

Tribal Development

Post Globalisation

Rabinarayan Misra



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TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

POST GLOBALISATION

Edited by

Dr. Rabi N. Misra



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Preface

Tribal people of India contribute a lion's share in the total population of the country, so the Govt. has to pay primary attention for the development. They contribute more than 8 per cent of the total population of the country. At present there are more than 250 scheduled tribes with several sub-group speaking more than 100 languages. They have their separate socio-culture, customs, traditions, marriage style and living standard. They are economically poor and far away from the modern technology. They are mostly dependent upon the forest products.

The tribals are mostly illiterate, Local Sahukars, Moneylenders, Mahajans and others exploit them. Unless a proper care has not to be taken for their upliftment, the economic development of the country is not possible. In spite of our plans no significant development has been made for their growth in standard of living.

—**Rabi N. Misra**

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I am very thankful to all paper contributors. They have touched all the aspects of tribal development of the country, which helped me to edit this book under their healthy, and timely help and co-operation.

I am very much thankful to my wife Smt. Swarna Prava Misra, who has helped and co-operated me as and when necessary for editing this book. I am also thankful to my two sons Roopesh and Rookesh for their timely help to edit this book. This love, affection has inspired me to edit this book in time.

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—Rabi N. Misra

List of Contributors

Dr. Srikanta Mahapatro, who born in the year 1955. He has done his Ph.D from Berhampur University on tribal culture. At present he is doing his Post-Doctoral on Women Leadership. He has published various papers in different journals. He is also guiding two scholars. Now he is working as Senior Faculty member in the Department of Political Science, Science College, Hinjilicut, Orissa.

Dr. Debabrata Mitra, is a Senior Faculty Member, Post-Graduate Department of Commerce, University of North Bengal, W.B. he has produced two Ph.D scholars and at present guiding three scholars. He has published a number of research papers in National Journals. He is also actively engaged in social activities.

Dr. Satyanarayanan Pathi was born in the year 1961. He has done his M.Phil from Khallikote College, Berhampur and Ph.D from Patna University in the year 1990. Dr. Pathi is a Senior Faculty Member in the Department of Business Administration, Berhampur University. He has produced two Ph.D scholars and also guiding three Ph.D scholars. He has published number of articles in State and National Journals.

Prof. Prasanna Kumar Chhotoroy was born in the year 1943. He has done his M.A. (Eco.) from Utkal University in 1964 and M.Phil from Sambalpur University in 1988. He has published number of research articles in different National Journals. His area of work is mostly on Environment issues. After retirement as principal on 2003 he is now engaged in social activities beside his research work.

Dr. Anil Kumar Sahu was born on 1960. He has done his M.Com, MBA and Ph.D (MBA) from Berhampur University. He has published some article in different journals. He is guiding three Ph.D scholars. At present he is working as a Senior Faculty Member, Department of MBA, Berhampur University, Orissa.

Mr. Rookesh Kumar Misra has done his B.Com (Hons. with Dist.) from Berhampur University. He has done his MMM from Pondicherry University. He has also done his LL.B, PGDCA. He has published three articles. Now he is doing research on management.

Prof. (Dr.) R.P. Sharma, a retired Professor of Economics of Berhampur University. He retired from his service in the year 1996. So far he has produced eight Ph.D scholars. He has published more than 100 research articles in National journals. At present he is the Director, Institute of Economics Studies, Berhampur, Orissa. He is at present associated with a good number of both academic and social organisations.

Dr. Jagabandhu Samal, retired Senior Faculty Member, Dept. of Economics, D.A.V. College, Koraput. Dr. Samal has produced two Ph.D scholars and published number of article in different journals. At present he is a consultant, IGNOU, Regional Centre, Koraput.

Dr. P.C. Mahapatro, a retired Senior Faculty Member, Dept. of Economics. He is doing his research on Tribal Development. Now he is actively engaged on tribal development of Orissa. Dr. Mahapatro is engaged in various social activities. He has produced two Ph.D scholars. At present he is working as Regional Head of IGNOU Centre of Koraput district.

Mr. S.S. Nayak is working as a Lecturer in Commerce, R.N. College, Dura, under Berhampur University, Orissa. He is doing his Ph.D under his supervision of Dr. R.N. Misra. He has published five articles in different journals.

Dr. S.P. Bakshi, Senior Lecturer in Political Science. At present he is working at Gunupur College, Gunupur.

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1

The KONDH Women of Kondhmal District

Dr. S.P. Bakshi

The tribal women in India have been doubly disadvantaged. They are tribals as well as women and this puts them in a special category of intensely backward and marginalised. Since independence a number of schemes have been introduced to develop tribals. But poor women have received the attention of planners only recently.

Since vedic age the importance of women can neither be ignored nor be underestimated in our society, women in many communities have tried and fought to become equal with men, but in Kondh community they were never regarded a weaker section. Rather they play a vital role in the social and economic life of a Kondh family. The Kondhs are primarily divided into three sub-groups, namely, Desia or Melliah Kondh, Kutia Kondh and Dongria Kondh. The Kutia and Dongria Kondhs are primitives while the Desia Kondhs are, to some extent, Hinduisised. The Desia Kondh are spread over the entire Kondhmal district.

Kondhmal district which is centrally located, was formed on 1.1.1940. After fifty-six years of independence and completion of nine-five year plans, this district is still considered to be a backward one. The district has a picturesque landscape and dense forest. More than half of the total geographical area is covered with forestry, i.e. around 5610 sq. kms. The total population of the district, according to 2001 census is 10,12,602. The sex ratio is almost even and the literacy rate is only 34.20. But the female literacy is 19.4 per cent only. The Kondhs constitute 91 per cent of the total S.T. population of the district.

The Kondh society gives equal status to both boy and girl. The Kondh girl is an asset to her parents. She shoulders the responsibility of the house, cooks food, brings water and even looks after the younger brothers and sisters when her parents are away in the forest. The Kondh women are more equal than men in the Kondh society. The Kondh society never considers women as a weaker sex. The Kondh girl helps the mother in every household affair. The Kondh mother is reluctant to send her daughter to school. The plight of female education is miserable. In 1971 the percentage of female literacy was 6.2, in 1981 it rose to 10.34, after one decade it became 16.59 and in 2001 it was 19.4 per cent. The number of educational institutions opened for girls education, is not adequate and the quality of education imparted in most of these schools, is very poor largely due to lack of sincerity on the part of teachers and supervisory officers. Of course, due to constant intervention of the NGOs, large number of Kondh girls are getting admission to the schools during last few years. But the rate of drop out is also fast.

Drop-out Rate Chart Among the Kondh Girls

Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V	Class VI	Class VII	Class VIII	Class IX-XII
100	63.56	49.14	25.92	10.79	9.5	7.5	4.3	1.04

At the primary level the enrolment of Kondh girls is not bad. But there takes place a steady erosion in their enrolment as one moves from lower to higher level. From class IX to XII the percentage of Kondh girl students is abysmally low i.e. about 1 per cent. If 100 girls of Kondh community join class I, they are reduced to 4.3 per cent by the time they reach class VIII. The factors responsible for this are:

1. Parents are ignorant of the importance of female education. For them, sending their daughters to school is wastage.
2. Girls are required to help mothers in domestic chores like cooking, cleaning and taking care of younger brothers and sisters.
3. Most of the schools in the interior parts do not perform properly; and
4. The 'Kanyashrams' and other schools with boarding facilities are not in the liking of many Kondh girls who

regard them as “cages”. The Kondh boys and girls feel much happier in an open space, as they are used to leading a life of complete freedom in hills and forests. However, a number of girls, high schools and a couple of womens’ colleges have come into being during the last 20 years, which marks a change of taste towards education in this tribal district.

The Kondh women are very fond of ornaments and jewellery. Usually their ornaments are made of silver, brass and other metals. Rich Kondh families possess gold too. Many old and middle aged women of this community have “tattooed” their faces. There was a custom in the Kondh society to tattoo the face of all girls in the age group of 10-12. It was a very painful and difficult process and only few women experts used to do this. But with the advancement of age this practice is gradually vanishing from the Kondh society with the spread of education and urbanisation.

The Kondh women share a vital role in shaping the economy of the family. They are labourious and work for about 14 to 15 hours daily. They get up at 4’O Clock in the morning and go to bed between 8 and 9 in the night. The every day work of a Kondh woman include cleaning, plastering, cooking and fetching water etc. Besides firewood which she has to gather daily from the forest. She also collects fruits, roots and flowers which are of economic use to the family. Along with her husband, she carries fire wood, charcoal and some seasonal forest produces to the daily/weekly markets for sale and she also helps in the purchase of groceries and other household provisions from the market.

Agricultural operations are shared by both husband and wife. While clearing the jungle and ploughing are done by men, other activities like transplanting, weeding and harvesting are done by women. During the period in which there is no agricultural work, the men sit idle, and enjoy drinking wine and smoking beedi, but there is hardly any leisure for the women. If construction works are available nearby, both the husband and wife work there. However, the members of well to do Kondh families consider it below their dignity to work as daily labourers. Most of the Kondh women earn through leaf-plate stitching, rope making, pottery, broom making and cloth weaving etc.

But they do it during leisure time. They also prepare various items out of mango like 'Amboshada' (a solid jelly prepared out of mango juice) which has found markets in South India and West Bengal. They also collect the seeds of mango and jackfruit during the summer season. Before independence there was hardly a Kondh woman with a white collar job, but in recent years many educated among them have been appointed as school teachers, health workers and Anganabadi workers. Some Kondh women are employed in cottage industries like leaf plate industry, turmeric powder industry etc. Some Adivasi girls are also working in different capacities in voluntary organisations which have fast grown in number and size in last decade.

The Kondh society gives equal importance to women in deciding family matters like marriage of children, sale of agricultural and forest produces etc. They are not educated yet they are not backward. Even an illiterate woman has her own technique of counting money, paddy rice or other materials. Urbanisation and modernisation have a little impact on the women of Kondh society. The women of tribal villages close to small and big towns of this district have the advantage of being exposed to urbanisation. As contrasted with older women, both small and young Kondh girls of remote villages are fast catching up with modernisation. Improvement in status and exposure to urbanisation have brought about a negative change in the status of Kondh women. An educated and employed Kondh youth, because of his contact with the dominant culture of the state, is now interested in dowry, which was not prevailing earlier in the Kondh community. Dowry is still confined to the well-to-do sections of the Kondh society and the trend is unlikely to reverse. Bride-price (Gantri), which was a symbol of the importance of Kondh women, has begun to be replaced on dowry which downgrades her status.

Health is hazardous in Kondh family. The Kondh women are little aware of health and hygiene. Besides malnutrition, two other health hazards of this area are Malaria and Anemia. The Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) is very high—168 per 1000 live births as compared to the state average of 121 per 1000. The Kondh females would not feel free with a male doctor. Their old beliefs and customs stand on the way of Kondhs opting for modern medicines. In addition to their faith in herbal medicines, their belief in witch craft, sorcery is another impediment in this regard. The Kondh women work to much in their

homes as well as outside that they have little time left to come to hospital. A pregnant woman would like to deliver the child at home. These women have some hostility towards government hospitals, rather they prefer quacks and witch-crafts.

Drinking is rampant in this society. It has been almost a part of their culture, on several occasions even tribal women drink. However, some NGOs have organised meetings and processions of tribal and Harijan women with anti-liquor slogans.

The government is taking a lot of interest for the upliftment of the Kondh women. Many scheme like TRYSEM and DWCRA are being implemented in the district with a specific motive, i.e. development of Kondh women. But the role played by the NGOs can never be ignored. More than 70 NGOs are working in the district to help the poor. By and large, all of them claim that women's development is one of their main objectives. The women-related programmes are awareness and leadership training, organising Mahila Mandals, income generation, fight against dowry and alcoholism. By taking advantage of the poverty and ignorance of the local people, the government employees and business people exploit them. The NGOs have encouraged the local tribals, mainly the women to resist those exploiters. These NGOs also fight for women empowerment. Many of them organise camps for women in which more emphasis is laid on economic and legal awareness than on political awareness. However, since the introduction of reservation for women in Panchayati Raj System more and more Kondh women have been keen on participating in local self-government. Even the present M.L.A. of G. Udayagiri Assembly Constituency, Smt. Ajayanti Pradhan (coincidentally and ex-student of this writer) belongs to the Kondh community.

While both Kondh men and women of Kondhmal, steeped in poverty and backwardness, are struggling to see better days, the struggle of Kondh women, having some special features, deserves critical attention. They make more contribution than their men to the domestic economy, but have little share in the family property. Female education is neglected and little care is taken of their health. Several schemes have been launched for the development of poor, but the benefits accrued to Kondh women out of these schemes have been

meagre. So, both governmental and NGO sectors are required to work more vigorously as well as honestly to empower and develop Kondh women. Education, health and economy of the Kondh families in general and women in particular, are to be taken carefully and considerably at various levels.

Role of KUI Association in Kandhamal District of Orissa

Dr. Srikanta Mahapatro

The Kandhamal district of Orissa is a varied land of forests, mountains, plateaus and plains. It is predominantly inhabited by a tribal group—Kandhas. Dr. Barabara M. Boal, the author of the book 'The Kondhs' refer them as 'Kui People' because Kui is the language of Kandhas of the Kandhamal district. They are mostly tradition-bound people and now they still like to stick to most of their ethics, ethos, superstitions and region. The main objectives of the Kui Association is to root out all evil practices and superstitions from the Kui society. It wants to bring about reforms in the matrimonial and communal rites of the Kui society emulating the modern civilization, taking care however that the basic qualities of the age-old Kui culture are not affected. It further wants to put an end to the practice of tattooing the face of Kandha youths, to take steps to improve the Kui language, to make Kuis aware of the bad effects of drinking wine and to help in the work of prohibition and to create an atmosphere for the Kuis to join the mainstream of Indian life and culture. This Association is also formed for the modernisation of their society in the light of the practices of the predominant Hindu society around them. This Association was formed by the Kandhas 4.9.1980 in a general body meeting at the village Badagam of Kandhamal district.

The following is the bye-laws of the Kui Association:

1. Basing on superstitions, the Kuis used to set on fire many valuable belongings of the dead person along with the dead. The Association in the first bye-law prohibits this.

Violation of this will result in the imposition of the fine Rs. 100/- on the violator or social segregation or social non-cooperation.

2. The Kuis believe largely in witch-craft, black-magic and spirits. When somebody falls sick they take the help of the people claiming to be knowing such things instead of taking the help of a doctor. As a result, the patients die in most such cases. The exponents of black magic or witch craft lay the blame on somebody when the patient dies and thus gives rise to quarrels and violence. The Association in a bye-law has prohibited the employment of such people. Violators of this bye-law can be fined Rs. 100/- or segregated socially.
3. In the past, human beings were sacrificed but now buffaloes are being sacrificed to appease the goddess earth. The association in a bye-law has prohibited the brutal sacrifice of buffalo. The violator of this will be fined Rs. 100/- or socially segregated. However, this law is not implemented or obeyed by the Kandha society.
4. Kui religious rites have some similarity with those of the Hindus. Even then the Kuis have their original elaborate, expensive and time consuming rites. The Association has directed its members to do the rites in simple, modern and inexpensive manner. A violator of this law can be fined Rs. 25/- and socially segregated.
5. Funeral rites have to be finished within 10-12 days in simple manner. Only vegetarian food is to be prepared and served. A person observing this rule will be given an assistance of Rs. 25/- and on the other hand the violator is to be fined Rs. 25/- or socially segregated.
6. In the Kui society the husband was assisting his wife at the time of latter's giving birth to a child. This practice was endangering the life of the wife sometimes. The Association has disapproved of this and non-provision of proper care and assistance at the time of delivery is now punishable. This rule is obviously being obeyed by most Kutia husbands now-a-days.

7. An orphan child can now be reared in a non-Kui family and brought back after it grows up. Anybody opposing this bye-law is to be socially segregated or fined Rs. 100/-.
8. The Association has banned the dancing together of the unmarried boys and girls apprehending that promiscuity will develop. Violation of this law is punishable.
9. The practice of the unmarried youngmen and women spending the night together in the dormitory for the unmarried has been prohibited in a bye-law. Violation of this is punishable financially and socially.

Further, the practice of demanding dowry by the bridegroom is prohibited as it leads to disquiet and broken marriages. However, presents worth up to Rs. 5,000/- can be given to the bride and the bridegroom. Violation of this is punishable socially and financially.

There is the practice of gifting clothes to the bride. The Association has prohibited any coercion or demand on the part of the bride's family. Any demand or coercion is punishable financially and socially.

The Association has further specified the bride price demanded by the bride's family. It can be any amount between Rs. 1/- to Rs. 500/- . Giving pet animals as bride price is normally prohibited.

If the bride's and bridegroom's parents or guardians express their desire not to give or take the bride-price or dowry, as the case may be, the Association has the provision to give Rs. 100/- each to both the sides and to help in the marriage ceremony.

Marriage with cousins or marriage in the same clan has not been in vogue in the Kui tribe. This remains unchanged as the Association feels that it is a good practice. Violation of this is punishable.

Two types of marriage take place in the Kui tribe. One is the 'Sendri Sedi' and the second is 'Nedri Sedi'. Two restrictions are imposed on the spending of money on the marriage. In the first case only fifty to hundred people of bride side are normally allowed to go with the bride to the bridegroom's house, and in the second ten to fifty.

Parentless youngmen and women can get financial assistance up to Rs. 200/- if they marry in accordance with the regulations of the Associations.

The Association has prohibited the practice of forcible marriage. This has been made punishable by the Association.

At the time of marriage, the people of the bride's and bridegroom's side can wear their traditional dresses and carry umbrellas, combs, bows and arrows and axes. They can play their traditional musical instruments.

The practice of carrying the bride and the bridegroom on shoulder has been prohibited by the Association. The Association encourages the bride's and bridegroom's people to prepare and serve vegetarian food in the marriage feast. A party willing to cook and serve vegetarian food is given an amount up to Rs. 200/- as assistance.

Male members are expected to do the cooking. Ladies and maidens can, however, help.

Following the age-old practice, only the competent priest of the clan can perform the matrimonial rites.

Even though only monogamy is legal, it is found that some men marry second wife illegally. The Association permits a second wife only if the first wife is barren and a child is required. Marrying a second wife without taking the permission of the first wife is not permitted by Association. For the second wife, both the first wife and her husband have to apply to the Association and get its permission for the husband's second marriage. Any violation of this rule is punishable.

Securing a divorce is in the Kui society and the divorced wife becomes the victim of it. That is why the Association has made it binding on its members to get its approval for divorce. The divorced wife can remarry. Violation of these laws are punishable. Widow marriage is permissible in the Kui society but marrying outside the Kui community is not permissible. A person who marries outside the community cannot be an active member of the Kui society. Marrying a daughter outside the community is punishable on the part of the parents.

Having sex with a maiden whose marriage has not been arranged is punishable with Rs. 50/- social segregation and marrying a maiden whose marriage has been arranged without proper permission for the Kui society, is punishable with Rs. 100/- social segregation; kidnapping a wife whose husband is alive is punishable with a fine of Rs. 500/- social segregation. If the bride rejects the bridegroom the bride price is

to be returned. If the bridegroom rejects the bride price the bride given by the former is not returned; on the other hand, if the bride rejects the bridegroom the dowry given to the bridegroom is not returned. However, if both parties agree on the return of the properties, they are returned.

The Association has prohibited the bride's taking to the bridegroom's house cakes that usually become stale and uneatable after the long journey from the bride's house to the bridegroom's house. Instead, taking fried rice etc. that do not become stale within a short period has been recommended by the association.

Kui girls tattoo their faces and slit several holes in their earlobes for wearing ornaments. This practice has been prohibited by the Association as it is considered to be unnecessary and bad.

The members of the Association have to use the Kui languages in meetings and write it for different purposes. The Association has undertaken the responsibility of finding a script and compilation of a dictionary. People writing notably about the Kui culture—its folk tales, literature, art, music, myth sculpture, religion, deities social manners and rites etc. are to be honoured by the Association. It has also taken the responsibility to publish a magazine named 'Kui Dina Sadi' in the Kui language. The Association has made primary education compulsory for the children of its members. It has also undertaken to bear the expenses on the adult education. It has also provision to give prizes and scholarships to the meritorious students. It has decided to honour parents who educate their children properly. It has also been decided to fine erring parents who do not send their children to school or do not take proper care of their children's education.

As wine drinking is the main detrimental factor of the Kui society, the association has taken the following steps to eradicate this social evil.

Kuis with drinking habit cannot be the active members of the Association. All primary life members have to take the oath of not taking wine in life and to work for prohibition. Drinking wine is prohibited in all ceremonies and festivals and a person is fined Rs. 5/- for drinking for the first time and Rs. 10/- for the second time. If he errs again he will not be given any social co-operation. A member, drunk, moving around public places and talking non-sense can be fined upto Rs. 10/- by the Association. Only rice and not wine is to be offered to the deities.

Social segregation or social non-cooperation are two major punishment in the hands of the working members of the Association. But if a party or person of a unit feels that the power to punish is misused, it or he can lodge a complaint with the Association (the centre) and the decision of the Association is final. All the rules laid in the resolution can be modified or altered. The Association is empowered to add new rules to the existing rules or to take out some existing rules.

Out of the above bye-laws some are strictly observed and some are partially obeyed and some others are not obeyed at all. For example, buffalo sacrifice is still in vogue in the Phulbani district especially in Belghar area. But many of the laws are strictly adhered to by the Kandhas especially the Kutia Kandhas of this district. Thus the Kui Association has brought about certain reforms among the Kandhas, changed their outlook to some extent removing certain superstitions and has become a helping hand in the process of modernisation.

Problems of Tribal Development in Orissa

Dr. P.C. Mohapatro

According to 1991 census the Scheduled Tribes account for 70.32 lakhs and represent 22.21 per cent of the total population of Orissa state. Of these 0.60 lakh (0.85 per cent) belong to Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) whose conditions are even worse than those of the rest of the tribals. The projected S.Ts population is 83.59 lakhs in 2001 census, representing 22.77 per cent of the state's total population (projected on the basis of decadal growth rate of S.Ts.). The corresponding all India proportion is only 8.08 per cent in 1991 census. With about 4.7 per cent of the total land area of the country, the state has 10.38 per cent of its tribal population, giving a density of tribals over two times as large as the national average.

Except for the north east, Orissa occupies a unique position among the states for the highest concentration of Scheduled Tribes next only to Madhya Pradesh (i.e. 23.3 per cent). Out of 414 principal tribes found in the country, as many as 62 ethnic groups are found in the state.

Scheduled Areas

The tribal areas constitute a very significant part of backward areas of Orissa State. Consequent upon creation of 17 new district in 1992, the scheduled areas of Orissa cover whole of six districts (i.e. Mayurbhanj, Sundergarh, Koraput, Rayagada, Nabarangpur and Malkangiri) and part of seven districts (i.e. Balasore, Keonjhar, Sambalpur, Gojapati, Ganjam, Kalahandi and Phulbani) of the state. According to 1991 census, the scheduled areas of the state extends to 69,613.80 sq. kms., which accounts for 44.70 per cent of the total area of the state. Out of the total scheduled tribes population of Orissa

Table—3.1: Scheduled area of Orissa (1991 census)

Sl. No.	District	Tracts included in scheduled area	Area of the tracts (sq. km)	Population within the Sch. Area		
				Total	ST	SC
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Mayurbhanj	Whole district	10416.60	1884580	1090626	131765
2.	Balasore	Nilagiri block	223.60	106468	53080	10780
3.	Keonjhar	Keonjhar tahasil Champua tahasil	5350.20 1585.40	646857 328437	354605 152986	52498 32487
4.	Sambalpur	Kuchinda tahasil	2367.30	225086	125741	27263
5.	Sundargarh	Whole district	9921.40	1573617	798481	138157
6.	Gajapati	R. Udayagiri	2498.80	287612	195310	12525
7.	Ganjam	Sorada tahasil	912.00	142649	12852	29076
8.	Kalahandi	Th. Rampur block Lanjigarh block	323.80 999.70	55777 60947	31042 29832	14170 14189
9.	Koraput	While district	8534.00	1026458	519006	138107
10.	Rayagada	Whole district	7584.70	713984	400097	101956
11.	Nabarangpur	Whole district	5135.30	846659	467919	127800
12.	Malkangiri	Whole district	6115.30	425445	249057	84270
13.	Phulbani	Kandhamal tahsil Baliguda tahsil	2017.60 5628.10	160205 386076	76587 204799	36180 63319
	Total (% to State total)		69613.80 (44.70)	8870884 (28.02)	4762020 (67.72)	1014542 (19.78)
	State total		155707.00	31659736	7032214	5129314

Source: Economic Survey, 2002-2003. Govt. of Orissa, p. No. 20/1.

47.62 lakhs (67.72 per cent) are found in the scheduled areas of the state. The details of the scheduled areas have been presented in Table—3.1.

Tribal Demography

In absolute terms the tribal population of the state has increased from 42.24 lakhs to 50.72 lakhs during 1961-71 decade and further increased from 59.15 lakhs to 70.32 lakh during 1981-1991 decade. However, there has been a fall in the decennial growth rate of tribals from 20.08 per cent during the 1961-71 decade to 18.88 per cent during the period 1981-91. Similarly, the percentage of tribals to the total population of the state has declined from 24.07 per cent in 1961 to 23.11 per cent in 1971; 22.43 per cent in 1981 and further to 22.21 per cent in 1991 census. In contrast there has been a corresponding improvement in the percentage of the tribal population of the country from 6.81 in 1961 to 7.53 in 1981 and further to 8.08 per cent in 1991. Though a variety of reasons can be cited for the situation, the relative decline in state's tribal population appears to be on account of higher rate of mortality particularly among twelve tribes due to their low standard of living and difficult economic environment.*

Socio-economic Characteristics of the Tribals in Orissa

Rural Predominance

The Schedule Tribes population is predominantly rural. As per 1991 census 94.86 per cent of tribal population live in rural areas as against 86.62 per cent of total population of the state. Hardly, 5.14 per cent of tribals are urban based as against 13.38 per cent of total population of the state. The percentage of urban population of the state has increased to 14.97 in 2001 census.

Low Density

The density of population of tribal areas is also much lower than the non-tribal areas of the state. The population density per sq. km. has increased from 203 in 1991 census to 236 in 2001 census. In tribal

* There has been a very decline in the total number of persons in respect of twelve tribes in 1971 census. They are Bagata, Birher, Chenchu, Ho, Jatapu, Kol, Kandadora, Kora, Mankidi, Perenga, Pentia and Tharua.

areas of the state the population density varied from 81 in Kandhamal to 188 in Keonjhar and Sundargarh in 2001 census. Low density of population per square kilometer implies that large areas are left uninhabited and that inhabited areas are scattered far apart, leading to isolation, lack of contact among people within the tribal areas and with areas outside. The low density also shows the inclement nature of the geographical environment, which are mostly hilly and forested and search for food and other necessities of life is hard. It also indicates a more primitive way of life where urbanisation and development of large towns and cities has also been possible (NCAER. 1961: 7-8).

Work Participation

According to 1991 census, out of a total tribal population of 70.32 lakh in the state, 34.71 lakhs or 49.36 per cent are main and marginal workers and remaining 50.64 per cent depend upon the former for their maintenance. The proportion of economically active population consisting of main and marginal workers of the state is only 37.6 per cent. Thus a greater proportion of Scheduled Tribe population work in order to earn a living. The lack of access to productive resources and poor standard of living among the tribals, force many of them, including adolescents and old people to work.

Tribal Agriculture

As per 1991 census 89.09 per cent of workers among Schedule Tribes population of the state depend on agriculture either as cultivators or as agricultural labourers. The dependence of tribals on agricultural activities to such a large extent does not make any significant difference to their primitive economy because they have not been able to supersede the limitations of their traditional skills and practices. A sample survey conducted by the author in 20 villages in seven blocks of Koraput, Rayagada and Malkangiri districts in 1996 revealed that out of 397 households covered in the sample 20.1 per cent of households are dependent solely on shifting cultivation and 50.64 per cent of the households are dependent partly on shifting cultivation. Inadequacy of assured irrigation in the state has been a major bottleneck in the development of agriculture. Nearly 62 per cent of cultivable land is rainfed. The situation is still worse in tribal areas.

A tribal worker has very little to invest in agriculture. The technique of cultivation is very elementary and outdated. Whatever improved agricultural practices have been adopted are extremely localised in character and limited to areas nearer to plains. A sample survey conducted in Nabarangpur district in 1996 reveals that pulses and oil seeds covered only 8.48 per cent and 8.46 per cent of the gross area cultivated respectively (DAO, Nabrangpur).

This agricultural practices are poor in the tribal areas of the state due to unfavourable pattern of land holding, poor cropping pattern, crude agricultural implements and absence of irrigation facilities. On the other hand they are forced to depend on agriculture partly due to inability to take part in non-agricultural occupations and partly due to the demographic isolation which deprives them of the opportunity of diversifying their economy.

Increasing Trend of Landlessness

The presence of landless tribal families in Orissa has increased from 27.2 in 1954-55 to 29.8 per cent in 1963. The landless agricultural labourers constituted 36.72 per cent in 1971 census and has further increased to 38.27 per cent in 1991 census. All available indications go to show that the percentage of landless families among the tribals is on the increase, in spite of governments redistribution of surplus lands. The alienation of land from tribals to non-tribals, which contributed unabated in spite of protective legislations, seems to be the probable reasons for this trend.

Forests

Next to agriculture, forest constitute an important source of livelihood for the tribals of Orissa state. 37.36 per cent of the total geographical area of the state, being covered under forests, its use and exploitation constitute an important aspect of the tribal economy. The forest provides food during scarcity conditions in the form of wild fruits, roots, tubers and animals. Even in normal times forest foods supplement agricultural production. Forests also provide them with housing materials like Bamboos, timber and gazing facilities for their cattle. Medicinal herbs for indigenous treatment of diseases are also collected from forest.

But the independence of tribal on forest resources varies from region to region. In spite of the depletion of forests, it still continues to enjoy an important source of income for a tribal family. The tribals collect innumerable kinds of roots, fruits, tubers, leaves, fibers, herbs, honey, wax and a host of other minor forest produce and sell them in the weekly markets for maintaining their livelihood.

Constitutional Safeguards

The Constitution of India has provided a number of safeguards for the protection and development of Scheduled Tribes. Article 15(4) vests suitable authority in the state for making special provision for advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens. Article 46 prescribes that the state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of weaker sections of people and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. Article 275 relates to the special provisions providing for grant-in-aid by the union government to the states for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and upgradation of administration in the Scheduled Areas.

The fifth schedule of the Constitution contains provisions relating the administration and control of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes. The eight states (i.e. Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa and Rajasthan) having scheduled areas are required to constitute. Tribes Advisory Council, which must be consulted on all policy matters relating to the welfare and development of Scheduled Tribes. The governors of the states have been bestowed with special powers and responsibilities. Reservation in seats and special representation in parliament and state legislature have been ensured under article 334 and reservation of services under article 335 of the Constitution.

Review of the Strategy for Tribal Development

Pre-Independence Period

During the British rule, the approach to the administration of tribal areas was marked by a desire to leave the tribal areas alone by designating such area as excluded or partially excluded areas. The reason for such an approach obviously were the difficulties involved in

governing the brave and self-respecting groups of people living in remote and inaccessible regions without proper communication facilities. As a result, these tribal areas received least attention and were left to the whims and caprices of the local Zamindars and petty officials, who exploited the gullibility and simplicity of the tribals to the maximum possible extent. This naturally resulted further alienation and isolation of the tribal communities from the mainstream of economic development.

Post-independence Period

After independence the main thrust of the strategy of tribal development has been to promote the participation of Scheduled Tribes in planning and implementation of programmes for their development. In furtherance of this objectives, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, had enunciated five guiding principles for tribal development. These are:

- (a) Tribal people should develop along the line of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every possible way their traditional art and culture.
- (b) Tribal rights in land and forest should be protected.
- (c) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt be needed, especially in the beginning, but we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.
- (d) We should not over-administer these areas and work through their own social and cultural institutions.
- (e) We should judge the results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

Development during the First Four Five Year Plans

In the earlier two plans strategy of tribal development was formulated in a piece meal manner. During the 2nd Plan, out of 43 special Multi-Purpose Tribal Development (SMPT) Blocks established in the country, four were established in the state with a view to bringing

about rapid improvement in the economic and social-standards of the tribals. These blocks were not much different from the normal Community Development Blocks except by way of providing addition amounts under different schemes. The limited number of programmes introduced in most of these blocks did not even reflect the nature of specific needs of the tribals residing therein.

However, the programme was further intensified during the Third Plan period under the recommendation of Elwin Committee. Seventy-five tribal development blocks were opened in the state by 1966-67 out of 489 such blocks established in the country. An important weakness of the programme was found in the process of democratic decentralisation in which the village panchayats, Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads were given considerable power. The non-tribals who gained more power in these institutions took a major share of the benefits from this new programme by diverting the funds earmarked for the tribals. The aim of development of tribal through activating the traditional Panchayats and Tribal councils in the new system of democratic decentralisation remained a day dream. The general notion that the fruits of development would automatically percolate down to the poor was belied.

Another serious weakness of the plan was found in the small geographical area of a Block. It was too small an entity for coordinated planning and the amount made available could not extend beyond activities like agriculture, minor irrigation and health etc. (Shilu AO Committee, 1969).

Besides these blocks were guided by schematic budget earmarking a specific percentages of funds for programmes under different heads. These principles which were intended to become flexible in theory were applied in a rigid manner neglecting the special needs of the tribals.

A new mode of strategy was launched in the Fourth Plan period with the establishment of two projects in the state known as Tribal Development Agencies. The main object of the programme was to bring the tribal population by fostering their economic development. The core economic programmes pursued by these projects comprised all aspects of agricultural development, encouragement of agro-and forest-based industries, strengthening of cooperative societies and the like.

However, studies made on the working of these projects revealed that the tribal receiving benefits from these special programmes were deprived of the advantages of general programme. Consequently the supplemental efforts of the backward classes welfare sector resulted in dilution of efforts and dissipation of resources leading to widening of disparities and furtherance of regional imbalance.

Fifth Plan and Onwards

As the tribals could not get their due share in the general development programme, it was considered necessary to evolve a new strategy for the socio-economic development. Thus, the concept of tribal sub-plan was evolved and adopted during the Fifth Five Year Plan. The tribal sub-plan had twin objectives of accelerated socio-economic development of the tribals and their protection against various forms of exploitation. The tribal sub-plans were expected to identify the resources from the sub-plan areas, prepare a broad policy framework for the development of tribal areas and evolve a suitable administrative structure for its implementation. Areas having more than 50 per cent tribal concentration were identified and during the Fifth Plan Twenty-one Integrated Tribal Development Agencies were formed comprising 118 blocks out of 314 blocks in the state. In addition six micro projects were formed for the development of primitive Tribal pockets inhabited by Bonda-Poroja, Lanja Soura, Dongoria Kandha, Kutia Kondha, Juang and Paudi Bhuyan. At present 17 micro projects are functioning in the state for all round development of 12 primitive tribal communities. The primitive tribes are given 100 per cent subsidy for individual family benefit-oriented scheme.

During the 6th plan period, the areas with population of 10,000 or more of which more than 50 per cent of the population are tribals have been covered under "Modified Area Development Approach" (MADA). At present 46 MADA spread over 47 blocks in 17 districts covering 5.67 lakh tribals (as per 1991 census) are operating in the state as a part of Tribal sub-plan strategy.

In the Seventh Plan this has been further relaxed so as to cover smaller areas with total population of 5000 and with more than 50 per cent concentration under the "Cluster Approach". By the end of 1999-2000, 14 cluster pockets comprising of parts of 13 blocks in ten districts with 52793 tribals have been functioning under this approach.

Dispersed Tribal Development Programme (DTDP) is being implemented by the Orissa Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Development Finance Corporation for the benefit of tribal families living outside the above special project areas.

An area specific approach for development, entitled Orissa Tribal Development Project (OTDP), was launched in 1988-89 in Kashipur block of Rayagada district jointly by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), Govt. of India and the State Government for all round development of tribals of the area. The implementation phase of the project was over on 31-12-1997 and its maintenance phase has started from January, 1998.

The funding for the Tribal Sub-Plan was to come from Annual Plans of the State and Central Ministries, Special Central Assistance to Tribal Sub-Plan, grants under Article 275(1) of the constitution and institutional finances. The corner stone of the Tribal Sub-Plan strategy is that the state should provide a percentage of its annual plan, which is not less than the percentage of tribal population of the state. Similarly, each of the central ministries are also required to earmark 8.08 per cent of their annual plans for the tribal Sub-Plan and to take up projects, programmes and activities for the development of tribal communities.

Assessment

It has, however, been observed that “though most of the State Governments have been earmarking funds for the TSP in proportion to the tribal population, in large number of cases, this earmarking is only notional. Actual utilisation is often far less than the allocations. Diversion of TSP funds for other sectors is quite common”. (National Commission for SCs & STs, Fifth Report, 1998-99: P 207). The position of central ministries is not much different. At this level, there is lack of efforts to formulate a separate Tribal Sub-Plan according to the guidelines issued by the Planning Commission.

An extract from the reports of the VIIIth plan working group for STs reveals that the overall performance of efforts made during the plan period has not been very much encouraging. The working group reports, “After the adoption of TSP strategy, central and state governments have enacted protective laws to check exploitation of tribals by non-tribals, especially the money lenders and private traders.

But in actual implementation this has not received priority. There are still instances reported by the states of tribal lands passing into the hands of non-tribals despite the existence of these laws. ... Lamps have not been able to substitute money-lenders as viable credit agencies". (N.K. Vaid, 1996).

Un-Resolved Issues and Persisting Problems

In spite of all the efforts taken by the central and the state governments for the socio-economic upliftment of tribals, they continue to be vulnerable even today. The tribals of Orissa in recent times are confronted with a number of serious problems, which threaten their very survival and are lowering their quality of life. Some of the major unresolved problems faced by them are as follows:

Displacement

Displacement or forced/voluntary eviction of tribals from their land and their natural habitats and subsequent rehabilitation has been a serious problem that remains to be addressed by the government. In Orissa, between 1951 to 1990, nearly 3 lakh 80 thousand people have been displaced as a consequence of seventy medium and major irrigation projects implemented in the state. A major percentage of them are tribals. Development projects that displace people involuntarily give rise to a number of economic, social and environmental problems: production system are dismantled, productive assets and income sources are lost, people are resettled to environments where their productive skills remain unutilised, cooperative spirit are lost and cultural identity and traditional authority are diminished (World Bank O.D.4. 30/P. 1 of 8). The "Impoverishment Risk" model advocated by Prof. Cernia which is an effective model to reduce the risks have not been applied in the true sense in the rehabilitation policies. The model predicts that the displaced people are at risk of losing natural capital, man-made capital, human capital and social capital. Avoiding these risks which should have been the main concern of policy makers and planners in the resettlement plan have not been effectively implemented due to various reasons. As a consequence, the displacement and rehabilitation issue still remain unresolved.

Tribal Land Alienation

Land is the most important productive resource base for the tribals and it is the main stay of their social and religious practices. As per 1991 census, 89.09 per cent of tribals depend on land either as cultivators or as agricultural labourers for maintaining their livelihood. Large scale land alienation from tribals to non-tribals has taken place during and after the British rule. Indebtedness, benami transactions and tempering of records by influential landlords are some of the important reasons for such land alienation.

The Orissa state have promulgated legislations from time to time to check land alienation. They are:

1. The Orissa (Scheduled Areas) Transfer of Immovable Property (by Scheduled Tribes) Regulation 1956 (Regulation 2 of 1956).
2. The Orissa Scheduled Areas Transfer of Immovable Property (By Scheduled Tribes) Amendment Regulation, 2000.

Under the provisions of the Regulation 2 of 1956, any transfer of immovable property by a member of Scheduled Tribe shall be null and void and will have no force or effect whatever unless made in favour of another member of Scheduled Tribe or with previous permission in writing of the component authority. This regulation came into force from 4th October, 1956. The progress achieved under the regulation since inception and up to the end of March, 2000 is as follows:

1. Total No. of cases instituted	86,999
2. Total No. of cases disposed	84,721
3. Total No. of S.Ts benefited	46,439
4. Total area restored in areas	42,497.16

Regulation 2 of 1956 has been further amended on 4th September, 2000 to empower the Gram Panchayat and Gram Sasan in the prevention of land alienation in the Scheduled Areas as envisaged under Section 4 (m) (iii) of the provisions of Panchayat (Extension to Scheduled Areas), Act, 1996. The Amendment Regulation, 2000 has made provisions for total prohibition of transfer of tribal land in the Scheduled Areas from members of Schedule Tribes to others, if the land remaining after transfer will be reduced to two acres in case of

irrigated land and five acres in case of unirrigated land. The Amendment Regulation, 2000 has also provided for restoration of land transferred from a member of a Scheduled Tribe to others without permission of the competent authority after 4th October, 1956. 2449 land alienation cases were pending at the beginning of the year 2001-2002 and 848 cases were instituted during 2001-2002. Out of these 1096 cases were disposed off by the end of March, 2002 and 201.253 acres of land were restored to the tribals.

In spite of the legal provisions the progress of restoration of tribal land has been very slow. The restoration of land transferred after 4th October, 1956 has posed a big challenges to the administration.

Shifting Cultivation

Shifting Cultivation is an age old practice followed by the tribals and provides livelihood to about 20 per cent of tribals. It consists of cutting of trees on tops and slopes of hills, burning the fallen trees and bushes and dibbling or broadcasting seeds in the ash covered soil. In this system cultivation of a plot of land was made for two to three years and then the land was left fallow for a number of years varying from 6 to 20 years. But with the increase in tribal population and consequent pressure on land, this gap has reduced now to 2 to 3 years in some areas and has almost reduced to zero in many areas. This practice has led to deforestation, soil erosion, diminished rainfall, silting up of the rivers, reservoirs and deterioration of the climate of a region. On the other hand, with the promulgation of stringent forest laws, shifting cultivation has been completely banned in new areas. The total replacement of the system is neither feasible nor desirable as it is a mixed problem connected not only with availability of plain lands and provision of alternative means of livelihood but also with the customs, traditions and beliefs of the tribals.

The restrictions put on the practice of shifting cultivation has created serious problem of food insecurity to the tribals who were largely depending on this type of cultivation for maintaining their livelihood. Keeping these in view, it is necessary on the part of government to provide viable alternative economic opportunities in place of shifting cultivation for these tribals to ensure them a sustainable livelihood.

Indebtedness

Widespread indebtedness is a major problem among the tribals. The subsistence type of agriculture on which they mainly depend and the absence of any viable subsidiary employment opportunities make the tribal economy perpetually a deficit one. Their wasteful customs of marriage, death and religious ceremonies further aggravates their deficit nature of economy and drive them to borrow. The initiation of commercial vending of liquor in tribal areas have started impoverishing the tribal population, making them victims of indebtedness and exploitation.

Orissa moneylenders Regulation, 1967 (Regulation 2 of 1968) is in operation since 15th November, 1968 with a view to regulating and monitoring moneylending activities of the Scheduled Areas of the State. The state government have enacted the Orissa Debt Relief Act, 1980 which have been in force since 13th March, 1981, with a view to providing relief to small farmers, rural artisans and agricultural labourers. Any debt incurred by a Scheduled Tribe before the commencement of the Act including the amount of interest, if any payable on such debt shall be deemed to have been wholly discharged. With the enactment of Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976, the bounded labour system has been abolished since 1976. As per the provisions of the Act, liberated bonded labourers are socio-economically rehabilitated with employment opportunities including self-employment so that they do not relapse in to bondage. By the end of February, 2001, 19167 numbers of STs have been released out of which 18411 have been rehabilitated.

The Regional Rural Banks and Cooperative Banks, have been able to provide institutional credit to meet the credit for production purposes. But the tribals still go to the moneylender to take loan for meeting with their consumption needs. The legal measures to curb the activities of moneylenders and traders have failed to have much impact on the severity of the problem due to ineffective enforcement machinery and lack of alternative sources of credit for meeting the tribal's consumption and production needs. "The problem of tribal indebtedness often gets aggravated and compounded with the government subsidy-cum-loan schemes which further lead the tribals into deep indebtedness". (Tenth Five Year Plan-Vol. II: p. 458).

Deprivation of Forest Rights

Forests and Tribals share a symbiotic relationship. For a large number of tribal people forest is their natural habitat, deriving their sustenance from environment. Forests provide them their prime necessities such as food, fuel, material to build their houses, edible leaves, nourishing roots, honey, wild game and fish. Recognising this dependency, the National Forest Policy, 1988 stipulated that all agencies responsible for forest management should ensure that the tribal people are closely associated with the regeneration, plantation, development and harnessing of forests so as to provide them gainful employment. It has been also recognised that the protection of rights of tribals in forests is the key to amelioration of their conditions.

The tribal people often depend upon collection and sale of various forest produce like timber, fodder and saleable Minor Forest Produce (MFP) items like Kendu leaves, Sal seeds, Mohua flower, resins etc. for their livelihood and often get exploited by unscrupulous middlemen. In order to prevent such exploitations a number of measures have been taken by the government of Orissa. A few important measures taken are:

- (a) Abolition of private contractors since 1982 and the system of exploitation of forests are entrusted to Orissa Forest Development Corporation and other Government Agencies.
- (b) The purchase of certain Minor Forest Produce items have been entrusted to the Tribal Development Cooperative Corporation of Orissa Ltd. (T.D.C.C.O.L.), Tikabali Agency Marketing Cooperative Society and Orissa Forest Corporation.
- (c) Trading of Sal Seeds have been nationalised since 1983 to protect the interest of the tribals.
- (d) The Orissa Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Interest in Trees) Act, 1981 has been enacted to assure a tribal to get proper price for the trees on their recorded holding.
- (e) The main tasar producing areas of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar have been leased out to the state Tasar Cooperative Society with the principal objective of eliminating exploitation of tribal tasser rearers by middlemen.

However, in the process of implementation the tribals failed to get their due share from the sale of Minor Forest Produce. Often they face difficulties to meet their domestic requirements of fuel wood, fodder and construction timber.

Tribal forest interface relate to such items as regularisation of encroachment on forest land and other land related problems, dispute regarding Patta/leases/grants involving forest land and payment of fair wages to labourers. As regards regularisation of encroachment on forest land it is the policy of the government to regularise pre-1980 encroachments. But the regularisation of pre-1980 cases has not been finalised as yet. It has created a lot of problems in the process of identification of pre-1980 encroachment cases.

These are some of the 'unresolved issues' which need to be attended on priority basis and has to be handled with care. In addition to these major problems, there are certain 'persisting problems' in the critical areas such as education, health, livelihood, poverty, vulnerability, violence, unrest etc. each of which need to be addressed to accelerated the process of empowering the Scheduled Tribes through raising their status on par with the rest of the society. Some of these problems have been discussed in brief:

Low Literacy and High Drop Out Rates

Education has been widely acknowledged as the most important tool for empowerment of weaker sections including Scheduled Tribes. The Ministry of Human Resource Development in the centre—Education Department of Orissa state, the Ministry of Tribal Affairs and Department of SCs & STs Development are implementing a number of schemes for educational empowerment of weaker sections. Although, there has been a visible increase in the literacy rates during the last four developmental decades, the gap between the literacy rates of STs and those of the general population still persists in Orissa. Further, the gap between the general population and STs was found to be widening decide after decades.

Table—3.2: Literacy rates of general population and STs in Orissa: The gains and the gaps

Category	1961	1971	1981	1991	Percentage increase of 1991 over 1961
1	2	3	4	5	6
General population including SCs/STs	21.66	26.18	34.23	49.09	126.64
Schedule Tribes	7.36	9.46	13.96	22.31	203.13
Gap between general population & STs	14.30	16.72	20.27	26.78	87.27

Despite the programme of universalisation of Primary Education, which have been in effective operation since 1986, the literacy rate of STs remained as low as 22.31 per cent while the general literacy rate has reached 49.09 per cent in 1991. Similarly, the female literacy rate of STs stood at 10.21 per cent which is also much lower in comparison with 34.70 per cent in respect of general category.

Table—3.3: Female literacy rates of STs and general population in Orissa: The gains and gaps

Category	1961	1971	1981	1991	Percentage increase of 1991 over 1961
1	2	3	4	5	6
Female literacy rates all communities including SC/ST	8.65	13.92	21.12	34.70	301.16
Schedule Tribes	1.77	2.58	4.76	10.21	476.84
Gap between female Literacy rate of STs & all communities	6.88	11.34	16.36	24.49	255.96

The data presented in Table—3.3 reveals that the female literacy rates in respect of STs have increased substantially from 1.77 per cent in 1961 to 10.21 in 1991. However, the female literacy rates of these communities as a whole continued to be very low requiring focussed attention.

Although, the drop out rates amongst the STs have been showing a declining trend in the state, yet the same is still high as compared to that of general categories. Low level of literacy, high rate of drop outs at various levels and the difficulties being faced by ST students in pursuing their higher studies needs special attention.

Inadequate and Inaccessible Health Services

Tribal health is one of the important areas for action in the health sector. During the plan period, a considerable expansion of medical and public health facilities have taken place in tribal areas. The benefits, however, have not been commensurate with the facilities provided due to mainly three reasons. One of the major difficulties in the interior regions in the way of persuading tribal people to come for medical treatment is the fact that they have a well developed system of diagnosis and cure. (Dhebar Communication, 1961). The conception of disease in tribal society is that it is caused by hostile spirits or due to breach of any taboo. What is spiritually caused, must be spiritually cured and this is the main reason why in the interiors they prefer to go to their own traditional medicine man rather than to ours. However, with the spread of education in tribal areas the tribals have gradually started realising the value of modern medicine and coming in large number to hospitals and dispensaries to avail themselves of the medical facilities.

Another important factor to expand health facilities in tribal areas is the difficulties to secure the services of doctors and para medical staff for most of the dispensaries and hospitals established in these areas. The reluctance on the part of medical personnel to serve in tribal areas is due to the absence of modern amenities in the place to which they are posted. In order to overcome this difficulty the Elwin Committee suggested that "there should be a certain period of service in tribal areas for all doctors as a condition of promotion, crossing efficiency bar or being sent for higher studies in India or abroad and that those doctors who serve well should receive special commendation in their character rolls and be considered for accelerated promotion". It is good that the government of Orissa has followed a part of this suggestion in recent past and things have proved to some extent in tribal areas. However, health care facilities have not yet been provided in these areas. This problem needs adequate attention on the part of the government.

Unemployment and Poverty

The impact of various poverty alleviation programmes implemented in Orissa state during the last two development decades has brought down the poverty ratio among STs from 79.1 per cent in 1983 to 63.6 per cent in 1993.⁹⁴ But it is much higher when compared to the poverty ratio among all groups which declined from 55.1 per cent to 42 per cent during the same period (M. Panda, 2000). Studies undertaken on the impact of various anti-poverty programmes, namely, IRDP, DWCRA, TRYSEM, SITRA, JRY, EAS IAY and MSW in tribal districts of Orissa such as Mayurbhanj, Koraput, Nabrangpur by the State government reveals several weaknesses like improper identification of beneficiaries, inadequate and improper supply of assets to beneficiaries, untimely supply of subsidies by the government, inadequate supply of loan by banks, inadequate generation of mandays of employment by contractors and their high handedness in operating the programme, inadequate supervision, monitoring and follow up action either by block staff or banks staff to assess the use of credit, poor marketing and training facilities available to the beneficiaries, etc. As a result of the weaknesses witnessed in the implementation of the schemes, the impact on generation of output, income and employment in the Post-assistance period was marginal compared to Pre-assistance period (Orissa State Development Report, 2003). The experiences obtained from the implementation of specific schemes like EAS, PDS, ICDS and MDM also suffered from inadequate impact and improper implementation.

Therefore, there is an urgent need to critically review the approach adopted so far for tribal protection and development and reorient the same whenever needed, so as to ensure flow of development benefits within a definite time-frame and restore the faith of the tribals in the capacity of the government to deliver (Tenth Five Year Plan, 2002-2007, Vol. II, pp. 461).

Endangering of Intellectual Rights

The traditional knowledge of the tribals on the forest eco-system is very deep. They know the intricacies of the relationship among the living components of environment. In this process, the tribals have developed invaluable indigenous knowledge, which has passed from generation to generation through the medium of oral tradition, folklore and practice, which find a place in various life cycle events including treatment of diseases/ailments.

Though the tribals depend on these biological resources, their life-style and livelihoods is very much shaped by these resources. Thus, their survival and subsistence is closely linked to conservation and utilisation of these resources. However, they do not have any codified text of rights to accredit their legitimate ownership.

“Corporate protectionism in terms of Patents and Intellectual Property Rights arising out of various international treaties/instruments on trade and common property resources such as the Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) under World Trade Agreement (WTO) represents a real threat to economic livelihood of these communities” (Tenth Five Year Plan 2002-2007, Vol. II, p. 461). There is every likelihood that these knowledge may be converted into private property by those who want to privatize and patent it. Therefore, there is an urgent need to provide appropriate legal and institutional arrangement for recognising and acknowledging the rights of tribal communities to such resource and knowledge.

Ineffective Implementation of PESA, 1996

The 73rd and 74th constitutional Amendments of 1993 followed by their extension to Scheduled Areas through the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) PESA Act, 1996, are landmark achievements in the process of decentralisation of powers and authority to Panchayats and Grama Sabha. However, in Orissa devolution of powers and functions to the Panchayats have been given in respect of ownership of sixty-seven forest products, recommendation for grant/renewal of license for manufacture and sale of liquor, preservation of custom and tradition of the people, empowerment of Grama Sabha to grant certificate of utilisation, preparing local plans and to exercise control over the resources of such plans, recommendation of the Zila Parishad before grant of license for minor minerals and consultation with the parishad before acquisition of lands for development projects and resettling persons affected by such projects etc. In addition the government of Orissa recently has transferred powers of eleven departments of the State Government to the different tiers of the Panchayati Raj Institutions. These include some specific aspects of departments like Agriculture, Cooperation, School and Mass Education, Food Supply and Consumer Welfare, S.Cs & S.Ts Department, Health & Family Welfare, Women

and Child Development, Fisheries and Animal Resources Development, Rural Development, Panchayati Raj & Water Resources. However, the State Government has to take appropriate measures to transfer the other powers in the list to the panchayat bodies as per the guidelines of the constitutional Amendment to enable the tribals to have full say in their own affairs.

Active Participation of people in the process of planning and development of their own problems will go a long way for accelerating the process of economic development in tribal areas. The concept Gram Sabha has to be made a reality in the village level. The Nehru's Panchaseel for tribal development have been side tracked in most of the development programmes. However, the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 have duly emphasised that "A state legislation on the Panchayat shall be in consonance with the customary laws, social and religious practices and traditional management practices of community resources". It is high time for the planners and policy-makers to take appropriate steps to activate the traditional panchayat and dormitory system of the tribal areas and integrate them with the new panchayat system. The tribal medicine man and religious head who enjoy a pride of place in tribal society need to find a place in the process of development of health and sanitation facilities. A number of medicinal plants that were available in forests of tribal areas are becoming rare or extinct due to deforestation. Proper encouragement need to be provided to the tribals to develop medicinal plants gardens in every Panchayat/Block through a suitable policy.

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Development of Tribals in South Orissa

A Study

Mr. S.S. Nayak

Mr. Rookesh Kumar Misra

Introduction

After India became independent in the middle of the 20th century the efforts started to develop the Indian economy, including tribals, but the developed communities absorbed most of the development benefits and the tribes socio-economic situation did not change significantly during the last half a century of planned development, even though they have provided with special privileges both politically and on the basis of economic status. India has the largest tribal population in the world, perhaps next to Africa. As per the 1991 census, the Scheduled Tribes (S.Ts) population in India is 6.78 crore, which is about 8.10 per cent of the total population, of this about half of them stay in the three states of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Orissa. In Madhya Pradesh maximum population of more than 140 lakhs (39 per cent) of tribals are residing. In second position comes to the state of Maharashtra where about 73 lakhs (9.5 per cent) of tribals are residing. Orissa is ranked third amongst all states with 70.32 lakhs (22.21 per cent) of tribals are residing. As per the 2001 census, the projected S.Ts population in Orissa is 83.59 lakhs and representing 22.77 per cent of the state's population. Similarly, in South Orissa, the Scheduled Tribes account for 21.25 lakhs and represent 30.23 per cent of the state's population. In South Orissa, the highest percentage of S.Ts residing in Malkangiri districts, which was 57.43 per cent and lowest percentage of S.Ts residing in Ganjam district, which was 2.88 per cent as per 2001 census. Development and welfare of the S.Ts

promotion of their educational and economic interest and their protection from social injustice and exploitation are matters of special concern for the state government. The state government is committed to ensuring speedy development of the S.Ts through effective implementation of anti-exploitative, protective, economic, social, cultural and welfare measures in the state.

Scope and Objectives

In this paper we have tried our best to highlight the development of tribals in southern districts of Orissa under the Prime Ministers Rojagar Yojana (P.M.R.Y.) by the end of 2003 and only secondary data are taken into consideration. So, all the limitations of the secondary data are found in this study. The relevant secondary data are collected from the annual action plan and official records of the DICs in Southern Orissa. At last, a comparison has been made regarding the general beneficiaries who have taken loan under PMRY scheme with SC/ST beneficiaries in South Orissa and to put for some suggestions to improve this scenario.

Since the study is empirical in nature, it is confined to only the Southern Districts of Orissa namely Ganjam, Koraput, Nayagarh, Malkangiri, Rayagada, Boudh and Kandhamal. The scope of the study is made limited only to the beneficiaries who have taken loan under the self-employment scheme of the government named PMRY.

Tribal Development during Pre-independence Period

The development of tribals during pre-independence period was lagging behind mostly. During the British rule, the approach to the administration of tribal area was marked by a desire to leave the tribal areas alone by designating such areas as excluded or partially excluded areas. The reason for such an approach obviously were the difficulties involved in governing the brave and self-respecting groups of people living in remote and inaccessible regions without proper communication facilities. As a result, these tribal areas received least attention and were left to the whims and caprices of the local zamindars and petty officials, who exploited the gullibility and simplicity of the tribals to the maximum possible extent. This naturally resulted further alienation and isolation of the tribal communities from the mainstream of economic development.

During Post-independence Period

After independence the main thrust of the strategy of tribal development has been to promote the participation of Scheduled Tribes in planning and implementation of programmes for their development. In furtherance of this objective, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, has enunciated five guiding principles for tribal development. These are:

1. Tribal people should develop along the line of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every possible way their traditional art and culture.
2. Tribal rights in land and forest should be protected.
3. We should not over-administer these areas and work through their own social and cultural institutions.
4. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development.
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.

Tribal Development during Five Year Plans

In the earlier two plans strategy of tribal development was formulated in a piece meal manner. During the 2nd plan, out of 34 special Multi-purpose Tribal Development Blocks established in the country, four were established in the state with a view to bringing about rapid improvement in the economic and social standards of the tribals. The limited number of programmes introduced in most of these blocks did not even reflect the nature of specific needs of the tribals residing therein.

During the third plan period, 75 Tribal Development Blocks were opened in the state by 1966-67. Out of 489 such blocks established in the country. An important weakness of the programme was found in the progress of democratic decentralisation in which the village Panchayats, Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishad were given considerable power. The non-tribals who gained more power in these institutions took a major share of the benefits from this new programme by diverting the funds earmarked for the tribals.

A new mode of strategy was launched in the Fourth Plan period with the establishment of two projects in the state known as Tribal Development Agencies. The main objects of the programme was to bring the tribal population by boosting their economic development. The core economic programmes pursued by these projects comprised all aspects of agricultural development, encouragement of agro and forest-based industries, strengthening of cooperative societies and the like.

As the tribals could not get their due share in the general development programme, it was considered necessary to evolve a new strategy for their socio-economic development. Thus, the concept of Tribal sub-plan was evolved and adopted during the Fifth Plan. Areas having more than 50 per cent tribal concentration were identified and during the Fifth Plan 21 Integrated Tribal Development Agencies were formed comprising 118 blocks out of 314 blocks in the State. At present 17 micro projects are functioning in the state for all round development of 12 primitive Tribal Communities.

During the 6th plan period, the areas with population of 10,000 or more of which more than 50 per cent of the population are tribals have been covered under "Modified Area Development Approach" (MADA). At present 46 MADA spread over 47 blocks in 17 districts covering 5.67 lakh tribals are operating in the state as a part of tribal sub-plan strategy.

In the 7th plan this has been further relaxed so as to cover smaller areas with total population of 5000 and with more than 50 per cent tribal concentration under the "Cluster Approach". By the end of 1999-2000, 14 cluster pockets comprising of parts of 13 blocks in 10 districts with 52,793 tribals have been functioning under this approach. During 2001-2002, an amount of Rs. 21.00 lakhs has been spent for assisting 839 S.T. beneficiaries, while an equal amount was spent for 166 S.T. beneficiaries during 2002-2003. An amount of Rs. 50.00 lakh was allocated under cluster approach in the annual plan 2003-04.

About the South Orissa

Prior to 2nd October 1992, South Orissa consisted of three districts, namely Ganjam, Koraput, and Phulbani with effect from 2nd October 1992, these 3 districts of the South Orissa were recognised into 8 districts, namely: Ganjam, Gajapati, Koraput, Malkangiri, Nawarangpur,

Rayagada, Boudh and Kandhamal by an ordinance of the State Government Vide Government Notification No. 48522 dated 28-09-1992.

The two districts of South Orissa, Ganjam and Koraput was formed on the 1st April, 1936, during the British rule. In the year 1948, ex-princely state namely Phulbani was merged with and a new state of Orissa was formed with thirteen districts. The sample district Ganjam of South Orissa is bounded by Boudh, Kandhamala and Puri district in the North, Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh and Gajapati district of South Orissa in the south, a long coast of Bay of Bengal and Puri district in the East, Boudh, Kandhamal and Koraput district of South Orissa in the West. The sample districts lies between 19°-00' to 20°-17' of Northern latitude and 84°-6' to 85°-11' of eastern longitude. The sample district has a population of 8175 thousand with equal representation of males and females as per 2001 census. Out of this, the Scheduled Tribes (ST) account for 21.25 lakhs and represent 30.23 per cent of the total population and the Scheduled Caste (SC) account for 5.93 lakhs and represent 11.57 per cent of the total population of Orissa state.

Tribal Population in South Orissa

The tribal areas constitute a very significant part of backward area of Orissa State. Orissa occupies a unique position among the states for the highest concentration of Scheduled Tribes next only to Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. The Scheduled Areas of South Orissa cover whole of four districts (i.e. Koraput, Rayagada, Nawarangapur and Malkangiri) and part of three districts (i.e. Gajapati, Ganjam and Phulbani) of the State. The details of the Scheduled Areas and S.T. population have been presented in Table—4.1.

Table—4.1 shows that, Scheduled Areas of the south Orissa extend to 38425.80 Sq.Kms. which accounts for 24.68 per cent of the total area of the state according to 1991 census. Out of the total Scheduled Tribes population of south Orissa, 21.25 lakhs (30.23 per cent) are bound in the Scheduled Areas of the state of this maximum number of tribals and residing in Koraput districts which was 5,19,506 and minimum number of tribals are residing in Ganjam district which was 12,852.

Table—4.1: Scheduled area and scheduled tribe population in south Orissa (1991 census)

Sl. No.	District	Tracts included in scheduled area	Area of the tracts (in sq. km.)	Population within the scheduled area			
				S.T.	S.C.	Total	
1.	Gajapati	R. Udayagiri	2498.80	1,95,310	12,525	2,87,612	
2.	Ganjam	Sorada Tahasil	912.00	12,852	29,076	1,42,649	
3.	Koraput	Whole district	8534.00	5,19,006	1,38,107	10,26,458	
4.	Rayagada	Whole district	7584.70	4,00,097	1,01,956	7,13,984	
5.	Nawarangapur	Whole district	5135.30	4,67,919	1,27,800	8,46,659	
6.	Malkangiri	Whole district	6115.30	2,49,057	84,270	4,25,445	
7.	Phulbani	Kandhamal Tahasil	2017.60	76,587	36,180	1,60,205	
		Baliguda Tahasil	5628.10	2,04,799	63,319	3,86,076	
		Total	38425.80	21,25,627	5,93,233	39,89,088	
% to State Total		—	24.68	30.23	11.57	12.60	
State Total		—	1,55,707.00	70,32,214	51,29,314	3,16,59,736	

Source: Economic Survey, 2003-04. Government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar, p. 20/1.

Growth of Literacy Among Tribal-districts of South Orissa

Literacy is regarded as one of the important factor of economic development. Rate of literacy of the tribes for the census 2001 is not yet available. According to 1991 census, the literacy among the tribals was estimated as 22.31 per cent, of which male literacy is 34.44 per cent and female literacy is 10.21 per cent. In four of the whole tribal districts (Koraput, Nawrangapur, Malkangiri and Rayagada) the general literacy was 8.79 per cent. The percentages in literacy of male and female in tribal district can be seen in Table—4.2.

Table—4.2: General percentage of literacy among the tribal districts of south Orissa (1991 census)

Sl. No.	District	Male literacy	Female literacy
1.	Koraput	47.58	24.81
2.	Nawrangapur	47.37	21.02
3.	Rayagada	47.35	24.31
4.	Malkangiri	41.21	21.26
	Mean	45.87	22.85

Source: Census 2001.

Table—4.2 shows that, the male literacy regarded between 41 to 48 per cent, and female literacy ranged between 21 to 25 per cent in the tribal districts according to 1991 census. But, if we compares the general rate of literacy for 2001 census, four of the least tribal districts is 76.88 per cent while in the four of the districts with maximum tribal population comes to 31.88 per cent.

About the PMRY Scheme

The Prime Minister's Rojagar Yojana (PMRY) launched on 2nd October 1993 was originally targeted to provide self-employment opportunities to educated unemployed youth in urban area only. From 1994-95, the scheme has been extended to rural areas also. Youths in the age group of 18 to 35 years with requisite educational qualifications and having annual family income of Rs. 40,000 or less are eligible to avail loan assistance. Any economically viable activities in industry/service/business sector including agriculture and allied activities are

eligible for financing under the scheme. The scheme envisaged 22.5 per cent reservation for SC/ST and 27 per cent for Other Backward Class (OBC). In case SC/ST/OBC candidates are not available, the same will be filled up from general category. The maximum limit of project cost per individual in case of business sector is Rs. 1 lakh and Rs. 2 lakh for industries/service sector. If two or more eligible persons join together in partnership, projects upto Rs. 10 lakh can be considered.

Analysis

The analysis is made under two heads:

1. District-wise comparative statement recording disbursement to sanction in PMRY scheme.
2. Category-wise breakup of SC/ST, OBC, women under PMRY scheme.

1. Progress in Implementation of PMRY Scheme in South Orissa by the End of December-2003

The district-wise performance report for the PMRY 2003-04 in South Orissa is placed in Table—4.3.

Table—4.3 shows the PMRY scheme for the year 2003-04 which has been completed in December, 2003. During the year 2003-04, 2016 number of cases have been sanctioned against the target of 2835 in South Orissa which works out to 71.1 per cent against target. But only 1372 number of cases have been reported to be disbursed which works out to 68.05 per cent against sanctioned cases. Likewise, Boudh recorded highest sanction with 101.74 per cent whereas Gajapati recorded lowest sanctioned with 64.14 per cent.

Table—4.3: Progress in implementation of PMRY in South Orissa, by the end of December-2003

Sl. No.	District	Target No.	Application received (No.)	Sponsored to Bank	Sanction		% of sanction to target	Disbursement		% of disbursement to sanction
					No.	Amount		No.	Amount	
1.	Ganjam	1460	4642	1835	964	762.85	66.03	596	378.60	61.83
2.	Gajapati	145	312	303	93	52.45	64.14	61	29.71	65.59
3.	Koraput	340	965	437	255	175.65	75.00	195	93.32	76.47
4.	Nawarangapur	100	402	156	77	50.00	77.00	43	18.81	55.84
5.	Malkangiri	60	278	80	55	37.17	91.67	42	18.35	76.36
6.	Rayagada	395	852	497	277	190.12	70.13	186	93.53	67.15
7.	Boudh	115	309	164	117	87.27	101.74	103	59.68	88.03
8.	Kandhamal	220	650	328	178	127.70	80.91	146	79.03	82.02
Total		2,835	8,410	3,800	2,016	1,482.58	71.1	1,372	771.03	68.05

Source: Statistical Hand Book, Directorate of Industries, 2003-04, Orissa, Cuttack.

2 The Category-wise Breakup of SC, ST, OBC and Women under PMRY Scheme in South Orissa by the End of December 2003

As per the guidelines of PMRY scheme, the coverage of Scheduled Caste (SC). Scheduled Tribe (ST) generally known as tribals and Other Backward Class (OBC) should be 22.5 per cent and 27 per cent respectively. But it is seen that over the years, the share of tribal beneficiaries in the scheme has been decreasing in comparison to others. The category-wise breakup of the SC, ST and OBC beneficiaries under PMRY scheme in south Orissa are explained in Table—4.4.

Table—4.4: The category-wise breakup of SC/ST, OBC, women under PMRY scheme is south Orissa by the end of 2003

Sl. No.	Particulars	SC/ST	OBC	Women
1.	No. of applications received	5240	11,446	4,693
2.	Percentage of applications received against total application	13.56%	29.60%	12.15%
3.	No. of loan proposals sponsored to Bank	2303	3681	1508
4.	Percentage of sponsoring against total sponsoring	15.37%	24.56%	10.06%
5.	No. of cases sanction by Banks	1094	1915	737
6.	Percentage of sanctioned against total sanction	13.02%	22.80%	8.67%
7.	No. of cases disbursed by Banks	841	1608	528
8.	Percentage of disbursement against total disbursement	11.82%	22.61%	7.42%

Source: Statistical Handbook, Directorate of Industries, 2003-04, Orissa, Cuttack, p. 138.

Table—4.4 shows that, 1094 cases have been sanctioned against the target of 5240 number of SC/ST beneficiaries under PMRY scheme in south Orissa. It was 13.02 per cent sanctioned against total sanction. During this period 841 number of cases have been reported to be disbursed in SC/ST beneficiaries which works out to 11.82 per cent disbursement against total disbursement. In comparison to OBC and women beneficiaries, the disbursement percentage in SC/ST beneficiaries was very low under PMRY scheme in south Orissa.

Suggestions

A few humble suggestions are put forth here under the development of tribals.

1. For higher coverage of weaker sanction beneficiaries, efforts are to be made to motivate Scheduled Tribal beneficiaries for billing applications for assistance under the PMRY scheme.
2. The banks and financial institutions while sanctioning and disbursing loans, should give preferential treatment to S.T. beneficiaries in comparison to S.C. and OBC beneficiaries.
3. The Government of Orissa has not lagged behind to take initiative for the specific development of the tribal community in the state. In 1992 six tribal districts, out of eight tribal districts, have been declared as "Scheduled Area" for specific tribal development. But it is suggested that the government to take up it seriously for the intensive development of the tribal community.
4. It is also suggested that the government to set up a southern Orissa zone includes five tribal districts of Malkangiri, Koraput, Nawarangapur, Rayagada and Kandhamal. It may be put in charge of a development commissioner, to formulate specific plans for the respective development area, in consultation with planning commission, central government and state government for financing and guidance.

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Marketing of Tribal Products

An Analysis

Dr. Anil Kumar Sahu

Dr. Satya N. Pathi

Dr. Rabi N. Misra

Introduction

Marketing of Minor Forest Produce (MFP) and Surplus Agricultural Produce (SAP) is an important factor, which need due consideration for economic growth of tribals and others of Kandhamal districts of Orissa.

This article deals with the marketing of MFP and SAP from 1991-1992 to 2001-2002 in Kandhamal district under the leadership of Agency Marketing Co-operative Society (AMCS), Tikabali and under the new policy of the Government of Orissa. For the purpose of study, 1000 sample respondents of Kandhamal district are taken into consideration. This chapter tries to examine from various angles, the positive steps taken by AMCS for marketing of MFP and SAP and also the steps taken by the Panchayats to appoint the agents under new government policy to meet the requirement of the poor tribals in Kandhamal district of Orissa.

Analysis of the Study

Marketing of MFP and SAP according to the Land Holding Pattern

Out of 1,000 sample responding, 500 respondents are taken from MFP and the rest 500 respondents are taken from SAP for analysis, which is illustrated in Table—5.1.

Table—5.1: Marketing of MFP and SAP according to the land holding pattern

Sl. No.	Land holding	MFP	SAP	Total
1.	Up to 1 acre	168	21	189
2.	1 acre — 2 acres	124	34	158
3.	2 acres — 3 acres	90	61	151
4.	3 acres — 4 acres	56	97	153
5.	4 acres — 5 acres	37	126	163
6.	5 acres and above	23	163	186
<i>Total</i>		500	500	1000

Source: Compiled from the questionnaires.

The land-holding pattern of the people of Kandhamal is classified into six categories. It is clear from Table—5.1 that the people of Kandhamal who hold less/no land, i.e. agricultural labourers and marginal farmers are engaged in procurement and marketing of MFP to AMCS, Tikabali. But the people who have more land, i.e. the small, medium and big farmers are mostly engaged in marketing of SAP's to the society. Table—5.1 shows that 168 tribals and others who own up to one acre of land collect MFP and sell to the society. But when land-holding of the respondent is more, i.e. 5 acres and above, 23 persons or 4.6 per cent sample respondents come forward to sell the MFP at AMCS, Tikabali.

Marketing on the Basis of Qualification

The sample individuals of Kandhamal have been divided into two categories—illiterates and literates. The persons approach the AMCS. Tikabali with their produce according to their educational qualification is illustrated in the Table—5.2.

Table—5.2: Respondents approaching the procurement centres of AMCS, Tikabali according to qualification

Sl. No.	Qualification	No. of persons	Percentage
1.	Illiterate	460	46.0
2.	Upto class III	244	24.4
3.	Class II to V	166	16.6
4.	Class V to VII	78	7.8
5.	Class VII to X	30	3.0
6.	Class X to XII	16	1.6
7.	Class XII to graduation	06	0.6
8.	Beyond graduation	—	—
Total		1000	100%

Source: Compiles from the questionnaires.

Table—5.2 reveals that out of 1000 sample individuals, 460 (46.0%) are illiterates and rest 540 (54.0%) are literates. The literates are further divided into seven categories, starting from up to class III to graduation level. No sample individual has crossed his educational qualification beyond graduation.

Marketing—Castewise

The sample individuals of study district are divided into four categories such as General, Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and Other Backward Caste. Their share in marketing to produce both in MFP and SAP at AMCS, Takabali is explained in Table—5.3.

Table—5.3: Approach made by the sample individuals to AMCS procurement centres according to their caste

Sl. No.	According to caste	No. of persons	Percentage to total
1.	Scheduled tribe	460	46.0
2.	Scheduled caste	344	34.4
3.	Other backward caste	118	11.8
4.	General	78	7.8
Total		1000	100%

Source: Compiled from the questionnaires.

Out of 1000 sample persons of Kandhamal district, 460 are ST, 344 are SC, 118 are OBC and rest 78 are General. The ST and SC both contribute 80.4 per cent of total sample individuals and other two categories contribute only 19.6 per cent of the sample individuals.

Approaching the Procurement Centres According to Age

The tribals and others approach the AMCS, Tikabali and its recognised procurement centres to sell their produce according to the age are explained in Table—5.4.

Table—5.4: Age-wise approaching the AMCS and collection centres by the sample respondents

Sl. No.	Age (Years)	Males	Females	Total	Percentage to total
1.	Less than 10	24	72	96	9.6
2.	10-20	54	326	380	38.0
3.	20-30	28	184	212	21.2
4.	30-40	22	114	136	13.6
5.	40-50	16	82	98	9.8
6.	50-60	08	44	52	5.2
7.	60 and above	—	26	26	2.6

Source: Compiled from the Questionnaires.

Table—5.4 shows that out of 1000 sample individuals, 848 are females and 152 are males. So it is clear that the females mostly visit to procurement centres to sell the produce. The tribals and others in the age group of 10-20, 20-30 and 30-40 mostly visit the procurement centres established by AMCS, Tikabali in the district of Kandhamal. These age group account for 380, 212 and 136 individuals.

Approaching to the Sample Tribals and Others at Collection Centres

The sample tribals and others approach at the collection centres opened by AMCS, Tikabali in different blocks of the district are explained in Table—5.5.

Table—5.5: Blockwise approaching of sample tribals and others at collection centres

Sl. No.	Name of the blocks	Persons approaching the centres in blocks	Percentage to total
1.	Tikabali	281	28.1
2.	G. Udayagiri	63	6.3
3.	Raikia	93	9.3
4.	Chakapad	58	5.8
5.	Phulbani	39	3.9
6.	Khajuripada	22	2.2
7.	Phiringia	24	2.4
8.	Nuagaon	26	2.6
9.	Daringibadi	112	11.2
10.	Baliguda	42	4.2
11.	Tumudibandh	174	17.4
12.	Kotagarh	66	6.6
Total		1000	100%

Source: Compiled from the questionnaires.

Selling of Produce through Middle Men

The sample tribals and others come forward to sell their produce directly to the AMCS centres or by the help of others are illustrated in the Table—5.6.

Table—5.6: Selling of produce directly through middlemen and others

Sl. No.	Direct selling/Middlemen	No. of persons	Percentage
1	2	3	4
1.	Direct approach at collection centre A	658	65.8
2.	Through middlemen (B)	342	34.2
	(i) Commission agent	26	2.6
	(ii) Village head (Mukheea)	102	10.2

(Table Contd...)

1	2	3	4
	(iii) Ward members	56	5.6
	(iv) Co-operative staff	124	12.4
	(v) Others	34	3.4
	Total A + B	1000	100%

Source: Compiled from the questionnaires.

The tribals and others approach the marketing centres directly or being influenced by middlemen and others. The Table—5.6 reveals that out of 1000 sample persons, 658 (65.8 per cent) approach the AMCS, Tikabali/organised centres directly without taking the help of others. But only 342 (34.2 per cent) approach the centres being influenced by the middlemen. Commission agents, villages' heads, ward members, co-operative staff and others (friends, relatives etc.) come into the fold of middlemen.

Approaching the Marketing Centres at Different Time

The sample respondents of Kandhamal district approach the AMCS collection centres daily, weekly, fortnightly and monthly gap to sell their produce are illustrated in the Table—5.7.

Table—5.7: Sample respondents approach the AMCS collection centres to sell their produce at different time interval

Sl. No.	Approaching the centre at different time	No. of persons	Percentage to total
1.	On each day	375	37.5
2.	Weekly	487	48.7
3.	Fortnightly	103	10.3
4.	Monthly	35	3.5
	Total	1000	100%

Source: Compiled from the questionnaires.

From Table—5.7 it is clear that out of 1000 respondents, 487 respondents approach the collection centres weekly, and 375 persons (37.5 per cent) daily, 103 (10.3 per cent) at fortnight interval and 35

persons (3.5 per cent) at monthly interval respectively. Thus, it is clear that most of the sample respondents prefer to sell their produce weekly on the days of weekly markets.

Mode of Transport Availed by the Sample Individuals

The tribals and others of the sample district approach the AMCS Tikabali and its procurement centres by some mode of transport. The mode availed by them are illustrated in Table—5.8.

Table—5.8: Mode of transport availed by the tribals/others to attend the collection centres of AMCS, Tikabali

Sl. No.	Mode of transport	No. of tribals/others	Percentage to total
1.	Walking	673	67.3
2.	Bullock cart	72	7.2
3.	Bicycle	129	12.9
4.	Trolley	07	0.7
5.	Rickshaw	29	2.9
6.	Minibus & other motor driven	72	7.2
7.	Other mode	18	1.8
	Total	1000	100%

Source: Compiled from the questionnaires.

According to Table—5.8 it is found that the sample individuals approach the marketing centres mostly by walking. They carry their produce on their head and go to the centre to sell the produce. Out of 1000 sample, 673 (67.3 per cent) use walking as their main mode of transport.

Payment Style of AMCS, Tikabali to the Sellers

When products, which are, delivered at AMCS, Tikabali and its procurement centres, the personnel of the society keep them after proper measurement and pay the price a fixed for each produce. They first gives slips to the sellers about their quantity of produce and the payment is made according to the money available at that time. After receiving all the produces from the sellers, they at last start payment. The style of payment and the reaction of sellers are illustrated in Table—5.9.

Table—5.9: Payment style of AMCS, Tikabali to the sample sellers of MFP and SAP of Kandhamal district

Payment style	No. of sellers	Does AMCS provide responsible price?	Measurement made by AMCS	
Payment made on the same day	467	Provide reasonable price/happy with price	Sellers 886	Measurement is satisfactory Sellers 918
Within two days	102	Not happy with price	114	
Within 7 days	336			Measurement 82
Within 15 days	73	Excess price		
Within one month	22			
Total	1000		1000	1000

Source: Compiled from the questionnaires.

Table—5.9 reveals that out of 1000 sample respondents, 467 sellers of MFP and SAP get their price of the produce on the same day. But 336 persons (33.6 per cent) are able to get their price within 7 days. 102 sample individuals get their price within two days. The personnel of AMCS, pay the cost of the produce at reasonable price fixed by the Government.

Amount Spent by the Sellers at Marketing Centres to Get Early Payment

To get early payment after the delivery of the products at procurement centres of AMCS, Tikabali, whether the sellers are giving any commission to the personnel of AMCS and others are examined in Table—5.10.

Out of 1000 respondent, 937 (93.7 per cent) do not spend any amount to get their payment in reasonable time, but 63 sample respondents (6.3 per cent) spend some amount at different leve! as mentioned in Table—5.10 to receive sale proceeds early.

Table—5.10: Payment of expenses by the sellers of MFP and SAP at marketing centres to get early payment

Amount paid by the sellers to get early payment		No. of persons	Any misbehaviour to sellers made by AMCS personnel at the time of payment	
A.	1. AMCS personnel	12	(A) Yes	(B) No
	2. Village heads	04		
	3. Middlemen	27		
	4. Friends and relatives	13		22
	5. Others	07		978
B. Not paid to any		937		
Total A + B		1000	Total = A + B = 1000	

Source: Compiled from the Questionnaires.

Reaction of the Tribals and Others of Sample District Respondents on New Government Policy

The government of Orissa adopted a new policy during the year 2000-2001 regarding collection of non-timber forest produce to facilitate tribal people of the state. This hampers the marketing process and monopoly of AMCS, Tikabali. The reaction of sample individuals regarding the new policy is illustrated in Table—5.11.

Table—5.11: Reaction of sample respondents on new policy of government of Orissa

Item	Views on new policy			Views of AMCS, Tikabali		
	On price	On measurement	Influenced by middlemen to sell the produce	On price	On measurement	Influenced by middlemen to sell the produce
Satisfactory	414	312	803	886	918	342
Not satisfactory	502	607	No influence	107	78	No influence
Not replied	84	81	197	07	04	658
Total	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000

Source: Compiled from the questionnaires.

Table—5.11 reveals that out of 1000 sample individuals, 502 (50.2 per cent) are not satisfied with the minimum support price fixed by new policy of the Government whereas 107 persons are not satisfied with the price fixed by AMCS, Tikabali. Similarly on measurement 607 (60.7 per cent) are not satisfied/not happy on the measurement made by the agent appointed by the Panchayats, whereas 78 persons are not happy on the measurement done by AMCS, Tikabali. As many as 803 sample individuals are influenced by the middlemen to sell their produce at the centres opened by the village trader, but only 342 sample tribals and others were influenced by middlemen and others to sell their produce at AMCS centres.

Reaction of Sample Respondents on New Policy

The impart of new policy, the centres are located at Panchayat level by the private trader establishment of collection centre at door-step it helped the seller in saving time, transport expenses etc. the reaction of sellers as different issues on new policy of the government as SAP and MFP are illustrated in Table—5.12.

From Table—5.12 it is clear that the sample individuals have no such good impression on the local traders appointed as per new policy. The sample tribals and others have positive reaction on less transport expenses, time saving and less distance, which indicate good sign. Regarding payment of commission to the agents and behaviour to sellers, more than 60 per cent of sample individuals are not happy. Influence made by the agents appointed by the local traders (under new policy) to influence the tribals and others to sell their produce.

Under the new policy of 2000 the local trader appointed by the Panchayats are authorised to purchase the produce from the local persons. These local traders take the help of same individuals and others to produce the minor forest produce and surplus agricultural produce.

Out of 1000 sample respondents 803 (80.3 per cent) are influenced by different persons of the locality to sell their produce to the local traders, and rest 197 (19.7 per cent) persons are not influenced by the persons nominated by the local traders. But out of 803 respondents, the commission agents influenced 504.

Table—5.12: Reaction of new policy of the government as different issues by the sample respondents

<i>Reaction of seller</i>	<i>Less transport expenses</i>	<i>Time saving</i>	<i>Delivery at less distance</i>	<i>Collected at door-step</i>	<i>Early clearance of produce at centre</i>	<i>Proper dealing with the seller</i>	<i>Payment of price of produce at reasonable time</i>	<i>Any commission paid to the agents</i>	<i>Any misbehaviour to sellers</i>
Positive	803	678	634	127	326	238	267	648	603
Negative (in persons)	197	322	366	873	674	762	753	352	397
Total	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000

Source: Compiled from the questionnaires.

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Tribal Development

A Case Study of Onge Tribe of Andaman Islands

Dr. Debabrata Mitra

Introduction

The terms “Tribal Welfare” and “Tribal Development” are often used as synonyms, creating some ambiguity in perceiving “the concepts underlying these terms. These terms could be conceptually differentiated and clearly perceived by the persons involved in the concerned activities directly or indirectly. In short, tribal welfare is mainly concerned with free aid activities, whereas tribal development envisages a planned approach to make the tribals confident and self-reliant to progress on their own as par with the other citizens of India. Without disturbing their sentiments and culture (Basu, 1964).

Undoubtedly it can be said that Andaman and Nicobar Islands are one of the very few places in the world where people have so far been surviving in its original form standing against the grasp of modern civilization. For the purposes of bringing welfare among the tribes of this region *Andaman Adim Janjati Vikas Samiti* was constituted on 25th March 1976 with the special assistance of the Government of India.

Due to the isolation and remoteness this islands have become the main theme of interests of the social scientists all over the world. The “Onge” call their home island “Gaubolambe”. Even in the past time Gaubolambe was exclusively Onge territory. In 1885 a group of British surveyors contracted with Ongees under the leadership of M.V. Portman. In 1901, there were as many as 672 Ongees (according to Census Report of Lt. Col. Sir. R.C. Temple 1903).

Ongees have been staying in the Little Andaman and their movements generally confine to his island. Only occasionally they go to nearby island as far as Port Blair in their dug out outrigger canoes. The Onge have finally been settled at Pugong Creek and South Bay in Little Andaman in 1976-77. As like other tribes of the islands they have also been availing various tribal welfare programmes offered by the AAJJVS. A lot of works have already been done on tribal welfare and development viz., Brown (1948), Bose (1964), Bapat (1974), Mishra (1974), Choudhury (1976), Mann (1978), Basu (1989), Gupta (1998), Sharma and Sharma (2000) etc. The present study is intended to throw some lights on the impact of tribal welfare programme among the Onge of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

Methodology

The material of the present study was gathered from the Little Andaman of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The Andaman and Nicobar archipelago, the emerald Isles in the Bay of Bengal are a rare gift of nature. The group of 572 Island spread over on area of 8249 sq. km. (Andaman is 6408 sq. km. and Nicobar is 1841 sq. km.). Among the Andaman groups of Islands the Little Andaman is situated in the southern most parts. The Little Andaman is situated in between 10°30' N to 10°35' N and 90°20' E to 92°35' E. It covers the area of about 731.4 sq. km. In the Little Andaman 86 aboriginal Onge people live in Ougong Creek and the balance 30 people live in the South Bay. Till the date of field work (July, 2003), the total numbers of Onge population were 116. This tribe possesses typical features like Negros characterising with dark complexion, short stature, steatopygia and scanty body hair.

The present study is mainly aimed at to assess the impact of various tribal welfare programmes on the Onge of Little Andaman. The study was conducted during the mid of July 2003. The methodology for collecting the information was mainly informal interview and observatory method. Secondary data were also used from various governmental organisations related to Tribal Welfare Department.

Observations

It was ascertained that in the Ninth Five Year Plan it was estimated to spend Rs. 495.95 lakh for the overall development of tribes residing in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, out of which Rs. 138 lakh reserved for the welfare activities of the "Ongees". The physical target of the

Ninth Five Year Plan was to construct *pucca* houses for the Onges, purchasing of dish antenna and television sets, improvement of water supply and electric supply, improving the style of existing plantations, improvement of existing medical facilities, supply of free ration and clothing, supply of more nutritious food to hospitalised Onge etc.

The non-recurring expenses of construction and maintenance of staff quarters and other building in fields are 10.00 lakhs, construction of *pucca* houses for Onges (50.0 lakhs), purchase of dish antenna (1 lakh). The recurring expenditure also constitutes a huge portion of the total sum.

Though all-round Rs. 138 lakh has been spent for 116 Onge persons in the Ninth Five Year Plan (1997-2002) but the Onge population has been declining continuously. In 1931 they were 250 but in the year of 2003 they were 116 in total.

Successful achievement of the expected goal of tribal development depends not solely on the planning and quality of the schemes but also to a large extent on the degree of awareness, appreciation, acceptance and participation of the Onge. Actually, Onge tribal community failed to utilise the governmental support to any extent. For example, government provided wooden hut for their comfortable staying but later on it was observed that most of them were not habituated to stay in those huts. The Onge Multipurpose Cooperative Society was mainly established with the idea to collect coconuts, honey, resin, cane etc. from the Onge for the purposes of selling them in the market. The profit of the society was supposed to be kept for their welfare purposes but later on it was observed that due to irregular collection of forest products, lack of supervision and management, the co-operative society was not functioning according to expectations.

Sometimes or rather in many cases it is the reality that this type of small tribes generally become unsuccessful to attract the attention of planners and policy makers because of isolation. So, the planners should have to adjust or modify their plans according to the needs of the Onge.

Conclusion

Approximately, if we divide per capita expenditure of development amount by the government, it may be stated that more than Rs. 3 lakh

per individual was spent during the Fourth Five Year Plans but the results were very alarming. Population reduced day by day. poverty and awareness tilted towards the negative end. Practically, the policy to settle such tribes is not very much appropriate. The programmes adopted for them must be the nature of income generative either directly or indirectly with their natural set-up and they must be aware about this development. There should not be imposition of any programme on them because it may have some cascading effect on their natural life, which in turn may hamper the development stream.

Here we committed a great mistake. It is realised later on that policy and measures are entirely different. First of all we have to realise the fact that unscientifically conceived schemes for the Onge have resulted in repeated failure over the years. Onge or other field level worker of the Samiti is not properly included in the Committee to participate at the level of decision-making. A common platform must be made where people's representatives, research workers, local administrators and field level workers can meet, coordinate, discuss and finalise the programmes up to the satisfaction of everybody. Efforts should be made so that Onge community can realise that it is the real desire of the government to make them self reliant, confident, healthy and happy. The Onge who can acquire some sort of communicative ability should be included in the Committees. Systematic studies should be conducted to identify to what extent the schemes have been useful to the Onge. The drawback must be critically highlighted. All the above aspiration, needs and interest of the Onges must be provided adequate consideration for the welfare and development programmes. The effort should be made to develop Onges in such a way so that they can be self-reliant which means growing and flourishing without any external support.

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Catalysing Tribal Development

*Micro Action to Harmonise
Human Activities with Natural System*

Prof. P.K. Chhotroy

Tribal Situation

The tribal situation in India presents a varied and complex picture and poses peculiar problems of economic development. Demographically speaking, there are some 250 Scheduled Tribes with several sub-groups speaking some 100 languages/dialects. Most of these tribes constitute separate socio-cultural groups having distinct customs, traditions, marriage, kinship and property inheritance systems and living largely in agricultural and pre-agricultural level of technology. There are food gatherers, hunters, forest-land-cultivators shifting cultivators, settled cultivators and minor forest produce collectors among these tribes. Their geographical isolation and impoverished economy have made them object of exploitative economic and trade practices of the non-tribals living in or entering the tribal areas.

The Scheduled Tribes Population in India, according to 1991 census, is 87.8 million constituting 8.08 per cent of the total population and a majority of them rely on cultivation for their livelihood. According to the agricultural census of 1985-86, out of the total operational holders (97.2 million) in India, tribal holders accounted to 7.6 million (7.9 per cent). Of India's operated area (164.6 million hectares) 17.2 million hectares (10.5 per cent) of land belong to tribals. About 3.2 million tribal holders (41.3 per cent) belong to marginal cultivators (less than one hectare) and about 93 per cent of the operational holding is owned and cultivated by themselves. The average size of the tribal holdings

per households varies from 0.66 hectares in Kerala to 7.46 hectares in Nagaland, but in majority of states the tribals own an average from 1 to 2 hectares. An average tribal holding in India is about 2.25 hectares.

Agriculture

Agriculture is not a game of profit in tribal area. It is mostly a way of life for them arising out of their close proximity to land and natural environment to which they have been traditionally bound. The increasing pressure of population on land, primitive techniques of farming, low percentage of irrigation and institutional constraints to overcome these limitations to which they have been traditionally condemned, maintain them at low level of productivity and below subsistence level of living. Majority of them depend on primitive agricultural practices on slopy, undulating rocky and hilly lands having little fertility and extremely low level of irrigation facility. They usually grow millets, oil-seeds and pulses. The hills are denuded of forest cover. The top soil condition has deteriorated. This has resulted in near exhaustion of the essential local resource base. Lack of irrigation facility is the largest single factor for keeping the agricultural practices at a primitive level. The one crop, khariff, economy provides employment opportunities only for about six months in a year. The absence of other subsidiary off farm employment opportunities during the rest of the period keep them largely unemployed driving them to live a life of abysmal poverty.

A total and comprehensive view of the tribal problem was first taken on the eve of the Fifth Plan (1974-79) when the strategy known as Tribal Sub-Plan was evolved. The emphasis was not merely development but protective, not merely area-based, but focus on the Scheduled Tribe population. The broad approach of Tribal Sub-Plan was continued during the Sixth plan period with greater emphasis on specific objectives, namely (a) raising of productivity levels in production fields of tribal activities with a view to enabling a targeted number of families to go above the poverty line, (b) development of the human resources and upgradation of education, (c) elimination of exploitation of tribals in the field of alienation of land, money-lending, debt-bondage, trade, exercise and forest and (d) development of adequate infrastructure. Rich dividends of Tribal Sub-Plan strategy were reaped in the shape of more integrated approach to planning and

implementation, larger financial allocation both by the centre and the states and considerably larger physical achievements in amelioration of poverty of the targeted groups as also in the general and social service sectors.

The long term objective of the Tribal Sub-Plan approach was to narrow the gap between the levels of development of tribal and other areas while improving the quality of life of the tribal communities. The approach envisaged in tackling the tribal problems has been by categorising them under three identifiable areas and groups:

- (a) In regions of substantial tribal concentration, an area of development approach is to be combined with a focus on the tribal population and their problems;
- (b) In small areas of dispersed tribal population where the scheduled tribes live merged with the general population, a modified area approach on account of the truncated nature of habitation, but with similar focus on the tribes, would be called for; and
- (c) Certain extremely backward and smaller tribal groups living generally in pre-agricultural level of technology in inaccessible areas facing the problem of their very survival would be treated as a special category both within the areas of tribal concentration and outside and special group-oriented programmes would be formulated for them.

These three categories were brought respectively, under Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP), Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) and pockets and primitive Tribe Projects.

The Tribal Sub-Plan Approach which was intended to narrow the gap between the levels of development of tribal and other areas has geared up the paces of development in the tribal area, yet it has not shown its impact on improving the quality of life, especially in terms of the level of literacy, socio-economic progress and participation of traditional and elected bodies at various echelons of plan formulation and implementation.

There has been a significant quantification of funds from plan to plan in states/UTs for Tribal Sub-Plan as a policy adopted for direct Socio-economic development of the tribals. As agriculture being

considered the most important sector for overall development, the Tribal Sub-Plan has also been provided substantial funds particularly for tribal agriculture and related development. In certain states/UTs, the national contribution and inappropriate schemes for agricultural production in Tribal Sub-Plan areas have not helped the tribals to improve their primary economic base. Some states/UTs, however have formulated a few schemes for increasing agricultural production, implemented through state Seen and Farm Development Corporation, Land Development Corporation and Agro-Industrial Development Corporation. In Orissa, the farmers in Tribal Sub-Plan areas are being imparted training for use of latest technology in agriculture-related activities. Other states/UTs have also formulated programmes for the development of tribal agriculture. However, the schemes implemented in various states/UTS resemble almost one another and much has been focussed on soil and water conservation. Though these two sectors are important for better agricultural production, other basic necessities like land shaping and development, crop protection, irrigation motivation etc. should also be considered. Through a process of trial and error the planners have re-oriented the hitherto existing welfare approach to a positive growth oriented economic approach to tribal development. The tribals have started to move from their age-old stagnation. But the progress is slow because of their tradition directed life, and cultures, which are not easily amendable to assimilate the change.

Findings of the Survey

In this paper an attempt is made to study the socio-economic status of the tribals of Ampara, a village of Gunupur Block, district Rayagada, Orissa. A survey was conducted during 1998-99, for evaluation of the socio-economic condition of the village and assessment of the quality of the life of the tribals. The interview schedule was structured to contain questions on various aspects of the day to day life of the people. Emphasis was given for collection of both qualitative and quantitative information. The sample for the study was selected out of the total households of the village, adopting the quota sampling. Keeping in mind the need for ensuring the quality of the data the sample was selected from different occupation groups like cultivators and landless labourers. The households were selected with the help of random sampling. Consistent with the objectives of the study, different techniques like the simple percentage method and average have been used. The study reveals some interesting findings.

The Village and its People

Ampara is a small village, about 3 km. away from Gunupur town and connected with a road. The village is almost situated at the foot of Palsing Hill which along with Ampara Hill forms the South Eastern limit of the village and its agricultural land. The Regada Nalla along with its tributaries and Palsing Nalla passes in between the village and its agricultural land and falls into river Bansadhara at a distance of about 4 km. from the village. This is a village of Saora tribe with 68 households and 271 population.

The Saoras are one of the oldest known tribes of India. They are called by various terms such Savaras, Sabaras, Sauras, Sora, etc. They are widely distributed from Bundelkhand in the west to Orissa in the east. But they are found in great compactness on the edges of the Eastern Ghats in Ganjam and Koraput districts of Orissa and Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh. The Soaras show their racial affinity to the Proto-Australoid physical characters which are dominant among the aborigines of central and southern India.¹ Their language is akin to the Kolarian stock which has close resemblance to the forms of speech of the wild tribes of Malayan Peninsula and Nicobar. Their linguistic affinity with the tribes of south-east suggest their migration from the islands of Indian Archipelago and Malayan Peninsula, unless contrary is proved that India was the cradle-land of the Kolarian speaking tribes and South-eastern countries were colonised by them.

The Saoras have most of the traits such as smallness, compactness, distinctiveness, cultural homogeneity, agro-forest based subsistence economy, very little economic diversification simple technology, low level of literacy (almost negligible in case of females) and strict adherence to customs and traditions. Slow rate of change and growth have made them socio-economically backward.

The size of the Saora villages, like in other cases, is governed by ecological factors. The extent of hill slope and forest lands available for shifting cultivation limits the population size of a Saora village. Above a population threshold a village splits and some families leave it for a new place. Therefore, any change in the size of a village and the

1. Guha, B.S. "The Indian Aborigines and their Administration." The Journal of the Asiatic Society, VL, XVII, No. 1, 1951.

extent of forest land causes disturbance in the man-land relationship and other aspects of life of the Saora community.

Population

The salient feature of the population of the village is presented in the table given below. The total population of the village consists of 130 men and 141 women which constitute 48 and 52 per cent of the population respectively. The sex ratio is favourable to women in small measure. The population of the age group of 0-5 years and (5+) – 14 years constitute 22 and 27 per cent of the population respectively and its sum total is 49 per cent of the population of the village. Persons in the age group of 14 years and above constitute 51 per cent of the population with higher percentage of women (55) than men (45). Main workers constitute 48 per cent of the population. The number of female workers is higher (55 per cent) than the male workers (45 per cent). Literates account for 22 per cent of the population with 78 per cent of male and 22 per cent of female. The illiterates constitute 78 per cent of the population in which the male account for 40 per cent and female for 60 per cent of the total

Population table of Ompera village in Gadhiakhala panchayat

Age group	Literate			Illiterate			Total			Remarks
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
0-5	0	0	0	32	28	60	32	28	60	
(5+) – 14	16	13	29	20	23	43	36	36	72	
14 & above	30	0	30	32	77	109	62	77	139	
Total	46	13	59	84	128	212	130	141	271	
	78%	22%	22%	40%	60%	78%	48%	52%		

Agriculture

The people are basically dependent on agriculture. Both shifting and settled cultivation constitute the main stay of the subsistence economy of the village. The general land surface is a difficult terrain of rugged tracts and varying altitudes. The lands are mostly dry and they cultivate their land for a particular season when monsoon sets in, but some years even one time crop cultivation is not possible due to failure of monsoon. Optimum utilisation of the land for the remaining part of the year by raising profitable winter and summer crop is not possible in

such a situation. Paddy growing lands having flow irrigation facility from natural streams have been sold long back to non-tribals. The land-holding size has also been declining due to various factors, the primary being the increasing number of eligible inheritors of land in tribal households. Land alienation is also a vital issue, which has not been eliminated. Recently the cotton growers have posed a threat to the lands of the tribals. Almost all the higher and medium lands situated in the vicinity of the village and on the banks of water courses are now under cotton cultivation. Heavy doses of chemical fertiliser and pesticide will have adverse effect on the quality of the soil and environment in future. These lands were put under Arhar cultivation in the past, which was conducive to the better quality of the soil. Apart from these, the type of soil in tribal holding is also reported to be infertile and mostly found in terrains or adjacent to hills and forests with a slopping topography. They are heavily dependent upon forests for various purposes. With the passage of time there has been a widespread denudation of forests which has caused loss of soil, resulting into the low fertility of the land. Presently they are facing the serious ecological problems. The farmers practice settled cultivation using primitive implements and technology. The yield is quite inadequate to sustain them for the whole year. Many sample surveys conducted in various tribal areas indicate, resource constraints, absence of adequate irrigation facilities, ignorance of improved technology, poor cropping pattern and also non-availability of agricultural incentives and inputs as the main reason for low productivity in tribal holdings.

Agricultural Land

The village has 102 hectares of agricultural land, the details of which is given in Table—7.1.

Table—7.1: Agricultural land

<i>Classification of land</i>	<i>Paddy land in hectares</i>	<i>Non-paddy land in hectares</i>	<i>Total land in hectares</i>
Low	1 (5.54%)	7 (9%)	8 (8%)
Medium	8 (36.36%)	7 (9%)	15 (15%)
High	13 (59.10%)	66 (82%)	79 (77%)
Total	22 (22%)	80 (78%)	102

The extent of paddy land is 22 per cent of the total (102 hectares) agricultural land of the village. The low (1 hct), medium (8 hectares) and high (13 hectares) land of the total (22 hectares) paddy growing land account for 5 per cent, 36 per cent and 59 per cent of paddy land. The extent of non-paddy land is 80 hectares and this is further classified in to low (9 per cent) medium (9 per cent) and high (82 per cent) combined together the extent of low (8 hct) land, medium (15 hct) land and high (79 hct) constitute 8 per cent. 23 per cent and 77 per cent of the total agricultural land of the village. The extent of land per household is 1.5 hectares.

Irrigation

The general land surface, which is a different terraine of rugged tracts and varying altitude make flow irrigation impossible in many ways.

Table—7.2: Area under irrigation

Source	Area under irrigation in hectares	Percentage of paddy land under irrigation (22 hct.)	Percentage of total land under irrigation 102 (hct.)
Natural stream	15	68.18	14.70
M.I.P.	5	22.72	19.60
Total	20	90.90	34.30

The general land surface, which is a different terraine of rugged tracts and varying altitude make flow irrigation impossible in many areas. Perennial streams and minor irrigation projects constitute the principal source of irrigation in the village. The extent of land irrigated from perennial stream and minor irrigation project is 15 hectares and 5 hectares respectively. The extent of land irrigated by natural stream (14.70 per cent) and minor irrigation project (19.60 per cent) constitute 34.30 per cent of the total agricultural land. The paddy growing land has better facility of irrigation as 90.90 per cent of it is irrigated by natural stream (68.18 per cent) and minor irrigation projects (22.72 per cent).

Income and Spending

The agro-forest based subsistence economy of the village is largely dependent on shifting cultivation and settled cultivation, cultivation of

the lease land of non-tribals, wage earning, and sale of fuel and minor forest products. A very few farmers (15) having drought animals like buffalo, cultivate the land of non-tribals on lease basis. Rest of the villagers have multiple occupation like cultivation, wage earning and sale of fuel and forest products. About 15 number of farm households supplement their income by other workers. The landless wage earners belong to 38 households of the villages. They provide labour to non-tribal land-owners at the time of wedding, transplanting and other agricultural operations and sell firewood in the local market. In all these works women take active part rather than men and earn the major part of the family's income. But the wage paid to them is smaller (Rs. 15/-) than men (Rs. 25/-). Children are economic assets to parents. Both boys and girls assist their parents in various economic and household activities. They are engaged in tending their drought animals, goats and pigs and also of others. The girls are engaged in taking care of younger brothers and sisters. They also support their mothers in various domestic activities, like cooking, fetching water, cleaning utensils and keeping the house clean.

The yield of income from one acre of land is reported to be Rs. 5,000/- . Few farm households (15) sell paddy to the extent of Rs. 8,000/- to Rs. 10,000/- in drought free years. The average daily household income computed for farm families and labourers comes to Rs. 60/- and Rs. 40/- respectively. About half of the daily income is spent on food stuff followed by 40 per cent on conventional habits and alcohol and the last 10 per cent is sometimes saved to meet the exigencies. The expenditure made on food items provides 2 kilograms of rice per day and Rs. 3/- to Rs. 4/- for purchases of a bit of salt, chilly, Onion, tamarind and nodules of oil cake. This is shared by 4 members on the average of each family per day. Cooked rice constitute the principal item of food of people. There is also no certainty of the above mentioned food for all the seven days of a week throughout the year for nearly half of the households of the village. Often they have to live on gruel of rice or minor millets and spinach. They buy clothing, during the seasons of agricultural operation and construction work when there is regular and full time employment.

It has been observed that the economic condition of the tribal people is very poor. Despite their hard work and labour throughout the day, they hardly make their ends meet. The traditional economic pursuits

along with wage earning are no longer dependable and remunerative. The hills which were under deep forest cover in past have been denuded by Podu cultivation and destruction by illegal timber traders. This is also responsible for the low productivity of land. With limited economic diversification, the inevitable outcome is miserable life and mal-adjustment under changing environment.

Food Anxiety

Environmental limitations not only makes a society almost static but also causes its degeneration. Even though the yield from shifting cultivation is meagre, the Saoras resent to give it up because there is no better substitute in their habitat. Among the Saoras, there are multiplicity of rituals. They perform expensive rituals, which means economic drain, impoverishment and perpetual indebtedness. The economic difficulties arising from the limited agricultural potential of the land, land alienation, low wage paid to them in agricultural and construction works, meagre income from sale of fuel and forest product and indebtedness are responsible for short supply of food in Saora villages. The scarcity of food give rise to food anxiety of unmeasurable gravity.

An analysis of the food supply of a standard Saora village in the Bhadragiri are of Srikakulam district (AP) shows that there is deficit of food for 165 days in a year.*

The problem of land alienation and indebtedness, adversities of the certain and primitive technology altogether, are responsible for scarcity of food and the resultant food anxiety. Under the condition of primitive technology and limited environmental potential, the human choice and alternative energy-use are also very much limited. The person tries to keep himself fit always so that whatever energy is available is utilised in what he can do to make both ends meet and the choice is exercised in conformity with the prevailing value system and the dominant drive of the culture.*

* Patnaik, N—"Food Gap and Tribal Unrest"—*Community Development and Panchayat Raj Digest*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Oct. 1972.

* Benefit, Ruth—*The Pattern of Cultures*, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London—1961.

The survey conducted in the village reveals the grave situation of the village relating to its scarcity economy, shortage of food and days of food anxiety in a year. The families of landless labourers experience food anxiety for a period of about 60 to 100 days in a year. Full time regular employment is not available to them throughout the 365 days of the year. The principal food during such period consists of gruel of rice or minor millets, spinach and a bit of salt. This is further aggravated if the yield of minor millets is affected by drought conditions. No remarkable improvement of the food situation is observed in rest of the days of the year when they have employment and income. The daily average income of Rs. 40/- just permit them to buy two kilograms of rice, tobacco, alcohol worth of Rs. 10/-, a bit of salt, chilly or tamarind. Two kilograms of rice is to be used for the preparation of 12 meals for the average of for members of each households per day. The outcome is shortage of food and survival with near starvation.

Appropriate Development Strategy

Poverty in a tribal area is a consequence as well as a cause of several factors. Like the other poor, the functional feature of the tribals is that, their access to productive resources, technologies and institutions which sustains higher productivity is limited. "The main feature is their deprivation from the means of production by the operating system, which tend to keep them tied to lower level of economic operation. The ultimate outcome is the perpetuation of their poverty."* Many studies conducted in various tribal areas indicate resource constraints, absence of adequate irrigation facility, ignorance of improved technology, and non-availability of agricultural incentives and inputs as the main reason of the low productivity in tribal holdings. However the near exhaustion of the essential local resource base is the largest single factor for keeping their agricultural practices at a primitive level. Irrespective of the future consequence the tribal man has tried to exploit every piece of land is his struggle for existence. As a result most of the lands are vulnerable to natural hazards, which ultimately cripples the economy of the region. The hills are denuded of forest cover. The top soil condition has deteriorated. Many streams have lost perenniarity. The ground water has depleted. Harmful methods of cultivation year

* Patnaik, S.C. Productive System, Spatial Interaction and Rural Development Programmes Southern Economist. 1st May 1981. pp. 49-53.

after year on the same hill slope has resulted in denudation and soil erosion and for want of fertility in the soil the crop yield has diminished making it difficult for the people to live. "The preponderance of agricultural activities among tribals do not make any significant difference to their economy because of poverty and poverty of soil." The decline in vegetation and bio-mass is making the situation still worse.

The technological gap between the improved practices and the existing skill of the tribals also keep them outside the productive stream. Productive participation of the people with their available skill is one of the determining factors of the development. If the programme of development is divorced from productive involvement of the local people and the use of local resources, the linkage generated by such programmes would have little relevance to the region. "The absence of appropriate technology which enables the participation of local skill and talents is another difficulty." Appropriate technology would provide a much dynamic framework for promotion of local skill and expertise in scientific management of available natural resources like land, water and forest with which they are acquainted. The future lies in an optimum blend of technologies old and new which can lead to a new paradigm of development based on the principle of ecological sustainability, economic viability and social equity.

Watershed Technology

The watershed based technology provides uncommon opportunity to improve ecological well-being of the region and thereby enhance its productivity and life supporting systems for the betterment of the tribals and their environment. The basic intention behind the strategy is to delineate problematic areas as separate entities and design programmes with a body of diversified knowledge and coherent action plans for the promotion of sustainable agriculture and stable ecological conditions. The programme is executed in action area and village covered under Macro-watershed and micro-watershed. The project implemented agency is constituted to promote the following objectives.

* Patnaik, S.C., "The Tribal Economy of Orissa and the Strategy of Development". *Southern Economist*, November 1, 1974, p. 15.

** Mahapatra, P.C., *Economic Development of Tribal India*—p. 210, Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi, 1987.

- I. To promote sustainable economic development of the community which is directly or indirectly dependent on the watershed through:
 - (a) Sustainable utilisation of the watershed's natural resources like land, water, grass, forest, etc. which will mitigate the adverse effect of drought and prevent further ecological degradation.
 - (b) Employment generation and development of natural resources.
- II. To encourage restoration of ecological balance in each village through:
 - (a) Sustained community action for the operation and maintenance of assets created and further development of the potential of natural resources in the watershed.
 - (b) Simple, easy and affordable technological solutions and institutional arrangements that make use of and build upon, local technical knowledge, materials, and traditions.

Resource inventory of each village consisting of the detail account of the (1) soil; (2) availability of streams; (3) Land, (High, Medium and Low); (4) Forest cover; (5) Gully formation; (6) Cropping pattern; and (7) Land-holding pattern is prepared to take up actions for the promotion of Agro-forestry, Dry-land farming, Green-manure and alley-cropping, Fodder development and irrigation.

The project implementation agency shall prepare the development plan of each watershed, undertake community organisation and training for the village community, provide technical guidance, maintain, inspect and authenticate the project accounts, undertake the friendly technology and validate and build up indigenous technical knowledge, monitor and review the overall project implementation and set up institutional arrangements for project operation, maintenance and further development of assets created.

Agro-forestry work needs to be taken up to divert the tribals from Podu cultivation. This scheme is implemented by dividing the individual plots in the four parts. In the first zone agricultural crop is raised, in the

second zone fruit trees are planted, in the third zone cashew plantation is done and in the fourth zone fuelwood is grown. Vertiver and stone-bunding is made to check soil erosion. Individual plots are demarcated by plantation of Sisal plants in line.

Dry-land farming provides ample opportunity for better utilisation of land, improvement of the quality of the soil, and increase in the production of land in rainfed areas of tribals. The soil is very porous in rainfed areas. It has lost its productivity due to soil erosion. Yield of these lands can be increased by application of scientific inter-cropping. Arhar is a leguminous crop and its helps in improvement of the productivity of land and thus ensures better cultivation and more output. In high land, firstly inter-cropping of Arhar and Ragi is raised and secondly Sun hemp as green manure is cultivated as green manure to improve the productivity of land followed by Niger.

III. Green Manure and alley cropping:

- (a) The tribals are not accustomed to chemical fertilisers. Green manuring crops like Dhanicha and sun-hemp needs to be introduced to serve as a substitute of chemical fertiliser and for the improvement of the humous content of the soil. Dhanicha is to be grown in low land followed by paddy transplantation.
- (b) Under the scheme of Alley cropping Glarycidea and Subabul are to be planted on the bunds, which will be useful for green manure, fodder and fuelwood. These plants are copious, so even after cutting the plant comes up further.

IV. Fodder development.

Grazing has been a major problem due to non-availability of fodder. As per the study made, the fodder requirement of a village can be met if the fodder development is taken up only in 10 hectares of land. Fodder development scheme will help in checking grazing and in turn will ensure natural regeneration of forests on the hills.

The monsoons are the greatest source of water, yet our water management plans allow most of the monsoon flow to run down to the seas. There is an obvious need to conserve monsoon flow. Presently

the utilisable surface water resource through engineering works including storage is estimated at 690 billion cubic metres (BCM) which accounts for little more than one-third (37%) of total run-off in our all river systems and merely one-sixth (17.25%) of total precipitation of our country. We have to revive our age-old and time tested traditional practices for rain water conservation. The rain water harvesting achieved through putting a check on run-off water will eliminate soil erosion, improve the hydrology of the catchment area and provide much needed water during the period of crisis. The land area of the watershed drains in to a common point. Hence the drainage water can be easily stored in above-ground storage structures for recycling during drought or for growing an additional crop.*Tribal Youth are to be motivated to take up the construction of irrigation structure to conserve run-off water.

The watershed problems are often due to human disturbance in their effort to earn their livelihood. Hence, people must be the focal point of watershed management programmes and innovation should be planned with their need in mind. The “L E A R N” approach which was found to be a success in Anantapur in Andhra Pradesh will be helpful in this respect. According to it the implementing agency should:

- L. Listen carefully to farmers.
- E. Encourage farmers to speak.
- A. Ask questions without interrupting.
- R. Review what ever the farmers say, and
- N. Note everything down for planning.

Villagers in the project area of Anantapur participated eagerly in mapping watershed, willingly providing information and played a major role of enumerating important problems and identifying solutions.

A study commissioned by the National Institute of Agricultural Extension Management, Hyderabad, showed that if the watershed technology is to succeed it must be built on indigenous knowledge; it should be based on people's participation, it must be equitable in sharing of costs and benefits; and village based institutions must be put-in-place right from that inception of the project.

* Virmani, S.M., Quoted in his Article “Watershed-based Approach”. Hindu Survey of Indian Agriculture-1997, p. 161.

Conclusion

The programme of development in tribal areas needs to be adopted to the new requirement of conservation of natural resources, application of diversified landuse surrogating appropriate technology and crop husbandry involving choice of crops and their varieties as per the carrying capacity of the natural resources (land and water), local skill and acceleration of socio-economic changes benefiting to the functional realities of the region. Programmes should be designed to promote sustainable agriculture and stable ecological conditions. A holistic approach is more effective, appropriate and preferable as against the sectoral approach of the existing programmes of development to maintain synergistic relationship between the land and water cycle, to raise the productivity of available land and restore, reclaim and rehabilitate the degraded land. A wider range and mix of activities should include waste land development, agro-forestry, dry-land farming, green manure and alley cropping, fodder development, construction of irrigation structure extension mechanism and institutional support would help in rejuvenation of environment and improvement of production, productivity and standard of living of the tribals. Apart from raising productivity and imparting stability to the tribal rainfed agriculture, the rain water harvesting achieved through putting a check on run-off water will eliminate soil erosion, improve the hydrology of the catchment area and provide much needed water during the period of crisis.

Community governance of natural resources is being appreciated now, with a view to harness social energy embodied in socio-political milieu of the tribals. There is the necessity of animating the community through the use of local institutions and group and core formation. Conservation of natural resources organised in a mission mode is now essential. In choice of programmes productive participation of the people with their skill should be emphasised. Therefore while designing programmes its local interaction field and capacity in inviting the local labour force to participate should be given priority.

The biggest responsibility of the administrative authorities is narrow the growing gap between the needs of a large tribal population on the one hand, and the shrinking capacity of a rapidly eroding productive base, on the other. Such a responsibility must be discharged before the point of no return is reached.

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Role of Tribals in Economic Development of Orissa

Prof. R.P. Sharma

Economic development is a complex process. There are several factors responsible for economic development; the economists have identified some important ones such as capital formation, investment, availability of resources, skilled labour, appropriate technology etc. but in spite of availability of all these if a region remains underdeveloped, like Orissa, what is the reason? Gunnar Myrdal after travelling throughout the lengths and breaths of south east Asian countries in search of reasons, witnessing the Drama of poverty and inequality, concluded that development of a community depends not necessarily on the economic factors, even though they are inevitable, but greater part on the non-economic factors and believed that most effective social factor is the people's "urge for development." (Myrdal, 1956).

This is true for the scheduled tribes in India. Their social philosophy and way of life at large differs from the Hindu civilized society with whom they have been staying from time immemorial. Of course the Hindus in thousands of years back lived in a similar way with the nature, like the present day tribals, and worshiped the nature alike the latter, but gradually adopted different ways of life as time progressed. The tribals on the other hand did not go through in the changing process of the society system and their philosophy of life, satisfied with the minimum requirements for the maintenance of life, remained almost stagnant.

After India became independent in the middle of the 20th century the efforts started to develop the Indian economy, including the tribals, but the developed communities absorbed most of the development

benefits and the tribes socio-economic situation did not change significantly during the last half a century of planned development, even though they have been provided with special privileges both politically and on the basis of economic status. This is a fact, which needs no evidence.

Tribal Population

The tribals constitute about 8.08 per cent (1991) of the total population in India. Of this about half of them stay in three states of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Orissa. In Madhya Pradesh maximum population of more than 140 lakhs of tribals are residing even excluding the state of Chhattisgarh, newly carved out of the former Madhya Pradesh. In second position comes the state of Maharashtra where about 73 lakhs of tribals reside. Orissa's position is third with 70 lakhs. Even though Orissa comes third in tribal population but in terms of percentage of tribals to the total population of the state it is second to Madhya Pradesh. Madhya Pradesh has 39 per cent of tribals followed by about 25 per cent in Orissa. In Maharashtra the tribals constitute about 9.5 per cent. (1991 census).

Growth Rate of Population

High growth rate of population is one of the factors that retards the economic growth in terms of per capita income. It is found that the growth of tribal population in Orissa is slower in comparison to non-tribal population, hence in this sense the tribals are not putting any obstacles to the economic growth; on the other hand it is the high rate of growth of non-tribal population that retards the economic growth of Orissa.

Growth of tribal and non-tribal population in Orissa from 1961 to 2001 is presented in Table--8.1 for a comparative analysis.

The growth rate of tribal population in sixties remained 2.01 per cent annually in comparison to non-tribal population growth rate of 2.66 per cent. Both the rates came down in the 1990s, in 2001 census the tribals annual growth rate came down to 0.98 per cent as against the higher non-tribal growth rate of 1.83 per cent. This is the positive contribution of the tribals to the economic growth of the state. This slow growth rate of tribal population has several reasons; it is neither due to higher level of education nor due to higher level of economic

status, the main reason is the high infant mortality among the tribals. This slow growth of population in no way indicates the socio-economic development of the tribals. Whatever may be reasons it is the non-tribal population with their high general fertility rate and crude birth rate retards the economic growth of Orissa.

Table—8.1: Growth of tribal and non-tribal population in Orissa

Year	Tribals in lakhs	Annual growth per cent	Non-tribals in lakhs	Annual growth per cent
1961	42.24	—	113.24	—
1971	50.72	2.01	168.72	2.66
1981	59.15	1.66	204.55	2.12
1991	70.32	1.88	244.99	1.97
2001*	77.20	0.98	289.87	1.83

Source: Census of India, 1991.

* Bifurcation between tribal and non-tribal population is projected on the basis of total population growth according to census of India, 2001.

The Spread of Tribes in Orissa

Majority of tribal population in the state are concerned in the eight districts of Orissa where this tribal population constitutes more than 50 per cent of the district. These districts are five districts of the southern Orissa viz., Malkangiri, Koraput, Nabrangpur, Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj. These can be termed as tribal districts. About 63 per cent of the tribal are concentrated in these eight districts of the state.

In another eight of the coastal districts, the tribal population is very marginal, less than 5 per cent of the district's population. These districts are Bhadrak, Kendrapara, Jagatsinghpur, Puri, Cuttack, Khurda, Ganjam and Nayagarh. These districts can be termed as non-tribal districts.

Tribal population in 30 districts of the state divided into four zones according to the per cent of districts' population is presented in Table—8.2.

Presence of these tribal districts with their low economic level of development depresses the economy of Orissa considerably. In rest of the 14 districts, in seven of them the tribal population constitutes 5 to 20 per cent of the district's population with 7.96 lakhs while in the other seven districts the tribal population remains 21 to 50 per cent with an absolute populating of 14.89 lakhs.

Growth of Literacy

Literacy is regarded as one of the determinants of economic growth. Economists believe that at least 40 per cent of literacy is a prerequisite for acceleration of economic development. The Novel Laureate Amartya Sen emphasises for the development of primary education as a prerequisite for development.

Table—8.2: Tribal population in the districts of Orissa (1991)

Per cent of Tribes	No. of Districts	Population in lakhs	Per district in '000
<5	8	3.06 4.25	38.25
5-20	7	7.96 11.32	113.71
21-50	7	14.89 21.17	202.71
>50	8	44.41 63.15	555.12
Total	30	70.32 100.00	

Note: Figures in italics indicate per cent of tribal population.

Rate of literacy of the tribes for the census 2001 is not yet available. According to 1991 census the literacy among the tribals was estimated as 22.31 per cent, of which male literacy is 34.44 per cent and female literacy is 10.21 per cent. In four of the tribal districts the general literacy was 8.79 per cent.

But if one compares the general rate of literacy for 2001 between the districts of tribal and non-tribal ones it reveals great differences. According to census of 2001 the rate of literacy among the four of the least tribal districts is 76.88 per cent while in the four of the districts

with maximum tribal population comes to 31.88 per cent. The literacy of the latter districts is far below the rate of literacy of Orissa of 63.61 as per 2001 census.

A comparative picture of the differences in the percentages in literacy of male and females in tribal and non-tribal districts can be seen in Table—8.3. The wide gap in the rate of literacy in the two groups of districts is mainly due to the low rate of literacy among the tribals. The male literacy ranged between 41 to 48 per cent, and female literacy between 21 to 25 per cent in the tribal districts while in the non-tribal districts male literacy remained 88-89 per cent and female literacy is more than double that of the tribal districts, to the range of 67-70 per cent.

Table—8.3: General percentages of literacy among the tribal and non-tribal districts

figures in per cents

Tribal districts			Non-tribal districts		
District	Male	Female	District	Male	Female
Koraput	47.58	24.81	Jagatsinghpur	88.96	69.94
Nabrangpur	47.37	21.02	Puri	88.73	67.80
Rayagada	47.35	24.31	Khurda	88.38	71.06
Malkangiri	41.21	21.26	Kendrapara	87.62	67.29
Mean	45.87	22.85		86.42	69.01

Sources: Census, 2001.

A sample study taken in the district of Gajapati in the year 1999 to know about their literacy reveals the true type picture of the literacy among the schedule tribes. In this district there are about 49 per cent tribal population mainly the Soura tribes. The Gajapati district has a maximum 30 per cent of the population who are Christians the highest in any district of Orissa. The Christian population is mainly confined to tribals. It is generally assumed that the Christian tribals are better off in the economic development and also in the literacy. But this hypothesis is completely proved wrong in the study.

The Souras are found in almost all the districts of Orissa but they are mainly concentrated in the southern districts. It is a major tribe

and is in the third position in terms of population after Kondhs and Santals. The Souras have written scripts of their own and considered comparatively developed ones among the tribals. But the study reveals (Rout, 2000) the rate of literacy is very low as shown in Table—8.4. The total literacy of the tribals is 12.35 per cent of which adult literacy is 6.84 per cent and children's literacy is 18.10 per cent. It can be verified from the table that the female literacy is as low as 0.8 per cent.

Table—8.4: Literacy among tribals in Gajapati district

Adult	Per cent	Children	Per cent
Male	13.76	Male	18.32
Female	0.80	Female	17.86
Total	6.84		18.00

Source: Rout, 2000, Table 7.11.

If 25 per cent of the total population of the tribals has 12.35 per cent literacy the rest of the non-tribal population has a rate of literacy of about 76.84 per cent. The general rate of literacy of the state is depressing because of low rate of literacy, if the tribals have attained the literacy rate at the same level with that of non-tribals it would have been increased to 93.18 per cent.

Per capita Income

The second important aspects where there is wide gap between tribals and the non-tribals, due to several reasons, is the per capita income. Not going far back, India's per capita income in the nineties 1990-99 increased by 174 per cent from Rs. 5,365 to Rs. 14,712 in current prices. During the same period Orissa's per capita income increased of course at a higher rate by 183 per cent but could not reach the Indian per capita figure. In 1999 Orissa's per capita income at the current prices is Rs. 8719 which is lowest among the major states of Indian union with the exception of Assam which has a per capita less Rs. 19, the highest per capita income being Rs. 20,834 for Punjab. (TATA, 2001-02).

The growth of per capita income of India and Orissa is presented in Fig. 8.1. The gap of income between the two is gradually widening instead of closing. In the year 1990-91 the gap was Rs. 2288 which increased to Rs. 5993 in the year 1999, in a period of eight years.

Very slow growth of income among the tribals depresses the growth of per capita income of the state. Per capita income of tribal population separately is not available. On the basis of the sample per capita income of the tribals available from research studies Orissa's per capita income can be calculated afresh, to know the impact of tribals on the Orissa's per capita income.

About 54 per cent of the tribals are landless and those who own land are not taking up agriculture with any scientific management, hence the yield rate of agricultural product is very poor. In general about 32 per cent family earnings of the tribals come from agriculture, about 63 per cent from daily wages and the rest from the sale of forest products and other sources. There is also differences in the per capita income of landed and landless families among the tribals. For the landed families the per capita income is Rs. 2,800 and for the landless families the income is Rs. 1,670; (1999) and combined per capita income of the tribals comes to Rs. 2,238, in the same year Orissa's per capita income was Rs. 8719.

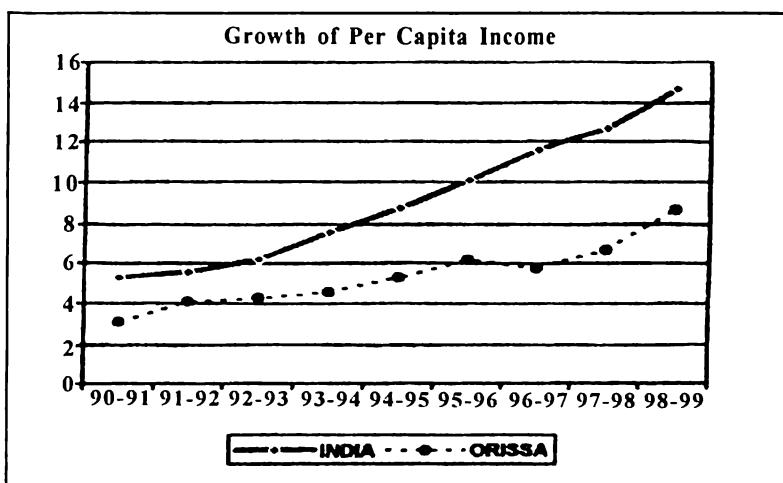


Fig. 8.1

Taking into account that the tribals form about 25 per cent of the state's total population and the per capita income of the tribal population is Rs. 2238, the rest of the 75 per cent of the non-tribal population of the state has an estimated per capita income of Rs. 11,454. If this happens to be the per capita income of the state of Orissa. Orissa would ascend over eight states' per capita income among the states in 1999.

I have presented here two of the indicators, literacy and per capita income, to establish the point how the accelerated development of the tribals can boost economic development of the state. There are also several other economic indicators which can be analysed similarly.

The planners have been giving special emphasis for the development of tribals from 5th Five Year Plan period onwards and formulation of tribal sub-plans to improve the socio-economic conditions of the tribal population. Apart from this the following specialised schemes are being implemented for their development:

- *Micro Projects*: Presently there are 17 micro projects covering 20 Community Development Blocks in 12 districts for the development of 12 primitive tribal groups to bring them into mainstream livelihood.
- *Modified Area Development Approach*: This approach aims at development of the tribals who are outside the Intensive Tribal Development Agency areas. There are 46 pockets covering 47 blocks of 17 districts which are developed under this scheme.
- *Cluster Approach*: Since the Seventh Five Year Plan period the cluster approach has been adopted by the planner for the intensive development of the tribals. Accordingly in an area contiguously having five thousand population and of them at least about 50 per cent are tribals. The cluster approach is adopted for intensive development of tribals.
- *Kasipur Project*: The government adopted area specific for the development of the tribals in the year 1988-89 according the first project was established in Kasipur Block of Rayagada district under Orissa Tribal Development Project. It is a joint venture of International Fund for Agricultural Development, Central Government and the State Government.
- *Dispersed Tribal Development Programme*: Some welfare programmes are implemented by the Scheduled Caste Scheduled Tribe Development Finance Co-operative Corporation who are not covered by the above mentioned programme and projects.

- *Co-operative Marketing Corporation*: The Tribal Development Co-operative Corporation of Orissa Ltd., was started mainly for the marketing of forest products and surplus agricultural products. It has 130 procurement-cum-collection centres and 360 seasonal procurement centres in the tribal areas of the state. Under it there are 2002 Multi Purpose Co-operative Societies.
- *Finance Co-operative*: The Orissa Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Development Finance Co-operative Corporation was established in 1979-80 for providing economic assistance to the tribal and scheduled caste families below poverty line.

Expenditure on the above projects for the year 1997-98 for which actual expenditure figures are available indicates approximate expenditure annually on the socio-economic development of tribals, which is presented in Table—8.5. About 96 per cent of the expenditure is spent on the Tribal Sub-Plan, out of the total expenditure of Rs. 779.89 crores. Out of the total expenditure of the government of Orissa for the year 1997-98 of Rs. 5,536.5 crores the total expenditure on special tribal programmes constitutes about 14.06 per cent.

Table—8.5: Special expenditure on the tribal projects, 1997-98

Programme	Expenditure Rs. crores	Per cent
Tribal Sub-Plan	748.64	95.97
Micro Projects	1.65	0.22
Modified Area Development	2.36	0.30
Cluster Programme	18.13	2.33
Kasipur Project	7.42	0.96
Dispersed Development Programme	1.69	0.22
Total	779.89	100

Source: Economic Survey, 1998-99, Government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar, 1999.

This annual expenditure on the development of the tribals in the state is not sufficient for the acceleration of their socio-economic development. Harvey Leibenstein developed the thesis that

underdevelopment is characterised by the vicious Circle of Poverty (Leibenstein, 1957). The way out of this circle is to invest a "critical minimum" that would raise the per-capita income to a level at which sustained development could be maintained. He believed that it is necessary to have a 'stimulus' to growth that is greater than certain critical minimum investment to accelerate the economic growth. Regions and communities are underdeveloped because the magnitude of stimulants is small. Similar is the case of tribal community and the region they live in the state.

The critical minimum approach has to be adopted for the development of the tribal areas if one is invested for the acceleration of Orissa's economic growth. The proposals given below may be considered seriously by the planners and special plans have to be formulated within the Five Year Planning fold accordingly.

Conclusion

I purpose two Special Economic Development Zones:

- **Southern Orissa Zone:** This includes five tribal districts of Malkangiri, Koraput, Nabarangpur, Rayagada and Kandhamal. Four of the former districts are included in the so-called KBK (Kalahandi-Bolangir-Koraput) special development zone under a centrally sponsored scheme, which is yet to start in right earnest. Recently Chief Minister of Orissa declared to include Kandhamal in this zone.
- **Northern Orissa Zone:** This include three districts of Mayurbhanj, Kendujhar and Sundargarh.

These two Development Zones may be put in charge of two Development Commissioners, to formulate specific plans for the respective development areas, in consultation with Planning Commission, Central Government and State Government for financing and guidance. Planning Commission may be asked to formulate modalities and execution of projects for which international assistance may be sought for implementation for specific schemes.

The government of Orissa has not lagged behind to take initiative for the specific development of the tribal economy in the state. In 1992 six tribal districts, out of eight tribal districts I have mentioned above, have been declared as "Scheduled Area" for specific tribal

development along with six Tahsils in five districts and four Blocks in three districts, which covers 13 districts with an area of 69.61 thousand sq. km. constituting about 44.7 per cent of the total geographical area of the state (Economic Survey, 1998-99 p. 20/1).

But then it is only in the records. Nothing is done for the "Scheduled Area" I am only reminding and re-emphasising to take up it seriously for the intensive development of the tribal community with a "Critical Minimum approach" and with a high target growth rate, starting with the Tenth Five Year Plan, for the acceleration of the economic development of the state. Will the government hear the appeal of the economist and take it for consideration?

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Tribal Development Through Preservation of Culture

A Conceptual Analysis

Dr. Jagabandhu Samal

The culture may be defined as the sum total of a nations' or society's thinking and living. It is the way of life based on common traditions and environment. It is the common learned way of life shared by the members of a society. It implies the behaviour of the people, their ethos, views and value system.

The culture has two aspects, i.e. material and non-material. Material aspects are the science, technology, clothing and fooding habits etc. The non-material aspects of culture are the values, goals, world views, thought system, languages and symbols, status and role system etc. Hence, the belief, ideas and attitudes, religious, social, political and economic organisations, science and technology are all parts of the complex network, that is called "Culture". Culture also means "Samskriti" which implies a process of refinement.

The Tribal Culture

The tribal people express their cultural identity and distinctiveness in their social and political organisations, language, rituals and festivals, as well as in their dress, ornaments, technology, art and craft. Of course, there may be some traditions, customs, blind beliefs or faiths which generally stand on the way of tribals development. These have negative impact on their life. With the spread of proper knowledge and education, it is genuinely expected that those aspects of tribals' faith and beliefs, which have negative impact on their overall development, would go away. However, there are a lot of finer values in the tribal culture,

which are worth mentioning and preserving and if such positive aspects of their culture are preserved, developed and encouraged, the overall development of these communities will be rather easier and smoother.

Finer Values in Tribal Culture

The tribal art, dance, song and music have greatly enriched the composite culture of Indian national life. These finer aspects of their cultural life have attracted the people from within and outside the country. They are the only people who can sing freely while working. They work with pleasure and peace of mind. The routine work is an act of art and joy. They sing and dance in the forests, fairs, rites and festivals and in the evening hours in the village. These performances give expression to their inner feelings, their joys and sorrows, their natural affections and passion and their appreciation of beauty in nature and in man.

The tribal crafts have great artistic value. These have a demand in the national and international markets. Their sense of beauty and art is found in their well paintings, wood carvings and weaving of clothes and garments.

The tribals have their own way of curing diseases. They have specific herbs with high medicinal value. Research scholars from far and wide not only come to study their art, crafts and culture, but also to gather knowledge on the herbs and traditional medicines that cure diseases in tribal areas.

A tribal loves his life—he loves his eco-structures or surroundings, the village, the forests, the hills, the hill stream, the countless flowers in the forests, his own people, songs and dances. He loves and respects the Skys God above and Mother Earth below. The communal life of the tribal people in which almost everything is shared, and in which the joy and sorrow of one is the joy and sorrow of the whole community is a valuable aspects in their culture. An individual never feels lonely rootless or helpless in the vast sea of humanity. One can observe that in the tribal villages, both adult men and women have gone to the hills, forests and fields from morning till evening, but no house is ever locked up. There is no fear of theft and robbery. Their houses are as open as their hearts and souls.

The tribals worship trees and nature. Even in the ancient time the people in Greece and Italy were worshipping trees. The Hindus are also tree worshipers. It is not always true that forests have been destroyed by tribals. They never cut a tree unless it is badly required. In most of the tribal villages, there are "sacred groves" which are believed to be the abodes of their deities. Tribals never cut even a branch of a tree within the sacred grove. This aspects of their culture may be taken care of while planning for regeneration of forests in tribal areas.

A high status is assigned to the women in tribal culture. Women move freely with men in the hills and forests, in the fairs and festivals. In the field of economic pursuits the women have greater share than men. In the selection of a husband or in the event of divorce, the opinion of the women is given due weightage. The tribal women force is a great factor for their overall development.

There is no dowry system among the tribals. Rather a bride price or "Jholla" is given to the parents of the girl before accepting her in marriage. One never finds an instance of bride burning or bride torture in tribal society as sometimes we find in the case with the so-called civilized non-tribal ones.

Youth dormitories were the core of tribal culture and reinforced the age-old traditions. These were the places of social gathering, cultural centres, entertainment and informal centres of learning positive values of life. These were the places to select life partners. Young men and women grow up in the dormitories without much inhibitions and repression to which the sophisticated communities are generally subject. The elders of the village often assemble at the dormitory house to discuss about every important event in their corporate life.

All the tribal communities not only possess rich cultural heritage but also have unique traditional system of social control. The traditional Panchayats found in tribal villages exercise enormous social, moral, religious economic, and political control over these communities. The functions and responsibilities of the traditional Panchayats include: (a) upholding social customs, traditions, mores, codes governing matrimonial alliances, divorce, family disputes, inter-personal relations; (b) safeguarding and promoting the economic interest of the members of the community in allotting community lands for cultivation, shifting cultivation, protection of common property resources; (c) religious rites and festivals; (d) political safeguards, development and encouragement

of right type of leaders, administrations of justice as per traditional law, hereditary rights; and (e) protection of cultural heritage—maintenance and continuity of folk dance, folk lore, traditional skills, knowledge etc. A proper synthesis of traditional laws, ethics and customs and statutory rules have to be ensured in order to achieve sustainable development in tribal areas.

The discipline in social life, dignity of labour, the collective and co-operative support in the field of socio-economic activities, the hospitality and friendship and above all honesty and simplicity are some of the finer values that are very much noticed in tribal culture. These have enriched and will go on enriching the great Indian culture. These human values have positive roles to play in socio-economic development of the tribal communities.

Mr. Verrier Elwin, the famous Anthropologist and social worker who worked among the tribal communities in India has rightly remarked, "Mankind is one and the tribes area a very precious part of mankind". Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said, "The people of the tribal areas and the hills attract me greatly and deserve our very special care. I am anxious that they should advance, but I am even more anxious that they should not lose their artistry and joy of life and the culture that distinguish them in many ways".

Culture Vs. Development: Tribal Experiences

Many of the development schemes introduced in tribal areas, after independence, did not take care of the cultural background of the tribal people and their traditional skills. Various researchers including Vidyarthi have found that tribal people resist such changes, which include introduction of modern technology and methods as they feel that these go to interfere with their respective core culture or their basic cultural adjustment. This was found true in case of various tribal groups whether they were tribes of forest hunting type, or hill cultivation type, or settle agriculture type, or simple artisan type or industrial and non-industrial labour type (Vidyarthi, 1999). According to Vidyarthi the tribals living in the hills and forests had developed a style of life suited to the particular natural surrounding termed as "nature-man-spirit complex", which they were not prepared to abandon under any circumstances and resisted any type of geographical rehabilitation or settlement in colonies with a quite new pattern of habitation.

The agricultural tribes who lived in the mixed villages of tribal and non-tribal population faced some negative forces like fragmentation of holdings, land alienation, excess pressure of population on land, poor agricultural technology and the traditions, lack of irrigation facilities etc. Added to these, the tribals, because of their tradition orientation and closed groups norms have not been able to introduce many new crops, new fertilizer and other new areas of agriculture.

The tribal artisan types like basket makers, iron smelters, blacksmiths, the traditional weavers and such others in various parts of the country whose economy and culture revolve round a specific craft in which they specialise, faced serious set back with introduction of modern mill-made or factory produced things of new technology. The complete negation of cultural factors and traditional background have resulted in loss of confidence of these tribals. They have not been able to properly readjust themselves with the changed economy.

The tribal belt of middle India which was originally characterised by folk culture underwent large scale industrialisation in recent years without much conscious efforts to benefit the local tribals and semi-tribal communities. This has resulted in loss of traditional occupation, land house, traditional way of life, exhaustion of cash received by way compensation, unemployment, keen and unfair competition with migrants in labour market, high aspiration and great frustration.

In this connection, it must be remembered that development implies, growth plus change which involves both material and human factors. Thus concept of development has to be defined in terms of tribals' cultural background, their values and historical experiences. There are a lot of positive aspects in tribal culture that can be taken care of while planning and implementing development schemes among the tribal communities and in tribal areas.

The Tribal Panchashil

Pandit Nehru while giving a broadframe work of tribal development emphasised on five aspects of tribal development which is known as the "Tribal Panchashil". These are, in brief: (a) people should develop along with the line of their own genius and we should avoid imposing any thing on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture; (b) Tribal rights in land and forests should

be respected; (c) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development; (d) We should not over administer these areas or overwhelm them with multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to their own social and cultural institution; (e) We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

These principles are very fundamental in character and have ever lasting values. The Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 while clarifying the scope of the state legislation regarding extending the provisions of part IX of the constitution to the Scheduled Areas says, "A state legislation on the Panchayats shall be in consonance with the customary law, social and religious practices and traditional management practices of community resources". It is a good thing that in the field of Panchayat Raj administration tribal culture is given weightage in the constitutional Amendment.

The Culture Change

Tribals no longer live alone. Contracts are there between them and their non-tribal neighbours. Modern forces are also actively moulding their way of life. As culture is dynamic, the tribals have faced and are facing changes. Factors responsible for the transformation are broadly of two types: Traditional and Modern.

The traditional processes, characterised by the impact of the major neighbouring communities on the tribal group, has long been in operation and has led to the resultant concepts like Hinduization, Sanskritisation, Tribe caste continuum etc. The modern process includes such factors like Christianity, urbanisation and industrialisation. Tribal development schemes, community and rural development schemes, democratic set-up of the nation through introduction of Panchayatiraj system, modernisation in education and administration and the like are of recent origin. The forces which are responsible at present to bring about significant changes may be mentioned as:

- (i) Development of communication within the tribal area and with outside world;
- (ii) Introduction of money economy;

- (iii) Spread of formal and modern education;
- (iv) Extension services by modern institutions including medical and administrative aids; and
- (v) Introduction of advanced technology to exploit the mineral forest, power and other industrial resources.

In spite of these forces operating and changes taking place, different tribes or sections of a tribe will continue to respond to the change differently. The tribals have also retained the principal elements of their ways of life, though these are modified to a greater or lesser extent. The identity and variety of the tribal culture, of course in a changed form will be maintained. The aspects of the tribal culture which have survival values are to be preserved and encouraged. Verrier Elwin remarked "Let us teach them that their (tribals) own culture, their own arts are precious things that we respect and need. When they feel that they can make contribution to their country, they will feel part of it. It is, therefore, an important aspect of their integration".

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