

## CHAPTER THREE

### 3. STATE POLICIES ON TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT SINCE 1991.

#### 3.1. INTRODUCTION

After having attained a conceptual clarification on development, its historical overview in the process of changing connotations, dimensions and its significance in the present era through the lenses of the United Nations Organization, the policy formulators and the beneficiaries themselves, we now proceed forward to the study of the major policies devised by the state for the development of the scheduled tribes since 1991. In taking up this herculean task, we have first tried to understand the meaning and difference between the two majestic terms i.e. the state and the government in section (3.2) of the chapter. Generally the two terms are used interchangeably as one but specialization demands for the use of proper terms in a technical manner for which the distinction between the two stands to be very important. Section (3.3) is dedicated to the tracing of the role of the state in the genesis of tribal studies right from its formative stage since the year 1784. Section (3.4) recapitulates the major approaches to tribal development in India from a historical point of view with its due recognition to the works of Verrier Elwin and G.S. Ghurye, not to forget the interpretation of Nehru. Section (3.4.7) elaborates the approach of the state towards tribal development in the post Independence era with Section (3.5) indicating the constitutional provisions for the safeguard of the scheduled tribes allocated by the constitution of the nation. Section (3.6) studies the governmental approach towards tribal development that has been clubbed under the Five Year Plans from its initial inception in 1951 to the Seventh Five Year Plan that was completed in the year 1990. With the incorporation of the policies of liberalization, the governmental strategies for tribal development from 1991 onwards have been discussed on an individual basis in Section (3.7) of the chapter. It is to be noted that due to the presence of innumerable policies targeted towards tribal development that have been adopted, this reduces our scope to include all of them because of which we have taken up only those policies that deserve a special mention in the chapter. The policies of the government for the development of the scheduled tribes can be compartmentalized into two different categories – the direct policies of tribal development and the indirect policies of tribal development through rural empowerment. Both these study areas have been discussed at length in the present chapter. Section (3.8) is dedicated to the major institutional structures created for the assistance of the development of the scheduled tribes that has been studied both from the central and state governmental levels. After having

studied the efforts of the government for tribal development both from the central and the state level, we have provided an account of the governmental policies from 2014 in Section (3.9). The chapter concludes with a summary presented under Section (3.10).

### **3.2. UNDERSTANDING THE TERM STATE AND GOVERNMENT**

For the holistic development of any area, proper planning and policy formulation happens to be the crux of the subject. Tribal development does not stand to be an exception in this regard. Since the pre-independence era itself, special policies were devised for the secluded regions inhabited by the tribal population. The post-independence era witnessed the tribal developmental policies formulated on the guidelines of the Nehruvian approach of neither complete isolation nor complete acculturation of these communities with the mainland settlement of the Indian population. It is to be noted that after the interval of every Five Year Plan period, special budget allocations and developmental policies are formulated by the government to bring about the development of the scheduled tribe communities of the nation. The plan period has changed hands to the NITI Aayog but the focus of attention still happens to be the upliftment of these marginalized sections of the people on a better footing. At this juncture, it becomes very important to review the policies of the government for the development of the scheduled tribe communities for a better understanding of the impact of the policies formulated for their development. This dimension of reviewing the policies of the government for the development of the tribal population opens up a new avenue of research that can be taken up separately.

This chapter tries to look into the policies designed by the state or the government of India for the development of the tribal people of the country in the post 1990s era. Some of the noteworthy policies that trace its origin in the initial five year plans shall also be discussed in here. However before starting off with the critical analysis of the policies of the state with regard to tribal development, one must draw a conceptual clarity as to what do we really understand by the term state and whether it is all correct to use the term government and state interchangeably. In other words a clear differentiation between the state and the government is very much pertinent in the understanding of the policies for the development of the tribes. Under this background, let us first try to understand the meaning of the state. From a general understanding, the meaning of the state is understood by the function that it performs. The purview of the state is witnessed to embrace almost each and every activity of human life be

it education, economic activities, sanitation, welfare, defense etc. As a matter of fact, the term state has been used to refer to a wide range of interpretations like- a collection of institutions, a philosophical idea, a territorial unit, an instrument of coercion or oppression etc. Max Stirner (1845) has taken a step ahead and described the state on the basis of its functioning- “The purpose of the state is always the same: to limit the individual, to tame him, to subordinate him, to subjugate him.” (Max Stirner defined the state in his book *The Ego and His Own*. (1845)). The reason behind the multi dimensional understanding of the state is because of the fact that the state has been understood in three different perspectives namely the *idealist, functionalist and organizational*.

The main proponent of the idealist approach is GWF Hegel who identified and advocated about the three moments of social existence: family (particular altruism), civil society (universal egoism) and the state (universal altruism). The idealist approach is criticized for its uncritical reverence towards the state. The functionalist perspective focuses on the role/ purpose/ function of the state's existence. The maintenance of social order is regarded to be the most pertinent function of the state institution. The state from this approach is regarded as a set of institutions that uphold order and maintain stability in the society. This approach is however criticized on the ground that it fails to gather clarity as to which institution should be included under the purview of the state and which ones to be excluded. The organizational perspective defines the state in its broadest sense as the apparatus of the government. It indicates a set of institutions that are funded on public expenses and are responsible for the ‘collective organization of social existence.’ This approach is successful enough in clearly demarcating the major line of difference between the state and the civil society. (The modern notion of sovereign statehood was formalized in the Treaty of Westphalia 1648.)

After having understood the three major approaches of the understanding of the state the next pertinent question that needs to be specifically addressed here is that can we use the term state and government interchangeably to refer to the policies of development formulated by such superior organization or institution for welfare activities? In other words would it be technically correct to refer to the state as the government and vice versa? Reference must be made to Heywood, (2007) who distinguishes between the two terms with the idea of constitutional government. To him, the distinction between state and government is not just confined to the academic globe but instead is deep seated in the heart of the idea of constitutional government. (The power structure of the government can be checked only when it is debarred of encroaching upon the authority of the state which is unlimited and absolute).

Some of the major lines of differences between the state and the government stand to be as follows-

- a. The state is more extensive than the government because it encompasses within its association the entire institutions of the public realm. Government on the other hand is a part of the state.
- b. The state is a permanent and an ever continuing entity while the government is a temporary body which is likely to be reformed and remodeled with a change in the political scenario.
- c. The authority of the state is put into operation with the help of the government. The perpetuation of the states existence in the form of the formulation and the implementation of the state policies are the brain child of the government.
- d. The permanent interests of the society like the common good and the general will are represented by the state. On the other hand the government represents the partisan interest of those in power.

Examining the policies of the state towards tribal development we come across a clear fact that the guidelines on the basis of which developmental policies were/are formulated and implemented remains more or less intact right from the initial years of independence i.e. the state run and represented by the Nehru government. With the passage of time, political hands changed from different political elites and so did the five year plans also succumb to changes. With this the tribal welfare policies also widened but cannot be regarded to have changed completely as the approaches and the guidelines have remained the same. This has also created a major hindrance because the genuine and immediate needs of the tribals have not been attended to due to the top down policy of the state or the changing governments. The ever static policies like the state itself has done minimum for the upliftment of the marginalized people. If only with the changing of the government the policies and approaches would be changed trying to address the immediate needs of the subject then this would have brought about a meaningful change in the lives of the tribes of India. For addressing this problem, a serious critical analysis is required alongside the positive and dedicated approach of change in the attitude of the government. Having understood the major line of differences between the two mighty terms state and the government, carrying its individuality, therefore, in this chapter the term state and government would be used as in accordance with the requirement of the flow of the debate.

### **3.3. TRACING THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN THE GENESIS OF TRIBAL STUDIES**

The Scheduled Tribes inhabit about 15-20% of the land area of the Indian sub- continent. The Census 2011 testifies the existence of 10.4 crore of scheduled tribe population out of which 5.2 crore are male and 5.18 crore are females in these heterogeneous communities of the nation making it a total of 8.6% of the total population of the country. 89.7% of the scheduled tribe communities live in the rural zones while only 0.03% of them are found in the urban areas. Technically, addressing the India Tribes as the indigenous people would prove to be incorrect. The Government of India does not consider any specific section of its population as ‘indigenous people’ as that generally understood and implied in its usage in the United Nations Organization. Operationally, however, those sections of the people are considered to represent the indigenous group who fall within the administrative category of ‘Scheduled Tribes’. Therefore in the Indian context the scheduled tribes are accepted to represent the indigenous group operationally.

The working definition provided by the Martinez Cobo (2011) study under the United Nations defines the Indigenous communities, peoples and nations as “ those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system.” It has been noticed that although the indigenous people have been given their due recognition as people identified with a unique culture, dialect, religion and positive heterogeneous uniqueness in them, yet a practical view points out the fact that historically they have suffered exploitation, violation of human rights and humiliation in all forms. The indigenous people all over the world represent the most vulnerable and disadvantaged group of people. The international community has now taken up the responsibility to recognize and address the special measures to protect and preserve the rights and cultures of the indigenous people all over the world with a positive group effort from individual countries.

India, a member of the United Nations Organization is trying to leave no stone unturned in bringing the operationally indigenous people and technically scheduled tribe people to at par with the mainstream development, carefully retaining their cultural uniqueness.

The discourses on the origin of tribal studies are varied and multiple, each one with a definite perspective of its own. Some mainstream protagonists speak volumes on the single sided positive dynamics of the state initiatives on tribal development while on the other hand reality speaks something opposite banking on the end results. It would be wrong on the part of a researcher to justify a lopsided claim of any organization on its success of any mission. Keeping this in mind, we would like to take the help of Prof. Virginius Xaxa (2008). Prof. Xaxa has elaborated his ideas on the genesis of tribal development in his book *State, Society and Tribes: issues in Post Colonial India* (2008) who has made an in depth study on tribal development, in explaining the genesis of tribal development as a subject on its own. The phenomena of caste and tribe as a colonial construction have been advocated by some of the early anthropologists. They are of the view that the British solidified the concept of caste and tribes by the process of their colonial classification and enumeration. Beteille (1986) is of the view that this idea stands to be truer in the case of the tribes than the castes because a good number of complex and sophisticated literature on castes were already present even before the advent of the British rule in India. As a matter of fact it was the colonial state that initiated the separate and distinct identity of the tribes which was later on carried by the successive governments of independent India. The colonial administrators used the term tribe to describe people who were 'heterogeneous in physical and linguistic traits, demographic size, ecological conditions, stages of social formation, and level of acculturation and development.'

The tribal studies can be fragmented into three phases namely- **The Formative Phase** (1784-1919), **The Constructive Phase** (1920-1949) and the **Analytical Phase** (1950 onwards). Xaxa, (2008)

The establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1784 marked a historic landmark in the study of groups in a formal manner, which later on came to be described as tribal studies. A plethora of serious studies were conducted mostly in the form of monographs and handbooks. Some of the noteworthy works can be stated as follows- *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (Dalton, 1872), *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (Risley, 1891), *Tribes and Castes of the Central*

*Province of India* (Russel and Hira La, 1916), *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (Thurston, 1909).

The early eighteenth century writings of the British in India did not distinguish between the castes and the tribes. The two terms were in fact used synonymously. The differences were known much later when it was seriously identified that the tribes bared traits that were significantly distinct from the mainstream Indian population. This was realized only after the result of the first ever census conducted in the Indian soil. Post 1901, a clearer description was provided for categorizing a group as a tribal group. 'The tribes were identified and described as those groups that practiced animism; later the phrase tribal religion was used in its place.' The 1921 census described this group as hill and forest tribes, and in 1931 when Hutton was the census Commissioner, tribes were also referred to as primitive tribes. Furthermore, the other important elements such as the primitive living conditions and geographical isolations were added to the categories of compartmentalization. Religion was considered to be the most important element of differentiating a tribe from a non tribe. They practiced a faith in nature worship completely different from Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. 'If a group were shown to be Hindu in its beliefs and religious practices, it was identified as a caste. If it were shown to be animist, it was treated as a tribe.' The inclusion of the scheduled tribes in the Indian constitution traces its origin to the administrative and political considerations. The Constitution defines a scheduled tribe 'as such tribe or tribal community or part of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes.' Till date there has not been the formulation of a standard definition of tribes because each school of thought is in ideological confrontation with the other as regards the distinctive features to be prescribed as a parameter to be qualified by a group to earn the title of a Scheduled Tribe keeping in mind the changing global phenomena. The state does not define in a coherent manner the meaning of tribes and does not provide clear cut criteria for a group to be termed as a tribe. It has been observed that only for the sake of administrative purpose has the state distinguished people as tribes and non tribes.

### **3.4. APPROACHES TO TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA: A BRIEF HISTORY**

The policies outlined by the ever changing government and the welfare oriented state draws heavily upon the philosophies of some of the major developmental approaches of the past. As a matter of fact the guidelines to tribal development are seen to be in the pillars of the

Panchasheel (Panchsheel is an idea developed by Verrier Elwin and propagated by Nehru on tribal development) which is still assumed to have a strong hold upon the policies of the contemporary era. Though historically these approaches may have satisfied the need of the then hour but to stick to the outdated models would be something wrong. The researcher would like to draw the kind attention of the authorities concerned about the three major loopholes that has been observed in the due process of the research.

- a. **Firstly**, as has been discussed in the previous chapter, development can never be considered to be a static factor. It is always change oriented, and the change has to satisfy the subjects about the problems which in turn are also controlled by time. Keeping this logic in mind one fails to understand as to how can the guidelines and approaches to the policies framed in the initial years of independence guided by the approaches of that era be expected to fulfill the problems of the tribes of the twenty first century where the entire scenario has changed. Therefore, in order to get a quality developmental result one must also be ready to give a serious, change oriented, time tested policies of development guided by self reliant approaches to tribal development.
- b. **Secondly**, it has been observed that the model of development as has been implemented upon the tribes for tribal development is an externally framed and implemented model by those people who themselves are not tribals. Therefore how can they be expected to understand the need of the hour of the subject concerned without living a life in tribal terms and conditions? These externally implemented policies formulated by the non tribals in a pyramidal structure with a top *down approach* have proved to be of little help. Without participatory development, the idea of development itself stands to be incomplete and hence challenged.
- c. **Thirdly**, the desperate attempt to wrap the tribal lifestyle in the mainstream model without addressing their basic needs has proved to be a blunder in itself. As a matter of fact, the meaning of development to the tribes may be completely different as that conceived by the mainstream protagonist. However, instead of respecting their culturally oriented developmental ideas, the forceful method of ‘made to think in a particular manner as perceived by the mainstream’ has made them even more confused, ill equipped, frustrated and backward.

Therefore, a fresh alternative approach is definitely required to address the grassroot problems of the tribes of India which would be for the tribals as perceived best by the tribals

with a change in the pyramidical structure of power relations and definitely under the free sky where they can exercise their freedom to think about those issues which are best suited for themselves in preserving their heterogeneous uniqueness, without the unnecessary interference and domination of the mainstream forces.

Let us enumerate the major approaches to tribal development-

### **3.4.1. Political Approach**

The Political Approach to Tribal Development must be understood against the backdrop of Pre and Post independent India. The colonial masters through their creation of “excluded and partially excluded” areas intended to give separate political representation to the tribes and in a way (as pointed out by the nationalists) created a difference between the tribals and the non tribals on the one hand and between the tribals themselves on the other. After independence the Constitution of India provided for the tribals a number of constitutional safeguards for the protection and development of this category of people who were historically backward and were unrepresented in the governmental arena.

### **3.4.2. Administrative Approach**

Alongside the political approach the administrative approach also had a major impact on the tribal development of India. The essence of this approach relies on the understanding of the political leadership about the strategies to promote development among the tribals, the implementation of the various schemes of development by the government and the role of the administrative mechanism in the successful implementation of the developmental policies. At the state level the governor has been made responsible for ensuring development in the areas inhabited by the tribal population to be administered under the Fifth and Sixth Schedule of the constitution. Apart from this, the Governor ensures that the Chief Minister makes special scheme for tribal areas. There is also a tribal welfare ministry operating at the state and central levels to take care of the tribal development.

### **3.4.3. Religious Approach**

This approach has been attended by different religious agencies like the Christian Missionaries, Arya Samaj, Ramkrishna Mission and other local religious institutions that are engaged in the welfare of the tribals. They engage in both spiritual and material types of work and carry out welfare activities. However a critical review of this approach has also proved

the fact that the development brought about in the remote tribal areas is done by the various religious fronts at the cost of converting the faith of the subject from animism to the mainstream religious dogmas as propagated by the latter. Though in its face value it may not seem to be much of a problem but if observed carefully then this will have an alarming negative impact upon the cultural dynamics of the tribals which in turn would mean a faulty mode of development eradicating the cultural uniqueness of the heterogeneous tribal communities of the country.

#### **3.4.4. Voluntary Agencies Approach**

Under this approach, the social workers, social welfare agencies like NGO's, Social Movement agencies etc. work in the tribal areas for the upliftment of the weaker sections of the society. They offer services like capacity building, skill development, community development, awareness programmes and other humanitarian activities`.

#### **3.4.5. Anthropological Approach**

In as early as 1807, the significance of the anthropological studies was recognized, when a formal declaration which when put in lines stated that, "such knowledge would be of great use in the future administration in the country", was made by the court of directors of the East India Company. As a result, Dr. Francis Buchanon was appointed by the Governor General – in Council to undertake an ethnographic survey "to inquire into the condition of the inhabitants of Bengal and their religion." Since then many prominent anthropology oriented administrators such as Resley, Thrutson, Dalton, Grigson, Gurdon and many more on deputation prepared handbooks, gazetteers, monographs etc. on the Indian tribes and castes. It must be noted here that due to the pioneering efforts of the anthropology oriented administrators and later on the anthropologists that wholesome knowledge could be gathered on and later developed by the researchers of the later period.

However, the Anthropological approach is not free from criticisms about its contribution to the tribal studies. This approach has been condemned at the administrative level specially the one cited out by Verrier Elwin about the isolation of tribes for development. However, post 1949, some major papers were written down by the anthropologists on the measures of tribal welfare policies and programmes.

### 3.4.6. Isolation- Assimilation Approach- Elwin Ghurye Debate

The formulation and implementation of policies became very much crucial for the tribes in the post independence era. However the much awaited debate on the inclusion and exclusion of tribal people from the mainstream development took place even prior to independence resting largely on the shoulders of two eminent personalities namely G.S. Ghurye and Verrier Elwin. The mighty debate traces its origin in the work of Elwin *The Baiga*, published in 1939 which was circulated in a pamphlet named *The Aborigines* (1944). In this book, Elwin made some suggestions regarding the kind of approach to be adopted for the development of the tribes of India. The focus of attention was on the primary issue as to whether the then present condition of the tribes living in isolation would and should be continued in the post independent era or whether they should be put in the larger mainstream for development and thereby be able to enjoy the facilities as enjoyed by the mainstream population. Elwin's approach was known by the names *Leave them Alone Approach*, *National Park Approach*, or *Isolationist Approach* which in literal term meant letting the tribes live on their own not infringing upon their economic space and allowing them to grow on their self created, self designed developmental paradigms.

After having studied the Baiga tribe, the concept of isolation struck Elwin's mind. The two major factors that immensely influenced Elwin in building up this approach were

- 1) The offensive attitude of the British Rulers who wanted the tribes to be left alone because trying to administer the borders and remote area would not be of much benefit to them.
- 2) The second was the attitude of the then active anthropologists who preferred to keep the tribals as a separate sample group for their study.

Elwin was charged with advocating the policy of isolation. However, Elwin defended himself on the lines that his suggestions were based in desperation as 'the Baigas had very little left of their own when the book was written in 1939.' It was important to keep them alive first free from exploitation and oppression and then talk about preserving their culture later on. However, this also marked a shift in the position of Elwin and no more did he advocate about complete isolation. It is to be pointed out that Elwin perceives about two types of tribes- the majority tribes and the minority tribes. A careful study of his work points out the fact that the policy of isolation was meant only for the minority tribes 'a small section of the tribal population.' For the majority of the tribal population, the policy advocated by Elwin was no

different from the policies outlined for the general population, as he believed that the problems faced by the tribal population could not be considered to be different from those faced by the general village population. 'What Elwin suggested was not the same policy for the entire tribal population of the country.' Elwin, (1960).

Against this background, G.S. Ghurye clearly advocated the policy of assimilation. Ghurye considered the tribes to be Hindus and precisely backward Hindus. The major reason for becoming backward Hindus was because of the fact that the tribes mostly settled down in the interiors, hill sides and remote forests making them completely cut off from the rest of the majority Indian population. He advocated that the tribes should be assimilated in the larger society so that their living conditions would develop from a completely hopeless situation of abject poverty. In his opinion Ghurye placed the tribes at the lowest position on the tribe-caste-class continuum which is a conceptual paradigm that is used for understanding the process of change in tribal life. This meant a movement of the tribals to modernity from tradition and to a higher form of religion from pantheism and to an ethically and morally superior class from that of a crude lifestyle. This phase can be regarded to be the assimilation –integration stage of the tribal population in the national mainstream.

These major approaches have been interpreted and reinterpreted by eminent scholars in the understanding of tribal development in India.

D.N. Majumdar (1944) has studied the efforts towards tribal development under the following two heads- 1.Reform Approach and 2.Administrative Approach.

S.C. Dubey (1960) has listed out four major approaches namely- 1.The Social Service Approach 2. The Political Approach 3.The Religious Approach 4. The Anthropological Approach

L.P. Vidyarti (1982) has used the help of four major approaches in addressing tribal welfare. These are as follows- 1. Anthropologists Approach 2. Social Workers Approach 3. Missionaries Approach 4. Administrative Machinery for Tribal Welfare.

It can be pointed out that the understanding of the approaches to tribal development by the eminent scholars somewhere or the other traces its roots and also bears similarity to the above mentioned major approaches. Let us now look into the post independent era and the strategies of development as adopted by the independent state of India.

### **3.4.7. State's Approach to Tribal Development in the Post Independence Era**

The government of independent India under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru did not consider either of the two policies as perceived by Elwin and Ghurye to be adequate to address the issue of tribal development especially in the post independent era. The constitutional provisions for the tribes mark a point in support of this stand of the state. When we look into the approach formulated by Nehru for the tribals, one can see that Nehru avoided the two extreme courses of either total isolation or total integration in the mainstream developmental process. Late Jawaharlal Nehru spelled out the policy as follows: "We cannot allow matters to drift in the tribal areas or lest not take interest in them. At the same time we should avoid over administering the areas and in particular sending too many outsiders into the territory. It is between the two extreme positions we have to function". He believed that the tribes should not be kept as mere anthropological specimens for the purpose of intellectual observation but should be protected from external exploitation adhered to by the outside world (referring to the non tribals). Nehru believed in gradual change thereby providing selective and voluntary introduction of advanced technology for development. In other words Nehru's development policy for the tribals was based on gradualism and light interference by the state. The main focus of attention of the then government was to search for a solution as to how to bring the blessings and advantages of modern medicines agriculture and education to the tribes, without destroying the rare and precious values of tribal life. The constitutional provisions included 'statutory recognition, proportional representation in the legislatures, the right to use their own language for education and other purposes, the right to profess their own faith and the right to pursue development in accordance to their own genius. The Constitution also empowered the state to make provisions for reservation in jobs and appointment in favour of tribal communities. The Directive Principle of State Policy of the Constitution required that the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of society, including tribals be especially promoted (Article 46).' Xaxa, (2008).

A close examination of the provision of the constitution on tribal development points out the fact that the approach of development adopted is much more a policy of integration than isolation or assimilation without using the term integration anywhere in the area concerned. As a matter of fact no official document is found which elaborates on the idea of integration

explicitly. However, unofficially the approach towards tribal development reflected in the policies tilt towards the direction of integration.

The guide to the policies of the state towards tribal development can be found in the five principles mentioned by Nehru in his forward to Elwin's *A Philosophy for NEFA* underlying the constitutional provisions. These **guiding principles** are as follows-

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. Tribal rights in land forest 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 in to 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, and
5. The results should not be guided by the amount of money spent but instead by the quality of human character that is involved.

Taking these guidelines into consideration the state has formulated policies for tribal development in India which shall be dealt below.

After having clearly understood the different types of conventional approaches to tribal development in India that have been applied in the process of policy formulations for the development of the scheduled tribes over the years, we now put forward some of the alternative approaches that can be put into use in the process of tribal development in order to bring about a positive change in the quality of human development.

#### **3.4.8. TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH**

The existing system based on power relationship with one organ trying to be more powerful than the other needs to be reminded of, that power distribution should be on healthy lines with a strong inclusion of the less powerful for the very survival of the power structure.

Power here as well has many interrelated dimensions which are directly or indirectly linked with each other. As a matter of fact one dimension of power acts as a variable to the other and the rise in one has a direct impact on the other. In such a situation where power relation guides and directs the other dimensions of development, tribal development also requires to be readdressed from the lenses of power relationship. In doing so, the researcher resorts to take the help of Prof. Anthony Giddens who has worked extensively in the decade of the 1970's and the 1980's vigorously trying to fulfill the loopholes of constraints found evidently in the structural theory of Talcot Parsons. The Structural Functional theory of Parson talked about the system and the actors inside the system but fail to provide us with the suitable answer as to what would be the role of the individuals that affect the society and in turn create a bench mark in history. To fulfill this unanswered loophole Prof. Giddens suggests his Structuration theory where he uses the term structure and agency respectively. Unlike Parson's Structural Functional analysis, Giddens structure and agency are well connected through cooperation rather than two discreet objects of antagonism. As a matter of fact Giddens regards the agency and structure to be two faces of the same coin and that the line of distinction between the agency and structure is simply analytical and not distinct in nature. This is regarded to be the duality of structure of Giddens Structuration theory. He compares his idea of structuration as an orchestra where we see the presence of different instruments (agency), producing a single music (structure), yet the variations in the tone of the music produced is distinct and clear representing every instrument. In the structuration process, good and new behaviours that are beneficial to both the agency and the structure are incorporated, while the harmful and useless behaviours are patted out of the system. In his words a system represents the major institutions of the society, the structure denotes a guard that combats perpetuation of society through individual behaviour and structuration means the actors in a close interaction with the system.

Tribal development in India with its more than seven hundred and fifty different communities can be equated to the agency while the government and the non-governmental organizations represent the system where the government acts as a structure that guards the system from disturbances. Structuration here denotes a cooperative relationship between the agency (the scheduled tribes) and the structure (the State). The role of the non-governmental organizations can be incorporated in the system. Therefore, this alternative approach to tribal development provides us with an idea on the guidelines of Prof. Giddens where there must exist a friendly relationship between the tribals, the State including the non-governmental

organizations. The uniqueness of the tribal communities must be preserved like the sound of individual instrument producing sweet symphony. They must be granted the right to choose the best for themselves along the lines of Right to Development as a human right. Having said this, the role of the non-governmental organizations cannot be underestimated because it forms an integral part of the system designed to bring about development if the agency. Let us understand the alternative approach to tribal development on technical lines.

#### **3.4.8.1. THE STRUCTURATIONIST APPROACH**

Transcending the dualism of structure and agency, Giddens (1976, 1979, 1981, 1984) developed his theory basing on the premise. Giddens wanted to develop a hybrid theory capable of reconciling, on the one hand, a focus on the structuring that are the very condition of social and political interaction, with on the other hand, a sensitivity to the intentionality, reflexivity, autonomy and agency of actors. Hay (1995). Giddens observed that in social analysis, the term *structure* referred generally to "rules and resources" and more specifically to "the structuring properties allowing the 'binding' of time-space in social systems". These properties make it possible for similar social practices to exist across time and space and that lend them "systemic" form.(Giddens 1984) Agents—groups or individuals—draw upon these structures to perform social actions through embedded memory, called *memory traces*. Memory traces are thus the vehicle through which social actions are carried out. Structure is also, however, the result of these social practices. Thus, Giddens conceives of the *duality of structure* as being the essential recursive element of social life, as constituted in social practices: structure is both medium and outcome of reproduction of practices. Structure enters simultaneously into the constitution of the agent and social practices, and 'exists' in the generating moments of this constitution. (Giddens 1979). Giddens uses "the duality of structure" to emphasize structure's nature as both medium and outcome. Structures exist both internally within agents as memory traces that are the product of phenomenological and hermeneutic inheritance (Stones 2005) and externally as the manifestation of social actions. Similarly, social structures contain agents and/or are the product of past actions of agents. Giddens holds this duality, alongside "structure" and "system," as the core of structuration theory. (Giddens 1984)Structure and Agency are according to Giddens are mentally related or ontologically intertwined. They comprise a duality. The keys to Giddens idea are the twin concepts – structuration and the duality of structure. In *The Constitution of Society* (1984) Giddens defines the duality of structure in the following way- structure as the medium and

outcome of the conduct it recursively organizes ; the structural properties of social system do not exist outside of action but are chronically implicated in its production and reproduction. (1984-374). The structuration on the other hand was defined as “the structuring of social relations across time and space, in virtue of the duality of structure”. Giddens chooses to highlight the duality of structure and claims that “social structures are both constituted by human agency, and yet at the same time are the very medium of its constitution.” (1967) what Giddens seems to suggest is that while structure and agency may indeed be ontologically intertwined.

His theory has been adopted by those with structuralist inclinations, but who wish to situate such structures in human practice rather than to reify them as an ideal type or material property. (This is different, for example, from actor–network theory which appears to grant certain autonomy to technical artifacts.) Social systems have patterns of social relation that change over time; the changing nature of space and time determines the interaction of social relations and therefore structure. Hitherto, social structures or models were either taken to be beyond the realm of human control—the positivistic approach—or posit that action creates them—the interpretivist approach. The duality of structure emphasizes that they are different sides to the same central question of how social order is created. Gregor Mc. Lennan (1997) suggested renaming this process "the duality of structure *and* agency", since both aspects are involved in using and producing social actions. (Mc. Lennan 1997.) Giddens seems to suggest that while Structure and Agency may indeed be ontologically intertwined, but it is difficult to capture the real duality of Structure and Agency as we can only view either from the perspective of Agency or the perspective of the Structure at one particular time. We may change our viewpoints to capture the other side but we cannot view both the sides at the same point. The best we can hope to recognize is a dialectical relationship between Structure and Agency which of course Giddens does not recognize. There seems to be a kind of methodological bracketing which leads to the paradoxical effect of enforcing an artificial separation between life world and system elements Derek Layder (1998).

Taking a clue from this understanding of the interrelationship between Agency and Structure, one can approach the issue of Tribal development from this perspective. The discourse on tribal development and the programmes on tribal development need to be analyzed keeping in mind that the tribal people are embedded within their contexts, and giving too much emphasis to the context would rob off the tribal people of their free will to challenge the existing order and devise a new path of development for them. At the same time it also needs to be

understood that both the Agency and the Structure that is the tribal people and their contexts are intertwined and one seems to influence the other and vice versa.

### **3.5. CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS FOR THE SCHEDULED TRIBES**

Scheduled Tribe is generally used as an administrative term for administering certain specific constitutional benefits, protection and privileges for the well being of a particular section of population those of which who are historically considered to be backward and the most disadvantaged group. Article **366 (25)** of the Indian Constitution defines the Scheduled Tribes as “such tribes or tribal communities or parts of, a groups within such tribes, or tribal communities as are deemed under Article **342** to be Scheduled Tribes for the purpose of this constitution”. (Khanna, 2010). The status of Scheduled Tribe is conferred to a person on the basis of his birth in a Scheduled Tribe community, and the inclusion of this community under the Scheduled Tribe category must be declared as such by the President of India through a public notification. It is the President who notifies the Scheduled Tribes in relation to a particular state/ Union Territory, and not on all India basis, by an order after consultation with the State Governments concerned. (Gopalakrishnan, 2010).

With regard to the term indigenous people the government of India officially does not provide any specific section of its population this title as she firmly believes that all its native population are in some way or the other indigenous. However, technically to smoothen the administrative operation in dissecting a particular section as indigenous a special category of the Scheduled Tribes are considered to be indigenous people, the indigenusness of which is recognized as something different and distinct from regionalism. However, it must be pointed out that not all indigenous people are recognized as the Scheduled Tribes and vice-versa, the homogenization of whose Socio-Cultural categorization being a serious mistake.

The constitution has conferred upon the tribes of India the fundamental rights clearly recognizing them to be at par with the other mainstream members thereby giving cognizance to the idea of equality which is very much essential for an inclusive society. Furthermore, the constitution contains many provisions specially prescribed for the tribal people. These include- ‘provisions for their statutory recognition (**Article 342**), for their proportional representation in the Parliament and the state legislatures (**Article 330 & 332**), restrictions on the right of the ordinary citizens to move and settle in tribal areas or to acquire

property there (**Article 19(5)**), the protection of tribal language, dialect and culture (**Article 29**), and for reservation in general (**Article 14(4)**) and in jobs and appointments in favour of tribal communities in particular (**Article 16(4)**).’ Xaxa, (2008).

The post independence era witnessed a change in hand of the policy of isolation and non interference of the British era replaced by a policy of development through the method of integration. **Article 244** happens to be one of the fundamental provisions of the Indian constitution that provides for the scheduled areas in accordance to Schedule V and Schedule VI for the administration of the tribal area. **Articles 5, 46, 275, 330, 332, 335, 339 and 342** of the Indian constitution provided specific provisions for the advancement of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Nearly 209 Articles and 2 special schedules of the constitution of India are directly relevant to the Scheduled Tribes some of which are listed under the following heads.

**Social safeguards** – Article 14, 15, 15(4), 16, 16(4), 16(4A), 25 – 28, 29 – 30, 338A, 339(1), 340

**Economic safeguards** – Article 46, 275(1), 335.

**Political safeguards** – Article 330, 332, 243D, 243T, 243M(4)(b), 243ZC (3), 244, 371A, 371B, 371C, 371F, 371G, 371H, **Fifth Schedule** – (Provision as to the Administration and Control of Scheduled Areas and STs), **Sixth Schedule** – (Provision as to the Administration of Tribal Areas in the States of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram). Thankur & Moluram, (1997).

### 3.6. GOVERNMENTAL APPROACH TOWARDS TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

The policies taken up by the state for the upliftment of the tribal people can be broadly studied under three major heads- Protective safeguards, Mobilizational Strategies and Developmental Measures. Xaxa, (2008).

**Protective Safeguards**- with the background that the constitution aims to protect and safeguard the interest of the tribal people, laws have been formulated and implemented to prevent alienation of land from tribes to the non tribes. In some parts of the countries such laws prevailed since the British era which was furthermore restored in the tribal lands in the post independence era. The special administration of tribal areas referred to as the Fifth and

Sixth scheduled areas (Articles 224 and 224(a)) has furthermore provided protective safeguards to the tribal population.

**Mobilizational Strategies-** in the fields of education, employment and politics, reservations have been provided to the tribal people, which mean that a certain percentage of seats are reserved for the scheduled tribes. This policy of reservation is called mobilizational strategies. The reservation of seats in terms of politics i.e. in the parliament and in the state legislatures were actually meant to be in force for a period of ten years which remains renewed at the end of every ten years. 7.5% of seats were reserved for the Scheduled tribes in all spheres which remains the same in spite of the change in the population size.

**Developmental Measures-** the developmental programmes and policies designed for the upliftment of the tribal people is what is understood by the developmental measures. The developmental policies of the tribes of India taken up by the government can be studied under two broad heads: the first phase being the Origin till 1990s and the next phase being that of the post 1990 era. Since it would be difficult on the part of the researcher to cover the plan policies right from the initial years of independence till date, we would be primarily focusing upon the plan policies of the post 1990 era.

The introduction of the Community Development Programmes placing the blocks as the main administrative unit can be regarded to be the primary step towards tribal development in India. The Fifth Plan in the year 1974-79 gradually replaced the community development programme with the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP). The tribal sub plan has proved to be comparatively successful in the channelization of funds proportionate to the tribal population from the general development sector. The state tribal sub plans have also been granted provisions from the central government. The sixth Plan in the years 1980-1985 witnessed the launching of the various poverty alleviation programmes. A major breakthrough was experienced in the Seventh Plan in the years 1986-1990 where the two mighty national institutions were set up. These were the Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation (TRIFED) with the aim of paying remunerative to the tribes for the forest and agricultural products; and the National Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Cooperation (NSFDC) with the aim of providing credit support for the generation of employment.

In India, tribal development programmes have been merely an extension of the rural development programmes meant for the country as a whole. Goswami, (1990).

The main philosophy of the Government of India, tracing its genesis to Nehru, on the development of the tribal communities has been that of “integration with the mainstream”. This clearly reflects the emphasis on the maintenance and the preservation of human values and the multi cultural milieu of the Indian tribes. Nehru’s philosophy on the tribes of India was to preserve the tribal communities throughout the world and integrate them with the nation’s mainstream, without in anyway interfering or devaluing the rich cultural heritage. Vasudeva Rao, (2005).

The Constitution of India defines the broad considerations that should guide the efforts and attentions towards Tribal Development. From the First Five Year Plan (1952) till the Seventh Five Year Plan (1990), sustained specialized attention of the planners have been invested on material and financial resources towards the development of the tribes by reaching out to every family of the tribal community. This chapter will focus primarily on some of the major governmental policies on tribal development since the 1990s, as covering the entire historical framework right from the British rule, the independence era, the post independence era and the contemporary era would be a herculean task.

In the analysis of the policies of the government on tribal development, it is very important to state the fact that there are two major policies that affect the well being of the tribal communities of India. The tribal development programmes may be divided and studied under two heads namely- 1. **Programmes directly benefitting the tribes** and 2. **Programmes indirectly benefitting the tribes**. The former addresses the tribes and tribal areas directly by making an effort to improve the economic condition of the tribes by directly touching on the family of the tribes and the area of living of the tribes. These include policies that primarily help in land redistribution, land reclamation land development and soil conservation measures, supply of agricultural inputs, promotion of village and cottage industries, animal husbandry, business etc. talking about the area based programmes to tribal development, focus is primarily upon the construction of tube well, sanitation and roads, minor irrigation and lift irrigation scheme, construction of sishu shiksha kendras for infants and children , anganwadi centres and primary schools and other community development programmes. The programmes indirectly benefitting the tribes are the ones that are basically general in nature targeting the entire underdeveloped and rural zones of India which are equally important for restoring confidence among the tribes and bringing them in closer contact with the outside world. However, the general programmes of development like the Community Development Programme of 1952, intensive Agricultural Development Programme(1960-1961), Rural

Electrification Corporation (1969), Marginal Farmer and Agriculture Labour Agency(1973-74) were limited to economic development only.

The brief understanding about tribal development in India in a chronological order can be understood by making a clear review about the efforts and impact of the Five Year Plans on the scheduled tribes up till the Seventh Five Year Plan(1985-1989).From the Eighth Five Year Plan that marks its beginning in the year 1992, we shall discuss the major policies and programmes drafted and implemented by the Government of India for the upliftment of the tribes of the nation irrespective of the fact of its direct or indirect impact on the tribal communities.

### **First Five Year Plan (1951-1956)**

The first five year plan basically aimed to reconstruct the national economy along the lines of social equality. The major objective of this plan period was to bring about better and increased production along with an integrated change in the outlook of the tribal masses. Therefore, increase in the overall production alongside the decrease in the existing inequalities was the primary objective of the first five year plan. By the year 1954, forty three special multipurpose projects for tribal development schemes alongside the Community Development Programme was added to bring about an upliftment of the tribal communities of India. Realising the difficulty of sustaining such intensive programmes for the entire tribal area, by the year 1956, smaller blocks were evolved in the highest tribal concentration areas known as Tribal Development Blocks for which special programmes were implemented for addressing the needs of the tribal people. For properly understanding the micro level problems, many tribal institutes were set up in almost eight states in the first five year plan. Education was given prime importance to for which special trainings were imparted to the teachers, special text books were prepared to address the tribal dialects. Special assistance of the government was provided by opening up numerous schools, hostels, ashram schools and the granting of scholarships. Besides education, agricultural improvement of the tribal areas were also focused upon by providing fertile and irrigated lands, high yielding variety seeds, bullocks, better financial aids with an aim to protect them from being exploited in the hands of the money lenders and the middlemen. Forest labour cooperatives were set up to assist and guide the tribal people from exploitation in the hands of the middlemen and exploiters of forest produce. During the first five year plan, major emphasis was laid on education, economic development in the form of improvement of roads and infrastructures and on public

health and medical facilities. Furthermore, skill development and vocational trainings were imparted to empower the tribal communities of the nation.

Special mention must be made about the **Community Development Programme** which was a form of Rural Tribal Extension Agency meant for transforming the social and economic life of the tribes and the areas that they live in. The community development programme aimed to encourage the participation of the common people in the developmental activities by utilizing the locally available resources. The main idea that lay behind the community development programme was to make a single multipurpose functionary responsible for all rural/ tribal development activities at the grass root level in order to meet the requirement of the rural/ tribal households especially in the field of agriculture. The initiation of the **Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks** in the 1954-55 was the first systematically developed efforts for bringing about tribal development in India. Forty three blocks of this kind were opened up in different states in 1956 to bring about a speedy process of development in the tribal concentrated areas. Besides, the **Voluntary Organizations** working for the welfare of the tribes financed by the State Government, Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Social Welfare also marked an important dimension of tribal development with special reference to the promotion of **Tribal Development Programmes**. These voluntary organizations generally worked in the areas of education, opening up of Ashrams and hostels, medical aid and skill development through vocational training centers. Therefore, the first five year plan basically focused upon increase in economic production and the reduction of social inequality.

### **Second Five Year Plan (1966-1961)**

The Second Five Year Plan was formulated with the objective of a rapid increase in the national income in order to raise the standard of living of the countrymen by using the help of industrialization particularly in the sectors of basic and heavy industries and a large scale expansion of opportunities to bring about socio economic equality. The major step taken by the government in the second five year plan towards the development of the tribal communities was the setting up of the Multipurpose Project Block with the ultimate aim of creating a progressive outlook in the economy and thereby achieving major developments in the material and cultural aspects of tribal life. Multipurpose pilot projects were established to bring about coordinated and intensive development in the tribal areas that was modified to address the tribal problems intricately. An evaluation of the multipurpose project blocks

submitted by a committee headed by Verrier Elwin on Special Multipurpose Projects in 1960 led to a change in the third plan period in the form of starting up of the Tribal Development Blocks because the pilot projects were not free of loopholes. Several recommendations were made by the committee such as adoption of a more flexible approach towards allocation of funds in a systematic manner, reduction in the outlay of expenditure and the introduction of supervisory body in the form of the Panchayati Raj Institutions. Taking these recommendations into consideration, the Tribal Development Blocks Programmes were carved out of the Multipurpose Pilot projects and was implemented at the end of the project. During the second five year, state wise, the government tried to accentuate the growth rate of tribal development by adding to the various already existing as well as the new policies and programmes designed for the development of the tribes of India. These supplementary programmes basically worked upon the areas such as cooperative farming through participative development which was transcended to the form of **Khadi and Village Industries Programme** (1957), **Village Housing Projects Scheme** (1957), **Special Multi-Purpose Tribal Development Blocks Programme (SMTB)**(1959), **Panchayati Raj** (1959), **Package Programme** (1960), **Intensive Agricultural District Programme** (1960).

Therefore, in other words, it can be stated that during the second five year plan an effort was made to bring about development without disturbing the prevailing tribal culture and legacy on the lines of participative development with the ultimate aim of poverty alleviation, promotion of better standard of living through betterment in health facilities and other socio economic equality programmes.

### **The Third Five Year Plan (1961-1966)**

By the third five year plan, it was made clear that the development of the tribes of India should be made in accordance to their own line of tradition and culture without pressuring them from outside interference. The major focus of the third five year plan was on the administration of the grass roots through Panchayati Raj and its three tier models of democratic decentralization. In the tribal blocks, efforts were made about to identify and sketch out programmes for the the **Tribal Development Blocks (TDP)** (1961), **Tribal Area Development Programmes (TADP)** (1962), **Hill Area Development Programmes (HADP)** (1962), **Intensive Agriculture Area Programme (IAAP)** (1964), and **Intensive Area Development Scheme (IADS)** (1965). Special priority was given to the programmes on economic upliftment of the tribal people and the economic rehabilitation of the people

engaged in shifting agriculture. In order to meet the credit requirements of the tribal agriculturists and artisans, special financial and other multi- purpose cooperatives were started. Special attention was given to the issues such as improvement in the quality of land, land reclamation, minor irrigation, soil conservation, improved high yielding variety of seed supply, fisheries, cattle, poultry and sheep breeding and vocational training for the artisans. Roads, culverts and bridges were constructed for connectivity of the villages to the urban areas as developmental projects. The health of the rural tribal people were focused upon specially the areas of female maternity, child welfare and the provision of hygienic drinking water to curb the water borne diseases. During the third five year plan period, 489 Community Development Blocks housing more than 66% of tribal population were converted to Tribal Development Blocks where the **Tribal Development Blocks Programmes** were started off which was the intensification of the projects of the Community Development Blocks with a higher development of resources to take care of the tribal problems. Bordoloi, (1989). The third five year plan covered three hundred Tribal Development Blocks which primarily worked in the areas such as planning, training coordination and the tribal rights on forests and land, productive channelization of the skills of the youths through the proper implementation of vocational training etc.

### **The Fourth Five Year Plan (1969- 1974)**

The principal objective of the fourth five year plan was **growth and stability** along with the achievement of social equality. The problems of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes were enlisted specially in consultation with the studies of 1959 and 1969 and also the SC&ST Commission of 1961. It was realized that the individual welfare approach or the schematic block approach falls inadequate to solve the economic problems of the tribal people. Therefore, the formulation of individual plans for each level of development of a particular tribal area that suited their specific potentiality and the level of development marked to be of prime significance. From the year 1962 onwards, the Tribal Development Blocks became the chief patron of development for the tribal population. However, these Tribal Development programmes were not free from criticisms like the failure of the general sector in reaching to the everyday life of the tribal people and the sole upliftment of the creamy section of the tribal population leaving behind the majority grass root population who still remained closely knit in the vicious cycle of underdevelopment and misery. The Shilu Ao Committee in its report of 1969 furthermore pointed out that the programmes devised and implemented on the grass root tribal people did not suit the level of their development. Since it followed the top

down approach the programmes were suitable for some other groups that stood higher on the ladder and scale of development. It was simply unrealistic to expect a positive outcome from an unsuited planned framework. It was pointed out that the employment generation schemes were not given due recognition and no concrete steps were taken to settle the land dispute problems. To sum up, it can be stated that the fragmented approach to tribal development at the block level proved to be one of the major loopholes in the proper outcome of the devised policy programmes for tribal development.

On a positive note the major developmental activities undertaken during the Fourth Five Year Plan were the allotment of land scheme, grant of subsidies for the purchase of plough, bullocks and the schemes to develop agriculture via better seeds, soil conservation, animal husbandry schemes etc. The major programmes formulated during the Fourth Five Year Plan stand to be as follows-**Tribal Area Development Programme (1972), Pilot Projects For Tribal Development (1972), Pilot Intensive Rural Employment Project (1972), Employment Guarantee Scheme (1972), and the formation of the Tribal Development Blocks.** The areas of development specifically categorized in the Fourth Five Year Plan were education, economic development and health and housing.

### **The Fifth five Year Plan (1974-1979)**

‘**Removal of poverty and the attainment of self reliance**’ was the main objective of the draft of the Fifth Five year Plan. The realization of this goal indicated the accomplishment of the higher growth rate, proper income distribution, and an increase in the rate of domestic savings and most important of all, improvement in the standard of living of the weaker and the poorer sections of the society. In this background, special attention was given to implement policies for the reduction of the gap between the tribe and the non tribe population of the country with the help of large investments and other suitable physical efforts to bring them to the national mainstream. The focus of attention of the Fifth Five Year Plan was on the introduction and understanding of the term ‘**Basic Minimum Needs**’ through Tribal Sub Plans and **integrated Tribal Development Projects (1974), Tribal Development Projects (1975), Twenty Point Programme Antyodaya (1975), Antyodaya (1977), Comprehensive Area Development Programme (1978), Integrated Rural Development Programme (1979), Training of Rural youth for Self Employment (1978).**

Taking into consideration the loopholes of the developmental policies for tribal development during the Fourth Five Year plans, the Dube committee came out with some major rectifying

suggestions in the Fifth Five Year Plan. The first one being that of an integrated approach to tribal development with a view to bridge the gap between the developmental level of the tribal and non tribal areas; while the second being the improvement in the quality of life of the tribal people. The National Planning Commission having understood the lopsided development policies towards the tribes came up with an integrated approach towards tribal development in the form of the launching of the Tribal Sub Plan which was endowed with the responsibility of eliminating exploitation by increasing the pace of development and an overall development in the organizational capacity. During the fifth Five Year Plan, through the tribal Sub Plan, a serious emphasis was laid upon the building up of the infrastructure for the developmental purpose of the tribes of India. Projects on financial self reliance such as development of horticulture, improved agriculture, fisheries, animal husbandry, small scale cottage industries were continued.

### **The Sixth Five Year Plan. (1980-1985)**

Bridging the gap between the tribal areas and the non tribal areas by accelerating the sub plan projects for tribal development happened to be the primary objective of the Sixth Five Year plan. Under the tribal sub plan projects, the top most priority was given to the improvement of education in the tribal areas by the end of the Sixth Five Year Plan. The areas with 59% and above of tribal population were identified as Tribal Sub Plan areas where special attention was devoted to such areas. During the Sixth Five Year Plan, the major focuses of attentions were four fold in nature. Firstly, emphasis was laid on the provision of developmental services with a bottom up approach rather than the prevailing top down approach towards tribal development. Secondly, attempts were made to increase the employment level by the provision of diversified job opportunities and the imparting of the due training required to avail them the newly created job facilities. Special effort was made to bring about the coordination of the Special Micro projects and the working of the Integrated Tribal Development Agencies alongside the Tribal Sub Plan in order to improve the economic condition of the tribes with the target of making a visible increase of 50% of the tribal population above the BPL line by providing decent livelihoods in the form of improved agriculture, animal husbandry, horticulture and forestry. The government took strategic measures to curb the exploitation of the tribes in the hands of the middle men, money lenders by setting them free of unreasonable land tenure, bonded labour and debt. Large Sized Agricultural Multipurpose Societies commonly referred to as LAMPS were initiated in the tribal areas to bring about a responsible output in the infrastructural outgrowths. The primary

focus of attention of the Sixth Five Year Plan was on the strengthening of the infrastructures in the tribal areas, the elimination of tribal (rural poverty) by the reduction of regional disparities with the help of Integrated/ Tribal Development Programmes. The backbone to these policies were provided by the following programmes- **National Rural Employment Programme(1980), Prime Minister's New 20-point Programme (1980), Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA) (1983), Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (1983), Programmes for Depressed Areas, Special Programmes for Women and Children, and Tribal Development Agency.** For the pockets with tribal concentration with a minimum population of 10000 where at least half of the people belonging to the scheduled tribe communities, special programme was devised under the banner of Modified Area Development Approach.<sup>245</sup> such **MADA** pockets were identified. Furthermore, the number of primitive tribes increased to seventy two as twenty more tribal communities were identified and put under the banner of primitive tribes.

### **The Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-1990)**

The Seventh Five Year Plan witnessed a substantial flow of funds for tribal development which led to an increase in the infrastructural facilities and the problem coverage areas not to forget the thrust being that of the educational development of the scheduled tribe communities. Two important institutions of the national level were set up for the economic development of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes namely- 1. Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation (TRIFED) which was established in 1987 to function as an apex body for State Tribal Development Cooperative Corporations. 2. National Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporations (NSFDC) established in 1989. While the TRIFED was entrusted with the responsibility of providing remunerative price for the forest and agricultural produce of the tribal people, the NSFDC on the other hand was to facilitate employment generation by providing credit facilities. The Seventh Five Year plan looked into the measures to strengthen the anti exploitation programmes, poverty alleviations programmes, and the socio- economic development programmes with the help of irrigation facilities, power generation and mining projects to up lift the socio- economic conditions of the tribes. The implementation of various legislatives measures specially in the field of agriculture like money lending, agricultural tenancy, bonded labour, forestry, excise, debt relief rehabilitation of the displaced population etc. to deliver social justice was an important landmark of the Seventh Five Year Plan. Active role of the Non Governmental Organisations and Voluntary Organisations were witnessed to achieve the targets of an

egalitarian society with socio economic stability and justice. To address the poverty problems of the tribal people, special emphasis was laid on the promotion of agriculture, horticulture, forestry, cottage industries and small scale industries, training on technical advancements, marketing and monetary advancements etc. since the gap between the national educational level and that of the tribal educational level was seen to widen with the passage of time, the Seventh Plan paid due attention to the imparting of formal and vocational training to the tribal population. The major programmes that were implemented in this plan period were the **Community Development Programme, Integrated Rural Development Programme, Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (1983), Integrated Rural Energy Planning Programme, Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (1989)**. It can be stated that the Seventh Five Year Plan aimed to bring the tribal and non tribal population at par with each other by working on the upliftment of the former to be on an equal footing with the latter. In the achievement of this target the plan emphasized on the elimination of exploitation alongside tried to address some of the pertinent issues of land alienation, minimum wages and other human rights issues.

### **3.7. GOVERNMENT POLICIES WITH RESPECT TO TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT FROM 1991**

The chronological understanding of the policies and programmes charted out by the government has been provided in brief in the reviews of the five year plans up to the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-1990). The post liberalization era witnessed by the global political arena also touched upon the policies developed and designed for the tribes of India. In this section, we intend to study some of the important policies and programmes implemented by the Government on the tribal population in the post liberalization era. The major drawback that is to be mentioned here is that it is almost impossible to analyze and narrate each and every policy of the post 1990s because it would make the chapter unnecessary lengthy and irrelevant. Therefore, we intend to point out only those policies that are significant and relevant in bringing about tribal development. Furthermore, as has been pointed out earlier, there are two types of programmes helping in the development of the tribes. The first one being that which directly bring about development of the tribes and the second which is for an overall rural development that as well help the tribes in developing. Taking both the **direct and indirect policies** together, we shall present an overview of some of the major policies for

tribal development from 1991 onwards compiling the efforts from the Eight Five Year Plan till the Twelfth Five Year Plan.

### **Supply of Improved Tool Kits to Rural Artisans (SITRA) 1992**

The Supply of Improved Tool Kits to Rural Artisans was introduced in the year 1992 as a sub programme of the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) in some of the selected districts which gradually spread and covered all other districts of the country. The focus of attention of this programme was to enhance the quality of products of the artisans living below the poverty line by increasing their production and income. Under the scheme, artisans from different crafts living below the poverty line were to be given improved tools to enable them to enhance the quality/quantity/market potential of their products; the aim was also to prevent migration to the urban areas and to enhance the living standards in rural areas of the poor. The findings of an independent research organization called the Development Alternatives, New Delhi, in its case studies of two districts of Agra and Aligarh have shown a positive impact of the SITRA on the artisans by increasing their income with the help of improved tool facilities. With the passage of time, this programme like the TRYSEM was merged with the **Swarna jayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY)** in the year 1999.

### **Rural Sanitation Programme (Revised during 1992-93)**

The Centrally sponsored Rural Sanitation Programme which was launched in 1986 was revised and made more effective during the years 1992-1993. This programme commonly referred to as the (CRSP) focused on the provisions of sanitary latrines to the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe families and also to those living under the poverty line. The financial responsibility of funding the programme was undertaken both by the centre and the state at a fifty percent ratio each. The revision and the revamping of the Rural Sanitation Programme was done during the year 1992-93 where it was decided that eighty percent of subsidy would be granted to the people living below the poverty level while the rest of the twenty percent would be taken up by the individual household. A special provision was made for the construction of exclusive sanitary complexes for women where the seventy percent of the cost would be contributed by the state and the central government and the rest of the thirty percent by the panchayats. The Rural Sanitary Marts (RSM), which happened to be the

retail outlets were opened up for the purchase and easy distribution of the equipments of sanitary ware for the smooth operation of the above mentioned programme.

### **Employment Assurance Scheme (1993)**

2<sup>nd</sup> of October, 1993, marks the starting of the implementation of the Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS) in the rural or tribal areas of 1,778 tribal blocks of 261 districts. The EAS scheme aimed to provide an assured employment of 100 days of unskilled manual jobs to the rural poor in need of and seeking job opportunities. A minimum of 18 years and a maximum of 60 years stand to be the demarcating age group for both men and women who are the residents of the rural blocks covered under the EAS scheme. Not more than two adult members of a single family can be employed under the EAS scheme where more than 10 million people got registered themselves under the scheme by the year 1994. The centre and the state in a ratio of 80:20 share the financial burden of the Employment Assurance Scheme. The basic objective behind the introduction of the EAS scheme was to help the rural people during the lean season of agriculture by providing gainful employment in the form of manual or physical labour to the physically sound adults of the rural and tribal areas who are in need of work and are looking for one but have failed to find in the farm or other sectors. By fulfilling this primary objective the secondary objective would be fulfilled within a due course of time. This being the achievement of the creation of economic infrastructure to bring about economic stability by adding to the community assets and a sustained employment and development facility.

### **Prime Minister's Rozgar Yojana (1993)**

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of October 1993, the then Indian Prime Minister formally announced the Prime Minister's Yojana which aimed to provide employment to the educated but unemployed people of the country. The educational qualification required is standard eighth passed. Earlier it was confined to the urban sectors, but from the year 1994, the scheme was extended to the rural as well as tribal areas alongside the urban areas of the nation. The provision of self employment to the educated unemployed persons in the agricultural sectors, village industries and small scale industries happened to be the primary focus of this scheme. The major focus of attention of this scheme was on the provision of employment to the educated unemployed youths and women with a target of reaching out to more than a million persons by setting up seven lakhs of micro enterprises by the educated unemployed youths. A loan up to 1 lakh for business and 2 lakhs for industrial and agricultural enterprises are advanced by

the banks to the educated unemployed youths and straight away a sum of ten lakhs are covered if two or more educated unemployed youths opt for partnership project under this scheme. The scheme covers a reservation of 22.5% for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and 27% for the Other Backward Classes. It is the District Industry Centre that has the final say in the selection of the beneficiaries and the implementation of the employment programme.

### **Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM)**

The Year 1979 marks to be the foundation for the establishment of a significant programme called TRYSEM which was later on merged with the **Swarna jayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY)** along with many other programmes such as IRDP, SITRA, Million Wells Scheme and the DWCRA in the year 1999. The Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment Programme commonly referred to as TRYSEM was formulated with the ultimate focus of providing the rural poor youths between the age group of 18- 35 years with the technical and entrepreneurial skills in order to enable them to start up some income generating activities in the form of self employment and wage employment. TRYSEM aimed to deliver training and technical skills to the rural youths out of which not less than fifty percent of them to belong to the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe communities and also not less than fifty percent from the women folk in a mandatory manner. 'There are no educational qualifications prescribed for the selection of trainees (Government of India, 1988:20-21).' The District Rural Development Agency decides on the selection of the syllabus of the TRYSEM programme and the managerial skills that include the basics of book keeping, basic knowledge of marketing and product costing, plan formulation and entrepreneurial assistance along with the familiarization with the banks for subsidies and loans. The major loopholes of the TRYSEM programme happen to be the lack of seriousness on the part of the people responsible of conducting the training thereby making the entire system a mere bunch of formalities. The mismanagement and the ill equipment of the training centres, nonpayment of the allotted stipends to the beneficiaries and the non issuance of the training certificates furthermore weakened the programme.

### **Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY) (1999)**

The Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana came into existence by merging out several different self employment programmes such as Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM), Development of Women

& Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA), Supply of Improved Toolkits to Rural Artisans (SITRA), and Ganga Kalyan Yojana (GKY) which were seen to be lacking in proper social intermediation and linkages within themselves. This programme was introduced by A.B. Vajpayee where the funding of the SGSY is done by the centre and the state at 75:25 ratios. The establishment of a large number of micro enterprises in rural areas to bring the poor families above the poverty line within a time span of three years with the help of the provision of income generating assets in the form of government subsidies and bank credits was the prime focus of attention of the SGSY programme. As a matter of fact the SGSY is perceived as a holistic programme targeting the development of micro enterprises in the rural areas and the formation of Self Help Groups. For the promotion of a network of agencies such as the District Rural Development Agencies (DRDA), special importance was given to capacity building, support of infrastructures, credit, marketing and technology and the proper cluster formations. Emphasis was laid upon a proper network and communication facilities among the major stakeholders of development in the SGSY programme such as the DRDA in the State Governments, the NGOs, the Panchayati Raj Institutions and the banks. The SGSY programme categorically insists upon the idea that fifty percent of the Self Help Groups must be formed and operated exclusively by women and that fifty percent of the benefits should flow to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. The Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY) has now been remodeled to form of the **National Rural Livelihood Mission (NPLM)** which is one of the largest missions of the world for the improvement of the livelihood of the poor.

### **Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana (JGSY) 1999.**

With the ultimate objective of poverty alleviation at the village level, the Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana was launched in the year 1999 by A.V. Vajpayee. The programme focuses on the provision of maximum job opportunities and facilities to the poor villages for the creation of social assets. The funding to the JGSY was taken up by the centre and the state at 75:25 ratios.

The initiative for the provision of job opportunities especially to the rural poor primarily dependent on agriculture during the lean season began as early as the 1960s. To make this possible, several wage schemes were launched both by the centre and the state out of which the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana 1989 marked to be of the largest stature (because it was an amalgamation of many different likeminded programmes such as National Rural

Employment Programme and the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme.). This programme was redesigned in the year 1999 as the Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana (JGSY). To add to it, the JGSY aimed to create additional employment by creating productive assets. Later on, in the year 2001, the Employment Assurance Scheme and the Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana was integrated to form the Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana (SGRY).

### **Food For Work Programme (2000-2001)**

The Food for Work programme is one of the components of the Employment Assurance Scheme that was started off in the year 2000-01 in eight of the notified drought affected states of Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Maharashtra, Uttaranchal and Rajasthan. The Food for Work Programme aims to provide food provision through wage employment where free of cost food grains are supplied to the state to facilitate the programme. However the major loophole of this programme happens to be the slow pace of lifting the food grains from the godowns of the Food Corporation of India which in turn hampered the overall distribution pattern thereby making the programme faulty and inefficient.

### **Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana (SGRY) 2001**

The merger of the Employment Assurance Scheme and Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana led to the launching of the Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana by A.B. Vajpayee in Sept 2001 with two major objectives of providing employment opportunities and food to the rural poor below the poverty line along with the provision of additional wage employment in the form of economic assets and infrastructure in the rural areas. The employments of the beneficiaries are done on temporary basis who are made to work on the construction of infrastructure and community assets. The target area of the programme was the upliftment of women, the Scheduled castes and the Scheduled Tribes of the rural zones where the financial burden of food distribution was shared both by the central and the state government, the execution of which was done by the three tiers of Panchayati Raj System. The Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana was later on replaced by the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act 2005.

### **The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) 2005.**

The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act was launched by Dr. Manmohan Singh with the primary objective of providing one hundred days of guaranteed unskilled wage

employment to one member of each rural household opting for it. It has been categorically stated here that all poor households irrespective of falling below or above the poverty level are entitled to the job scheme. This programme started on 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 2006 by covering two hundred districts which was extended to the entire nation within the time framework of 1<sup>st</sup> of April 2008 to 2<sup>nd</sup> of October 2009 whereby it was renamed as **Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA)**. The programme works for the conservation of water resources, security measures from drought and flood, development of land and rural connectivity by constructing all weather roads. The day to day administration of this programme is bestowed in the hands of the Panchayati Raj system of the country that is responsible for the planning, implementation and monitoring with the Gram Sabha for the social auditing of the scheme. This scheme demands one third of its beneficiaries to be women and along with one fourth of the wage rate to be distributed in case of failure of the government to provide employment for the stipulated duration as unemployment allowance.

### **Special Area Development Programme 2007**

It was in the Eleventh Five Year Plan that recognition was given to the fact that inclusive growth required more of its attention on the slow developing areas that are generally termed as the backward zones. The level of public investment must be increased in such areas to bring them to a common platform whereby the process of development would be aggravated extensively and the distribution of the fruits of development would be done in a just manner. Realizing this idea to the fullest and also understanding the fact that the pattern of development was lopsided in India, central government aided the state government by providing additional central assistance in the form of Backward Regions Grant Fund, Border Area Development Programme, the Hill Areas Development Programme/ Western Ghats Development Programme, Drought Prone Area Programme and the Tribal Area Development Programme. The major focus of attention would be the flow of development in the above specified areas to keep them abreast with the mainland development. Special mention must be made about the **Integrated Tribal Development Agency** which was specially formulated to narrow down the gap between the backwardness of the tribal areas with an intention to bring about a visible level of development in them. The method adopted to achieve this target was the elimination of corruption and exploitation in all forms, acceleration in the pace of socio economic development level with the help of improving the organizational capacity within the tribal communities.

**The National Rural Livelihood Mission (NPLM) (2011)**

The then Prime Minister of India Dr. Manmohan Singh launched the National Rural Livelihood Mission in the year 2011 primarily designed for the alleviation of poverty by the year 2014-15. (The Hindu (Daily News Paper), Women Empowerment Schemes to take more time, July 7, 2009. p.11.). This programme was formulated by remodeling the Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana and the responsibility of its implementation was handed over to the Ministry of Rural Development. This initiative is one of the world's largest poverty alleviation programme which is sponsored by the World Bank with a credit facility of one billion US Dollars. The main objective of the National Rural Livelihood Mission is to promote self employment and organization of the poor people of the rural areas with the help of the formation of Self Help Groups. Furthermore, the formation of women's Self Help Groups were encouraged by providing an interest subsidy of Rupees one lakh to the poor households on the bank loans issued by them.

**Adivasi Mahila Sashaktikaran Yojana (AMSY)**

The Adivasi Mahila Sashaktikaran Yojana was a special programme exclusively designed for the welfare and development of the women belonging to the Scheduled Tribe communities. Under this scheme, the National Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Cooperation is endowed with the responsibility of providing loans for various schemes and projects up to fifty thousand per individual or units. Furthermore, up to 90% of the cost of the scheme or the project is covered by the National Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Cooperation.

**Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana (PMJDY), 2014**

The Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana is a mission of national level launched by Narendra Modi to help enable an access to the financial services like banking facilities through the opening up of savings and deposit accounts and the utilization of credit, pension and insurance facilities. The Department of Financial Services, Ministry of Finance is endowed with the responsibility of ensuring a universal access to banking facility with at least one bank account for every household thereby generating financial literacy especially among people of the rural zones and backward areas.

**Tribal Sub Plans**

The implementation of the Tribal Sub Plan was done during the Fifth Five Year Plan which marked a radical shift in the approach towards Tribal Development whereby the Scheduled Tribes would be directly benefitted. The Tribal Sub Plan can be regarded to be an umbrella term where all the schemes implemented by the state and the central government are brought together on a single platform for addressing the different needs of the Scheduled Tribe communities. The Tribal Sub Plan is basically an area based programme which focuses on the infrastructural development and family orientation of the Scheduled Tribes. The Ministry of Tribal Affairs, apart from the state and central aid can take up developmental issues based on the improvement of infrastructure under Article 275(1) of the constitution. Financial assistance is granted to the state or the Union Territory by the centre for construction of hostels and coaching institutions, research and training centres, ashrams and schools for the Scheduled Tribe students. Special mention must also be made about the Non Governmental Organisations in the implementation of the TSP projects which we will be discussing at length in the latter chapters of our research. The NSFDC and other related banks help with the financial matters with regard to the Tribal sub Plan.

The Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation (TRIFED) was set up by the Government in the year 1987 with the prime objective of providing marketing assistance and remunerative prices to tribals for their Minor Forest Produce (MFP) and Surplus Agricultural Produce (SAP). The formation of the TRIFED also holds another significant reason that had grasped the ground level reality and also that which had acted as a curtailment in the growth rate of developmental activities of the tribal people. This area to be redressed was the prevalent forms of exploitation of the tribes whose livelihood depended on the minor forest produce and corruption in case of the middlemen in between the tribes and the market. This organization acted as a smooth pathway connecting the people at the ground working as the collectors of minor forest produce and also the small marginal farmers and the market and also helped in fetching for the beneficiaries a decent income pattern/ remunerative free from corruption and exploitation.

Having studied some of the various important policies and programmes that are both directly and indirectly beneficial for the development of the Scheduled Tribes of India, the chapter would remain incomplete without highlighting on some of the recent measures taken up by

the **Ministry of Tribal Affairs** as an effort of developing the Scheduled Tribes. These can be listed as below-

### **Special Central Assistance & Grants under Article 275(1) of the Constitution.**

In order to supplement their efforts of the upliftment of the Scheduled Tribes through the Tribal Sub Plans, special central assistance is granted to the states and the Union Territories that basically targets the area of attention towards family oriented income generating schemes, soil conservation , water management, forest, education, animal husbandry, cooperatives, fisheries, small scale agriculture and industries etc. under the provision of Article 275(1), special grants are also given to the states and the Union Territories in order to meet the financial cost of the special projects designed for tribal welfare and also for the smooth functioning of the administration within the scheduled areas.

### **Schemes of Development of the Primitive Tribal Group (PTGs)**

Considering the vulnerability of the seventy five tribal groups under the primitive category, in the year 1998-99 a special Central Sector Scheme was devised for the all round development of this group. The scheme is very flexible, and covers housing, infrastructure development, education, health, land distribution/development, agriculture development, cattle development, social security, insurance, etc. During 2007-08, comprehensive long term “Conservation-cum-Development (CCD) Plans” for PTGs has been formulated for Eleventh Plan period through baseline surveys conducted by respective State Governments/Union territory. These Plans envisage a synergy between efforts of State Governments and non-governmental organizations.

### **Tribal Research Institutes.**

In the states of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Kerela, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa, Maharashtra, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, Tripura and Manipur, fourteen Tribal Research Institutions have been established for the purpose of providing planning inputs to the government, conducting research, collection of data, evaluation of the studies conducted etc. Some of these research institutes also hold a museum for the promotion of tribal art and culture.

### **Vocational Training Centers in Tribal Areas.**

Apart from the setting up of **hostels** for both male and female Scheduled Tribe students and the **Ashram schools, scholarships** and **coaching institutes** in the Tribal Sub Plan areas, vocational training centers were opened up in the tribal areas with the ultimate aim of upgrading the vocational skills of the tribal youths in both the traditional and modern work culture depending upon their educational qualifications. The scheme provides 100% grant, and is implemented through State Governments, UT Administration and NGOs. The scheme prescribes fixed financial norms. However, no cost for the construction is provided.

## **3.8. MAJOR INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCHEDULED TRIBES**

It can be rightly pointed out that both the Central and the State Governments have formulated a variety of different developmental agencies and the governmental departments with the ultimate aim of addressing the Scheduled Tribe issues. This study can be broadly taken up by throwing light on each of the endeavors of the federal structure of the Indian Union i.e. the central agencies and the state agencies.

### **3.8.1. CENTRAL GOVERNMENTAL EFFORTS**

**Ministry of Tribal Affairs** – The Ministry of Tribal Affairs is relatively a new ministry that was constituted in 1999 with the objective of ‘providing more focused attention on the integrated socio-economic development of the most under-privileged sections of the Indian Society namely, the STs, in a coordinated and planned manner’. Hence, the responsibility for overall policy, planning and coordination of the developmental programmes of the Scheduled Tribes lie with the Ministry of Tribal Affairs by directly funding the Scheduled Tribe welfare.

**National Commission for Scheduled Tribes** – The then existing National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes that was created in 1978 was bifurcated in 2004 by a constitutional amendment thereby leading to the birth of the National Commission for Scheduled Tribes (NCST) whose role is basically to monitor the measures for Scheduled Tribes welfare, investigate on the atrocities and violation of rights of the Scheduled Tribes thereby suggesting special measures in order to safeguard the rights, livelihoods and the natural resources of the Scheduled Tribes.

Tribal Sub Plan/ Integrated Tribal Development Projects – Post Fifth Five Year Plan has witnessed a change in the route of the development funds via a scheme known by the term Tribal Sub Plan (TSP), which was specially created for spending money in blocks, housing more than 50 percent of its population as the Scheduled Tribes. The funds are to be spend through Integrated Tribal Development Agencies at the block level under the banner of Integrated Tribal Development Projects, thereby directly benefitting the Scheduled Tribe beneficiaries.

**Commission for Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes** – Article 339(1) of the Indian Constitution provides a Commission for Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes which was set up for the first time in 1960 headed by U.N. Dhebar as Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission. Dilip Singh Bhuria headed the second Commission set up in 2002 that submitted its report to the President of India in 2004.

**Committee on Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes** - This Committee is one of the three elected committees in Parliament which acts as a joint committee with twenty members from the Lok Sabha and ten members from the Rajya Sabha. This committee has been delegated the power to summon Government officials, demand reports with regard to the matters of Tribal Welfare etc.

**National Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation (NSTFDC)** – This Central Government Financial Body was set up in 2001 for channeling Central Funds towards Schemes for income generation, skill up-gradation, training and the procurement of minor forest produce.

**Tribal Co-operative Marketing Development Federation (TRIFED)** - In many of the states of India, the State Governments have created Co-operatives for the purpose of marketing the products produced by the Scheduled Tribes especially those that are based on non-timber forest materials. Engaged in marketing development activities for Tribal products, the TRIFED is a national federation of the minor co-operative bodies.

### **3.8.2. STATE GOVERNMENTAL EFFORTS**

**Department of Tribal Welfare** – In most of the states with a significant Scheduled Tribe population, special separate departments and ministries are created for Tribal Welfare, while

in those states where the Scheduled Tribes populations are not significant, the welfare policies are run under the control of the department of the backward classes (Dalits, Adivasis and other backward castes). The Departments of Tribal Welfare look after the administration of the development schemes by channeling funds to the concerned areas.

**Tribal Advisory Council** – Paragraph 4 of the Fifth Schedule of the Indian Constitution states that ‘every state with areas under that Schedule, or any other state whose Governor should so direct, must have a Tribes Advisory Council’. It is the Governor who appoints the members of the Council whose duty is to advise the former with regard to the functioning of the Fifth Schedule.

### **The Scheduled Areas**

The Constitution of India under two Schedules i.e. the Fifth and Sixth Schedules has made special arrangements for areas especially inhabited by the Scheduled Tribes.

**The Fifth Schedule** – The Governors of states are conferred with some special powers and responsibilities under the provision of the Fifth Schedule to the constitution. The Fifth Schedule defines Scheduled Areas to be such areas as the President, by order may declare to be Scheduled Areas after consultation with the Governor of that state and in consultation with the State Government. Preponderance of Tribal population, compactness and reasonable size of the area, a viable administrative entity such as a district, block or taluk, economic backwardness of the area are the special criteria for declaring any area as a Scheduled Area under the Fifth Schedule. Some of the noteworthy provisions in the Scheduled Areas for the benefit of the tribals stand to be as follows:

The Governor of a state having Scheduled Areas can make regulations to **i.** Prohibit or restrict transfer of land from tribals; **ii.** Regulate the business of money lending to the members of the Scheduled Tribes; **iii.** Make a report to the President regarding the administration of the Scheduled Areas in the state; **iv.** Establish a Tribal Advisory Council in states having Scheduled Areas; **v.** Look into the **Panchayats Extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) (Act 1996)** under which the provisions pertaining to Panchayats or elected village councils, are extended to the Scheduled Areas that contain special benefits for the Scheduled Tribes.

**The Sixth Schedule** – The administration of certain Tribal Areas in the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram are guided by the constitution under the Sixth Schedule governed by Autonomous District and Autonomous Regions under Article 244(2). The

District Councils, Autonomous Councils and Regional Councils with the approval of the Governor are empowered to make rules with regard to areas such as dispensaries, markets, primary schools, fisheries, waterways, roads and roads transports. Except for Bodoland and Tripura, the Autonomous Council under the Civil Procedure Code and Criminal Procedure Code have been conferred the powers to try certain suits and offences, to collect revenues and regulate and manage the natural resources not touching upon the areas of the reserved forests and land acquisition by the State Government. The Supreme Court had made it clear that the powers of the councils are specifically limited to the subjects specified in the Sixth Schedule and cannot infringe upon power areas such as land transfers, and non-timber forest produce royalties. (*District Council of United Khasi and Jaintia Hills and Ors .Etc. vs. Sitimon Sawian Etc, 1 SCR 398*).

Apart from these policies that directly benefit the scheduled tribes of the country, there are many such policies that indirectly help in the development of the rural people not to exclude the tribes from it.

### **3.9. GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES POST 2014**

The policies on tribal development have witnessed a gradual change with the change in the central government that make an attempt to mould the existing policies conducive to their party affiliations, election manifesto and political ideology. The change witnessed in the policies of tribal development after the 1990s with the advocacy of liberalization in the nation has definitely marked a change in the existing policies towards the development of the scheduled tribes, laying more emphasis upon the quality of human life. 27<sup>th</sup> of May 2014, marks the coming in of a new set of policy formulators and administrators with a change in the central government. Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his ministry are well known for the drastic changes in the existing method of governance. The replacement of the National Planning Commission by the NITI Aayog that would be working on the lines of bottom-up approach as perceived by the ministry, speaks for itself aloud. The speeches delivered by the Prime Minister and his cabinet on the upliftment of the backward communities and the scheduled tribes make us believe about his intentions to work for tribal development on dedicated lines. However, to review the functioning of the present government on tribal development would be too early and an amateur task to conduct. Yet, we would like to draw

the attentions of the readers on some of the important policies adopted and upgraded by the present government for tribal development since the year 2014.

The year ending review of 2017 provided by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs highlights on the twelve major areas that have been developed in the due course of tribal development. Some of the noteworthy areas that need a mention stand to be as follows:

### **Socio Economic Development**

The socio-economic development of Scheduled Tribes (STs) through especially tailored educational, infrastructure and livelihood schemes to fill in for critical gaps. Allocation of Business Rules (ABR) of the Government now mandates this Ministry to monitor 'Tribal Sub-Plan' (now called as 'Scheduled Tribe Component') funds of Central Ministries based on the framework and mechanism designed by NITI Aayog.

### **Budget allocation for Minor Projects**

The Budget allocation for the Ministry of Tribal Affairs has gone up from Rs. 4827.00 Cr in the year 2016-17 to Rs. 5329.00 Cr in 2017-18. Also, allocation for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes across all Ministries has witnessed an increase from Rs. 24,005.00 Cr in the year 2016-17 has gone up to Rs. 31,920.00 Cr in the corresponding period. The Ministry has already utilized 70% of its allocated outlay on various developmental initiatives for STs. An amount of Rs. 2280.49 Cr (as on 21<sup>st</sup> December, 2017) has been released under two Special Areas Programme of the Ministry viz. Special Central Assistance to Tribal Sub-Scheme and Grants under Article 275(1) of the Constitution for Education, Health, Livelihood /Income Generation Activities etc.

### **Monitoring of funds for tribal development**

There are 32 Central Ministries and Departments having 'Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP)' funds [now called as 'Scheduled Tribe Component'(STC)] catering to specific tribal development in various sectors through 273 different schemes.

Allocation of Business Rules (ABR) has been amended in January, 2017 whereby Ministry of Tribal Affairs (MoTA) has been given mandate for monitoring of STC funds of Central Ministries based on the framework and mechanism designed by NITI Aayog. An online monitoring system has been put in place with web address [stcmis.nic.in](http://stcmis.nic.in). The framework envisages monitoring of allocations for welfare of STs under the schemes, monitoring of

expenditure vis-à-vis allocations, monitoring of physical performance and outcome monitoring. The framework also envisages to capture location wise details to ensure accountability and targeted spending.

### **Scheme for Eklavya Model Residential School (EMRS)**

**The report claims of raising the total number of Eklavya Model Residential School to one hundred and ninety by making fifty more schools functional. Furthermore, fourteen more schools have been sanctioned during the year 2017-18 raising the number of schools to 271 EMRS nationwide.**

### **Skill Development**

An amount of Rs. 165.00 Crore has been released to various states under the scheme Special Central Assistance to Tribal Sub-Scheme (SCA to TSS) and Grants under Article 275(1) for skill development of more than 71 thousand male and female tribal beneficiaries in a wide gamut of trades such as (i) Office Management (ii) Solar Technician / Electrician (iii) Beautician (iv) Handicraft (v) Skills required for day to day construction works (such as Plumbing, Mason, Electrician, Fitter, Welder, Carpenter (vi) Refrigeration and A/C repairing (vii) Mobile repairing (viii) Nutrition (x) Ayurvedic & tribal medicines (xi) IT (xii) Data Entry (xiii) Fabrication (xiv) Paramedics and Home Nurse Training (xv) Automobile Driving and Mechanics (xvi) Electric & Motor Winding (xvii) Security Guard (xviii) Housekeeping & Management (xix) Retail Management (xx) Hospitality (xxi) Eco-tourism (xxii) Adventure Tourism.

### **Construction of Museums for Tribal Freedom Fighters**

The Government shall work to construct tribal museums in different states so that the coming generations may know how our tribals were far ahead in making sacrifices. Ministry has decided to construct a state-of-the-art Tribal Museum of national importance in Gujarat with a total cost of Rs. 75.00 Crore out of which Ministry of Tribal Affairs will provide Rs. 50.00 Crore. An amount of Rs. 25.00 Crore has already been released to the State.

### **Initiatives under Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs)**

Ministry has enhanced the allocation of funds for the development of particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) from Rs. 270 crores in 2016-17 to Rs. 340 crores in 2017-18.

State Government have been given the flexibility of utilizing the funds using the gaps identified through the Survey.

In order to ensure the overall and particular development of PVTGs, emphasis is being given on Micro planning using GIS mapping of tribes.

Emphasis in the Comprehensive cum Development (CCD) is for preserving traditional architecture, traditional medical practices and cuisine and maintaining the heritage and culture of PVTGs.

### **Scholarships**

**The government has allocated funds, keeping in view the necessity and importance of education and has offered different types of scholarships to the students in the form of pre-matric, post-matric, scholarships for higher education etc.**

### **Aadi Mahotsav**

Ministry of Tribal Affairs in association with TRIFED had organized a National Tribal Festival from 16<sup>th</sup> November, 2017 to 30<sup>th</sup> November, 2017. The Festival commenced with a tribute to Birsa Munda, legendary tribal leader, freedom fighter and folk hero on his 142<sup>nd</sup> birth anniversary through an advertisement in print and social media on 15<sup>th</sup> November, 2017.

### **NGO Grants**

Ministry has been funding NGOs in service deficient areas in sectors such as Health, Education etc. In order to ensure transparency and in line with Government policies, NGO Grants portal has been developed. Henceforth, all interventions will be funded through applications received only through online portal. Also new projects on merits will be considered for funding after many years.

### **Minimum Support Price for Minor Forest Produce**

The MSP for the ten MFP items which had formed a part of the scheme since inception in 2013-14 had been revised on 31.10.2016. Also, furthermore MFP items had been included in the list of MFP items and the scheme was made applicable all over the country. Prior to that the Scheme was applicable only in Schedule V States. Subsequently, the MSP of the ten items existing in the Scheme since its inception were further reviewed consequent upon a

study conducted by M/s TERI, Delhi on behest of TRIFED, and recommendation of the Pricing Cell. The MSP of five items viz. Sal Seed, Sal Leaves, Chironji Pods with seeds, Rangeeni Lac and Kusumi Lac have been increased in November, 2017.

Apart from the above mentioned major areas of tribal development, the present government intends to bring about a convergence of multiple programmes parallel to each other so as to achieve the desired target of development. Let us observe some of the major governmental efforts for tribal development through the process of convergence model.

### **Van Bandhu Kalyan Yojana (VKY):**

To create high quality social and physical infrastructure in an accelerated manner through strategic interventions to bridge the gap in the Human Development Indices and to reap untapped potential of the Scheduled Tribes communities, the Central Government has announced a strategic process “Van Bandhu Kalyan Yojana (VKY)” by re-engineering processes of existing interventions with focus on quality education, health, livelihood development, infrastructure development without compromising cultural identity of Scheduled Tribes during the budget session of the Parliament on 10th July 2014. Van Bandhu Kalyan Yojana, mainly focuses on the integrated, holistic and inclusive development of tribal communities in core areas of education, health, livelihood, housing, drinking water, irrigation, access to basic facilities, institutions, cultural heritage, security and sports. Introduced by the Central government in 2014 as a Central Sector Scheme with an allocation of Rs. 100 crore.

The Central Government proposes to replicate the intervention with special focus on

- the qualitative and sustainable employment for tribal families;
- bridging infrastructure gaps with focus on quality;
- Improving the quality of education and health and improving the quality of life in tribal areas.

The major area of attention of this programme is to bring about qualitative and sustainable employment, emphasis on quality education & higher education, accelerated economic development of tribal areas, health for all, housing for all, safe drinking water for all at doorsteps, irrigation facilities suited to the terrain, all weather roads with connectivity to the nearby town/cities, universal availability of electricity, urban development, robust

institutional mechanism to roll the vehicle of development with sustainability, Promotion and conservation of tribal cultural heritage and promotion of Sports in tribal areas.

The scheme been launched on pilot basis in one block each of the (10 Schedule V) States of AP, MP, HP, Telangana, Orissa, Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Gujarat.

Under the scheme centre will provide Rs. 10 crore for each block (total Rs. 100 crores for 10 blocks) for the development of various facilities for the Tribals. These blocks have been selected on the recommendations of the concerned States and have very low literacy rate.

**Model Blocks:**

There are about 350 Blocks in the Schedule V areas where population to STs compared to total population of the Block is 50% or above. Despite several interventions in the past, these Blocks are still reeling under various facets of deprivation in so far as Human Development Indices are concerned. Through VKY, it is envisaged to develop these Blocks as model Blocks over the period of next five years with qualitative and visible infrastructural facilities.

The selection of block will be made in consultation with the respective State Governments while taking into account the human development indices.

**Single Window System For Obtaining Market Information On Minor Forest Produces:**

A Single Window System for obtaining information on Minor Forest Produces (MFPS) through Toll Free Call Service number 1800-180-1551 has been inaugurated where market rates information can be provided over phone to tribals and others on asking.

**Synergy between two government bodies for infrastructure:**

Establishing Toll Free Call Centre's would have entailed major capital and recurring manpower expenses. Hence, TRIFED initiated a dialogue with Ministry of Agriculture (MOA) which is already running Kisan Call Centres (KCC) for disseminating market information about agricultural products. So it was decided that instead of establishing a parallel infrastructure for similar service, TRIFED should leverage the existing infrastructure of Kisan Call Centres (KCC). Ministry of Agriculture agreed to provide the necessary linkage of "MFP net" with KCC. This is a commendable initiative of convergence between two bodies which has created synergy and optimum utilization of Govt. resources which will

prove to be a trend setter for others. All the stakeholders of this service are benefitted with this convergence between two Ministries.

With the operationalisation of this service, tribals can call from anywhere and enquire about:

MSP of different items, State Implementing Agencies for MSP for MFP, Market price of MFPs in different Markets, Dual advantage of KCC.

#### **MFPNET Portal of TRIFED:**

The new MFPNET portal of Tribal Co-operative Marketing Development Federation of India (TRIFED) is designed to act as an adjunct and a catalyst for implementing the scheme of Minimum Support Price (MSP) for Minor Forest Produce (MFP). It is a one stop destination for all information needs on MFPs and facilitates stakeholders in MFP trade and users to take decisions backed by requisite information. It is a platform to collect and disseminate MFP trade related information and latest developments in this field. The information shall be available commodity wise and state wise for different markets.

The main objective is to ensure fair price to MFP gatherers who are mainly tribals, enhance their income level and ensure sustainable harvesting of MFPs. It is initially implemented for 10 main identified MFPs in 102 districts of 8 States. It is expected to increase quantum of MFP procurement substantially thereby benefitting tribal people. The Scheme also envisages training of 1,00,000 MFP gatherers of tribal origin on sustainable harvesting and value addition activities.

This portal provides information about TRIFED, MFP trade in India, marketing prospects for MFPs, MSP for MFP, its current status, MFP development training beside its retail marketing activities.

Moreover, the portal is a network of stakeholders in the trade of MFP which includes individuals, agencies and institutions. Emails & SMSes about daily market prices shall be sent to all those interested in knowing the market prices and registered with the MFPnet. In addition, MFPnet also has the provision to upload information on buying and selling. Buyers and sellers can upload the trade leads about the MFP stock they want to sell or buy directly and the same shall be visible to all other visitors on the site. The buyer/seller interested to pursue these trade leads can get in touch with each other directly.

**Other initiatives:**

The government has given in-principle approval for recognizing the Vishva Bharati, Shanti Niketan as the other centre of excellence in the field of Tribal language and literature. A proposal to establish a National Research Centre in the Tribal Research Institute, Bhubaneshwar to promote research activities on subjects/issues for socio-economic development and culture of States has also been approved by the Government.

The guidelines provided by the present government for the development of the scheduled tribes definitely marks to be something with a positive dimension, but as mentioned earlier, to make an assessment at this initial phase may lead us to some faulty conclusions. However, it can be apparently stated that the policies for tribal development have definitely changed its directions from the top-down model to participatory bottom-up approach which has been the chief reason for the formation of the NITI Aayog in January 2015. The present government advocates about the inclusion of the marginalized and the scheduled tribes in the decision making process through participation of the beneficiaries by creating new opportunities of development. This, however, can be substantiated only after the results of such policies on tribal development are obtained on the successful completion of such policies. Therefore, the researcher leaves it open for time to decide on the success or failure of the above mentioned policies for tribal development adopted by the present government.

**3.10. CONCLUSION**

This chapter tries to look into the major policies of the state in bringing about development of the heterogeneous scheduled tribe communities of the country. It begins with the major conceptual clarifications pointing out the thin line of demarcation between the terms state and the government which is generally used in the everyday dialogue interchangeably. After a careful analysis, it has been found out that the term state engulfs within itself a much larger and broader understanding as compared to that of the government. It is very much a static factor that does not constantly change with petty little issues and time while the term government is prone to change strongly depending upon time and situation.

We then move on to analyze the role of the state in initiating the tribal studies starting right from the pre independence era. Furthermore, effort has been made to point out all the major approaches to the study and the understanding of tribal development in India. Although this

chapter focuses on the major policies of the state and the government on tribal development after the 1990s onwards, this would be incomplete if we do not make a historical and chronological study. Supporting this argument, we have made an effort to point out the major policies of the authorities with the help of the Five Year Plans up to the Seventh Five Year Plans. From the Eighth Five Year Plan, which begins with the 1990s, we have chalked out only the major policies of the government that directly or indirectly aid in bringing about development of the tribal communities of the nation. The changing governments with different political ideologies have definitely made strong efforts in bringing about a change in the lifestyle of the rural poor which also involves the tribes. Therefore, we have tried to present the major policies formulated both by the Ministry of Tribal affairs as well as by the Ministry of Rural Development that have both tried to bring a positive change in the development of the Scheduled Tribes of India.

An indepth understanding about the policies of development have made an issue crystal clear that although innumerable number of policies is formulated year after year, some are remodeled and some are done away with yet the complete achievement of the target of development to its truest sense of the term has not been achieved. The reasons are multiple in numbers which opens the field of research open to the researcher. The mere involvement of the government or the bureaucratic structure falls short in bringing about development of the target groups i.e. the tribes. At this juncture the role and the presence of a third organization called the Non Governmental Organizations are put into question. Therefore, in the following chapter, we intend to look into the tribal problems of our area of study i.e. the Dooars region of North Bengal and also make an attempt to raise questions on the role of the state and the NGOS working in the region in their effort of bringing about a positive change in the lifestyle of the Scheduled Tribes of the area.