

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

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***SUBMITTED IN***

**FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT OF THE  
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN  
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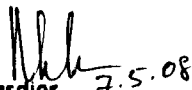
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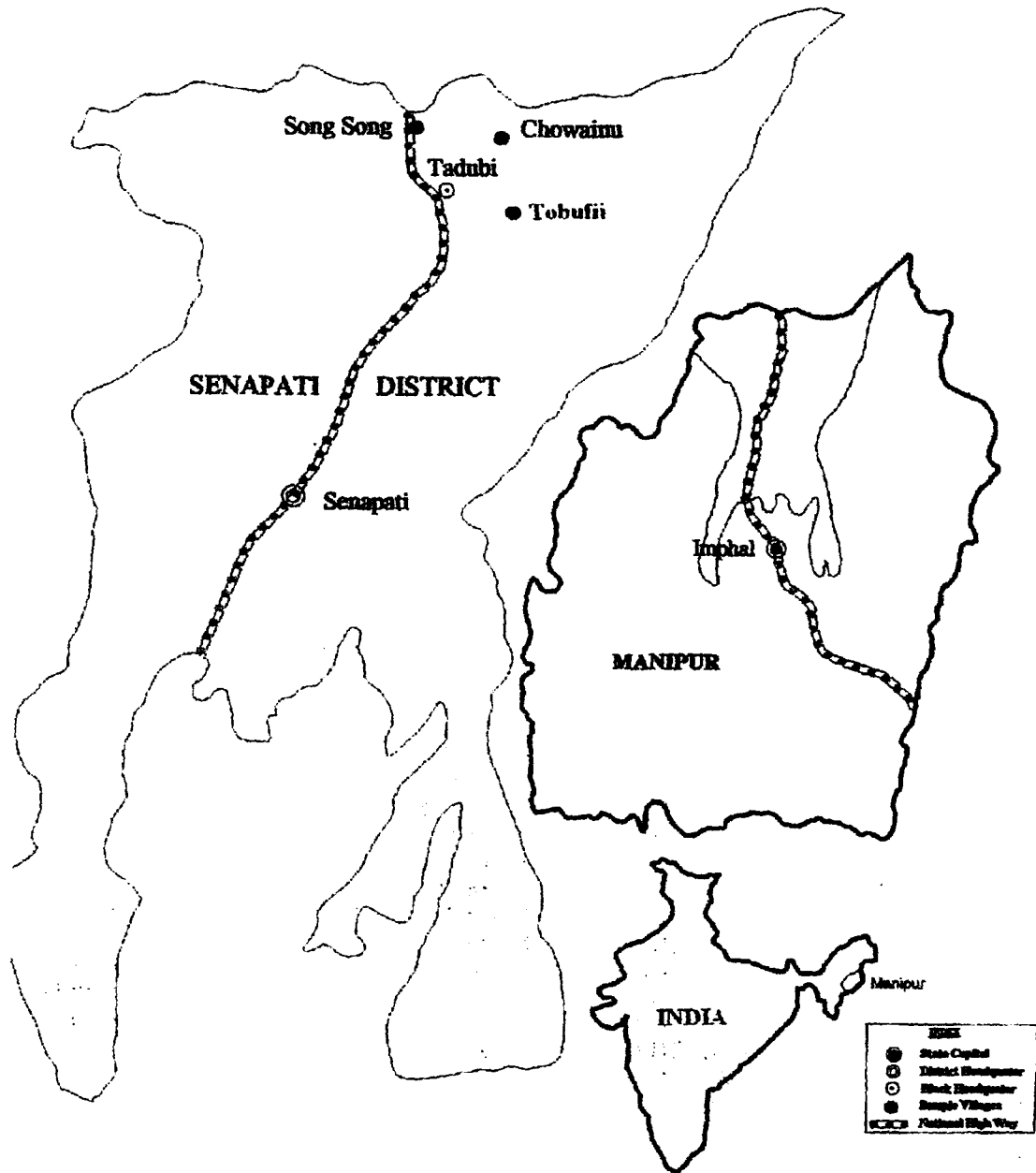
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# CHAPTER I

## 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 late 1960s 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 human kind. He has succinctly outlined three objectives of development, which are as follows:

- 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 a 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, worldviews, 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 do not spread to all sections of the society and why a great majority of them do 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 development. There was little infrastructure in most of the tribal areas. The tribal policy of the British government emphasized on isolation of tribal people from the plains people. 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 to mitigate the sufferings of the tribals and prevent their exploitation by the outsiders. However, they made 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 have constituted an important segment of Indian society. They have been commonly designated as *Adivasi* (original settlers), *Girijan* (hill dwellers), *Vanyajati* (forest dwellers), *Adimjati* (primitive castes), *Janajati* (folk communities), *Amusuchit 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 called 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 type rather than an economic or technological state of affairs. They belong to the weaker section of Indian population like the Scheduled Castes, although they are not socially disabled like the Scheduled Castes, entitling them to protection against social injustice and all forms of exploitation as per Article 46 of the Constitution of India. The tribal

communities are actually at different stages of development and need varies degrees and kinds of protection.

The tribes in India are among the poorest of all although mostly found in resource-rich areas. Out of their total population, 52.6 percent 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 disturbing to note that, according to the Census of 1991 only 23.63 percent of them are literate which is about half of the national average (52.21 percent). Hence, there is a need to evolve a development approach for them so that they can quickly come at par with other categories of people in the country.

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 26<sup>th</sup> 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 Central as well as various state governments. In order to bring the tribals on par with other people, in all respects, development agencies have been set up. As a result, all the states with tribal population have separate and independent departments to look after tribal welfare and development.

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" (quoted by Elwin 1960:

13). The tribal development policy in the country was formulated largely in keeping this philosophy. 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 and ensuring progressive elimination of all forms of exploitation and 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 development works essentially on the basis of self-help. The NES blocks were subsequently converted into Community Development Project (CDP) blocks. The CDP activities 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 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'. 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 an improvement over the community development approach, but it was not very effective in ensuring development of 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 the 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) for 'Primitive Tribes' 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 local 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 and 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 or 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 is 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, the union as well as 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 of 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 the time of its independence – mass poverty and lack of economic growth.

The principal consequence of this approach was that both industrial and agricultural outputs 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 general failure of development programmes.

### **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 development 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 and 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 a 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. The author is of the view that the academicians are equally responsible because they never wish to share the findings of their researches with common people. Development of tribals takes 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 says that most development plans fail not because the rural people are lazy, tradition-bound and opposed to development but because 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. And it was downgraded to the status of a decorative frill as a concession to the nostalgia for the past. 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, 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 instead of 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 tension.

#### 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 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 the 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 points out that one of the most important irritants of the tribal scene in the country 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 policies.

R.P. Mishra *et al.* (1979) highlight that each tribe has its distinctive pattern of living, although contact with non-tribal people has made a dent in the tribal cultural configuration. They further point out that each tribal area has a particular level of development and acculturation. They also point that social structure of developing societies is inhibitive of real development, which is something development anthropologists would not agree with.

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. They agree that there have been continuous efforts towards tribal development in the post-independent India, but the fact remains that these efforts have not been able to make any 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. As a matter of fact, tribal areas are more often than not resource-rich rather resource-scare areas, as Singh claims. He further points out that many measures in the form of redistribution of assets and flow of benefits from natural resources, and 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 are formulated in an adhoc manner without any perspective. Secondly, the special programmes for them are 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 infrastructure programmes may help in creating employment and building facilities, there may be a long time lag between the creation of infrastructure 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. 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 emergent tribal identity of 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 would mean a persistent rise in per capita income in real terms without accentuating economic disparities. This must be achieved while minimizing the adverse effects on future resource availability and on ecology, and 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 the 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 on the socio-economic development of tribals in Adilabad district in Andhra Pradesh, finds that inspite of the rigorous efforts through planned development in the district, major problems relating to tribals have remained 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 certain 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 opines that labour-intensive schemes such as small scale and cottage industries must be implemented to divert manpower from agriculture to other occupations and 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 points out that the efforts made by the government are 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 had been given to the need for such participation in all the plans. The study also points out that because of several bottle-necks in the administrative machinery little has been done in these areas.

B.K. RoyBurman (1985) presents certain issues to be considered at the operational level for an integrated approach to tribal development during the Seventh Plan such as 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 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 tribals and tribal areas has become almost a gamble in ignorance. A massive programme for communication among planning and implementation agencies, academics of different discipline interested in tribals and spokesmen of the various tribal forums is needed to correct the situation within the short time in hand before the Seventh Plan.

M.S. Gopalakrishnan (1985) describes the impact of the welfare schemes on the Kannikars of 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 started 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 tribes are a homogenous people. 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 case-worker 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 case-work 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,

excessive politicization of tribal issues, 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, technological advancement has not been appreciable and progress in the socio-economic fields has been slow. 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 tribals' 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) points out that the tribals are backward compared not only to the general population, but also the Scheduled Castes and other backward

social groups under constitutional protection. The author examines the efforts of planned development intervention on the tribals from 1961 to 1981 and concludes that twenty years of intervention has not made any significant impact on the conditions of the tribals.

M. Bhapuji (1992) points out that tribal development strategies in the successive five-year plans could not deal with the complexity of the tribal situation. 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 needs a radical change in the outlook of policy makers and administrators.

A.K. Singh and M.K. Jabbi (1995) write that conditions of the tribals in post-independent India have, in many ways, worsened. They further point out that tribals have become the refugees of development. They also point out that for the tribals 'development' has become synonymous with 'deprivation' and brewing 'discontent'.

According to B.N. Sahay (1997), 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 the successful implementation of a tribal scheme, 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 the 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-economic-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 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 opened the doors of the hill people to 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 being 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 by virtue of initial inequality in the name of development of equality. 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 Maos and 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 - the Maram.

Benjamin Banee (1995) talks about the origin of the Maos, where 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 across the 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 the 73<sup>rd</sup> 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. Bareh (2001) edited *Encyclopaedia of North-East India*, Vol.3: Manipur gives a detailed account of Manipur under the British rule, its turbulent history, turmoil and 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. Besides, a vast pool of literature can be found on Manipur, its cultures and the varied communities living there. But such studies are scattered and exist 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 an anthropological perspective.

### **Area of the Study**

Manipur is situated on the eastern frontier of India. Physically, it is divided into two parts – hills and valleys, with the hills covering  $\frac{3}{4}$ <sup>th</sup> of the total area of the state. Manipur 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 present study was conducted in Senapati district. The district had been selected for the present study because it has the highest population of 3,79,214 persons with a large number of tribes like the Mao, Maram, Thadou, Zeliang, Tangkhul, Maring, and Kom. The district is also the oldest of all districts existing since 1969 and is unique so far it has two Autonomous District Councils (Bhatt 1997.). Moreover, the 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 3271 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:

Development Blocks	Villages	Houses	Population
Tadubi	65	6877	49,458
Paomata	55	6974	61,722
Kangpokpi	189	8969	60,881
Saikul	228	4371	28,017

Source: *Revenue Census, 1988.*

Development programmes that have been implemented in the district relate to education, industries, medical, social welfare, agriculture, road and buildings, veterinary, power and water, co-operative societies, fisheries and poverty alleviation programmes like NREP (National Rural Employment Programmes), RLEGP (Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programmes), and JRY (Jawahar Rozgar Yojana).

The present study examines development programmes for the Scheduled Tribes of Manipur in general and the Maos of Senapati District in particular. It is not intended in the present study to include all the developmental programmes run by every department; rather the aim is to study the developmental programmes carried out by certain selected agencies like 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 Development Area (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 examine 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, and
3. To analyse the role of socio-cultural factors, if any, in success or 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, government publications, annual plans, district information register, etc. and non-official sources like books, journals, newspapers, magazines, seminar papers, etc. were also tapped.

The secondary data were collected from the 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 respondents in the three selected villages from the Tadubi Development Block of Senapati district of Manipur. These respondents are all beneficiaries of various development programmes, who were identified and counted at the time of conducting household census of these three villages. The present study thought it prudent to include all the beneficiaries as its respondents rather go for any kind of sampling or artificial selection of respondents. Since the beneficiaries were from diverse socio-economic backgrounds taking them as respondents would be representative of the diversity that one expected among the respondents as well.

The Tadubi Development Block was selected for the following reasons. One, Maos are mostly concentrated in this Block. Second, this Block is the oldest development block established in 1970. Third, development programmes in the district started in this Block. And finally, almost all important development programmes were implemented in this Block with or without success.

The three selected villages are as follows:

1. Tobufii, the first village, is located 3 kilometres away from the Block headquarters and town. There is no means of transportation between the Block headquarters and the village.
2. Chowainu, the second village, is about 13 kilometres away from the Block headquarters. There is no *pucca* road and transport facilities are meagre. The nearest market is 6 kilometres away.
3. Song Song, the third village, is 6 kilometres away from the Block headquarters. The National Highway No. 39 runs through the heart of the village. As a consequence the village enjoys almost all basic amenities.

The justification for choosing these villages located at varying distance from the Block headquarters was basically the assumption that varying distances from the Block headquarters – the hub of all development activities - may have varying impact of development programmes on different villages.

Thus the present study adopted different strategies for selection of the district, development block, villages and respondents. The Senapati district was taken in view of the fact that Maos were mainly found in this district. The Tadubi Development Block was taken not only because Maos were concentrated in that block but also because it was the oldest development block in the district. The selection of the three villages was based on their distance from the block headquarters and the respondents were all beneficiaries of various development programmes implemented in the three villages. Regarding respondents, it was at one point of time suggested to compare the beneficiaries with the non-beneficiaries, but finally what was decided was what has been followed in this study.

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 so 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.

Besides interviewing the beneficiary respondents, Interview was also conducted with development officials at the district and block levels and officials as well as members of village development boards involved in implementation of development programmes. The main objective of the interview was to know their perceptions about the adequacy of manpower, participation and co-operation of the people, rating of job performance of the officials, etc.

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 analysis of the different facets of the various development programmes implemented for the tribals in general and the Maos in particular.

### **Organisation of the thesis**

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 development programmes implemented in the district since 1985. Responses of Mao beneficiaries to the various programmes have been discussed in Chapter IV. Various factors responsible for both success and failure of the various development programmes have been discussed 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 lives in 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 oilseeds 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 and *dal* 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 and universal cottage 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 the 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 the 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° and 25.37° North latitude and 93.29° East longitude. It is bounded by the state of Nagaland on the North, Ukhrul district in 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 No. 39 passes through the heart of the district from the south to the north and has an altitude ranging from 1061 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, on 13

December 1976, the district headquarters was shifted to Senapati. 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 *Vidhan Sabha* 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 in 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 main stay 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 other 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 in the district is 830 kms. The length of different standards 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, mass education, etc.

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 subdivision where extreme temperature prevails. The

maximum and minimum temperature is 34.14°C and 3.36°C 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 subdivision. 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 Tobumai. 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 Mongoloid race. They speak a Tibeto-Burman language, which "... most nearly approaches the true Naga language..." (Shimmi 1988: 72).

According to Yonuo, "The Tibeto-Burman speaking people of the Mongolian (sic) 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 led 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 heaven and 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 one historian, "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 19<sup>th</sup> century and so they claim that the term 'Mao' was given by the British (Ashuli 1981: 54). The Maos called themselves 'Ememei' after their ancestor 'Emeo/ Memiio'.

The Mao area has 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-hen-siana-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, bulbul, etc. are occasionally found.

Every Mao village has a well defined area which is demarcated by natural features like hill ranges and rivers or 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) Land owned by a clan, which can be brought under cultivation or for any other purpose by individual families;
- b) Land owned by a village community, which is usually administered by the village chief or the village authority (as is the case at present). Such land may be kept as hunting zones where individuals may be allowed to gather wood for fuel; and
- c) Land 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 are promulgated for 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 a Chairman. The main function of this body is to decide any 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 youths, students and women's 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 the 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 marry. 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 ... (E)lopement exists and is very frequent but which is looked down with contempt by the society especially on women." (Gori 1984: 23-24).

Modern Mao women wear the modified traditional *lungi* and shawl, which is especially worn by married women. While men wear the western trousers and shirts the younger generation girls go for Indian and 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 love to 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 commonly 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 was 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, sugar cane etc. 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.

Mao literacy rate according to 1971 census was just 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 schools 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 *kacha* jeepable road running through the village leading to the next village named 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, GCI 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 church, one Catholic church, one Revival church, one sub-branch post office, one telephone exchange, one central higher secondary school, two private clinics, one newspaper shop, and so on.

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 irrespective of house types. 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 L.P. Gas 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 even 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. On the whole women seem to live longer than men as they grow older. Drinking is one social problem which can be attributed for the decrease in the number of older men in the village.

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 mostly remain as cultivators. The obvious reason is lack of proper education among women.

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 household. 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. The table reveals a not so happy situation.

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*

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 education is still very much visible.

#### 1. **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 GCI 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 church, one Catholic church and one Sevenday Adventist Church. The villagers consume as well as sell forest products. They use firewood as fuel for cooking. Animals like 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.

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.

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*

Table 2.8 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
<b>Total</b>	<b>366</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>318</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>684</b>	<b>100.0</b>

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
<b>Total</b>	<b>366</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>318</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>684</b>	<b>100.0</b>

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 household. The total 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.

## 2. Tobumai:

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 *kacha* type and footpaths are there all over the village.

Houses in the village are clustered together. Roofs are made of GCI 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, the ones 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 a few kms. away from the block headquarters, 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 agriculturists. 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	Percent- age
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 indicate that males are better represented in education, government or private service, students, etc., whereas 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 comparatively in 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 certainly better off than the other two villages but all the three villages lack 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 kerosene lamps, candles, etc. in Senapati district of Manipur.

### **CHAPTER III**

## **DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN SENAPATI DISTRICT, MANIPUR**

Development programmes for tribals in Manipur aim 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 level of income of the beneficiary tribal families. With this perspective, tribal development has been based on two-dimensional approaches: (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 hill district offices in all the five hill districts during 1989, each under the charge of one officer of 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, several ministries like the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Food, etc. are concerned with 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 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 are implemented through the Deputy Commissioners, who are also District Magistrates. The Deputy Commissioners in the hill areas are also declared as 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 departments. 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 plan 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 for 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.

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 for 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 are 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 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 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 crops 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 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.

**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	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cardamon 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	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>120.00</b>	<b>156.34</b>	<b>4190</b>	<b>6448</b>	<b>110.00</b>	<b>46.55</b>	<b>1439</b>	<b>918</b>	<b>119.00</b>	<b>51.59</b>	<b>1506</b>	<b>2526</b>

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	313
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
Cardamon 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	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>460</b>	<b>1322.13</b>	<b>8165</b>	<b>9939</b>	<b>710</b>	<b>403.91</b>	<b>5900</b>	<b>3608</b>	<b>1519.00</b>	<b>2040.02</b>	<b>15900</b>	<b>21183</b>

**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.

But the CAGI report points out 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 from 1992-93 to 1996-97, Rs.1.40 crores were paid by the Director as grants-in-aid to Manipur Tribal Development Corporation (MTDC) from 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 issuing 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 the 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 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. 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 very important. 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.

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 four years ending March 1989, and Rs.64 lakhs were earmarked for the benefit of 2153 families. The report further brought to light that during 1987-88, Rs.3.99 lakhs were spent towards purchase of 236 poultry sheds for distribution to 236 targeted beneficiaries. But only 34 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

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	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miscellaneous Expenditures	-	-	-	-	1.00	-	-	-	1.00	1.13	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>74.00</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>11.00</b>	<b>15.00</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>18.00</b>	<b>5.15</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>

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	5 nos.
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 Kanchup	-	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	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>85.00</b>	<b>75.53</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>60.00</b>	<b>101.54</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>274.00</b>	<b>271.22</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>

*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.

districts, during the year 1995-96 an amount of Rs.9.75 lakhs was spent for covering 195 beneficiaries in the valley district of 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 Manipur. Fish and fish 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 important programmes taken up under it were 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, the emphasis was on financial assistance to pisciculturists which accommodated 71.49 percent of the total expenditure.

From the above, it is quite clear 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 limit the scheme would have achieved more than 100 percent success rate.

Forestry: Forest has for long been of great service to human beings by way of meeting their essential needs of food and shelter. In modern times, its resources play a vital role in building up of 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 it was seen that no programme under this scheme was implemented after 1990 onwards.

The above findings are substantiated by the CAGI report, according to which 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 on 70 beneficiaries in terms of the schemes approved for 1985-86. But it was found that neither was any work programme prepared before the 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 actually 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

**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	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.15	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>120.00</b>	<b>78.46</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>23.00</b>	<b>26.16</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>29.48</b>	<b>28.82</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>

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 Yarn	-	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	-	3.00	-	-	15.00	-	245	-	55.00	31.23	1215	678
Miscellaneous Expenditures	5.00	0.13	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.00	2.96	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>145.00</b>	<b>110.22</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>122.00</b>	<b>150.89</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>438.00</b>	<b>388.83</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>

*Sources:*

1. Government of Manipur, Draft Eighth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1990-95 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.

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 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

**Table 3.4: Outlay, Expenditure, Target, Achievement of Education, Arts and Culture 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 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 Hailstorm damaged 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 Luingaini 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 Hawchong, Tamenglong	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Collection of Museum Materials	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miscellaneous Expenditures	0.38	10.44	-	-	1.00	10.85	-	-	1.00	12.23	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>175.00</b>	<b>276.76</b>	-	-	<b>36.00</b>	<b>119.41</b>	-	-	<b>50.00</b>	<b>99.46</b>	-	-

Table 3.4 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
Construction of School Buildings	60.00	40.01	60	138	50.00	10.00	50	10	174.00	119.84	174	233 nos
Construction of Hostel Buildings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15.00	10.15	15	13 nos
Construction of Multipurpose Community Hall-cum-Indoor Stadium	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	51.00	49.53	3	6 nos
Construction of Village Community Halls/ Village Level	60.00	60.31	60	105	100.00	66.14	100	41	200.00	258.95	205	216 nos
Production of Tribal Text Books	45.00	16.04	2500	123	40.00	19.66	800	84	109.00	52.23	3632	488 nos
Educational Excursion	-	-	-	-	-	1.00	150	-	11.00	9.44	255	46 nos
Encouragement of Arts and Culture	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17.19	-	100
Improvement/Extension of Hostel Buildings	-	-	-	-	-	11.62	-	6	14.47	24.00	33	21 nos
Improvement/Repair/Extension of Community Halls	50.00	73.07	25	219	10.00	-	10	2	65.00	77.59	45	257 nos
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 Hailstorm damaged Tousem Ashram	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.66	-	2 nos
Encouragement of Sports Activities	50.00	60.57	2500	2434	50.00	63.49	-	-	134.15	232.26	3555	8363 crg
Celebration of Republic Day	25.00	-	-	-	35.00	12.59	2	6	60.00	17.54	2	6 nos
Maintenance/Book Grant	200.00	37.32	40000	12520	-	-	-	-	200.00	66.70	40000	18396 std
Supply of Utensils	-	10.27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.27	-	292
Financial Assistance for Kut and Luingaini Festivals	-	10.00	2	10	20.00	12.00	2	-	20.00	22.00	4	10
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	25
Committed Liabilities for Materials	-	1.72	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.72	-	-
Construction of Rest House at Hawchong, Tamenglong	-	-	-	-	-	3.58	-	-	-	3.58	-	2
Collection of Museum Materials	-	0.10	-	-	-	4.52	-	-	-	4.62	-	-
Miscellaneous Expenditures	-	3.20	-	-	-	18.74	-	-	1.38	55.26	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>490.00</b>	<b>386.70</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>315.00</b>	<b>257.34</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1065.00</b>	<b>1109.67</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>

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.

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. From Table 3.4 it is indicated 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.

From the above, it is reflected that planning is not in consonance with the 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 the ratio and proportion of targets and achievements are taken into account.

The above findings have also been substantiated by CAGI, which reported that 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 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 were 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 was 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 the 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 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 same and in distribution of yarns the achievements were 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 reflected 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 and the quality of society. Basically, expenditures on health take the form of investment in

**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	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mobile Medical Unit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.66	-	-
Distribution of Materials to Tribal Handicapped	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miscellaneous Expenditures	18.00	4.67	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>75.00</b>	<b>71.51</b>	-	-	<b>7.00</b>	<b>7.21</b>	-	-	<b>10.00</b>	<b>23.83</b>	-	-

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	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>137.00</b>	<b>144.19</b>	-	-	<b>160.00</b>	<b>100.99</b>	-	-	<b>389.00</b>	<b>342.73</b>	-	-

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.

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 medical infrastructure.

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 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.

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 ratios 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 the human beings for decent living. As an investment, it has positive impact on the individual's physical and mental health and happiness enhancing their productivity. 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 for the tribals.

According to the scheme, GCI 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 list of beneficiaries of their respective districts. From Table 3.6 it is revealed that the total amount spent for 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 GCI 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

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

(Rs. in lakhs)

Name of the Scheme/Programme	1985-90				1990-91				91-92			
	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	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>70.00</b>	<b>40.64</b>	<b>513</b>	<b>6848</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>536</b>	<b>832</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>67.26</b>	<b>552</b>	<b>2040</b>

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	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>335.00</b>	<b>312.31</b>	<b>3750</b>	<b>7209</b>	<b>448.00</b>	<b>339.76</b>	<b>10500</b>	<b>48179</b>	<b>946</b>	<b>812.97</b>	<b>15931</b>	<b>65116</b>

**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.

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 GCI 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 achievements were 24.85 percent more than its targets.

The CAGI reports have brought out certain lacunae in this programme as well. It was reported that during 1985-89, no loan was given to the beneficiaries. Instead an amount of Rs.42.14 lakhs was paid only as subsidy, either in cash or in kind, to 601 families against the admissible amount of 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 GCI 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 expenditures of Rs.13.78 lakhs.

The report further brings to light that there was excess procurement of GCI 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 the 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 has 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 a region. It empowers the people in a given area to have accessibility, health, trade and commerce, concentration of service facilities and educational institutions. Thus, transport has multi-faceted effects on the overall development of people. The development of transport keeps the population mobile and also results in

**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	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miscellaneous Charges	4.00	15.33	-	-	1.00	-	-	-	1.00	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>10.00</b>	<b>107.63</b>	-	-	<b>35.00</b>	<b>31.11</b>	-	-	<b>40.00</b>	<b>32.17</b>	-	-

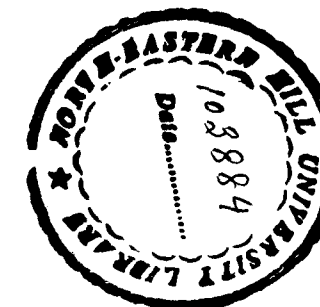
\*Reinforced Cement Concrete.

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	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>205.00</b>	<b>243.10</b>	-	-	<b>280.00</b>	<b>178.64</b>	-	-	<b>660.00</b>	<b>634.29</b>	-	-

**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.



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 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 account, it appears that this scheme on the whole was not a successful venture. But in the district, the scheme was quite a success.

The CAGI reports revealed that during 1985-89, GCI 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 mismanagement of fund and the materials procured were distributed to the beneficiaries who were not provided for under the scheme. 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. It has also been brought to the notice that 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 were considered 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 in the family and in the society. 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 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.

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	Outlay	Expense	Target	Achievement
Encouragement to Women Society in Socio Economic Development	10.00	-	100 nos	-	-	-	-	-	2.00	5.49	20 nos	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	2.00	-	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	-	4.00	-	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	-	-	-	2.00	-	400 Fam	-
Dr. Ambedkar's Schemes	-	-	-	-	-	6.00	-	200 Fam	-	6.83	-	399 Fam
Grant to Ex-Trainees	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Inside/Outside Excursion of Age Old Women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miscellaneous Expenditures	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>20.00</b>	<b>50.21</b>	-	-	<b>13.00</b>	<b>7.00</b>	-	-	<b>10.00</b>	<b>12.32</b>	-	-

Table 3.8 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
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	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>75.00</b>	<b>103.34</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>112</b>	<b>182.87</b>	-	-

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.42, 47.
2. Government of Manipur, Draft Eighth Five-Year Tribal Sub-Plan, 1992-97 and Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1992-93, pp.42, 47.
3. Government of Manipur, Draft Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1993-94, pp.33, 36.
4. Government of Manipur, Draft Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1995-96, pp.36, 41.
5. Government of Manipur, Recast Annual Tribal Sub-Plan, 1996-97, pp.38, 42.

In Senapati, the programmes were mainly carried out during 1985-1990. In the 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 and implementation stages. 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), loin 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 and the amount spent was Rs.18.12 lakhs. 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 only 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 now 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

**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	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>189.00</b>	<b>153.21</b>	-	-	<b>23.00</b>	<b>12.92</b>	-	-	<b>14.50</b>	<b>5.12</b>	-	-

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	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20.00	7.40	60 nos	37 nos
Construction of Teachers Quarters	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.50	0.50	5 nos	5 nos
Pre-matric Stipend	30.00	-	600 std	-	-	-	-	-	40.00	2.45	10675 std	474 std
Construction of Hostel Buildings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15.00	11.31	50 nos	9 nos
Construction of School Buildings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50.00	52.39	50 nos	53 nos
Encouragement of Books	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13.00	15.92	260 nos	343 nos
Supply of Equipment to Schools	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.00	5.88	100 nos	94 nos
Stipend to Special Coaching	10.00	2.98	325 std	78 std	-	-	-	-	24.00	14.49	2700 std	5204 std
Construction of Community Halls	-	-	-	-	-	12.00	10	-	42.50	25.65	35 nos	4 nos
Supply of T. V. Sets	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.00	1.60	25 nos	25 nos
Arts and Culture	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18.50	17.17	925 std	2984 std
Financial Assistance to Medical/Technical Students	20.00	6.82	325 std	78 std	-	-	-	-	26.00	9.78	565 std	141 std
Strengthening of Ashram Schools	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.00	9.47	-	-
Post-Matric Scholarship	-	93.82	-	17520 std	95.00	19.00	11008 std	1740	95.00	112.82	-	19250 std
Financial Assistance to Voluntary Organization	-	105.00	-	5 orgn	-	10.00	150 orgn	-	-	115	150	5 orgn
Computer Training	-	0.51	-	160 std	-	-	-	-	-	0.51	-	160 std
Free Supply of Uniforms	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8.78	-	3426 std
Free Supply of Note Books	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.00	-	19614 nos
Financial Assistance to M.Phil/Ph.D. Scholars of Science & Technology	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.77	-	10 nos
Maintenance of Grant (Arrear)	-	52.59	-	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	250 std	43.5	43.94	1575	567
Sports Materials	-	6.33	-	70 orgn	-	-	-	-	-	6.33	-	70 orgn
Miscellaneous Charges	-	-	-	-	-	12.98	-	-	7.50	14.45	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>80.00</b>	<b>281.47</b>	-	-	<b>115</b>	<b>82.48</b>	-	-	<b>326.5</b>	<b>401.78</b>	-	-

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.

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, which formed 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 same 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 ratio of target to achievement 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 supply of notebooks 1032:1000. The expenditure was Rs.82 lakhs less

than its outlay. On the basis of this simple criterion, 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 of 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 indicated 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. This clearly shows that with regard to the first two programmes the achievements were far below the target for the same.

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, although it is not clear from the records where the additional funding was drawn from. The maximum expenditure was on distribution of GCI 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 has 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 success.

#### **Fifty Percent Centrally Sponsored Scheme**

The total amount spent on 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 1997-2002. The scheme was very successful as the ratios of targets to achievements showed, which 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 for construction of girls' and boys' hostels which indicated failure of this programme.

### **District Rural Development Agency**

In India, like in any other third world country, the process of rural planning and development was initiated in the early fifties. Over the years, the approach to rural development has undergone perceptible innovations concomitant with the 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, that is during the Sixth Five-Year Plan, 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 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 was 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 was for review, sanction, coordination, monitoring and evaluation of 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 matter specialists. There is also an assistant project officer (APO) for monitoring. There is 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 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 staff 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 the 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 DRDA is 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 are 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 done by the Panchayati Raj and other institutions. The DRDA will monitor closely the implementation through obtaining 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 2300 blocks of which, 2000 were already 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 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 1980-1999 was Rs.4,16,38,711 lakhs against an outlay of Rs.4,16,38,711 lakhs. The programme benefitted 23,360 families.

JRY (1989-99): The existing rural wage employment programmes – NREP and RLEGP - got merged into a single scheme called Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY), announced by the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in the Parliament on 28<sup>th</sup> 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

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
IRDP (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.

conservation including afforestation, agro-horticulture and silvi-pasture, minor irrigation works, link roads, primary school and *Aganwadi* 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 mandays 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 nutritional and educational status of the family and in the 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 are 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 maximum utilization 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**

This 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 North East India with a 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) were based on the previous studies made by NERCRMS/IFAD and NEC (North Eastern Council) Shillong, findings in the field, criteria furnished by various United Nations Office for Program 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 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.

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

Name of the Activity	Source of Fund						Outlay	Expenditure	Source of Fund						Outlay	Expenditure
	Community		Govt. of India		IFAD Loan				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	23	927505	4017450	2164340	58	1468000	4	94950	38	921550	2484500	
Minor Irrigation	36	228099	10	62928	54	338272	629299	307704	33	696772	7	139170	60	1252528	208847	
Forestry Development			10	50000	90	450000	500000	1210	17	18000	8	8500	75	76500	103000	
Non Farm Enterprises								223000	25	71000			75	213000	284000	
Extension and Technology Transfer			70	2900	90	26100	29000	1572			10	23800	90	214200	238000	
Adaptive Research: Programme Implementation								70			10	19700	90	177300	197000	
Adaptive Research: Infrastructure Support																
Strategy Development & New Products Research & Development																
Biodiversity Conservation and Management									49	79930	5	8464	46	76176	164570	
Social Sector Activities	59	8207743	3	361593	38	5341901	13911237	1376164	36	3503710	8	838048	56	5573962	9915720	
Village Roads and Rural Electrification									33	146510	7	29155	60	262295	437960	
Regional Societies: Programme Support Unit																
District Societies: District Support Team			24	805250	76	2546750	3352000	1966543			22	828836	78	2860308	3689144	
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>11586732</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2272026</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>14690288</b>	<b>28548986</b>	<b>8538804</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>6740977</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2401530</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>15227787</b>	<b>24370294</b>	

Sources:

1. Unpublished Official Records.
2. Progress Status Report of SEDCORMS.
3. Profile of NERCRMP.

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 NGOs 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 the villages not yet electrified.

### **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 assumed 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 fishes, increase in income/individual benefit, increase in the working days of villagers and 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 in 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 by the construction of water reservoir are easy accessibility of potable water in the village, improve health and create 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 faced during the implementation such as difficulties faced by the community 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, homestead 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)**

This 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 agencies 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 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 villages only after receiving satisfactory reports from the field officials who was associated with the plantations programme in the 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 fishes 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 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 the 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 for commercial purposes. Allowing the forest to regenerate itself, it has been learnt, 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 the sponsor ITF.

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 19<sup>th</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> 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-June 2000, MIDA staff members made 5 rounds of such visits to the three 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, poisoning of fish in rivers/streams, and hunting of wild animals and birds, etc.

With the focus on deforestation and the threats it poses to the forest community, villagers were brought together to discuss 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 and are most tiring and time consuming. The organization has since been working on providing improved *chullas* or ovens. The traditional *chulla* used by the people is open on sides, 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  
(1<sup>st</sup> September 2000 to 30<sup>th</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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 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 was

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, 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 the 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

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 programmes dealing with the 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 the 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 these 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 indicated that the physical targets and achievements might have been recorded

The programmes under the state-sponsored scheme included the construction of school building, 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 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 research and training, construction of hostels 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 were comparatively more successful.

Programmes under the 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 of 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 fully 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. For 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 such as 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.

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 – the Indo-German Social Services Society (IGSSS), New Delhi, Netherlands Committee – International Union for Conservation of Nature (NC-IUCN), The Netherlands and the 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

sense of participation, which is very essential for any activity to succeed and continue.

The study has pointed out that the lacunae 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 play a critical role as well 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, involve in development, growth and social justice with people's participation.

To sum up, it is observed that 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 are analyzed. A lot of discrepancies are found between the targets and achievements and also between proposed schemes and actual implementation, which included siphoning of fund meant for hill tribes to benefit the people in the valley. 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.

In Table 4.1 is presented break-up of the 314 beneficiaries cum respondents according to sex, age-group, education, occupation and family income. Village-wise, male beneficiaries outnumber females in Song Song and Chowainu although in Tobumai female beneficiaries are more. This reveals that the beneficiaries/respondents are drawn from diverse socio-economic backgrounds.

Table 4.1: Socio-Economic Profile of Beneficiaries

	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobumai	Total
Male	182	33	8	223(71.0)
Female	60	10	21	91(29.0)
<b>Age:</b>				
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)
<b>Educational Qualifications</b>				
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)
<b>Occupation</b>				
Farmers	140	38	15	193(61.5)
Service(wo)men	26	3	3	32(10.2)
Business(wo)men	59	1	11	71(22.6)
Private Employee	17	1	-	18(5.7)
<b>Family Income per month</b>				
Less than 2000	120	38	20	178(56.7)
2000-3500	69	1	3	73(23.2)
3500-5000	14	1	-	15(4.8)
5000 above	34	3	6	48(15.3)

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002*

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 beneficiary

#### **Awareness of Existence of Development Agencies**

Lack of awareness of either government or non-governmental agencies working in the village of the respondents 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 have stated

Table 4.2: Awareness of Existence of Development Agencies

Awareness	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobumai	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*

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 4.3: Type of Assistance Received and Known to Respondents

	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobumai	Total
<b>Assistance received</b>				
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
<b>Facilities known</b>				
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*

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 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 whereas 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 Tobumai village, 57.1 percent respondents constructed new houses with the subsidy and the rest 42.9 percent repaired their old houses. For fishery, 5.4 percent respondents claimed that it was not a successful venture while 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 for 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 details, it is clear that in spite of the massive media activity, developmental agencies working to make the backward people aware and help them obtain development benefits, there is still widespread ignorance about development schemes among the common people.

The very poor level of awareness among the people about development plans and programmes is, however, not entirely due to the limitation on the part of development agencies. The social structure of tribal societies should also be kept in mind to understand this. Unlike the organic caste societies, every village or clan is sort of independent unit of a tribal society with very little communication across the clan or village boundaries, which puts a cultural limitation on the spread of awareness about various development plans and programmes.

## 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	Tobumai	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 in the village 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	Tobumai	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 Tobumai and in Song Song were major ones for not making use of facilities in these villages.

However, if we try and go beyond the replies we have received from the respondents in this regard, it appears that Maos still rely quite a lot on traditional medicines extracted from various plants and tubers available in nearby forests. It is also to be remembered that people do not go to doctors or hospitals until they are really serious and all indigenous medicines have failed to cure them. Many people who are sick also believe that their sickness will vanish itself sooner or later. Thus, their perceptions about their sickness are to a large extent responsible for their not taking advantage of modern medical facilities made available by the government or some development agencies.

#### **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 Tobumai villages responded in the affirmative.

**Table 4.6: Cattle Treatment at the Veterinary Centre**

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

Source: *Fieldwork, 2002.*

Village-wise distribution of the data reveals that both in Chowainu and Tobumai villages, the beneficiaries did not take their cattle to the veterinary centres because it was time consuming and far from their houses. It is possible that the beneficiaries are not satisfied with how the veterinary centre is run. Their experience in the past about taking their sick animals to the veterinary centre must have been unhappy. But what they replied is not necessarily the only reasons for not taking their animals to the doctors. We should also try and understand how important are the cattle to their daily life and how much they depend on the same for their livelihood or survival. It is observed during the fieldwork that cattle are not

as crucial to their livelihood as it is perhaps so to a pastoral community. If a cow or pig has some health problems they are also killed and eaten up rather than take them to the doctor for treatment.

#### **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	Tobumai	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
<b>Types of Transaction:</b>				
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 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 further 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 Tobumai 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 this it appears that distance from the block headquarters makes a difference in their depth of awareness.

It also appears from the responses given by the people that even the poor people like to buy good quality articles, which they often cannot afford. But one should not rule out other factors going against the cooperative society. One such factor I suspected during my fieldwork is the fact that the cooperative society would not sell anything on credit whereas the private shopkeepers would more often than not sell their articles on credit. As they are poor and often have no money to buy their daily necessities they go to those shopkeepers who are willing to give them articles on credit even if that means having to pay a little extra sum for the same article.

## 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	Tobumai	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. There were a few who had borrowed loan for land development making 1.3 percent respondents.

Table 4.10: Purpose of Loan

Purpose	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobumai	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, 2000*

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 Taken to Get Loan**

Finance is the life-blood of any enterprise. The sanction of loans to the beneficiaries for any developmental programme 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	Tobumai	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 main reason stated for the delay was apathy of the concerned officials.

Since all applications for loans that took a long time were to be considered by banks it was desirable to interview the bank officials to find out from their point of view the reasons for delay. But for various reasons this could not be fructified.

**Table 4.12: Satisfaction with Loan**

Satisfaction	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobumai	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 was 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	Tobumai	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 was 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 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 were asked to state whether they had started the repayment of the loans. It was 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 because of financial crisis.

Table 4.14: Repayment of Loan

Repayment	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobumai	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 Tobumai 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 Tobumai (9.1 percent). The reason for higher repayment in Song Song and Tobumai 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 had made it compulsory for all to repay the loan exactly after a year was 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	Tobumai	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 death of the animals obtained through the loans as the reason for non-repayment. The 'domestic crises' here refer to falling prey to sickness of various kinds, which not only drains them economically but also prevents them from earning. Such a situation makes it doubly difficult for them to use the money for any purpose other than treatment of sickness and raise money for repayment subsequently.

#### **Inspection of Programmes/Schemes by Officials**

When the respondents from all the three villages were asked whether any development officials came to inspect their programmes/schemes, they all answered that there was no inspection by any official at any time. This is surprising because the agency giving loan is expected to be interested to know whether the loan was utilized properly or not. This indicates that banks have not really assumed the role of a development agency and continues to play the role of profit-making agency. They are interested in the interest earned, no matter how small, and not in

helping the people grow self-reliant by starting local entrepreneurship. That this was a fact was also clear from the fact that the bank officials did neither consult the beneficiaries nor visited their houses to understand their felt needs.

### **Loans and Improvement in the Economic Condition of Respondents**

In order to assess the impact of loans on the economic condition of the beneficiaries, the respondents were asked to state how they were benefited from the loans. Only 7.1 percent respondents stated that the loans provided them with new sources of income, better production and higher returns, whereas 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, as evident from Table 4.16.

Table 4.16: Loan and Improvement in Economic Condition

Improvement	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobumai	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.

### **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 Buras* (G.B).

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

Table 4.17: People's Participation in Development Programmes

	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobumai	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.*

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.

It may be further remarked that the attitude of development agencies towards the people in the village has not changed despite several decades of development experience in the country. The village people are still seen as illiterate and ignorant people, who are not supposed to know what is good for them and it is development agencies who decide what the villagers need. The villagers are often involved at the level of implementation for mostly manual work but they are rarely

consulted or engaged in decision-making process. They are often simply told, “There is government scheme for so and so, if you want it meet X or Y or go to so and so place on so and so date”. They mostly follow such directions not because they need that scheme but because they need money to meet certain other expenses that are more urgent and vital to their life.

### 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. So the respondents were asked about their visit and their response is given in Table 4.18.

Table 4.18: Visit of Extension Worker to the Beneficiary

	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobumai	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 4.18 that extension workers rarely visited them. In view of this there is an increasing sense of the need to train the village people as extension workers. Such persons are at least available in the villages for consultation, which is badly required to bridge the gap between theory and practice

and to erase many apprehensions of the villagers. Without extension workers fulfilling their duties the success of any scheme becomes difficult to expect.

### 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	In-different	Arrogant	Total
Song Song	30(12.4)	50(20.7)	25(10.3)	102(42.1)	35(14.5)	242
Chowai-nu	-	10(23.3)	5(11.6)	22(15.2)	6(13.9)	43
Tobu-mai	-	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 did face problems like inordinate delay (60.3 percent) and rigid procedures and formalities (27.4 percent). Hence, there is perhaps a need to make the development agencies involved in rural and tribal development more people-friendly than they are now. It is only by making people feel welcome will they like to take the help of such agencies. But if they have to wait for the whole day to be able to meet an

officer it is not likely that they will try and meet that officer again. “What is the guarantee that I will be able to meet him when I go again?” will be a common refrain for the villagers.

Table 4.20: Views Regarding Problems dealing with Development Agencies

	Song Song		Chowainu		Tobumai		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 Officials

Performance of development officials can be rated by people, although the people may not always be in the know of all problems faced by 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
Tobumai	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 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.

### Views of Beneficiaries on Undue Favour by Officials

In a democratic set up, each individual has equal right to get his due share. But, Table 4.22 shows 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 4.22: Views of Beneficiaries on Undue Favours by Officials

Favour from	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobumai	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 in Table 4.22, 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 Tobumai. 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 on technical details. Thus when the beneficiaries were asked whether they received any technical or other assistance/guidance for their schemes, 99.4 percent claimed that they did not receive any assistance whatsoever for their schemes while 0.6 percent replied that they received training for carpentry but did not receive any tools.

It is understandable that technical experts are not always available for imparting training to the villagers or are willing to visit the villages for the purpose. But for the government to sanction a scheme without making any arrangement for technical training is sheer wastage of public money because such a scheme is more likely to fail than succeed.

### **Opinion on Effectiveness of Programmes Implemented**

In the present study, effectiveness of development programmes has been assessed according to the perceptions of the beneficiaries. Thus, Table 4.23 shows that only 27.1 percent respondents were of the view that there was effective implementation of the programmes. The remaining respondents made no comment but it was quite obvious that they did not consider the implementation of the programmes to be very effective in the village. As earlier tables showed, necessary conditions for

successful implementation of development programmes were rarely fulfilled by the development agencies.

Table 4.23: Views of Effectiveness of Programmes Implemented

	Song Song	Chowainu	Tobumai	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 ineffectiveness in the implementation of development schemes. To this, 32.5 percent said that it was due to lack of monitoring, 27.3 percent said that it was due to corruption, 15 percent gave law and order problems as the reasons, 3.5 percent said that it was due to lack of on-the-spot-inquiry, and 11.7 percent did not respond to the question.

It appears that assistance provided to the beneficiaries has not had the intended impact. The low impact of the schemes on the people could be attributed to several factors like inadequate financial assistance, wrong identification of beneficiaries, red-tapism, corruption, lack of co-ordination, lack of training for beneficiaries, lack of technical assistance, and absence of positive attitude towards the beneficiaries. 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 they 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 involved in development programmes by themselves. Thus the officials were asked to rate their job performance at the village, block and district levels. They were given five options to rank their performance in terms of 'very good/good/fair/poor/very poor' and it was found that none of the officials felt 'very good or good' 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 that their performance was 'fair'.

Further, they were asked whether they faced any hindrances towards improvement in their job performance. 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 discipline among 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 same was congenial for development of rural and tribal people. This indicates that the officials themselves were not satisfied with the existing planning process and finance.

People's cooperation is of utmost importance for the effective implementation of developmental schemes. Therefore, officials were asked whether they received the cooperation of the people while carrying out programmes and majority of them testified that people were cooperative. But there were a few from the two non-governmental organisations who said that people were not at all cooperative unless the benefits were immediate and monetary. They pointed out, for instance, how people did not cooperate in carrying out a social forestry programme because there was no immediate gain for them.

In this regard, it must be commented that the views of the NGOs about the reason for people not cooperating with a programme like social forestry are rather simplistic. There may be several reasons for their not cooperating with a programme and lack of immediate financial benefit may be the least important of all. They may cooperate or not cooperate depending on their own perception of a particular programme, how they are approached by those who are involved in implementation of a programme, when they are approached, and so on. For instance, if they are asked to participate in a programme when they are busy with

their agricultural activity or festivals or other such engagements their cooperation would naturally be one of the lowest if not completely absent. The villagers also do understand the value of trees but their apprehensions also need to be understood. They may have been worried about the harm the trees cause to their agricultural crops or about wild animals like monkeys finding their way into their crops, and so on. Thus, unless the reasons for their non-cooperation or poor cooperation are understood fully it is wrong to assume a certain factor to be the only factor responsible for their behaviour.

Further, when the officials were asked whether they took the initiative of briefing their superiors on the matters related to the local people the reply was in the affirmative. They were also asked whether they took decisions without being instructed by higher authorities 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'.

### **Summary and Conclusion**

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

The study further 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, 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 adequate man power to carry out the development programmes but they had low morale to work, lacked discipline, punctuality, etc. There was also lack of people's participation, transparency of the system, and lack of training. The officials were not happy with the identification of beneficiaries due to excessive political interference. Hence the potential beneficiaries were often left out and those advantageously placed in society took away the share of deserving people.

By way of closing this chapter on Mao responses to various development plans and programmes it may be inferred from the foregoing discussion that no clear pattern of their responses is discernible. The distance from the block headquarters has not uniformly influenced the various responses of the Mao villagers to development programmes. On many counts, Chowainu village, which is the farthest of the three villages from the block headquarters, has performed the best of all. Tobumai, the village nearest to the block headquarters, has done the best with regard to awareness about the cooperative society and repayment of loans, but not so with regard to various other parameters taken up for study in this chapter.

From this study it is obvious that it was desirable to look into the socioeconomic background of the beneficiaries to see whether or not the same had

any role to play in influencing their responses to various development programmes.

Although doing this was not possible for the present study for various reasons the same may be taken up in future research by the present researcher or by any other researcher working on people's responses to development programmes.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN TADUBI BLOCK**

#### **Introduction**

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 benefits of development, and, have, in fact, been marginalized by it.

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 like material production and consumption, investment, productivity, growth and profit.

In many previous development programmes, the necessity to take culture into account has been underestimated. As a matter of fact 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 numerous. Cultural factors have often been considered very 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, e.g., 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, 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, patterns of 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 traditional societies has prevailed. Their religious observances are viewed as superstitions or mindless conservatism and concerns with social obligations of kinship and community are seen 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).

It has to be accepted that the established paradigm which is economic in nature is basically a product of certain culture. In the economic 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 people and societies 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 man and

man and between man and nature. They are essentially mediated by culture and the worldview that it manifests. Culture identifies the ways in which to conduct inter-unit interconnections. These interconnections between units are subject to change, modification and even transformation in their interactions with the forces in the changing real life world. Development should be considered as the metamorphosis of human interactions within, and between, the minimal units of the social universe through the mediation of culture.

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 to comprehend 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 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 may be the very vehicles which are needed to constrain and enrich economies and ensure that they are pointed in 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 focussed exclusively or even primarily on economics. 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 are located. In fact the very declaration by the UNESCO and the United Nations of a world decade for cultural development (1988-97) is recognition of the importance culture holds in relation to development. According to the UNESCO, the cultural dimension of development embraces all the psycho-sociological components which like the economic, technological and scientific factors, 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 downplaying 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 and act in it differently. As a result, not only do cultures differ substantially in their details, which comprise their cultural life. Even though they share certain similarities and characteristics 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. Cultures should also be coherent in the sense that harmonious relationships exist between the determinants and component parts of development. They should be cohesive in the sense that they are bound together effectively, civilized as they are as free as possible from human rights abuses and other types of social injustices, and context-ed 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 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 beliefs, rituals, social structure, worldview and values and attitudes.

There is also the belief that culture is one important basis for 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. There could also be other institutional problems behind the same. Further, the development planners often do not have sufficient understanding of the local cultures and their potentialities. This is often responsible for their failure to anticipate people's responses. It also prevents a good rapport with those who the development planners 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 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 something that 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: “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) cautions us 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.

### **Tadubi Block**

The various development programmes implemented by the four agencies mentioned earlier have been clubbed under the following types:

#### *A. Economic Upliftment Programmes*

Under this are included schemes related to 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.

#### *B. Infrastructure Development Programmes*

These include 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.

#### *C. Welfare Programmes*

They comprise 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.

#### *D. Community Institution Building Programmes*

Schemes like 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 fall under these programmes.

It has been found that various schemes experienced successes as well as failures. Generally, 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 have been given below in order to bring out the various socio-cultural factors that might have been responsible for the outcome.

### **Cases of Successful and Unsuccessful 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 the general programme of water supply. For the whole of Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) areas of Manipur, the total expenditure for this scheme 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 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 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 it is clear that the scheme was successful in the district under study.

Although the concerned directorate reported 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 (henceforth 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.

Thus 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.

It is desirable here to briefly dwell on why the water supply scheme was successful in the district. The reason is indeed not far to seek. The tribal people of this hilly district had suffered a lot and for very long due to lack of water. The women in particular had to spend long hours everyday fetching water. The problem had become more acute in the past few decades due to increase in population and

drying up of the spring-wells. This made it very difficult for the people in this district to maintain minimum hygienic conditions. A large number of people also suffered from water-borne diseases. In such a scenario, piped water supply scheme was highly welcome by one and all.

2. *Animal Husbandry*. The scheme comprising piggery, duck rearing, goat rearing, poultry development and distribution of milch cows was implemented with a sum of Rs.274 lakhs, but the total expenditure incurred was Rs.271.22 lakhs only. 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.

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. Only 34 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.

Unlike the water supply scheme this scheme is quite complex. First of all, diversion of funds from target population or block to some other population or block is part of the development experience in India everywhere. Since the funds are controlled by the Meiteis in the valley it is not unnatural that they try and siphon

off the fund meant for the hills to their own valley and since they are numerically and politically dominant they do not care if the amount so siphoned is more than a discreet amount.

But more important than this is explain the success of piggery and failure of buffalo-rearing schemes within the programme under animal husbandry. Piggery would obviously be successful because it is deeply connected with the Mao culture and tradition. Pork is not only the most favourite meat, but pigs can be reared without much of a problem. The leftover food is always shared by dogs and pigs. Food for pigs also gets ready because people regularly make rice-beer or brew alcohol out of fermented finger millet, wheat or other cereals. Pigs can also be fed with a lot of locally grown vegetables like yam leaves, which grow quite abundantly in Mao villages. On the other hand, buffaloes have a “large stomach” to fill, which becomes especially difficult during dry season because all the grass is either dry or set on fire for *jhum* cultivation. Even during other months some one needs to take them to the forest for grazing or needs to cut grass to stall-feed them, either of which requires considerable human labour. Further, since the Maos do not really need animals to pull a plough the economic value of buffaloes goes further down. Hence, it makes less local sense to rear buffaloes than to rear pigs, which actually they do, with or without any funding from development agencies. They often rear pigs on 50:50 sharing basis, where the owner gets half the meat for having given a piglet to be reared by the person who rears it. Such a system does not exist for buffalo rearing in Tadubi Block.

3. *Low Cost Latrine.* The immediate effects of construction of low cost latrines 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 thus brought about hygienic environment and community good health.

There were problems like more water requirement, uncertainty about usability of the latrine once the single pit was filled up as there was no provision for another pit near the existing pit. Therefore, certain remedial actions were taken up like facilitation to use water and the District Support Team facilitating NaRMGs in maintenance of the latrine.

Maintenance of the latrines is not easy in Mao villages due to the old habit of the people to use stones, twigs, leaves, and newspapers to wipe themselves off after defecation. This habit contributed to faster filling up of the pits than if they were to use water for the same purpose. Indeed, in a few cases, after the pit was filled up people went back to their old habits of defecating themselves in the open. The trail of such people would of course be picked up by pigs and dogs which in no time cleaned up the place. While these latrines proved to be a big relief to young educated boys and girls on the whole latrines were not such a big concern of the people as water, food and shelter were.

4. *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. It is expected that in the

long run it will help conserve local medicinal plants and even lead to mass production and sale, and saving money on drugs.

While this programme was in the implementation phase, certain issues came up 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 and jointly own the medicinal garden on rotation basis.

Although medicinal plants have become rare today due to deforestation and *jhum* cultivation the elderly Maos still speak very highly and nostalgically of the efficacy of such medicines. Indeed, if such gardens are there in every village, many minor cuts and ailments can be taken care of without having to experience the botheration of going to a doctor or pharmacy. It can also keep the knowledge of the people about such plants alive and help pass such knowledge to the next generation. This would also mean partial restoration of the traditional knowledge, culture and language that had almost vanished with the medicinal plants.

5. *Fishery*. 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 important 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 with 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, this scheme may be considered as somewhat 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.

The lack of enthusiasm people displayed about this scheme is not hard to understand. First of all, the fish that was being promoted was not a familiar fish and people were not sure about its market once they started to harvest. But most important problem was the lack of availability of water for filling ponds of specific length, height and breadth. The Mao villages are short of water even for drinking, washing and bathing. In such a scenario, having a constant supply of fresh water for the fish ponds was not within everybody's imagination.

6. *Education, 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. 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.

From this, it is reflected that the planning is not in consonance with the 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, the scheme can be considered fairly successful.

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 on record.

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.

The CAGI report notwithstanding it is important to dwell briefly why the scheme to develop tribal textbooks was such a big failure although the one for school building and maintenance of book grant were thundering successes. The attitude of Mao leaders and intellectuals towards education in their own language is rather ambivalent. They do value their own language but they also value education in the medium of English and all those who can afford actually send their children to English-medium schools, which is also true of other neighbouring tribes in Manipur. This ambivalent attitude towards education in their own language is largely responsible for the failure of the scheme of tribal textbooks. On the other hand, the success of school buildings and book grant shows an enthusiasm among the Maos for education of their children, which was lacking even a couple of decades ago.

*7. Housing Scheme.* According to the scheme, GCI 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 list of beneficiaries of their respective districts. It was revealed that the total amount spent for the housing scheme was Rs.946 lakhs against an expenditure of Rs.812.97 lakhs. The cost towards purchase of GCI sheets had 79.57 percent share of the total outlay, but the expenditure on the same was only 57.31 percent out of the total expenditure. Thus the programme was not as successful as it could have been had the fund allocated for the purpose been fully utilized. There was a remaining of Rs.133.03 lakhs even 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 GCI 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 achievements were 24.85 percent more than its targets.

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 only as subsidy, either in cash or in kind, to 601 families against the admissible amount of 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 also 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 GCI 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 the valley district of Imphal which was not to be included under this scheme. Hence it resulted in unauthorized expenditures of Rs.13.78 lakhs.

The report further brings to light that there was excess procurement of GCI 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 the unauthorized expenditure of Rs.20.52 lakhs.

The above mentioned report clearly shows 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 has 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 non-distribution of the excess material coupled with distribution of materials not provided under the scheme 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.

Between the claims of the directorate and scathing report of the CAGI one must look into what the people felt about this programme. The respondents being the beneficiaries as well they were happy to receive the GCI sheets because now they did not need to repair their roof every year and change the thatch completely every 4 to 5 years, which involved a lot of expenditure towards purchase of thatch grass, bamboo poles and manpower to repair the roofs. It was also reported that while bamboos were still available easily they had become expensive whereas

getting the thatch grass had become very difficult in the recent past. Thatches were also highly prone to catching fire although such incidents were quite rare. Having noted their satisfaction with GCI sheet it must also be pointed out that most of them were unhappy about the quality of the sheets supplied to them, which according to them was very thin. They also complained about not being able to sleep properly during rainy season due to the noise the raindrops created by hitting against the roof, which was totally absent in thatched houses. People would not even notice the rain occurring at night because the roof completely neutralised the sound of falling raindrops.

8. *Agriculture/Horticulture.* 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 area 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 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 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 to be 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 issuing 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 the 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 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.

Although the report of the directorate looks bright and successful, the actual situation was slightly different. It may be noted that most cash crops require artificial irrigation, manuring, insecticides, pesticides, etc. and the farmers have to take care of other details like packaging and sale. Most villagers covered by the present study were not in a position to meet all these requirements for growing cash crops. They were all excited about the prospect of earning cash from their crops,

which itself was a new element of their culture, but very soon they were disheartened because something or the other was not available to them or they did not get the price they expected because the market was suddenly flooded with similar crops. The common problems for most of them were water for some, fertilizer for others, pesticides for still others, and people to carry the harvest up to the roadside to be picked up by line taxis. A new web of relationships had emerged centering around the cash crops but except for those whose land was close to roadside, had own source of water to irrigate, and other facilities others had to discontinue sooner or later.

*9. Transport/Communication.* 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 district roads. 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 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.

The CAGI reports, however, revealed that 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 to 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.

It may be noted here that the funds for construction of roads and bridges are always utilised to the maximum in the district in question, and it is perhaps true of the whole of Manipur. The construction schemes are a lucrative source of income for the contractors who are mostly school dropouts. The contractors, according to the villagers of Tadubi Block, do not spend even half the sanctioned amount on actual construction, as they reportedly have to grease several palms all the way up to those in charge of development agency itself. In the process the quality of work done is usually poor. The retention walls and roads have to be repaired every year after the rainy season. This culture of corruption is apparently quite universal in India.

10. *Women and Children Programme.* An amount of Rs.182.87 lakhs was spent on various schemes under Women and Children Programme against an outlay of Rs.112 lakhs. The maximum amount spent 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 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 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 the 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 to the implementation stage. For instance, at the formulation stage 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 there. 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.

It seems from above that development agencies can play with a scheme meant for women and children a lot more easily than schemes that concern the entire population. It was noticed during the fieldwork that hardly any woman was involved as officer in the block development office or at the village level. Their absence from the public domain engaging development programmes naturally excludes them from development process. What they get seems by way of chance

or favour and not as a matter of right as equal citizens of India. Even among the beneficiaries the women not only number a lot less than the men, but are less vocal and almost devoid of awareness about their rights as human beings, leave alone as women.

### **Conclusion**

It appears from the above case studies of successful as well as unsuccessful development programmes that there are always some local social or cultural reasons behind acceptance or rejection of programmes purported to benefit the local people. Some such reasons are very typical of a village or block whereas others may be shared more widely by other tribes of the region as well.

On the basis of the present study on the Mao tribe this researcher finds the following cultural factors to be important to bear in mind in any development programme in tribal areas. First, tribal villages are organised on the basis of clan or lineage and the solidarity based on such identities is still very strong. The bond is strengthened not only by a shared speech or dialect, but also shared history of origin and shared territories. While this is perhaps a positive quality of tribal societies the information available to a clan is often confined to that clan and members of other clans do not get to know about it. It is noticed that Mao men rarely consult their women on non-domestic matters, which further limits the information related to development to only men belonging to a particular clan or lineage and it does not leak out to another clan through their women. Such a situation is not very favourable where the focus of development is the entire village or block and not just

members of one particular clan because many villagers cannot take advantage of the programmes simply because they do not come to know of them in time.

Second, tribal economies like that of Maos in Manipur are very recently monetised and financial institutions like banks are not only new but also alien to their culture. Even if Maos are working in the banks, the banks themselves are an outside institution, and poses threat to their survival by taking over their land and property should they not repay the loans in time. Even development agencies in general are seen in the same perspective, which makes it difficult for the people to accept such agencies or their programmes whole-heartedly unless the areas touched by them are really crucial to the life of the tribal people.

Third, the development agencies and the government often treat the people as objects to be changed rather than people with their own history and culture, who could be consulted at least before doing something on them, whose local knowledge could be trusted, and who could be involved as equal partners in the process of development. The development activities completely bypass their village councils, their customary laws, and their own values and norms and marginalise all those who hang on to them. The village chief who was always respected in the past is suddenly ignored and all attention is paid to the bank manager or block development officer who is from outside and who does not speak their language. The development interventions therefore create new sets of priorities, new values and norms, and new relationships creating confusion in the minds of the tribal people who still subscribe to the values and norms of yesteryears. This confusion is reflected in their responses to development programmes.

Finally, it must be remembered that the society the state is trying to change was, till some decades back, living a subsistence life, eking out their living out of forests, rivers, and *jhum* cultivation. There was no need for money and no money needed to buy cars, televisions, refrigerators, etc. They worked enough to ensure a steady food supply and if something went wrong the community was always there to bail one out. They had time for songs and dances, stories and poetry, games and wars. Is it correct or even fair to expect the gest or impetus for development from such people and criticise them for lacking the same? Perhaps not.

## 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 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 the 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 totally 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 case for evolving interpenetrating and interdependent cultural and development policies therefore is strong. The records of the last five decades show 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 techno-economically 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) for 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 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.

The present study is a modest attempt to document the various development programmes implemented in Senapati District, understand the responses of the Mao beneficiaries to such programmes and to understand the various socio-cultural factors responsible for success/failure of development programmes.

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. About a dozen case studies of successful as well as unsuccessful development programmes have been discussed in detail in terms of facts and figures as well as their socio-cultural implications. The study revealed that socio-cultural factors are responsible for success or failure of various development schemes/programmes.

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 district under study is actually 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, have improved in the recent past but transport facilities have not improved to the same extent. Regarding health care facilities, the study reveals the number of hospitals per 100 sqms and the number of hospital per 1000 population has increased over the decades to some extent. Thus we see that various developmental efforts need to be taken up urgently in the district under study.

Some of the major findings of the present study are as follows:

1. A fundamental weakness of the development process in Tadubi Block is that the people for whom development is intended are not involved in planning, resources mobilization, beneficiary identification, implementation or monitoring and evaluation.
2. Plans for development have a lower chance of success because local cultural factors are not taken into account while formulating the same. It is seen from chapter IV that there is lack of interaction between administrators and the people without which knowledge of local cultural predicaments is not possible to gain. The more likely result of such a situation is the failure of development programmes as needs, aspirations, and apprehensions of the people are not taken into account.
3. Development administrators concentrate on realizing targets, particularly financial or numerical, to safeguard their own position rather than implement schemes in a manner that brings qualitative change in the life of the people. Their

compulsion to meet targets makes them overlook the cultural factors that govern the behaviour of the people. Officials associated with tribal development administration have no special training in the philosophy underlying various schemes, new technologies and methodologies involved in implementation. They rarely interact with the people to know the real needs of the people and to establish friendship with them, which can pave the way for qualitative results rather than the statistical ones of which we are all very familiar.

4. Low awareness amongst the tribal people about development schemes/programmes has led the planners to find flaws with the tribal society instead of the development agencies. Therefore, spread of awareness among the people about various development 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 village councils, advertisement in vernacular newspapers, local TV channels, display on boards etc.

5. The present approach to development is expenditure-oriented. However important the policies and programmes may be, unless they are implemented effectively, the realization of the objectives becomes a remote possibility.

6. While giving financial aid care is not taken to see that it is utilized in a proper manner and for the purpose for which the aid has been granted. And, where aid is given in kind the result seems more favourable than where cash was given.

7. The officials do not have a beneficiary-friendly approach with the tribal people and they decide what is required by the beneficiaries. The process of application for various development grants is complex for the illiterate or semi-literate villagers, which forces them to take the help of the officials who then get a chance to exploit the villagers.

8. There is complete lack of technical training of the administrative personnel meant to implement tribal schemes, which has been partly responsible for the poor development of tribal areas. 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.

9. Tribal development programmes are not taking cognizance of the growing socio-economic diversity within the tribal society and treat the tribal people as homogenous. This makes it easy for the rich and powerful within the tribe to exploit their less fortunate brethren.

10. Tribes seem to be gradually becoming victims of dependency syndrome rather than developing self-confidence and self-reliance. Development programmes implemented in tribal areas are mainly responsible for giving rise to this condition among them.

11. Intervention in development process involving the tribes by NGOs really committed to the tribal people is still missing or very weak although the number of such organisations is increasing every day. They have not yet played the role of bridge between the people and the development agencies.

On the disparities between hills and valley in Manipur, which was outside the scope of the present study but which has an important bearing on it, G. K. Gori writes, "Close scrutiny of the apportionment of fund shows increasing amount spent in plans on social service part of which is spent in the hills. But if a visitor goes from the plains to the hills he forms the impression that there is still much left to be done to narrow the economic gap between the two regions" (Gori 1984: 57).

Similarly, Ansari 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..." (1997: 88).

Therefore, there is no doubt, that hill tribes in general and Maos in particular are still far behind the people in the Valley as regards development is concerned. Such a situation is not very healthy for the state of Manipur in view of the growing ethnic fervours in the hills for a separation from the state. Objective as well as subjective differences between the hills and Valley seem to be pushing them towards opposite directions rather than coming together and be united. The ancient

lores of their common origin and centuries of barter between the people in the hills and Valley are gradually fading from their memory.

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