

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION : PROBLEM, OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

'Development' is one of the most widely used terms in present day social sciences. It is a very complex phenomenon to be defined. In common language, it means to advance, to further, to evolve, or to expand by a process of growth. It is a change for better and a change in continuity with the past. As it includes and affects different aspects of human life, only a boarder approach can comprise different dimensions of development.

1.02 Denis Goulet observes, " Broadly viewed, development is the entire gamut of changes by which any social system, optimally attentive to the wishes of individuals and sub-systems comprising it moves away from a condition of life widely perceived as unsatisfactory toward some condition regarded in some way as 'humanly' better. Development always implies some vision of good life, and the choice of preferred means of moving toward it".¹

1.03 Development is change for better. Sometimes this 'better' is understood as 'more' production of goods and services. This is the principle of growth, that is, an increase in the Gross National Products (GNP), whether on a national or an individual basis. But now this explanation of development is questioned and it is argued that there may be growth but devoid of development, if there is no social justice or improvement in conditions of life for a majority of people. Palmer (1978:96) observes, "As the experience of several developing countries has shown, even rates

of economic growth so impressive as to be described as 'economic miracles' may not avert political disaster, and indeed may not even be translated into better conditions of life for the masses of the people. It is possible, as experience has shown, to have 'growth without development' and 'development without growth'.² Thus, qualitative changes are also important ingredients in the development process, especially when we consider the poor and weaker sections of rural society.

1.04 Cocoyoc (Mexico) Declaration, Oct. 1974, organised by the U.N. Development programme and UNCTAD thought that the purpose of development is more than just economic growth. It should not be 'to develop things first but to develop man'. 'Development' must involve both growth and social justice or the so called 'distributive justice'. Growth should not precede justice. Indeed both growth and social justice must be considered as equally important in the development syndrome.³

1.05 There are various dimensions of development which we have to take into consideration when we want to know development in its totality. Pointing out these various aspects Meena (1981:43) also comments, "If we understand 'development' so far, it has come to mean: (i) a change for better, (ii) never ending change, (iii) gradual change, (iv) a combination of qualitative and quantitative change, (v) change in all spheres - political, social, economic and administrative, and (vi) not necessarily a copy of western countries."⁴

1.06 Development is multi-dimensional process. It stands for transformation of society. It indicates qualitative, many-sided and balanced change. It has futuristic orientation. It is equated

with economic growth, social change and modernisation of society. It indicates a quantum of ends and means sustained by a social philosophy, economic programmes along with requisite administrative infrastructures. It has been characterised as 'modernisation by design'.⁵

1.07 Administrative capacity is one of the basic dimensions of development administration; at present, it is also a widely used vehicle of various development programmes undertaken by most of the developing countries. Therefore, administration is a means to bring about a rapid desired goals of development. The concept of development administration is of a recent origin in the discipline of Public Administration. Edward Weidner, one of the pioneers in this area, defined development administration as "an action oriented, goal oriented administrative system".⁶ He has identified several meanings of development administration: (a) administrative development or the change and growth that take place in public administration of any country, (b) the problem of public administration in the less developed countries, (c) those changes in an administrative system that are necessary for modernisation of a backward country, (d) the administration of economic development programmes, (e) all internal and domestic services of government. The content analysis of these various meanings enables Weidner to find one common element in uses and to describe an action oriented, goal oriented administrative system. He further proceeds to define development administration as "the process of guiding an organisation towards the achievement of progressive political, economic and social objectives that are authoritatively determined in one manner or other".⁷

1.08 Panandikar is, however, of the opinion that Weidner does not provide the student of Public Administration with "an operational framework indicating the kinds and the nature of administrative change that will be necessary to transform a non-developmental system into a developmental one." ⁸

1.09 Ever since the publication of Weidner's pioneering work, the term 'development administration' has become very popular among the scholars of Public Administration. A very useful definition has been given by Swerdlow (1965:xiv) who defines development administration broadly as those special characteristics of poor countries that tend to create a different role for government. ⁹ Fainsod views, "development administration ordinarily involves the establishment of planning, economic growth and mobilisation and allocating resources to expand national income." ¹⁰

1.10 According to Riggs, the concept of development administration has two important dimensions. First, it is concerned with the processes through which a public administrative system directs socio-economic and political change in the society. it refers to "the administration of development programmes, to the methods used by large scale organisations, notably governments, to implement policies and plans designed to meet their developmental objectives." Second, development administration studies the dynamics of change within the administrative system, that is, the way it enhances its capabilities to withstand change coming from the environment, and to direct desired change. Development administration "by implication, rather than directly involves the strengthening

of administrative capabilities." ¹¹ The first dimension refers to the 'administration of development' while the second is related to the process of administrative development; in other words 'development of administration'.

1.11 Hahn-Been Lee, on the other hand, defines it as the problems involved in so managing a government or an agency thereof that it acquires an increasing capability to adapt and act upon new and continuing social changes with a view to achieving a sustained growth in the political, economic and social fields. ¹² Similarly, Prof. H.J. Friedman emphasized the following two elements while defining development administration:

(i) the implementation of programmes designed to bring about modernity (i.e., socio-economic progress and nation building), and

(ii) the changes within an administrative system which increase its capacity to implement such programmes.¹³

1.12 J.N. Khosla is more specific in separating development administration as a concept from development administration as an area, when he says, "development administration as a concept connotes the totality of administrative processes involved in developmental activities. In practical terms, development administration is that part of public administration which is concerned with the realisation of development goals, policies and programmesIt is the special emphasis on developmental values and goals which gives development administration its special character and significance."¹⁴

1.13 Mohit Bhattacharya (1979:6) has identified the following characteristics of development administration : (i) the

distinctive mark of development administration is its central concern with socio-economic change, (ii) It has to be result oriented; its performance is overtly related to productivity in terms of increase in per capita income, provision of health and welfare facilities etc., (iii) bureaucratic commitment to change as they are expected to be 'involved' and emotionally attached to the jobs they are called upon to perform, (iv) it is overtly client oriented, i.e., towards satisfying the needs of specific target groups. The people are not passive beneficiaries, but active participants in the public programmes. This close nexus between 'public' and 'administration' is an essential attribute of development administration, and (v) there must be a time-bound programme as the timeliness of all activities assumes considerable significance in development administration. 15

1.14 To Inamdar ¹⁶ development administration, in its narrow connotation, is construed as the mechanism consisting of the structural, personnel and procedural components through which programmes, projects and schemes or simply activities, for the socio-economic development of the people of the regions are implemented or actualised. The broad connotation of the term would include the whole complex of objectives, programmes, projects, and schemes to realise the objectives, institutions, personnel, methods and procedures instrumental to fructify the above mentioned complex activities, to realise the objectives of socio-economic development of the individual persons, their groups or regions. Thus, according to this broad connotation, there exist the following three components in development administration :

(i) Philosophy or ideology of the government from which flows the ethos, motivation, rationale and jurisdictional ambit of the development administration.

(ii) programmes, projects and schemes or just the rubric of activities, which is the substantial core of the development administration.

(iii) Machinery or mode, personnel manning this and procedure which constitute the wherewithal through which the clientele in the different stages of process receive the benefits of development activities.

A third connotation is also used; it covers the economic mechanisms, including those enveloping the international economic system; the economic system and socio-cultural inter-relationship involved in the development process. The third connotation is particularly used by economists, sociologists and 'world system' theorists.

1.15 Dube (1978:220) has further argued that in a development administration if a bureaucracy has to involve itself meaningfully in the management of change, it is essential to introduce radical change in its structure as well as ethics and operational strategies. This is all the more important because in terms of its structure as well as modes of thought and work, it is ill-prepared for the new society that is emerging. The social order of tomorrow, it is evident, will be egalitarian and participatory. To serve such a social order, there must be a visible shift in the bureaucracy from an ethic of power to an ethic of

service. It cannot continue to a vision for itself the role of a ruler; it will have to learn to work in partnership with the general mass of people as well as with highly specialised segments in different functional areas in the society. It will have to learn to integrate growing knowledge into unified vision and to translate such a vision into feasible policies and implementable strategies. 17

Changing Role of Bureaucracy :

1.16 "The bureaucracy", according to G.D. Kabra, which served well earlier as the 'neutral' keeper of the order, is no longer adequate for the solution of the new problems, particularly for assisting effectively in the development of the weaker sections. In order to meet the challenge of great transformation which developing countries are undergoing now, the bureaucracy must transform itself from a body of high-status control agent aloof from the society to change-agent available at the doorstep of the weaker sections.¹⁸ At the same time, they should be from such socio-economic background that they might also feel at ease when frequently interacting with the weaker sections at their level. The role of bureaucracy becomes more prominent when their functions as change-agents and catalysts of development process are assessed particularly in the context of rural poors in a country like India.

1.18 Most of the developing countries are engaged in bringing about rapid socio-economic development. There is universal concern in the developing countries to improve the standard of living of large masses of people who have so far been denied even the basic requirements of decent living. It is this concern for

rapid socio-economic development that sets the background for the study of development administration in the context of poor tribals.

1.19 The administration for tribal development assumes great importance in India. Among the myriad of problems that this country is beset with perhaps none is more urgent and knotty than that of tribal development. The tribal situation in the country poses peculiar problems of administration and development, not encountered in other areas.

1.20 Historically, one of the principal features of the tribal population has been its ecological and social isolation. For centuries the tribal people have been confined to hills and forests and this isolation has left a definite impression on their social systems. It has also given them, in spite of wide cultural variations, a common destiny in Indian society. For one of the crucial problems faced by all tribal communities in India is the problem of integration into the wider social, economic and political systems.¹⁹ Their economy is largely self-sufficient, unstructured and non-specialised. Their social system is simple. This situation has, however, changed with the process of new developments in the country. Industrial and mining complexes have been established in some tribal regions which have virgin natural resources. Intensive developmental programmes have been taken up in some other areas. The level of tribal economy now is quite uneven. On the one extreme, there are tribal communities who are at the food-gathering and hunting stage and, at the other extreme, they have become indistinguishable from the modern agricultural and industrial societies. Similarly, differences

have arisen in their educational status. Some of these communities, particularly in the North-East India, are far ahead of the general educational level in the country but, at the other end, there are communities which are still at a pre-literate stage. 20

1.21 Development administration, therefore, in the tribal context of the country, is an exceedingly complex enterprise involving correct diagnosis of problems, setting right priorities, planning action programmes, mobilizing adequate resources, creating new organisations, and improving the capacity of the existing ones and implementing programmes and projects within a definite time frame. The complex of activities connected with the development enterprise is essentially a governmental responsibility. Private sectors may be induced to fall in line with general public policy, but the brunt of development works would normally develop on the public sector. Hence, a high degree of competence of public administrators is of paramount importance in pushing through speedy development measures.

Tribal Development and Rural Development :

1.22 Tribal development is sometimes thought to be synonymous with rural development. But the difference between the two has to be clearly appreciated. In the first place, many of the tribal areas are remote, inaccessible, forested, hilly and slopy. Their natural resource endowment is vastly different from that of the alluvial plains which have for all these centuries been the bastion of the country's agriculture production. The scheme for

their development have to be related to the regional resource availability. Secondly, their requirement of infrastructure are large and distinctive. Thirdly, on account of their age long seclusion, the tribal communities have been cut off from the mainstream of national life, and, hence, cross fertilisation of ideas has been restricted hampering technological advancement. Further, again as a consequence of their isolation, the tribal communities have developed certain culture and psyche of their own in tune with their own environment which, of course, differ from those of non-tribals. These factors make it incumbent to set planning for tribal people and area, apart from rural development. 21

1.23 F.M.Marx opined that administration is culture bound. If culture changes administration, then definitely tribal should have different administration ; because tribals have well -knit and categorically different culture. Difference between tribal and more advanced societies are apparent even to the casual observer.²² If we want that tribal people should get maximum benefit from the administration, it will have to be moulded according to their culture. We should not feel shy if we have to adopt altogether, a different administration in tribal areas. 23

The Tribal Nomenclature

1.24 The tribal India lives in the hills, forests and isolated regions. The largest concentration of tribal communities if any where in the world, except perhaps Africa, is in India. They are known as 'Vanyajati' (castes of forest), 'Vanvasi' (inhabitants of forests), 'Pahari' (hill dwellers), 'Adimjati' (original communities), 'Adivasi' (first settlers), 'Janjati' (folk people), 'Anusuchit Janjati (scheduled tribes) and so on.

1.25 Various authorities have described them by different names. Sir Herbert Risley and Lacey, V. Elwin and A.V. Thakkar called them "aboriginals". Sir Baines included them in the category of "Hill Tribes". Grigson regards them as "hill tribes or wilder aboriginals", while Shoobert called them "aborigines". They have been regarded as "animists" by Tallents. Sedwick, Martin and Hutton call them as "primitive tribes" and Baines calls them "jungle people, forest tribes or folks". Elwin calls the Baigas (tribes) the "original owners of the country". The eminent Indian anthropologist and sociologist, G.S. Ghurye calls them "backward Hindus". Dr. Des and Das renamed them as "submerged humanity". The tribal groups are presumed to form the oldest ethnological section of the national population hence the term "adivasis" (original inhabitants) has recently become current to designate these groups. 24

Defining 'Tribes':

1.26 There is absence of a standard definition of the term "tribe". Neither the ethnologists, nor the anthropologists, nor the sociologists have agreed upon the precise definition and criteria of the tribes. The meaning of the tribe according to the Shorter Oxford Dictionary is "any primitive or barbarous people under a chief". In the Encyclopedia Britannica, the families or small communities that constitute a tribe are said to trace their descent from a common ancestor. The definition given in the Imperial Gazetteer of India runs thus "a tribe is a collection of families bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying or professing to occupy a common territory and is

not usually endogamous, though originally it might have been so". 25

Sociological and Anthropological Definitions :

1.27 The Rev. Fr. J.B. Hoffman, in his Encyclopedia Mundarika, writes that the tribals are, "descendants of the original clearers of the soil and are in possession of a land system, based on undeniable ethical principles and most rationally regulated down to the minutest details". 26 According to D.N. Majumdar, the noted Indian anthropologist, "a tribe is a social group with territorial affiliation, endogamous, with no specialisation of functions, ruled by tribal officers, hereditary or otherwise, united in language or dialect, recognising social distance from other tribes or castes but without any stigma attached in the case of a caste structure following tribal traditions, beliefs and customs, illiberal of naturalisation of ideas from alien sources; above all conscious of a homogeneity of ethnic and territorial integration."

The Indian Constitution and Tribes :

1.28 The Constitution of India, under Article 342(1) states that the President may with respect to any State or Union Territory, and where it is State, after consultation with the Governor thereof, by public notification, specify the tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purposes of the Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to that state or Union Territory, as the case may. Once these lists have been promulgated, inclusion therein or exclusion therefrom can be

made only by Parliament. [Art. 342(2)]

1.29 The criteria evolved by the anthropologists to characterise an ideal tribal community for theoretical purpose, however, do not appear to be empirically related to communities that have been included in the list of Scheduled Tribes. The logical implication seems to be that communities which do not satisfy these criteria should not be considered as tribes, still they are included in the list of 'Scheduled Tribes'. The anthropological definition of tribe is a very useful tool for the labeling of social processes. But a 'Scheduled Tribe' is a concrete ensemble of persons recognised as such for operational purposes.

1.30 The conception of tribe for the theoretical purpose of study of social processes and the recognition of Scheduled Tribes for operational purposes of integration, need not be identical and under certain circumstances cannot be identical. For operational purposes many people who are tribals according to theoretical- anthropological conception may not be considered as Scheduled Tribes. Other people who are tribals according to theoretical conceptions may be considered also as Scheduled Tribes.²⁷

1.31 The main purpose of the recognition of tribal and semi-tribal population under the Constitution is to bring such population on par with other section of population and integrate them with the mainstream of national life. It therefore logically follows the communities which are considered to be such as would require special measures for being integrated and for being brought on par with other section of populations for

operational purposes be recognised as "Scheduled Tribes". Accordingly, certain communities are included in the Schedule of tribes. This administrative action makes each community a "Scheduled Tribe" and entitles it to special protection and privileges.

1.32 Notwithstanding the controversies among the social scientists regarding a universal definition of 'tribe' and mode of their scheduling, the terms "Scheduled Tribes" as they are known and described in the Constitutional and Administrative uses of the country, have been taken into account for the purpose of this study. These tribes are declared to be such by the President of India by the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950 and by the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes of Union Territories) Order, 1951, as amended from time to time (see Annexure I). Moreover, the words like tribes, tribals, tribal communities, STs etc., wherever they occur, are used to mean the "Scheduled Tribes" as notified under these Orders.

Review of Literature :

1.33 There have been a vast literature on the subject of tribe. But most of the available literature on the subject are basically of sociological, anthropological and ethnological in characters and describe various aspects of tribal life, society, culture, religion and etc. These literature have facilitated tribal study in the context of development administration.

1.34 The importance of such knowledge for efficient administration was, perhaps, first realised as early as 1807 when the Court of Directors of East India Co. made a formal decision that "such knowledge would be of great use in the future

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administration of the country". (Roy:1921). To this effect, Francis Buchanon was appointed by the Governor-General's Council to undertake an ethnographic survey "to acquire into the condition of the inhabitants of Bengal and their religion". (Buchanon:1920). Since then, Dalton (1872), Risley (1891), Thurston (1909), Gurdon(1914), Grigson(1938) and many others in addition to their administrative duties were assigned the task of preparing handbooks, gazetteers, monographs etc. on the tribes and castes of India.²⁸ Owing to their pioneer efforts, whatsoever may be their scientific values, a bulk of ethnographic literature was provided and, perhaps, it proved helpful to the colonial administrators.

1.35 Similarly, the Missionaries have been active in Tribal India. Though they have been primarily interested in evangelisation, the welfare works - educational, economic, hygienic and social - called 'work of mercy' invariably also followed. For, both the types of work, spiritual and material, the missionaries did realise the importance of understanding their culture and language. These they considered essential for communicating with them effectively. Awareness on the part of missionaries to understand their culture and learn their language for their missionary activities inspired them to write several original books on tribal language and culture. As such, missionaries like Knowles, Wood, Hislop, Nortrott, Bodding, Hoffmann etc. also placed their view points on tribal life and aspirations though they interpreted these in their own way.²⁹

1.36 Along with the administrators and missionaries a few British anthropologists such as Rivers(1906), Radcliff Brown(1922), and Hutton(1931) examined critically

the tribal situations in certain parts of India and made several recommendations for smooth and effective colonial administration. It was in 1931 Hutton came out with his views regarding the evil effects of contact on the tribes. To him, "the solution of the problem would be to create self-governing tribal areas with free powers of self determination in regard to surrounding or adjacent units". (Hutton, 1931:504-507)

1.37 Dr. Verrier Elwin, in his monumental monograph on 'The Baigas', published in 1939, criticised the over hasty and unregulated process of uplift and civilisation. He advocated for the establishment of a sort of 'National Park', to protect the tribals, not being satisfied with the provisions made under the Government of India Act, 1935 for excluding wholly or partially certain areas from the operation of legislative control. The administration was to be so adjusted as to allow 'the tribesmen to live their life with utmost possible happiness and freedom. The missionaries of any sort were not to be allowed to break the tribal life'. Elwin further expanded this view in his "Loss of the Nerve" (1941).

1.38 Dr. G. S. Ghurye, on the other hand, with his scholarly exposition in his book "The Aborigines - So called and Their Future"(1943), was very much critical of Elwin and stamped him as 'no changer and isolationist'. Dr. Ghurye's main argument is that the so called aborigines are nothing else but 'Backward Hindus'. He advocated for their assimilation with the Hindus. He further states, "Isolation in the modern world is impossible; it would not be desirable even if it is

possible. The old controversy about zoos and museums has long been deadTo try to preserve and develop the best elements of tribal art, religion and culture is something very different from wishing to keep the people in a zoo". He reiterated this view in his 'The Burning Cauldron of North East India' (1980). His another important work "The Scheduled Tribes" came out in 1959 where he has vividly traced the origin of administration for the tribals. A. V. Thakkar(1949), a social worker and one of the members of the Servants of India Society, also supported this view.

1.39 Elwin continued his researches among the tribals and about their problems and brought out other important publications viz., A Philosophy for NEFA(1955), A New Deal for Tribal India(1963), and Tribal World of Verrier Elwin(1964) etc. He clarifies the misconception of 'isolationism' created in the minds of the social scientists and social workers regarding his approach to the tribal culture and emphasizes the need for a careful planning for the changing tribals of India. Elwin himself stated 'everything necessary should be done for the development of the tribals provided that the quality of tribal life was not impaired, the tribal culture was not destroyed and tribal freedom was restored'.³⁰

1.40 A number of Indian sociologists and anthropologists also drew attention to the needs of the tribes, paving the way for a proper appreciation of their culture. The use of anthropology in development can in no way be minimised. Races and Cultures of India(1961) by D. N. Majumdar; Anthropology and Welfare in India(1959), Applied Anthropology in India(1968), Tribal Development and its

Administration(1981) etc. by L. P. Vidyarthi; Approaches to the Tribal Problems in India(1960), Cultural Dimension of Tribal Development(1982), both by S. C. Dube; Planned Change in Tribal Areas(1974), Field Studies on People of India(1978) and others by Surjit Sinha all provide relevant information in this regard. B. N. Sahay(1969) in his Pragmatism in Development: Application of Anthropology, reveals the importance of correct understanding and right approach(anthropological approach) in dealing with the different socio-cultural factors relating to the problem of tribal development and welfare. Thus, proper understanding of the nature of society and culture, values, different ethnological and ecological settings, leadership patterns, etc., is indispensable for any planned programme of tribal development and welfare".³¹ Anthropology in the Development Process(1977) and Anthropology and Public Administration(1980) by H. M. Mathur in which he traced out the role played by anthropologists in development planning and programmes since pre-British days and presented the activities of different government agencies where services of anthropologists were utilised. However, he also referred to the limitations of anthropologists in helping the administration in the implementation of development programmes. The Tribal Culture of India(1977) by L. P. Vidyarthi and B. K. Rai; Strategy for Tribal Development: An Anthropological Approach(1981) by B. K. Roy Burmon; Cultural Change in Tribal Bihar(1964), Profiles of Tribal Culture in Bihar(1966), Planning, Development and Applied Anthropology in India(1980), Tribal India: Past and Present(1992) of Sachindananda are other works bearing relevance to this study. Vidyarthi (1978 and 1980) and Sachidananda (1980) found applied

anthropology not only useful in planning and development in tribal areas but also for the solution of many problems in the field of public health, community development etc.

1.41 Besides, there is a number of monographs describing the cumulative experience in regard to tribal life and culture. They provide meaningful insights into the richness and variety of tribal culture.

1.42 An idea about various aspects of tribal development can also be had from Development of Tribal Areas(1965) by A. Aiyappan; Tribal Welfare in India(1969) and Some Indian Tribes(1973) by N. K. Bose; Problems and Prospects of Tribal Development in India (1973) Tribal Development in Independent India and its Future, both by L. P. Vidyarthi; Patterns of Development for Tribal Societies(1975), Tribal Problems in India(1977), Tribal India etc. by Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf. Haimendorf(1977) states 'among the tribal population, a peculiar type of stratification has been progressing. On the one hand, a small privileged, property owning, educated section has been emerging, on the other hand, the vast bulk of tribals are being hurled into the ranks of the lowest toiling exploited classes of contemporary Indian Society.' Tribal Situation in India(1972) by K. Suresh Singh; Tribalism in India(1978) by Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya; Tribal Development in India(1982) by Budhadev Chaudhury; Forest and Tribals in India(1968) and Co-operative Movement in Tribal Development(1983) by B. K. Roy Burman are other significant studies which throw lights on varied problems and development measures taken to solve them.

1.43 There has been a completely different view put forward by Steve Jones in his Tribal Underdevelopment in India(1978). He made a scathing allegation that "Indian Government concern about protecting and developing tribals is largely rhetorical and bears little relationship to the practice of national and state governments or para-statal organisations." Moreover, there is a considerable force in the basic thesis of Jones that "few countries in the world have made efforts than India apparently to protect the rights of their indigenous people and to integrate them into national development planning the 'adivasis' remain probably the most underdeveloped community in India".³²

1.44 There is not much literature exclusively dealing with administrative aspect of tribal development. However, some idea can be collected from Tribal Welfare Programmes: An Analysis of their Organisation and Administration(1971) by S. N. Dubey; Salient Features of Tribal Administration in States(1976) by H. R. Trivedi. Trivedi, while tracing out the tribal problems of ignorance, indebtedness, tradition bound and general backwardness, regarded Fifth Plan in India as a 'Renaissance' in the field of tribal development, and pointed out the need to prevent exploitation of tribals by moneylenders through indebtedness, debt bondage, alienation of their land, and to introduce a well integrated credit-cum-marketing services and improvement of legal-institutional systems, upgradation of infrastructure, communication, forestry, agriculture, irrigation, cottage industries, animal husbandry etc. in tribal areas.

1.45 S. N. Dubey and Ratna Murdia(1976) in

their Administration of Policy and Programmes for Backward Classes in India, pointed out the age old isolation of tribal communities from the rest of the population, and segregation of the tribal administration by the colonial governments which made them an easy prey to exploitation of different types.

1.46. B. D. Sharma in his Administration for Tribal Development(1977), Tribal Development: The Concept and the Frame(1978), Planning for Tribal Development(1984) and in many other articles, traces out the development of tribal administration during pre and post independence period and the new strategy of tribal development administration following the Fifth Five Year Plan - the TSP(Tribal Sub-Plan) and the ITDP(Integrated Tribal Development Projects) with objectives of elimination of exploitation in all forms, speeding up the process of socio-economic development, building inner strength of people and improving their organisational capacity. He emphasizes the need for a combination of 'target area' and 'target group' approaches together for the development of tribes, i.e., "area development with focus on development of tribal communities for areas where tribals are a predominant community".³³

1.47 Dr. Bhupinder Singh in his Planning Strategy for Tribal Development in Retrospect and Prospect(1983) and Training of Trainers for Tribal Development Administration(1983) states that administrative structure should be simple enough for the tribals to understand. Too specialised and compartmentalised administration

can be singularly inept for the largely undifferentiated, non-specialised, traditional tribal societies. The dedicated, and competent personnel should be posted to tribal areas so that the customary gulf between the tribal folks and administration can be bridged and stagnation can be broken. The personnel should be given administrative and financial freedom to bring about requisite change in consonance with tribal ethos and aspirations.³⁴

1.48 The need for bringing about active participation of these people in all rural welfare programmes and a healthy interaction between administration and people, was required by S. K. Pachauri in his Dynamics of Rural Development in Tribal Areas(1984). Ashok R. Basu(1985) in Tribal Development Programmes and Administration is critical of the overall capacity of the administrative system vis-a-vis the development programmes for tribal areas in Himachal Pradesh. To him, there is a considerable diffusion of authority, inadequate control, lack of co-ordination and difficulty in identification of persons with specific programmes because of growing complexity of institutions. There is a need for integrating development strategies with traditional tribal institutions and development of nation. Rakesh Hooza(1987), in An Approach to the Concept of Tribal Development, identifies many leakages in the administrative delivery system of benefits in the implementation of the developmental programmes. According to him, potential leakage points can be identified, in the apathy, corruption, lack of technical skills on the part of implementors or the beneficiaries, or due to faulty administrative and financial procedure. P. V. Rao(1988) in his Institutional

Framework for Tribal Development, studied intensively the working and impact of development agencies in Inumanda village of Paderu Tribal Development Block where he finds out few development schemes implemented in the village offered little economic advantage to the beneficiaries. Lack of supervision of self-employment schemes, most of the benefits cornered by rich individuals and leaders, poor veterinary services for the livestock, increased drop-outs in schools were other problems relating to development and welfare schemes.

1.49 Beside these, several other studies in the field of Rural development in general can also be fruitfully utilised for understanding administration for tribal development in spite of differences in approaches. The problems of development in India have occupied a prominent place in the works of Gunnar Myrdal (1968). In his book "Asian Drama", he finds that rural upliftment measures have themselves tended to benefit primarily those who are already better off than most. He formulated the 'Law of cumulative causation', that is, those areas (people, community) which have advanced already undergo accelerated advancement while those which are backward continue to lag behind. There is a "virtuous circle" of cumulative advancement and a "vicious circle" of cumulative backwardness. Similarly, Myron Weinor and Mary Fainsod Katzenstein (1981) in their India's Preferential Policies, describe and assess India's effort to use preferential policies to achieve greater equality among ethnic groups. The preferential policies which are provided on the basis of group membership rather than individual characteristics are largely intended to provide benefits to the middle classes within

disadvantaged social groups.³⁵

1.50 Rural Development in India (1984) by T.K. Lakshman; Grass without Roots: Rural Development under Government Anspices (1985) by L.C.Jain et al ; Essays on Development Administration (1987) by P.R. Dubhashi; The State of Poverty In India : The Politics of Reforms (1987) by Atul Kohli, Indian Bureaucracy and Development (1988), Raj Singh etc. have important bearing on the conceptual formulation of the development studies. The empirical studies of Vasant Desai (1988) Rural Development and Mohinder Singh's Rural Development and Anti-Poverty Programmes (1988) have been fruitfully utilised. Recently, the scholars like Sohal and Ramulu (1989) and Sarkar and Kar (1991) have concentrated their studies on the overall impact of IRDP on the beneficiaries and on the reduction of poverty of the people including tribals under the poverty line.

1.51 In the context of West Bengal, there are good numbers of monographs and other sociological studies like the Lodhas of West Bengal (1963) by P.K. Bhaumick; The Oraon of Sunderban (1963) by Das and Raha; The Koras and some little Communities (1964); The Malapharias (1966); The Rabhas (1967); The Totos (1969) all by A.K. Das and his associates; the Mundas (1987) by S.K. Basu and R.N. Saha. All these, however, bear little relevance to the present study. The Impact of Industrialisation on the Life of Tribals of West Bengal (1962), The Impact of Tea Industry on the Tribal Life of West Bengal (1964), Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes of West Bengal: Programmes, Facts and Figures (1978), and West Bengal Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (1989) all by A.K. Das

and others have been useful to know the emerging problems and other facts regarding the tribes in the State.

1.52 However, there has not been any literature on the tribal development administration concerning Darjeeling district, except few monographic studies like the Himalayan Journal (1854) by Hooker, Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal (1872) by Dalton, Tribes and Castes of Bengal (1892) by Risley, Himalayan Village by Gorer (1937), The Indo-Tibetans (1954) by Hermanns Mathias, The Lepchas of Darjeeling Districts (1962) by A.K. Das, Himalayan Lepchas (1988) by R.N. Thakur. Most of the studies mentioned above are descriptive and of general sociological and anthropological in nature without having much bearing on the present area of enquiry. However, by and large, contributed to wider understanding of the problems and stimulated thinking, but were of very limited value to assess the administration of different development programmes meant for tribals. Therefore, a great deal of official blueprints, bulletins, reports, gazetteers and other publications have been referred to wherever they were needed. Reports of the Commissioner, Commission for SCs and STs, Working Groups, Study Groups, and other expert committees etc. have also been very useful and thus increasingly used. The articles published in different journals, have been fruitfully referred.

1.53 The existing literature on tribal development amply suggest that a wide gap exists between the promises and performances in the administration for tribal development. This gap has in turn left the field for further research. Moreover, a serious study on tribal development

administration has remained conspicuously absent. It was only in 1975 that the total administrative arrangements for the development of tribes and tribal areas have undergone a recognisable change. This offers an ample opportunity to know the system in its totality. Therefore, the present study assumes that a satisfactory administration for tribal development programmes would be largely, if not wholly, dependent on organisation, co-ordination and performance of the ITDP and the effective implementation of family oriented schemes. The study also claims that it may fill a research gap by focusing on the working of tribal administration at the project and the grassroot levels and hopes to throw light on the complex process of rural development in general and tribal development in particular.

Objectives :

1.54 The present study is a modest endeavour to examine the role of administration in tribal development programmes. Efforts have been made to assess the efficacy of the organisational structure and their procedure to implement such programmes. An attempt has also been made to identify the success or failure of developmental programmes of the government departments. It has also been tried to trace out the existence of possible gaps between the expected role and role actually observed of the administrators in the implementation of such schemes. With these objectives, particular focus has been on :

(i) to see whether the socio-economic background of the tribals as clients and the officials as change agents are conducive in the process of development administration;

(ii) to examine the effectiveness of the administrative organisation particularly the ITDP (Integrated Tribal Development Project).

(iii) to see the problems of lands associated with tribals and programmes for the development of agriculture and allied activities for the tribals ;

(iv) to examine the effectiveness of the measures taken to educate the tribals with particular emphasis on elementary education;

(v) to appraise the condition of tribals in respect of income, indebtedness and employment and in this background to look into the process of implementation of Anti-Poverty Programmes under IRDP (Integrated Rural Development Programme); and to see their impact on tribal beneficiaries.

Location of the Study

1.55 With the above objectives in mind, Darjeeling districts in the state of West Bengal has been selected for this study. The scheduled Tribe population of West Bengal, according to 1991 census, is 38,08,760 constituting 5.59 per cent of total population³⁶. The corresponding number of ST in 1981 census was 30,70,672 which constituted 5.63 per cent of total state population and 6.00 per cent of the total ST population of India. There has, however, been a decrease in the percentage of ST population of the state in successive census from 5.72 per cent (1971) to 5.63 per cent (1981) and 5.59 per cent (1991). Whereas the gross population increase during 1971-81 period was 22.96 per cent, the growth of STs population during the period was 21.23 per cent which is 1.73 per cent less than the increase of

general population³⁷.

1.56 There are at present 38 communities recognised as Scheduled Tribes of the State as per latest notification, i.e., The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes order (Amendment) Act, 1976. (see Annexure II). Of them, Santal is the largest Scheduled Tribes covering 54.35 per cent of the total Scheduled Tribes population, followed by Oraon (11.49%), Munda (7.85%), Bhumij (6.69%), Kora (3.69%), Mahali (1.87%), Lodha/Kharia (1.81%), Bhutia (1.33%), Malpaharia (1.22%) and others (9.70%).³⁸ The Tribal Sub-Plan for West Bengal includes 12 Project Districts comprising 33 ITDP areas. These Project districts are Purulia, Bankura, Birbhum, Malda, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, West Denajpur (North & South), Midnapur, Murshidabad, Burdwan, 24 Paraganas (North & South) and Hoogly. There are 5823 mouzas under Tribal Sub-Plan areas of the state, which are located in 124 blocks and 33 ITDP areas. Altogether 15,54,499 tribal persons are covered and getting the benefits of Tribal Sub-Plan Programmes. They constitute 50.6 per cent of the total tribal population of the state. The Total ITDP area is 12415.22 sq. K.M. which is 14 per cent of the total geographical area of the state. The density of tribal in the TSP areas per sq. K.M. is 125.20, and outside TSP it is only 20.66.³⁹

1.57 The Tribal population in West Bengal present a peculiar habitation pattern which is unique in itself. Nowhere in West Bengal they live in absolute majority as in the case of some neighbouring states like Bihar, Orissa, Assam etc. They live normally interspersed with the other

sections of the population of the state. The distribution pattern of tribal population in the state manifests some interesting features for which their early migration to the State is a great contributing factor. They have mostly migrated from adjacent states of Bihar, Assam and Sikkim and from Bhutan and Tibet.⁴⁰

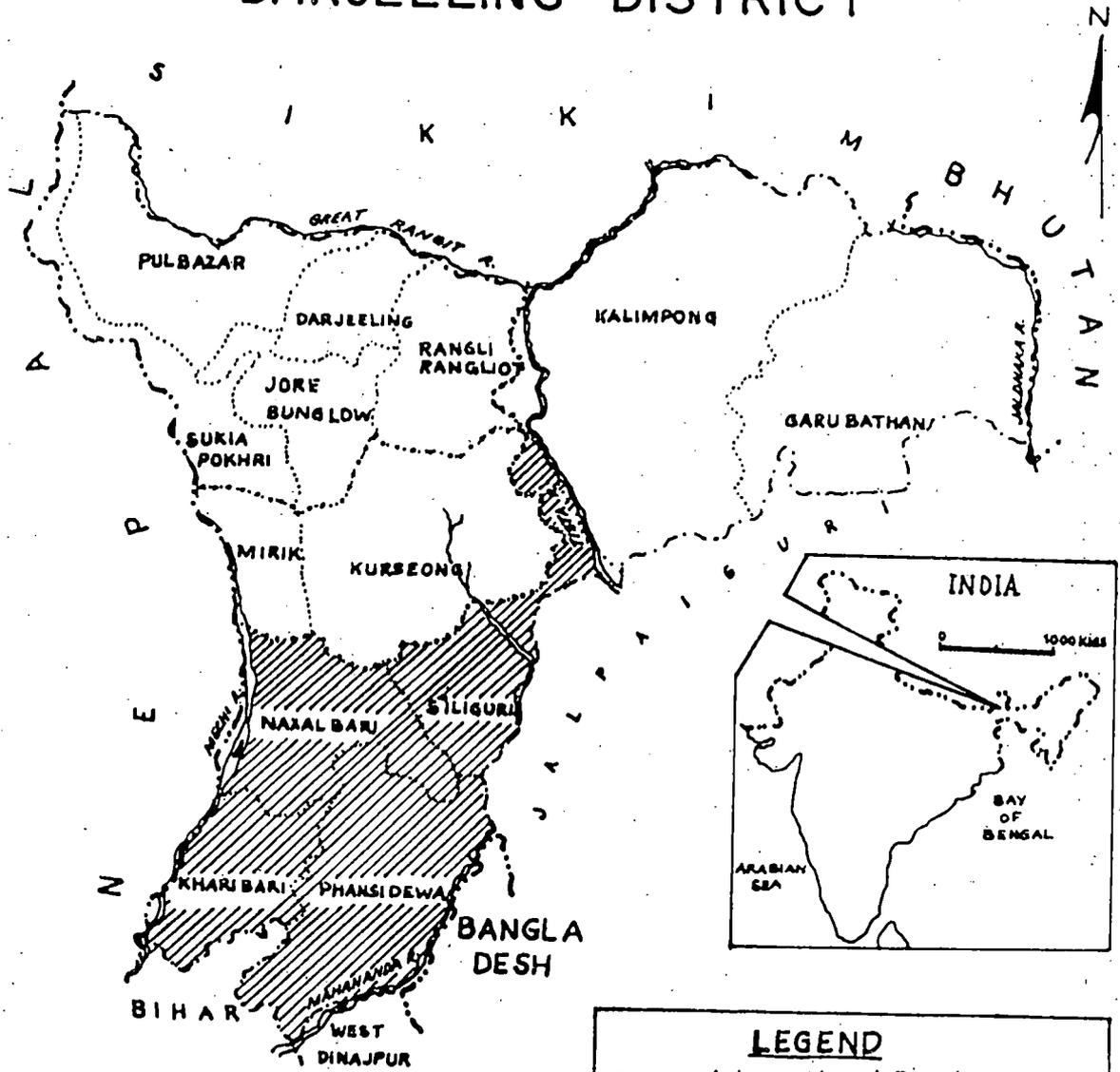
1.58 The 12 Project districts may be distributed grouping under three distinct Zones --- Northern zone, Central Plain zone and the Western Zone. These may also be classified, on the basis of geographical characteristics of the state. As such, they fall under five regions --- (i) Sub-Himalayan Region, (ii) Upper Gangetic Plain, (iii) Lower Gangetic Plain, (iv) Middle Bengal Plain and (v) Plateau Region.⁴¹

The Tribes in the District of Darjeeling :

1.59 Darjeeling district, the study area, falls under the Northern zone and the Sub-Himalayan region of the state. The district consists of two distinct geographical tracts --- the hills and the plains. The tract in the north consists of a portion of outlying hills of the lower Himalayas; and a stretch of territory lying along their base in south is plain and known also as 'the teria'. For the administrative purposes, the district is divided into four sub-divisions, viz., Sadar, Kalimpong, Kurseong and Siliguri, which altogether is comprised of ten blocks. The first three sub-divisions fall under the hill tract, and the last one, viz., Siliguri is in the plain.

1.60 The total population in the district is 12,99,919 (according to 1991 census)⁴² which is 1.91 per cent of the total State population. The corresponding population figure was

DARJEELING DISTRICT



LOCATION MAP



LEGEND

- International Boundary
- - - State Boundary
- District Boundary
- Sub-Division Boundary
- Police Station Boundary
- ~ River
- ▨ STUDY AREA

10,24,269 in 1981 census which was 1.88 per cent of state population. The district occupies only 3.68 per cent of the total area of the state. There are 1,79,153 Scheduled Tribes people constituting 13.78 per cent of total population of the district.⁴³ The percentage of tribes in the district is lower in comparison to 1981 census which constituted 14.75 per cent. The major tribal communities in the district are Oraons, Santals, Mundas, Malapharias, Kharias, Nagesias and Meches. The Oraons alone share 51.3 per cent. As in the case of other ITDP areas here also tribal population (46%) are engaged as cultivators. About 37 per cent are engaged in tea gardens as labourers.⁴⁴

1.61 There is only one ITDP in the district. It is being operated in the sub-division of Siliguri. The Project comprises partly of two blocks/Panchayat Samities - - - (i) Siliguri-Naxalbari, and (ii) Khoribari-Phansidewa, spreaded over four police stations. These are further sub-divided into a number of Gram Panchayats at grass root level, with the operationalisation of West Bengal Panchayat Act, 1973 as amended, since 1978. The Government has identified 136 (19.15 per cent) out of 710 mouzas to make this ITDP. The geographical area of this district is 3149 sq.K.M. of which 283.14 sq.K.M. (8.99 per cent) are ITDP areas. The density of ST population in the ITDP is 160.12 per sq.K.M.⁴⁵ However, the tribal people living in the three hill sub-divisions of the district, are not getting the benefit of the Tribal sub-Plan. Although, initially one ITDP was conceived for Kalimpong sub-division to cater to the needs of the hill tribes of that area, it was abolished in view of the fact that the area fell within Hill Areas Development Council (now Darjeeling Gorkha Hill

Council) and the same area could not attract more than one Special Central Assistance at the same time for hill area and tribal areas separately.⁴⁶

1.62 The present study has been limited to Darjeeling district, and particularly to the implementation of tribal development programmes within the above mentioned ITDP. This area has been selected for the purpose of empirical study primarily because study of this kind has not so far been undertaken in this part of the country. As such, this may throw some light regarding problems and prospect of tribal development to the district and state administration. Secondly, the area provided a convenient canvass to the researcher being located at reasonable distance from the university campus and also place of his work. This proximity also immensely helped to develop fruitful interactions with the administrators and the beneficiaries of the development schemes. Moreover, the impact of such schemes could be observed from a close distance. The study of this kind, hence, becomes more purposeful..pa

Research Methodology :

1.63 The whole study may be broadly divided into two parts. The first part deals with the conceptual framework. This includes brief description of the district as well as the Project of the study areas and also the development of tribal administration in India during pre and post independence periods. The development of administration can also be traced out in the provisions of the Constitution and in different strategies and approaches developed and adopted during successive Five Year Plans in order to give effect to tribal policies evolved towards the commencement of the

Constitution. This also deals with different experiments undertaken by the governments for improving the administration for tribal development from time to time. This is more descriptive in nature and based on information and other details available mostly from various literary sources.

1.64 The second part which is a study of policy impact is essentially empirical in nature. It attempts to look into the organisational and procedural aspects involved in the implementation of the different developmental programmes undertaken by various sectorial departments of government. It also tries to assess the impact of several family oriented anti-poverty programmes over the beneficiaries. Accordingly, it relies very much on the primary data and wherever necessary the secondary data have been used to supplement the former. The data were collected using interview schedules. Two such schedules were structured and canvassed - one for the tribal households, comprising both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries; and another for the officials who were directly involved in implementing development schemes at grassroot level. The schedules were both open-ended and closed.

1.65 For the collection of data on the household schedules, tribal mouzas or villages are first selected with the consultation of block officials and bank personnels where maximum number of such programmes had been executed in past years. Thereafter, a systematic sampling of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries was carried out in the selected mouzas or villages using the household interview schedules. Thus, data from 160

tribal households comprising 130 beneficiaries and 30 non-beneficiaries scattered over 10 ITDP mouzas of 10 G.Ps. were collected. The following table shows the selected mouzas or villages and number of tribal beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries interviewed in two development blocks and different banks having their service areas:

Table 1.1 : Block - Mouzas - G.P. and Bankwise Distribution of Beneficiary and Non-Beneficiary Respondents.

Name of Blocks	Name of ITDP mouzas	Name of G.P.	Name of Banks	No. of Benef.	No. of Non-Benef.	Total	
Siliguri - Naxalbari	Sadhramjot	Bagdogra	CBI Bagd.	22	01	23	
	Kalamjot	Athara- khai I	UBKGB At- harakhai	14	03	17	
	Palas	Champa- sari	UBKGB Pradhan Nagar	11	02	13	
	Pachkalguri	Pathar- ghata	UBKGB Kh- apraill	10	03	13	
	Mirjangla	Maniram	CBI Naxa- lbari	14	02	16	
	Putimari	Gosaipur	UBI Sili- guri	13	05	18	
	Khoribari - Phasidewa	Nunujot	Hetmuri- Singhe- jhora	IOB Sili- guri	13	05	18
Baraghorla		Bidhan- nagar	CBI Bidh- annagar	10	02	12	
Mainaguri		Ranigunj- Panisali	UBKGB Kh- oribari	13	02	15	
Fulbarichhat		Buragunj	CBI Naxal- bari	10	05	15	
Total				:	130	30	160

1.66 The official schedules were prepared only after the completion of household survey and on the basis of field observations made therein. These schedules were administered particularly to the officials of the following categories - (i) Panchayats comprising elected members, Pradhans and Upa-Pradhans of Gram Panchayats, and members of Panchayat Samities,

(ii) the personnels of Commercial banks, Regional Rural Banks and other financial institutions. Particular emphasis was given to the field level officials who were directly concerned with financing government sponsored family oriented anti-poverty schemes and (iii) the government servants particularly the extension and the other field staff of various sectorial departments, concerned with implementation, follow up and supervision of ongoing development schemes.

1.67 Though, an attempt was made to cover the entire universe of the concerned field officials, but who actually responded the canvassed schedules was only 62, comprising 19 Panchayats, 20 bank personnels and 23 government servants. In addition to these, other officials at the district, state and national levels were also contacted formally or informally in order to test the veracity of the views expressed by respondent officials and beneficiaries on various issues involved in tribal development administration. Besides, the observational techniques mostly non-participant were also used to supplement data collected through questionnaires. Various work spots like construction of wells, culverts, fish- ponds, roads etc. and assets procured by the beneficiaries like hand pumps, livestocks and others were verified to have an insight in the execution of various developmental works. Moreover, informal talks and free conversations with knowledgeable persons, members of voluntary organisations etc. also helped to gather useful information.

Sources of data:

1.68 The sources of data collected for this study, therefore, include both primary and secondary. The primary sources include

the data acquired from the field through observation and interview schedules. These also include official records and reports of expert committees, commissions and working groups. The information provided by Gazetteers, the statistical accounts of Planning Commissions, Census Reports etc. have also been made use of. The Census Report of 1991 have been used where ever available beside using reports of 1981 and earlier ones. The secondary sources are the published books and research articles having a direct bearing on the area of research. The papers and proceedings of seminars, workshops and conferences have also been very fruitfully used. The numerical data collected from the field, reports etc. have been presented in the form of tables. Simple statistical methods of frequency distribution, percentage and mean calculation etc. have been followed. The figures in the parenthesis of each table show percentage of total numbers.

Reference time:

1.69 The field data for this study are collected for a period between the years 1980 - 81 to 1990 - 91. That the 1980-81^{was} the beginning of the revised Sixth Five Year Plan, the inception of the ITDP in Darjeeling,⁴⁷ and also the countrywide introduction of IRDP While 1990 - 91 was the end of the Seventh Plan. Therefore, the field study incorporates data availed for ten years during Sixth and Seventh Five Year Plans.

Limitations of the Study :

1.70 The study was initially designed to cover both the hill and plain areas of Darjeeling district, and to collect field data from both of these areas. But later on, field data could not be collected from the hill areas because of on going Gorkhaland

agitation and due to prevailing uneasy and uncongenial situation even after the agitation. It was apprehended that a meaningful study of this kind was not possible in such a situation. Therefore, the study had to be limited only to the plain areas of the district. However, due to the location of ITDP in the plain areas only, the exclusion of field data from the hills did not affect the basic purposes of the study.

1.71 Several problems, however, arose during the course of field work. The incorrect information from the tribal respondents put the matter on some occasions in a very ambiguous situation. Moreover, the apprehensive and evasive nature of the respondents also seemed to be a difficulty in the way of getting meaningful collection of primary data from field survey. The existence of widespread illiteracy and ignorance at a time helped in getting free, frank and sincere responses; but at other these also appeared to pose problems in getting precise information. However, most of the difficulties were overcome with the help of other members of the family, or neighbours in the villages.

1.72 The official respondents were free and frank during the general discussions on the subject, and also admitted the need and utility of this type of research. They asserted the opinion that they were to act within the orbit of rules and other limitations and hence could not express their grievances publicly. As such, they felt that academic studies would be of great help to focus their strains and stresses. Some of them even suggested certain measures to make the administration more effective. The interviews were both formal and informal; and took place, in most of the cases, over a cup of hot tea offered by the respondents. But, however, in course of interview and

discussions, few officials apprehended the limitations posed by their position and responded evasively.

1.73 Many a time required officials could not be contacted for they being out of office. They were contacted next time. But even then, some officials could not be interviewed due to their absence or heavy work schedule. Some of them were given the interview schedules to be filled up by themselves at their convenience and to return them when done with. Thus lack of initiative from many field officials limited the scope of investigation.

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