v) Field Organiser of W.B. SC and ST Development and Finance Corpn., (vi) Field Staffs of Khadi and Village Industries Board, (vii) Fisheries Extension Officers, (viii) Agriculture Finance Officers/ Field Officers/Field Supervisors of Banks and other financial institutions, etc.

6.51 The sample tribal households respondents were asked to indicate as to (i) whether they had been contacted by one or more of these officials during last one year, (ii) and if so frequency of the visits of these officials to their villages, and (iii) whether the assistance or services rendered by them were useful.

6.52 The following table shows the frequency of the field visits of the extension officials in the selected tribal villages or households during last one year, as pointed out by the respondents.

**Table 6.14: Distribution of Tribal Households according to Frequency of Officials visits.**

Description of Officials	Frequency of visits			Total
	once	twice	more	
Block Dev. Office staffs e.g., VLWs	08	02	-	10( 06.25)
Agriculture Office-ADOs/KPS etc.	05	-	-	05( 03.13)
Animal Husbandry-V.S/VFAs etc.	12	03	-	15( 09.38)
CADC Officials- J.R.Os etc.	03	01	-	04( 02.50)
KVIB staffs -Inspectors etc.	03	-	-	03( 01.87)
FFDA staffs- Fishery Extn. Officer	-	10	-	10( 06.25)
ITDP Office - Inspector, Social Workers etc.	03	-	-	03( 01.87)
Bank personnels-AFOs/FOs/FS etc.	23	05	03	31( 19.37)
Panchayat Offices-members, Secretaries, Job Asstts. etc.	09	03	-	12( 07.50)
Other offices - Field/Extn. Staffs.	05	-	-	05( 03.13)
None	-	-	-	62( 38.75)

It may be observed that 19.37 per cent of the sample respondents informed that the bank personal contacted them mostly once, twice or more times particularly for inspecting before the sanction of loans for family oriented schemes or for ascertaining the assets procured or purchase under such schemes. The visit were also maid for realisation of loan-installments. Other 9.38 per cent and 7.5 per cent stated that they were visited by the veterinary staffs or panchayat members respectively to see their agricultural, animal husbandry or other allied activities. Besides, the visits of V.L.Ws and Fisheries Extension Officers were also stated by 6.25 per cent of respondents in each respect. While those of others were informed to be of negligible trips. However, a very significant section of respondents constituting as many as 38.75 per cent informed that in their villages none of them made any visit.

6.53 From the data presented in the table it may be implied

that no government officials, except bank personnels to some extent, made sincere and adequate efforts to contact the tribal households in order to provide them with necessary help and guidance. Moreover, bank personnel might be moved to the field frequently by their primary objective of inducing the people for repayment of their loan-installments. It was also alleged by 9 (5.62 per cent) tribal respondents that some of the veterinary staffs charged money in the name of their visiting fees which ranged from Rs. 15 to Rs. 50 for each visit, when they were called to see their ailing livestock. At the same time 33 (20.62 per cent) stated that the veterinary staffs did not visit to see their ailing livestock in spite of their repeated requests, which resulted in the worsening of the ailments and in many cases even death of livestock. On the other hand, 18 (11.25 per cent) of respondents reported that they contacted Panchayat members or Pradhans at their own initiative and personally visited the Panchayat offices to collect agricultural inputs and implements or some other assistance of general relief etc.

6.54 In addition to the views given by the respondent tribals, the officials mostly the extension staffs of different departments working for the areas of the study were also canvassed in order to express their perception on the developmental and extension activities.

6.55 The sample officials were required to indicate their views on the relevance of low agriculture yield in tribal areas, inadequate measures taken up for the development of subsidiary crops, and poor quality of extension services provided to these

areas. This attempt was made in order to know the official perceptions vis-a-vis tribals allegation about official inactiveness in these regards.

6.56 The following table presents the official perceptions on the tribal farmers allegations:

**Table 6.15 : Distribution of Official Views on Different Agriculture Problems of Tribals.**

Sl Tribal Cultivators No. Views	Responses of the sample officials			
	Mostly	Somewhat	Not at all	No Respon
1. Low agriculture yield	19(30.65)	18(29.03)	05(08.06)	20(32.26)
2. Inadequate measures taken up for development of subsidiary crops	13(20.97)	19(30.65)	06(09.67)	24(38.71)
3. Poor extension services provided for agriculture and allied activities	11(17.74)	14(22.58)	16(25.81)	21(33.87)

It is evident from the above table that Official respondents agreed 'mostly' (30.65 per cent) and 'somewhat' (29.03 per cent) with the tribal views of low agricultural productivity. However, 8.06 per cent did not have the same perception. Regarding the inadequacies of the measures taken up for the development of subsidiary crops about 51.62 per cent of officials subscribed to the tribals view through in varying degree of 'mostly' and 'somewhat', while 9.67 per cent did not. However, while 17.74 per cent and 22.58 per cent agreed about the poor coverage of extension services in the tribal areas because of remoteness of such areas, lack of easy transport and communication facilities etc, a good number of officials (25.81 per cent ) refused to agree with such contentions from the tribals. According to them tribal cultivators being mostly small and marginal farmers were given more attentions than others. Most of the non-respondents

were bank personnels.

6.57 Some of the problems faced by the tribal cultivators in the field of agriculture were: (i) lack of irrigational facilities, (ii) insufficient land( small size of operational holdings), (iii) irregular monsoon, (iv) non-possession of ploughing cattle by many cultivators, (v) cattle stealing cases, (vi) elephant menance in some of the tribal areas, (vii) late and untimely disbursement of crop loans by the government and financial institutions, (viii) untimely or late distribution improved seeds and other inputs , (ix) their substandard quality (x) willful misutilisation of minikits, (xi) lack of confidence among the tribals in the cultivation of subsidiary crops other than paddy, (xii) lack of schematic integration and others.

**Irrigation:**

6.58 As seen, lack of irrigation has been one of the major problems for the agricultural development of the area. The importance of irrigation of India's agriculture cannot be overstated. Several studies confirm the fact that irrigation is a key factor of agricultural modernisation. Most of the successful 'green revolution' areas of India are known for their well developed canal irrigation.<sup>34</sup> Irrigation is a pre-condition for the successful introduction of the new varieties of paddy even in areas known for heavy rainfall, such as the rice producing delta of South India.<sup>35</sup>

6.59 Irrigation contributes to higher and more suitable yields. It also permits multiple cropping in the agriculture sector. The potentiality of both surface and ground water may be well tapped for the purpose of irrigation. The surface water may

be available for irrigation either by gravity or by lift irrigation. The sources of surface water irrigation include - rivers, canals, streams, RLI (River Lift Irrigation), and others like tanks, ponds, rain-waters etc. Besides these, there is also a great scope for expansion of irrigation facilities by exploitation of ground water resources. These generally include dug wells, Tube wells(Deep and Shallow), hand pumps etc.

6.60 However, very little information is available on the irrigation and agricultural activities of the Sub-Division(study area) separately from that of the district. From whatever is available it seems that in the two blocks of the Sub-Division, Siliguri-Naxalbari and Khoribari-Phansidewa, about 18 R.L.I. schemes were in operation from past few years, covering a meagre area of 80 acres or so. The other scheme in operation were dug wells which numbered 46 with an annual command area of less than 50 acres. No information on utilisation of irrigation according to crops grown was available. In fact, the percentage of irrigated area to net area sown in these two Development Blocks which comprise all the ITDP areas under the study, were only 9 per cent and 3.60 per cent respectively.<sup>36</sup> The problem of irrigation in the area lies in the fact that the rivers, rivulets etc. flow lower than the level of cultivated lands. Therefore, canal irrigation is virtually impossible except at few places. From all accounts it appears that the Sub-division is the most backward of the three regions of the Project (mentioned below) so far irrigation facilities are concerned.<sup>37</sup>

#### **The North Bengal Terai Development Project:**

6.61 A special Project, known as North Bengal Terai Development Project, has been taken up for the comprehensive

development of agriculture by providing small irrigation schemes to Small and Marginal farmers including the tribal farmers. The Project is funded by the Government of Netherland. It covers Jalpaiguri and Coochbehar districts and Siliguri sub-Division of Darjeeling district in the State of West Bengal. The Project is being implemented since 1985-86. Under this programme, small irrigation schemes like hand pumps, etc are provided to the cultivating families of the above target groups inclusive of Scheduled Tribes essentially for the purpose of meeting the irrigational needs of their 'kitchen garden', vegetable cultivation etc. The Project is supervised by the Deptt. of Agriculture, exclusively or jointly with the representatives of the Govt. of Netherland.

6.62 The year wise distribution of the total number of beneficiaries and also corresponding tribal beneficiaries under this Project has been given in the following table:

**Table 6.16 : Distribution of Beneficiaries of Hand Pumps under Small Irrigation Scheme**

Phases	Years	Total Beneficiaries	Tribal Benef.
I	1985 - 86	250	33(13.20)
II	1986 - 87	200	32(16.00)
	1987 - 88	350	38(10.86)
	1988 - 89	400	49(12.25)
	1989 - 90	530	61(11.51)
	1990 - 91	675	82(12.15)
Total		2155	262(12.16)

Source: The Office Records of the Sub-Divisional Agriculture Office, Siliguri, Darjeeling.

It may be observed from the above table that over the years, tribal families belonging to Small and Marginal Farmers, comprising 12.16 per cent of the total families were provided with such schemes of small irrigation under this Project.

However, the benefits of the Project were not necessarily limited to the assistance of the families residing only in the ITDP mouzas. In other words, tribal families outside ITDP areas did also benefit from the Project.

6.63 However, many of the ITDP mouzas under this study, except Palas, Kalamjot and Fulbarichhat could not avail the benefits of the small irrigation schemes under this Project primarily because of natural disadvantage of rocks and boulders formation in the sub-soil underground, as reported by the official respondents of Sub-Divisional Agricultural Office at Siliguri, Darjeeling.

6.64 It was further pointed out by the concerned officials that the selection of the beneficiaries of the schemes was done by the K.P.S. in consultation with the Gram Panchayats. In this regard a specific point was made by the interviewed K.P.S and A.D.Os that the installation of pumps though technically not feasible at some places because of reason mentioned above, had to be sanctioned and provided under the political influence and pressures of local Gram Panchayats. This was also quietly provided in order to avoid confrontation with local leaders of Panchayats. Beside this, some of the beneficiaries installed these pumps only for their domestic uses and not for agriculture or kitchen gardening for which these were actually intended.

6.65 Further, in addition to the problems faced in the implementation of the above Project, a case of fake implementation of another small irrigation scheme was also surfaced which becomes evident from the extract of the proceedings of joint meeting of the D.W.C and DLCC on SC and ST:

"Discussion regarding Fakirdip S.I. Scheme was made in the meeting. It was noted with concern that there is no existence of the Scheme as reported though most of the expenditures have been done."<sup>38</sup> Another scheme against the fund sub-allotted of Rs 2.00 lakhs could not be taken up, as reported by the B.D.O, Khoribari-Phansidewa block, simply because, " no tender was received within the prescribed date."<sup>39</sup> All these show the hard reality & other procedural gaps in the administration of tribal development programmes.

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