

Chapter III

DEVELOPMENT OF TRIBAL ADMINISTRATION

In a developing country like India, development administration is not only the administration of development programmes designed to transform the quality of human life, but is also intended to connote precisely the manner in which planned change is affected. In other words, the essence of development administration is holistic change undertaken through integrated, organised and properly directed governmental actions. The administrative organisations have to be structured or restructured with a view to improving their capacity to attain the developmental goals which Riggs likes to describe as "development of administration". In this context, the development of tribal administration in India can be broadly divided into four distinct periods. Dr. B.D. Sharma divided these in terms of time sequence ---- (a) Before 1947, (b) 1947-1952, (c) 1952-1974 and (d) 1974 onwards.¹ Corresponding to, time sequence these may also be classified as (i) Pre-independence period, (ii) Formative period, (iii) Initial Plans period, and (iv) New Strategy period.

(i) Pre-independence period (before 1947)

3.02 The Britishers came into contact with the tribes during their efforts for the consolidation of the Indian empire. The tribal areas were the last to come under the British power because of their difficult terrain and inaccessibility. ² To

Prof. Haimendorf before the 19th century there was more or less "frictionless co-existence between tribal folk and Hindu caste society in the truest sense of the word".³ The East India Co. faced serious troubles as it decided to extend its control over tribal areas. Several administrative measures taken by it led to the destruction of communal land tenure and impaired the social solidarity of the tribal villages. The tribal proprietors were reduced to the tenants-at-will and evils of land lordism and rackrenting prevailed.

3.03 This resulted in successive uprising of tribals ----- Mundas in 1789, 1807, 1812, 1819-20 and 1831-32; Kol rebellions of 1817 and 1832. In Bengal also several rebellions took place like the Chuar rebellion among Bhumij in 1832-33, and Santals in 1835-36, 1854-55 and later in the 20th century the Tana Bhagat movement among Oraons in 1914.⁴

3.04 Quite early the Britishers had to control the turbulent Hill Pahariyas of the Rajmahal Hills (Bengal) who had risen in revolt against the Hindu Zamindars. They were at first subdued in a clash of arms, but soon after a policy of pacification was decided upon. In 1782, on the suggestion of Augustus Cleveland, the administration of the Rajmahal Hills were withdrawn from normal administration. Local courts, consisting of local leaders, were given civil and criminal jurisdiction over the Hill tract. Contact with zamindars were severed and Pahariyas held rent free land. A Hill Assembly was formed not only to administer justice but also to frame rules for its own procedure for conducting the affairs of the tribes. Thus were laid the foundation of the British policy towards the tribes which in course of the next 125 years developed into a policy of *laissez faire* and of

segregation of tribal areas.⁵ In 1796 the rules evolved for the Pahariyas were embodied in Regulation I of that year. But the experiment did not succeed over time. Inefficiency and corruption crept in, and in 1827, Regulation I of 1796 was abolished. Instead a new Regulation I of 1827 brought the Pahariyas and other adjacent tribes under the partial jurisdiction of ordinary courts, providing special exemptions from the application of laws in their favour.⁶

3.05 The tribal areas were, thus, brought under the non-Regulated system of administration to be administered by plain codes singly by the Commissioner or Deputy Commissioner, as the case might be, without any help of normal regulation of the British Indian Government. The system was introduced by the Regulation X of 1822. It provided for the Commissioner or Deputy Commissioner to act in the capacity as judge, magistrate and collector and to make their own rules for the conduct of the administrative business of the Non-Regulated Tract under their jurisdiction.⁷

3.06 It was increasingly realised by the British Government that there were two dangers to which subvention to normal laws would have specially exposed the tribal people. There was a risk of their agricultural land passing to more influential section of people and secondly they were likely to get into the clutches of the unscrupulous trader-cum-money lenders. Both of these arose out of the fact that they were primitive, simple, unsophisticated and at times imprudent. The main aim of the administration then was to protect the tribals from these dangers and also to protect their customs. This was sought to be achieved by creating a

distinct class of such areas and prescribing special procedures applicable to these areas.⁸

The Scheduled Districts Act, 1874 :

3.07 As a result of Non-Regulated System being practiced in different areas under different authorities, there were no consistencies in the administration of the tribal areas, declared as Non-Regulated Tracts. To remove these inconsistencies, earlier in 1870, the British Parliament gave the Governor-General-in-Council of India the power to legalize the regulation under which various areas were being specially administered.⁹ Consequently, the Scheduled Districts Act, 1874 was passed by Indian Legislature which appears to be first measure adopted to deal with these areas as a class. The Act enabled the executive to extend any enactment in force in any part of British India to a 'Scheduled District' with such modification as might be considered necessary. Thus the executive was vested with the authority to exclude these areas from the normal operation of ordinary laws and gave them such protection as they might need.¹⁰

3.08 Accordingly, a number of tracts were specified and constituted as "Scheduled Districts". Darjeeling district was one of them.¹¹ A large tract of tribal areas were taken outside the jurisdiction of normal administration. The executives were endowed with wide powers. To avoid troubles from violent tribals, the British Government adopted a policy of pacification, through indirect rule with respect to tribal areas and treated them differently from the rest of the country.¹² British policy was in short a hotch-potch of segregation, often unnecessary and harmful, and lack of discrimination or unfair discrimination in administration, both of which hit the tribes hard.¹³ The main

purpose of the British policy was to secure peace and not necessarily to help the people advance on the road of progress.¹⁴

The Government of India Act, 1919

3.09 The Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918 suggested that the political reforms contemplated for the rest of India could not apply to these backward areas where the people were primitive and there was no material on which to found political institutions. These areas were, therefore, to be excluded from the jurisdiction of the reformed Provincial Governments.¹⁵ They thought such areas could be fairly demarcated. In their opinion, they would be the tracts included in the schedules and appendices of the Scheduled Districts Act of 1874 with certain exceptions and possible certain additions. Though they did not want to specify them nor to lay down the precise arrangement for their administration, they thought that the 'typically backward tracts' could be directly administered by the head of the provinces. All specification was to be left to the Government of India.¹⁶

3.10 The Government of India Act, 1919 in its proposals under Section 52-A(2) divided the backward areas into two classes: (i) 'wholly excluded Areas' and (ii) 'Areas with modified Exclusion'. In classifying the areas specifically under one or the other category it was 'guided partly by the existing legal position in respect of the several areas, and partly by the recommendations of the local Governments'.¹⁷

3.11 The arrangement for the total exclusion was applied to a small areas, viz., (i) Laccadive Islands and Minicoy in the then Madras Province; (ii) Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bengal; (iii) the small area of Spiti in the then Punjab and (iv) Angul

district in Orissa.¹⁸ These areas were considered so backward that they were wholly excluded from the scope of reforms. The effect of this was that neither the Central nor the Provincial Legislature had power to make laws applicable to these areas and the power of legislation was vested in the Governor acting with his Executive Council, the ministers being excluded from having any share in the responsibility for the administration of these areas. Proposals for expenditure in these tracts were not required to be submitted to the vote of the legislative Assembly and no question could be asked and no subject relating to any of these tracts could be discussed in the Assembly without Governor's sanction.¹⁹

3.12 A system of modified exclusion was applied to other backward areas, the reserved half of the dyarchical government being vested with power to apply or to refrain from applying any new provincial enactment.²⁰ In respect of these areas the legislatures might pass laws, but with the provision therein that they could come into operation on such date and with such modifications and exceptions as the Governor-general -in-council or the Governor -in-Council might direct.²¹ Of these areas of Modified Exclusion, **Darjeeling** district was identified as one.²²

3.13 But it is also clear that dividing line between the two was very thin. In both cases, whether a law was or was not to be applied, and if to be applied with what modifications, was decided by the Governor-General-in-Council or the Governor-in-Council. The Legislatures by themselves were powerless to enact any law which would directly apply to any of the Backward Tracts. The Indian Statutory Commission, later on, rightly

observed, "there exists a complete statutory bar to the legislative authority of the legislatures within every backward tract."²³

The Government of India Act, 1935 :

3.14 The Indian Statutory Commission (the Simon Commission) realised that the perpetual isolation from the main currents of progress would not be a satisfactory long term solution. It would be necessary to educate these people ultimately to become self reliant. The Commission observed "the responsibility of Parliament for the backward tracts will not be discharged merely by securing to them protection from exploitation and by preventing them those outbreaks which have from time to time occurred within their borders. The principal duty of the administration is to educate these people to stand on their own feet, and this is a process which has scarcely begun".²⁴

3.15 The British government in its proposals accepted the principle of exclusion. Under the Government of India Act, 1935 the backward areas were classified as 'Excluded Areas' and 'Partially Excluded Areas'. The Excluded Areas were placed under the provincial rule of the Governor acting in his discretion and the Partially Excluded Areas were within the field of ministerial responsibility, the Governors exercised a special responsibility in respect of the administration of these areas and they had the power in their individual judgment to overrule the Ministers if they thought it fit to do so.²⁵

3.16 The list of these areas was finally embodied in the Government of India (Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas)

order, 1936. Darjeeling district was enlisted as **Partially Excluded Area**.²⁶

3.17 The Act, under Section 91, provided that an Excluded Area or part of it shall become a Partially Excluded Area or that a Partially Excluded Area or part of it shall cease to be so. But no new tract can be added to the list either of one category or of the other. Under Section 92, no Act of the Federal or the Provincial Legislature applies to an Excluded or to a Partially Excluded Area unless the Governor directs its application by notification. In applying any Act the Governor may make such modifications or exceptions as he thinks fit. As regards, Excluded Areas, the Governor "shall exercise his functions in his discretion"²⁷

3.18 The main features distinguishing an Excluded area from a Partially Excluded Area were : first, the Governor was required to exercise his functions in regard to an Excluded Area in his own discretion, but in regard to a Partially Excluded Area he was not so required. Similarly, the Ministers had right to advise the Governor in discharge of functions in regard to Partially Excluded Areas but had no such right in the case of an Excluded Area. Second, the expenditure in regard to an Excluded Area was non-votable while the demands in the case of a Partially Excluded Area had to be submitted to a vote of legislature, though the vote might not ultimately affect the demands. Third, no question could be asked on matters relating to the administration of Excluded Areas without the consent of the Governor. But in respect of Partially Excluded Areas free discussion without Governor's previous assent was possible.²⁸

3.19 Thus, the administration in tribal areas during the pre-independence days was not formalised. Development, as a function of the administration, had yet to emerge. Therefore, the socio-economic life of the community was largely left untouched. The contact points between the people and the administration were minimal. Maintenance of order and protection from unwanted elements, where necessary, were the main objectives of administration.²⁹ The non-regulation systems of field administration was a half way house between despotic personal rule and the government by impersonal rule of law. Initially devised as a political instrument to keep under imperial control newly annexed tracts of country inhabited by wild and semi-civilised people and formulated as an ideology to justify this control the non-regulation system aimed to retain as far as expedient the indigenous institutions intact. The pattern of administration of a non-regulation area was unitary and military in form, the non-regulation officers being a paternalist of the benevolent type. The Deputy Commissioner was the fulcrum of the system, and his duties and powers were conceived in terms of what the British paternalists imagined was "Oriental Despotism".³⁰ The successful operation of administration depended to a large measure upon the administrator's personal quality of character, initiative and vigour.³¹ The doctrine of separation of powers was also rendered inapplicable to such areas. Executive, judicial and legislative powers were all wielded by the administrator. He was as if the exclusive superintendent of zoo.³²

3.20 The insulation of tribals from the main current of

Indian life helped the tribes in preserving their traditions, but at the same time it also hindered the growth of competence in them to face challenges of contemporary world. The British policy of isolating the tribes resulted in the large scale exploitation in various degrees by landlords, money-lenders, contractors and middlemen adding to their already strained life in fighting the onslaught of ruthless nature.³³

3.21 The position of the tribal people on the eve of India's independence has been ably summarised by the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission as follows :

".... the policy of isolation and drift meant nothing more than maintenance of *status quo*. It resulted in reducing the tribals to a state of penury in most part of India. They were at lowest level of literacy except in certain parts. Their land was heavily accumbered and a good portion had already passed into the hands of non-tribals. Their rights in forest were definitely encroached upon. Outside elements introduced for the purpose of government and forest work continued to exploit them. On many an occasion the tribals rose in revolt and reforms were ordered, but all these proved futile".³⁴

The Proposals of the Cabinet Mission :

3.22 The Cabinet Mission Plan (1946), accepted by the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, contained the blueprint for the setting up of a Constituent Assembly to draft India's Constitution and some of the basic principles to which this Constitution would adhere.

3.23 The Cabinet Mission recommended a basic form for the Constitution including clauses for rights and protection of the minorities (Tribes being one of them). The Cabinet Mission's statement playing upon the apprehensions of the Muslims contained far reaching safeguards for the minorities. In fact, the Cabinet Mission made it clear that the ce-ssion of sovereignty to the

Indian people, on the basis of a Constitution framed by the Assembly, would be conditional on adequate provisions being made for the protection of minorities.³⁵

3.24 These went on to foster and encourage a feeling of insecurity among the minorities and a claimer and expectation for a protective framework, not very much different from what the British rulers in India had devised from time to time. These expectation on the one hand and the guarantees contained in the Cabinet Mission Plan seemed to be historically inevitable determinants of the Constitutional provisions for the minorities.³⁶

3.25 The brief historical survey of the development in Constitution making brings us to two basic points. Firstly, even though India's effort to prepare its Constitution through its own democratic body was the first in the colonial history, some of the basic features of the Constitution were the dictates of the outgoing colonial power. Secondly, the socio-political history of the past 50 years had resulted into an atmosphere, certain attitudes and political thinking which acted as constraints on making a departure from the existing Constitutional framework, mainly the Government of India Act, 1935.

3.26 The Cabinet Mission's statement of 16th May 1946 mentioned the Excluded and the Partially Excluded Areas and the Tribal Areas as requiring the special attention of the Constituent Assembly. The Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights and Minorities consequently, set up three sub-committees for : (i) the Tribal and Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas in Assam ; (ii) the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas in the

Provinces other than Assam and (iii) the tribal areas in the NWFP and Baluchistan. The third sub-committee became the concern of the Dominion of Pakistan and therefore this was not called upon to function on behalf of the Constituent Assembly of India.³⁷

3.27 The sub-committee on the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas of Assam (the Bordoloi Committee) submitted its report on July 1947. The Sub-Committee on the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas in the Provinces other than Assam (Thakkar Committee) submitted its report in two instalments, i.e., in August 1947 and September 1947. Both these committees recognised that the ultimate solution to the problem of backward tribals and their areas lie in development, and not in isolation. They also did not find it advisable to abolish the administrative distinction between backward areas and rest of the country.

(ii) The Formative Period (1947-52)

3.28 It was only with the attainment of independence that India became fully conscious of her responsibilities towards the tribals. The Thakkar Committee anticipated that the state had a responsibility for the welfare of the tribal people and the development of the remotest of the tribal areas. The greatest need of the tribals was protection from expropriation from their agricultural lands and strangle hold of the money-lenders. The Sub-Committee also sounded a note of caution by pointing out that the sudden disruption of tribal customs and way of life was also capable of doing them great harm. It, therefore, recommended that considering the past experience, it was essential to provide statutory safeguards for the protection

of the tribal's economic life and for their customs and institutions. It also urged that all tribals wherever they were found must be brought within the contemplated constitutional arrangements. This was a significant change from the policy hitherto pursued and focused the attention of the government on the necessity of viewing the tribal problem as a whole.³⁸

3.29 The most significant change in the administrative scene after independence was caused by the accession of Indian States to the Indian Union. All parts of the nation were gradually brought within a common system although in the beginning many innovative institutional forms were tried with a view to accommodate the widely spread Indian States with varying levels of administrative and political development. This was also the period when the foundations were laid for a secular democratic society with the enactment and adoption of the Indian Constitution.³⁹

3.30 Thus it is clear that during the first few years, after independence, a final shape was given to the formal frame in the Constitution, keeping in view of the special requirement of the tribes and tribal areas. But another noteworthy tendency was also becoming clear simultaneously which was contrary to the basic premise of these provisions. The areas were being brought within the fold of normal administrative system as a part of larger State units. The tribal areas in the erstwhile Indian States experienced important and sometimes basic changes. The informal and unsophisticated form of administration was gradually replaced by the more formalised administration. As such, this period can be described as an 'interregnum' between the earlier British

System and the new system which was to emerge after the problem of transition had been sorted out and the system got a better foothold in these regions.⁴⁰

The important Provisions in the Constitution of India :

3.31 A number of special provisions have been made in the Constitution of India for safeguarding rights and interests of Scheduled Tribes as well as for their accelerated rate of development so as to bring them up to the level of the general population of the society as early as possible.

3.32 Devising suitable ways and means to protect the weaker sections of the society from all kinds of exploitation was the marathon task forced by the framers of the Indian Constitution. They were confronted with the problem of ensuring balanced development of these communities so that they could take their legitimate place in the general life of the country without endangering their own way of life. Although many provisions in the Constitution apply to all the citizens, they acquire a special significance in the case of the tribal communities. Besides, several Articles of the Constitution are exclusively intended for the betterment and protection of these segments of the society.

3.33 In the new federal structure, a special place was assigned to the tribal areas. The founding fathers of the nation appreciated their unique socio-economic situation which was simple and which may require a completely different dispensation during the period of transition. Tribal development or administration of tribal areas was not formally assigned to any of the three lists in the Constitution. But these areas were

brought under two Schedules (Fifth and Sixth), for which special provisions were made. The 'excluded areas' were put under the Sixth Schedule. The 'partially excluded areas' and some of the tribal areas in the erstwhile Indian States were included in the Fifth Schedule. Good administration of these areas was made a responsibility of the Union Government.⁴¹

3.34 The Preamble to the Constitution anticipates social, economic and political justice; equality of status and opportunity; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith, and worship. It strives to promote fraternity among the masses in order to ensure the dignity of the Individuals along with the unity of the country.

3.35 Part III of the Constitution deals with the Fundamental Rights and guarantees to all the citizens equality before law irrespective of difference of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth (Article 15). This is significant in the tribal context since these communities have been discriminated on almost all these grounds in the past. Equality of opportunity in matters of employment with the Government has been ensured under Article 16. Many personal freedoms like those of speech, expression, residence etc. have been guaranteed under Article 19. However, for the protection of interest of any Scheduled Tribe the Article further specifies that nothing relating to sub-clauses on freedom of movement, residence etc. shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the state from making any law imposing restrictions. Similarly, while Article 23 prohibits traffic in human beings and forced labour, Article 25 grants right to freedom of religion and Article 29 protects the

cultural and educational rights of the minorities of whom the tribal communities form a very important part.

3.36 It is, however, Part IV, Article 46, which embodies the resurgent India's new policy towards the Scheduled Tribes:

"The state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation".

3.37 Part VI, Article 164 makes the provision for the appointment of a separate Minister for Tribal Welfare in the states of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa. Article 244 empowers the President of India to declare any area where there is substantial population of the tribals, as a Scheduled Area under the Fifth Schedule. The same provision has been made for the tribes of Assam under the Sixth Schedule. Similarly under the Fifth Schedule the executive power of a state extends to the Schedule Areas, but the Governor is authorised to modify the state and the Central laws for their peace and good government. In all the states having such Scheduled Areas a Tribes Advisory Council has to be set up and the Governor is expected to submit periodical reports to the President of India.

3.38 Article 275 provides for Special Central Assistance by the Union Government to the states for promoting the welfare of the scheduled tribes:

"There shall be paid out of the Consolidated Fund of India as grants in aid of the revenue of a state such capital and recurring sums as may be necessary to enable that state to meet the cost of such schemes of development as may be undertaken by the state with the approval of Government of India for the purpose of promoting the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in that state or raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas therein to that of administration of the rest of the state".

3.39 Tribal Areas have also been kept outside the purview of the Finance Commission since it was felt that the Constitutional provisions were so wide in scope that any scheme considered necessary for the development of the tribal communities was entitled for automatic financial sanction once it was approved.

3.40 Articles 330, 332 and 334 provide for the reservation of seats for the Scheduled Tribes in the Lok Sabha and in the state Legislatures for a certain period. Reservation in the Government services has been provided under Article 335. Article 338 makes the provision for the appointment of a Special Officer designated as the Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes by the President of India to investigate all matters relating to safeguards provided for the SCs and the STs under this Constitution and to report them to the President.

3.41 Article 339 lays down that "the executive power of the Union extends to the giving of directions to a state as to the drawing up and execution of schemes specified in the direction to be essential for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the state".

3.42 The President of India was also empowered under Article 340 to appoint a Commission to investigate the condition of the backward classes and suggest suitable measures. The Commission envisaged by this Article submitted its report in 1961. It made some useful recommendations pertaining to the protection of the tribals' interest in land and forests, prevention of encroachment on cultivable land belonging to the tribals; checking of the exploitation of the tribals by the money-lenders, and undertaking development measures to

improve the lots of the tribals living in the non-schedule areas. It also recommended that more funds should be made available for the welfare schemes of the Scheduled Tribes.

3.43 Under Article 342 the President is to specify by public notification, after consultation with the Governor of a state the Scheduled Tribes of that state. Accordingly, in 1950-51, such lists of Scheduled Tribes were notified by the President and are contained in the Schedules appended to various Orders. Such Orders and Acts have been modified and amended from time to time keeping in view of the needs of different states, principal of these being in 1956 and 1976.

3.44 Thus, the Constitution, as a legal frame, provide an ideal setting for effectiveness of administration and its adaptability and responsiveness to the local situation, keeping the interests of the tribal communities always the uppermost. The central point in this scheme is its flexibility. The intention is that on no account, the task of tribal development should suffer.⁴²

3.45 The Constitutional safeguards provide a broad framework, but details of a policy of reconstruction might vary from state to state since each of them has its own typical problems arising from very different causes. The provisions in the Constitution were the first positive effort to bring the tribal communities in the mainstream of national life with adequate safeguards. Although the basic framework of the Constitution cannot be considered inadequate, it appears that the broad frame envisaged therein has remained largely unused. Some of the Constitutional provisions were originally meant for 10 years, obviously with

the hope that an effective follow of programme would obviate the need for their continuance. This hope, however, did not materialise and the period had to be extended for a number of times which could be the results of deficiencies in the performance.

Evolution of Tribal Policy :

3.46 In the early period of independence, there existed two distinct schools of thought advocating two theories to deal with the tribals - (i) the isolation and (ii) the assimilation.

3.47 The early British administrators, and the anthropologists like Hutton, Elwin and others thought that solution of the tribal problems was to be in the creation of self-governing areas for these people. Elwin advocated the establishment of a 'National Park' to protect the tribals against "the over-hasty and unregulated process of uplift and civilisation".⁴³ Though he declared himself later on that the policy of isolation was no longer necessary after independence; and that everything necessary should be done for the development of the tribals provided that the quality of tribal life was not impaired and the tribal culture was not destroyed.

3.48 In contrast to isolationism, the policy of assimilation was put forwarded by other social scientists and social workers chiefly by Dr. G. S. Ghurye, A. V. Thakkar and others. The Missionaries also supported the view for assimilating the tribals with the greater Christian and Hindu Society. While Ghurye viewed "assimilation of tribal people into Hindu society should be easy and almost natural", Thakkar maintained tribals to share the privileges on equal terms in the general social and political

life of the country. "Separation and isolation are dangerous theories and strike at the root of national solidarity. Safety lies in union and not in isolation".⁴⁴

3.49 However, the forces of national development released by independence and plan programmes have accelerated the process of bringing the tribes in the mainstream of the national life. The approaches of isolationism and assimilation have thus been abandoned in favour of integration. Inter-culture transmission is the secret of cultural development and enrichment. Assimilation, on the other hand, aims at uniformity and thus denies separate identity to the tribal people. People assimilated in this manner tend to become culturally rootless and the nation poorer. The process of integration permits the various groups to retain their separate identity by developing cultural adjustments through which they become one and yet remain distinct. Integration should be viewed both in its functional and configurational aspects. It is dynamic concept and the changes it seeks to introduce have to be evolutionary rather than revolutionary. It is expected that the tribals will gradually but effectively adjust themselves with the rest of the nation.⁴⁵

3.50 Jawaharlal Nehru felt that "we should avoid two extreme courses : one was to treat them as anthropological specimen for study and the other was to allow them to be engulfed by the masses of Indian humanity. It was true that they could not be left cut off from the world as they were. Political and economic forces impringed upon them and it was not possible and desirable to isolate them. Equally undesirable it seemed to me, was to allow these forces to function freely and upset their whole life and culture, which had so much of good in them".⁴⁶ He

further cautioned "We cannot allow matters to drift in the tribal areas or just not take interest in them. In the world of today, that is not possible or desirable At the same time we should avoid over-administering the areas and in particular, sending to many outsiders into the territory. It is between the two extreme positions we have to function". The policy of tribal development should, therefore, be pursued within the broad framework of the following five fundamental principles,⁴⁷ popularly known as his 'Panchasheel for tribal development'.

"1) People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture;

(2) Tribals rights in land and forests should be respected;

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

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

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

3.51 Subsequently, Smt. Indira Gandhi also emphasized the perpetuation of the same policy. She observed, "Development would bring about change, but that should not lead to change of the personality of the tribals. They have distinct traditions and it should be the endeavour to have their culture and ethos preserved to the extent possible".⁴⁸

3.52 The Dhebar Commission defined the objectives of

development among tribals as "advancement and integration of tribals the problem of problems is not to disturb the harmony of tribal life and simultaneously work for its advance". (1961 : 6) With a view to clearing the confusion regarding the aim of tribal welfare policy created on account of two different views that tribals should 'develop along the line of their own genius' and that there should be a rapid 'integration of tribal communities with the general population' as recommended by the Dhebar Commission, the Study Team on Tribal Development Programmes headed by P. Shilu Ao, in their Report(1969) observed that the progress was to be "achieved not by attempting to transform them overnight into carbon copies of the sophisticated plainsmen but by fostering all that is good and beautiful in their culture --- their aesthetic sense, their honesty, their zest for life, in other words, by a process of growth which has its roots in their traditions and by instilling in them a sense of pride in their heritage and a feeling of equality in place of the existing feeling of inferiority".

3.53 The Study Team, spelling out the aims of the policy on tribal development, suggested:

"..... progressive advancement, social and economic, of the tribals with a view to their integration with the rest of the community on a footing of equality within a reasonable distance of time and it may be 5 to 10 years in the case of certain tribes, more particularly the tribes who have come to contact with the general population by living in the plains, it may be two decades or more in the case of tribals who are still in the primitive food gathering stage".

(iii). The Initial Plan Periods (1952 - 1974) :

3.54 With the commencement of the Constitution in 1950, and the beginning of the planned development under different Five

Year Plans since 1951-52, the protection and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes became a special responsibility of the government. Tribal problem at once became an integral part of the development of the Indian people as a whole. For the first time, a clearly defined plan of development was being initiated. The administration was being equipped for undertaking the new development responsibilities.

Early Experiments in Rural Development Administration :

3.55 The experiences gained in the early experimental projects such as the extension programmes at Sriniketan, Martandam, Gurgaon and Sevagram provided the basis for the rural development administration.⁴⁹ The experimental projects applied a co-ordinated approach, with the management of the project being entrusted to one co-ordinating person under whom worked a team of generalists and specialists. Valuable experiences was provided for evolving later programmes of the Firka Development Schemes of Madras State in 1946, and the Community Scheme at Etawah in 1948. The Etawah project provided the concept of a Multipurpose Extension Agent called as 'Village Level Worker'(V.L.W.) supervised by a team of technical experts working under a generalist. This pattern of administration came to be adopted by the Community Development Blocks and National Extension Service Projects with the introduction of Planned development.

The Community Development Programme and the National Extension Service:

3.56 The Community Development Programme was inaugurated in the year 1952 with the objectives of (i) providing substantial increase in the country's agricultural production and improving the systems of communication, rural health, hygiene, and rural

education; and (ii) initiating a process of integrated cultural change aimed at transforming the social and economic life of the villagers.

3.57 The Community Development Projects were comprehensive in scope and offered a co-ordinated programme for multi-sided rural development. Later, in 1953, under similar administrative set up National Extension Service Blocks were opened. These N.E.S. Blocks were less intensive in scope due to the reduced financial outlay, but multi-sided approach continued.

3.58 Under these Projects, Block, below the district, was identified as the unit of development administration. The important principles involved in the administration of Block are: (i) there should be close co-operation in all departments concerned with developments; (ii) at every stage, the official agency should work in close co-operation with best non-official leadership and (iii) at the point of contact with the villagers there should be a trained multi-purpose worker who would act as a common agent to all development departments. Based on these principles the Block executive team consisted of a number of multi-purpose workers (V.L.Ws), subject-matter specialists (Extension Officers) under a Block Development Officer (B.D.O.) who was a generalist. The specialists are under the control of their own departmental heads at the district level and are co-ordinated by the B.D.O. at Block level. At village level, the V.L.W. is the grass-root level functionary in charge of the programmes of development.⁵⁰ The activities taken during the First Five Year Plan was common to all; and as such, no separate arrangement was made exclusively for the tribal development.

Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks :

3.59 On 2nd October, 1956, during Second Five Year Plan, forty three Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks (S.M.P.T. Blocks) were opened in different states of the country to speed up the process of development in the areas of greatest tribal concentration. The introduction of S.M.P.T. Blocks marked the beginning of the first significant and systematic step taken towards the all-round development of tribal areas. These Blocks were jointly sponsored by the Ministries of Home Affairs and Community Development. As usual, the State Governments were given charge of implementation of this programme as well. These S.M.P.T. Blocks differed basically from normal blocks on the following points :

(i) Development programmes to be implemented were more intensive in character.

(ii) The population and area coverage was to be much less than normal blocks.

(iii) People's contribution had to be kept to the minimum and limited only to supply the unskilled labour at a lower rate.

(iv) 'Loan Funds' were to be diverted as subsidies.

(v) Personnel appointed for these areas had to be suitably trained.

(vi) Additional allotments were made available to these Blocks by the Tribal Welfare Department of Ministry of Home Affairs. (Rs. 12 Lakhs was allotted by the Ministry of Community Development in the same manner as the normal blocks plus Rs. 15 Lakhs was made available by the Tribal Welfare Department of Ministry of Home Affairs.)⁵¹

The Elwin Committee (1959)

3.60 However, after the operation of this scheme for some time there was an apprehension at the highest level that the programme was not moving in the right direction. And therefore, on May 1st, 1959, by a resolution of Ministry of Home Affairs, a Committee headed by Dr. Verrier Elwin who had held the widest experience in the field was appointed and intended (i) to study the working of the S.M.P.T. Blocks and (ii) to advise the Government of India on how to implement the intensive development programmes of these Blocks more effectively and to give the programmes a proper tribal bias.

3.61 According to the recommendation of Elwin Committee, the existing S.M.P.T. Blocks were converted into Tribal Development Blocks (T.D. Blocks) during the Third Five Year Plan. It was also decided to extend the programme of tribal development in the areas where the concentration of tribals was at least two-third (66.6 per cent) of the total population. If necessary this was also to be done by carving out areas of some of the existing Blocks irrespective of Scheduled or non-Scheduled Areas. Other conditions essential for the formation of a T.D. Block were : The area should be 200 sq. miles. Similarly, if the area was sparsely populated it might be proportionately increased to include a minimum number of 10,000 tribal population.

3.62 Following the above criteria it was possible to introduce 458 T.D.Blocks by the end of the Third Plan and subsequently they increased to 504, including sub-blocks, by the end of the Fourth Plan.⁵² In the state of West Bengal, however, no T.D.Block could be identified because of non-fulfillment of the

required criteria.⁵³

3.63 While introducing this programme, instructions were issued to plan the programme for tribal areas in such a way as to promote the growth by their own efforts, and by the efforts of extension workers recognising (i) the totality of their community, (ii) the integrated life of individual with the community, and (iii) the culture and traditions of the tribals and their adaptability to change.⁵⁴

3.64 The T.D.Blocks retained the administrative structure of the SMPT Blocks. These Blocks continued the multi-sided approach with major thrust on maximisation of production in agriculture and non-agriculture sectors and to enhance the employment potential. Though the emphasis was on agriculture, the multi-sided approach of the block structure covering the fields of agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operation, education and rural industries continued.

3.65 The programme of tribal development blocks starting from a small beginning in the Second Plan, benefiting about 5 per cent of the tribal population of the country, grew in size and covered about 39 per cent of the total tribal population. At the end of the Fourth Plan, the investment on this programme also increased eight fold from a nominal figure of rupees four crores to rupees thirty two crores which is evident from the following table:

Table 3.1 : Plan wise Distribution of Tribal Blocks, their coverage and expenditure

| Plans | No. of SMPT/ T.D Blocks | Percentage of tribal popula- -tion covered | Expenditure incurr- ed on Tribal Dev. progrm.(Rs.in Lakhs) |
|--------|----------------------------|--|--|
| First | Nil | N.A. | N.A. |
| Second | 43 | 5.37 | 403.40 |
| Third | 458 | 32.50 | 1552.79 |
| Fourth | 504 | 39.37 | 3268.28 |

Source : Tribal Development : Retrospect and Prospect, Govt. of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi 1975

Panchayati Raj Institutions :

3.66 The introduction of Panchayati Raj bodies to supervise the functioning of these Blocks also formed another significant step in the administrative development for the tribals. The Balawantraï Mehta Study team felt that there should be administrative decentralisation for the effective implementation of development programmes, and decentralised administrative system should be under the control of elected representatives. It was argued that "community development can be real only when the community understands its problems, realises its responsibilities, exercises the necessary functions through chosen representatives and maintains intelligent vigilance on local administration".(1957:23) The chief objectives of introducing PRIs are : (i) transfer of power to peoples institutions; (ii) to develop initiative of the people; (iii) to increase participation of people in development programmes; and (iv) development of village leadership. The Panchayati raj institutions are expected to bring a total change in the socio-economic conditions of the rural areas and are meant to relieve the people from the clutches of the feudalistic leaders. 55

The Scheduled Areas and Tribes Commission (The Dhebar Commission) 1961:

3.67 Beside the Reports of Elwin Committee, two other expert bodies also made recommendations concerning tribal administration and their development, and influenced the working of T.D.Blocks. Under Article 339(1) of the Constitution, the Scheduled Areas and Tribes Commission headed by U.N.Dhebar was appointed in 1961 to investigate and report on the problems of tribes. The Commission (1961) observed that there was diffusion of efforts in the welfare works. It suggested a scheme of integrated development co-ordinating the activities in the fields of agriculture, forests, animal husbandry, cottage and small industries (1960- 61:193). It stressed that an integrated and planned approach based on these few essential items would give the plan a realistic touch in the eyes of the tribals. The guiding principles put forwarded by the Commission for economic development of tribals was that of 'work, credit and market and not charity, subsidy and waste'.⁵⁶

The Shilu Ao Committee (1969) :

3.68 The Study Team on Tribal Development Programmes (1969), also known as Shilu Ao Committee, made the observation that while some advances had been made, the expectation that substantial outlays in the T.D.Blocks by themselves would make a dent was belied. In fact, revelation was that funds earmarked for tribals had been diverted for non-tribal benefit, in the T.D.Blocks, since no device had been evolved to secure them specially for the tribals' interest. The Committee evaluating the impact of tribal development programmes also pointed out various snags in the functioning of the T. D. Blocks. They are : (i) A large number of

standardised schemes in vogue among advanced communities have been applied to tribal areas. (ii) The employment aspect of development has not been attended to. (iii) Settlement of land disputes at pre-extension stage was not taken up. (iv) In productive schemes like agriculture and animal husbandry, 20 % of expenditure was on constructions. (v) 60 % to 70 % of the funds were spent on 'brick and mortar' schemes. (vi) In many cases, co-operatives have been started without much education or propagation among tribals and followed cumbersome procedures. (vii) The benefits were mostly accrued to the more advanced among the tribals. The Report also indicated that the fragmentary approach towards development planning formed an important limitation on T. D. Blocks.

3.69 Further, it is observed that programmes were being formulated for individual sectors at different levels in an unco-ordinated manner without taking into consideration of local priorities and capabilities of the existing institutions.⁵⁷

3.70 Other observations made regarding the working of T. D. Blocks were : (1) The results and efforts of the T. D. Blocks in most cases were exclusive efforts of the tribal sector and general sector programmes failed to reward tribal areas. (2) The benefits of development did not percolate beyond the upper crust of the tribal communities in most of the tribal areas. (Roy Burman, 1975:54). Thus the T. D. Blocks which came into existence as the major channel of tribal development programmes from 1962 onwards, though brought about some changes, their impact was said to have fallen short of expectations.

3.71 The statement below shows investments on the tribal

development from the First Plan to the Fourth Plan.

Table 3.2 : Plan wise Investment in Tribal Development Programme

| Plans | Total Plan outlay(Rs. in Crores) | Tribal development programme | Percentage |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|------------|
| First | 1960 | 19.93 | 1.0 |
| Second | 4672 | 42.92 | 0.9 |
| Third | 8577 | 50.53 | 0.6 |
| Annual Plans (1966 - 69) | 6756 | 32.32 | 0.5 |
| Fourth | 15902 | 75.00 | 0.5 |

Source : Report of the Working Group on Development of Scheduled Tribes during Seventh Five Year Plan(1985-90), Ministry of Home Affairs, Govt. of India, New Delhi, 1984. p. 2.

It will be seen from above that the investments on the tribal development programmes have increased in successive Plans. But if it is compared to the total size of the Plans, the percentage on tribal development have gradually diminished over the years.

3.72 Even when these programmes were under operation, there was a renewed effort during the Fourth Plan itself to have a fresh look at the problems of growing disparity among different regions and group of people in the process of development. With a view to removing such disparities or imbalances, a number of other programmes with area specific, like Drought Prone Area Programme(DPAP), and individual groups specific like, Small Farmers Development Programme, Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Development Programme etc. were experimented. The S.F.D.A.(Small Farmers Development Agency) and M.F.A.L.(Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Development Agencies) were set up for the development of the identified individuals who qualified for special attention. Greater attention was focused on the weaker sections of society. In the wake of establishment

of these area specific and weaker group oriented projects, the programmes for tribal areas were also intensified on a pilot basis. Tribal Development Agencies were established on the pattern of S.F.D.A. which addressed themselves to the problems of the tribal population. The level of investment in the new programme was much higher compared to the T. D. Blocks. Six Tribal Development Agencies(T.D.A.) were started during the Fourth Plan. These were :- one in Srikakulam(Andhra Pradesh), one in Singhbhum(Bihar), two in Bastar(Madhya Pradesh) and one each in Koraput and Ganzam(Orissa). Two more were added during Fifth Plan which were Keonjhar and Phulbani(both in Orissa). Each Tribal Development Agency covered a group of T. D. Blocks. They envisaged a more comprehensive frame than S.F.D.A. which confined largely to agricultural and allied activities. The T.D. As were expected to comprise elements of economic development, social services and protective measures. In actual practice, however, the T.D.A. became an agricultural development programme with added investment on roads. This programme could not outgrow its pilot phase.⁵⁸ In 1972, a new institutional framework in Bihar known as the Chhotanagpur and Santal Pargana Autonomous Development Authority, was worked out. This helped in involving the authority fully in the development process, yet kept the administrative chain of command clear for implementation of programmes. In the new system, the function of the Authority have remained unchanged.⁵⁹

3.73 Thus, from the beginning of the planning in India, a concerted effort for the tribal development through institutions established for this purpose has been made. But a considerable shift in the approach followed by these institutions can be

observed; and the shift was necessitated by the experiences with the previous strategies and functioning of institutions.

3.74 The S.M.P.T. Blocks which were the first in the organised institutional efforts, adhered to planning strategy, can be termed as 'Top-down approach'. The S.M.P.T. Blocks were sponsored by the central government which provided the necessary finances, guidelines and frameworks of administration. The allocation of funds of different sectors was also clearly specified by the Government. All the schemes were formulated at the Centre and the project authority used to function as per directives received from the Centre.

3.75 In course of time centralised planning was not found suitable for local needs and priorities. Further, an attempt to involve people in their own development programmes was made through democratic decentralisation. Panchayat bodies consisting of elected representatives of the people were formed to supervise the Tribal Development Blocks. The Staff of blocks were made responsible for implementing schemes approved by the Panchayat Samities. In this approach, which may be termed as 'Bottom-up approach', the Panchayat Samity had to approve Block Plan prepared by the block officials, and Block Plans - became part of the District Plan after the approval of Zilla Parishad.

3.76 The experience with the functioning of T. D. Blocks over a decade and half made the government to realise that they were not fit to implement long term development programmes, and they failed to take note of the growing imbalances between different regions and groups. These led to the introduction of a new

strategy of Regional Development Planning. Thus, were development programmes of area-specific approach or 'Target Area Approach' and the individuals group specific approach or 'Target Group Approach'. Another dimension of Regional Development Planning is the 'Growth Centre Approach' where a uniform spatial development is attempted by locating socio-economic services at selected centres.

3.77 Despite the shift in the planning strategies described so far, the administrative structure of the Block which came into existence with the S.M.P.T. Blocks, remained the basic frame of the development administration. This pattern of Block administration owes its origin to the Community Development Programme of the Government of India taken up for the development of rural areas of the country. The administrative structure of the Block came into existence as a result of the cumulative experience of early experiments and the specific objectives of community development programme.

(iv) The New Strategy Period (1974 onwards) :

3.78 The Fifth Five Year Plan was an important landmark in the development of tribal administration. The tribal problems in the country were reviewed in depth on the eve of the Fifth Plan. The Shilu Ao Committee had already critically examined the working of Tribal Development Blocks. According to them, the T. D. Block was too small an area-unit for comprehensive planning and effective implementation. The programme had become much too schematic having no relationship with the local needs. Significantly what was expected to be supplemental investment in tribal areas through the T. D. Blocks tended to become

the exclusive investment. The benefits of normal programmes hardly reached many of these areas. The difference in the level of development in tribal area and communities and the general areas and other communities, therefore, tended to increase.

3.79 In view of these trends, a major policy decision was taken by the Government of India that henceforth the major thrust for development of the tribal areas and tribal communities has to be provided by the concerned sectoral authorities. Since every department is responsible, within its functional jurisdiction, for the even development of the entire state, the problems of the tribal areas would be given special attention at a higher priority in their normal programme.⁶⁰

The Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) :

3.80 The socio-economic situation of tribal communities varies considerably from one area to another. Therefore, it is not possible, or even desirable, to have uniform prescriptions for all of them. The Constitution already provides for adequate flexibility in legal, procedural and administrative framework so that the problems of each specific area can be attended to effectively through suitable administrative action and development programmes. However, the broad approach to tribal development will have to depend on the pattern of distribution of tribals in an area and the level of their economy. In predominantly tribal areas, area approach with focus on the development of the tribal communities will be suitable; for dispersed tribals, community oriented programmes will have to be evolved; and in the case of primitive groups, which are facing special problems and are smaller in size, a very cautious

individualised approach will have to be adopted lest their precarious balance is irretrievably lost. Thus, the problem of tribal communities is to be tackled in terms of the following three categories :

- (i) Areas of tribal concentration;
- (ii) Dispersed tribals in other areas and
- (iii) Primitive tribal communities.

3.81 The strategy for areas of tribal concentration culminated in the concept of Tribal Sub-Plan(TSP) for these areas. In the regions of tribal concentration, 'area development with focus on development of tribal communities' has to be adopted. A sub-plan should be drawn up for these areas which may present an integrated view of their problems, the broad objectives and strategies, an outline of the various programmes, physical inputs, financial outlays, legislative and administrative frame. All activities of government and semi-government organisations, financing and credit institutions and special sectoral programmes may be fully integrated in the sub-plan which should present a total picture of the development of the region.⁶¹ Three basic parameters of the tribal situation in the country were recognised in the formulation of the TSP concept. First, that there is variation in the social, political, economic and cultural milieu among the different tribal communities in the country. Second, that their demographic distribution reveals their concentration in parts of some states, and dispersed in others. Third, the primitive tribal communities live in scheduled regions. Hence the broad approach to tribal development has to be related to their level of development and pattern of distribution.

Objectives of Tribal Sub-Plan :

3.82 The Tribal Sub-Plan aims at catering to the special needs of areas having a majority of tribal populations by earmarking funds for the development of Scheduled Tribes. To this end, the TSP seeks (a) to ensure the flow of benefits from all sectoral programmes to the scheduled tribe population in tribal concentration areas, and (b) to provide for the integrated delivery of services in these areas. The two long term objectives of the sub-plan are (1) to narrow the gaps between the level of development of tribals vis-a-vis other areas; and (2) to improve the quality of life of the tribal communities. However, some of the immediate objectives have been :

- (i) the elimination of exploitation of tribals in all forms;
- (ii) speeding up of the process of their socio-economic development;
- (iii) building up the inner strength of the tribal people; and
- (iv) improving their organisational capabilities.⁶²

3.83 It was agreed that a general strategy for achieving these objectives has to be evolved, reviewing the entire local administrative and institutional frame, as also the inter-sectoral and intra-sectoral priorities, keeping the primary focus on the welfare and development of the people. In relation to the development programmes, the TSP represent the totality of public sector effort in that area. The resources for the purpose comprise funds from: (i) State Plan outlays; (ii) investment by the Central Ministries; (iii) Special Central Assistance; and (iv) Institutional Finance.

Delineation of Tribal Sub-Plan Areas :

3.84 The tribal areas in the country have been classified

under three broad categories, on the basis of geographic and demographic concentration :-

- (i) State and Union Territories having a majority scheduled tribes population;
- (ii) State and Union Territories having substantial tribal population but majority of them only in particular administrative units, such as blocks and tehsils; and
- (ii) State and Union Territories having dispersed tribal population.

3.85 In the light of the above approach it was decided that tribal majority States like Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Lakshadweep and Dadra & Nagar Haveli may not need a tribal sub-plan as the entire plan of these States and UTs was primarily meant for ST population constituting the majority. For the second categories of States and UTs, TSP was adopted after delineating areas of tribal concentration. A similar approach was also adopted in case of States and UTs having dispersed tribal population by paying special attention to patches of tribal concentrations, keeping in view of their tenor of dispersal.

3.86 For the implementation of the TSP, the Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDPs) or Integrated Tribal Development Agencies (ITDAs) were conceived during the Fifth Plan and these have been continued since then. During the Sixth Plan, Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) was adopted to cover smaller areas of tribal concentration. During the Seventh Plan, the TSP strategy was extended to all the tribals in the country, including the dispersed tribals with the beneficiary oriented

programmes. Presently, there are 191 ITDPs, 268 MADAs, and 74 Cluster areas identified in the areas 19 TSP States and UTs. In addition, there are 74 Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) identified in 15 States and UTs which are characterised by a low rate of growth of population, pre-agricultural level of technology and low level of literacy requiring special attention. ⁶³

Table 3.3 : Distribution of ITDP/MADA/Clusters/PTGs in Different States/UTs.

| Sl. No. | Name of the State/UTs. | No. of ITDPs/ITDAs | MADA Pockets | Clusters | (PTGs) |
|---------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------|----------|--------|
| 1. | Andhra Pradesh | 8 | 41 | 17 | 12 |
| 2. | Assam | 19 | -- | -- | -- |
| 3. | Bihar | 14 | 41 | 7 | 9 |
| 4. | Gujarat | 9 | 20 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. | Himachal Pradesh | 5 | 2 | -- | -- |
| 6. | Karnataka | 5 | -- | -- | 2 |
| 7. | Kerala | 5 | -- | -- | 5 |
| 8. | Madhya Pradesh | 49 | 39 | -- | 7 |
| 9. | Maharashtra | 15 | 35 | 8 | 3 |
| 10. | Manipur | 5 | -- | 19 | 1 |
| 11. | Orissa | 21 | 45 | -- | 12 |
| 12. | Rajasthan | 5 | 44 | 8 | 1 |
| 13. | Sikkim | 4 | -- | 11 | -- |
| 14. | Tamil Nadu | 9 | -- | -- | 6 |
| 15. | Tripura | 3 | -- | -- | 1 |
| 16. | Uttar Pradesh | 1 | 1 | -- | 2 |
| 17. | West Bengal | 12 | -- | -- | 3 |
| 18. | Andaman Nicobar Islands | 1 | -- | -- | 5 |
| 19. | Daman & Diu | 1 | -- | -- | -- |
| Total | | 191 | 268 | 74 | 74 |

Source : Report of the Working Group on Development and Welfare of Scheduled Tribes during Eighth Five Year Plan (1990-95), Govt. of India, Ministry of Welfare, New Delhi, 1989. pp. 2, 104 & 105.

Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP) :

3.87 While the Tribal Sub-Plan formed the conceptual framework of the strategy for the socio-economic development of the scheduled tribes, the ITDPs were to be its operational units carved out to translate the objectives of the sub-plan into

reality. The ITDPs were, thus, meant to spell out and implement, within the policy framework of the sub-plan, solution-oriented schemes in respect of the problems faced by the tribals. The basic role of an ITDP was, therefore, to provide a pivotal unit of planning for each State sub-plan. To this end, it was considered that at the ITDP level synchronisation of area and programme, and administrative, organisational and financial integration were essential. All sectoral programmes were sought to be integrated and adopted at the level of an ITDP. The Project Authority, comprising of various heads of departments, District Collector and Project Administrator/Officer were to be responsible for the implementation of all development programmes.⁶⁴

3.88 The ITDPs are generally contiguous areas of the size of a Tehsil or Block or more in which the ST population is 50% or more of the total. On account of demographic reasons, ITDPs in Assam, Karnataka and West Bengal may be smaller or not contiguous. The ITDPs are headed by the Project Officers, though they may be designated as Project Administrators or Project Directors. The number and quality of staff in the ITDPs, delegation of administrative and financial powers etc. varies from state to state. In the eight States having 'Scheduled Areas', the ITDPs are generally conterminous with the Scheduled Areas. Andhra Pradesh and Orissa have adopted the Agency model and the ITDPs there are known as Integrated Tribal Development Agencies (ITDAs).⁶⁵

3.89 The ITDP will be area development programme but with special concern for the development of the people. Therefore,

each programme must be evolved keeping in view of its likely benefits to the tribal communities and even amongst them to the weaker groups. Consequently, inter-sectoral and intra-sectoral priorities will be different than in the case where development of the area were the only concern. No one will be excluded from the benefits of development programme but the project formulation must take note of the likely accrual.

3.90 The Project should subsume within itself the entire developmental structure in the project area. It does not mean that all organisations will lose their identity. However, each organisation will be required to accept the complementary role of a partner in the total developmental effort of the area. No individual programme, howsoever important from sectoral angle, can be accepted and supported unless it fits in the total approach evolved for the Project. An effective co-ordination will be possible only if this position is fully accepted. The three main channels of administration, viz., (a) general administration, (b) developmental administration, and (c) co-operative and marketing should get fully co-ordinated and integrated at the project level. The details of this structure, however, will depend on the conditions of each state.⁶⁶

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