



Tribal Development in 21st Century Century

AN EXPERIENCE FROM MANIPUR

M Romesh Singh

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Many scholars and experts have experimented with and experienced the various facets of tribal development in the country. Subsequently, numerous strategies by different committees for the upliftment of the poor tribals have been chalked out. Yet problems have not been solved. Due to globalization, rapid demographic and social changes have taken place in many tribal societies. Moreover, Indian tribes represent a fascinating variety of culture and their local customs, traditions and practices play an important role in the development process. Hence, tribal development cannot be treated as a stereotyped phenomenon. It varies from one region to another due to differences in terms of geographical and socio-cultural settings. The present scenario of the tribal society is more complex as compared to the earlier situation especially in North-Eastern India. In the progress of tribal development in Manipur, problems of unrest in tribal conflicts, insurgency activities as well as problems of tribal identity have a perennial presence. These problems are becoming a major threat to the development process in the State. Therefore, the root cause of such problems and its impact on common people deserved a special attention for a holistic understanding of the problem which will facilitate a flexible policy for a better environment for improvement of tribal people, rather than mere heavy allocation of money. In this backdrop, this book examines the problems of tribal development in Manipur and explores unrest problems associated with the tribal development process in the State for a larger audience.

This book will be a tool of great value addition to previous studies. It will also create a strong base for further research on tribal development in the North-Eastern states. Subsequently, it will be useful for policy makers, social scientists and NGOs who are associated with tribal development studies.

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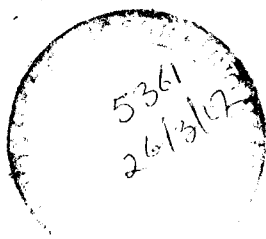
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CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	vii
<i>List of Tables</i>	xiii
1. Introduction	1
2. Tribal Development in Manipur	31
3. Profile of the Villages	59
4. Development Programmes in the Villages	87
5. Development Institutions and Personnel	121
6. Problems of Unrest	157
7. Socio-Economic Change in the Villages	181
8. Summary and Conclusions	197
<i>Bibliography</i>	211
<i>Index</i>	221

1

INTRODUCTION

Development is usually conceived as an aspect of change that is desirable, broadly predicted or planned and administered or at least influenced by governmental action. Thus, the concept of development consists of : (a) an aspect of change, (b) a plan or prediction, and (c) involvement of the government for the achievement of that planned or predicted goal. The term 'development' is also used for the process of allowing and encouraging people to meet their own aspirations. It, therefore, must relate to transforming the entire society encompassing together its economic, social, political and administrative aspects on all round balanced upward change (Basu, A.R. 1985: 26).

Development is not merely an economic phenomenon, rather a societal phenomenon encompassing all aspects of human life. As Exman, M.T. (1966) pointed that development is the rational process of organizing and carrying out conceived and staffed programmes or projects. Colm, G. and Geiger, T. (1962), development means change plus growth. Weidner (1970) defines it as a process of growth in the direction of nation building and socio-economic progress. Chaturvedi (1978) sees development as a process, which stands for transformation of society.

In social sciences development denotes the advancement of a society through progressive stages. Bringing out a society from latent or elementary condition will be regarded as a development. It is found in various fields with different aims. Sometimes, it is used to connote a process, whereas sometimes the product of a process. It is always associated with the total process of society (Nagel, 1967).

Anthropologists like Belshaw (1977) described development as an increase in the capacities of the society to organize for its own objectives and to carry out its programmes more effectively. From this point of view, development is an organized activity and a multi –

dimensional process to improve the social, cultural, economic and human conditions of the people for balanced growth of the society. Vidyarthi (1981) defines development as “growth” plus “change”. It involves material and human factors. He clarifies this point saying that the economic approach of development is not acceptable for an anthropologists who firmly believes that socio-cultural factors are integral part of the dynamics of growth and that social change is not a simply a non functional effect of planning. Therefore, development is a holistic phenomenon.

According to Lucy Mair (1984), the word “development” refers to a process, and in contemporary contexts the process is a movement towards a condition that some of the world’s nations are supposed to have attained. Those which have not yet reached it used to be called “underdeveloped”. Development involves, in one way or another, the relations between the rich nations and those for whom we sometimes prefer euphemisms for the word “poor”.

Epstein (1972: 241) rightly says that the study of development requires the simultaneously analysis of a large number of variables and relationships on both the individual and the social level in the several major institutions of any community. Development process has to be ultimately assessed for impact on quality of life and human well being. In this context, the human development index, developed and refined by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) over the last decades deserves special mention. It consists of a scale from zero to one ranking countries in terms of quality of life of its people, particularly the poorest. The index is computed from – gross domestic product per capita, adjusted for local purchasing power; life expectancy at birth; adult literacy; the number of persons enrolled in educational institutions. Originally developed by Mahbub ul-Haq, the index has been used since 1993 by the United Nations Human Development Program, which issues an annual report. Because of continual improvements in the statistical measures used to determine the score, comparisons of scores or ranks from reports in different years is problematic.

From the above it is obvious that in our approach to economic development of a community, we must take into account many social, political, ecological, legal, religious co-efficients of economic factors, which interact one another in the social system of that community.

Anthropologists have long been concerned with process of social and cultural change and have made significant contributions to their understanding. General anthropological theories of development and

under development which have been reviewed by Schneider (1975: 128), and Nash (81: 109) dealt with only in so far as they illuminate or are illuminated by anthropologists experience with development assistance activities.

Anthropologists working in development have created an academic sub-discipline 'development anthropology'. Their work is not characterized by a coherent or distinctive body of theory, concepts, and methods. Development anthropology has, however, become an incipient profession and a field of study. Through their common experience over the decades and their more or less formal networks, anthropologists working in development have begun to develop a shared understanding of the organization, 'professional culture', and the bureaucratic and political decision making process that characterize development assistance programmes. They have also found common ways of identifying and synthesizing relevant information from a variety of sources within a limited time and of presenting it in a way that will effectively bring their insights to bear in different kinds of decision making contexts. At the same time, anthropological involvement in development has produced a body of technically informed, substantive finds on different types of development initiatives such as pastoral livestock projects and basic health care delivery systems that cross cut traditional academic functional and ethnographic categories. Finally, the role of the development anthropologists is becoming institutionalized in several development agencies (Allan Hoben, 1982: 349).

During colonial era, Anthropologists were commissioned to prepare notes on tribal way of life, their rituals and customs etc. and also acted as advisors to the colonial government. Malinowsky comes in the forefront of anthropologists who contributed to colonial administration. The interest of anthropologists on native affairs made them to continue their involvement even after many colonies became independent. After getting independence the national government started introducing radical plans and schemes for the development of the countries. Anthropologists are attracted towards these process and consequences of directed change attempted through planned development. A number of studies stressing on cultural complexities, resistance, streaming up from values and attitudes in the context of introduction of innovations came into existence as a result of such interest. Spicer (1952), and Foster (1962) dealt on various aspects of social cultural and psychological ramifications of technological innovations. Mead (1950), Barnett (1953), Hogbin (1958), Goodenough

(1963) and Arensberg and Nicoff (1964) provide insights into the problems involved in the process of planned change in the traditional societies. In the context of innovations introduced for planned changes, these studies focused upon the integration of culture and inter relationship between institutions of the society. Viewing tradition as collective adaptation to the environment, the studies emphasized the necessity to prevent any cultural maladjustment in the process of planned change. The common theme of anthropological work of planned development is on the examination of cultural factors in the programmes of planned change. David (1972:5), an economist, writes: "from certain points of views, social anthropologists appear, from their training, to be well qualified to study the development process – they learn the language of the people they are studying, they stay long enough in the field to get to know at least some people well, and to see development process, and they know that they must study a society in all aspects."

Use of anthropology in development can in no way be minimized. Naik (1972) reviewed the work of anthropologists in matters of administration and tribal welfare in his trend report on Applied Anthropology in India. Mathur, H.M. (1976) states that Anthropologists alone over the years have been concerned with micro-level studies of rural poor communities. Their knowledge of the processes and problems of socio-cultural change in traditional societies of third world is unsurpassable. They certainly seem best equipped to help planners in dealing with the development problems of the very poor.

Tribal Development in India

The Constitution of India enjoins on the State the responsibility to promote, with special care, the educational and economic interest of the scheduled tribes, and to protect them from social injustice and from all forms of exploitation. According to the constitution of India, their development is a special responsibility of the President of India; the Governors are responsible for reviewing the administration and development of tribal areas and for reporting to the President.

Since independence India has been actively thinking for the uplift of her tribal people. Our beloved leader, late Jawaharlal Nehru, sought the tribes to "develop along with lines of their own genius". Addressing on all India conference of the tribals held at Jagdalpur (Bastar district, M.P.) in March 1955, he said, "Whenever you live, you live in your own way. We want that your customs should survive and at the same time we want that you should be educated and should do your part in the welfare of our country" (Nehru, 1955).

Approach to Tribal : A Historical Appraisal

In the present context it is essential to know how those tribal people have been approached so far by the administration. During pre-British period tribal communities in India remained fully or partially isolated from others in the Country, and consequently they remained backward and suffered from poverty, malnutrition, disease, exploitation and ignorance in varying degrees. The Colonial government did not pay any attention to the development of tribal communities. Because it is mainly aimed at regulatory functions, such as maintenance of law and order and collection of revenues. It enacted the scheduled districts Act in 1874 and kept large tracts of tribal areas outside the jurisdiction of normal administration. In 1939 the colonial government introduced the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas Act in order to make non-applicable the legislations of provincial government to the tribal areas.

However, the British policy of isolation increased the misery of the tribal communities, and they are exposed to unhindered exploitation. Their plight was heightened by the introduction of National Forest Policy in 1894. This curbed their traditional rights on forests. The forests policy led to the introduction of contractors, traders and non-tribal labour to forest areas in substantial numbers. Other consequences of the commercialization of the forests were: continued depletion of forest cover, soil erosion and decline of fertility in the soil. This further widened the socio-economic gulf between the tribal communities and non-tribal communities.

Policy of assimilation takes the other extreme stand. It rests on the premises that tribal life is not worth bothering about too much, and that nothing would be lost if the forces of modernization obliterated that. The tribal food, tribal dress, the tribal dance and the tribal crafts are not worthy of any serious attention. Hinduism or Christianity, on other hand, is considered superior to the tribal ways of worship. For supporters of this policy, some of the tribal life give way to and is assimilated into the large society, the better it would be for everybody. Ghurey, strongly advocates assimilation of tribal groups into the larger Hindu society. In his view the tribal people are not different from the rest of the people except in their economic backwardness and there is no case for keeping them segregated. The point he emphasized is that it is only by assimilation into the Hindu society that the tribal people would get their due place in the national life. There is no denying the fact that assimilation did sometimes lead to betterment of the lot of some individuals who endeavoured to profit from mission

schools and their contacts with the world beyond the tribal hamlet. But this was not accepted as any sound policy towards the tribesman.

On the eve of independence, it was decided to put all the communities, hitherto recognized as aborigines, in separate schedules of the constitution of India. Thus the excluded and partially excluded areas were enlisted in the Fifth and Sixth Schedules.

Policy of Integration

The founders of the Indian Constitution were deeply conscious of the miserable conditions of the tribals who were segregated from the national mainstream. This policy believed that, tribals should be integrated into the Indian society but not necessarily assimilated. It was implied with the aims to preserve their identity. Integration of tribes into the national mainstream was considered to be the solution that should be done in a phased manner. In this regard, the government appointed a sub-committee in 1947 with Sri Thakhar Bapa as its Chairman to study the position of excluded and partially excluded areas of the erstwhile British Government. The committee made several recommendations. One of the important recommendations was that the State should bear the responsibility of the tribal people. It also suggested certain statutory safeguards for the protection of tribals.

Constitutional Safeguards for Tribal Development

With the dawn of independence and adoption of the Constitution of free India, the British policy of isolation and non-interference was replaced by a policy of integration through development. Following is the description of various constitutional provisions for the safeguard of Scheduled Tribes. Articles 46 of the constitution state that "The state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the scheduled caste and scheduled tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation". National Commission for SCs and STs has broadly classified the constitutional provision into the following categories for protection against all form of exploitation and also for promoting development (Mohan Rao, 1999:179).

1. Directive principles of state policy—Articles 46.
2. Social safeguards—Articles 17, 23, 24, 25 (2) (B).
3. Education and cultural safeguards- Articles 15(A), 29 (1), 350(A).

4. Political safeguards—Articles 164(1), 330, 332, 334, 371A, 371B, 371C, and 371F.
5. Services safeguards—Articles 16(4), 335, 320(A).
6. Economic safeguards—Articles 224, 275(1). Fifth and Sixth Schedules.

The Fifth Schedule also gives wide powers to state Governors empowering them even to modify the existing enactments and make regulations for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes. And Sixth Schedule envisages a special administrative mechanism of self-government to the tribals inhabiting areas in four states of Northeast India. In addition to the above constitutional provisions, there are numbers of laws both central and state, which provide protection and safeguards for the interest of the tribals. These acts and regulations emanate various constitutional provisions. Some of the important central acts are as follows:

1. Protection of civil right Act, 1955.
2. Bonded labour system (Abolition) Act, 1976.
3. Child labour (prohibition and regulation) Act, 1986.
4. Forest conservancy Act, 1980.
5. SCs and STs (prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989.

Approach and Institutional Set-up

After independence, the approach has been that of caution for dealing with tribal areas. Smooth integration of tribal communities with rest of India has been the goal. The first three decades after independence witnessed the arrival of reports like, Renuka Roy (1959), Verrier Elwin (1960), Dhebar (1961), Shilu-Ao (1969) dealing with the socio-economic problems of the tribal population, and evaluation of the functioning of development agencies and their policies. Elwin committee report can be quoted as a master piece in elucidating the philosophy of tribal life. Elwin emphatically stated, "We feel that if any development is to be done in the tribal areas it may be done well. That people must be brought out of their long isolation as soon as possible. Tribal touch or tribal bias means that must look at the things through tribal eyes from the tribal point of view." This committee noted that the personnel working in Special Multi-Purpose Tribal Block (SMPTB) who came from different cultural and socio-economic background, were unable to appreciate tribal ways of life and could not understand the specific problems that tribal faced in different areas. This is just an instance to emphasise the need for proper training to the personnel engaged in tribal development at any level.

Immediately after this report, Dhebar Commission report was published. This report took a review of the entire tribal situation in India, and made a number of recommendations on each and every aspect of tribal life. This report is a repository of all the facts and information on the tribal situation. The Dhebar report has been a pioneering attempt to emphasise the thought of rapid integration of tribal people with the general population of this country. The Renuka Roy committee felt that the target set by Dhebar Commission with the goal of assimilation to be reached by the end of the fourth five-year plan appears to be something optimistic. Nevertheless the committee was in entire agreement with the views of the commission that the social and economic advancement should be accelerated. Dhebar expressed satisfaction over the usefulness of the Blocks and its therefore recommended that the additional blocks in the third five-year plan should not be confined to scheduled areas only, but should also cover other tribal areas where tribal concentration is 55% or above of the total population.

Shilo Ao Committee report took the historical review of the developmental policy in the first, second, and third five-year plans. It observed that while some advances have been made, the expectation that substantial outlays in the tribal development blocks themselves would have proportionate favourable impact was belied. In fact, the revelation was that the amount earmarked for tribal have been diverted for non-tribal beneficiaries. The findings of this committee made it clear once again that it was necessary to adopt the flexible policy for the development of tribals. At the end, the team observed that the advancement under the programme has generally fallen short of expectations, nevertheless the programmes had helped "to bring about the psychological change in the outlook of the tribals". The "Area Approach" and also "adopting to the felt needs of the areas" were the main recommendation of the committee.

The comprehensive reports from various committees and experts revealed the repeated kind of suggestions for the improvement of tribals. Most of these reports were mainly emphasis on the preservation of tribal culture, working through or making use of tribal institutions, instilling among tribals a sense of confidence and self-respect. It also evokes serious concerns for understanding and taking care of the tribals' consent, initiative, involvement and felt-needs of the tribals. Apart from the special multipurpose tribal blocks of 1956, various valuable multifarious measures have been taken for the development of Scheduled Tribes. The fifth five-year plan can be

considered as a land mark in the history of tribal in India when the integrated tribal development projects came into existence. Tribal Development Blocks, Large Scale Multipurpose Co-operative Societies (LAMPS), Tribal Development Agencies, Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDA), Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) pockets and clusters, Micro projects for primitive tribal groups (PTGs) reflect various strategies and modification in the process of tribal development (Rao, P.V. 2001:88). Over five decades, new strategies, initiatives and approaches have come into, being based on past experiences and changing needs. Variety of approaches and strategies like top-down approach, regional planning, target group approach, integrated development, participatory development, joint forest management, poverty alleviation and family oriented programmes have formed part of the development efforts. Of late, however, the prime emphasis and concentration has been paid to the tribal people's participation in the development process at grass-roots level. Besides, various groups and NGOs are striving hard to increase the awareness and participation levels of scheduled tribes. The Panchayats and Co-operative bodies are in existence for five decades. According to Constitution, allocating more power to the Panchayats is a significant step for the development of rural or tribal people.

In spite of all these efforts and massive investment in tribal development, desired results have not been achieved. There are of course several other constraints, which together hamper the tribal development. Therefore, tribal development studies have been a continuous process since long.

Anthropological studies in India are predominantly on tribal societies. The special emphasis laid on scheduled tribes by the government of India further led anthropologists to concentrate on tribal problems. In fact, most of the studies are based on various socio-cultural aspects of tribal and problems of welfare. Studies done by Banerjee (1963), Singh, S. (1972), Bose, N.K. (1973), and Chattopadhyay (1973), give good account of various tribes in India and their culture. Moreover, Studies carried out by Vidyarathi (1980,1984), Buddhadeb, C. (1982) and Mathur, H.M. (1977, 1989) also provide lots of insight on planning for tribal development in India. These are considered as classical works on tribal development in India.

Vidyarthi (1978) and Sachidananda (1980) reviewed some of the works of anthropologists dealing with problems of tribal and

development of tribal areas. They conclude that the success of tribal development programmes is largely conditioned by the approach of the official and non-official agencies implementing them. Hence, their understanding of tribal culture and traditions and appreciation of social, psychological and economic factors along with their intellectual conditioning in grappling with the true objectives are most crucial in the process of welfare and development of a large, long neglected segment of Indian society. The services of anthropologists are being utilized in governmental agencies. The interest of anthropologists on tribal communities resulted in several works dealing with tribal problems, policies and implementation of development programmes for them.

Aiyappan (1965), Bose, N.K. (1969), Vidyarthi (1973), and Haimendorf (1975) provide classical insights into the various problems and prospects in Tribal Development of India. Dube, S.C. (1952) and Vidyarthi (1980) studied development programmes and the role of cultural factors.

Besides, there are number of monographs describing the cumulative experience in regard to tribal life and culture. They also provide meaningful insights into the richness and variety of culture.

Review of Related Literature

There are number of studies done by Anthropologists and other Social Scientists and scholars on tribal development. Some of the studies are reviews on the topic of under study to understand the problems of tribal development and administration, policy, and practices. The available literature on Tribal Development have been categorized into five sections i.e., Tribal development Planning and Administration; Suggestions, Comments on Problems of tribal development; Works based on field studies; Studies in North-Eastern Region; and Studies in Manipur.

Tribal Development Planning and Administration

Tribal development involves development of groups which are at different stages of socio-economic development. On the basis of the level of their techno-economic development eco-cultural setting and acculturative influences, scholars like Sharma, B.D. (1975), Sinha (1980), Ratha (1981), Sharma, S.K. (1981) observed that no plan strategy can work well unless we pragmatically honour some of the compulsions of the tribal situation. They further opined that the imbalance in development not only requires comprehensive planning, but also a different type of administrative edifice. It cannot be administered from above; it has to be organized from below.

Sambrani (1976), Roy Burman (1980), Singh, A.K. (1984), Jagat, Dev (1989), Deogaonkar (1994), and Behura (2000) considered that achievements of tribal development have to be properly designed keeping in view community perception in terms of high benefits, the cultural needs of the society and the extent of community participation, and acceptance. The socio-cultural flexibility aspect of the programmes is to be taken care of, so that cultural norms, beliefs, customs etc., do not clash with any component of the programmes.

Many social scientists emphasized that it would really be ideal if such a tribal development strategy could be implemented in a context where the socio-economic—political structure of the country has undergone a drastic change resulting in widening the power base, recasting the administrative apparatus to make it more decentralized, streamlined, result oriented, need based and efficient, and a social structure more accommodating to the forces of changes. This is primary requisite for fostering development in their backward economy (Verma and Tripathi: 1976, Mishra: 1976, Bapuji: 1993, George, J. and Sreekumar, S.S.: 1994).

Kulkarni, S.D. (1977) highlights certain problems and hindrances in the implementation of tribal development programme. He pointed out the absence of absorption of new techniques and the benefits of schemes for development among tribals. This can be solved by giving the plan widest possibly publicity and by encouraging voluntary agencies and social workers working among tribals to participate in plan implementation.

Tribal development plans must be based on their labour and participation. The viability, the ability and aptitudes of the tribals to utilize the schemes must be taken into account before introducing any scheme, and no changes are possible through official channels and the major task can be carried out by the people themselves. (Pande: 1977, Sharma, B.D.: 1978, Basu, A.R.: 1985, G.P. Singh and Ahsan, Q.: 1988, Sudarsan, V. and Xavier, R.: 1996).

Some of the scholars argued that the plans must be regional with a slant on ethnicity. The plans should ensure that socio-economic barriers and carriers will be so focused as to have a desirable change within a limited period. Periodic assessment of these plans is essential and provision should be made for effecting change when required. Besides all schemes will have phases with a provision of follow up schemes. They felt that creation of specialization in the administrative organization is essential for evolving a new strategy for the development of the tribal areas. (Bhowmick, P.K.: 1982, Vidyarthi, L.P.: 1982, Raizada: 1984).

The implementation of policies and programmes depends on the quality of personnel engaged in their execution. He further states that dedicated workers of the voluntary organizations can exercise a healthy influence on the bureaucratic set up. (Bupinder Singh :1980, Das, N.C.: 1989).

Pachauri (1984), Ramana Rao (1992) argued that for the success of any plan of development it is necessary that all previous approaches are properly evaluated and the deficiencies and loopholes plugged in to so as to improve performance and aim for better results. Hasnain, N. (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 distribution of doles which neglect the integrated growth of the tribal society and also lead to the release of forces of conflict and tension of both inter and intra types.

Bhowmick (1993), Singh, L.R. (1998) opined that the formulation of plans for the tribal development schemes should be done with the involvement of the tribal people themselves because this process will change them from subject to object and make them aware and develop consciousness about their role in development and inspire confidence. Moreover, felt needs could be identified easily by the people actually involved.

Rizvi (1996:48) suggests that “The problems of the tribals economy and culture are multifarious and call for a solution with a sympathetic understanding and first hand knowledge of the tribal life and institutions. An attempt should be made to minimize the hazards of change and transition and to solve the problems of adjustment and social conflict.”

Das, B.N. (1998:215) states that success of planning depends upon the effectiveness of communication that they have among them. The communication process, the channels of communication –formal and informal, upwards, downward, lateral and diagonal flows of information, load, and break down, and regulation of the communications all acquire significance. Development is not a muddling through approach; it is rational decision making, however limited it may be.

Tara Datt (2001:128) argued that the successful implementation of the planning process depends upon the quality of manpower responsible for handling the plans and programmes. He further states that it is desirable to recognize the much stronger traditional bodies of tribal communities and associate them in the planning and

implementation of the development projects till the demand for democratization of public institutions comes from the tribal themselves.

Mohanty, P.K. (2002) opined that any development programmes can bring some sort of transformation with a variance of degree. But it is also true that for bringing transformation the total responsibility does not lay either with government machinery or with the voluntary organization. The communities, for whom this socio-economic transformation is necessary, should be more conscious for themselves. Then the process of transformation will be much more easier, otherwise it will be a very difficult task for any change.

Suggestions, Comments on Problems of Tribal Development

Dasgupta (1976) also suggests that to develop the requisite degree of cooperation to enable tribal societies to function as group will not be possible by merely registering societies for receiving loans but by forming groups which work for themselves and manage their own affairs. Koppa, D.H. (1976) comments that the state administration should help the tribes to lives contentedly and freely. Traditional tribal councils should be revived and strengthened.

Sirsalkar (1976:52) states that tribal communities are at different stages of development in various spheres, social, economic, educational, and so on. As such, there cannot be a common programmes of development for all the tribal communities in the states or country. In formulating project reports for integrated development special attention will have to be given as far as possible to areas and groups facing special problems.

Chattopadhyay, K.D. (1978), highlights that the rapid growth of urbanization has negative impact on tribals who do not remain in the mainstream of change and naturally got isolated. They confined themselves to their own culture, thus preserving to some extent their ancient pattern of life. Sharma, B.S. (1978) opined that tribals need such an administrative system which should not be concerned with specific aspects of citizens life but should be concerned with their total development.

Mishra, R.P. *et al.*, (1979) express that each tribe has its distinctive pattern of living but at the same time contacts with non tribal people have made dent in the tribal cultural configuration. They further pointed out that in this process each tribal has reached a particular level of development and acculturation. They also pointed that social structure of developing societies which conceived at the

national or regional level is inhibitive of real development. The benefits of increased investment in economic and social activities in these areas go to those who need them least.

Sachidananda (1980), Pratap, D.R. (1982) opined that the tribal research institutions could be asked to evaluate the various welfare schemes so that they could be improved upon and the tribal could receive the maximum benefit from them. But no where in the country the tribal research institutions have been taken into confidence at the planning level of the welfare projects. Srivastava (1980) suggested for promotion of tribal crafts and family—based programmes for helping these groups including marketing facilities. He further expressed that the need for basic training and orientation for personnel at various levels is very urgent.

Lutz, H. and Munda, R.D. (1980) argued that successful planning will be possible only when the communities concerned are seriously consulted and given voice in the planning. All other planning is waste of the nation's energy and a source of greater national problems.

Sharma, S.K. (1980) comments that most important factor in tribal development is to bridge the gulf between the view points of the tribals and administrators. The tribal beliefs cannot be changed overnight even if it is desirable to bring about such a change. The tribals themselves should be allowed to decide change and the development administration should only help the tribals to develop ability to grasp the implication of change.

Mathur (1980:170) commented that there are no simple solutions to this problem of drawing the tribal people in to the planning and implementation of development. He further says that the personnel who are willing to treat the target groups of people as partners in progress will achieve better results than the disgruntled officials who will not only mar the image of the government, but might retard the whole process of development.

According to Joshi (1981), Panigrahi, D.K. (1989), and Narayan, S. (1983), the strategy for the development of the tribal areas must be designed keeping their priorities in view which are survival, security and self respect. Sinha (1982) expressed that corruption is a mechanism to perpetuate backwardness of tribal societies in the country.

Singh, B. (1982) suggested that one way to overcome the problems and bring in the desired change is to combat these only at grass root level, with totally locally available means and ways.

Ajit, R. (1984), Gopalkrishnan (1991) felt that the creation of specialisation in the administrative organization was essentially for evolving a new strategy for the development of the tribal areas. It is observed that the sophisticated administrative machinery had failed to function effectively mainly because of the long chain of command and lack of coordination. Studies carried out by Singh, A.K. (1984) and Nayak (1989) reveal that development programmes in tribal areas in particular lack a scientific understanding and assessment of the social, cultural, economic, health and hygiene conditions.

Narayan (1984) states that the major reason for not achieving the target that social research is not at all relevant for planners and administrators. The planners and bureaucrats rarely care for the reports of the research studies. The research is being carried out just to fill gap. The author is of the view that the academicians are equally responsible for it because they never wish to share the findings of such researches with the common people. Development of tribal can take place only when they feel that quality of life to which they aspire is in fact achieved. Lakshmaiah (1984) also suggest that special attention should be given to each tribe to preserve the good elements of its culture and to remove the not so good ones gradually by contact and motivation. Malhotra, R. (1985) in his paper highlights certain reasons for the failure of development programmes in spite of constitutional and executive measure taken by government. Stereotyped programmes which have no relevance to the needs of the tribal in scheduled areas in spite of constitutional provisions, excessive polarization of tribal issues and absence of leaders among tribals to look after their interests, ill suited administration 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 development 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. Verma, Y.M. (1986) made a study about the bureaucratic apathy towards development programmes and attitudes of the general masses towards development. Particularly the tribals are suspicious of losing their identity due to development.

Prasad, L. (1988) opined that the administrators in India are not aware of the ethos of tribal areas. Thirumal (1988) analysed the problems of tribals with special reference to those in Tamilnadu. He also suggested that the ethnical and ecological background of the primitive tribes must be studied first for the special programmes.

Sen, B. (1989) suggested that the quality of life of tribal can be improved by involving them in the decision making and at the implementation level.

Barthakur, K. (1989) suggests that utmost effort must be made to develop the tribals. And viewed that there can be no let up in our efforts until such each tribal can be shown to have reached equality with basic national indices of development. He further pointed out that all these efforts are only the means to an end to help the emergence of healthy talent that can take over responsibilities at village and other level for sustained economic growth.

Patil, S. and Das, N.C. (1989), Bhowmick, P.K. (1993), Lal, R.B. (1996), Mann, R.S. (1996), Sahay, B.N. (1997) suggested that everybody should be more careful to have an intimate knowledge about the totality of the culture of a given community to identify the problems as well as understanding the remedial measures. As a whole, the strategy for development of tribal areas and the people suggests that the welfare programmes should be based on felt needs of the people.

Patel, L.M. (1994) considered that emphasis is to be given on special strategy for the development of primitive tribal groups and nomadic tribes. Participation of social activists and voluntary organizations in fighting injustice and the need for more specific remedies to arrest the rising trend of atrocities on tribals. He further says that micro level planning should be followed sincerely to boost up the growth rate of the more backward areas.

Singh, A.K. and Jabbi (1995) revealed that the conditions of the tribals in post-independence India has in many ways, worsened. They further pointed out that tribals have become the refugees of development. They also pointed out that for the tribals "Development" in post-Independence India has become synonymous with "Deprivation" and brewing "Discontent".

Harrit, H.L. (1996:54) opined that neither the formation of separate state/administrative units for each ethnic group, nor the expansion of administration under sixth schedule to all the areas inhabited by the tribal population is feasible. But it is also true that dilution of the "Nehru Approach" on the part of the personnel dealing with tribal affairs will be inevitably disastrous.

Prasad, R.N. (1998) feels that there could not be any improvement in the life of tribal masses without institutional change. He further highlights that the change in the distribution of assets and

incomes in favour of poor is not possible without genuine and determined political will.

Rao, P.V. (2001) concludes that liberalization, privatization and commercialization form a major threat to the economic survival of many tribal groups. A variety of factors are responsible for the present state of affairs in the tribal areas. He also pointed out the problems related to forest, education, co-operatives, Panchayati Raj, communication, women, structural and organizational constraints. He further suggests that sustainable development which protects the environment and resources should be emphasized while continuing the protection of tribal from vagaries of market forces. Human resource development has to be given priority to facilitate the integration of tribal to participate in new economic enterprises.

Narayana, S. (2002:150) says, "The tribal development programmes lack the indigenous approach. In a country like India where we have the vast natural resources, we ought to tap and link the indigenous raw materials with such an important programme. Children are the future of the country and future can be turned in to reality when world view, ethos, ecology and environment of the target group is taken into account. We have to do heart searching as to how much relevant and successful these programmes are.

Observations and Experiences from the Field Studies

A number of case studies have been made about the problems of tribal development in different parts of the country. Sharma, B.D. (1976) studied among the Jhabua in Chhatisgarh. He says that it is clear that unless a bare minimum subsistence level is guaranteed in these regions, the socio-economic forces may work in the direction of disorganization, which may ultimately spell disaster for the community. He concludes that planning in these areas must start from the human end and weakest part. Apte (1976) studied of fifteen villages in Kolaba district, Maharashtra. He revealed that tribals cannot benefit from government schemes because they are not aware of them or are unable to complete the required formalities for getting credit or other facilities. Study in hill tracts of Gujarat by Lal and Solanka (1976) revealed that development programmes have been directed to change the crude form of agriculture type and to popularize a settled type of cultivation and ultimately improved methods of cultivation. Agriculture extension and animal husbandry programmes have been given priority to these tribes. But these programmes have not been able to go deep, with the result that by and large the tribal scene in this region has remained unchanged. In another study of

Gujarat, Gupta (1977) feels that the cooperatives actually accelerated inequalities instead of eliminating them.

Mahapatra (1978) has ascribed low diffusion of agricultural innovations in tribal Orissa to communication gap, lack of feasibility of application, small size of holdings, lack of irrigation facilities and indebtedness.

Umapathy (1979) Studied tribal development measures in Karnataka. He says that the social welfare department is not manned by trained personnel. At all level, the people associated with tribal welfare schemes are not well trained. So the plans could not be properly implemented. The concerned social welfare officers and the tribal development inspectors have not taken much interest in the tribal development.

Based on the study of 80 families in Dantewada tehsil of Bastar district in Chhatisgarh, Yadav (1981) concludes that there is total absence of initiative on the part of the tribals. A total absence of the trickle down mechanism of agricultural innovations from the tribal development Block centre has been noted in an empirical study of Jhabua district.

Bhatt, V. (1982) narrating the impact of TSP strategy in Koraga community, holds that tribals have not benefited from the sub-plan to the extent expected. The main reason for this is lack of awareness among tribals. He argues that the spirit of sub-plan is yet to percolate down to grass roots. Inaccessible interior villages and scattered habitation of the tribals also account for the slow progress.

Mishra, P.K. and Mishra, R. (1982) in their study among Mullukurumba and Paniyan reflected that the plans should have an ideology and those for whom planning is being done should share that ideology with all favour. Singh, A.K. (1984) studied among Bihar tribals. He revealed that the material advancement through the development effort among the tribals in Bihar has not shown any marked changes except in solitary cases.

Gopalkrishna, M.S. (1984) described the impact of the welfare schemes on Kannikars in Kerala. The implementation of welfare schemes without taking in to account the needs of the beneficiaries is one of the factors for not achieving the desire result in this area.

Basu, A.R. (1985) in his study on tribal development programmes in Himachal Pradesh, in Bharmour and Pangi sub division of Chanta district observed that the efforts made by the government were inadequate to solve the basic problems of poverty, malnutrition, and

exploitation of tribals in this area. The study shows that the development programmes failed to elicit popular support and participation of the local people.

Bhagat (1985) has stressed on the role of farm and crops management for the development of tribal region of Chotanagpur. Rao, P.V. (1986) throws lights on various limitations and weak points involved in the effective implementation of programmes of different institutions and response by various sections of tribal population in Paderu block..

In a study of Jaunsari, Mishra, S. (1998) feels that strong kinship organisation, village organisation and leadership, social stratification and economic organization, peculiar social institutions and the strong controlling influence of religion have cumulatively contributed to the maintenance of a *status-quo* as far economic development is concerned. He further opined that development approach itself, due to certain inherent contradictions, has not been much successful in bringing about desired qualitative changes in the life of the Jaunsari. Rakesh, K. (1998) in his study among Tharu suggests that every planner of tribal development should have a fair knowledge of the structure and determinants of human personality and the role of personality in the primitive society, in order to adopt appropriate methods for dealing the common folk, especially the tribals. Therefore, all personnel associated with tribal development both at the centre and in the state should be given adequate training in psychology to generate awareness and appreciation of tribal culture.

Sharma, R.D. (1988) opined that enough attempts have already been made to uplift Gujjars and Bakkarwals in Jammu and Kashmir but efforts are haphazard because of organisational deficiencies, peripheral nature of priorities and defective planning of strategies for development.

Sahoo, A.C. (2000) in the study among Dongria Kandhas of Orissa highlights the life and culture, their standard of living, felt needs and operation of various development programmes for their all round sustainable development.

Alok Rath (2000) through his empirical study among Juang's of north Orissa observed that development and progress are at the Juang's door steps but a combination of poor governmental foresight and indifferent tribal attitude, has hampered the development progress.

Studies in North-Eastern Region

Experts at the seminar on Tribal situation in India considered "it

most important to bear in mind that integration is a dynamic and continuing process which necessarily involves mutual give and take by the various sections of the national community. As the national economy develops and as individuals from all sections of the population are drawn into it, integration increasingly becomes broader and deeper, giving rise to a new culture which derives its strength and validity from contributions which every section makes to it. The seminar stressed that this process could never be complete and that it was for enlightened citizen and leaders of public opinion to make sure that it never stops." (K.S. Singh:1972:632)

Verrier Elwin (1957) during his long tenure as the Anthropological advisor to the Government of NEFA recommended a number of far reaching measures, on the basis of which Government policy was formulated. The essence of his way of thought is enshrined in his book "Philosophy for NEFA". He spelt out the social, cultural, economics, and psychological goals for the administration in tribal areas with particular reference to NEFA. And also dealt with tribal problems under the heading of material needs, psychological adaptations, and Social, religious and cultural problems.

Ering, D.S. (1972) described that the people of NEFA cannot differentiate between programmes under taken by the community development blocks and the agriculture department. To them everything is the same. The problem arises when the block is "normalized" and some staff, as a result, are withdrawn.

Roy Burman, B.K. (1972) in his article "Integrated Area Approach to the Problems of North east India", describes the various problems in the hills of North East India. It is obvious that a mere plan of economic development would be utterly inadequate. Along with economic planning, there should be social and political planning in an integrated manner. Puri, R. (1972) argued that there is no use in expending valuable time, energy and resources on solving the North-East Problem, as the Government seems to be doing generally in the region. He further says that problems will have to be dealt with from root up, and it involved urgent and effective measures to end the isolation of the tribes of their district from the rest of the country.

Haldipur, R.N. (1972) considered that a single line administration with proper leadership can bring about a renaissance of tribal life and culture. He further says that posting dissatisfied officials in to interior area will not advance the cause of integration. Sinha, A.P. (1972) argued that in the absence of any effective forum or opportunity for the people of the Hill districts to participate in local development

through democratic processes, of which each of the tribal community has a rich tradition, discontent and frustration is a natural consequence.

Goswami, A. (1984), Alam, K. (1985) described the strategies for tribal development with special reference to the tribes in the North-East India. The strategy for tribal development, the author argues, requires defining in clear terms the contexts of development for tribals which are bound to be different from the national contexts. Tribals living in the hills with some minor exception are not yet integrated into national economy and their contact with the economy has been minimal. They view that attempts to extend the national economy to these communities in haste are likely to be counter-productive for development, besides setting in motion waves of social interest.

Nongbri (1985) says that while the tribal development policy has led to the emergence of a new class of elite and a proliferation of political leaders with improved standards of life and status, it has not made significant impact on the majority of the tribal population living in North Eastern Region.

Bhattacharjee, P.R. (1987) states the basic problem as socio-economic dualism centered around the tribal and non-tribal dichotomy and points out the causes contributing to the persistence of this socio-economic dualism. For solving this problem in Tripura, Tribal Autonomous District Councils for the predominantly tribal areas of the state were established. Since the socio-economic dualism is the creation of complex forces of history and facts of geography of the state, the council faces an uphill task indeed. The author doubts whether organizational set up is suited for solving the problem. The serious obstacles in the effective measure for the development of Autonomous District Council area is lack of detailed information on its techno-economic characteristics. There is the problem of the growth of enlightened leadership in the rural area.

Khund, J.P. (1985) portrayed the tribal problems with special reference to the North-East region. The author delineates the historical development in terms of isolation, segregation and assimilation of the tribals during the British and post independence period. Further, he discussed the cultural heritage, social structure, policy and hindrance in the implementation of the development programmes meant for tribals. Highlighting the reasons, the author mentions : (i) the task of administration in the hilly and tribal area was difficult and costly; (ii) it was desirable to keep away the tribal from possible political influences from outsiders; (iii) if the tribals would

be left to themselves they would remain happier. This policy continued upto the time of independence and in the post independence era, the policy of integration was initiated.

Bordoloi, B.N. (1989), Karma, M.N. (1990) opined that the tribal communities of the North East are passing through transitional stages. Development always presupposes changes and changes create numerous problems some of which are psychological and some physical. While the physical problems are discernible and therefore, can be tackled to certain degree, the psychological problems more or less remain unattended. Hence, no final word can be said about tribal development. Those who are entrusted with the planning and execution of tribal development programmes must begin to think first from the tribal point of view. And this is the need for the hour.

Nunthara, C. (1990), Xaxa, V. (1990) opined that numerous development measures have been taken up for the upliftment of this region but the promise of accelerating the development process failed to take shape. This is mainly because the masses are not involved at any stage of the process of planning. No due consideration was given to the aspirations of the local people. They considered that the path of development has sharpened the stress and strain and social inequality in the region. Dev, B.J. *et al.*, (2002) express that there can be no two opinions about the fact that special category state of North-Eastern states by itself failed to generate any worth while development and as a result the region continues to remain in the vortex of backwardness. It is against this background that the new development initiatives ought to be taken into account. What is, however, urgently needed is to set forth an agenda for development linking the priorities. So that concerted efforts could be set in motion to achieve the objectives.

Studies in Manipur

Khan, G. (1984) highlights the infrastructure progress in tribal areas of Manipur. The author gives lots of statistical information about tribal areas but very less of analysis 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 area. But if a visitor goes from the plain to the hills, he forms the impression that there is still much left to be done to narrow down the gap between the two regions. He further pointed out that the Christian Missionaries have succeeded in modernizing the tribal people of Manipur. Indeed they have unlocked and opened up the closed doors of these primitive people to the light of modern education.

Ansari, S.A. (1986) gives various details about the schemes carried out by the government of Manipur through the five-year plans. He pointed out that the resources for the tribal development are being appropriated or utilized for development elsewhere. He further points out that a special dispensation is necessary for enabling the tribal people to become equal partners in development of tribal areas.

Rajat, K.D. (1989:91) his article Tribal development in Manipur with reference to the organizational features states it is not a question of exercise of choice, as if to determine who matter most. The fact remains that every tribe has certain variants-urban or semi urban, rural, local etc. and it is not unusual for a particular variant of a tribe to be tagged with another such variant of another tribe belonging to the same area. The sense of solidarity may still be centered in the local group, but it may be qualified in some regions by a sense of participation in the multivariant regional group. The main task here will be to determine the exact nature and character of the regional group."

Das, S.T. (1993:211) expressed that tribals cannot be isolated. In the existing tribal situation in Manipur, a unilateral development of a tribe may not be the answer. The situation calls for a multilateral development programmes involving a number of tribes in a way that would help generating in them a sense of cooperation without disturbing their basic identity. But the matter is not that simple. The successful implementation of a multi-ethnic development programme depends on a correct assessment of the development needs of the particular groups concerned.

Singh, R.P.'s (1995) pointed out the importance of effective utilization of natural resources and its positive impact on tribal development. The authors opined that the developmental practices and policies for natural resource management need to be properly oriented well in time to maintain the quality of environment. He further suggests that the active cooperation of the masses and the voluntary organization has to be sought for successful implementation of the natural resource management programmes.

Sanjenbam (1998) in her book pointed out that in Manipur, the implementation of economic development programmes is not equally carried out throughout the state which has led to disparity between different regions and different sections of the society, besides decline in employment in traditional crafts and industries.

Singh, R.P. (2000) expressed that the development of one sector

opens up the possibilities for another, the development activities under various sectors have to be coordinated with each other. Interlinking of one spatial unit with another will help to achieve a comprehensive development of district by optimum utilization of locally available resources. His study, thus provides an insight into the emerging patterns of tribal economy and settlement hierarchy of a fascinating tract.

The available sources of literature on tribal development in Manipur have been very few. Anthropological works on tribal development have been totally missing in Manipur. Generally, there are few books and articles that have come out on problems of development in Manipur. Most of the works are based on secondary sources of data and descriptive in nature due to lack of empirical data. Besides, none of the authors have given due importance to look at the problem of unrest in Manipur, which is being one the major threat to the development of Manipur in general and tribals in particular. The scope of these studies being very narrow, these studies offered no in-depth insight in to the real problems of tribal development in Manipur. Therefore, the present study is a modest attempt to understand the problems of tribal development in Manipur.

Observations from the Review of Literature

From the above review of literature the following observations can be made regarding the tribal development studies in India.

- Many of the studies reflect that all plans for development have a greater possibility of success if related cultural and social factors are taken into account while formulating plans and programmes;
- Planners and administrators overlook the cultural background of the community and make desperate effort to alter the way of life, which is bound to meet with resistance;
- A major problems lies in the fact that the people for whom development is intended are not involved;
- The plans must be more need based, comprehensive and decentralized in specific applications. The peoples participation in the development programmes must be ensured;
- Lack of interest in tribal development on the part of administration and implementing officials has also held up developmental process to a great extent. Moreover, untrained administrative officials to implement the ambitious tribal

schemes have also been responsible for the poor development;

- Overlapping in the functions of various departments and agencies in the tribal development is another problem in the implementation of development plans;
- Development programmes meant for the tribals are not properly planned, and corruption exists in the programmes implementation. Therefore, the neediest tribals got the least benefit, those who are better off got more benefits;
- The development policy of the tribal areas has to give priority to material progress of particular areas.

In addition to some of the factors that have been pointed above, few observations can be drawn from studies in Manipur. The shortage of power is a constraint for development of hill areas in the state; Another problem of tribal development in Manipur is the location of villages: sparse dispersal of population in the hilly area which adds to the problems of development. Besides, the single crop agricultural economy and poor irrigation facilities, poor industrial growth, and lack of awareness amongst the tribal people are some other visible obstacles that are very often witnessed in the of development.

Purpose and Scope of the Study

The problems of tribal development have long baffled the policy makers, administrators, social scientists in India and the debate is continuing on the meaning, character and direction of their socio-economic transformation. The earlier studies carried out by Anthropologists and other Social Scientists among various tribal communities have constantly pointed out various problems of tribal development and offered suggestion for bringing better results. Based on various committees' reports and studies on tribal development, efforts have been subsequently made to improve the tribal situation by providing various kinds of provisions and schemes. However, unfortunately, the tribals have not been able to derive sufficient benefit from the process of planned development. It is true that tribal development problem in the country can not be considered as stereotyped phenomenon. It varies from one region to another. Thus, it is important to study all the tribal inhabited regions in different parts of the country through micro-level studies to gain better understanding of various tribal problems. The present scenario of the tribal society is more complex as compared to the earlier situation especially in North Eastern India. In the process of tribal development

in Manipur, problems like tribal conflicts, insurgency activities, and problem of identity also have a perennial presence. As of now, these problems are becoming a major hindrance to the tribal development process. It is clearly evident from the above observations made by different scholars on tribal development. Most of the scholars have not discussed the problems of unrest which is very much associated with tribal development. In fact, the root cause of unrest problems needs a special emphasis for understanding and better improvement of tribal people, rather than heavy allocation of money. Apart from general tribal development problems, the present study is also concentrated on unrest problems associated with tribal development process.

There are various problems that exist in Manipur, i.e., Tribal Conflict (Naga & Kuki) and problem of insurgencies etc. In addition to these, prolonged disfunctioning of Autonomous District Councils is also another important factor that calls for our attention. Therefore, in addition to above issues highlighted by different scholars, one needs to examine that how does unrest problems impact on tribal development in Manipur. The main thrust of the present study is to understand the problems of tribal development in Manipur.

The present study is an attempt to examine the nature and implementation process of development programmes for tribals of Manipur and their socio-economic impact on the two selected village during last five years and problems involved in their development. This study, therefore, is limited to two villages for the intensive field study. Most of the development programmes which have been introduced in these villages by the Government and NGOs have been studied, and officials views, and problems faced by them also been discussed. The present study is an attempt to provide a better understanding to the problems of tribal development in Manipur.

Objectives of the Study

In tune with the above observations the specific objectives of this study are:

- To understand the history of tribal development in Manipur through plan-wise perspective and the associated constraints.
- To provide an ethnographic profile of the selected villages and problems faced by the villagers.
- To study, the development programmes carried out by various departments, and agencies in the selected villages.
- To examine, role and contribution of Administrators,

Institutions, NGOs and Church with regard to village level development activities.

- To examine, the impact of unrest on tribal development in Manipur and the socio-economic change in the study villages.

Methodology

The present study is located in Manipur (Area 22,327 sq. km, population 18,37,199 in 1991) a small backward hill state in North-East India. The state can be broadly divided into three natural regions, the Manipur hills, the Manipur valley and the Barak basin. The Manipur hills provide the geographical base to the state as they cover about 90 per cent of its area surrounding the small central valley and accommodate over one third of the state population.

The state by its topographical structure had problems of economic development and socio-economic transformation for a pretty long period. Manipur presents a true picture of the poor economic conditions prevailing in Indian economy. The lower per capita income, a fast increasing population, absence of industries, huge but mostly unskilled manpower are the features of the economically backward and depressed region. The economic stagnation of the people is reflected in the fact that about 45% live a life below poverty line.

In this background, researcher has made an attempt to examine the problems and progress of the various development programmes for the Scheduled Tribes of Manipur. However, the present study is based on intensive fieldwork of two tribal villages. Thus, this study is a micro level study. The study adopted both qualitative and quantitative methods for the collection of data. Initially, a pilot survey was carried out over 3 months, i.e., January to March 2001 in this area. This has facilitated the designing of the study tools. After this, an intensive fieldwork for a period of 9 months from September 2001 to May 2002, was carried out.

Within the Manipur, Chandel district is been selected as study area. Chandel district is considered to be one of the backward tribal districts in Manipur, and inhabited by large tribal population. Besides, lots of illegal activities like insurgency, tribal conflicts, drug business, are taking place in this area since district is located in Indo-Myanmar border. Moreover, the district is well connected with other plain areas. Generally in Manipur, majority of tribals are living in hill areas and some are in plain. The researcher has selected two villages, i.e., Nayapur (Plain) and Miyapur (Hill) villages in Chandel district of Manipur for intensive field study. Nayapur village is resided by Khoibu

tribe whereas Miyapur village is resided by the Maring tribe. They are almost similar in their lifestyle, occupation and culture. Broadly, Khoibu are also going by the name of Maring in their schedule tribe certificates. But they prefer to be known as Khoibu. And they are seeking for separate tribal identity. A plain village and hill village have been selected for study to understand the differences and similarities with regard to developmental programmes and associated problems. Both the villages come under the administration of Machi Block, which is one of the most backward tribal Blocks in Manipur.

Anthropological research tools are used for collecting qualitative and quantitative data. During period of field work, researcher developed good rapport with the people under study for collecting qualitative ethnographic data. The native tribal provided information only when they came to trust the researcher completely. It helped in collecting case studies and other in-depth information. Some intentional acts and some coincidents led to initial contact and rapport establishment. Discussions on political issues, insurgents, movies and education etc., made the people to come closer to the researcher, so much so that some people addressed him with kin terms. In the present book, name of the studied villages and informant names have been changed to protect their identity.

The household schedule was used for collecting socio-economic data about each of the household in these two villages by administering to the head of the household. The schedule was aimed at obtaining information relating to members in the household, type of family, economic status, education attainment of members of household and development benefits received etc.

Structured and Unstructured interviews were conducted with villagers and other officials to collect data regarding implementation of development programmes and peoples participation. Different comments and experiences from villagers regarding schemes implemented by various agencies were obtained, and group discussions were also held in villages.

Throughout the fieldwork, the researcher resorted to observation of both participant and non participant type, for further details and verification of data collected through the use of several techniques of data collection. The researcher participated in some of the Sunday prayers in Church to understand the role of church. Besides, participated in some of the village councils meeting with regards to divorce cases, marriage conflicts, discussions on road repairing work etc.

Case studies on programme beneficiaries and officials and their problem were also collected. Case studies have been used to get better understanding about people's problems and their views and feelings on the existing social unrest in Manipur in general and particular in the study villages.

Besides, these techniques, the secondary information have been collected from different sources like Central Library in Manipur, State Library, Universities and Government agencies etc.

Organisation of the Book

The present study is dealt in eight chapters. The first chapter introducing the topic and throwing light on contributions of different scholars on the tribal development. An introduction is given about the present study in which the purpose and the objectives of the study, methodology and organization of the chapters have been discussed.

The second chapter discussed about the tribal development policy in Manipur, plan wise from first five-year plan to ninth five-year plan, tribal development agencies in Manipur both governmental and non-governmental and general problems of tribal development in Manipur.

The third chapter introduces the geographical setting of the villages under study. It also includes ethnographic profile, deals with the village lay out, demographic composition, and gives a description of various social institutions amenities, facilities, and communication. This chapter introduces the economy of Nayapur and Miyapur villages.

The fourth chapter examines the tribal development schemes implemented in these two villages during last five years and beneficiaries experiences regarding schemes and basic problems faced by the villagers.

The fifth chapter discussed about the role and functioning of administrators and their views on tribal development, role of village authority, activities of government institutions like schools, veterinary dispensary, NGOs working in the villages etc., and their contribution, problems encountered etc.

The sixth chapter analysis the problems of unrest affecting the tribal development and its root causes as well as its impact on the various groups of people like government officials and villagers. In addition to this, disturbances caused by army, and the prolonged disfunctioning of autonomous district council in Manipur and their implications were presented.

The seventh chapter delineates the socio-economic impact of development activities on the two villages i.e., change in economy and the relations with other plain areas, improvement in education, health and hygiene etc.

In the final chapter, summary and conclusions of the work are presented.