

**CULTURAL DIMENSIONS OF
TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN MANIPUR:
A STUDY ON THE MAOS OF TADUBI
BLOCK OF SENAPATI DISTRICT**

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MANIPUR: A STUDY ON THE MAOS OF TADUBI BLOCK OF
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SUBMITTED IN

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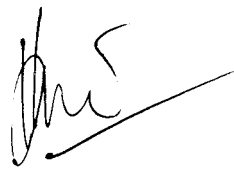
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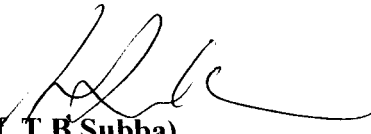
DECLARATION

I, Chopfoza Catherine, hereby declare that the subject matter of this thesis is the record of work done by me, and that the contents of this thesis did not form the basis of the award of any previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to any body else, and that the thesis has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other University/Institute.

This is been submitted to the North Eastern Hill University, for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology.


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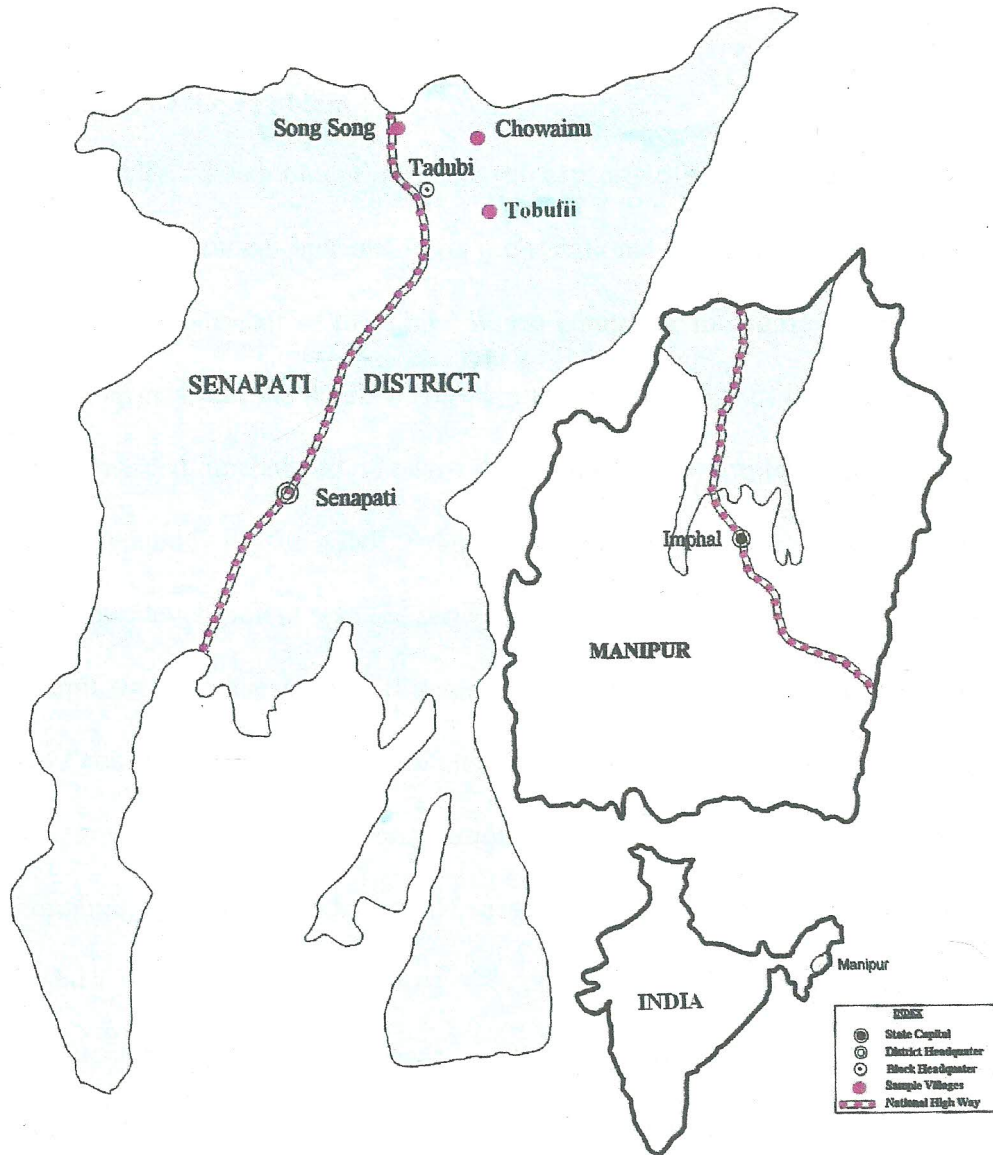
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Traditionally, 'development' refers to the capacity of a national economy to generate and sustain an annual increase in its gross national product (GNP). In the 1950s and 1960s a large number of the Third World countries, including India, achieved their growth targets, but the levels of living and quality of life of the masses for the most part remained unchanged (Todaro 1985: 84). This sombre situation caused the "dethronement" of the GNP from the definition of development. In the 1970s economic development was redefined in terms of elimination of poverty, inequality, unemployment, disease and illiteracy (Seers 1969: 3). Therefore, development is now "conceived of as a multi-dimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes and national institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and eradication of absolute poverty" (Todaro 1985: 85). In view of the persistence of chronic poverty, perpetual malnutrition, pre-mature death, illiteracy, poor housing and mounting unemployment, Todaro has conceptualized "development" as "the sustained elevation of an entire society and social system toward a "better" or "more human" life (ibid: 85). He, in fact, has emphasized the timeless concept of "good life" as the perpetual goal of humankind. He has succinctly outlined three objectives of development.

- i) Life sustenance: the ability to provide the basic needs,

ii) Self-esteem, and

iii) Freedom from servitude: to be able to choose

He thus concludes that “development is both a physical reality and state of mind in which society has, through some combination of social, economic and institutional processes, secured the means for obtaining a better life” (1985: 86-87).

Therefore, the paradigm of development that reigned for nearly five decades is now under severe strain. Projected as a self-fulfilling prophecy, it has failed to produce the desired results. Much of the development effort was misdirected and their benefits were highly skewed.

Much of the early thinking on development did not accord to culture a central place either as goal or as an instrumentality. Erroneously, wealth came to be equated with happiness while the mysterious ‘hidden hand’ and ‘trickle down’ effects were to direct distribution of the gains of development, its cultural objectives were either left undefined or stated in very general, often vague, terms. Evidently affluence could never be an adequate goal for society, for while wealth has several instrumental roles, by itself it is not an indicator of the quality of life. The process of development can aggravate existing tensions, mal-distribution of its benefits can generate disharmonies and conflicts, and its uncertainties and failures can have unsettling effects on social order. In consequence, forces of destabilization can be unleashed, bringing to a grinding halt all development and perhaps reversing the process. The cushioning provided by culture can minimize the shocks and injuries of change. Thus, output goals, without a proper interface with cultural and other goals,

stand in danger of articulating a philosophy of empty plenty, adding to the unmanageability of change.

A framework of economic development which is not explicitly and consciously disaggregated at the level of various socio-cultural collectivities and does not incorporate particular patterns of world-view, alternative life styles and endogenous institutional framework of self-management of resources and their augmentation will be segmented in character and ultimately be socially disruptive.

Besides, experiments in the field of technological change and rural community development in many underdeveloped areas of the world have brought into sharp focus the importance of cultural factors in the acceptance or rejection of the programmes of directed change sponsored by external agencies. There has been a growing realization among rural extension experts and technical assistance workers that even some of the less involved technological or economic innovation has latent cultural dimensions that need careful consideration if the success of these programmes is to be assured. The acceptance of the agents of change, as well as the effectiveness of the media through which they endeavour to communicate the innovations, are largely governed by the cultural dispositions, attitudes and social organisation of the community in which they operate. The acceptance of the programmes, or of their constituent parts is determined to a considerable extent by a variety of complex cultural factors, ranging from simple habits and accepted social practices to the intricate patterns of belief, social structure, world-view, values and attitudes.

Development is thus a major process of socio-cultural transformation and its deeper understanding is necessary to see why, in spite of substantial increase in production and growth, diversification of the economy, and enormous expansion in its technological base, the benefits from economic progress did not spread to all sections of the society and a great majority of them did not experience improvement in the quality of their life.

In India, planned development at the national level started only after Independence. During the British rule, when the Indian economy as a whole was near stagnant the tribal areas were generally kept secluded and out of the normal process of administration and economic action. There was little infrastructure in the tribal areas excepting a few pockets. The character of the tribal policy of the British government was isolation of tribal people from rest of the population. Some of the British officers genuinely felt that left to themselves the tribal people would remain a happier lot. Some welfare programmes and legislations were enacted and implemented by the British during the pre-independent period to mitigate the sufferings of the tribals and prevent their exploitation by the outsiders. However, there was no deliberate attempt to strengthen the economic base of these down-trodden backward communities in the country. It was only after the country became independent that the leaders began to talk in terms of planned economic and social development.

From time immemorial tribal communities constitute an important segment of Indian society. They are commonly designated as *Adivasi* (original settlers), *Girijan* (hill dwellers), *Vanyajati* (forest dwellers), *Adimjati* (primitive

castes), *Janajati* (folk communities), *Anusuchit Janajati* (Scheduled Tribes) and by their respective ethnic and cultural appellations too (Behura 1999: 6). Similarly, various authors have described the tribes by different nomenclatures. Ghurye named them “Backward Hindus”; a few named them aboriginals, primitive tribe, *Vanabasi*, *Pahari*, etc. (Mehta 1996: 11). Anthropologists and other social scientists have always looked at the tribes as a social formation rather than an economic or technological state of affairs. They belong to the weaker section of Indian population and along with the Scheduled Castes, they are entitled to protection against social injustice and all forms of exploitation as per Article 46 of the Constitution of India. The tribal communities are in different stages of development: pre-agricultural, agricultural and transitional.

The tribals are the poorest of the entire social group. Out of its total population, 52.6 percent of tribals are below the poverty line as compared to 44.7 percent of the Scheduled Castes and 33.4 percent of the general population. Most of the tribals (92.60 percent) live in rural areas. It is overwhelming to discern that only 23.63 percent of them are literate which is about half of the national average (52.21 percent) (Census of India 1991). Hence, in order to combat such a situation, there is a need to evolve development approach where people are the subject and not the object of development.

After India’s Independence, it was decided to provide socio-economic and socio-political protection to the tribal communities in the Constitution of India. And thus, the Constitution, which came into force on 26th January 1950, contained several protective measures for them and other weaker sections of the

Indian society. The welfare and development of the tribal communities have been a national goal and special responsibility of the union and various state governments. In order to bring the tribals on par with other people, in all respects, developmental agencies have been set up. As a result, all the states now have separate and independent departments to look after tribal welfare.

The policy of tribal development was spelt out by the first Prime Minister of the country as follows: “we cannot allow matters to drift in the tribal areas or just not take interest in them At the same time, we should avoid over-administering the areas and in particular, sending too many outsiders into their territory. It is between the two extreme positions we have to function” (Elwin 1960: 13). In conformity with this thinking, the tribal development policy in the country was formulated. The task of tribal development has been defined as social and economic development of the tribal people through integrated area development and other programmes suiting the genius and the economic situation of the people ensuring progressive elimination of all forms of exploitation and ensuring a move towards the goal of equality and social justice.

The First Five-Year Plan commenced in 1951 with a comprehensive programme of community development. 56 community development projects were started in 1952 at different places. These projects offered co-ordinated programmes for multi-dimensional development of rural areas. In 1953, National Extension Service (NES) blocks were set up to provide the basic staff and a small amount of funds to the people so that they could start the development works essentially on the basis of self-help. The NES blocks were subsequently converted into Community

Development Project (CDP) blocks. The CDP activities were comprehensive and programmes included development of (i) agriculture and related matter; (ii) communications; (iii) health and sanitation; (iv) education, (v) social welfare activities, (vi) housing, (vii) employment, and (viii) training.

As the community development programmes were comprehensive in their coverage, the same CDP set up was considered suitable for tribal areas. The task in the tribal areas was challenging for various reasons, and therefore needed higher financial investment. Thus, in order to supplement the CD programme, 43 multipurpose tribal development projects were started during 1954. In 1956, it was realised that it would not be possible to sustain such an intensive programme for the entire tribal region and achieve reasonable success within a short period. As a consequence, a less intensive model of tribal development block was evolved. The norms for the constitution of tribal development (TD) block included an area of 150 to 200 sq. miles and a population of 2500 (Sharma 1984: 56). On an experimental basis such blocks were established in several states with high tribal concentration. Gradually, this programme was extended to other tribal areas with more than two-third of tribal population and by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan (1961-1966) about 500 blocks emerged covering about 40 percent of the total population in the country. It became a major agency for the implementation of tribal welfare programmes from 1962 onwards.

In due course of time, the Tribal Advisory Councils, Tribal Research Institutes, Tribal Training and Educational Institutions were set up. Since 1950, a lot of experiments have been done on the theme of 'tribal development'. Initially, in the

First Five-Year Plan the allocated amount for tribal development was about 20 crores and in the Sixth Five-Year Plan it went up to 180 crores.

The Tribal Development Block (TDB) strategy was, however, an improvement over the community development approach, but it was not very effective in ensuring development of the tribals. It lacked effective administrative framework, and insufficient attention was given to the protective and anti-exploitative aspects of tribal development.

Keeping this in mind, it was decided to take up in Fourth Five-Year Plan special programmes for tribal areas on a pilot basis. For this purpose, eight Tribal Development Agencies were set up in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh (GOI 1969-74: 167). These agencies aimed at removing the shortcomings of the TDB strategy. For this purpose, an administrative framework to ensure implementation of protective measures and programmes for economic development and infrastructure creation was envisaged (ibid). The fourth plan had certain inadequacies and shortcomings in the process of implementation. Allocation of funds from general sectoral schemes was inadequate for development of backward classes – especially the tribals. The programmes of economic development have not fully succeeded in bringing about any significant rise in their levels of living (GOI 1974-79, Vol.11, 1975: 274).

The recommendations of Dhebar Commission and Shilu Ao Committee, as well as the experience of the previous plans were taken into account by the planners. The planners took a comprehensive view of the tribal development strategy on the eve of Fifth Five-Year Plan. As a result, a new strategy, known as the

✓ Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) strategy was evolved. Under this strategy, the different sectoral departments of the various state governments were required to set apart a fixed percentage of their budget for investment in TSP areas. Emphasis was laid on development of administrative infrastructure and measures to end exploitation of tribals. About 40 tribal development projects were formulated and an amount of Rs.62 crores was spent during the first phase of the Fifth Plan and another 145 Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDP) were established. Priority in the plan was given to regional schemes of agriculture, power and communication (ibid: 274).

In order to handle the tribal population within the purview of TSP strategy, Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP) for substantially tribal areas, the Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) for pockets of tribal concentration and Special Projects for Primitive Tribes (SPPT) were planned, which were continued in the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The MADA was adopted to cover smaller areas of tribal concentration having less than 10,000 populations of which 50 per cent or more are tribals. The Sixth Plan attached importance to poverty eradication with the objective of raising a substantial number of tribal families above poverty line. The main thrust of the policy for development of Scheduled Tribes during this period was four-fold, namely: a) integration of services and delivery point to the beneficiary with a view to develop self-reliance in them; b) development of services from the bottom-upward instead of top-downwards; c) development of skills to diversify the occupation, specially in the case of Scheduled Tribes; and d) introduction of latest technology based on local materials and skills to reduce the stigma attached to their present profession (GOI 1981: 419).

During the Seventh Five-Year Plan emphasis was laid on raising the socio-economic conditions of tribal people by strengthening the infrastructure in tribal areas. This plan aimed at planning of beneficiary oriented programmes. The development policy emphasized on the rehabilitation of displaced persons particularly tribals. The emphasis was to invest money on industries, irrigation, power, mining, forestry and wildlife (GOI 1986: 741-61). The TSP approach during this period had a two-fold thrust: first, socio-economic development of tribal areas and, secondly, that of tribal families. Another major task of the Seventh Plan was the adoption of stringent anti-exploitative measures alongside the socio-economic development programmes. The planning process was a judicious mix of beneficiary oriented programmes, human resource development and infrastructure development (ibid).

Many new schemes/programmes and projects were initiated for tribal development in the Eighth Plan. The ITDP was extended to 195 blocks, 251 MADAs were created, 79 clusters were formed and 75 primitive tribal groups were identified. A target of 49.78 lakhs Scheduled Tribe families was fixed for Eighth Plan period (1992-97). The consolidated achievements during the period were 51.53 lakh Scheduled Tribe families, which are 104 percent of the target (GOI 1998: 16). At the end of this plan, TSP was operating in 18 states, namely; Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Orissa, Rajasthan, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal and two union territories, namely, Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Daman and Diu (ibid).

The approach to the development of tribals in the Ninth Five-Year Plan emphasized mainly on the protection of tribal economy by ensuring safeguards from external markets. Other important areas included an action plan incorporating total food and nutrition security, health coverage, educational facilities, etc. in keeping with their socio-cultural conditions. It also emphasized on a national policy for their development (GOI 1997: 94).

In Manipur, both union and state governments have invested a large amount of money in various five-year plans to uplift the socio-economic status of the tribals. During the First and Second Five-Year plans, there were no separate allocations for tribal development and during this period, emphasis was on development of transport and communication, and social and community services. During the Third Five-Year Plan, Rs.1.2 crores was earmarked for the welfare of the backward classes particularly the Scheduled Tribes. In the Fourth Plan, emphasis was on upliftment and better health, education and economic development. The major programmes for the development of backward classes have been mainly through the centrally sponsored sector. In the State Plan, the schemes for economic development of tribes included aid to individual cultivator for purchase of agricultural implements, setting up of village industries and handicrafts. Under agricultural programmes three out of nine programmes were intended to help the Scheduled Tribes. These programmes included minor irrigation, soil conservation and forests. An important development during this plan was an emphasis on increasing use of high yielding variety (HYV) seeds for paddy, wheat and maize which were made available to cultivators besides other inputs (GOI 1972: 2). The

Fifth Five-Year Plan of the state aimed at securing, *inter alia*, the twin national objectives of removal of poverty and attainment of economic self-reliance. The main emphasis was on irrigation, transport and communication. During the Sixth Five-Year Plan, social and community services, water and power took major share. The Plan was very ambitious with a huge outlay of Rs.246 crores.

In the Seventh Five-Year Plan, the strategy for development consisted of acceleration in the productive sectors with sustained efforts to improve development of agriculture and allied activities. The basic objective of the Eighth Five-Year Plan was to accelerate the socio-economic development of the tribal people. Main emphasis of this plan was on irrigation and power, and social and community services. In addition to the expenditure from the State Plan, there was also the Special Assistance to the TSP areas for the Eighth Five-Year Plan period in which emphasis was given to the upliftment of education sector, agriculture and allied services. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan, strategy adopted was creation of amenities through infrastructure development schemes, poverty alleviation through family-oriented income generating schemes and improvement of tribal talent through the implementation of research oriented schemes/programmes.

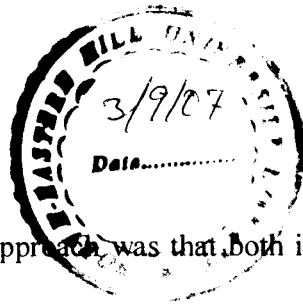
It can be seen that various efforts have been made during the plan period for the development of tribals. Important problems such as poverty, lack of roads and communication facilities, shortage of drinking water, irrigation, education, culture, health and housing have been taken up. The Tribal Sub-Plan initiated in the Fifth-Five Year Plan gives importance on the one hand to the elimination of exploitation of Scheduled Tribes, especially in the fields of land alienation, money

lending, forestry etc., and on the other hand, to the development of population and the area through plan schemes. So the basic objective is to speed up the process of social and economic development to build up the inner strength of the tribal people and to improve their organizational capabilities. Despite all such efforts and massive input, the results have fallen short of expectation. In Manipur, in most of the Five-Year Plan periods there has been an increase in the fund allotment for the tribal areas and it has gone up to 45.17 and 42.15 percent of the state's plan outlay in the Eighth and Ninth Plan periods respectively. It may, therefore, be stated that the central as well as the state governments have been allocating more and more funds for the upliftment of this backward section of the society.

Tribal Development Blocks brought about some changes but the overall impact was not significant. Programmes for T.D. Blocks were conceptually comprehensive but acquired schematic character in the process of implementation. And T.D. Blocks did not pay any attention to the growth positive values in tribal cultures during this transitional phase. This is the time when tribal societies started changing fast due to development intervention. However, the impact of development programmes was not salutary on all tribal communities. The constitutional measures did not yield the much cherished result as these were not specifically linked up with the development programmes of the Block. This was evident from the fact that benefits of development did not reach uniformly all sections among the tribals, and moreover, the primitive tribal communities remained beyond the pale of development administration.

The Indian development model was designed to transform an industrially and agriculturally backward economy to an agro-industrial economy based on modern science and technology; to engender the transition from a hierarchical and closed social system to an open and just society based on individual freedom and equality of opportunity; to promote a new outlook based on modern, secular, scientific and humanist values and norms and acceptance of a framework of political democracy. These objectives that underpinned the design of Indian development led to an emphasis on the predominant role of the state in directing economic development that would enhance self-reliance, full mass aspirations for a better life, and balance the interests of different regions and socio-cultural groups.

The strategy of development that was formulated to give effect to these objectives was primarily concerned with economic growth with emphasis on rapid industrialization and modernization of agriculture with the objective of raising its output. Capital accumulation and its investment for future growth were promoted to achieve economic growth. Building up of physical rather than human capital was highly stressed. The extent of growth in GNP that could be achieved was dependent on technological improvement. The policy framework for implementing the strategy of development was that of a mixed economy, a combination of public and private ownership. The implicit assumption in this model was that as productivity increased, it could be shared by the masses through 'trickle down' effects. However, this development model was predominantly economic and technocratic and was a response to the economic profile that India inherited at its Independence – mass poverty, economic stagnation and lacking in growth potential.



The principal consequence of this approach was that both industrial and agricultural output increased manifold; foundations of modern diversified industrial structure were laid, technological base of the economy was vastly expanded, average expectancy of life considerably increased with improvements in health and nutrition standards, a stock of skilled manpower was built up and creditable achievements in the field of modern science and technology were registered. But expected benefits from the growth process as measured in terms of GNP did not spread widely to cover all sections of the society. By and large, the poor tended to remain poor.

It is now increasingly clear that this lopsided development is attributable to the sole pre-occupation of the planners with issues related to accelerating the pace of economic growth and the inadequate understanding of village life which primarily accounts for poor planning and slow implementation and failure of development programmes. For more than the pace of development, it is the actual impact of development which matters.

Review of Literature

A. GENERAL:

R.P. Singh (1995) highlights the importance of effective utilization of natural resources and its positive impact on tribal development. The author opines that the development practices and policies for natural resource management need to be properly oriented to maintain the quality of environment. He further suggests that the active co-operation of the masses and the voluntary organization has to be sought for successful implementation of the natural resource management programmes. He

is of the view that an integrated developmental planning approach must be adopted for development of agriculture, horticulture, silviculture, fisheries, dairying, forest and mineral based industries, transport arteries and linkages and service/growth centres, providing social, economic and infrastructure facilities to the people.

Lucy Mair (1984) in her book *Anthropology and Development* argues that development policies which are intended to raise living standards in less developed countries often fail as a result of mutual misunderstanding. The developers are not aware of the kind of adjustment that people are required to make but they are not given enough explanation of the intended benefit. Backing up her arguments with examples from rural and urban projects, the author discusses concepts of social structure and culture of less developed countries which anyone engaged in planning a development project would need to take into account. She concludes that only when agents of development are equipped to explain to the people being 'developed' what they want them to do and how they can do it will development projects have a chance to succeed.

Sachindra Narayan (1984) states that the major reason for not achieving the target is that social research is not at all relevant for planners and administrators. The planners and bureaucrats rarely care for research. Research is carried out just to fill the gap. Narayan is of the view that academicians are equally responsible because they never wish to share the findings of their researches with common people. Development of tribals will take place only when they feel that the quality of life which they aspire for is in fact achieved.

H.M. Mathur (1989) talks about various development plans taken up by national and international agencies for the betterment of the rural poor. He goes on to say that most development plans fail not because the rural people are lazy, tradition-bound and opposed to development but technical and economic issues are often addressed in the project design the people-related variables frequently get relegated to the background. The author also emphasizes on the importance of inclusion and involvement of Anthropology in third-world development.

S.C. Dube (1990) writes that in the race for development and modernization the role of tradition was often undervalued. The general tendency was to write it off as an inconvenient presence. To many it had a negative role; it was a barrier to change. Unless the hold of tradition was weakened, and it was downgraded to the status of decorative frill as a concession to the nostalgia for the past, acceleration of change and progress could not be ensured. Major changes in social structure and transformation in cultural values, thus, were considered pre-conditions of development. Feeble voices of dissent highlighted the creative potential of tradition, but they were largely ignored. When tradition began asserting itself and in some cases adopted aggressive postures, the social scientists and development planners had to sit up and take notice. Rethinking goals and strategies of development and assigning in them a place to tradition becomes a necessity.

N. Hasnain (1991) points out that the administrator, as a matter of policy, must emphasize on the concept of development other than welfare. Welfare programmes are linked with the distributions of doles which neglect the integrated

growth of the tribal society and also lead to the release of forces of conflict and tensions of both inter and intra types.

B. INDIA:

M.M. Mathur (1976) is of the view that there must be enough people who will be simply fascinated by the kind of work that awaits them in tribal areas. But often it is the personnel policies and practices which fail to retain and motivate the best people. It seems that the existing personnel policies will need to be modified to reflect greater concern for the tribal development programmes.

B.D. Sharma (1978) discusses the participation of tribals in industrial and mineral development. He is of the view that their participation must be conceived in dynamic terms so as to strengthen their socio-economic base in the process of their transformation from primitive to modern society. He also points out that planning without participation of the people and their active involvement cannot be realistic. The tribal person must become a 'co-sharer' in the new wealth created in these areas and should become an active participant in their management. He further pointed out that one of the most important irritants of the tribal scene in the country at the moment is the incompatibility of the administrative system and the local socio-economic situation. A better understanding of the basic processes and suitable corrective measures would help in harmonizing the interaction between the local environmental context and the personnel system.

R.P. Mishra *et al.* (1979) highlights that each tribe has its distinctive pattern of living – but at the same time contacts with non-tribal people have made dent in the tribal cultural configuration. They further point out that in this process

each tribal area has reached a particular level of development and acculturation. They also point that the social structure of developing societies whether conceived at the national or regional levels is inhibitive of real development. The benefits of increased investment in economic and social activities in these areas go to those who need them least.

Mahesh Sharma and Rajendra Prasad (1982) in their paper on planning for tribal development portray the history of the British policy towards the tribals. They also analyze the policies and programmes adopted in the post-Independence era and point out the inadequacies and shortcomings of the strategies adopted for tribal development during the various plan periods. The impact of industrialization on tribals is also considered by the authors. They commonly agree that there have been continuous efforts towards tribal development in the post-independent India. The fact is that all these programmes have not been able to make meaningful change in the lives of tribal people. They view that the administration has to be so oriented and technology of development so evolved that the tribals are able to absorb and take advantage of the development programmes. The potential of the voluntary agencies must be fully exploited.

Bhupinder Singh (1983) in his article points out that part of the reason for deprivation of the two weak sections of society – Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes- may be related to poverty of natural resources of the environment in which they live, but part of it is also attributable to their exploitation by others. He further points out that many measures in the form of redistribution of assets and even flow of benefits from natural resources may be undertaken, institutional

framework aimed at elimination of unfair exchange in trade transactions can yield immediate and tangible return.

S. Narayan *et al.* (1983) point out that the strategies of tribal development adopted in India appear to bypass the chief indicator of backwardness, i.e., the stagnation of the social structure. They highlight that the problem of tribal development programmes is the lack of awareness about social structure. The statutory reservations, discrimination, special provisions, guarantee of minimum need etc. as means of social change are welcome. However, the reality is that tribal plans in appearance look elegant and egalitarian, but in actual practice the approach is narrow and stunted.

Sakendra Prasad Singh (1983) comments that though serious efforts have been made through Five-Year Plans to uplift the tribal, desired results have not been achieved. He is of the view that various developmental programmes targeted for the Scheduled Tribes in the Five-Year Plans were formulated in an *ad hoc* manner without any perspective. Secondly, the special programmes for them were conceived as a supplement to the total development effort under general sector of development. After analyzing the investment made in the Fifth Plan, the author highlights that out of state's share of funds only 5 percent of investment was for beneficiary-oriented schemes. In such schemes institutional finance is also supposed to play crucial role. Though allocation for infrastructural programmes might help in creating employment and building facilities, there would be a long time lag between the creation of infrastructural facilities and their utilization.

Atul Goswami (1984) describes the strategy for tribal development with special reference to the tribes in North-East India. The strategy for tribal development, the author argues, requires defining in clear terms the contents of development for tribals which are bound to be different from the national contents. Tribals living in the hills with some minor exception are not yet integrated into national economy and their contact with the economy has been minimal. He views that attempts to extend the national economy to their communities in haste are likely to be counter-productive for development, besides, setting in motion waves of social unrest. He also says that the recent trend towards re-tribalization can be attributed to a large extent to their sudden exposure to the national economic forces. Economic development for the tribals and also for the North Eastern region would mean a persistent rise in per capita income in real terms enumerating from increased domestic factor without accentuating economic disparities. This must be achieved while minimizing the adverse effects on future resource availability and on ecology without jeopardizing ethnic identity. Development, whether tribal or otherwise, is a value-loaded term as it signifies a progress in different spheres of individual and social life. Lopsided progress in one sphere is often at the expense of progress in another.

Ajit K. Singh (1984) points out that the material advancement through development efforts among tribals has not shown any marked changes except in some solitary cases. He also points out that till today the developmental programmes did not care for local natural resources and the requirements of the tribals. Further, he opines that while planning for tribal development the customs,

beliefs, values, attitudes, distinct ethos and socio-cultural activities of different tribal communities must also be kept in mind.

Christoph von Furer Haimendorf (1984) points out that the drive for modernization and industrialization pursued by Government of India is committed to the development of the country's standard of living. This development does not augur well for the future of tribal population.

T. Lakshmaiah (1984) in his study of socio-economic development of tribals in Adilabad district in Andhra Pradesh finds out that inspite of the rigorous efforts through planned development in the district, major problems relating to tribals remain unresolved. Improved communication system in the district has helped mostly non-tribals to enter into interior areas and exploit the tribals. The author has given some suggestions which include the assessment of their immediate problems, needs and priorities, proper understanding of the socio-cultural dimension of tribal life – norms, values and taboos, steps to be taken to safeguard the interests of the tribals with specific reference to their land, indebtedness, special provisions for education and employment. He opined that labour intensive schemes such as small scale and cottage industries, handicrafts must be implemented to divert manpower from agriculture to other occupations: policy measures have to be adopted to arrest the exploitation of tribals by non-tribals.

A.R. Basu (1985) in his study on tribal development programmes in Himachal Pradesh, especially in Bharmour and Pangi sub-divisions of Chamba district, has analyzed the various aspects of development programmes in the tribal belt. He pointed out that the efforts made by the government were inadequate to

solve basic problems of poverty, malnutrition and exploitation of tribals. The study further shows that development programmes have failed to elicit popular support and participation of the local people. This is despite the fact that special emphasis was given to the need for such participation in all the plans. The study also points out that because of several bottlenecks in the administrative machinery little has been done in these areas.

B.K. Roy Burman (1985) presents certain issues to be considered at the operational level for an integrated approach to tribal development during the Seventh Plan such as issues concerning the implementation of protective measures envisaged in the TSP, appropriate methodology for estimating the number of tribal families above the poverty line, strategies for bringing about inter-articulation of the felt needs of the tribals, the issues of grant-in-aid under Article 275 of the Constitution, the success and failure of tribal resettlement colonies and related matters. The author comments that planning for tribal and tribal areas has become almost a gamble in ignorance. A massive programme of inter-communication among planning and implementation agencies, academics of different discipline interested in tribals and spokesman of the various tribal forums is needed to correct the situation within the short time at disposal before the Seventh Plan.

M.S. Gopalakrishnan (1985) describes the impact of the welfare schemes on Kannikars in Kerala. The implementation of welfare schemes without taking into account the necessity of the beneficiaries is one of the factors for not achieving the desired result. The overlapping of the schemes, the reluctance of the officials to visit the field and the present dole system without nurturing in them the

dignity of labour are matters which need serious consideration. According to him, the development of tribals must be through their labour and active participation. The viability, ability and aptitudes of the tribals to utilise the scheme must be taken into account before introducing any schemes.

R.K.B. Nayar (1985) shows that plan for tribal upliftment since Independence has not yielded adequate returns. The main reason for this, the author observes, is that the government has approached tribal problem as though it is a homogenous one. The author argues that there are two levels at which the new strategy of TSP needs to be re-oriented. One is at the level of planning programmes for tribal development and the other is at the implementation stage. Before planning any programme it is necessary and expedient to know the opinion of the beneficiaries about the programme. Most of the tribal development programmes are planned on the assumption that any programme intended to improve the welfare of a person or category of persons will be voluntarily and spontaneously accepted by the beneficiaries. The second requirement put forward for success of the TSP is the strengthening of the machinery for administration of programmes. More deep-rooted change will have to be brought in the orientation and outlook of the staff towards their new assignments. The author suggests for a case work approach. The caseworker can train the tribals to new ideas and skills, equip them for availing the existing programmes, motivate them to make proper use of them and convert them to modern ways of life. The method can be most effective in areas of tribal concentration where casework approach can be supplemented with group approach.

R. Malhotra (1985) highlights certain reasons for the failure of development programmes inspite of constitutional and executive measures taken by government. Stereotyped programmes which have no relevance to the needs of the tribals in scheduled areas inspite of constitutional provisions, excessive politicization of tribal issues and absence of leaders among tribals to look after their interests, ill-suited administrative structure, failure of planners to take cognizance of variations in development from region to region and from tribe to tribe, callousness on the part of various developmental agencies to adopt scientific planning and to ensure the implementation of research findings, inadequate funds and lack of administrative machinery to integrate all the sectoral programmes are some of them.

Bhupinder Singh (1988) commenting on the issue of tribal development, observes that because of lack of exchange of ideas and minerals, technological advancement has not been appreciable and progress in the socio-economic fields has been slow. After tracing the policy pursued by the British Government and constitutional provisions in independent India, the author observes a common phenomenon in the field of tribal upliftment. According to him, fund earmarked for tribals has been diverted for non-tribal benefit in Tribal Development Block Districts (TDBDs), since no device was evolved to secure them especially for tribal interests.

Lal Mani Prasad (1988) examines the tribal development problem in a global context. He argues that the policy, programmes and constitutional provisions in India regarding tribal development are unmatched when compared with other countries. The author gives a clear narration of the tribal development

policies and programmes adopted during the pre- and post-independent eras. He is of the view that an attempt has been made to adopt participation as an instrument for rooting out rural and tribal poverty. The administration in tribal areas will have to be flexible in view of the culture, ecology and ethos of each tribal group and this will largely depend upon the attitude of civil servants. On the contrary, he opines that the administrators in India are not aware of the ethos of tribal people.

V.S. D'Souza (1990) pointed out that the tribals are more backward compared not only to the general population, but also the Scheduled Castes and other backward social groups under constitutional protection. The author examined the efforts of planned developmental intervention on the tribals from 1961 to 1981 and concluded that twenty years of intervention had not made any significant impact on the conditions of the tribals.

M. Bhapuji (1992) points out that tribal development strategy in the successive plans could not reduce the complexity of the tribal situation as planners and policy makers have not been able to rectify the reasons for its failure in the successive plans. He further points out that one must recognize that the destiny of development strategies depends upon those for whom they are intended and the main impetus for growth must come from within the community. He suggests that such a tribal participation can be promoted by replacing the existing 'top-down' with 'bottom-up' approach which necessarily means a change in the outlook of policy makers and administrators.

A.K. Singh and M.K. Jabbi (1995) revealed that the conditions of the tribals in post-Independence India have, in many ways, worsened. They further

pointed out that tribals have become the refugees of development. They also pointed out that for the tribals; 'development' has become synonymous with 'deprivation' and brewing 'discontent'.

B.N. Sahay (1997) highlights that although sustained efforts have been made for the welfare and development of tribals in post-Independence era, the results have not been commensurate with the funds spent and efforts made. He is of the view that for successful implementation of tribal schemes, Pt. Nehru's approach to the problem must form the basis. He elaborates that if the socio-cultural and economic aspects are not properly studied, analyzed, and exploited for tribal development, the programmes will have limited success.

C. MANIPUR:

R. Brown (1873) in his *Statistical Account of Manipur* gives an account of the Kolya tribes in which is included the Mau (Mao), their location, number, origin, physical characteristics, villages and their administration, roads, water supply, modes of fighting, religious observations, festivals and ceremonies, cultivation, hunting, fishing, health, etc.

J.H. Hutton (1921) gives a comprehensive description of the Angamis and their life – domestic, social, religious law and customs, language, etc. In this monograph he considers Chakrima, Kezhama and Memo (Mao) as eastern Angamis. There is also a separate description of the Memi (Mao) in "Notes on the Memi" in Appendix-II (pp.337-350) in which he gives a general description of all aspects of the Mao social life.

E.W. Dun's (1975) *Gazetteer of Manipur* provides an authoritative and comprehensive study of the state in all its richness of life and culture. It is an exhaustive account of the land and people, fauna and flora, religion and culture, politics and economics.

Jhalajit Singh's (1975) book seeks to provide a factual account of the life, culture and economic development of Manipur. It contains description of the state's geographical features, people, historical outline, legends and festivals, economy and social services and development of the state. This book is one in a series with an objective to promote greater awareness and understanding of different regions of the country.

B.K. Ahluwalia and Shashi Ahluwalia's book (1984) captures the subtle nuances of the state, brings through crisp narrative a clear picture of the state, its culture and its people. The traditions and customs of the people are detailed with such skill that the reader finds transported there. They bring to us the scenic beauty of the state with its hills, valleys and rivulets, through words and also through illustrations in a very lively manner. With economic development, changes are bound to take place in social and cultural fields. The work also depicts the socio-cultural transformation of the state in recent years.

G.K. Gori's *Changing Phase of Tribal Area in Manipur* (1984) highlights the infrastructure progress in tribal areas of Manipur. The author gives lots of statistical information on tribal areas but very less of analytical work has been done due to which very few inferences can be drawn from this book. According to him a close scrutiny of the apportionment of funds shows increasing amount spent in

the hill areas. But if a visitor goes from the plains to the hills he/she forms the impression that there is still much left to be done to narrow down the economic gap between the two regions. He further suggests that the Christian missionaries have succeeded in modernizing the tribal people of Manipur. Indeed they have unlocked the closed doors of these primitive people to the light of modern education.

Rajat Kanti Das' book (1985), with its primary focus on the tribal communities of Manipur, seeks to investigate the highly complex problem of tribal identity vis-à-vis the Meities – the valley people who socially, economically and politically dominate the state scenario. Thus, departing from the often-appearing studies on tribal customs, the volume is a painstaking effort to evolve an analytical framework for a true appreciation of the ethnographic realities in Manipur. The author also strives to examine the importance of the principles of social organization, highlighting how kinship, marriage and other ritual ties have gone a long way in shaping the structure of tribal societies. In addition, Das takes a look at the processes of historical growth and cultural dynamics to identify the trends of social change in Manipur and shows how it is influencing the lives of the tribals largely inhabiting the hills.

S.A. Ansari's *Socio-Economic Development in Tribal Area of Manipur* (1986) attempts to highlight the details of the various schemes carried out by the government of Manipur through the various Five-Year Plans. He points out that the resources for tribal development are appropriated and utilized for development elsewhere. The state government claims the resources in utter disregard of traditional rights of the tribals. Many of the development project sites are in tribal

areas, which have forced displacement of the tribals in favour of the development projects. He is of the opinion that the new opportunities of development have largely gone to those occupying vantage positions. He further points out that a special dispensation is necessary for enabling the tribal people to become equal partners in development of tribal areas.

Ashok Kumar Ray (1991) highlights the various forest laws, land survey and land revenue problems in the hill areas related to land and customary laws, tenancy, land and rent, forced labour, wage system and labour exploitation in Manipur.

G.K. Ghosh (1992) gives a general description of the Maos. He starts with the statement that Mao Nagas inhabit the area which may be termed as gateway of today's Manipur. He talks about various origin legends and affinities between the neighbouring tribes, division of the tribe into clans, system of village chief, myths, their animistic religion, festivals celebrated in relation to agriculture, dresses worn according to one's status, ornaments, musical instruments, forms of dances, songs, etc. Lastly, he mentions about the eroding cultural life of the people, the factors causing it etc. The importance of reviving their cultural heritage is emphasized too.

Binodini Devi (1994) gives a description of the Maos, their villages, location, social structure, social changes and differences in their material culture, language, type of settlements, inheritance and types of landholding with their neighbouring tribe - Maram.

Benjamin Banee (1995) talks about the origin of the Maos, the place they migrated from, the village head and his council, the power he wields, the

village site, etc. He describes law enforcement and settlement of disputes, dress and ornaments, widow remarriage, religious festivals, etc. He also discusses their language, its variations and gives a comparative table of the dialects of different villages and some other Naga tribes. He regrets that there is no single common language.

S.A. Ansari's book (1997) *Manipur: Tribal Demography and Socio-Economic Development* contains two parts. In part-one which is sub-titled as "Tribal Demography", the author gives a detailed description of migration of the hill people to their present habitat, growth of population since 1901, area wise distribution of tribes, economy and missionary works, etc. Part two which is sub-titled as "Socio-Economic Development in the Tribal Area 1951-90" gives a detailed description of the various programmes carried out by the government in each Five-Year Plan since 1950 till 1990 for the development of the state. In all the plans, priority was given to transport and communication and social services sector. And allotment of funds for development work was increased in each subsequent plan. Despite all this the author writes "even after the successful completion of six full Five-Year Plans and as many as Five Annual Plans there could not be appreciable change in the sources of livelihood. In spite of the best efforts for developing the economic condition of the tribal communities they still continue to be the weaker section with poor standard of living. There is also wide disparity in the level of development between the different areas inhabited by the tribals".

Vedaya Sanjenbam (1998) has pointed out that in Manipur; the implementation of economic development programmes is not evenly carried out

throughout the state which has led to disparity between different regions and sections of the society, besides decline in employment in traditional crafts and industries. She points out that in the tribal areas there is still prevalence of shifting agricultural economy marked by absence of industries and low urbanization. She further points out that the hill districts of Manipur present a scene of poverty, unemployment, economic exploitation, social deprivation, poor health, illiteracy and lack of infrastructure. According to her, it is difficult to think of the balanced development of the state without improving the lot of tribal people living in the hill districts.

M. Horam's (2000) book attempts to convey something of the social values, economic condition and feelings of the hill people of the state of Manipur, of their aspirations, intense love for traditional values and their longings and frustrations. Constitutional and administrative issues are minutely examined with special reference to 73rd Amendment and the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. Educational problems, forest problems, environmental imbalances, land use, etc. are discussed and even possible solutions are suggested. The book is an attempt to convey their age old wants and needs.

A.M. Barih (2001) edited *Encyclopaedia of North-East India*, Vol.3: Manipur gives a detailed account of Manipur under the British rule, its turbulent history, insurgency, the varied and charming communities found in Manipur, cultural evolution and most importantly, the economic development programmes in the state.

Joshua Thomas *et al.* (2001) deal with the various factors responsible for the slow pace of development in Manipur like ethnicity, insurgency, law and order, youth unemployment, abuse of drugs, AIDS, etc.

The above reviewed literature reveals that many studies covering various aspects of tribal development programmes have been conducted both by the government and by various researchers from different parts of the country to evaluate the effectiveness of tribal development programmes. Besides, a vast pool of literature can be found on Manipur, its cultures and the varied communities living there. But studies on tribal development in the state are sporadic and limited, in the form of articles in edited books and a few stray books. Moreover, these studies have been carried out by geographers, economists, political scientists, etc. who study the subject from their own perspectives, which leave aside crucial cultural dimensions, which is to be taken into account if any worthwhile result is to be achieved. Therefore, it necessitates one to take up a detailed study on the subject matter from anthropological perspective.

Area of the Study

Manipur is situated on the eastern frontier of India. It has a total population of 23.9 lakh persons as per 2001 census out of which, 12.1 lakhs are males and 11.8 lakhs are females with an increase of 5.51 lakhs during the decade 1991 to 2001. There are nine districts – five in the hills and four in the valley. The five hill districts are Chandel, Churachandpur, Tamenglong, Senapati and Ukhrul and the four districts in the valley are Bishnupur, Imphal East, Imphal West and Thoubal. Altogether, there are 31 towns and 2,181 inhabited villages in the state.

Of the nine districts of Manipur, the study was conducted in Senapati district. The district had been selected for the present study because though it is the smallest in terms of area, it has the highest population of 3,79,214 persons, with a maximum number of tribes like the Mao, Maram, Thadou, Zeliang, Tangkhul, Maring, and Kom. The district is the oldest being established in 1969 and unique in having two Autonomous District Councils (Bhatt 1997). Moreover, the present investigator is from this district and is acquainted with the culture and tradition of the people called Mao who are concentrated in this district.

This district has an area of 3,271 sq.kms. and is situated on the northern part of the state, bordering with the State of Nagaland on the North, Ukhrul district on the East, Tamenglong district on the West and Imphal district on the South. The district has four development blocks – Tadubi, Paomata, Kangpokpi, and Saikul.

The development blocks, according to 1988 revenue census with number of villages, houses and population, are given below:

Sl.no	Development Blocks	Villages	Houses	Population
1	Tadubi	65	6877	49,458
2	Paomata	55	6974	61,722
3	Kangpokpi	189	8969	60,881
4	Saikul	228	4371	28,017

Source: *Revenue Census, 1988.*

Development programmes implemented in the district relate to education, industries, medical service, social welfare, agriculture, road and buildings, veterinary service, power and water, co-operative societies, fisheries and poverty alleviation programmes like NREP (National Rural Employment

Programmes), RLEGP (Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programmes), JRY (Jawahar Rozgar Yojana), etc.

The present study examines development programmes for the Scheduled Tribes of Manipur in general and the Maos of Senapati District in particular. To some extent development programmes are included in almost every programme run by various departments. It is not within the scope of the present study to include all the developmental programmes run by every department but the aim is to study the developmental programmes carried out by the Directorate for Development of Tribal and Backward Classes (DDTBC), Rural Development Agency, and two other Non-Governmental Organizations operating in Mao areas namely Mao Integrated Area Development (MIDA) and International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) in detail over a period of 17 years, i.e., from 1985 to 2002.

Objectives

The objectives of the study are:

1. To study the various development programmes implemented in Senapati district since 1980 in general and Tadubi Block in particular,
2. To see the responses of Mao beneficiaries to the various development programmes implemented in Senapati district,
3. To understand and assess the various cultural factors responsible for both success and failure of the various programmes implemented in the block.

Sources of Data Collection and Methods

Both primary and secondary data were collected for this study. Official sources like census records, reports of the directorate of economics and statistics, other government publications, annual plans, district information register, etc. and non-official sources like books, journals, newspapers, magazines, seminar papers, etc. were also tapped.

Secondary data were collected from four development agencies under study and government offices relating to tribal development and the libraries of North-Eastern Hill University and Manipur University.

Primary data have been collected from 314 beneficiaries in the three selected villages from the Mao area of Tadubi Development Block namely:

1. Tobufii, 3 kms. away from the Block headquarters, with no means of transportation and the nearest market some 3 kms. away from the village.
2. Chowainu, which is some 13 kms. away from the Block headquarters with no *pucca* road, meagre transport system and 6 kms. away from the nearest market.
3. Song Song village, 6 kms. away from the Block headquarters with the national highway 39 running through the heart of the village and enjoying almost all the basic amenities.

Besides interviewing the beneficiaries, interview was conducted with development officers at the district and block levels and officials of the two NGOs as well as members of village development boards involved in implementation of development programmes. They were interviewed to know their views and

perceptions about the adequacy of manpower, participation and co-operation of the people, rating of job performance of the officials, etc.

The justification for choosing these villages was basically the assumption that varying distances from the block headquarters might show varying impact of development programmes on different villages. The various development programmes were studied on the basis of their objectives, outlay, implementation and success/failure. The programmes meant for the Mao inhabited villages were examined in detail as to see the vision behind the programmes, the financial/administrative facilities/hurdles, and above all, the perception of the Maos regarding development in their villages. Interviews were also taken to elicit information on their sense of relative gratification/deprivation at the village, block and district levels.

The data for the present study were collected in the year 2002 with the help of household census, interview schedule and observation.

The data collected from the above mentioned sources have been classified and tabulated in the required form. Information from the various official records and the responses from selected officials and beneficiaries were used for the analysis of the different facets of the various development programmes implemented for the tribals in general and the Maos in particular.

Chapterization

The present study has been divided into six chapters. Chapter-I includes the introduction and statement of the problem, survey of literature, area of study, objectives and methods of study. Chapter-II deals with the universe of study.

Chapter-III documents the developments programmes implemented in the district since 1985. Responses of Mao beneficiaries to the various programmes have been discussed in Chapter-IV. Various socio-cultural factors responsible for both success and failure of the various development programmes have been identified in Chapter-V and Summary and Conclusion have been included in Chapter-VI.

CHAPTER II

THE UNIVERSE OF STUDY

Manipur

Manipur is situated on the eastern frontier of India. It lies between 23.80°N and 25.68°N latitudes and 93.03°E and 94.78°E longitudes, with an altitude varying from 790 metres to 2020 metres above mean sea level. It has a total area of 22,327 sq.kms which forms about 0.7 percent of the total land surface of the Indian Union. It has a population of 2,388,634 persons as per 2001 census out of which, 1,207,338 are males and 1,181,296 are females. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have a population of 37,105 and 6,32,173 respectively. 30 tribes inhabit the hills and the valley is mostly inhabited by non-tribal population of Meiteis, Meitei-Pangals and other small communities.

Agriculture occupies the most important place in the economic structure of the state. About 72 percent of its population live in the villages and over 70 percent of them directly or indirectly depend on agriculture for their sustenance. Over two-third of the main workers in Manipur are engaged in agriculture as cultivators and agricultural labourers. The cropping pattern in the state is typical of an under-developed agricultural economy with nine-tenth of the total cultivated area under cereals- mainly rice and maize. Pulses- both *Rabi* and *Kharif*, as well as oil seeds particularly mustard and sunflower- sugarcane and wheat are grown in various parts of the State on a limited scale.

The state is also well suited for development of horticulture due to its varied climatic conditions. However, only 5.14 percent of the total cultivated land is

used for fruit crops and 6.13 percent for vegetables and spices. The hill areas of the state are endowed with rich deposits of limestone, chromites, and lignite, nickel, copper, asbestos and salt. Except limestone, with an estimated reserve of 8.09 million tonnes, no other mineral is being exploited on a commercial scale.

Industrially, the state is among the most backward states of India even though it has ample scope to develop industries based on forest, minerals and agricultural resources. There are small and medium size industries established in the state as part of the programme for the diversification of economy and creation of additional employment opportunities. Besides these industries, there are a large number of agro-based industries such as rice mills, saw mills, flour mills along with brick kilns in different parts of the valley and the hills. Among the non-agricultural activities, household industry is the most important. Handloom weaving in the central valley and loin loom weaving in the hill areas are the oldest industries which have become an integral part of the traditional culture of the people.

The existing transport network of 6.08 kms. of road length and 1.35 kms. of railways cannot be regarded adequate for the state with diverse terrain and ecology. The road density of 27 kms. per 100 sq.km., as against the Indian Road Congress norms of 32 kms. is less than half of the national average of 55 kms.

As regards occupational pattern, the main workers constitute 38.55 percent of the population in the state, the marginal workers about 3.63 percent, and non-workers constitute 57.82 percent of the state's population. The districts in the valley have larger share of marginal workers than hill districts. In the Barak basin, the proportion of main workers is the lowest and in Tamenglong district the

marginal workers are the least. The non-workers' share in population is lowest in Chandel district and highest in Imphal West district. Thus employment situation in the hills is not as acute as it is evident in the valley.

The state, particularly its west hilly tribal tract, suffers from want of adequate social facilities both in terms of quantity and quality. At present, the state has 2514 primary schools, 557 middle schools, 64 degree colleges, 4 professional colleges including the Regional Institute of Medical Sciences (RIMS), one polytechnic, 19 technical and industrial schools, and two universities, Manipur University and Central Agricultural University. Manipur has 72 primary health centres, 420 primary health sub-centres, 28 dispensaries and 28 hospitals with 2212 beds, the population served per bed being 945 persons. Postal and telecommunication facilities are inadequate, as about three-fourths of the villages lack postal facilities even as all the towns have not been linked with telecommunication facilities.

Senapati District

Senapati district is located between 24.37° to 25.37° North latitude and 93.29° East longitude. It is bounded by the state of Nagaland on the North, Ukhrul district on the East, Tamenglong district on the West and Imphal East and Imphal West on the South. It has an area of 3271 sq.kms. The National Highway 39 passes through the heart of the district from the south to the north and has an altitude ranging from 1061 metres to 1788 metres above sea level. The district is divided into three regions: (i) Northern – Hilly region; (ii) Eastern – Hilly region, and (iii) Western – Hilly region.

The district was earlier known as Manipur North District which came into existence on 14 November 1969 with its headquarters at Karong. Later, the district headquarters was shifted to Senapati on 13 December 1976. It came to be known as Senapati District on 15 July 1983.

The district has 6 divisional offices namely Tadubi, Paomata, Purul, Kangpokpi, Gamphazol and Saikul and six assembly seats namely – Saikul, Karong, Mao, Tadubi, Kangpokpi and Saitu. There are 4 developmental blocks namely Tadubi, Poamata, Kangpokpi, and Saikul and two Autonomous Councils – North Autonomous District Council and Sadar Hills Autonomous District Council are another unique feature of the district.

The population of the district according to 1981 census was 1,55,421 which came to 3,79,214 in 2001 census with a decadal growth of 89.96 percent. The district has 1,96,646 males and 1,82,568 females and the density is 166 persons per sq.km. Tribes such as Mao, Maram, Poumai, Thangal, Tangkhul, Meitei, Kuki, Vaiphai, Chothe, Chiru and Maring are found. Tribe-wise population in the district can be seen from Table-2.1.

Table 2.1: Tribe-wise Population in the District

Tribe	Villages	Houses	Population
Mao	26	7,122	58,212
Maram	25	3,751	26,478
Thangal	8	361	3,524
Poumai	60	16,462	144,505
Zemai	9	940	6,675
Liangmai	14	1,202	10,287
Rongmai	14	683	3,975
Thangkhul	41	1,563	8,769
Chiru	2	127	686
Maring	5	396	2,410
Kukis & others	393	12,997	85,107

Source: Hill House Tax Assessment Report 1999-2001.

Agriculture is the mainstay of the people in the district. About 85 percent of the population is engaged in agriculture and allied sectors. Rice, maize, potato, cabbage, wheat etc. are the main crops. The cultivation of paddy is mainly terraced. Wet cultivation is widely done in Paomata sub-division and Purul sub-division. Main fruit bearing trees found in the district are peach, pear, plum, guava, apple, banana, etc.

Senapati comes under the category of 'No Industry District'. The main problem confronting development of industries are lack of entrepreneurs, inadequate infrastructure facilities, poor communication and lack of organized marketing outlets. Canes and bamboo, wood carving, pottery, loom, basket making etc. are the indigenous handicrafts of the district. There are three regular centres imparting training in the trade of carpentry, weaving, tailoring and knitting.

During the Second World War, there were only 3 Lower Primary Schools, one at Punanamai, another at Mao and the third at Kangpokpi missions. The district now has 3 colleges, 51 high/higher secondary schools, 90 middle schools and 377 primary schools. The literacy rate in the district in 1981 was 31.03 percent increasing to 46.04 percent in 1991 and according to the latest census report; it has 45.11 percent, with males having 50.64 percent and females 39.17 percent.

Road communication is practically the only means of communication in the district. Though development of road has been accorded high priority, there is a lot more to be done. The total length of road is 830 kms. The length of different categories of roads is as follows:

1. National Highways – 92 kms.

2. State Highways – 141 kms.
3. Major District Road (MDR) – 7 kms.
4. Ordinary District Road (ORD) – 79 kms.
5. Inter-Village Road (IVR) – 411 kms.

The various tele-communication facilities have been developing through the decade. At present, there are 9 post offices, 92 branch post offices, 1 telegraph office, 5 telephone exchanges, 751 working telephone etc. However, the means of communication in the district are inadequate when compared with the state and national average.

Out of 473 villages as per 1991 census, 124 villages have been electrified till March 1988, which represent 30.6 percent of the total number for the district. At present, the government claims to have electrified 97 percent of the villages (Administrative Report 2000). A total number of 259 villages have been provided water supply facilities, and works for 24 villages are in progress. In addition, 107 deep tube wells have been drilled in the district of which 89 are successful.

As per the national target for health, the government has taken various health programmes to provide medical facilities for all. There are 88 health care institutions, 1 district hospital, 2 community health centres, 1 T.B. control centre, 1 homeopathic centre, 11 primary health centres, 64 primary health sub-centres, 2 dispensaries and 6 dispensaries under the District Council. The District

Medical Officer organises various motivation programmes like film show, group discussions, publicity campaign, and mass education.

The occupational pattern of the main working population in Senapati district is 1, 04,681, marginal workers number 3,439 and non-workers 1, 00,286, which makes the percentage of workers 51.88.

The district enjoys moderate and comfortable temperature throughout, except in Mao-Maram sub-division where extreme temperature prevails. The maximum and minimum temperatures are 34.14°C and 3.36°C respectively with a recorded maximum humidity of 92 percent and a minimum of 76 percent. The district has tropical moist deciduous forest and montane wet temperature forest. The soil is generally shallow black and brown. A variety of wild animals are found such as bison, mithun, cat, wild pig, stag, monkey, baboon, etc. Trees found are Pine, *Jalbizzia custanopsis*, *Misao ferred*, *Mangifera indica*, *Poebe hainesiana*, *Albizza lebbak*, etc. However, the forest and wildlife are getting depleted due to wanton cutting of trees, shifting cultivation, collection of firewood, timber and rampant hunting of wildlife. Dense forest is found only in the northern parts of Tadubi and western parts of Paomata sub-division. The total area under this category is about 126,793.50 ha. or 38.76 percent of the total area of the district. About 44.34 percent or 176,391.12 ha. of the land area is classified under land with or without shrub.

The People

The Mao tribe occupies the northern hill of Manipur along the border of Nagaland. The Mao villages are situated at an altitude of 1767 metres and are 106 kms. from Imphal. In the first phase of their settlement, they settled in 18 villages. They are as

follows: Chakumei, Chowainamei Khullen, Chowainamei, Chowainu, Kaibi (upper and lower), Kalinamei, Makhan Khullen, Makhan Centre, New Makhan, Makhel Khullen, Mao Pundung, Pudunamei, Punanamei, Rabunamei, Shajouba (upper and lower), Song Song, Tadubi and Tobufii. But due to increase in population, employment opportunities and other factors, new settlements have been formed and they are Phikomei, Makhan Khuman, Kayinu, Daili village, Taphou, Karong, Senapati, Mao Marafii, Makhel Khunuo, Khongnem, Mayankhan and Solephe. At present, there are 26 Mao villages recognized by the Manipur Government.

Like any other Naga tribe, the Mao belongs to the Mongolian race. They speak a Tibeto-Burman language and their language is considered as the language which "... most nearly approaches the true Naga language..." (Shimmi 1988: 72).

According to Yonuo, "The Tibeto-Burman speaking people of the Mongolian race that were loosely termed as 'Nagas' came from Burma and spread gradually like an irresistible tide throughout the present Naga-inhabited mountainous massifs ... Maos, Angamis, Semas, Rengmas, Rongmeis and Lothas were believed to be the first immigrants. Later on, the others migrated too" (1974: 38). Apart from the fact that they have migrated from some foreign land, the Maos have their own myths regarding their origin. The history of Mao villages is linked with Makhel Khullen (*Makhrefü*). A legend has it that human life originated at Makhel Khullen while *Dziilia Mosiuro* (first mother) was sleeping under a Banyan tree (which still exists), a white cloud came down and enveloped her and she conceived which lead to the birth of three sons: Okhe (tiger), Ora (god) and Aleow/Omei (man). After many years of

living together, when finally they had to part ways, the tiger occupied the vast jungle, while the god occupied the heavens and the man occupied the earth. This legend is known among other Naga tribes who believe that they migrated from Makhel Khullen, the legendary village.

The origin of the term 'Mao' has been given many derivations and so it is shrouded in mystery. According to some historians, "Mao is a Manipuri name which was adopted by the British" (Ganguli 1984: 54). For others the term 'Mao' became popular with the advent of the British in the 19th century in Mao area and so they claim that the term 'Mao' was given by the British (Ashuli 1981: 54). But the Maos call themselves 'Ememei' after their ancestor 'Emeo/ Memiio'.

The Mao area has the sub-tropical monsoon type of climate and receives heavy rainfall during the period from June to October, with scanty rainfall during the winter. The longer period of winter remains practically dry, during which hardened frost can be seen on the mountain tops early in the morning. The maximum temperature is 33.0C and minimum temperature is 4.0C with an average annual rainfall of 1135 mm.

Over the hills, there are innumerable varieties of vegetation characteristic of tropical forests. The even distribution of rainfall in the area accounts for the rich growth of vegetation. The presence of varied natural vegetation also adds to the scenic beauty of the area. Trees like *Aquilaria*, *Agallocha*, Bamboo, Bonsang, and Teak are grown. Other trees such as *Sal cinnamon*, *Phoecha-hensiana-bonson* and conifer pine are also found. "*Rhododendrons* and wild *Azaleas* of several kinds as well as many species of brilliant orchids, add greatly to the beauty

of the forests and in some parts tree ferns are abundant. I know nothing, more lovely in the world, than some of the forest scenery of Manipur with its solemn stillness" (Johnstone 1971: 80). Animals and birds like mithun, deer, boar, monkey, porcupine, tiger, squirrel, cuckoo, hornbill, woodpecker, owl, pheasant, wild goose, and bulbul are occasionally found.

Every Mao village has a well defined area which is demarcated by natural features like hill ranges, rivers and by placing stones. The villagers enjoy exclusive rights over their village land and any encroachment over the land boundary without prior permission is not tolerated.

There are three types of land ownership:

- a) Those that are owned by a clan, which can be brought under cultivation or for any other purpose by individual families;
- b) Those that belong to the village community, which are usually administered by the village chief or the village authority (as is the case in the present time). Such land may be kept as hunting zones where individuals may be allowed to gather wood for fuel; and
- c) Those that are owned by individual families including the housing plot or plots for agricultural activities, gardening, and some area of woodlands for fuel and fodder.

There are also prohibitory laws and orders which against felling of trees or destruction of the natural character of such scheduled lands. In the

cultivation of different crops and agricultural activities, every individual family enjoys its rights, an equal share over the village and community land.

✓ Village affairs are administered by a Village Authority (VA), which is also known as Village Council (VC) along with the Village Development Committee (VDC), which could consist of 7 to 15 members headed by the Chairman. The main function of this body is to decide any case/dispute through customary laws, collection of house-tax and distribution of aids from government. The village development committee assists the village council and is concerned with developmental activities of a village. Other organisations such as youth, student and women associations are present and play different important roles. The village headman or chief is a nominal head who acts as the chief priest.

The Maos follow the patrilineal system of inheritance. So, the sons share the property of the father. The youngest son gets the parental house and everything in it as his share. The elder brothers also get their share of ancestral property, with the eldest getting a better privilege like a better rice field, house plot or in greater quantity. Girls do not inherit ancestral properties but they are given 10 to 20 quintals of rice when they are married. A few years back, a number of cows were also given but at present, instead of cows, household items like furniture, kitchenware, bedding, cash are given if parents can afford. In case of no male heir, girls inherit the property other than the ancestral property which is shared by her paternal uncles. The girls are usually not given the ancestral properties because of the notion that they belong to another clan after marriage.

Among the Maos, marriages are monogamous in nature. There are more than 80 clans which are again subdivided into sub-clans. There is no marriage between parallel-cousins on the paternal side. Cross-cousin marriages take place but are usually not encouraged. Divorces were very common before the arrival of Christianity, but not anymore. Widow remarriage is allowed. "There is no age bar for a marriage to take place but there is no child marriage ..., elopement exists and is very frequent but which is looked down with contempt by the society especially on women." (Göri 1984: 23-24).

The modern Mao women wear the modified traditional *lungi* and shawl which is especially worn by married women. While men wear the western pants and shirt the younger generation girls go for western dresses and love to paint themselves with cosmetics.

The staple food of the Maos is rice. They also take pork, beef, fish, chicken and a few varieties of rats. They take both domesticated and wild vegetables.

The Maos drink *ohai*, a strong rice-beer which is prepared throughout the year and especially during festivals. This drink is mostly preferred by the older generation people who are used to it since their younger days. Besides this, they also take tea, coffee and other beverages. Tea and coffee have become very popular and it is offered to visitors.

The Maos believe in the existence of one Supreme Being called *Oramei* where *Ora* stands for God and *mei* for people. Etymologically, *Oramei* would mean people-God. As T.C. Hodson writes, "they recognise one Supreme

Being, whose disposition is of a benevolent nature and numerous other inferior deities and evil spirits, inhabiting the lofty peaks and inaccessible heights of the highest hills. Their worship generally seems to consist of offerings and sacrifices, usually of animals, which are used afterwards for food" (1974: 21). Today, 99 percent of the Maos are Christians belonging to several denominations and 1 percent to the old traditional religion.

80 percent of the total Mao populations are agriculturists. They are considered to be one of the most advanced farmers among the Naga tribes. The terraced fields on hilly slopes and their system of irrigation speak volume of this. Three to four decades back, they followed the terraced method as well as shifting system of cultivation. But due to increase in population, they no longer practise the shifting method where land is kept fallow for 10 to 15 years. Regular farming on the hill slopes is seen. Crops like potato, cabbage, squash, tomato, brinjal, bean, chilly, turmeric, sesame, ginger, yam, bitter gourd, pumpkin, cucumber, mustard leaves, leek, spring onion, maize, pea etc. and fruits like peach, plum, pears, banana, blackberry, wild apple, passion fruit, guava, and sugar cane are grown both for consumption and sale to agents from the plains.

The people still use traditional tools like hoe, rake, sickle, winnowing tray, etc. Though they toil the whole year through, the income generated from their agricultural activities leaves them in no condition to improve their lot. There are government servants and others who are into business making up a minimal of 20 percent of the economy.

The Mao literacy rate according to 1971 census was 16.5 percent. Previously, getting education was considered a waste of time and those who went to schools were chided and rebuked. According to 1981 census report, the literacy rate went down to 13.11 percent. But today, the older generation is realizing the importance of education and the kind of benefits it brings. So, they are sending their wards to school and we see that there are more than 50 percent literates among the Maos with a population of 58,212 persons according to 1999-2001 Hill House Tax Assessment Report.

The Villages

1. Song Song:

This village is situated 107 kms. away from the state capital and 28 kms. from the district headquarters and 6 kms. from the block headquarters. The name 'Song Song' is supposed to be given by the Manipuris while the Maos call it 'Chakre Chovow'.

The village is divided into seven localities and all these seven localities are closely situated. Besides the national highway, there is another *katcha* jeepable road running through the village leading to the next village 'Kalinamai'. Houses are built on the sides of both the highway and inter-village road. Like any other Naga villages, houses in this village are clustered together with footpaths running along most houses. Houses are roofed with thatch, CGI sheets and concrete and the walls are made of bricks, mud or bamboo.

The village has two Upper Junior Boys (UJB) primary schools, one private high school, and one district council middle school. There is a youth club

house, one Baptist, one Catholic and one Revival church, one sub-branch post office, one telephone exchange, one central higher secondary school, two private clinics, one newspaper shop, etc.

The village has 492 households with a population of 2498 individuals where females are 1269 and males 1229. Interestingly, females outnumber the males by 1.6 percent, i.e., 40 persons.

There is one main water reservoir for the villagers. Since this village is situated on low land and is surrounded by hills, there are a number of spring water sources available which meet a part of their need. But there is still need for water supply facility in all the localities, so that there is no rush and no fights which are very common during the dry season.

The villagers are hygienic. Houses are kept clean inspite of scarcity of water. But 80 percent of the villagers still use common toilet, there are no proper bathrooms and the drainage and sanitary system are non-existent. The roads of the village are also in a dismaying condition.

The people consume as well as sell the forest products they collect and use firewood as fuel for cooking. There are some 15.9 percent households who use LPG as well as firewood. They also own television, radio, etc.

Out of 492 households, families with 2 to 3 members constitute 25.4 percent; with 4 to 6 constitute 43.3 percent, 7 to 9 constitute 21.5 percent and 10 to 12 members constitute 5.3 percent.

Table 2.2: Family Size

No. of Family Members	No. of Households	Percentage
Alone	21	4.3
2 – 3	125	25.4
4 – 6	213	43.3
7 – 9	106	21.5
10 – 12	26	5.3
13	1	0.2
Total	492	100.0

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002*

The table reveals that families with very large number of children are few. But a few decades back, having many children was beneficial for the family as much more cultivation could be done with more hands. Life was much simpler with much less diversification of works. But at present, people are realising the benefits of lesser number of children.

Table 2.3: Marital Status

Marital Status	Number of Individuals				Total	%
	M	%	F	%		
Married	351	28.6	355	28.0	706	28.3
Unmarried	850	69.2	770	60.7	1620	64.9
Widow/Widower	20	1.6	114	8.9	134	5.3
Separated/Divorced	8	0.6	30	2.4	38	1.5
Total	1229	100.0	1269	100.0	2498	100.0

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002*

As shown in Table 2.3, the number of unmarried persons is greater than that of married ones in both males and females. But when looked closer, the unmarried males outnumber unmarried females by 8.5 percent. The table also reveals that there are more widows than widowers and separated/divorced females far outnumber the males in this category.

Table 2.4: Educational Status

Educational Status	Number of Individuals				Total	%
	M	%	F	%		
Illiterate	100	8.1	332	26.2	432	17.3
Primary	349	28.4	251	19.8	600	24.0
Middle	255	20.7	200	15.8	455	18.2
Secondary	222	18.2	244	19.2	466	18.7
Graduate	137	11.1	96	7.5	233	9.3
Post-Graduate	39	3.2	16	1.3	55	2.2
Others (age 4 & below)	127	10.3	130	10.2	257	10.3
Total	1229	100.0	1269	100.0	2498	100.0

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002*

Table 2.4 indicates a very high rate of literacy in the village. The percentages of people going for higher studies are very low. At all stages of education except secondary education, the percentages of females are lesser than that of males, but much higher in the category of illiterates. This indicates that gender discrimination may exist in this village regarding education of children

Table 2.5: Age Distribution according to Sex

Age Groups (in years)	Number of Individuals				Total	%
	M	%	F	%		
0 – 10	358	29.4	320	25.3	682	27.4
11 – 20	285	23.2	309	24.5	594	23.8
21 – 30	245	20.0	228	17.9	473	18.9
31 – 40	130	10.5	155	12.2	285	11.4
41 – 50	105	8.6	101	7.9	206	8.3
51 – 60	52	4.3	73	5.7	125	5.0
61 – 70	31	2.5	60	4.7	91	3.6
71 – 80	17	1.3	21	1.6	38	1.5
81 +	2	0.2	2	0.2	4	0.1
Total	1229	100.0	1269	100.0	2498	100.0

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002*

Table 2.5 the number of dependents is very great making more than 50 percent if we consider all those below 20 years. The number of dependent males is greater than females. The percentage of people in various categories above 41 years is rather small. Another interesting fact revealed by the table is that females

outnumber males in every age group above 31 years of age. Women seem to live longer than men as they grow older.

Table 2.6: Occupational Status

Occupation	Number of Individuals				Total	%
	M	%	F	%		
Cultivator	174	14.2	431	33.9	605	24.2
Government servant	166	13.5	59	4.8	225	9.0
Private employee	58	4.7	33	2.6	91	3.6
Businessmen	54	4.4	79	6.2	133	5.3
Retired Govt. servant	23	1.9	4	0.3	27	1.1
Student	574	46.7	489	38.5	1063	42.6
Others	180	14.6	174	13.7	354	14.2
Total	1229	100.0	1269	100.0	2498	100.0

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002*

Students contribute the single largest percentage in the village, indicating greater dependency of the population on the working population of the village. Cultivators constitute the second largest category. Table 2.6 further reveals that while men go for government jobs or business, women are mostly cultivators. The reason is lack of proper education among women.

Table 2.7: Monthly Income

Monthly Income (in Rs.)	No. of Households	Percentage
Below 1000	92	18.7
1001 – 2500	127	25.8
2501 – 4000	71	14.4
4001 – 5500	66	13.4
5501 – 7000	58	11.8
7001 above	78	15.9
Total	492	100.0

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002*

The income of the households was classified into the following categories according to the monthly income earned per month as given by the head of each house. The monthly income of households earning below Rs.2500 is as high

as 50 percent in this village. The monthly income of those above Rs.7000 is only 15.9 percent in this village.

Analysis of the various tables tells us that the situation in Song Song village is not very happy. The dependent population is much higher than the earning/working population. Though women outnumber men in population, the percentage of literacy, girls going for higher studies and the kind of occupation they are mainly involved in tell a different story. This is a patriarchal society and preference for male over female is still very much visible.

2. Chowainu:

This village is situated 13 kms. away from the block headquarters. Originally, the people of this village were from Punanamai, another Mao village which is some two kms. away from Chowainu. They came to settle in the present village basically due to population increase in their original village. The people call their village *Chobongho* taken from the name of the peak where they first settled.

The village is divided into three wards. There is just one *kacha* road running till the entrance of the village. Inside the village, there are only footpaths. Houses in the village are built adjacent to each other and with compound for almost every house. The village is on a hilltop, and the houses are built on the slopes of the hill. The villagers roof their houses with CGI sheets, concrete or thatch, and walls are made of brick, bamboo and mud.

The village has one upper junior boys (UJB) school, one youth club, one Baptist, one Catholic and one Sevenday Adventist Church. The villagers consume as well as sell forest products. They use firewood as fuel for cooking.

Animals like chicken, cow, and pig are domesticated for consumption. Possession of news media such as television, radios etc. are not common.

The village has 124 households with a population of 684 individuals of whom 318 females and 366 are males. Hence, the male population is higher by 7.1 percent.

There is just one source of water supply which is private. As this cannot meet the requirements of the people, they use spring water for which they have to walk downhill two to three kms. The villagers try to be hygienic and keep their houses and surroundings clean. There are just a handful of toilets attached to their houses. Majority of them still use the open space to defecate.

Table 2.8: Family Size

No. of Family Members	No. of Households	Percentage
Alone	7	5.4
2 – 3	32	24.8
4 – 6	48	37.2
7 – 9	32	24.8
10 – 12	9	6.9
13+	1	0.9
Total	129	100.0

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002*

According to Table 2.8 there are 129 households. Families with 4-6 members constitute of 37.2 percent followed by families with 7-5 members and 2-3 members with 24.8 percent each. The Table reveals that families with 4 to 6 members constitute the largest category. The village still has many families that may be called ‘large’.

Table 2.9: Marital Status

Marital Status	Number of Individuals				Total	%
	M	%	F	%		
Married	107	29.2	109	34.3	216	31.6
Unmarried	256	69.9	195	61.3	451	65.9
Widow/Widower	2	0.5	13	41.1	15	2.2
Separated/Divorcee	1	0.4	1	0.3	2	0.3
Total	366	100.0	318	100.0	684	100.0

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002*

Table 2.9 shows that unmarried persons are much higher than the population in the case of males and females, the gap being more prominent among males than among females.

Table 2.10: Educational Status

Educational Status	Number of Individuals				Total	%
	M	%	F	%		
Illiterate	47	12.8	112	34.2	159	23.2
Primary	80	21.9	74	23.4	154	22.5
Middle	80	21.9	42	13.2	122	17.8
Secondary	63	17.2	43	13.5	106	15.6
Graduate	45	12.3	15	4.7	60	8.8
Post-Graduate	2	0.5	2	0.6	4	0.6
Others (age 4 & below)	49	13.4	30	9.4	79	11.5
Total	366	100.0	318	100.0	684	100.0

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002*

Table 2.10 shows a fairly high percentage of literates among both males and females. At all levels other than post-graduate, males have a much higher percentage than females.

Table 2.11: Distribution of Age according to Sex

Age Group (in years)	Number of Individuals				Total	%
	M	%	F	%		
0 – 10	105	28.6	101	31.7	206	30.2
11 – 20	80	21.8	61	19.3	141	20.6
21 – 30	72	19.6	60	18.9	132	19.3
31 – 40	47	12.9	35	11.0	82	12.0
41 – 50	27	7.4	21	6.6	48	7.0
51 – 60	17	4.7	16	5.0	32	4.8
61 – 70	11	3.0	20	6.3	31	4.5
71 – 80	4	1.1	4	1.2	8	1.2
81+	3	0.9	-	-	3	0.4
Total	366	100.0	318	100.0	684	100.0

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002*

Table 2.11 shows that the population decreases, as we saw in the previous village, from the age group of 31 years onwards for both male and female. But unlike in the previous village, males seem to outlive the females in almost all the age groups. The extent of dependency is however more or less equal to the previous village.

Table 2.12: Occupational Status

Occupation	Number of Individuals				Total	%
	M	%	F	%		
Cultivator	93	25.4	137	43.1	230	33.6
Government servant	49	13.5	6	1.9	55	8.0
Private employee	14	3.8	7	2.2	21	3.1
Businessmen	7	1.9	3	0.9	10	1.5
Retired Govt. servant	3	0.8	0	0	3	0.4
Student	142	38.8	119	37.4	261	38.2
Others	58	15.8	46	14.5	104	15.2
Total	366	100.0	318	100.0	684	100.0

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002*

While the percentages of male and female students are more or less equal, it is obvious that women are heavily dependent on agriculture whereas men have a fairly large percentage of government servants.

Table 2.13: Monthly Income

Monthly Income (in Rs.)	No. of Households	Percentage
Below 1000	23	17.8
1001 – 2500	53	41.1
2501 – 4000	16	12.4
4001 – 5500	14	10.9
5501 – 7000	16	12.4
7001 above	7	5.4
Total	129	100.0

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

The income of the households was classified into the above categories according to the monthly income earned per month as given by the head of each house. The total above reveals that more than half the households earn less than Rs.2500 per month. With the size of family villagers have, their income seems too less to sustain themselves.

3. Tobufi:

This village is situated 3 kms. away from the block headquarters. It is divided into two blocks. One road passes through the edge of the village to the next village. The road is *katcha* type and footpaths are there all over the village.

Houses in the village are clustered together. Roofs are made of CGI sheets, thatch or bamboo and the walls are made of bricks, mud or bamboo. The villagers use firewood as fuel for cooking and they rear pigs, chicken, ducks, etc. for consumption as well as sale. They collect forest products such as wild vegetables, flowers, etc. both for consumption and sale. Only 5.7 percent of the total households

possess television, radio, etc. The village is electrified but the meter system is not applied and a certain amount is fixed for all.

The village has two government primary schools, one youth club, one Catholic and one Baptist church. The post office, bank, etc. are some 3 to 12 kms. away from the village. The nearest dispensary is 3 kms. away and to go to private and higher schooling, they have to go to the nearest village which is some 2 kms. away.

The village has 87 households with a population of 472 persons where males are 260 and females 212 persons. There is no water supply. So spring water is used by the villagers for which they have to walk one to two kms.

Out of 87 households those with 4-6 members constitute the largest number forming nearly half of the total village population. It is also noteworthy that about one third of the families have 7 to 9 members.

Table 2.14: Family Size

No. of Family Members	No. of Households	Percentage
Alone	0	-
2 – 3	17	19.5
4 – 6	43	49.4
7 – 9	24	27.7
10 – 12	3	3.4
13	0	-
Total	87	100.0

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002*

Like in the other two villages, in this village too, medium size families constitute the largest category.

Table 2.15: Marital Status

Marital Status	Number of Individuals				Total	%
	M	%	F	%		
Married	78	30.0	79	37.3	157	33.3
Unmarried	177	68.1	131	61.8	308	65.2
Widow/Widower	5	1.9	2	0.9	7	1.5
Separated/Divorcee	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	260	100.0	212	100.0	472	100.0

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002*

The unmarried members of this village are almost double the married members. There are more widowers than widows unlike in the other two villages and there is none who is separated or divorced.

Table 2.16: Distribution of Age according to Sex

Age Group (in years)	Number of Individuals				Total	%
	M	%	F	%		
0 – 10	78	30.0	64	30.2	142	30.0
11 – 20	80	30.7	60	28.3	140	29.7
21 – 30	17	6.5	9	43.0	26	5.6
31 – 40	21	8.1	29	11.7	50	10.6
41 – 50	26	10.0	26	12.2	52	10.9
51 – 60	30	11.6	20	9.4	50	10.6
61 – 70	6	2.4	3	1.4	9	2.0
71 – 80	2	0.7	1	0.5	3	0.6
81+	0	-	0	-	-	-
Total	260	100.0	212	100.0	472	100.0

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002*

Table 2.16 reveals that almost 60 percent of the populations are dependent on their parents on account of their age. If one includes the unemployed and half-employed the situation looks really dismal. Fortunately the burden of the aged men and women seems minimal on the working population.

Table 2.17: Educational Status

Educational Status	Number of Individuals				Total	%
	M	%	F	%		
Illiterate	95	36.5	124	58.5	219	46.4
Primary	72	27.7	34	16.0	106	22.5
Middle	29	11.2	19	8.9	48	10.2
Secondary	26	10.2	12	5.8	38	8.0
Graduate	15	5.8	4	1.9	19	4.0
Post-Graduate	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others (age 4 & below)	23	8.8	19	8.9	42	8.9
Total	260	100.0	212	100.0	472	100.0

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002*

The data reveals that this particular village is lagging behind in both literacy and higher education although it is only a few kms. away from the block headquarters, and much nearer than the other two villages. The achievement of women in these respects seems even worse.

Table 2.18: Occupational Status

Occupation	Number of Individuals				Total	%
	M	%	F	%		
Cultivator	67	25.8	95	44.8	162	34.3
Government servant	32	12.3	2	0.9	34	7.2
Private employee	3	1.2	-	-	3	0.6
Businessmen	14	5.4	3	1.5	17	3.6
Retired Govt. servant	3	1.2	-	-	3	0.6
Student	98	37.6	57	26.9	155	32.8
Others	43	16.5	55	25.9	98	20.9
Total	260	100.0	212	100.0	472	100.0

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002*

Table 2.18 shows that more than one third of the total population is constituted by agriculturist. It further shows that the participation of women in service, private employment and business is negligible.

Table 2.19: Monthly Income

Monthly Income (in Rs.)	No. of Households	Percentage
Below 1000	25	28.7
1001 – 2500	34	39.2
2501 – 4000	12	13.8
4001 – 5500	9	10.3
5501 – 7000	4	4.6
7001 above	3	3.4
Total	87	100.0

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002*

The income of the households was classified into the above categories according to the monthly income earned per month as given by the head of each house. Table 2.19 shows that about 68 percent of the households earn less than Rs.2500 per month which is too meagre an income for running even a mid sized family.

To sum up, the tables reveal that males are better represented in education, government or private service, students, etc., where as the women are better represented in agriculture. It has also been found that being situated near the block headquarters does not make any difference in terms of development. In fact, it has been found that Song Song village which is farther away from the block headquarters is in a comparatively better position. The analysis has also revealed that basic amenities like proper water supply, sanitation, schools, playground, postal service, health care etc., are far beyond the reach of the common people. The data on the three villages provide a grim picture of the lives of the people. Except in Song Song village, where the female population exceeds the male population by a few

percentages, the female population of the other two villages is behind males. The tables also reveal that there is very heavy dependence on the working population, which is a great hindrance to their development. In terms of education and occupation, females are way behind males.

Song Song village is little better than the other two villages probably because of its location. Otherwise, all the three villages lack in basic amenities such as water supply, sanitary system, playgrounds, electricity etc. The government is supposed to have electrified the entire state but people still have to use lamps, candles, etc. in Senapati district.

CHAPTER III

DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN SENAPATI DISTRICT, MANIPUR

Development programmes for tribals in Manipur aims at improving the quality of life of the tribals and narrowing the gap between the level of development of tribals and other areas through increasing productivity and increasing level of income of the beneficiary tribal families. With this perspective, tribal development has been based on two-dimensional approach: (a) promotion of development programmes through planned efforts, and (b) protection of interest of the Scheduled Tribes through appropriate legal and administrative support. The various programmes carried out for the welfare of tribal people of Manipur are target-oriented in which the target groups, i.e., the beneficiaries who are below poverty line, are assisted to bring them above the poverty line by generating income through various developmental programmes.

Directorate for Development of Tribals and Scheduled Castes, Manipur (1985-2002)

The Department for Development of Tribals and Scheduled Castes, Manipur (1976) established its offices in all the five hill districts during 1989, each under the charge of one officer in the rank of Deputy Director. A three-tier administrative set up is organized by the government for implementing its tribal development policies and programmes.

At the centre, apart from the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Food,

Agriculture, Community Development Co-operation and the Planning Commission are also concerned with the work relating to the development of Scheduled Tribes. The provisions relating to reservation of seats in the services under the Government of India and administration of Scheduled and Tribal Areas come within the purview of the Ministry of Home Affairs. The Ministry of Education is in charge of overseeing scholarships for Scheduled Castes and Tribes. The Community Development Department is concerned with the working of the Tribal Development Blocks in the states. The Planning Commission formulates the developmental policies and programmes for the tribals.

At the state level, there is Hill Areas Committee consisting of all members of the Legislative Assembly elected from the hill areas as its members. This is the highest body in the state to oversee the planning and implementation process for the hill areas. The Governor, the Minister concerned, the Commissioner who is the nodal authority to look after the development process of hill areas and the Director of Tribal Welfare constitute the highest echelon of tribal welfare administration. A Directorate has been in existence for the welfare of the tribal people, which is headed by a Director who normally belongs to the IAS cadre. The Director is assisted by a number of Joint and Deputy Directors and special planning officers and other staff. The directorate formulates schemes for the development of tribals and monitors and supervises their implementation by field units. Besides this, the Social Welfare Department, headed by the Commissioner of Social Welfare, is also responsible for policy making and coordination of matters pertaining to tribal welfare.

Effective implementation of policies and welfare programmes for the tribals lies at the district level. The Deputy Directors are responsible for the effective implementation of the development programmes at the district level. The Deputy Commissioners of the hill districts are declared the drawing and disbursing officers in respect of the schemes of the Directorate.

The overall administration in the hill districts of Manipur is under the charge of the Deputy Commissioners concerned. Most of the schemes/programmes at the district level is implemented through the Deputy Commissioners who are also, District Magistrates. The Deputy Commissioners in the hill areas are also declared as the Additional Development Commissioners. The Hill Commissioner at the state level supervises the activities of the Additional Development Commissioners. In the implementation process the Deputy Commissioner coordinates with the district officers. Since the flow of funds for the Tribal Sub-Plan areas is still controlled by the concerned development department the developmental programmes are implemented independently by them.

There are two District Councils in Senapati District with a total number of 517 village authorities. The role of these statutory bodies is yet unclear, though they carry out some of the development schemes. There is also the need for coordination between the District Councils/village authorities and the development departments. The programmes of the Department for Development of Tribals and Scheduled Castes, Manipur are funded from four different sources, viz., (i) Special Central Assistance to Tribal Sub-plan/Special Component Plan for Scheduled Castes; (ii) State Annual Plan; (iii) Centrally Sponsored Schemes on 50:50 funding

basis between the State Government and the Central Government, under which 50 percent state's share is provided under the State Annual Plan and Central Share of 50% is released by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs/Government of India. The programmes implemented under tribal development are all supplemental in nature as they implement various development programmes, both family-oriented and community development programmes.

The developmental programmes under Special Central Assistance schemes are directly beneficial to the tribal people and the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) areas of Manipur. These schemes are 100 percent funded by the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. The objective of Special Central Assistance is to supplement the efforts of the state government, particularly for family-oriented programmes. In areas where State Plan provisions were not forthcoming, whether for reasons of inadequacy of provisions in a particular sector plan, or for any other reasons, the Special Central Assistance acts as gap filler. The planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the various schemes are done by the directorate with the help of the officials posted in the five hill district headquarters. Under the economic development schemes programmes like agriculture/horticulture development, development of village and small-scale industries, animal husbandry programmes etc., are implemented. For the infrastructure development, there are programmes like supply of pipe water scheme, construction of suspension and wooden bridges, inter-village roads, construction of school/hostel buildings, community halls, etc.

Under the welfare scheme, programmes such as financial assistance for medical treatment, conducting of training for tribal youth and housing schemes are implemented. Several state-sponsored schemes are operating in the TSP areas as well as in other parts of the state. These schemes are funded by the state government. The Directorate for Development of Tribals and Scheduled Castes sends proposals of the various developmental schemes to the Planning Department every five years. The officials ensure a systematic coverage of all the incorporated schemes within the stipulated time by chalking out the priority areas for each year through an Annual Plan so as to enable them to achieve the proposed targets. The schemes are implemented by the Directorate with the help of the officials posted in the various hill districts of Manipur. These schemes are special programmes of the state government. The Directorate is responsible for the speedy development of the Scheduled Tribes of the state. The programmes include construction of school buildings, hostel buildings, community halls, opening/strengthening of schools in school-less villages, award of pre-matric stipend, supply of equipment to schools, encouragement of production of books in tribal languages, stipend to special coaching and encouragement of arts and culture, etc. The economic upliftment scheme includes programmes on communication, development of piggery, duckery, handloom and financial assistance to rickshaw pullers. Under the health and housing schemes, programmes like medical treatment and housing facilities are taken up.

Besides the Special Central Assistance and state-sponsored schemes, there is another scheme carried out under the 50:50 sharing of funds between the centre and the state. This scheme is meant especially for research and training,

construction of hostels for both boys and girls belonging to Scheduled Castes and Tribes, establishment of book bank, award of stipend to pre-examination coaching etc. This scheme is implemented and monitored by the Directorate with the help of the officials posted at the headquarters of the five hill districts of the state.

Handwritten: all programmes
In order to uplift the socio-economic status of the Scheduled Tribes, the following schemes have been taken up till date by the government:

- (a) Control of shifting cultivation, minor irrigation, procurement and distribution of seeds and fertilizers, etc;
- (b) Cattle breeding, poultry keeping, duck rearing, goat rearing and piggery;
- (c) Massive afforestation programme and soil conservation measures;
- (d) Fish seed production and table fish production;
- (e) Development of small and village industries and revitalization of existing traditional industries;
- (f) Universalization of elementary education for the age group 6 to 14, eradication of adult illiteracy, improvement in the quality of secondary and higher secondary education, construction of school buildings, etc;
- (g) Construction of buildings of dispensaries and public health centres and also expansion of health centres and sub-centres to far flung corners of the state;
- (h) Construction of rural roads and bridges;
- (i) Supply of water to remote tribal villages;

(j) Construction and maintenance of offices in five hill districts for administration and execution of various programmes.

The time frame for the present agency is 17 years, i.e., from 1985 to 2002. The financial outlays, expenditure, targets and achievements of the various developmental schemes carried out under the Special Central Assistance, state sponsored and 50 percent of state's share of centrally sponsored schemes have been discussed as follows:

Programmes under the Special Central Assistance

Water Supply: Proper water supply and sanitation facility are basic services for a decent and hygienic human life. A colossal 80 percent of the diseases stem from consumption of unsafe water or poor sanitary conditions in tribal areas. The availability of safe and adequate drinking water has a direct bearing on the working conditions and health of the people and their capacity for optimum production. Therefore, it is important to recognize the basic right of all people to have access to safe water and sanitation. Keeping this perspective in mind let us look into the scheme of water supply taken up for the tribal people.

This scheme ensures provision of water to remote tribal villages which were not covered by Public Health Engineering Department (PHED) under general programme of water supply. For the whole of TSP areas of Manipur, the total expenditure for this scheme during the period from 1985 to 2002 was Rs.432.36 lakhs against an outlay of Rs.255 lakhs. The maximum financial input was allocated during the Seventh and Ninth Plan periods with an outlay of Rs.200 lakhs. The main emphasis was given on pipe water supply scheme. The achievement

of this scheme was the supply of water in 351 villages against the target of 337 villages and construction of 141 ring wells. The rest of the expenditure incurred was mainly for the improvement of the continuing scheme.

The total expenditure for the pipe water supply scheme in Senapati district was Rs.41.41 lakhs against an outlay of Rs.48.95 lakhs. This programme facilitated water supply in 56 villages against the target of 14 villages. From the above analysis it is clear that the scheme was successful in the district under study.

Although the Directorate reports that the scheme was successful throughout the TSP areas of Manipur, certain loopholes were pointed out by the reports of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAGI). Some findings are highlighted as follows:

- (a) A jeep at a cost of Rs.1.32 lakhs was purchased by the Directorate for its use from the fund earmarked for water supply, which was unauthorized;
- (b) During 1994-95 and 1996-97, Rs.3.03 lakhs meant for water supply scheme were diverted in Tamenglong and Ukhrul districts towards construction of septic tanks and public toilets, which come under sanitary work and not under water supply scheme. Besides this, out of 146 poly tanks valued at Rs.6.36 lakhs, only 18 poly tanks valued at Rs.0.94 lakh were issued to the families in Imphal district.

Similarly out of 48,714 running metres (r.m.) of polythene pipe of 4 different sizes valued at Rs.11.45 lakhs, 10,567 rm valued at Rs.316 lakhs were issued to the families in municipal areas of Imphal district. The report further highlights that the issue of poly tanks and polythene pipe to tribal families of Imphal district was not covered by the scheme and resulted in an unauthorized expenditure

of Rs.4.10 lakhs. Thus the Directorate incurred unauthorized expenditure of Rs.7.13 lakhs under the water supply scheme during this period.

From the above reports, it is highlighted that a total of Rs.8.45 lakhs of unauthorized expenditure was incurred by the Directorate from 1985 to 2002. This indicates that had the fund been utilized for what it was meant, the achievements of the scheme would have exceeded the stipulated targets.

Agriculture/Horticulture: The share of agriculture in income is often taken as an indicator of economic development. Normally, developed areas are less dependent on agriculture as compared to the undeveloped. However, with rapid increase in population, the absolute number of people engaged in agriculture has become exceedingly large. Development of various sectors of economy has not been sufficient to provide employment to the increasing number of working population who are therefore forced to fall back upon agriculture. The situation stands true even for the tribal people. Another important sector, which can give boost to tribal economy, is the development of horticulture. The hilly areas are suitable for the cultivation of tropical and sub-tropical fruits. Therefore, a thrust needs to be given to increase the horticultural production to improve the economic status of the tribal people.

Table 3.1 reveals that during the period from 1985 to 2002, an amount of Rs.1519 lakhs was earmarked for the implementation of the various agricultural/horticultural schemes for the whole TSP areas of Manipur. The actual expenditure incurred was Rs.2040.02 lakhs against an outlay of Rs.1519 lakhs. A total number of 21,183 families benefited under this scheme against a target of

Table 3.1: Outlay, Expenditure, Target, Achievement of Agriculture/Horticulture (1985-02) under Special Central Assistance

(Rs. in lakhs)

Name of the Scheme/Programme	1985-90			1990-91			1991-92					
	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement
Mushroom cultivation	5.00	1.99	44	53	10.00	-	5	-	12.00	-	5	-
Potato Multiplication Programme	35.00	40.91	835	2153	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maize cultivation	15.00	8.72	700	666	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Committed Liabilities of Potato Programme	-	17.50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Land Reclamation	20.00	17.63	500	593	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Plantation of Fruit Bearing Tree	10.00	14.91	800	674	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vegetable Development	10.00	2.50	350	225	-	-	-	-	4.00	-	-	-
HYV Paddy	15.00	6.41	520	470	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cotton Cultivation	5.00	-	365	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Introduction of Citronella	5.00	2.73	76	62	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cardamom Plantation	-	15.38	-	610	43.00	-	1433	-	45.00	-	1500	-
Ginger/Cash Crop Plantation	-	6.30	-	242	-	29.25	-	459	-	38.35	-	1976
Purchase of Sprayer PCI, Sheet/Barbed Wire/Tarpaulin	-	16.92	-	700	-	8.31	-	459	-	10.56	-	550
Grant in aid to MTDC for Plantation	-	-	-	-	72.00	8.99	-	-	13.00	-	-	-
Construction of Mini Cold Storage	-	-	-	-	45.00	-	01	-	45.00	-	01	-
Marketing of Agriculture/Horticulture Produces	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Juice Extraction Units	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Transportation Charges	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Distribution of Unitanks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mushroom Extension	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Distribution of Fencing, Harvesting Material	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miscellaneous Expenditures	-	5.16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.68	-	-
Total	120.00	156.34	4190	6448	110.00	46.55	1439	918	119.00	51.59	1506	2526

Table 3.1 Cont'd

Name of the Scheme/Programme	1992-97				1997-2002				1985-2002			
	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement
	Mushroom Cultivation	-	-	-	-	30.00	26.00	300	260	35.00	27.99	344
Potato Multiplication Programme	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	57.00	40.91	845	2153
Maize cultivation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15.00	8.72	700	666
Committed Liabilities of Potato Programme	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	77.50	-	-
Land Reclamation	-	-	-	-	30.00	96.9	300	1092	50.00	114.53	800	1685
Plantation of Fruit Bearing Tree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.00	14.19	800	674
Vegetable Development	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14.00	2.50	350	225
HYV Paddy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15.00	6.41	520	470
Cotton Cultivation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.00	-	365	-
Introduction of Citronella	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.00	2.73	76	62
Cardamom Plantation	-	-	1500	-	-	-	-	-	88.00	15.38	4433	610
Ginger/Cash Crop Plantation	350.00	343.26	6300	9430	400	195.6	5300	2256	750.00	612.76	6300	12107
Purchase of Sprayer PCI, Sheet/Barbed Wire/Tarpaulin	50.00	969	150	324	-	-	-	-	50.00	1004.79	150	2033
Grant in aid to MTDC for Plantation	-	-	-	-	250.00	50.00	-	-	275.00	58.99	-	-
Construction of Mini Cold Storage	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	90.00	-	2	-
Marketing of Agriculture/Horticulture Produces	25.00	-	200	-	-	-	-	-	25.00	-	-	-
Juice Extraction Units	25.00	-	15	2	-	-	-	-	25.00	-	200	2
Transportation Charges	5.00	5.69	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.00	5.69	15	-
Distribution of Unitanks	-	4.18	-	113	-	-	-	-	-	4.18	-	113
Mushroom Extension	-	-	-	70	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	70
Distribution of Fencing, Harvesting Material	-	-	-	-	-	34.91	-	-	-	34.91	-	-
Miscellaneous Expenditures	5.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.00	7.84	-	-
Total	460	1322.13	8165	9939	710	403.91	5900	3608	1519.00	2040.02	15900	21183

Sources:

1. Government of Manipur, Draft Eighth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1990-95 and 1991-92 and Recast Annual Tribal Sub-Plan for 1990-91, pp.37, 43.
2. Government of Manipur, Draft Eighth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1992-97 and Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1992-93, pp.37, 43.
3. Government of Manipur, Draft Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1993-94, pp. 30, 34.
4. Government of Manipur, Recast Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1996-97, pp. 34, 39.
5. Government of Manipur, Ninth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1997-2002 and Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1998-99, pp.35, 36.
6. Government of Manipur, Ninth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1997-2002 and Draft Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 2000-01, pp.34, 35.

15,900 families. The maximum financial input was allocated during the eighth and ninth plan periods with an outlay of Rs.1170 lakhs against an expenditure of Rs.1725.54 lakhs. Main emphasis was given on cash crop plantation programmes with a total outlay of Rs.750 lakhs against an expenditure of Rs.612.76 lakhs. Other important programmes included potato plantation, maize cultivation, mushroom cultivation, etc.

For Senapati district, the total financial input for this scheme was Rs.92.11 lakhs against an expenditure of Rs.69.12 lakhs. The number of families benefited was 1770 against the targeted number of 1444. The main emphasis was on the potato multiplication programmes. The total expenditure for this programme was Rs.20.17 lakhs followed by maize cultivation with an expenditure of Rs.15.47 lakhs. The achievement in the district exceeded its targets by 22.60 percent. The sum spent on it was also less by Rs.22.99 lakhs when compared to its outlay.

But the CAGI report points out that the scrutiny of records revealed that no guidelines prescribing names for selection of beneficiaries were available. The Directorate did not have the list of tribal families living below poverty line in TSP areas from where the beneficiaries for different components of the programmes were selected. The report also highlighted that the Directorate had neither ascertained whether the beneficiaries had any land nor obtained follow-up reports on the assistance given to the beneficiaries. Further, it has also pointed out that out of the total expenditure of Rs.5.60 crores incurred during 1992-93 to 1996-97, Rs.1.40 crores were paid by the Director as grants-in-aid to Manipur Tribal Development Corporation (MTDC) during 1993-94 to 1996-97, which was utilized by the

Corporation for payment of its staff salaries. Since MTDC had not implemented any family oriented agriculture/horticulture programme, the payment of grants-in-aid was unjustified and the expenditure of Rs.1.40 crores was thus unauthorized. The Directorate did not take any action to recover the amount. The report further reveals that some of the family oriented programmes which were to be implemented in five hill districts were implemented in valley districts. It was also noticed that during 1996-97, barbed wire valued at Rs.3.36 lakhs procured by the Directorate for Development of Tribals and Backward classes for issue to beneficiaries of five hill districts were actually issued by the scheme officer concerned of the Directorate to beneficiaries in Imphal which is a valley district. Besides, Rs.17.75 lakhs were spent by the Director on plantation programmes for the benefit of 347 beneficiaries in Imphal. Thus the expenditure of Rs.21.11 lakhs incurred by the Directorate was unauthorized and irregular. The report further detailed that out of Rs.14.80 lakhs spent by Directorate under potato multiplication programme during 1995-96, Rs.1.60 lakhs were irregularly spent for 40 beneficiaries of the valley district of Imphal on procurement of 12,000 kg. potato seeds. It was further seen that the potato seeds at the rate of 300 kg. and cash grant at the rate of Rs.775 per beneficiary were distributed, and the total amount spent per beneficiary comes was Rs.4,000. Against this, Rs.2.00 lakhs were reported as distributed among the 40 beneficiaries which means Rs.5,000/- each for procurement of potato seeds. The excess of Rs.1000 per beneficiary aggregating a total of Rs.40,000 was never regularized according to the report. Further, under the implementation incurred by the Directorate during 1996-97 included distribution of potato seeds for 460 beneficiaries at the rate of 350 kg.

and cash grant at the rate of Rs.1,150 per beneficiary. Thus, there was no uniformity in giving assistance to the beneficiaries.

Minor Irrigation: Increase in agricultural production and productivity depends, to a large extent, on the availability of water. However, the availability of irrigation facilities is highly inadequate in the tribal areas. This is because the scope for water conservation and reclamation of the foothill areas for wet cultivation in the gentle slopes has not been given attention to improve the irrigation infrastructure in the state's Ninth Five-Year Plan. Irrigation provides food security against the vagaries of monsoon and enables to increase cropping intensity.

For the TSP areas of Manipur, an amount of Rs.140 lakhs were allocated for the implementation of this scheme, of which the total expenditure accounted to Rs.130.64 lakhs. The scheme benefited 938 families against the stipulated target of 738 families. The programmes under this scheme included supply of water pipes to tribal families and construction of minor irrigation dams/canals. The former programme was taken up in the Seventh Five Year Plan and the latter was started in 1990-91 and it continued till the end of the study period. But when we look at the amount allocated and the expenditure incurred, Rs.9.36 lakhs remains unutilized which, had it been utilized, the achievement would have been much more.

In Senapati district, the total outlay was Rs.23.50 lakhs against the expenditure of Rs.16.04 lakhs and the achievement was 59 families against the target of 64.

Animal Husbandry: Animal Husbandry, along with agriculture, plays a dominant role in the socio-economic life of the rural poor of this country. Even the families

living below the poverty line and owning no land usually keep a milch cow to support their daily milk requirements and supplement their income. Therefore, for the upliftment of the poorest of the poor, development of animal husbandry is perhaps even more important than agriculture. It is also very important from the point of providing gainful employment to tribal women.

The scheme comprising piggery, duck rearing, goat rearing, poultry development and distribution of milch cows were implemented. Table 3.2 reveals that a sum of Rs.274 lakhs was earmarked for this scheme. The total expenditure was Rs.271.22 lakhs. Under this scheme, 4698 families benefited against the target of 7445 families. The emphasis was mainly on the financial assistance for piggery units. The number of beneficiaries covered under this scheme was 3444 families against the target of 3306 families. Supply of buffaloes was the next priority that benefited 287 families against the target of 1886 families.

The total amount spent for this scheme in Senapati district was Rs.40.68 lakhs against an outlay of Rs.53.48 lakhs for the study period. The total number of families covered was 788 against a target of 1187 families. The main emphasis was on piggery.

It is evident from the above analysis that the total number of families covered in TSP areas was 63.1 percent of the total targeted families with a corresponding expense of 79.3 percent of its total outlay. Even in the district, the success rate was 66.30 percent of the total targeted families exceeding the whole TSP areas by 3.2 percent.

Table 3.2: Outlay, Expenditure, Target, Achievement of Animal Husbandry Programme (1985-02) under Special Central Assistance

(Rs. in lakhs)

Name of the Scheme/Programme	1985-90			1990-91			1991-92					
	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement
Establishment of District Progeny Farms	-	10.00	-	5 nos.	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
Financial Assistance for Piggery Unit	27.50	27.11	916	997 nos.	-	3.99	-	208	7.00	4.02	200	143
Supply of Buffaloes	-	-	-	-	10.00	11.01	285	287	10.00	-	285	-
Financial Assistance for taking up Duckery Units	27.50	12.45	916	387 nos.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Poultry Development	20.00	17.44	666	392 Fam.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Goatery Development	20.00	7.00	666	120 Fam.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Financial Assistance to District Council	5.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Establishment of Piggery at Kangchup	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Seed/Margin Money Assistance for NSFDC*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grants-in-aid to MTDC Ltd.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Distribution of Milch Cows	-	-	-	-	1.00	-	-	-	1.00	-	-	-
Miscellaneous Expenditures	-	-	-	-	11.00	-	-	-	18.00	1.13	-	-
Total	100.00	74.00	-	-	11.00	15.00	-	-	18.00	5.15	-	-

Table 3.2 Cont'd.

Name of the Scheme/Programme	1992-97				1997-02				1985-02			
	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement
	Establishment of District Progeny Farms	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.00	5
Financial Assistance for Piggery Unit	50.00	52.33	990	981	60.00	101.54	1200	1115	144.5	188.99	3306	3444 nos.
Supply of Buffaloes	35.00	-	1316	-	-	-	-	-	5.5	11.01	1886	287 Fam.
Financial Assistance for taking up Duckery Units	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27.50	12.45	916	287 nos.
Poultry Development	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20.00	17.44	666	392 Fam.
Goatery Development	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20.00	7.00	666	120 Fam.
Financial Assistance to District Council	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.00	-	-	-
Establishment of Piggery at Kangchup	-	3.20	-	01	-	-	-	-	-	3.20	-	01
Seed/Margin Money Assistance for NSFDC*	-	3.80	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	3.80	-	12
Grants-in-aid to MTDC Ltd.	-	3.26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.26	-	-
Distribution of Milch Cows	-	12.94	-	55	-	-	-	-	-	12.94	-	55
Miscellaneous Expenditures	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.00	1.13	-	-
Total	85.00	75.53	-	-	60.00	101.54	-	-	274.00	271.22	-	-

Sources:

1. Government of Manipur, Draft Eighth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1990-95 and 1991-92 and Recast Annual Tribal Sub-Plan for 1990-91, pp.38, 44.
2. Government of Manipur, Draft Eighth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1992-97 and Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1992-93, pp.38, 43.
3. Government of Manipur, Recast Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1996-97, pp. 35, 40.
4. Government of Manipur, Draft Tenth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 2002-2007 and Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 2002-2003, pp.59, 60.
5. Government of Manipur, Ninth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1997-2002 and Draft Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 2000-2001, pp.35, 40.

*National Scheduled Castes Finance and Development Corporation.

According to the reports of CAGI, it has come to light that the scheme comprising piggery, duck rearing, goat rearing and poultry development programmes was implemented during the 4 years ending March 1989, and Rs.64 lakhs were earmarked for the benefit of 2153 families. The report further brought out that during 1987-88, Rs.3.99 lakhs were spent towards purchase of 236 poultry sheds for distribution to 236 targeted beneficiaries. But it was seen that poultry sheds, which were procured at the cost of Rs.0.57 lakhs remained undistributed till May 1989. This programme was discontinued from 1988-89 onwards, the reasons for which were not on record. No follow-up action was taken to ascertain the impact of this programme.

In the subsequent years, i.e., 1992-96, the scheme comprising piggery, duck rearing, goat rearing, poultry development programmes and distribution of milch cows was implemented. Against the provision of Rs.52.50 lakhs, Rs.64.04 lakhs was reported to have been spent. Though the scheme was to be implemented in hill districts, during the year 1995-96 an amount of Rs.9.75 lakhs was spent for covering 195 beneficiaries in the valley district (Imphal) while only 135 beneficiaries in five hill districts were covered after incurring an expenditure of Rs.6.73 lakhs. Thus not only was the utilization of Rs.9.75 lakhs unauthorized but the coverage was 195 beneficiaries (60 percent) in the valley district out of total 330 beneficiaries although the expenditure on the scheme had exceeded the provision by 24 percent. Thus we see that potential beneficiaries were left out in this scheme which is a major reason for its failure to uplift the needy.

Fishery: Fishery is an important part of the economy in many parts of the country. Fish and fishery products constitute a rich source of protein food at reasonable cost.

It generates substantial employment opportunities especially for those belonging to weaker sections including the tribal people. The total financial outlay for this scheme during the period under consideration was Rs.82.00 lakhs and the amount spent was Rs.39.71 lakhs. The major programmes taken up under it are rearing of Eels, financial assistance to pisciculturists and procurement of fishing nets. The programme on the financial assistance to tribal pisciculturists was given due emphasis as it had 82.9 percent of the total expenditure.

For the district, an amount of Rs.14.39 lakhs was allocated against an expenditure of Rs.6.63 lakhs for the same period. It covered 259 families against the target of 386 families. As for the district, here too, the emphasis was on financial assistance to pisciculturists which accommodated 71.49 percent of the total expenditure.

From the above analysis, it is indicated that this scheme was quite successful as the number of families and societies covered was altogether 84.01 percent of the total target but the corresponding fund spent on it was only 48.43 percent of the total outlay. In the district, the success rate was 67.10 percent but the money spent was 46.07 percent of its total outlay. Thus, it can be inferred that had the fund been utilized to its maximum the scheme would have achieved more than 100 percent success rate.

Forestry: Ever since humans appeared on the earth forest has been of great service to them by way of meeting their essential needs of food and shelter. In modern times, its resources play a vital role in tribal economy and at the same time accurate and comprehensive monitoring of its resources as one of the major steps towards prevention, control and management of ecology. So planning in the forestry sector is

a must to attain the goal of environmental upgradation and related benefits, which would help in bringing improvement in the economic status of the tribal people.

For the forestry scheme, the total financial outlay was Rs.120 lakhs against an expenditure of Rs.29.15 lakhs. This scheme was carried out mainly during 1985-90 period. In the subsequent years, the outlay and targets were laid out but the programmes were not implemented. The main emphasis was on plantation of fruit bearing trees and protection of village forest and augmentation of forests. But the emphasis of the programme at the time of formulation and implementation stage differed. In the implementation stage, the protection of village forest was given the main emphasis which had a share of 41.16 percent of the total expenditure followed by plantation of Mithapati with 34.23 percent, procurement of barbed wire 16.56 percent and plantation of fruit bearing trees with only 8.02 percent of the total expenditure. The scheme benefited only 369 against the target of 1000 families. The programme dealing with protection of village forests had only 46.15 percent success rate as the achievement was in 300 villages against the target of 650 villages.

In Senapati district, a sum of Rs.8.52 lakhs was spent against an outlay of Rs.22.40 lakhs. The scheme was not successful as only 40 families could benefit against the target of 229 families in the programme of plantation of fruit bearing trees. In case of protection of village forests, the programme was comparatively successful as it could be implemented in 100 villages against a target of 116 villages.

From the above discussion, it is clear that there is a lacunae in the planning process. This point is highlighted by the fact that there is a shift in the emphasis of the programme at the formulation and implementation stages. At the

same time, there is also lack of monitoring of the scheme as no programme under this scheme was implemented after 1990 onwards.

The above findings are substantiated by the CAGI report. According to this report, the government sanctioned Rs.4.84 lakhs to Tamenglong District Council for various forestry schemes. Of this, the Council utilized Rs.1.05 lakhs during 1986-87, mainly 70 beneficiaries in terms of the schemes approved for 1985-86. But it was found that neither was any work programme prepared before release of funds to the beneficiaries nor was the work executed by them or verified to ensure actual utilization of funds. Further, the government released Rs.1.50 lakhs to the District Council during 1987-88 for supply of fruit-bearing trees to three families in each village living below the poverty line (Rs.1 lakh) and implementation of social forestry schemes (Rs.0.50 lakh). The report reveals that no fruit-bearing trees were supplied. Instead the Council disbursed Rs.1.43 lakhs in cash to 46 beneficiaries of 28 villages by diverting Rs.0.43 lakhs out of the amount sanctioned for the social forestry schemes. The report stated that the government sanctioned Rs.2.80 lakhs to the Sadar Hills District Council as grants-in-aid in July 1986 for the implementation of the afforestation scheme during 1986-87. Further, it is reported that after retaining Rs.0.08 lakhs for contingencies, the Council paid Rs.2.72 lakhs to 136 selected beneficiaries and issued work orders in October-November 1986 for plantation of saplings. No records were, however, available to indicate that the saplings were either supplied by the Council or procured by the beneficiaries or actually planted. The scheme was also not monitored by the Council to ensure its implementation and the proper utilization of the grant-in-aid.

Village/Small Scale/Industries: Village and small-scale industries have an important role in the improvement of tribal economy. These industries have high employment potential which consequently enables a vast majority of the tribals to share the fruits of economic development. In their absence, the only option before these people is to remain unemployed or seek still less remunerative jobs.

Table 3.3 reveals that the total financial outlay for this scheme was Rs.438 lakhs out of which, Rs.388.83 lakhs was spent to give benefit to 11,063 families against the target of 11,230 families. The maximum financial input was on the supply of rice mills, which formed 32.42 percent of the total expenditure, followed by supply of sewing machines and knitting machines with 12.55 percent each. The important schemes under this sector were supply of knitting/sewing machines and supply of rice mills and carpentry tools.

In Senapati district, the financial outlay was Rs.47.57 lakhs against an expenditure of Rs.30.62 lakhs for the same period. The main emphasis was on supply of rice mills, which constituted 40.01 percent of the total expenditure followed, by supply of knitting machines and sewing machines with 22.57 percent and 19.43 percent respectively. The benefit went to only 720 families against a target of 1068 families.

From the above, it is indicated that this programme was quite successful as the expenditure was 88.77 percent of its total outlay with an achievement of 98.53 percent against its proposed target. In the district under study, the expenditure was to the tune of 76.38 percent against its outlay and the achievement was 67.41 percent against its target. Hence, it can be concluded that the

Table 3.3: Outlay, Expenditure, Target, Achievement of Village and Small Industries Programme (1985-02) under Special Central Assistance

(Rs. in lakhs)

Name of the Scheme/Programme	1985-90			1990-91			1991-92					
	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement
Supply of Sewing Machine	15.00	8.93	750	408	5.00	4.99	250	361	5.00	6.98	250	344
Supply of Rice Mills	12.00	24.45	46	90	10.00	12.17	37	36	10.00	14.74	37	44
Supply of Carpentry Tools	7.00	2.92	466	289	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Supply of Blacksmithy Tools	4.50	2.19	300	181	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Supply of Hand Craft	6.00	2.40	200	153	-	3.98	-	135	1.48	-	-	50
Supply of Wooden Yarn	-	2.03	-	145	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Supply of Shuttle Looms	10.00	-	45	-	-	-	-	-	4.00	-	-	-
Financial Assistance for Opening of Small Shops	7.50	4.83	300	238	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Financial Assistant for Beekeeping	4.50	1.35	200	135	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Financial Assistance for Brick Making	8.00	-	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Financial Assistant for Cane & Bamboo Craft Development	4.50	1.31	300	110	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Financial Assistance for Tyre Vulcanizing Units	2.00	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Supply of Machinery and Tools	9.00	5.11	300	413	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Financial Assistance for Marketing and Import of Tribal Craft/Loom	-	2.44	-	24	3.00	3.00	60	218	8.00	-	160	-
Financial Assistant for Industrial Training Centres	-	0.90	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Financial Assistance to Rickshaw Pullers	-	0.51	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grant to Ex-Trainees	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Seed/Margin Money Assistance to NSFDC* Loan Schemes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grants-in-aid to MTDC Ltd.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Financial Assistance for Pottery/Wood Carving/Shoe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Setting up of Semi-Automatic Juice Extraction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Seed Money for Canning & Preservation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Supply of Knitting Machines	30.00	16.26	750	368	5.00	5.02	110	152	5.00	6.95	110	158
Miscellaneous Expenditures	-	2.83	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	120.00	78.46	-	-	23.00	26.16	-	-	29.48	28.82	-	-

Table 3.3 Cont'd.

Name of the Scheme/Programme	1992-97			1997-02			1985-02					
	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement
Supply of Sewing Machine	-	9.00	500	327	30.00	24.63	750	571	55.00	54.53	2500	2011
Supply of Rice Mills	75.00	36.33	220	110	35.00	19.00	127	52	142.00	106.69	467	332
Supply of Carpentry Tools	-	16.63	-	759	10.00	37.99	380	1256	17.00	57.54	846	2304
Supply of Blacksmithy Tools	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.50	2.19	300	181
Supply of Hand Craft	15.00	-	500	-	-	5.00	-	111	21.00	11.38	700	449
Supply of Wooden Yam	-	17.46	-	1476	25.00	33.27	2000	2006	25.00	52.76	2000	3627
Supply of Shuttle Looms	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.00	-	-	45
Financial Assistance for Opening of Small Shops	-	-	-	-	-	8.00	-	160	7.50	4.83	300	398
Financial Assistant for Beekeeping	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.50	1.35	200	135
Financial Assistance for Brick Making	-	-	-	-	-	8.00	-	160	8.00	8.00	32	160
Financial Assistant for Cane & Bamboo Craft Development	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.50	1.31	300	110
Financial Assistance for Tyre Vulcanizing Units	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.00	-	20	-
Supply of Machinery and Tools	-	5.00	-	110	7.00	-	150	-	16.00	10.11	450	413
Financial Assistance for Marketing and Import of Tribal Craft/Loom	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11.00	5.44	60	242
Financial Assistant for Industrial Training Centres	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.94	-	5
Financial Assistance to Rickshaw Pullers	-	-	-	-	-	6.00	-	-	-	6.51	-	11
Grant to Ex-Trainees	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Seed/Margin Money Assistance to NSFDC* Loan Schemes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grants-in-aid to MTDC Ltd.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Financial Assistance for Pottery/Wood Carving/Shoe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Setting up of Semi-Automatic Juice Extraction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Seed Money for Canning & Preservation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Supply of Knitting Machines	5.00	3.00	-	-	15.00	-	245	-	55.00	31.23	1215	678
Miscellaneous Expenditures	145.00	0.13	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.00	2.96	-	-
Total	145.00	110.22	-	-	122.00	150.89	-	-	438.00	388.83	-	-

Sources:

1. Government of Manipur, Draft Eighth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1990-95 and 1991-92 and Recast Annual Tribal Sub-Plan for 1990-91, pp.39, 44.
2. Government of Manipur, Draft Eighth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1992-97 and Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1992-93, pp.39, 44.
3. Government of Manipur, Draft Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1993-94, pp. 31, 35.
4. Government of Manipur, Draft Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1995-96, pp. 32, 34.
5. Government of Manipur, Recast Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1996-97, pp. 35, 40.
6. Government of Manipur, Ninth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1997-2002 and Draft Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 2000-01, pp.36, 40.

* National Scheduled Castes Finance and Development Corporation.

scheme was somewhat successful even in the district considering the amount spent and the targets achieved.

But the CAGI report has highlighted certain loopholes of the scheme.

It has been brought to light that as per the approved guidelines of the scheme, sewing and knitting machines were to be provided to the beneficiaries who were holding certificate/diploma under training rural youth for self-employment (TRYSEM) of a recognized institute in particular trade and also belonging to family living below poverty line. But the test-check of the records for 1995-96 and 1996-97 revealed that 85 sewing machines valued at Rs.2.51 lakhs and 42 knitting machines valued at Rs.2.52 lakhs were procured and distributed without ascertaining whether the beneficiaries belonged to the family living below poverty line and whether they possessed requisite trade qualifications as required under approved guidelines. Thus the expenditure of Rs.5.03 lakhs on distribution of machines and tools was irregular. It was further reported that though the scheme covered only hill districts, sewing machines, tools etc. valued at Rs.2.28 lakhs were distributed to persons in the valley district of Imphal during the same period, which was irregular. Besides this, in March 1997, Rs.5 lakhs was drawn and the amount was paid in April 1997 to the Chairman, Pineapple Producing and Marketing Society, Churachandpur, though the payment was not sanctioned and covered under the scheme. Further, utilization certificate was also not obtained from the society for the amount paid. Thus, the payment of Rs.5 lakhs was irregular and unauthorized.

From the report, it is reflected that the procedure for identification of beneficiaries for this scheme was not correct which resulted in exclusion of potential beneficiaries. Above all, there was irregular and unauthorized utilization of Rs.12.31

lakhs for this scheme during the period of 1992-97 which clearly indicates that the fund sanctioned for the development of the poor tribals had been utilized elsewhere which had resulted in the negative outreach of this scheme.

Education, Arts and Culture: Education can contribute significantly to tribal development in various ways. By widening the horizons of knowledge of the tribal people it can enable them to overcome ignorance and superstitions. Adoption of new agricultural techniques and new methods of production will be easier if the farmers are educated. Education can be oriented to impart skills and attitudes useful in improving the quality of life. In labour surplus economies of tribals, education can help tribal people in acquiring skills to set up cottage industries on their own so that the disguised unemployed people can be fruitfully employed in the villages themselves and at the same time preserve their arts and culture.

Under this scheme, activities like construction of school buildings, hostel buildings, community halls, research sub-centres, supply of text books, note books and uniform, supply of sports materials, renovation of playground, maintenance of community hall, etc., were taken up for implementation. Table 3.4 indicates that the total financial outlay for this scheme was Rs.1065 lakhs against an expenditure of Rs.1109.67 lakhs. Some of the important programmes taken up were encouragement of sports, arts and culture which formed 22.47 percent of the total expenditure, construction of community halls with 23.33 percent and construction of school building with 10.79 percent and so on. In this scheme, the expenditure exceeded the outlay by 4.19 percent.

Table 3.4: Outlay, Expenditure, Target, Achievement of Education, Arts and Culture Programme (1985-02) under Special Central Assistance

Name of the Scheme/Programme	(Rs. in lakhs)											
	1985-90			1990-91			1991-92					
	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement
Construction of School Buildings	47.00	31.95	47 nos.	35 nos.	5.00	22.05	5	29	12.00	15.83	12	21
Construction of Hostel Buildings	15.00	10.15	15 nos.	13 nos.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Construction of Multipurpose Community Hall-cum-Indoor Stadium	51.00	49.53	3 nos.	6 nos.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Construction of Village Community Halls/ Village Level	7.00	49.57	2 nos.	26 nos.	20.00	51.92	26	31	13.00	11.01	17	13
Production of Tribal Text Books	19.00	9.49	237 nos.	157 nos.	2.00	2.00	45	15	3.00	5.04	50	109
Educational Excursion	10.00	8.44	100 nos.	46 nos.	-	-	-	-	1.00	-	5	-
Encouragement of Arts and Culture	-	17.19	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Improvement/Extension of Hostel Buildings	9.47	12.38	23 nos.	15 nos.	-	-	-	-	5.00	-	10	-
Improvement/Repair/Extension of Community Halls	-	4.52	-	36 nos.	-	-	-	-	5.00	-	10	-
Construction of Makhel Memorial Hall-Research Centre	-	12.51	-	1 no.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Supply of School Uniforms	-	0.04	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Supply of Note Books	-	3.50	-	133	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Construction of Half-destroyed Tousem Ashram	-	2.66	-	2 nos.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Encouragement of Sports Activities	16.15	54.39	500 org	2708 org	8.00	32.79	200	-	10.00	21.02	400	3221
Celebration of Republic Day	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.95	-	-
Maintenance/Book Grant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29.38	-	5876 std
Supply of Utensils	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	292
Financial Assistance for Kut and Luigaini Festivals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Conducting of Research Works/Survey/ Production of Documentary Films	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Construction of Conference Hall-cum-Community Hall at Senapati	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Purchase of Furniture	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Financial Assistance to Voluntary Organizations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Committed Liabilities for Materials	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Construction of Rest House at Hawehong, Tamenglong	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Collection of Museum Materials	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miscellaneous Expenditures	0.38	10.44	-	-	1.00	10.85	-	-	1.00	12.23	-	-
Total	175.00	276.76	-	-	36.00	119.41	-	-	50.00	99.46	-	-

Table 3.4 Cont'd.

Name of the Scheme/Programme	1992-97			1997-2002			1985-2002				
	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Target	Expense	Achievement
Construction of School Buildings	60.00	40.01	60	138	50.00	10.00	50	10	174.00	119.84	174
Construction of Hostel Buildings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15.00	10.15	15
Construction of Multipurpose Community Hall-cum-Indoor Stadium	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	51.00	49.53	3
Construction of Village Community Halls/ Village Level	60.00	60.31	60	105	100.00	66.14	100	41	200.00	258.95	205
Production of Tribal Text Books	45.00	16.04	2500	123	40.00	19.66	800	84	109.00	52.23	3632
Educational Excursion	-	-	-	-	-	1.00	150	-	11.00	9.44	255
Encouragement of Arts and Culture	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17.19	-
Improvement/Extension of Hostel Buildings	-	-	-	-	-	11.62	-	6	14.47	24.00	33
Improvement/Repair/Extension of Community Halls	50.00	73.07	25	219	10.00	-	10	2	65.00	77.59	45
Construction of Makhel Memorial Hall-Research Centre	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.51	-
Supply of School Uniforms	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.04	-
Supply of Note Books	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.50	-
Construction of Hailstorm damaged Tousem Ashram	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.66	-
Encouragement of Sports Activities	50.00	60.57	2500	2434	50.00	63.49	-	-	134.15	232.26	3555
Celebration of Republic Day	25.00	-	-	-	35.00	12.59	2	6	60.00	17.54	2
Maintenance/Book Grant	200.00	37.32	40000	12520	-	-	-	-	200.00	66.70	40000
Supply of Utensils	-	10.27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.27	-
Financial Assistance for Kut and Luingami Festivals	-	10.00	2	10	20.00	12.00	2	-	20.00	22.00	4
Conducting of Research Works/Survey/ Production of Documentary Films	-	1.57	-	2	10.00	4.00	-	-	10.00	5.57	2
Construction of Conference Hall-cum-Community Hall at Senapati	-	46.17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	46.17	-
Purchase of Furniture	-	2.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.00	-
Financial Assistance to Voluntary Organizations	-	4.35	-	-	-	-	250	25	-	4.35	250
Committed Liabilities for Materials	-	1.72	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.72	-
Construction of Rest House at Hawchong, Tamenglong	-	-	-	-	-	3.58	-	-	-	3.58	-
Collection of Museum Materials	-	0.10	-	-	-	4.52	-	-	-	4.62	-
Miscellaneous Expenditures	-	3.20	-	-	-	18.74	-	-	1.38	55.26	-
Total	490.00	386.70	-	-	315.00	257.34	-	-	1065.00	1109.67	-

Sources:

1. Government of Manipur, Draft Eighth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1990-95 and 1991-92 and Recast Annual Tribal Sub-Plan for 1990-91, pp.39, 40, 45.
2. Government of Manipur, Draft Eighth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1992-97 and Recast Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1992-93, pp.39, 40, 45.
3. Government of Manipur, Draft Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1993-94, pp. 31, 35.4, 4. Government of Manipur, Draft Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1995-96, pp. 35, 39, 40.
5. Government of Manipur, Recast Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1996-97, pp. 36, 37, 41.
6. Government of Manipur, Ninth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1997-2002 and Draft Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 2000-01, pp. 37, 38, 41.

From this, it is reflected that planning is not in consonance with implementation of the various developmental programmes. This trend is seen till 1985-92 of the planned period. The programmes under this scheme were mainly to improve the infrastructure in the areas of education, arts and culture. The programme which can be considered as successful is construction of school buildings, which exceeds its target by 33.90 percent although the expenditure was Rs.54.16 lakhs less than its outlay. The least successful of the programmes is production of tribal textbooks as the achievement was only 13.43 percent of its total target even though the expenditure was 47.91 percent against its total outlay.

In case of Senapati district, the developmental programmes under this scheme were not a success. The expenditure exceeded its outlay by Rs.110.18 lakhs (80.66 percent), but the achievements were not higher as compared to their targets except in case of encouragement of sports, arts and cultural activities, and in maintenance of book grant. The ratio of targets and achievements in the construction of school building was 36:37, in the construction of hostel building the ratio was 4:3, construction/repair of community hall 27:26, production of tribal text book was 133:120, encouragement of sports, arts and cultural activities 2250:2934, and the maintenance of book grant 1200:20,000. Hence, it is highlighted that the scheme cannot be considered a total success when both the ratio and proportion of targets and achievements are taken into account.

The above findings have also been substantiated by CAGI which reported that of Rs.1.95 lakhs out of the fund for hostel construction was diverted towards construction of a kitchen in Regional Medical College, Imphal which was to be done under the state plan scheme. Hence, the expenditure was unauthorized.

Besides this, out of Rs.80.12 lakhs earmarked for community halls, Rs.66.26 lakhs were spent on payment of contractors' bill and purchase of building materials. In respect of two halls in Tamenglong and Ukhrul districts Rs.6.88 lakhs were deposited with MTDC in March 1989 to account for the funds as utilized at the end of that year without actually transferring the works. In addition to this, the case of two other incomplete works at Tousem in Tamenglong district and at Saikul in Senapati district amounting to Rs.6.88 lakhs was transferred to District Rural Development Agencies (DRDA). The progress of the work was never reported by the agencies. In case of the remaining work in Senapati district the entire sanctioned amount of Rs.17.50 lakhs was spent but the work remained incomplete. Reasons for non-completion were not available on record.

Thus the above discussion brings to light that fund of Rs.6.93 lakhs was spent elsewhere. It has also brought to surface the fact that some of the development programmes remained incomplete even after spending a huge sum of money and the reasons for it was not on records. From this, it is reflected that there is lack of proper planning and monitoring of various developmental programmes under this scheme.

The CAGI also reports that out of the total expenditure during 1992-97, an amount of Rs.4.95 lakhs was spent on non-governmental organizations, which were not covered by the sanction of this scheme. Thus, there was unauthorized expenditure of Rs.4.95 lakhs.

Co-operatives: For persons of limited means the need for co-operatives hardly needs any emphasis. The ordinary cultivator, who is beset with numerous difficulties like uneconomic and scattered holdings, inadequacy of finance, low bargaining

power as buyer and seller etc. can improve his position to a great extent by taking advantage of self-help and mutual aid implied in the adoption of co-operative techniques in various sectors of his economic activity. At the same time cooperative organizations are highly useful as an instrument of democratic planning. It is through these small-organized units that the state can hope to approach the masses for giving them technical guidance as well as for execution of its development.

This scheme was carried out only during the period 1985-90. The total financial outlay during this period was Rs.10.00 lakhs against an expenditure of Rs.14.41 lakhs. The increase in the expenditure was due to increase in the number of programmes at the implementation stage. During the formulation stage the developmental programmes under this scheme included opening of mobile fair price shops and distribution of yarns, but at the implementation stage two other programmes of work sheds and financial assistance to LAMPS was included which led to the increase in expenditure by Rs.4.41 lakhs at the implementation stage. Under this scheme, the success rate of the developmental programmes was quite high. In opening/running of mobile fair price shops, the achievements and targets were equally same and in distribution of yarns the achievements were in 1100 families against a target of 400 families.

In Senapati district too, the scheme was successful. The total fund allocated for this scheme was Rs.2.45 lakhs against an expenditure of Rs.2.09 lakhs. The achievement was higher than its target with distribution of yarns covering 213 families against the target of 116 families and opening/running of mobile fair price shops the target was 1 in number and the same was achieved. Hence it reflects a high success rate in the district.

Medical and Public Health: Improvement in health of masses increases their productive capacity and leads to qualitative improvement in human capital. Therefore, expenditures on health are important in building and maintaining a productive labour force as well as in improving the lives of the people. Basically, expenditures on health take the form of investment in medical knowledge, in disease prevention and in treatment and rehabilitation. The main reasons, which are quite often mentioned for the poor health of tribal people, are lack of nutritious diet, inadequate medical care and living in unhygienic conditions. But all these factors are not independent of poverty. At the same time hospitals, which are located in urban areas, are not within the reach of most tribal population. Therefore, the basic cause of poor health is widespread poverty and lack of adequate infrastructure support. The scheme envisaged construction of buildings for dispensaries and public health centres and also to expand health centres and sub-centres in all far-flung areas of the state. Table 3.5 reveals that for the medical and public health scheme, the total financial outlay was Rs.389 lakhs and the expenditure was Rs.342.73 lakhs. The main programmes under this scheme were financial assistance for medical treatment which comprised 74.29 percent of its total outlay with an expenditure of 83.83 percent of the total expenditure, free medical treatment with an outlay of 2.57 percent and an expenditure of 5.25 percent and so on.

Table 3.5: Outlay, Expenditure, Target, Achievement of Medical and Public Health Programme (1985-02) under Special Central Assistance
(Rs. in lakhs)

Name of the Scheme/Programme	1985-90			1990-91			1991-92					
	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement
Financial Assistance for Medical Treatment	47.00	46.23	2000 Patients	2948 Patients	5.00	7.21	100 Patients	311 Patients	7.00	20.17	140	1508 Patients
Free Medical Treatment	-	15.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Repairing of Dispensaries	5.00	-	20 nos.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Financial Assistance to Voluntary Organizations	3.00	0.81	100 orgn.	23 orgn.	-	-	-	-	1.00	-	10	-
Financial Assistance to Disabled Persons	-	2.43	-	100 nos.	-	-	-	-	2.00	-	100	-
Purchase of Jeep/Ambulances	2.00	2.37	2 nos.	2 nos.	2.00	-	-	-	-	3.66	-	-
Mobile Medical Unit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Distribution of Materials to Tribal Handicapped	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miscellaneous Expenditures	18.00	4.67	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	75.00	71.51	-	-	7.00	7.21	-	-	10.00	23.83	-	-

Name of the Scheme/Programme	1992-97			1997-02			1985-02					
	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement
Financial Assistance for Medical Treatment	100.00	128.71	4250	7726	130.00	85.00	9000	1511	289	287.32	15490	14002 Patients
Free Medical Treatment	10.00	3.15	50	359	-	-	-	-	10.00	18.15	50	359 Nos.
Repairing of Dispensaries	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.00	-	20	-
Financial Assistance to Voluntary Organizations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.00	0.81	110	23 Orgn.
Financial Assistance to Disabled Persons	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.00	2.43	100	100 Nos.
Purchase of Jeep/Ambulances	-	-	01	01	-	-	-	-	4.00	2.37	3	3 Nos.
Mobile Medical Unit	27.00	9.33	-	-	15.00	2.00	-	-	42.00	14.99	-	-
Distribution of Materials to Tribal Handicapped	-	-	-	-	15.00	8.99	150 Nos.	-	15.00	8.99	150	106 Nos.
Miscellaneous Expenditures	-	3.00	-	-	-	5.00	-	-	18.00	7.67	-	-
Total	137.00	144.19	-	-	160.00	100.99	-	-	389.00	342.73	-	-

Sources:

1. Government of Manipur, Draft Eighth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1990-95 and 1991-92 and Recast Annual Tribal Sub-Plan for 1990-91, pp.40, 46.
2. Government of Manipur, Draft Eighth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1992-97 and Recast Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1992-93, pp.40, 45.
3. Government of Manipur, Draft Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1993-94, pp.32, 33.
4. Government of Manipur, Draft Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1995-96, pp.34, 39.
5. Government of Manipur, Recast Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1996-97, pp.36, 41.
6. Government of Manipur, Ninth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1997-2002 and Draft Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 2000-01, pp.38, 39, 42.

For Senapati district, the total fund allocated was Rs.42.55 lakhs and the expenditure was Rs.36.84 lakhs for the same period. The main emphasis was given to the programme of financial assistance for medical treatment with an outlay of Rs.36.1 lakhs (84.84 percent) and an expenditure of Rs.31.76 lakhs (86.2 percent). In this district, the scheme was quite successful as the ratio of targets and achievements were 1675:1816 for financial assistance for medical treatment, 70:60 for free medical treatment and in case of financial assistance to voluntary organizations, the ratio was 39:12 even though the expenditure was Rs.5.71 lakhs less than its outlay.

From the above discussion, it is clear that this scheme was quite successful as the targets to achievements ratio when compared with the ratio of outlay to expenditure showed the trend that the achievable targets were achieved with the amount spent.

Housing Scheme: Housing is an important basic amenity for civilized life. As a consumption good, it provides security, minimum civic facilities and privacy to human beings for decent living. As an investment, it has positive impact on the individual's physical and mental health. For some of the self-employed, their house is also the place of work. However, for quite a large number of people, housing which provides socio-economic benefits is a distant dream. Thus, it is important to discuss the housing scheme taken up for the tribals.

According to the scheme lay out, CGI sheets were to be distributed to each tribal family living below poverty line in hill districts and having its house up to roofing stage. For this scheme, beneficiaries were to be selected by the government on the recommendations of the district officers who were to submit the

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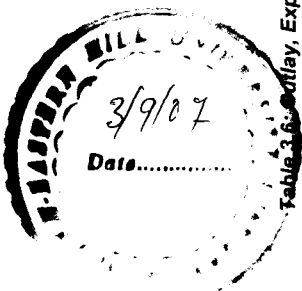


Table 3.6: Outlay, Expenditure, Target, Achievement of Housing Programme (1985-02) under Special Central Assistance

Name of the Scheme/Programme	1985-90			1990-91			1991-92					
	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement
Shiroi Model Village	11.25	5.25	150	70	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Distribution of C.G.I. Sheets	54.75	9.43	363	1218	35.00	50.00	388	531	40.00	54.96	400	530
Financial Assistance to Village Authorities	-	9.70	-	4050	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rehabilitation of Tribal Victims	-	5.00	-	10	5.00	1.00	10	300	7.00	10.62	14	1518
Transportation Charges	4.00	10.88	-	1500	1.00	-	138	-	1.00	-	138	-
Repair of Rest Camp at Moreh	-	0.38	-	-	2.00	2.00	-	01	2.00	1.68	-	-
Purchase of Tarpaulins	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	70.00	40.64	513	6848	43	53	536	832	50	67.26	552	2040

Name of the Scheme/Programme	1992-97			1997-02			1985-02					
	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement
Shiroi Model Village	10.00	-	80	-	-	-	-	-	21.25	5.25	230	70
Distribution of C.G.I. Sheets	275.00	196.52	2750	1560	348.00	155.05	2500	1070	752.75	465.96	6401	4909
Financial Assistance to Village Authorities	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9.70	-	4050
Rehabilitation of Tribal Victims	50.00	52.64	1000	5649	100.00	184.71	8000	47109	162.00	253.97	9024	54586
Transportation Charges	-	4.83	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.00	15.71	276	1500
Repair of Rest Camp at Moreh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.00	4.06	-	01
Purchase of Tarpaulins	-	58.32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	58.32	-	-
Total	335.00	312.31	3750	7209	448.00	339.76	10500	48179	946	812.97	15931	65116

Sources:

1. Government of Manipur, Draft Eighth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1990-95 and 1991-92 and Recast Annual Tribal Sub-Plan for 1990-91, pp.38-46.
2. Government of Manipur, Draft Eighth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1992-97 and Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1992-93, pp.40-46
3. Government of Manipur, Draft Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1993-94, pp.32-36.
4. Government of Manipur, Draft Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1995-96, pp.35-39.
5. Government of Manipur, Recast Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1996-97, pp.36-41.
6. Government of Manipur, Ninth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1997-2002 and Draft Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 2000-01, pp.38-41

list of beneficiaries of their respective districts. From Table 3.6, it is revealed that the total amount spent on the housing scheme was Rs.946 lakhs against an expenditure of Rs.812.97 lakhs. The main programme of this scheme was the distribution of CGI sheets, which had 79.57 percent share of the total outlay. The expenditure for the same programme was 57.31 percent out of the total expenditure. The table indicates that the programme was not as successful as it should have been had the fund allocated been fully utilized as there was a remaining of Rs.133.03 lakhs on the completion of the programme.

For Senapati district, the total financial outlay was Rs.91.85 lakhs against an expenditure of Rs.79.27 lakhs, i.e., Rs.13.58 lakhs less than its outlay. Even in the district, the main programme was the distribution of CGI sheets followed by the distribution of relief materials. The total number of families who benefited from this scheme was 3254 against a target of 2607. The achievement was 24.85 percent more than its target.

In this programme too, the CAGI reports have brought out certain lacunae. It was reported that during 1985-89, no loan was given to the beneficiaries. Instead an amount of Rs.42.14 lakhs was paid as subsidy, either in cash or in kind, to 601 families against the admissible subsidy of Rs.13.52 lakhs. Thus there was an excess payment of subsidy of Rs.28.62 lakhs.

The CAGI report of 1992-97 highlights that the number of beneficiaries selected on the recommendations of the ministers and MLAs were more than the targeted figures in three years and no record in support of either conducting survey by the district officers in respect of construction of houses by the beneficiaries up to the roofing stage or utilization of CGI sheets by the beneficiaries

were produced to audit. The report also pointed out that materials valued at Rs.13.78 lakhs were issued to 1498 beneficiaries of valley district of Imphal which was not to be included under this scheme. Hence it resulted in unauthorized expenditure of Rs.13.78 lakhs.

The report further brings to light that there was excess procurement of CGI sheets valued at Rs.3.86 lakhs. The excess quantity procured was neither issued to the beneficiaries nor accounted for in the stock register. The loss of Rs.3.86 lakhs on this account was not investigated. It was also brought to the notice that during 1996-97, materials such as blankets, mosquito nets, utensils, etc., valued at Rs.20.52 lakhs were procured and distributed to tribal families of six districts including Imphal under housing scheme. The justification for distribution of these materials, which were not provided under the scheme, had not been stated resulting in unauthorized expenditure of Rs.20.52 lakhs.

The above discussion reflects that during 1985-89, the funds allocated were not managed according to rules and regulations prescribed for the scheme. In the subsequent years the report brings to light the lack of monitoring and evaluation of the scheme. It is also pointed out that the potential beneficiaries were left out of the scheme. Further, the excess procurement of materials resulting in unauthorized utilization of fund and at the same non-distribution of the excess material coupled with distribution of materials not provided under the scheme have led to non-fulfilment of the desired results of the scheme. Thus, it can be inferred that although the report of the Directorate justifies its success the reality overshadows its claim.

Transport/Communication: Transport plays a decisive role in the development of tribal communities. It empowers the condition of the tribal areas in relation to accessibility, health, trade and commerce, concentration of service facilities and educational institutions. Thus, transport has multi-faceted effects on the overall development of tribal communities. The development of transport keeps the population mobile and also results in development of the area.

The scheme envisaged development of roads like village path and establishment of link roads to market centres and points of socio-cultural and economic importance with the main district roads. From Table 3.7, it appears that the total financial outlay for this scheme was Rs.660 lakhs against an expenditure of Rs.634.29 lakhs. From the point of outlay, emphasis was on the Construction/repair of bridges, which formed 39.69 percent of the total outlay, and the money spent in this scheme was 30.12 percent of the total expenditure. However, maximum expenditure was on construction and improvement/repairs of inter-village roads, which formed 48.75 percent of the total expenditure. The other programmes included construction of small and suspension bridges and financial assistance to village authorities for repair/construction of inter-village roads.

In Senapati district the total outlay for this scheme was Rs.88.99 lakhs against an expenditure of Rs.67.87 lakhs. Main programme was the construction/repair of inter-village roads for which Rs.33.03 lakhs were spent against an earmarked outlay of Rs.11.00 lakhs. Another programme of this scheme was the construction of small and suspension bridges with an outlay of Rs.12.00 lakhs against an expenditure of Rs.11.79 lakhs. The scheme of financial assistance to village authorities for repair/construction of inter-village roads was not taken up

Table 3.7: Outlay, Expenditure, Target, Achievement of Communication Programme (1985-02) under Special Central Assistance

(Rs. in lakhs)

Name of the Scheme/Programme	1985-90			1990-91			1991-92					
	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement
Construction of Suspension Bridges	45.00	39.00	30 nos	34 nos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Construction of Wooden Bridges	7.00	4.00	140 nos	103 nos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Construction of Small RCC* /Smaller Suspension Bridges	30.00	18.47	150 nos	75 nos	4.00	15.00	20 nos	14 nos	10.00	8.17	50 nos	11 nos
Improvement of Inter Village Roads	14.00	30.83	500 km	480 km	30.00	16.11	30 km	120 km	29.00	24.00	29 km	150 km
Financial Assistance to Village Authorities for Improving Inter Village Roads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Inter Village Roads for Valley Areas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Seed/Margin Money for NSFDC* Loan Schemes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Construction of Ring Culverts	4.00	15.33	-	-	1.00	-	-	-	1.00	-	-	-
Miscellaneous Charges	10.00	107.63	-	-	35.00	31.11	-	-	40.00	32.17	-	-
Total												
* Reinforced Cement Concrete.												
Name of the Scheme/Programme	1992-97			1997-02			1985-02					
	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement
Construction of Suspension Bridges	130.00	107.89	50 nos	206 nos	80.00	40.22	120 nos	61 nos	255.00	187.11	200 nos	301 nos
Construction of Wooden Bridges	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.00	4.00	140 nos	103 nos
Construction of Small RCC* /Smaller Suspension Bridges	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	44.00	41.64	220 nos	100 nos
Improvement of Inter Village Roads	-	112.32	500 km	695 km	185.00	125.97	370 km	167 km	258.00	309.23	1429 km	1612 km
Financial Assistance to Village Authorities for Improving Inter Village Roads	-	12.19	-	-	-	1.45	-	-	75.00	12.19	-	-
Inter Village Roads for Valley Areas	75.00	2.00	-	-	15.00	11.00	30 km	16 km	15.00	13.00	30 km	16 km
Seed/Margin Money for NSFDC* Loan Schemes	-	4.18	-	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16
Construction of Ring Culverts	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Miscellaneous Charges	-	4.52	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.00	21.30	-	-
Total	205.00	243.10			280.00	178.64			660.00	634.29		

Sources:

1. Government of Manipur, Draft Eighth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1990-95 and 1991-92 and Recast Annual Tribal Sub-Plan for 1990-91, pp.41, 46.
2. Government of Manipur, Draft Eighth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1992-97 and Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1992-93, pp.41, 46.
3. Government of Manipur, Draft Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1993-94, pp.32, 36.
4. Government of Manipur, Draft Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1995-96, pp.35, 40.
5. Government of Manipur, Recast Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1996-97, pp.37, 41.
6. Government of Manipur, Ninth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1997-2002 and Draft Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 2000-01, pp.38, 41.

* National Scheduled Castes Finance and Development Corporation.

although it had an outlay of Rs.19.66 lakhs. The ratio of targets and achievements revealed that the scheme was quite successful in this district. The ratio of targets and achievements for the programme of construction/repair of bridges was 194:175, for construction/repair of inter-village roads was 50:194 and for construction of small and suspension bridges it was 51:35. By taking into consideration that the expenditure was Rs.21.12 lakhs less than its outlay, it can be inferred that the scheme was quite successful in the district.

From the above analysis, it appears that this scheme on the whole was not successful. But in the district, the scheme was quite a success.

The CAGI reports revealed that during 1985-89, CGI sheets were distributed to 51 families belonging to Scheduled Caste of a housing colony, which did not come within the purview of the scheme. This resulted in mismanagement of Rs.4.34 lakhs. Besides this, many suspension bridges remained incomplete and reasons for it were not on record. The report further brought to light that during 1992-93 Rs.0.60 lakhs was paid to 3 village authorities for constructing inter-village roads instead of getting the work done through the engineering cell of the Directorate. Estimates were not prepared and technical sanction not accorded for these works. Further, the Directorate had neither ascertained the progress of the work nor had obtained utilization certificate even after 4 years. Further, scrutiny revealed that Rs.1 lakh was spent during 1995-96 towards construction of retaining walls of Mao Baptist Church and Poumai Baptist Church located at Senapati as per sanction accorded by the Director and the expenditure was charged under communication. According to the scheme, expenditure in the premises of missionary

institution was not admissible. Thus, the expenditure of Rs.1 lakh sanctioned and incurred was unauthorized and irregular.

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that there was rampant mismanagement of fund and materials. Another reason for its non-success was lack of monitoring of the developmental programmes as brought out by the fact that the reasons for non-completion of development programmes were not on record. Funds allocated for the scheme were diverted to other developmental programmes not included under the scheme. Hence, the scheme failed to provide infrastructure facilities to the needy people, which is one of the most important parameters for development.

Women and Children Programme: The social health of any community depends to a great deal upon the status, functions and responsibilities of women and children. Therefore, any welfare plan will be incomplete unless it takes note of these sections of the society. With the rise in the general standards of education and health and the increasing social and economic opportunities for women and children, it will no longer be right to neglect them.

Table 3.8 shows that an amount of Rs.182.87 lakhs was spent on the various schemes under Women and Children Programme against an outlay of Rs.112 lakhs. The maximum amount spent on improving the life of the aforesaid people was on Dr. Ambedkar's scheme forming 12.73 percent of the total expenditure incurred, followed by encouragement to women's society with 8.47

Table 3.8: Outlay, Expenditure, Target, Achievement of Women and Children Programme (1985-02) under Special Central Assistance

(Rs. in lakhs)

Name of the Scheme/Programme	1985-90			1990-91			1991-92				
	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Target	Expense	Achievement
Encouragement to Women Society in Socio Economic Development	10.00	-	100 nos	-	-	-	-	-	20 nos	5.49	392 Fam 2 Soc
Training Programme	4.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Financial Assistance to Children Centres	5.50	1.50	42 nos	7 nos	1.00	1.00	4 nos	3 nos	8 nos	-	-
Financial Assistance to Training Programmes	-	15.7	-	10 nos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Financial Assistance to Distressed Tribal Women	-	8.32	127 nos	411 nos	2.00	-	80 nos	-	160 nos	-	-
Supply of Knitting Machines	-	15.23	-	360 Fam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Supply of Sewing Machines	-	7.12	-	338 Fam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Supply of Yarns	-	2.34	-	666 Fam	10.00	-	-	200 Fam	400 Fam	6.83	399 Fam
Dr. Ambedkar's Schemes	-	-	-	-	-	6.00	-	-	-	-	-
Grant to Ex-Trainees	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Inside/Outside Excursion of Age Old Women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miscellaneous Expenditures	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	20.00	50.21	-	-	13.00	7.00	-	-	-	12.32	-

Table 3.8 Cont'd.

Name of the Scheme/Programme	1992-97			1997-2002			1985-2002					
	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Target	Expense	Target	Achievement
Encouragement to Women Society in Socio Economic Development	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.50	15.49	120 org	392 Fam 2 Soc
Training Programme	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.00	-	-	-
Financial Assistance to Children Centres	10.00	4.82	40 orgn	31 orgn	-	-	-	-	18.50	7.32	94	41 orgn
Financial Assistance to Training Programmes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15.70	-	10 orgn
Financial Assistance to Distressed Tribal Women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8.32	367	411 orgn
Supply of Knitting Machines	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15.23	-	360 orgn
Supply of Sewing Machines	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.12	-	338 fam
Supply of Yarns	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.00	2.34	400	666 fam
Dr. Ambedkar's Schemes	20.00	10.45	2000 Fam	60	-	-	-	-	20.00	23.28	2000	659 fam
Grant to Ex-Trainees	25.00	4.97	1785 Fam	113 Fam	-	-	-	-	25.00	4.97	1785	133 fam
Inside/Outside Excursion of Age Old Women	20.00	83.01	75 org	49	-	-	-	-	20.00	83.01	75	49 org
Miscellaneous Expenditures	-	0.09	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.09	-	-
Total	75.00	103.34	-	-	-	-	-	-	112	182.87	-	-

Sources:

1. Government of Manipur, Drait Eighth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1980-95 and 1991-92 and Recast Annual Tribal Sub-Plan for 1990-91, pp.42, 47.
2. Government of Manipur, Drait Eighth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1992-97 and Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1992-93, pp.42, 47.
3. Government of Manipur, Drait Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1993-94, pp.33, 36.
4. Government of Manipur, Drait Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1995-96, pp.36, 41.
5. Government of Manipur, Recast Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1996-97, pp.38, 42.

percent expenditure, supply of knitting machines with 8.32 percent and financial assistance to training programmes with 8.58 percent, and so on. The programmes were not very successful as the table further reveals that the ratio of target to achievement was not satisfactory considering the fact that the amount spent was Rs.70.87 lakhs more than the outlay, i.e. 63.27 percent more.

In Senapati, the programmes were mainly carried out during 1985-1990. In subsequent years the only two programmes that were carried out were the financial assistance to children's home/centre, and excursion of old aged women in 1992-97. The total amount spent was Rs.9.47 lakhs against an outlay of Rs.6.55 lakhs. The main programme taken up was the financial assistance to the training centres with an expenditure of Rs.6.15 lakhs which formed 64.94 percent of the total expenditure followed by financial assistance to distressed tribal women and supply of knitting and sewing machines. The ratio of targets to achievements revealed that there was a shift in the emphasis of the programmes at the formulation stage and at the implementation stage. For instance, at the formulation stage only three programmes namely the encouragement to women's society (Rs.3.80 lakhs) financial assistance to children's home/centre (Rs.1.60 lakhs) and financial assistance to training centre (Rs.1.75 lakhs) were the only programmes. But at the implementation stage only one programme, i.e., the financial assistance to training centres was taken up. The emphasis shifted to other programmes such as financial assistance to distressed tribal women (Rs.1.12 lakhs), loom development programme (Rs.0.80 lakhs), supply of knitting machine (Rs.0.66 lakh) and supply of sewing machine (Rs.0.44 lakh). Hence it is inferred that there was lack of proper planning of this scheme or it was exploited for political expediency.

Marketing Development: A key element in the process of development is marketing infrastructure, which affects the basic economic functions of production, distribution and consumption. Improved marketing infrastructure and appropriate organization of marketing are essential if full advantage is to be taken of favourable production opportunities. As a result, the government has now tried many approaches to develop the marketing system, with varying degrees of success.

For the purpose of marketing development the total amount earmarked for 1985-1997 was Rs.69.5 lakhs whereas the amount spent was Rs.18.12 lakhs only. The main programme taken up was the construction of marketing sheds, which had an outlay of Rs.38.5 lakhs (55.40 percent of its total outlay) out of which only Rs.6.24 lakhs was spent (34.44 percent of the total expenditure). The next programme taken up was the construction of godowns with an outlay of Rs.31.00 lakhs against an expenditure of Rs.11.19 lakhs, which formed 44.60 percent and 61.75 percent respectively of the total outlay, and total expenditure. For the former programme the target was construction of 19 marketing sheds but only 13 sheds could be constructed and for the latter programme the ratio of targets and achievements was 25:18. Hence we can infer that due to under-utilization of funds the programmes were not very successful.

For Senapati district, the total financial outlay was Rs.9.00 lakhs, but the amount spent was a meagre Rs.2.53 lakhs. The amount spent for the construction of the godowns was Rs.1.61 lakhs against an outlay of Rs.3.00 lakhs with a target to achievement ratio of 4:2. For the construction of marketing sheds the amount spent was Rs.0.92 lakhs against an outlay of Rs.6.00 lakhs. The ratio of target to

achievement was 9:4. Here too, the amount was not fully utilized due to which the target could not be achieved fully.

For monitoring and evaluation of the various schemes Rs.36.65 lakhs was earmarked for the years 1985-2002, and an expenditure of Rs.39.43 lakhs was incurred for updating of survey records and for the maintenance of the monitoring and evaluation cell at the Directorate. But the Directorate failed to show any updated survey records such as list of beneficiaries for each scheme, land records showing agricultural/ horticultural and vegetable cultivation owned by the beneficiaries, etc. The cell had prepared only statements of financial and physical achievements. Evaluation was not done to show the number of families who were raised above the poverty line. Thus, the schemes had not been adequately monitored and its impact ascertained although a large amount had been spent on their monitoring and evaluation.

Programmes under State Sponsored Scheme

Education: Education is a cultural process, which includes schooling as well as training by agencies other than school. It varies from society to society in time and space. Education is a means and not an end in itself, and holds good for all levels and kinds of learning. In all the societies irrespective of whether they are tribals or non-tribals, the chief aim of education is to impart knowledge, to pass it on from generation to generation and to find out ways and means for improving upon the present one through different systems and institutions. The overall progress of any country depends on its progress in education.

With the foregoing preliminary remarks we shall deal with education schemes under state sponsored scheme. Table 3.9 indicates that for the education

scheme, the total financial outlay for 1985-2002 was Rs.326.5 lakhs against an expenditure of Rs.348.77 lakhs. The maximum amount of money was spent on financial assistance to voluntary organizations which formed 28.26 percent of the total expenditure, followed by post-matric scholarship with 28.08 percent and so on. The maximum financial outlay was allocated during 1985-90 which formed 57.88 percent and the maximum expenditure was during 1992-97, was 70.05 percent of the total expenditure. The table further reveals that there was sound planning during 1985-90 as all the developmental programmes were implemented but in the subsequent years, there was lack of effective planning of the developmental programmes as the developmental plans were either not implemented or implemented half-heartedly. There were also new programmes which were introduced at the implementation stage.

For the Senapati district, the total outlay was Rs.45 lakhs against an expenditure of Rs.43.88 lakhs for the same period. The maximum expenditure was on the programme dealing with the construction of school buildings which had 38.06 percent of the total expenditure followed by merit stipend with 11.39 percent of the total expenditure and so on. In the district, the scheme was highly successful as it is indicated by the ratio of targets to achievements. For the programme dealing with opening of schools in school less-villages it had a target to achievement ratio of 12:10, construction of hostel buildings 5:5, construction of school buildings 10:12, supply of equipment to schools 20:40, stipend to special coaching 216:169, and

Table 3.9: Outlay, Expenditure, Target, Achievement of Education Programme (1985-02) under State Sponsored Schemes

(Rs. in lakhs)

Name of the Scheme/Programme	1985-90			1990-91			1991-92					
	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement
Opening/Strengthening of Schools	10.00	7.40	50 nos	37 nos	10.00	-	10 nos	-	-	-	-	-
Construction of Teachers Quarters	2.50	0.50	5 nos	5 nos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pre-matric Stipend	5.00	2.45	367 std	474 std	-	-	-	-	5.00	-	1000 std	-
Construction of Hostel Buildings	15.00	11.31	15 nos	9 nos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Construction of School Buildings	50.00	52.39	50 nos	53 nos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Encouragement of Books	10.00	12.92	200 nos	274 nos	3.00	3.00	60	69 nos	-	-	-	-
Supply of Equipment to Schools	10.00	5.88	100 nos	94 nos	2.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stipend to Special Coaching	10.00	7.45	1000 std	4325 std	-	2.02	660 std	737 std	2.00	2.04	715 std	64 std
Construction of Community Halls	42.50	13.65	25 nos	4 nos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Supply of T.V. Sets	10.00	1.60	25 nos	25 nos	2.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arts and Culture	6.50	15.17	525 std	2984 std	2.00	2.00	400 std	-	-	-	-	-
Financial Assistance to Medical/Technical Students	-	-	-	-	4.00	1.90	40 nos	33 nos	4.00	1.06	200 std	30 std
Strengthening of Ashram Schools	-	5.47	-	-	-	4.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
Post-Matric Scholarship	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Financial Assistance to Voluntary Organization	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Computer Training	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Free Supply of Uniforms	-	8.78	-	3426 nos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Free Supply of Note Books	-	6.60	-	19614 nos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Financial Assistance to M.Phil/Ph.D. Scholars of Science & Technology	-	0.77	-	10 nos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maintenance of Grant (Arrear)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Financial Assistance to Civil Service Candidates	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.50	2.02	175 std	50 std
Sports Materials	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miscellaneous Charges	7.50	147	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	189.00	153.21	-	-	23.00	12.92	-	-	14.50	5.12	-	-

Table 3.9 Cont'd.

Name of the Scheme/Programme	1992-97			1997-02			1985-02					
	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement
Opening/Strengthening of Schools	-	-	-	-	-	7.40	60 nos	37 nos	20.00	7.40	60 nos	37 nos
Construction of Teachers Quarters	-	-	-	-	-	0.50	5 nos	5 nos	2.50	0.50	5 nos	5 nos
Pre-matric Stipend	30.00	-	600 std	-	-	2.45	10675 std	474 std	40.00	2.45	10675 std	474 std
Construction of Hostel Buildings	-	-	-	-	-	11.31	50 nos	9 nos	15.00	11.31	50 nos	9 nos
Construction of School Buildings	-	-	-	-	-	52.39	50 nos	53 nos	50.00	52.39	50 nos	53 nos
Encouragement of Books	-	-	-	-	-	15.92	260 nos	343 nos	13.00	15.92	260 nos	343 nos
Supply of Equipment to Schools	-	-	-	-	-	5.88	100 nos	94 nos	10.00	5.88	100 nos	94 nos
Stipend to Special Coaching	10.00	2.98	325 std	78 std	-	14.49	2700 std	5204 std	24.00	14.49	2700 std	5204 std
Construction of Community Halls	-	-	-	-	-	12.00	10	4 nos	42.50	25.65	35 nos	4 nos
Supply of T.V. Sets	-	-	-	-	-	1.60	25 nos	25 nos	10.00	1.60	25 nos	25 nos
Arts and Culture	-	-	-	-	-	17.17	925 std	2984 std	18.50	17.17	925 std	2984 std
Financial Assistance to Medical/Technical Students	20.00	6.82	325 std	78 std	-	9.78	565 std	141 std	26.00	9.78	565 std	141 std
Strengthening of Ashram Schools	-	-	-	-	-	4.00	-	-	4.00	9.47	-	-
Post-Matric Scholarship	-	93.82	-	17520 std	95.00	19.00	11008 std	19250 std	95.00	112.82	-	-
Financial Assistance to Voluntary Organization	-	105.00	-	5 orgn	-	10.00	150 orgn	5 orgn	-	115	150	5 orgn
Computer Training	-	0.51	-	160 std	-	-	-	160 std	-	0.51	-	160 std
Free Supply of Uniforms	-	-	-	-	-	8.78	-	3426 std	-	8.78	-	3426 std
Free Supply of Note Books	-	-	-	-	-	6.00	-	19614 nos	-	6.00	-	19614 nos
Financial Assistance to M.Phil/Ph.D. Scholars of Science & Technology	-	-	-	-	-	0.77	-	10 nos	-	0.77	-	10 nos
Maintenance of Grant (Arrear)	-	52.59	-	1052 std	-	-	-	1052 std	-	52.59	-	1052 std
Financial Assistance to Civil Service Candidates	20.00	13.42	1000 std	267 std	20.00	28.5	400	567	43.5	43.94	1575	567
Sports Materials	-	6.33	-	70 orgn	-	-	-	70 orgn	-	6.33	-	70 orgn
Miscellaneous Charges	-	-	-	-	-	12.98	-	-	7.50	14.45	-	-
Total	80.00	281.47	-	-	115	82.48	-	-	326.5	401.78	-	-

Sources:

1. Government of Manipur, Seventh Five-Year Plan 1985-90 and Annual Plan 1985-86, pp.30, 32
2. Government of Manipur, Draft Eighth Five-Year Plan 1990-95 and 1991-92 Recast Annual Plan 1990-91, pp 14, 26.
3. Government of Manipur, Recast Annual Plan, 1991-92, pp.47, 64
4. Government of Manipur, Draft Eighth Five-Year Plan 1992-1997 and Recast Annual Plan 1992-93, pp.55, 66
5. Government of Manipur, Draft Ninth Five-Year Plan 1997-2002 and Recast Annual Plan 1997-98, pp.10, 21.
6. Government of Manipur, Draft Annual Five-Year Plan 2002-2007 and Recast Annual Plan 2002-03, pp.10, 11

supply of notebooks 1032:1000. The expenditure was Rs.82 lakhs less than its outlay. By keeping this perspective in mind, this scheme was quite successful.

Economic Upliftment: For the purpose of economic upliftment various programmes were carried out under the state-sponsored schemes. The total outlay for 1985-97 was Rs.355.50 lakhs of which only Rs.319 lakhs were spent. There was lack of proper planning, as many of the planned programmes were not implemented. Instead new programmes were added at the implementation stage. The maximum expenditure was incurred for the plantation of cash crops, which formed 36.07 percent of the total expenditure. The other important programmes included the handloom development programmes, loin loom development programmes, poultry development etc. The evaluation of these programmes showed that these programmes did not achieve the targets. The few programmes that had highly uneven ratio of targets to achievements were programmes dealing with communication which had a ratio of target to achievement of 200 km: 78 km, duckery development programme 270:347, plantation of cash crops 10037:3589, loin loom development programmes 1544:550 and supply of buffaloes 415:262.

The total outlay for Senapati district was Rs.56.24 lakhs out of which only Rs.33.24 lakhs were spent for the period 1985-97. The total number of families benefitted was 997 against a target of 2035 families. This clearly indicates that the scheme was not successful in this district. The maximum expenditure was for the cash crop plantation programme with Rs.25.79 lakhs, which formed 77.59 percent of the total expenditure, followed by the programmes on clay/wood/cane and bamboo craft development with an expenditure of Rs.2.00 lakhs respectively during 1992-97. The available ratio of targets to achievements of the programme indicated that the

scheme was not successful in this district. The handloom development programmes had the targets to achievements ratio of 136:37, plantation of cash crops 1639:595, and loom development programme 206:200.

Health and Housing: The total financial outlay for this scheme was Rs.191.5 lakhs whereas the amount utilized was Rs.314.31 lakhs. The total number of families covered under this scheme was 8175 against a target of 2125 families. The expenditure exceeded the outlay by 64.13 percent and the achievement exceeded the target by 284.70 percent, which clearly indicates the success of the scheme. The maximum expenditure was on distribution of CGI sheets with Rs.243.88 lakhs, which constituted 77.59 percent, followed by medical treatment with an expenditure of Rs.43.65 which constituted 13.88 percent and so on.

In Senapati, this scheme was highly successful. It had an outlay of Rs.5.4 lakhs against an expenditure of Rs.5.84 lakhs. The ratio of targets to achievements was 565:590 families which clearly indicated its high success rate.

Fifty Percent Centrally Sponsored Scheme

The total amount spent for this scheme was Rs.439.53 lakhs against an outlay of Rs.339 lakhs for the period 1985-2002. The maximum amount was spent on construction of SC/ST girls' hostels which constituted 39.48 percent of the total expenditure, followed by the establishment of book bank with 16.09 percent, research and training with 15.5 percent and so on. The maximum outlay of Rs.165.00 lakhs was during 1992-97 and the maximum expenditure of Rs.181.32 lakhs was during 1997-02. The scheme was very successful as the ratio of targets to achievements, were as follows: in the construction of SC/ST girls' hostel 9:13, establishment of book bank 1:3, and construction of SC/ST boys' hostel 2:5.

In case of Senapati district, the total outlay was Rs.30.30 lakhs but the amount spent was only Rs.12.00 lakhs. The ratio of targets to achievements was 4:1 only for construction of girls and boys hostels which indicated failure of this programme.

District Rural Development Agency

In India, rural planning and development was initiated in early fifties. Over the years, the approach to rural development has undergone perceptible innovations concomitant with political and socio-economic transformations in the country.

Despite efforts to provide income and employment to rural poor, much was left to be done. One of the major causes for this state of affairs was the paucity of productive assets with the rural poor, which could generate adequate income. Therefore, in 1978-79, transfer of productive assets and resources to the rural poor was adopted as a strategy for poverty alleviation. This strategy was operationalized through Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) which is a major programme for poverty alleviation in the country.

Thus the strategy of rural development followed in the country from 1970-80 onwards has been evolved out of the experience gained in the past. It is the strategy of economic growth with social justice. The concept accepted in integrated rural development and the approach adopted is comprehensive development. The tools of achieving rural development are different sets of programmes such as Beneficiary Oriented Programmes, which include Poverty Alleviation Programmes such as (a) Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP); (b) Employment Generation Programmes like National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP); Area Development

Programmes which include special programmes for the development of problem areas and backward areas such as Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP), Desert Development Programme (DDP), Hill Area Development Programme (HADP) and Sectoral Development Programmes, which include programmes for the overall development of various productive sectors such as agriculture and allied sectors and industries and infrastructure development.

Rural Development Programme was devised with a lot of hope, expectations and with a view to achieving the following objectives:

1. Eradication of poverty from rural areas in a phased manner by providing income-generating assets to those who live below the poverty line but are the poorest of the poor;
2. Removal of unemployment problem after providing productive self-employment opportunities through the development of primary, secondary and tertiary sector activities in the rural areas;
3. Eradication of inequality between the rich and the poor;
4. Utilization of local resource endowments for growth, social justice and employment;
5. Integration and establishment of appropriate linkages among various programmes and departments for optimal utilization of local endowments consistent with the plan objectives;
6. Creation of durable community assets for strengthening rural infrastructure; and
7. Improvement in the living conditions of the rural poor.

At the centre the Department of Rural Development is one of the four departments under the Ministry of Agriculture and is headed by a Secretary. He is

assisted by an Additional Secretary, six Joint Secretaries and other supporting staff, administrative as well as technical. The department is responsible for policy, planning, direction, coordination and monitoring of the programmes.

The state government has direct responsibility for the administration of rural development programmes. The Department of Rural Development is headed by a Secretary and above him is the Development Commissioner for Agriculture and Rural Development. During the late 1960s, State Level Coordination and Review Committee were set up to bring about coordination among different departments. These committees consisted of Secretaries of all the departments concerned and a representative from the Central Government. The Coordination Committee chaired by the Chief Secretary reviews, sanctions, coordinates, monitors and evaluates the schemes.

The district is the basic unit of administration and the head of the district administration is called the District Collector. He coordinates district plans and presides over the District Planning Committee. This committee consists of official and non-official members assisted by a District Planning Officer. The functions of District Rural Development Agency are:

- a) To provide information regarding the parameters, dimensions and requirements of the programmes to district and block level agencies and to apprise them of their tasks in this regard.
- b) To coordinate and oversee the survey and preparation of perspective plan and annual plans of the block and finally prepare a district plan.
- c) To ensure the effectiveness of the programme by regular evaluation and monitoring.

- d) To secure inter-sectoral and inter-departmental coordination and cooperation.
- e) To publicise the achievements made under the programmes, disseminate knowledge and build up awareness about the programme; and
- f) To send periodic returns to the state government in prescribed formats.

The project officer of the DRDA is assisted by 2 to 3 assistant project officers who are subject specialists. There is also an assistant project officer (APO) for monitoring. There is also a District Development Committee under the chairmanship of the District Collector. Its meetings are attended by the district level heads of the development departments, BDOs, representatives of the banks and non-official bodies. Its main function is to coordinate between district level departments and other agencies and attend to the day to day problems of implementation and administration of the programmes.

The block administration consists of the block level officer, namely Block Development Officer (BDO), who is assisted by about eight extension personnel representing agriculture, animal husbandry, cooperation, social welfare, irrigation etc. Village level workers (VLW) are also called Gram Sevaks and Gram Sevikas and auxiliary staff. All programmes and schemes of the DRDA are implemented through the Development Block headed by the BDO. Besides the BDO, the other block staffs involved directly in the implementation are extension officers.

The review of development programmes and schemes is conducted at the block level on a fortnightly basis in a meeting of VLWs and other block staff under the chairmanship of the BDO. The review of all activities of the block is also made in the quarterly general body meeting of Panchayat Samiti under the

chairmanship of its Pradhan with the BDO as the member-secretary. This meeting is attended by all the members of the Panchayat Samiti, sub-divisional magistrate of the area, district level officers of concerned development departments, representatives of DRDA, sub-divisional agricultural officer, *tehsildar* of the area, block level officers of other development departments and the block staff.

The District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) is the key organization at the district level concerned with planning, implementation and the entire work relating to coordination, review, supervision and monitoring of IRDP and other rural employment generation programmes. It is a registered society under the Societies Act. DRDA has an executive committee with the Deputy Commissioner/District Collector as the Chairman and Project Officer as the Secretary. The DRDA is in charge of the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of IRDP in the district. It receives fund for implementation of various programmes both from the centre and the state in the ratio of 75:25. The DRDAs are also accountable to the state government to ensure that the returns/reports in respect of the works taken up for execution in the district are furnished in time. They are expected to coordinate with the line departments, the Panchayati Raj institutions, the banks and other financial institutions, the NGOs as well as the technical institutions, for implementation and with a view to gathering the support and resources required for poverty reduction effort in the district. The DRDA is to take necessary step to improve the awareness regarding rural development and poverty alleviation particularly among the rural poor. This would involve issues of poverty, the opportunities available to the rural poor and generally infusing a sense of confidence in their ability to overcome poverty. It would also involve sensitizing the different

functionaries in the district to different aspects of poverty and poverty alleviation programmes. It is their duty to promote transparency in the implementation of different anti-poverty programmes. Towards this end, they are to publish periodically the details of the different programmes and their implementation.

Keeping in view the substantial investment that are being made in poverty alleviation programmes, the DRDA shall ensure financial discipline in respect of the funds received by them, whether from central or state government. They shall also ensure that the accounts are properly maintained including in respect of the funds allocated to banks, or implementing agencies in accordance with the guidelines of different programmes.

Thus the role of the DRDA is in terms of planning for effective implementation of anti-poverty programmes; coordinating with other agencies-governmental, non-governmental, technical and financial-for successful programme implementation; enabling the community and rural poor to participate in decision-making process, overseeing the implementation to ensure adherence to guidelines, quality, equity and efficiency; reporting to the prescribed authorities on the implementation; and promoting transparency in decision-making and implementation.

The DRDA staff is expected to oversee the implementation of different anti-poverty programmes of the Ministry of Rural Development in the district. This is not to be confused with actual implementation, which will be by the Panchayati Raj and other institutions. The DRDA will monitor closely the implementation through obtaining of periodic reports as well as frequent field visits. The purpose of the visit should be to facilitate the implementing agencies in

improving implementation process, besides ensuring that the quality of implementation of programmes is high. This could include overseeing whether the intended beneficiaries are receiving the benefits under different programmes.

At the village level, the programmes are implemented through the village panchayat, who will be responsible for planning and execution. The technical supervision is the responsibility of the Block Agency/DRDA. The Village Panchayat appoints a committee to oversee, supervise and monitor the implementation of works. For effective implementation of the programme, physical monitoring through field inspections is done.

The various programmes implemented in Senapati district by DRDA are anti-poverty alleviation through employment generation programmes such as IRDP, JRY (Jawahar Rozgar Yojana), EAS (Employment Assurance Scheme), TRYSEM (Training of Rural Youth for Self-Employment), DWCRA (Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas), IAY (Indira Awas Yojana), etc. These are discussed in more detail in the following pages

IRDP (1980-1999): The concept of IRDP was introduced in India in the Central Government Budget for 1976-77 with the objective of assisting the rural population to derive benefits from the developmental assets in each area. Actually, the programme was introduced in India in April 1978 when the Janata Government took over at the centre. Initially, it covered 2,300 blocks of which, 2000 were already

Table 3.10: Programmes Implemented by DRDA, Senapati (Rs. In lakhs)

Name of Scheme/Programme	Outlay	Expenditure	Target	Achievement	Mandays Generated (in '000)	No. of Self Employed	No. of Wage Earners
IRD (1980-1999)	4,16,38,711	4,16,38,711	-	23,530 beneficiaries asst.	-	-	-
JRY (1989-1999)	5,64,19,002	4,23,54,611.60	3043 No. of works	2188 completed	6.83	-	-
EAS (1992-1999)	10,68,42,000	8,87,88,799	7480 No. of works	13,188	17.56	-	-
TRYSEM (1980-1999)	-	-	-	1487 Total No. trained	-	190	947
IAY (1987-1999)	1,97,68,623	1,44,12,270	1819 Houses	1270 Constructed	-	-	-
MWS (1989-1995)	14,20,350	13,61,500	1093	965	-	-	-

Sources:

1. UnPublished Official Records.
2. Government of India, Jawahar Rozgar Yojana Manual 1989.
3. Government of India, Employment Assurance Scheme Guidelines 1993.

under SFDA (Small Farmers' Development Agency), DPAP (Drought Prone Area Programme), and CAD (Command Area Development) programmes. In 1979-80, 300 more development blocks were added to the programme. The programme was extended to all the 5011 development blocks in the country with effect from 2nd October 1980 to lift as many as 15 million families above the level of poverty during the Sixth Plan (1980-85). This programme was launched as a major instrument to wipe out rural poverty. Its main objective was poverty alleviation through growth and generation of employment opportunities for the poorest of the poor in rural India.

In Senapati district, the total expenditure for this programme during the period from 1980 to 1999 was Rs.4,16,38,711 lakhs against an outlay of Rs.4,16,38,711 lakhs. The achievement of this programme was benefit to 23,360 families.

JRY (1989-99): The existing rural wage employment programmes – NREP and RLEGP got merged into a single scheme – Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY), announced by the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in the Parliament on 28th April, 1989. The scheme aimed at reaching every *panchayat* and sought to provide employment to at least one person in every family living below the poverty line in the rural areas for 50 to 100 days a year.

In Senapati, the total expenditure for this programme from 1989-1999 was Rs.4,23,54,611.60 lakhs as against an outlay of Rs.5,64,19,002 and the total number of works completed was 2188 against a target of 3043 and the man-days generated was 6.83 percent (in 000's).

EAS (1992-99): The primary objective of the Employment Assurance Scheme was to provide gainful employment during the lean agricultural seasons in manual work to all able-bodied adults in areas who are in need and who are desirous of work, but cannot find it, either on farm or on other allied operations or on the normal plan/non-plan works during such period. The secondary objective is the creation of economic infrastructure and community assets for sustained employment and development. Works implemented under this programme are water and soil conservation including afforestation, agro-horticulture and silvi-pasture, minor irrigation works, link roads, primary school and *Angawadi* buildings.

In Senapati district, the expenditure incurred during 1992-1999 was Rs.8,87,88,799 lakhs against a total outlay of Rs.10,68,42,000 lakhs. The total number of works completed was 13,188 against a target of 7480 where man-days generated were 17.56% (in 000's).

TRYSEM (1980-1999): It is a facilitating component of the Integrated Rural Development Programme with the objective of providing technical and managerial skills to the rural youth in the age group of 18-35 from families living below the poverty line to enable them to take up self-employment ventures in the broad fields of agriculture and allied activities, industries, services and business.

In Senapati district, the number of youths trained under this scheme during the period from 1980-1999 was 1487 out of which, 190 persons are self-employed and 947 persons are wage earners.

DWCRA (1983-99): It was also formulated as a sub-scheme of the IRDP with the focus on rural poor women to provide them with suitable avenues of income generation according to their skill and local conditions. The rationale behind this scheme is that women's income has positive correlation with the nutritional and educational status of the family and in building up of a positive attitude towards the status of women.

In Senapati district, under this scheme a total number of 2024 groups with 30,360 members were involved whereas at present only 118 groups are functional.

IAY (1989-99): One manifestation of poverty is the type of house in which people live. The condition of the house and its surroundings indicate the health of the environment in which people live. Therefore, while trying to improve the lot of the people, the government also provides facilities to either construct new or upgrade the old houses in the villages.

In Senapati, the total outlay for this programme was Rs.1,97,68,623 lakhs out of which Rs.1,44,12,270 lakhs was spent during 1989-1999. The actual target of houses to be constructed was 1819 but only 1270 houses were constructed.

MWS (1989-95): The Million Wells' Scheme was launched with the objective of providing open irrigation wells free of cost to poor, small and marginal farmers and freed bonded labourers from the year 1988-89. Works taken up under this programme are usually of durable nature and utilization to the maximum extent of local materials is emphasized.

In Senapati district, the total amount sanctioned for this scheme during 1989-95 was Rs.14,20,350 lakhs against an expenditure of Rs.13,61,500 Lakhs and the target of well construction was 1093 whereas the actual achievement was 965 numbers.

North Eastern Region Community Resource Management Project for Upland Areas

The North Eastern Region Community Resource Management project is a joint initiative of the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and the Government of India.

Commissioned in 1998, the project aims to empower the tribal communities particularly the marginal farmers of the upland areas in North East India for sustainable livelihood pursuits while ensuring optimized natural resource management. The project is presently operational in six districts of three states, viz., West Garo Hills and West Khasi Hills in Meghalaya, Karbi Anglong and North Cachar Hills in Assam and Senapati and Ukhrul districts in Manipur.

The principal thrust of the project is to secure the participation of the village communities in planning and management of all development interventions by reinforcing the strengths of community based organizations.

The specific objectives are:

- i) to promote a more sensitive approach to the design and implementation of development interventions;
- ii) to enhance the capabilities of local people to manage new technologies and institutions at the village level;

- iii) to increase incomes through the development of more sustainable farming systems and establishment of non-farm enterprises;
- iv) to make people more aware of the need to preserve and regenerate natural resources;
- v) to establish effective and appropriate delivery systems for inputs (credit, extension, etc.) and for the maintenance of assets and resources;
- vi) to increase the participation of women in local institutions and in decision-making processes within the community;
- vii) to enhance savings capacity and establish the habit of thrift; and
- viii) to increase access to basic services and infrastructure facilities.

The project addresses institutional constraints critical to development in the North East India region with focus on introducing approaches which:

- i) are more responsive to communities' perceptions of needs and priorities;
- ii) involve communities more in decision-making and planning;
- iii) make communities more responsible for management of their development programmes in order to generate a greater sense of ownership of development interventions; and
- iv) build on the traditional values of community participation and utilize the strengths of village institutions and other community organizations;

In the backdrop of the overall objectives of IFAD project and the prevailing situation in the project villages, SEDCORMS (Senapati District Community Resource Management Society) which also contracted 6 NGO partners such as

INTOUCH (Integrated Tribal Organization for Upliftment, Community and Health), FEEDS (Foundation for Environment and Economic Development Services), SEEDS (Socio-Economic and Environment Development Services), IRDWA (Integrated Rural Development Welfare Association), ZICORD (Zougam Institute for Community Resource and Development) and WSDS (Weaker Sections Development Society), attempt to address the following issues:

- (a) In almost all the villages, the existing traditional institutions exhibit deficiencies to address developmental issues and lack of women representation. Hence, the necessity to take up steps to strengthen the NaRMGs (Natural Resource Management Group) for a sustainable development;
- (b) Steps to improve 'food security' in the villages should be given a top priority;
- (c) Improvement in the basic amenities such as drinking water supply, health care, education and village roads;
- (d) Improvement of the economic livelihood of the vulnerable groups through IGA (Income Generation Activities);
- (e) Improved credit, demonstration and extension system;
- (f) Land, water and forest management (environmental issues);
- (g) Project management at the district level;
- (h) Strengthening of participating institutions (NGO/line department);

The specific interventions taken up towards addressing the aforesaid issues are described below:

- i) Training conducted for NaRMGs/SHGs (Self-help Group);

- ii) Renovation of the existing Minor Irrigation, Promotion of Homestead Garden, Compost Pit etc. to improve food security;
- iii) Basic amenities – community health programme as a pilot project, provision of basic sanitation facility, promotion of medicinal gardens, renovation of existing water supply facility;
- iv) Technology transfers to villagers through demonstration and extension;
- v) Extension of credit to the vulnerable groups to improve livelihood through income generation activities;
- vi) Strengthening of DST (District Support Team) and NGOs through trainings, workshops, seminars and exposures etc.

The project in Senapati District was started in June 2000. It already formed 7 NaRMGs out of 55 villages.

The selection of the villages (NaRMGs) are based on the previous studies made by NERCRMS/IFAD and NEC Shillong, findings in the field, criteria furnished by various United Nations Office for Programme Services (UNOPS) mission reports and also keeping in view the sensitivity of the ethnic groups. The project management also takes into consideration judicious mix and equitable representation of the various tribes inhabiting the district without compromising the project philosophy and guidelines, and hence two zones- viz., Zone-I constitute the Naga-inhabited areas and Zone-II that of

Table 3.11: 2001-2002 Annual Work Plan and Budget 2002-2003

Name of the Activity	Source of Fund				Expenditure	Outlay	Expenditure	Source of Fund				Outlay	Expenditure		
	Community		Govt. of India					Community		Govt. of India				IFAD Loan	
	%		%					%		%				%	
Community Institutions Building		18	672800	82	3057200	3730000	93156		13	410907	87	1737968	2148875		
Strengthening Capacity of Participation				100	24300	243000	209079				100	482000	482000		
Crops, Livestock, Fishery Development	18	377500		82	1759500	2137000	1343451	35	757055		65	1380000	2137055		
Horticulture/Perennial Crop Development	69	2773390	8	316555	927505	4017450	2164340	58	1468000	4	94950	921550	2484500		
Minor Irrigation	36	228099	10	62928	338272	629299	307704	33	696772	7	139170	1252528	208847		
Forestry Development			10	50000	450000	500000	1210	17	18000	8	8500	76500	103000		
Non Farm Enterprises						223000	223000	25	71000			213000	284000		
Extension and Technology Transfer			70	2900	26100	29000	1572			10	23800	214200	238000		
Adaptive Research: Programme Implementation							70			10	19700	177300	197000		
Adaptive Research: Infrastructure Support															
Strategy Development & New Products Research & Development															
Biodiversity Conservation and Management								49	79930	5	8464	76176	164570		
Social Sector Activities	59	8207743	3	361593	5341901	13911237	1376164	36	3503710	8	838048	5573962	9915720		
Village Roads and Rural Electrification								33	146510	7	29155	262295	437960		
Regional Societies: Programme Support Unit															
District Societies: District Support Team			24	805250	2546750	3352000	1966543			22	828836	2860308	3689144		
Total	40	11586732	8	2272036	52	14690288	8538804	28	6740977	10	2401530	15227787	24370294		

Sources:

1. Unpublished Official Records.
2. Progress Status Report of SEDCORMS.
3. Profile of NERC/RMP.

Kuki-inhabited areas. The headquarters is based in Senapati and a field office at Zone-II area at Motbung. Altogether, 71 NaRMGs are to be covered in Senapati District. A total number of 6806 households are to be covered in the entire district. Till date, 3634 households have already been covered in both the zones. In the expansion phase 2002-2003, about 60 villages have to be covered and 3000 households estimated to be incorporated. The total number of self-help groups in Zone-I is 99 and Zone-II is 70. The DST (District Support Team) with active participation from partner NGOs has conducted a number of trainings at the NaRMG level. The maintenance of books and records were given main emphasis and due care was taken while designing training modules to suit the local situation such as cultural and educational background. Now let us take a look at the various activities that have been taken up so far.

Community Institution Building

Under this programme activities such as distribution of cash box, trunks, booklets and pamphlets etc., training of NaRMGs (Natural Resource Management Group) and SHGs (Self Help Group) on such topics as maintenance and record keeping and accounting, management of animal husbandry and supporting NGO's involved in community based institutions. The amount of outlay for 2001-2002 was Rs.37,30,000/- lakhs out of which Rs.93,156 lakhs was spent for carrying out the activities.

Strengthening Capacity of Participation

Activities such as general training of all staff for which a local study tour for the district staff was conducted during June-September 2001. Other training such as line department staff training, specific field staff training, specific topic training for District

Support Team, etc. were also conducted for better and more efficient working of the project. Trainings for NGOs, like facilitator refresher training, non-partner NGOs workshop etc. were conducted for which Rs.2,09,079 lakhs was spent against an outlay of Rs.2,43,000 lakhs for 2001-02.

Crops, Livestock, Fishery Development

Under the income generation activities, Rs.13,43,451 lakhs against an outlay of Rs.21,37,000 lakhs was utilized for both the zones on crop seeds, poultry, piggery, dairy farming, etc. For the year 2002-03, a sum of Rs.21,37,053 lakhs was to be utilized for various activities related to this scheme.

Horticulture/Perennial Crop Development

Horticulture and perennial crop development such as banana, lemon, sugarcane, orange, pineapple, pear, plum, passion fruit and homestead garden etc. for which a sum of Rs.21,64,340 lakhs was utilized supplying the project villages and families with saplings as well as money for individual families to procure their own seeds and saplings during 2001-02.

Minor Irrigation

Under this sector, a sum of Rs.3,07,704 lakhs was sanctioned out of Rs.6,29,299 and distributed to the villages in order to carry out renovations for the irrigation canals.

Forestry Development

For the activities under this component, Rs.25,000 has been utilized for both the zones, which has been financed by the government of India and IFAD and for which community forestry and fruit nursery are taken up.

Extension and Technology Transfer

Activities of demonstration on homestead garden, *jhum* area, wet terrace, orchard etc. were taken up for which a sum of Rs.29,000 was utilized during 2001-02 and a sum of Rs.2,38,000 was to be utilized during the year 2002-03.

Social Sector Activities

Under the social sector activities, an amount of Rs.13,76,164 lakhs was utilised out of Rs.13,911,237 lakhs for buying computer printer, office furniture, jeep, microscope, centrifuge, delivery kit, first aid and medicines were distributed to 40 villages, and nutrition by worming out to 4,000 children. Exposure visits for doctors, NGOs, First Contact Career (FCCs) and supervisors were carried out. Trainings for trainers, staff in safe childbirth etc. and workshops for young doctors were also conducted. Low cost latrine for all the project villages in both the zones, medicinal garden, individual compost pit and safe drinking water tank were constructed. For the year 2002-03, a sum of Rs.9,91,570 lakhs was to be utilized for various activities related to this project.

Village Roads and Rural Electrification

For the year 2002-03, a sum of Rs.43,7,960 lakhs was allocated for renovating or constructing village roads and electrification of those villages which has not been electrified yet.

District Societies: District Support Team

Under this sector, an amount of Rs.19,66,543 lakhs was utilized out of the sanctioned amount of Rs.33,52,000 lakhs for procuring office equipment, training and workshop

for staff and beneficiaries and such other expenses for maintenance and running of the office. For 2002-03, Rs.36, 89,144 lakhs was to be sanctioned.

Now, let us look at the implementing outputs, effects, issues and actions taken to achieve strategies adopted and issues and actions required to reach overall targets and objectives of the various activities:

i) Income Generating Activity (IGA): Loan availed to needy people at low interest rate. Loans are given to SHGs by NaRMGs to strengthen them and to upgrade them as micro credit institutions at village level.

The effects of this activity are that loan is available to poor section at low interest rate. It has also partly discouraged the moneylender to charge high interest rate that has forced the moneylender and the rich people to reduce the interest rate within the village. It has allowed the opportunity to poorer section to repay the loan in small instalment basis and also has created an opportunity to start IGA activities by the poorest section of the community.

The long term effect and impact that is likely to come out of this activity is that it will provide self-employment, credit facilities will be available in the village, community based institutions will have linkage with the banks/financial institutions and the self-help groups will be upgraded as a village level micro credit institutions.

While implementing this programme, certain issues cropped up such as influence of the elite group while extending loan, possibilities of falling into bad debt trap, late release of fund, unsuitable time/season for certain activities, etc. So loanees had to shift to other IGA activities. In many cases, upland hilly people did not clearly

understand the difference between loan and grant, so they assume loan to be grant. The NaRMGs were not willing to loan to SHGs as they felt SHGs were not strengthened enough.

ii) Minor Irrigation: 59 minor irrigation projects were completed in Senapati district during 2000-02.

The effects of completion of the minor irrigation project have been more water in the paddy field, better harvest, more fish, increase income/individual benefit, increase in the working days of villagers and moreover, people learnt to work in time frame. Further, it is expected to have long term impact such as double cropping, food security, more cultivable land through reclamation of land, creation of employment, increase in per capita income and finally increase in the area under cultivation, which will eventually lead to more production.

There were also certain difficulties with minor irrigation such as landslide, mud canal not lasting long, clogging of water, and differences among the villagers as the immediate direct benefit went to few villagers having paddy field on the side of the canal.

In order to solve the problems cited above, encouragement to plant trees along the side of canal, regular maintenance and mobilization of resources for concrete canal and consultation with experts to rectify technical problems etc were taken up.

iii) Homestead Garden: It is introduced in every household. The immediate effect of it are availability of green vegetables nearby house, less dependence on market, utilization

of land with different vegetables, more income through sale, use of compost pit manure and work culture.

Besides the immediate effects, it is also reported to generate long term impacts such as maximum use of homestead land for garden by the people, generation of income from sale, and vegetable consumption leading to better health.

Certain hindrances cropped up during the implementation such as free grazing by cattle and goats, water scarcity during winter season in homestead garden leading to drying of vegetable crops, need to fence the garden, etc. For all this, action taken to rectify were discouraging goat rearing, advice for controlled grazing, proper line fencing, and mulching with stalks of maize and other plants to maintain moisture in the plots.

iv) Individual Compost Pit: Compost pit dug by every household, which in turn brought about cleanliness around the house, conversion of waste into manure, increase in soil fertility and learning the process of fertilizer making.

The long-term effects expected out of this activity are management of soil degradation, replication of compost pit in non-project villages and increase production.

The problems that were faced were trapping of livestock in the pit and time consumed in the process of making compost fertilizer. Actions taken to rectify the problems were covering of compost pit and sensitizing and training the people about it.

v) Medicinal Garden: Medicinal garden maintained in every village has helped the people to get herbal medicines for treatment of various illnesses, supplement the allopathic medicine, and promote preventive health care.

Maintenance of medicinal garden is expected in the long run to help conserve local medicinal plants leading to mass production and sale, and saving money on drugs.

While this programme was in the implementation process, certain issues came up which had to be dealt with like most medicinal plants did not survive as gardens were not their natural habitat. Some local experts and quacks were not willing to disclose their knowledge about the medicinal plants and there arose conflicts among SHGs to own the medicinal garden. In order to solve the above problems, actions were taken such as facilitation of SHGs to plant as per their phonological character and proper maintenance, resolve by the NaRMGs to allow all SHGs to jointly own the medicinal garden on rotation basis and medicinal gardens to be neither too big nor too small for proper maintenance.

vi) Low Cost Latrine: 90 percent of the construction of low cost latrine has been completed.

The immediate effects of construction of low cost latrine are cessation of the habit of open field defecation, control in earlier state of untidiness in village environment because of littering of night soils, and the habit of using sanitary latrine. This programme is expected to bring about hygienic environment and community good health.

There were problems like more water requirement, uncertainty of sustainability/usability of the latrine once the single pit was filled up and non-provision to dig another pit near the existing pit after the earlier pit was filled up. Therefore, certain remedial actions were taken up like facilitation to use water and the District Support Team facilitating NaRMGs in proper maintenance of the latrine.

vii) Construction of Water Reservoir: The benefits that the people can enjoy after the construction of water reservoir are easy accessibility of potable water in the village, improved health and hygienic condition in the village, improvement in livestock management, control of communicable diseases, and saving of man-days incurred in collecting water.

There were problems during the implementation such as difficulties in collecting materials for water tank due to non-accessibility of vehicles, and in contracting technical experts. Therefore, technical expertise was provided during the construction by the management.

There are other activities such as public compost pit, pasture land development, fishery pond improvement, road repairing, new road construction, and forestry nursery, which will have long term impacts that are not yet known fully.

viii) Extension and Technology Transfer: Farmers-led extension has been initiated. As a step towards it one lead farmer was selected in each NaRMG. The lead farmer was given demonstration on fruit nursery preparation, low cost latrine, bio-composting, use of bio-fertilizers, home-stead garden maintenance, mixed cropping of maize with

pulses, preparation of wet bed nursery for rice and paddy-cum-fish culture etc. New varieties of rice were also introduced in small pockets.

For veterinary health service, livestock training for veterinary health workers (VHW) has been initiated. One VHW is selected for each village. The process for intensive training on veterinary health care and preventive measures like vaccination is on going. The line departments were contracted and the responses were positive.

The responses to bio-composting are mixed, whereas responses to low cost latrine, wet bed nursery bio-fertilizer, new varieties of rice, fruit nursery are very encouraging and response to VHW training is the most encouraging.

The long-term impacts expected are increase in production of rice, reduction of indiscriminate use of chemical fertilizers, increase in production of livestock and increase in income.

There were also problems faced such as difficulty in selection of demonstration site due to geographic location, bio-fertilizers being not easily accessible. In order to solve these problems, demonstration site was selected in the centre of a cluster of villages, and also joint reflection workshops were organized for the lead farmers.

MAO INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION (MIDA)

The Mao Integrated Development Association was registered in 1991 as a non-profit, non-political, secular body under the Manipur Societies Registration Act, 1989 with the main objective of rural tribal development and thereby empower the people, particularly the poorest and the weakest section of society to lead a meaningful and wholesome life

free from the exploitative forces that have found their way into the system. MIDA is the result of years of discussion albeit informal, among individuals who had great concern for the sad plight of the disadvantaged people living scattered in the hill districts of Manipur. Being economically, socially and educationally backward and with no mass effort to change the prevalent state of affairs the tribal community has been lingering on in the march towards development. It is in the backdrop of this scenario that a few individuals finally formed MIDA. It is meant to usher in innovative ideas for healthy development.

The association has 35 members who hail from different villages of the Mao area but otherwise stationed in different parts of the country on account of their occupations. The general body meeting of the association is invariably held every year. The general body is the highest decision-making body of the organization. There is a managing committee, which is responsible for overseeing the planning and implementation of programmes, and policies are decided upon by the general body in its annual meetings. The managing committee consists of the Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer and the financial administrator. The organization has seven permanent staff in its payroll. The day-to-day administration is managed by the Secretary and he is assisted by the office assistant and the accountant. The other officials are assigned specific jobs according to the project being taken up from time to time. Projects undertaken by this agency have been implemented by the staff with cooperation and help from the people. The organization has been funded by the following so far:

i) Indo-German Social Services Society (IGSSS), New Delhi.

ii) Netherlands Committee – International Union for Conservation of Nature (NC-IUCN), The Netherlands.

iii) International Tree Foundation (ITF), England.

Now let us discuss the various projects that the organization has taken up from 1991 to 2002 for the socio-economic development of the tribal people.

Continuation of Adult Education and Intensive Coaching Programmes in the Tribal Areas, Manipur (1995-1998)

The continuation of the Adult Education Programmes in the Tadubi Tribal area by the Indo-German Social Service Society was launched in June 1995. It was a three-year programme. The amount sanctioned for this programme was Rs.5, 05,000.

Under this programme, 5 teachers were selected and they were posted at 5 different villages for a period of six months each. On completion of 6 months, they were sent to another 5 different villages for another period of 6 months each. This way, a teacher could cover 6 different villages within a period of 3 years and the 5 teachers covered 30 villages in all under the programme. In the three year programme, altogether 1014 illiterates, 605 females and 409 males benefited from the programme. All the beneficiaries were poor cultivators and in the age group of 14 to 40 years.

Though the responses and number of attendants varied from village to village, the eagerness and enthusiasm of the learners were very clear and this also encouraged the implementing agency to ponder over future programme. A few villages even requested and pleaded for the continuation of the same programme. The

implementing agency also felt the need to continue the programme in a few deserving villages.

Apart from learning in the class-room sessions, the beneficiaries were given inputs on different issues such as health and sanitation, mother and child care, rural development, saving habit, environment, improved agro-based activities, etc. From time to time, MIDA officials and members organized input sessions for the learners. Competitions were also organized and conducted for the learners to encourage them to participate actively in their learning process. The programme was concluded in the month of May 1998 after completion of exactly 3 years.

Awareness Campaign against Deforestation (November 1998 to November 1999)

For this programme which was for a period of one year, a sum of Rs.5, 58,800 was sanctioned and an expenditure of Rs.5, 53,281 incurred. To start with, nursery sites, digging and powdering of the nursery beds were taken up. Two bilingual pamphlets were brought out and distributed for creating mass awareness on environment protection and the need for afforestation. Polybags were purchased and filled with manure soil by engaging wage labourers and species like Oak, Alder, Neem, Monkey beans, Neliaceae, Jacaranda, Hollyhock, Cupresus, Albire, Banhemie and Gamori were introduced. While raising the nurseries, preparatory exercises for the village level meetings were undertaken cluster wise. Saplings were distributed and the villagers conducted plantation programmes in their own respective lands identified for the same. Cost of fencing was re-imbursed to the villagers only after receiving satisfactory reports

from the field officials who were associated with the plantations programme in respective villages. Inspection and replacement of dead saplings were also undertaken. Awareness campaigns were conducted for clusters of villages. A painting competition on the theme, "Our Environment and Its Protection" was organized for students of the area. Together in collaboration with the apex Mao students Union, the organization conducted a social plantation day. Under this project, they drew up a programme for training in construction of biogas units. One such demonstrative unit has since been constructed at MIDA complex. Due to the urgent action of MIDA, the village leaders who participated in the awareness campaign meetings organized by MIDA has made resolutions to ban forest burning and poisoning of fish in rivers. Also use of alternative fuel other than firewood was received well by the people. But this is yet to be implemented. Inputs on cultivation of ginger, garlic, passion fruit cultivation, dry flowers and income generating flowers, animal rearing with foliage and concentrated feeds etc. were provided.

Extent to which project goals were achieved:

1. Awareness campaign in which 26 village level meetings were conducted for clusters of villages were attended by 671 participants, 440 males and 231 females representing village youth, women's society and village elders.
2. Inputs on cultivation of ginger, garlic, passion fruit cultivation, dry flowers and income fetching flowers, animal rearing with foliage and concentrated feeds etc. were provided. Inputs on the use of biogas as an alternative to use of wood fuel were also given.

3. All the participating villages have been facilitated to decide on prohibition of burning of jungles, poisoning of fish in rivers (streams, indiscriminate felling of trees particularly by logging traders and to discourage hunting of wild birds and animals in their respective forests).

4. Four nurseries were set up where approximately 3,50,000 saplings were successfully raised and subsequently planted in the degraded and barren land of 18 villages, which are spread out over 500 hectares area.

5. The villagers have been facilitated to evolve strategies for protection of respective village plantation area and also for conservation of the existing forest resource. Villagers have decided that all planted saplings would not be cut till they attain full maturity. It has also been decided that those trees planted in community lands would be the property of the village, while those planted in clan or individual land would be up to the respective clan or family to decide upon as they desire.

Failures and Realizations:

1. In the process of raising the nurseries, some of the seeds introduced failed to sprout. Therefore, only a total of about 3,50,000 saplings were supplied to the villagers for plantation against the target of 4,00,000.

2. Although, the rough area covered would be more than 500 hectares of land, the plantation programme could not cover the entire area with the desired intensity, as most of the plantation sites were fragmented, barren, or without forest covers.

3. The climate changes such as rise in temperature, late rainfall, landslide, water scarcity etc. were due to indiscriminate deforestation.

4. It was also realized that reversal of the dangerous trend would depend not so much on plantation of new plants, which definitely would have a salutary effect, but more on not decreasing the number of trees and not cutting them down for domestic needs and commercial purposes. Allowing the forest to regenerate itself, is crucial for re-establishing ecological balance.

5. Although plantation by itself was comfortably carried out through community participation, nurturing and maintenance require consistent and time-consuming attention, which the poor villagers can ill-afford. Plantation would, therefore, be most successful in compact large tracts where regular caretakers could be appointed up to the time the trees can survive by themselves.

Regeneration of Forest Lands in Tadubi Block, Manipur, India (April-June 1998 and January 1999 to June 2000)

For this project, a sum of Rs.1, 80,100 was incurred against an outlay of Rs.1, 63,360. Nursery sites were identified, prepared and seeds were sown in April 1998. Education programme on environment was also conducted in the 3 beneficiary villages during April 1998. But unfortunately, the seeds sown in the nurseries were found defective. Therefore, the same had to be deferred to the next season, i.e., early 1999 with the approval of International Tree Foundation (ITF London).

The preparation for raising the new nurseries commenced in January 1999. During February 1999, seeds were sown in the nurseries. By April-May, the seeds had begun to sprout. Defective seeds were replaced with new seeds at this juncture.

Although not included in the project proposal, a painting competition on the theme, "Our Environment and Its Protection" was organized on 19th June 1999 for students at Tadubi Hall in order to create consciousness on environment protection among the student community.

By the first week of August 1999, distribution of saplings to the 3 beneficiary villages was carried out at the respective plantation sites. Soon after the distribution of saplings, community plantation programmes were organized in which MIDA officials were also present. Fencing around plantation areas was taken up soon after.

In collaboration with the Mao Students' Union, a social plantation programme was organized on 2nd October 1999. The saplings were provided by MIDA. Various activities such as orientation on environment and its related issues, display of environment posters, distribution of leaflets on environment, mass rally, competitions, community plantation at Khongho, group games and group discussions were included in the programme.

In the last week of December 1999, a 3-day workshop on topical issues of the Mao tribes was organized by the Mao Students' Union and MIDA officials facilitated the workshop. Significant action plans relating to environment protection were adopted during the programme.

Visiting and monitoring the plantation sites by MIDA staff members were carried out on monthly basis. During such visits, the staff and officials of MIDA had discussion with the villagers for ensuring proper nurturing and growth of planted

trees. The officials also reviewed the collective decisions/precautionary measures adopted by the villagers during the village level education programme.

During March 2000 to June 2000, MIDA staff members made 5 rounds of such visits to the 3 villages. The growth of planted saplings in all the three villages was found to be very encouraging as more than 75 percent had survived. The fencing structures around the plantation areas, which are now vital for protection against cattle, have also been found to be in proper place.

Outcome of the Project

The educational programmes on environment conducted in the villages have created people's awareness and consciousness and thus made them realize the value and worth of the standing trees in their lands. Awareness was created not only on environment but also on various related issues. As a result of this, the villagers themselves decided to prohibit burning of jungles, indiscriminate felling of trees, to discourage poisoning of fish in rivers/streams and hunting of wild animals and birds, etc.

With focus on deforestation and the threats it poses to the forest community, villagers were brought together to discuss on issues that affect one and all. In a social situation where it is everybody's business and nobody takes the initiatives, the fact of having brought the villagers together on issues of common concern is a beginning which prompted the people to get organized for social action on identified issues. Thus the above-mentioned resolutions for conservation of environment from the villagers emerged.

In subsequent visits to the villages for monitoring and review, the women were most interested in the alternatives to wood fuel. Wood fuel requirement of each family is enormous as the same is used not only for cooking but also for heating, as the area is quite cold throughout the year. Further, pigs which are reared by almost every family for meat are fed with cooked rice and other green leaves. These chores are performed mostly by women. The organization is since been working on providing improved *chullas*. The *chulla* which is normally being used by the people is open all over which easily exhaust the burning materials. So, instead of it they are trying to popularise *chullas* with just a small hole which keeps it burning longer with less usage of fuel.

Campaign for Promotion of Forest Conservation in Tribal Areas of Manipur (1st September 2000 to 30th April 2001)

On receipt of acceptance of the project proposal in August 2000 by the sponsoring body, MIDA made preparations for launching the project with effect from 1st September 2000 in right earnest. A sum of Rs.12, 00.289 lakhs was sanctioned for this project and an expenditure of Rs.11, 97.596 lakhs was incurred for the same.

Under this programme, MIDA held meetings with the villagers to discuss the objectives of the project, the involvement of the village community envisaged in the programme, and the role of MIDA as a facilitating agent, and village-wise action plans for the implementation of the projects were drawn up. During this project, saplings (54,000) of mostly Gamari (*Gmeliana arborea*) were distributed to the village women's societies on an average of 2000 stumps per village, 62.10 quintals

(6.21 tonnes) of barbed wires were procured and distributed for fencing the forest area identified for conservation in the respective village lands. Areas, which are naturally steep and not accessible, needed no fencing. Shortfall in barbed wires, if any, was supplemented with local materials out of the village's own resources. Improved *chulla* (297 Nos.) were procured at subsidized rate (Rs.70 per *chulla*) from MANIREDA (Manipur Renewable Energy Development Agency) and distributed. The *chullas* were handed over to the eleven families identified by village councils on the basis of poverty. 81 bee-hive boxes were distributed to 26 Village Women's Societies for income generation and build their common fund. Costs of 54 piglets were also handed over to the villagers. As it was not possible to procure 54 piglets in bulk and effect physical distribution, the cost of 2 piglets each at Rs.1200 per piglet were handed over in cash so that the individual village women's societies could make their own local purchases. Physical verification of the purchase was carried out and all the villagers were found to have made the purchases of piglets and were rearing them with enthusiasm.

Quiz competition on environment was organized for students by MIDA in collaboration with the Mao Students' Union and cash prizes were awarded. Awareness programme on environment for leaders of Poumai and Maram areas was also organized at MIDA complex but the number of participants was lower than expected. General inputs on the environmental situation in the district and the need to involve the community-based organizations for putting a ban on indiscriminate deforestation and for encouraging conservation of forest in their respective areas were

provided. Prizes for the best plantation and best conservation villages were handed over to the leaders of the respective villages.

Outcome:

1. The most important benefit that has immediately accrued to the community served by the various activities of the project is the spread of awareness and sharpening of consciousness that indiscriminate deforestation has caused scarcity of drinking water and water for paddy/vegetable fields, increase in atmospheric temperature, decrease or extinction of various species of birds, animals and insects etc. This has resulted in the general understanding of the need to conserve forest and economize on the use of wood as fuel.
2. The village level meetings were an exercise in capacity-building where the village leaders drew up their own action plans for the conservation of forest in the respective village areas and the measures for enforcing the decision of the village.
3. At least 270 hectares of forest area covered with standing trees have been immediately brought under conservation for a period of 10 years and barbed wires worth Rs.1,67,670/- have been distributed free of cost to the community for fencing the area.
4. The women's societies which had so far not been organized on environmental issues, found opportunity through the project to come together and discuss on the area where plantation could be taken up, obtaining the village council's permission for plantation, the manner in which their income generation units would be managed and further developed etc. Assets for the income generation unit comprising of 2 piglets and 3 bee-

hive boxes, for each women's society was given through the project as a starting resource base on which they could build up their collective economic strength. The connection between the income generation unit and the concern for protection of environment inbuilt into the project has helped them to relate their activities to promotion of conservation.

5. The quiz programme has created awareness and enthusiasm among the students' community on environmental protection. Cash awards given to the winning village student units would augment their funds for environment related activities in their respective villages.

6. The encouragement received by the winners of the best conservation and best plantation village award has resulted in greater enthusiasm among the people and also has had salutary effect on other villages participating in the project.

Long-Term Effects:

1. The general understanding of the need to conserve forest and economize on the use of wood as fuel created through the various activities of the project will go a long way to ensure sustainable use of forest in the future. The intervention made at this juncture has created a new generation conscious of their dwindling forest resources on which depend the life and health of the people. The older generation, which did not quite have to care about such issues due to abundant forests are now faced with a very different situation and have through sharing of their observations re-enforced this realization. The ongoing and longer term benefits of the project therefore will be the conscious and sustained effort on the part of the community at large to reduce deforestation and conserve forest.

2. The women's societies with an initial resource base obtained through the project are expected to grow in their collective economic strength with time. Organized around a concrete corpus, they will be able to help each other, particularly those from the poorer section. The drudgery of carrying firewood from the distant forest will be greatly reduced as they economize on the use of wood for fuel and also shift to other form of fuel with improvement in economy.

Villagers in the project areas have drawn up their own respective village action plans and with the co-ordination of MIDA officials have been able to successfully implement the same during the project period. The consciousness generated for the need to have a sustainable relationship with the forest during the village level meetings and the subsequent physical participation of the village community in conservation and plantation activities have on the whole fulfilled the main goals of the project.

On the objective of introducing and promoting alternative means of generating income by the villagers so as to reduce dependence on forest products, they have not been able to do much as the main focus was on conservation and plantation activities. The requirements of irrigation, the needs for a strong market infrastructure, transportation bottleneck and other essential linkages, which come in the way of adopting innovative activities, still remained un-addressed. In a district like Senapati which has got its own unique position in the overall economic, social and political structure of the state, it is imperative to see that development agencies, especially the

government ones, take a serious note of the situation and take effective measures for successful implementation of the various development programmes.

The preceding discussion on the programmes implemented by the Directorate for Development of Tribals and Scheduled Castes highlighted that the various developmental schemes carried out for the tribals basically aimed at narrowing the gap between the tribal and non-tribal areas by increasing the productivity and level of income for beneficiaries. For this, the two major sources of finance are the special central assistance fund and state plan outlays. The programmes under the special central assistance included agriculture/horticulture, village and small-scale industries, fishery, animal husbandry etc. that mainly aimed for the economic development of the tribals. For infrastructure development, the programmes included pipe water supply scheme, construction of suspension and wooden bridges, inter-village roads, construction of school/hostel buildings, community halls etc. Besides these, welfare schemes comprising of programmes dealing with financial assistance for medical treatment, imparting training to tribal youth and housing schemes were carried out. Out of these schemes those successful as per the records of the Directorate included water supply, fisheries, development of village and small scale industries, education, art and culture, medical and public health and housing. The schemes which were not successful were agriculture/horticulture, communication, marketing, children and women's development programme. The major reasons for the failure of the programmes cited by the CAGI reports were mismanagement of fund, procurement of materials not included in the scheme, diversion of fund to other sectors, i.e., utilization of fund which were not meant

for it, exclusion of potential beneficiaries as many of the schemes to be implemented in hill districts were implemented in valley district. irregular payments etc. On the top of all this, was the lack of adequate monitoring and evaluation of the schemes as the cell set up for it failed to update the survey records relating to list of beneficiaries for each scheme. Besides these, non-evaluation of families who were raised above the poverty line after availing the developmental schemes had made the rating of performance of each scheme difficult. One of the interesting findings of the study was that the communication and agriculture/horticulture schemes performed badly. This indicates that the physical targets and achievements may have been recorded without any effective survey. From this it is inferred that some of the important programmes, which could boost the economy of the tribals, failed to take off.

The programmes under the state-sponsored scheme included the construction of school building, hostel buildings, community halls, opening/strengthening of schools in schoolless villages, award of pre-matric stipend, supply of equipment to schools, encouragement of production of books in tribal dialects, stipend for special coaching and encouragement of arts and culture. In addition to this, the economic upliftment scheme included programmes on communication, development of duck rearing and piggery, handloom and financial assistance to rickshaw pullers. Under the health and housing scheme, programmes like medical treatment and housing facilities were taken up. Except for the economic upliftment scheme, rest of the programmes were successful. This shows that the vital areas of economic upliftment were neglected, which reflects that the main aim of uplifting the

economic status of the tribal people has not been fulfilled through this scheme. Another important area for tribal development was the programmes taken up under 50 percent state's share of sponsored schemes which included mainly programmes on the research and training, construction of hostel's for boys and girls belonging to SC/ST, establishment of book bank, and award of stipend for pre-exam coaching. The programmes carried out under this scheme were successful. Hence it is concluded that the special central assistance and state sponsored schemes were partially successful whereas the programmes under 50 percent of state's share sponsored scheme was relatively more successful.

Programmes under District Rural Development Agency such as IRDP, EAS (Employment Assurance Fund), TRYSEM (Training for Rural Youth for Self-Employment) etc. have achieved more than the target even though the expenditure was less than the actual allotted amount while programmes such as DWCRA (Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas), IAY (Indira Awas Yojana), MWS (Million Wells Scheme), JRY (Jawahar Rozgar Yojana), etc., did not achieve the stipulated targets, which is likely due to lack of coordination at the planning and implementation level.

It is too early to assess or comment on the achievements of the programmes under North Eastern Region Community Resource Management Society (IFAD). However, it can be said without doubt that their motivational, promotional and demonstrative activities such as group activities, homestead garden, sanitary facilities, credit system, trainings, workshops, seminars and other exposure activities are giving

the people a sense of responsibility and participation at the micro level, which is very essential for the success of any development programme and its sustenance. All this is totally absent in governmental development programmes.

Regarding the Mao Integrated Development Association, it has taken up various programmes such as Adult Education, Campaign against Deforestation, Regeneration of Forest Lands, and Campaign for Promotion of Forest Conservation etc. Though most of the programmes were not totally successful, they have been able to create awareness among young and old villagers about the importance of the conservation of the environment etc.

The study has brought to light that the development programmes that are target oriented benefit the tribals who are below the poverty line. About the Directorate for Development of Tribals and Scheduled Castes, programmes are carried out with financial assistance from three sources such as Special Central Assistance to Tribal Sub-Plan, State Annual Plan, Centrally Sponsored Schemes on 50:50 funding basis between the State Government and the Central Government, under which 50% state's share is provided under the State Annual Plan and Central Share of 50% released by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs. It is seen that quite impressive programmes such as supply of pipe water scheme, construction of suspension and wooden bridges, inter-village roads, construction of school/hostel buildings, community halls, financial assistance for medical treatment, conducting of training for tribal youth and housing schemes, award of pre-metric stipend etc have been implemented. The analysis of implementation of these programmes reveals that the programmes under 50 percent of the state's share of

centrally sponsored scheme were comparatively more than successful. The reasons for failure of a large number of programmes are: ineffective utilization of financial resources, diversion of fund for procurement of materials not included in the scheme etc.

Regarding DRDA, it receives fund for implementation of the various programmes from the Centre and the state in the ratio of 75:25. DRDA is overall in charge of the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of programmes. Programmes like IRDP, NREP, RLEGP, DPAP, DDP, HADP and sectoral development programmes which include productive sectors such as agriculture and allied sectors and industries and infrastructure are implemented in the district. According to the present study, many of the programmes did not achieve its stipulated target and the reasons are attributed to lack of coordination at the planning and implementation level.

About NERCRMS, it is seen that the programmes implemented by the agency is a joint effort between the government of India and IFAD as well as the community amongst whom the programmes are implemented. It is seen that the agency has contracted several other NGOs of which INTOUCH (Integrated Tribal Organization for Upliftment, Community and Health) is working in the Mao Area. The programmes are planned and implemented by the staff of the NGO with cooperation from the people. The study reveals that the agency has implemented such programmes to improve the basic quality of life. Programmes for basic amenities like health, sanitation facility, promotion of medicinal gardens, and income generating activities through extension of credit to the most vulnerable groups have been implemented so far. It was further

revealed that inspite of the short coming of some schemes, most schemes are running successfully. There is active participation of the beneficiaries in all the programmes.

It is learnt about MIDA that it is started by the local people themselves to help and improve the life conditions of weaker sections of their own people. This agency has been funded by three foreign sources- Indo-German Social Services Society (IGSSS), New Delhi, Netherlands Committee – International Union for Conservation of Nature (NC-IUCN) The Netherlands and International Tree Foundation (ITF), England. The study shows that programmes taken up by this agency faced failure as well as success. Programmes under this agency were implemented by the appointed staff of the organisation with cooperation from the people. It is seen that programmes under this agency were small scale activities but ones which could benefit the people in the long run and also create awareness and a sense of participation, which is very essential for any activity to succeed and continue.

The study has pointed out that the lucanae in the developmental programmes are mainly lack of adequate monitoring and evaluation. Moreover, it is seen that there is no participation of people, more so in government directed programmes, which has led to its failure in achieving the desired result. The study further points out that the above stated reasons have cumulative effect and have resulted in non-achievement of the stipulated targets. It also points out that both government and non-governmental agencies in development could work side by side in achieving what they set out to do. Moreover, as NGOs have arisen out of voluntary impulse of charity upon which the social work practitioners have built up their theory and practice, they

have an honourable place in social work agenda. NGOs also play a critical role in promoting people's participative ability at village level, facilitate promotion of apex level organisations at block and district levels, educate people and create a favourable environment for interface. NGOs can mobilize local resources with external fund, and be involved in development, growth and social justice with people's participation.

To sum up, there has been success as well as failure of the various programmes especially under the two governmental agencies. The study has pointed out that the lacunae in the developmental programmes are mainly due to lack of adequate monitoring and evaluation. Moreover, it has been found that there is no direct participation of people, more so in government funded programmes, which has led to their failure in achieving the desired result. In spite of all the failures, the government and grassroots NGOs should work side by side so that the needy get their due share. In fact, NGOs while undertaking different strategies with a broader goal to empower the vulnerable groups by motivating them to participate in community action not only possess the potentiality to energize political associations/institutions but also bring about changes in laws and policies. These organizations can play the role of development catalysts and pressure groups to subject the power apparatus of the state to close scrutiny. Thus, it is placed in an advantageous position in comparison to other formal bureaucratic organizations as far as achieving its objectives are concerned.

CHAPTER IV

MAO RESPONSES TO DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS

In the preceding chapter, the nature and extent of assistance provided to the people through various schemes and programmes in Senapati district were analyzed. A lot of discrepancies were found between the targets and achievements and also between proposed schemes and actual implementation. In the present chapter, an endeavour has been made to document the responses of Mao villagers to the various schemes implemented by the four development agencies operating in Senapati district.

Social and Economic Profile of the Respondents

In order to assess the responses of the Mao beneficiaries towards development programmes implemented in their villages, it is important first to know their socio-economic background.

A perusal of Table 4.1 reveals that out of 314 beneficiaries, males represent 71.0 percent and females 29.0 percent. The table further shows that, although development programmes were meant for the poorest of the poor service holders and families with income of Rs.5000 and above per month are also included among the beneficiaries

Table 4.1: Socio-Economic Profile of Beneficiaries

	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobufii	Total
Male	182	33	8	223(71.0)
Female	60	10	21	91(29.0)
Age:				
Below 25 years	31	2	3	36(11.5)
26 to 35 years	65	11	3	79(25.2)
36 to 45 years	60	8	8	76(24.2)
46 to 55 years	55	7	11	73(23.3)
Above 56 years	31	15	4	50(18.9)
Educational Qualifications				
Primary	31	5	2	38(12.1)
Middle	29	5	-	34(10.8)
Matric/Higher Secondary	43	7	-	50(15.9)
Graduates	25	7	1	33(11.0)
Illiterates	114	19	26	139(50.6)
Occupation				
Farmers	140	38	15	193(61.5)
Service(women)	26	3	3	32(10.2)
Business(women)	59	1	11	71(22.6)
Private Employee	17	1	-	18(5.7)
Family Income per month				
Less than 2000				
2000-3500	120	38	20	178(56.7)
3500-5000	69	1	3	73(23.2)
5000 above	14	1	-	15(4.8)
	34	3	6	48(15.3)

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002*

Awareness of Existence of Development Agencies

A lack of awareness of either government or non-governmental agencies working in one's area is quite evident from Table 4.2. In spite of the fact that all the respondents in the present study are beneficiaries, their awareness is far from satisfactory. There are only 27.1 percent respondents who stated that they knew about development agencies, and a majority of them (72.9 percent) pleaded ignorance. Such awareness is found most widespread in Chowainu village (32.6 percent).

Table 4.2: Awareness of Existence of Development Agencies

Awareness	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobufii	Total
Yes	68(28.1)	14 (32.6)	3(10.3)	85(27.1)
No	174(71.9)	29(67.4)	26(89.7)	229(72.9)
Total	242	43	29	314

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002*

To probe further, the respondents were asked to state the types of assistance received and their ideas/knowledge regarding other types of assistance that is extended to the beneficiaries.

Table 4.3: Type of Assistance Received and Known to Respondents

	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobufii	Total
Assistance received				
1. Housing	123	17	7	147(46.8)
2. Fishery	13	3	1	17(5.4)
3. Land development	8	4	10	22(7.0)
4. Technical assistance	2	-	-	2(0.6)
5. Loan	96	19	11	126(40.1)
Total	242	43	29	314
Facilities known				
Cottage Industry & Animal husbandry	6(2.5)	-	-	6(1.9)
Animal husbandry & Business	14(5.8)	-	-	14(4.3)
Agriculture & Cottage Industry & Animal husbandry	9(3.7)	3(7.0)	-	12(3.8)
Cottage Industry & Animal husbandry & Business	9(3.7)	-	-	9(2.9)
Agriculture & Cottage Industry & Animal husbandry & Business	12(5.0)	6(14.0)	-	18(5.7)
Agriculture & Cottage Industry & Animal husbandry & Housing & Business	18(7.4)	5(11.6)	3(10.3)	26(8.3)
No Comment	174(71.9)	29(67.4)	26(89.7)	229(72.9)
Total	242	43	29	314

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

Table 4.3 indicates that most respondents received assistance in the form of subsidiary for housing followed by those who took loan for various purposes such as piggery, dairy/poultry, rice mill/wool knitting, land development, fruit/ vegetable cultivation, petty/grocery shop, business, etc.

The respondents who received assistance in the form of subsidy were asked to state whether they made use of the subsidy for the purpose for which it was meant or for some other purposes. In Song Song village, 40.7 percent respondents reported that they constructed new houses, 36.6 percent respondents claimed that they renovated their old houses with the subsidy they received from the government. The remaining 22.7 percent used the subsidy for household expenses other than the scheme for which it was meant.

In Chowainu village, 53.0 percent respondents claimed that they constructed new houses while 23.5 percent repaired and renovated their old houses and the remaining 23.5 percent used the subsidy for other purposes.

In Tobufii village, 57.1 percent respondents constructed new houses with the subsidy and the rest 42.9 percent repaired their old houses. For fishery, all the respondents (5.4 percent) claimed that it was not a successful venture while the rest (7.0 percent) who received assistance for land development claimed there was improvement in the productivity of crops. Besides the assistance they received, 8.3 percent respondents were aware of the assistance for agriculture, cottage industries, animal husbandry, housing facilities and business. 5.7 percent respondents were aware of the assistance given for agriculture, cottage industries, animal husbandry and business. 3.8 percent respondents reported their awareness of the assistance given for agriculture, cottage industry and animal husbandry. 29 percent respondents were aware of the assistance programmes in connection with cottage industry, animal husbandry and business. And 1.9 percent respondents were aware of the assistance given to cottage industry and animal industry.

A village-wise distribution of data shows that comparatively Chowainu villagers showed maximum awareness about the assistance provided for agriculture, cottage industry, animal industry, and business.

From the above analysis, it is clear that in spite of the massive media activity and developmental functionaries working to make the backward people aware and help them in obtaining development benefits, there is still widespread ignorance about development schemes among the common people.

Use of Primary Health Centre

Since the government provides all kinds of facility for all round development of the backward people. It is relevant to find out whether people actually make use of such facilities for their well-being. Here we look into the use of primary health centre.

Table 4.4: Use of Primary Health Centre

Use	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobufii	Total
Yes	140 (57.9)	21 (48.8)	16 (55.2)	177 (56.4)
No	102 (42.1)	22 (51.2)	13 (44.8)	137 (43.6)
Total	242	43	29	314

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

When the respondents were asked whether they went to the primary health centre when they fell sick, only a little more than 50 percent respondents replied in the positive. Amongst the three villages, maximum use of the primary health centre is reported from Song Song village, although village-wise differences are quite negligible.

Table 4.5: Reasons for Non-Use of Primary Health Centre

Reasons	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobufii	Total
a) Too far	-	12 (27.9)	-	12 (3.0)
b) No proper treatment	42 (17.0)	-	5 (17.2)	47 (15.0)
c) Native treatment	7 (2.9)	2 (4.7)	-	9 (2.9)
d) Wastage of time	53 (21.9)	8 (18.6)	8 (27.6)	69 (22.0)
Total	102	22	13	137

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

When asked why some respondents did not make use of the primary health centre facility provided to them, 22.0 percent respondents stated that it was a wastage of time and 15.0 percent respondents answered that they did not get proper treatment. Distance was a deterrent only in Chowainu village. There are also 2.9 percent respondents who still use native treatment for their sicknesses.

A village-wise distribution of data shows that of all the reasons given, distance and wastage of time in Tobufii and in Song Song were major ones for not making use of facilities in these villages.

Use of Veterinary Clinic for Cattle Treatment

Rearing cattle and maintaining their health is important because it could improve the living condition of the people. So it is necessary that people make use of veterinary clinic in order to keep their animals healthy and disease-free. But the present study shows that 67.5 percent respondents did not take their cattle to the veterinary centre when they fell sick, and none of the respondents from Chowainu and Tobufii villages responded in the affirmative.

Table 4.6: Cattle Treatment at the Veterinary Centre

Treatment	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobufii	Total
Yes	102 (42.1)	-	-	102 (32.5)
No	140 (57.9)	43 (100)	29 (100)	212 (67.5)
Total	242	43	29	314

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

When asked to state the reasons why they did not take their cattle to the veterinary centre, 44.6 percent of the respondents replied that good medicine was not given and doctors did not attend promptly, whereas 22.9 percent respondents felt that it was time consuming and far from their home.

Table 4.7: Reasons for Non-Treatment of Cattle at Veterinary Clinic

Reasons	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobufii	Total
1. Good medicines are not given	140(57.9)	-	-	140(44.6)
2. Doctors do not attend promptly				
3. Time consuming affair	-	43(100)	29(100)	72(22.9)
4. Far from my place				
Total	149	43	29	314

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

Village-wise distribution of the data reveals that both in Chowainu and Tobufii villages, the beneficiaries did not take their cattle to the veterinary centres because it was time consuming and far from their houses. It is clear that the beneficiaries are not satisfied with how the veterinary centre is run. There is also negligence on the part of doctors.

Awareness of Existence of Co-operative Society

Co-operative societies are one of the many agencies through which the government tries to alleviate the condition of the poor people. When the respondents were asked whether they were aware of the existence of any co-operative society, there was 100 percent affirmative answer from the respondents of the existence of a co-operative society in their area.

Table 4.8: Knowledge of Objectives and Types of Transaction by the Society

Objective	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobufii	Total
Yes	42 (17.4)	4 (9.3)	7 (24.1)	53 (16.9)
No	200 (82.6)	39 (90.7)	22 (75.9)	261 (83.1)
Total	242	43	29	314
Types of Transaction:				
1. Seller of Minor forest Products	-	-	-	-
2. Buyer of daily requirements	157 (64.9)	36 (83.7)	23 (79.3)	216 (68.8)
3. Loan	-	-	-	-
4. Others, specify	-	-	-	-
No comment	85 (35.1)	7 (16.3)	6 (16.3)	98 (31.2)
Total	242	43	29	314

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

When the respondents were asked whether they knew about the objectives of the society only 16.9 percent of them replied positively and that was to help the poor. When asked further, what type of transaction was the society engaged in, 68.8 percent responded that it fulfilled their daily requirements like sugar, oil, fuel oil, rice, *dal* etc. 31.2 percent respondents did not buy from the society's shop because the quality of the products was not at all satisfactory. Even those who bought were of the view that only third-grade goods were sold by the co-operative society, which sometimes were not fit for human consumption. They also told that commodities were not sold on a daily basis and since majority of the respondents were poor farmers they could not buy things in bulk. So they had to rely on the market most of the time where prices were higher.

Village-wise data reveal that knowledge of the objectives of the society is highest in Tobufii village, which is nearest to the block headquarters while Chowainu village which is farthest amongst the three villages under study from the block headquarters also has the lowest percentage of respondents who are not aware of the objectives of the co-operative society. From the analysis, it is clear that people

are not at all satisfied with the way the co-operative society is operating, especially with the quality of the products sold there.

Obtainment of Loan by the Beneficiaries

Almost half of the total beneficiaries interviewed have received benefits from the governmental or non-governmental agencies in terms of loans from bank, or some other source.

Table 4.9: Obtainment of Loan by Beneficiaries

Have you obtained any loan from any source?	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobufii	Total
Yes	96 (39.7)	19 (44.2)	11 (37.9)	126 (40.1)
No	146 (60.3)	24 (55.8)	18 (62.1)	188 (59.9)
Total	242	43	29	314
Source of Loans:				
1. UBI	66 (27.3)	19 (44.2)	1 (3.4)	86 (27.4)
2. IFAD	30 (12.4)	-	10 (34.5)	40 (12.7)

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

Further, the respondents were asked for what purposes were the loans taken. 11.5 percent respondents replied that they took the loan for piggery, 8.6 percent took the loan for various business, 5.4 percent took it for fruit/vegetable cultivation, 5.1 percent respondents took it for petty/grocery shops, 4.4 percent for dairy/poultry and 3.8 percent took the loan for rice mill/wool knitting and others which include carpentry, blacksmithy, fishery and tailoring etc. There were a few who have borrowed for land development making 1.3 percent respondents.

Table 4.10: Purpose of Loan

Purpose? If yes	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobufii	Total
1. Piggery	26(10.7)	2(4.6)	8(27.7)	36(11.5)
2. Dairy/Pottery	9(3.7)	4(9.3)	1(3.4)	14(4.4)
3. Rice mill/Wool Knitting	5(2.2)	1(2.4)	-	6(1.9)
4. Land development	1(0.4)	3(7.0)	-	4(1.3)
5. Fruit/Vegetable Cultivation	13(5.4)	4(9.3)	-	17(5.4)
6. Petty/Grocery Shop	13(5.4)	2(4.6)	1(3.4)	16(5.1)
7. Business	26(10.7)	-	1(3.4)	27(8.6)
8. Blacksmithy	3(1.2)	3(7.0)	-	6(1.9)
Total	96(39.7)	19(44.2)	11(37.9)	126(40.1)

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002*

Village-wise data reveals that piggery is the most important purpose for loan, followed by loan taken for the purpose of business. Further, the respondents were asked what they showed as security for securing the loan. 63.5 percent respondents said that they showed their paddy field as security, while the rest 36.5 percent responded that their house plot was mortgaged as security.

Obtaining loan is no easy job for the villagers. They have to run from pillar to post to get the loan sanctioned even though the concerned officers are expected to help the poor in this matter. It is a general practice among applicants, who fill the loan applications, to approach the concerned authorities through some influential persons, acquaintances or some important functionaries in government departments. Yet, 90 percent respondents faced problems in obtaining the loan.

Time in Getting Loan

Finance is the life-blood of any enterprise. The sanction of the grant to the beneficiaries for the various developmental programmes must be in time so as to enable them to carry out the work efficiently and effectively. But this depends on the willingness of block level authorities and bank officials for an early or delayed

sanction of the loans. The present study showed that 31.7 percent respondents got their loans sanctioned within one month but it was found that these loanees had borrowed from the local NGO. 8.7 percent respondents said that it took 1-3 months, and 14.4 percent respondents reported that 4-6 months elapsed before their loan applications were sanctioned. 45.2 percent stated that their applications took a longer period of 7-12 months for final sanction.

Table 4.11: Period taken in Getting Loan

Period	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobufii	Total
Less than 1 month	30(31.3)	-	10(90.0)	40(31.7)
1-3 months	6(6.2)	5(26.3)	-	11(8.7)
4-6 months	10(10.4)	8(42.1)	-	18(14.4)
7-12 months	50(52.1)	6(31.6)	1(9.1)	57(45.2)
Total	96	19	11	126

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

A village-wise distribution of the data shows that maximum percentage of loanees in Song Song village had to wait for longer duration of time to get the loans sanctioned. The respondents were asked to state the reasons for the delay in getting the loans. The reasons stated for the delay were apathy of the concerned officials, time taken in bargaining over the graft amount, non-availability of funds and so on.

Table 4.12: Satisfaction with Loan

Satisfaction	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobufii	Total
Satisfied	30(31.3)	7(36.8)	4(36.4)	41(32.5)
Dissatisfied	55(57.3)	11(57.9)	6(54.5)	72(57.1)
Cannot say	11(11.4)	1(5.3)	1(9.1)	13(10.4)
Total	96	19	11	126

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

The respondents have been further asked to state if they were satisfied with the procedure of disbursement of loan. It is found that 32.5 percent respondents were satisfied whereas more than half of them were dissatisfied. 10.4 percent respondents could not express any categorical opinion about it. The dissatisfied respondents were further asked to state the reasons for their dissatisfaction, which are compiled in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13: Reasons for Dissatisfaction of Loan

Reasons	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobufii	Total
Non-availability of loan as per requirement	14(25.4)	3 (27.3)	1(16.7)	18(25.0)
Non-availability of loan at right time	15(27.3)	3 (27.3)	2(33.3)	20(27.8)
Lack of guidance in utilisation of loan	20(36.4)	5 (45.4)	1(16.7)	26(36.1)
Too much restriction in utilisation of loan for other purposes	6(10.9)	-	2(33.3)	8(11.2)
Total	55	11	6	72

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

It is found that 36.1 percent respondents were dissatisfied because there was no proper guidance for the utilization of the loans, 27.8 percent respondents were are dissatisfied because of the non-availability of loan at right time, 25.0 percent respondents were dissatisfied because the loan amount was not in consonance with their requirements; and 11.1 percent were dissatisfied due to the strict restriction which prevented them from using the loans for other purposes.

Repayment of Loan

The respondents have been asked to state whether they have started the repayment of the loans. It is found that 47.6 percent respondents had either repaid fully or had started repaying in instalments. However, more than 50 percent respondents were

yet to start repaying in instalment till the time of field investigation because of financial crisis.

Table 4.14: Repayment of Loan

Repayment	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobufii	Total
Yes	45(46.9)	5(26.3)	10(90.9)	60(47.6)
No	51(53.1)	14(73.7)	1 (9.1)	66(52.4)
Total	96	19	11	126

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

Table 4.14 reveals that the recovery of loan is comparatively higher in Tobufii village (90.9 percent) than in Chowainu (26.3 percent), or Song Song (46.9 percent). The cases of non-repayment are comparatively higher in Chowainu village (73.7 percent), than in Song Song (53.1 percent), or Tobufii (9.1 percent). The reason for higher repayment in Song Song and Tobufii villages is because 31.25 percent and 90.9 percent respectively had taken loan from the local non-governmental agency working in their area. This agency makes it compulsory for all to repay any loan exactly after a year is over so as to enable those who have not taken any loan to utilize the amount.

Those beneficiaries who had not started paying the instalment were further asked to tell the reasons for non-repayment.

Table 4.15: Reasons for Non-Repayment of Loan

Reasons	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobufii	Total
Business running in loss	20(39.2)	-	-	20(30.3)
Failure in crop	8 (15.7)	3 (21.4)	-	11(16.7)
Crises in domestic life	18(35.3)	9 (64.3)	-	27(40.9)
Death of animal bought through loan	5 (9.8)	2 (14.3)	1 (100)	8(12.1)
Total	51	14	1	66

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

40.9 percent respondents reported that, as a result of certain domestic crises, they were not in a position to deposit the loan instalments, 30.3 percent respondents could not start repayment because of loss in business; 16.7 percent respondents due to failure of crops; and 12.1 percent respondents reported the death of the animals obtained through the loans as the reason for non-repayment.

Inspection of Programmes/Scheme by Officials

When the respondents were asked whether any development officials came to inspect their programmes/schemes, respondents from all the three villages answered that there was no inspection by any official at any time. This is very undesirable because it is important to know whether the assets either in monetary form or otherwise are being utilized properly or not.

The present study showed that the officials neither consulted the local people nor visited the local areas to survey the local felt needs.

Loans and Improvement in the Economic Condition of Respondents

In order to assess the impact of the loans on the economic condition of the beneficiaries, the respondents were asked to state how much they were benefited from the loans. 71 percent respondents stated that the loans considerably changed their economic condition by providing them with new sources of income, better production and higher returns. But more than 50 percent of the respondents stated that there was only a marginal improvement in their economic condition. And 35.0 percent respondents stated that it had failed to improve their economic condition.

Table 4.16: Loan and Improvement in Economic Condition

Improvement	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobufii	Total
Substantial	8 (8.3)	1 (5.3)	-	9 (7.1)
Marginal	58 (60.4)	11(57.9)	4(36.4)	73(57.9)
No improvement	30 (31.3)	7(36.8)	7(63.6)	44(35.0)
Total	96	19	11	126

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

Table 4.16 reveals that majority of the respondents were of the opinion that there was no change in their economic condition even after availing the loan schemes.

Participation of People in Development Programmes

People's participation is important in order to carry out any development programmes successfully. Table 4.17 reveals an unfavourable picture of the participation of people in development programmes. More than 80 percent respondents in all the three villages did not play any role in the village development council activities. 7.1 percent respondents who actually took part in one form or the other were found during the field interview that they were either in the development committee as members or were *Gaon Burras* (G.B).

Table 4.17: People's Participation in Development Programmes

	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobufii	Total
a) Planning	3 (1.3)	5(11.6)	2 (6.9)	10 (3.3)
b) Resources mobilization	-	-	-	-
c) Beneficiary identification	4 (1.6)	2 (4.7)	2 (6.9)	8 (2.5)
d) Implementation	-	-	-	-
e) Monitoring/Evaluation	4 (1.6)	-	-	4 (1.3)
No Comment	231	36	25	292
Total	242	43	29	314

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

A village-wise distribution of the data reveals that respondents from Chowainu and Tobufii participated in greater number than those in Song Song village.

It is clear that ordinary people do not have any role to play in development activities except those holding some important position in the village administrative and political hierarchy. They are not consulted in the process of formulation of the developmental programmes which are actually for them.

Visit of Extension Workers

To check the accountability of officials and other extension workers, it is important that people remain vigilant in relation to the visit, survey or work carried out by them. This will contribute to the effectiveness of the programmes implemented, make the people aware of new programmes, and increase people's participation.

Table 4.18: Visit of Extension Worker to the Beneficiary

	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobufii	Total
Did any extension worker ever meet you either at home or in your field? Yes	11 (4.5)	7(16.3)	4(13.8)	22 (7.1)
Specify the frequency:				
Rarely	11	7	4	22
Often	-	-	-	-

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

It is evident from Table 4.20 that 92.9 percent respondents were of the view that the extension workers did not visit them at any time either to make an assessment of the priority items to encourage and enlighten the people with new programmes. Only 7.1 percent said that the extension workers visited them, although not often.

So it is seen from the responses of the beneficiaries that extension workers visited only rarely. This implies that most of the works were completed without proper assessment of priority items. The analysis reflects that the extension workers neither consulted the local people nor did they visit the local areas frequently to survey the local felt needs.

Views Regarding Attitude of Officials of Development Agencies

Initiative of the officials plays a vital role in developing a cordial relationship between them and the beneficiaries. This in turn enables the officials to carry out their functions smoothly. But this study revealed that more than 50 percent beneficiaries did not consider the attitude of the officials to be positive. The respondents found most officials to be indifferent, arrogant or not co-operative, as evident from Table 4.19.

Table 4.19: Attitude of Officials of Development Agencies

Attitude	Very Co-operative	Co-operative	Not Co-operative	Indifferent	Arrogant	Total
Song Song	30(12.4)	50(20.7)	25(10.3)	102(42.1)	35(14.5)	242
Chowainu	-	10(23.3)	5(11.6)	22(15.2)	6(13.9)	43
Tobufii	-	9(31.0)	-	16(55.2)	4(13.8)	29
Total	30 (9.6)	69(22.0)	30 (9.5)	140 (44.6)	45 (14.3)	314

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

Further, the respondents were asked whether they faced any problems while dealing with development agencies. 84.7 percent of them answered that they faced problems while they dealt with development agencies. The reasons they gave were inordinate delay (60.3 percent) and rigid procedures and formalities (27.4 percent).

Table 4.20: Views Regarding Problems dealing with Development Agencies

	Song Song		Chowainu		Tobufii		Total	
	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Any problems with development agencies	212	30	35	8	19	10	266 (84.7)	48 (15.3)
If Yes, How?								
1. Inordinate delay	146 (60.3)		16 (37.2)		18 (62.1)		180 (57.3)	
2. Rigid procedures and formalities	66(27.3)		19(44.2)		1(3.4)		86(27.4)	
3. Discourteous & Improper behaviour of the officials	-		-		-		-	
4. Others (if any)	-		-		-		-	
No Comment	30 (12.4)		8 (18.6)		10 (34.5)		48 (15.3)	
Total	242		43		29		314	

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

Views of Beneficiaries Regarding Performance of the Officials

Performance can be rated by people who were affected by the non-performance of development officials. They are the best judge of the performance of the officials. Keeping this in mind, it is pertinent here to examine how the beneficiaries had rated the officials who carried out the development programmes. Table 4.20 shows that in Song Song village 38.8 percent of the beneficiaries rated the performance of the officials as 'very poor', followed by 32.2 percent who rated the performance as 'poor', and the remaining 24.5 percent and 4.5 percent rated them as 'fair' and 'good' respectively.

Table 4.21: Rating of Performance of Officials by Beneficiaries

	Good	Fair	Poor	V. Poor	Total
Song Song	11(4.5)	59(24.5)	78(32.2)	94(38.8)	242
Chowainu	2(4.7)	13(30.2)	11(25.6)	17(39.5)	43
Tobufii	1(3.4)	8(27.7)	11(37.9)	9(31.0)	29
Total	14(4.5)	80(25.5)	100(31.8)	120(38.2)	314

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

The respondents were further asked to give suggestions to improve the job performance of the officials. To this, 23.8 percent of them said that the officials must interact more with the people while 21.3 percent said that more enquiry and survey must be conducted to know the local felt needs and another 16.3 percent suggested that more transparency in the working of the officials would improve their performance. 13.3 percent of them were of the view that officials must be more accessible while 5.0 percent viewed that complaint cells must be set up and 3.8 percent said that the officials must have a sense of duty. Out of the remaining respondents, 6.3 percent said that the top officials must have more effective check on the implementing officials and 8.8 percent said that the officials must carry out more publicity campaign for various policies and programmes so that people can participate in them and in turn help the officials to perform better.

Level of Satisfaction Regarding Identification of Beneficiaries

Development programmes are meant to uplift the poor. It is only proper that deserving households are selected as beneficiaries for various programmes. Table 4.22 reveals the level of satisfaction regarding selection of beneficiaries. It is evident that none of the respondents was 'highly satisfied' with the identification of beneficiaries while 70.1 percent respondents were 'not at all satisfied'. 78 beneficiaries, when asked to give reasons for their dissatisfaction in connection with the identification of beneficiaries, felt that there was too much political interference, 12 percent felt needy people were not included as the list included those people who

Table 4.22: Level of Satisfaction on Beneficiary Selection

	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobufii	Total
1. Highly satisfied	0	0	0	0
2. Considerably satisfied	22(9.1)	5(11.6)	0	27(8.6)
3. Moderately satisfied	50(20.7)	11(25.6)	6(20.7)	67(21.3)
4. Not at all satisfied	170(70.2)	27(62.8)	23(79.3)	220(70.1)
Total	242	43	29	314

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

were influential and close to the people who matter, and 10 percent felt that officials failed to check the economic profile of the beneficiaries included in the list. Thereby, the ideology of benefiting the poorest of the poor was sacrificed to accommodate undeserving applicants.

Views of Beneficiaries on Undue Favour by Officials

In a democratic set up, each individual has equal right to one's due share. But, Table 4.23 shows that 54.8 percent of the total respondents felt that it was easier to get assistance through minister/political leaders while 27.4 percent respondents felt that it was easier through influential connection or lobbying. 5.4 percent felt it was easier through bribing, whereas 12.4 percent felt that assistance was given taking into account their economic condition.

Table 4.23: Views of Beneficiaries on Undue Favours by Officials.
Through whose recommendation is it easier to get assistance?

	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobufii	Total
a. Minister/Political Leader	145(59.9)	15(34.9)	11(41.4)	172(54.8)
b. Influential Connection/Lobby	60(24.8)	17(39.5)	9(31.0)	86(27.4)
c. Bribing	7(2.9)	6(14.0)	4(13.8)	17(5.4)
d. On Economic Basis	30(12.4)	5(11.6)	4(13.8)	39(12.4)
Total	242	43	29	314

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

If we examine the village wise data, recommendation of minister or political leader takes the highest percentage in two of the three villages studied, i.e., 69.9 percent in Song Song and 41.4 percent in Tobufii. But in Chowainu village recommendation of minister or political leader and influential connection/lobby are considered almost equally important (34.9 percent and 39.5 percent respectively). Thus unless they have some politicians or influential connections to help them, the people are not likely to get any help. This indicates that beneficiaries are not chosen or helped on the basis of their socio-economic conditions but because they have some connections. Hence people with less political or other influential connections are not likely to be included as beneficiaries in the development schemes even if they are most deserving. This definitely reveals that the ideology of serving the 'poorest of the poor' is not practised.

Technical Assistance/Guidance Received Regarding Schemes

In order to implement successfully the programmes or schemes, it is necessary on the part of those giving assistance to make provisions for the beneficiaries to undergo training, demonstrations etc. Thus when the beneficiaries were asked whether they received any technical or any other assistance/guidance for their schemes, 99.4 percent claimed that they did not receive any technical assistance whatsoever for their schemes while 0.6 percent replied that they received training for carpentry but did not receive any tools.

Opinion on Effectiveness of Programmes Implemented

Effectiveness of development programmes can also be assessed according to the perceptions of the beneficiaries. For instance, Table 4.24, shows that 72.9 percent of

the total respondents were of the view that there was no effective implementation of the programmes.

Table 4.24: Views of Effectiveness of Programmes Implemented

	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobufii	Total
Yes, implemented effectively	69(28.5)	10(23.3)	6(20.7)	85(27.1)
No Comment.	173(71.5)	33(76.7)	23(79.3)	229(72.9)
Total	242	43	29	314

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

The respondents were further asked to give reasons for the ineffectiveness in the implementation of development schemes. To this, 32.5 percent said that it was due to lack of monitoring and evaluation of the programmes, while 27.3 percent said that it was due to corruption, 15 percent gave law and order problems as the reasons, and 3.5 percent said that it was due to the lack of on-the-spot-inquiry, whereas 11.7 percent did not respond to the question.

It appears that assistance provided to the beneficiaries has not had the intended impact. The reasons responsible for the low impact of the schemes on the people could be attributed to poor medical facilities, inadequate financial assistance, wrong identification of beneficiaries, red-tapism, corruption, lack of co-ordination, lack of training for beneficiaries, lack of technical assistance, etc. The study also highlights that the local felt needs were not taken into consideration in the process of formulation of development policies and programmes, which had eventually led to ineffectiveness of the programmes. Hence we see that there is a gap between what is intended and what is achieved.

When the officials were asked as to how they felt about the present organizational structure more than 80 percent of the respondents said that manpower was sufficient and the organizational structure was conducive for work.

After knowing the adequacy of the personnel and conduciveness of the organizational structure, it was desired to rate the job performance of the officials by other officials involved in development programmes. Thus the officials were asked to rate each other regarding the job performance at the village block and district levels. They were given options such as 'very good/good/fair/poor/very poor' and it was found that none of the officials felt 'very good or good' for any official at any levels. At the village level and block level, they felt their performance was 'totally nil' and at the district level, less than 30 percent felt their performance was 'fair'.

The officials had rated the job performance of each other as 'just fair' and 'nil'. Further, they were asked whether they faced any hindrances to improvement in their job performance. And they stated several reasons which they felt were obstacles such as lack of people's participation, frequent transfers, undue interference by politicians, favouritism, lack of training opportunity, lack of power of disciplining the staff, lack of effective system of reward and inadequate emoluments.

In order to remove these hindrances, the officials were asked to give suggestions. Most of them did not respond, while less than 30 percent suggested that there should be no political interference, job training for the officials should be

provided and there should be less frequent transfer if they were to improve their job performance.

Further, it was found that there was no sense of discipline or dedication towards their job. Punctuality, obedience and respect for higher authority were lacking. They attributed their poor morale and low motivation to work to a lack of recognition, incentives and opportunities for advancement. They also claimed that they were technically disqualified for the jobs expected of them.

Further, the officials were asked about the existing planning process and financial input for development programmes. Only a few of them agreed that the existing planning process was in consonance with positive results. This indicates that the officials themselves were not satisfied with the existing planning process.

With regard to financial inadequacy and its impact on the performance of development programme, majority of the officials strongly agreed with the view that financial inadequacy had hampered the implementation of development programmes. This is one important aspect which needed to be rectified and looked into as finance plays a major role in all development schemes.

People's co-operation is of utmost importance for the effective implementation of developmental schemes. Therefore, officials were asked whether they received the co-operation of the people while carrying out programmes and majority of them testified that people were co-operative. But there were a few from the two non-governmental organisations who said that people were not at all co-operative unless the benefits were immediate and monetary. For instance, people did not give co-operation in carrying out a social forestry programme. J.P.P.

Further, when the officials were asked whether they took the initiative of briefing their superiors on matters related to the local people the reply was in the affirmative. They were also asked whether they took decision without being instructed by higher authority for jobs that needed to be done urgently to which they answered that they hardly did so. And when asked whether they initiated any improvement in administrative procedure they answered 'no'.

The responses from the officials indicate that the manpower is adequate and the present organizational structure is conducive for good performance. At the same time, the officials pointed out that there were certain hindrances in their way for better performance like lack of people's participation, too much political interference, lack of training, lack of discipline, lack of respect for authority, lack of dutifulness and punctuality of the officials. The officials were also dissatisfied with the procedure of identification of beneficiaries due to excessive political interference and lack of adequate financial support.

According to the present study, awareness about existence of development agencies is low but about cooperative society is quite high and use of primary health centres is around 56%. The beneficiaries also obtained loan for various purpose and more than 50% of them did not repay due to various reasons such as domestic crises, loss in business, failure of crops, etc. It further shows that the officials carrying out developmental programmes did not consult the local people to assess their needs. Further, the present study revealed that the officials hardly conducted any survey work leading to setting of unrealistic targets.

The study also revealed that the beneficiaries were of the view that development programmes carried out for their welfare had failed to provide them with the desired results. The reasons put forward by them were: setting of unrealistic targets, poor outreach of the developmental efforts, and exclusion of potential clientele, lack of monitoring and evaluation of the various developmental programmes, and corrupt practices of the officials. The study further highlighted that there was inadequate manpower to carry out development programmes. Officials viewed that the programmes had limited success also because of lack of people's participation, too much political interference and lack of training. Above all, they were not happy with the process of identification of beneficiaries due to excessive political interference.

Hence the potential beneficiaries were left out and those advantageously placed in society took away the due share of deserving people. Thus, we see that there are many problems resulting in non achievement of desired results. For development programmes to be successful, the various problems brought out here need to be addressed so that the needy get their due.

CHAPTER V

CULTURAL FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCCESS/FAILURE OF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

Development means different things to different people. For some, it may mean dams and factories, roads and canals, bush clearing, electrification, soil improvement, universities, secondary schools, primary schools, sanitation, research and a multitude of other activities and achievements. For others, national development objectives relate not only to a rate of growth but also to income distribution and other social goals.

Development is a universal phenomenon. But development issues differ from country to country and they can be seen from different perspectives. The essence of development problematique is its contextualization both in terms of society and culture. It should be approached from the perspective of people at the ground level particularly those who have not gained much from the process of development and have, in fact, been marginalized.

Traditionally, "development" referred to the capacity of a national economy to generate and sustain an annual increase in its gross national product (GNP). An alternative economic index of development has been the ratio of growth of per capita GNP. Until recently, this worldview went almost entirely unchallenged. Not only was it assumed that the development of economies should be the central preoccupation of public policy, but most governments, corporations and national and international institutions directed their energies and efforts to this end. Hence

societal goals became synonymous with economic goals-material production and consumption, investment, productivity, growth and profit.

In many previous development programmes, the necessity to take culture into account has been underestimated. The fact is that many of these programmes are in open conflict with local customs, traditions and a host of other socio-cultural features. Examples of projects failing to promote human well-being because of their incompatibility with the local socio-cultural patterns are many. Cultural factors have often been considered too difficult or too abstract to measure, and so they have been largely ignored in development programmes. All too often culture is seen as a bulwark of conservatism rather than recognized as a tool for positive change.

Early development efforts, which concentrated on the manipulation of macro-economic variables, such as investment rates did not always induce behavioural change in, or even reach, the poorest segments of the population. These efforts often failed to meet stated objectives or provide anticipated benefits because they did not effectively work within or build upon existing conditions and indigenous cultural patterns which are culturally embedded forms of risk insurance, eg, local association for the poor. In fact, development theorists often did not recognize that indigenous institutions and organizations existed at all, much less that they could provide important resources for the successful adoption of introduced change.

This empty vessel fallacy often caused development administrators to overlook the potential of using traditional or indigenous forms of cultural

organizations in their development programmes. However, analysis of how change is introduced into existing social systems and settings has demonstrated that ignoring the influence of or failing to use indigenous cultural patterns and local environmental settings may lead to the rejection and consequent failure of development programmes (Colletta 1990: 88).

The limitation of past approaches in reaching the people which merely assumed that once the public services were in place those would automatically be used are now increasingly coming to light. As studies by anthropologists and other social scientists have brought out, the real reasons for resistance are essentially socio-cultural. They are rooted in beliefs, traditions, attitudes, habits, social organization and such other socio-cultural variables.

Traditionally, the socio-cultural dimension has not received adequate attention in the planning and implementation of human development programmes. Its relevance to development has remained largely unacknowledged. On the continued neglect of socio-cultural aspects, the Antalya Statement on Global Development Issues noted: The cultural dimensions of development do not normally receive the attention of those people who deal with development. Such concerns often meet with apprehension, skepticism or simply lack of interest. For development officials, the criteria for achievement, growth and process are unfortunately predominantly quantitative, shaped by economic factors and some social indicators, culture is unquantifiable, therefore neglected (Mathur 1995: 170).

When people do not come forward to use services meant for their benefit, the waste involved is enormous. Worse still, benefits targeted at the poor are

lost. Also when projects fail to proceed as planned it is the people who frequently get the blame. For long a rather distorted view about the people in simple societies such as Mao has prevailed. Their religious observances are viewed as superstitions or mindless conservatism, concerns with social obligations of kinship and community as the stultifying effect of custom, lack of receptivity to proffered innovations as a sign of primitivism etc. Evidence from anthropological studies lends no support whatever to such views once held among many development officials (ibid: 176). ✓

The established paradigm, which is economistic in nature, is basically a product of certain western culture. In the economistic model of development, the human being conceived in abstract categorical fashion, appears as distinct from the surrounding reality and stands to it in relation of subject to object.

The people-centred development has a socio-cultural dimension, one which is very critical to its success, particularly in traditional societies. Therefore a generally valid lesson is that when changes in behaviour are contemplated, it is advisable that human development policies and programmes take socio-cultural concerns into account, not ignore them.

Development in the new perspective has been referred to as an overall process of transforming societies and leading to a social order in which every human being can achieve mental and physical well being. Development is, thus, considered as a cultural phenomenon and located in the social universe. The social universe consists of interactions between humans and between humans and nature. They are essentially mediated by culture and the world-view it manifests.

Culture to be effective should provide a significant and meaningful frame of reference for the betterment of living conditions. Cultures afford us ways of seeing the world, and if the latter have any bearing on the efforts to change the world, it is essential that we confront our ways of seeing. Culture, in other words, is also a way of comprehending the rational, not an abstract rationality divorced from the world of living people and set against the latter as its judge but the rationality of living. Culture identifies for us entire peoples and eras in terms of the ways in which we think they see or saw the world. It helps us place them vis-à-vis one another usually with ourselves at the centre of the world and at the end of time. It is, in short, a way of organizing the world, its time and space (Majumdar 1991: 60-61).

It would be a mistake to short-change cultures. For cultures are the very vehicles that are needed to constrain and enrich economies and ensure that they are pointed towards a positive direction. As such, they may hold the key to improvements in the quality of life and protection of the globe's fragile ecosystem in the future.

There is mounting evidence to suggest that development does not work when attention is focused exclusively or even primarily on economies. There are all sorts of examples in Africa, Asia and Latin America of development projects which have been abandoned or aborted because too much attention was paid to economic development and too little attention was paid to everything else, especially the cultural context within which these projects were located. In fact the very declaration by UNESCO and the United Nations of a world decade for cultural development (1988-97) suggests that development does not work when it is

focussed specially on the development of economies and fails to take the broader and deeper interests of culture and human beings into account. According to UNESCO, the cultural dimension of development embraces all the psychosociological components like the economic, technological and scientific factors, which help to improve the material and intellectual life of the populations without introducing any violent change into their way of life or modes of thought, and at the same time contribute to the technical success of the development plans or projects. By down-playing or disregarding the aesthetic, ethical, religious, philosophical and human dimensions of development and focussing primarily on economic issues and problems, they have tended to ignore or neglect many of the things which make life a deeper, richer, fuller and more meaningful affair (Schafer 1995: 6).

Cultures differ significantly from one another because people in different parts of the world and in different cultures visualize and interpret the world differently. As a result, not only do cultures differ substantially in the various details which comprise their cultural life - even though they may share certain similarities and characteristics in common - but also they differ fundamentally in their overall make up as cultural wholes.

Cultures and economies are not alternatives. Rather, cultures encompass economies and a great deal else because they are significantly larger and more inclusive representations of reality. While building economies will always occupy a significant position in the developmental process because it is concerned with people's material needs and sources of livelihood shifting attention to cultures would bring about a major transformation of the whole purpose, practice and

approach to development and decision making. For, to be effective and in tune with people's needs, cultures should be comprehensive in the sense that they are concerned with developing all the resources of society and not just economic and technological resources; coherent in the sense that harmonious relationships exist between the determinants and component parts of development; cohesive in the sense that they are bound together effectively; civilized in the sense that they are as free as possible from human rights abuses and other types of social injustices; and contexted in the sense that they are properly situated in the natural and historical environment or space and time (ibid:10).

Experiments in the field of technological change and development in many developing areas of the world have brought into sharp focus the importance of cultural factors in the acceptance or rejection of the programmes of directed change sponsored by external agencies. There has been a growing realization among development experts and technical assistance workers that even some of the less involved technological or economic innovations have latent cultural and social dimensions that need careful consideration if the success of these programmes is to be assured. Detailed case studies of specific action programmes have revealed that secondary and tertiary ramifications of given innovations are of critical significance in determining their ultimate acceptability.

Agents of development projects and of programmes of technical assistance are confronted with these factors at almost every step in their work. The acceptance of the agents of change, as well as the effectiveness of the media through which they endeavour to communicate their innovations, are largely governed by the

cultural predispositions, attitudes and social organization of the community in which they operate. The acceptance of the programme itself, or of its constituent parts, is determined to a considerable extent by a variety of complex cultural factors, ranging from simple habits and accepted social practices to the intricate patterns of belief, social structure, world view and values and attitudes. This points to the fact that there is a relationship between culture and development.

It would be unreasonable to think that any development task would be successful without its roots in a people's culture. There is also the belief that culture is one basic assessment of whether a society is either developing slowly or rapidly. However, the failure of programmes is not always due to the neglect of local cultures. It is because of the development planners' wrong perceptions about progress and also because of their inability to recognise and translate the real needs of the people. The macro and centrally oriented development planners, on the other hand, are not fed sufficient information for understanding the core of the local culture and its potentialities. This often causes a complete absence of understanding of people and failure to anticipate their responses. It also prevents a good rapport with those who have to be dealt with. A people-oriented development approach starts its failure from here (Swasono 1997: 44). Undoubtedly, no society exists in a vacuum, as such, existing cultural patterns of the people will influence the extent to which a society welcomes or rebuffs change. In support of these assertions, Han (1997: 60) reported that the socio-economic development of Korea did not follow the development course of the west in many respects. Korea did not have what the west had, such as useable natural resources, capital accumulation, technological

superiority, industrial base, the western rationality and so forth. But Korea had what the west did not have, such as its own development ethics, its use of human resources, its collaboration of government with business etc. Certain unique Korean cultural values were utilised in the process of mobilization and organisation needed to pursue the goal of socio-economic development in the context of a dialectical change consisting of twin processes of indigenous adaptive change and acculturation. Isamah (1996: 35) writes that “numerous studies of anthropologists have shown that the traditional values of a people are closely related to the pace with which such people accept or reject the demands of modern industrial or commercial operations”. While Morris (1976: 11) cautioned that change “does not necessarily involve instability and provided change is gradual and innovations are steadily tested and absorbed, the stability of society and all its institutions is not seriously affected”. In other words, any agent or advocate of change should be judicious enough to assess changing situations within the society, assess that change and adjust to it if it is relevant to that society’s development. ✓

Coming to the various development programmes considered under the present study, they can be broadly divided into the following categories:

Economic upliftment programmes: Under this, we have schemes such as agriculture/horticulture, animal husbandry including piggery, duck rearing, goat rearing, poultry development and distribution of milch cow, fishery, forestry, village/small scale industries, education, arts and culture, cooperation and women and children programmes, IRDP, JRY, EAS, TRYSEM, and DWCRA.

Infrastructure Development programmes: Under this, schemes such as minor irrigation, transport/communication, marketing development, construction of hostels, establishment of book banks, village roads and rural electrification, construction of water reservoir and regeneration of forest land were included.

Welfare programmes: Under this, there are water supply, medical/public health, housing scheme, research and training, individual compost pit, homestead garden, medicinal garden, low cost latrine, adult education and intensive coaching, campaign against deforestation and promotion of forest conservation.

Community-based Institution Building: Under this programme, are included schemes such as distribution of cash box, trunks, booklets and pamphlets, training of natural resource management groups and self-help groups on maintenance and record keeping and accounting, management of animal husbandry and support to NGOs involved in community based institutions, strengthening capacity of participation and extension/transfer of technology through training.

It has been found that schemes under the various categories of programmes were marked by success as well as failure and the schemes under economic, welfare and community institution building achieved higher rate of success than the schemes under the other categories.

The outcome of the various development programmes were assessed in terms of output versus expenditure, target versus achievement according to official records as well as people's perception to determine the success or failure of the various programmes. For the people, success of development programmes would mean good roads to walk on, regular supply of power, good medical facilities at the

primary health centre, good communication facilities, proper water supply, good schools for the children to attend, good sanitary facilities, good food to eat, good income etc.

A few case studies have been given below in order to assess the various reasons for its outcome.

Successful schemes

1. Water Supply: This scheme ensures provision of water to remote tribal villages which were not covered by Public Health Engineering Department (PHED) under general programme of water supply. For the whole of Tribal Sub Plan areas of Manipur, the total expenditure for this scheme during the period from 1985 to 2002 was Rs.432.36 lakhs against an outlay of Rs.255 lakhs. The maximum financial input was allocated during the Seventh and Ninth Plan periods with an outlay of Rs.200 lakhs. The main emphasis was given on pipe water supply scheme. The achievement of this scheme was the supply of water in 351 villages against the target of 337 villages and construction of 141 ring wells. The rest of the expenditure incurred was mainly for the improvement of the continuing scheme.

The total expenditure for the pipe water supply scheme in Senapati district was Rs.41.41 lakhs against an outlay of Rs.48.95 lakhs. This programme facilitated water supply in 56 villages against the target of 14 villages. From the above analysis it is clear that the scheme was successful in the district under study.

2. Low Cost Latrine: 90 percent of the construction of low cost latrine was completed during 2000-2002 under the various schemes implemented by the North

Eastern Region Community Resource Management Project for Upland Areas/IFAD.

The immediate effects of construction of low cost latrine are cessation of the habit of open field defecation, control in earlier state of untidiness in village environment because of littering of night soils, and the habit of using sanitary latrine. This programme is expected to bring about hygienic environment and community good health.

There were problems like more water requirement, uncertainty of sustainability/usability of the latrine once the single pit was filled up and non-provision to dig another pit near the existing pit after the earlier pit was filled up. Therefore, certain remedial actions were taken up like facilitation to use water and the District Support Team facilitating Natural Resource Management Groups (NaRMGs) in proper maintenance of the latrine.

3. Medicinal Garden: Medicinal garden maintained in every village has helped the people to get herbal medicines for treatment of various illnesses, supplement the allopathic medicine, and promote preventive health care.

Maintenance of medicinal garden is expected in the long run to help conserve local medicinal plants leading to mass production and sale, and saving money on drugs.

While this programme was in the implementation process, certain issues came up which had to be dealt with like most medicinal plants did not survive as gardens were not their natural habitat. Some local experts were not willing to disclose their knowledge about the medicinal plants and there arose conflicts between Self Help Groups (SHGs) to own the medicinal garden. In order to solve the above problems, actions were taken such as facilitation of SHGs to plant as per

their phonological character and proper maintenance, resolve by the NaRMGs to allow all SHGs to jointly own the medicinal garden on rotation basis and medicinal gardens to be neither too big nor too small for proper maintenance.

4. Income Generating Activity (IGA): Loan availed to needy people at low interest rate. Loans are given to SHGs by NaRMGs to strengthen them and to upgrade them as micro credit institutions at village level.

The effects of this activity are that loan is available to poor section at low interest rate. It has also partly discouraged the moneylender to charge high interest rate that has forced the moneylender and the rich people to reduce the interest rate within the village. It has allowed the opportunity to poorer section to repay the loan in small instalment basis and also has created an opportunity to start IGA activities by the poorest section of the community.

The likely long term effect of this activity is that it may provide self-employment, credit facilities may be available in the village, community based institutions may have linkage with the banks/financial institutions and the self-help groups may be upgraded as village level micro credit institutions.

Unsuccessful programmes

1. Animal Husbandry: The scheme comprising piggery, duck rearing, goat rearing, poultry development and distribution of milch cows was implemented. A sum of Rs.274 lakhs was earmarked for this scheme. The total expenditure was Rs.271.22 lakhs. Under this scheme, 4698 families benefited against the target of 7445 families. The emphasis was mainly on the financial assistance for piggery units. The number of beneficiaries covered under this scheme was 3444 families against the

target of 3306 families. Supply of buffaloes was the next priority that benefited 287 families against the target of 1886 families.

The total amount spent for this scheme in Senapati district was Rs.40.68 lakhs against an outlay of Rs.53.48 lakhs for the study period. The total number of families covered was 788 against a target of 1187 families.

It is evident from the above that the total number of families covered in TSP areas was 63.1 percent of the total targeted families with a corresponding expense of 79.3 percent of its total outlay. Even in the district, the success rate was 66.30 percent of the total targeted families exceeding the whole TSP areas by 3.2 percent.

2. IAY (1989-99): One manifestation of poverty is the type of house in which people live. The condition of the house and its surroundings indicate the health of the environment in which people live. Therefore, while trying to improve the lot of the people, the government also provides facilities to either construct new or upgrade the old houses in the villages.

In Senapati, the total outlay for this programme was Rs.1,97,68,623 lakhs out of which Rs.1,44,12,270 lakhs was spent during 1989-1999. The actual target of houses to be constructed was 1819 but only 1270 houses were constructed.

3. JRY (1989-99): The existing rural wage employment programmes – National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP) got merged into a single scheme – Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY), announced by the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in the Parliament on 28th April, 1989. The scheme aimed at reaching every *panchayat* and sought to

provide employment to at least one person in every family living below the poverty line in the rural areas for 50 to 100 days a year.

In Senapati, the total expenditure for this programme in 1989-1999 was Rs.4,23,54,611.60 lakhs as against an outlay of Rs.5,64,19,002 and the total number of works completed was 2188 against a target of 3043 and the man-days generated was 6.83 percent (in 000's).

4. Marketing Development: A key element in the process of development is marketing infrastructure, which affects the basic economic functions of production, distribution and consumption. Improved marketing infrastructure and appropriate organization of marketing are essential if full advantage is to be taken of favourable production opportunities. As a result, the government has now tried many approaches to develop the marketing system, with varying degrees of success.

For the purpose of marketing development the total amount earmarked for 1985-1997 was Rs.69.5 lakhs whereas the amount spent was Rs.18.12 lakhs only. The main programme taken up was the construction of marketing sheds, which had an outlay of Rs.38.5 lakhs (55.40 percent of its total outlay) out of which only Rs.6.24 lakhs was spent (34.44 percent of the total expenditure). The next programme taken up was the construction of godowns with an outlay of Rs.31.00 lakhs against an expenditure of Rs.11.19 lakhs, which formed 44.60 percent and 61.75 percent respectively of the total outlay and total expenditure. For the former programme the target was construction of 19 marketing sheds but only 13 sheds could be constructed and for the latter programme the ratio of targets and

achievements was 25:18. Hence we can infer that due to under-utilization of funds the programmes were not very successful.

For Senapati district, the total financial outlay was Rs.9.00 lakhs, but the amount spent was a meagre Rs.2.53 lakhs. The amount spent for the construction of the godowns was Rs.1.61 lakhs against an outlay of Rs.3.00 lakhs with a target to achievement ratio of 4:2. For the construction of marketing sheds the amount spent was Rs.0.92 lakhs against an outlay of Rs.6.00 lakhs. The ratio of target to achievement was 9:4. Here too, the amount was not fully utilized due to which the target could not be achieved fully.

Individual Cases:

1. A. Besii from Song Song village is a matriculate and a cultivator by profession. He is 45yrs old with wife and 5 children. His wife is also a cultivator and all the children are school going. The family's annual income is Rs.9000. In 1995, Besii received a sum of Rs.10,000 for land development. The money was used for developing one of his paddy fields. To develop the field, help of his clan members was sought, which was received in abundance not only for helping in the field but also in preparation of food and drinks for the particular purpose. It has helped the family to produce more crops and in turn marginally increased their income. The benefit came through the help of a political leader.

2. L.Ozhimis from Tobufii village is a 50yrs old literate and has a family income of Rs.5000 per year. His family consists of his wife who is illiterate and 6 children. Both the parents are farmers and the older children help them in field while younger children are school going. In 2000, Ozhimis received a sum of Rs.15,000 for

improving the water canal to his field. This money was obtained through the help of an influential local leader. Work on the water canal was carried out with the help of his clan members who came forward to help him. Previously, he had to rely mostly on rain water but now the water can be channelled from the river to his fields through the canal. There is now better irrigation for his paddy fields.

3. Esha of Chowainu village is a 50yrs old illiterate and widowed cultivator with 6 children. The older two children help her in the field while the rest are going to school. They have a family income of Rs.15,000 per year. After a struggle for 5yrs, when she had almost given up, help came through a local leader and in 2000, and she received a sum of Rs.20,000 for redeveloping her field which was ruined due to sliding of mud during the rainy season. The work was carried out with the help of her family and clan members. It did finally enable the beneficiary and her family to recultivate the whole field.

4. Boni is a 65yrs old illiterate and widowed cultivator from Song Song village. She lives with her two granddaughters and earns around Rs.6000 per year. Her older granddaughter helps her in the field while the younger one is studying. She took a loan of Rs.5000 in 2001 for piggery from IFAD and it was given on the basis of her economic condition. It took a month to procure the loan. The loan helped her buy a pair of piglets after paying off the debt. Besides, it helped her pay her granddaughter's tuition fees for a year.

5. Asiisa from Song Song village is a 46yrs old literate. Her family consists of her husband who is literate and 6 school-going children. Both parents are cultivators and earn a yearly sum of Rs.15,000. In 2001, she took a loan of Rs.5000 from IFAD for

rearing pigs. It took a month to procure the loan but could not gain anything from the loan as the piglets died after a few weeks. And as the loan was for a fixed period of one year, the beneficiary had to borrow from another source at a higher interest rate to pay back the same in time.

6. A.Ashihra from Chowainu village is a 50yrs old widow. She is illiterate and earns her livelihood as a farmer with an income of Rs.12,000 per year. She has 8 children who help her in the field. In 1999, she took a loan of Rs.1,750 for vegetable cultivation with the help of a relative from United Bank of India (UBI). It took more than 3 months to procure the loan but the crops failed, which led to the inability of the beneficiary to pay back the amount. So the family has been left with a debt to the bank.

7. A.Sokha of Song Song village is 39yrs old illiterate farmer. She lives with her husband and 5 school going children. Her family income is around Rs.13,000 per year. She took a loan of Rs.30,000 in 1992 from United Bank of India (UBI) with the help of a relative to run a grocery shop. It took her more than 8 months to procure the loan. The loan money was utilised to set up a small grocery shop which contributed towards family expenses and marginally improved her economic condition. But the loan is yet to be fully paid back.

8. A.Puni of Chowainu village who is 45yrs old has wife and 8 children. He and his wife are illiterate but the children are going to school. His family income in a year is Rs.14,000. In 1991, through the help of a relative he took a loan of Rs.11,000 for running a grocery shop. The loan has marginally improved his economic condition.

9. S.Lohrii from Chowainu village is an illiterate cultivator. He is 55yrs old with wife and 6 children. His family has a yearly income of Rs.15,000. In 1999, he received a sum of Rs.22,000 through the help of a local leader to build a new house. As the money was too less to build a house, it was deposited in a bank and later used for treating a sick child of the family.

10. A.Mathibo from Tobufii is 55yrs old. He is a cultivator and does not know how to read and write. He and his wife have 10 children, half of whom are going to school. Their family income is around Rs.13,000 per year. In 2000, he received a sum of Rs.10,000 for upgrading his house. But instead of repairing their house, the money was used to meet household expenditure.

The few cases presented above show that there was both success and failure. It was found that many of the schemes were successful as they could address the practical pressing needs of the people. While many of the schemes failed not because cultural traits such as kinship, values, religion\belief, habits, social structure, education, world view and attitudes were in conflict with the various development schemes as often has happened in many other societies. But the main reasons responsible for the low impact of the various development schemes on the life of the people in terms of standard of living, income and employment generation, as identified through fieldwork are discussed as under:

People's Participation:

External agencies can initiate and aid the development process only up to a point. Eventually, it is the people who have to shoulder the responsibility of their development. The process must become part of the community ethos. The

people must be helped to help themselves. At the present stage of their development they certainly need considerable support. Without help from outside, they would not at all be in a position to benefit from development programmes specially designed for them. If they are not assisted properly, new programmes will lead to further dependency. The local capacity needs to be built up first. But people can learn to develop only by actually participating in the process of planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, which is a rare opportunity for the people as yet.

Participation is an educative process and thus contributes to human resource development. It instils in the people new confidence in their ability to mould their present as well as future through self-help efforts. Participatory approach to be effective requires that there be a sense of equal partnership between administrators and the people. If this condition is not fulfilled, there will hardly be any scope for the people to participate in the development process.

Local participation has numerous benefits for optimal rural development. It enables better fit between local needs and project targets and enhances project relevance and acceptance. It strengthens understanding of social context, the sensitivity of project managers and communication between project managers and the beneficiaries. It improves the utilization, benefits and impact of projects and strengthens the commitment, support, contribution and co-operation of the local people. Ultimately, development is better directed and has a better impact.

Therefore, it is important to revitalize power located in the local democratic institutions to bring the government closer to the people. That means bringing people's voice and wisdom to policy-making and implementation.

Moreover, the participation of beneficiaries in performance evaluation can give meaning to the resource-use assessment by the donors. In its absence, the whole issue of accountability is not complete, to say the least.

Awareness:

Low awareness amongst the tribal people about the development schemes/programmes has led the planners to find flaws with the tribal society instead of the development programmes. Therefore, development of awareness among the people about the programmes needs immediate attention. Awareness is also an important weapon to curtail possible irregularities by the implementing agencies. It is essential to have intensive campaigning and dissemination of information about the programmes through electronic media in local language and through conventional and non-conventional systems like advertisement in vernacular newspapers, local TV channels, dance, drama, poster, display on boards etc. The ultimate purpose is to encourage the people to run the programmes independently for their own benefit without other's help. This will bring a sense of confidence and responsibility to take up development programmes.

Co-ordination:

The various functionaries involved in the implementation of development programmes do not appear to be very clear about their role as much as they are unsure about the role of other agencies connected with the implementation of various development programmes. As a result, they do not follow a schematic or systematic approach in implementing the programmes. The farmer's life, one must note, is not split into segments corresponding to the district departments. Hence, the

various district level functionaries must necessarily function as a well-knit, cohesive team which is rarely seen in actual practice.

There is also the problem of coordination within an agency between the lower and higher level staff. For instance, in Tribal Development Directorate, which is the main government agency in the implementation of development programmes for tribal development, co-ordination between the officials of the main office and the district and block officials is lacking. In fact, the district and block officials have no role to play whatsoever. No records or information regarding any development programmes are maintained by the two branch offices. Another example to illustrate this point is that a village level worker whose job is to explain to client groups the schemes and programmes of development help them to take advantage of them and carry those problems which he himself cannot readily solve to the extension personnel at the block level, but he actually does not do anything at all. He does not even attend office except when he has to collect his salary. In such a situation, development of the area cannot be expected. It also leads to a host of problems like wrong identification of beneficiaries, procedural delay, lack of follow-up visits and lack of backward and forward linkages, which in aggregate slow down impact of programmes on the life, income and employment status of the people in totality.

Corruption:

There is corruption at all levels of implementation of a scheme. As reported by the beneficiaries, their papers do not move unless tagged with bribe money. The socially and economically weaker farmers are not in a position to resist

this kind of exploitation. In fact, they accept it as a necessary evil and use part of the government subsidy for this purpose.

As large amounts of public funds are presently disbursed under the various programmes of development, leakages and seepages have become noticeable, and corruption in development administration has become a serious problem today. For instance, officials of an NGO claim that they do not ask for any financial assistance from the Indian government because 25 to 30 percent of the assistance gets cut at the district office itself. Development administration of any agency (especially government) is permeated by corruption and, what is more, it is widespread and is on the increase. No one appears to be immune from it today, albeit there may be difference of degree.

Corruption can take a crude form, such as a 'cut' at the district and lower levels or it may be subtler at higher levels but in either case it is an abuse of public funds. It was reported that ministers from the hills monopolise the financial and material assistance provided for Tribal Development Directorate for their own personal gain, to win supporters and voters. At lower levels, local politicians and unscrupulous individuals have been successful in diverting the various schemes to their own pecuniary advantage, and what is more, the public functionary is a partner in the game. It is impossible to compute with exactitude the magnitude of corruption, but according to a crude estimate, upto four-fifths of the total funds earmarked for development are absorbed by this instrument of development itself, namely, the bureaucracy.

Professionalism:

It must be emphasised that the development officials are well aware of the need to change the feelings of the villagers toward them. It is often said that the official himself needs a change of role, to become the servant rather than the ruler, of the people. This must remain a long-term aim: for as much as the official has certain powers and certain desired goods to dispense, he inevitably dominates the relationship. For the present, it is especially important that he should better understand the ways of thought of the villagers, particularly the way in which their considerable intelligence works to imagine what he himself gains from his actions. Villagers do not accept all that they are told at its face value and are quick to look – with considerable ingenuity and sophistication – for the self interest in any action. The officials, as long as they are comparative strangers in the village, must not underestimate this, as the less experienced townsmen among them tend to do. Only when they are more established can they act more freely, without thinking of the other possible interpretations of their actions. One way of creating this confidence is for officials to make longer visits to the village. It is hard, with the best will in the world, to make a rapport in about one hour's stay. Usually the official comes with a specific purpose and must necessarily do most of the talking to get this across. Longer visits would enable the villagers to talk more. To sit leisurely, to talk sometimes about matters not connected with development, is to gain a fuller contact with the villagers.

Training of Functionaries:

The functionaries involved at various levels in the implementation of development schemes lacked the necessary skill and ability required for the effective implementation of programmes. Most of them did not know how to prepare a plan. They could not design a feasible or a viable scheme, identify the problems and prospects, and assess the income of a household correctly, which led to wrong identification of beneficiaries. They lacked the capacity of approaching, guiding and assisting the illiterate and ignorant poor people because they did not have proper training for carrying out their duties.

Training of Beneficiaries:

The challenge is to build the capacity of the people to articulate. But the poor have very little access to information. Often they know almost nothing about the plans and programmes designed to promote their development. Information systems of the kind that may be of educational value to the poor still have not been developed. Knowledge and information are crucial to make participation a continuing activity and to give the people an idea of what their rights and responsibilities are. Therefore, training can be extremely useful to the people in villages.

It was observed during the fieldwork that while identifying the activities, due regard is not given to the ability and aptitude of the beneficiaries. It is taken for granted that the beneficiary has the required technical and other know-how for maintenance of the assets acquired. For example, people who have gone in for dairy farming are not educated with regard to the rearing and hygienic maintenance

of the animals, quantity and quality of their cattle feed requirements and its economics, seeking veterinary help for animals etc. As a result, income generating ability of the assets decreases, making an otherwise profitable scheme just an exercise in futility.

Insurgency:

Insurgency has definite attributes that separate it from other types of movements. The insurgents are fired by revolutionary ideals and zeal. The war at hand for them is above all wars. In fact, in their vision of things, industries and growth are inhibited precisely because at a certain stage, political and historical progress has been wrapped by extraneous circumstances. Correcting these and setting them on the tract is the top priority for them, for once this is done, all else will fall in place. Development will follow naturally is their belief. Even those opposed to insurgency are by the forces of circumstances blind to other vital calls of the society. As much as the insurgents are blind to the needs of the hour, so are those involved in counter insurgency. It is such an overwhelming problem which leaves little time or energy with anybody caught in it to think or see anything beyond the immediate.

One of the most familiar refrains in all homilies on the reasons for the backwardness of Manipur is that it is the phenomenon of militancy that is keeping the inflow of capital into the area, thus keeping all developmental activities arrested. There is no doubt much truth in this. Based on field data, officials argue that when several factions demand their own quota of any financial packages delivered by the centre or any other foreign donor, programmes cannot be carried out to the expected

level. We can quite imagine the number of potential areas of industrial and other forms of development-related investments, particularly from the private sectors, that have been shied away by the fear of the law and order situation in the state. So when other more advanced states are talking of building information highways by tying up with big names like Microsoft and Dell, Manipur is unable to even repair and maintain its miserable network of surface roads, virtually cutting off large sections of its population for prolonged periods during every monsoon when the rains either cause landslides or renders the un-metalled roads unmotorable.

The development experience of the state reveals that the initial perspectives behind development of insurgency was the distorted development of the state but insurgency is now itself retarding any attempt towards development of the state.

Red Tapism:

The procedure of sanctioning financial assistance to beneficiaries under various development programmes is tedious and long. The follow-up in many cases is very tiresome and discouraging. As a result of red-tapism, the applicant at times gets fed up and gives up the effort. Thus red-tapism is a real discouragement to the poor.

Follow-Up Assistance:

All the beneficiaries reported that the functionaries of the programmes do not generally pay follow-up visits to the beneficiaries to help them in the operation/utilization of the benefit, procurement of raw materials,

maintenance of assets and disposal of the final product. The functionaries are of the view that their responsibility ends when the beneficiary gets the assistance.

As a result of the absence of follow-up visits, the beneficiaries are caught up in the trap of operational difficulties. Income as well as employment generation capacity of the scheme gets badly affected. Moreover, some unscrupulous beneficiaries feel free to mis-utilize the finance and dispose of assets to swallow up the assistance. Thus the very objective of the programmes gets defeated.

Marketing Facilities:

The beneficiaries, in the absence of proper marketing facilities get exploited by the intermediaries in many ways. This, according to the beneficiaries, does not leave them with any profit. As a result, the very objective of lifting the weaker sections above poverty level in the backward areas remains an unfulfilled dream.

Selection of Projects/Schemes:

The most important factor in effective implementation of schemes to create a perceptible impact on the economic status of beneficiaries is the selection of appropriate projects/schemes. It has been largely found that the projects/schemes are sanctioned in the most perfunctory manner. It is the official agencies which initiate and carry out development on behalf of the people. The people themselves appear simply as recipients of development. Hardly, any thought is given to basic infrastructure required for the successful implementation of the schemes. The beneficiaries reported that they had little or no role to play in the planning,

implementation or evaluation process. Further, the extension workers or officials never visited the beneficiaries to evaluate the programmes implemented. This is one of the main reasons for the unsuccessful implementation of the programmes.

Identification of Beneficiaries:

Proper identification of beneficiaries is basic pre-requisite for achieving the objectives of any development programmes. But it has been found that instead of the poorest of the poor, the better off people were given benefits. The wrong identification of the beneficiaries can be attributed partly to over-enthusiasm on the part of the programme functionaries to achieve the targets rather than the objectives, too much intervention of politicians and partly due to the greed of the functionaries for illegal gratification.

The poor, for whom the development schemes are meant, remain outside the schemes because the unscrupulous programme functionaries least bother to identify those who actually deserve the assistance. Thus, at the cost of the poor, the richer sections corner the assistance mainly owing to negligence on the part of the officials on the one hand and due to the manipulation by the richer people on the other.

Medical Facilities:

It was found during the fieldwork that almost half the beneficiaries did not make use of the primary health centre while the veterinary unit was made use by only 1/3rd of the total beneficiaries. Both primary health centre and veterinary unit are situated at a distance of 5 to 7 kilometres. In the absence of any on-the-door medical service, both humans and their animals do not receive proper medi-care

particularly when the animals are too ill to be taken to the primary health/veterinary centre located at a distance. Moreover, the veterinary doctors are reported to be entrusting their job to their subordinates like medical assistants. This is generally so when the doctor is absent, which is rather often. On account of transport problems the doctors reach the centre late and are constrained to leave early for their home. Moreover, they do not stay in the village during the night for want of 'proper' accommodation.

Apart from the reasons given above for the impact of various development programmes on the life of the people, it was observed during the field work that there were certain lapses on the part of beneficiaries as well. This can be easily understood from the following facts:

- i) The beneficiaries were careless in the maintenance of their assets.
- ii) They did not give their animals the required quantity and quality of feed and fodder.
- iii) They kept their animals in unhygienic conditions which exposed their animals to different diseases.
- iv) Sometimes, they even sold out their assets to pay off debts, even if they had been indebted for non-productive purposes such as marriage and death ceremonies, construction of a house or its repair etc.
- v) Some beneficiaries were chiefly interested in grabbing the assistance rather than benefiting the schemes.

vi) Sometimes, the beneficiaries did not furnish correct information and many a time their cases happened to be incomplete which delayed the sanction of assistance in their favour.

vii) Many beneficiaries did not pay back the loan taken or delayed it to a point where it became difficult for the banks to recover, which further caused a lot of problems and denied other deserving candidates.

viii) Sometimes, people were not willing to participate in development activities if it did not bring any immediate monetary benefits, for instance; social forestry.

The study revealed that the main reasons for success of programmes were due to its ability to meet the practical pressing need of the people while failure of development schemes/programmes were due to lack of coordination, prevalence of corruption, lack of beneficiary/functionary trainings, wrong selection of development schemes, lack of people's participation, lack of training, insurgency, red tapism, lack of follow-up assistance, inadequate marketing facilities, wrong selection of schemes, wrong identification of beneficiaries, and poor medical facilities and not cultural factors such as kinship, values, religion\belief, habits, social structure, education, world view and attitudes. The present study reveals that most of the reasons for failure of schemes were external to the people.

Thus, it is important that human development policies and programmes take above factors into account. The various development administrations have not yet appreciated the importance of monitoring the process of schemes, feedback from below and strategic intervention to rectify faulty design. They are also characterized by information and communication gaps. Often, a

humble villager is not aware of a scheme, though it is designed primarily for him/her and his/her fellow villager. Or, he may not know which organization he has to contact if he has a problem. The time has come to introduce management techniques in development administration and the present practice of evaluating achievement in terms of expenditure incurred or targets met must be replaced. Indeed, the whole approach at present is expenditure-oriented with no thought whatsoever for who benefits from what, how and when.

Decision-making power must move from the centre to the periphery. Beneficiary participation is unlikely to go much far in situations where field level officials themselves have no say in the matter. Co-ordination mechanisms must pursue the single aim of making public services easily accessible to the people. More objective criteria to evaluate performance of development personnel must be devised so that the staff concentrate on their actual task of serving the poor. The field staff are accountable only to their superiors, and to no one else. They must be made accountable to the people as well. In working with the poor for their development, it is of crucial significance that the concerned personnel are aware of their dreams, fears, aspiration and desires of the people who they are supposed to serve.

Development is, thus, a major process of social and cultural transformation and its deeper understanding is necessary to know why, inspite of substantial increase in production and growth, diversification of the economy, and enormous expansion in technological base, the benefits from economic progress do

not spread to all sections of the society and a great majority of them do not experience improvement in the quality of their life.

This means, without awakening them, ensuring their participation, and rekindling their hope for a better life buried under centuries of hopeless repression real development is impossible.

CHAPTER-VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

As human beings reach out for the stars, there remain on the planet earth large numbers of the poor who are unable to live a fully human life. Indeed, the Third World today is characterized by the pervasive poverty of its millions. Development, instead of focussing on the poor, seems to have bypassed them.

Much of the early thinking on development did not accord to culture a central place either as a goal or as an instrumentality. It made some erroneous assumptions regarding tradition and traditional societies. It attributed to these societies a static quality, denying them an inner dynamic, adaptability and variability. The possibility that the so-called traditional societies might modernize themselves without necessarily having to discard their institutions, beliefs and values, was articulated much later. This feeble voice was all but lost in the din cacophony that prefaced the ambitious launching of development programmes whose predominant emphasis was on the twin goals: capital formation and raising of GNP which were pursued with an all consuming passion.

Five decades of intense development activity have brought to the fore the critical significance of culture. The emphasis successively shifted from political freedom to economic growth to social equality and then to cultural autonomy. Economic growth still remains essential, but its pursuit cannot sideline consideration of distributive justice, nor can the demands of cultural identity and its autonomous

self-expression be ignored. Culture has moved centre stage and influences the processes of development and the distribution of its benefits.

Development must be woven around people, not people around development, and it should empower the citizens with an awareness of the issues to participate in development and politics and not to make them share the corruption of the politicians. It has to draw upon innovations from diverse sources. Sources of endogenous creativity have to be constantly tapped and encouraged to promote self-reliance and contribute towards avoidance of dependence on external sources and the heavy price and often political subservience they exact. The products of endogenous creativity should blend well with the cultural fabric and find easy acceptance. The self-confidence that will be generated in the process will be an added advantage.

Traditions cannot be treated as vestigial remains of an ancient past. They survive because they have definite functions. They contribute to a community's special sense of being; they provide bases of social integration, and offer guidelines to action during periods of uncertainty. They cannot be wished away just to facilitate economic growth. Moreover, people in traditional societies are pragmatic. Once they become convinced that there are distinct advantages in pursuing a course different from what they have been following traditionally, they will not hesitate to even go against their age old beliefs and customs. It is important to remember that social values and traditional practices are not static and that they change over time. The fact that traditional societies have embraced many innovations is proof enough that they are not opposed to development. More recent

development thinking has moved away from the limited objective of raising of the GNP. Its new concerns- prevention of the degradation of environment, preservation of scarce natural resources or finding alternatives to them, population control and so forth- have wide ramifications in the domain of culture. Any consideration of the quality of life will be meaningless if it does not take into account deeply held cultural values. Similarly, human resource development has vital cultural underpinnings. The notion of basic or minimum needs- nutrition, education, health, housing, employment etc, - is organically linked to culture. In this perspective, culture acquires still more significance. ✓

The case for evolving interpenetrating and interdependent cultural and development policies therefore is strong. The record of the last five decades shows that development strategies that are not sensitive and responsive to the cultural fabric, its delicate balance and cherished finalities, run the risk of encountering rough weather.

A large number of tribal communities in India are technoeconomically and educationally backward. Some of the tribal communities or sections of certain tribal communities have of course registered commendable educational or economic progress. Notwithstanding this, tribal life, by and large, portrays general vulnerability to economic exploitation and socio-psychological barriers to rapid and induced change.

Therefore, after 1950, Government of India felt the necessity of safeguarding the interests of the hitherto exploited tribal communities. The constitution came into being as a legal safeguard to develop the tribes by providing

them with constitutionally defined privileges. In addition to the various constitutional provisions, massive efforts have been made during the plan periods for the development of tribes. During the first five year plan certain important problems such as poverty, lack of roads and communication facilities, shortage of drinking water and irrigation, education, health were considered. In the second five year plan, development programmes in tribal areas were divided into four groups, viz., (a) communication, (b) education and culture, (c) development of economy, and (d) health, housing and water supply. The third plan provided for tribal development on the general pattern of community development, but modified to suit tribal conditions and supplemented by additional resources. An important dimension of tribal development in the fourth plan period was to intensify protection of tribal population from exploitation by more sophisticated elements through legislative and executive measures. The entire issue of tribal development was critically reviewed on the eve of the fifth five year plan, wherein, for the first time, a new strategy of earmarking funds for the development of Scheduled Tribes population was evolved. The instrument of Tribal Sub-Plan was developed on the basis of the concentration of Scheduled Tribes population in specific areas and was broadly classified into two categories: (a) in areas of tribal concentration, and (b) for dispersed tribes. The broad objectives of the Tribal Sub-Plan include reduction of the gap between the levels of development of tribal and non tribal areas, and improvement of the quality of life of the tribals by alleviating them from abject poverty and by extricating them from exploitation in the spheres of land alienation, indebtedness, bonded labour and chronic malpractices in the sale of agricultural and forest produce. The sixth five year plan attached importance to poverty amelioration with the objectives of raising

a substantial number of families above poverty line. The emphasis in the seventh and eighth five year plans was on raising the socio-economic condition of the tribals and strengthening of the infrastructure in tribal areas especially in the areas of industries, irrigation, power, mining, forestry and wild life. And the ninth five year plan aimed at protecting the tribal economy from external markets. Despite all such development efforts, the results have fallen far short of expectations.

It has been found that schemes under the various categories of programmes faced success as well as failure and the schemes under economic, welfare and community institution building achieved higher rate of success than the schemes under the other categories. A few case studies were given to determine the reasons for the outcome of the various schemes implemented by the four agencies. The study revealed that the main reasons responsible for success was on account of the ability of the various schemes to address the practical pressing need of the people while failure of development schemes/programmes were due to lack of coordination, prevalence of corruption, lack of beneficiary/functionary development schemes, lack of people's participation, lack of training, insurgency, red tapism, lack of follow-up assistance, inadequate marketing facilities, wrong selection of schemes, wrong identification of beneficiaries, and poor medical facilities and not due to cultural factors such as kinship, values, religion, habits, belief, social structure, education, world view and attitudes as happens so often. The present study reveals that there were lapses on the part of the beneficiaries as well.

The analysis of the socio-economic development of the district by using some of the common socio-economic indicators highlights that the

occupational pattern in the district has smaller percentages of workers in the secondary and tertiary sectors and larger percentage in the primary or agricultural sector. With regard to industrialization, the study reveals that Manipur as well as the district under study is devoid of large scale industries. The study reveals that the district is categorised as a rural area. The present study also indicates that the literacy rate in Senapati District is lower than the state average as well as the national average. Regarding the availability of educational facilities, the present study reveals that the number of school-going children is significant in the district. The case is most pronounced in the case of high school and higher secondary school going children. Roads and communication facilities, which have been among the most important infrastructure for development, are increasing over the decade in the district, but regarding the communication facilities the study points out that they are still inadequate when compared to the state and national averages. Regarding health care facilities, the study reveals the number of hospitals per 100 sqms and the number of hospital per 1000 population has been increasing over the decade though the increase was not so pronounced. Thus we see that various developmental efforts need to be taken up urgently in the district under study.

From the major findings of the present study the following recommendations may be made regarding development programmes in Senapati District:

1. A fundamental weakness lies in the fact that the people for whom development is intended are not involved in the development process, be it in planning, resources

mobilization, beneficiary identification, implementation or monitoring and evaluation.

2. Plans for development have a greater chance of success if related cultural factors are taken into account while formulating plans and programmes. It is seen from chapter IV that there is lack of interaction between administrators and the people except when the people went to ask for help at the development offices. This kind of situation will lead to the failure of development programmes as needs and aspirations of the people are not taken into account.

3. Development administrators concentrate on realizing targets, particularly financial, to safeguard their own position rather than implement schemes with commitment. This makes planners and administrators overlook the cultural background of the communities and make desperate effort to alter the way of life of the people, which is bound to meet with resistance. Therefore, officials associated with tribal development administration should be trained in the philosophy underlying various schemes, new technologies and methodologies involved in implementation. They must also carry out effective survey to know the real needs of the people which can pave the way for carrying out more result-oriented plans.

4. Since there is heterogeneity in beneficiary groups, community specific plan must be formulated. This means plans can be an outcome of one single master plan and this master plan must be made flexible to suit the cultural background of the ethnic group concerned. This point was brought to light by the work of L.P. Vidyarthi (1984), who said that the development programmes meant for the tribals were uniformly planned. As a result the needy received the least benefits while those

more advantageously placed in terms of population, size, and economic strength cornered most of the gains.

5. Low awareness amongst the tribal people about the development schemes/programmes has led the planners to find flaws with the tribal society instead of the development programmes. Therefore, development of awareness among the people about the programmes needs immediate attention. Awareness is also an important weapon to curtail possible irregularities by the implementing agencies. It is essential to have intensive campaigning and dissemination of information about the programmes through electronic media in local language and through conventional and non-conventional systems like advertisement in vernacular newspapers, local TV channels, dance, drama, poster, display on boards etc.

6. The present expenditure-oriented plans must be replaced with result-oriented plans. However important the policies and programmes may be, unless they are implemented effectively, the realization of the objectives becomes a remote possibility.

7. While giving financial aid care must be taken to see that it is utilized in a proper manner because it has been seen that assistance given to them is not utilized properly or is misused by them for purposes other than the one for which it was given. And, if possible aid must be given in kind, not in cash, and only about those items which the people cannot manage easily through their own resources such as seeds, fertilizers, etc.

8. The officials must establish a beneficiary-friendly approach with the tribal people and reach a consensus with the beneficiaries as to what change was required. This

would help in formulating a realistic policy keeping in view the local needs of the tribals.

9. Lack of training of the administrative personnel meant to implement the tribal schemes has also been responsible for the poor development of tribal areas. Therefore, the government must make it necessary for officers to have working knowledge of the tribal language, traditions and culture. In this regard Ashok Ranjan Basu (1988) in his study on tribal development in Himachal Pradesh pointed out that the training of the personnel must be emphasized to: (a) familiarize the officers with those aspects of tribal culture that impinge on their development work; and (b) instil in them right attitudinal and behavioural patterns for service, as outside people are still not perceived as agents of change, but as agents of the group who have traditionally exploited them.

10. The officials posted must devote more time to fieldwork. They must maintain field diaries that would indicate the places and persons contacted by them. This is lacking as has been found during fieldwork among the villagers, and confirmed by the officials themselves.

11. To solve the problem of indebtedness among the tribal community, the existing co-operative systems must be reorganized and loan must be given to tribals without interest and within a short time on easy terms and conditions.

12. Tribal planning is required to focus on the tribal masses and they are required to be protected from tribal elites who do not allow percolation of the benefits of planning process. Similarly, institutions like village development councils and co-

operatives should be regulated in such a way that they would not work as channels of exploitation.

13. There is a need to change the mindset of tribals in a manner that they do not become victims of dependency syndrome but develop their self-confidence and capability.

14. The participation of tribals in development plans has to be ensured by strategic efforts for promoting system, delivery system, transparency and direct contacts of delivery agency.

15. Intervention by a few qualified NGOs with appropriate administrative structure, strong service motivation and professional competence is absolutely essential to achieve expected tribal development objectives.

16. Proper and careful formulation of programmes, development of awareness about the programmes and transparency in their implementation and evolving more effective monitoring mechanism for better implementation of the schemes are prerequisites of a successful tribal development plan.

If the poorest of the poor are to be reached and served, emphasis in the planning and implementation of human development will need to be firmly rested on the centrality of the human dimension. The need is to understand what the people feel about services designed for them and the reason why they often respond to those initiatives in ways different from the expectations of the planners and administrators.

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