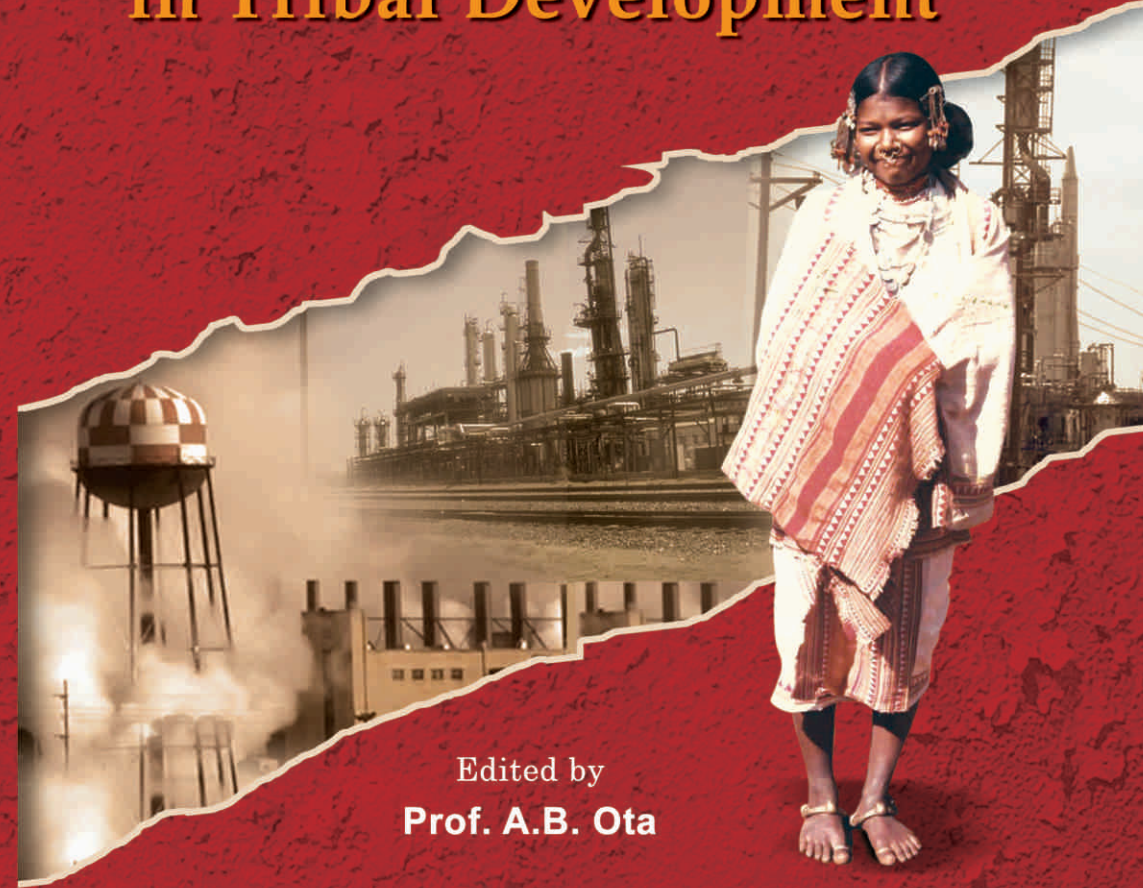




Dr. N. Patnaik Felicitation Volume

Critical Issues in Tribal Development



Edited by
Prof. A.B. Ota

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CRITICAL ISSUES IN TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

Published by
Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes
Research and Training Institute (SCSTRI)
CRPF Square, Bhubaneswar,
Phone : (0674) 2563649, 2561635
E-mail : scstrti@yahoo.co.in

ISBN : 978-81-902819-4-2





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**Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes
Research and Training Institute
CRPF Square, Bhubaneswar - 751 003**

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First Published - 2009

ISBN : 978-81-902819-4-2

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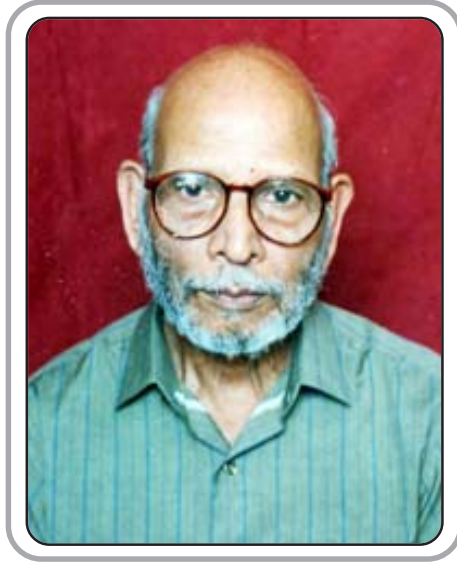
Price : Rs.

Published by :

Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute,
CRPF Square, Bhubaneswar - 751 003, Orissa

Printed at :

Capital Business Services & Consultancy,
B-51, Sahid Nagar, Bhubaneswar - 751 007, Orissa



(1 9 2 6 - 2 0 0 8)



Dedicated to :

Late Dr. N. Patnaik
Founder Director, SCSTRTI (Formerly THRTI)

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EDITORIAL

There are more than 400 different tribal communities with distinct culture and tradition residing in various parts of India who account for about 8 percent of the total population of the country. The Tribal of India are characterized by **Poverty amidst plenty**. Looking at the stark poverty and low level of human development indicators, it is quite evident that the Tribal are poverty stricken and are invariably below the official poverty line, but looking at the very rich mineral resources / reserves on which the Tribal are sitting, these so called vulnerable groups of population are indeed in possession of very rich resources. But the continued poverty is precisely because, the mineral reserves / resources on which the Tribal have constructed their dwellings and are cultivating for ages are not properly tapped and harnessed.

Government of India ever since Independence has been extending large number of development programmes (both infrastructure and income generating) and sincerely trying to bring in all round development of these tribal people and their area and efforts, the Tribal are lagging behind in development and the gulf between the mainstream population and the tribal population is increasing. It is true that a lot of development has happened in case of the Tribal and the areas where they are inhabited during the past 60 years, but the pace of development has been rather slow.

There are various reasons which are responsible for the slow pace of development of the Tribal and there are several critical areas of concern which need to be addressed for ensuring speedy and sustainable

development of these populations within a reasonable timeframe. It is therefore, crucially important to identify various factors responsible for the benefits of tribal developmental interventions not reaching Tribals to the desired level.

Realizing this, SCs & STs Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI) had organized a three day National Level Seminar titled **Critical Issues in Tribal Development** from 26-28 September 2008 inviting experts from various parts of the country drawn from different cross sections of the society concerned for development of the Tribal. Wide ranging issues concerning problems encountered by the Tribal across the country, factors of slow pace of development and critical areas of concern were discussed and research papers were presented by scholars. Some of the selected papers presented in the Seminar have been edited and published in this volume based on empirical studies.

There are five sections in the book incorporating 25 research papers on issues pertaining to Tribal. The five broad sections under which the papers have been placed are :

- I. Critical Issues and Strategies in Tribal Development
- II. Tribal Land alienation
- III. Tribal Education
- IV. Tribal Demography, Health and Unresolved Issues
- V. Development Projects and Tribal Displacement

Besides, the 24 research papers included in the volume, there are two master pieces **Tribal People : The Unprecedented Challenge and Encounters, and Experience with Tribal Development by Dr. B.D. Sharma and Dr. Bhupinder Singh**. The book also has a very brief editorial by the Director of the institute.

The editor acknowledges deep sense of gratitude to the Ministry of Tribal Affairs Government of India for providing, funds to make the National Seminar possible. Last but not the least the editor extends his heartfelt thanks to all the authors who have so generously contributed their valuable time in writing the research article and actively taking part in the deliberation during the Seminar.

This volume is dedicated to the memory of Late Dr. Nityananda Patnaik, the Founder Director of this Great Institute, who had served in this capacity from the 6th May 1976 to 31st July 1989 for long 13 years. Dr. Patnaik, a practising Anthropologist had laid a solid foundation for this Institute and had contributed enormously to the field of tribal studies in Orissa. In his memory all the staff of SCs & STs Research and Training Institute have decided to dedicate this volume as a felicitation volume to mark the great contribution made by this great anthropologist.

It is hoped that this book will be extremely helpful for academicians, researchers, students, policy makers and planners to pursue their research and formulate appropriate plans for tribal development.

Prof. (Dr.) A.B. Ota
Director

SOME CRITICAL ISSUES IN TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

G.V.V. Sarma

After India became independent, the first policy pronouncement regarding tribal development was made in 'Tribal *Panchsheel*' of the first Prime Minister. These ideas were subsequently mentioned in the Reports of Renuka Ray team (1959), Dhebar Commission (1961) and Shilu Ao Committee (1969). These five principles read as follows:

1. *The tribal people should develop along the line of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them, but rather try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.*
2. *Tribal rights on land and forest should be respected.*
3. *We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do administration and development.*
4. *We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with multiplicity of schemes; we should work through and not in rivalry to their own social and cultural institutions.*
5. *We should judge the results not by statistics or the amount of money spent but by the quality of human character that is evolved.*

As can be seen, this appears like a statement of pious intentions. It is also debatable as to the extent and the manner in which the tribal ideals. There is also criticism on whether these principles connoted? some kind of a 'museum' approach, by trying to preserve tribal as what they were, without enabling them the benefits of modern infrastructure, communications and education. However, there is a counter-view that while these principles appear to protect the tribal, the laws framed and their implementation over the decades worked to the contrary. The developmental schemes and programmes implemented through ITDAs, Micro-projects and Ashram Schools did bring in some positive results in the tribal areas. However, the tribal areas also witnessed considerable displacement due to land acquisition for developmental projects including irrigation projects. The fact remains that with growing integration of market forces, the outsiders seem to be in greater ease with regard to control of resources in the tribal areas, mostly through mining and industrial projects. On the other hand, the life of ordinary tribal in the mining areas is showing a considerable strain, with evidence

that the growth process has not been 'inclusive' with regard to the tribal by and large. The gains in local economy do not seem to be bringing commensurate gains to the tribal in terms of education, health and general public infrastructure. We may examine the aspect of tribal development in three broad categories, educational empowerment programmes, economic development programmes and the issues of protective framework of law.

The educational programme are crucial for tribal development, for shaping the ideas of the future generation and to equip them to face the world with new skills. By and large the tribal residential schools have witnessed consistently better results in school examinations in comparison with other Government schools. However literacy levels in general and girls' literacy in particular in tribal areas of South Orissa still continue to be matter of concern. The 'Eklavya' model schools are becoming extremely useful in the tribal areas in terms of imparting high quality education. But in terms of development of vocational skills and preparing the students with a foundation for diversified higher learning like engineering, technical education like ITI or diploma, medicine, nursing, paramedical, law etc, there is a lot that remains to be done. The general malady that an 'educated' youth considers himself or herself to be unfit to take care of agricultural lands appears to be spreading in tribal areas too. Ensuring regular presence of school teachers at the residential schools and constant effort for their training and development of teaching skills are crucial. It may be useful to involve local Gram Panchayats in ensuring attendance of teachers and to complain to the authorities in case of deviations. Tools like using GPS handheld devices with wireless communication technology have been used in tribal areas of Gujarat with good results.

Regarding economic development programmes, the normal wage employment programmes like NREGS and self-employment programmes like SGSY in tribal areas need to contribute to sectoral development in various areas like agriculture, animal husbandry, poultry, etc. The programmes of ITDA, for individual benefit as well as for community benefit, need to help in local economic growth likewise. However, the programmes suffer due to lack of attractive personnel policies. There is a need to insist on a stint in tribal areas as a prerequisite in all promotions. Similarly, monetary incentives need to be given to government officials serving in tribal areas, so that such assignments are not perceived as 'punishment' postings. In this context, one of the most remarkable interventions has been the Orissa Tribal Empowerment and Livelihoods Programme, which is based on community

empowerment and participation in planning and implementation of watershed based developmental activities. With components for constant monitoring, review and feedback apart from involvement of NGOs, this programme has a potential to bring positive and durable assets in the project areas. More financial support from the State Government and the Union Government for creation of posts of personnel at the field level can be of great help to reorient of ITDAs to implement their programme on a participatory mode, by taking cue from OTELP.

With regard to the protective framework of law, it needs to be seen that the basic PESA framework has got certain limitations. First, it is not amenable to clear unambiguous interpretation in terms of modern law, as for example, the provisions regarding customary law or the definition of a village. Second, the framework deals with minor minerals, rather than major minerals which are being exploited in the tribal areas. Third, the provisions regarding land acquisition stipulate 'consultation' but not 'consent' of the Gram Sabha. It is also relevant to see that PESA framework indicates a decentralized, community level decision making system, whereas the polity is increasingly becoming centralized. For example, Section 4 (e) (ii) of PESA, 1996 reads as follows: "Every Gram Sabha shall be responsible for the identification or selection of persons as beneficiaries under the poverty alleviation and other programmes". But because of series of litigations all the way requiring intervention by the Supreme Court, the 'below-poverty-line' list of a village even now cannot be decided by the Gram Sabha of the village concerned. This situation has resulted, because of the position that in a open Gram Sabha meeting, a deserving case which has been left out can be added to the list by the Gram Sabha. Gram Sabha has been empowered to this extent. However, the Gram Sabha typically cannot delete the name of any rich and influential person from the BPL list, because the institution is not strong enough to do so.

Orissa is one of the few States in the country, which have attempted sincere implementation of the principles upheld by the Apex Court in the 'Samata' judgement. It is prescribed that all the mining and industrial projects in tribal area have to contribute five percent of their net annual profit towards peripheral development of the local communities. Orissa has also come out with a Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policy in 2006, with an objective to ensure a better participation of the displaced people, so that their livelihood after displacement will not be worse than what it was before displacement. Special provisions are also mentioned with regard to tribals among the displaced. The tribal land alienation

regulation has been amended in 2002 by which all transfers of tribal land to non-tribals, including even mortgage of land for the purpose other than agricultural loan, have been banned. However, increasing demands have come now from the members of the tribal communities for relaxation of the regulation, so that tribal lands can be mortgaged for the purpose of higher education, setting up a cottage industry, business etc. Similarly, 69 items of minor forest produce have been handed over to the Gram Panchayats, in compliance to PESA.

One of the most important legislations to secure the tribal their rights on forests is the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act. The initial processes of training of officials of Departments of Revenue, Welfare, Forest and Panchayat Raj has taken place. Field work in terms of meetings of Palli Sabha and constitution of Forest Rights Committees has started. However the legal impediments that have since arisen need to be removed by concerted action.

There is an urgent need to provide more resources and personnel for tribal development, as it is essential to improve infrastructure and to improve quality of governance in tribal areas.

DEVELOPMENT OF TRIBALS OF RAJASTHAN

Dr. Prakash Chandra Meheta

The tribal scene in India presents a very complex picture. Different regions have different administrative history and, therefore, they are having different administrative structure. Since personnel policies are complementary to the administrative structure, they present an equally varied picture. Pre-independence tribal living in forests, hill and even on the plains were isolated from the mainstream. The status of tribal was unsatisfactory during princely and colonial regime. It was a policy of neglect and saga of exploitation. Due to this, their land and forest were slowly and gradually grabbed by the rich people like landlords and money lenders. They were turned into bonded labourers, leading a life of extreme poverty and misery. The excessive encroachment on their rights over land and forest led to the expression of anger in the form of tribal up rise. Thus independent India inherited from the British colonial system 'a complex tribal problem', in view of our commitment to the objectives of justice, social, economic and political equality of status and opportunity as enshrined in the Preamble to the constitution. The result was that makers of constitution had to pay special attention towards the 'Complex tribal problem' and came out with solutions in order to eradicate it for ever. The dire need of day was to bridge the gap between the tribal and non-tribal.

The concern of the constituent members of Indian constitution for protection and promotion of the interests of the deprived sections is amply reflected in the preamble of the constitution, which was amended in 1976.

The rights of the scheduled tribe are sought to be preserved first, through the fundamental rights. These rights are guaranteed generally to all citizens as well as the scheduled tribes. A number of specific provisions have been made in the constitution to protect the rights of the tribal. In the constitution both protective and development aspects have been considered. The protective aspects relate to the protection of the rights of the tribal in land and forests along with the safeguards against usurious or exploitive elements. The 'developmental' aspects relate to the welfare measures. Keeping in view the tribal status in the constitution, special provisions are made for their social and economic development.

The provisions are contained in Articles 46, 244, 330, 332, 334, 335, 338, 339, 342 and Schedules V and VI in the Constitution of India. The constitution also permits for change in laws, according to the tribal situation of concerned area.

The term development has been used in a wider sense. It is a slow process of civilization. The purpose of development is to provide increasing opportunities to all the people for better life. It is essential to bring about more equitable distribution of income and wealth for promoting social justice and efficiency of production, to provide a greater variety of facilities like education, health services, nutrition, housing etc.

The aims of development were spelled out in 1970's in the Preamble of the International Development Strategy for the second United Nations Development Decade. According to I.L.O., development involves 'humans' as distinct from material product. It is defined as a process which involves improvement in the quality of life of the weaker sections and a greater participation and involvement of the masses in the process of decision making in the economic, social, political and cultural life of a society. The main aim of development is to increase national as well as per capita income and to raise the standard of living of the people and to secure, justice, freedom, equality and security for them in society. The focus of development is now increasingly on (a) equitable distribution of wealth and income, (b) full utilization of manpower, (c) better utilization of natural resources and (d) protection of human environment, etc. Hence development means change plus growth, i.e. it includes growth, modernisation, increase in social facilities, etc.

The Panchsheel were visualised as five pillars for tribal development. It is mentioned by some that they represented a basic survival system. They are more than that with Gandhian ideas in the background. The Panchsheel and other policy parameters evolved into a growth-oriented charter. The conditions have been changing and becoming more complex over the years. The Nehru's Tribal Panchsheel are:

1. Non-imposition- The tribals should be allowed to progress according to their own pace and understanding of the situation.
2. Respect of tribal culture- The respect applies particularly to their customs about land ownership, allocation for use of forest resources within their jurisdiction.
3. Development of Tribal Youth- the leadership for tribal development and social change should be encouraged amongst tribal youth.
4. Simplicity of administration- Proliferation of bureaucracy should be avoided. The voluntary agencies or suitable local organs should be involved to carry out the developmental tasks.

5. Emphasis on human growth- the quality of human living is more important than compliance with physical targets of programming.

Today, it is necessary to examine whether under the broad canopy of the Panchsheel, the existing policy formulation and instruments are adequate. The policy in regard to establishment of big projects consuming tribal land and causing tribal displacement needs to be appraised afresh. Induction of big administrative machinery in tribal areas should be subjected to close examination to prevent its oppressiveness. The use of national resources did not outstrip resource regenerative capacity. Almost every scheduled tribe community devised its own ethno eco-technology, in fact, a whole ethnosystem.

The socio-economic structure in tribal communities is markedly different from that of the non-tribal or advanced groups of people. They have a very simple technology which fits well with their ecological surroundings and conservative outlook. Moreover, their economy can be said to be subsistence type. They practice different types of occupations to sustain themselves and live on "Marginal Economy". We find that the tribal of India belonging to different economic stages, from food gathering to industrial labour, present their overlapping economic stages in the border framework of the stage economy.

There are mainly five approaches which have been employed so far in the welfare of tribals in India. These are

1. Political approach.
2. Administrative approach.
3. Religious approach with special reference to missionary approach.
4. Voluntary agencies approach, and
5. Anthropological approach.

Selection criteria of Tribal Areas for Tribal Development

The selection criteria of the tribal development area are discussed in detail in Report of the Working Group on Tribal Development during Sixth Plan 1980-85. According to the Report, "The Tribal Sub-Plan was initially expected to include all the Scheduled Areas and Tehsils/ Blocks with more than 50 per cent tribal population. As per this approach tribal majority states namely Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Lakshadweep and Dadra and Nagar Haveli were not included since development plans of these states/ U.T.'s are primarily meant for the scheduled tribes themselves. However, according to the formulation, substantial tribal population was covered by the tribal sub-plans in

Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Manipur, Himachal Pradesh, A & N Island and Goa, Daman and Diu. In other states where the tribal population was of lower concentration these were relaxed with a view to cover a reasonable proportion of the states tribal population, a minimum scheduled tribe population threshold of about 20 thousand was adoptedⁱⁿ delineating the tribal sub-plan area of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Assam. In the case of Tamil Nadu and Kerala, the norms were further reduced to a S.T. population of about 10 thousand. In Tripura and West Bengal, groups of villages with more than 50 per cent tribal concentration were included. In Karnataka and Uttar Pradesh, where the tribal population is small and dispersed, family based approach was adopted. The tribal Sub-Plan Area was further divided into 180 Integrated Tribal Development projects for operational purposes.”

Tribal Situation in India

According to 1991 census 67.76 million person constituting 8.08 per cent of the total population belonged to Scheduled Tribes in different states and Union Territories, excluding Assam and Jammu & Kashmir, The percentage of S.T. population has marginally increased from 7.83 per cent in 1981 to 7.95 per cent in 1991. The S.T. population has increased by 25.67 per cent during the decade 1981-91. The growth is high in comparison to the growth of total population of the country at 23.79 per cent. Only 7.39 per cent of the S.T. population of India reside in Urban areas as compared to 25.73 per cent of the general population and 18.72 per cent of Scheduled Caste population. Thus, about 93 per cent of the S.T. population are rural based. Some trend was observed during 2001 census and tribal population remains about 8 per cent of the total population of India.

The children in the age group of 0-6 constitute 20.18 per cent of S.T. population in India as against 17.94 per cent for total population and 19.63 per cent for S.C. population. Thus, the S.T. population has a relatively higher children population as compared to general and S.C. population.

According to 1991 census, 29.6 per cent of S.T. population in the age group of 7 years and above were literate, the literacy rate being 40.65 per cent for males and 18.19 per cent for females.

The work participation rate of S.T. population was 49.30 per cent which is much more higher than that for general population (33.46%) and for the S.C. population (39.25%). This is primarily due to very high participation rates among the S.T. women according to 1991 census. Same trend was observed during 2001 census.

Review of first Tribal Sub Plan 1974-79

The tribal development scene was critically reviewed on the eve of the Fifth Plan. The problem of tribal development was broadly classified into two categories : (i) area of tribal concentration, and (ii) dispersed tribal. In respect of the former, it was decided to accept in area development approach with focus on tribal. For dispersed tribal, family oriented programmes were decided for being taken up.

The developmental measures Geared in the Sixth, Seventh and onward plans. The state government are trying their best to uplift the poor tribal.

Tribal Development in Rajasthan

Demographic Status of Tribal

Rajasthan is one of the major states in the country where tribal concentration is high. The dominating tribal of the state are Mina, Bhil, Garasia, Sahariya and Damor. The tribal can be seen throughout the State, the southern part has high concentration of the tribal the comparison to western part of the state. The tribal population of the state during last decade is detailed in the Table given below :

Table -1

S.N.	Year	Tribal Population	Percentage to Total State Population.
1	1971	3,125,506	12.13
2	1981	41P 1839124	12.21
3	1991	5,474,881	12.44
4	2001	7,097,706	12.54

The total tribal population of the state during the last four decade was around 12 per cent (Table-1). The growth rate of tribal population during the decade 1991-2001 was more than 30 percent which is higher in comparison to the growth of general and S.C. population.

The district-wise tribal population of the state is given in appendix-I and district-wise tribal population of the sub-plan area is detailed in Appendix-II. The T.S.P. population is 8 per cent of the total tribal population of the state which is nearly equal to the tribal population of India (8%).

The districtwise Population, percentage, Sex-Ratio, Literacy Rate, Category of workers, Density of population, percentage of cultivable

area, forest area and Irrigated area of Tribal Sub Plan Area are given in Appendix-III. Similarly the tribe-wise population, Literacy rate, occupational pattern and sex-ratio in detail, according to 1991 census, are presented in Appendix-IV.

According to Appendix-IV the women literacy rate of Saharia was 0.29 percent, Garasia 0.98 percent, Bhil 2.28 percent, Kothadi 1.95 percent, Damor 3.82 percent and Mina 4.37 percent. The status of women education is very low and needs review the overall girl education pattern. The Mina women literacy percentage is better because it covers the eastern part of the state where the well-to-do Mina tribe prefer to educate their girls. Hence in T.S.P. area the women education is very low as compared to that of the state. Same situation stands for boys education also.

The main occupation according to census reports is agriculture and labour. In tribal society, both male and female works together and help each other in agriculture and allied activities. The tribal have small land holdings which are uneconomical, in Hilly belt and lack irrigation facilities. The land holdings are becoming smaller, day by day this way the holdings towards uneconomical and used only for subsistence. This process of fragmentation of land holders should be stopped so that they may be able adopt better agriculture. Long back their economy was totally forest based, so the tribal are not perfect agriculturists. Hence they do not know the latest modes of agricultural practices. The latest technology can not be used for small and hilly holdings. So the poor tribal suffer. They lead their life in very poor condition and some times do not have enough food to eat. The forest policy is also liable for their poor economy. They do not generally get crops at local level. They can get job for road works or any other programme launched by Govt. at local level. The non-availability of job forces them to migrate.

Tribal Development Strategies

The Government of Rajasthan since long has been engaged in framing policies and strategies in the field of tribal-, development on national pattern. The policies can be classified into the following categories:

a) Community Based Approach

A comprehensive programme of community development which aimed at the welfare of rural migrants was in the series of rural development programmes. In Rajasthan, the Tribal Development Block Strategy was followed. One special multipurpose Tribal Development Block was

started in Kushalgarh (Banswara) in the year 1956. This approach continued in the Third and Fourth Five Year Plan and onwards. Besides the programmes for provision of infrastructure like transport and communication, others such as irrigation, medical and public health and some protective legislation were also introduced viz Tenancy Act 1955, Rajasthan Abolition of Sagri Act 1961, Rajasthan Money Lender's Act 1963 and Rajasthan Relief of Indebtedness Act, 1957.

b) Area Specific and Family Oriented Approach

During the Fourth Five Year Plan some specific and family oriented schemes were started. In this series, Small Farmers Development Agencies (SFDA) and Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labour Development Agencies (MFALADA) were the first programme. In 1977 the Government of Rajasthan launched 'Antyodaya' scheme to make a direct attack on poverty. The special feature of the scheme was that poorest of the poor in each village were selected in every Gram Sabha. After that, a number of individual beneficiary schemes were launched according to situation and need of the society.

c) Tribal Sub Plan Approach

In view of the drawbacks of the earlier area based programmes, a new strategy was evolved in the Fifth Plan to formulate separate sub-plan for the tribal concentration areas. This was intended to achieve an intensity on the tribal areas and devise measures to suit their ethos. In Rajasthan in the year 1974, 18 tehsils were included in Tribal Sub Plan area (T.S.P. Area) belonging to five districts. The T.S.P. area has been composed of 18 tehsils i.e. 23 Panchayat Samities of 5 districts having the major tribes Bhil, Mina, Garasia and Damor. According to 2001 census 3093, 226 persons reside in T.S.P. out of which 3,056,288 in live Rural area and rest 36, 936 were Urban persons. Overall about 8 percent tribal population of state resides in the T.S.P. area which is just equal to the percentage of national population of tribals. The detail of T.S.P. area is given below:-

Tabel -2

S.N.	District	Tehsil
1.	Udaipur	Kotra, Jhadol, Sarada, Dhariyawa, Salumber, Kherwara and 81 villages of Girwa Tehsil (7)
2.	Banswara	Ghatol, Garhi, Banswara, Bagidora and Kushalgarh Tehsil (5)
3.	Dungarpur	Dungarpur, Bichhiwara, Simalwara, Aspurand Sagwara Tehsil (3)
4.	Chittorgarh	Pratapgarh and Arnod Tehsil (2)
5.	Sirohi	Abu Road (3)
	5	18 23 Panchayat Samiti

In Tribal Sub Plan Area, the development strategy follows on area development approach with focuses on the development of tribal communities. Infrastructure development programmes, i.e. community and individual beneficiary programmes, are implemented in T.S.P. area.

To cater the needs of the non-covered tribal, special programmes were started in the state in 1977-78 for the Development of Sahariya (Primitive tribe) residing in Kishanganj and Shahabad Panchayat Samities of Baran District. The detail of Sahariya is in table-3.

Tabel - 3

S.N.	District	Name of Panchayat Samiti	Area in Sq.Km.	Percentage of Sahariya population to total population.	No. of villages	Inhabited villages
1	Baran	Sahabad	1,469	30.50	236	147
		Kishanganj	1,429	34.64	199	174
TOTAL		2	2,898	32.84	435	321

In 1978-79 the Modified Area development Approach (MADA) was evolved. The strategy was adopted for continuous villages having a population of at least 10,000 tribal forming 50 per cent of the tribal population. The pockets of tribal concentration are dispersed over 3,589 villages at 44 MADA blocks covering 67 Panchayat Samities of 17 districts. The MADA programme had covered 10.33 lakh tribal population of the state. The detail of MADA area is given in Appendix-V.

Tabel - 4

S.	District	Name of Cluster	No. of Villages	Percentage of S.T. Population to total population.
1	Bundi	(1) Pipalda	30	51.50
2	Kota	(2) Digod Baran	19	49.39
		(3) Atru & Baran	9	51.69
3	Jhalawar	(4) Khanpur	13	51.54
		(5) Aklera(E)	22	50.02
		(6) Aklera (S)	12	60.12

For those who were not covered under the MADA programme, one new strategy in MADA Programme was understood as 'Cluster Area'. The criteria for the cluster was that the villages having a population of at least 5,000 persons

with 50 per cent or more tribal. Hence under this scheme, 11 clusters were formed from 159 villages of 8 districts covering a population of 37 thousand.

For the rest of the tribal who were not covered in any of the schemes mentioned above, one new scheme, Scattered Development Scheme was introduced by the state government. The remaining tribal, i.e. 12.96 lakh came under this developmental programme.

Sources of Funding

The sources of funding of Tribal Sub Plan Area are as follows:-

- (1) State Plan (S.P.)**
- (2) Centrally Sponsored Schemes (C.S.S.), on 50:50 Share basis of State and Central Govt.**
- (3) Special Central Assistance-cent percent financed by Central Govt.**
- (4) Institutional Finance Review of the Strategy and Development Model**

The overall review of the tribal development measures adopted during the 20th century do not fulfill the ambitions and requirements of the tribal. The first half part i.e. 50 years of the century were administered by the British Government they do not bother about their needs and welfare. Whenever they start any sort of agitation in some area, the Britishers and rulers try to compel them to withdraw the agitation or may be crushed by hook or crook. The British government introduced few reform measures for their betterment in some trouble areas of the country, viz. Chhota Nagpur, Kherwara, etc. The foundation of Mewar Bhil Core is also one of them. During this period, the Missionary Christian work in the remote areas were creditable. The British Government have also demarcated some tribal areas for their development according to their administrative convenience. Hence, the tribal during the first, half of century were exploited by the then rulers. After independence, the Central Government as well as State Government paid attention towards the deprived tribal areas, but within 25 years the steps taken towards their development were negligible. Actually the measures for tribal development taken by the Central as well as State Government from the Fifth Five Year Plan, 1974.

After independence, the Government of India made special provisions in the Constitution of India right from its implementation, but the misery is that they were not seriously implemented for a long period. Actually the tribal development voyage is of 25 years duration, i.e. from 1974 till

date. The tribal development measures adopted by the Government is not enough. They failed to improve the economic condition of the tribal. After introduction of several betterment schemes, the poor tribal are still today facing severe economic constraints.

The economy of tribal is forest based. The tribal are not perfect in agriculture, having small uneconomic holdings, lack of irrigation facilities, indebtedness and so many socio-economic problems they are facing today. Till these can not be solved by the Government. Hence the tribal development measures adopted by the Central and State Government reflects lacunas and to some extent they get success. There is an urgent need to review the overall strategy of tribal development measures. Keeping in view their present socio-economic status, the plans should be prepared at grass root level and their basic minimum needs for substance must be included.

It is recommended that following measures, i.e. development model should be adopted for the development of tribal residing in the country:

1. Re-scheduling the tribes, i.e. there is an urgent need to review the S.T. list as per constitutional provisions presently in force.
2. Re-demarcation of tribal sub-plan and MADA areas. The norms for the demarcation of tribal areas also need a review.
3. In the tribal sub plan area, local persons should be given top priority in the employment, it necessary, the employment may be given to the persons belonging to the state, but outsiders should be strictly restricted.
4. State should implement or prepare legislation as empowered in the Article-244 or the Constitution, i.e. Vth and VIth schedule, for the administration of Scheduled and Tribal Areas. The employment restrictions may be imposed by this schedule. Other essential measures, according to area need, the Governor may be given powers under the Schedule Vth and VIth to protect the tribal rights and empower to issue ordinance according to the needs of the area.
5. Change in I.P.C. is essential (i.e. in certain I.P.C. Codes, i.e. crimes are cognizable offence, but in tribal society they are permissible.) Keeping in view the tribal traits, essential amendments should be made. So the tribal may get relief from the courts and police administration. Regarding this matter the "Tribal Social Panchayats" may be recognised.
6. Pre-planning socio-economic survey at village level should be conducted, so the basic minimum needs of the area may be

demarcated. Such survey should be conducted every 10 years, like census. By this way, we may be able to review the overall progress of the measures adopted and be able to review the situation and requirements of the area.

7. Village profile of every tribal village may be prepared and reviewed every five years.
8. The planners should use the surveyed data and plan out the programmes according to the local needs. The District Planning Forum should be constituted. In the Districts Planning Forum, local tribal participation should be given prime importance, i.e. fifty per cent of the members must be tribal. The tribal members may be the resource persons of the area like *Gameties*, *Mukhis*, *Patels* of each tribal group. They will be more helpful in problems they are facing today. Secondly, 25 per cent members must be eminent social workers, sociologist and economist. At least 25 percent of the members may be Government officials and politicians of the area. By this way, District Planning Forum may be framed. Similar procedure may be adopted at State level also.
9. The schemes,/programmes recommended by the District Forum may be reviewed at State Forum and the later may finalise them according to the area need. The programmes/schemes by such way prepared and implemented would be more effective then the present system.
10. The Tribal Right provided by constitution must be safeguarded. Their rights over land and forest should be given top priority.
11. Voluntary organisations should be encouraged, i.e. voluntary organisation taking part in the development of tribal areas, should adopt the area or village for overall development or for certain special services. The party funds may be provided by the government, but review of the programmes must be carried out quarterly. The officials of NGOs or V.Os may be given proper training about the programmes/schemes and area where they serve.
12. The Local Self Government must be given more powers for the implementation of the programmes/schemes and the local persons may have the powers to review the situation according to the area need.
13. Cottage and local employment generation schemes in the tribal area must be given top priority. The efforts may be, such that the person should get the employment near their native place. For this purpose forest based programmes/schemes must be given top priority.

14. The V.Os may be forced to install/generate local industries in the tribal areas. The co-operative sector may be able to meet out such requirements of the area. So to meet out the local needs, co-operative movement must be strengthen.

Hence, it is very necessary to review the tribal development strategy. According to the above suggestions, the tribal may be geared up for their upliftment upto the mark and able to see better future in 21st century. Keeping in view the changing planning measures the tribal identity and age old social and cultural traits must be preserved, or else their identity will be vanished.

Appendix - I
Rajasthan at a Glance (Census-2001)
Districtwise Total & S.T. Population, 2001 (Provisional)
Schedule

S.No.	District	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	.T.
1	Ajmer	2181670	1129920	1051750	52634	27346	25288	2.41
2	Alwar	2992592	1586752	1405840	239905	127707	112198	8.02
3	Banswara	1501589	760686	740903	1085272	547277	537995	72.27
4	Baran	1021653	535137	486516	216869	113058	103811	21.23
5	Barmer	1964835	1038247	926588	118688	62938	55750	6.04
6	Bharatpur	2101142	1133425	967717	47077	25195	21882	2.24
7	Bhilwara	2013789	1026650	987139	180556	93089	87467	8.97
8	Bikaner	1674271	886075	788196	5945	3272	2673	0.36
9	Bundi	962620	504818	457802	194851	102678	92173	20.24
10	Chittorgarh	1803524	918063	885461	388311	197416	190895	21.53
11	Churu	1923878	987781	936097	10063	5339	4724	0.52

12	Dausa	1317063	693438	623625	353187	186464	166723	26.82
13	Dhaulpur	983258	538103	445155	47612	25954	21658	4.84
14	Dungarpur	1107643	547791	559852	721487	355748	365739	65.14
15	Ganganagar	1789423	955378	834045	14744	7948	6796	0.82
16	Hanumangarh	1518005	801486	716519	10029	5367	4662	0.66
17	Jaipur	5251071	2768203	2482868	412864	217546	195318	7.86
18	Jaisalmer	508247	279101	229146	27834	14890	12944	5.48
19	Jalor	1448940	737880	711060	126799	66610	60189	8.75
20	Jhalawar	1180323	612804	567519	141861	74014	67847	12.02
21	Jhunjhunun	1913689	983526	930163	36794	19054	17740	1.92
22	Jodhpur	2886505	1513890	1372615	79540	41450	38090	2.76

23	Karauli	1209665	651998	557667	270630	145962	124668	22.37
24	Kota	1568525	827128	741397	151969	80616	71353	9.69
25	Nagaur	2775058	1424967	1350091	6497	3503	2994	0.23
26	Pali	1820251	918856	901395	105814	54928	50886	5.81
27	Rajsamand	987024	493459	493565	129198	65657	63541	13.09
28	Sawai	1117057	591307	525750	241078	128446	112632	21.58
	Madhopur							
29	Sikar	2287788	1172753	1115035	62512	32493	30019	2.73
30	Sirohi	851107	437949	413158	210763	107905	102858	24.76
31	Tonk	1211671	626436	585235	145891	76159	69732	12.04
32	Udaipur	2633312	1336004	1297308	1260432	634953	625479	47.86
	TOTAL	56507188	29420011	27087177	7097706	3650982	3446724	12.56

Appendix-1-1
Tribal Sub Plan Area of Rajasthan (Census 2001)
Total & S. T. Population of T.S.P. Area According to Total, Rural, Urban & Sex wise

S.No.	District Of Scheduled Area	Total Rural	Urban	Persons	Male	Females	S. T. Population			% of S. T. to Total	Sex Ratio	
							Persons	Males	Females		S.T.	Total
1	Udaipur	T		1433565	719289	714276	1013728	509272	505456	70.71	994	993
				1381320	692219	689101	1008183	505350	502833	72.99	995	995
				52245	27070	25175	5545	2922	2623	10.61	898	930
2	Banswara	T		1501589	760686	740903	1085272	547277	537995	72.27	983	974
				1394226	705110	689116	1073930	541412	532518	77.03	984	977
				107363	55576	51787	11342	5865	5477	10.56	934	932
3	Dungarpur	T		1107643	547791	559852	721487	355748	365739	65.14	1028	1022
				1026787	505664	521123	703877	346558	357319	68.55	1031	1031
				80856	42127	38729	17610	9190	8420	21.78	916	919

4	Chittaur-Arb	T	356488	182091	174397	196213	99754	96459	55.04	967	958
		R	321066	163614	157452	193213	98399	95373	60.35	969	962
		U	35422	18477	16945	2441	1355	1086	6.89	801	917
5	Sirohi	T	114818	59326	55492	76526	38864	37662	66.65	969	935
		R	114818	59326	55492	76526	38C54	37662	66.65	969	935
		U									
	Total	T	4514103	2269183	2244920	3093226	1549915	1543311	68.52	996	989
		R	4238217	2125933	2112284	3056288	1530583	152570	572.11	994	994
		U	275886	143250	132636	36938	19332	17606	13.39	911	926
6	Rajasthan	T	W07188	29420011	27087177	7097706	3650982	3446724	12.56	944	921
		R	43292813	22426640	20866173	6717830	3445719	3272111	15.52	950	930
		U	13214375	6993371	6221004	379876	205263	174613	2.87	851	990

Appendix-IV
Tribes of Rajasthan- At a Glance (Census-1991) Provisional (From C.D.)

Sl. No.	Tribe	Population			Literacy Rate (%)			Occupational Pattern			Sex Ratio
		Persons	Male	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Main Workers	Marginal Workers	Non Workers	
1	Bhil	2305982	1177865	1128117	10.05	17.49	2.28	827193	298679	1180110	958
2	Mina	2799167	1469158	1330009	20.01	34.17	4.37	955545	291276	1552346	905
3	Garasia	148197	75899	72298	5.70	10.20	0.98	52711	18708	76778	953
4	Damor	43612	21801	21811	14.87	25.91	3.82	13182	9614	20816	1000
5	Kathodi	2984	1498	1486	5.80	9.61	1.95	1153	417	1414	992
6	Saharia	59810	30555	29255	6.61	11.34	0.29	23669	3713	32428	957

Appendix-V
Details of MADA Blocks

Sl. No.	District	Name of MADA Block	Number Villages	Percentage of S. Tribe population (1991 Census)
1	Alwar	1 Rajgarh-Alwar	131	52.52
		2 Thanagazi	61	54.77
		3 Lachmangarh	29	50.85
		Total	221	52.56
2	Dholpur	4 Baseri-Bari	53	53.07
3	Bhilwara	5 Jaipur-Mandalgarh	195	52.66
4	Bundi	6 Bundi	56	49.98
		7 Bundi-Keshorai Patan	56	50.00
		8 Hindoli-Bundi	40	49.57
		9 Keshorai Patan	31	53.26
		10 Nainwa-Bundi Hindoli	65	50.09
		Total	248	50.02
5	Chittorgarh	11 Bari Sadri-Chhoti Sadri	151	51.52
		12 Begun	118	60.08
		13 Begun-Chittorgarh-Gangrar	72	50.76
		Total	341	54.08

Sl. No.	District	Name of MADA Block	Number Villages	Percentage of S. Tribe population (1991 Census)
6	Jaipur	14 Lalsot-Chaksu -Dausa-Baswa	412	55.16
&	&	15 Jamwa Ram -arh-Chaksu- Bassi-Dausa- Sanganer,Amber	209	57.59
7	Dausa	16 Sikarai-Baswa	75	55.35
		Total	785	55.09
8	Jhalawar	17 Aklera	127	57.92
		18 Jhalarapatan- Khanpur	117	61.29
		Total	244	59.46
9	Kota	19 Atru-Chhipa Barod-Chhabra	36	49.17
&	&	20 Chhipa Barod	50	66.53
10	Baran	21 Pipalda-Magol- Digod	112	50.96
		22 Chhabra	53	56.60
		23 Ramganj Mandi-Ladpura	44	47.83
		24 Baran-Mangrol- Sangod	29	52.83
		Total	324	53.57

Sl. No.	District	Name of MADA Block		Number Villages	Percentage of S. Tribe population (1991 Census)
11	Pali	25	Pali	21	58.63
12	Sawai - Madhopur	26	Bamanwas -Gangapur	40	63.08
		27	Bamanwas	41	57.81
		28	Gangapur- Karauli	26	55.20
		29	nadoti-Hindaun	30	49.69
		30	Hindaun- Todabhim	40	55.72
		31	Karoli-Sapora- Bonli	77	57.20
		32	Karoli	41	50.60
		33	Mahuwa	58	57.70
		34	Bonli	70	53.72
		35	Sawai- Madhopur- Khandar	80	54.49
		36	Todabhim- Nadoti Mahuwa	76	56.07
			Total	579	55.49

Sl. No.	District	Name of MADA Block		Number Villages	Percentage of S. Tribe population (1991 Census)
14	Sirohi	37	Pindwara-Sirohi Reodar	55	75.23
15	Tonk	38	Dewah-Todarai Singh-Tonk	61	52.77
		39	Niwai	71	53.33
		40	Uniyara	74	56.91
		41	Uniyara-Tonk	40	53.74
			Total	246	54.15
16	Udaipur	42	Girwa-Nathdwara-Mavli	59	52.38
&	&	43	Gogunda-Kumbhalgarh-Nathdwara	117	59.09
17	Rajsamand	44	Vallabhnagar	103	52.12
	TOTAL 17		44	3592	55.32

Tribal Sub-Plan Area of Rajasthan

Sl.No.	District of Schedule Area	% of forest area to total area.	% of Irrigated area to total cultivable area.
1	Udaipur	27.17	19.87
2	Banswara	20.30	20.74
3	Dungarpur	9.93	12.38
4	Chittaurgarh	23.07	15.560
5	Sirohi	64.75	26.46
	Total T.S.P. Area	23.32	18.07
	Rajasthan		

SUSTAINABLE TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE FRAMEWORK OF CULTURE AND GLOBALISATION

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1. Introduction

In the era of liberalization and globalization, one can be sure that globalization as a concept being applicable in the field of technological development or, even in the area of tribal development, is inescapable. It is a phenomenon which is essential and cannot be avoided. There is no author for it and no implementing agency. It offers enormous opportunity and, at the same time, enormous inequalities. Hence, in case of tribal development, one has to make the best use of it by adopting concrete policies and plans suited to each community in a pluralistic country like India.

Globalisation is defined as free movements of goods, services, capital, knowledge and people across national boundaries. It creates and, in turn, is driven by an integrated global economy, which influences both, economic as well as social relations within and across countries. The opening up of an economy increases competition internally as well as externally, leads to structural changes in the economy, alters consumer preferences, lifestyles and demands of citizens. The process of global economic integration gained momentum only in the 1970s with the development of capital markets. While mainstream economists suggest that globalisation process is a strong force for equalizing per capita income between nations, others say that the developing countries are exposed to threats of further aggravation and marginalisation in the process.

Globalisation affects tribal differently. Urban and educated tribal may benefit from the increased opportunities for work that come with the influx of foreign companies and investments. These employment avenues are complemented by greater opportunities to receive education and skills training of a higher quality. The new technologies that define this era, in particular the computer and internet may be accessible to this group of tribal. In general, the liberalisation of trade and financial markets also promise benefits for this group, including a

greater variety of goods at cheaper prices due to increased competition and much more attractive interest rates to undertake business ventures. Conversely, poor, uneducated, credit-constrained, informal and agricultural sector tribal will benefit in a much less direct manner. Tribal in general benefit from long-term economic growth. By making markets competitive, higher agricultural growth is expected and this in turn is expected to increase rural income. It is also expected that the expansion of the industrial sector would increase employment in the urban as well as in the rural areas. The proponents of globalisation argue that the process may entail some short-term difficulties in terms of reduced income and consumption; unemployment might also increase. But eventually the reform process would lead to greater gains all around. Since the process can not be prevented, one should learn rather how to get the optimum benefit without losing one's own identity.

On the other hand, the word culture is accepted to be derived from the Latin word "Cultura" – the set of knowledge. In Indian context, its Hindi equivalent is the word "Sanskriti", which means the aggregation of values, beliefs traditions etc., and born out of heritage. Whatever may be the case, if one analyses, then he finds that culture has different stages of development. It usually starts with few men and their females, which includes their "ways of life". As human beings are social animals and live in groups, the individual culture spreads to group and then to commune. As a commune grows larger or communicates with other culture, cultural transformation takes place forming newer culture, and some sort of development automatically takes place, which may be involuntary. The involuntary development process has been going on since immemorial for all the communities. This development process was all the time indigenous as the change accepted to a community was compatible with its own original culture. But, in case of planned development process, when some sort of system is being imposed upon others for a forced change, then one has to accept the fact that local cultures and value systems have to be acknowledged as integrated substance of development (UNESCO(1994)). This means that approach to development should be more culture-specific and hence more participatory and emancipatory [Mangaraj (2000(c), Mangaraj & Upali(2005)].

A study of development programme initiated by Government of India among five tribal groups in South India indicated that the response of each group was different [Mishra (1982)]. In another study, it was noted that, of the two tribes inhabiting the same ecological region, one tribe totally rejected most of the developmental programmes, whereas the other accepted them with some sort of enthusiasm [Mishra (1970)]. It was found

that acceptance and rejection of specific development programmes were correlated with the social structure and cultural values of the specific tribes. This was significant because both the groups were very poor and barely managed their existence by food gathering incipient agriculture and collection of minor forest products and both the groups were very concerned about their cultures and retaining their identities. Several other studies have highlighted the same fact, which was also observed from the failure of implementation of various rural development schemes in tribal areas in earlier times. This is due to the fact that the acceptance of local cultures and value systems has rarely taken into account in formulating development strategies. Development values are mostly guided by the philosophy of pure economic growth, which did not become sustainable. The main reasons are primarily due to:

- a) Anthropological reports comprehending that the success of culturally oriented development programmes are still insufficient or, in other words, very much negligible. Much more have to be revealed by development anthropologists to provide development actors with inputs for better planning, monitoring and evaluation of development programmes.
- b) The failure of programmes is not always due to the neglect of local cultures. It is because of the development actors' wrong perception about programmes and also because of their inability to recognise and translate the real needs of the people. The macro and globally oriented development actors are, on the one hand, inclined to neglect the local details and, on the other hand, not fed with sufficient information for understanding the core of the local culture. Hence, a people-oriented development approach fails from here.

Hence, developmental efforts should revolve around culture and the approach for planned developed should be culturally oriented or, in other words, there should be a cultural management approach to development. But, cultural management, which is based on social truth, is far more complex. This social truth is essentially a model or description of the reality than the reality itself. The description of the reality based on cultural information and hence the management of development based social truth may be termed as cultural information management. Hence, cultural information management [Mangaraj(1997)] primarily aims at generating developmental alternatives at different levels of management of development based on social truth and satisfies the two criteria, viz.,

- i) Management of development in the framework of culture;
- ii) Cultural approach to management of development.

From the above discussion, the authors want to highlight the fact that development anthropology lies at the core of the planned development strategy. This branch of knowledge which has negligible importance in the present day development effort stems from:

- i) Culture as the origin;
- ii) Culture as the vehicle of change; and
- iii) Culture as the ultimate mechanism of development.

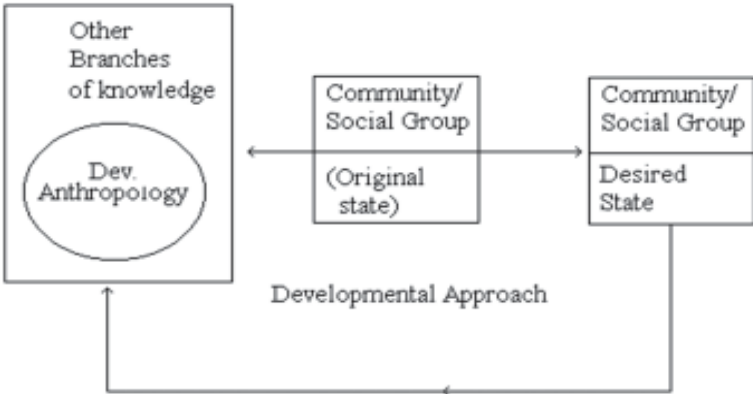


Fig. – .1: Development anthropology as the key to human development

In this perspective, the sustainability of the development status or the endogeneity of the development approach uses development anthropology as the key concept around which other disciplines of knowledge revolve as seen in Figure -1

Hence, development anthropology has to be re-engineered in order to meet the global challenges brought about due to economic liberalization and the role of the development anthropologist as a “Human Development Engineer” has to be highlighted for the purpose. Certain issues, according to the authors, which need prime importance for investigation in the field of development anthropology, are discussed in the subsequent sections:

2. The Need for Indigenous Management

Every society must deal with the management of its internal and external environment, i.e., management of the people, resources and technology within the society as well as management of relations with the environment external to or outside the society. According to Allaire & Firsirotu [1984], culture can be described as a set of ideas shared by a member of a social group. The definition of culture from this perspective is nothing but “an individual's theory” of what his fellows know, believe

and mean, his theory of the code being followed (Keesing, 1994). Culture is therefore not an individual's characteristics but rather denotes a set of common theories of behaviour or mental programmes that are shaped by a group of individuals. This is an "ideational" definition as culture is seen as being a set of ideas. Furthermore, culture thus 'resides' in the minds of the members of a cultural group. With the foregoing perspective, one can also look at culture in terms of Schein's (1985) three levels:

- * basic assumption and premises
- * values and ideology
- * artifacts and creations.

Basic assumptions and premises refer to preconscious and taken-for-granted assumptions about such things as the relationship of man to nature, time and space, and beliefs about human potential and social nature. These taken-for-granted assumptions determine values and ideologies defining ideals and goals as well as means for achieving them. These two levels are in a sense the ideational base of culture. They are reflected in the components of the third level, cultural artifacts and creations (such as manifest behavior, language, technology and social organization). It is the third level that is observable and that is the first arena in which management is played out.

The basic assumptions and values are the foundations on which actual values rest. They are also generally held subconsciously, meaning that if a person were asked what their assumptions were about, say, man's malleability or creative potential, they might find it difficult to articulate a response. In contrast, if they were asked whether it would be appropriate to send a person to a training programme relating to agricultural development, they would be able to tell you and could explain their reasons for it.

People's assumptions, beliefs and values are shaped by the culture to which they belong. Basic assumptions and premises are fairly deeply rooted in an individual and one must therefore assume, at least in the short run, that culture cannot be changed to meet the demands of modern management. In the case of ethnic cultures, they are also usually supported by a complex and long established social system with a vibrant existence outside the context of developmental inputs. Thus, we must take the position here that individual's behaviour for any sort of external development inputs will, in the main, be guided by their culture from which they come from. Even in case of establishment of new organization, by cooperation, marketing federation or even in production centers, the

organisation's culture will be guided by the external societal culture. One can observe that for the effective management of any organization needs a strong organizational culture which binds the people together in the organization and motivates the people in the organization to work for the fulfillment of the organizational objectives. But, when the organizations have to operate in a society, particularly in a simple society, the organizational cultures, which is a centripetal force for the organization, should be parallel to the societal culture (Fig.2), which is the centripetal force for the society. Hence, as long as the operated force for the development inputs or the organizational cultures of the development organization operating in the society are parallel, the effectiveness of the performance level remains at its peak; otherwise, it acts in the opposite direction as :

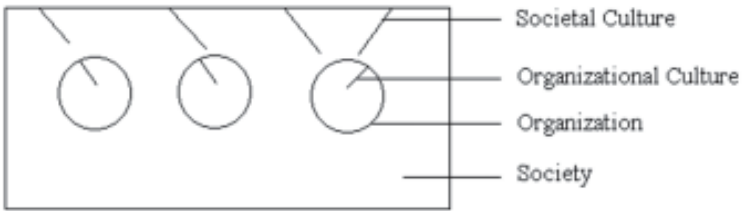


Fig. – .2: Society ~ organization relationship

This is due to the fact that members of the organization or beneficiaries of the development inputs in a given cultural environment share a common set of assumptions, beliefs and values which originate from the local environment. One assumption implicit in most work in the area of comparative or cross-cultural management is that the operational environment is, indeed, an 'open system'. These cultural values from the environment are brought into the operational environment and have a very strong impact on the behaviour of persons operating in a development environment which is nothing but an environment around the beneficiaries.

To understand better how cultural impact on behaviour necessary for managing development inputs in a practical sense, one can review how culture affects the interaction of individuals among themselves as well as with nature. On the one hand, culture facilitates certain behaviours. Members of a cultural group share complementary behaviour programmes, which regulate their interaction. Associated with these programmes are values and ideologies, which provide a guide and a meaning to what they are doing. Implicit in this view is the fact that culture also inhibits other behaviours, which run counter to the values or practices of their own culture. A culture also provides as guide for

perception and attribution of others behaviours. Thus, within a cultural group, certain behaviour will generate a feeling and response that is positive while others will generate a negative feeling and response.

The practical impact of culture on management practices needed for development programmes or projects will therefore be two-fold. First, it will influence management behaviour which might be said to be occurring “naturally”. Thus management behaviour will reflect the values of the local culture. It will not include behaviour which runs counter to the culture. Second, culture will influence the perception which individuals in the development environment have of the world around them. This will include their perceptions of both the development as well as societal environment, i.e. what is happening in the developmental environment as well as what is happening in their society. Culture will influence what is perceived and what is not perceived. It will also affect the evaluation of what is perceived. With regard to the societal environment, culture will have greatest influence on where and to what the greatest attention is paid. With regard to the development environment, culture will affect the perception and evaluation of behaviours of individuals. It is this process that will result in counter-culture management behaviour.

3. Development Culture

It can be defined as a system of knowledge that may have developed, improved, altered from an original state to improve the quality of life (QOL) of man. In the context of sustainable development, this culture should be compatible with the original culture (Fig.3) so that QOL improves by mobilising efforts of people to identify the cultural heritage, material and human resources and constraints. For this reason, any sort of development activity should ensure a development culture whose aim is to ensure the attainment of its objective. Unless, a development culture is created in a society, planned development effort becomes meaningless. Hence, creation of development culture is vital for implementation of any development programme or project. This aspect of operation for effective programme implementation forms the “Human Resource Management” aspect of endogenous development, which has to be given prime importance. As people form the core of any development activity, this management which is based on societal behaviour, should be primarily concerned with not only in the creation of development culture in a society but also to see that this culture should be parallel to the societal culture so that irrespective of the number of developmental activity, societal culture does not get distorted. It has been observed that in the coming days, traditional economic activities in a simple society, such as forest collection,

horticulture, agriculture, etc. will need less employable manpower. The rest will have to be channeled to service industries. In this perspective, one has to take care that, for sustainable development, much of these activities should be culture-specific. Hence, development culture should be aligned between the future needs and societal culture.



Fig. -.3: Societal culture ~ developmental culture

4. Aligning Cultural Values to Development

Values, because of their mobilizing potentials, can play a crucial role in facilitating the development process. In the early sixties, the emphasis was on “appropriate values” which were considered to be “necessary” if not “sufficient” condition for development [Ayed (1963)]. The trend that followed was to contrast economically underdeveloped and developed countries in terms of their value profiles. The developed and underdeveloped countries have also been dichotomized as the first versus third world, traditional versus modern, pre-industrialized versus industrialized, affective versus achieving, tight versus loose, and now collectivist versus individualistic societies (1988). The values associated with them have similarly been dichotomized. Developed countries are individualistic [Hofstede (1980)], achieving [McClelland (1961)], and modern [Inkeles and Smith (1974)], having self orientation, self assertion, equalitarianism, autonomy, frankness, opportunistic stance, low fear of failure, and strong need for success [Wichiarajote (1975)]. A major dimension of cultural variation across the world is collectivism versus individualism. This dimension has been discussed in analysis of values [e.g. Kluckhohn & Stordtbeck (1961)], in discussion of cooperation, competition, and individualism in primitive societies [Mead (1967)], in discussion of morality Shweder (1982), religion Bakan (1966), work related values [Hofstede (1980)], etc.

The components of culture are structurally interrelated in a manner that reveals their deep significance. Most of the times, these features remain more or less implicit, even un-mentioned. They are only openly and

ostentatiously displayed in conflict situations or on solemn occasions. In fact, each culture defines implicit and explicit hierarchies of consent, which determine the acceptability of development action. Thus, attitudes and aptitudes are the elements that control the performance and transformation of cultures. According to UNESCO's Report (1998), some of these elements have a decisive influence on whether others survive, flourish or disappear. Thus, there is a hierarchy of cultural values which largely determines their compatibility (or potential for conflict) with development values and in which traditions, beliefs, value systems and norms play a fundamental role. It is in terms of these elements that, within a given time frame, populations are able to decode the components of development projects, re-interpret them and make them their own.

Belief and Nature

These two factors constitute the fundamental factors in the sense that they determine the value systems, societal and economic organizations, modes of life and forms of intellectual and aesthetic expressions. These two factors when interact with political, economic and social structures, create the framework of every society i.e. value systems and norms.

Beliefs should be understood to include the (i) religions, (ii) popular cultures (such as ancestor worship), (iii) ordered rites and practices of a sacred and symbolic nature, (iv) traditions (ways of thinking, doing and behaving inherited from the past, and (v) customs (collective habits passed on from generation to generation). Conceptually, it constitutes the heart of a people's cultural experience. Its mystical dimension, i.e. sacred, forms the basis of their view of the world, the meaning of life, the relation between past and future, their value systems and individually ingrained in their social structures, behaviour and attitudes. From this system (as shown in Fig.4), the subsystem, traditions and customs reflect the contracts of the society, its ways of dealing with ritual moments of life, and the distinction between normality and what is forbidden.

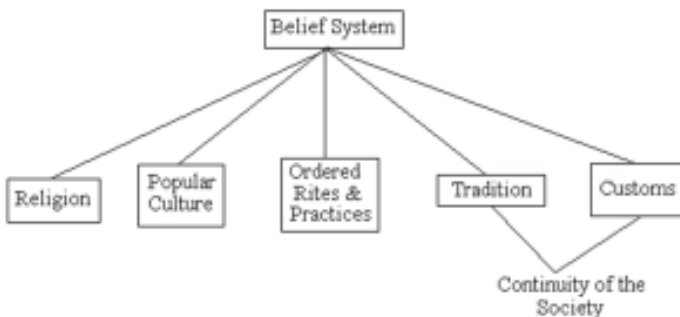


Fig.4: Components of Belief System

Hence, belief system primarily expresses the relationship between life and death, regulates the stages of life, draws the lines between what is desirable, what is permissible and what is forbidden and makes sense of human endeavour in the material, intellectual, spiritual and ethnical spheres. At the same time, this system is responsible for the generation of certain guiding values for each society. These generating values differs from society to society and constitutes the cultural values which in turn, is a system of principles and standards set for each society as shown above.

Hence, cultural value system (Fig.5) originates from the interaction of belief system as well as societal system of a society and represents a particular instance of time. For example, at a particular point of time, a cultural group possesses a belief system as well as a social system and with the change of time, these systems do change. This value system can serve to accelerate or holdback development depending upon whether the development values become compatible with the cultural values.

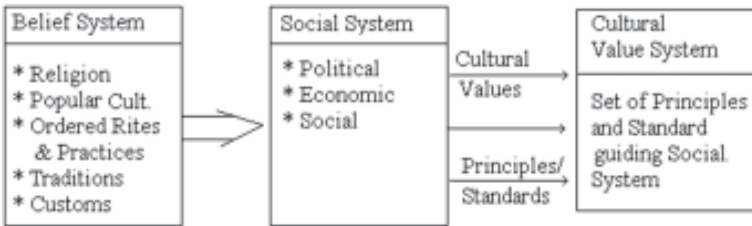


Fig.5: Cultural value system

Nature is the second decisive element in the determination of cultural value system since it is the resultant of the interaction between the community and its environment. Therefore, it is essential to fully take into account the relationships between the members of the group and the water, earth, air, flora and fauna that constitute the ecological heritage, while also forming part of their economic (crop and animal farming, fishing) and cultural heritage. The cultural tradition of every community includes precise ideas about the environment, the legacy of previous generation. Hence, the interaction with nature is the product of the beliefs and/or accumulated experience of the functioning of the universe and the roles of groups and individuals in the management of natural resources. For example, the cultural traditions of the Dongria Kondhs in Orissa (Upali(1994)) includes a set of knowledge acquired collectively, which in their eco-system, enables natural resources to be conserved and re-generated (for example, in shifting cultivation, the techniques used to reclaim land that had become infertile).

5. Development Values

Development is bound up with economic, social and, ultimately, with human progress. In this context, man is the origin, the engine and the goal of development. It must be the works of man, which must be its final purpose. Hence, it is a culture whose values are the set of principles, viz.,

- i) Belief in progress through science and economy;
- ii) A preference for modernity;
- iii) The certainty of a better future;
- iv) The wealth creation by accumulation of the profits made in economic activity;
- v) Development as a long term process that has to be planned in short and medium terms with very long term goals in view;
- vi) Optimization of multiple human objectives instead of maximization of short-term profitability.

But, these developmental values in the context of sustainable development should be compatible with the cultural values. For example, the preference for modernity should take place through the interface of traditional and modernity, otherwise, the developmental value may enter into conflict with the cultural values, i.e., the values of the societies. Hence, one may conclude that development values are those standards and principles to be accepted by a community for a better QOL or, in other words, in the creation of a development culture by marshalling the energies of the society, by all members participating in the economic and social transformation. This means that, the ultimate of developmental values is not for mere economic growth rather for “human flowering”.

6. Ethno-Mechanics as the Basis of Development

According to Hofstede’s dimensionalization of culture, one can observe that each society, at a particular point of time, has specific values along these dimensions where each of the dimensions are fuzzy variables. For example, Individualism at the lowest order is absolute collectivism and individualism at the highest order is absolute individualism.

Hence, mathematically, it can be represented as:

Absolute individualism	=	(individualism, 1), where 1 is the degree of individualism.
Similarly absolute collectivism	=	(individualism, 0); and
Moderate individualism	=	(individualism, 0.5) etc.

Hence, one can also explain culture of a society mathematically in terms of the four fuzzy variables. In the similar manner, culture change can also be represented as the change of these values with respect to time. Hence, when a society at a particular time $t = t_1$ is defined as:

$$S_1 = \{D_i, \mu_1(D_i) : i = 1, 2, 3, 4\}$$

Then at time $t = t_2$, the same society can be defined as:

$$S_2 = \{D_i, \mu_2(D_i)\}$$

If $S_1 \neq S_2$, then this implies culture change from time $t = t_1$ to $t = t_2$. But, this culture change might occur voluntarily or might occur due to some planned developmental effort. This means that, any sort of development, which might bring culture change, can be measured in terms of another fuzzy variable "Endogenous Development". Development can be measured in terms of "measures of satisfaction" or "measures of happiness", endogenous development can be defined in terms of two variables, viz., culture and development. In this perspective, if at two different point of time, viz., $t = t_1$ and $t = t_2$, i.e. before and after implementation of a sponsored development programme, if the culture of the society is defined as S_1 and S_2 as defined above, and the "measures of happiness" as m_1 and m_2 respectively, then

$\mu_2 > \mu_1$ implies development and $\mu_2 > \mu_1$ with $S_1 = S_2$ implies perfectly endogenous development.

Similarly, $\mu_2 > \mu_1$ with $S_1 \neq S_2$ such that $\mu_2(D_i) = \mu_1^c(D_i)$ implying that $\mu_2(D_i)$ is the complement of $\mu_1(D_i)$, then the development is said to be perfectly exogenous development (Mangaraj(2000(a)). This means that, development is a fuzzy variable with the concept as:

Perfectly endogenous development = (development, 1) and

Perfectly exogenous development = (development, 0).

Hence, development in terms of improved "measure of satisfaction" with no culture change implies perfect endogenous development. In the similar manner, development with total culture change is perfect exogenous development. Since endogenous development leads to sustainable development, determining developmental status is quite important and the concept of ethno-mechanics (Mangaraj ! 2000_a) is quite meaningful. This forms the basis of defining endogenous development in a quantitative manner with a scientific perspective so that further analysis of two aspects of development can be done to get meaningful results. No doubt, culture is a holistic concept, but the

dimensionalization of it highlights the fact that the impact of various attributes can be analyzed through multi-variate analysis of the values of various variables collected in ethnographic research methods to identify a culture in terms of the values in four dimensions. Hence, ethno-mechanics of development not only determines the status of development, but also the nature of it, so that it enables for a development strategy leading towards sustainability.

In this perspective, when one has to design an endogenous development strategy, the same principle of optimization holds good. But, the only condition for this is that, this optimization should be in the framework of culture. This indicates that a successful endogenous development strategy involves maximization of satisfaction of along developmental needs within the resources availability along with cultural constraints. These cultural constraints should be presented in such a manner that the basic behavioural traits, along the four cultural dimensions as suggested by Hofstede (1980) should not deviate from the original ones so that the culture does not change drastically along with developmental change. Hence, this attempts to maximise developmental change at the cost of minimum cultural change. This type of situation is a multi-objective optimization type problem and can be symbolically represented as:

Optimize.	Developmental Change
Subject to:	Resource and cultural constraints

This justify the fact that “multi-objective optimization” is the basis of designing endogenous development strategy .As very often, in these types of situations, the intervening variables may not be precise, fuzzy logic based approach can only be considered for the purpose. This means that not only the status and nature of endogenous development can be determined scientifically, but also can be planned in the similar manner.

7. Developmentalism: the Optimization of Multiple Human Needs Within Cultural Framework

Development ultimately means maximizing satisfaction along developmental needs. But, this process involves the resource availability for the purpose, and, at the same time, the resource utilization process. For example, land is resource, but the utilization of land for development purpose depends upon the local culture. For this reason, culture has been treated as the resource also. Hence, in that perspective, development within the framework of culture ultimately means that satisfaction should be optimized within the resource constraints. This

can be transformed to a logical structure as:

Optimize: Satisfaction along developmental needs

S.t.i) Resource requirement is available locally

ii) Resource is utilized based on the way of life of the people.

When both the above conditions are based on internal information and in purely endogenous conditions, in order to be compatible with the development of the external environment, market oriented approach is also required. Hence, along with the above two conditions, the market oriented condition can be stated as:

iii) Resource should also be utilized in order to meet the market demand due to the phenomenon of globalization.

In a mathematical approach, this can be converted to a multi-objective optimization problem, i.e. ,

Optimize: CX

S.t. $AX \geq B$

$X \geq 0$

Where, A, B, C and X are the matrices for resource utilization, resource availability, cost coefficient and cultural development variables respectively. Here, a development strategy which takes into account cultural perspective can be transformed scientifically to a multi-objective optimization problem in general. Keeping all these facts in view, various strategies can be made for tribal development keeping culture as the centerpiece of development for sustainability.

8. Conceptual Issues in Tribal Development

The present paper opens up some of the issues for investigation for tribal development strategy. These issues, the authors feel, need serious attention to enrich the domain of tribal development are described as follows:

a) Monitoring Culture Change Along with Development

Based on the above discussion, tribal upliftment requires a forced development strategy without underestimating market economy, and, at the same time, ensuring that everybody is made capable of entering that market. In order to have such a strategy, which also needs sustainability, has to be endogenous and for this, one has to monitor

development along with culture-change. As we have already discussed that the behaviour pattern of the society can be attributed in few dimensions only (Hofsted : 1980), monitoring the behaviour pattern along these dimensions can show the trend of culture change.

Hence, monitoring culture change along with development helps in monitoring the development activity so that the sponsored development programmes would be instrumental for an all-round development of the community in the backdrop of globalization which would also be sustainable. The concepts of ethno-mechanics, QOL, measures of happiness, etc., would be very helpful in this regard. The quantitative framework can help in finding these values numerically so that they can be aggregated, compared and can be amenable to various sorts of analysis from development point of view. Various types of statistical tools, viz., correlation, regression, forecasting etc., can be applied to these type of problems in order to know the relation between culture and development in terms of quantitative measure. For example, one can determine the factors responsible for substantial development (growth positive) with minimal culture change or even the reverse. Various studies can be done either for a particular community over a period of time, i.e. temporarily or spatially for various communities at a particular time or even taking the approach combining cross-sectional and temporal dimensions. Computer based monitoring models can be designed based on this concept in order to monitor the developmental status of various communities in order to minimise the developmental inequalities. At the same time, it is also possible to determine the set of cultural characteristics which can also act as growth positives or growth negatives. Various other multi-variate analysis have a lot of scope for linking culture with development, as has been already discussed that when culture is the independent variable, development acts as the dependent variable . Mathematically, we can say that:

$Y = F(X)$, where

X: Culture at time $t = t_1$

Y: Development, at time $t = t_1$

Which, can lead to decompose Y and X into several variables. Hence, there is a lot of scope for further research in the area of culture and development using a quantitative approach.

b) To Design Fuzzy Logic Based Research Methodologies to Tackle Problem in the Area of Culture & Development

We know that it is sometimes difficult to make quantitative analysis for problems of culture and development in a precise environment, which has been the case of social science research. Due to this fact, statistical

science has a tremendous potentiality for tackling some sort of imprecision for these problems. Various type of data analysis can be done by using statistical principles and techniques from which certain inferences can be derived. But, in the actual sense, the imprecision that arises in this type research is mostly due to the concept of human reasoning. In this perspective, if one really needs a quantitative tool, fuzzy logic based methods (Mangaraj et. al. : 2003, Mangaraj & Upali : 2008) seem to be very much reasonable. No doubt, fuzzy logic based methods have been successfully used in the fields of automation, information technology and almost all areas of technology, but in the area of social science research, when fuzzy logic based methods have tremendous potentialities, its application in this field is yet to come due to the inherent aversions of the social scientist towards quantifications. But, the language oriented analysis almost obeys all the principles of quantitative analysis. Hence, fuzzy logic based methodologies can bridge the gap between quantitative approach and language oriented approach in social science research in general and developmental research in particular.

c) To Develop Models for the Management of Culture-Specific Development

In the field of developmental research, one encounters with various techniques, viz., cost-benefit analysis, ratio-analysis, social-cost-benefit analysis, etc. But, when one talks about culture-specific development, then, all these methods seems to be inappropriate. This is because, development cannot all times be measured in terms of tangible objects, rather human development is mostly based on certain intangible aspects. Hence, one can think about impact, effectiveness etc., and in this perspective cultural-impact analysis, cultural-cost-benefit analysis, cost-effectiveness analysis which are more meaningful (Mangaraj : 2000b). However, these analyses are difficult to be made in precise quantitative framework. In this context, fuzzy logic can help out for the development of such models which can be very much helpful for the management of culture specific development, viz., planning, monitoring, evaluations, etc.

d) Identification of Cultural Indicators in Quantitative Framework

One can define economic parameters, viz., per-capita income, GNP, GDP, etc., and social parameters, viz., health, education, etc. all in quantitative framework. Taking together, these are termed as socio-economic parameters. It can be observed that all these parameters

may be discrete and independent. On the contrary, one can explain about cultural variables, which may not be discrete, and independent, rather those may be continuous and interdependent. In this angle, when development index is designed based on discrete and independent socio-economic indicators instead of cultural indicators by some sort of aggregation, it becomes meaningless. Hence, if at all, a development index has to be developed, it has to be designed based on continuous and interdependent cultural as well as development variables, which may be termed as “synthetic index” and is more appropriate than “composite index” as has been done by UNDP for human development. Hence, extensive research should be done for the development of “synthetic development index”.

e) Capital Budgeting For Tribal Development

Capital budgeting involves long range planning horizon and forecasts about a more extended future because the desirability to be derived from such resources extended over a substantial period over the future. They give an organization an opportunity to establish meaningful goals for future operation. These goals may be translated into plans for achieving objectives, and the plans in turn can furnish a framework for resource expenditure ideas. Ideas are most useful when evolved in a context of developmental objectives and strategies for future.

In a capital budgeting decision, the decision-maker faces a number of potentially serious problems: choice amongst a large number alternative projects, physical and inter-relationships among alternative projects, i.e., complementary or substitutive nature of the projects, financial and non-financial constraints on resources, manpower problem, and uncertainties regarding the true risk return relationships among projects each. Each of the foregoing problems may require special consideration and may require different criteria to be considered for investment decision. In an attempt to provide a decision-framework which considers the problem associated with the capital budgeting decisions and yet remain tractable, numerous capital budgeting techniques have been proposed in the past. Some of the resource budgeting decision techniques that have been used in the past are pay-back, accounting rate of return, internal rate of return, net-present value and profitability index, etc.

In the present days, information management in capital budgeting plays a vital role as it helps in generating various possible alternatives as well as choosing an optimal budget which provides the maximum utility within the resource constraints. Particularly, when we talk about capital budgeting for tribal development, it takes into account the achievement

of the desired objectives within the framework of the “way of life” of the people and also the availability of the various desired resources. Hence, it is more meaningful for the information management approach to “capital budgeting” taking into account the multiple needs and multiple factors associated with the living pattern of the people as well as the Government objectives.

Apart from the benefit of this activity at the state/national level, at the Block, ITDA or even at micro-project levels, this activity has a lot of scope for the optimal planning of the resource use. Because, this is the basis for the allocation of capital in different heads so that the benefit becomes optimal. In Government sponsored development programmes, lot of investment are being done for the purpose, but one cannot afford to spend as much as desired due to paucity of funds. Particularly, in the state government level, the budget allocated in the state’s annual plan is normally distributed in various tribal development heads. This utilization procedure is based on the needs, priorities etc. identified by the special officer based upon his observation, government targets, etc. which are also dependent upon the available resources. Most of the time, the utilization does not become satisfactory due to the conflict of the needs with the resource availability. This amounts to the wastage of the capital and mismanagement of public fund due to lack of adequate information.

Hence, for a more meaningful tribal development, capital budgeting based on scientific principle is a must which has also to be judged from multiple angles . Due to different values of the same money in different developmental schemes, it is very important for optimally designing the budgeting-structure in the micro-project so that each village under the micro-project gets equal importance in terms of resource allocation irrespective of its proximity to the development agency or due to any other reason. Hence, capital budgeting with multiple criteria becomes the important basis for the purpose and computer-based models are very important in this regard.

f) Resource Allocation in Tribal Development Programme

Resource allocation is also one of the important human activities in the process of development. One can say that this is one of the major management activity for allocation/distribution of their resources in an equitable manner for sustenance of the development process which can be described as:

i) Land Resource : Traditionally, the land resource was used by the tribal for practicing shifting cultivation, agriculture, horticulture etc ..

Each village had an allocated patch of land for the purpose and the village headman had the sole authority of the distribution of these plots to the individual households. This distribution was based on the size of the households. In case of inability to cultivate the allocated plots by any household, these plots get reverted back to the custody of the headman who in turn decides the next allottee.

ii) Forest Resource : Forest land were similarly demarcated for use by different villages for collection of forest produces and firewood, house building materials as well as hunting purposes. But, gradually, the number of resources becomes numerous with the introduction of external resources. With the implementation of government sponsored development programmes, the main focus is to make aware these isolated communities various types of resources and their exploitation procedures along with local resources.

In this perspective, when development can be thought of in the framework of resources, not only the utilization pattern, but also the allocation principles play a vital role in the development process. These principles may in turn either depends on a single criterion or multiple criteria depending upon the decision environment. For example, in a state sponsored development programme, the resource allocation to a particular developmental project may not only be viewed in terms of economic benefit to be achieved but also in terms of the negative social implications that may incur during the implementation of the project. In this context, resource allocation is a very important concept in a planned developmental effort, which is not a new concept, rather can be observed from the earlier human behaviour patterns also. With the evolution of various management tools and techniques, this aspect can be tackled in a scientific manner for a planned development strategy. Particularly, in the context of endogenous development, this concept can guide for an optimal resource utilization strategy taking into account both the local resource available and the external resources to be used.

g) Formulating National Cultural Policy

The biggest problem that stands in the way of tribal development is a relevant cultural policy. At present, it is almost assumed that culture contributes nothing to the development of the country or society, although every one is careful to assert that it is most valuable. The cultural policy for a country as diverse in its languages, regional histories and local life styles as in India has also to reconcile and incorporate all its complexities. This composite culture is now facing the challenge of modernisation which tends to distort the existing cultural pattern. Thus

both our cultural complexities as well as the challenges of modernization have to be kept in mind in formulating a “National Policy in Culture” not only for the preservation of a complex mosaic of living cultures, but, and at the sametime, formulating a basis for a sustainable development in the present competitive world. Some of the measures which are integral and basic to a National Policy on Culture may include:

- i) The nature and need of state interventions in the field of culture, emphasizing the cultural dimensions of development, i.e. culture as a system of values should be at the core of all developmental effort.
- ii) Overiewing the slowly emerging distortion and death of cultural patterns and documenting and salvaging much of them, which are faced by extinction/or tragic distortion.
- iii) Fostering the heritage of diversity and plurality in our cultural patterns.
- iv) Specially recognizing the cultural patterns of the economically weaker sections and, in particular, of the tribal communities.
- v) Finding a dynamic balance between traditional structures in cultures and the need for innovation and experiment.
- vi) Developing the concept of “cultural informations” in the era of information technology, which will be helpful for development in the context of e-governance.

Hence, a suitable cultural policy within the purview of cultural pluralism will help in maintaining “ethnic identity” at one end and “unity in diversity” at the other.

h) Designing Operational Environment of Various Developmental Institutions

In the welfare state like India, planned developmental activities were only restricted to government only, be it state or central. These developmental activities include, planning for an overall development, monitoring the developmental change, controlling the developmental activities, evaluating the developmental projects/programmes, etc. But, at present, most of these activities are done by non-governmental organizations who very often get development assistance from international agencies. The government interference in this aspect is felt to be very minimal. But, in a multi-ethnic country like India, this type of move can be dangerous due to absence of a uniform development strategy or a standardized basis for such activities. Most of the time, the operations of such activity by different development institutions clash

and as a result, the people who are to be converted to beneficiaries of development suffer. In majority of the cases, people for whom the strategy has been designed loose even their existing standard of living. They confuse their “way of life” with the various “ways of lives” as a result of which they are not able to choose an “appropriate way of life” and the very spirit of leading of a “specific way of life” becomes lost. This results in loss of “happiness” which contradicts the ultimate meaning of development.

Hence, in a liberalized economic system with a globalized environment, it is very much essential for a country like India to design suitable operational environment for different development institutions, so that their operation do not conflict with the very basis of the developmental strategy. At the same time, the operational territory would not overlap for the numerous developmental institutions engaged with various developmental operations. This will require a systematic effort which would define:

- i) non-overlapping operational environments of various developmental institutions.
- ii) operational directions of such institutions would be parallel.
- iii) operational processes such that the result obtained due to one institutions should be stimulating for the operation of the others.
- iv) resource requirement and utilization process of the institutions, etc. ,should be in a such manner that the development incurred by such institutions should be within the framework of culture, at one end, and, should be compatible with the global condition in order to attain a development status which would be sustainable.

i) Designing Suitable Development Programmes Compatible with the Local Culture at One End and Meeting the Market Requirement at the Other for Various Tribal Societies Blending Tradition with Modernity

This type of work is very important for tribal development due to multiplicity of development organizations as well as development programmes. Various approaches are being implemented not from the point of view of the tribal, rather from the point of view of spending the budget allocated for the purpose. Most of the times, attempts by researchers in this aspect of work involves unilateral type of approach neglecting a holistic view which can be only possible through an interdisciplinary approach. Societal development in a complex environment like that of India, is not an easy task. It requires a highly societal approach, and at the sametime a well-researched scientific

platform which will aim at a development standard resulting from blending traditions with modernity. The rich cultural heritage which is the greatest resource compared with any other material resource can be suitably utilized for a unique development standard which cannot only be achieved with ease but also depend less on external resources. The developmental programme resulting from the optimal mix of traditions with modernity will be sustainable due to endogeneity and, at the same time, the developmental status of the societies will be able to meet the global challenges in their own ways. This means, that, the designing of development programmes should aim at bringing the societies to such a level, i.e., “take-off” level so that the societies would be able to maintain the development spirit by themselves only tackling the uncertainties resulting from the process of globalization.

j) To Study Need-Aspiration Mechanism in a Quantitative Framework

As it has been observed that the fundamental concept in development mechanism is the identification of needs and measurement of aspiration along these needs. These needs can be represented in a tree structure (Fig.6) in terms of various types of needs. This need-structure is culture-specific and in the development process, this structure also gets changed including generation of more needs in the secondary and tertiary levels. Also, the levels of aspirations do get changed with the change of culture.

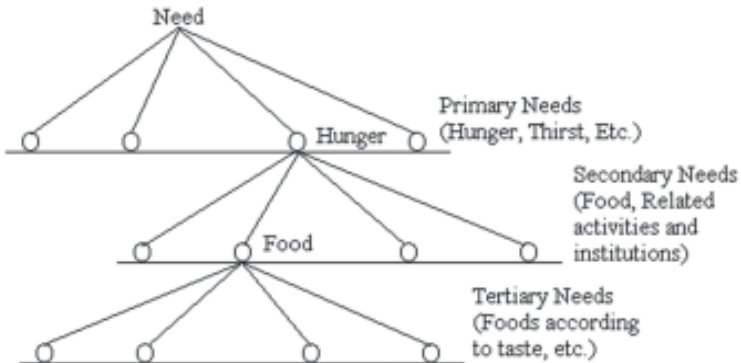


Fig. .6: Need Structure

But, all these mechanism operate in a logical manner and this really requires a thorough investigation in order to predict the cultural change with the development inputs and, at the same time, to determine the speed and direction of the developmental venture in a cultural domain. For a scientific analysis of all these activities, it requires a quantitative

framework which may not be precise all the time. The imprecision that will be resulted in the process can be tackled with the modern scientific tools. This sort of inter-disciplinary research will require the efforts of anthropologists, behavioural scientists, mathematicians, statisticians, computer scientists, etc., and will help in determining “desired developmental activities” for sustenance of human civilization on this earth due to several developmental activities as a result of globalization.

k) Management of Human Resource Development for Endogenous Development

With the growth of business organizations for economic development, Human Resource Management (HRM), became an important discipline as it has to manage the human resources in the organizations for the overall effective development of the organization. It was realized that organizational development is meaningless without the development of its human resource. As a result, various aspects of human behaviour in the organization became the key area in the present day corporate management. Even with the development of IT sector and globalization of the corporate world, re-engineering the human resource management to meet the present day challenges in the organizational set-up has become the prime concern amongst human resource management scientists. But, in the context societal development, this branch of knowledge, though has been studied by anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, etc., has not been developed at par with organizational development. In case of organizational development, organizational culture is created to meet the organizational objectives, unlike in case of societal development, the societal culture has to be studied in a holistic manner to tune the developmental strategies and conditions compatible with the local culture at one end, and meeting to some sort of global objectives at the other. In this context, the local culture cannot be studied in isolation rather in the perspective of other cultures and, at the same time, it cannot be described at a particular point of time, rather continually over a period of time. The cultural transformations due to various controlled and un-controlled parameters have also to be taken into account for designing any sort of developmental strategies. Hence, this requires a management not only for the facilitators but also for the beneficiaries. For example, in case of facilitators it involves design of training modules for various levels, personality development of field workers including communication skills, design of various data collection and data analysis procedures, skill development at various levels, viz., planning, monitoring, evaluating, implementing, etc.. Similarly, for beneficiaries, it involves development of group behaviour including collectivism, entrepreneurship

development, development of production and marketing skills, knowledge development in the various areas, viz., financing, marketing, production, other cultures etc., which can be imparted through various types of training. Hence, Human Resource Management for Endogenous Development (HRMED) can improve the performance of facilitators at one end and beneficiaries at the other which can have some general principles as well as particular guidelines depending upon the problem. Due to this importance for endogenous development, HRMED has to be studied in a systematic manner in order to devise management methodologies for the purpose in a scientific manner.

1) Measuring Concepts like HDI and QOL for Various Tribes in Indian Context

The concept of measurement in development of societies came through Human Development Index (HDI) and QOL etc. This is very much helpful to bring uniformity in the development status in order to reduce the inequality among the various societies. Various efforts have been made and are also being made by various organizations but no systematic effort has been done in finding out the developmental status of various societies in terms of HDI or QOL which is very much relevant in a country like India. The concept of UNDP in this regard may be implemented, but the idea of ethno-mechanics is very much important in the sense that development is culture specific. In this perspective, QOL or HDI cannot be measured in an uniform scale rather the cultures have to be measured in various dimensions which has to be linked with the aspiration, achievements or minimum needs etc. This means that every culture has to get scores along these dimension of culture and this value has to be compared with relative HDI or QOL score of that culture to give an absolute value which has to be compared for various cultures in order to know the development ranking. This will give a clear picture of the development position of any particular tribe with respect to the entire tribal in this country so that special development measures may be geared up for some tribes in order to bring them to a common platform. As for example, "People of India Projects", can be taken up with the help of NIC (National Informatic Centre) so that every year the developmental status of the various tribal groups can be monitored at one end globally, and the performance of various development inputs can be monitored locally at the other end. This will also help monitoring the culture change along with development change which can be also instrumental in determining the correlation of incremental development change with incremental culture change. This means that the compatibility of development with the culture can be analyzed in order to determine the sustainability of the development.

m) Application of Management Science Techniques to Tribal Development

Various management science techniques can be applied for tribal development. For example, the location of a facility centre, viz., hospital, school, market, co-operative centre, collection centres, etc., can be determined in a scientific manner so that it may be equi-distant from all the villages, and at the same time the transportation cost as well as time taken for the local produces to be in the nearby urban places should be minimum. These techniques can be implemented based upon certain information, viz., population in villages, walking distance as well as distance on road from one village to another, the amount of local produces per village, the amount of marketable products per village, village census data, inter-village dependence information, consumption pattern of the villages, the distance of each village from other service centres, the type and amount of fruits/service available to each village, living patterns in the village etc. Hence, management science techniques which do have scope for application in all fields of development should also be utilized for effective tribal development.

n) Application of Modern Marketing Management Principles to Tribal Development

In the era of globalization, the economy is market-driven. That means, economic development of any society largely depends upon its marketing activities. Through this activity, the value addition of the produces increases manifold. One can say that the value addition of the products is directly proportional to the marketing activities through which the products are exposed to the outer world. But, this is not a very simple operation. The various strategies in this regard may be stated as, pricing, promotion, packaging, the product quality, channels of distribution, determining the market segments of the products and defining the marketing parameters for these segments, etc. The production activities will include the various activities relating to "New Product Development" based upon the local produces and the demands in the various marketing segments. Since, the ultimate economic development depends primarily on the production as well as marketing, the concepts of modern marketing management has to do a lot in this regard.

o) Application of Web-Based Technologies to Document the Culture and Development of Tribal of India

The culture and development related activities can be documented through web-based technologies so that it can be accessible to any one who wants to know about it. These documentation activities through

some common attributes will be helpful in analyzing similar activities among the tribes, which will be instrumental in generalizing certain hypotheses regarding culture and development. A group of related hypotheses, in turn, will be helpful in formulating theories relating to culture and development. In Indian context, where there are a lot of tribal groups, development of theories regarding endogenous development can be only possible when culture specific development activities can be properly documented. Hence, documentation of this sort through the web-based technologies will help in the preservation of ethnic cultures and at the same time in the development of certain theories for sustainable development.

p) E-Governance for Tribal Development

An important aspect of tribal development is a suitable system of governance which may be in consonance with the development process. In the fifties and sixties, tribal development comprised of small number of specific schemes which were covered by a single head “Welfare of Backward Classes” under major budget head of “Social Security”. This programme has now been transformed into a system for attending to the task of development of tribal communities and tribal areas, which comprise all activities of a variety of organizations and institutions in the area. The tribal development strategy had been subjected to close scrutiny from plan to plan and had undergone finer turning and orientation. It was during the fifth plan that the concept of Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) was implemented. The essential features of TSP are:

- ❖ Recognize that there is no uniform solution to the variety of problems facing the tribal regions and tribal communities; therefore, accept the uniqueness and formulate policies, programmes and schemes to suit each individual situation.
- ❖ Evolve appropriate frame for development with emphasis on tribal people at the national and state level through the sub-plan exercise, ensuring adequate quantification from state and central plan funds, with budgetary mechanisms to ensure accountability, non-divertability and utilization.
- ❖ Accord highest priority to protective measures for elimination of exploitation of tribal people.
- ❖ Restructure the administrative and institutional set-up to suit the local needs and aspirations.
- ❖ Supplement state effort substantially by Union Government.

One important point about the tribal sub-plan is that the funds earmarked for these areas should not be diverted to other areas. The Government of India had also suggested to state governments that they may consider pooling all outlays under different sector for tribal development under one area "Demand for the Tribal Sub-Plan" as a whole. All items relating to the sub-plan under different functional heads are to be pooled together under a single demand. Then only, the total investment can be amenable to proper planning, accounting and monitoring.

Coming down to the implementation levels, e.g., ITDA, Blocks or Micro-Project, scientific mechanisms are not being utilized for budgeting, monitoring and evaluating activities of tribal development. Even, we are spending a lot in the name of tribal development. It seems that there does not exist a basis for such an exercise. No doubt, there is a substantial outlay for tribal development in every financial budget, but the allocation to different tribal groups lacks scientific basis. This means that inappropriate allocation at one hand and absence of a scientific monitoring and evaluation system at the other. But, it has been observed that a development strategy is always associated with scientific tools and principles based on the concept of modern knowledge. Particularly in the era of information technology, when e-commerce, e-business for a faster economic development has already occupied the top of the government agenda, the implementation of e-governance is not very far-off. This concept will accommodate the various aspects of governance for development, viz., planning, budgeting, monitoring, evaluation, etc., electronically based on the principles of scientific techniques.

9. Conclusion

In the post-independence era, even if tribal development has got priority both by government and non-government sectors, not much achievement has been made in this regard. This is primarily due to lack of professional approach at one end and multiplicity of development programmes without considering their way of life as well as acceptability of the programmes at the other. But, majority of the bottlenecks can be eliminated, if the entire operation can be carried out within the framework of culture. Hence, culture ~development paradigm remains the crux of any tribal development programme, which has to be taken care of for any sort of operation in this aspect. At the same time, the issue which has been discussed need to be investigated whose output can form the basis for designing, implementing and monitoring any tribal development project. This need a multi-disciplinary approach and development anthropologist can take a lead role in framing a holistic picture of the problem as well as selecting an appropriate action to be taken for an

endogenous development leading to sustainability. Hence, tribal development approach needs to be re-engineered taking a cross-functional approach for manipulating culture in the development process considering the effects of globalization.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors are thankful to Prof.(Dr.)N.K Behura, former UGC Emeritus Fellow(Anthropology) for his valuable suggestions .

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HOLISTIC APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT OF ADIBASIS

Er. Dayanidhi Marandi

1. The Background

Independent India is 61 years old. Two generations have passed. One section of the India's own people the Adibasis arguable among the most disadvantaged and vulnerable groups of people continue to be marginalized in every field of human activity namely economic, social, cultural, political, education, health even the human rights. The provision in the constitution and approach and strategies adopted for the betterment of the Adibasis during last six decades have not been able to generate desirable results.

I have tried to establish through this paper the need for a major shift in the direction, focus & strategies of development programmes adopted for the Adibasis. The most fundamental thing for the development of the Adibasis should begin with properly recognizing them and understanding them. All the strategies adopted now suffer from these fundamental flaws. All the models of development like integration to the latest buzz word of "bringing Adibasis to Mainstream" are on the wrong footing. India is a nation with multiple culture, then how does the concept of "mainstream" issue comes up?. The fact is that the dominant cultures have been subjugating the Adibasi culture, systematically assimilating them resulting to cultural conquests. Consequently; even after 60 years of independent India, Adibasis enjoy very little human dignity and respect.

We have seen in the recent past two great Nations viz. Canada and Australia apologized to their indigenous people for their centuries of wrong deeds. The world is aware of the fact that the new comers first fought to exit, then dominated and finally subjugated the natives. Their children were removed from their families and sent to residential schools run by Church. These children, over a period of time, lost their language skills and the knowledge of their culture. In India, same thing is happening differently to the Adibasis. None of the schools dedicated for Adibasis or available in Adibasi dominated areas have ever bothered for the culture of the Adibasis. There is a superiority thinking among the dominant societies that to progress, the Adibasis must be more like them.

The development concepts are restricted to the very narrow idea of economic growth. It is perceived that Adibasis are one-dimensional

human being and insulated them from other aspects of life – social, cultural, political & emotional. As we analyse the development programmes, we shall find that they are primarily culturally insensitive.

The great minds of India who framed the constitution have kept very powerful provisions for the Adibasis. Today they appear to have lost the relevance because they have not been able to achieve the desired aim. The empowerment of adibasis – socially, politically and economically have not been successful .

We have to critically examine the critical issues connected with the Adibasis. A subtle attempt has been made in brief to address fundamental issues.

2. First The Identity :

(I) The Constitutional Provisions :

Article 366 (25) defined Scheduled Tribe as “Such Tribes or Tribal communities or part of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Art.342, to be Scheduled Tribe for the purpose of this constitution”. Under Art.342, the President may with respect to any State or UT, and where it is a state, after consultation with the Governor thereof, by public notification specify the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups with tribes or tribal communities which shall, for the purpose of the constitution, be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to that State or UT as the case may be.”

The criteria followed for specifying a community, as Scheduled Tribe are indications of –

- ◆ Primitive traits.
- ◆ Distinctive cultures.
- ◆ Geographical isolation.
- ◆ Shyness of contact with the community at large, and
- ◆ Backwardness.

These criteria are not spelt out in the constitution but has become well established.

When Article 366(25) in unambiguous terms provides a space for Scheduled Tribes, the Article 342 authorises the President in consultation with Governor to identify Scheduled Tribes but has been made specific to state /UT. Does the status of a tribe changes from state to state ? This happens in India. Many Tribes like Santal, Orans, etc. recognised as ST in states of Orissa, Jharkhand and Bihar are not recognised as ST in Assam. The nation does not recognize its own

people. It so happened on 20 September 2007 in Assam when a peaceful rally of tribes demanding for ST status were mercilessly beaten up and killed. Women protesters were chased, made naked, dragged on road and beaten up. And what was more strange was that the incident took place in front of the state administration as passive spectators. Even the fundamental rights of expression guaranteed under the constitution is blatantly violated.

(II) Tribe to Adibasi :

The name "Tribes" for the indigenous people the Adibasis has a British legacy. They have been living predominantly in hilly and forest regions. Those areas were comparatively inaccessible and isolated. When British came in contact with them, they faced stiff resistance in those areas. Initially British tried to superimpose their conventional system of administration directly or through intermediaries. They had to face stiff resistance, hostility and sometimes rebellion. The British then changed their policy to "non-interference". The concept of "excluded area" and "partially excluded" area were introduced. The policy of least interference was adopted and in "excluded" areas, the traditional institutions were recognised. The concept of "Tribal areas" and "Scheduled Area" under 6th and 5th Scheduled of the constitution are follow up to those ideas. This approach of the British to the tribal were regarded as "isolationist." In post independent era, an approach of integration is adopted. The fact is that in the name of integration, the traditional institutions and the cultures have been eroded.

The renaming of the indigenous people from "Tribe" to "Adibasi" will ensure a separate identity as indigenous societies.

If we can change over from "Madras" to "Chennai", "Calcutta" to "Kolkata", "Bombay" to "Mumbai", there should not be a problem from "Tribes" to "Adibasi".

Some of the greatest changes in the mindset of the people would be that Adibasis are not Hindus, (cases of religious conversions are different); they do not fall under the hierarchical rigid caste system; temples are not part of their religion and more importantly they have their distinct culture, language and social institutions. The attitude of dominance of the majority cultures will shift towards the attitude of tolerance.

III) Segregation of Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste programmes :

At present there, is common approach of development to both Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. Socially and culturally, they are different

barring the economic aspects where the situation is similar. The fact that Tribes have distinct culture and distinct social institutions gets blurred when clubbed them with Scheduled Castes. None of the strategies or programmes of development are tribal specific. To substantiate further, few attributes of the Adibasis are highlighted.

- ♦ Adibasis do not form part of the Hindu society, nor are part of the caste structure. Clubbing ST with SC has further aggravated by extending the evils to Tribal societies.
- ♦ Adibasis are not 'Hindus', nor do they go to any temple. It is sheer ignorance on the part of Adibasis and lack of initiative by census officials that they are recorded as Hindus. Many consciously declare their religion as Hindu to avoid various hurdles in the bureaucracy .
- ♦ They have distinct social system of administration and dispensation of justice. The Manki-Munda system among Ho-Mundas, and Majhi-Parnik system among Santals bear testimony to this fact. Similar systems are available among other Adibasi societies .
- ♦ All the social functions right from birth to death are distinctly different.
- ♦ Adibasi societies are highly democratic. If the democracy is to be learned from anybody, their systems represent the highest standards. Persons occupying different positions in the Majhi-Parnik system / Manki-Munda system are chosen by consensus and no particular person has any monopoly, nor are they hereditary.
- ♦ Unlike the Brahmins who dominate rites and rituals, the "Nykes" of Santals who perform puja are democratically nominated.
- ♦ There is no hierarchy with the society on caste lines.
- ♦ No system of dowry is available. Marriage functions are between two villages and the families concerned have limited role in organizing and managing event.
- ♦ Divorce and widow remarriage are an accepted facts since ages. They are not looked down upon.
- ♦ They have distinct language. Many may not have own script, but their language cannot be called as dialects.

There are many such features. It is only in the eyes of the majority society that they do not find due attention.

The first and foremost of all is to separate the Scheduled Tribe from Scheduled Castes and devise specific programmes and strategies for the development of Adibasis.

In this section it is emphasized that the identity of the Tribes as Adibasis is fundamental and necessary precondition for any development. Having recognising them as Adibasis, it obviously follows that strategies be specific to Adibasis. Thus it needs separation from Scheduled Castes.

3. Strategy Of Development :

Evolution of the development strategies need to be seen to understand the changing perspective on Adibasis and try to identify the reasons why they have not delivered results as desired.

3.1 Pre-independence Scenario :

The scenario before independence was more of exploitation and oppression than of development. As already indicated earlier, the administration was carried out either directly or through intermediaries amidst severe hostilities and resistance from Adibasis. Tribal areas were administered according to special laws like Ganjam and vizagapatnam Act 1839. Latter they were termed as "scheduled districts" under Scheduled Districts Act. 1874. In 1919, based on the degree of exclusion they were categorized as "wholly excluded areas" and " areas of modified exclusion" and administered according to Government of India Act. 1919. Further as per Government of India Act 1935, they were changed to "excluded areas" and "partially excluded areas". More backward areas came under "Excluded areas" and less backward areas' under "partially excluded areas". Provincial Ministry had no jurisdiction over the excluded areas. Even federal and provincial legislations were not extended to these areas automatically. The traditional institutions were recognised. Partially excluded areas were administered by the State Government subject to the special powers of the Governor. Gradually incursion of outside elements gave rise to land alienation. State assumed the ownership of tribal areas and forests. As formal administration got introduced along with administration of justice, the traditional institutions began to erode, more significantly in partially excluded areas. Three major things under the possession of the Adibasis were getting away from them namely the land, the forests and the traditional institutions. The objective of the British was more to bring the tribal areas into the administrative fold rather than any development – more appropriately a kind of geographical integration of the tribal of the tribal areas.

3.2 Post independence Scenario :

Phase – I

Philosophy of Welfare State coupled with planned economic development was adopted as a national policy. The constitution

recognised the tribal areas and tribal communities as distinct and provided with adequate protection and support to join the national life, at the same time allowing them to retain their identities. First Five Year Plan adopted a comprehensive intensive Community Development Programme beginning with 56 community development projects. It was a general development programme and nothing exclusive for tribes, though applicable equally to tribal areas also. This scheme faced tremendous difficulty in sparsely inhabited hilly areas, which needed special attention. In 1954, special Multipurpose Tribal Development Project were started in tribal areas. This was revised in 1956 to make them less intensive and to cover larger areas and evolved into Tribal Development Blocks. By the end of the Third Five Year Plan, there were about 500 blocks covering about 40 percent of total tribal population. Fourth Five Year Plan was a continuation without any additional areas coming under the Tribal Development Blocks. Rests of the areas continue to be served by general development programmes.

Till then, all these programmes were not linked with protective measures envisaged in the constitution. Weakness in the administration of development projects through Tribal Development Blocks made schemes ineffective. Land alienation continued unabated. Economic condition of the tribals deteriorated. Glaring disparity between regions and communities developed.

The Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission (Dhebar Commission) in 1961 made a comprehensive review of the tribal development. The Commission noted :

- ♦ Very slows pace of development
- ♦ Inadequate investment
- ♦ Inadequate protective measures.
- ♦ Tribal Development Block were recommended for all areas with more than 50 percent of Tribal Population.

In 1969, Shilu Ao Committee reviewed and found the scenario almost unchanged. The Committee identified that Tribal Development Blocks were too small a unit to deal with the complex problem of tribal development. Suggestion was made for implementation of Dheber Commission recommendations vigorously. Shilu Ao Committee called for larger resources commensurate with the population.

Phase – II

The Fifth Year Plan period and onwards witnessed a major shift in the approach basically in thee aspects.

First : Area development approach with focus on the development of tribal communities .

Second : A comprehensive program of development was prepared.

Third : The protective and developmental measures were interwoven. Tribal areas in the country were classified under three broad categories.

Category I : States and UTs having majority tribal population. The states of Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Union territories of Lakshadweep, Daddra and Nagar Haveli. In these states the entire State Plan was primarily meant for tribals. Therefore no sub plan strategy was adopted.

Category II : States and UTs having substantial tribal population but majority tribal population in particular administrative units like Blocks and Tahasils. Tribal Sub Plan was adopted with Integrated Tribal Development Projects and separate implementing agencies. Mostly states with schedule areas were covered under this category.

Category III : States and union territories having dispersed Tribal Population. Tribal Sub Plan strategy was also adopted in this region. Areas of tribal concentration not coming under category-I and category-II fall under this category.

Tribal Sub Plan strategy was adopted to coordinate and integrate the sectoral development programmes of various ministries to have better and perceptible effect. Tribal Sub Plan had two pronged strategy :

Promotion of developmental activities to raise the living standards of scheduled tribes and protection of their interest through legal and administrative support.

At the time of delimitation of the project areas under TSP strategy, it was observed that ITDPS/ITDA's are not co-terminus with Schedule Areas. Thus in August 1976, the Government of India decided to make the boundaries of schedule areas co-terminus with TSP areas to ensure protective measures available to scheduled tribes in Scheduled Areas. This would be helpful for effective implementation of the development programmes.

Under the 6th Plan Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) was adopted to cover smaller areas of tribal population. However unlike ITDA's / ITDP'S administration was done through district machinery.

Under the 7th Plan, TSP strategy was further extended to cover even more smaller areas of tribal concentration.

Presently TSP is applied to 21 States and two UTs with 194 ITDA'S / ITP'S in India.

3.3 Critical Appraisal of TSP Strategy :

In order to have proper appreciation of the development strategy, we have divided chronologically into three periods, namely pre-independence and post independence with Phase – I covering up to 4th Five Year Plan and ITDA Phase – II from 5th Five Year Plan onwards.

Table – I (ITDA, Parlakhemundi.)

A – Activities under Special Central Assistance to Tribal Sub Plan

1	Irrigation
2	Lift irrigation
3	Communication – Road
4	Drinking water wells
5	Bathing Steps/Ghats
6	Development of Haats
7	Rural Electrification – Street Lighting Programmes.
8	Rural Health and Environmental Programmes - Provision of safe toilet, bathroom, piped water supply to house holds.
9	Infrastructure Assistance to SHG'S/Mission Shakti - drying yard, soaking tank for dal processing unit. - work shed construction for rice huller for SHG. - Cattle shed construction for goatary unit
10	Bank Loan linked schemes for SHG
11	Training to ST youth under different trade in ITI.
12	Construction off Community Rubber Progressing Units.
13	Pine Apple plantation
14	Training to SHG'S
	Total – Sanctioned Coast – Rs.5.4Cr.(06-07)

B. Projects Under Art 275(I) ITDA / Parlakhemundi

1	Road
2	Bridge
3	Market Complex construction and improvement
4	Minor Irrigation Project
5	Compound wall for Ashram school
6	Tube Well
7	Dinning hall construction of a Govt. High School.
8	Latrine and Bathroom construction in hostel building
9	Electrification of hostel building
10	Construction of hostel
11	Construction of Additional Class Rooms
	Total – Sanctioned Cost – Rs.5.8 Cr. (06-07)

C. Staff Position, ITDA / Paralakhemundi

1	PA 1	
2	Special Officer	1
3	Asst. Engineer	1
4	Junior Engineer	2
5	Sr. Steno	1 *
6	Staff Asst.	1
7	Sci/ Conger V. Asst	1
8	Head Clerk	1 *
9	Accountant	1
10	Jr. Clerk	2 *
11	Driver	1 *
12	Peon	7 *
Total Project Cost - 10.2 Cr. (06 - 07)		
* 12 People are not essential		20

Pre-independence strategy of non-interference was not aimed at any development but to integrate geographically and have administrative control directly or through intermediaries. Many termed it as “isolationist”. Fact was that the land alienation and ownership of government on forest has started eroding not only the traditional institutions but also economic fabric of the tribals.

As a welfare state, post independence strategy had major shift to real development issues. Initially, no programmes specific to tribals were adopted, though in the later part of 4th Five Year Plan concept of Tribal Development Block was introduced. It was purely growth-oriented as complete gamut of development perspective was missing. Tribal Development Blocks were unviable units and ineffective.

In this second phase of the post independence era from 5th Five Year plan, there was a major shift in approach, as Tribal Sub Plan strategy was formulated and development with protective programs were interwoven. This approach has to some extent been able to make a dent but not as desired. The strategy still confines to largely infrastructure development and very few programmes are tribal-specific. Let us examine one sample program/project of ITDA,

Observations :

- Except one Program of Training to Tribal Youth in ITI, nothing is tribal specific.
- All activities are generic and at best focus only to tribal areas.
- Investments are mostly on physical infrastructure.
- Little or no investment in Human Resources Development.
- No program has any social / cultural component i.e. culturally insensitive.
- It has become more area specific and no community specific.
- Departments do not provide population proportionate funds.
- Lavish staffing to execute projects that too with non essential categories causing drainage of money.

4. Shifting Paradigms In Adibasi Development :

We have seen that development of the Adibasis have not been as desired. There needs to be a fundamental shift in approach, strategy and focus. Ten point ideas are enumerated as under.

- i) Integrated approach to holistic approach.
- ii) Negating honeybee kind of development approach.

- iii) Culturally sensitive approach.
- iv) Social mainstream to culturally diverse.
- v) Dominance to Tolerance.
- vi) Charity and welfare to self-reliance.
- vii) Social benefit to human excellence.
- viii) Sporadic activity to continuous.
- ix) Our development is your development to your development is our development.
- x) Bureaucracy led management of development to democratic base development of excellence.

The logic behind each of the above mentioned ideas are mentioned further.

4.1 Integrated Approach to Holistic Approach :

Human being is not an undimensional creature. Growth generally representing economic growth is only a part of the total developments concept. It is not only the livelihood but also the lifestyle which matters. The complete gamut of development must include.

- ✓ Economic
- ✓ Social
- ✓ Cultural
- ✓ Educational
- ✓ Health and
- ✓ Political

Any development strategy must cover the entire areas not one or few. So far the Tribal Sub Plan specifically designed for tribal mostly focuses on economic aspects and almost neglects the rest. The economic growth alone does not guarantee human dignity and self-respect unless the other aspects are also addressed simultaneously.

At present, devised integrated approach is only an integration or agglomeration of various schemes prepared by various departments. They mostly consist of physical infrastructure projects and generic in nature. They are neither tribal specific nor holistic in approach. We cannot expect a better result from a half baked programme.

4.2 Negating Honey Bee Kind of Development Approach:

There are thousands of honeybees but only one queen bee. Honeybees gather honey from all around and deposit, where as queen bee never

moves out but sits pretty. Talk of any developmental programme tribals are prepared for lower end jobs. Even corporates in their affirmative action vie for more ITI's in the country so that more of artisans and trained workers are made available. These are required but also generated at very low investment. No doubt people go up the poverty line and some may attain enhanced food security and improve quality of their livelihood. It is required but what is questionable is that, is this enough ? The basic premise of this approach is that the tribal are incapable and fit only for low end jobs but fails to explore their potential nor to develop the system to enhance their potentials.

As per 2001 census in Orissa, the literacy rate of ST's is 37.4 percent where as only 1.5 percent are graduates and above and 0.4 percent with technical and non-technical diploma holders. If overall development of society is expected, we need to generate social change agents or the leaders. Intellectuals are not generated from literates but from educated persons of higher academics. Our focus should be equally more on higher learning, more of graduates, post-graduates and technical professionals. Strategies need to reverse this lopsided growth.

4.3 Social Mainstream to Culturally Diverse Approach:

Indian nationalism is a rare phenomena born in 1947. Fellow citizens from north to south and east to west make strange combination with each having unique identity and a history of ageless civilization. India is a land that has sustained many a nation with difference of cast, creed, color, culture and customs. This is the fact every majority dominant culture accepts so also should the minority cultures be accepted.

With this background, still there are attempts that goes contrary for the minorities and more so for the 85 million tribal of India. In spite of the fact that there are several provisions in the Constitution exclusively devoted to scheduled tribes, none of these provisions has done much good to Tribal communities. Rather British in general had respected the sanctity of tribal identities.

The question of tribal communities and their culture becomes a tropical issue of discussion only when the land of the tribal is sought to be acquired for some project.

The preamble of draft National Tribal Policy begins with a dilemma as, "how to strike, the right balance between preservation of tribal identity, culture and values, protecting the tribal from being swamped by mainstream lifestyle, while increasing and ensuring their access to mainstream education, health care and income generation, so that the quality of their life is improved".

Even beginning with this dilemma, the whole draft document of the National Tribal Policy is utterly miserable in addressing the core issues. Indian dream can be dreamt in Oriya or Tamil, dreamt by a Hindu or a Muslim then why not an Indian dream of a tribal. Tribal societies should have the freedom to march towards the future according to their wishes without being influenced by the romanticists of the outside world.

Let it begin with the recognition of their identity.

4.4 Culturally Sensitive Approach :

United Nations Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) in its objective of second decade (2005 – 2015) have identified five objectives.

- i) Promote nondiscriminatory inclusion of indigenous people in policy making process.
- ii) Promote full and effective participation of indigenous people in decisions affecting their life directly or indirectly considering the principle of free, prior and informed consent.
- iii) Redefine development policies that depart from vision of equity and that are culturally appropriate including respect for cultural and linguistic diversity of indigenous people.
- iv) Adopt targetted policies, programmes, projects and budgets for the development of indigenous people.
- v) Develop strong monitoring mechanisms and enhance accountabilities regarding implementation of programmes.

Rights-based approach and cultural sensitivity are fundamental to development with esteem and self respect. To clarify further culturally sensitivity must be with relation to the Adibasi cultures and not of the dominant cultures.

4.5 Dominance to Tolerance:

In a plural society dominance always leads to division and unrest. History is witness to this fact. Jinnah committed error to impose Urdu as the national language when 8 percent spoke Urdu and 85 percent speak Bengali in East Pakistan. This sowed the seed of Bangladesh. Srilanka did the same tragic mistake. India also made a futile attempt to this anti democratic temptation to impose Hindi. Pluralist and democratic fabric cannot afford to ignore space for sub identities to grow and flourish. Similar is case for tribal languages who are termed as dialects. It is not understood how a language, however small in population may be who speak them, can be termed as dialects. Instead of putting any effort to preserve and flourish we silently try to marginalize them and kill them.

Tolerance has to be in every field of human activity be it social, cultural or religious.

4.6 Social Benefit Activity to Human Excellence :

Any social benefit activity must not end once the activity completes. Any investment in social sector should not limit only to level of benefiting the people but must aim at excellence. Let us examine the educational programme for the tribals offered by ST & SC department basically known as Ashram schools. HSC examination results of 2005.

Table - 2

Category	Total No. of Student appeared	% Pass
Total	283650	55.66
ST	3341	68.30
Percentage of ST student appeared - 1.5%		

SC & ST Dept. is certainly very proud to exhibit that pass percentage in ST & SC Development Department schools is much more than pass percentage in all Government schools. Should we end here and get contented ?

Basic issue is not the pass percentage but how many from these ST should have been among the top 10 ? How many pass with distinction? Do we really have an answer ?

Tribal population in the state of Orissa as per 2001 census is 22.1 percent The percentage appearing in HSC examination is just 1.5 percent What shall be the fate of the Adibasis.

There are two major objectives of a social investment, one excellence or enablement and the other independence or capability.

4.7 Charity to Self Reliance / Capability Development:

India is still predominantly a state controlled economy. Soviet Union collapsed because people were not satisfied with the state sponsored solution to social problems. Government must do its bit but it is certainly not enough to solve the problems. People who have interest to do something on social problems start doing through Non-Profit Non-Government Organizations. Charity is a noble concern of human being. During national calamities or disasters be it national or man-made, this act has saved many lives.

It has inbuilt weakness as it relies on continued flow of donations from generous individuals or organizations. They are also not regulated to match the genuine requirements nor even address priority concerns. Inherently such acts do not address issues with holistic approach. The crux of the issue as said by Mahammad Yunus is, "charity is a form of trickle-down economics, if trickle stops, so does help for the needy."

But even having said this, charity which is increasingly transforming in many ways in the form of Corporate Social Responsibility should aim at capability development on a self-sustainable basis. It should not undermine the psyche of the beneficiary and the overriding element of gratitude should be transformed into self-confidence and esteem.

4.8 Sporadic Activity to Continuous and Intensive One :

It is an established fact that government alone cannot solve the social problems. Agencies belonging to non-government sector or in partnership with government have a role in the process. There are many activities like Periphery Development Programmes by PSU's sectoral development programmes by corporates like Tribal Cultural Society of Tata Steel are area-specific. They are seen more as an act of compulsion to create an acceptable public image than true social change agents. Their activities are therefore sporadic. There has to be a system to coordinate and regulate these activities to make them continuous and more intensive. These should therefore be part of the holistic approach.

4.9 Our Development is Your Development to Your Development is our Development :

You must look like me to be like me. The general perception that one model tried and tested is the only model of growth is highly undemocratic and unscientific. The most widely held corporate view is that 60 percent Indians are agrarian. Agriculture is not a high-growth area to sustain development. Industrialization and urbanization are the answers. Special Economic Zones (SEZ) for example needs 2-3 percent of arable land, in return give a tremendous growth. Displacement has to be there for growth. This is a general scenario at the national level. For the Tribal they are 100 percent agrarian. Land and forest are inextricably connected with their lives. The entire range of human activity and the very identity rests on those valuable possessions. Remove them and they are like fish out of water. Lower level of literacy, unskilled workforce make them only daily wage earners in industries at the same time flock into the unhygienic urban slums where the culture is entirely alien to what they have. They are simply lost species in the urban and industrialized jungle and became extinct species among the human race.

Grameen experiment in Bangladesh has established that development can be brought about by creating an enabling environment. Contrary to the assumption that Entrepreneurship is a rare quality; it has proved that entrepreneurial ability is practically universal. Poor people are bonsai people. There is nothing wrong in these seeds. All that is required is to create an enabling environment. Same is the case for the tribal people. It is not the big industry, big dams or the SEZ's that solves their

problems. It is the entrepreneurship skill which they possess in the field where they are proficient can make a lasting change. It is not necessary that we ape the western industrialized nations. We need to develop appropriate models where the tribal grow and flourish without being hurt where then every body grows.

4.10 Bureaucracy Led Management Of Development To Democratic Base Of Excellence :

This basically pertains to the mode of execution. We have in India created an elite class of bureaucrats who are less of civil servants and more of lords. The tribal fraternity look at them with utter suspicion and disrespect. The management of development programmes are left to their hands. It is a job done without spirit and passion. Very often personal interest of bureaucrats have overriding impact than the cause of tribals. This is utterly dismal state of affairs. For the fact that every activity or decision which affects their life directly or indirectly must have free, prior and informed consent. Being a democratic country, participation of the tribal in the design, implementation and evaluation of policies, programs and projects has to be ensured. Take a simple case of census; most of the tribal who are not Christian or Muslims have been recorded as Hindus. When the very fundamental identity of the tribal is blurred we can not expect a better deal if the whole management of development is left to them.

Representative should be available in ITDA's / ITDP's to decide the projects and plans. Bureaucracy should be accountable to agencies like Tribal Advisory Councils.

5. Evaluating Development Strategies with Holistic Perspective :

We have already seen that development projects have not given rise to desired results. In the forgoing paragraph creation of ten new mindsets has been identified that is aimed at changing the entire paradigm of development perspective. These are not hypothetical dispositions. Let us examine with new mindset the holistic approach as proposed.

5.1 Education :

Role of education cannot be undermined. Appropriate and culturally sensitive education system is still more important.

Let us share Japanese experiment on education. The fundamental code of education issued in 1872 put the educational determination in unequivocal terms :

“There shall, in future, be no community with an illiterate family, nor a family with an illiterate person.”

By 1913, Japan was the largest producer of books in the world; twice as many as the United States.

Here in India even text books for school children are scarce, least to talk about the situation in tribal areas. The example of Japan is only to emphasise the importance of education and the change it can bring about. The example of Korea and Ghana can be cited. As Amartya Sen has quoted from *Culture matters* edited by Lawrence Harrison and Samuel Huntington in his book *Identity and Violence: the Illusion of Destination* as follows.

“In the early 1990's, I happened to come across economic data on Ghana and South Korea in the early 1960s, and I was astonished to see how similar economics were then thirty years later, South Korea had become an industrialized giant with the fourteenth largest economy in the world, multinational corporations, major exports of automobiles, electronic equipment and other sophisticated manufactures and per capita income approximately that of Greece. Moreover, it was on its way to the consolidation of democratic institutions. No such changes had occurred in Ghana, whose per capita income was now about one fifteenth that of South Korea's. How could this extraordinary difference in development be explained? Undoubtedly many factors played role, but it seemed to me that culture had to be a large part of explanations. South Koreans valued thrift, investment, hard work, education, organization, and discipline. Ghana's had different values. In short cultures count”.

The purpose of citing two examples is not to say that the tribal cultures are better or others are bad. There are definitely many common elements being part of the same history and geography. What is important is the identity, the unique human feature the society which assures a life with dignity and self esteem. It is a fact that the tribal are known for industrious, disciplined, simple and honest qualities. Their societies are truly democratic and unstratified. These attributes are more suited for modern democracy, secularism and entrepreneurship development.

Refer the Table - 2 which says in 2005 HSC examination, Tribal students have better pass percentages than the overall pass. It is knowing fully well that the schools managed by SC & ST Department suffer from deficiency of infrastructure and quality of teachers. To reiterate again what is glaring is that only 1.5 percent of the total who appeared the examination belong to ST against the Tribal population of 22.1 percent in the state. Our focus to educate the tribal remain unaddressed.

5.1.1 Overall Scenario: Orissa

Let us take the literacy rate and the level of education among STs as a sample case of Orissa. The data highlights are as follows.

- ✦ Overall literacy of ST 37.4 percent (2001 Census).
- ✦ National average 47.1 percent.
- ✦ Dropout rate is high after primary level.
- ✦ Consistently higher dropouts in higher level of studies.
- ✦ Only 45.8 percent children (9.8 lakh) attend school and 11.6 lakh do not go to school. (Age group 5 – 14 years).
- ✦ Of 21.4 lakh children (age group 5 – 14) only 3341 students appeared HSC exam in 2005 constituting only a very miniscule of 0.156 percent.
- ✦ The education level among the tribals is abysmally poor even after 60 years of independence.
- ✦ We talk of industrialisation and privatization; where will the tribal be fit into ?
- ✦ We spend most money for infrastructural development as seen from budgets and projects of ITDA's where as education is left to languish.

5.1.2 Primary & Secondary Education :

There are two kinds of issues – generic and tribal specific. Generic issues affect all rural people including the tribal. Though the generic issues are important, without any, recognition of the tribal specific problems and their solutions they certainly become a bottleneck in the development of the tribal. Some of the generic issues are :

- a) Availability of schools : Particularly in tribal areas the numbers are less so also the capacities.
- b) Availability of teachers : It needs to be addressed in quantitative and qualitative terms. Suitable incentives are essential.
- c) Physical infrastructure : Like roads, communication buildings need augmentation.

- d) Modernisation : Basic minimum standards have to be maintained. The kind of exposure in any public school should be targeted.

5.1.3 Tribal Specific Issues :

The tribals have their own religion, language and literature. They have the right to practice their own religions, follow their culture, traditions, and develop their language so that they can use it to develop their society.

- a) Recognition of their religion so that holidays are given during their cultural festivals. Observe festivals so that they are alive to their culture.

Ganesh Puja, Saraswati Puja or Christmas need to be stopped forthwith at least in Government schools.

- b) Language of instructions in the primary level be in their mother tongue by their own people suitably trained. Unless the tribals are allowed to study their language in the school curriculum, they probably cannot develop it. The Government has been denying this right to tribals. Sanskrit is an extra load for them. Instead, they can study their language at least as half subject (they also need to learn Hindi, State language and English). Realization of this right is the most important one for the development of the Tribals. For Santals, it is study of Santali up to HSC in Olchiki script.
- c) Teachers should primarily be from the tribals in tribal areas. They should be adequately trained.
- d) There are beautiful traditional sports of tribals. Kati among Santals and Archery are very common and popular. Why they do not find space is not understood.
- e) The tribals have unique music, song, art and dances. I am yet to see a school which encourages their learning systematically except in occasions like Annual School days where they are served to add flavor to the programme.

5.1.4 Higher Education:

From the table – 3 it is seen that not even 2 percent of the people are technical diploma / graduates. Higher learning creates intellectuals. Only the intellectuals can bring about a social change. People need to be in policy making and decision making levels.

There are three basic issues – opportunity, accessibility to the opportunity and enablement. Higher system of learning should create

a favorable scenario to address the above necessities. Except Post – matric scholarship and same programme for coaching for civil services and banking services, virtually there is no such mechanism to address above issues. In effect representation of the tribal in bureaucracy and judiciary is insignificant.

To make the situation worse, privatization of higher learning has made things more inaccessible. Knowledge commission report on higher education says “ Private investment in three professions – Engineering, Medicine and Management, has been a de facto privatisation of education so that 2/3rd to 3/4th of the seats are in private institutions. But private investment in university education, where more then 70 percent of our students study is almost negligible”.

It is a matter of fact that private Institutions are not bound to follow the reservation for ST. There are very few who can afford the luxury of availing their children in private Institutions. Practically only opportunities in government institutions, which account for only 25 percent of total seats. It is observed that 8 percent of 25 percent seats are only available to the tribal which is about 2 percent of the total seats. One stroke of privatisation in higher education has reduced the opportunity from 8 percent to 2 percent.

Accessibility of the opportunity is still a bigger problem. It is mostly the financial constraints. We have seen even banks fund only engineering and management students and do not favour Medical students for educational loans. It is just impossible for the tribal to really avail and afford quality education in India.

Enablement is still a complex problem if we look from the employability and entrepreneurship point of view. As per the observation of the corporate world, almost 70 percent of fresh technical graduates are not suitable for employment. When the problem in general is so acute, the problem with the Tribal is still more acute. With the dwindling jobs in government and public sectors, matter is much more worse with the tribe. Entrepreneurship among tribal are a distant dream. Investment in

(in Crores of Rupees)

Table – 4
Budget 07 -08
Ministry of Tribal Affairs

Sl.No		Plan	Non-Plan	Total
1	Secretariat – Social Services	1.00	6.95	7.95
2	Discretionary grant	-	0.02	0.02

(in Crores of Rupees)

Sl.No		Plan	Non-Plan	Total
Welfare of ST				
3.	Establishment of Ashram Schools in Tribal Sub Plan areas	20.00	-	20.00
4.	Schemes for PM's Book Bank up gradation of merit of ST students.	163.19	-	163.19
5.	Schemes for Hostel for ST Girls & Boys.	34.50	-	34.50
6.	National Institute of Tribal Affairs.	1.00	-	1.00
7.	Scheme of Institution of Excellences / Top class education.	10.00	-	10.00
8.	National Overseas scholarship scheme.	1.00	-	1.00
9.	Other programmes for welfare	187.01	5.36	192.37

Central Assistance for State Plan

10	Tribal sub plan	816.71	-	816.71
11	Assistance for schemes under provision(i) to Art. 275 (i) of the constitution.	400.00	-	400.00

Investment in Public Enterprises

12	National / State Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation.	35.00	-	35.00
13	Lump sum provision for projects / schemes for the benefit of the North Eastern Region & Sikkim.	50.30	-	50.30
	Grand Totaln	1719.71	12.33	1732.04

human resources should be the first priority. In our development strategy economic programmes gets priority over human resources development. This trend has to be reversed. Let us have a look at the union budget for the tribal for the year 07-08 in Table – 4.

It can be seen that items in serial. 3,4,5,7 and 8 amounting to Rs.228.69Cr. can be directly said to be earmarked for education or human resources development which is just 13.2 per cent of the to total budget of 1732.04 Cr.

There has to be liberal schemes of support and enabling environment for the Tribals.

5.2 Economic development of the Tribal :

The Tribal are agrarian and dependent on forest. Agricultural practice are very primitive. Level of literacy is low and labor force is highly unskilled and unsuitable for areas other than agriculture. Under such circumstances industrialization coupled with displacement and restriction on forests are only choking them. Most economic development programmes aim at livelihood income generation. Majority of funds earmarked in budget (Table – 4) under TSP and Art.275(1) gets spent on physical infrastructures like roads, wells, minor irrigation etc. There is nothing which is tribal specific, that takes note of the tribal need.

It is very essential that economic development programmes be done. Agriculture should get priority. It should be modernized to achieve maximum productivity. Effort should be on to shift from traditional subsistence approach to commercial and high return segments like floriculture, horticulture, fisheries, goateries, etc. Adequate support system for finance, marketing and supply of seeds, fertilizer are needed. Skill development suitable for industrial and other service sector need to get next priority.

Last but not the least entrepreneurship development should get boosting. Recent effort of Government of Andhra Pradesh for tribal is a laudable effort. Some of the highlights are reproduced as under.

- * Set up a SC/ST credit guarantee Trust to provide collateral security for loans up to Rs.5 Crore.
- * In the 1st phase 5000 entrepreneurs are targeted to be covered.
- * Funds are to be provided form Special Component Plan & Tribal Sub-Plan. Provision to pool funds from other departments if necessary.

- * Provide 35 percent and 40 percent (for women) as investment subsidy.
- * 50 percent of VAT and CST reimbursement for a period of 5 years.
- * Reimbursement of power charges @ Rs. 1.00 per unit for a period of five year.
- * Reserve 16.6 percent of land available in industrial estates for ST entrepreneurs.

These kind of encouraging environments are necessary for the economic development of the Tribals.

5.3 Social Development of Tribals :

Most talk about culture, and not the society. Let us talk about tribal specific social development. As mentioned earlier the tribes have distinct social systems which set them apart and not part of the Hindu society. They have different system of social administration and dispensation of justice, inheritance etc. Most of the time, they get blurred with culture and religions.

There are many aspects of social life but let us talk about one aspects which have been greatly affected by the legislations. First is the PESA Act. 1996 and the second is the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006. These have affected the traditional institutions of social administration . In Santal society *Majhi* is the head of the village who is a part of *Monehor* [Five persons] responsible for the complete administration of the village. There is no issue which is not discussed and resolved. Above *Majhi* is *Desh majhi* who heads few villages. Similarly above him is *Pargana* then *Desh Pargana* and lastly the *Lo -bir*.

Both the Acts do not recognise the system and the structure of Panchayat Raj runs parallel to it backed by Judiciary and Police. Traditional institution is so strongly inbuilt into society that it discourages social delinquency, reduces crime, enforces discipline and maintains a harmonious atmosphere. No doubt, PESA Act and Forest Rights Act have many good features but for this they are worse to tribals.

The only solution to this problem is to upgrade the 5th Scheduled to the status of 6th Schedule. There shall be only Tribal & tribal areas under 6th Schedule.

The another aspect of social system that has been greatly disturbed in the system of naming. Let me illustrate through these examples.

Karu Murmu

Karu Majhi

Karunakar Majhi

Karunakar Murmu

Peter Karu Majhi

Peter Karu Murmu

Peter Karunakar Majhi

Peter Karunakar Murmu

- ✦ Originally it should have been Karu Murmu
- ✦ Non understanding social system makes him Karu Majhi (All Santals are made Majhis by one title)
- ✦ Influence of Hinduism with non understanding of social system makes him Karunakar Majhi.
- ✦ Assertion of the tribal succeeding partly to convert himself as Karunakar Murmu.
- ✦ On the same lines influences of Christianity makes him as Peter Karu Majhi.
- ✦ Reassertion of tribal changes him to Peter Karu Murmu.
- ✦ Those already under the influence of Hinduism get converted to Christianity bear the name Peter Karunakar Majhi.
- ✦ Lastly when they try to reassert their identity being in Christianity they change to Peter Karunakar Murmu.

Now after 60 year of independence Karu Murmu has two alien brothers Karunakar Murmu and Peter Karu or Peter Karunakar Murmu. These three brothers are separated with water tight compartments of religions.

This is one of the greatest social division the post independent dominant cultures have gifted to the tribal societies. Kandhamal kind of situation is a by product of this deformation of the tribal societies. Genuine development gets a back seat than the religions. In the end only tribals suffer.

Words like *Ekalabya*, *Ashram*, *Banaja*, *Banabasi* have strong element of dominance and a case of choice less identity for the tribes. What we need is a shift from dominant approach to tolerance.

5.4 Cultural Development of Tribal

Chau dance is synonymous with Mayurbhanj district of Orissa. This dance has got international acclaim. This is also a district with majority tribal inhabitation. For Santals there are many dances like *Dantha*, *Dasai*, *Baha* etc. as many as thirty two dances but few know them. They do not come to the limelight nor does the song, music and art. Only occasionally people have glimpse of them in the exhibitions. This is nothing but cultural apartheid.

Tribal children neither learn them in their schools nor are exposed to them during their learning period. We have universities of culture and

Department of culture in the Universities and Government but are never responsive to tribal culture.

The conventional auditorium with a stage at one end and in front rows of seats for audience is a misfit design for the tribal. Yet mindlessly they get constructed as auditoriums or places of cultural shows in Tribal areas. This is the culturally insensitive way of developing tribal culture. Culture need to be built into the education system. Culture needs to get reflected into the structures built for the development of culture.

The institutes engaged in the research and development of tribal cultures also need to reorient and focus not on preserving on CDs and photographs but on developing and facilitating how it is transmitted from generation to generation and flourished.

Language is an important element of culture. We have discussed the language under education. Here only one issue is touched upon on the approach to the tribal languages. All languages are not in the 8th Schedule of the constitution. It took 60 years to include *Santali* in to the 8th Schedule and recognise it as a language. There is also tremendous confusion on the Script. When *Olchiki* is very popular; in many corners this does not get accepted. Even in Orissa it is still being debated that why *Oriya* script should not be used to teach Santali in Primary Schools.

The author feel appropriate to quote Abid Hussain in his book “ The National Culture of India” allaying similar fears for Urdu.

“Unfortunately the language policy of some Indian States supported by a considerable body of Hindu opinion, gave Muslims reason to fear that majority community did envisage a uniformity of culture which would not leave much room for a free development of their cultural idiosyncrasies”.

In case of tribal the problem is not only of Hindu opinion but also Christian opinion.

Cultural majorities must make up their minds to do every thing possible to show genuine tolerance towards the respective minorities and foster in their minds a sense of complete security.

5.5 Political Development of the Tribal :

India is a democratic country. The very essence of the democracy is better explained by the famous saying of Abraham Linclon, “ Government by the people , of the people and for the people”. Equal opportunity and participation are the key elements. Here without describing much only few issues affecting the polity is discussed.

- i) PESA Act. 1996
- ii) The Scheduled Tribes and other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest) Act. 2006.
- iii) 5th Schedule of the Constitution. and
- iv) 6th schedule of the Constitution.

Both the PESA Act and Forest Act should recognise the *Majhi-Paraik* system and the *Munda – Manki* system or the similar system available among the tribal. This not only saves the traditional social system of administration but also strengthens the democratic fabric already available in the tribal societies.

The second alternative is to abolish the 5th Schedule, upgrade the Schedule areas to be put under 6th Schedule. In this regard, the report of the National Commission to review the working of the Constitution headed by Justice N.N. Venkata Chaliah is reproduced.

As a means of improving the administration of the areas inhabited by the Scheduled Tribes and promoting local autonomy, the Commission recommends that all areas governed by the 5th Schedule of the Constitution should be forth with transferred to the 6th Schedule to the tribal areas other than the North Eastern States to which above the 6th Schedule now applies, and all tribal areas which are neither in the 5th Schedule nor in the 6th Schedule should also be brought forthwith under the 6th Schedule.

Special programmes of training and orientation for the elected representatives of the 6th Schedule bodies and related officials should be undertaken and conducted regularly in order to secure the full potential of local developmental and administrative autonomy under the 6th Schedule”.

Tribal Advisory Council in the States having 5th Schedule areas have been functioning as a routine mechanisms without any impact. Further intensive training and orientation programmes for the elected representatives need to be strengthened.

5.5 Health & Hygienic Dev. of Tribals :

Health is more generic than tribal specific. Most rural population face similar problems. But there are certain aspect of tribal life which need specific attention in tribal areas. Some of them are identified but the list is not exhaustive.

- Tribal health is to be addressed with typical situation.
 - Isolated locations.
 - Sparsely populated.
 - Remote hilly and forest areas.
 - Poor road & other communicative.
 - Inadequate portable drinking water sources.
- Typical health problems specific to Tribals.
 - Deficiency of essential components in diet leading to malnutrition, protein calorie malnutrition .
 - Water borne and communicable disease.
 - Prevalence of Malaria and TB.
 - Prevalence of genetic disorders mostly involving red blood cells; genetically transmitted diseases like sickle cell anemia etc. all these lead to overall anemia.
 - Excess consumption of Alcohols – brewed from *mahua* and commercially available liquor.
 - Superstitions particularly related to health problem.
 - Extreme poverty.
- Some of the positive aspects of tribal life related to health are
 - Walk bare foot while working in fields and frequently visiting forests.
 - Consume leafy vegetables
 - Eat fruits like Amla from forest and other fruits.
 - Drumstick is a commonly visible tree in every household.
 - Mushroom is very popular.
 - Less spicy and less oily food.
- Some of the areas of concern are
 - Gradually vanishing art of traditional medicine.
 - Institution of transmitting traditional knowledge on medicine has become more person specific and individual effort.
 - Knowledge of medicines on snake bite are also becoming rare.

Approach to Tribal health should address all the issues. An integrated approach to traditional and modern system of medicine is required. Unfortunately, only the modern medicine is being encouraged completely ignoring the traditional one.

6. ISSUES NOT EXCLUSIVE TO GOVERNMENT

We have seen the basic issues affecting tribal development and examined the strategy of development so far adopted. Proposed ten theme areas of change in mindset required have been analyzed with tribal specific reference. All these have been pertaining to the government where, it is expected out of government to deliver. But government alone is not sufficient to address all the issues. There are various players who also matter a lot and do have tremendous responsibility. I would like to touch upon elements which are not exclusive to government.

- Corporate Social Responsibility.
- Non-Government Organization
- Social Entrepreneurship.

6.1 Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) :

Economic considerations and profit maximization are not the only concern area of business. It is seen that winning over the neighborhood and meeting their aspirations help build social image and greater acceptability of the business concern. The intentions are good. But most corporate leaders misuse it. Exploit the poor, exploit the national resources and then donate a tiny portion of the profit for social causes. These are nothing but window dressing.

CSR suffers with inherent limitations. It advocates tripple bottom line of financial, social and environmental benefits by which corporate should be judged but it is financial profit which rules. This inherent limitations makes it non-consistent and non-committal to the obligations of the society.

There is no guideline to direct and focus the area where they should go to. A corporate house may simply end up spending money for providing few ambulances to a hospital, though malaria eradication may be the most wanting area to be addressed.

Most big industries like power, steel and mining are located in the tribal areas. Are the corporate houses even aware of the needs of the tribals?.

Are the priority areas of development programes coincide with the areas where they spend money? If they do, then how much, how and when? All these need to be examined. One of the suggestions could be to channelise suitable proportion of the CSR fund through agencies like ITDA / ITDP'S. But then, the Government must make guidelines on how much, how and when the funds from CSR initiatives should be utilized. A regulatory body like Tribal Advisory Council in the Schedule areas must have authority to review and enforce.

6.2 Non-Government Organization (NGO) :

Non-Government Organizations are coming up as one of the most powerful agents of social change. Many government initiatives are also channelised through NGO's in addition to the corporate houses and individual donors.

TABLE -5
No of NGO's in the Districts of Orissa :

Sl.No	Name of District	No. of NGO's	% of ST population to total population
1.	Balasore	45	11.28
2.	Bhadrak	-	-
3.	Balangir	401	20.63
4.	Sonepore	130	9.78
5.	Cuttack	598	3.57
6.	Kendrapara	316	0.52
7.	Jagatsinghpur	289	0.82
8.	Jajpur	269	7.76
9.	Dhenkanal	107	12.79
10.	Angul	44	11.67
11.	Ganjam	38	2.88
12.	Gajapati	12	50.78
13.	Koraput	38	49.62
14.	Navarangapur	34	55.03 *
15.	Rayagada	24	55.76 *
16.	Malkangiri	8	57.43 *
17.	Kalahandi	75	28.65
18.	Nuapara	12	34.71
19.	Keonjhar	586	44.50
20.	Mayurbhanj	1,124	56.60
21.	Puri	576	0.30
22.	Khurdha	317	5.18
23.	Nayagarh	12	12.47
24.	Phulbani/Kandhamal	28	51.96 *
25.	Baudh	12	12.47
26.	Sambalpur	86	34.50
27.	Jharsuguda	54	31.34
28.	Deogarh	28	33.60
29.	Bargargh	65	19.36
30.	Sundargarh	49	50.19 *
	Total	5817	

Source : Orissa reference manual 2004.

Just to have the magnitude of NGOs working let us have data below in Table – 5.

Observations

- Mayurbhanj is the most favored destination for NGO's (1,124) with the tribal having second highest concentration of 56.60 percent.
- Malkangiri, on the contrary, attracts only 8 NGO's but has highest tribal concentration of 57.76 percent.
- The district with majority tribal population like Koraput 49.62 percent has only 38 NGOs and Nawarangapur with 55.03 percent has only 34 NGOs, Raygada with 55.76 percent has only 24 NGOs and Phulbani with 51.96 percent has only 28 NGOs and even Sundargarh with 50.19 percent has only 49 NGOs.

Except Mayurbhanj few NGO's opt to work in other tribal dominated districts. What is the reason ? Who regulates them and in which area do they work ? These are the questions which need answer urgently.

NGOs are non-profit organizations. They are supposed to be independent from the government. They are also expected to be value based organizations. But in reality situations are quite different both at state level and in national level.

Let us have a look at the national level. Following two tables exhibit important data.

Table – 6
NGO's Registered / reporting and Amount of money received.

Year	No. of Registered Associations end of March 06.	No. of Reporting Association	Amount of Foreign Contribution Received in (Rs.Cr.)
95 – 96	16,740	10,950	2169
2000 – 2001	22,924	14,598	4535
2001 – 2002	24,563	15,598	4871
2002 – 2003	26,404	16,590	5047
2003 – 2004	28,351	17,145	5106
2004 – 2005	32,144	18,570	7877

Source : mha.nic-in/fera,html; FERA Annual Report 2005 – 06, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi".

From the tables it is evident that number of NGO's have gone up substantially so also the amount in terms of foreign contribution. Total foreign contribution received during the year 05- 06 was Rs. 7877 Cr. and only

Table - 7
Top five purpose foreign contribution is used for :
(In Rs. Cr.)

Purpose	2002 – 03	2003 – 04	2004 – 05	2005 – 06
Establishment Expenses	674	639	948	680
Relief rehabilitation of victims of National calamities	266	163	656	876
Rural Development	487	495	582	475
Welfare of Children	176	222	303	324
Construction of Schools/ Colleges	276	222	296	215 (Constructon of hospitals)
Welfare of ST.	-	-	-	24.99

Source : mha.nic-in/fera,html; FERA Annual Report 2005 – 06, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi”.

24.99 Cr. was found meant for Tribal development which is just 0.32% of the total.

In our Union Budget we tend to allocate fund proportionate to the tribal population under Tribal Sub Plan Strategy. Can we not regulate the foreign contribution on these lines which could be Rs.630 some approximately equal to half the total budget allocation for the Tribals?

NGOs need to be regulated so also the CSR to channelise the priority areas of concern, place and amount. Right to information Act (RTI) should also be applicable to them to ensure better accountability.

6.3 Social Entrepreneurship and Social Business

Social entrepreneurship is a very broad concept to which Social Business is a subset. Social enterprise is a social benefit initiative may be economic, non-economic, profit or non-profit. Setting up a charitable hospital or a hospital on profit making model are social entrepreneurs projects. Social business is a social entrepreneurship with two distinct models of working. In the first case business is for social benefit but pays no financial dividend to its investors. In the second case, the business may or may not be for social benefit but the ownership of business belongs to the poor thereby the poor are the owners of the company.

This social business models are the sunrise models most appropriate for poor and specifically for the tribal. The world has recognized the success of Grameen Model of Muhammad Yunus in Bangladesh. He has established convincingly that poor are bankable and entrepreneurship capability is universal. Some part of the funds from TSP, CSR or NGO's should be experimented among the tribal to bring about revolutionary change.

7. Conclusion :

The author has tried to explain the changes needed in perceptions, strategy and focus on issues of tribal development. It is high time that third phase of Tribal development initiative should begin with new spirit and vigour.

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SCHEDULED AREAS OF ORISSA AND TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

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Miss Kalpana Patnaik

The present paper has been prepared with the data available from different sources and also from personal experiences gathered during different field studies. This is an analytical paper aimed to place the facts for a thought provoking exercise for better understanding of administration in Scheduled Areas. The objective of this paper is three fold; such as (i) to give a detail account of definition, genesis and historical bases of the Scheduled Area, (ii) to give a comparative status of the states coming under Fifth Scheduled of the Constitution with special reference to Orissa state; and (iii) to retrospect tribal development of Orissa vis-à-vis critical issues in the administration of tribal areas.

Why Schedule Area:

The tribal situation in the country presents a varied picture. As many as 284 tribal communities speaking about 105 languages and 225 subsidiary languages are found across the length and breadth of the country. They constitute numerically 8,43,26,240 (4,26,40,829 males and 4,16,85,411 females) about 8.2 percent of the total population (2001 Census) of the country. Each tribal community has come to occupy a place of its own in national life, retaining its own identity and culture. The tribes of India are rich in their cultural heritage and ecology. They are at different levels of socio-cultural and techno-economic development paradigm. The history of Scheduled area is very remote and goes back to pre- British rule. During British period, the principle of isolation were adopted and tribal inhabited areas were identified as '*excluded*' and '*partly excluded*' areas.

After Independence, Government of India become conscious for development of its indigenous communities and setup a sub-committee under the Chairmanship of late A.V. Thakkar. The sub-committee gave a number of pertinent suggestions like recognition of tribal customary laws, tribal council, tribal land and area, protection of tribal interest and to make legislations for their protection and safeguard. However, the Directive Principles of State Policy and other articles gave enabling provisions for safeguarding the interest of the tribes.

The concept of Scheduled Area emerged during Fifth Five Year Plan which is defined under Article 244(1) and Article 244(2). The Scheduled Area has been framed to protect the interest of Sch. Tribes with regard to their land and other social issues.

Scheduled Areas:

The Scheduled Tribes live in contiguous areas unlike other communities. It is therefore, much simpler to have an area approach for development activities as well as regulatory provisions to protect their interests. Besides, to protect the interest of Scheduled Tribes, upon their land and other social issues, various provisions have been enshrined in the Fifth Schedule and Sixth Schedule of the Constitution.

The Fifth Schedule under article 244 (1) of the Constitution defines Scheduled Areas as such areas of a state(s) as the President of India may by Order declare it to be the Scheduled Areas in Consultation with the Governor of that State.

The Sixth Schedule under Article 244 (2) of the Constitution relates to areas with states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram which are declared as Tribal Areas. This provision provides the District or the Regional Autonomous Councils to enjoy a wide range of legislative, judicial and executive powers.

The difference between the State Plan and Sub-Plan is that the State Plan is meant for whole state and Sub-Plan is meant for the Scheduled Area for which a proportionate fund has been earmarked. Besides, the Scheduled Area incorporates the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) areas for better administration and implementation of development programmes.

Fifth Scheduled Areas and its Criteria:

The criteria identified for declaring any area as a Scheduled Areas under the Fifth Schedule are:

- ❖ 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 as compared to the neighboring areas.

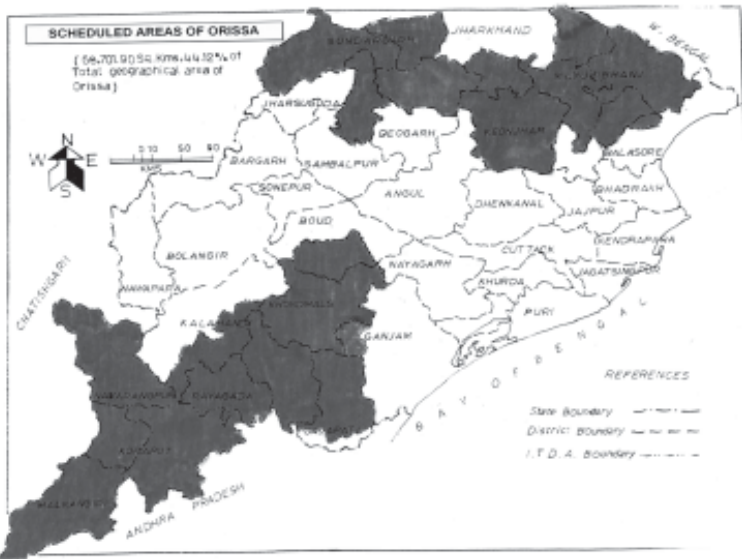
The specification of Scheduled Areas in relation to a State is by a notified order of the President after consultant with the concerned state government. The same principle is applied in case of any alteration, increase, incorporation of new areas or rescinding any orders relating to Scheduled Areas.

On the basis of which Scheduled Areas (for the states of Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa) Order 1977(C.O 190) were issued on 31.12.1977 which categorically defined the geographical and administrative areas of different states inhabited by more than 50 percent of the tribal population.

Scheduled Areas of Orissa:

It has been reflected in the Annual Report, 2007-08 of Ministry of Tribal Affairs. Government of India, at Annexure-8 (Scheduled Areas of Different States), indicated that the Scheduled Area of Orissa State comprises of the following districts, sub-divisions and tahsils;

- 1. Mayurbhanj district
- 2. Sundargarh district
- 3. Koraput district *
- 4. Kuchinda tahasil of Sambalpur district



Comparative status of Scheduled Areas of different States under Fifth Schedule:

The Scheduled Areas in the composite State of Bihar were originally specified by the Scheduled Areas (part A State) Order, 1950, (Constitution Order, 9) dated 23.01.1950 and there after they had been re-specified by the Scheduled Areas (State of Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa) Order 1977 (Constitution Order, 109) dated

The table below reflects the detailed information and present status of the Scheduled Area (District wise distribution), though its total geographical area has remained the same

SI. No	Name of the District	Areas identified under Scheduled Area	Scheduled Area (in Sq. Kms.)	Total Population of the Scheduled Area (2001 Census)	Scheduled Tribe Population (as per 1991 census)
1.	Mayurbhanj	Whole district	10,416.60	20,73,403	12,33,300
2.	Balasore	Nilagiri block of Nilagiri Sub-division	223.60	1,10,232	61,902
3.	Keonjhar	· 2 Tahasil of Keonjhar Sub-division i) Keonjhar Tahasil ii) Telkoi Tahasil · 2 Tahasils of Champua Sub-division i) Champua Tahasil ii) Badabil Tahasil	5,350.20 1,585.40	7,04,950 3,00,589	4,01,798 1,55,244
4.	Sambalpur	Kuchinda Tahasil of Kuchinda Sub-division	2,867.30	2,41,773	1,38,574
5.	Sundergarh	Whole district	9,921.40	12,85,335	8,30,423

6.	Gajapati	i) R. Udayagiri Tahasil of Paralakhemundi Sub-division ii) Guma block of Paralakhemundi Tahasil of Paralakhemundi Sub-division. iii) Rayagada block of Paralakhemundi Tahasil of Paralakhemundi Sub-division	2,498.80	3,47,022	2,37,489
7.	Kalahandi	2 blocks such as i) Thuamul Rampur block under Bhawanipatna Sub-division. ii) Lanjigarh block under Bhawanipatna Sub-division.	999.70	1,40,912	74,543
8.	Koraput	Whole district	8,534.00	9,90,663	5,55,556
9.	Rayagada	Whole district	7,584.70	7,45,303	4,52,852
10.	Nabarangpur	Whole district	5,135.30	89,72,902	5,58,756
11.	Malkangiri	Whole district	6,115.30	4,69,582	2,84,371

12.	Khondhmal (Phulbani)	3 Tahasils such as i) Khondhmal Tahasil of Khondhmal Sub-division ii) Baliguda Tahasil of Baliguda Sub-division iii) G.Udayagiri Tahasil of Baliguda Sub-division	2,017.60	1,53,830	85,327
13.	*Ganjam	Suruda Tahasil except Gajalbadi & Gochha Grama Panchayats under Ghumusar Sub-division (Bhnjanagar)	912.00	N.A	N.A.
12 districts (6 whole and 6 part districts)		TSP Area 118 whole Blocks)	68,701.80 (44.12%)	89,86,773	53, 15,345 (59.15%)
13 districts (6 whole and 7 part districts)		Scheduled Areas (118 whole+ two part blocks namely Dharakote & Soroda)	69,613.80 (44.71%)	NA	NA
		State of Orissa	1,55,707.00	3,68,04,660	8,145,081

(Source: Statistical Cell, SC & ST RTI, Bhubaneswar)

31.12.1977 after rescinding the Order cited first so far as that related to the State of Bihar.

Consequent upon formation of new state of Jharkhand vide Bihar Reorganization Act, 2000, the Scheduled Areas which were specified in relation to the composite state of Bihar stood transferred to the newly formed state of Jharkhand.

The following Orders are in operation at present in original and in amended form:

Name of the Order	Date of Notification	Name of State(s) for which Applicable
The Scheduled Areas (part A States) Order, 1950 (C.O. 09)	26.01.1950a	Andhra Pradesh
The Scheduled Areas (part B States) Order, 1950 (C.O. 26)	07.12.1950	Andhra Pradesh
The Scheduled Areas (Himachal Pradesh) Order, 1975 (C.O.102)	21.11.1975	Himachal Pradesh
The Scheduled Areas (State of Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa) Order, 1977 (C.O. 109)	31.12.1977a	Gujarat and Orissa
The Scheduled Areas (State of Rajasthan) Order, 1981 (C.O. 114)	12.12.1981a	Rajasthan
The Scheduled Areas (State of Maharashtra) Order, 1985 (C.O. 123)	02.12.1985	Maharashtra
The Scheduled Areas (States of Chhatisgarh, Jharkhand and Madhya Pradesh) Order, 2003 (C.O. 192)	20.02.2003	Chhatisgarh and Madhya Pradesh
The Scheduled Areas (State of Jharkhand) Order, 2007 (C.O.22 9)	11.04.2007	Jharkhand

The Scheduled Areas of Jharkhand have been specified by the Scheduled Areas, for the state of Chhatisgarh, Jharkhand, and Madhya Pradesh; dated 20.2.2003 after receiving the Order dated 31.12.77 so far that related to the state of Bihar. The Scheduled Areas of Jharkhand specified with Scheduled Areas (state of Chhatisgarh, Jharkhand, and Madhya Pradesh) Order, 2003 (Constitution Order, 192) have rescinded vide Scheduled Areas (State of Jharkhand) Order, 2007 (C.O.229) dated 11.4.2007.

Strategy for Tribal Development in Orissa:

The state of Orissa occupies a unique position for three reasons. It is potentially rich in mineral and natural resources; possess a high profile of cultural heritage and is the homeland of 62 distinct tribal communities including 13 Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs). The tribes of Orissa constitute 8,145,081 (40,66783 males + 40,78298 females) about 22.13 percent of the total population of the state (2001 Census) and numerically occupy 3rd position amongst the tribal inhabited States and Union Territories. The literacy position among the tribes of Orissa is 37.37 percent (51.48 percent males & 23.37 percent females), significantly lower than the state average literacy rate 63.08 percent (75.35 percent male + 50.51 percent female). The Sch. Tribes sex ratio is 1003 Females per1000 males against the state sex ratio of 972 females and national sch. tribes sex ratio of 978 respectively (2001 Census). The Tribal Sub-Plan strategy (TSP) is being implemented in 13 Districts (6 whole +7 parts) like: whole of Koraput, Malkangiri, Mayurbhanj, Nabarangpur, Rayagada, Sundergarh and; part of Balasore, Gajpati, Kandhamal, Keonjhar, Kalahandi and Sambalpur. There are 21 Integrated Tribal Development Agencies (ITDAs), 17 Micro-Projects (13 in TSP area + 4 outside TSP areas), 46 Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) pockets and 15 Cluster Pockets to cater to the socio-economic development of the tribes. The TSP area constitutes 118 TSP Blocks covering 5315345 .ST populations (2642241 males & 2673104 females) occupies 59.15 percent of the total population and 68,701.8sq.kms.or 44.12 percent of the total geographical area of the state. Other 40.85 percent ST population found distributed sparsely through out the state. These agencies mediate and implement the socio-economic development programmes under the financial assistance of central and state government. Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes Development Department of Government of Orissa is functioning as a nodal Department for the integrated development of the tribals. Besides, special programmes are also drawn up and implemented for PTGs, and those have been financed 100 percent by Government of India.

❖ **1st Five Year Plan period**-Emphasized the provisions of additional

financial resources and support through Community Development Approach -During 1954 Special Multi Purpose Tribal Development (SMPT) Blocks were created (in the fag end of the 1st Five Year Plan period).

- ❖ **2nd Five Year Plan period**-The same approach continued.
- ❖ **3rd Five Year Plan period**-A new Strategy was adopted for converting Community Development (C.D) Blocks where more than 66 percent of tribal population to Tribal development (T.D.) Block
- ❖ **4th Five Year Plan period**-The number of T.D. Blocks was 504 in the entire country. In Orissa, three T.D. Blocks had limitations as well as failed to address the cause of the tribal population living outside the T.D. Blocks which amounts about 60 percent of the total tribal population.
- ❖ **Fifth Five Year Plan period (The Tribal Sub-Plan Strategy)**-TSP strategy was developed by an expert committee headed by Prof. S.C. Dube in the year 1972. The purpose was to boost up rapid socio-economic development of tribal people. This strategy was adopted for the first time and it continues till now. Its salient features have already been mentioned earlier. The TSP strategy has been in operation in 22 States and 2 Union Territories in the country and Orissa state is one amongst those (Source: Annual Report. 2007-2008, Ministry of Tribal Affairs Govt. of India).

A. ITDA:

The state of Orissa occupies a distinct place in our country. It represents a unique and sizable number of Scheduled Tribe communities. There are 62 Scheduled Tribes (highest number of scheduled tribes) in India. Each one differs from other and the state has the privilege of having highest number of Primitive Tribal Groups (13). ITDAs are nodal Tribal Development Agencies were grounded during the Fifth Five Year Plan period. As many as 118 Blocks out of 314 blocks of Orissa having 50 percent or more ST population are being covered in 21 ITDAs. The name of the district, Name of the ITDAs and number of families covered is referred below:

- ❖ Phulbani ITDA (3 blocks) has the minimum families where as Nilagiri ITDA (1 block) has 846 families.
- ❖ Keojhar ITDA (7 blocks) has the maximum 4,077 families covered in comparison to other ITDAs such as Baripada (10 blocks), Nabarangpur (10 blocks) and Baliguda, Koraput and Sundargarh have 9 blocks in each.

District	ITDA and (number of) Blocks covered	No. of Families covered
Balasore	Nilagiri (1)	846
Mayurbhanj	Baripada (10)	3,620
	Kaptipada (4)	1,249
	Karanjia (5)	2,177
	Rairangpur (7)	2,042
Keonjhar	Keonjhar (7)	4,077
	Champua (3)	1,862
Sambalpur	Kuchinda (3)	2,367
Sundargarh	Bonai (4)	2,385
	Panposh (4)	2,808
	Sudargarh (9)	3,404
Gajapati	Parlakhemundi (5)	2,067
Kalahandi	Thuamul Rampur (2)	862
Koraput	Koraput (9)	2,525
	Jeypore (5)	2,395
Rayagada	Rayagada (4)	2,058
	Gunupur (7)	2,384
Nabarangpur	Nabarangpur (10)	3,279
Malkangiri	Malkangiri (7)	3,727
Khandamal	Baliguda (9)	1,918
	Phulbani (3)	675
12 districts out of 30 districts	21 ITDAs / (118) Blocks	48,657 Families

(Source: Annual Report of ST & SC Development Department 2007-08)

The blocks having 50 percent and more tribal population have been brought under the ambit of Tribal Sub-Plan and ITDP renamed as ITDA are being implemented. The functions of ITDAs in Orissa are multi-prolonged in nature. It functions not only as a nodal agency in terms of plan formulation, but also looks into implementation, monitoring and concurrent evaluation of different programmes under various schemes; especially, implementation of specific programmes mostly out of Special Central Assistance (SCA) and subsequently under Article 275 (1).

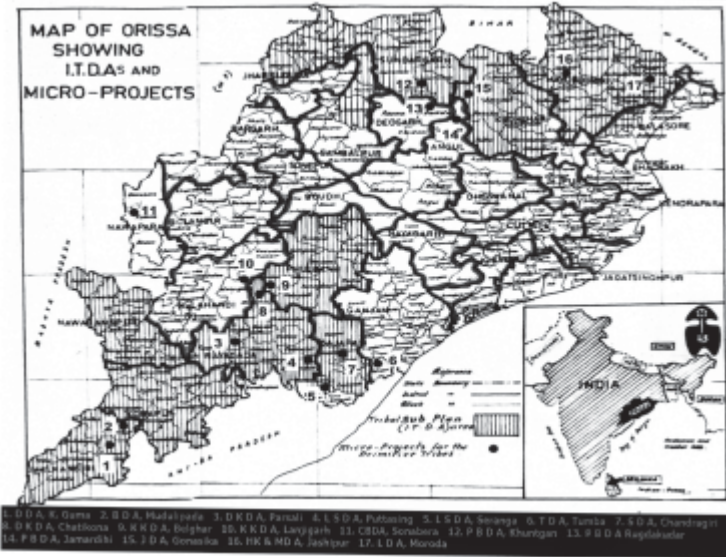
Each ITDA is headed by a whole time Project Administrator being assisted by a Special Officer, some engineering staff in the rank of an Assistant Engineer/Junior Engineer for execution of small civil and minor irrigation works in addition to the normal staff of the line departments. Each ITDA has a Project Level Committee, in which the Collector of the

concerned district is the Chairman. The local MPs, MLAs, district level officers responsible for development programmes and PRI heads and woman representative are the members whereas the Project Administrator is the Member Secretary for formulation and implementation of Plan Programmes.

The performances of ITDAs under SCA and Article 275(1) of the Constitution during 2007-08 till the end of December 2007 are reflected below:

- ❖ Rs.5142.88 lakhs funded by SCA during the above period covered 48657 families implemented in 761 projects.
- ❖ Rs.4129.04 lakhs funded under Article 275 (1) during the above period have been implemented in 791 projects.
- ❖ Many a times Scheduled Area and TSP Area are perceived as identical in Orissa but there is differences.

The map showing the ITDA areas and the Micro Projects for PTGs.



B. Micro-Projects for the Development of Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs):

During the Fifth Plan Period and at the time of formulation of TSP, It was observed that from among the tribal communities, there were a sizable tribal communities who were still continued to be at the pre-agricultural stage/practicing shifting or *podu* cultivation in low fertile

sloppy land and depended on collection of NTFP for their livelihood. These communities need special attention as recognized by the policy makers. These communities are found to be scattered throughout the country. These communities have different socio-economic livelihood conditions which differ from each other.

Tribal Development (TD) Department, under the Ministry of Home Affairs, Govt of India laid down the criteria for identifying the Primitive Tribes; such as

- ❖ Those still continue to depend on hunting, food gathering and traditional method of shifting (*Jhoom*) cultivation,
- ❖ Having a very low literacy rates in compare to other tribal communities within five per cent.
- ❖ Declining or near stagnant population due to health hazard and specific problems
- ❖ Traditional pre-agricultural technology practitioners and labourers.

There were 75 such communities identified as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) in India, and Orissa has the highest number of 13 PTGs amongst them, and for them Micro Projects were grounded in different Plan Periods (5th Plan Period onwards).

At present 17 Micro-Projects are operating in Orissa for 13 Primitive Tribal Communities spreading over nine Scheduled districts (Malkangiri, Rayagada, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Kalahandi, Kondhmal, Gajapati, Sundergarh and Ganjam) and three Non-Scheduled Districts (Angul, Nuapada and Deogarh). Out of these 17 Micro-Projects the following are operating in the Tribal Sub-Plan Areas:

1. Bondo (Bondo Development Agency) – Malkangiri district.
2. Didayi (Didayi Development Agency) - Malkangiri district.
3. Dongria Kondh (Dongria Kondh Development Agency, Chatikona) – Rayagada district.
4. Dongria Kondh (Dongria Kondh Development Agency, Parsali) – Rayagada district.
5. Lanjia Saora (Lanjia Saora Development Agency) – Rayagada district.
6. Lanjia Saora (Lanjia Saora Development Agency) – Gajapati district.
7. Saora (Saora Development Agency) – Gajapati district.
8. Paudi Bhuiyan (Paudi Bhuiyan Development Agency) – Sundergarh district.

9. Kutia Kondh (Kutia Kondh Development Agency) – Kondhmals district.
10. Kutia Kondh (Kutia Kondh Development Agency) – Kalahandi district.
11. Juang (Juang Development Agency) – Keonjhar district.
12. Hill Kharia & Mankindia/ Birhor (Hill Kharia & Mankindia Development Agency) – Mayurbhanj district.
13. Lodha (Lodha Development Agency) – Mayurbhanj district.

The following Micro Projects are operating in Non-TSP areas:

1. Chuktia Bhunjia - Chuktia Bhunjia Development Agency- Nuapada district.
2. Paudi Bhuiyan - Paudi Bhuiyan Development Agency- Angul district.
3. Paudi Bhuiyan - Paudi Bhuiyan Development Agency- Deogarh district.
4. Saora – Tumba Development Agency- Ganjam district.

Micro Projects are termed as Development Agencies because it aimed to look into the all-round development of the area and the people. PTGs who are residing in the Micro-Projects get cent percent subsidy in Individual Beneficiary Oriented Schemes (IBOS) out of the funds provided by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs (MOTA). It takes up core economic development programmes under the sectors like agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, soil conservation etc. as the main programmes. and different social sector development programmes like, education, health and others as per the need and priority.

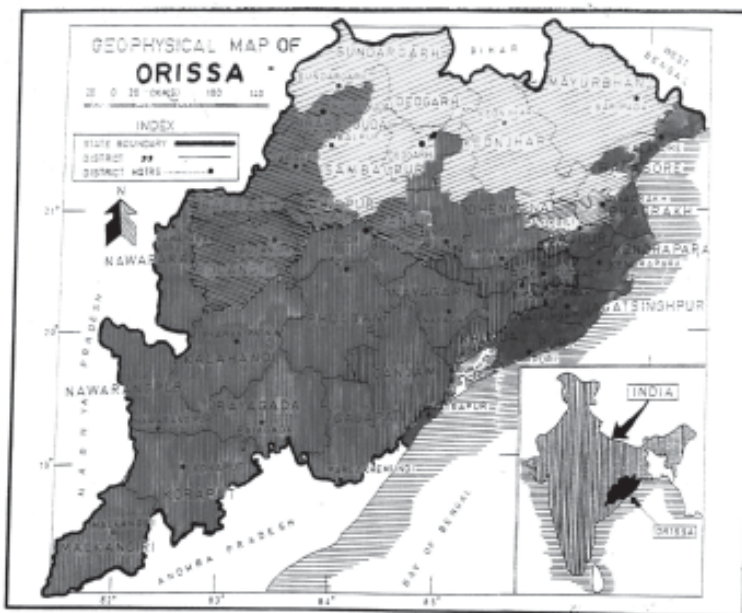
Each Micro-Project is headed by one Class-II Officer as the Special Officer with some core programme staff. District Collector is the Chairman of the Project Level Committee (PLC) with other members to suggest and review the development activities of the Micro-Projects. Recently, a special cadre namely, Orissa Welfare Services (OWS) has been created and officers of OWS Cadre have been posted as Special Officer, Micro Projects.

PTG distribution in different Geo-Physical Zones:

- ❖ Northern Plateau (6 PTGs) – Birhor/ Mankindia, Hill Kharia, Juang, Lodha & Paudi Bhuiyan.
- ❖ Eastern Ghat Region (7 PTGs)– Bondo, Chuktia Bhunjia, Dongria Kondh, Kutia Kondh, Didayi, Saora & Lanjia Saora.

All the Micro-Projects operating are located in the remote PTG concentration pockets approximately at an elevation of 100ft -5000ft above the mean sea level.

Ministry of Tribal Affairs (MOTA), Government of India has introduced the concept of CCD Plan (Conservation-cum-Development Plan) during the 11th Plan period (2007-2012) for the holistic development of the PTGs. This aims at the critical needs of the PTGs by improving existing infrastructures and by providing minimum facilities at the door step of the people. Food security, eliminations of poverty, elevation of literacy level, improvement of health status, provisions for employment and above all to bring improvement in the quality of life and conservation of their tradition and culture.



The other objectives in detail are the following for which the Plan had been prepared for each Micro Projects:

1. To identify through participatory approach the critical gaps and felt needs of the PTGs inhabit in each village of the 17 Micro-Projects.
2. To formulate a five year action-plan on the basis of the identification of the felt needs through consultative process and with due approval of Grama Sabha.
3. To prepare a micro plan taking village/ hamlet as the smallest unit.

4. To formulate the plan without conflicting with the core culture of the target groups giving due emphasis on their conservation and development.

The entire exercise of formulating the Conservation- cum- Development plan for the 13 PTGs of 17 micro projects in 20 Blocks of 12 districts have been prepared by SCSTRTI which covered 541 villages and 18,493 Households. The plan suggested major interventions like; Connectivity, Housing, Irrigation and Drinking water, Education, Land Development, Horticulture, Agriculture, Income Generation, Health, Janashree Bima Yojana etc. with a Total Plan Outlay (2007-12) of Rs. 8425.21 lakhs for activities under works: Rs. 4327.26 lakhs and ii) for activities other than works: Rs. 2118.12 lakhs)

C. Modified Area Development Approach (MADA):

This concept has been evolved towards the fag end of 5th Plan Period. It was realized that quite a sizable tribal population were left behind outside the ITDA areas and had to be brought under the specific development focus. Therefore, contiguous areas having a population of 10,000 and above with 50 percent tribal concentration were identified under MADA that to beyond the ITDA areas.

46 MADA pockets are operating in 47 Blocks spread over in 17 districts of our state. Maximum numbers of MADA pockets, i.e. 12 are operating in undivided Sambalpur districts followed by 11 are operating in undivided Kalahandi districts and 7 are operating in Bolangir district. All these MADA pockets belong to the western Orissa districts. Most of them are in the Central Table Land, Geo-Physical zone and some are operating in coastal belt.

These pockets implement Individual Benefit Oriented Schemes (IBOS) and Community Benefit Oriented Programmes (CBOP) for the all round welfare & development of the tribal. The then Tribal Development Department, under Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India now renamed as Ministry of Tribal Affairs (MOTA) Government of India has provided funds to these pockets from the Special Central Assistance (SCA). The BDOs of the concerned blocks execute the MADA Projects and funds were released to the concerned BDOs for utilization. The Developmental Programmes are to be evaluated by a MADA Level Advisory Committee headed by the Sub-Collector. An Additional Welfare Extension Officer (AWEO) were posted to each MADA Block to help the BDO and to monitor the programmes and schemes. But at present, the Additional WEOs posted in each MADA Blocks have been withdrawn by the ST & SC Dev. Deptt. Two Special Officers from among the Welfare

Services in the rank of a DWO are posted in the undivided Kalahandi & Sambalpur districts where the MADA pockets are more, to oversee implementation of MADA programmes.

In Orissa as on 31.12.2007, Rs. 456.95 lakh covering 4933 families funded through Special Central Assistance (SCA) and Rs. 294.10 lakh has been spent through Article 275 (1) of the Constitution in 148 development Projects from 1.04.2007 to 31.12.2007.

D. Cluster Approach:

Beyond the MADA pockets, there were still small areas of tribal concentration remaining left behind under the specific tribal development programmes. Keeping this in mind during the 7 Five Year Plan period, the cluster approach was adopted for contiguous areas having 5000 population or above with at least 50 percent tribal population. 14 such cluster pockets were identified. They are operating in 10 districts, the highest being 4 in Kalahandi district.

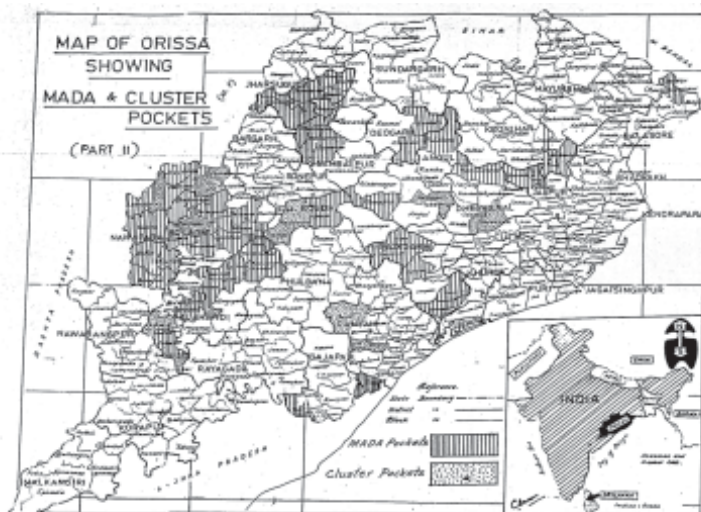
The administrative arrangement for the cluster pockets are the same to that of MADA pockets. But no additional WEOs were posted. The regular posted WEOs were to look after the development of the cluster along with other programmes under the block limits. Funds from the Special Central Assistance are provided for implementation of individual and community benefit oriented programmes in these clusters. The BDOs of the concerned blocks execute the cluster programmes and an Advisory Committee in the pattern of MADA pockets has been set up to execute, review and oversee the implementation of programmes.

Rupees 41.38 lakhs had been spent from Special Central Assistance and as many as 440 families were covered and Rs. 32.70 lakh had been spent in 18 projects through Article 275(1) of the Constitution from 04.2007 to 31.12.2007.

The Map showing the location of MADA Pockets and the Cluster Pockets in Orissa.

E. Dispersed Tribal Development Project (DTDP)

As an extension of TSP strategy, the dispersed ST population of the State located outside the ITDA, MADA, Cluster pockets & Micro-Project areas is covered under a special project for tribal development called Dispersed Tribal Development Project (DTDP). Orissa Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Development Finance Co-operative Corporation Limited is the nodal agency that operates DTDP for the overall development of dispersed STs.



Tribal Development involves upliftment of a number of tribal groups which are at different stages of socio-economic development paradigm. Dispersed Tribal comprises a substantial part of the total tribal population in the state. The proportion of dispersed tribal however varies considerably from one region to another and also between different areas of the same region. Dispersed tribal population constitutes about 27 percent of the total population in the state.

The following activities are being implemented for which assistance is being provided to the Dispersed Tribal population living below the poverty line:

- ❖ Provision of economic assistance under various Bankable Income Generating Schemes under Margin Money Loan programme.
- ❖ Community minor irrigation project such as LIP, WHS, Check Dam etc.
- ❖ Training programme for self employment, and wage employment.
- ❖ Enrollment of Scheduled Tribe as members of co-operative.

Bankable Income Generating Schemes under Margin Money Loan Programme are consisting of schemes in the areas of :

- ❖ Agriculture/ Horticulture development
- ❖ Minor irrigation.
- ❖ Animal husbandry.
- ❖ Fishery.

- ❖ Small & village Industry.
- ❖ Vocational trade & small business.

Utilization of Special Central Assistance and Coverage of ST families during the Annual Plan and flow of SCA, coverage of beneficiary families during 2007-08 is Rs. 2536.00 lakh and covered 21282 families respectively.

The performance of ITDAs under SCA and Article 275(1) of the Constitution during 2007-08 till end of December 2007 is reflected below:

- ❖ Rs. 5142.88 lakh funded by SCA during the above period covered 48657 families and implemented in 761 projects.
- ❖ Rs. 4129.04 lakh funded under Article 275(i) during the above period have been spent and implemented in 791 projects.

Observations - I

- ❖ The reorganization of districts in the state of Orissa was notified during the year 1992 in phased manner from 13 to 30 districts.
- ❖ Out of 13 districts as many as nine districts were included in the Scheduled Areas of Orissa as per Order 1977(C.O. 109) issued on 31.12.1977.
- ❖ In the meanwhile Koraput district is divided into three more districts, such as Rayagada, Malkangiri and Nabarangpur as per the area and administration is concerned. Ganjam district has been divided into Ganjam and Gajapati.
- ❖ Now the Scheduled Area of Orissa is having 13 districts instead of nine districts as mentioned in the report of MOTA, Gol.
- ❖ It is regretted that till now the state of Orissa has not been notified in the reorganization of the Scheduled Area of the state after reorganization of the newly created districts.
- ❖ Each newly formed district has the geographical area of its own and those are within the administrative jurisdiction and control under respective District Collectors. The present collectors of the district of Rayagada, Nabarangpur, Malkangiri and Gajapati give the detail information of developmental programmes and administrative arrangement to the Honorable Governor of Orissa separately, but not through the collectors of Koraput and Ganjam (since new districts have already been constituted). Moreover, Honorable Governor of Orissa is the administrative head of the Scheduled Area as per the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution.

- ❖ According to the Annual Report of MOTA, 2007-08, it is mentioned that Koraput district is only included in the scheduled area debarring the other three newly constituted districts. It is also mentioned similarly in case of the Ganjam district.
- ❖ But actually after bifurcation of Ganjam district, R. Udayagiri Tahasil, Gumma and Rayagada blocks are coming under the Paralakhemundi Tahasil of Paralakhemundi sub-division of the Gajapati district.
- ❖ Only Surada tahasil except Gochha & Gazalbadi G.P.s of Ghumusar sub-division is in the Ganjam district which is not within the TSP area but within the Scheduled Area which is co-terminus to the TSP area.

Observations – II

- ❖ The authors had an opportunity to go through the recent publications of NIRD which are available in the Library of SCSTRTI. While preparing this article they had an opportunity to go through a book on *A series on self-governance for Tribals*, Volume-VI “Capacity Building” Edited by S.K. Singh, Published by National Institute of Rural Development, Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India, Rajendra Nagar, Hyderabad; October 2005. While going through the chapters, a map showing districts under scheduled V areas of India which is incorporated in this book. (the map has been shown below marked in a box)
- ❖ It is surprising that the demarcation and number of districts under the Scheduled Areas of Orissa has not been properly demarcated. The two districts namely Gajapati and Ganjam are totally not indicated in the map.
- ❖ At present, 13 districts are covered in the scheduled areas of Orissa but not 11 districts as it is shown in the said map.

Observations-III

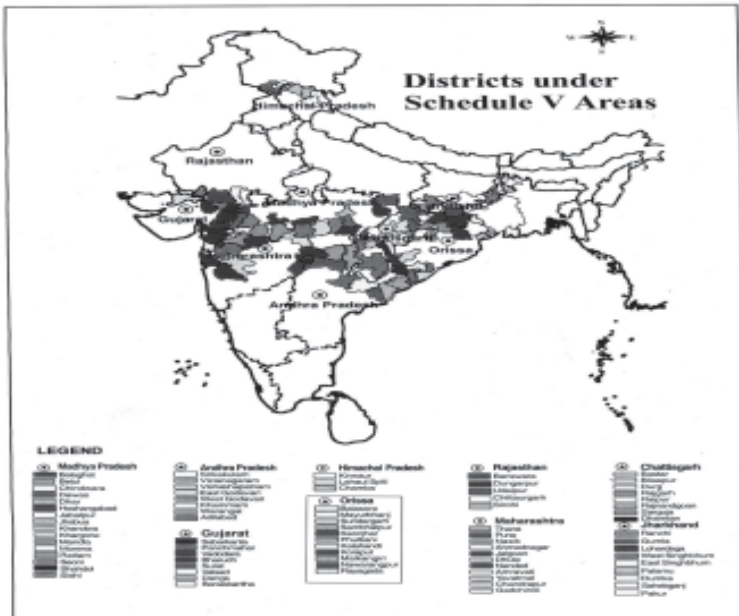
- ❖ The Census Directorate, Orissa, Bhubaneswar, had published the Final Population Totals: At a glance up to Districts / CD Blocks & town level as per 2001 Census. There is mention of total population (Rural & Urban), Number of house holds, the Scheduled Tribes population (both male & female) & Scheduled Castes population (both male & female) in the Volume.
- ❖ After going through the scheduled tribes population of two blocks namely, Kirmira and Laikera under Jharsuguda district, it is found

that scheduled tribe population in these two blocks are more than 50 percent to its total population.

- ❖ Total ST population of Kirimira block is (male 10,189 + female 9,940) = 20,129 (51.8%) of the total population (male 19,806 + female 19,062) = 38,868 of the block and the total ST population of Laikera block is (male 11,901 + female 12,006) = 23,907 (51.0%) out of the total population (male 23,360 + female 23,508) = 46,868 of the block.
- ❖ It is worth to mention here that before 1992, Jharsuguda district was under the jurisdiction of Sambalpur (undivided) district.

Observations - IV

- ❖ Most of the Micro projects were grounded since Fifth Five Year Plan period, onwards and are not properly functioning and also not equipped with sufficient man power as well as subject matter specialists.



The Scheduled Areas (part A States) Order, 1950 (C.O. 09)	26.01.1950a
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- ❖ In our state, the students after getting post graduate degree in the subjects like Anthropology, Sociology, Psychology, Geography, Economics and Political science can eligible to apply for fellowship. Only selected applicants have been awarded fellowship by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs through the

recommendation of ST & SC Development Department for undertaking research studies. These researchers are interested for their research work in the tribal areas on various topics like tribal development administration, socio-cultural and economic livelihood issues, political participation, role of tribal woman and youths and their participation in various developmental activities, also on the health and nutritional status etc.

Suggestion - I

- ❖ There should be a revised Constitutional Order in regards to the rescinding the orders notified earlier in the year 1977 for the state of Orissa.

Suggestion - II

- ❖ The cartographical error as found in the map of the book titled *A series on self-governance for Tribals*, Volume-VI "Capacity Building" Edited by S.K. Singh, Published by National Institute of Rural Development, Ministry of Rural Development, October 2005 may be intimated to the Publisher for necessary correction and for kind information of the scholars and researchers.

Suggestion - III

- ❖ As per the guideline of TSP strategy the district, sub-division, tahasil and block having 50 percent or more tribal population should be included in the Tribal Sub Plan area.
- ❖ As per the tribal population, 2001 census the Kirmira block (51.8%) and the Laikera block (51.0%) under the administrative and revenue jurisdiction of Jharsuguda district may be included in the scheduled area. These 2 (two) blocks are co-terminus to the Sundergarh ITDA in the north and Kuchinda ITDA of Sambalpur district in the east.
- ❖ During the 5th Five Year Plan period, the CD block of Nilagiri of Balasore district was included in the TSP area on the basis of the population criteria which are co terminus to Baripada ITDA as well as Kaptipada ITDA of Mayurbhanj district.
- ❖ Therefore, one new ITDA may be grounded in the Jharsuguda district considering the tribal population in the blocks of Kirmira & Laikera and also to be included in the Scheduled Areas of Orissa. The ST & SC Development Department of Orissa may kindly move to Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India for consideration in formulating a new ITDA as suggested.



- ❖ ST & SC Development Department, Govt. Of Orissa may take appropriate action to place this matter in Tribes Advisory Council to extend the Scheduled Areas of state of Orissa and TAC may suggest for inclusion to Honorable Governor of Orissa for needful.

Suggestion-IV

- ❖ The state government may form a Search Committee to find out dedicated researchers to place them in the Micro- Projects along with the fellowship for three years and provide all facilities to move around the area and mix with the people and collect information.
- ❖ They may be instructed to keep a readymade data - base of the area and the beneficiaries for official use. Besides, they should act a conjunctive agent between Government and the target population and carry out the message of change in imparting information, knowledge and skill.
- ❖ They are to enhance the status of development, level of receptivity and attitude as well as conserve the tradition, belief, practices and need of the people with some innovative thoughts.
- ❖ The Project Authorities and the District Collectors will evaluate their work in every three months and report to ST & SC Development Department as well as to MOTA, GOI. in favour of their work performances

The respectable participants, Policy makers, Administrators, scholars and the workshop organizer are requested to discuss these constitutional issues and suggest their opinions. The organizer of this National Workshop are earnestly requested to take up a study on the reorganization and demarcation of Scheduled Areas of Orissa state as per the criteria issued by Government of India and in accordance to the tribal population norms, as per 2001 census.

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PESA PROVISIONS AND MFP ADMINISTRATION IN ORISSA : AN ASSESSMENT OF IMPACT

Shri B.B.Mohanty

In Orissa, the tribal people comprising 62 varieties of ethno-culturally and linguistically divergent ethnic groups numbering 81,45,081 constitute nearly 22 per cent of the total population of the State as per 2001 Census . Bulk of the tribal population is found living in Fifth Scheduled Areas of the State which spread over undulating, mountainous and forested regions where for a longer period of history they lived in isolation from the outside world and the mainstream of population but never from the nature.

Needless to say that tribal and forests are both ecologically and economically inseparable. The tribal are sentimentally attached to forest and they fully understand the value and utility of forest for their survival and sustenance. The life and work of the tribal revolve round the forest and forest related activities round the clock throughout the year. Therefore, they do not cause harm to the forest and their overall understanding and indigenous knowledge about the management, preservation and growth of the forest is admirable. Each and every aspect of their societal behaviour from cradle till death such as, rites and rituals, folklore and folk traditions, economic activities, magico-religious and indigenous curative practices reveal their intimate association with the forest from time immemorial.

In economic sphere, the forest not only provide them with food, fuel and fodder but also cater to their multifarious needs. In the days of scarcity, forests nourish them. Not only the edible materials, but also the forest provides them certain Minor Forest Produces items of commercial value. Among them, mostly the women folk devote much of their time and labour in gathering MFP items from the forest through out the year. Apart from meeting the consumption needs at home, the surplus is sold for cash. A significant portion of the annual income is derived from the sale of MFPs. Studies conducted earlier in four states such as, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh reveal that nearly 5 to 55 per cent of the total income is derived from the forest collection. Of course, the figures differ from state to state and region to region.

The collection of MFP is linked with its proper storage and marketing. In the past. Due to lack of storage facility, effective and adequate

marketing network in tribal areas ensuring fair price, the MFP gatherers were the victims of exploitation of the middlemen, particularly, the local petty traders. The traders and businessmen used to purchase MFP articles from the tribal gatherers at a throw away price mostly through barter and used to dispose these at different urban centers or some business establishments at a higher price, earning thereby a very high profit. In this process, the primary MFP gatherers were cheated denying them proper and reasonable price for their produces.

The present paper is based on an empirical micro-research study conducted in three Fifth Scheduled districts of the State of Orissa by SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar in collaboration with TDCCOL, Bhubaneswar during 2005-2006, in which the author was associated.

Objectives and Coverage

The broad objectives of the paper were to find out, (i) the level of awareness of the PRI officials/primary gatherers about the MFP rule, 2002, (ii) the current status of implementation of various provisions of the Rule at the grass-root level, and (iii) the extent of benefits accrued to tribal MFP gatherers on account of such legal provisions.

The study covered 3 districts (Malkangiri, Sundargarh and Mayurbhanj), six Blocks (.Khairput, Mathili, Gurundia, Lahunipada, Khunta and Udala), 14 G.Ps, 14 villages, 67 PRI representatives and 150 MFP collectors. Multi-stage stratified sampling procedure, defining the universe of the study and carving out different strata and sub-strata including selection of study villages and sample beneficiary households was followed to draw up a representative sample for conducting the study. Two sets of schedules, one for interviewing the primary MFP collectors and the other for PRI officials were administered for collection of data from the field.

The Scheduled tribes covered were Didayi, Bondo, Bhumia, Paroja, Koya and Shabar in Malkangiri district; Kharia and Lodha in Mayurbhanj district and Gond, Munda, Bhuyan, Oraon and Kisan in Sundergarh district.

PESA Provisions and Rules for MFP Administration

The Government of Orissa adopted the Central PESA Act in 1997. One of the provisions of this Act relates to transfer of *ownership rights and management of MFPS to Gramsabha and Panchayats at the appropriate level.*

In tune with the provisions of PESA Act, the State Government in Panchayati Raj Department has suitably amended the Orissa Grama Panchayat Act, 1964 and framed Rules called 'Orissa Grama Panchayats (Minor Forest Produce Administration) Rules, 2002' to regulate

collection and trading of MFP vide Gazette Notification No.2091, dated 15.11.2002. The GPs were given overall responsibility to regulate collection and sale of as many as 68 items of MFP. The main objectives behind making such legal provisions are to ensure a fair price to MFP collectors for their produce, develop a marketing network for trading of MFP items, regulate and control activities of traders in order to reduce monopoly of middle men in MFP trading and check exploitation.

The important provisions of the rule are,

- ❖ As many as 68 items of MFP have been notified as MFP for the purpose of the rule .
- ❖ Ownership rights, procurements and trading of such MFP have been transferred to GP.
- ❖ A trader has to register himself in the GP on payment of registration fee in respect of items of MFP he intends to procure.
- ❖ The Panchyat Samiti /Gram Panchyat shall have the power to fix the minimum procurement price of the MFP items for a particular trading year (October to September).
- ❖ The trader has to file monthly/ annual return of MFP to the G.P.
- ❖ The Sarapanch has the power to cancel registration of the traders in case they fail to pay the minimum procurement price to the primary collectors, and fail to register himself in GP and to comply the conditions of registration.
- ❖ Wherever Vana Sangrakhyan Samitis are there, they are to be given preference in the matter of collection and trading of MFP.

Status of Implementation

In order to ascertain how far the new Rule governing collection and sale of MFP have been understood-followed and implemented by the PRI Institutions at the ground level, a sample of 67 elected PRI representatives comprising three Panchayat Samiti Chairpersons, 14 Sarpanches, 13 Nayab Sarpanches, 12 Panchayat Secretaries, 11 Samiti Sabhyas and 14 Ward Members were interviewed to test their knowledge.

Their responses reveal that, majority (84 per cent) of them have some broad knowledge about the rules, many of them (63 per cent) knew after the notification was issued by the Govt. While the source of information for many was the Office of the Panchayat Samiti, for few others it was friends, forest Officers, V.A.Ws, news papers etc. Nearly half of the respondents were of the opinion that the Panchayati Raj Deptt. has framed the rule where as according to some respondents (9 per cent)

Forest Department and few others (5 per cent) ST, SC Development Department have notified the new rule. One third of the respondents have no knowledge about the name of the Government Department which has framed the rule. Nearly 40 percent of the respondents expressed their inability to convey the exact date and year when the rule came in to force. However, out of the remaining 40 respondents 33(49 per cent) were of the opinion that the rule came into force three years back and 7(10 per cent) two years back. About various provisions of the rule, maximum respondents (50.74 percent) opined that the Panchayat Samiti/G.P. has the power to fix the minimum procurement price of each of the MFP items every year, another 37.31 percent respondents said that the traders have to register their names in the G.P, 25.37 percent respondents were of the opinion that the trader has to file monthly and annual return, 23.88 percent knew that the Sarpanch has the power to cancel the registration of the trader incase of violation of the prescribed procedure.

The reaction of the respondents regarding the state of implementation of the new rule at the ground level reveal that, out of 67 respondents, 22.38 percent said that the GP is following the rule strictly where as according to 71.64 percent respondents the traders have registered their names in GP and have deposited required registration fees. According to the opinion of 59.70 percent of the respondents, the GP has issued certificate of registration to the traders in the prescribed format. About 47 percent of the respondents were of the opinion that the minimum procurement price of different items of MFP fixed by the Block has been received by the GP and 73.13 percent respondents said that GP has not made any modification in the price fixed by the Block. As many as 58.20 percent of the respondents were of the view that the traders are not submitting the monthly and annual return to the GP. However, 34.32 percent of the PRI representatives were aware that certain unregistered traders are continuing illegal trading of MFP. But no action has been initiated against any of them so far.

Collection and Sale of MFP: An Assessment

The tribal of the study villages of Sundergarh, Malkangiri and Mayurbhanj districts depend upon agriculture including shifting cultivation, forest collection and wage earning for maintenance of their livelihood. The primary occupation of the tribal of study villages of Sundergarh district is forest collection whereas in Mayurbhanj, it is wage earning and in Malkangiri it is agriculture including shifting cultivation. However, in all the study villages collection and sale of MFP constitute to be an important source of earning.

In the past, the villages were located amidst deep forest or at close proximity to the forest. But, due to deforestation and continuous practice

of swidden cultivation over the years, the forest areas have been reduced considerably and the vegetation cover have become thin. Many important and delicate species have disappeared from the forest. The study revealed that the people of the study villages have to walk quite a long distance ranging from one to five kms. to reach the forest for gathering edible materials like roots, tubers, leaves, fruits and other MFP items of commercial importance. As a result of this, a lot of time and energy is lost in commuting the distance. However, the people do not mind such hardship, rather, throughout the year, particularly during the lean period when there is scarcity of food or no food stuff at home they engage themselves in forest collection moving even to distant forests to meet their consumption needs.

In the past, the forest was full of MFP items both in variety and quantity. But due to various factors as mentioned above, now a days, availability and quantity of production of MFP items have largely been reduced adversely affecting economic condition of the tribal.

Forest collection though resorted through out the year according to their availability by and large, it is seasonal. In different seasons and months, different items are gathered according to their harvesting/ fruiting time. Certain items of commercial value, such as, *Mahua* flower, Tamarind, thorn broom, *Ambada*, *Siali* leaf, *Harida*, *Bahada*, *Anla*, *Phula jhadu*, Honey, Arrow root, *Siali lai*, etc. are collected between February to April.

The women and children mostly take part in collection of MFP. But for those items which require either climbing of trees or digging of soil, men folk assist their female counterparts.

Various factors such as, the manpower, availability of a particular item in the locality and the quantity of production of a crop in a particular season/year determine the quantity of collection of MFP by an individual household. It arises out of the necessity and desire of a particular family as to which item of MFP the families intend to procure. But it is noticed that there is a healthy competition among the gatherers for collection of certain items which are in demand and fetch more money.

The MFP collectors mostly carry their produces to the weekly markets in market days and sell these to the traders through metric system of weights and measures for cash. However, certain items are sold through local measures. Due to lack of knowledge, technical know how and skill, the MFP items are mostly sold as it is without proper value addition or processing.

However, the tribal follow certain indigenous methods for processing of the items before sale. Some items are sun dried for one or two days while certain leaf items are dried under the shade. Besides, some seed items are skinned and dried under the sun before sale.

In the study villages of Sundergarh district as many as 18 items of the MFP have been collected out of which 14 items, such as *Mahua* flower, *Mahua* seed, Tamarind, *Katha chhatu*, *Sidha* fruit, *Char* seed, Thorn broom, *Siali* leaf, *Harida*, *Bahada*, *Kusum* seed, *Anla*, *Phula Jhadu* and *Mankada Kendu* are notified items and three items (*Ambada*, *Petapeti* fruit and *Char*fruit) are not notified, and *Jhuna* (Resin) is a lease-barred item. Similarly, in the Mayurbhanj district in the study villages, 15 items of MFP have been collected out of which nine items are notified (*Siali* leaf, *Harida*, *Bahada*, *Anla*, *Phula Jhadu*, Honey, Arrowroot, *Atandi lai* and *Phana phana*), five are not notified (*Ambada*, *Maham* (bee wax), lac, *Chhatu*, *Siali lai*) and one is a lease-barred item (*Jhuna* (Resin)). In Malkangiri district out of 10 items, nine are notified (*Mahua* flower, *Mahua* seed, Tamarind, Mango Kernel, *Harida*, *Bahada*, *Anla*, *Phula jhadu* and Honey), one is a lease-barred item (*Jhuna* or resin).

MFP Trading

A set of procedure has been laid down in the MFP Rule to be implemented by GP to regulate the activities of traders. These include (1) procurement price of each item of notified MFP is to be fixed by the Block/GP for each trading year. (2); a trader has to register his name in the GP for each items of MFP he intends to procure by depositing required registration fee (3) GP to ensure that the minimum procurement price is paid to the collectors. It is noticed that in Sundergarh district, the procurement price of commodities has not been fixed by the studied Blocks/GPs, rather the price fixed by the district for the year 2002-2003 is followed for the year 2004-05 by both the Lahunipada and Gurundia Blocks. In Mayurbhanj and Malkangiri districts the blocks have fixed the procurement price of MFP, but the price so fixed has not been modified by any of the GPs.

In Sundergarh, Mayurbhanj and Malkangiri districts 83,11,29 traders have registered their names in the G.Ps for procurement of a few items of MFP. In Sundergarh district the traders have registered for six items, in Mayurbhanj district for five items and in Malkangiri district for four items. The items preferred by the traders are Tamarind, *Mahua* flower, *Char* seed, *Siali* leaf, *Katha Chhatu*, *Eksira* fruit. *Siali lai*, *Atandi lai*, *Ambada Taku*, *Mahua* seed and *Phula jhadu*. In all the study area, the traders have registered their names for few items only but in actual practice in addition to the registered items, they also purchase other

unregistered items. Besides, other unregistered traders are also procuring MFP items illegally from the primary collectors.

The procurement price of MFP items fixed by the District/Block/GP vis-à-vis the price offered to the collectors by the traders reveal that in all the study areas certain items are purchased by the traders less than the fixed price while certain others above the fixed price. For instance, in Sundergarh district, three items i.e. *Char* seed, *Anla* and *Kendu*, in Mayurbhanj district, items like honey and *Siali lai* and in Malkangiri district items such as *Mahua* flower, Tamarind, *Harida*, *Bahada*, Honey and Mango kernel are procured less than the fixed-price and in case of other items these are purchased either at the fixed procurement price or above the fixed price.

It is interesting to note that although Sal Resin (*Jhuna*) constitute to be the lease barred item, some blocks in the study area have fixed its procurement price.

Income from MFP

Data collected from the respondent households of the study villages of Sundergarh district reveal that the sale value of MFP items comes to Rs. 2,88,776 and the average income per family by sale of MFP items comes to Rs.5776. Similarly in Mayurbhanj district the total sale value of MFP items comes to Rs.1,72, 565 and the income per household is calculated at Rs.3451. In Malkangiri district, the income derived out of sale of MFP items comes to Rs.64, 345 and the average earning per family comes to Rs.1287. The item wise average income of a family shows that in Sundergarh district income per family out of sale of *Char* seed is highest i.e. Rs.1522 where as in Mayurbhanj district income per family from the sale of Arrowroot(*Palua*) is highest i.e. Rs.1146 and in Malkangiri district it is *Mahua* flower i.e. Rs 779. The proportion of income from MFP to total income among the tribals of the study villages in three selected districts shows that it is highest in Sundergarh (56.64%) followed by Mayurbhanj (34.15%)and Malkangiri (11.48%).

Change

Some of the positive changes as observed from the study are,

- 1) The sale price of MFP items show increasing trend with price more or less stabilized;
- 2) Distress sell some how brought under check;
- 3) Competition among traders resulting in raising the sale price of the commodities than the fixed procurement price;

- 3) Direct payment in cash to the collectors on the spot without credit found to be beneficial;
- 4) Transactions through weights and measures discouraging barter;
- 5) Exploitation by middlemen considerably brought under control;
- 6) Registration fees collected from traders help augmenting income of the Panchyats.

Major Constraints

- 1) Some items of MFP are still to be identified and notified,
- 2) Large scale ignorance; lack of awareness regarding various provisions of the rule still persists;
- 3) No serious efforts by GPs to modify the procurement price of MFP according to the local situation;
- 4) Fixation of procurement price without assessing the production and demand;
- 5) Fixation of price of certain lease-barred item;
- 6) Some items are sold below the fixed procurement price;
- 7) Very little efforts by GPs to stop registered/unregistered traders from illegal trading;
- 8) Presence of TDCC is not felt in the area after free market condition;
- 9) Very little efforts for value addition before sale.

Some Important Suggestions:

- 1) Extensive awareness programmes need to be organized to acquaint PRI officials, concerned Government officials, primary gatherers and traders about various provisions of the MFP Rule,
- 2) Panchayat Samities need to fix the procurement price of MFPs taking into consideration the production and demand of individual items in consultation with the traders, MFP collectors, TDCC/OFDC officials supported by a market survey,
- 3) Trading to be made under the direct supervision of GP officials,
- 4) The Tribal are persuaded to sell their produces after value addition and processing in order to get a higher price,
- 5) At the village level, SHGs are to be formed to protect and safeguard the interest of the primary collectors in the matter of preservation, value addition and trading of MFP items,
- 6) TDCC/OFDC is to be reorganized and restructured to play their role effectively in the field of networking and capacity building of

SHGs and particularly in imparting training in preservation and value addition of MFP items before sale,

- 7) GPs/Panchyat Samities need to enforce the MFP Rule strictly in their respective areas.

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TRIBAL ART, ARTIFACTS AND ART OBJECTS: NEED FOR A DEMAND DRIVEN MARKETING STRATEGY

Dr. A.C. Sahoo

The meaning of “handicrafts” both in its structure and texture along with its making process best serves its purpose in the realm of ethnic crafts. The raw materials, skills and nuanced ethnic designs are instilled indigenously. Taking the concept into consideration, it can be assumed that the art and crafts used by the tribal, made and sold in the market and procured by the eco tourists, tribal lovers and collected for display in museums are certainly handicrafts of the tribal world. Most of the tribal arts and crafts are made and used by themselves, some of their materials, are partly made by the tribal and partly by other ethnic groups, and in a few cases the finished products are procured from other ethnic groups but the designs, motifs, shape, size and making pattern in tribal crafts are community and culture specific.

The tribal handicrafts go through a production process and applied with indigenous knowledge and technology. The raw materials are not only indigenously available but also environment friendly. It gets strength of the tribal artisans, as every tribal is an artist. In case of tribal handicrafts, so far, it remains as amazing living cultural heritage but every where tribal artisans are marginalized and their average earnings is below the stipulated minimum wages. Now the tribal want to make craft making as an economic activity than a cultural one and the centre of the development process is marketing.

The tribal art and crafts are no longer considered as culture bearers rather as possessors of specific value representing skills that provide them a livelihood. A market for tribal art and crafts is the first requirement for the skilled artisans as their sustained local market is dying hence, the new markets have to be searched for them for their holistic development. In this regard, a consorted effort is to be made giving emphasis on the role and problems of artisans, policy of the Government scope of business sector, role of mediating organizations, particularly N.G.Os and sustainable market.

It is high time to understand the tribal culture and make linkage with their values of culture and in long run enjoin the both by helping traditional artisans’ skills to modern market. It should be further

established through interactive educational and commercial processes by sensitizing the meaning of handicrafts associated with physical, social, cultural, ecological, economic, moral, emotional, human and spiritual dimension. This is not a philosophical speculation rather a practical way to resolve the long standing problems of tribal handicrafts. Tribal handicrafts act as a connection between producer and consumer and the former is instrumental for enriching the knowledge on tribal culture through handicrafts.

Traditions and customs in any community is a spring board, not a cage. Either a craft is utility based or economically quite viable, it cannot be static. According to requirement of the market and need of the tribal people, suitable techniques may be incorporated to enhance values. The production outside intervention for production of quality item may not be out rightly rejected in the name of preservation of original art and crafts of the indigenous people.

Specific tribal handicrafts find specific niches in foreign markets and inside the country. This tenacious preference accounts for the increase in tribal art textile, jewellery and bell metals over the years. It is an admirable fact that there is great strength of tribal handicrafts because of its low overhead and minimum capital needs. Moreover, it can provide employment to many unemployed tribal. It is possible and practical to have diversity and specificity in the price spectrum of various tribal art and craft products. It is possible to develop a production base that will be responsive to the preferences of the market, and to link up this production base to the market through new marketing mechanism. This new combination will enable tribal talents in the production-marketing chain.

The tribal culture and traditions have long association with their art and crafts. However economic situation of the people is also a greater consideration. Exploitation by outsiders in marketing of tribal art and crafts is incredibly severe. At present one can stuck with the great controversy of child labour. There are a lot of craft activities which carried from father to son and mother to daughter. Learning a craft within the family for home needs needn't be considered as exploitation rather it is a rich experience and an opportunity not to be missed by anybody.

There is still huge talent base in craft skills all over the tribal areas and thousand of them yet preparing their own hand made art and craft items. Most of these produces they use in their family life are sold in the local market. Some of the tribal artisan communities absolutely depend on their crafts for survival. The tribal handicrafts with charity are long past. Hence for all the tribal artisans transformation in marketing strategy is the need

of the hour now. Tribal hand made crafts are very beautiful, well made, meaningful, reveal difference and uniqueness. The tribal artisans in some places have learnt to change price for their labour to ensure a good standard of living. Tribal paintings are copied by non tribal into fashion dresses. Technology upgradation and development need to be based on an understanding of the current position and requirement of the sector.

The material culture of the tribal world is a store house of vintage arts and crafts, embodied in their indigenous knowledge. It is reflective of need-invention continuum of anthropocentric culture of early time vis-a-vis hostile nature. The child of nature has story of an endless battle of wit and ingenuity, paradoxically against nature, to make them to sub serve the purpose of his sustenance. This man--nature interaction helps evolved the threads of culture component where ingenuity and imagination are conceived as one and indivisible. Every tribal community is having its own rich heritage of craft tradition, prescribed needs and capacity to create content to cater to the local demands for a specific item of hand made art and craft product.

The tribal art and crafts, the product of this unification of sensibility of wit and imagination, invariably represent a meaning beyond its physical existence. They are at once, tools and artifices of survival and also an unfolding imagination of early man. The tribal cultural heritage is the cradle of modern day civilization when one finds the gradual sophistication of wit and ingenuity. Though today we find a split in the holistic aspect of a modern man with divided aim and disintegration the wholesome man is possible to find in the tribal world with their crafts with still emanating unified way of life.

The tribal people are famous world wide for striking features of their indigenous knowledge and technology and creative impulses. These communities like their counterparts elsewhere are famous for exquisite carpet of distinct tribal culture with a kaleidoscopic colour and vision. They struggle for their survival, they are more or less the same yet they differ from one and another in material culture, social organization, language and folklore. Differences are also marked in application of technology, food habits, settlement pattern and house types, and also in their believe system. Almost all the tribal have shown their artistic and creative genius, which are activities of invention and diffusion. The aesthetic and ethnographic significance of their material culture are not only made for joys and merry-making. It has also functional value.

The traditional costumes, adornment pattern and use of certain special materials of a tribe are main parameters of its socio-cultural identity.

The religious ideas and symbol of worship is subject for imagination to create delicate artifacts and crafts. The artifacts and art objects which different tribal people use are associated with aesthetics and socio-cultural significance.

They use various hunting weapons like bow and arrow, spear, sword, catapult, axe, knife, snare, trap, net and such others, which are different from one tribal community to the other in its shape, size, external appearance and pattern of use. Some of the hunting weapons are purchased from the local market. Sometimes, they purchase the iron part of the object from the market and other parts are made by themselves. They add some new designs in order to decorate it to look more attractive. Some individuals attach emotional feelings with specific weapon and carry with them as a personal belonging. There are certain weapons, which are being used by the magico-religious specialists, and preserved at the community level. Necessary rituals are offered to certain weapons in different ceremonies for its magico-religious significance. The tribal groups reveal their own identity through specific hunting weapons.

The tribal people use various types of agricultural implements, which are used for collection of different tubers and practice of shifting cultivation and settled agriculture. Even for collection of minor forest produces, they use specific type of basket and implements, which are examples of their creative skill. They make all these items out of the locally available materials but maker's creative ideas and expertise are quite vital. While making the item they keep in view the need of the person, who is expected to use the object. One can find very primitive types of dibbles and pointed sticks, which are very artistic. The spade, plough, leveler, cowbell, billhook etc sometimes look very attractive because of beautiful motifs and designs on it. Even in the same tribal community, some of the agricultural implements differ from one section to the other living in two different ecological set up.

The household items of the tribal people are revelation of their culture and depict the economic status and artistic vision of a community. They purchase or collect some of their household items from the neighboring communities but the items they use are according to their culture and the designs are also culture specific. From the household, items one can assess the standard of living, socio-cultural and economic background of the concerned people. Their creative ideas and love for beauty are marked from the objects like traditional grinders, measuring pots, mats, ladles, and several such others. The uniqueness and the cultural values are revealed in the items of their daily use.

The people of almost all the tribal communities are having some knowledge in basketry. Tribes like Mahali, Dharua, Koya and Birhors have shown their creative skill in this field. The Mahalis make baskets of different shape, size and designs for different tribes and are famous for their expertise in basketry. The Birhors or Mankidias make beautiful small fiber baskets of different size and design, which are used for oil extraction. Likewise, the baskets of Didayis, bamboo mats of the Bondos, beautiful baskets of the Bhumias, attractive bamboo works of the Oraons and Kisans, fascinating bamboo-hanging baskets of Dharuas attract the attention of the outside visitors. Their style of basket making, mode of mat making, and basketry designs vary from one community to the other. Different types of winnowing fans, sieves and fishing traps made by using varieties of bamboo splits differ in their creative design and skill. The date-palm leaf mats made by the Paudi Bhuinyas are very popular among the neighboring people. The Savaras, Saoras, Juangs and Mundas make very good mats. The leaf made umbrella of the Kondhs and Juangs and the marriage crown of Kisans, made out of date-palm leaf, are highly appreciated by the outsiders. The inside vision of the craft person, cultural norms and socio-economic need are instrumental for making varieties of artistic bamboo and cane basketry.

Different types of gourd items, which are either used as a container or a carrier, are very beautiful. The gourd ladles of different shape and size are used for different purposes. The Saoras and Dongria Kondhs make beautiful carvings on gourd items to make it more attractive and decorative. The carving designs and motifs vary from one community to the other and their uses also differ according to their socio-economic condition. Beautiful masks are made out of gourd items and decorated nicely before using it as votive object. Gourd items used in making musical instrument are also common in several tribal groups. They preserve food grains and seeds in the gourd containers. The Lanjia Saoras hang it before the wall paintings to satisfy the ancestral spirits for keeping the family members free from danger.

The tribal people irrespective of their age and sex use varieties of Jewellery items to adorn different parts of their body. All the women are very much fond of ornaments of different types. Unmarried youths put on various types of jewellery items. Among different types of ornaments mention may be made of varieties of hairpins, hairclips, head ornaments, forehead band, ear rings, nose rings, neckband, necklaces, chains, armlets, bangles, waist chain, anklets, finger rings, toe rings etc. All these ornaments are made out of grass, leaves, bamboo, wood, stone, lead, iron, copper, aluminum, white metal, brass, silver and gold. Except the metal part, all others are made by themselves. Even metal

components are purchased and designed according to their socio cultural norms and aesthetic values. Each tribal community has its own adornment pattern by means of which they are differentiated from each other. Different types of ornaments are also used in various parts of the body. The specialty in style of adornment is marked on marriage occasion, festive occasions, special ceremonies and while attending other villages. In addition to this, adornment during dance, ritual and on special occasion differs from one another. Even a particular jewellery item used in a specific part of the body varies in its shape and size. Ornaments are not only worn for beautification or decoration of the body parts, but also stand as mark of identity, marital status, social position, socio-economic condition and other cultural aspects of the community. It is used as an item of gift at community and individual level. Exchange of ornaments for offering a special type of ornament to some one is symbolic and associated with socio-cultural values. Ornaments used by magico-religious specialist, which have linkage with appeasing different spirits, gods and goddess. Certain types of ornaments are used to keep some one away from malevolent spirits and make free from disease.

The people of tribal communities use different varieties of textiles. Some of the textiles are woven and used by them. There are many tribal communities, who purchase clothes from the local weekly market. In some cases, they provide the hand made yarn to the local weavers for weaving their traditional cloth. The Dongria Kondh women purchase the base cloth from the local market and make very good embroidery on it, which is having great socio-cultural significance. Embroidery and weaving are celebrated and splendid craft traditions of the Dongria Kondh tribals. Since time immemorial some of the tribal communities have developed their traditional expertise and this heritage have been handed down from one generation to the other. For the tribal women, embroidery is considered as an aesthetic expression and each tribal community reveal its own style, lexicon of stitches and motifs, which are culture and community specific. Embroidery is an art which involves a lot of labour. In their traditional embroidery work, the women work very hard along with their household chores. So far they have retained and maintained their traditional embroidered embellished items, which are having great demand inside and outside the country. Embroidery in tribal area is in transition and now at the critical junction of income generation and expression of culture. Though, it is a very potential platform and source of confidence and satisfaction still then the artisans fight a losing battle.

The patterns of putting on the textiles also differ from one tribe to the other. Not only the type of cloth but also the pattern of use reveals the

cultural identity of a particular community and difference from other groups. The tools and technology belief system and process of making, symbols and motifs on the cloth vary from one tribal community to the other. Even among the people of the same tribal community, the people use different types of clothes for different purposes. In a marriage ceremony, different kin group are offered clothes, which vary in their shape, size and design. Different textiles are used at the time of dancing in specific festive occasion, during ritualistic observances, pollution period, etc.

Many tribal community in one way or other use Dhokra items, made by casting of metals through lost wax process. It also popularly known as Cire Perdue process, In this process, Dhokra workers make the desired item for which he receives advance in cash or kind. Dhokra items are of several kinds. Some of the Dhokra items are used as votive objects. The other types of objects are dowry items, household materials and jewellery. The votive objects are usually different plants, animals, birds, reptiles, human figures and combination of human activity. Dowry items like animals, birds, human figures and different unique Dhokra object are arranged by the parents to offer to their daughters at the time of marriage. By and large, the Dhokra item of various types and kinds are in good demand among certain tribal communities. In spite of economic transformation and cultural changes, most of the tribal have retained use of Dhokra items in different forms. In several places, the Dhokra items are no more available, which have been taken away by the outsiders by showing them the temptation of high prices. A lot of Dhokra items at present found in several tribal communities may disappear very fast. Necessary preventive measures are required to save them from extinction. The caste communities like Situlia, Ghantara, Ghantaragadha, Thatari, Kansari, Ghasi etc. make these items for different tribal communities by utilizing their own creative skill. Whatever similarities or differences might have been marked there is no doubt that all types of tribal Dhokra items are quite precious for all foreigners. All kinds of Dhokra items need to be collected to retain the past glory and cultural identity of the tribal people or to introduce it as cottage industry for economic development. Somehow, the Dhokra material culture of the tribals yet maintains its uniqueness.

Dance and music are an integral part of the socio-cultural life of the tribals, It strengthens the social bond, integrity and unity among the people. During the dance and music and rituals, they use various types of musical instruments, which are of percussion, aero phonic and chordophonic type. The percussion types of musical instruments are idiophones and membrane-phones. The aero phonic are blown and

the chordophones are stringed instruments. The tunes created by using different musical instruments vary from one instrument to the other. The making process and procedure of use also vary. Differences are also marked in shape, size, materials used in making and beliefs associated with each musical instrument. They use wood, bamboo, creeper, fruits, earthen pot, leather and metallic vessels for making different types of musical instruments. In some of the musical instrument strings, hair of the horse, wax, bone etc. are used. Among different musical instruments mention may be made of single membrane drum, double membrane drum, flutes, violin, tambourine, cymbals, gong, and many others. According to necessity, they use bamboo and wooden pieces as a musical instrument. Even the sticks are used to make some sound at the time of dance and music. The variations in different musical instruments are marked in shape, size, design and motifs. The stringed instruments of the Santals, popularly known as Banam, are made in different ways and an individual tries his level best to make it decorative with designs according to his skill and aspiration. The single membrane drum used by the Juangs, engraved flutes of the Kutia Kondhs, and blowpipe used in war dance by the Lanjia Saoras reveal their respective uniqueness. By and large, the tribals use varieties of musical instruments. But the musical instruments used for different purposes vary from one instrument to the other, and in case of the use of same type of instrument differs from one community to the other.

The tribal crafts and art objects like leaf umbrella, traditional stick, smoking pipe, personal knife, tobacco container, comb etc. are beautifully designed in their respective pattern and used for specific purposes. Not only the shape, size, and design but also use of materials in making vary between two tribal groups. The Juangs use a traditional umbrella, which can be clearly differentiated from the umbrella made and used by the Kondhs. The smoking pipe is of different types. The differences are not only marked between tribes but also on basis of social status and sex of the user in the same tribe. The shape, size and type of knife used by different tribal individuals and groups also reveal differences at various levels. The tobacco containers used by the Kutia Kondh male members beautifully engraved with traditional designs, which is having some socio-cultural relevance in the community. Multifarious combs used by different tribal people are having their respective socio-cultural background and origin. There are some other personal belongings, which an individual keeps with due personal care.

Almost all the tribal communities have their respective rich heritage of wall paintings. The wall paintings are drawn with specific purposes, which are having socio-cultural or magico-religious significance. The Santals

recreate artistic painting of different animals, birds, trees, flowers and several activities in order to reveal their love for art and artistic excellence. The Saora wall paintings popularly known as *idtal* are not only artistic revelations of their skill in painting but also reflect the imaginative and creative skill of the tribes' men. The meaningful paintings of the Dongria Kondhs and culturally significant wall paintings of the Bhuiyan imply their artistic vision and creativity. The tools and technology used in painting and pigments prepared following indigenous technology are of very simple type. The meaningful Lanjia Saora paintings have drawn the attention of many great artists. Due to conversion into Christianity, a lot of Saora families have abandoned their traditional paintings and some of them have forgotten the designs and motifs. Tribal paintings and their development especially Saora wall paintings and their commercialization deserve special attention. There is ample scope for marketing of greeting cards, screens, and other useable items decorated with designs of Saora wall paintings. There is ample scope to provide employment to tribal youths for generation of income out of their traditional paintings.

Some of the important, socio-culturally significant beautiful and well-designed crafts and art objects of different tribal groups are no more used by the concerned community men. Due to socio-economic transformation and change in their religious life, these unique objects have disappeared from the concerned tribal group. However, there are a few tribal skilled craft persons, who know how to make them and their services will be very much instrumental for reviving and developing these crafts for the posterity. Among some of the vanishing arts and crafts mention may be made of Kisan marriage crown, Juang umbrella and Pillar Carvings, Dorigria Kondh smoking pipe, Bondo ringa and grass headband, Didayi textile, Lanjia Saora wall paintings, Desia Kondh wood carvings and several others. The traditional clothes of different tribal groups are only available as sample pieces in their respective areas. The skill of making traditional comb is only available with a very few skilled artisans. Due to conversion in Saora areas, the culturally significant and religious point of view relevant wall paintings are no more depicted on the walls. It has also happened in case of various types of jewellery items. The people of their own community have already forgotten some of the indigenous musical instruments. The very good wood carvings on the doors, shutters and the magico-religious pillars of the Kondh and Saoras are hardly found in their respective areas. Whatever little is left that is also disappearing very fast. Some of the beautiful and culturally significant designed objects are available as rare specimen, which need to be documented and preserved for the posterity. Some skilled artisans at their old age yet, interested to teach

the skill of making of certain special items to the younger generations. Hence, attempts need to be made to encourage the interested youths to learn the technique from their traditionally skilled persons. Revival of certain art objects and its development is very much essential for preservation of and promotion of tribal material culture and retention of cultural identity of the tribals.

The traditional art and craft objects of the tribes are fast becoming objects of antiquity for lack of their promotion under the pressing circumstances of planned change and modernization. Despite large scale invasion of cheap industrial products and impact of plastic culture, some tribal crafts are fighting a losing battle for their survival. However, it is worth mentioning that such dying crafts still retain enough charm and pristine beauty that can attract the attention of the public world over, if these are properly revived, developed, promoted and published. The tribal crafts and art objects still remain as forgotten objects.

All the crafts and art objects made and used by the tribal people may not look attractive to the general public. A specific craft and art object is made by them, keeping in view its socio-cultural background. Unless one gets into the socio-cultural implication of the object, he cannot be deeply inspired to understand and appreciate it. In spite of their poverty and seclusion, the tribal people reveal rich tradition of artistic taste which deserves admiration and further development. Their art objects are interpreted as strange, exotic and mysterious. One can derive pleasure by looking at the object provided he has the knowledge about the circumstances in which it is made.

While making an object the tribal artisans give emphasis on their aesthetic socialization, visions and dreams. For tribal artists, there is no formal training and he works with a limited number of tools. By and large, contents are true and devoted to the traditions along with their approved form and size. The earlier artistic efforts in several art objects reveal their love for nature and culture. The emotional value of the content, the message to be carried, the meaning to be expressed are depicted by means of multifarious designs and symbols. The real appreciation of tribal crafts and art objects depend on their form and content. The form relates to the aesthetic sense and the content is essentially ethnological. Hence, in tribal craft and art objects, form and content are inter-dependent. One can observe the influence of aesthetic socialization in their arts and crafts. The tribal ideology and ethics mostly govern the artistic sensibility. Yet, there is enough aesthetic awareness among them. In spite of all these, they are now susceptible to outside influence.

The tribal art, today has remained mysterious. It is difficult to decide what aspects of tribal art are enduring and which of them need to be preserved and promoted. The economic aspects and its commercial production can be examined taking into account the ground reality of their natural and human resources. The moment it is commercialized, it has to be confined to the aesthetic value of the outsiders. The customers understanding and their aspirations are to be given top priority.

There is no doubt that the tribal artisan must be helped to preserve and develop his or her own distinct way of life and culture. The future of tribal art and craft should be developed with certain adjustments and adaptability and according to the demands of the present. But it must not be manipulated from outside rather it should come from within. The exploitation of tribal artisans is to be deplored but any healthy change in the art and craft forms keeping their view and traditions is to be welcomed. The rich tribal heritage manifested in their works should be used as an inspiration for an intelligent linkage with modern creative efforts.

The material culture, hyphenating the whole some world of tribal community to the complex ridden present days civilization, still has meaning and relevance to the primitive tribes, those who do not respond the call of the high-tech society. The cohesive aspects of tribal bonding have their own world of collective unconscious - which lay embedded in the deep layers of their psyche.

The outright rejection of these material cultures under the new paradigm of tribal development often has strange results ending in the rejection of the development ethics. Though in the cost-benefit assessment of the present day, these material culture lags far behind in arena of cut throat competition and also in achieving the intended result of tribal development, yet, these are to be tolerated for the sake of directing the process of change and development of the tribal people.

For the tourist and art lovers tribal crafts and tribal artisans are a part of picturesque and wonderful source of cheap handicraft. It is extraordinarily exciting and worth mentioning that certain traditional hand skill, particularly embroidery, mats weaving, fastening of bead necklaces etc. of women yet strongly reflect the cultural identity and individual skill of the makers. In several essential parts of the craft process, tribal person prepare fascinating handicraft items as tribal craft traditions, tribal artisans believe in manifestation of aesthetics in their handmade objects. Many products such as basketry, comb, art, textiles, Dhokra votive objects paintings, metal crafts, etc still maintain its elegance and showcased as cultural out put for outsiders.

It is an admirable proverb that every tribal is an artisan and every tribal master crafts man is a traditional designer. It would be most advisable to integrate tribal artisans in every aspect of their development process. The usual production system and marketing strategies locked in mindset remain static that are now found to be outdated. There is necessity of giving value addition to tribal crafts in response to customers' need and usages. It is high time to identify and classify both skill and product of a craft and endeavour to revive their creative impulses and innate artistic behaviour. The material need, function of object, technology adopted and market for disposal of the products are more important.

Design development training, sensitization of artisans, roll of government and non-government organizations are very crucial with respect to cultural and technical aspect of the crafts. However search for new opportunities in marketing of traditional arts and crafts are most important as taste of contemporary market needs desired intervention. The design aspect of production, market access, raw material supply and finance are today in the hands of the N.G.Os, Government officials and trade entrepreneurs. It is obvious that who finances also dictate designs and rate. In this process, the traditional artisans lose their vibrant craft design and in long run the original and culture specific crafts. The organized unit productivity mainly benefits the traders, technologies serve the interest of the trader and finally the organized units done under absolute control of the traders.

There is still a strong sense of cultural streak running through the veins of tribal artisans. The best craft persons can have scope to be termed as national treasurers. Some of the artisans have tuned their crafts to high degree of excellence mainly for tourists and foreigners. Frustration, lack of motivation and partial dependency encountered in working with tribal craft persons are some of the major constraints, which hinder the promotion of tribal handicrafts and the development of tribal artisans.

Some of the non-government organizations have become so to say Guru, father figure, patron, major source of inspiration for the tribal craft people, who blindly follow theirs patronage and guidance. Government polices and public attitude towards tribal arts and crafts have found to be very difficult to take concrete steps on development and marketing of tribal art and crafts.

Even today, the activists, economists, bureaucrats, business strategists and elite groups treat tribal artisans as picturesque exhibits rather than dynamic entrepreneurs. The artisans need not wait for disaster to strike rather they should start on some fortification because they still have time on their side. In this regard, it would be wise to establish living

tribal museum at every community level in every tribal concentrated areas to reinforce local pride in local skills. Each museum should develop a directory of outstanding craft persons of the community. Organization of two exhibitions per year in tourist seasons of local producers can act as source of motivation for local tribal artisans, local craft products in their respective local museum. This would help in forming Tribal Craft Persons' Association at community level to protect their crafts and long term interest.

The government has also to provide basic needs, information, market, net work etc. to encourage the tribal artisans. Meaningful planned intervention of the Government handicraft in tribal handicraft sector can support the economic backbone of the tribal artisans and preserve the essence of tribal culture and creative impulses of the tribal craft persons. The present rosy romantic view of rich heritage and a harsh critical view of modernity are to be perceived in a right perspective because evils and cruelty just as a modernity has its blessing and advantages as modern and traditional artisans should survive together.

The steady decline in number of artisans will have adverse effect on the craft culture of the tribals because arts and crafts are not absolutely considered as culture bearers rather them provide with a livelihood. Hence, it is more relevant to promote economic welfare of the tribal artisans as well as survival of the traditional art and crafts. Tribal artisans earn from their skill, which is very culture specific and this must not be discouraged. Shading of crocodile's tear or showing lip sympathy the problems of the artisans can not be sorted out rather rightful policies and attitude of the individuals and institutions, who matters, can resolve the ongoing issues for theirs' sustainable development. The business sector should not primarily be interested in making money out of tribal art and crafts, rather they need to patronize and support for holistic development, which can lead to greater success of the tribal artisans.

There is no advertisement for marketing the tribal art and crafts as advertisement is an essential instrument for the modern market system. This is more important to interlink artisans with buyers and customers. Generation of income by the tribal artisan the keeping in view their moral, social, cultural, economic and human dimension is relevant. Proper education, meaningful communication, motivation and development of confidence are most vital factors for development of demand in tribal hand skills. The tribals don't make objects to satisfy life rather they look for the meaning to justify its making. They have realized that customers buy their handicrafts for the socio-cultural values manifested in it.

Creation of value through technology improvement and accruing benefit of a particular tribal community out of their own handicrafts by means of intellectual property right need to be supported in the present increasingly globalized world. For the purpose of World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) activities and expressions like drawings, paintings, carvings, sculptures, pottery, terracotta, mosaic, wood work, textiles, carpets, costumes, musical instrument, architectural forms, etc. are included. The need for intellectual property protection right of tribal art and crafts arises in the context of promotion of misappropriation or unauthorized use of traditional crafts and designs, ensuring sharing of benefits on commercialization of crafts and craft products. These are to be introduced by thinking for them and understanding their traditional and cultural context. Reorganization of their contribution and their right and a mechanism for actual distribution of benefits will go a long way is not only reaping the commercial potential of crafts but also in helping the craft person to sustain their occupations and enjoy position of prestige in today's globalized markets. Intellectual property right or generic patenting can prevent imitation by interlopers from other areas and sectors.

Tribal handicrafts are very important aspects of our national heritage and it has now substantial contribution to the state and national economy in terms of employment and income generation. Due to lack of adequate information, policy makers and planners failed to develop suitable strategy. Some schemes are there for development of handicrafts of the tribal. Enumeration of tribal artisans, their craft activities and concentration of such handicraft pockets are needed to form a database on tribal craftsmen.

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CONSERVATION-CUM-DEVELOPMENT OF PTGs OF ORISSA

T. Sahoo

Situation in India

Distinctiveness of PTGs: The Dhebar Commission had identified the Primitive Tribes as the most backward tribes among all the tribes. "The Primitive Tribal Groups are characterized by: (a) pre-agricultural level of technology, and (b) extremely low level of literacy. The Primitive Tribal Groups use preagricultural technology for hunting, food gathering and shifting cultivation. These are the ways in which they earn their livelihood. For hunting animals, they use bow, arrow, snares, traps, etc., and for shifting cultivation and food gathering, they use crude implements such as digging sticks, bill-hooks, hoe and axe, etc." (Patanaiik, 2005:194). Besides, some other characteristics observed among the Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) are diminishing or stagnant population, live in inaccessible and difficult terrain, material belongings being few and very simple, prevalence of communal ownership of land, authority vested on village headman all ritual function performed by a religious headman, no written laws present, except tradition bound customary laws, slow in adoption of change and development, very little economic diversification and strong belief in super-naturalism, sorcery, black magic and witchcraft. On the whole, the PTGs have such characteristics as distinctiveness, smallness, homogeneity, all providing self sufficiency, which is found in different degrees in different PTGs.

Nodal Agency for PTG Development: At the time of review of tribal development programmes during the Fifth Plan period, it was decided to set up Micro Projects for the extremely backward groups known as Primitive Tribes. Based on pre-agricultural level of technology, low level of literacy, declining or stagnant populations, 76 tribal communities in India have been identified and categorized as PTGs so far. The Micro Project is the nodal agency for PTG Development. Every Micro Project has a Governing Body constituted taking the district Collector as the Chairman and its Special Officer as the Member-Secretary, the other district level officers and peoples representatives as members. The Governing Body controls, guides and approves plan and programmes for PTG development. The Micro Project receives the SCA funds from the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India and utilizes the funds on 100 percent subsidy for effective implementation of PTG development programmes. This flexible scheme operates from the 6th Plan period

and covers schemes, like housing, infrastructure development, education, health, land distribution/development, agriculture development, cattle development, social security, insurance, etc.

GO and NGO intervention: Considering the vulnerability of the PTGs, a new central sector scheme for the development of PTGs was launched by MOTA, Government of India in 1998-99 to supplement the existing special approach for PTG development. This supplementary effort primarily meant for such items and activities, which though very crucial for their survival, protection and development, are not specifically catered to by any existing schemes. Under this scheme, cent percent assistance are also available to ITDAs/TRIs/NGOs for implementing welfare and development activities like awareness generation and confidence building, skill up gradation training for of tribal youths, organizations of Self Help Groups and provision of services or inputs not covered by any existing scheme.

Besides, the Central and State Governments are supposed to allocate funds from Central Sector/Centrally Sponsored Schemes and State Plan Schemes for the PTGs development. These schemes are, like, Habitat Development, Setting up of Information and Cultural Centers, Special Health Projects under World Bank scheme, Land Based Composite Irrigation Scheme, Educational Complex for Low Female Literacy Pockets, which have already been experimented in the areas of different Micro Projects in the recent past.

Conservation-cum-Development (CCD) Plans: Pandit Nehru's "Tribal Panchasheel" which was later ratified by the Dhebar Commission and Shilu Ao Committee, stated specifically that the development of the tribal should be along the lines of their own genius and that there should be no imposition on them. It also provided for integration of tribal with the rest of the society in the manner that their traditions and cultures remain unaffected and there was no loss of their identity. It was also emphasized to safeguard their rights over land and forest, and to prepare and train them to take care of their administration and development. Even after more than four decades passed, when we think of PTG development in the 11th plan prospective, this viewpoint of tribal development in the 1970s still holds good.

The recent efforts of the Planning Commission for the development of the PTG and their culture on eve of the 11th Plan formulation seem to a bounce back in realizing the strength of the historical dictum of Tribal

Panchasheel. As such, the latest PTG development strategy adopted by the Planning Commission and Central Government is the **conservation-cum-development (CCD) Plans for the PTGs of India**. As per the guidelines of MOTA, GOI, New Delhi during 2007-08, a comprehensive long term CCD) Plan for PTG development has been formulated for Eleventh Plan period (2007-08 to 2011-12) through baseline surveys conducted by respective State Governments/Union Territory. These Plans envisage a synergy between efforts of State Governments and non-governmental organizations for the development as well conservation of the PTG cultures through up keeping their traditional know-how, but blended with a scientific look.

Situation in Orissa

Shilu Ao Team opined that the lowest layer needed the utmost consideration and should be made special concern of the State Governments. Understanding the significance of this statement let us examine the PTGs development interventions in the state of Orissa.

Identity of PTGs in Orissa: A cursory look at life, living and development level of two tribes of Orissa, viz. the Santal of Mayurbhanj district and the Bonda of Malkangiri district helps grasp us the distinction between the two ethnic groups. The former tribe is settled agriculturist, developed, educated and in the process of acculturation. The later tribe is secluded, and lags behind educationally and till now professes primitive economy, shifting cultivation, enjoy the dormitory life and customary mode of dispute resolution through the village council and also some of them were reported as having past records of criminal tendency, like committing homicide and stealing. In the list of PTGs of Orissa, 13 in numbers, the Bonda tops the list followed by 12 more such groups, like the Birhor, Chuktia Bhunjia, Didayi, Dongria Kandha, Hill-Kharia, Juang, Kutia Kandha, Lanjia Saora, Lodha, Paudi Bhuyan, Mankirdia and Saora. The above 13 PTGs have been identified like the rest 63 such PTGs in India on the aforesaid criteria. The most often questions put by researchers, tribal development practitioner and the social activists concern- **whether/are all the deserving tribes/section of tribes of Orissa have been identified as PTGs for their development intervention?** Conceivably, a reply to this question could be negative in form for the following explanations.

- (a) The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Report (1967-68) listed the weakest among the 62 ST communities of Orissa. Among the weakest, who have not been identified as PTGs so far are; the Banajari/Banjara in Nawarangpur subdivision, Chennchu, Jatapu and Gadaba, Parenga in sadar subdivision of Koraput,

Kondh of Kashipur, Koraput (now Rayagada), Jharia Kondha in Rayagada sub-division, Juang in Pallahara sub-division of Dhenkanal (now in Angul), Koya of Malkangiri sub-division and Bhuyan (Paudi) in Keonjhar sub-division.

- (b) Consequent upon the claims of the peoples' Representatives and the instructions from Government in ST&SC Development Department, Orissa, the then THRTI now SCSTRTI had identified the tribes/section of the tribes, like Erenga Kolha in Bona, Koida and Lahunipada Blocks of Sundargarh District (1981), Paudi Bhuyan in Banspal block in Keonjhar District (1982), Koya in Podia and Mathili Blocks of Malkangiri District (1995), Kutia Kondh in Kashipur Block of Rayagada District(1983), Gadaba in Similiguda and Lamtaput Blocks of Koraput District (1981) and Selia Poraja in Dasmantapur Block of Koraput District and prepared prospective long term action plans for them. Such proposals were examined by the Government of India and they were not considered favourably for creation of separate Micro Projects for the PTGs development. On the contrary suggestions came from the Central Government for taking up their development programmes through the concerned ITDAs and Blocks. Thus for these less privileged tribal people, the PTG development programmes with 100 per cent subsidy remained unreachable.

PTG Development Interventions: Among the tribes, the problems of PTGs (shifting cultivators, nomadic and food gatherers, ex-criminal vulnerable groups) and dislocated tribes, due to development projects, differ from the other sections of the ethnic people. These are found in the inaccessible interior areas. They live largely the communal life of their villages which are run by democratic principles. Traditionally they do not have private ownership over land. The areas available around their villages belong to community and are divided among the people by mutual consent in the village. The dormitory is an important feature of their social life. Shifting cultivation and forest collection and food gathering constitute their principal means of subsistence. These are found in the inaccessible interior areas. Taking in to consideration of their extreme backwardness, secluded life, cultural conservatism and special problems, the PTGs need special attention. As such, taking care of the PTGs has been/should be our concern.

Flexible Scheme of PTG Development: Across the country, the PTG development programme started synchronically with the TSP intervention, which dated back 1975-79. The first Micro Project grounded in the country in 1977-78 is Bonda Development Agency, Mudulipada, Malkangiri (the then Koraput) district. The PTG people of Orissa, like

many of them in India, live in hilly uplands, isolated and difficult terrain. Mostly, they depend on natural growth of crops as well as forest vegetation. Generally they lack motivation for economic improvement among them. In the state of Orissa there are 13 PTGs numbering 78,519 persons (2007 Survey). For their total development, 17 Micro Projects covering parts of 20 blocks, and 541 villages in 12 districts are functioning in the State. The PTG development programmes grounded with the establishment of the first Micro Project in India, Bonda Development Agency, Mudulipada in the then Koraput (Now Malkangiri) district, Orissa in 1977-78. Up date, 17 Micro Projects have been established for the development of 13 PTGs of Orissa. Several schemes have been implemented for the PTGs from the fifth plan period onwards. But empirical studies show that the pace of PTG development has been slow and the achievements level is behind the set objectives. As per the CCD plan survey (2007) the literacy of the PTGs levels at 26.32 percent (15.92% for female). Among PTGs 37.02 percent households are landless and 79.08 percent households belong to the BPL category. Shifting cultivation and forest based economy supports their survival. There are semi nomadic, settled and socially vulnerable groups, shifting cultivators, horticulturist artisans and craft persons and experts in high land and water management among the PTGs, having rich cultural heritage marked with indigenous technical knowledge bearing the potentiality of using them as development input.

New Central Sector Scheme for the development of PTGs: As discussed above in Indian situation reading the new Central Sector Scheme of PTG development, 1998-99, let us test the following hypothesis to know the implementation of the scheme for the PTGs of Orissa through NGOs intervention.

The PTG Development under the Central Sector Scheme, 1998-99 operates from the urban based NGOs to undertake development interventions for the PTGs dwelling in remote country side of Orissa State.

Under the new Central Sector Scheme for the development of PTGs, the MOTA, Govt. of India had provided funds to the tune of Rs 159.34 lakh during the period from 1998-99 to 2003-04 to six NGOs located at urban places in Orissa. These urbanite NGOs run the PTG development intervention programmes in remote rural areas under the Central Sector Scheme, 1998-99. The NGO wise allocation of funds by MOTA is furnished in the Table below.

In absence of any objective assessment of the schemes and programmes executed by the NGOs, it is not possible to discuss here

the fund utilisation and physical achievements of the PTG beneficiaries. It is high time an evaluation of the scheme for development of the PTGs run by the NGOs may be taken up to assess the extent of the benefits reached to the PTG people for whom the funds were placed with the NGOs.

Development intervention for the PTG through Micro Project has positive impacts on such people living beyond the Micro Project area.

The Mankirdia outside the Micro Project area are silently observing resettlement and development programmes of their brethren at villages, Kendumundi and Durdura, who won community houses, tube wells, Anganwadi centers communally and Indira Awaas houses, kitchen gardens, possess vote identity cards, ration cards, BPL cards, got old age pensions and also are the beneficiaries of different IGS programmes. Some of them have crossed poverty line, turned literate, sharecroppers, businessmen, tractor drivers and sent their children to schools. All of them have given up their wandering habit and lead a settled life. These observations on the government development interventions for the Mankirida at the two villages have been imprinted in the minds of the other Mankiridas and influenced them to claim for availing such benefits extended by the Govt. of Orissa as well as MOT, Govt. of India (Sahoo, 2008:).

The Mankirdias are small in number, differently developed with respect to their brethren in (HKMDA) Micro Project area and of remote habitat with poor administrative and infrastructure back up. Items and activities of total development programmes required for the Mankirdias, which though very crucial for their survival, protection and development, are not specifically catered to by any devolvement agency or scheme. Therefore, they are in need of priority to be accorded for their protection and development. The district administration should come forward to extend all the social opportunities, like old age/widow pensions, ration cards, vote identity cards and other welfare measures meant for BPL category families. In absence of a special Micro Project for the total development of these PTG people, who are dispersed in different ITDAs in Mayurbhanj and Balasore districts, there is need for selection and deployment of a suitable NGO and field functionaries who possess a degree of enthusiasm, empathy, integrity, sensitivity and experiences of development programmes with the Mankirdias, and also willingness to take up the hard work of PTG Development under the "Central Sector Scheme- Development of PTGs, 1998-99. It is high time the district administration with the help of the Authorities of the Project

Administrators, like Rairangpur, Karanjia, Baripada, Kaptipada and Nilagiri ITDAs, the concerned DRDAs and Similipa National Park may conduct special surveys of Mankirdias found in their project areas and prepare suitable action plans and prioritize their programmes for total development of the Mankirdia including the Birhor and Mankidi people.

Some other PTGs, like Hill-Kharia, Paudi Bhuyan, Lanjia Saora, Chuktia Bhunjia, Didayi, etc. have been influenced by the PTG development programmes of their neighbouring villages and have urged strongly to be included in the nearby Micro Project for their development. Both the Central Government Schemes, (i) Flexible Scheme of PTG Development (since 1977-78) and (ii) New Central Sector Scheme for the development of PTGs, 1998-99 are reported unreachable to these people who claimed to be PTGs, but not included in the Micro Projects. In the mean time some of the Micro Project authorities have sent proposals for inclusion of additional villages with PTG people in their Micro Projects. The SCSTRTI had already examined such proposals of Micro Projects, like HKMDA, Jashipur, Mayurbhanj district and CBDA, Sunabeda, Nuapada district and LSDA, Puttasinghi, Rayagada district through field investigations and submitted report to consider the cases favourably. Examination of Such cases from the Micro Projects, like Paudi Bhuyan Dev. Agency, Khuntagaon, Sundargarh Dist., DDA, Kudumulgumma, and BDA, Mudulipada in Malkangiri district is going on, and for this the views of the concerned Gramsabhas are needed.

It is seen that some of the PTG people (especially the shifting cultivators and semi-nomadic and migrant labour groups) frequently change their dwellings from village to village due to socio-economic and cultural compulsions. We should allow the PTG people to identify their own brothers who share with them in the same habitat, environment and cultural life. If the Micro Project authorities are convinced that they are the PTG people, they should simply get the views of their respective Gramsabhas for the identity of the people and extend them the benefit of development with approval of the Governing Body of the Micro Project. Needless to say that the Governing Body is the apex organisation and it is devolved power for management, programme implementation and monitoring of PTG development scheme.

Conservation-cum-Development Plans for PTGs of Orissa: In the course of centuries of habitation in the highlands, they have developed their own way of living, their own culture. It will be unfair, unrealistic, and illogical to make an attempt to mould them to our way of living and impose on them process and techniques suited to the non tribals.

Therefore, according to the historical opinion of Pt. Nehru, the PTGs should be development on their own genius. No conscious attempt has been made to follow this dictum. The abilities, aptitude, potentialities, proclivities need to be exploited and improved so that their choice and access to occupations, like agro-horti, animal husbandry and forest based activities are attuned and culture is conserved and development is reachable.

Development of PTG people and conservation of their culture should go side by side. Make education, social and food security, communication assessable to the PTG people, they will take care of their own development. Understanding gravity of the situation Government of India and Planning Commission have changed the strategy during the 11th Plan Period for the development of the PTGs in India through an innovative mode captioned, Conservation cum Development (CCD) Plan. As per the MOTA, GOI guidelines, Orissa Government had recently (May 2007) conducted studies in collaboration with the Special Officers and Project Leaders of the Micro Projects and prepared and submitted comprehensive village-wise Conservation-cum-Development (CCD) Plan during the 11th Plan period (2007-2012) for 13 Primitive Tribal Groups in 17 locations. While preparation of action plan of each of the 17 Micro Projects the prescriptions of PESA Act, 1996 and its Orissa Counterpart Act, 1997 were followed and the views of the Gramsabhas and the PRI representatives were honoured in respect of preliminary selection of schemes and framing priority of programmes.

This study was the first of its kind that identified the plights of the PTGs, such as, high incidence of poverty, nutritional deficiencies and diseases especially among women and children leading to high IMR and MMR, inadequacy of safe drinking water, poor sanitation and poor hygiene, inadequate/inaccessible health care services, vulnerability to specific diseases like, malaria, diarrhoea, skin infections, etc., low literacy and high drop-out rates, deforestation and loss of traditional rights on forests, shifting cultivation- their way of life but ecologically unsound, indebtedness and debt-bondage leading to socio-economic exploitation, and half hazard rehabilitation of displacement of PTG people and disappearing of their pristine culture.

As per the estimation of the survey the habitats of the PTGs are deprived off the basic amenities, which includes 912 (5%) houseless households, 6846 (37.02%) landless households, 141 (26%) settlements have no safe drinking water, 471 (86%) PTG settlements not electrified, 321 (60 %) settlements not served by Anganwadi Centers, 490 (90%) settlements

not served by Gyan Mandirs (nursery schools), 455 (84%) settlements have no Community Centers and 296 settlements not connected with all weather roads. On the contrary, the survey also rediscovers some of the pride possessions of the PTG people and their habitat, like nature's gift (forests and hill streams), indigenous technological knowledge such as traditional land and water management skills and art of icon of Saora/Lanjia Saora, Bondas' textiles, ornaments and rice cultivation, Dongria Kandhas' gardening and cloth embroidery as well as traditional institutions (Dormitory, Labour Cooperatives, Village Council) etc. so as to make their use as development inputs. While framing the CCD plans for all the 17 Micro Projects areas the above plights, deprivations and pride possessions are taken in to account.

This prospective plan for the PTGs was done for a total estimated cost of Rs. 84.25 crore out of which Rs. 64.46 crore has been posed to Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Gol for financial assistance over a period of five years. The remaining Rs. 19.80 Crore rupees will be placed by various other Line Departments. The proposal, for Rs. 4.00 crore under the CCD Plans for 17 Micro Projects of Orissa envisages schemes like Housing, Communication, Drinking Water provision, Health and Sanitation, Educational Complexes, Horticultural Plantations, Land Development, Upgradation of Anganwadi Centres to Multi-purpose Service Centres, innovative programmes for conservation of culture, art, crafts, language, indigenous technical knowledge, social security through the provision of fireproof houses, Grain Banks and coverage of all families under Janashree Vima Yojana, and awaking and empowering people through IEC activities with the help of NGOs.

The Central Government had considered the CCD plan favourably. As a quick response to the CCD Plan proposal, the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Gol, New Delhi has already released funds to the tune of about Rs. 22.43 core in two consignments during the first two years (2007-08 & 2008-09) of the 11th plan period. Under the CCD plans there is a splendid achievement in creation of education infrastructures through establishing 17 Educational Complexes, one in each Micro Project area, for the educational advancement of about 3,400 PTG girls. As an additionality, the SCST Development Department, Government of Orissa has earmarked Rs. 400 lakh for 11th five year plan under the Central Sector Scheme for Development of PTGs, 1998-99 to supplement the efforts of the CCD plan. MoTA has also provided additional funds to the tune of Rs. 100 lakhs under Article 275 (1) during 2008-09 to two Micro Projects (LSDA, Puttasingi and SDA, Chandragiri) for construction of Multi Purpose Service Centres (MPSC) @ Rs 4 lakhs per center. The

construction of such centers is in progress and it is expected that they would be made available for use in the development programmes of the PTG people of the village very shortly. The objective of each of these center as a hub of activities is to deliver essential services, like food security, workshop for art and craft, nursery education, recreation and court for settlement of dispute I customary mode. Besides, as it was revealed by Hon'ble Chief Minister of Orissa in press conference, a proposal have been mooted for setting up 17 Ekalavya Model Residential Schools under Article 275 (1) for Primitive Tribal Group regions to help improve the quality of tribal education among the PTGs. Thus the CCD Plans set objectives would enhance their quality of life, and conserve their culture.

PTG people have been selected to take up the implementation of their development works.

Educated PTG youths having the requisite qualifications have been selected as Teachers in the newly established Educational Complexes in 17 Micro Projects. Wherever necessary, the requisite qualifications have been relaxed for the postings of the PTG educated youths as the teachers. Prior to this, in all most all Micro Projects, the PTG people were engaged as Multipurpose Workers, Gyanmaas, Village Leaders/ Contact Boys, etc. to assist in the implementation of development programmes. Due to fund crunch and austerity measures by the Finance Department, Government of Orissa some of them have been disengaged recently. Those who are now selected and or working in the Micro Project should be imparted orientation training for the skill upgradation and empowerment so that they would deliver their best for the cause of their own people. Therefore, the supposition, PTG people have been selected to take up the implementation of their development works is half-true. In course of filed survey in different Micro Project areas the following observations are made.

- a) Engagement of Lodha, Bonda and others as contact persons, leaders, MPWs, & Grade IV employees facilitated effective implementation of their development schemes.
- b) PTG people selected, engaged and disengaged and recruited afresh led rise and fall of literacy, income level and employment generation.
- c) Had they been trained, it would have yielded more results. Reversely, their disengagement adversely effected PTG development work.
- d) Attempt for fresh recruitment of the PTG educated youths for the Educational Complex, 2008-09 have raised new hope. Again most of them are reported untrained but will have to work as Para Teachers.

Implementation threats: The implementation of CCD plan is not free from the following hindrances.

- a) Operation of wild life projects in Sunbeda Plateau of Nuapada district and Similipal National Park of Mayurbhanj, mining and industrial activities Vedanta Alumina in Niyamgiri Hills in Rayagada and Kalahandi Districts are going against the interests of the PTGs, like Chuktia Bhunjia, Hill-Kharia and Mankirdia, Kutia Kondh and Dongria Kondh respectively.
- b) Tribal movement (eg. Naxlite/Maoist activities) in their areas, religious conversion, modern forces and contact with neighbour and outsiders attract them towards a state of detribalization.
- c) Inadequate, inappropriate and unwilling staff of the Micro Projects adds the list of hindrances. Lack of understanding in real needs of PTGs, fund crunch is also a hindrance to the development practitioner.
- d) Systematic researches studies on ITK subject on the topic are conspicuously absent and that deprives the making of the best use of the ITK for development purpose.

Conclusion & Suggestions:

Indigenous knowledge and cultural pattern is the lifeline of the PTGs. The PTG people know their best how to preserve their environment, maintain the groves, practice hill slope cultivation on a sustainable basis, and efficiently handle forestland, labour cooperative and water management and uphold peace and solidarity through village council. Tradition based and culture oriented programmes lead to sustainable development and cultural enrichment. Thus, there is no substitute to CCD strategy for the PTG development. Development of PTG people and conservation of their culture should go side by side. The advice of Planning Commission and the guidelines issued by MoTA, Gol, have rightly given a new dimension to the strategy for the PTG development during the 11th Plan Period.

The following suggestions seem to be useful for the Micro Project Authorities and Development Administrators, who share responsibilities for the cause of PTG development.

- a). There is a need for posting and training of willing workers in the Micro Projects along with the selection and deployment of a suitable NGO to take up the hard work of PTG development. Partnership with local NGOs in awareness and empowerment campaign would benefit the PTG people and their development programmes.

- b). Special Central Assistance from MOTA should be supplemented by flow of funds from other agencies, like State Government, National and International organizations.
- c). The Governing Body of the Micro Project should be revitalized, monitoring mechanism be strengthened, and concurrent evaluation should be done in routine manner.
- d). Care should be taken so as to avoid the conflicting situations while implementing rules of forest and wildlife, rehabilitation and PTG development policies and strategies.
- e). The concerned ITDAs, DRDAs, and National Park and Wildlife Project Authority should share the responsibilities of development of PTGs (coming under their jurisdictions) by extending funds, functions and facilities.
- f). Educated tribal youths and traditional medicine men should be trained and engaged to act as Para Teachers and Paramedics and deliver educational and health services to their own people in their locality.
- g). Convergence of the traditional and scientific/external knowledge, their documentation and use in practical situation for development of the PTG people is the need of the hour. Agricultural and Industrial scientists should help upgrade and extend value addition to PTG ITK for their income and employment generation.

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TRIBE VIS-A-VIS LAND CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF ISSUE AND OPTION IN ORISSA

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Introduction

Land is the first and foremost factor of production, which is the beginning of all economic activities and consumption is the end. Land is not only an economic commodity but also a social commodity. The meaning and significance of land are not uniform for all types of economic pursuits. For example, land conveys different meanings and significance for those who pursue hunting-gathering, fishing, handicrafts, shifting cultivation, settled agriculture, postoralism, etc. Various factors, such as land utilization, ownership and inheritance are economic pursuit-specific, and accordingly rights and obligations are determined. Among hunter gathers, land with territorial limit is meaningful for a band/group/clan/lineage/kindred group, who maintains it with care and considers outsiders as trespassers. Pastoralists who are nomadic practise seasonal migration/transhumance and are more concerned about grazing land/meadow land instead of cultivable land for domestication of crops. In a mixed economy, however, for them agriculture is a subsidiary occupation. For raising crops, the settled agriculturists have individual ownership and rights to sell, lease out, and inheritance is determined as per customary rules or the laws concerning land, for the time being in force. In a nutshell, tribal economy is, by and large, non-differentiated and mixed one. Several forms of land tenures are found prevalent among tribal communities. There are communal lands and individual holdings. The communal lands include the categories of lands which are used for common benefit of villagers, such as shrines for deities, grazing land, sacred groves, virgin forests, cremation/ burial ground, etc. The individual holdings pertain to private ownership and are acquired through several ways, like clearing of forest tract and land development by personal efforts, possession through default of loan, leasing in for a long period, etc.

The possession of land justifies the material existence of man and land has several uses. Land as a natural resource and the gift of nature provides the basic sustenance for humans. Land is wealth; Land is power; Land is a socio-economic commodity; Land is an item of gift and prestation, land is used as bride-wealth; land is a form of social

security; land is a commodity with perennial value; land is utilized in exigency situations; land creates friendship and good will; land creates enmity and hostility; etc. Some lands have exclusive rights whereas certain others have usufructuary right. The ancestral land although is owned by the head of a household can only be alienated with the consent of all family members, whether forming one hearth-group or belonging to several hearth-groups.

It may be reiterated that land alone as a factor of production can not produce anything, and it requires collaboration of other factors, such as labour and capital and also the fourth factor, i.e. organization which combines the other three factors. Land left unutilized or barren loses something which is equivalent to its opportunity cost and tribals are fully aware of this through their indigenous knowledge. Land is inextricably interwoven with the social structure of tribal communities, or in other words, it is the geographical expression of social structure, through which land-man relationship is maintained and managed as per customary laws. It is the social structure which determines land right of a person in the community, and by virtue of this right, he/she enjoys social status. From both heuristic and analytic points of views, especially in folk (tribal) as well as peasant societies, man-land relationship continues amidst change and the economic system is maintained.

Life and livelihood system of tribal people centre round land and tribal land alienation leads to disaster. During the post-independence period state has imposed restrictions on land alienation and taken steps for restoration of alienated tribal land. The basic tenet of land reforms is to prevent the widening gulf of inequalities in landholding system and side by side promote enhancement of the productivity of land. It may be stated here that land reform is covered in the State list of the Constitution under entry-18.

Roy-Burman (1986) pleads for retention of corporate tribal rights on land, whereas F.G. Bailey (1960) states that every tribesman has equal and inalienable access to land, because of unequal distribution of land. While discussing functioning of Orissa Scheduled Areas Transfer of Immovable Property (ST), Regulation 2 of 1956, Behura & Panigrahi State the number of cases instituted (46811), number of cases pending (4017), total number of cases (50828) disposed (45862), cases pending till end of the year, extent of land restored (36,147 acres), number of households benefited (33718) and average land distributed per household (1.07 acre) collected from the Annual Administrative Reports of Scheduled Areas of concerned years of S.T. and S.C. Development Department, Government of Orissa (2006:197).

Land is a valuable asset for tribal. It nourishes and nurtures them as a part of the Mother Earth (basumata/ basukimata) and their basic survival depends upon land.

With the above observations, we may discuss the tribal situation in Orissa and matters connected with land in tribal areas.

Tribal Situation In Orissa:

The term 'tribe' refers to two realities or two fields of facts which are different, but linked. However, everyone uses it to distinguish a type of society from others. It refers to a specific mode of social organization, which is different from other modes of social organization. This does not mean that there is complete socio-cultural unanimity amongst them. Anthropologists employ a set of criteria to define and categorize tribal societies. The other reality is that it refers to a stage of evolution. The link between these two realities is very clear, because according to evolutionists view point, each stage of evolution is characterized by a specific mode of social organization (Godelier,1973) .

The term 'tribe' comes from the word 'tribus', which designates a particular kind of social and political organization existing in traditional societies of Africa, America, Oceania and Asia. In such societies, there is an internal relationship, real or implied, between kinship and political organization. This internal relationship can be understood better if one analyzes the nature of social groups, designated as clan, phratry, genos and tribe. Till anthropology became a scientific discipline, these terms had been used indiscriminately by administrators, missionaries, geographers and others. But it was Morgan, who for the first time delineated tribal forms of social organization in his writup: *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (1871).He demonstrated that the type of social relations which predominate the organization of tribal societies are based on kinship. He showed that the kinship relations could be better understood by studying rules of marriage, descent and kinship terminologies. Morgan typified tribe as a completely organized society. A tribe is an aggregate of clans. A clan is a consanguineal group, real or fictive, of relatives, and all the members believe to have descended from a common ancestor or ancestress. Morgan demonstrated this in his trend-setting contribution. *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of Human Family* (1871). Each tribe is culturally homogeneous and is individualized by a common appellation, by a separate dialect or language, by a law-enforcing mechanism, by professing animism, and by possession of a common territory, which it claims to be its very own. In other words, a tribe may be described as system of social organization with a common territory, a tradition of

common descent, common language, a common name and a common culture.

With the emergence of structural-functional theory tribal societies were no longer considered as representatives of stages of evolutionary order, but certainly as a type of society. Most of the functionalists regarded social systems as wholes. Internal linkages exist through group sentiments, fostering of common ideology, speaking of a common language, and practice of boundary maintenance rules. These criteria together with some others branded an ethnic community as a tribe. Tribal societies exhibit three types of internal political relations namely, (i) non-segmentary acephalous, (e.g., Eskimo, African Ibo, etc.) segmentary acephalous (Nuer of Sudan, Dobu of Oceania, etc. and (iii) the centralized (Tonga, Mossi, etc.) Honigmann, (1964).

Sahlins (1961) and Service (1962) attempted to redefine tribe as a type of society, and presented a scheme of social evolution in four stages: the band, the tribe, the chiefdom and the State, whereby 'civilization' finally emerged in the historical process. This scheme exemplified evolution of societies from simple to complex. In 1968 Sahlins in his book 'Tribesmen' changed this scheme into a succession of three stages, band, tribe and state.

Tribal societies have two functioning features in common : (i) the existence of elementary social units-primary segments possessing the form of multifamilial local groups, and (ii) the multifunctionality of kinship relations which shape these familial groups. There is 'structural equivalence' of 'primary segments' in tribal societies and this means that they are functionally equivalent, that is, economically, politically, culturally and ideologically equal. Each local community or segment is like another, and does for itself what another does. In many cases, local communities are segments of lineages claiming descent from a common ancestor or ancestress. The concept of 'tribal society' encompasses a concatenation of features found in the functioning of many simple societies, the segmentary character of elementary socio-economic units, the real or apparent nature of 'kinship' groups in these socio-economic units and the multifunctional nature of these kinship relations (Godelier, 1973). The term 'tribe' is both a structural and cultural concept.

Tribes are at various stages of socio-economic development. At the one extreme are the groups which lead relatively a secluded and archaic mode of life while at the other extreme are groups which are indistinguishable from the general agricultural communities. The former group comprises earlier stages of economic evolution, such as hunters,

food-gathers and shifting cultivators. The latter group comprises backward communities which are economically worse off compared to the general population. Settled agricultural economy may be taken as the watershed for distinguishing the communities belonging to the former group from the communities belonging to the latter group. Hunting and gathering as food-seeking activities constitute pre-agricultural economy. Likewise, shifting cultivation is a prior stage of economic development. The communities who carry on pre-agricultural economic activities may be generally called primitive groups.

Linguistically the tribes of India are broadly classified into four categories, namely (1) Indo-Aryan Speakers, (2) Dravidian speakers (3) Tibeto-Burmese speakers, and (4) Austric speakers. There are about four hundred tribal languages, which means that most of the tribes have their own languages. However, in a majority of cases, these languages are unwritten ones. In Orissa, the speakers of the Tibeto-Burmese language family are absent, and therefore, Orissan tribes belong to other three language families. The Indo-Aryan language family in Orissa includes, Dhehki-Oriya, Matia, Haleba, Jharia, Saunti, Laria and Oriya (spoken by Bathudi and the acculturated sections of Bhuiyan, Juang, Kandha, Savara, Raj Gond etc). The Austric language family includes eighteen tribal languages namely, Birija, Parenga, Kisan, Bhumiji, Koda, Mahili Bhumiji, Mirdha-Kharia, Ollar Gadaba, Juang Bondo, Didayee, Karmali, Kharia, Munda, Ho, Mundari and Savara. And within the Dravidian language family there are nine languages in Orissa, namely Pengo, Gondi, Kisan, Konda, Koya, Paraji, Kuni, Juvi and Kurukh or Oraon.

There was general misconception that tribal communities did not possess languages but dialects. But with the extensive study of tribal languages linguists have come to the conclusion that tribals, do possess languages. Tribal languages contain the same features which other languages possess, such as (i) duality of structure (phonemic and morphemic), (ii) productivity capability (creativity and novelty), (iii) arbitrariness (no correlation between linguistic morphs and their meanings), (iv) interchangeability (vocal and auditory functions are simultaneous), (v) specialization (codes and code-switching capability) (vi) displacement (abstractness of speech), (vii) prevarication (ability to misrepresent reality), and (viii) cultural transmission (learning and inculcation). Besides, tribal languages have all the four sub systems, such as (i) phono-morphemic, (ii) syntactic, (iii) semantic and (iv) symbolic which other languages have. The major difference between tribal and non-tribal languages is that the former are unwritten ones, and therefore, have no literary traditions, but only oral traditions. When

one examines the entire range of folklore of a tribe, he finds that the oral traditions of that tribes are no less rich. Some of the major tribes have been trying to develop literary traditions of their own, for example, Santals of Orissa have developed a script, called Ol chiki, for their language. Their cultural organization has been printing and publishing primary level text books, Santal songs, myths, riddles, proverbs, anecdotes and dramas in this script. And in tradition, the cultural organization has been printing newsletters and calendars of Santal annual cycle of festivals.

The tribes of Orissa, though belong to three linguistic divisions, have lots of socio-cultural similarities among them. These communities signify homogeneity of their cultures and together they characterize the notion to concept of tribalism. Tribal societies share certain common characteristics, and by these they are distinguished from complex or advanced societies. In India, tribal societies had apparently been outside the main historical current of the development of Indian civilization for centuries. Hence tribal societies manifest such cultural features and signify a primitive level in socio-cultural parameter.

A major portion of the tribal habitat is hilly and forested. Tribal villages are generally found in areas away from the alluvial plains close to rivers. Most villages are uniethnic in composition, and smaller in size. Villages are often not planned at all.

Economy : Tribal economy is characterized as subsistence oriented. The subsistence economy is based mainly on collecting hunting and fishing (e.g., the Brihor, Hill Kharia) or a combination of hunting and collecting with shifting cultivation (e.g., Juang, Hill Bhuiyan, Lanjia Saora, Kandha etc.). Even the so-called plough using agricultural tribes do often, wherever scope is available, supplement their economy with hunting and collecting. Subsistence economy is characterized by simple technology, simple division of labour, small scale units of production and no or less investment of capital. The social unit of production, distribution and consumption is limited to the family and lineage. Subsistence economy is imposed by circumstances which are beyond the control of human beings, poverty of the physical environment, ignorance of efficient technique of exploiting natural resources and lack of investment. It also implies existence of barter and lack of trade.

Considering the general features of their (i) eco system, (ii) traditional economy, (iii) supernatural beliefs and practices and (iv) recent impact of modernization, the tribes of Orissa can be classified into six types, such as (1) Hunting, Collecting and gathering, (2) Cattle-herder, (3) Simple artisan, (4) Hill and shifting cultivation, (5) Settled agriculture and (6) Industrial Urban.

Each type has a distinct style of life which could be best understood in the paradigm of nature, man and spirit complex, that is, on the basis of relationship with nature, fellow men and the supernatural.

- 1) Tribes of the first type, namely, Kharia, Mankidi, Mankirdia and Birhor, living in the forest of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Sundergarh districts, exclusively depend on the forest resources for their livelihood by practising hunting gathering and collecting. They live in tiny temporary huts made out of the materials found in the forest. Under constraints of their economic pursuit, they live in isolated small bands or groups. With their primitive technology, limited skill and unflinching traditional and ritual practices, their entire style of life revolves round forest. Their world view is fully in consonance with the forest eco-system. The population of such tribes in Orissa, though small, yet their impact on the ever depleting forest resources is very significant. Socio-politically they have remained inarticulate and therefore, have remained in a relatively more primitive stage, and neglected too.
- 2) The Koya which belongs to the Dravidian linguistic group, is the lone pastoral and cattle-breeder tribal community in Orissa. This tribe which inhabits the Malkangiri district has been facing crisis for lack of pasture. Rehabilitation of Bangla Desi refugees in Koya traditional habitat has created certain socio-economic problems for the latter.
- 3) In Orissa, Mahali and Kol-Lohara practises crafts like basketry and black-smithy respectively. The Lohara with their traditional skill and primitive tools manufacture iron and wooden tools for other neighbouring tribes and thereby eke out their existence. Similarly the Mahalis earn their living by making baskets for other communities. Both the tribes are now confronted with the problem of scarcity of raw materials. And further, they are not able to compete with other, especially in the tribal markets where goods of other communities come for sale, because of their primitive technology.
- 4) The tribes that practises hill and shifting cultivation are many. In northern Orissa the Juang and Bhuiyan and in southern Orissa the Kandha, Saora, Koya, Parenga, Didayi, Dharua and Bondo practise shifting cultivation. They supplement their economy by food-gathering and hunting as production in shifting cultivation is low. Shifting cultivation is essentially a regulated sequence of procedure designed to open up and bring under cultivation patches of forest lands, usually on hill slopes.

In shifting cultivation, the practitioners follow a pattern of cycle of activities which are as follows : (i) selection of patch of hill slope or forests land and distribution or allotment of the same to intended practitioner, (ii) worshipping of concerned deities and making of sacrifices, (iii) cutting of trees, bushes, ferns, etc. existing on the land, (v) burning of the withered logs, ferns and shrubs, etc. to ashes on a suitable day, (vi) cleaning of the patch of land before the onset of monsoon and spreading of the ashes evenly on the land after a shower or two, (vii) hoeing and sowing of seeds with regular commencement of monsoon rains, (viii) crude bunding and weeding activities which follow after sprouting of seeds, (ix) threshing and storing and storing of corns, grains etc., and (xii) merrymaking. In these operations, all the members of the family are involved in some way or the other. Work is distributed among the family members according to the ability of individual members. However, the head of the family assumes all responsibilities in the practice and operation of shifting cultivation. The adult males, between 18 and 50 years of age undertaking the strenuous work of cutting tree, ploughing and hoeing and watching of the crops at night, whereas cutting the bushes and shrubs, cleaning of seeds for sowing and weeding are done by women.

Shifting cultivation is not only an economic pursuit of some tribal communities, but it accounts for their total way of life. Their social structure, economy, political organization and religion are all accountable to the practice of shifting cultivation.

However, shifting cultivation has certain demerits. Whenever shifting cultivation is carried out on a steep slope, it invariably invites land erosion and degradation. By deforestation, soil loses its water retention capacity. The sub-soil gets washed away and the rocks and boulders are gradually exposed. Slowly and steadily the shifting cultivation process causes the streams down the hill to dry up. It also brings down heavy silts into the river basins, plains and valleys. The extensive deforestation affects rainfall. It affects the life of animals and forest resources, and it also leads to nomadic habits among the practitioners.

In the past, land in the tribal areas had not been surveyed and settled. Therefore, the tribals freely practised shifting cultivation in their respective habitats assuming that land, forest, water and other natural resources belonged to them. There were two traditional systems of land tenure prevalent among the tribes of Orissa. Among the tribes of northern Orissa, land and other resources were communally owned, and thus the annual distribution of plots on the hill slopes for shifting cultivation were being done in a corporate manner. But among the tribes of southern

Orissa, all such lands and other natural resources were under the control of the village (tribal) head man, who, on approach, used to allot plots for use to individuals. And since the evolution of Indian Forest Policy in 1952 and completion of survey and settlement of land in tribal areas the traditional tribal land tenure system has dwindled. The tribals, therefore, now have limited land and forest resources for the practice of shifting cultivation and for carrying on hunting, collecting and gathering activities.

The pernicious, yet unavoidable practice of shifting cultivation continues unchecked, and all attempts made to wean away the tribal from shifting cultivation have so far failed. The colonization scheme of the State Government has failed in spirit.

In certain hilly areas, terraces are constructed along the slopes. It is believed to be a step towards settled agriculture. Terrace cultivation is practised by the Saoras, Kandha and Godaba. The terraces are built on the slopes of hill with water streams. In terrace cultivation the available hill slopes are fully used, and the available water of hill streams are tapped for cultivation throughout the year as the water flows from one terrace to another in down-ward motion. The terrace walls are riveted and packed with stones and boulders, which cannot be washed out easily. In terraces, paddy is mainly grown and the per acre yield is quite high. The quantity of terrace land under the possession of a family is not much.

5. Several large tribes, such as, the Santal, Munda, Ho, Bhumij, Oraon, Gond, Kandha, Mirdha, Savara, etc. are settled agriculturists though they supplement their economy with hunting, gathering and collecting. The tribal agriculture in Orissa is characterized by unproductive and uneconomic holdings, land alienation indebtedness, unproductive and uneconomic holdings, lack of irrigation facilities in the undulating terrains, lack of easy or soft credit facilities as well as use of traditional skill and primitive implements. In general, they raise only one crop during the monsoon, and therefore, have to supplement their economy by other types of subsidiary economic activities.

Tribal communities practising settled agriculture also suffer from further problems. viz(i) want of record of right for land under occupation, (ii) land alienation, (iii) problems of indebtedness, (iv) lack of power for irrigation (v) absence of adequate roads and transport (vi) seasonal migration to other places for wage-earning, and (vii) lack of education and adequate scope for modernization.

6. A sizeable agglomeration of tribal population of Orissa has moved to mining, industrial and urban areas for earning a secured living through wage labour. During the past three decades, the process of industrial urbanization in the tribal belt of Orissa has been accelerated through the operation of mines and establishment of industrial urbanization in the tribal belt of Orissa. Mostly persons from advanced tribal communities, such as Santal, Munda, Ho, Oraon, Kissan, Gond, etc. have taken to this economic pursuit in order to relieve pressure from their limited land and other resources.

In some instances, industrialization and mining operation led to uprooting of tribal villages, and the displaced became industrial nomads. They lost their traditional occupation, agricultural land, houses and other immovable assets. They became unemployed and faced unfair competition with others in the labour market. Their aspiration gradually escalated, although they invariably failed to achieve what they aspired for. Thus, the net result was frustration. Occasionally their disappointment has been reflected in unrest and agitation. The Jharkhand movement also capitalized on these issues.

While it is neither possible nor desirable to halt the process of industrialization, the authorities must contemplate built-in safeguards for all those who are affected by it.

In a discussion on tribal economy, it is essential to dilate briefly on the concept of 'primitivism', because tribal communities in general are branded as primitive. The concept 'primitive' has been subjected to increasing criticism by anthropologists. The term is considered as a cliché and a derogatory one, it is contemptuous and obfuscating. The term represents an ortholinear viewpoint and a less advanced technological stage. Tribal societies, labeled as primitive, are almost in a state of equilibrium. Though the change is ubiquitous, its pace is slow in tribal societies because of geo-historical reasons. Branding tribal communities as 'primitive' is an egregious error, because the more we understand the tribal communities, the better we understand ourselves. The term 'primitive' denotes a particular configuration of certain phenomena, that is, (i) small scale homogeneous kin-based society with simple division of labour, (ii) social and political organization going hand in hand, (iii) relative isolation with a specific geographical location, (iv) egalitarian society, lack of significant competition and the normative order resting on cooperation, (v) techno economic level being low with the lack of formal education and capitalistic orientation, (vi) personalities endowed with an overpowering sense of realism and pragmatism, (vii) religious beliefs and performances directly contributing to a strong sense

of personal security, and (viii) monolingualism contributing to socio-cultural isolation. Therefore, what one notices here is that the largest significant reference group is the 'tribe' or a segment of it; the sub-tribe is, a single, endogamous ethnic group occupying a more or less contiguous territory. In some cases, e.g. Santal, Munda and Ho describe themselves as 'Hor' meaning 'man', while others are 'Diku' or 'aliens'.

Socio-religious Life:

The tribes are segmented into exogamous (patrilineal in Orissa) totemic (excepting the Saoras) clans, frequently with territorial cohesion and strong corporate identity. Clans are segmented into lineages with known genealogical ties which function as effective corporate social units.

The overall kinship system of the tribes may be labeled as "tempered classificatory". In terminology, the emphasis lies on the unilineal principle, generation and age. Descent and inheritance are patrilineal and authority is patripotestal among all the tribal communities of Orissa. On the basis of kinship organization, Orissan tribes can be divided into two categories. The kinship system of the tribes of the Dravidian language family is 'bifurcate merging' type, whereas the tribe of the other two language families is 'bifurcate collateral' type.

As regards the acquisition of brides for marriage the most widely prevalent practice among the tribes of Orissa is through 'capture' although other practices, such as elopement, purchase, service and negotiation are also there. With the passage of time negotiated type of marriage which is considered prestigious, is being preferred more and more. Payment of bride-price is an inseparable part of tribal marriage, but this has changed to the system of dowry among the educated sections. In the past, tribal marriages used to be performed in the house of the groom, but in recent times well-to-do and educated tribal families have changed the marriage booth to the bride's parental home. After marriage the bride goes to the house of her in-laws. Therefore, family among all the tribal communities of Orissa is patrilocal. Among some of the Dravidian tribal communities of Orissa, the customs of 'prescriptive' and 'preferential' marriages are there, that is, marriage with mother's brother's daughter or father's brother's daughter. Excepting the Kandha this custom, is in operation among other Dravidian tribes of Orissa.

Among the tribes, there is very little specialization of social roles, with the exception of role differentiation in terms of kinship and sex and some specialization in crafts, the only other role specialization is Head-man, Priest, Shahman and the Haruspex.

There is very little rigid stratification in society. The tendency towards stratification is gaining momentum among several settled agricultural tribes under the impact of modernization. The tribes of Orissa are at different levels of socio-economic development.

The religion of the Orissa tribes is an admixture of animism, animatism, nature, worship, fetishism, shamanism, anthropomorphism and ancestor worship. Religious beliefs and practices aim at insuring personal security and happiness as well as community well-being and group solidarity. Their religious performances include life-crisis rites, cyclic community rites, ancestor and totemic rites and observance of taboos. Besides these, the tribals also resort to various types of occult practices. In order to tide over either a personal or a group crisis the tribals begin with occult practices, and if it does not yield any result the next recourse is supplication of the supernatural force.

Crisis Rites :

Outstanding among crisis rites are those connected with the important and critical, but normally expected events in the life-cycle of the individual, the biological crises of life, namely, birth, sexual maturity, marriage and death. Rituals performed on these occasions have been called rites of passage, because they involve transition from one social status to another. This indeed implies separation, transition and incorporation/integration. A person is separated from a social status and then admitted or integrated into another status after a phase of transition. Crisis rites are markers of special events in the life of the individual, and are different from recurrent cyclic rituals pertaining to sowing and harvesting. Happenings such as birth, sexual maturity, marriage, illness or death are extremely important to an individual and to his kins and close relatives, and are generally of diminishing importance outside his kinship circle.

Birth is an important bio-social event in every society. It causes fresh alignment in the structural relations. The persons, on whom the birth as a socio-biological event hinges, observe certain taboos and refrain from the performance of sacred activities for varying periods of time.

Pubescent rite is an important event among all the tribal communities of Orissa. Sexual maturity of a girl, on the other hand, is a very significant personal and social event. Attainment of puberty by a girl immediately leads to her physical and social segregation. This abruptly snaps her girl-hood, and the menstrual flow is considered as a danger. For even seven days the girl is kept in strict seclusion and is subjected to strict observance of taboos. On expiry of the period of pollution, the girl

undergoes a purificatory ritual. Through the ritual, the event is announced among the kins, neighbours and others. Sexual maturity brings about marked change in personal behaviours and social relations.

Marriage is a remarkable event in the life of every individual. Marriage rite is an elaborate one which begins with the attempts for bride acquisition and ends up in her affiliation with her affinal kin group and sexual consumption. Although the rules of residence after marriage and customs of tracing descent are uniform among the tribes of Orissa, other factors, such as the mode of acquisition of a bride-price, and age at marriage vary widely among them. Marriages are stable, but important is the degree of sacranentalization attached to marriage institution. In all the tribal societies, it is vital for the social identity of children and continuation of lineages, clan and other functioning social groups.

Classic features of rites of crisis are often most clearly evident in obsequies. The bereaved refrain from many normal acts, perform various rites of mourning for the prescribed period which varies from tribe to tribe and finally the funeral or mortuary rite is performed, which marks the end of the final formal mourning and after this the kins of the deceased are brought back to normal social relationship.

The degree of elaboration of the funeral rite depends upon the social position of the deceased. The socio-cultural dimension of the mortuary rite is directly related to the age and social position of the deceased.

The annual cycle of rituals of the tribes is in tune with the cycle of economic activities and surround socio-economic interests and well being of the tribal communities. A ritual is a prescribed order for performing a concatenation and a rite is a traditional performance to which conventional symbolic meaning is attached by those who believe in it. The rituals are commonly but not always ceremonial in nature. A ritual brings the human being into relationship with god, ancestral spirits and other supernatural entities. Rituals indeed make overt religion and re-enact the interrelationship between cosmographical and social worlds.

Fixed and recurrent group rites which have nearly equal significance for all or most members of the social group in which they are performed range from familial ceremonies to those which apply to whole societies. The time of observance of these rites is correlated with the rhythmic cyclical changes in nature. Indeed many of these rites follow the annual cycle of seasons vis-à-vis the position of the sun and moon in the zodiac during a calendar year. Among the tribes of Orissa, excepting those

that are Hinduised (e.g. Raj Gonds, Raj Kuli Bhuiyans, besides Kandha, Bathudi Bhumij Mirdha and Oriya Juangs), observance of daily, weekly and monthly rite is almost nil. Most of the rituals of the tribes are seasonal and annual.

As most of the tribes of Orissa practise agriculture in some form or the other, and as rest others have a vital stake in agriculture, sowing, planting, first fruit eating and harvest rites are common amongst them. Their common cyclic rites revolve round the pragmatic problems of ensuring a stable economic condition, recuperation of the declining fertility of soil, protection of crop from damage, human and livestock welfare, safety against predatory animals and venomous reptiles and insure a good yield of annual and perennial crops.

The annual cycle of rituals commence right from the initiation of agricultural operation for instance, among the Juang, Bhuiyan, Kandha, Saora, Godaba, Jharia, Didayee, Koya and Bonda who practise shifting cultivation, the annual cycle beings with the first clearing of hill slopes during the Hindu month of Chaitra (March-April) and among others it starts with the first fruit eating ceremony of mango in the month of Baisakh (April-May). All the rituals centering agricultural operation first fruit eating, human, livestock and crop welfare are observed by the members of a village on a common date which is fixed by the village head-man in consultation with the village priest.

Thus the ideological system of all the tribes surrounds supernaturalism. The pantheon in most cases consists of the Sun God, the Mother Earth and a lower hierarchy of deities. Besides there are village tutelaries, nature spirits, presiding deities and ancestor-spirits, who are also propitiated and offered sacrifices. God and spirit are classified into benevolent and malevolent categories. A peculiarity of the tribal mode of worship is the offering of blood of an animal or a bird, because such propitiations and observance of rites are explicitly directed towards happiness and security in this world, abundance of crops, livestock, plants and progenies. Sickness is not natural to a tribal, it is considered as an out-come of the machination of some evil spirits or indignation of ancestor spirits or gods. Sometimes, sickness is also considered as the consequence of certain lapses on the part of an individual or group. Therefore, riddance must be sought through propitiation and observance of rituals.

Society is an ordered arrangement of human beings. It provides solutions to all human problems. It is a complex net-work of institutionalized inter-human relationship, and not simply an aggregate of individuals. But the maintenance of social system depends upon the political forces of the

society to secure discipline. There would be no coherent social life unless the social relationship, which binds people together are institutionalized and predictable. The alternative to order is chaos. To maintain an orderly system of social relations, people have to be subjected to some degree of compulsion, they can not at all times do, exactly as they like. Because often self-interest may incite behaviour incompatible with the common good, and therefore, every society has some rules for constraining people's behaviour. This is called political organization of a society.

Politico-Jural Aspects :

Law and order, peace and security, the basic purpose for which man lives in society, are secured through the political organization of a society. All the tribal societies of Orissa had their well organized political organization in the past, through which they used to regulate their social life. But after independence, with the introduction of the Panchayati Raj, the system of traditional political organization among the tribes has become weak but yet it continues with certain diminutions and serves their social interests.

The traditional political organization of any tribe has three components namely (i) norms, customary laws and social sanctions, (ii) functionaries and, (iii) territoriality. Norms, customary laws and social sanctions are culture specific, and hence their similarity among the tribes of Orissa can be obtained at a level of abstraction. Functionaries and territorial organization also show considerable amount of uniformity among the tribes of Orissa.

Norms governing proper conduct, customary law relating to social economic, religious and political organizations, and social sanctions relating to regulation of sex, community natural resources and social solidarity do not show much difference from one tribe to another in Orissa. However, the traditional political organization of the Orissa tribes, inspite of the broad similarity, can be divided into three sub-types namely (i) northern, (ii) southern; and (iii) north-western. Each of these is conterminous with the local revenue administrative unit of the area. The northern type is known as 'Pirha', the southern type as 'Mutha' and the north-western type as 'Pargana'.

Tribes in Orissa mainly inhabit the Eastern-Ghat hill range which runs in the north-south direction. Most of the areas in which various tribal communities traditionally lived were parts of different ex-feudatory states of Orissa. And the traditional political organization of the tribes was influenced by the revenue administrative organization of the concerned state. For instance, the political organization of the Santal, Munda, Ho,

Bhumij, Bathudi etc. who lived in the state of Mayurbhanj, was influenced by the revenue territorial organization of that state. Thus among these tribes the hierarchical order of the political organization, from bottom to top, runs as (i) family, (ii) lineage, (iii) village, (iv) pargana, and (v) the king, symbolizing the state. This is the hierarchical order of the traditional political organization of other tribes of Orissa too, but among other north Orissan tribes, such as Bhuyan, and Juang, and among the south other north Orissan tribes, such as Bhuyan, and Juang, and among the south Orissan tribes, such as the Kandha, Saora, Gadaba, Koya, Didayi, Jhadia, etc., the inter-village political organization is called Pirha and Mutha respectively. But in reality situation, the lineage and the village are effective political machineries among all the tribal communities, and indeed these are the guardians and custodians of tribal customs, norm and customary laws. The inter-village political organization that is the Pragana or Pirha or Mutha as the case may be used, to be periodically called into action or as and when it became absolutely necessary. The jurisdiction, powers and functions of each level of the political organization from the family to the king was specific and represented a stage in the socio-cultural life of the concerned tribe. The traditional political organization upto the village level is still in existence and is functional. After the introduction of the statutory Panchayati Raj system the traditional tribal political organizations are gradually becoming feeble, yet they are considered as important socio-cultural institutions to regulate the socio-cultural life.

The roles of all the functionaries are important, but those of the lineage-heads and the village headmen are very crucial in the maintenance of social order. The role of village priest in the implementation of social control is supportive only. The traditional leadership among the tribes was corporate in nature. The joint authority system is still there. This means that the traditional leadership pattern continues to exist along side the modern democratic leadership pattern. The traditional village level tribal panchayat is the corporate body of village elders, the priest and the head-man. A messenger is nominated by the head-man from among the villagers to assist him in the discharge of his duties. Only men constitute the Panchayat as all the tribal societies of Orissa are patrilineal and patriarchal.

The position of priest, village headman and the inter-village head-man are hereditary. The village headman is invariably from original settlers' clan of the village, which is obviously dominant. Punishments or corrective measures are proportional to the gravity of the breach of set norms or crime, and the punishments range from simple oral admonition

to another measures, such as corporal punishments, imposition of fines, payment of compensation, observance of prophylactic rites and excommunication from the community. Truth of an incident is determined by oath, ordeals and occult mechanism.

Among all the tribes conformity to customs and norms and social integration continue to be achieved through their traditional political organizations. The tributary institutions of social control, such as family, kinship and public opinion continue to fulfill central social control functions. The relevance of tribal political organization in the context of economic development and social change continues to be there undiminished. Modern elites in tribal societies elicit scant respect and have very little followings. And as the traditional leaders continue to wield influence over their fellow tribesmen, it is worth-while to take them into confidence in the context of economic development and social change.

Development Scenario :

After the departure of the British from India and attainment of Independence, it was decided to provide socio-economic and socio-political protection to the tribal communities in the Constitution of India, when prepared and adopted. And thus the constitution, which came into force on 26th January, 1950 contained several protective measures for them and other weaker sections of the Indian society. The Fifth Schedule of the Constitution contains provisions as to the Administration and control of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes in the States other than Assam, Meghalaya and Mizoram, whereas the Sixth Schedule contains provisions as to the Administration of Tribal Areas in these States(Part-X, Article 244 (1)(2) of the Constitution of India). The communities included in the Schedules to the Presidential order of 1950, with amendments thereto from time to time, are today known as Scheduled Tribes in India(Sharma 1984:5). According to Article 342 (1) of the Constitution, the President (may with respect of any State or Union Territory, and where it is a State, after consultation with the Governor thereof) by public notification specify the tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purposes of this constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to that State (or Union Territory as the case may be, vide constitution of India,1950 : 166).

It is not within the scope of this paper to delineate the complete list of the Scheduled Tribes and their respective socio-economic characteristics. Techno economically they are at various levels, and the techno-economic parameter is the determinant of their place in the society either as primitive or advanced. During the past few decades

under the impact of Christianity and modernization some of the Scheduled Tribes even have lost all the tribal characteristics, whereas some others are still primitive.

The welfare and development of the tribal communities have been the national goal, and special responsibility of the Central and various State Governments. "Development implies that all communities should move to a higher stage in the socio-economic scale and acquire characteristics of a modern society system which have different norms and more of economic and social relationships" (Sharma 1984:5). Development as a process refers to economic growth. When the process of development is uneven, some become richer while others lag behind. Therefore, in a welfare state, development should ensure economic growth with social justice.

Concept of Development :

Development does not merely imply 'economic growth', it also denotes social development. Economic development and social development are complementary to each other. In the context of tribal communities development has to strike a balance between economic and social domains, and has to be culture-specific. This makes it amply clear that the development efforts need simultaneously to ensure: (i) security in land tenancy, protection against fraudulent alienation of land, and provision of compensatory land against public acquisition, (ii) initiation of effective steps to convince people about the destructive consequence of alcoholism, (iii) promotion of consciousness against the ruinous effect of chronic indebtedness, (iv) propagation of modern health culture for avoidance of important expenditure, (v) development of self-reliant productive work culture in order to alleviate indigence, (vi) promotion of mass education and removal of ignorance, and (vii) development of the ability in the individual to voice his grievance in the proper forum so as to seek redressal.

Tribal communities are suffering from congeries of evils. Hence development strategy has to be a multifaceted endeavour. According to Streeten, " Development must be redefined as an attack on the Chief evils of the world today : malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, slums, unemployment and inequality. Measured in terms of aggregate growth rates, development has been a great success. But measured in terms of jobs, justice, and elimination of poverty, it has been a failure or only a partial success" (Street on 1983:875-980). It is evident that development is not fully an economic phenomenon, it is a multidimensional process involving the reorganization and reorientation of entire economic and social systems so that all groups and sections derive the benefits of the

development process equally. It has been found that due to inappropriate and incorrect development policies, strategies and programmes, disadvantaged groups/people become further marginalized in rural and tribal societies.

The international scenario strongly impinges upon the national scenarios of developing countries. The co-existence of rich and poor nations in the present international system has led to unequal power retention between the center or core (the developed countries) and the periphery or margin (the less developed countries) and consequently attempts by poor nations to be self-reliant and independent in their development efforts are becoming extremely difficult (Tadaro, 1985 :78). The same international scenario dwells in almost all the LDCs including India, because of the over increasing hiatus between the poor and the rich in our country. Todaro observes that Certain groups in the developing countries (e.g. landlords, entrepreneurs, military rulers, merchants, salaried public officials and trade union leaders) who enjoy high incomes, social status, and political power constitute a small elite ruling class whose principal interest, whether knowingly or not, is in the perpetuation of the international capitalist system of inequality and conformity by which they are regarded (Tadaro 1985:78).

Tribal Land:

Since times immemorial, humans depend primarily upon water, land and forest for their basic sustenance. In course of time, with the growth of population, demand for these resources steadily increased and these became scarce commodities. In the second half of twentieth century, the scarcity of water, land and forest was felt acutely and competition also grew for their acquisition and utilization. It further gave rise to control systems to manage and utilize these natural resources. Nation states have devised various tenancy systems for their balanced management. During the ancient and medieval periods such authorities as kings, emperors, nawabs, zamindars, etc. had established their feudal rights and controlled these resources as supreme powers. Emergence of parliamentary system of democracy annihilated the supreme powers of kings and monarchs and vested the authority in people's government. Since then the path was paved for the devolution of power on the people. People became more conscious of human rights and they demanded equitable distribution of life-sustenance resources. People have floated corporate bodies to regulate the equitable distribution of these resources and in order to achieve this goal, they have established a hierarchical of politico-legal system. There are national governments who are competent to bring out legislative measures for their own states or

countries. There are international agencies and organizations to oversee that the human rights are not violated in any country or nation state. Safety and security of humans have become now an international concern. Despotic governments and tyrannical rulers are overthrown and removed. Human life is considered precious enough everywhere and thus international cooperation, fellow feeling and mutual assistance have become order of the day.

As has been discussed earlier, tribal people have been living in most inaccessible, eco-hostile and interior areas of our state and utilizing land, water and forest for their basic survival. The nature of command over these resources depends upon their traditional customary rights. Customary rights are juxtaposed to statutory rights of a person, a family, a lineage, a clan and a village community/tribal community. This sort of traditional right is recognized by tribal communities who are ensconced in a specific eco-niche. After independence various state governments and government of India lay their claim over these resources as paramount power. The state lays its claim to areas of land which are unused or vacant. In the context of tribal habitat, the right to use these lands and their traditional systems sometimes made untenable by the statutory authorities. Traditional customary rights are not recognized sometimes by the state government. Tribal communities also resent the acquisition of their lands by the State Government for establishing various development projects for the collective benefit of people at large. Since independence, several mega projects, hydraulic, industrial, and mining have come up in areas which were under the occupation of tribal communities. Originally there were statutory rights before the emergence of the state and the ruling class. Mahapatra writes that before the emergence of state and ruling class, customary rights became more or less the statutory rights under the state (Mahapatra 1993:86). The Britishers when occupied India could not understand and appreciate the customary rights of the people of India, particularly that of tribal communities. Earlier, customary rights were recognized in India because it concerned not only the tribal but also the village communities and urbanities. Customary rights were not transferred but changed over time. Mahapatra says, "that there are instances of new and emerging customary rights in adaptation to a novel situation, availability of new resources, technological change or sub-structural transformation" (Mahapatra 1993:86).

The U.N. document of 1966 defines customary rights as the rights to use or dispose off the rights over land. The customary rights are not transfixed for ever and may change over time. Customary rights may be exclusive rights of ownership and alienation rights which behaves that one has the right to control and manage the resources, apart from

the right to use. Wherever there are communal rights, individual rights, sub-group rights are embedded in the communal rights. In the village or clan ownership of land or forest, persons belonging to a clan or village or to any such other group, have the right to use the resources. Right to use under certain conditions by the individual members invariably go with communal rights of ownership. Customary rights may be exercised by individuals or groups of persons when the state holds the ultimate rights over land and forests.

In the past, most of the tribal settlements comprised members of a single clan who held land and forest resources as their own, in their habitat. For instance, the Juangs of Keonjhar where land had not been surveyed, considered land and forest as their own as most of the villages were uniclans. Members of a clan used, controlled and granted rights of use to members of other clans who immigrated to this settlement. In Juang area, each Juang village had a specific territory by virtue of their traditional rights. Members of a particular village move from one settlement to another new settlement when resources in the earlier settlement got depleted or became sometimes became multiclan in composition which included both *Kutumba* and *Bandhu* clans. Marriage is prohibited among members of different clans living in a village. Thus, the rule of village exogamy is maintained. However, the members of later immigrant groups remained subordinate to the members of earlier settlers clan. Right to use and control land, forest and water remains with the original settle's clan. The later immigrants are granted usufructuary rights only. The members who immigrate to new village enjoy only secondary and subordinate rights.

The State of Orissa is juxtaposed with two broad culture regions of India, namely the North Indian and the South Indian cultures. The State of Orissa was carved out of Madras Presidency, Central Province and Berar and Bihar and Bengal and became a state in 1st April 1936. The heterogeneous land revenue system was in vogue for a few decades even after the formation of Orissa as a separate state. The system of land rights among the tribes was not uniform among the tribal communities of Orissa. For instance, in northern Orissa, *Pargana* system and in southern Orissa, *Muthadari* system were prevalent. Excepting few districts, the state was under the rule of feudal chiefs who followed different land revenue systems in their respective areas. They did not ensure survey and settlement of lands and issue record of rights to the tillers. Among the tribes of north Orissa, land was exclusively controlled by the community as a corporate body, whereas among the tribes of south Orissa, village headman was vested with powers of management and collection of land revenue on behalf of rulers. The tenants who cultivated land allotted to

them on the pleasure of the rulers had not ownership right over land. Till today there has not been any significant change in so far as tribals are concerned.

Most of the social scientists, other than anthropologists, treat land as an object for agriculture and house construction. However, anthropologists treat land as a part of the larger socio-economic structure of the society, which is normally handed over from one generation to another as a source of life sustenance. This proves that when one sees that in Orissa, in spite of continuous efforts are in play to survey agricultural land and to settle proprietorship with individual rights. Still there are tribal communities, such as the Juang, Bondo, Didayi, etc. who, by and large continue to enjoy community ownership or proprietorship over their natural resources to a large extent. This is largely because the socio-cultural and economic importance of land and land based resources is very vital for these communities.

Land Holding Pattern :

Study of pattern of land holding among major tribes of the Tribal Sub-plan area of Orissa delineates on 15 major tribal communities, such as the Kandha, Gond, Santal, Saora, Munda, Shabar Lodha, Kolha, Paraja,

Categories of Land Holding	Percentage of Households
a) Landless Households	22.68
b) Land Owners	
i) Marginal Farmers	53.47
ii) Small Farmers	27.65
iii) Big Farmers	
Sub-Category-I(5.1 acres to 7.5 acres)	8.28
Sub-Category-II(7.6 acres to 12.5 acres)	7.26
Sub-Category-III(12.6 acres to 25 acres)	2.88
Sub-Category-IV(25 acres & above)	0.46
Total	100.00

Bhottada, Kisan, Oraon, Bhuiyan, Bhumij, Bathudi and Kharia and the following table shows categories of land holding and the percentage of households:-

The average size of land per marginal farmer is 1.36 acre and it is 3.76 acre for smaller farmer. The per capital land holding has been estimated at 2.34 acres (Mohanti, et al, 1993 : 1-15). The Working Group on

Development and Welfare of Scheduled Tribes during Eighth Plan (1990-1995) states that the number of operational holdings of STs in the T.S.P. states has increased from 68.54 lakh in 1980-81 to 76.37 lakh in 1985-86, but the average size of the land holding experienced a downward trend, i.e. from 2.44 hectares in 1980-81 to 2.25 hectares in 1985-86.

Land Alienation :

Land is one of the primary necessities of humans. It not only gives a sense of belonging but also provides livelihood promotion system. Understanding the reserve value system of land, people always try to possess as much as possible. In this process of land grab, the innocent tribals have been affected more. In order to meet their dire necessities, the tribal become easy prey of mortgaging their land with standing crop or bare land to the moneylenders, traders and exploiters. With the increase of loan burden, they fail to retrieve their land resource from the usurious money lenders. With the opening of tribal areas to the non tribal people, land of the tribal has become a marketable commodity. The Tribal continue to lose their land in several ways. The state in the name of development continues to acquire land, over which the tribal have a stake in a large measure. The fact is that the tribal are alienated from their age old land assets due to their liability incurred by them in the shape of loan. The loan burden along with compound interest rises so high that repayment becomes almost impossible, and consequently they have to lose land under the possession.

In order to understand these processes, it is necessary to describe the land reforms system operative in tribal areas of the state. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss the policies and provisions thereof framed by the state from time to time. It is necessary to analyse the ground level achievements of the policies.

The state of Orissa was formed on the 1st April 1936. The areas of the emerging state were carved from Bihar, Central Provinces and Madras Presidency. Hence, land tenure system in modern Orissa has a varied legacy. From 1936 to 1948, Orissa consisted of six districts, namely undivided Balasore, undivided Cuttack, undivided Puri, undivided Kandhamal, Angul, undivided Ganjam and undivided Koraput. The colonial government had introduced revenue system, like *muthadari* for Ganjam district which included 40 per cent of *inamdari* tenure system. In Sambalpur region apart from 17 zamindars, the *malgujari* tenure was also prevalent. The proprietorship of interest in Sambalpur region was of 5 types, namely, *Gauntia*, *Malgujari*, *Bhogara*, *Bhogis*, *Malik Makbuzas and Brahmittar*. The undivided Koraput had two types of land administration system, *royatwari*, and *mustadari* system. In Phulbani

district, apart from systems which were practised in Dhenkanal district. Additional systems in practice was *Khorak Posak* and *Jhupapan*. In Bolangir district, the land tenure systems was based on *Gaunti*, *Umrah*, *Mauli* and *Bhogra*, *Pattidar* and *Sub-Pattidar*. Mayurbhanj district which was under zamindari system of land administration had similar systems. In Sundargarh district, the whole tenure system of land was based on zamindari, *Praganadari*, *Debottar*, *Brahmottar*, *Nuakaran*, *Headganjuani*, *Khaliganjuani*, *Sikimi*, *Gauntiai*. These were varying from region to region.

The land system of tribal regions of Orissa vary from area to area due to historical factors. Merger of 24 Feudatory states with the modern province of Orissa after independence has influenced the land related laws of the tribal communities.

The British occupied the undivided Koraput district in 1863 and did not take much interest in the land of the district. The district followed similar pattern of land policy as prevalent in Madras Presidency. The Madras Estate Land Act, 1908 largely influenced it. The Government only initiated land record right during 1940. The tribal of Koraput district being induced by money lenders, and other non tribal people alienated their land holdings at cheaper prices (Orissa District Gazeteer, Koraput (undivided), 1966). In spite of the promulgation of Agency Tracts and Land Transfer Act, 1917, its effect in the Agency Tracts was not satisfactory and the extent of land alienation of the tribal people was not reduced. It was largely so because this law was an incomplete one. This Act has been amended by the government of Madras Presidency in 1918, 1927, 1931 and 1932. This was also amended by government of Orissa in 1943. The transfer of tribal land to the non-tribal in the undivided Koraput district was not considered illegal.

The Anugul District Regulation, 1894 was in operation in the Kondhamal and Anugul sector till 1930, which was also incomplete in many respects. During 1902, the Deputy Commission made an order regarding mortgage, gift and sale of land to outsiders. The law became a part of Anugul District Regulation in 1913. After the formation of Orissa State in 1936, Kandhamal was separated and attached to the system of land management of Ganjam District. Similarly Anugul was attached to the system of land management of Cuttack district.

Before the formation of the State of Orissa Sambalpur was under the Central Provinces and Land Revenue Act, 1881 and 1917 and the C.P. Tenancy Act, 1898 and 1920 were restricting transfer of land from tribal to non tribal people. These laws were also implemented in Bargarh.

Later on in 1953 the Orissa Act, XIII, of 1953 was amended to check illegal transfer of tribal land. During 1950, when the scheduled area of the state was declared, the district of Sambalpur was not included in it. This laid the withdrawal of all earlier provisions, which were protecting the interest of the tribal people in this district. Understanding the tribal concentration in certain pockets which demands special provisions, Kuchinda, a tahsil of the district, was declared as scheduled area, during 1977 by government of India.

While realizing the differences at the grassroot level, the Government of India Act. 1919 categorically divided the state as partial and fully scheduled areas and non-scheduled areas. The basic objective was to bring certain socio-economic reforms among the tribal people in these regions.

At the time of the state formation in 1936, the state had a very skewed system of land control, wide spread tenancy system and un speculative debtor and creditor relations. Realising this problem a number of tenancy regulations have been formulated at different times. The Orissa Tenancy Act (Amendment of 1946) as regards the house stead land confers the occupancy on royats, under royats and services tenure holders, the Madras Estate Land (Orissa Second Amendments) Act, 1946 conferred the occupancy rights in *inam* villages, the Orissa Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1947 enforces the division of land bounds, the Orissa Command Forest and Private Lands Act, 1948 prevented the landlords alienating certain classes of lands without permission of the collector, the Orissa tenants against eviction and also assured a fixed rent for the annual produce. Administration of Orissa State's Order, 1948 (Paragraph, 10) which came into force in all the ex-states, excluding Mayurbhanj, on 1st January 1948 mentioned that an occupancy tenant would be entitled to freely transfer these holdings, subject to the restriction that no transfer of any holding by a member of any of the aboriginal tribal shall be valid unless Sub-Collector permits to do so. The terms aboriginal tribe was defined in the said order to mean any tribe that may from time to time be notified as such by the provincial government for the purpose of the order. Till the integration of ex-state Mayurbhanj though similar provision was made in paragraph-2 of the Administration of Mayurnhanj State order, 1949, notification was, however, issued by the government defining the term aboriginal tribe which continued up to 22nd May 1962 in the ex-state areas prior to 1956 as follows :-

1. Prior to merger, on 1.1.1948, all the ex-states, except Mayurbhanj, were restricted to transfer lands of tribals communities to the non-tribal.

2. In Mayurbhanj, merger of the states with Orissa before 1.1.1949 the ex-state law was made applicable.
3. However, in the ex-state of Sundargarh and Mayurbhanj upto 3.10.1956, there was no restriction of transfer of land by an occupancy tenant, whether or not, belong to a scheduled tribe.
4. In other ex-states from merger till 21.5.1962 there was no restriction on transfer of land by occupancy tenant, whether or not, one belong to a schedule tribe.
5. In other ex-states, from 22.5.1962, the Act of Merged States was made applicable and operative in other merged states.

The Orissa Tenant Relief Act, 1955 and the Orissa Tenants Protection Act, 1948 prevented large scale eviction of tenants from actual cultivation of land and conferred certain rights on them.

A person belonging to scheduled tribe needed prior permission of a competent authority to transfer his/her immovable property to transfer to a non-tribal.

Agency Tracts Of Ex-madras Presidency Area :

- 1) Prior to the enforcement of the Regulation, 1956 in Koraput (excluding Kashipur), agency portion of Ganjam district and Baliguda sub-division of Boudh-Kondhamal districts, the Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act, 1917 was enforced.
- 2) In Kondhamal sub-division of Boudh-Kondhamal district, till the enforcement of Regulation-2 of 1956, the Kondhamal Laws Regulation, 1936 was in force.
- 3) Proviso to clause (b) of such section (2) section-46 of the C.P.Tenancy Act, 1898 as amended by the Orissa Act, XIII of 1953 applies to Bargarh and Sambalpur sub-division. Nuapada sub-division of Kalahandi district imposed restrictions regarding transfer of land by scheduled tribes to others continued to be in force in the respective areas till 1st October 1965, when the Orissa Land Reforms Act, 1960 was brought into force.
- 4) In the remaining areas there was not such laws and hence there was no restriction on transfer of land by an adivasi to non-adivasis till the date of enforcement of the Orissa Land Reforms Acts, 1960, i.e. 1st October 1965.

Before we go into the implementation of the Orissa Scheduled Areas Transfer of Immovable Property (by Scheduled Tribes), Regulation, 2 of 1956 and the Orissa Land Reform (O.L.R.) Act, 1960 their

achievements and necessary modification undertaken over time in the state of Orissa here an attempt has been made to highlight the policies followed by the state. For the first time 1979 the Land Revenue Code of Bombay Presidency prohibited the transfer of land from a tribal to non-tribal. Similar laws were also operative in Gujarat during 1901 in which permission was sought from the Collector for the transfer of tribal and to non-tribal people. Similar laws were also in vogue in Bihar under Chhotnagpur Tenancy Act, 1908. In Karnataka, similar law was operating in 1978. In Chhotnagpur, the Santal Pragana Tenancy Act of 1949 and the Bihar Scheduled Areas Regulation, 1969 prohibited the alienation of lands of tribals to non-tribals. The Rajasthan Tenancy Act, 1955, amended in 1956 and Madhya Pradesh Land Alienation Procedure Code, 1959 prohibited alienation of tribal land. In the state of Andhra Pradesh, Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation, 1959 and its amendment in 1970 provides for restriction of land alienation and restoration of alienated land. Apart from these provinces in other states, like Tripura, Assam, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur and Sikkim various laws were promulgated to check alienation of land of tribals.

The Scheduled Areas Transfer of Immovable Property (by Scheduled Tribes) Regulation-2 of 1956:

The implementation and impact of the scheduled areas transfer of immovable property by Scheduled Tribes has been focused by Regulation-2 of 1956. This regulation was promulgated by H.E. Governors of Orissa with immediate effect in exercise of powers conferred by Sub-Paragraph-2 of Paragraph-5 of the 5th Schedule of the Constitution of India. The regulation received the assent of H.E. President of Indian on 21st September 1956 and was first published in Orissa Gazette (Extraordinary) dated 4.10.1956.

Regulation-2 of 1956 has clearly adopted the definition of scheduled areas made in the Scheduled Areas (part-A states) Order, 1950 and Scheduled Tribes Lists specified in respect of the state of Orissa in the Constitution of India (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950. It defines the meaning of transfer of immovable property and competent authority who can give permission to transfer of land from the hands of tribal people to non-tribal people. It also explains the eviction of persons from unauthorized occupation of property, inadmissibility of deed for the purpose of registration, surrender or relinquishment not valid unless settled by the landlord, bar to attachment of immovable property, various offenses, refund of consideration money in case of invalid transfer, burden of proof and power of court to ignore administration, amendment of the Limitation Act, 1963 in its application to the Scheduled Areas,

and the amendment so far taken up by the state in the Regulation-2 of 1956 in respect of procedure for transfer to non-scheduled tribe, attachment of immovable property, control of District Collector, sale of timbers by scheduled tribes and scheduled castes standing on their *gharbariroyati* land.

The Regulation II of 1956 was amended in December 19, 1957 in order to have effective implementation and safeguard interests of the tribal. The important provisions of the amended regulation include, extension of the period of limitation from 12 years to 3 years, relaxation on the transfer of land by way mortgage for obtaining loans for agricultural purposes and also in favour of cooperative societies for the said purpose, emphasis on the restoration of possession, in eviction of unauthorized occupation and restoration provision of rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years or with fine which may extend to Rs.2,000 or both, provision of higher penalty for summary eviction, i.e. Rs.200 and it has been further provided that the consideration money paid by the transferee to the transferer for such invalid transfer shall not be refunded. Further the amendment states that steps are benign taken to safeguard the interest of scheduled tribe in the non-scheduled areas of the state by making the necessary provision in the Orissa Land Reforms Act of 1960 in the light of amendments soothe Orissa Regulation II of 1956.

The Orissa Scheduled Areas Transfer of Immovable Property (by Scheduled Tribes) Amendment Regulation of 1996 was assented by the President on the 14th March, 1997 and notified in the Orissa Gazette on the 27th March, 1997. The said amendment defined the classes of land, standard acre/hectare conversion, retention of minimum one standard acre of land after the transfer of land and bar of jurisdiction of civil courts to try or decide any suit or proceeding relating to the Regulation.

The Orissa Scheduled Areas Transfer of Immovable Property (by Scheduled Tribes) Amendment Regulation, 2000 was assented to by the President on the 20th August 2002 and was published in Orissa Gazette in form of notification on the 4th September 2002. The Regulation was made by the Governor of Orissa under Sub-Paragraph (2) of Paragraph 5 of the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution of India. The amendment emphasizes on the fact that such ST transfer of immovable property shall take place among members of STs and not in favour of any non-S.T. person. Further, the total extent of land for such transfer was enhanced from minimum one acre to two acres in case of irrigated land and five acres for non-irrigated land. A non-tribal man married to a tribal

woman shall not be eligible for transferring land under this clause. The amendment contains various executive instructions for effective implementation of the Regulation.

Regulation 2 of 1956 Vis-à-vis Orissa Land Reforms Act, 1960

There is need for amendment of Sections 22 and 23 of Orissa Land Reforms Act, 1960 in order to prevent indiscriminate transfer of tribal land. It was decided by government that the competent authority should invariably submit the case record to the concerned Collector and obtain his approval before passing final order for granting permission. This should be mandatory and statutory. Hence, suitable provisions may be incorporated in Sections 22 and 23 of O.L.R. Act, 1960 and in Regulation 2 of 1956. The Section 22 of O.L.R. Act, 1960 should prescribe specific and precise conditions for granting permission for sale and/or transfer of tribal land. Further, in order to streamline granting of permission a definite or fixed time limit should be prescribed. The Section 22 of O.L.R. Act, 1960 should provide a minimum ceiling beyond which no permission is to be granted for transfer of tribal land. Transfer of immovable property in favour of a female member of a scheduled tribe who is married to a person who does not belong to any scheduled tribe shall be deemed to be a transfer made in favour of a person not belonging to a scheduled tribe and this provision may be incorporated in Sections 22 and 3 of the O.L.R. Act, 1960, which is analogous to Regulation 2 of 1956.

Both the enactments are silent about the case where transfer made in favour of a male member of a scheduled tribe who is married to a woman who is non-tribal. In such case, the transfer shall be deemed to be made to a tribal. This requires incorporation in the O.L.R. Act and Regulation 2 of 1956 in the shape of suitable amendment.

Recommendations :

1. Since illiteracy is rampant in tribal communities the tribal are not able to read the record of right or such documents concerning their entitlement over their immovable property. Due to lack of awareness, they are unaware of the land records maintained at various levels. This situation makes them more vulnerable for improper land transfer. They need access to village land records which may be displayed at the Panchayat. They may take the help of their own Ward Member to obtain copies of relevant land records at the time of need. The Ward Member will ensure that the tribal owner understands fully about his/her entitlement. As method of preservation of records is not satisfactory in tribal communities, while disposing of disputes regarding land entitlement, oral

evidence may be recorded by competent authorities in the absence of written land records.

2. In order to ensure people's participation for effective implementation of laws and regulations of tribal land, tribals may be associated with land surveys and settlement operations.
3. There is need for issue of Record of Rights (ROR) to tribal tillers till 24.10.1980, as stipulated by government of India, Ministry of Environment and Forests and Department of Environment, Forests and Wild Life.
4. In order to provide natural justice to members of scheduled tribe communities, legal aid cells may be established at the Panchayat Samiti level in 118 blocks in Tribal Sub-Plan area. This arrangement will provide free legal aid to STs while filing petitions under Regulation-2 of 1956.
5. As per Revenue and Excise Department stipulation *rayati* right shall be conferred on the tribals who are in cultivating possession of the hill slopes either in form of *Podu* or *Kudki* upto 30 degree slope. It is recommended that tribals who are in cultivating possession of the hill slopes beyond 30 degree slope either in *Kudki*, *Podu* or otherwise be recorded as *rayats* in respect of such land to utilize the same for perennial crops in the form of plantation, etc.
6. It is recommended that the Record of Right be issued in the names of both husband and wife, so that indiscriminate land transfer can be checked to a considerable extent.
7. State Government should ensure effective and timely monitoring and reporting of cases of illegal transfer of tribal land to non-tribals.
8. There is need for enactment in order to restore tribal land within the shortest possible time so that dispossessed tribals get justice and rejuvenate their confidence on government machinery.
9. The provisions as contained in the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution of India are to be followed strictly in matters of ownership and inheritance of immovable property in order to safeguard interests of the tribal.
10. In case of involuntary displacement, land-based compensation is essential. But, in case no suitable land is available in the relocation site, cash compensation may be awarded basing on the economic as well as social cost of land dispossessed by a tribal.
11. The tribal land settlement in forest areas are to be regulated through Gram Sabha/Palli Sabha in both scheduled and non-scheduled areas. The help of local N.G.Os may be sought for in the process.

12. Land Survey/Re-survey and settlement may be completed, in tribal areas on priority basis, within a specific time-frame.
13. Single line of *Administrative Structure* may be promulgated in Scheduled Areas. In this case, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra models may be taken into cognisance.
14. In order to prevent rampant illegal land transfer joint R.O.R. incorporating names of both wife and husband should be issued not only in tribal areas but also in non-tribal areas.
15. In order to ensure justice to the tribal, provisions made under regulation of PESA may be enforced in both Scheduled and Non-Scheduled Areas.
16. In order to eshew landlessness among tribal households, land may be provided to all tribals.
17. There is need for organising special campaigns for awareness building among the tribal regarding all laws, related to land, for the time being in force.
18. There is need for overhauling of land laws, so that they become relevant and appropriate. This process will simplify the land laws and allow smooth enforcement.
19. There is need for Comprehensive Revenue Code for the State (both in English and Oriya languages).
20. In order to ensure peaceful and good governance as per the Fifth Schedule of Constitution, all laws, including land laws be enforced through E-Governance and Right to Information Act, 2005.
21. There is need for the introduction of computerization of land records and digitisation of maps.

Acknowledgement

We are extremely thankful to the Director, Tribal Museum, Koraput, Director, COATS, Koraput and Director, SPREAD, for organizing a state-level seminar (24-25 January, 2006 on problems and prospects of tribal land in Orissa at Bhubaneswar. The present paper is an enlarged and revised version of the paper submitted earlier for the said seminar.

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TRIBAL LAND ALIENATION : NEEDS RADICAL SOLUTION

U. N. Majhi

1. Introduction:

The tribal people primarily depend on land for their livelihood. During pre-independent period, they used to hold land under their traditional headman or under Zamindari System or under British system, and paid rents depending upon their land tenure system. In free India, they own tenure land of government and pay land revenue to the state government. Their economic, social and cultural life revolves round land. Those who own land are agriculturists or cultivators and those land less are agriculture labourers. Some are settled cultivators and some other who live in jungle practice shifting cultivation on hill slopes. The Kandhs are the major tribes of Orissa and they consider land as their mother goddess – “**Dharani Penu**”. Sacrificial offerings are made to mother earth throughout the agricultural cycles. All tribes consider land as sacred symbol since they get every thing from land.

1.2 In this paper the author wants to highlight the issues of land alienation of tribal people of Orissa. The paper is not based on any field work but on the personal observation of the author on the issues and research works of social scientists of Indian Social Institute, New Delhi and Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore, dealing with major development projects in Orissa. In legal term, alienation means transfer of property or title of it from one person to another. When ownership of land as property gets transferred legally or otherwise from tribal people to non-tribal or Government is known as land alienation.

2. History Of Land Alienation:

Tribal land alienation can be traced back from British regime, when they started infrastructure projects like construction of railways and roadways for transportation of raw materials to the port cities of India and further transshipping them to England. They acquired land both from the tribal and the non-tribal at their sweetwill. They also acquired land for establishment of military cantonments. Thereafter, the non-tribal who entered into tribal territory during the middle of the Nineteenth century grabbed the tribal land by putting the tribal into debt-trap. During British regime the tribal of Bihar, Orissa and other parts of India revolted against Government establishment and the outsiders (*Dikus*) for illegal

acquisition of their land. Kol Insurrection of 1832, Santal Hull (Rebellion) of 1855 and 1877, Birsha movement of 1895 are the examples of tribal unrests against the British and the Hindu landlords. Baba Tilka Majhi who fought against the British during later part of eighteenth century is not accorded the status of freedom fighter. All the mentioned unrests took place prior to Sepoy Mutiny, 1857. Non-tribal historians (Hindu historian) called these tribal movements as peasant movements. Baba Tilka Majhi, who shot dead Augustus Cleveland, the then Deputy Commissioner of Bhagalpur is an imaginary person in the opinion of Hindu historians.

2.2 After these movements, British regime passed some Acts in the Imperial Parliament to restrict transfer or alienation of the tribal land to the non-tribal. Most important among these Acts are Chotanagpur Tenures, Act, 1869, Chotanagpur Tenancy Act 1855 and Santal Parganas Tenancy Act 1875. In order to regulate the transfer of tenure land of the tenants for 'public purpose' a law was passed in British Parliament which is known as Land Acquisition Act 1894. This Act is still in operation for easy of tribal land for public purpose. Alienation of tribal land is continuing in the same pace since British regime, despite plethora of positive land legislations in favour of tribal people.

3. Agents of Land Alienation:

In the proceeding some references are given on the agents who acted as factors of land alienation during British regime and now we will discuss with reference to free-India. When we study tribal society we come across the concepts like "insiders" and "outsiders", "hill people" and "plain people" referring to categories of people; one group is a local native or indigenous community and another is outsider or migrant community. We have classified two categories of agents responsible for alienation of tribal land, first by the outsiders and second by Government agents.

3.2 Outsiders :

Outsiders are those who have very recently migrated to tribal inhabited areas, either as petty traders or money lenders. Some other category of outsiders are government servants posted temporarily in these areas. The outside trading communities applied various methods, e.g., bond friendship, money lending, and selling merchandise to the tribal and in due course of time put them into the debt-trap. When the tribal failed to pay back the loan, they did not have any alternative but to sell their lands to tribal intermediaries,

but for all practical purposes land was directly under the possession of outside non-tribals. During the field study by the author among the Kondhs of Dasapalla and Firingia such cases as mentioned were very common in these localities. Traders from the plain or coastal areas used to purchase ginger and turmeric at very cheap rates and they used to sell them in plain areas with four to five times of the original purchase rates. The same role is played by the outsiders in other tribal areas for grabbing the tribal land. Outsiders in connivance with government officers act as agent in alienation of tribal land, sidelining all the protective rules and regulations concerning tribal land.

3.3 Government Officers :

When the tribal land is transferred from tribal possession to Government possession for 'public purpose' it is legally known as the land acquisition. Government officers are competent to acquire tribal land within the provision of Land Acquisition Act of 1894, for strategic, infrastructure and development projects. This Act simultaneously provides compensation received by them which were inadequate in comparison to their loss. When Government's all compensatory-measures fail to bring back the socio-economic and cultural life of the tribal people to their original level within a given time frame, then the meaning of public purpose is getting defeated. Study made by Dr. Balgovind Baboo on the outstees of Hirakud Dam where the tribal outstees comprised of 18.34 percent comparatively got lesser compensation than the non-tribal outstees. Under such circumstances, land acquisition by governments tantamounts to land alination. Thoretically, government officers are acting as positive agents in acquiring tribal land but practically unable to deliver balanced compensation to them.

4 Land Alienation Scenario in Orissa :

Involvement of the government and bureaucracy on mega project, e.g. Hirakud Dam, Dr. Baboo's observation is worth quoting. He mentioned, "It would seem that the government and bureaucracy always support the construction of dams and go to the extent of constructing them in unsuitable areas primarily for achieving political and economic end. Bureaucracy as the mouthpiece of Government, has to support such moves because by doing so they will have "important" works to perform and enhanced the chance of their promotion, perhaps makes money in the construction and rehabilitation scheme and favour their kith and kin in giving jobs and other benefits from construction of the dam".

4.2 Completed Projects :

In Orissa major completed projects are Rourkela Steel Plant, Nalco at Damonjodi and Angul, Gondhamardhan Bauxite Mines projects taken over by Balco, 1986 and NTPC at Kaniha. Other multipurpose projects are Hirakud in Sambalpur, Machhkunda in Koraput and Salandi in Keonjhar districts. In case of completed projects, tribal people lost their land not only for them but for their coming generations. For Rourkela Steel Plant, land acquired for SAIL was much more than required, later excess lands are being leased out to builders. The researchers observed that the tribal people had been discriminated in getting due compensation. The best example can be cited from NALCO. Displaced tribal people of Damonjodi received average Rs.2,700/- per acre of land lost while their counterparts (non-tribal) in Angul got average Rs.25,000/- per acre. Their disillusionment grew when they saw that they not even settled. Gangadhar Jala, a freedom fighter who led the tribal and Dalits against Machhkund Dam realized that in reality it was becoming the development of a few at the cost of the tribal. He viewed it as one more form of colonization. With his initiative he could negotiate a fairly good rehabilitation package.

4.3 Upcoming projects :

Other major upcoming projects are (i) POSCO India Limited, (ii) Vedanta Aluminum Limited along with their university project (iii) L. N. Mittal Steel Limited and Bhushan Steel Limited. Government of Orissa has already signed Memorandum of Understanding with these corporate houses for accelerated economic development. With the initiative of government of Orissa an industrial hub at Kalinga Nagar has already been established where TATAS, Bhushans and other major steel producing companies have established their factories. For this industrial hub, industrial Infrastructure Development Corporation of Orissa acquired land from tribals as well as other non-tribal at Kalinga Nagar areas @ Rs.25,000 to Rs.35,000 per acre and later on given lease @ of Rs.3,50,000 to Rs.4,50,000 per acre to industrial houses. Now question arises, whether such acquisition and leases are valid on the basis of Land Acquisition Act, 1894?

4.4 Abandoned Projects :

Some other approved projects, which were later on shelved are **(i) Baliapal Test Range Project (ii) Chilka Project (iii) TATA Steel Project at Gopalpur**. These projects could not come through due

to two reasons. First- land of these projects are fertile agricultural land owned by rich farmers and secondly resistance movement by farmers supported by interested political parties. In contrast, projects located in the tribal areas eased the process of implementation of approved projects. The Tribal leaders must come forward to support the cause of their brothers and ensure balance compensation package.

5. Protective Legislations :

In free India, series of protective legislations have been passed by the state legislatures and the Parliament for the restoration of alienated tribal lands to the original owners. These Acts are popularly known as social legislations to ensure justice to helpless tribals and dalits. Important social legislation are (i) Abolition of Bondage Labour Act., (ii) Land Ceiling Act, (iii) Prevention of Atrocities on SC & ST Act 1989, (iv) Panchayatraj Extension to Scheduled Areas Act. 1996, (v) Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dweller (Recognition of Forest Rights Act 2006). In addition to the afore mentioned Acts, Land Acquisition Amendment Bill 2007 and Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill 2007 are in the process for legislation in Parliament.

5.2 Analysis of the Bills :

In the proposed Land Acquisition Amendment Bill of the Principal Act the words "and for the companies" shall be omitted as mentioned in the preamble. The provision of Rehabilitation Resettlement Act shall apply in respect of acquisition of land by appropriate Government under this Act. Recently Supreme Court in their judgment broaden the scope of "public purpose" and said, "if any project taken as a whole is an attempt in the direction to bring foreign exchange, generation of employment opportunities and securing economic benefits to the state and the public at large will serve public purpose. The judgement was given in favour of Andhra Pradesh Infrastructure Investment Corporation, which acquired land and would make Hyderabad a world class business cum leisure tourism destination. Supreme Court held that "development of infrastructure is legal and legitimate "public purpose" and exercising power of eminent domain". Further Supreme Court said, simply because company has been chosen for fulfillment of public purpose does not mean that the larger public interest has been sacrificed, ignored and disregarded.

5.3 Industry Lobby :

Of late, wide spread agitation by farmers, tribal and agriculture labourers against land acquisition for industrial houses has caused

immense problems for industrial houses. Confederation of Indian Industries (CII) has constituted a task force to study the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Bill proposed to be tabled in the Parliament very soon. Task Force chaired by CII, vice-president Mr. Venu Srinivasan, would examine the provisions of the Bill to ascertain if it addresses the interest of all stake holders including the industry. The industry would submit its recommendation to the government on the problem areas. Pressure from industries and intervention of the Apex Court may bring changes in the proposed Amendment Bill and will go in favour of the industry and interest of the tribes will be sidelined.

6. Protective Role Of Government:

In developing country like India, government should ensure good governance to the people particular to poor and under privileged. Executive and judicial wings of government should provide basic needs, law and order and social justice to the people. We have enough guidelines in our constitution and other statute books for safeguarding the interest of the poor, but unfortunately down-trodden people of our country are yet to feel that they have been protected by our so called responsible government. We see lack of will on the part of our officers to implement the protective measures mentioned in various Acts. They must inculcate a sense of empathy and sympathy for the poor and down-trodden in ensuring them social justice.

- 6.2 Government surveys indicated illegal possession of tribal lands but appropriate actions have not been initiated against the offenders. Unless offenders are brought to book, the alienation of tribal land will continue. Law breakers need to be booked under SC & ST (Preventions of Atrocities) Act. Government should file cases on behalf of the poor tribal in the court of law and honourable judge to take proactive role in rendering justice.
- 6.3 In the proposed Land Acquisition (Amendment) Bill and Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill elaborate protective provisions are there to ensure proper compensation to the land losers. Proposed Bills have provision of tribal representative teams at various levels.
- 6.4 At the Apex Level, the Act has provision of National Rehabilitation Commission at central level with the power to supervise and oversu the rehabilitation and resettlement of the tribal people. One tribal member can be co-opted for this commission to see the interest of tribal people.
- 6.5 The Act has also provided far reaching provision in case “land requiring body” is a company and can issue shares and

debentures to the affected families for taking up to fifty percent of their rehabilitation grant in the form of shares and debentures.

- 6.6 There is also provision of appointment of Ombudsmen at various levels to see time bound disposal of grievances arising out of the matters covered under this Act.

7. Conclusion :

It is observed that government is knowingly overlooking certain provision of these Acts. In the Fifth Schedule Areas where PESA is applicable, Government is ignoring the existence of Gram Sobhas and signing MOU with the private companies. Government corporations should refrain from acting as brokers in granting acquired tribal land leased to private companies. As per the recommendation of Justice Venkatachaliah Committee, “where interest of the tribal people are violated application of Sixth Scheduled is required for them for protection of their rights. In case all the Committees, Ombudsmen and Commission fail to render justice, then it is recommended for institution of Tribal Land Tribunals at States and National Level to adjudicate cases of land alienation, and rehabilitation and resettlement.

LAND ALIENATION AND OTHER LAND RELATED ISSUES IN TRIBAL AREAS – AN OVERVIEW

Karunakar Patnaik

Land is the main source of livelihood for almost half of world's population. But land and land-based resources are more vital particularly to the livelihood needs of tribal people. Land, forest and other natural resources, apart from being livelihood resources, are generally equated with social, economic and political power. In India, cultivators normally belong to the tribal and weaker sections who are mostly landless. Of all sections of society, women are the worst affected practically having almost no say in decision-making in relation to control and management of land resources.

Pre-Independence Background

Prior to independence, some of the tribal areas were small principalities ruled by local chieftains. In order to legitimize their supremacy and to earn more revenue for the royal treasury, the chieftains encouraged non-tribal cultivators to migrate and settle in the hilly and forest tracts. In course of time, these immigrants expanded their economic and political power in the tribal regions. When the British entered the scene, the situation became worse. The zamindari system was introduced along with several institutional arrangements like police, courts, rent system and many other formalities hitherto unknown to the tribal in the tribal regions. Because of changed policies from time to time, the tribal became victims of suppression, oppression and coercion leading to symptomatic resentment. Different studies have revealed that encroachment of tribal land and other forms of tribal exploitation resulted in the tribals to register their protest. Similarly alienation of land of tribals which can be traced back to British period was mostly necessitated for lying infrastructure projects like railways, roadways, transportation of materials etc. In course of time it so happened that due to influx of non-tribals to tribal areas, the tribals were put to almost debt-traps due to several factors. This happened mostly in the 19th century and early part of 20th century which ultimately led to several tribal reactions in the nature of rebellion, unrest and uprising. The Kohl insurrection of 1832, the Santhal rebellion of 1855 and 1877, the Birsa movement of 1895, the Rampa uprising of 1920-22 under the leadership of A. Sitaram Raju, the sacrifice of Kumara Bhimu in the arms struggle by Gonds and Kalam tribal communities in Andhra Pradesh, the Gond revolts in Bastar in

Madhya Pradesh, the Saura revolt in Ganjam Agency, the Kondh uprising in Ghumsur, Juang and Bhuyan *Meli* in Keonjhar of Orissa bear testimony to tribal discontentment against non-tribal exploiters.

During the colonial period in India, tribal land alienation became more institutionalized and characterized by the introduction of an alien and coercive legal system which *commodized* land that would be bought and sold in the market. This pre-empted the popular tribal perception that land was a community resource, a bounty of nature for subsistence and sharing. The British system of revenue administrations also led to the emergence of a class of non-tribal Zamindars who used physical force on the tribal farmers for the realization of land rent and encroachment of tribal land due to non-payment or defaulted payment of rent. In many cases, the administration created a new class of tribal chieftains by co-option and conferment of land rights. The tribal regions, by coincidence of chance, were very rich in minerals and precious or semi-precious metals, forest and water resources. Therefore, these tribal regions witnessed constant flow of immigrants either in search of virgin lands or as contract labourers for the state-sponsored forest industries. During the 17th and 18th centuries, the British had systematically exploited the forest resources with the help of contract labour who finally prepared to settle there which became a heavy burden on the already sick and poor tribal economy. The cumulative outcome of these policies led to the emergence of an oppressive social order for serving strategic colonial interests, undermining the customary laws of the tribal. The Land Acquisition Act of 1894 was one such colonial and draconian law that provided enough discretion to the state to acquire land for different projects in the guise of “public purpose” notwithstanding the interests of the poor tribal.

Independent India inherited a large tribal population who are unfortunately, become victims of development, displacement and human rights violations. Normally living in groups and closer to forest, individual or family rights are subsumed under community rights although tribal economy is traditionally group-centered on land and other land-based resources. The social status of the tribal is determined to a considerable extent on his right over the land on hereditary and traditional basis. In spite of several steps taken to integrate the tribal into the main stream of the society, their cultural alienation, dehumanization and deprivation of livelihood resources have persisted over the years. Even though several problems do exist relating to land particularly of the tribal, the question is not just how much land these people have lost but how much land has been alienated to other's hands is the main point for discussion and debate.

For historical reasons most of the tribal people inhabit the forest and hilly regions of Orissa. But the inflow of non-tribal population into the tribal areas during the British period paved way for gradual subjugation of tribal interests in terms of natural resources including land. Under the Mughal Empire, the process of feudalisation of old agrarian culture based on chieftainship was set in motion. But under the Muslim rulers, the intermediary system in land administration to collect land revenue was introduced. The Hindu Kings and later the Mughal rulers, in fact, formed the group of landholders to receive grants from the Muslims. Different parts of Orissa inherited different land revenue administration systems like the Bengal provinces, Madras Presidency, Central provinces and the princely states systems falling broadly under the Zamindari and the Ryotwari systems.

Alienation of tribal land has acquired tremendous dimension in the past and continues to acquire equally critical assumptions even in the present day conditions. As the tribal continued to live in comparative isolation during the British Raj, the problems of land in the tribal tracts remained unattended to mostly because of inaccessibility of tribal regions to the main stream of administration both during the 18th and first half of 19th century. It is only during the second half of 19th century and the early 20th century that these areas were traversed due to developmental interventions whether due to laying of railway lines or drawing up of highways, power or water projects, etc. Due to growth of population and expansion of economic activities and inter-regional movement of non-tribal population, the economic and administrative structures received momentum providing some degree of security to existing trade, commerce and industrial activities. In consequence, the law and order mechanism offered a measure of security to the infiltrators like petty traders and money-lenders.

Post-Independence Scenario

After independence, the tribal areas became the hub of India's industrial civilization. Irrigation and power projects, forest based industries, mining industries, industries based on coal, iron, bauxites as raw materials found the tribal areas as nature's gift in abundance for which huge stretches of forest land with scattered tribal hamlets located on them were required for setting up of various industries and projects and townships. Besides these, large number of ethnic refugees from Bangladesh and Srilanka had to be resettled for which lands were acquired in the tribal heart lands of West Bengal, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. In due course of time, huge influx of non-tribal population into the tribal areas was noticed due to implementation of

several tribal development programmes. Consequently, the intensity of relative isolation of tribal areas from the mainstream of administration got reduced. All these led to exerting tremendous pressure on land in tribal areas. Even though land became a scarce commodity in these areas due to adoption of various tenural systems during the pre and post colonial periods, the state did not behave responsibly to collect and maintain a reliable land record system for the tribals. The colonial forest policies and their post independence extension were in direct contradiction with the tribal perception of rights over forests. These policies aggravated the state of tribal land alienation in many states of India. Even in the present day situations, the policy of corporatization, and promotion of lease market has created situations for more and more land alienation both in tribal and non-tribal areas.

Government of India have adopted several programmes and plans to protect the rights and security of the tribal to integrate them to the mainstream of planning but there have been violations of their fundamental rights to live as humans with dignity and equality. In the course of time, tribal villages and settlements have disappeared and tribal have become deprived and dispossessed of their livelihood resources. All these have resulted in their further impoverishment, marginalisation and even human rights violations. Despite legal protection, land alienation has deprived many tribals, dalits and other marginalized people their entitlement to land due to displacement, mining, industrial and development projects, indebtedness, mortgaging of land, etc. Although land creates inherent value for the livelihood by providing physical, social and nutritional security, unfortunately in some states like Orissa, the major issue linked to poverty is the poor access and control over land among backward and social groups. In fact, the distribution of land has been highly unfair and uneven.

Land Acquisition

One of the reasons of land alienation is land acquisition. There are two existing Acts, namely, the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 as amended in 1984, and the Coal Bearing Areas (Acquisition and Development) Act of 1957 through which lands are acquired. Under these Acts, the government is competent to acquire land for public purpose is for strategic and infrastructure development projects, of-course, on payment of compensation whether such compensation is adequate or not. As most of the development projects including mining and hydropower are located in tribal areas, the tribal are the main and major affected persons due to such land acquisition. In consequence, many tribal have been rendered landless. In spite of all compensatory measures

adopted by government, the socio-economic and cultural life of tribal people hardly get settled to their original living conditions. As a result, the so called “public purposes” for tribal people gets defeated. In the study of Dr. Balagovind Baboo, it has revealed that about 18.34 percent of oustees of Hirakud Dam got lesser compensation than non-tribal oustees. Acquisition of land by government tantamounts to land alienation. Although government officers act as agents of government in acquiring tribal lands, practically they are unable to deliver and pay appropriate compensation.

Acquisition of tribal land for “public purposes” is one of the methods by which tribal lands are transferred and alienated. Such type of transfer is invariably, in favour of the government and certainly not for the tribal. Although the Land Acquisition Act had undergone minor amendments in 1914, 1938, and substantially in 1984 to streamline the process of acquisition, study results have shown that compensation paid for lands acquired is not enough in comparison to the actual market price of land. Delay in payment of compensation invariably had been noticed. Besides the Land Acquisition Act of 1894, the British Parliament had enacted several other legislations namely the Chhotnagpur Land Tenure Act, 1869, Chootnagpur Tenancy Act of 1985 and the Santhal Praganas Tenancy Act 1875 relating to land alienation. A basic review of the intentions and objectives of the existing land related laws in India and in Orissa seem to have been diluted especially those intended to protect the “livelihood and customary rights” of the tribal. The real spirit of the land related laws especially tribal alienation laws are missing. Existence of several parallel laws and Acts stand as a major stumbling block in realization of the rights of the tribal over land and livelihood resources. Three important laws, namely, the Land Acquisition Act, the Forest Act and the Mines Act could be cited as examples. Although each one of these Acts has its own specificity on the question of land issues, they are very often clubbed together in relation to land acquisition and virtually tend to push the poor tribal to incomprehensible and irreparable loss in terms of livelihood options, habitat safeguard and economic parity.

Impact of PESA in Land Acquisition-

With the extension of the provisions of part-IX of the constitution, the Gram Sabha has been empowered through Panchayats Extension to Scheduled Areas Act, 1996 (PESA) and has become the nucleus of all activities. This Act has conferred wide-ranging powers and functions which do not figure in the main provisions of part IX of the constitution. The PESA Act has made it mandatory to consult the Gram Sabha before acquiring the land for mining and also in matters of rehabilitation and

resettlement of persons affected by projects in Scheduled-V areas. The Gram Sabha's recommendation is mandatory for granting prospective licence or mining lease for mining minerals as well as granting of concessions for exploitation of minor minerals by acquisition. Mines and mineral development fall under the perview of both the central government and the state government but major minerals are kept exclusively under the control of central government and therefore, are excluded from the perview of PESA Act. The state government, however, manage the minor minerals which fall within the perview of PESA. Despite the enactment of PESA, all matters concerning land acquisition for projects and leasing of land for minerals are decided in accordance with the existing Acts mostly the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 (as amended in 1984) and the Coal Bearing Areas (Acquisition and Development) Act of 1957. They do not assign any role/power to the Gram Sabha in granting lands and leases and do not give much importance to rehabilitation and resettlement of affected persons. But recently, the Government of India have come out with a Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy-2006 and some state governments like Orissa have notified such policies. The Orissa Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy-2007 spells out several concessions for the oustees in terms of land for land, compensation for acquired land, house for house, employment facilities of oustee families, etc.

In reality, the provisions of PESA seem to have watered down further by operation of the 'eminent domain' concept under the L-A. Act of 1894. The common property resources which the tribal own collectively by custom do not come under the ambit of L-A. Act 1894 but as per the principle of "eminent domain". These are recorded as either government land or waste lands. The Gram Sabha supposed to act as a protector and mediator between the villagers and the land acquiring authority has practically no teeth and the Collector can over-rule the Gram Sabha. Therefore, the concept of "eminent domain" needs alteration if Gram Sabhs is really to be made powerful and its role to be effective and meaningful. Even though in SAMATA Vs State of Andhra Pradesh (AIR 1997-SC 3297), the Supreme Court called upon for a fundamental change in treating the tribal as shareholders of the lands rather than stake holders, many state governments are yet to accept the instructions and act upon the instructions of the Appex Court. Another area of conflict between the L-A Act 1894 and the PESA Act 1996 relates to lack of clarity in the definition of public purpose in L-A. Act. In fact, in all acquisition, whether of private or public lands or traditional forest lands, consultation with and permission of the Gram Sabha should be mandatory for which specific provision in the acquisition laws should

be made and the owners of acquired lands should be responsible to the Gram Sabha despite issue of “No Objection Certificate”.

After the enactment of the provisions of Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act of 1996 (Central Act 40 of 1996), grassroots democratic institutions have been conferred with the power to restore lands within the jurisdiction of the village. Sec 4(M) (iii) of the Central Act 40 of 1996 states that a state legislature shall ensure that the Panchayats at appropriate level and the Gram Sabha are endowed especially with the power to prevent alienation of land in the Scheduled Areas and to take appropriate action to restore any unlawfully alienated land of a scheduled tribe. Different provisions seem to have been made in different state laws. In Andhra Pradesh, Confirmatory Act, the Gram Sabha or the Gram Panchayat is endowed with this power. In Madhya Pradesh, Land Revenue Code of 1959, the power is given to the Gram Sabha to restore possession of any land belonging to an aboriginal tribe if found in possession of any other person without any lawful authority. If the Gram Sabha fails to restore possession of such land, it shall refer the matter to the sub-divisional officer who shall restore the possession of such land within three months from the date of receipt of the reference. In Orissa, the Gram Sabha or the Gram Sasan is to control and supervise and the Gram Panchayat is to execute the prevention of land alienation and restoration to the lawful tribal owner. There is no doubt that despite some ambiguity in the interpretation, all these states are equipped with very strong legal provisions to restore alienated land to the tribal owners. But unfortunately, the result does not match with the expectations.

Indebtedness

The tribal people depend largely on private moneylenders for their loans who charge high rates of interest. Unable to pay back the loan amount, they are forced to pledge their lands which can never be repaid because of their poverty. The tribals often default in repayment of either interest or capital and are forced to mortgage their lands which are seized by the money-lenders subsequently. A study undertaken by NIRD, Hyderabad has indicated that more than 50% of sample households in MP, 30% of households in Bihar and 46% of households in Orissa were reportedly indebted. The study results also indicate that about 13% of Bihar, 26% in MP and 19% in Orissa had alienated their lands more than once for loans. Alienation of tribal lands mostly by money-lenders has long been recognized to be a critical issue. Generally, due to low education and skill levels and limited option to seek credit, tribal people secure loan from money-lenders at very high rates of interest which

they rarely could pay off. Due to default in repayment of such loans, money lenders tend to appropriate forest and agriculture produce of tribals at the first instance and later on, their lands. This state of affairs has been reposed in numerous study findings.

As mentioned earlier, the manner of transfer of most of the tribal land was by mortgaging with the intention that when the transfer accumulated the required amount to redeem the mortgage, the land would be released. But in most of the cases, it has been found from field study that due to exorbitant rate of interest, the tribals were unable to arrange the required amount and therefore finally had to surrender the land to the moneylenders or to other buyers to pay the old debt. Even the co-operative banks demand their dues. The rate of interest being very high and sometimes, the entire repayment amount being adjusted towards the interest keeping the principal in tact, the tribals are compelled to mortgage such land and are unable to restore. Some NGOs seem to have taken up these issues and extending helping hand to the tribals to release their land. Such of the NGOs like the Centre for Community Development (CCD) of Parlakhumundi in Gajapati district of Orissa, SAKTI of West Godabari district in Andhra Pradesh, Bharat Jana Andolan in Andhra Pradesh have done excellent work in this area.

Alienation and Restoration

Alienation of tribal lands in scheduled V areas calls for certain major factors for consideration. These relate to the incidence and magnitude of land alienation, the methods adopted for transfer of lands and the socio-economic and psychological impact of land alienation on the tribal people, particularly the women and the youth. In this context, the legal strength and weakness of the PESA Act and the role of Panchayati Raj institutions particularly of the Gram Sabha in presenting land alienation and restoration of alienated tribal lands to the owners is of paramount importance. Alienation can not be read as mere loss of property. It almost tantamounts to uprooting the locus of belonging. Following the occurrence of several tribal revolts, the governments in the past had passed several legislations/regulations to control alienation of tribal lands and restore them to the owners. Despite these protective legislations, land alienation continues unabated as an ultimate outcome of prolonged indebtedness. There is no paucity of legislation on land reforms but the laws and rules are flouted by vested interests as well as by rent-seeking administrators resulting in alienation of tribal lands by hook or crook. The PESA Act provides that the concerned legislature shall ensure that Panchayats at appropriate level and the Gram Sabha are endowed with powers to prevent alienation of tribal land and to take

appropriate action to restore any unlawfully alienated land in schedule V areas. But the spirit of this provision is not reflected in the conformity Acts of many states including AP, MP and Orissa. Even though the A.P. Act was by and large in conformity with the central Act, it is not clear how the Gram Sabha shall exercise this power for controlling land alienation. In Madhya Pradesh Land Revenue code, the Gram Sabha in the scheduled area is empowered to restore unlawfully alienated land of scheduled tribes but there are no provisions regarding the prevention of land alienation. The Orissa Gram Panchayats Amendment Act of 1997 provides that subject to the control of Gram Sasan, the Gram Panchayat shall exercise such powers and perform such functions in respect of prevention of alienation of land and restoration of any unlawfully alienated land to the scheduled tribes. But it is not clear how the Gram Sasan shall control and supervise leaving much of implementation of provisions for guessing.

From the 19th century till date, there has been considerable concern on the part of the administration to prevent transfer of tribal lands in scheduled areas and to make necessary provisions for the restoration of the alienated lands to the genuine tribal landowners. During the pre-British times also rulers of some principalities had forbidden transfer of tribal lands within the territorial limits of their kingdoms. Within the kingdom of Keonjhar inside the Bhuyan territory in Orissa, there were strict customary laws against land transfer in favour of non-tribals. In spite of these restrictions, land transfers continued and continues in tribal areas even to-day. The pace of restoration of alienated land is much slower than expected. There is still a considerable gap between the expectation and the realities.

Land laws and restoration of alienated lands

Generally speaking, even in the post independence period, land problems continued to play important role in the socio-cultural life of tribal. Results of several survey and research studies indicate that the tribal are hardly aware of the constitutional rights conferred on them. Even more than 80-85 per cent of tribal are not aware that their land can not be transferred to the non-tribal. Moreover, their rate of literacy being low and poorer particularly of women, the tribal are almost defenceless to combat against their exploitation in general and land acquisition in particular. Abject poverty and perpetual indebtedness forced them to shy away from engaging in litigation with the powerful lobby of land grabbers. The main source of expenditure of tribal households being on festivals, marriages, deaths, obligation towards the kith and kin, they prefer to mortgage their land to meet these expenses. In addition,

the habit of drinking makes them indebted and prompts them to surrender their land.

Successive studies have revealed that there are many pressing reasons for land transfer which include meeting household expenditure, house construction, repayment of old debts, socio-religious obligation, agricultural improvement, land development, land purchase, purchase of live stock, medical treatment, alcoholism, inability to cultivate and due to government purchasing/acquiring their lands for development projects. The study results have mainly confirmed that the aforesaid causes lead to either short-term or long-term indebtedness, and to get rid of the indebtedness, the tribals begin to sell their movable properties first like utensils, jewellery, etc. and finally transfer immovable property or land. The borrowing normally takes place in kind rather than in cash but the money-lender or the *sahukar* calculates the kind in its money value and asks the debt in cash. With exorbitant rate of interest debt cycles in the tribal areas has a spiraling effect keeping the borrower in a state of perpetual indebtedness. In absence of regular source of income to repay the old debts, the demand of cycles of social and religious obligations, the fear of dying indebted and constant reminders by the money-lenders demoralizes the borrower to finally part with his land to avoid unwanted embarrassments. Although the tribal borrower has the option of either losing his land or taking recourse to existing land laws, he prefers the former by taking the moral responsibility for non-payment of debt himself. In recent period, this trend is, however, gradually giving way to the restoration of lost tribal land by verifying the old land records coupled with enquiry and investigation by competent authorities under the law.

The study undertaken by NIRD has revealed that different laws have been made by different states in India regulating restoration of alienated lands. The NIRD's study of Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa provides different legal arrangements. Andhra Pradesh's Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation of 1959 (Regulation-I of 1959) and amendments in 1970 clearly provide that where a transfer of immovable property is made in contravention of sub-section (1), the Agent, the Agency Divisional Officer or any other prescribed officer may, on application by any one interested or on information given on writing by a public servant, or suo-moto decree of ejectment against any person in possession of the property claiming transfer after due notice to him in the prescribed manner, may restore it to the transferor or his heirs. Under the provisions of the A.P. Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Rules of 1969 (G.O.Ms. No-763, Revenue, 11th August 1969), the competent

authority, on receipt of an application or information, shall issue show cause notice to the possessor of the said property to reply within 15 days from the date notice as to why he should not be ejected and the property restored to the transferor or his heirs.

Under section 170(A) of the Madhya Pradesh Land Revenue code, 1959, the Sub-Divisional Officer in a scheduled area is empowered to effect restoration either on his own motion or on an application by a transferor belonging to the aboriginal tribe, shall make an enquiry and if he comes to the conclusion that the transfer is effected in contravention of the laws in force, shall set-a-side such a transfer and restore the land to the transferor by putting him in possession of the land forthwith. There is no bar in the limitation either on an application by the tribal or on any suo-moto action by the SDO. It is mandatory for the SDO to enquire into all transfers from the tribal to the non-tribal. If the SDO comes to the conclusion that any transfer is not bonafide, he has no option but to restore possession of the property to the original owner.

The Orissa Scheduled Areas Transfer of Immovable Property (by Scheduled Tribes) Regulation, 1956 or the Regulation 2 of 1956 and Orissa Land Reforms Act of 1960 provide for restoration of illegally alienated land to the tribal. The Sections 23 and 23(A) of Orissa Land Reforms Act deal with the restoration of land to the tribal owners. The Revenue Officer, on his own information or on the application of any interested person may declare such a transaction invalid and restore such property to the owner or his heirs. Sec-23 (A) of the OLR Act provides that if a non-tribal is found to be in unauthorized occupation of the land of a tribal person by way of trespass or transfer in contravention of the laws, the Revenue Officer may order eviction and shall cause restoration of such property to the tribal owner or his heirs. The Section 3(2), 3(A) and 7(A) of Regulation 2 of 1956 make provision for restoration of any land transferred against the law. The Section 3(2) empowers the competent authority to order ejection of the non-tribal person and restore the land to the tribal owner or his heirs. In case, restoration is not reasonably practicable, the authority may settle the property with another member of scheduled tribe or in the absence of any such member with any other in accordance with the provisions contained in the Orissa Government Land Settlement Act of 1962. The Section 7(A) states that despite an eviction order, if a non-tribal person is found to be in re-occupation of the immovable property of a tribal person, the former shall be punishable with rigorous imprisonment or fine.

Orissa's Protective Legislations

Land transfer and alienation in Orissa has also passed through various methods as mentioned above, but most of the transfers in tribal areas

was through oral commitments. In absence of settlement records, the tribal had no documentary title to their land. In certain areas, ownership of land and incidence of tenancy was guided by the common will of the village community. In the circumstances, alienation of tribal land towards repayment of various types of loans was oral which had almost assumed an ethical sanctity of law. In fact, in the early part of the 20th century, in large areas of tribal regions, land alienation took place without any documentation. In 1917, the British government passed the Agency Tracts Interests and Land Transfer Act (Act-I of 1917) wherein regulatory provisions were made regarding transfer of land by tribals to non-tribals. Revenue agency was responsible for enforcing, regulatory provisions of this Act. This Act was of some help only comparatively in accessible and plain areas but incidence of land alienation in more backward areas continued. It is only in the post independence period that a series of legislative measures were taken to prevent transfer of tribal lands to non-tribals. In the post-independence period, Orissa has undertaken a number of legislative measures to prevent economic exploitation in the tribal regions of the state. Similarly legislation was also passed to abolish debt bondage, provision for debt relief and regulate money-lending in tribal areas. In this regard, the (1) Orissa Debt Bondage Abolition Regulation 1948 (Regulation 1/48), (ii) Orissa Scheduled Areas Transfer of Immovable Property (by Scheduled Tribes) Regulation, 1956 (Regulation II/1956), (iii) Orissa Scheduled Areas Transfer of Immovable Property (by Scheduled Tribes) Amendment Act, 1975, (iv) Orissa (Scheduled Areas) Money Lending Regulation, 1967, and (v) Orissa (Scheduled Areas) Debt Relief Regulation, 1967, are worth mentioning. Apart from these Regulations and Acts, the following legislations concerning loans, wages, co-operative administration, etc. were also in force to protect the interests of the tribal. These are (i) The Land Improvement Loans Act, 1883, (ii) The Agriculturist Loans Act, 1884, (iii) The Minimum Wage Act, 1948, (iv) The Orissa Land Reforms Act, 1960, and (v) The Orissa Co-operative Societies Act, 1962.

One of the basic objectives of the First Five Year Plan of India was abolition of intermediary interests so as to bring the ryots into direct relationship with the state. The Orissa State Abolition Act 1952, although provided for abolition of all rights, title and interest in land of intermediaries like *Malgujar*, *Thikadar*, *gauntia*, *inamdar*, *jagirdar*, *sarbarakar* and *mafidar* etc. under various revenue laws prevalent in different parts of the state, the Act was unenforceable in many respects due to legal infirmities. The Orissa Tenants Relief Act, 1955 intended to confer security of tenure, resumption of land for personal cultivation and regulation of rent, could not produce any effect due to lack of co-

ordination between policy and execution. The tribal tillers/shareholders/cultivators/tenants/ryots could not get any benefit from these legislations. It was only in the Orissa Land Reforms Act 1960 that specific protective provision was made for the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe ryots from illegal alienation of their land. Under section 22 of OLR Act 1960, any transfer of holding by a ryot belonging to STs shall be void except in case it is made in favour of a person belonging to ST or by SCs to SCs and if transferred by STs/SCs to non-STs/SCs without permission of the competent authority or Revenue Officer in other than scheduled areas. Under sections 23 and 23A of OLR Act, the Revenue Officer or competent authority shall act suo motu or on the application of person interested for causing restoration of the property to the transferor or his heir, or if it has been transferred without prior written permission of competent authority. But implementation of this Act has been tardy and ineffective in as much as that in many cases, although restoration has been shown in pen and paper, physical possession of such land had not been restored. In spite of enforcement of Orissa Scheduled Areas Transfer of Immovable Property (OSATIP) Regulation (Regulation 2 of 1956), in the state, large scale alienation of tribal land to non-tribals continued which compelled the state government to go for further amendment in 2002. In fact, about 84 percent of land areas of scheduled districts either belongs to the government or to non-tribals. Large areas of land customarily claimed by scheduled tribes were deliberately or otherwise categorized as forest land or revenue land through survey and settlements and forest declaration. Only 16 percent is reportedly privately owned by the tribals. There have been huge instances of illegal transfer of tribal lands to non-tribals violating protective regulations (OSATIP, 1956) but in absence of complete data, the figures are shown to be negligible. However, as required under the PESA, the state government have amended OSATIP 1956 in providing for a stringent restriction on transfer of lands of scheduled tribes to non-tribals which is completely banned. This provision in the 2002 amendment was a landmark confirmatory legislation which, in the meantime, has raised several controversial questions. The state government are reportedly on an exercise of bringing further amendment to provide exceptional space in this law to allow scheduled tribes to transfer land on certain exceptional situations.

As mentioned earlier, money lending is one of the major causes of impoverishment and land alienation in the tribal areas of Orissa. To provide adequate protection to the exploited tribal the Government of Orissa adopted a special legislation called the Orissa (Scheduled Areas) Money Lenders Regulation, 1967. Under Section 21 of the regulation,

money-lender is required to have a licence to carryout business without which he/she shall be penalized. This law also prescribed the rate and types of interests u/s 7(1)(a) and (b) of the Regulation. Keeping in view the provisions of Panchayat (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act of 1996, the state government of Orissa have further amended the Orissa (Scheduled Areas) Money Lenders Regulation 1967 by the Orissa (Scheduled Areas) Money Lenders (Amendment) Regulation 2000 (Regulation-I of 2001) which provides that no money-lender shall advance loan to any person belonging to a scheduled tribe, except on the prior recommendation of the Gram Panchayat concerned and a detailed procedure is prescribed to protect the interests of tribals.

Observations

Results of several studies indicate that detection of land alienation and restoration has been stepped up both through governmental and non-governmental sources. In spite of direct and indirect interventions, vested interests in rural tribal areas have not been psychologically reformed. Despite stringent laws providing for penal action, attempts to grab tribal lands continue. The tribals also continue to transfer their lands for cash or commodity loan, even in some cases where lands have been restored to them. This is mainly due to their subsistence economy which can not provide them an adequate market surplus to meet their daily cash requirements. The traditional rural leadership has, in many cases, not displayed the required degree of interest in effectively stopping illegal transfers. It may not be a wrong assumption that in many cases, they may be the main beneficiaries of illegal alienation. Non-availability of adequate yield from their comparatively inferior agricultural land with fragmented holdings and primitive or traditional agricultural practices may be the reasons for economic impairment of individual economic freedom of scheduled tribes. Low per capita income, low literacy percentage, inadequate communication and lack of infrastructural facilities, non-availability of consumption and production credit, creditable marketing structure etc. are some of the adverse factors which have contributed to the general deterioration of tribal economy and land alienation is one such symptom, a major symptom, which has widened the vicious circle of poverty in the tribal areas.

Although some systematic and planned actions have been initiated through the Tribal Development Agencies (ITDAS) beginning with the Fifth Five Year Plan, protective measures should continue to be extended to the tribal areas in the field of employment, land alienation, educational facilities and other socio-economic activities. Many state governments have amended their existing tenancy legislations with a view to

controlling alienation of tribal lands to non-tribal after independence and before emergency in 1975. Subsequently, after emergency, fresh legislative measures were also taken as part of the 20-point programme announced by Indira Gandhi. States like MP, Orissa, Bihar, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Maharashtra and West Bengal had legislations in their tenancy laws to protect the interests of the tribal. But large areas of tribal lands have continued to be alienated mainly because of (i) loopholes in the tenancy legislations, (ii) slackness in the implementation of restrictive provisions and (iii) socio-economic factors. In the backdrop of these events as mentioned above, some of the basic policy issues need to be addressed. In the matter of total ban on transfer of tribal lands as done by some states like Orissa, there could be several presumptive difficulties. In fact, such policies have proved to be disadvantageous to the tribal on several counts. Many tribals not interested to stay in villages and want to migrate to urban and other areas can not dispose of land due to the restrictions. The restriction that the tribal can only transfer lands to the tribal hardly attracts the tribal who are not willing to buy land nor do they have money to buy land. Moreover, tribals who do not wish to pursue cultivation as occupation, have either to sell their lands at very low price or stick to cultivation even though they are only marginally interested in it. The general assumption that all tribals are poor is perhaps not correct. Even some of the tribal are rich and quite richer who can purchase lands of poor tribals without any legal hindrance. If such type of transfers are allowed from one tribal to another, rich tribal farmers may multiply in tribal areas who may perpetuate the economic exploitation of their poor counterparts.

It remains a fact that till-date, no state government appears to have undertaken a comprehensive survey covering all villages to determine the extent, causes and modes of land alienation in tribal areas. The approach to address this problem has been mainly legal without considering the social, cultural and inter-organizational components involved in the problem. Hence approach has been remedial rather than preventive. Data collected from different areas show that lands restored to the tribal have again been alienated to the non-tribal and in some cases tribals have refused to cultivate the restored land for various reasons. Some of the tribal feel insecure and are afraid of reprisals from influential non-tribal. Added to these adversial circumstances, unfortunately some judicial pronouncements have declared restorations as ultra vires of Art 226 of the constitution. Lack of survey and settlement records is another contributing factor to the land alienation process. Multiplicity of legislation governing the problem of land alienation and restoration in some states certainly create administrative problems. In

view of the above, besides undertaking a massive extensive and intensive awareness campaign at all levels, efforts should be made to consolidate the various provisions in state land laws to bring-out a comprehensive law with a view to simplifying the procedures to address all land related cases in tribal areas.

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LAWS RELATING TO LAND TRANSFER IN SCHEDULED AREAS OF ANDHRA PRADESH

Shri OSVD Prasad

The hilly and forest tracts of the then Ganjam and Vizianagaram districts witnessed a series of revolts during early 19th century. In the wake of widespread unrest in the said areas, the Government in Madras Presidency appointed Mr. George Russel, a Member of Board of Revenue, Government of Madras to investigate into the causes of such unrest. Mr. George Russel after studying the causes of unrest submitted a report to the Government. Based on the recommendations of Mr. George Russel, the Government enacted the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Act, 1839, under which certain parts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts were removed from the perview of general laws and the District Collector was allotted with powers for administration of criminal and civil Justice by declaring him as agent to the Governor.

A serious unrest was witnessed in the hilly and forest tracts of Bihar and Madhyapradesh around 1850. The British Government in India considered it necessary and expedient to have separate laws for administration of civil and criminal justice in the hilly and forest areas in the then British India. Consequently the Scheduled Districts Act, 1874 was made to empower government to specify by what authority any jurisdictions, powers, duties incidental to the operation of any enactment for the time being in force in the scheduled districts shall be exercised or performed. It further empowers the Government to appoint officers to administer the civil and criminal justice and to supervise the settlement and collection of the public revenue and other administration within the scheduled districts.

Thus, the foundations for the policy conferring special status for the present day scheduled areas were laid under the said Acts.

The then British Government in India, became aware of the exploitation of ignorant and illiterate tribal by non-tribal users in the agency areas as long back as 1917. The result is the enactment of the Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act, 1917, to regulate the rate of interest and the transfer of land in Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Godavari Agency tracts under the said Act, Agency Tracts means the scheduled districts as defined in the Scheduled Districts Act, 1874 and included within the

districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Godavari. Any transfer of immovable property by a member of hill tribe where it was made without the previous consent in writing of the Agent or any other prescribed officer was made null and void unless it was made in favour of a member of a hill tribe. It was also provided for abolition of compound interest, and the simple interest was reduced to 24 percent per annum, and, in any case, the total interest shall not exceed the principal amount.

In 1924, the Agency Rules have been made. Under these Agency Rules, the jurisdiction of ordinary Civil Courts is removed in the tribal areas and the legal practitioners are debarred from representation of the litigations in the Agency Courts without the prior written permission. The special status was continued under the Government of India Act, 1935 under which the Agency Tracts in the state were designated as "Partially Excluded Areas".

The Tribal of Adilabad district revolted against the Land and Forest policies in the then Hyderabad State. This uprising attracted the attention of the then Government. The Government of Hyderabad appointed Professor Christof Vonfurer Haimendorf to study the causes leading to the unrest among the tribal of Adilabad District. On the basis of the recommendations of the Professor Christof Vonfurer Haimendorf, the Hyderabad Notified Tribal Areas Regulation, 1359 (F) was made to afford protection to the tribal against the exploitation by the non-tribal. The said Regulation provided for Notification of Tribal Areas as Notified Tribal Areas for the purposes of special administration on the lines of Agency Tracts in the then Madras state. This Regulation provided for

- i) Prohibition on grant of *pattas* over any land in Notified Tribal areas to a non-tribal
- ii) Vesting in the Agent or Assistant Agent, all civil and revenue jurisdiction.
- iii) Vesting in the Agent or Assistant Agent all criminal powers.
- iv) Prohibition on un-licensed money lenders.

After the Constitution of India came into force, the Notified Tribal Areas in the then Hyderabad State and the Partially Excluded Areas in the then Madras State came to be known as Scheduled Areas under the Scheduled Areas Part-A States order and the Scheduled Areas Part-B States order respectively. The special provisions are embedded in the V Schedule to the Constitution of India, for the administration of Scheduled Areas.

In exercise of powers conferred on him under para 5 (2) of the V Schedule the Governor made certain Regulations to protect the interests of scheduled tribes inhabiting the scheduled areas land and also to regulate the rate of interest chargeable by the money lenders. Some of the important regulations are as follows:

1. The Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation, 1959.
2. The Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Money Lenders Regulation, 1960.
3. The Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Tribes Debt Relief Regulation, 1960.
4. The Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Tribes Debt Relief Regulation, 1970
5. The Andhra Pradesh Muttas (Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari Settlement) Regulation, 1969.
6. The Andhra Pradesh Mahals (Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari Settlement) Regulation, 1969.
7. The Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Ryotwari Settlement Regulation, 1970.

The salient features of each of the above Regulations are as follows:

1) A.P.Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation, 1959 (Regulation 1 of 1959):

The Regulation 1 of 1959 repealed the Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act, 1917. This came into force on 04/03/1959. This Regulation was originally made applicable to the Scheduled Areas of Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari including Bhadrachalam Division and West Godavari Districts. The said Regulation was extended to the Scheduled Areas of Adilabad, Warangal, Khammam and Mahaboobnagar districts by Regulation 2 of 1963 with effect from 01/12/1963 repealing the Hyderabad Notified Tribal areas Regulation, 1359 (F).

The Regulation 1 of 1959 provides that-

- ❖ In the Scheduled Areas any transfer of immovable property to anybody other than a member of a scheduled tribe is considered null and void.
- ❖ Where a transfer of immovable property is made in favour of any member other than that of a scheduled tribe, the Agent or the Agency Divisional Officer on application by any interested person could restore the property to the transferor or to his heir.

The transfer of land in the Scheduled Areas continued unabated in spite of restriction on transfer of land to non-tribals. To remove the persisting lacunae the A.P.S.A.L.T.R. 1959 was amended by Regulation 1 of 1970. The amended Regulation substituted subsection (1) of section (3) of Regulation 1 of 1959 by imposing absolute prohibition on transfer of immovable property situated in scheduled areas, whether or not such a person is a member of a scheduled tribe to any person who is not a member of a Scheduled Tribe. Statutory presumption has also been drawn that until the contrary is proved, any immovable property situated in the scheduled areas and in possession of a person who is not a member of a scheduled tribe shall be presumed to have been acquired by such a person or his predecessor in possession through a transfer made to him by a member of a scheduled tribe. When a tribal is not able to sell his immovable property to another tribal on reasonable terms, he may offer it to the Government who will take over the land free from all encumbrances on payment of compensation.

The Regulation 1 of 1959 was further amended by Regulation 1 of 1971 to enable mortgage without possession of any immovable property to any cooperative bank or other financial institution approved by the state government with the express condition that in the event of default the property should be sold only to the tribal or co-operative societies consisting wholly of members belonging to scheduled tribes.

The Regulation 1 of 1959 was further amended by Regulation 1 of 1978 which provides to prohibit registration sale documents in favour of non-tribal and all the offences under this Regulation are made cognizable. Non-tribal in occupation of land even after decree of ejection are punishable with rigorous imprisonment for a period extending upto one year or with fine upto Rs. 2000 or with both.

The non-tribal have devised several dubious methods to circumvent the provisions of Regulation 1 of 1959. Some of the important modes of Circumvention are as follows:

- ❖ The non-tribal though already married enter wedlock with tribal women in order to acquire lands without any legal complications, in scheduled areas especially adjacent to plain areas. In such cases the tribal women or their off springs do not enjoy the fruits of such lands.
- ❖ A vital social institution viz: Institutionalized friendship (Nestam) has been preserved by the tribal communities of Visakhapatnam and East Godavari districts from times immemorial. The tribal irrespective of community, sect, creed and sex enter these diminutive

associations through exchange of gifts. The objective of this friendship is to promote welfare of each other and they never think or tolerate ill of their friends. The non-tribal are found to enter this institutionalized friendship with tribal with an ulterior motive to purchase the fertile lands situated in the scheduled areas. The non-tribal register these lands in the names of their tribal friend to circumvent the provisions of the Regulation 1 of 1959. It is obligatory on the part of tribal friends not to reveal that the lands registered in their names are virtually cultivated by the non-tribal in view of the oath they took at the time of entering into the friendship.

- ❖ Some of the non-tribal are keeping the tribal land in their possession by way of lease or mortgage which are locally called by different names such as *Kandagutta*, *Payida*, *Theermanam*, *Tanaka*, *Namu* and *Theermanam Kaulu* clandestinely as the non-tribal could develop intimacy with the tribal.

2) The A.P. Scheduled Areas Money Lenders Regulation, 1960:

The scheduled tribes inhabiting the scheduled areas of the state are often falling into the clutches of non-tribal money lenders who provide them liberal credit at exorbitant rates of interest. The usurious money lending is some times culminating the tribal to part with their lands in lieu of their back-breaking debts. Realizing the needs for protecting the defenseless tribal from the evil mechanism of money lenders who have been using money lending as an effective instrument of land alienation, Government made A.P. Scheduled Areas Money Lenders Regulation, 1960. The salient features of the Regulation are as follows:

- ❖ Money lenders operating in the scheduled areas are required to obtain license annually.
- ❖ Maximum rate of interest chargeable on loans advanced to tribal debtors is prescribed. No money lender shall charge on any loan advanced on a pledge at a rate exceeding 9.3/8 percent per annum simple interest where the amount of loan does not exceed Rs. 25 and 6.1/4 percent If exceed Rs. 25 the loan is otherwise than on a pledge, the rate of interest should not exceed 9 percent simple interest per annum, where the loan is secured and 12 percent per annum simple interest where the loan is not secured.

3) A.P. Scheduled Tribes Debt Relief Regulation, 1960.

The Regulation was made to provide for scaling down of all debts payable by members of scheduled tribes at the commencement of this Regulation whether incurred inside or outside scheduled areas. Scaling down of debts is effected as follows:

- **Debts incurred before 1st January, 1951.**

- ❖ All interest outstanding on 1st January, 1951 shall be deemed to be discharged and only principal amount or such portion thereof as may be outstanding shall be payable.
- ❖ Where twice the amount of principal is paid, the debt shall be deemed to be wholly discharged.
- ❖ Where the sums repaid by way of principal or interest or both fall short of twice the amount of the principal, such account only that makes the shortage shall be payable.

Debts incurred on or after 1st January, 1951.

- ❖ Interest shall be calculated upto the commencement of this regulation at 5 percent simple interest per annum.

4) A.P. Scheduled Tribes Debt Relief Regulation, 1970:

The Regulation was made to give further relief by further scaling down of debts and by barring legal proceedings for recovery of debts for a period of two years.

- ❖ The amount of debt shall be limited to the amount of principal.
- ❖ No interest shall be payable and interest outstanding shall be deemed to be discharged.
- ❖ Where any amount in excess of or equal to the principal amount is already paid, the debt is deemed to have been wholly discharged.

Most of the land in Scheduled Areas was covered under the feudatory systems like Zamindari, Jagirdari, Muttadari and Mahaldari systems. Under these systems, the land holders had right to evict a tenant if some one offered a higher rent. The tribal tenant did not have the security for tenancy over the lands cultivated by them. With a view to confer *patta* rights to the tribal ryots over the land cultivated by them and to create proper land records after due survey and settlement operation in these villages, Government made the following regulations.

1) A.P. Mahals (Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari Settlement) Regulation, 1969:

Under this Regulation, every tribal ryot in lawful possession of lands, continuously for a period of not less than one year immediately before the notified date shall be entitled to a ryotwari patta to such lands. If the tenant is a non tribal, he is not entitled to ryotwari patta unless he is in occupation for a continuous period of not less than eight (8) years

before the notified date and such possession was not void or illegal under A.P.S.A. L.T.R., 1959.

2) A.P.Muttas (Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari Settlement) Regulation, 1969.

Under this Regulation, at the time of settlement, the tribal ryots in occupation of ryowti holding for a continuous period of not less than one year shall be entitled to ryotwari patta whereas a non tribal ryot is not entitled to a patta unless he is in lawful possession for a continuous period of eight (8) years immediately before the notified date and such possession was not void or illegal under A.P.S.A.L.T.R. 1959.

3) A.P.Scheduled Areas Ryotwari Settlement Regulation, 1970.

This Regulation provides for the ryotwari settlement of certain lands in the scheduled areas in Andhra area of the state in respect of which no ryotwari settlement was effected. The regulation applied to the land other than those comprised in *Muttas* and *Mahals* governed by the Regulations providing for abolition there of. After the survey, every Ryot is entitled to a ryotwari patta in respect of all cultivable lands which were properly included in his holding. If the land is situated in an Estate taken over by the Government under the Estates Abolition Act, a person who would be entitled to a Ryotwari patta under that Act would be given a patta for the lands not falling under the said category, he is not entitled to a Ryotwari patta if he is a non-tribal unless he is in occupation for a continuous period of not less than eight years immediately before the commencement of the said Regulation and that it is not void or illegal under A.P.S.A.L.T.R., 1959.

Special enforcement machinery has been created in the districts having scheduled areas in the state of A.P. to implement the provisions of A.P.S.A.L.T.R. 1959. As a result of effective implementation of the said provisions, a sizeable extent of land has been restored to the tribal.

EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT OF UNDERPRIVILEGED

Pramila Manoharan

India has signed three key international agreements that guarantee the right to elementary education – Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966 and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989. The Indian State was also proud to join, albeit after 52 years of independence, the host of countries that provide for a constitutional guarantee to free and compulsory education (FCE). Access to quality education is a human right. Education affects all types of human development outcomes. More than just a source of knowledge, education enables children to realise their full potential as adults. The international commitment to universal education was first set down in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and later reiterated in the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child. The importance of education as a key tool for society's development is enshrined in many other international documents, namely in the widely accepted United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Analysis of the Indian education system relative to the MDGs provides reason for cautious optimism. However, it is necessary to review the MDGs in a much broader context. The top priorities for India, in the spirit of the MDGs, are to include those small per cent of children who currently miss out on primary education, as well as to alleviate the disparity in access to education between urban and rural areas. Although girls' active participation in education at the primary and secondary level is encouraging, India's real challenge in regards to MDG 3 is to foster environments and to empower girls with attitudes and skills, which enable them to fully participate in all aspects of society.

MDG 1: Educational strategies must not only widely include girls into the process, but also better prepare them to participate as adults in social, political and economic life.

MDG 2: Achieve universal primary education target, ensure that by 2015 all children complete a full course of primary schooling.

MDG 3: Promote gender equality and empower women Target: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005, and at all levels by 2015.

Progress has been made in reducing the number of children out of school. Still, the number is unacceptably high. Based on enrolment data,

about 72 million children of primary school age were not in school in 2005; 57 per cent of them were girls. As high as this number seems, surveys show that it underestimates the actual number of children who, though enrolled, are not attending school¹. The dropout rates are increasing over the years.

Dropout Rate of Scheduled Tribal Children in India

ST Dropout	Primary (I-V)			Elementary (I-VIII)			Secondary (I-X)		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
2004-05	42.6	42.0	42.3	65.0	67.1	65.9	77.8	80.7	79.0

Source: UN DESA, *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2007*, New York, June 2007.

Why is literacy important?

Article 46 of the Constitution states that, “The State shall promote, with special care, the education and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes (ST), and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of social exploitation.”³

Literacy is a human right, a tool of personal empowerment and a means for social and human development. Educational opportunities depend on literacy. Literacy is at the heart of basic education for all, and essential for eradicating poverty, reducing child mortality, curbing population growth, achieving gender equality and ensuring sustainable development, peace and democracy. There are good reasons why literacy is at the core of Education for All (EFA)⁴. A good quality basic education equips pupils with literacy skills for life and further learning; literate parents are more likely to send their children to school; literate people are better able to access continuing educational opportunities; and literate societies are better geared to meet pressing development challenges.

Elementary Education – State Report Cards 2005 -2006⁵ reveal the following information:

² UN DESA, *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2007*, New York, June 2007

³ Constitution of India, Article 46

⁴ Education for All – Global Report - 2007

⁵ Elementary Education, Where do we stand? State Report Cards –2006 – Arun . C. Metha

- (1) The share of ST enrolment in the total enrolment in primary, upper primary and elementary classes, as presented and analysed, reveals no significant change during the period 2004-05 and 2005-06.
- (2) At the primary level, the share of ST enrolment with respect to total enrolment in 2005-06 works out to be 9.56 percent (10.69 percent in 2004-05), respectively which is just in tune with their percent share in total population.
- (3) The share of ST population as per 2001 Census at the all-India level was 8.20 percent. Their corresponding percentages at the upper primary level is 7.47 (8.59 in 2004-05) which are slightly lower than the same in case of primary enrolment.
- (4) All elementary classes together have 9.02 percent (against 10.18 percent in 2004-05) ST enrolment.
- (5) Three states from the north-eastern region, namely Meghalaya (92.89 percent), Mizoram (97.09 percent) and Nagaland (94.65 percent) have above 90 percent ST enrolment (elementary classes) which matches well with the percentage share of ST to the total population.
- (6) Lakshadweep also reported above 90 percent ST enrolment against 73.13 percent in Arunachal Pradesh and 69.53 percent in Dadra and Nagar Haveli.
- (7) Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand also had about 32 percent ST enrolment in 2005-06 compared to about 36.26 percent in Sikkim and 38.73 percent in Tripura.
- (8) All the 35 states and union territories reported tribal enrolment. Its share to total elementary enrolment varies from 0.09 percent in Chandigarh to 97.09 percent in Mizoram. Delhi too reported 0.45 percent tribal enrolment in its elementary classes.
- (9) Orissa with 24.46 percent also reported high percentage of tribal enrolment in Elementary classes in 2005-06.
- (10) The lowest ST girls' enrolment is observed to be in case of Bihar (40.37 percent).
- (11) Notably, at all levels (primary, upper primary and elementary) government has been the main provider and caterer of the educational needs of ST children.

Why are gender issues important in education?

Equity for girls means equity for everyone. By following gender equity guidelines to improve education, it is improved for boys as well as for girls. The goal of better serving girls does not entail neglecting or suppressing boys. By putting boys and girls on an equal plane, the

relatively increased valuing of girls will also benefit boys by informing them of the strengths, capabilities and contributions of girls and women. This, in turn, may help decrease the pressure many boys feel to conform to the traditional roles, behaviors and ways of thinking. Eventually, the stereotypes may be counteracted and eliminated, so education may begin to be more gender balanced. Focusing on girls' educational achievements and career aspirations allows society to ensure women economic security, a better quality of life, and more career choices. As a result, the need for social welfare will decrease, since most families in poverty are headed by women with inadequate education. Thus, targeting more equitable educational techniques will not only improve the lives of individual women, but will also advance the community as a whole as having that many more worthwhile contributors.

Gender Equality Index

As one would expect, the Gender Equality Index (GEI) among STs at 80.2 per cent is higher than it is for all-India at 69.1 per cent. Its three variables are economic attainment, as measured by the worker population ratio; health attainment, as measured by life expectancy at age one and infant mortality; and educational attainment, as measured by the literacy rate of those above the age of six and the intensity of formal education respectively. All three variables are given equal weight in the calculation of the GEI. The high rate of ST female workforce participation, compared to all-India female workforce participation, makes the ST GEI somewhat higher than that for all-India. However, the high rate of ST female workforce participation does not say anything about the quality of that workforce participation⁶.

Gender Disparity among STs

While the female literacy has almost doubled, the male literacy rate has also increased by about 50 per cent. However, the gap between male and female literacy has increased from 22.46 percentage points in 1991 to 24.41 percentage points in 2001. This is a disturbing trend and is not in line with the all-India trend of a narrowing of the gap between males and females in education. This table shows that the casualisation among ST women is higher than that among ST men. ST women compared to ST men are fewer in regular wage employment and more in casual wage employment. Along with the gap between female and male educational attainment for STs, this would mean that there is a less than proportionate participation of ST women in the modern sector of the economy compared to ST men⁷.

⁶ Development and Deprivation of Scheduled Tribes -Sandip Sarkar, Sunil Mishra, Harishwar Dayal, Dev Nathan

⁷ Development and Deprivation of Scheduled Tribes -Sandip Sarkar, Sunil Mishra, Harishwar Dayal, Dev Nathan

Investment in EFA and Economic Growth: A Positive Relationship

The case for financing primary education is no longer solely built around arguments such as education for promotion of human values, more democracy and better citizenry, but also around economic payoffs. This is a major shift in thinking from the early 1960s, when Professor Malcolm Adiseshiah, Director of the Madras Institute of Development Studies, recalls being asked by the executive director of the World Bank to provide a case on why the Bank should lend to education. The analysis of education's effect on income levels is not new. In the 1920s, the Russian economist G. Strumulin demonstrated that investment in primary education yielded the highest economic returns to society⁸. Today, studies done in East Asia show that education has contributed substantially to economic growth. It is recognized that education is a critical factor in poverty reduction that enhances the participation of the poor in development and strengthens democratic institutions. It also contributes to better environmental protection. Most importantly, the impact of education, and especially of female education, on health, infant mortality, reduction in fertility rates and population⁹.

In committing themselves to education for all, national leaders are also looking toward a vision of the future in which education plays a critical role. "To make progress, a people, a nation and humanity alike must nurture a common vision of the future it wants to create," said

Mr Makagiansar, chairman of the Indonesian Consultative Council on National Education¹⁰. This vision is a dynamic one, shaped by global and national imperatives global because of growing interdependency that affects even the smallest and most remote villages; national, because a country's development is ultimately dependent on the education of its people. This is a collective responsibility: "Globality and complexity can only be addressed by a broad alliance between all members of society, including parliamentarians, the media and industry," said Federico Mayor, UNESCO's Director-General¹¹. Failure to adopt a long term vision and raise the access and quality of education in countries will result in increasing poverty, migration, marginalization and population growth. China considers education a "milestone" in building a modern society.

In recent years, development initiatives have stressed the need to focus on the individual as the foundation for economic growth and overall

⁸ World Development Report 2003

⁹ UNFPA Background Paper for Education For All – Meeting 2005

¹⁰ Education for All – Report 2005

¹¹ Unesco's Report on Gender parity in education, 2006

progress in society. For the first time, the fourth United Nation's International Development Strategy is based on two pillars: poverty alleviation and human resource development¹². The pursuit of gender equality is central to sustainable development where each member of society respects others and plays a role in which they can fulfill their potential. The broader goal of gender equality is a societal goal to which education, along with all other social institutions, must contribute. Discrimination based on sex is often structurally embedded. In many societies, women bear the major burden of responsibility for food production and child-rearing, they are excluded from family and community decisions affecting them, and they have little or no access to the means of income generation. Gender issues must therefore be mainstreamed throughout educational planning - from infrastructure planning to material development to pedagogical processes. The full and equal engagement of women is crucial to ensuring a sustainable future.

The Impact of Educating Girls and Women

The above stated view is backed up by facts. Findings from a World Bank study of 20 developing countries indicate that countries which allocated substantial resources to female primary education experienced higher economic productivity, lower fertility rates, lower infant and maternal mortality and improved levels of life, expectancy for both men and women, compared to countries with lower levels of women's educational attainment.¹³ "You educate a man and an individual gets educated; you educate a woman and generations get educated," said Mr. K. Karunakaran, the Chief Minister of Kerala, a state that has been in the forefront of women's education in India. Investing in the education of women and girls normally yields the highest return. More specifically, educating women has a significant impact on multiple facets of society:

Impact on Economic Productivity

Research indicates that each additional year a young girl stays in school translates into a 10 to 20 per cent increase in wages. Studies in India confirm that women who had completed high school earned one and half times more than those without any education, and women with technical training earned three times more than illiterate women¹⁴. To be better valued, women's productive contribution must also be recognized at the highest level, in for example national accounts.

¹² United Nation's International development report 2005

¹³ World Bank – Study on economic development in 20 countries - 2005

¹⁴ World Bank – World Development Report - 2004

Impact on child mortality and family well-being

The children of educated mothers have higher survival rates through infancy and childhood. Relatively modest levels of education result in very significant declines in child mortality. Because education is highly correlated with openness to new ideas and innovation, educated mothers are more likely to follow sound hygienic and nutritional practices, and seek medical help when their children are ill¹⁵.

Impact on access to education

Educated mothers understand the value of educating their children, both daughters and sons. They are likely to take a greater interest in their children's school work, and can help them in acquiring basic literacy and numeracy skills. In India, the Total Literacy Campaigns (TLC) has led to a strong demand for universalising primary education through an awakening and recognition of the value of education. In several TLC districts, elementary school admission figures registered sharp increases.

Overcoming Obstacles to Educating Girls and Women

Recognizing that women have been neglected is one of the first steps in changing the winds of policy in their favour. Overcoming, an obstacle to the enrolment of girls' calls for a careful understanding of their causes and the conditions under which they arise. Complex webs of cultural, historic, psychological and economic circumstances have contributed to maintaining women at a disadvantage.

But what kind of education is required to increase female enrolment but also to keep girls in schools? Not only is there a need for more flexible arrangements, incentives and more relevant curricula, but an accompanying profound change in the attitudes of society toward gender stereotypes, traditions and customs that have denied women access to education. The quality of education received is of paramount importance. We have to overcome age-old barriers of silence, isolation and discrimination by making serious efforts, at all levels, to create conducive conditions for the participation of women and girls in education. A more positive political, social and cultural environment must be fostered to promote changes in these attitudes towards women.

Recommendations

- (1) Bring schools closer to the community and increase community and parent involvement.
- (2) Lower the costs to parents of educating girls by providing tangible "incentives".
- (3) Change, parents' views toward the value of education for girls.
- (4) Design schools and programmes to fit the needs of girl students.
- (5) Increase the number of female teachers.
- (6) Develop relevant curricula.
- (7) Linking learning to poverty alleviation

¹⁵ Visaria, L 2002 Education and Health in South Asia: What do we know

The recently held Controller of Auditor General's Report of Education for All recommended various measures to be taken by State Governments to improve the education of tribal children. The major recommendations of CAG are presented in Box-1.

Education and Empowerment for Women

The process of awareness-building and gaining greater control over one's life is part of the critical issue of empowerment. Unless education gives women the confidence and skills to participate in the entire development process, there will be little chance in the power profound, long-term change in the power relationships that prevail in societies. Literacy programmes that are not tied to improving real life situations have little chance of retaining interest. Learning how to solve problems is par of the process of empowerment, a process calling for a holistic approach to development and poverty alleviation.

Box-1:Major Recommendations of CAG

- Financial management and control of the educational schemes for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes should be strengthened by greater attention to utilisation of funds, adjustment of unspent balances, prevention of diversion of funds etc.
- Issues such as inter-state imbalances in allocation of funds and lack of initiative on the part of state governments should be addressed by adopting a pro-active approach.
- The reasons for short, delayed, deficient delivery of benefits should be identified and corrective action taken.
- Systems for the selection of beneficiaries, establishment of book banks, etc.should be streamlined in order to eliminate deficiencies such as delivery of benefits to ineligible persons, excess payments, purchase of outdated/irrelevant books, etc.
- The quality of hostels, which lacked basic facilities like toilets, water and power supply, adequate staff, etc. should be improved. Likewise, the quality of special coaching where infrastructure was inadequate and the required numbers of sessions were not held also merit attention.
- The implementation of schemes through NGOs needs to be reviewed in order to ensure that intended benefits are realised and to prevent misuse of funds.
- Effective monitoring mechanisms need to be set up and implemented at both the union and the state levels in order to enhance the effectiveness of schemes.

Source: *CAG Recommendations 2007*¹⁶

¹⁶ Gross Enrollment of SC/ST show adverse trend – NSA Research team - CAG Recommendations 2007

Conclusion: A Priority with No Single Solution

Making girls and women equal partners in the development process and giving them the tools to make informed choices and determine their own lives start with education. If the gender gap in educational attainment and literacy is to be overcome, special emphasis will have to be put on reaching girls and women, defined as “the world’s largest excluded group” in the 1993 Human Development Report. There is no single solution to increase girls’ enrollment and retain them in school. While, it is crucial to upgrade quality in the mainstream elementary system. It is just as important to recognize and support the role of non-formal education in reaching out-of-school girls and women. Failure to do so will only swell the ranks of adult illiterates and feed the vicious cycle of illiteracy and population growth. Even in states where the gender gap is minimal, concerted efforts must be invested in order to reach the most isolated, disadvantaged groups of girls and women. Only in this endeavor will Education for All become a reality. It demands vision, creativity and commitment, and a deep-seated belief in the value of girls, women and education.

An old Chinese proverb says, “If you are planning for one year, plant rice; if you are planning for five years, plant trees; if you are planning for the future, educate your children.”

MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION AND OTHER INITIATIVES IN ORISSA UNDER SSA FOR SC/ST AND MINORITY EDUCATION

*M.K. Mishra**

Orissa has 62 scheduled tribes which constitute about 23 percent of the total state population. Majority of them are concentrated in 17 districts of the state. The tribal people of Orissa can be divided ethno-linguistically into (a) the Austric Language group, (b) the Dravidian language group and (c) the Indo-Aryan language group

Tribal Literacy

According to the Census of India, literacy rate among tribal people in Orissa is 37.37. Of the literates, males constitute 51 percent and females 23.47 percent.

The total literacy rate of the state is 63.00 out of which male literacy rate is 73.00 and female literacy is 51.00. The overall gap of literacy is 38 percent, in which the gap in male literacy is 41.25 percent and the gap in female literacy is 54 percent.

- ♦ While tribal literacy in Orissa was 9.46 in 1971, it was 13.96 in

Category	1971	1981	1991	2001
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Total Population	26.18	35.37	49.09	63.61
Scheduled Tribes	9.46	13.96	27.10	37.37
Gap (in %)	17	23	22	26

1981. Again it rose to 27.10 in 1991 and during 2001 it was 37.37. This indicates the slow progress in literacy among tribal people in Orissa over the last three decades.

- ♦ At this rate how long Orissa will take to achieve 100 percent literacy is anybody's guess.

In seven districts with tribal population the literacy of the tribal people is below 40 percent. Literacy of tribal people in Orissa has been a major challenge because of multiple issues besides the problem of the gap between home and school languages.

Schools in Tribal Areas :

According to the Orissa Child Census-2005 (OCC-2005) conducted by OPEPA there are 11,479 schools having more than 20 students of linguistic minority group.

- ❖ Total number of such students in these schools is 6,73,622
- ❖ Nearly two-thirds of them (4,54,391) speak the Santhali language (58,287) & other tribal languages (3,96,104).

School Type based on Linguistic Distribution

The OCC-2005 report says that there are 3,421 schools in tribal areas which are monolingual and 2,499 schools with more than 90 percent tribal children. In as many as 5,919 schools with tribal children there is a substantial gap between home language and school language. Further, there are 6,014 schools teaching 50-89 percent children with linguistic diversities. This indicates that Orissa has linguistic diversities, which has not been addressed in school education for which the achievement levels of the tribal children in language and mathematics is miserably low. Survey shows that only 10 out of 100 tribal students pass the matriculation exam.

Out-of-School ST Children

According to OCC-2005 11 districts contribute towards nearly 80% of the total out-of-school ST children during 2005. The districts with such out-of-school children were:

Mayurbhanj (40,708),	Nabrangpur (28,217)
Keonjhar (21,797)	Koraput (21,517)
Rayagada (18,791)	Malkangiri (17,161)
Kalahandi (13,608)	Sundargarh (11,177)
Baleswar (10,700)	Gajapati (10,037)
Kandhmal (9,244)	

The OCC survey found that 10 districts have over 90 percent of children speaking various tribal languages. Along with Kalahandi, these 10 districts also account for 80 percent of the out-of-school children. This indicates that the districts with linguistic diversities have most out-of-school children. This has important implications for tribal education.

However, after adopting the cluster approach to tribal education, the number of out-of-school children has been reduced during 2008-09.

Tribal education and literacy have shown little significant improvement during the last three decades. The major reasons are inadequate schooling facilities in tribal areas, poor infrastructure, single-teacher

Dropout Rate

Dropout Rates at Primary level (Source : DEE Orissa)

Category	Overall Children		S.T. Children		Gap	
	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls
2002-03	34.7	36.5	53.4	57.4	19	21
2003-04	33.6	35.4	52.0	56.6	19	21
2004.05	32.0	32.7	52	56	20	23

schools, unsuitable curriculum and instructional materials, untrained teachers, gap between home and school languages and lack of academic resources for teachers in tribal areas.

The Vision Document 2020 published by the School and Mass Education Department indicates that inappropriate medium of instruction, imperfect teacher-pupil communication, unsuitable curricula and textbooks, incompatible formal school environment and less community participation are some of the causes which impede the learning of tribal children and result in high dropout rates. Tribal children alone constitute 27 percent of the total school dropouts in Orissa.

In South-East Asia, India is the only country with constitutional provision for the education of linguistic minority children in their mother tongue.

Art.46 – State to promote the educational need of the weaker sections of the society (SC & ST)

Art.350-A – Adequate facilities for instruction in mother tongue at the Primary stage of education to children of Linguistic Minority groups

Art.21-A – Free & Compulsory Elementary Education of equitable quality for all children up to 14 years of age

DPEP, during 1994-2003, introduced the education of disadvantaged groups and promoted tribal education as a step towards universalizing primary education. SSA aims at ensuring equitable quality education for all children irrespective of social category and gender.

The National Policy of Education 1986 and Programme of Action 1992 also envisage promotion of education of SC/ST by introducing teaching in mother tongue at least in the primary levels.

Regarding the education of children through their mother tongue, the National Curriculum Framework 2005 reads as following:

- + The mother tongue is a critical conduit, that social, economic and ethnic backgrounds are important for enabling children to construct their own knowledge. Foreword, page 4)
- + The fact that knowledge is constructed by the child implies that curricula, syllabi, and textbooks should enable the teacher in organizing classroom experiences in consonance with the child's nature and environment, and thus providing opportunities for all children. (Executive Summary, page 8)

Five guiding principles of NCF 2005 are

1. Connecting knowledge to life outside the school.
2. Shifting learning away from rote methods: Meaning & Communication
3. Enriching the curriculum to provide for overall development of children rather than remain *textbook centric*.
4. Making examinations more flexible and integrated into classroom life.
5. Nurturing an over-riding identity: How does the tribal child become a true citizen of India

Orissa Efforts

Social disparity in Orissa is clearly visible in the inter-district disparity in terms of literacy. While literacy in one district is as high as 75 percent, literacy in tribal districts is as low as 25 percent.

Multilingual Education in Orissa

Why MLE ?

- Builds on the knowledge and experience that children bring to school
 - *Based in language and culture of the child*
- Increases learners' access to education in the majority language
 - *second language learning programme*
- Develops self-esteem, confidence and cultural identity

Multilingual Education is a new area of pedagogy introduced in NCF 2005 which indicates that multilingualism is not a weakness but strength as it helps bridge the mother tongue with other tongues. It is through the mother tongue that children construct their knowledge. So unless the child is provided inputs in his/her own language child-centered

education is impossible. MLE is to connect mother tongue with the state language and foreign language to ensure reading and writing with purpose and meaning. MLE also promotes the cultural experience that children gather as they understand the world around them.

How MLE ?

- ▶ Begins with mother tongue (L1, home language) as a medium of instruction
- ▶ Builds strong bridges to other languages, while maintaining the use of L1 for as long as possible.
- ▶ Builds on what we know about how children learn best. (from known to the unknown)
- ▶ Building on the child's prior knowledge, using his/her world or real knowledge and moving to new knowledge.
- ▶ Allows the child to construct knowledge
- ▶ Uses the language the child knows best to teach reading and writing skills.
- ▶ Allows the child to learn academic concepts in mother tongue

MLE in Orissa

State Tribal Advisory Committee on Tribal Education

On July 8, 2006, the State Tribal Advisory Committee chaired by Sri Naveen Patnaik, Chief Minister, Orissa, decided that Orissa would take up Multilingual Education Programme in schools in tribal areas. This was to be done for providing quality education by using tribal language as the medium of instruction.

The State Language Committee (2005) under the School and Mass Education Department, headed by Prof DP Pattanayak, EX Director, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Govt. of India , Mysore recommended the use of mother tongue in schools by the linguistic minority community. The Committee also suggested the preparation of curriculum and instructional materials in tribal languages adopting the thematic approach suggested in the syllabus of NFC 2005.

Depending on the community demands 10 tribal languages were selected for mother tongue medium of instruction in the first phase. They comprise eight major tribal languages including Saora, Santal, Kui, Kuvi, Oram, Kishan, Koya, Munda and two endangered tribal languages - Bonda, and Juang.

The Road Map

The State Government decided to adopt MLE in 2006 and prepared a roadmap through a National Seminar involving the stakeholders. It was decided that MLE would be taken up in ten languages for a period of five years from 2007-08 to 2012. The approach would be additive language maintenance in which the mother tongue would play an important role even after the introduction of second language (Oriya) or third language (English).

Preparation for MLE

- ▶ 2006-07 was the year of preparation in which views of international experts were solicited and curriculum and instructional materials prepared by teachers from tribal communities.
- ▶ Teachers were selected from the ten tribal language groups through visioning test and they were trained on the MLE approach.
- ▶ Schools with hundred percent monolingual tribal children were identified
- ▶ Curriculum was designed based on the cultural themes after discussions with the senior members of the tribal communities.
- ▶ NCF 2005 was the guiding principle for curriculum framework, and preparation of instructional materials
- ▶ Two mega strategies were adopted for cognitive development of the children¹ (CALPs and BICS)
- ▶ Instructional materials were prepared based on the CALPs and BICS by adopting the cultural theme web
- ▶ Community culture was the foundation of curriculum construction such that experiences of the children could be reflected

Identification of MLE Schools

Those schools which had only monolingual tribal children in Class I were selected.

The criteria for opening of MLE schools are:

- ▶ Schools with only monolingual tribal children speaking their mother tongue
- ▶ Schools should have either primary or upper primary classes
- ▶ The school should have at least four teachers
- ▶ School should have at least five classes
- ▶ VEC and community should have their consent to use mother tongue in the school as medium of instruction

Identification of teachers for MLE schools

Teachers for MLE were identified from among the existing teachers and belonged to the same language community as the children. They were ready to work in MLE schools at least for five years and showed their eagerness to teach in Class I and Class II. The teachers were identified through a workshop and transferred to the MLE schools.

For the Bonda and Juang communities teachers were not available. Hence, educated youths from these communities were engaged by the VECs with the approval of the district collector. The district SSA pays their monthly remuneration.

Convergence with other countries and states

MLE officials from, UK, Canada, Bangladesh, and Nepal have visited Orissa. MLE officials from Andhra Pradesh, Chhatisgarh, Jharkhand too have visited the state. The state MLE officials have participated in international MLE seminars and conferences during 2006-08.

Formation of State Resource Group:

A state resource group was formed comprising linguists, educationists, anthropologists and tribal language experts including teachers from ten language groups. Resource persons from international agencies also provided their technical support on MLE.

District resource group (DRG) and language resource group were formed in ten languages taking the help of language resource persons and teacher educators from DIETs. The DRG and language resource group were trained on MLE.

Curriculum Development and Preparation of Instructional Materials

Curriculum was developed and instructional materials prepared in tribal languages based on the guiding principles of NCF 2005. This was a six-month-long exercise taken up at the state level and district level workshops from July 2006 to May 2007 for Class I and July 2007 to February 2008 for Class II.

Training manuals for master trainers were prepared and some teachers were trained on MLE for fifteen days.

MLE was implemented in class-I in 200 pilot schools in the 2007-08 academic session. The transition plan of MLE over a period of five years is shown below.

¹ CALPS –Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency Skill and BICS-Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skill

Transition Plan for bridging of languages in primary stage 2007-8 to 2012

Language and content	Pre-sch 1	1 st Grade	2 nd Grade	3 rd Grade	4 th Grade	5 th Grade
Mt language learning	Language Oral MT	Language in MT	Language in MT	Language in MT	MT as subject	MT as subject
Maths	Number MT	Math in MT	Math in MT	Math in MT	Math in L2	Math L2
Curriculum content Evs i&ii	Environmental Studies In MT	Environmental Studies In MT	Environmental Studies In MT	Environmental Studies In MT	Environmental Studies In MT/L2	Environmental Studies In L2
Second language learning Oriya			Oral lang+ written L2	Reading and writing in L2	Developing fluency in L2	Language in L2
Third language learning English				Oral L3(80 %)+written L3(20 %)	Oral L3+ written L3	Reading and writing and comprehension in L3

National Curriculum Framework envisages a paradigm shift from teacher-centered to children-centric learning.

Curriculum development and preparation of instructional materials

NCF 2005 calls for these changes		Multi-Strategy approach can facilitate these changes	
From	To	How	What
Teacher Centric, stable designs	Learner centric, flexible process	Teacher designs learning experiences that are given to the learner. Thematic Approach	Listening – Stories, Shared Experiences Maths-number stories
Teacher direction and decisions	Learner autonomy	Language experience approach, Story Chart approach,	Choice of reading Writing Creative

NCF 2005 calls for these changes		Multi-Strategy approach can facilitate these changes	
From	To	How	What
Teacher guidance and monitoring	Teacher facilitates, supports and encourages learning	Teacher creates learning centers for small group work	Construction of texts using the learner's words Word trees, word mobiles,
Passive reception in learning	Active participation in learning	Work stations with individual reading, peer to peer reading, retelling the story, children creating dramatic versions of the story, use of puppets	Games for practice Five step reading method Critical thinking questions such as "What if" where the answer cannot come from within the text but from within the imagination and creativity of the child

NCF 2005 calls for these changes		Multi-Strategy approach can facilitate these changes	
From	To	How	What
Passive reception in learning	Active participation in learning	Work stations with individual reading, peer to peer reading, retelling the story, children creating dramatic versions of the story, use of puppets	Games for practice Five step reading method Critical thinking questions such as "What if" where the answer cannot come from within the text but from within the imagination and creativity of the child
Learning within the four walls of the classroom	Learning in the wider social context	Thematic approach brings the child's world into the classroom	Themes and theme webs

NCF 2005 calls for these changes		Multi-Strategy approach can facilitate these changes	
From	To	How	What
Knowledge as given and fixed	Knowledge as it evolves and is created	Small group work	Child created texts
Disciplinary focus	Multidisciplinary, educational focus	Thematic approach	
Linear exposure	Multiple and divergent exposure	Theme webs	Use of cultural themes alongside of Road 1
Appraisal, short, few	Multifarious, continuous	Informal grading scales used for appraisal of reading, portfolios	Teacher continuous monitoring, making use of portfolios

The above table indicates the bridging from tribal language in class-I to Oriya by class-V over a five-year period by maintain education in mother tongue.

National Curriculum Framework envisages a paradigm shift from teacher-centered to children-centric learning.

Curriculum Development and Preparation of Instructional Materials

The community was involved in curriculum design to ensure

- local literacy: oral and written
- focus on seasonal and environment themes
- interrelationship of knowledge
- reflection of cultural values
- accurate representation of tribal culture and relationship with land and nature

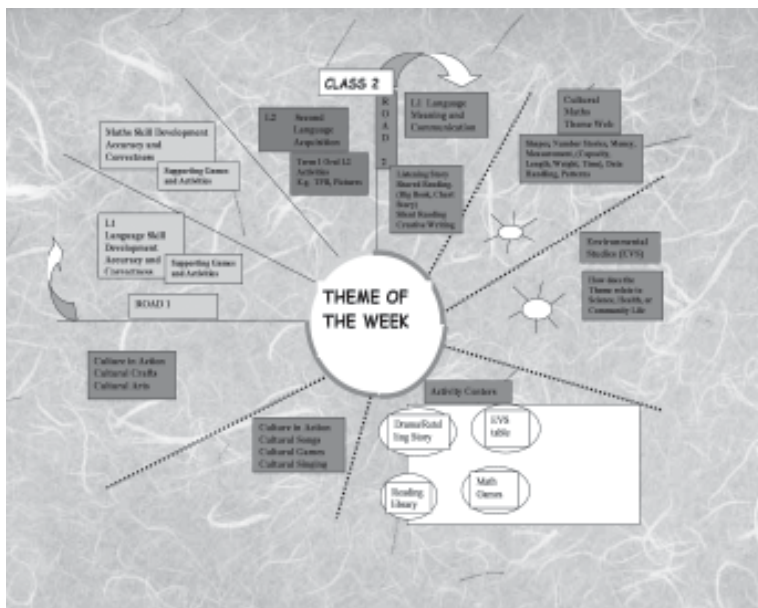
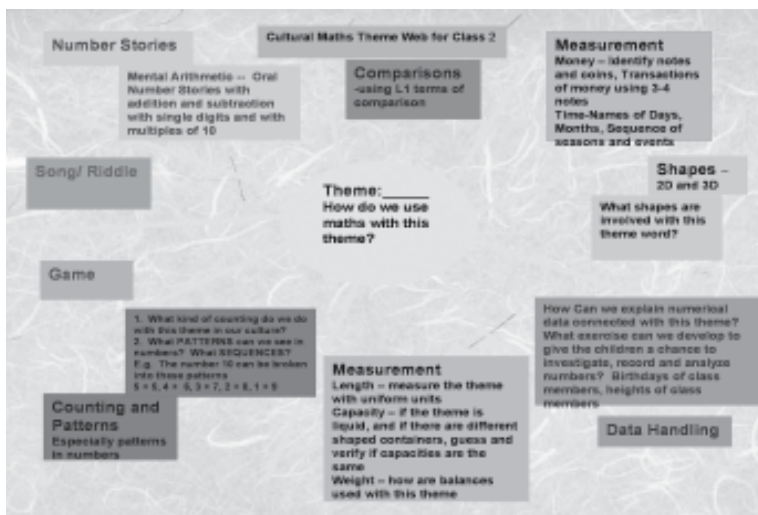
The cultural themes were identified by the MLE resource groups and validated by the community members to organise the content for preparation of instructional materials. For Class I, for example, they identified 30 culturally important themes and prepared the theme web for language and mathematics.

BICS and CALPS

According to Jim Cummins learning by a child in her own environment develops her 'Basic Interpersonal Communication Skill'(BICS). This



Cultural mathematics in curricular theme web



Curricular theme for Class II

helps the child to develop her cognitive ability in her own socio-cultural context. In child-centred pedagogy the same experiential knowledge is the foundation for development of Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency' (CALP). These two aspects form the basics of learning at home and at school. These two mega-strategies have been adopted for preparing the theme web. While BICS helped draw themes from the cultural context and environmental experience of the children, CALP is about learning alphabets and words with accuracy. Language learning in the classroom, therefore, has two track systems.

- ✧ Track I contains CALP contains skills based development and confidence and competence through practice with engagement.
- ✧ Track II contains meaning based contextualized learning emphasizing creativity and rooted in learner's background and culture

Daily Routine in MLE Schools for Class I and II

Period 1- Initial work and attendance taking - 15 minutes

Period 2- Moral lessons - 15 minutes

Period 3- Mother tongue complex/combined letter - 10 minutes

Period 4- Left out L2 Letters—Alphabet Chart - 10 minutes

Period 5- Word Webs- 2LA Lesson plan (TPR, Supporting Game, See Listen and Say, Oriya Rhyme, Picture Talk, Reading in L2) - 30 min

Period 6- Activities supporting this - 10 minutes

Period 7- Maths Primer/number chart - 30 minutes

Break

Period 8- Listening to story

Period 9- Shared reading (B.B. + Exp Chart Story + Story Chart)

Period 10-Silent reading

Period 11-Creative writing

Period 12-Cultural Maths (Maths Theme Web)

Period 13- EVS (EVS Theme Web)

Period 14-Activity Centers (Reading Corner, Science Table, Math Activity Center)

Period 15-Cultural songs and dances

Period 16-Cultural crafts and games

Track One Materials for Class 2

- a. Combined/complex letters MT Chart
- b. Combined/complex letters L2 Chart
- c. Matra/Falas
- d. Left out letters
- e. Word webs
- f. Bridging books (a,b,c,d)
- g. Math book
- h. Number chart

The instructional materials prepared for these two tracks are :

Track I contains

- Alphabet chart
- Alphabet book
- Number chart
- Number book
- Math book

Track II contains

- Big book
- Small book
- Story for Listening
- Experience story
- EVS (nature study)
- Games and Sports, Moral Education, songs, tales, riddles

Academic Annual Plan for MLE schools

The whole year is divided into 30 weeks. Each week contains one theme and theme webs are prepared accordingly. Instructional materials are provided to the schools to teach with MLE approach. The calendar of activities is formulated before the session starts.

The curricular year is divided into three terms. Each term contains ten weeks and thus three terms cover 30 weeks. Each week is subdivided into six days and thus a total of 180 academic days are offered for teaching and learning. Teachers need not worry about writing the daily lesson plan since s/he already has the annual plan prepared before the school starts.

There is a village curriculum and multiple instructional materials are available for use by the children and the teachers.

Monitoring and Evaluation

- Monthly academic sharing meeting of MLE teachers
- BRCC/CRCC to understand the concept of MLE and to support the MLE schools
- Community to take responsibility to provide support to school
- Parents and teachers discuss children's achievement since they all belong to same language group

MLE Schools in Orissa

Pilot Schools were identified in the Blocks

- Teachers from same language have been transferred and engaged
- BRCC/CRCC have been oriented on MLE monitoring and supervision
- For community support, MLE+ is introduced by JNU, New Delhi in eight schools (Saura and Kui)
- Community mobilization programme have been conducted in the villages

Capacity Building

- Three DIETs have opened Regional Resource centers for tribal education
 - DIET Baripada: Northern Zone
 - DIET Samalpur: Western Zone
 - DIET Jeypore: Southern Zone
- (UNICEF is providing human resource support for these centers)

Reflection

- Children got back their voice
- Their enrollment and retention improved
- Children started talking in their language and understood the content and connected the classroom knowledge with their experience
- They started reading and writing and identifying letters from the sentence
- Literacy became easier and the result is visible
- Students from other classes are also interested in learning (reading big book, small book, listening stories, math book etc.)
- After six months of schooling in Class I the child is able to read a sentence and identify the words and letters from the sentence with meaning, if it is in her mother tongue.
- Child can think and create if given a context.

Teacher Response

- Tribal teachers took the lead in curriculum designing and preparation of instructional materials
- They regenerated their own cultural themes for the curriculum
- Some were assertive about their language and were enthusiastic about the language revitalization efforts

We have been quite successful in implementing MLE in Class I and started Class II this year. Teachers from tribal communities have been posted in MLE schools. It is seen that community interest and demand is strong for mother tongue education.

Sustainability

The State Tribal Advisory Committee chaired by the Chief Minister is serious about MLE in Orissa.

Academic activities will be sustained through DIETS, BRCC and CRCC, Government of India.

SRUJAN: A child-friendly programme built on school-community partnership

SRUJAN is the result of a cluster approach to education where the community has an important role in creating a learning atmosphere in schools. Teachers are facilitators and allow the community and the children to take part in child-friendly activities like story-telling festival, art and craft, traditional games, music and dance, nature study and village project etc. The purpose of the programme is to incorporate community knowledge into the school curriculum. Community resource centers have also been opened where members of the community share local knowledge with their children.

Programme Objective (based on NCF-2005)

- ❖ Creating a child-friendly atmosphere in the school by adopting child-centered activities (games, music, art, craft, tales, songs).
- ❖ Bridging the gap between the home language and the school language in the classroom for better learning
- ❖ Tapping community resources (oral and material resources) for curricular support. Creating a local resource pool in the CRC for tribal education, such as reading facilities
- ❖ Developing school-community interaction and responsibility among PRIs and traditional tribal leaders. Ensuring regular attendance of children by activating the VEC/MTA and parents.
- ❖ Ensuring enrolment and retention of dropout children by mobilizing their parents through the community.

Area: In the year 2007-08 a total of 97 blocks with more than 50% tribal population have been identified for this programme. In 2008-09, 44 Blocks with 30% to 50% tribal population will be taken up for this programme.

The child-friendly activities that are adopted in Srujan are. They are:

1. story telling festival,
2. traditional games,
3. art and craft,
4. music and dance

Community based activities:

Orientation of PRIs

Conducting of *jati mahasabha*

The traditional tribal leaders as well as the Panchyati Raj members take part in all these activities and provide support to the school activities

School activities:

Preparation of bilingual TLM for bridging the language gap

Collection of children's folklore

School-Community partnership based activities:

Padhaghar: It is a community resource center in school where local knowledge can be tapped and shared by teachers, community members and children. The knowledge can be documented for building up a village library and community reading room in school. At present, there are 523 *padhaghar* in CRCs where reading materials are provided to the children. Some *padhaghar* have registered with Readers Club in NBT, New Delhi. Besides they are collecting the library books from the community to build up a village reading room. The purpose of the programme is to involve the community in school education on the one hand and create an experiential knowledge system for the children in the classroom on the other hand. This also helps in bridging the gap between the school and home languages.

The concept of Srujan is derived from NCF 2005 to explore the "in side out" of the children and the community to strengthen school education with local knowledge.

The Orissa Primary Education Programme Authority (OPEPA) has initiated Srujan in 523 clusters covering 7,148 schools with three lakh children and 14,000 teachers. The results so far have been encouraging in terms of children and community participation in story-telling festivals, games and art and craft.

The rich local knowledge has been documented by the children which are rich curricular resources for multilingual education. Till now, the

CRCCs have been able to document more than 15,000 folktales from the community written down and illustrated by the children in the story telling festivals.

Reflection

This programme has improved the relationship between the school and the community and the retention of tribal children in schools. Community knowledge has proved an important learning resource and has also guided teacher training in tribal areas.

RUPANTAR: Training of Teachers of Tribal Areas

- ◆ Trained 350 Master Trainers on pedagogic issues in tribal context from selected tribal blocks
- ◆ Attitudinal training: Teachers from 141 Blocks with high tribal concentration were trained. The focal theme of the training was:
 - Understanding tribal children
 - Learning theories of language
 - Mother tongue education
 - Addressing bilingual classroom
 - Using folklore/local knowledge for language TLM
 - Motivation of tribal children,
 - Attitude and behaviour of teachers in tribal area schools
 - Integrating natural learning with school learning
 - Tribal society as the source of school development
 - Specific role of BRC and CRC in tribal areas

Reflection

- The need for preparation of tribal bilingual primers emerged from the teacher training programme.
- The process was initiated by the teachers.
- The first step in the preparation of bilingual primer was tapping the language resources and folklore of the tribal communities
- Need identification of teachers led to need identification of tribal children by the teachers themselves.
- Teachers from tribal communities were trained on preparing primers

- Cultural context of each tribe was the foundation of the text
- Senior tribal students contributed to the preparation of primers.
- Community participation was encouraging in six languages Saora, Koya, Bonda, Kui, Kuvi and Juang)

Capacity Building and Convergence

TE and SCERT and DIETs of Orissa are taking serious steps for capacity building of tribals.

UNICEF Orissa is advocating for equitable quality education under MLE approach. It is also providing academic support by inviting national and international resource persons. UNICEF has also agreed to take up Linguistic Mapping and Survey and baseline study as well as providing monitoring support at the state and district levels.

Annexure :

Number of MLE Schools Opened in Orissa :

Language	2007-08	2008-09	Districts
Saora	30	30	Gajapati and Rayagada
Munda	30	30	Sundargarh,Mayurbhanj
Koya	20	20	Malkangiri
Oram	20	20	Sundargarh
Kui	20	20	Kandhmal
Kuvi	20	20	Rayagada
Kishan	20	20	Sambalpur
Munda	20	20	Sundargarh,Mayurbhanj
Juang	10	10	Keonjhar
Bonda	5	10	Malkangiri
Santal		100	Mayurbhanj
Total	195	300	495

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PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF EDUCATION AMONG TRIBAL CHILDREN

Prof.(Dr.) P.C. Mahapatra

In an increasing globally interdependent world as we enter to the twenty first century, the continuing of looking at developing society through prism of poverty and under development, the 'first world' addressing the 'third world' created two new 'worlds': Tribals forming the 'fourth world' and 'Women and Children forming the fifth. The rise of competing identities claiming attention in democratic polities provides daunting challenges to our society.

The tribes of India constitute an important segment of Indian society. They are enlisted as per Article 342 of Constitution of India and designated as *Anusuchit Janjati* (Schedule Tribes). The constitutional provisions and safeguards have reinforced their techno-economical and cultural status and their social identity. They are also intended to empower the tribals in order to enable them to take their rightful place as part of the main stream.

Government of India have enlisted a number of scheduled tribes and 62 of them are found in Orissa, but of which 13 are primitive constituting of more than twenty two percent of the total population of the state. Next to Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, Orissa comprises the largest tribal population of the country. The scheduled tribes of Orissa are mostly distributed in two distinct geophysical zones in uneven proportion. The northern plateau which includes Sundergarh, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar districts, Kuchinda sub-division of Deograh, Pallahara sub-division of Angul as well as Nilagiri subdivision of Balasore district and the southern mountain ranges comprise Koraput, Rayagada, Nawarangpur, Malkangiri, Kandhmal, Gajapati districts and Thuamal Rampur and Lanjiagarh blocks of Kalahandi district.

Linguistically the tribal of India belong to four board language families, such as the Indo-Aryan, Austro-Asiatic, Tibet-Burmese language family is conspicuous by its absence. The sixty two tribes in Orissa use a variety of language and dialects. However all of them are not of equal status in respect of numerical strength, primitiveness of the tribe, use of separate script and tendency towards etc.

Generally speaking most of them are in subsistence level and the percentage of households below poverty line is the highest among

scheduled tribes as composed to other social groups. Their literacy level is very low and inter-district disparities are very much pronounced. Therefore, majority of them may be classified as vulnerable ethno-cultural groups because of carrying on pre-agricultural activities for their survival, general backwardness due to seclusion and consequential archaic mode of living. The scheduled tribes particularly the primitive groups lack income generating durable assets and hence suffer from object poverty and relative deprivation.

Education of Tribal Children:

Education is one of the principal means to foster a deeper and more harmonious human development and thereby poverty, ignorance and oppression. Therefore, universal basic education is constructed as top priority. Secondary education has a pivotal role to play in the individual learning path of the young people and in the development of the society and higher education will be diversified and universalized, so as to take into account their functions and duties as center of learning, place of professional training and partners in national development.

A cursory glance of the educational status of the tribal children of Orissa reveals that absolute majority of them are non-enrolled, a large number are out of schools and comparatively more are non-achievers. Tribes in the past, though were non-literate, certainly possessed their own system of informal education. The dimensions in informal education emphasized community involvement and acquisition of competence to emerge as effective members of the society in future. Even today, core informal education consists of instructions and knowledge relating to value and subsistence techniques which are more practical in nature.

In the post independence period, a series of steps have been taken for promoting education among the people of the tribal community. As a result of which a significant number of boys and girls have come out of their cocoon of darkness and ignorance and shown positive signs to educate themselves. But they have still miles to go to reach universalisation in each phases and stage of education.

The chief ingredients of a democratic nation are the people. Education with the mission of cultivating the masters worthy of its name, therefore, is to be regarded as the most important national/state enterprise. In the present context, equality, quality and quantity should be the elusive triangle of tribal education.

The prevailing faulty concept that the tribal are mentally deficient is not at all correct. They are capable of picking up complex knowledge but their pace of assimilation may be slower as per their level for geo-historical reasons as well as for long period of isolation.

Principal Constraints:

Studies revealed that the major causes of low educational status of the tribal can be broadly classified under three categories, namely socio-economic, psychological and educational. Under the head socio-economic causes, parental indifference to education, child's supplementing family income, poverty, homesickness, early marriage and under psychological causes, lack of motivation, lack of interest art allergy for punishment, lack of nutrition, communication gap, school anxiety have been taken into account. In connection with educational causes provision of incomplete schools, irrelevant curriculum and text books, teachers vacancy and absenteeism, vacation pattern and school timing, use of wrong methods of teaching, lack of supervision and over lapping of administration have been highlighted. In order to remove these barriers a multidimensional approach to tribal education must be undertaken.

Out of these, our major focus will be on the following principal constraints in the educational development of the scheduled tribe communities.

- Parental indifference to education.
- Lack of access to schools with residential facilities.
- Inappropriate medium of instruction.
- Imperfect teacher-pupil communication-communication barriers in the lower classes.
- Unsuitable curricular and test books for lower classes.
- Incompatible formal school environment.
- Lack of appropriate technology in classroom transaction.
- Low level of techno-economic base.
- Lack of community participation.
- Inadequate academic supervision and in-service training to the teachers.

Envisioning the need for development of scheduled tribes rooted in their own socio-cultural ethos, Pandit Jawaharlal Neheru placed emphasis on the following fundamental principles "The Tribal Panchasheel".

- I. Tribal people should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing any thing on them. We should try to encourage in every way their traditional arts and culture.
- II. Tribals rights in land and forests should be respected.

- III. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some personnel from outside will, no doubt be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should try to avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.
- IV. We should not over administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of scheme. We should rather work through and not in rivalry to their social and cultural institutions.
- V. We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

These principal, the passage of time not with standing, hold good even today are relevant to the needs of all scheduled tribes including the vulnerable ethno cultural groups among them.

Our Focus :

It has been unanimously accepted that education is the basic building block of socio-economic development of a country. Our education must provide Life Enrichment Education (LEE), Life Skill Education (L.S.E.) and Life Value Education (L.V.E.). In the coming decades the emphasis will be on four pillars of learning “Learning to learn / know, Learning to do, Learning to live together and Learning to be”. Quality and excellence are the cry of the day.

Therefore access, equity for completing twelve years quality education shall be the primary objective of tribal education. Establishment of residential schools for all children in tribal sub-plan (TSP) areas my receive top-priority. No make shift or lowest arrangements will hold good for holistic development of the tribal rooted in their own culture and heritage. For mainstreaming the scheduled tribes, our attitude should be non-discriminatory.

The parents are to be motivated for educating their children through their value system, norms, ethics, customs, victuals ethos and ideology.

The curriculum, content and teaching-learning materials may be designed keeping in view tribal folklore, folktales, riddles and proverbs etc. Their own concepts of “good life” shall be given due recognition for their education development.

Adoption of uniform pattern of curriculum for all the first generation tribal learners and preparation of text books will not meet the varying needs of specific learner groups. Learning needs of different tribal groups, therefore, involved detailed micro-planning. The text books and primers

in particular should be designed at the elementary stage so as to provide a bridge from a spoken tribal language/dialect to Oriya. Preparation of primers and pedagogy should be rooted firmly in the culture, heritage and ethos of a specific tribal group. Intellectual exercise should be made to bring out hidden tribal culture and to bring out the treasure with the tribal children.

Dance, songs, games, arts, craft and recreation must be in built in the curricular/co-curricular activities. School timing weekly holidays, vacations and school environment should be tuned with the on going socio-cultural life of the community/communities of the areas.

It is important to note that an exclusive approach to tribal education may some times be counter-productive. It is, therefore, suggested that integrated educational complexes with residential hostel facilities may be provides in tribal sub-plan areas where students, from other communities enjoying the same facilities of their follow mates may be allowed to pursue their education. This will provide opportunities for mainstreaming the tribal children and create a healthy atmosphere for competitive learning within their group. Additional facilities may be provided for vocational and technical education.

Community participation and evolvment in the management of education is an essential requirement and is the key determinant of the quality implementation of education programme. From government control and direction to community management and ownership should be the key. Brining ownership of the school to the community is essential for effective functioning of school. Model residential tribal schools may be established in each district to act as pace-setting schools for others and to important education of comparable standard. Scope may be provided to functions these schools as experimental schools with the facilities of undertaking innovative programmes/projects.

Academic supervision of the schools, pre-service and in-service training programme of the teachers of the tribal schools should be reviewed and strengthened. The teachers should be empowered and exposed to new trends of education new content and teaching learning process. Appropriate technology and use of computer in the classroom transaction must be ensured. The facilities given to the students must be reviewed and enriched constant evaluation and monitoring procedure must be inbuilt.

Educated and promising scheduled tribe youths will be engaged and trained to take up teaching in tribal areas. For increasing the core competence of scheduled tribe students, there is the necessity for

sincerity in our efforts which required dedication and missionary zeal. Supplement and remedial education for tribal children may be provided to remove psychosocial impediments and to improve their performance in various courses. Special coaching may be provided to more promising tribal students to compete with others.

The tribal schools have to be re-invented; the abode of learning has to be strengthened, so as engender an environment of learning that can promote a world class education. Re-engineering the schools has become an urgent necessity. It has to be done now. The shifts in teachers will be from the bearer of knowledge to stimulator of knowledge. Therefore teachers having the knowledge of the language of their students and having the aptitude to dedicate themselves to the cause of tribal education be posted in tribal areas.

Conclusion:

To expect quality education – teaching strategies will be “ All teachers should teach and all students study” and the professional motto will be quality teaching for quality education. In the words of Gabriel Mistral.

Limited partnership between community, peoples representatives teachers, voluntary agencies, Government and private sector specially the students in the decision making process should be expanded and extended.

The human factor is fundamental to education activity, competitiveness and quality structural adjustment in the education and training sectors based on quality driven reforms educational achievement and work skills, finance driven reforms and equity driven reforms must be given due weightage.

Education is a unique investment in the present and future. (National Policy on Education-1998). If our vision is to provide universalisation of education of the tribal children educate your children, educate all your children and educate every one of your children” should be our motto.

DIET AND NUTRITIONAL ISSUES OF SCHEDULED TRIBES AND PRIMITIVE TRIBAL COMMUNITIES IN INDIA

G. Bulliyya and S. K. Kar

Introduction

India is the second most populous country in the world having over one billion spread in an area of 3287263 km². It occupies only 2.42 percent of the world's land area, but supports over 16 percent of the world's population. India has the largest tribal population and also largest numbers of tribes in the world next to Africa. A tribe is defined as a group persons forming a community and claiming descent from a common ancestor. Since time immemorial, they belong to different ethno-lingual communities, profess diverse faith and at varied levels of development- economically, educationally and culturally. The Imperial Gazetteer of India (1911) defined a tribe as a collection of families bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect and occupying a common territory (Morris 1980).

The term Scheduled Tribe (ST) first appeared in the Constitution of India, Article 366 (25) as such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be ST for the purposes of this constitution. With respect to any state or union territory (UT), the President after consultation with the Governor there of by public notification, specify the tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities. Parliament may by law include in or exclude from the list specified in a notification issued under clause(1) any tribe or tribal community or part of or group within any tribe or tribal community, but save as aforesaid, a notification issued under the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification. Thus, the first specification of ST in relation to a particular State/UT is by a notified order of the President, after consultation with the State governments concerned. These orders can be modified subsequently only through an Act that provides for listing of STs at State/UT wise and not on an all India basis.

Tribal Communities

In all the states/UTs, STs notified together came to 557 in 1981, whereas in 1991 increased to 573 and in 2001 the total ST notified was 577. According to government statistics, tribes can be found in approximately

461 communities (Majumder : 2001) with almost 92 percent of them residing in rural areas (Census of India : 2001). There are a total of 537 distinct ST communities in India. As a matter of fact, this number should not be taken as the total number of tribes as a tribe might have been notified in different states/UTs as a tribe more than one. For instance, Bhil has been notified as a ST in Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Tripura. Thus in the total of 577, Bhil has been added seven times, once in each of the seven states.

More than 50 tribes that constitute the STs speak a multitude of languages. They are also religiously diverse, with some following animism, while others have adopted Hinduism, Islam, or Christianity. The social customs distinguish them from the country's majority Hindu population. As per official data, 258 tribal communities speaking about 106 different languages are notified as STs. The origin of ST has been traced to such races as the Proto-Australoids who one time practically covered the whole India, secondly, the Mongolians who are still located mostly in Assam, and finally to a limited extent, also to the Negritos strain as indicated by frizzy hair, among the Andamanese and the Kadars of the south-west India (Memoria : 1957).

Primitive Tribal Groups

Among the STs, there are certain communities which are at a much lower level of development in terms of pre- agricultural level of technology, very low level of literacy, and declining or stagnant population. In the 5th 5-year plan (1974-79), Government of India (1984) identified 75 communities as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTG) spread over 17 States and one UT. According to the 1981 Census, the population of PTGs is 20.43 lakh and as per the 1991 Census it is 24.13 lakh. The population varies from around 20, as in the case of the Andamanese to over 40 lakh as in the case of the Gonds. These groups are normally small and mostly confined to relatively inaccessible pockets where they live under tremendous adverse conditions. Micro Projects have been set up for each one to look into their socioeconomic development. Orissa has largest number (13) of PTG in the country. According to the 1981, the population of PTG is 20.43 lakh, as per 24.13 lakh in 1991, and 2.4 million in 2001 census.

Welfare Schemes

Specific programmes have been implemented for the welfare of ST to ensuring that these segments or the community are provided full benefits from the developmental efforts especially in the area of agriculture, animal husbandry, health, education and vocational programmes to

provide supplementary income. In order to fulfill the sub-plan objectives. Nearly 198 Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA) and 257 Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) pockets, 78 clusters and Micro Projects for 75 primitive tribal groups (PTGs) were set up all over the country.

Scheduled Tribe Population

According to 2001 census of India, the population of SC and ST are 166.6 million and 84.63 million constituting 16.2 percent and 8.2 percent respectively of the country's total population of 1028.6 million (Census 2001). Up to 1941, ST share of was about 3 percent. Their concentration stretches along the Himalayas from Jammu & Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh in the West, to Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizorum, Manipur and Nagaland in the North east. Considerable concentration is found in the hilly areas of central part, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and to a lesser extent Andhra Pradesh, which is bounded by the river Narmada in the north and the Godavari in the southeast. They occupy the slopes of the mountain tracts extending from the western coast of Gujarat and Maharashtra passing through central India up to the north-eastern region. Around 87 percent of the country's total ST population is found in the central belt comprising Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar and West Bengal, whereas only 11 percent is dispersed in small pockets in the southern states. However, no tribe has been scheduled in the states of Haryana, Punjab and the UTs of Chandigarh, Delhi and Pondicherry.

The extent to which a state's ST population varies, in Lakshadweep and Mizorum, ST population constitute more than 90 percent. In Meghalaya and Nagaland more than 80 percent of the total population are tribal followed by Arunachal Pradesh, and Dadra & Nagar Haveli with nearly two-third of the population, between 20-25 percent in Assam, Manipur, Sikkim, Tripura, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. About 10 percent concentrated in Gujarat, Rajasthan, Maharastra, Assam, and Andaman & Nicobar Islands, nearly 6 percent in Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka and West Bengal, and less than 1 percent in Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Goa and Daman & Diu. Madhya Pradesh continues have the largest tribal population with 12.2 million (despite the newly formed state of Jharkhand shares 7.09 million), followed by Maharashtra with 8.58 million and Orissa with 8.15 million (Census 2001).

Population Growth

In fact the growth rate of the tribal is at par with all Indian average, but not uniform in different years and among all the ST. Among the 25 states/

UT the proportion of ST population declined in 12, increased in 12 and remained same in one. The sharpest decline from 65.8 percent in 1981 to 63.7 percent in 1991 is noticed in Arunachal Pradesh. Out of the 12 states/UT where the proportion of ST population has increased by more than 1 percent are Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura. In the remaining states/UT having ST population, the proportion increased marginally during 1981-1991. Almost similar trend has been found in the 1991-2001 period. Proportion of ST population increased in 12 states, but declined in 13 states/UTs and remained same in one, out of total 26 states/UTs where ST has been enumerated. In case of some communities, there is a definite decline in their population growth, threatening their survival (Census 2001). Even some of the mainland groups like the Bondos are also dwindling and demands careful attention of the socio-cultural habits and health practices of such tribes. The decline might not be only because of lower rate of fertility but also owing to high mortality and deficiencies in the existing health practices.

Sex-ratio

Sex ratio (female per 1000 males) is an important social indicator to measure the extent of prevailing equality between males and females. The sex ratio in India during 1981-2001 is always remained unfavorable to females, a declining trend. Kerala is the only state to have a favorable sex ratio. However, the sex composition among the tribal is relatively more balanced than that of that non-ST population. This suggests that female in the tribal society are not neglected, the social and cultural values protect their interest. The overall sex ratio of the ST is 978 females/1000 males, which is higher than the national average (932) in 2001 (Census 2001).

Literacy

Literacy is an effective instrument for social and economic development and national integration. For the country as a whole, literacy rates increased from 28 percent in 1961 to 66 percent in 2001. In 1961, only 15 percent of females were literate compared to 40 percent of males. In 2001, these rates had increased to 54 percent and 75 percent respectively. However the literacy scenario is characterized by wide inequalities among different sections of the population. The literacy rates for ST have also improved from 1961 (8.5 percent) to 2001 (47.1 percent) for both males (13.8 percent to 59.2 percent) and females (3.2 percent to 34.8 percent) respectively. These disparities are compounded by higher dropout rates in formal education resulting in disproportionately low representation in higher education. Not surprisingly, the cumulative effect of literacy has been that the proportion of ST below the poverty line is substantially higher than the national average. Among the PTGs,

the average literacy rate is estimated at 10 percent. Literacy is an important indicator of development, among women, high rates lead to lower infant mortality rates, reduce the number of pregnancies and enhance the status (Jean : 2001). Additionally, the mother's literacy status and educational attainment have significantly positive effects on the child's human capital attainment (Sengupta : 2002).

Healthcare Facilities

Tribals live mostly in remote and low density areas underserved forest regions with little or no basic civic amenities like transport, roads, markets, health care, safe drinking water or sanitation. They often have high levels of morbidity arising from poor nutrition, particularly in situations where they are involuntarily displaced or resettled. Therefore lag behind other communities with respect to attainment of income, education, health and other requisites (Haque : 1990). Specially, awareness on availability of various health programmes sponsored by the welfare agencies is very poor. They remain under-served in the coverage of reproductive and child health services. As in mid-1999, the total number of sub-centres, PHC and CHC in tribal areas were 20770 (15 percent), 3289 (14 percent) and 541(18 percent) respectively. RCH programme launched (October 1997) to provide need-based, demand-driven, high quality health and family welfare services to the mothers and children. It focuses on basic initiatives of decentralized participatory planning and bottom-up approach for dispensing with decades old target oriented approach for implementing family welfare programme. This inaccessibility creates impediments in encouraging institutional deliveries. Though, encouraging institutional deliveries providing vehicle and other facilities through *Janani Suraksha Yojana*, but due to poor socioeconomic conditions tribal woman are not availing it. High rates of maternal death are associated with the limited access to healthcare of expectant mothers. The delivery of a ST mother is several times less likely to be attended by a medically trained person than the delivery of a well off mother. Women from the ST is less likely to use private sector facilities and 12-times less likely to be delivered by a medically trained person (NFHS 2007). These communities need special attention in terms of basic health, and reproductive and child health services (Saha : 2003).

Health Status

Health is an important aspect of human development and health indicators have continued to improve over time. Besides, religious beliefs, social customs and cultural practices have influence on health and nutrition (Bhattacharya : 1999). A general account on the health condition of Indian tribes reveals that the prevalence of disease varies

according to their habitat, income, occupation, literacy and other socio-economic conditions. Women and Children are worst sufferer in any situation. Infant mortality rate (IMR) is a sensitive indicator of human development, have shown a steady and secular decline in India and life expectancy too has continued its upward climb (Majhi : 2001). It is an indicator at how well nations are doing in protecting their most vulnerable members. Both infant and child mortality have continued their trend decline but remain at high levels. Despite the reporting the maternal mortality rate (MMR) declined to 301/100000 live births, India still accounts for the largest contribution to MMR worldwide (Mavalankar : 2005). Reducing the MMR is a key goal of government, and this is enshrined in the National Population Policy aimed to provide universal access to, and make available good quality maternal and child health care services (NPP 2000). Of the set of 14 socio-demographic goals for 2010, RCH related targets are reduction of the IMR to below 30/1000 live births, and reduction of MMR to below 100/100,000 live births. ST communities continue to have high infant, child, and maternal mortality. A child born in the tribal belt is one and half times more likely to die before the fifth birthday than children of other groups (NFHS 2007). The common diseases among tribal communities are parasitic infections such as diarrhoea, dysentery, skin diseases, respiratory infections, whooping cough and measles, while chronic diseases includes tuberculosis, leprosy and malaria (Swaminathan : 1971).

Food Insecurity/Malnutrition

Agricultural progress in the last decade has made India self-sufficient in major food grains. Malnutrition is both the cause and the effect of the limited opportunities for socioeconomic development of a nation (Sengupta : 1980). The Food Insecurity Atlas of Rural India (2001) revealed a combined poverty highest in Orissa (47 percent), followed by Bihar (43 percent). Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and most northeastern states show 30-35 percent. The problem of chronic food insecurity is primarily associated with poverty. Some 200 million people in India are still denied access to sufficient quantities of food. Hunger is not a result of shortage of food, but lack of economic access. A staggeringly large number of undernourished; about 214 million people is chronically food insecure. Many more, varyingly about 40 million, are exposed to natural disasters (Mishra : 2007). About 50 per cent of children (mostly tribal and rural) are undernourished and stunted, 23 per cent have a low birth weight and 68 out of 1000 die before the age of one year. There is a high prevalence of anaemia and other micronutrient deficiencies. The interaction between malnutrition and poverty is apparent throughout the life cycle. Maternal malnutrition, as

reflected by low weight gain during pregnancy and poor health are related to low birth weight (Allen : 2000). Afterwards, the mother influences the nutritional status of her child through her breast-feeding and complement practices. Women's nutritional status, causes of malnutrition, the effects of malnutrition on the intergenerational life cycle, the consequences of inadequate weight and height, micronutrient deficiencies.

The nutritional status of an individual depends partly on income but also on awareness of the importance of the nutritional content of food (Rao : 1993, 2006). Malnutrition continues to be a significant problem for children and adults in India. STs lag behind other communities with respect to education, health and other requisites for good community nutrition (Srinivasan : 2004). The nutritional status of any population is the product of its cultural, ecological, and socio-economic factors. Tribals have always been dependent, on fluctuating ecological balance between people and basic resources and its surrounding ecological systems. They subsisted on different combinations of shifting cultivation, hunting and gathering of forest products: all activities closely linked with forests. The midday meals scheme is a big step in the right direction but, unfortunately, it does not address the nutrition needs of out-of-school children, many of whom are girls. The programs coverage and utilization is reported to be always the issues of concern for STs.

Food Consumption

The food intake in ST influence by nature, with large seasonal variations, depending upon availability of agricultural and forest produce (Roy : 1971). Rice is the staple diet for majority followed by *ragi*, wheat and *bajra*, pulses, vegetables, fruits and meat products supplement the basic rice-based diet. They enjoy local delicacies including wild forest varieties, fish and meat are the hot favourites. The consumption needs during lean periods of rainy period are partially met by drawing upon the reserves build up during peak seasons. In addition, they practice specific coping mechanisms that include reduce quantity of consumption using alternative foods such as mango kernel, tamarind seeds, bamboo shoots, etc.. The Mohul and salpa liquor is their favourite drinks prepared by themselves for their own consumption. Both males and females are habituated to drinking liquor on the occasions of religious festivals and

social ceremonies. Very little fat and protein is included in their diet. The diet is deficient in terms of pulses, green leafy, vegetables, oil/fat and milk and milk products (Sabat : 1997). Milk consumption is a general taboo for many tribals. Several studies have shown deficient intake of calories and protein among tribal populations relative to the Indian RDA, which may be an explanation for the high rates of malnutrition (Ali : 1980; Rao et al : 1994). The nutrient intake is observed to be far from the RDA with respect to iron, fat, vitamin A (Khandare et al : 2008).

The diet of ST women is likely to be low in terms of consumption of fruits, eggs and chicken/meat/fish. Their consumption of milk/curd is higher than that of SCs, but less than OBCs and others, and contains some amount of pulses, beans, green leafy vegetables and other vegetables. If this is juxtaposed with data relating to the consumption patterns of poor women whose consumption of milk, curd, fruit and vegetables is less than that of other women, then it is not surprising that ST women have very poor nutritional levels (NFHS : 1995, 2000, 2007). The pattern of food consumption by men is similar to that of women, but men are more likely than women to consume milk or curd regularly. Men are less likely than women to completely abstain from eating chicken, meat, fish, or eggs. The last row of each panel shows the frequency of consumption of fish, chicken, or meat. Between the two surveys, there has been an increase in the consumption at least once a week of each comparable food category except milk or curd (NNMB : 2000). The largest percentage increases have been in the consumption of dark green, leafy vegetables and fruit.

Nutritional Status

The assessment of nutrition status of population groups is based on sex age group and physiologic status. Surveys have been conducted in India covering all states by NFHS and 8-10 states by NNMB over a period since 1990s. These data has been analysed according to region and community etc. Despite, changes taken place in nutrition profile of Indian population groups have some logistics for comparison in term of age and methodology, the data has been compiled for assessing the time trend improvements for better understanding. While there have been some improvements in the nutritional status of young children, nutritional deficiencies are still widespread (NIN : 1995; NNMB : 2000).

Children

Table 10 shows the proportion of children classified as malnourished by community characteristics. Children belonging to ST or even SC have relatively significantly high levels of undernourishment according

to underweight, stunting and wasting than other communities in any of the survey. Most striking has been the increase in wasting, or weight for height, among children under age three years. NFHS-3 found that 23 percent of children were wasted, up from 20 percent seven years earlier. At the same time, there has been very little change in the percentage of children who are underweight (43 percent in NFHS-2 and 40 percent in NFHS-3). The reduction in underweight is less marked in ST children (2.3) between 1993 and 2006, where as 10 percent for SC 18.6 percent for others. There is little reduction in incidence of stunting for whole population (2 percent), even for SC (4.1 percent) and general (9.2) population groups, but, stunting is increased from 53 percent to 54 percent in the same period. The NFHS found that, tribal households had a higher incidence of childhood stunting (52.3 percent) than non-tribal households (42.8 percent). The incidence of wasting in children rather increased over 2 percent during 1992-2006, the rate of increase is strikingly more for (5.6 percent) children in ST than children in other community (0.5-2.5 percent) irrespective of age or survey groups (NFHS : 1995, 2000, 2007, NNMB : 2006).

Adults

The nutritional status of ever married men and women by body mass index shows that the height of women is an outcome of several factors including nutrition during childhood and adolescence. Women having short stature can have obstetric risk and low-birth weight babies. The women under-145 cm of height is assessed as a high risk group. The proportion of women being short is more in SC followed by ST, OBC and others. The body mass index (BMI) is widely accepted as one of the best indicators of nutritional status in adults (James : 1988). Chronic energy deficiency is indicated by a BMI <18.5. The mean BMI is lower in both women and men of ST category while, percent of CED (moderate and severe) is more than other groups indicating their nutrition susceptibility (NFHS : 2000, 2007). A tribal woman is one and a half times more likely to suffer the consequences of chronic malnutrition as compared to women from other social categories (Kupputhail : 1993; Laxmaiah : 2007). These figures speak for themselves and bring to the fore unequal distribution of resources and the effect of it on public health parameters.

Micronutrient malnutrition

In India, the micronutrient deficiencies of public health significance are vitamin A deficiency (VAD), iron deficiency anaemia (IDA), zinc deficiency and iodine deficiency disorders (IDD). There have been no systematic surveys, covering adequate sample size, to assess their prevalence. The NNMB and NFHS (2000; 2007) undertook surveys in

the country over a period and the data in terms of community variation is highlighted.

Iron deficiency anaemia

Anaemia is a condition in which the haemoglobin concentration in the blood is below a defined level, resulting in a reduced oxygen-carrying capacity of red blood cells. In its severe form, anaemia is associated with fatigue, weakness, dizziness and drowsiness. Pregnant women and children are particularly vulnerable. Surveys conducted in different parts of India have revealed that a large segment of the population approximately 50 per cent suffer from nutritional anaemia (NFHS : 2000, 2007, NIN : 2003). Anaemia is a serious public health problem in India. Surveys conducted at the state and national level show that the prevalence and severity varies across states and communities. The data reveals that irrespective of sex and physiologic status, children, adolescents and adults are the vulnerable sections. Individuals belonged to ST suffer at significantly higher rates without exception than any of their counterpart communities (NNMB : 2003, 2006; NFHS : 2007).

Furthermore, prevalence of anaemia in terms of severity reported in several studies (NFHS : 2000, 2007; Bulliyya et al : 2007). The magnitude of anaemia is more in young children and adolescent girls as compared to adult population groups. Irrespective of age, anaemia is reported high for the groups belonging to ST community than any other communities in the studies documented. In case of severity, moderate and severe grades reflecting a high risk group for iron deficiency, anaemia follows same pattern for those who are ST category.

Zinc deficiency

Zinc deficiency is also common in India, which always further supported by the high prevalence of stunting and the highly deficient dietary energy intakes in the tribal populations since intake of both zinc and iron are known to be highly correlated with dietary energy intake (Willett : 1998). At least one study has shown that zinc intake of populations in tribal regions was significantly lower than that of any of the other regions studied (Kapil : 2003; Hamer : 2006; Osei : 2007). Iron deficiency is recognized as the major cause of anemia in tribal communities (Khandare et al : 2008) and several studies have reported that deficiencies of micronutrients such as iron and zinc often occur together. Hence the high rates of anemia among tribal populations provide additional evidence of the possibility of marginal zinc deficiency in tribal areas.

Iodine Deficiency Disorders

Iodine deficiency is the single most important preventable cause of mental retardation worldwide. Iodine is an important micronutrient and its deficiency in the diet can lead to iodine deficiency disorders, which can cause miscarriages, stillbirths, brain disorders, and retarded psychomotor development, speech and hearing impairments, and depleted levels of energy in children. It has been estimated that 200 million people in India are exposed to the risk of iodine deficiency and more than 71 million suffer from goiter and other iodine deficiency disorders (NFHS : 2007). Iodine deficiency can be avoided by using salt that has been fortified with iodine. In 1983-84, the Government of India adopted a policy to achieve universal iodization of edible salt by 1992. All states and union territories were advised to issue notifications banning the sale of edible salt that is not iodized. The ban on non-iodized salt was lifted in September, 2000, but it was reimposed in November, 2005 and the ban did not take effect until May, 2006.

The goiter prevalence that reflects chronic iodine deficiency in school age girls, the WHO recommended age group show public health significance in all surveyed districts in the country. Among the studied population covered ST, considerable variations observed between socio-economic strata. The prevalence of goiter stratified by community revealed that children those of ST had greater goiter rates in regional and vulnerable groups (NNMB : 2003; Bulliyya et al : 2007; Sethy et al 2007). Similarly the urinary iodine concentration that reflect the current iodine consumption of population supports iodine deficiency as significant by median urinary iodine content in children belonging to ST community than SC or others. The proportion of households consuming salt having adequate iodine (>15 ppm) is shown to be less grossly in the ST households than in the SC, OBC or other communities.

Vitamin A Deficiency

Vitamin A deficiency is a public health problem in India. It causes severe visual impairment and blindness, and increases the risk of severe illness, and even death from childhood infections as diarrhoeal disease and measles. Vitamin A deficiency occurs especially during pregnancy when demand by both the unborn child and the mother is highest. The mother's deficiency is demonstrated by the high prevalence of night blindness during this period. Elimination of VAD is one of the goals set under the National Nutrition Policy (1993) to be achieved through the National Vitamin A prophylaxis programme for control of nutritional blindness,

which include consumption of locally available vitamin A rich foods through dietary diversification and community participation, and supplementation of massive dose of vitamin A. Night blindness in pregnant women is observed at 3.7 percent in India with a wide variation between rural (10.8 percent) and urban (8.9 percent) divides (NFHS : 2007). Clinical indicators of deficiency in children are the night blindness, conjunctival xerosis and bitot spots are of public health significance. Socio-economic deprived communities are at greater risk and children from ST occupy top in the list. The subclinical indicator is blood vitamin A levels below <20 ug/dl indicated in 74 percent of children aged 1-5 years (NNMB : 2006). The proportion of children with low blood vitamin A is significantly higher amongst children from ST (74.1 percent) as compared children from SC (57.7 percent), OBC (62.9 percent) and general category (58.8 percent).

Conclusion

The Indian sub-continent is inhabited by 84 million tribal populations belonging to over 550 tribal 75 PTG that come under 227 linguistic groups. They are relatively more vulnerable to food and nutrition insecurity compared to their rural/urban counterparts. PTG are in focus to understand their geographical isolation, socioeconomic conditions, and seasonal variation in food scarcity, food supply, traditional beliefs and cultural practices in food preferences and taboos. The available healthcare practices and facilities, perception about the utilization at times need are the key indicators in improving health status. There is need to improve the household consumption of protective foods such as pulses, green leafy vegetables, fruits through dietary diversification by availing local resources. A high prevalence of protein energy and micronutrient malnutrition are of public health significance that warrant strengthening the existing national nutrition programmes ensuring target coverage. In addition, health and nutrition should be the integral part of school education for disseminating information and achieving behavioural change among the women to ensure better infant and child feeding practices, environmental sanitation and personal hygiene. Nutritional requirements of growing children, adolescents and extra demands of pregnant women and lactating mothers need to be highlighted. There is a necessity for conducting studies through life-cycle approach dealing the factors associated with specific age group requirements integrating with existing programmes and infrastructure. This would enable to educate the community and understand the programme managers for sustainability and achieving the targeted results.

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GROWTH AND DECLINE OF THE TRIBAL POPULATION IN ORISSA

Prof. Nirmal Chandra Dash

Those tribes who are listed under the 5th Schedule of the Constitution of India as per the recommendation of the Backward Classes Commission, known as the scheduled tribes or the *Anusuchit Janajati*.

Before describing the growth and decline of the scheduled tribes of Orissa it is necessary to discuss the tribal origin of Orissa. Leading Anthropologists (eg. L.K. Mahapatra, N.K. Bose, B.K. Ray Burman, S.C. Sinha, V. Elwin) and Historians (eg. H.K. Mahtab, S.N. Das, N.R. Patnaik) have tried to establish the tribal origin of Orissa since 2000 years back (roughly 1st century B.C.). Interestingly, Prof. L.K. Mahapatra describes that some tribes like Santhal, Ho and Kharia are not the original inhabitants (adivasis) of Orissa. They have migrated during 19th century from Chhotnagpur area (now Jharkhand) to Odisha. He is also of the opinion that a majority of tribes existed for millennia (many thousand years) and some have migrated during last 200 years or more.

Indeed, the pre-historic evidences, found till today, from different parts of Orissa reveal that human beings existed in Orissa during Indian Paleolithic period, i.e. roughly 200,000 to 20,000 years ago. There are prehistoric sites of Mesolithic period (from 20,000 years to 10,000 years) and Neolithic period (from 8,000 years to 4,000 years). After that, the Iron Age evolved and the historic period started in Orissa.

It is also revealed from different studies that Homo Sapiens migration occurred during upper Paleolithic period (45,000 to 25,000 years back) in different parts of South Asia. Till today, there are two accepted theories that the African origin people (so called Dravidians) migrated to the peninsular India by sea route and moved north ward around 20 to 30 thousand years back. The other group (the so called Aryans) from the South - West of Russia entered the North-West India around 8 to 10 thousand years back. There was a pan-mixing (hybridization) of both the populations in India during 8000 B.C. and there was also a large scale cultural synthesis. That was perhaps the early Indian culture, and later the Vedic period followed.

One can say that the history of Orissa Tribes can be reconstructed from 2000 B.C. as that of Mahenjodaro and Harappa. Further, the growth of population since lithic period can be studied by applying the recent techniques for studying the Palaeo- demography. The scholars of prehistoric and

demographic studies need to take up such new challenges to reconstruct the origin and demographic linkage of the Orissa tribes- the aboriginal settlers or the indigenous people.

However, the present paper highlights the growth of tribal population only after Orissa became an independent state (province) in 1936. The first Census of Orissa was conducted in 1941. Some tribes (44 in number) became scheduled tribes in 1951 after the inclusion of their names in the Orissa list of tribes as per Schedule V of Indian constitution. During 1951- 61 some more tribes (18 in number) were also included in the Orissa list of tribes and thus became 62 in number in 1961 Census. After 1961 there was no further inclusion in the list of tribes. Rather there was some confusion as regards the names of the tribes in the present list, for example, (i) Birhor, Mankidi and Mankirdia, (ii) Koli and Kuli , (iii) Kol, Ho, Kolho and Kol- lohara, (iv) Munda and Mundari, (v) Binjhal and Binjhia, (vi) Bhumia and Bhuian, (vii) Bhumij and Desua Bhumij, (viii) Kharia, Kharwa and Kharwar, (ix) Kora and Korua (x) Kandha and Kutia Kandha, (xi) Lodha and Sabara, (xii) Lanjia and Saura, etc. Such ethnic confusions have created a lot of demographic problems and consequently problems for the socio- economic planners and welfare agencies. It is high time that the government should take up necessary steps to solve such a long standing problem of tribal nomenclature.

Table-1: Population and Growth of Scheduled Tribes 1961- 2001

Census Year	Population of Odisha in Millions	Tribal Population in millions	Proportion of S.T. (%)	Growth of S.T (%)
1961	17.5	4.2	24.1	-
1971	21.9	5.1	23.1	20.1
1981	26.4	5.9	22.4	16.8
1991	31.7	7.0	22.3	18.8
2001	36.8	8.1	22.1	15.9

Source: Calculated from the Census data of Odisha, 1961-2001

Considering the above, the tribal population of 1961 Census is considered as the base population for this paper.

The table reveals an interesting picture of the secluded tribes in Orissa. Although the population of ST has increased in different censuses, their proportion to the state population has shown a gradual decrease. The decadal growth Rates show a fluctuating but downward trend as reflected in figures 01 to 03.

Low fertility, high mortality and high inter-state migration are the three main causes for the decline of tribal proportion in Orissa. Some scholars

mention that the spread of Christianity among tribals is the main factor of the decline. But, my field studies on the tribals of Orissa over thirty years reveal that although a sizable proportion have accepted Christianity they have still retained their tribal identity. Therefore, spread of Christianity is a minor factor for the decline of the tribal population.

Let us now highlight the growth of the major scheduled tribes of Orissa during 1991- 2001. The tribes showing more than one lakh population in 1991 Census are considered as major tribes for the present paper.

Out of the 18 major tribe 14 have shown positive growth and four tribes have registered negative growth. Interestingly, the Bhumija tribe has the highest growth (39.24 percent) during the decade. The Rank ONE tribe, Kandha, has shown decadal growth rate of 22.38 percent. Gonds being the second populous tribe has registered 11.5 percent growth rate. However, Santhal being the third populous tribe of Orissa has shown a decadal growth rate of 23.41 percent. Surprisingly, four major tribes namely Bhumia, Binjhal, Koya and Paraja have shown declining growth during the decade, -5.47 percent, -1.51, -13.66 percent and -10.19 percent respectively. Total 28 Scheduled Tribes (out of the 62 in Orissa) have declined during 1991- 2001. However, the major tribes have registered a decadal growth rate of 16.67 during 91-2001.

5. Nearly 10 percent of the Kandh Tribe belongs to Dongria Kandh
8. Nearly 60 percent of the Soura Tribe belongs to Langia Saura
12. Nearly 50 percent of the Bhuyan Tribe belongs to Paudi Bhuyan.

It is observed from the table- 3 that the Bhunjia tribe has registered the highest growth 64.10 percent during the last decade where as Mankidi and Mankirdia have shown a negative growth of -55.32 percent during the same period. However, in total all the Primitive Tribes combined show a growth rate of 14.94 percent which is almost 1.8 percent lesser than that of the major Tribes of the State (Table-2).

The table- 4 shows that besides the four major tribes, Bhumia, Binjhal, Koya and Paraja, there are other 24 tribes (Total 28 tribes out of the 62) have also shown declining population during 1991-2001. Numerically minor tribes have registered very high percentage of decline. To name a few, Baiga- 65.36 percent, Chenchua- 89.82 percent, Desia Bhumij- 90.22 percent, Gondia- 62.26 percent, Ghara- 82.29 percent, Kharwar- 57.89 percent, Mankidi- 88.69 percent and Tharua- 71.59 percent.

The three demographic reasons, fertility, mortality and migration, as discussed earlier, are responsible for the natural decline of Tribal population. There are also first, the wrong reporting or wrong enumeration during Census and second, the long prevailing ethnic

TABLE -2: (Growth of Major S.T. population of Orissa 1991-2001)

Sl. No.	Name of the Tribes	Population in 1991	Rank	Population in 2001	Rank Decadal	Growth in (%)
1	Bathudi	1,71,074	14	1,96,846	14	+15.06
2	Bhotoda	3,04,137	09	3,75,845	08	+23.58
3	Bhuyan	2,46,573	12	2,77,420	12	+12.51
4	Bhumija	1,09,532	18	103537	18	-05.47
5	Bhumia	1,78,214	13	2,48,144	13	+39.24
6	Binjhal	1,19,929	17	1,18,116	17	-01.51
7	Gond	7,01,139	02	7,82,104	02	+11.55
8	Kharia	1,68,407	15	1,88,331	15	+11.83
9	Kandha	11,40,374	01	13,95,643	01	+22.38
10	Kissan	2,66,371	10	3,21,592	10	+20.73

Sl. No.	Name of the Tribes	Population in 1991	Rank	Population in 2001	Rank Decadal	Growth in (%)
11	Kolha	4,04,864	04	4,99,110	04	+23.27
12	Koya	1,41,927	16	1,22,535	16	-13.66
13	Munda	3,96,561	06	4,80,252	05	+21.10
14	Oraon	2,57,829	11	3,08,931	11	+19.82
15	Paraja	3,53,336	08	3,17,301	09	-10.19
16	Santhal	6,29,782	03	7,77,204	03	+23.41
17	Saura	4,03,510	05	4,73,233	06	+17.28
18	sabar	3,73,545	07	4,42,539	07	+18.47
	Total	63,67,104		74,28,683		16.67

(Source: Census of Odisha, special Table, 1991 & 2001.)

The growth of the thirteen primitive tribes during the same period shows a different scenario

Table-3 Growth of the Primitive tribes of Odisha, 1991-2001

Sl. No.	Name of the Tribes	Population in 1991	Population in 2001	Decadal (Number)	Growth in (%)
1	Bhunjia (Chuktia)	11, 276	18, 504	7, 228	64. 10%
2	Birhor	825	702	(-) 123	(-)14. 91%
3	Bonda	7, 351	9, 244	1, 893	25. 75%
4	Didayi	5, 471	7, 371	1,900	34. 73%
5	Dongria Kandh	11, 403	13, 956	2, 553	2 2. 39%
6	Juang	33, 665	41, 339	7, 674	22. 80%
7	Kharria	1, 68, 407	1, 88, 331	19, 924	11. 83%
8	Kutia Kandh	28, 607	22, 525	(-) 6, 082	(-)21. 26%
9	Lanjia Saura	2, 42, 106	2, 83, 940	41, 834	17. 28%
10	Lodha	7, 458	8, 905	1, 447	19. 40%
11	Mankirdi/ Mankirdia	2, 641	1, 180	(-)1, 461	(-)55. 32%
12	Paudi Bhuyan	1, 23, 287	1, 38, 710	15, 423	12. 51%
13	Saura (Excluding Lanjia Saura)	1, 61, 404	1, 89, 293	27, 887	17. 28%
	TOTAL	8, 03, 901	9, 24, 000	1, 20, 099	14. 94%

Table-4: Scheduled Tribes showing Declining Population during 1991- 2001 in Odisha.

Sl.No.	Name of the S.T	Population 1991	Population 2001	Decadal number	Decline %
1	Baiga	1,556	539	1,017	56.36
2	Bhumia	1,09,538	1,03,537	5,995	05.44
3	Binjhal	1,19,929	1,18,116	1,813	01.51
4	Birhor	825	702	123	14.91
5	Chenchu	275	028	247	89.82
6	Dal	19,867	15,404	4,463	22.46
7	Desia Bhumij	1,810	177	1,633	90.22
8	Dharua	11,512	9,247	2,265	19.68
9	Gadaba	67,138	66,920	218	80.32
10	Gondia	3,588	1,354	2,234	62.26
11	Ghara	1,553	275	1,278	82.29
12	Ho	50,892	43,113	7,779	15.28
13	Holva	13,662	10,462	3,200	23.42

Sl.No.	Name of the S.T	Population 1991	Population 2001	Decadal number	Decline %
14	Kowar	9,582	7,580	2,002	20.89
15	Kharwar	3,280	1,381	1,899	57.89
16	Kol Lohora	12,321	9,642	2,679	21.74
17	Korua	1,989	1,280	709	35.65
18	Kotia	28,607	22,525	6,082	21.26
19	Koya	1,41,927	1,22,555	19,392	13.66
20	Mankidi	1,150	130	1,024	88.69
21	Mankirdia	1,491	1,050	441	29.58
22	Mundari	31,147	23,364	7,783	24.99
23	Omanatya	25,915	23,364	2,551	09.84
24	Paraja	3,53,336	3,17,301	36,035	10.9
25	Pentia	11,399	7,271	4,128	36.2
26	Rajuar	3,146	2,803	343	10.90
27	Saunti	96,251	94,734	3,517	03.65
28	Tharua	1,595	453	1,142	71.59

confusion in the list of the scheduled tribes of Orissa. To know the exact reason of tribal decline and to eradicate the ethnic confusion it requires further comprehensive and empirical studies among all the Scheduled Tribes of Odisha, while concluding it can be said that.

Finally, the scenario of the declining Tribes during 1991-2001 in Odisha is described, Table-4

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LAND ALIENATION AND LAND RELATED ISSUES OF THE TRIBAL

Mr. K. Daimai

The State of Manipur is divided into two regions, viz., the hills and valley. Its physical area measures 22,327 sq.km. of which the valley portion covers 2,248 sq.km. whereas hill area cover 20,089 sq.km. The valley area is surrounded by hills and this central plain portion covers about 8 percent of the total geographical area of the state. The remaining 92 percent of the total geographical area is covered by the hill regions. Different tribal communities occupy this hill region. The central region of the state is inhabited by general people and some tribal.

There are about 37 tribal communities, out of which 33 had been specified as scheduled tribes under the Constitution of India. These different tribal communities occupy the hill region of the state and the region is divided into five revenue districts and the plain region has four districts. The tribal representation to the state population, according to 2001 census is 38.43 percent. This figure does not include the population of three TD blocks because of some controversy in enumeration.

There are some unresolved issues in tribal areas of Manipur such as land holding, forest, etc. Of these land holding and its distribution system is more burning for it is the only source of their (tribals) livelihood. Land holding system is therefore selected for the present study.

Land holding pattern in tribal areas : The tribal have their own system of land holding based on customary and traditional practices. The founder of the village took all risk and responsibility to establish a village and as such he earned the title 'Founder'. Later on, he became the chief of the village and the first owner of the entire village territory in respect of the Naga tribe. He had parceled out the territory from the vast area after proper or due rites performance and appeased the spirits of evil world in and around the area. They got and occupied the land from the powers of unseen forces as they believed. They claimed absolute authority over their land. The tribal considered that the land they possessed and occupied are out of their merit. Interference to their land is therefore, opposed with tooth and nail. They are the first settler of the land. Every tribal village was independent republic without outside interference.

Land ownership :

The Tribal claimed absolute ownership over their land. The one who established the village is the first owner in Naga society. There was two to three tier system of ownership among some Naga tribes. The first owner, i.e., the founder of the village had to dole out some portion of land to any of his villagers in exchange of animals like dog, pig, mithun, rice-beer, for use in his ritual performance. The one who could offer his domesticated animals, food and other goods against a piece of land, etc., become the owner of that portion of land. That person becomes the second owner.

There were some chiefs who liberally shared the land on clan basis. The third owner was the one who claimed the cultivating plots within the portion of land given to the second owner by the chief or founder. He may get it by paying a price or by barter. In this way, the existence of the third owner came into Naga society. There may be some minor variations in the system even among the Naga tribals. Those villages whose cultivation is of *jhuming* or shifting practice do have second and third ownership system. Even in the village where settled or terrace cultivation is practiced, the same system exist. So Naga society has atleast two tier system of land ownership, the first being the founder or chief and the second owner is that of cultivating plot.

As regard to Kuki system of land ownership, the chief is all in all. He is the supreme authority in the village affairs. He owns the entire land within his jurisdiction. There is no clan land nor individual. It is unlike of the Naga system. He distributes land for cultivation and plot for dwelling house construction. The Kuki chief has the authority to expel any villager from the village. Villagers live at the pleasure of the chief. The Kuki administration is autocratic and the chief is the autocrat.

The tribal as a whole have their own time tested land holding system based on traditional practice by which they are governed. They consider that the land they possess are acquired from the nature. As such the tribal do not have any land laws except that of traditional and customary base practices.

Before application of any land law in Manipur, the Raja of Manipur claimed absolute ownership of all lands within this territory, i.e. the valley area from the earliest time and collect land revenue. On other hand, during the British period, the administration of the entire hill area of Manipur State was under the responsibility of the President of Manipur State Durbar who was a British ICS officer. The hill areas were separately administered as per a set of rules known as Hill Peoples' Regulation Act. The hill areas, were at no point of time under the

administration of the Raja of Manipur. The administration was carried on to the tune of the hill peoples' aspirations and their age old traditional practices. While such was the considered administration for hill/tribal people, a land Act was enacted in 1960, which had rather frightened the tribals with the land being alienated from them.

The Manipur Land Revenue & Land Reforms Act, 1960 (MLR & LR Act, 1960)

The Manipur Land Revenue & Land Reforms Act, 1960 (MLR & LR Act, 1960) was enacted by the Parliament to consolidate and amend the law relating to land revenue in the State of Manipur and to provide certain measures of land reform. Before the enactment of the State land laws, the Assam Land & Revenue Regulation Act, 1886 was applied to Manipur by a State Durbar Resolution.

The MLR & LR Act, 1960 intends to bring about uniformity in distribution of land throughout the state. However, Section 2 of the Act says "It extends to the whole of the State of Manipur except the hill areas thereof". Thus the Act did not apply to the hill areas of the state. Under the Act, the hill areas do not automatically mean hill districts. The Act assigned a special meaning to it. According to Section 2(1) of the Act, hill area means such areas in the hill tracts of the State of Manipur as the State Government by notification in the official Gazette declared to be hill areas. The State Government under different notifications Nos. had notified that the following are the hill areas for the purpose of this Act.

1. Tengnoupal/ Chandel Hill District	190 villages	Hill Areas
2. Tamenglong Hill District	190 villages	Hill Areas
3. Senapati Hill District	312 villages	Hill Areas
4. Churachandpur Hill District	225 villages	Hill Areas
5. Ukhrol Hill District	244 villages	Hill Areas

The State Government so far had declared 1,161 villages as hill areas in the State of Manipur. Section 2, of the Act says that it does not apply to the hill areas of the state, but it again says, "Provided that the State Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, extend the whole or part or any section of this Act to any hill areas of Manipur also as may be specified in such notification". The provisions for protection of the tribal had been curtailed off. The State Government under different notification Nos. had extended the provision of the Act to tribal areas. To the tribal, the extension of the Act to their areas is

encroachment into their territory. The tussle between the State Government and the tribal chiefs, civil organizations etc. possess a grave situation. So far 89 villages of Churachandpur District and 14 villages each of Tamenglong and Senapati District had been covered by the provisions of the Act. Besides this, some plain pockets of Chandel District had also been covered by the Act.

There is a special protective provision of the Act on the transfer of land belonging to a tribal to non-tribal. Section 158 says “ No transfer of land by a person who is a member of Scheduled tribes shall be valid unless –

- a) The transfer is to another member of scheduled tribes; or
- b) Where the transfer is to another person who is not a member of any such tribe, it is made with the previous permission in writing of Deputy Commissioner provided that the Deputy Commissioner shall not give such permission unless he has secured the consent thereto of the District Council within whose jurisdiction the land lies, or
- c) The transfer is by way of mortgage to a co-operative society”.

The exceptional provision of the Act to the restriction of land transfer is the fear of the tribal population, i.e. if the transfer is made by way of mortgage to a co-operative society, the consent of the District Council and written permission of the Deputy Commissioner is not required. This provision is a grave threat to the innocent tribals. The co-operative society to whom the land is to be transferred is not clearly identified. It is understood, that the society would, would certainly be of general class/people. Taking advantage of this exceptional provision, some valley based co-operative societies had lured tribals with a fat dividend to mortgage their land. They had easily fall in a prey to the societies approach.

One such example is that the Chairman of the Tharon Village Authority had agreed to offer some areas of land to non-tribal individuals and co-operative farming societies on contractual farming.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that 30 acres of area proposed project on 'Contractual farming of Isabgol, Arula, Tulsi and Mulethi under buy back system' at the abandoned jhum areas of Tharon village, P.O. & P.S. Tamenglong, Tamenglong District, Manipur to be implemented by Irom Sanjoy Singh, Singjamei Chingamakha Irom Leikai, P.O. & P.S. Singjamei, Imphal East District, Manipur falls under community land of this village has agreed to be taken up. The project shall benefit the poor tribal jhumies as well as also improve the Contractual farming (Medicinal plant) of the areas.

(SEAL)

Sd/21/1/2008
Executive Magistrate
Tamenglong Headquarters

Sd (Keirilungbou)
Chairman Tharon
Village Authority
P.O. & P.S.
Tamenglong District
Manipur.

Another similar agreement had also been made by the chairman of the said vantage to a co-operative society.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that 30 acres of area proposed project on 'Contractual farming of Isabgol, Arula, Tulsi and Mulethi under buy back system' at the abandoned jhum areas of Tharon village, P.O. & P.S. Tamenglong, Tamenglong District, Manipur to be implemented by Sint. Ayekpam Bina Devi, Proprietor, M/S Ayekpam Bina Devi & Sons Co-Farmer Pvt. Ltd, Tera Lourakpam Leikai, Imphal West District, Manipur falls under community land of this village has agreed to be taken up. The project shall benefit the poor tribal jhumies as well as also improve the Contractual farming (Medicinal plant) of the areas.

(SEAL)

Sd/21/1/2008
Executive Magistrate
Tamenglong Headquarters

Sd (Keirilungbou)
Chairman
Tharon Village
Authority P.O. & P.S.
Tamenglong District Manipur.

The non-tribal Co-operative Farming Societies, taking the advantage of the provision of the Section 158C of MLR & LR Act, 1960 had encroached on the land of innocent and ignorant tribals living in far

flung remote villages with a sweet promise of sharing the dividend. It is the fear of the tribal that their land would be alienated in the long run. The above cited agreement for contractual farming in the abandoned *jhum* plots will certainly create problems and caused disputes, for the abandoned *jhum areas* will be cultivated again after 6/7 years according to its cycle. They use the term 'community land'. This term cannot apply to every village. There are villages which do not have community land. Every piece of land is owned by individuals. Selling out or mortgaging of areas of land may not be in the knowledge of the villagers. The village Tharon who had doled out lands for contractual farming with the outsiders do not have community land. Every abandoned *jhum* plot had already been owned by individuals by paying a price or through barter.

Attempts to remove Restriction on Transfer of Land:-

The State Government had made a number of attempts to remove restriction on transfer of land belonging to a member of scheduled tribe to non-tribals through the amendments of the Act. The State Legislative Assembly in one of its sittings had voted to amend Section 2 of the Principal Act of 1960 so as to extend the entire provision of the Act to the whole State of Manipur including hill areas. The Hill Area Committee which is a constitutional body under Article 371C and other civil societies had strongly opposed to the amendment proposal. The State Governor and other dignitaries were urged not to give assent to the Bill passed by the State Assembly. Another attempt was also made to restrict new settlement in tribal areas even by the tribal themselves under Section 158C of the Act. The amendment proposal sought that there shall be no new settlement or formation of hamlet (machete) in the hill areas without the permission of the State Government and no such permission for new settlement or formation of any machete is allowed unless the proposed formation has 75–50 families. The said proposal also attempted to amend Section 158B that no land shall be transferred in favour of any person unless he has been ordinarily resident in the State.

Provided, that the Deputy Commissioner may permit transfer of land in favour of a person, who has not been ordinarily resident in the State, if he has been resident for not less than 30 years. If this amendment comes into effect, all the restrictions given by Section 158 of the Principal Act shall be removed and the provisions of restriction shall have been diluted. A person who had been residing in the state for more than 30 years can easily obtain residential certificate from the Deputy Commissioner.

The attempts to remove restriction on transfer of land to another member of the non-tribal came in the disguise of bringing development for tribals in the form of Bank loan facilities and others. The tribal being

underprivileged section of the society easily tempted to mortgage his land. The question of land alienation among the tribals can be related to the incidents of indebtedness. They had to borrow money for their children education, consumption and other unforeseen expenses. To get the required amount, they have to mortgage their land which is the only available resource at their disposal. During the mortgaged period, the mortgagee has the right to cultivate the land. Naturally, the income of the mortgagee decline, if he does not have any other compensatory resources. As his income goes on decline year after year, he would not be able to recover his mortgaged land and at last he has to part with his land. This is the fate of the poor tribals in the wake of the extension of MLR & LR Act, 1960.

Affects of the Extension of MLR & LR Act, 1960 : The hill tribals have been pushed into a peculiar situation by the extension of MLR & LR Act, 1960 We may examine the position of the affected villages and people as below : Saikot village: The village, Saikot in Churachendpur District was established in 1920 (as per record available) by the great grand father of the present chief. Before the independence, the villagers got settled in the village with the permission of the chief. The chief is the owner of the entire village land and allotted land to his subjects. Now with the extension of the Act, even the chief had to pay premium for obtaining allotment of the land which he had customarily owned and cultivated for year together. If he had not done so, he should had been treated as encroacher in his own land. A development project had been taken up in Khuga area called Khuga Dam (multi-purpose project). In the construction of the Dam, many villages and households had been affected and displaced. The people who had been allotted land under the provision of the MLR & LR Act, 1960, are made genuine land owners. Such people only got land compensation. The tribal who had been living there even before the framing of the land laws and owned the land on the basis of the traditional and customary laws are made encroachers in their own land. The extension of the Act had deprived the people of ownership of land based on traditional and customary practices.

No Khas Land in Hill Areas :

The landmark ruling of the Hon'ble Gauhati High Court in Imphal Permanent Bench under Civil Rule No. 132/90/91, between the North-East Council, Shillong, the State of Manipur and the Deputy Commissioner, Ukhrul versus the Hundung Victims of Development Project, the judgement was in favour of the petitioners whose land had been acquisitioned by the North-East Council through the Government of Manipur. The acquisition of land was meant for (i) Construction of Mini Cement Factory with an approach road, (ii)

Construction of Imphal – Ukhrul Road and (iii) Construction of Nungshangkong Mini-Hydro Electricity Power Project. In the judgement order as noted at Sl. No. 25 says –

“We are here concerned with Hill areas of Ukhrul that there is no Government Khas Land in the hill areas of Ukhrul. The ownership of land situated in the hill villages of Manipur vests in the villagers. They do not hold the land under the pleasure of the Government”

There is no *khas* land not only in Ukhrul District but in all the hill areas of Manipur. Without realizing the ground reality and proper acquisition of land, the State Government occasionally had instructed the district administration in the hill districts to allot land to any Government Department or individual in accordance with the provision of the Act, whereas the Act has not yet been extended to hill areas except to some plain pockets. This had also caused the issue more complicated.

Observation of the Law Research Institute of Gauhati High Court :

The Law Research Institute of Gauhati High Court observed that the extension of the Act to the selected hill villages had created many problems (Das J.N. cf. 1089: 144) It says —

“The extension of MLR & LR Act, 1960 to the villages inhabited by the Kuki tribes has created many problems besides that of annual pattadars but the customs relating to the land system of these villages are different.”

The villagers were his tenants and they use to pay regular rents in kinds besides their presents.

Without abolishing the ownership rights of the chiefs, how could these be brought direct into contact with State Government? Yet, this was done wrongly in our view.....

The State Government does not attempt to bring about amicable solution to the land issues of tribal population. Instead, they attempt to extend the provisions of the Act slowly in planned manner. The tribal have their own system of regulating the land holding based on tradition and customs. This conventional system is still effectively found in tribal societies. Extension of the Act to the tribal areas without rectification of the existing traditional and customary practices will certainly bring misunderstanding between tribal and non-tribal communities.

Fear of Tribal for Land Alienation :

The crux of the whole problem is the question, whether the extension of the MLR & LR Act, 1960 to the hill areas and the land situated therein

automatically become Government land. According to the Kuki customs, the chiefs are the owners of the entire land within their jurisdiction. As stated above, under Naga system of land ownership, the chief or the founder of the village is the first owner and there is second and third owners. There is no *khas* land in the hill areas of the State of Manipur. While such is the situation in hill areas, extension of the Act will certainly will dislocate the whole system. The one who had owned and cultivated the land for years together under their customs and tradition would be made encroachers on their own land. The peculiar situation in the Saikot village was the result of the extension of the MLR & LR Act to the hill district villages. Similar situation would be created as it goes on extending to hill villages. Many lands would be alienated from their original owners as the State Government had a policy of extension of the Act slowly in planned manner. The growing consciousness among the different tribals of Manipur is that the members of their communities have been dispossessed off from their land by the non-tribal as in the case of Tripura. This may lead to an ugly situation of clashes between tribal and non-tribal communities.

Suggestions :

It is a high time for the state authority to review the situation and feel the pulse of the tribals and see for the best solution to the un-resolved issues of land holding in the state in general and tribal areas in particular. The existing customary and traditional practices of land holding system is not free from defects. It needs a re-look in the system. The following points may be suggested for improvement to the aged old system of land holding in the tribal society.

- (1) Land Laws for the tribal : A committee to study land holding system and practices of different tribal communities may be constituted and a separate Land Laws for tribal be framed. The committee be comprised of representatives from two major tribal groups, Ze., Nagas and Kuki-Chin-Mizo, and experts in the subject from the state/central government.
- (2) The State Government. should not encroach upon the lands lying within the hill districts except on unavoidable or exceptional cases of acquisition.
- (3) The customary rights of ownership over the land should be recognized.

- (4) The customary and traditional practices is required to review to suit the changing social environment in which they are living in.
- (5) Land holding under the traditional laws should be properly recorded and the laws/practices itself need to be modified for codification

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TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN ORISSA: SOME AREAS OF CONCERN

S. C. Mohanty

Introduction

Orissa claims a prominent position among the States and Union Territories of India for having the largest varieties of tribes i.e. 62 in number including 13 Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) as well as the third highest tribal population numbering over 8 millions, accounting for about 9.7 percent of the country's total tribal population and constituting 22.13 percent of the State's total population as per 2001 census. It means among every five persons one belongs to a scheduled tribe community in the State.

These tribes live across the length, and breadth of the state. They are found in all the districts in varying numbers. In terms of the numerical strength of S.T. population among the districts, Mayurbhanj district has the largest followed by Sundergarh and Keonjhar, whereas Puri district has the smallest tribal population. The concentration of the tribal population in the coastal districts in the eastern region is low i.e., below 10 percent. They are largely concentrated in the interior hilly areas of the districts located at the south and in north western region.

The tribes of Orissa exhibit wide divergence among themselves in their social, cultural and economic patterns. Every tribal society representing pre-literate, encysted and simple society characterized by endogamy, patriliney, patrilocality and distinct identity has its unique social system. Almost all, except the small tribal groups have sub-divisions based as territorial distribution, occupation etc. All of them possess family, lineage and clan/sib organizations often associated with totems, except the Saora, that regulate all important activities of the community, like marriage, ownership of property and inheritance, successions, etc.

In tribal societies, women are treated as equal half of men and are held in high esteem. A tribal youth enjoys wider freedom and choice in selection of his/her spouse. There are various ways of acquiring mates with prescribed, preferential and prohibitory rules in the society. In their society divorce and remarriage of widow, widowers and divorces are permitted. Their inter-personal relationship is institutionalized and based on reciprocity, mutual help, love and affection. They pursue economics

for their sustenance in which shifting cultivation, settled cultivation along with forestry and wage-earning constitute the major economic activities. Their indigenous technological base is low and less developed and most of them often lead a life below subsistence level. They have their own traditional politico-jural system that includes folkways, mores, conventions, customs, axes of power and authority and mechanism of social control and administration of law and justice. They are believers in animism and polytheism; perform various rituals and practise magic, witchcraft, sorcery, etc. Dance and music, art and craft, painting and carving form an integral part of their aesthetic life.

In short, most of the tribal communities possess a well-knit socio-cultural system, strong kinship bonds, a stable village organization, strong supernaturalism and high level of folk traditions rich in art and crafts, dance, song and music with high degree of sophistication and complexity. For example, the Saora pictograms and icons painted in the walls have attracted worldwide attention. Santals build houses, well known for their symmetry, cleanliness and elegance. They paint the walls with floral motifs and geometrical designs. These tribal communities have a vast repertory of songs and dances linked to ritual performances, ceremonies and festivals. Such finer aspects of their life styles reveal a sense of gratitude for the fact of being alive and a mood of acceptance of life on its own terms almost in an existential way. Thus, a high level of social and cultural expression co-exists with the economic backwardness, deprivation and isolation in tribal Orissa.

These culturally divergent groups live in different eco-cultural settings, pursue different kinds of lifestyles and speak different kinds of languages and subsidiary dialects. Obviously their socio-cultural values, life-styles and level of development vary very widely. At one end, there are isolated primitive groups lying at a pre-agricultural stage of hunting, food gathering and shifting cultivation and at the other, there are settled cultivators and urbanized industrial workers, almost assimilated into the mainstream of Indian society. Due to their contact with the non-tribals, wide socio-economic differences are observed among them. Tribal groups living around industrial and urban areas have different problems from their brethren living in the relative isolation in hills and forests. Some tribal regions are inaccessible, while in others, modern industries and mining activities creates problems against their survival. Religious conversion in some areas has added another factor of differentiation into their way of life

Tribal development since independence through successive five-year plans : Goals, Approaches, Strategies and Implementation

For historical reasons, the tribals have remained socially, economically and educationally backward. The problem of tribal development has long baffled the social scientists, policy makers and administrators in British India as well as in Independent India.

“The pre-independence era saw the British colonial rulers adopting “the policy of isolation” for the tribes with the slogan of ‘leave them alone’ which encouraged vested interests, namely zamindars, landlords, forest contractors and money lenders to exploit and usurp the tribal land and forest on which their economy was based. This policy of ‘neglect’ accompanied by encroachments on the tribals’ rights in land and forest led to the collapse of tribal economy, causing them utter penury and misery” (Verma : 1996).

The Government of India Act (Scheduled Tract) of 1870 first gave recognition to tribal area and then the British Government passed an act in 1874 to specify tribal areas in ‘Scheduled Districts’ and adopted the policy of segregating the tribes into special areas for adequate protection of their lives and interests. These areas were reconstituted as backward tracts in the act of 1919 and finally in the Act of 1935 with stringent provisions for a special treatment of these areas by converting them into ‘totally and partially Extended Areas’ (Excluded and Partially Excluded Area.)

“However, with the political independence of the country this “policy of isolation” was replaced by the “policy of integration and assimilation” when it was resolved that ‘the new democratic state had a responsibility for the welfare of the tribal people and the development of tribal areas, however remote and inaccessible they might be’(Elwin: 1963).

With the adoption of the “policy of integration and assimilation” soon after independence, the exercise of tribal development started with the successive Five Year Plans. The constitutional commitments prompted the Policy Makers and the Planners to accord high priority to welfare and development of STs right from the beginning of the country’s development planning, launched in 1951.

Till the end of the 4th Plan, tribal development was accepted as a general goal and accordingly programmes were implemented in the State through Community Development Blocks during the First Plan, 4 Special

Multi-Purpose Tribal Development (SMPTD) blocks as pilot projects in the 2nd Plan and 71 Tribal Development (TD) blocks in the 3rd and 4th Plan periods. Further special programmes like Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA), Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers (MFAL) Development Agencies, Tribal Development Agencies (TDA), forestry schemes, crash schemes for rural development etc. were launched 4 TDAs functioned as Pilot Projects.

The Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79) marked a shift in the approach as reflected in launching of the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) for direct benefit and development of the tribal. It was envisaged to be a plan exclusively for the tribal areas, within the state plan. The basic approach was to identify the areas of 50 percent or more tribal concentration and bring them under a separate Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) within the overall state plan. The long-term objectives as declared by the Planning Commission were (i) to narrow the gaps between the level of development of tribal and other areas, and (ii) to improve the quality of the life of the tribal communities. The important immediate objectives were (i) elimination of all forms of exploitation, (ii) speeding up of the process of social and economic development, and (iii) building up and improving the internal organizational capacity of the people. The TSP stipulated that funds of the state and center should be quantified on the population proportion basis, with budgetary mechanisms to ensure accountability, non-divertability and utilization for welfare and development of STs

Since then for over past four decades this TSP approach is continuing across the successive plan periods all over the country with addition of new components, emphasis and priorities as considered necessary from time to time. Some of its major thrust areas have been as follows :

- ❖ Poverty alleviation through individual family-oriented income generating schemes, skill development, diversification of their trades and occupations. Emphasis on vocational training appropriate to emerging opportunities for the youth.
- ❖ Development of critical infrastructure incidental to income generation as well as for development of the area.
- ❖ Integration of services at the delivery point and development of services from the bottom upwards.
- ❖ Development and upgradation of skills to diversify occupation.
- ❖ Introduction of the latest technology based on local skills and materials.
- ❖ Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) for pockets of tribal concentration with population of 10,000 at least half of whom are STs.

- ❖ High priority to elimination of exploitation and removal of all forms of oppression. Social justice to people subjected to persistent social discrimination, crimes, atrocities and exploitation.
- ❖ Development of Primitive Tribal Group (PTGs) through Micro Projects. Five Year Action Plans for each PTG incorporating total food security, health cover, prevention of infant mortality, education facilities with inbuilt flexibility to cater to the specific needs are to be prepared.
- ❖ Check shifting cultivation and tackle the acute problem of environmental degradation.
- ❖ Empowerment and development of tribal women by means of proper education and access to opportunities for income generation.
- ❖ Evolving a policy of rehabilitation of people displaced by large development projects. National Rehabilitation Policy for the displaced tribal ensuring at least the same, if not better, standard of living as prior to displacement is to be evolved.
- ❖ Codification of customary rights of the tribal in forests; implementation of forest policy in letter and spirit to maintain the symbiotic relationship between the tribal and forest.
- ❖ Promoting and assisting voluntary organizations so as to make them play a partnership role in the designing and implementation of programmes.
- ❖ Educational development of STs.
- ❖ Development of facilities like schools, hostels and institutional structures for healthcare, nutrition, drinking water supply, road linkages and housing, etc., in such a way that they promote integration of these communities with the rest of the society.
- ❖ Social empowerment through enhancement of literacy and advancement of education, especially that of women and girl child.
- ❖ Economic empowerment to reduce the percentage of people below poverty line.
- ❖ Food security in terms of better levels of nutrition and provision of drinking water supply are to be the priority areas.

Some Areas of Concern: The Unresolved Issues of Tribal Development :

While progress made by STs in various sectors is a matter of satisfaction, there still remains certain areas of concern. There are some unresolved issues of tribal development which needs to be addressed to raise the status of tribals on par with the rest of the population:

Low Literacy and High Drop-out Rates

Despite the programme for universalization of primary education, which have been in effective operation since 1986, the literacy rates for STs remain as low as 37.37 percent while the general literacy rate reached 63.08 percent in 2001. Similarly, the ST female literacy rate stood at 23.37 percent which is much lower in comparison to 50.97 percent in respect of general category. Adding to this, are the problems of intra- and inter-district and inter-community variations in the literacy rates of STs. Although the drop-out rates have been showing a declining trend among STs in classes I to VIII, the same is still very high when compared to that of general category This requires target oriented interventions.

Inadequate/Inaccessible Health Services

The following have been identified as the contributing factors to increased disease burden among the tribal communities: (i) Poverty and consequent malnutrition, (ii) poor sanitation, poor hygiene and lack of safe drinking water, (iii) Lack of access to healthcare facilities, (iv) Socio-cultural barriers preventing utilization of available healthcare services, (v) Vulnerability to specific diseases like G-6 PD deficiency, Yaws and other endemic diseases like malaria etc. Also, the tribal population being heterogeneous, there are wide variations in their health status. The PTGs living in interior pockets have inadequate access to both health education and healthcare.

Nutritional Deficiencies and Diseases

Although no systematic research investigations have been made, it appears that malnutrition among the tribal, especially their women and children is alarming. Further, there is high incidence of malnutrition among PTGs in Phulbani, Koraput and Sundargarh districts. Maternal malnutrition is quite common which leads to high incidence of IMR.

Shifting Cultivation

Shifting cultivation continues to be the way of life of the hill tribes. It is still being practised by some tribal people including the PTGs. Their social relationships, economic activities and ritual observances revolve around the practice of shifting cultivation. The problem of shifting cultivation which is ecologically unsound is very complex. Rehabilitation of shifting cultivators should be given priority for improving ecology and economy of tribal areas.

Inadequate Water Resources

Many tribal villages/habitations are devoid of safe drinking water and

irrigation facilities. However, the National Water Policy adopted in 1987 focuses on the development of water management systems both for drinking purposes and irrigation, based on an integrated approach, to fulfil the needs.

Deprivation of Forest Rights and Development Forest Villagers

Tribal people live in harmony with nature and there is symbiotic relationship between them and forest. Despite the special safeguards provided by the National Forest Policy of 1988, the tribal continue to struggle for mere survival due to restrictions in the collection of minor forest produce, exploitation by middlemen, displacement from national parks and sanctuaries, lack of any development in the forest villages etc., the protection of rights of the tribal in forest is the key to their amelioration. Rights and concessions enjoyed by the tribal should be fully protected. The primary task of all agencies responsible for forest management, including the Forest Development Corporation, should be to associate the tribal people closely in the protection, regeneration and development of forests as well as to provide gainful employment to the people living in and around the forest. The recent Forest Dwellers Act of 2006 gives a ray of hope to the tribal for restoration of their traditional rights on forest whose provisions needs to be implemented sincerely.

Intellectual Property Rights

The livelihood of tribals depend upon the local resources of flora and fauna. They have their indigenous knowledge of each of these resources and possess the skill how to exploit and utilize these resources. There is an urgent need to provide appropriate legal and institutional arrangements for recognizing and acknowledging the rights of the tribal communities to such resources and knowledge.

Land Alienation and Their Non-restoration

Land as the most important productive resource base of the tribal communities has tended to get eroded not only through acquisition for public purposes but also through fraudulent transfers, forcible eviction, mortgages, leases and encroachments. Thousand acres of tribal land has been alienated in Orissa. There is urgent need for amendment of legal provisions to plug loopholes and swift administrative action to identify alienated land and restoring it to the tribal. Recently by an amendment to Regulation 2 of 1956, the State Government has totally banned transfer of tribal land.

Rehabilitation of Displaced and Disabled Tribals

Rehabilitation of the displaced tribals is a serious problem which is yet to receive due attention. As documented by various research studies, only a small percentage of the tribal oustees could get the benefit of rehabilitation facilities. A vast majority of tribal people displaced by big projects are pushed into a vortex of increasing assetlessness, unemployment, debt-bondage and destitution. Women and children among them are the worst affected. Any loss of access to traditional sources of livelihood, viz., land, forest, water, river, pasture etc., marginalizes women than men in the labour market.

Indebtedness

Indebtedness among the tribal is not only an indication of their poverty but also of their low purchasing/bargaining power, lack of education, lack of resources for engaging in gainful activity and meeting emergent expenditure. Though relevant laws/Regulations exist in Orissa to regulate money lending and give debt relief the tribal continue to suffer from the evils of indebtedness which leads to bondage and land alienation. Lack of sound national policy to extend consumption credit to the poor tribal has tended to make them dependent on usurious moneylenders, which also results in their debt-bondage.

Migrant Labour

Low agricultural productivity, erosion of natural resource base, lack of employment opportunities and increased restrictions on rights over forest produce have forced the tribal to migrate to other areas in search of wage employment. Migration of tribal communities takes place towards agriculturally prosperous States, industrial areas wherever temporary employment is available. Tribal labourers in these areas are subjected to exploitation by the contractors and middlemen through practices such as inadequate wage payment, non-provision of basic amenities and other violation of labour laws. Tribal women labourers are often subject to sexual exploitation. The ST labourers on migration to States other than the State of their origin are not recognized as STs and do not get facilities of STs.

Excise and Alcoholism

Tribal communities traditionally brew liquor from rice and other food grains for their consumption on ritual occasions. Commercial vending of liquor in tribal areas has made the tribal population impoverished, and in consequence they suffer from indebtedness and exploitation of various types. Although as early as 1975, the Ministry of Social Welfare issued guidelines to the states/UTs to discontinue commercial vending

of liquor in tribal areas and wean them away from the habit of alcoholic consumption, states with a view to augmenting their revenue tend to persist with commercial vending of liquor in tribal areas ignoring its harmful effect on the tribal population.

Survival, Protection and Development of Primitive Tribal Groups

There is a marked difference between the relatively advanced tribal groups and the primitive tribal groups. The latter live in more interior pockets, which are generally inaccessible, and the declining sources of sustenance have left them more vulnerable to food insecurity, malnutrition and ill health. The cultural gap between the primitive tribal groups and the non-tribal societies is wide.

Thirteen PTGs have been identified in Orissa who have been covered under 17 Micro Projects for development.

Tribal Women - The Neglected Lot

Even though they enjoy high status in family and society, the tribal women are usually a vulnerable group within their community with poor health, nutritional and educational status. The tribal women suffer from high degree of anaemia due to malnutrition for which high rates of IMR and MMR exist in various parts of tribal areas. In addition, the migrant tribal women labourers are subjected to all types of hardships and indignity.

Tribal Children & the Tribal Girl Child

Tribal children suffer from ill health due to nutritional deficiencies, lack of safe drinking water and sanitation and poor access to health care. This is reflected in high rates of IMR/CMR, low enrollment in schools, high dropout rates and low level of achievement. Through ICDS, programmes of healthcare, immunization, supplementary nutrition, non-formal pre-school education are being implemented, yet the coverage of these services is deficient in interior/inaccessible tribal pockets.

Extinction of Tribal Culture

In the approach to tribal development, the importance of tribal culture and their traditions have been long recognized. In the Second Five Year Plan it was pronounced as follows: "Welfare Programmes of Scheduled Tribes have to be based on respect and understanding of their culture and traditions and an appreciation of the social, psychological and economic problems with which they are faced." Thus, preservation and promotion of tribal culture has become the prime concern in formulating various development programmes for the

wellbeing of the tribal. Along with various development policies and programmes to improve the socio-economic conditions of the tribal people, there is also an urgent need to preserve and promote various aspects of tribal culture and heritage, including their values of cooperation, community feeling, music, dance, literature, language, festivals, indigenous knowledge and skill and technology, arts and handicrafts, etc. The uniqueness of the tribal culture, which enriches the country's cultural mosaic, is fast disappearing and even getting distorted under the powerful influence of the dominant culture. However in the CCD Plan for the PTGs for the 11th Five Year Plan, an attempt has been made for conservation of some important time tested elements of tribal culture.

Poverty, Unrest and rise of insurgency in tribal areas

The impact of various poverty alleviation programmes put into action during the last two development decades has brought down the poverty levels among the STs. Still the incidence of poverty among the STs continues to be very high. Therefore there has been increasing unrest in the tribal areas in the recent past. The root cause of rise of radical/Extremist movements in tribal areas is the perceived dissatisfaction with their existing conditions and failure to access to benefits and facilities promised to them. There is an urgent need to critically review the approach and strategy of tribal protection and development; ensure flow of development benefits within a definite time-frame; and restore their faith in the capability of the government to deliver.

Crimes/Atrocities against STs

Despite the enactment and enforcement of two special Laws, viz. Protection of Civil Rights Act of 1955 and the SCs and STs (Prevention of Atrocities) Act of 1989 and the Indian Penal Code, and other laws/legal provisions for their protection, crimes/atrocities against the tribal especially against women and children, continue to be high. A large number of crimes committed against STs remain unreported because of their isolation and their reluctance due to fear and apathy of the enforcement machinery. Tribals are most harassed by judicial processes when they are involved in criminal/civil cases which are alien to their system of conflict resolution, and drag on for years and sap their energy, resources and erode their self-confidence and morale. Appropriate alternative arrangements for disposal of cases arising out of not very serious offences locally with the help of community and without the aid of lawyers and formal court need to be evolved.

Tardy Implementation of TSP & PESA Act

The special strategy of Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) has been in operation since 1975 with the objective of ensuring that the benefits from various development sectors do not by-pass STs and accordingly funds in population proportion, are earmarked for the development of STs. The strategy of TSP, as it is implemented, has also become very routinized and its impact on improving the conditions of STs has declined.

The PESA Act of 1996 is in force. Its the provisions are to be effectively through required legislation, delegation of powers, generation of awareness among tribal people and their representatives at the State level so that it becomes a powerful instrument for empowerment of the tribal.

The Eleventh Five Year Plan lays down priority in finding solutions to these very unresolved Issues. Eradication of deprivation/exploitation of the tribal needs to be the centre-point in its approach, along with empowerment of the tribal. There is the need for a comprehensive National Policy for Empowering Tribals through their integrated development by tackling the various unresolved problems of the tribal.

REHABILITATION OF PARDHI TRIBE : A SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL MODEL

Dr. Arvind Kumar Jha

Introduction:

The name 'Pardhi' appears in various anthropological, cultural, legal, and general texts to indicate a group of hunters, trappers and snarers. The term 'Pardhi' derives its origin from the Sanskrit word 'Paradh' which means hunting. Although their variates occur as nomads in many parts of India, they occur primarily in the states of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. In Madhya Pradesh, in districts other than the 19 districts where they are declared as scheduled tribe, Pardhis are recognized as scheduled caste. In Maharashtra, however, they fall in the category of scheduled tribe only.

Some anthropological studies indicate that they appear to be groups originated from mixing of Rajputs either with Bawari who are out castes or with other social derelicts. Pardhis have also assimilated lower castes like Koli, Wagri, Dhangar, Kabbaligar and Korchar into their fold. The reports of police interest, however, show them as an offshoot of the Bauriah tribe that is considered as the origin of a variety of criminal tribes.

The life-sketch of Pardhis, moving from the status of communities dependent on wildlife hunting to that of a criminal tribe during British times and subsequently to the category of denotified criminal tribe and Scheduled Tribe/Caste in the central and western parts of independent India may not seem to be as interesting as the underlying dynamics of gradual differentiation of the same group, i.e., Pardhis into as many as eleven neatly perceivable occupation-based endogamous entities and a later loss of identity of most of them partly due to the loss of resource-base on which their occupational categorization was contingent, partly because of ensuing adaptations consequent to a variety of socio-economic interventions including those through government sponsored programmes, but mostly because the livelihood option of Pardhis got eclipsed and criminalized during independent India.

Pardhis with a more or less common heritage in regard to their lifestyle and occupation with hunting as the central theme interacted with their region-specific natural and social environment in different parts of the central and western India. The ecologically and socially relevant

consequences of their life-style have resulted due to mutually interactive relationships between the endogamous groups and their respective environments. The pace, quantum, and variety of bio-cultural adaptive processes that ensued differentiated generations of Pardhis in terms of ecological-anthropological parameters and ultimately led to the recognition of Pardhis as an agglomerate of endogamous groups with a variety of occupational hinges to which each group got anchored for its sustenance and ultimate survival. The Pardhis, in the process, got differentiated from occupational point of view and came to be categorized into eleven groups, viz., Phanse Pardhi or Advichinchar, Shikari or Bhil Pardhi, Langoti Pardhi, Cheetah Pardhi or Chitavale, Haran Pardhi, Bahellia with a 'Karijat' variate that killed black colour birds only, Gosai Pardhi, Takankar or Takia Pardhi, Gayake Pardhi, Bandarvale, Shishi-Ke-tel wale or Telvechnya Pardhi.

The Pardhis survived during the pre-colonial times by specializing in hunting and trapping techniques and apart from pursuing this profession for their own sustenance they also got employed by the Kings, zamindars and elite for help and support in their hunting expeditions. During the colonial regime, however, the dynamics of survival of pardhis encountered a significant quantum of checks and controls especially in regard to activities that constituted crimes against public and common property. Their cognitized environment in regard to the public and common property, in clear contrast to the actually existing objective environment, had pertinent questions of legality attached when, in 1912, hunting of Game was attempted to be controlled by the Government by promulgating the Wild Birds and Animals Protection Act in the State of Bombay. The Act regulated hunting of animals and birds through a system of licenses and by declaring certain periods closed for hunting, prescribing criteria for selection of games to be hunted, and indicating legal methods of hunting. These regulations coupled with the relevant provisions in the Indian Forest Act 1927, led to a situation in which the tradition-bound Pardhi's basic life-style woven around hunting could not cope up with the demands of the formal system of seeking permissions built upon legal provisions. Their instinct as well as learned behaviour related to hunting and killing got occasional expressions in the target areas of human body and private property also and attracted various relevant sections of the Indian Penal Code 1860. This made them as a group or community an object of police interest and they were declared as criminal tribe by the British Government. During early days of British rule, the criminal tribes were dealt with under the Regulation 26 of 1893. Later the Criminal Tribes Act was passed in 1897 which was consolidated into the central Act of 1924. The Criminal Tribes Laws (Repeal) Act, 1952 passed after independence, however, led to the denotification of criminal tribes.

The Bombay Wild Animals and Wild Birds Protection Act, 1951 prescribed the rules for hunting under Section 48. These rules further alienated the Pardhis since it gave birth to a new brand of 'super-predators' who were licensed/unlicensed shikaris with latest weapons and fast moving vehicles. These shikaris worked to erode the resource base meant for Pardhis at a very fast pace. Simultaneously, the loss of habitats also reduced the wildlife populations considerably. The 1951 Act was followed by the Wildlife (Protection) Act, 1972 that primarily attempted at a further regulation of hunting and protection of wild life habitats. It recognized the hunting rights of Nicobar island tribes only and left out Pardhis. Further, the amendment made in 1991 to the Wildlife (Protection) Act, 1972 imposed a complete ban on the hunting of all wild animals. Pardhis who were already first thrown out of their survival mode got further marginalized and their occupation itself got criminalized, as they had no legal option available to continue with their profession and life-style. Hunting of wild animals was prohibited irrespective of whether it existed in National Park and sanctuary or outside, exceptions being made only on the grounds of research, education, and injury to life and property.

During the process of enquiry and settlement of forest areas under the Indian Forest Act 1927, certain rights and concessions that existed on forest lands or ex-proprietary forests in the form of use of forest produce were recognized, recorded, and were either allowed or duly settled. Some occupational *nistar*, e.g.; soil for the potters, bark of certain species of trees for the cobblers, etc. was allowed during various settlements but the resource base for the livelihood and survival of Pardhis was kept completely outside the purview of such settlement. Pardhis thus lost, for all times to come, the opportunity of receiving occupation related claim of harvesting of wildlife.

The transition and differentiation of endogamous groups of Pardhis and status of their primary occupation related resource base have had an inter-linked fate during their journey in the socio-ecological space. The fact, however, remains that external contingent factors, which were not a part of Pardhis' cognitized environment, played a dominant role in creating an ecological and consequently a social and economic crisis for the Pardhis ultimately reducing them to the status of ecological refugees.

The Pardhis have thus gradually been forced to a state of social disequilibria precisely because of a gross mismatch between their skills and the naturally and legally available livelihood options including those thrust upon them through government programmes. Their

inherited skills today do get operationalized and objectified at times through use of some scarcely available alternative natural resources but the new ways of life and sources of livelihood such as agriculture, manual labour, rearing of domesticated animals, etc. are not readily acceptable to them as sole occupational alternatives for survival.

The rehabilitation model suggested in this article has emerged out of a research work carried out in selected villages of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh and considers to remove the impact of social disequilibria being suffered by Pardhis today. The model has considered the hard fact that the costs and consequences of their survival dynamics were not always measurable and often got overlooked and, of course, the naked truth that the present case of degeneration of this community having a unique indigenous knowledge and skill base is a harsh example of socio-ecological crisis that has taken its toll apparently within a span of just about a hundred years.

The Survival Issue:

An alternative model of rehabilitation of Pardhi tribe is developed by viewing the whole issue of Pardhis' struggle for survival from an ecosystemic viewpoint. The basic presumption in this model is the fact that Pardhis have been and are a part of the ecosphere as much as anyone else and that their survival on a long term time frame rests on the development and management of a sustainable relationship between them and the relevant resource base on one hand, and between this interdependence and claims of other related stakeholders on the same resource base on the other.

With 'niche' as the position in the economy of nature/society, 'habitat' as the address of any organism/individual or group, and 'environment' as the sum of external contingent factors acting on the organism/ individual or organization, the task at hand is to provide for an appropriate occupational niche' to Pardhis so that they survive with their cultural traditions and indigenous knowledge intact as far as possible. While providing them the niche, the mismatch between their cognitized environment and the actual physical environment is to be substantially, if not totally, removed. This essentially requires prescriptions for inputs for improving the resource-base, upgrading knowledge and skill levels, and empowerment of the Pardhis.

A close examination of the present condition of Pardhis clearly reveals that there has not been any appropriate planning and investments so far as the issue of 'rehabilitating' Pardhis is concerned. There has been no 'informed participation' of the Pardhis either on

the statutory issues or in the process of development of schemes programmes for them. Pardhis having got highly differentiated and being under acute stress for want of an appropriate role in the society, only a holistic approach can enable the community to functionally integrate itself to its environment.

The major issues and perceptions that emerge from the study of Pardhis could be summarized as follows:

- (1) The skill and indigenous knowledge of the Pardhis have not been totally lost and could be revived.
- (2) Pardhis' have the potential of becoming a potent and effective tool for creating a clear link between social development and conservation of bio-diversity.
- (3) Pardhis self-identification and their identification by others as a community still exists with its uniqueness (though it is in the process of getting blurred).
- (4) No alternate formal systems taking over the role of Pardhis have developed in the society. Thus, their 'niche' might have a weak existence or might seem to have been vacated but no other community has functionally occupied the same.
- (5) The role of 'super predator' played by Pardhis was over-played by the rich and greedy hunters leading to speedy deterioration of the resource base itself but the Wildlife (Protection) Act, 1972 and amendments there to in 2003 would continue to exclude the possibility of this role being given to the later again.
- (6) Pardhis' skills and knowledge conforms to the low intensity utilization strategy, which is conducive to conservation.
- (7) Low intensity utilization strategy does have a scope in the current scenario and so has the role of Pardhis as an agent in the wildlife conservation process.
- (8) For any local community, with the impossibility of use of bio-diversity around them creeping into the policy and legal framework, the diverse resources get undervalued as it is seen as belonging to someone else. Similarly, the perceived 'stakes' went down with time in the minds of Pardhis and they also resorted at times to indiscriminate removals.
- (9) With the removal of the Pardhis just like any other community from their respective resource bases, the resources became increasingly less and less valued' by them but this value has not become zero in their perception and world-view.

- (10) With the perceived value of resources going down, the diverse resources always suffer conversion and diversion at a fast pace for more 'profitable' uses. In line with this, specialized practices and intensive uses of forest land have quickly followed in the area leading to encroachments and destruction of wildlife and their habitats.

The Strategy:

Any effective strategy to check a further intensification of social disequilibria for Pardhis has to attempt at establishing a functional relationship between the Pardhis and their environment by securing a niche for them.

Considering the diversity of Pardhis existing in the area under consideration, site-specific plans are required to be developed with informed participation' of Pardhis. Development of culturally appropriate development plans are going to be of prime importance so far as rehabilitation of Pardhis is concerned. The option of incorporating the livelihood issues related to Pardhis in the ongoing Joint Forest Management (JFM) and Village Eco-Development (VED) programmes, Integrated Watershed Development Programme (IWDP), and also in the approach adopted in the Forest Development Agency (FDA) programme of the Forest Department could also be started in right earnest along with appropriate suggestions for amendment to the Wildlife (Protection) Act. This could be included in the strategy for tackling conservation issues concerning forests as well as Wildlife also as they relate to the local and indigenous populations including Pardhis.

The Key Issues and Related Prescriptions :

Although an ideal project for developing site specific models of survival and integrating them subsequently can be developed after a thorough consideration of representative Pardhi populations through adoption of strategy mentioned above, an enabling and implementable set of prescriptions arising out of the relevant issues pertaining to Pardhis survival today is as under:

1. Resource-base and Occupational and Cultural Identity:

It is clear that as population of Pardhis increased, its resource base suffered considerable depletion under an adverse impact due to the time to time declared government policies and rules related to extermination/hunting of wildlife, habitat shrinkage, pressure of 'super

predator, i.e. man, and increased role of wildlife products in the economy (both national as well as international).

The Pardhis also, however, traditionally dependent on hunting for their livelihood, moved on their way to extinction as occupational and endogamous groups following the above depletion. Their techniques of hunting, technology of making hunting tools, knowledge of animal behaviour, characteristic perseverance and grit also have suffered inextricably.

The cultural identity of Pardhis is also in a severe crisis due to constraints imposed by legal instruments as well as by the status of their resource-base. Adaptive processes resulting into combination of livelihoods that grossly reject the traditional livelihood options have almost sealed their fate so far as survival of traditional occupation related components of Pardhis' culture is concerned. Simultaneously indigenous knowledge and skills are also getting lost which is a loss to humanity and civilization.

It is clear that as the status of resource base goes down, incidence of occupational differentiation of the people dependent on the resource goes up leading to adverse impact on their cultural identity. Thus, lowering of status of resource base leads to lowering of cultural identity of such people. This means that availability of resource base and a legal option to utilize it can keep the cultural identity of Pardhis intact, which, needless to say, is not only anthropologically and socially desirable but is also desirable from the point of view of management of the resource base, i.e. wild life itself.

It is essential, therefore, that:

- 1) There should be appropriate investments into the forestry and wildlife sector for restoration of habitats and improvement of wildlife.
- 2) Pardhis' indigenous knowledge be documented and they should be given suitable remuneration as per intellectual property rights.
- 3) Consciously developed activities to build, develop, and support the capacity of Pardhis' in particular and that of their social and cultural institutions in general should form a part of their development package.

2. Criminalization:

There are two agencies, viz. Police and Forest Department that today contribute to the sustenance and propagation of perception regarding Pardhis as being involved in criminal activities. Prior to independence, it was mainly Police that propagated this viewpoint. Even today, in many areas, Pardhis are the first targets in any criminal enquiry. This stigma

needs to be removed on priority by adopting a proactive approach towards the Pardhis since that will have a long lasting impact on the execution and result of every rehabilitation programme. As an immediate measure, the following needs to be done:

- (1) Pardhis be employed for protection activities related to the forests and wildlife areas as is being done in many urban areas where they have migrated in search of livelihood. Pardhis be included as stakeholders and participants in the conservation activities for wildlife in non-protected as well as protected areas respectively.
- (2) Analysis of Pardhis' behaviour through objectively designed psycho-sociological studies to bring out actionable points for improving their social status.
- (3) Orienting and training Police and Forest Department personnel to adopt a 'mending' rather than offensive, approach towards Pardhis.

3. CHANGES ON POLICY AND STATUTORY FRONT:

A number of policy and legal changes are required to suitably rehabilitate the Pardhis in the overall interest of conservation and their long term survival:

- (1) Amend the Wild Life (Protection) Act 1972 to allow limited hunting for subsistence purposes and thereby introduce the concept of 'conservation' of wildlife as the basic theme of the Wildlife (Protection) Act, 1972.
- (2) Amend the definition of hunting to exclude ex-situ conservation related activities.
- (3) The traditional livelihood option of pardhis be honoured as their right to life and must be considered while process of settlement of rights over forests and forest produce is carried on.
- (4) The pardhis as hunting tribes be suitably included in Section 65 of The Wild Life (Protection) Act 1972.
- (5) Scope for their participation in JFM / VED activities be created while expanding these programmes to cover wildlife also.
- (6) Whereas detection rate has a greater impact on the occurrence of offences than has penalty levels, it may be important to have higher penalty for traders, dealers, and gang heads than for the local level petty offenders.
- (7) The representatives of Pardhis be included in the State Boards for wildlife and they should be appointed as Honorary Wildlife Wardens.

4. Implementation of Existing Legal Provisions :

The existing legal provisions have to be utilized effectively to support an early improvement in the habitat and wildlife populations.

- (1) The opportunity costs of poaching and habitat destruction be increased by increasing availability of legitimate sources of employment for the Pardhis.
- (2) The perceived risk of detection of wildlife offences be increased. In addition serious penalty for dealers (in comparison to the local offenders or abettors) could raise the cost of offence and support legal extraction by Pardhis.
- (3) Low detection rates don't make any effect on the poacher/habitat destructor even if the penalties are high. This warrants strengthening of enforcement wing with simultaneously increased participation of local people like Pardhis.
- (4) Most effective way to increase detection rates is to achieve arrests of consumers or traders who fund the local level offenders though its success presumes low level of corruption and high level of political will. This will slow down the pace of habitat destruction and improve the chances betterment of resource-base for the Pardhis.

An Immediate Alternative :

Tackling of all the issues discussed above may need specialized inputs and that could require considerable funds, time, and an acceptance of the total philosophy of desirability of provision of an alternate system of survival to the Pardhis by the bureaucracy as well as political masters.

A relatively simpler mechanism is also suggested below which aims at utilizing the indigenous knowledge base and skills of Pardhis and could be started immediately as the first step towards emancipation of Pardhis:

In Protected Areas

- (1) As guides for visitors.
- (2) As trappers for
 - (a) Relocation/translocation.
 - (b) Treatment of wild life.
- (3) As fire watchers.
- (4) As assistants in
 - (a) Interpretation centers.

- (b) Medical treatment centers.
- (c) Wild animal handling/immobilization programmes
- (d) Rescue centers/orphanage centers / infirmeries
- (e) Conservation reserve/community reserve
- (5) As source of institutional knowledge /indigenous knowledge while preparing management plans.
- (6) As support to protection staff and as part of informers network.
- (7) As trainers in wild animal handling.
- (8) As staff for monitoring of simpleconservation indicators.

Outside Protected Areas

- (1) As fire watchers and guide
- (2) As protection staff and as part of informers network
- (3) As trappers for
 - (a) Relocation/translocation.
 - (b) Treatment of wild life.
 - (c) Reducing crop raid cases.
 - (d) Taking possession of illegally kept wild life by people.
- (4) As Assistants In
 - (a) Interpretation centers.
 - (b) Medical treatment centers.
 - (c) Wild animal handling/immobilization programmes.
 - (d) Rescue centers/orphanage centers/infirmeries.
 - (e) Zoological parks.
 - (f) Ex-situ conservation centres/ranching.
- (5) As source of institutional knowledge / indigenous knowledge in the preparation of working/ management plans.
- (6) As captive breeding unit owners.
- (7) As trainers in wild animal handling.
- (8) As staff for monitoring of simple conservation indicators.

The model of rehabilitation, in short, requires strong legal, administrative, and financial inputs and demands a paradigm shift in the approach towards development of this spatially scattered, occupationally differentiated, and culturally endangered group called Pardhis. The major shifts have to be towards participatory approach, informed partnership, and empowerment. The model is designed to first ensure improvement in the natural resource base related to

forests and wildlife, something which is essential for the survival of mankind itself.

General :

Although with the passage of time, Pardhis have got culturally as well as occupationally highly differentiated and are under distress for want of an appropriate role in the society, tackling the issues as detailed above with a holistic approach and projectized inputs and investments, it is felt, can suitably and appropriately establish them into a community structure that would be able to functionally integrate itself to the society and environment on a sustainable basis for their long term survival.

The suggested model of rehabilitation, needless to say, would result in utilization of skills and knowledge of the occupants of the 'niche' not just for the individual or specific group but also for the overall benefit of the whole ecosystem. The key concept, however, is to return the returns of the resources to the community.

GENDER ISSUES IN TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT AND EMPOWERMENT: A Focus on Women Displaced by Irrigation Projects of Southern Orissa

Dr. Latha Ravindran & Ms. Babita Mahapatra

In no country do men and women have equal social, economic, and legal rights. Women still possess less of a range of productive resources, including land, education, and financial resources (World Bank : 2000). There are gender gaps in connection with rights, access, and control of resources in economic opportunities as well as for power and political representation. Gender inequalities lead to higher levels of malnutrition, poverty, illness, and other deprivations, with an adverse impact on the quality of life, productivity of farms and enterprises, and governance. However, among the tribal communities, the gender inequalities are not that pronounced as compared to their counterparts in other communities. It is due to certain factors, such as greater economic independence and land rights enjoyed by women in an egalitarian tribal set-up; better recognition of role played by tribal women in the domestic economy; higher freedom of mobility due to their access to Common Property Resource (CPRs) like the forests; absence of social stigmas with regard to choice of their life- partners, decision on divorce or remarriage of widows, etc.

In spite of certain privileges that the tribal women enjoy in their traditional societies, they are also subjected to many forms of social and economic deprivations. Firstly, with the exception of a few matrilineal societies (such as the Garo and Khasi of Meghalaya in the north-east), tribal women do not inherit land. Even among the matrilineal societies, the land is in reality managed and controlled by men, who tend to have greater control over agricultural production and products. Secondly, in an indigenous society, women hardly have any formal participation in political decision-making. They are not members of village councils, and cannot become the chief. Thirdly, they have very limited role in religion as spirit mediums or healers. Fourthly, tribal women tend to have greater health risk due to lack of access to health care facilities, poor hygiene and sanitation facility.

Traditional tribal societies are being exposed to the vulnerability on account of rapid changes that have occurred in the economic development policies in India. For the tribal communities the process of becoming a part of the mainstream has meant a declining control on their resources and erosion of their cultural heritage. One of the major

issues that the tribal in India are facing is displacement due to various development projects initiated in the country. In India, every year, one million people are displaced due to developmental projects, most of whom are tribals (Sarangi and Billorey: 1988). It has been pointed out that a vast majority of those displaced belong to poor, deprived classes. It is a well known fact that the tribal constitute about seven percent of the population of the country; but nearly 40 percent of those displaced are tribals, mostly because of irrigation projects. (Government of India; 1990; Kothari, 1998).

I. Background of the Study

Although reliable estimates on the number of displaced and affected families in Orissa are not available, according to some estimates (I. Barney, *et al.* : 2001) a vast majority of the displaced in the state are due to irrigation and hydropower projects. A considerable proportion among those displaced is tribals. Displacement of the tribal due to large and medium irrigation projects is significant in the districts of Southern Orissa. Sporadic data are available for the composition of tribal population among those displaced by some of the irrigation projects of Southern Orissa. It is 43.76 percent in Upper Indravati Hydro-electric power project, 52 percent in Upper Kolab Hydro-electric power project (Patwardhan : 1999), 51.1 percent in Machkunda irrigation project and 79 percent in Balimela irrigation project (Kumar : 2005). Hence the irrigation projects of Southern Orissa have been chosen for the study. One irrigation project in each of the four districts namely, Rayagada, Malkangiri, Nawrangpur and Koraput districts, have been chosen. They are, Badanala Irrigation Project, Balimela Irrigation Project, Upper Indravati Hydro-electric Project and Upper Kolab Hydro-electric Project, respectively. Two resettlement sites/villages in each of the projects have been chosen at random for an in-depth study.

Though all the displaced people are adversely affected, problems faced by women are different from their male counterparts. Women of tribal community are even more vulnerable because of illiteracy among the other factors. The Census of India (Census, 2001) reports that the illiteracy among the tribal women in the districts chosen for the study is: 10.07 percent in Rayagada; 7.50 percent in Malkangiri; 11.12 percent in Nawarangpur; and 8.38 percent in Koraput. The scheduled tribes who constitute 22 per cent of the state's population, a vast majority of whom are illiterate and poor, are the most vulnerable, marginalised and poor social group (Mitra : 2006).

The main objective of the research study was to find out the impact that displacement of women has on their economic status, livelihood, access

to common property resources and the role of displaced women while making decisions on various aspects ranging from land acquisition to evacuation to resettlement and rehabilitation of their families. No amount of elaborate treatment on gender issues would be adequate to meet the requirement of learning and understanding the complexities involved in it, but the scope of this study is restricted to only certain salient elements of gender issues that emerge in R & R projects.

The study is based exclusively on the data and other information collected from the displaced women through Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), and individual interviews with 100 randomly chosen displaced women (25 from each of the projects) by using pre-tested schedules. However, this paper uses only the views, responses and discussions that emerged from the FGDs and those from the key informants of the concerned projects.

II. Findings of the Study

While development projects increase various risks of impoverishment, the impact is disproportionate and the adverse impacts are more in the case of certain vulnerable groups, such as the indigenous groups and women. This study analyses, how irrigation projects tend to enhance the vulnerability of the displaced women, majority of whom belonging to the indigenous groups. It was found that in the chosen villages, 72 percent of respondents belonged to different tribal communities and therefore the displaced women are more vulnerable on account of their gender as well as the indigenous communities to which they belong. Besides, 81 percent of them being illiterate, who cannot even in a position to affix their signatures, enhance their vulnerability. The presentation to a large extent is based on (i) the gender issues that emerged during the FGDs with the displaced women, and (ii) evidences from the literature available on gender issues in development induced displacement. The findings from the analysis of data collected from individual respondents have been restricted to only when they are very much required.

1. Lack of Ownership of Land and other Assets:

In the existing legal frame work, women enjoy no rights over use of forest lands or other natural resources. Ownership normally rests with their fathers, brothers or husbands (Erni & Shimreicon : 2001). With the exception of a few matrilineal societies (such as the Garo and Khasi of Meghalaya in the north-east), women do not inherit land. And even among the matrilineal societies, the land is in reality managed and controlled by men. Indigenous women's right to land is usually only a usufruct right. Yet, they have a distinct role in the agrarian economy with regard to participation in agricultural work and access to CPRs.

During resettlement also, land is rarely allotted to women thus reinforcing the patriarchal notion that women cannot own property (Thukral : 1996). While ownership of land and other property is usually denied to women, acquisition of agricultural lands, reduction in the size of family holdings, low production have increased the burden of women. They end up bearing the brunt due to food insecurity because women bear the sole responsibility of providing food to the family and taking care of the well being of the households.

(a) Loss of Agricultural Land: Agriculture was one of the major sources of livelihood for the villagers prior to their displacement. Several families had on an average about 10 acres of land that included those with legal titles as well as encroached ones. They were producing different type of cereals, millets, oil seeds, pulses, vegetables and getting adequate produces, which were enough to meet the consumption need of the family throughout the year. The surplus produces were sold to meet other requirements. Besides, they were exchanging one produce (barter system) against other. It has been found that agricultural lands have been acquired from as many as 83 percent of families covered in the study. Although all of them knew that their lands have been acquired, 36 out of 83 women (43.37 percent) could not mention anything about the area that was acquired. Among the 83 women whose families owned agricultural lands, except one woman, for all the remaining, the legal title for land was with the men.

(b) Significant Reduction in the Size of Family Holdings: The size of holding is much less in comparison to the pre-displacement period. For example, in Brundaguda, the maximum quantity of land in possession by any family was only 2.7 acres. In addition, wherever possible, several households have put in very hard labour to develop forest land into a cultivable one.

(c) Increase in Land Prices: As is well known, the moment a project is announced, it has an immediate and direct impact in inflating the land prices. The meager amount of compensation and rehabilitation assistance (if it is cash based), coupled with spiraling of land prices, have forced many families to buy much lesser quantum of land than what they possessed before their displacement. To cite an example, in Panasduka, which is one of the resettlement sites of Upper Indravati Hydro electric power project, the displaced women were narrating their plight. When their land was acquired, they received a maximum of Rs. 5,000 per acre of land as compensation, much of which was spent in unproductive ways. By the time they came to

resettle in this village, the price of land was more than four or five times higher than the compensation amount.

(d) Poor Quality of Land and Low Productivity: According to the displaced women their food insecurity has increased enormously due to not only reduced holdings but also due to poor quality of land and the resulting low output. As some women put it, “When the sons grew up and started their separate family, father’s land was divided between the father and all his sons. So, some families now have only one or two acres of land, which is not at all enough to meet the food need of all the families”. In a project like Balimela, where each displaced family was given five acres of land for their rehabilitation, people have lots of complaints about its quality, and most of them were uplands. The displaced persons have been forced to completely change their cropping pattern, as the land is not suitable to cultivate the type of cereals and millets they used to produce and consume prior to their displacement.

In some villages, people would like to sell away their lands because of the poor quality and low productivity, but for the same reasons, they are not able to sell. One displaced woman beautifully summed up how their food insecurity has increased after displacement, when she said, “Previously whatever we were producing was sufficient to meet the needs of our family for ten months in a year, but now our production cannot meet even two months of our food requirement. We have to depend more and more on market, but our income is insufficient to purchase to meet our needs.”

2. Reduction in Access to Forest and Other Common Property Resources:

Forest, which used to be part of their lives, to which their economic, social and cultural ways of life was linked, has become scarce and their access has been limited to a large extent. Although such a phenomenon affects displaced community of both the genders, women have been adversely affected more than men. Gathering forest products, which has been very much a female activity is crucial for women to maintain at least some degree of autonomy since they have control over these products, i.e., they sell them themselves (Erni & Shimreicon : 2001). Any loss of access to traditional sources of livelihood - land, forest, sea, river, pasture, cattle, and salt pan land marginalizes women in the labour force. It is only when land and other sources are replaced that women at least partially regain their economic status (Parasuraman : 1993). The women of Khandiaguda village were mentioning due to the absence of forest nearby, if they want to collect any forest produce,

they have to cover at least 15 km. by foot. In some other villages, where there is a forest nearby, items such as fire wood, leaves, fruits, etc., have become scarce. As forests are getting destroyed, they are unable to collect forest produce for consumption (forests are another main source of food in the form of roots, green leaves, herbs and medicines) or for income generation (through sale of minor forest produce such as honey, kendu leaves, sal leaves, bamboo, etc.). In addition, these women have to compete with the host community. Limited access to and scarcity of forest produce is one of the reasons for friction between the host villagers and the resettlers, particularly the women. The income that tribal and other rural women were earning, have drastically come down. This economic marginalization has led to social marginalization of women and degeneration of their status.

3. Degradation of Economic Status and Increase of Burden on Women: Whenever villages have been displaced, women have been forced out of their land based work and are being pushed into menial and marginalized forms of labour, which are often socially humiliating. Several women become a victim to becoming daily wage earners from working in lands owned by their families. This has been a feature that is common in all types of projects, be it irrigation, or mining or industrial projects. An empirical study carried out recently among a few major industrial projects in Orissa has shown (Ravindran : 2007) that the number of families owning agricultural land has declined by 59 percent and the total area owned by these families registered a decline by 65 percent after displacement. The study has also shown that the percentage of women cultivating their lands after displacement was only 28.57 percent, whereas 63.57 percent of them were working for daily wages, a trend which was exactly the opposite of their pre-displacement scenario. Moreover, women are prone to high risks of getting exploited due to lack of literacy, numeracy and other skills.

In this study, primary data collected from individual respondents reveal that after displacement:

- (i) The number of women engaged in cultivation of owned lands has declined by 37.84 percent.
- (ii) The number of women collecting minor forest produce has declined by 42.86 percent and correspondingly those who make leaf-plates (a forest based activity) has declined by over 47 percent.
- (iii) The number of women engaged in other activities, some of which are hazardous to their health, has almost doubled.

The displaced women try to make a living out of every possible opportunity that comes to them. Women of Balimela project for instance

work in the bamboo nursery developed by one of the paper mills situated in the area. They also cut bamboo, make bundles and load them on to the trucks. Many women complained of not getting their wages regularly from the contractors who tend to exploit them.

Displacement has changed the economic role of both men and women, the latter being the worst sufferers. The shift in role has increased the work load of women, as much time is being spent in covering long distance, waiting in the queue, be it for collecting fire wood or drinking water or waiting for the contractor, expecting that he would provide work and daily wage. According to them, they have to wait or work for hours together under the scorching sun with which they are not acquainted before. This has resulted in weakness, early aging and other ailments.

4. Information Denied to Women and Lack of Consultations with Them:

(a) Information Relating to Enumeration: Displaced women have no access to any information, rather, information are denied to them by both family and project authorities. Till the time when a displaced family is provided with rehabilitation assistance, the family had to pass through various stages, such as, enumeration, acquisition, evacuation, dislocation, resettlement and rehabilitation. In none of these stages, women's voice is heard. As Vasudha Dhagamwar mentions, "At the time of land acquisition officials do not invite women to the meetings. They are not taken into confidence by their own male relatives. They are not consulted with regard to compensation, alternate agricultural land, site of resettlement colony or even with regard to housing." (Dhagamwar : 2003). Since women do not possess any information and are not part of any negotiations taking place, they are deprived of making well- informed choices. Very often, they have no choices. Findings of this study exactly concur with the view of Dhagamwar. A vast majority of women have mentioned during the FGDs as well as during the household survey that they were never invited to attend the village meetings. Only very few women from Upper Indravati project said that they were asked to attend the meeting, as they were identified as a separate displaced family (on account of being the widow) as per the R&R policy of Orissa.

(b) Consultation During Shifting: Not a single woman interacted during the study was consulted for specific needs of women during shifting. In the entire process of shifting and resettlement, the role of women was almost invisible. During the FGDs, the women said that there is a feeling (among their own family, community and officials) that they

were not considered deserving enough to be consulted at the time of enumeration and evacuation. For example, in the FGD conducted at Brundaguda (Badanala project), women said, “We were aware that village meetings were conducted by the project officials, but it was only the male members who were invited to attend such meetings, and not women. We were excluded may be because the officials thought that we do not understand anything.” Many women felt neglected for not being contacted more so because they are the worst sufferers on account of the process of displacement.

(c) Consultation on Resettlement: The views of women across various projects confirm that across projects none of the women was consulted on any issue pertaining to their resettlement. Some illustrations, which sum up the entire issue:

- (i) Women were never a part of decision making – the experience of women of Kannaing (Balimela project): “The R & R unit set up this colony in the year 1972 in consultation with the villagers. For site selection for resettlement, the LAO had come to this site along with a few men belonging to our old village that included the village headman. When our village headman chose to settle down here other villagers also agreed to his decision. They selected this place, because there were more low lands in this site as compared to the other nearby sites. Moreover, there was sizable quantity of barren land which they thought that they could encroach and cultivate. None of us was consulted during the process of this decision making. We were never invited or informed or consulted during any of the process on shifting and relocation. It was only men who were invited to participate in different meetings. We were not aware of anything.”
- (ii) Even when women advised it was not listened – the experience of women of Rajolkonda (Balimela Project): “We shifted from our old village in the year 1972. The site was selected by the men only. The R & R officials took our men to different sites and finally they preferred to settle down in Rajolkonda, (also called the Resettlement Colony No. 16). We were never invited to be a part of that team for site selection. We did not like the place at all and many of us expressed our dissatisfaction for selection of such a place because it is surrounded all over by the hills and hence not at all suitable for practicing agriculture. If only they were consulted, we would never have chosen this place and we are yet to understand what motivated our men to select this place”. Women were able to recall their experiences even after 35 years have passed.

Because no one cared to know the specific needs of women, in resettlement villages even some of the basic amenities were found to be absent. For example, in the resettlement village of Panasduka (Upper Indravati project) the team found that both men and women were taking bath in the same place. Even the barest minimum requirement for any woman namely, privacy was lacking. It also indicates the lack or absence of sensitiveness in the R&R planning and activities. The women were asked, if only they were asked to reveal their preference for the items that they would look for in a resettlement site, the response was (in the descending order of their preference), (i) to stay along with relatives, (ii) availability of forest and other natural resources, (iii) access to better health care, (iv) better connectivity with road and transport, and (v) self employment opportunities for women.

5. No Say in the Utilization of Compensation and Rehabilitation Package:

- (i) Compensation usually gets paid to men, as legal title holders of land and other immovable properties without accompanying system or procedure to ensure the utilization in a productive manner. Several evidences are available that compensation amount gets spent in unproductive manner within a short period leaving behind the families impoverished. In a socio-economic survey conducted among the displaced families of Upper Indravati Project in Orissa, women had clearly expressed their view that if only they had been given the compensation money, they would have used it for more productive and other useful purposes. (Ravindran : 1994).
- (ii) Besides, a huge time lag between payment of compensation and shifting and resettlement also have contributed to mis-utilisation of funds, mostly on consumption of durable goods, liquor, gambling, etc. In the words of women of Kannaing resettlement colony, “we received the compensation amount more than two or three years before the evacuation. The entire amount was spent away in buying consumer durables for the family and in other social ceremonies.”
- (iii) Some women do not seem to think that such expenditure is a waste. According to them as long as it was spent on consumption of items that are essential for the family, children and for community, it cannot be a waste.
- (iv) In cases, when women have been paid compensation, they had no say in its utilization. In all such cases either their sons or other

men of their family took decision. The team came across a few cases, like the one in Brundaguda of Badanala project, where men got married to widows after the latter received compensation. However, it cannot be said that entire compensation was wasted. Many families have tried to at least a part of it to purchase productive assets. But nowhere women were party to decision making and in most cases they were not even consulted.

6. Increase of Social Evils and Domestic Violence Against Women:

Displacement could increase social evils and violence against women. As Renu Modi points out, "As a consequence of economic and psychological marginalization, studies on Kariba (situated between Zambia and Zimbabwe) and Sardar Sarovar Project reveal an increase of domestic violence. Women and children became scapegoats of men's frustration. Friction at home also increased due to a rise in alcoholism in both cases under study." Domestic violence in combination with a decline in the social support structure can be traumatic for women. Displacement also exposes the women to the risks of physical and sexual harassment, social evils like alcoholism, prostitution, gambling and domestic violence.

- (i) In the tribal community, gradually the system of bride price is giving way for dowry for the bride. The team came across a few cases of daughters being tortured for dowry and have come to their parents' place, adding to the latter's responsibility.
- (ii) The team came across during the study, three spinsters of above 30 years of age who could not be married off because of lack of resources to meet the dowry requirement. It is surprising to find such a trend in a tribal community.
- (iii) There were mixed responses on whether the consumption of liquor has increased displacement. In some villages, women mentioned that the liquor consumption has come down due to: (a) scarcity of *mahua* and *salab* trees; (b) men not having enough money to purchase liquor with reduced livelihood options and less income. Whereas in other villages, increased level of alcoholism were reported by the women. According to them, idleness, psychological stress of not being able to support the family was one of the factors. The team also witnessed domestic violence due to alcoholism in Rajolkonda resettlement village of Balimela project.
- (iv) The older women felt that due to scarcity of resources and employment opportunities the younger generation are frustrated

and giving vent to their anger on their parents on account of which quarrel between parents and children have become more frequent.

- (v) In the new urban and industrial setup, the women folk have gone through fast changes in their outlook during the recent years. Their relative economic and social independence, coupled with an urge for modernization has conditioned these changes. Education, changed dress pattern, acceptance of non-farm jobs, and use of cosmetics have been stated as important impacts on women (Reddy : 1993). Proximity to urban areas, lack of adequate employment opportunities and poverty have driven some women to prostitution. The study has come across a few cases, which are presented here. According to women of Chikapar, "The younger women are conscious about their look and personality and use different cosmetic items. They also feel happy about this change. While the family income has shrunk, the economic needs and consumerism have gone up, forcing few women into prostitution. In the last three years at least six girls from the area have become commercial sex workers in the nearby towns. This industrial and urban area with more truck operators and others, have created another income generating opportunity for these young women, thus exposing them to higher health hazards."

7. More Vulnerable to Frictions with Host Communities:

Friction between the re-settlers and host community has been reported in many studies. A study on the impact of displacement in Orissa reveals that NALCO has provided housing without toilet facilities to the displaced persons. Thus, they were forced to use a plot that the neighbouring village had set aside for pasture. Quarrels were frequent and they were mainly between women (Fernandes and Raj : 1992). Dissimilar social groups, unfamiliarity to one another, enhanced competition for CPRs and a sense of jealousy that the host community have towards the re-settlers (particularly when the latter get better amenities) are oft quoted reasons. Women could bear most of the brunt due to hostility shown by the host communities in the area of relocation, say, when they go to fetch water from a common well. Besides, restricted mobility and exposure could make women's ability to adjust to new surroundings even more difficult.

The displaced tribal women in a few villages said that they were humiliated often by their counterparts in the host villages, as the former were referred as barbarians and dangerous people. Quarrels have erupted between the women of both communities for various reasons.

Data in this study reveals that on most occasions, frictions arise due to: (a) competition for natural resources (collection of fuel wood, collection of forest produces, and while using river or pond), (b) use of social infrastructure (tube well, burial ground), (c) caste differences, and (iv) competition in getting daily wage employment.

8. Disruption of Social Cohesion and of Cultural Life:

In many projects, particularly those which involve large scale displacements, due to non-availability of contiguous plots of land for all families to resettle, social structure and kinship get dismantled. This social disruption can have several ramifications, some of which this study have come across. That the women are socially, emotionally and culturally the worst affected, is one notable feature that is common among all of them. As they say, "Displacement has brought many changes in our custom, traditions and ritual practices. Many festivals, which we used to celebrate with pride and harmony such as *Rani Parab*, *Mandia parab* and *Chaiti parab* are no more being observed. All these festivals were linked to our traditional occupation, i.e., cultivation, which we have lost. We have become poorer."

- (i) In all the projects studied, the number as well as the duration of such festivals has reduced significantly. The use of traditional music, instruments and dance forms are being gradually replaced by loud speakers and bands. Women said that by this way, even the few means of entertainment (in celebrating and dancing) that they have are curtailed.
- (ii) In Brundaguda (Badanala project) and Chikapar (Upper Kolab project), many families have converted to Christianity. During the initial stages after displacement, due to loss of religious shrines, sacred trees and deities, they could not observe any festivals. This disturbed them emotionally and with displacement and its impact adding to the stress, they started seeking solace in other faiths. They have also learnt from the missionaries that while their traditional festivals would cost them more money for feast, etc., a prayer to the Lord every Sunday does not involve any cost.
- (iii) The social security mechanism has been dismantled. One tribal woman has put it beautifully, which is worth quoting. "Traditionally the villages have their own social security mechanism. The community used to jointly contribute and serve the old and the diseased. Inter-family cooperation was very strong. But the social fabric of the village has become loose. None of us have any surplus income to take care of others. Every family should struggle for its own survival."

9. Reduction in Health and Nutritional Status:

Tribal women tend to have greater health risk due to lack of access to health care facilities, poor hygiene and sanitation facility. The incidence of anemia amongst tribal women is significantly higher than that for other social groups. In Orissa around 37 per cent of tribal women did not have any antenatal check-up (NFHS – 2, 1998-99). 74.7 percent tribal women were found anemic. Unequal distribution of food in the family with definite discrimination against girl child has been observed in India but this discrimination is more in poorer society and tribes (Gupta and Monica : 1987). Nagda (1988) reveals that factors like traditional religious systems, value of children, polygamy, bride price and poor literacy pave the way for high fertility among the tribes.

- (i) Due to displacement, the nutritional deficiencies become more pronounced among women. As pointed out by Walter Fernandes, while displaced women lose both economic and social status, they are expected to continue to play the role of being care takers of the family without the base required for it (Fernandes & Raj : 1992). Marginalization of women is greater after displacement because the land and forests they lose were the sources of their nutrition (Fernandes : 1996). Male out migration, longer hours of work, malnutrition and ill-health take a toll on women who are already overworked and poorly fed (Menon : 1992). As a result, their nutritional and health status suffer. Also, the health of children is severely affected because of the absence of health care facilities post displacement. Women not only suffered in terms of health and nutrition, they also lost the capacity to provide a secure future for their children. By resorting to seasonal migration they have unwittingly denied their children access to school, health care, child welfare, and other welfare services (Parasuraman : 1999). In some of the resettled villages of the Sardar Sarovar Project the per capita intake of calorie has shown a fairly significant drop. This is due to the low yields and poor employment opportunities in the resettlement area (Thukral : 1996). Low crop yields and poor employment opportunities outside agriculture has led to a decline in the calorie intake, mainly of the girl child. Children who depend on forest produce for their nutrition are deprived of it after displacement. This results in increased mortality and morbidity among children of displaced families, particularly in tribal communities. This has an immediate negative impact on the psychology of the mothers. According to a study at Subarnarekha Multipurpose Project in West Singhbhum district in Jharkhand,

there are increased morbidity and mortality of women in the settlement colonies (Ekka : 1997).

- (ii) The type of dress that women wear also determines their health status. With reduction in income level they are not able to afford to buy cotton saris and instead have switched over to synthetic saris made of polyester filament yarn, because they are much cheaper. While women have to do hard labour in hot and humid weather, they perspire a lot, which polyester material does not absorb. Dehydration and skin diseases are very common among such women.
- (iii) Displacement has led to migration of men to other places, which has resulted in health hazards. But one note-worthy feature being the good contribution of the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) by the state government reaching several villages, including the ones covered in the study. The women are very satisfied with the immunization, care of pregnant mothers, generation of awareness on certain diseases like malaria, etc. But it has a long way to go.

10. Gender Bias in Land Acquisition Act:

The key element of a just development policy is to make provision for women to have access to productive resources and to own and manage property. The main law that grants permission for land acquisition, Land Acquisition Act of 1894 reveals a gender bias. Section 42(2) of this act specifies that if the 'person interested' is not available to receive the notice for acquisition, then it may be handed over to, or served on, any other adult male member of the family who resides with her/him. If no 'adult male' is present, then the notice may be served by affixing a copy of the notice on the outer door of the house, or in some conspicuous place in the office of the collector or court house, etc. As Thukral narrates, "To put it plainly, if the notice is served on a woman, it is not legal. The Act does not mention what is to be done if the 'person interested' is a woman, or one of the 'person interested' is a woman, in case of joint ownership." (Thukral : 1995)

This study has gathered varied experiences that the displaced women had faced during enumeration, serving of 4(1) notification, village meetings prior to their displacement and so on. It was obvious both during the individual interview and during the FGDs that majority of the displaced women were aware of enumeration that took place in their original villages; although no one had contacted them personally. Data on household schedules reveal that as many as 73 percent were aware. Many

of them (55 percent) were also aware that general notice was served, although not on them. But there were variations across projects. It was noticed that the awareness was better in the case of Upper Indravati and Upper Kolab projects and not in the remaining two projects covered, more so in Badanala project, where none of the women was able to mention anything about enumeration or the notification. According to them they are ignorant of these issues as no one ever discussed any of these issues with them either before or after their displacement.

There are ample evidences that are available on how millions of people are getting marginalized due to development induced displacement. Over the past two decades, there have been a large number research studies, conferences and debates both at the national and international levels and unending documentation and publications on the far-reaching consequences of involuntary displacement induced by the development projects. But those dealing with the gender issues are too few and far between. That there is very little empirical data available on the issue of development induced displacement is widely recognized. (Pandey and Rout : 2004). The issue of displacement also has a gender dimension, as women are the worst victims, more so the tribal women. Due to displacement, most of them experience greater pauperization and they get confined to the margins of the labour market. The gender bias, in one form or the other, has been a constant feature of most development planning.

The resettlement and rehabilitation policies also are generally gender-blind. However, states like Orissa have provisions in the R&R policy in recognising widows and unmarried women over 30 years of age to be separate units for rehabilitation (Govt. of Orissa : 2006). But such piecemeal sops are grossly inadequate in order to bring about a gender justice in the whole policy frame-work and its execution. However, it is expected that gender issues become part and parcel of any aspect that concerns with any development initiative, more so in R&R projects. Because neglecting an important constituent of any project would lead to far reaching consequences upsetting not only the affected families, but the entire community and the nation at large.

11. Gender Bias in R & R Policies:

The resettlement and rehabilitation policies are generally gender-blind. However, the state of Orissa has provisions in its R&R policy that recognizes widows and unmarried women over 30 years of age to be separate units for rehabilitation (Govt. of Orissa : 2006). But such piecemeal sops are grossly inadequate in order to bring about gender justice in the whole policy framework and in its execution. Displacement due

to projects, deny women the right to receive compensation and rehabilitation benefits, as such rights are conferred only to legal heads of households, who are usually men. However, it is expected that gender issues become part and parcel of any aspect that concerns with any development initiative, more so in R & R projects.

12. Insensitive R & R Planning and Programmes:

Many R&R projects are planned with a nuclear family in mind with a male member as the head of the household, ignoring completely the existing customary practices which have given women rights as producers. Women, who are not owning land, but using CPRs as a source of livelihood, do not get compensated when the CPRs are acquired for a project. Women are not given any choice while deciding rehabilitation options. Rehabilitation has never addressed the need for women's livelihoods and land rights as it is only the family as a unit and the men in the family who are considered to be compensated for their loss of lands. Rehabilitation programmes taken up so far, have been entirely insensitive to gender concerns whether in providing land, housing jobs or cash. Resettlement colonies usually do not provide more space for women's needs for privacy, toilets, washing and other domestic requirements, health, recreational or educational facilities. Neither can these women take up any economic activities on their own as forests are too far away from their colonies, and do not have any space for livestock rearing or storage of forest produce. R&R activities in many projects have not been implemented with respect for social relationships, cultural beliefs and commit gender injustice.

The approach towards rehabilitation adopted by either government or by industries has always been one of performing a favour or magnanimous gesture than being the duty or responsibility. Rehabilitation is the right of the affected persons, which includes women of affected families. Gender concerns and needs have never been an issue in many R&R projects. The displaced women had several experiences to share indicating the insensitivity of R&R programmes.

- (i) Those who were not willing to shift from old villages and hence delaying their departure had to vacate their houses, either on their own or forced by the district administration during monsoon season when the rain water filled the reservoirs.
- (ii) While people had to leave their old villages, the resettlement colonies were not ready for occupation and the displaced had to fend for themselves by erecting temporary sheds. Those who resettled on their own also had to put up temporary sheds and

while staying there had to construct their houses. Women had to bear the additional burden of assisting men in house construction in addition to domestic chores and adjusting to the new environs in the transit accommodation. Since the shifting was done during the rainy season, while the new houses were built, the mud walls used to collapse due to incessant rains, which added to their problems.

- (iii) None of the project officials came to help them during the transit, except providing transport. According to the women, "After we were dropped here, we were left to the mercy of Gods."
- (iv) As per the R&R guidelines of Government of Orissa, while shifting the displaced should be given transportation, food and medical aid. While in many cases, transport was provided, but medical help while transit was not available to them in any project. Food was sometimes given, but those who got it; the maximum given was flattened rice and jaggery. Women had to face hardship for managing food for their children.
- (v) Several promises were made, according to the women. They were promised good houses, land with irrigation facilities, and various infrastructural facilities. But the facilities arrived much later than they occupied the colonies. Women of Camp No 4 resettlement colony of Upper Kolab narrated their bad experiences and said, 'the R&R authorities behaved as though the responsibility of the R&R unit was almost over once the DPs and their families were dropped in the temporary sheds. Our misfortune had taught us to struggle even for our basic existence...for food, shelter, livelihood, and identity.'
- (vi) The plight of older women is much worse. With no physical ability to earn a living, children themselves struggling to make both ends meet, the older women have to depend on the old age pension, for which they are eligible. But most, it was found, do not receive their pension.

Displacement is firstly an emotional issue since it uproots the people from their own soil and environment. Separation from kin, loss of assets, production, income, uncertain future, anxiety of how to cope up with the new locale and environment, all have an emotional impact. Lack of sensitivity by the project officials when it is needed the most adds to the severity of the problem. The study has found a peculiar way in which the tribal women cope up with their emotions. As the women staying in Camp No. 4 of Upper Kolab resettlement colony mentioned, "We were

in such a deep sorrow and psychological stress that we had to surrender ourselves to the mercy of the officers and leave our home and village. Whenever we are in profound grief, such as when our parents or children die, we scratch our faces and cry. When we left our village this is what we did in grief.”

III. Conclusion

Projects which are being initiated to bring about development of the people also have the negative externality of exposing the affected communities to the risks of impoverishments. Millions of people are getting poorer and marginalised due to these projects and women are more negatively impacted than men. One of the reasons for this is the exclusion of gender dimensions and failure to take care of gender concerns and inequalities in policies, planning and implementation of R&R projects.

Several studies have been conducted to prove how women are being adversely affected due to displacement and improper planning and implementation of R&R projects. In most of these studies, the authors have tried to collate their observations in the field, analysed and presented them. But in this study, the authors have tried to facilitate the displaced women themselves to analyse various issues that affect them. What is presented here is an analysis of the displaced women themselves. They have shared with the authors all their problems many of which concern lives of their own and those of their families. In addition to explaining their problems, they have come out with some suggestions to mitigate the problems. The authors feel that through this presentation the displaced women educate the policy makers and project authorities to formulate and implement R&R activities that can bring about the necessary changes in the lives of the displaced, particularly the women.

We consider it to be appropriate to conclude the article with suggestions from the displaced women:

- “We should be included in the entire process, i.e., from enumeration to resettlement.”
- “Rehabilitation should be land based. The land to be given in the name of women or should be a joint holding. If the land is not of good quality, additional assistance should be provided for land reclamation.”
- “Besides the widows, all single women should be treated as separate family to receive the compensation and rehabilitation packages.”
- “Our privacy must be taken into account in the resettlement site”.

- “Equal employment opportunities to be created for both men and women.”
- “We should not be resettled in an entirely new and alien set-up. More emphasis should be laid to relocate them in places which bear resemblance to their original village - having land, water and forest resources. In the name of mainstreaming they must not be thrown into an urban and modern world, by which they lose their cultural identity and increase insecurity.”
- “Special development programs and interventions to be launched for women and child development.”
- “Health care and better sanitation to be provided at the resettlement sites.”
- “Special measures to be taken for care and support of old age and disabled people.”

One of the displaced women, who participated in an FGD said: “If any of the suggestions mentioned above are not possible, please do not displace anyone.”

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PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES OF TRIBALS IN ORISSA

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Orissa occupies an important place in India map in respect of concentration of tribal population in the State. Out of 573 tribes (www.indianchild.com) living in India, there are 62 scheduled tribes living in Orissa, and they constitute 22.21 percent of total population of the state. Out of 62 tribes, 13 tribal groups are classified as Primitive Tribal Groups, according to their primitive way of sustaining livelihood. The tribal living mostly in hilly terrains and forest and having autonomy in every sphere of their social life, remained by and large untouched by modern developments till their territories are opened up for strategic reasons like exploitation of forest and mineral resources. The ST population of the country as a whole have made some progress judged in term of different indicators like Infant Mortality Rate(IMR), literacy rate, poverty rate, lack of access to health care etc. during the last decade(1990-2000). While IMR has declined from 9.10 to 8.40, literacy rate has improved from 27.54 to 47.10 among the tribal. Similarly, lack of access to health care has declined from 76.55 to 53.55 and poverty rate from 48.45 to 44.80 during the period. In case of Orissa, though the improvement is less visible and percentage of tribal people below poverty line has actually increased during the period, there has been positive growth in the front of literacy rate and it has improved from a level of 22.30 in 1991 to 37.40 in 2001 (Kachhap : 2008). This has been possible due to efforts and partnering of Government, private and civil society organizations, it is often claimed.

The socio-economic situation of the tribal in Orissa has remained a grim area of concern and they have to fight vehemently for their daily survival and livelihood. Notwithstanding their toil and hardship for subsistence, they live in abject poverty and often what they produce or gather from forest are whisked away by traders and middlemen. Further, the Development Projects carried out indiscriminately in tribal area have now depleted the forest cover making forest produces scarce day by day. The benefits accruing from development projects can't be said to

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be substantial for their livelihood support. Alternative livelihood strategies for improving their economic condition are yet to be popularized.

In the traditional division of labour in the tribal community the relationship of women with forest was closer than that of men (Samal : 2002). The Tribal women are considered to have a relatively higher status than their higher caste counterparts and they owe this higher status to abundance of resources remaining as common property resources (Pathy : 1988). Much of this has changed during the decades of planned development. Modernization tends to be more and more individual land ownership oriented and as a result destructive of woman's status (Fernadas & Barbora : 2002). The tribal women who traditionally enjoyed a special status in tribal community because of their role in collection of NTFP, food and fuel for the household requirement, is seriously affected by deforestation. Under the impact of globalization, the cash requirement of the tribal has multiplied but livelihood options don't seem to have increased to keep pace with increased cash requirement across the tribal region of Orissa. These have led to social discontent promoting ground for extremist activities.

Objectives

Against this backdrop, it is important to understand whether the livelihood and daily survival strategies of the tribal households in Orissa have changed over the years and whether tribal women have benefited from the process, whether food security position of the tribal has improved and how effectively the change agents have played their role in addressing the challenges faced by the poor tribals.

Methods

Agriculture is by and large the mainstay of the tribal economy of Orissa and both men and women take resort to agriculture for sustenance. Besides agriculture, forest has been traditionally an important source of sustenance for the tribal. Across the tribal region of the state however, the opportunities open are different. Accordingly, in undertaking the study which has been sponsored by U.G.C. it was decided to cover the tribal living in the northern and southern region of the state. In the first stage, four districts two from southern tribal region and two from northern tribal region were selected. Sundergarh and Mayubhanj from Northern region and Kandhamal and Malkangiri from southern region have been selected.

In the second stage, two blocks and two tribes are selected from each district in a way so that the tribal depending on forest exclusively for livelihood and those depending on it partially with other avenues of

income are covered under the study. Thus Kutra and Lahunipada blocks from Sundergarh district and Udala & Joshipur from Mayurbhanja district are selected to cover Oraon and Paudi Bhuyan tribes from Sundergarh and Santal and Hill Kharia tribes from Mayurbhanja district. Similarly, from the Southern region Kandhamal and Malkangiri districts are proposed to be covered. Tumudibandh block and Baliguda block from Kandhamal district will represent *Kutiakondh* tribes and *Desia Kondh* tribes respectively while Khairiput block and Padia block from Malkangiri district will represent *Bonda* and *Koya* tribes respectively. In the third stage, four villages from each block are selected based on the criteria of size of village, degree of development of road communication and distance to the town market. The study would be conducted in two distinct stages, the first stage is exploratory in nature and the second stage will be descriptive in character.

The present article, a part of the main study, relates to the first stage of the study and is based on primary data exploration through focus group discussion carried out in four sample blocks Kutra & Lahunipara from Sundergarh districts and Udala and Joshipur from Mayurbhanj district, during February 2008 to May 2008 through unstructured FGD schedule. While dealing with the livelihood strategies of tribals and women's role there in, key stakeholders' opinion has also been taken into account in generalizing the findings across the study area.

Organization:

The present paper has been organized under six sections. The first section is devoted to background, rationale objectives, methodologies and organization of the study. The occupational structure, role of men and women in farm and non-farm based activities and the degree of involvement of men and women in the past and present scenario have been dealt with extensively in the second section. The food security situation and coping mechanism adopted by tribal households in the past and present scenario have been discussed in the third section. The fourth section deals with change agents and the role of various agencies in bringing qualitative changes in the livelihood strategies of tribals. The challenges faced by tribals in promotion of livelihood options as well as challenges faced by authorities are discussed in fifth section and the sixth section concludes the study.

II

Occupational Structure

Forests traditionally were the main source of sustenance for the tribal; and besides the forest resources; it provides space for cultivation to the tribal.

Settled farming was rather rare. Because of gradual deforestation, strict implementation of forest protection measures and increase in population, forests have ceased to provide the tribal with sufficient earning and agriculture is now considered as the major source of livelihood for them. Most of the tribal in the study area have patta in their name and have resorted to settled farming. Even though agriculture till today is mainly rain fed, in some areas irrigation channels have been made, ponds are constructed which is helping in use of HYV seeds, applications of fertilizer, pesticide, etc, and these have brought improvement in productivity of land. But such cases are rather rare. Most of the tribal have less than two acres of land which doesn't provide them with food round the year and for those who are landless the situation is still worse. It is observed that the land at their disposal hardly keeps them engaged for five months in a year and they take recourse to other livelihood options like working as labourers in the field of relatively big land owners as wage labour, in construction sector, and in few cases as labourers in mines.

The women in the tribal household are found to contribute equally or even marginally more to agriculture. They also work as wage labour but mostly inside the village which commands very low wages. In very few cases, they go beyond the village for daily wage labour which fetches a higher earning. The young girls in the family especially in Sundergarh district are observed to have migrated to mines for jobs in a few cases and this has been possible through social network. They come to the family at weekend in very few cases but mostly at long intervals of a month or two. An important feature observed during FGD was, the parents especially the women are not aware of the exact earning of their children working outside nor do they depend on it for their sustenance. The tribal women unlike their urban counterparts in general community works in the agricultural field during their free time irrespective of their level of education and engagement in other jobs.

With increase in the distance to the forest from the place of dwelling, forest as a source of livelihood has declined in importance and men folk in most of the study area have stopped going to forest except for collection of firewood occasionally. Deforestation, restriction on entry into core forest, increase in number of population are factors responsible for lesser availability of MFPs. They find better source of earning by working in construction sector, mines, etc. The women however continue to go to forest for collection of fruits, flower, seeds, leaves, roots, firewood, honey, jhuna, etc, inspite of the fact that per head collection is now much less than what it was 15/20 years back. Forests thus continue to be an important source of livelihood for tibals, and this source is exclusively

utilized by women. In case of new settlement of the tribal away from forest as in case of Kulposh Colony of Sundergarh District, women have been compelled to go for alternative sources of livelihood because forest is inaccessible from their colony. But even in this colony, it was observed that women go to forest occasionally (4/5 days in a month) covering a distance of 15/20 km to collect firewood. In general it can be said that in tribal household, dependency on forest has declined substantially compared to the previous situation.

Liquor preparation and sale was traditionally a job of women in every tribal household. Even though liquor consumption has decreased to some extent in tribal community through NGO intervention and SHG movements, still it continues to be a daily item of consumption in many families. In families where wage labour is an important source of income, a change in consumption of liquor from country made to foreign liquor is also observed. However, role of women in preparation of liquor still continues though in lesser degree.



Woman preparing *Handia* in Tentula village of Udala Block in Mayurbhanj

Wage labor options have increased in tribal area and it has taken the place of main source of livelihood in some tribal families, especially among the landless.

Agriculture extension programmes, NGO activities carried out in tribal area have brought some awareness among the people but the age old beliefs continue to prevail and there are some agricultural operations like sowing seeds which are prohibited for women. The FGD revealed that there is a strong belief that if women are engaged in such activity, draught and famine will be experienced. Women's involvement is found to be comparatively more in agricultural operations like seedling, weeding, harvesting and crop marketing. While men folk mostly confine to ploughing and sowing seeds.

Box 1: Division of activities by gender in selected tribal areas of Orissa

Male	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Cultivation (ploughing, leveling of fields sowing, fertilizer application etc.) ◆ Agricultural labour ◆ Construction work ◆ Wood cutting and selling ◆ Mining work ◆ Stone quarrying ◆ Government and Private Jobs ◆ Small business
Female	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Cultivation (Seedling, weeding, harvesting etc.) ◆ Agricultural labour ◆ Construction work ◆ Animal rearing (poultry, piggery, goaterry etc.) ◆ MFPs collection (firewood, Mahul, Tola, Char seeds, leaves, roots, fruits, etc.) ◆ <i>Khali</i> stitching, roap making etc. ◆ Tailoring and small business ◆ MFPs processing and marketing ◆ Liquor preparation and selling

Source: Primary field exploration survey, February-May 2008.

More livelihood options, now available in construction sector has no doubt brought some improvement in the economic condition of the tribal in general, but in the process, women's work burden seems to have increased. For them, the day starts at 5 am and ends at 10 pm. Besides their involvement in agriculture, MFP collection, wage labor and household activities, a few of them have taken up vegetable vending,



Oraon women vending vegetables in a local market in Kutra Block of Sundergarh district

domestic animal rearing, country liquor preparation and selling as a source of livelihood. With gradual decline in grazing area in the surrounding on the one hand and non-use of milk by the tribal as food on the other hand, more importance is now



attached to goater, piggery, poultry, etc as a source of livelihood and responsibility of rearing these domestic animals remains mostly with women. Moreover, with entry of SHG movement to interiors most of the tribal women are observed to be members of SHGs and this has provided new avenues of livelihood for them like *Lac* cultivation, Bee keeping, Rice trading and extension of their traditional activities like *khali* stitching, rope making, bamboo work, etc. In the weekly market of the area, women's involvement is observed to be more pronounced than that of men.

On the whole the participation of women in the livelihood strategies of tribal is observed to be relatively higher. In money term, however contribution of women to family income is not always high because



increased wage labour now available in tribal area provide work opportunities at higher wage rates and it is mainly the men folk who avail this opportunity. The tribal women prefer to work within the village which fetches very low wages.

Santal women stitching *Khalis* in Tentula village of Udala Block of Mayurbhanj District.

III

Food Security

Food security of a family is not simply related to quantity of food availability but also to the nutritional value of the food. It is true that the nutritional outcome such as height, weight, anemia are determined not only by quantity of food available but by a number of factors not connected to income and employment like size of the household, gender of the household head, mothers' age at marriage, hygiene and sanitation facilities, etc. Remunerative employment opportunities for women are nevertheless believed to lead towards better household nutrition. In fact, female labour market participation is often used as a proxy for household nutrition (Dreze : 1980).

With exposure to more livelihood options, a change in the consumption pattern of the tribal is observed. Previously forest produces like flower, fruits, leaves, roots, seeds collected from forest constituted a major part of food of the tribal. Women used to process the forest resources and preserve it for future requirements. Rice was not a daily item of consumption in the tribal household. Women's role in providing food security to the family was pivotal in as much as they spent a major part of their time in collection and processing of MFPs, sale of MFPs for meeting the other requirements of family, preserving them for future. Despite all efforts, food security was not ensured through out the year, and sometimes they had to sell their domestic animals and other assets to save the family from starvation.

Present scenario of food security in the tribal area is much better and this has been possible because of a number of factors. The agricultural production has improved to some extent through better irrigational facilities now available in some areas, use of improved seeds and manures and settled farming in the place of shifting cultivation/*podu chasa* has also contributed to increased agricultural production. The extent of exploitation by middlemen and traders in sale of MFPs has also decreased and in many cases the women are observed to be selling their products in the daily market instead of selling to traders at source. Wage labour in construction sector and mines, employment under NREGS has also improved their buying capacity and food insecurity is almost replaced by inclusion of pulses, vegetables in their daily menu. The most important factor that has given protection to tribal families against food insecurity is however observed to be the provisions of BPL rice. While 35 kg per month are available to households below

poverty line in some areas, 25 kgs of BPL rice are reportedly available per family in some other areas. Some of the villages have the system of *Grain Gola* created through grain contributed by each family which is used by the villagers in time of need on loan basis. This has also helped in meeting food insecurity of family to some extent. Even to-day flowers, roots, seeds collected from forest occupy a place in the list of consumables by the tribal but this is mostly by choice than compulsion.

An important feature observed in the study area is that there are families which are not covered in the BPL list despite their eligibility for the same due to administrative lapses. Such families experience the pinch of food shortage at different times during the year. But cases of starvation and it ultimately leading to death are not observed in the villages visited either in Sundergarh or Mayurbhanj district. Rather the women of the families in distress mentioned that they cope with the situation through community support. The bondage within the tribal community is observed to be strong enough to enable the tribals in distress to cope with the situation.

IV

Change Agents

That some changes have occurred among the tribal in Orissa can't be denied; while women folk in general were vocal about better transport, education, medical facilities now available in the area and their children benefiting in the process, the male members were observed to be more cynic about the provisions. Whatever little change has taken place in the tribal economy could be attributed to the effort of Government organization, Non-Government organization, even individual efforts in few cases.

ITDAs are functioning in the blocks visited by us but while in some areas they are very active and people attribute improvement in agricultural productivity, marketing of goods etc to the efforts of ITDA, in some remote areas people especially the women are not aware of any step undertaken by Government agencies. In general, agriculture extension programme, provision of better seeds, fertilizers at reasonable price, provision of irrigational facilities in selected areas have brought some improvement in agricultural productivity in tribal belt. The TRIFED has been rendering training facilities in non farm based activities like bee keeping, *Lac* cultivation in some tribal villages, and helping in marketing of their products.

Micro Projects are being implemented for bringing a change in livelihood pattern of Primitive Tribal Groups in different areas. While Micro Projects

like PBDA in Lahunipara Block of Sundergarh district has brought visible change in the life of Paudi Bhuyans, such change is not observed in Hill Kharia Primitive Tribal Community through MKDA in Joshipur Block of Mayurbhanj district. Houses and land have been provided to Paudi Bhuyan in Kulposh Colony of Lahunipara Block by PBDA and after demonstration farming for two years land allotted to different family have been handed over to them for individual cultivation. Though male members complain about inadequacy of Government help, and some families have even shifted back to their original dwellings in the forest because they could not adjust with the new situation, women admit of being better off after their rehabilitation in this colony with better access to education and health care for their children. The Hill Kharias settled in a new place by HKMDA have however not experienced any change for better. Forest continues to be their first source of livelihood in the absence of any land allotted to them for cultivation. FGD revealed that displacing them from their original dwellings and settling them in the new place has not brought any positive good to the community. They are constrained in accessing forest resources because of restrictions imposed by forest guards without any compensatory source of livelihood provided by HKMDA. Moreover, *Santal* communities living in the nearby areas are observed to be dominating this PTG in pursuing their livelihood options. It was revealed during FGD that though Hill Kharias are provided with Job cards under NREGS, the local agents in-charge of NREGS who are mostly *Majhis*(Santals) are discriminating against Hill Kharias and hardly they get any job through the card. Thus observation about operation of Micro Projects in Sundergarh and Mayurbhanj suggests that it is a half success story.

The NGOs working at grass-root level for uplift of the tribal try to do so by improving the capabilities of the tribal and for that they organize various training programmes for capacity building. One such NGO is ANGANA which is working in Kutra Block of Sundergarh district imparting training in *Lac* cultivation, Bee-keeping besides providing seeds, fertilizers, etc. at subsidized rate to tribals. ANGANA has become a household name in ORAON tribal community of Sundergarh district. Besides, the leading NGO of the state CYSD has its project PRAYAS and another NGO YOUTH are found to be operating in Kutra Block visited by us, extending various training facilities to the tribal for their capacity building, providing seeds, saplings, fertilizers on loan basis and promoting vegetable cultivation. PRAYAS has promoted Grain *Gola* in different villages which has been an important means of ensuring food security.

Similarly, in Udala Block of Mayurbhanj district STARR is a familiar name among the tribals. The NGO is implementing various income generating

programmes of Government and imparts training in non-farm activities like soap making, *sabai* grass roap making, tailoring, *chandua*, bamboo work, *papad*, pickles, etc. and also farm based activities like mushroom cultivation. Another NGO, 'SAMBADH' is found to be active in Udala block, mainly promoting medicinal plant cultivation among the tribals in collaboration with STARR. Ashram schools are used as means for creating awareness among the tribal children about how medicinal plant cultivation can be an important source of livelihood. The NGOs are observed to be not very active in areas where Micro Projects like PBDA & HKMDA are working for PTGs.

The most important change agents for tribal women however are the SHGs. Through the efforts of Government and NGOs SHG movement, have extended into the interior areas in the tribal region and aroused some enthusiasm among the poor tribal women. The group activity has provided additional source of livelihood for them through *Lac* cultivation, bee-keeping, mushroom cultivation, tailoring, goatery, poultry, etc. Even though it can't be said that SHGs have brought a significant change in the economic condition of the tribal, it has definitely created an urge and interest among the tribal women to explore new livelihood opportunities through use of skill. Linkage of SHGs with banks has been achieved in a number of cases and external loans are availed by the women mostly for agricultural and animal husbandry purposes. Some micro-finance organization like AWARENESS have started their activity in Udala block of Mayurbhanj district, extending micro-credit to poor tribal women.

The infrastructure development in tribal areas through PMGSY, NREGS has also been an important medium of change. With improvement in road communication the tribals are in a position to get better price for their products. Exploitation by middlemen has reduced to some



Santal women are in SHG meeting in Hatimunda village of Udala Block in Mayurbhanj district.

extent. Social network has improved and boys and girls of tribal community especially living in roadside villages are able to access better livelihood opportunities in distant places.

V

Challenges Faced

The challenges faced by the tribal and development agencies are varied and many.

Whatever improvements in agricultural productivity had been achieved, are mostly confined to road side villages. Application of HYV seeds, fertilizers, pesticides suffers in the absence of irrigation facilities and such facilities are scanty in tribal region. The Tribal in most part of the area covered were found to be not well conversant with application of improved methods of cultivation and fear of loss on account of disproportionate use of fertilizer, pesticides, etc. has forced them to stick to the traditional method of cultivation. Water harvesting methods adopted in some area through NGO efforts have succeeded in a few cases. Extension of irrigation facilities, imparting training to tribal men and women in a way to familiarize them with new methods and create confidence in them about its use so that they overcome the dependency on government for every small thing continues to remain a big challenge before the development agencies.

Deforestation, increased restriction on entry to forest has increased the time spent by women in collection of MFPs on the one hand and reduction of income from MFPs on the other hand due to less collection per head. This has posed a great challenge for the tribal.

Value addition to MFP is very low and adoption of proper technology for value addition is yet to be popularized. Even simple technology for *khali* stitching is observed to have not been successful in some tribal areas. Popularizing the adoption of appropriate technology among the tribals along with the provision of marketing facilities of the products has remained a challenge for development agencies. The MFPs collected are partly consumed and partly sold in the market or to the merchants. The merchants often take advantage of distress sale of MFPs for immediate consumption requirement of the tribals. Commodity barter still prevails and the illiterate tribal women are found to be exchanging forest produce like *char* seeds for daily items of consumption like salt at a very low rate, which otherwise would fetch a very high price in urban market. Equipping the tribal men and women with modern processing knowledge, providing them with appropriate storage space

for MFPs which could improve their bargaining strength is a big challenge faced by development authorities.

Supply of drinking water, the basic minimum need of an individual, is not yet made available to tribals at the doorstep and the women have to spend a lot of time in water collection. The tube wells provided for the village are far from adequate and excessive pressure on the tube well by the villagers has resulted in making them defunct in some cases. Absence of drinking water facilities with all health hazards associated with it has been a part of tribal life. Ensuring this minimum need of life is therefore a great challenge before the development authorities.

Fixation of minimum wage by government has no relevance for the tribal and most of the tribal men and women are not aware of it. Except in few cases there is discrepancy between male and female wage rate and there is neither concern about it among women nor any intervention by development agencies. Ensuring gender equity is therefore a challenge before the tribal community, like any other society.

The biggest challenge before the tribal community is perhaps the rampant use of liquor. With expansion of construction sector, and more of wage labor now made available to tribals in this sector, consumption of liquor seems to have increased. Male workers reportedly spend about 50 percent of their earning on liquor before returning back to home from work site. This has prevented capital formation in the tribal community and they continue to lead a hand to mouth existence. Creating awareness in the tribal community about the ill effects of liquor is a big challenge before development agencies to ensure that the benefits of development programmes are not neutralized.

When PTGs are dislocated from their forest dwellings and settled in new colonies, they find it difficult to identify themselves with the new situation. Promises made to them are often not kept causing discontent among the tribal. Taking the tribal into confidence, involving them in planning for their rehabilitation is a great challenge before development authorities.

Educational institutions have been opened in almost all villages and children can access to school crossing maximum a distance of one to two kms. But invariably schools are found short of teachers and therefore retaining the children in school has been a problem. Making drop out unattractive is a big challenge before the authorities.

A majority of the households are observed to have job cards under NREGS with them. But jobs provided extend from zero to 30 days per

family during the year and the tribal are in complete darkness and are helpless about their entitlement for wage labour under the scheme. Cases of forcibly capturing job entitlement of PTGs by other relatively advanced tribal groups are also observed. Unlike cases of shortage of jobs seekers under NREGS often reported in different parts of the state, in the tribal area visited there is demand for jobs. NREGS is based on the model of Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme (MEGS). It is observed in a study that MEGS has bypassed the tribal population who constitute the poorest of the poor: their share in total participants fell from a meager 13.3 percent in 19991 to 8.5 percent in 1996 (Gaiha : 1997). In order that the story is not repeated in case of NREGS in tribal regions of Orissa, implementation of the NREGS in true spirit and ensuring jobs to job seekers is essential and this is a challenge for authorities.

VI

Conclusion

Based on the study, it is concluded that over the years dependence on forest has declined and other livelihood options especially in the construction sector have emerged in the tribal area. But this has brought a change in the livelihood pattern of men rather than women. Women continue to go to forest to collect roots, seeds, leaves, flowers, etc. which are partly consumed, partly exchanged for other items of daily consumption and partly sold for money.

The type of cultivation adopted by the tribal has changed from *podu* and shifting cultivation to settled farming in larger tract of tribal area. Women's role in agriculture however has remained almost same as before and they confine to seedling, weeding, harvesting, etc. sowing of seeds is denied to them. Application of fertilizer, pesticide has increased in tribal area but by and large tribal women are not equipped with knowledge about their application. This has remained mostly men's job.

Food insecurity of the past is overcome to a large extent. This is not much because of increase in female labour market participation in tribal area. Rather improvement in productivity of land, provision of BPL rice, more job opportunities as wage labour have contributed towards food security. Various forest produces still find place in the daily items of consumption of tribals but more by choice than under compulsion and collection and preservation of MFPs is mostly the job of women.

Efforts of Government and NGO for uplift of tribal community by providing them with better livelihood options and capacity building training has

produced some positive results but we have still miles to go for bringing them to the mainstream. Spread of SHG movement has created awareness, an urge and interest among the tribal women for exploring new livelihood avenues, add to the family income and provide education and health care facilities to their children. However, no significant improvement in capabilities of tribal women is so far achieved and absence of marketing support for the products of SHGs has been a great deterrent factor in the expansion of their activities.

If after about six decades of planning in the country, the tribals continue to live secluded, isolated and away from the mainstream, it is mostly because they have not been able to identify and involve themselves in the developmental projects undertaken for them. Serious lapses in providing the basic minimum needs like drinking water facilities affect the tribals' lives. Efforts of Government as well as NGOs are not consistent in many cases resulting in tribals not getting expected benefits from their endeavours. As a result Government projects are looked upon with suspicion. The most important factor in planning for their development is the tribals have to be taken into confidence in the first instance.

Alcoholism neutralizes the benefits of increased livelihood options in many cases and women are the worst victims of this rampant use of liquor in the tribal areas. Controlling the use of liquor and creating awareness among the tribals about its ill effects has to be taken as a challenge by NGOs and SHGs can be instrumental in arresting the use of liquor.

Jobs provided under NREGS are far below the target and awareness among the PTGs especially, is yet to be generated about their rightful claim to job under the scheme.

Cut off from the developed section of the society, the tribal women is generally contented with what she has and doesn't want to explore new possibilities for herself and her family. The SHG movement has to be strengthened in this tribal region, linkage with banks has to expand, more loans are to be made available to group members along with training for capacity building and marketing support. Training tribal women about value addition to MFPs can go a long way in improving their bargaining strength and adding to their status in the community.

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ATTITUDE OF TRIBAL YOUTHS ON DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Bishwaranjan Purohit & Amarendra Mahapatra

In the post independence period, India has sought rapid economic growth through “planned development”. This has entitled large-scale investments in dams, roads, mines, power plants, industrial estates, new cities and other projects involving land acquisition. Large numbers of people have been displaced from their original habitats to make way for these development projects. Such projects have also permanently changed the patterns of use of lands. Water and natural resources were previously prevailed in these areas. People who were dependent upon the land, forest and other natural resources for their livelihoods have been displaced of their sources of subsistence. Further, the standards of resettlement and rehabilitation (R & R) of the people displaced by development projects were very poor in the most cases. In the absence of adequate resettlement policies, the people, especially those belongs to disadvantaged social groups have been pushed to the poverty. One major reason for this dismal situation has been the absence of a national policy on R & R. Without a national policy, R & R activities in the past have been based on ad-hoc plants, resolutions and orders, passed for specific states or even projects as and when the need arose. Ad-hoc and piecemeal resettlement initiatives at the state or project level have proved largely ineffective and even harmful in some cases. The provisions of these policies have been inadequate and discriminatory leaving large numbers of people worse off as a result of development projects, which are otherwise supposed to provide general benefits.

Introduction

Over the time, there has been increasing criticism on displacement policies by project affected people aided by non-governmental and other activist organization, mostly because of the inadequacy of the R & R packages offered to the by the governments or project authorities. Such criticism and oppositions have caused delay in the construction of many projects leading to huge escalation in the costs of projects and raising question about their economic validity. The issue regarding displacement brought forth by the struggle is manifold. No more do the affected persons grant displacement being taken for. Their demand and struggle was not to remain contained only to the resettlement

aspect. People started questioning displacement itself. The consent of the people becomes an important factor.

In this study the researcher had taken displacement from the aspect of the youths (18-35 year group), where youth's views, attitudes and ideologies towards the process of displacement had been analysed. As the youths were prone to the changes in the society, they are flexible, progressive, reformist in nature; they are the future productive members of the society. Displacement is one type of phenomenon, which creates so many changes in the natural habitats and adaptation processes. So their views and ideologies need to be studied comprehensively which would contribute to improve future strategic implementation in the policies of R & R. So much depends, how do they adopt the new changes and challenges, how do they make use of the new opportunities, how all the changes affect their life style, how do they convert the new resources to their source of earnings. All these are consequences or in other words, outcome of the displacement.

Review of literature and justification of the topic

The R & R issue needs to be taken for more seriously than they have been in past. So far, R & R has tended to be considered as some kind of "externality" of development projects and investment in it has been minimized. This approach has led to wide spread impoverishment of project-affected persons, and also to conflict between them and project authorities that have had extremely high financial and human costs. It is in this context we have set out a case for a national policy on R & R. This has again attempted to clarify the basis of different principles and approaches often use in policy proposals, including cash compensation, the land-for-land principle, the standard of living approach and the bargaining approach (Goyal : 1998).

Again the effort at minimizing displacement of improving resettlement will only be marginal, palliative and temporary if they are not contextualized in a wider socio-cultural context. Three connections support this argument. First is that the current patterns of economic development, which are constantly invoked to justify the forced eviction of people all over the country, are themselves incompatible with the goals of creating wider conditions of equity and social security. Second, despite constitutional mandates in an overwhelming number of cases, national and regional interests violate the interests of politically and economically weaker groups and individuals. Third, political and ecological solutions sought must recognize the need of both democratize the control over the resources and process of production and regenerate

the degraded ecological resources (Kothari : 1996). Beside that, involuntary settlement consists of two closely related yet distinct processes displacing their livelihoods, the sudden chosen relocation they which has greatly influenced resettlement theory and policies in many countries goes on to review international experience, using a role model which shows how impoverishment can occur as a result of displacement (Astha : 1996).

The sudden outcome of displacement is very much reflected among the project-affected people. People would no more take displacement for granted, have learnt to question the rationale behind development policies, and are determined enough to sanction the resettlement plans only if they meaningfully incorporate their viewing. They started questioning like why displacement? For whom? What is the public purpose, the property of displacement? Whether the evaluation of the affected people, which include their social, cultural, and other aspects of life, could lead to recompense them adequately (Patker : 1998).

Their customary rights to the natural resources in and around have never been considered during the process of displacement, to which they have been depending upon since their birth. Apart from that the draft national policy suffers from a number of deficiencies. It has little to say on gender sensitization and female empowerment. It ignores the three million project affected peoples (PAPs), who are currently waiting for rehabilitation. Nevertheless, the draft policy provides a helpful framework for national debate on these issues and focuses the possible basis of a consensus on rehabilitation policy. To begin with the nation must decide whether it is prepared to bear the full burden of rehabilitation while development projects have brought prosperity to some sections of the society. They have also pushed millions of people below the poverty line. This is a problem we no longer afford to ignore (Sinha : 1996).

This study is based on the attitudes of youths towards displacement in about to displace villages, namely Balinga and Bankibahal of tribal populated Sundargarh district of Orissa. These villages were about to displace due to establishment of Mahanadi Coal Field Limited (MCL), it's a coalmines company dugged coal from this area. This company had already started its raw coal digging process, and these two villages were about to be evacuated as they are coming under their coal-rich marked area. So resettlement and rehabilitation was on process during the study. The study objective was to know the attitudes of youths (18-35 year old) towards their future employment, livelihood and settlement.

Methodology

All the data were collected through interview schedules and free listing method from two project affected villages nearer to the project site. Data were compiled, crosschecked and tabulated. Data collected from 303 households living in these two villages and regarding attitude of youths, 50 youth members from these villages were selected randomly from all the caste and tribe people in the study villages.

Location of the villages

The study villages, namely Balinga and Bankibahal are in Sundargarh district of Orissa, located at 22°2' degree north latitude and 83°50' east latitude and 40 kilometres away from Sundargarh. Both the villages are on the western part of the district and is under the Balinga Grampanchayat of Gopalpur block touching the border of Chhatisgarh. These villages are one kilometre away from each other, and Balinga is located under Garjanbahal project and Bankibahal is under Basundhara project of MCL.

Socio-economic status of the people

The village Balinga had a total of 197 households and 919 populations. The caste/tribe wise composition was: general castes (uncategorized)-six households, backward castes 59 households, scheduled castes 77 households and scheduled tribes 55 households. Aghria, who were migrants from the state of Uttar Pradesh (during the ruling of Aurangjeb), was the dominant caste in this village. The tribes living in this village were Gond, Kisan, Khadia and Bhuiyan. And the village Bankibahal had 106 households and a population of 421. Among these households, general castes were three households; backward castes were 25 households, scheduled castes were 18 households and scheduled tribes were 60 households. The tribes in this village were Bhuiyan, Gond, Khadia and Kisan. Bhuiyan had the maximum households among all. In both the villages, Bhuiyan was the dominant tribe (73 households out of 115). These two villages located in dense forest having a wide range of plant species and forest animals. Among them Aghria caste people was well up having maximum agricultural lands, rest were marginal and sub-marginal farmers, landless and labour class people. Among them landless were 43.3 percent, those having up to one acre were 17.3 percent, up to three acres were 19.3 percent, 3-5 acres were 11 percent, 5-10 acres were 5.7 percent and 10 acres and above were 2.9 percent. About education, illiterates were 40.4 percent, functional literates (who can write their name) were 5.3 percent, education up to 5th class were 12.4 percent, up to 7th were 9.8 percent, up to 10th class were 12.8 percent, and class 12th and above were 6.8 percent. So

education level of the people was very poor in study villages. Not a single pacca (concrete-roofed) house was seen in study villages. Only 26.2 percent houses were of mixed pattern (both concrete and mud used) and rest 73.3 percent houses were completely made up of mud. The study villages had no irrigation facilities and agriculture is depended upon monsoon rains where is uncertain. Some labour class are also dependent on agriculture as their source of wage earning accordingly, their wage is also uncertain. Of course, establishment, the project had increased the wage earning opportunities to some extent. But still, their economic condition had not been improved.

Result and Discussion

The post establishment period of this MCL project had made significant socio-economic changes among the people of study villages. What so ever the condition before the project, at least, they were maintaining their lives depending upon their traditional occupation and the natural resources available in and around. But this project had disturbed their habitation making further uncertainty in terms of employment and livelihood. As mentioned earlier, these study villages was under the process of displacement. The people were still having their original occupation, which will turn in to uncertainty very soon. By analyzing the occupational distribution pattern of the households, it is very much clear that maximum number of people were depended on agriculture and allied activities. This sort of occupation they were having since long and now the continuation of parental occupation among the next generation had been totally changed. The present youth's occupational pattern was completely disturbed, became uncertain and the agrarian pattern of life was no more there. Parental agricultural occupation were 37 percent and agriculture-based labour 42 percent, which had been gone down to 10 percent and 6 percent, respectively in case of present occupation of youths. All these changes had increased the unemployment rate of 38 percent.

By examining the data on future plans of youths, it is found that comparing with the future prospects responses of the youths, the agrarian trend had further deteriorated. Maximum (66 percent) of them were planning for business, which they admitted as an uncertain deal. As many business related activities had already been established in that locality. Though the prospects for undertaking contracts are well, they had financial constrains. The compensation amount itself was not sufficient enough for their R & R. They were getting less cost for house, homestead land, agricultural land, and compensation for trees and other natural resources were negligible. On the contrary, they had to pay more than they got for initiating new occupation. The agricultural

land, homestead land, house and other compensation packages were not at all comparable and compatible to their older one. Particularly in case of agricultural land, the money they got, as compensation was substantially low with respect to the quality and quantity to new land, they intend to purchase.

So, it was obvious that the youth mass would expect job or other employment facilities from the MCL authority, they were also very much hopeful for this. It is found that only 26 percent of youth believed that displacement process is beneficial to local youth. And a majority (66%) said that it was not beneficial. Their expectation and help from the MCL authority had been prioritized through free listing. A majority of youth (76 percent), expecting that MCL should provide jobs for them, and 30 percent are expecting assistance (in the form of loans) to initiate business. A few are also expecting assistance from MCL in the form of assistance of construction of houses (12 percent), providing vocational training (8 percent), providing housing plots (6 percent) and agricultural land (6 percent), etc. It is important to highlight that 90 percent of youth viewed that the overall process of displacement is not satisfactory and only 10 percent satisfied with the process of displacement undertaken by the MCL. The youths were also gave suggestions with regard to compensation process to be provided to the people. These free-listing data shows. Majority of respondents (78 percent) suggest that the prices fixed for land and house should be current and realistic to the market value. Also 68 percent of youth suggested that the compensation amount should be sufficient for resettlement. Other suggestions given were exchange of land to land (20 percent), house to house (12 percent), providing housing plots (12 percent), etc. Also, it is attempted to know the satisfaction level among youth with regard to mode of compensation. Only 20 percent of youth satisfied fully, 54 percent youth partially satisfied and 4 percent not satisfied. Families of 22 percent youth had not yet get compensation, and hence they had not given any opinion. In addition youth were asked to free-list various problems they perceived due to initiation of mining activities of MCL. Factors like psychological pain, harassment, social disintegration, disturbed natural habitat, swept away from the natural resources, customary rights to the natural resources, health hazards, pollutions, deforestation and other detritus effect due to displacement can never be compensated. In this context, youth perceived different type of problems ranging from occurrence of air pollution (64 percent) to deforestation (6 percent).

Many had been shifting their occupation from their parental occupation. In case of youths, this trend is very much prevalent. They were the most sufferer of this changing scenario, they had a long future a head

and any way last generation had passed their time already. It is not that easy to adopt and survive in a very new occupation in absence of guidance and past experiences relating to that. They might not be psychologically fit enough to new area of job and change of occupation. All this dilemma and uncertainty in many ways leads to increased alcoholism, criminal activities and other anti-social activities making a disturbed and unbalanced society. Slowly this area was leading towards this sort of disturbed situation. The problem of unemployment (38 percent) making the youths very much frustrated.

Thus, the overall displacement had much adverse effect on their livelihood and day-to-day life. It had also affected their occupation, socio-cultural and economic dimension to many extents. Although some developmental activities had occurred in that locality after the project, but the PAPs were not at all directly beneficial to it. No doubt, some had got employment opportunities due to establishment of MCL through different businesses, undertaking contracts, etc. But these benefits swept away only by a small section of rich, affluent and influential people. But, the poor and middle class people were still struggling for employment and livelihood. The huge lot of money they received as compensation was carrying the lower class people who were not that educated, awarded and exposed, away. Though it is not the actual compensation amount, still as they had never seen such a big lot of money at once, it seems them as a big lot and spending them with the new modern avenues of motor bikes, electronic materials (like television, music system), etc. Even some were spending on alcoholism and merry making.

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