

**DECENTRALISED PLANNING, POVERTY ALLEVIATION
PROGRAMMES AND TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT : A CASE STUDY OF
LOHIT DISTRICT, ARUNACHAL PRADESH**

**DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**



BY

Ms. Nang H Mantaw

To

**THE DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY
SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES
NORTH EASTERN HILL UNIVERSITY
SHILLONG
2004**

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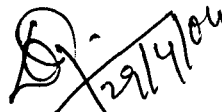
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I, Miss Nang Helina Mantaw, do hereby declare that the subject matter of the thesis is the record of work done by me, that the content of this thesis did not form basis of the award of any previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and that the thesis has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other University/ Institute.

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PREFACE

Several programmes and schemes have been launched by the central and state governments to uplift the rural masses, especially in the tribal dominated areas of the country, under various Five Year Plans. One of them is Poverty Alleviation Programme which was started during the Sixth Five Year Plan. Poverty Alleviation Programmes contains various programmes and schemes for the upliftment of the tribals with special provisions and guidelines in terms of concession for the tribal people in general. Besides, the implementation of these programmes presumes devolution of power to grass roots level for their success.

Poverty Alleviation Programmes are special programmes designed to provide income and employment to the people who other wise would have been deprived of it in the absence of such programmes. The process of implementation emphasizes participatory role of the beneficiary and follows decentralized planning.

The topic was selected because of my interest in tribal development in Arunachal Pradesh. I was always struck by the inequalities in otherwise egalitarian tribal communities before independence. The quest to understand the issue formed the basis of selection of such topic for my PhD dissertation.

My debt to those who helped me in one way or other is quite a lot indeed. First and foremost, I would like to express my greatest sense of gratitude to my

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CHAPTER- I

INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH DESIGN

1.1 Generalities

A number of programmes and schemes have been launched in India since the Independence for all round development of rural people. These programmes are better appreciated as Poverty Alleviation Programmes. In spite of sound theoretical framework, these programmes, schemes and projects failed to achieve desired goals because of, *inter-alia.*, spatial variation of resource endowments, the hiatus between the planning framework and planning, the implementation process in practice and frequent shift in approaches to development and planning strategies. In view of the above drawbacks quite a few programmes and projects have been launched with a view to involve the rural people in the process of their development and the development of rural areas. Such projects and programmes have displayed wider scope for accommodating socio- cultural and regional differences which otherwise are characteristics of the rurality.

Poverty Alleviation Programmes are special programmes designed to provide income and employment to the people who otherwise would have been deprived of it in the absence of such programmes. They are also supposed to create sustainable community assets in the process. At the theoretical level, these programmes provide greater scope for accommodating local variations consequent upon variation in resource endowments and socio-cultural setup. The process of implementation emphasizes participatory role of the beneficiary and

follows decentralized planning process as a strategy. In other words, poverty alleviation programmes necessitate decentralized planning process for successful implementation and objective realization of the goals in rural areas with sterling diversities.

But cross-sectional studies by individual scholars and various institutions, reports of different Committees and Commissions portray an unsatisfactory picture as regard to the objective realization of poverty alleviation programmes. Planning and implementation of such programmes are found lacking in the spirit of decentralization. Inter-village and inter- block disparities are remarkable in terms of financial and physical dimensions of achievements.

To understand the effectiveness of poverty alleviation programmes vis-à-vis the nature of decentralized planning and spatial dimension of development in rural areas, the present study has been undertaken with Lohit District of Arunachal Pradesh as case study. The Lohit district (micro-level) in its regional setting in Arunachal Pradesh (meso-level) displays identical variations in its rural areas in terms of resource endowments and socio-cultural setting. The district consists of continuous chains of hills and mountains, the altitudes of which vary from 500 feet to 17,000 feet. The mountains in the north, which are the extension of the Himalayas, remain snowbound almost throughout the year. The southern part consists of the plains drained by the rivers like the Digaru, the Lohit, the Kamlang, the Noa Dihing, the Tengapani, etc. and their tributaries. The plain areas in the foothill region are covered by dense tropical forests and provide safe living place

for wide variety of wild animals. Besides, the district is inhabited by as many as six ethnic groups, such as the Khampti, the Singpho, the Mishmi, the Deori, the Zakhring, the Adi Somuwa and the Adi.

1.2 Review of Literature

There is a plethora of literature related to the present study. But considering the contextual nature of work a thematic presentation is opted for instead of highlighting individual works. In the field of rural development, Sinai (1987), Prasad (1988), Mandal (1991) etc., have discussed the nature of planning process. Similarly, Mahajan (1991) examined the incidence of poverty and performance of IRDP in terms of distributional aspect by referring to income, employment, consumption and assets holdings of beneficiary families.

Other works on rural development include the studies of Srivastava and George (1977), Reddy (1988), Bhaduria and Dubey (1989), Sodhi (1990), Rao (1992), Iyer(1994), Neelakantan(1994),and Vyas and Bhargava (1995). Ahluwalia (1990) has analysed policies relating to poverty alleviation in the context of developing countries.

NIRD (North Eastern Regional Center, Guwahati) has conducted many cross-sectional studies on rural development in the North Eastern region. These are included in various edited volumes and in different publications of NIRD (NERC). Works of Mishra (1984, 1985), Adisesiah (1992), Maithani(1993) are important ones. These have dealt with evaluation and strategic aspect of poverty alleviation programmes.

Coming down to Arunachal Pradesh, there are quite a few works of scholars like Das (1992, 1994), Roy and Kuri (1995, 1996, 1997), Behera(1994, 1998) who have focused on economic transformation and related issues vis-à-vis state sponsored programmes during the planning period. No study is yet available on spatial dimension of development in rural areas through poverty alleviation programmes and decentralized planning process.

1.3 Significance of the Study

The study, besides adding to the existing literature on the issue, will throw light on the effectiveness of decentralized planning and poverty alleviation in the process of tribal development in the tribal dominated state of Arunachal Pradesh. This will be a pioneering study aiming at highlighting the area development through poverty alleviation programmes and decentralised planning with a purpose to provide the planners and development workers a better insight into the problem and to evolve out a strategy for reducing disparities in terms of rural development.

1.4 objectives

The main objectives of the study are:

1. To study the nature of decentralized planning in relation to functional aspect of the process of implementation of poverty alleviation programmes.
2. To examine the spatial dimension of pattern of fund allocation on poverty alleviation programmes.

3. To study the rural development vis-à-vis tribal development through poverty alleviation programmes.
4. To identify and examine locational characteristics to understand spatial dimension of rural area development and functional hierarchies to analyze decentralized nature of planning.
5. To suggest a strategy for proper functioning of weak links present in functional hierarchies in order to arrive at a more meaningful decentralized planning and for effectiveness of poverty alleviation programmes in rural development.

1.5 Hypotheses

The following hypotheses are formulated for testing:

1. Locational characteristics adversely affect the poverty alleviation programmes in the rural development.
2. Pattern of fund allocation has a direct bearing on rural development.
3. Administrative machinery as the implementing agency fails in promoting the very spirit of decentralization in planning at the grassroots.

1.6 Methodology

The study is empirical in nature and is based on both analytical and descriptive methods of analysis. The facts and figures which were used to analyze the queries raised in the research problem and to test the hypotheses were gathered from both primary and secondary sources. For the collection of primary data, interview method was adopted and tools like questionnaires,

schedules, observation were used. The primary data were also collected from the internal records of different Government Departments and Panchayat Bodies. Data collected from these sources were properly classified, processed and analyzed. Under secondary sources, published books, research papers, government reports, journals, various unpublished works were consulted for a better conceptual comprehension. Suitable statistical and cartographic tools have been used for analysis and for appropriate logical formulation.

Namsai Sub-division in Lohit district of Arunachal Pradesh is the study area in which twelve sample villages are units for analysis of locational and spatial pattern of poverty alleviation programmes.

Twelve villages have been selected on the basis of distance from the Sub divisional headquarters, Namsai, of Lohit district. The villages were selected from the list available at Block office. Data on fund allocation were collected from concerned Sub-Divisional offices. Data on financial and physical achievements were collected from Sub-Divisions, Circles, *Anchals* and Villages in study area. The households were selected from the household list available in the Block Office. The twelve villages have formed sample unit for assessing the status of community assets.

The data were collected at three stages. During the first stage, data were collected from concerned departments at Itanagar, the capital of Arunachal Pradesh. During the second stage, data were collected from BDO (Block Development Office) at Namsai. During the third stage, sample villages were

visited and the household interviews were conducted. The field study was conducted during the period of November 1999 to March 2000.

1.7 Sample Design

The sample design selected for the present study consists of 12 villages, four from each of three tribes on the basis of distance from the sub divisional headquarters. The three tribes are the Khampti, the Shyam and the Adi. Amenities available and other criteria on the basis of which selected villages show variation are shown in Table No: 1.1 and Table No: 1.2. From each tribe four villages have been selected. Out of the total selected tribes one forms the large group, one medium, and one small group. The religious faiths of these tribals are Donyipoloism, Christianity and Buddhism. The Khampti and the Shyam follow Buddhism and the Adi follows Donyipoloism and Christianity

Agriculture is the mainstay of these tribal groups, but the Khampti are engaged in timber trade too.

The Literacy pattern shown in Table No: 1.1 was also considered for selecting sample villages. Since the literacy pattern is erratic, the distance was the major factor for selecting sample villages

1.8 Delimitation

The study is delimited to rural development with reference to poverty alleviation programmes during the Eighth Five Year Plan. Rural development may be understood in terms of community assets in the village and productive

assets in individual households and their sustainability in assuring employment and income.

1.9 Organization of the Study

1. The First chapter starts with the introduction and research design incorporating the introduction of the study, literature review, objectives, hypotheses and the methodology in it.
2. The Second chapter introduces the geographical personality of the study area and also the socio-cultural life of the tribe under study.
3. The Third chapter discusses review of Tribal Development in India with reference to North-East India and Arunachal Pradesh.
4. The Fourth chapter deals with the nature of planning and organizational set-up for implementing Poverty Alleviation Programmes and their financial and physical achievements during the Eighth Five Year Plan in Arunachal Pradesh
5. The Fifth chapter analyses the Inter-tribal differences in the implementation of Tribal Development Plans in the study area.
6. The Sixth chapter analyses the Intra-tribal differences in the implementation of Tribal Development Plans.
7. The Seventh chapter attempts to explain the Socio-economic Constraints in Tribal Development in Arunachal Pradesh.
8. The Eighth Chapter summarizes the findings and examines the hypotheses framed for testing on the basis of data collected during the field study.

Table No: .1.1
Sample Villages: Demographic Information

Sample Villages	Distance from BHQ*	Total Population (ST)	Literacy (%)	BPL families	Total HH	% of BPL
Lathaw	12	598	31.77	59	419	14.08
Manmow	6	202	15.65	50	102	49
N. Khampti	32	131	20.63	42	94	7.40
Wingko	15	78	13.66	69	81	15.71
Jona-IV	22	243	57.33	42	43	97.67
Kaisu	8	134	61.8	22	32	68.75
Nanam Shyam	10	195	52.05	17	63	26.98
Nongtaw Shyam	30	147	70.19	29	42	69.04
Mabira	25	150	20.55	46	88	52.27
Namleng	35	136	11.36	30	164	18.29
Ningroo Adi	5	209	49.30	31	47	65.95
Joipur	5	223	37.66	29	37	78.37

Source: Census of India, 1991, Series 3, Part XII A&B, District Census Hand book, Lohit District, Village and Town Directory, Arunachal Pradesh 1991

* Block headquarters

Table No: 1.2
Sample Villages: Amenities Available

Villages	Road	Transport Facilities available with Distance (Km.)	Purpose of Power supply	Water Supply	Post & Telegraph	Health facilities (Km)	Educational Institutions	Bank	Distance from the BHQ Namsai
Lathaw	PR	0.00	ED	R,TW	+10	0	PMHAC	Namsai	12
Manmow	PR	0	ED	TW	-	5	S	”	6
Nongtaw Khampti	KR	10	-	TW	5-10	10	PM	”	32
Wingko	KR	5-10	-	W,TW	5	PHS	PM	”	15
Mabira	KR	5-10	ED	T	5	5	5	”	58
Namleng	KR	5	ED	TW	5	5	P	”	35
Ningroo Adi	KR	0	-	W,TW	5-10	5	P	”	5
Joipur	PR	5	-	TW	5	5	PMAC	”	5
Jona-IV	KR	5-10	-	TW	5-10	10	P	”	22
Kaisu	KR	5	-	T,TW	5	5-10	P	”	8
Nanam Shyam	KR	5	ED	W,TW	5	5-0	PAC	”	10
Nongtaw Shyam	KR	5-10	-	TW	5	10	P	”	30

Source: Same as Table No: 1.1

AC: Adult Literacy Center, P: Primary School, M: Middle School, S; Secondary, TW: Tube Well, W: Well, R: River, ED: Electricity for Domestic use, PHS: Primary Health Sub-Centre, PR: Pukka Road, KR: Kutcha Road

CHAPTER – II
HABITAT AND SOCIO CULTURAL LIFE OF THE TRIBES

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is designed with a view to know the habitat of the tribes and to understand the socio-cultural, political and economic life in order to lay down the base for subsequent analysis of the inter tribe and intra tribe study. The tribes selected for the present study are the Khampti, the Adi and the Shyam of Lohit district of Arunachal Pradesh.

The Shyam have the cultural affiliation with the Khamptis with a very minor difference in the socio cultural set up. So the socio-cultural life of the Shyam can be understood in the context of the Khamptis. The Adi forms the other group of the tribe under study. They are a migrant tribe in the Lohit district of Arunachal Pradesh

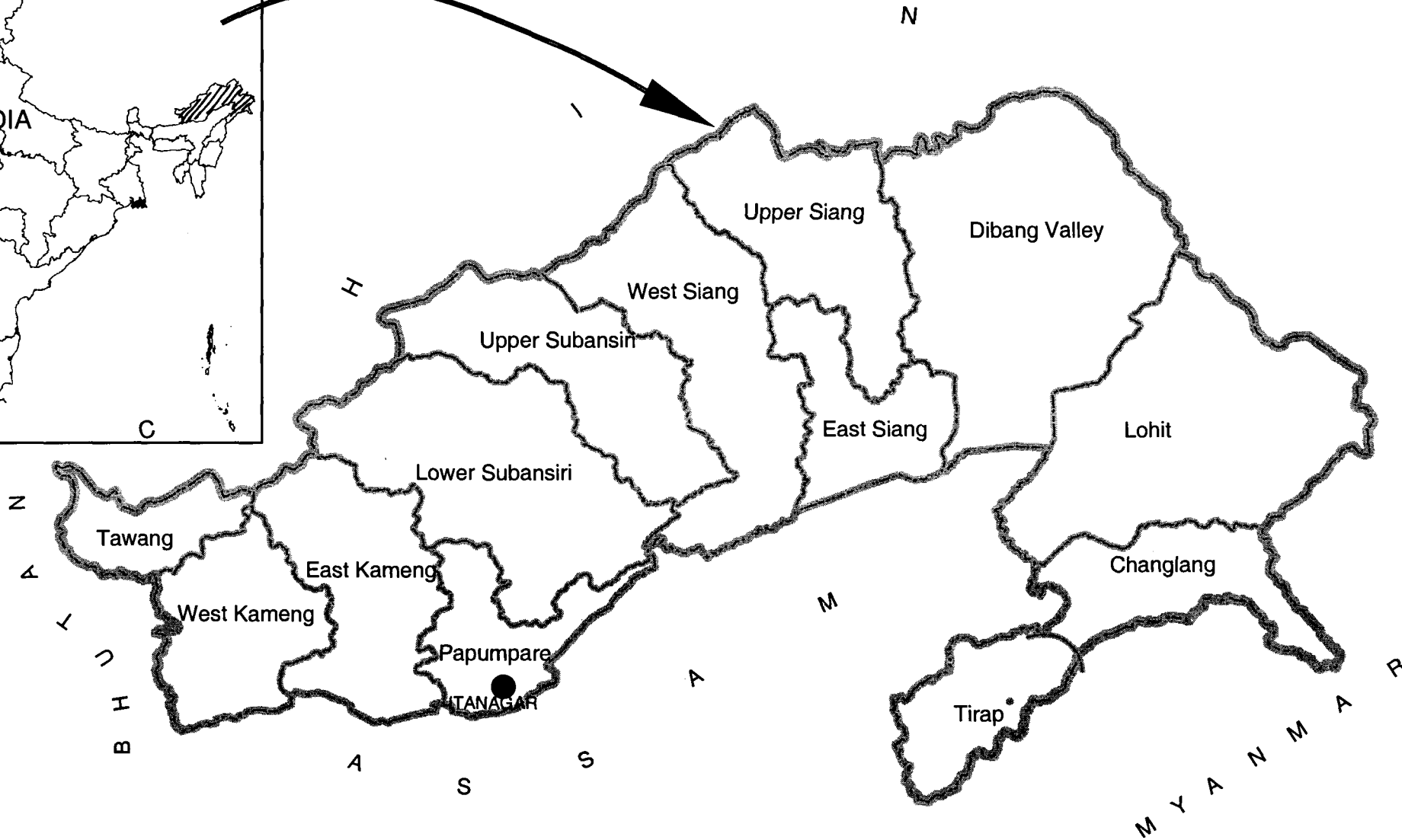
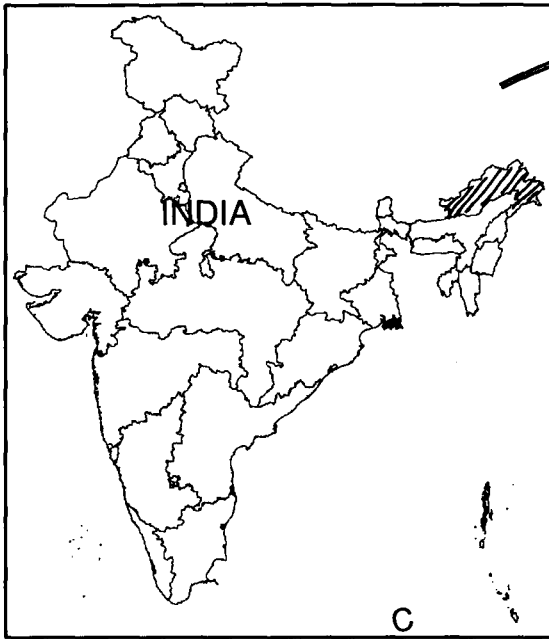
The Adi are in fact a hill tribe who constitute a major tribe in the state of Arunachal Pradesh. Former they are found in the three Siang Districts i.e. East Siang, West-Siang, Upper Siang and eastern fringe of Upper Subansiri district and South-Western district of Arunachal Pradesh.

2.2 Environmental Basis

2.2.1 Location characteristics:

Lohit district of Arunachal Pradesh lies to the Northeastern part of Arunachal Pradesh, covers an area of 11402 sq. K.m between $95^{\circ}15'$ to $97^{\circ}24'$ East Longitudes and $27^{\circ}33'$ to $29^{\circ}22'$ North Latitudes. It is bounded by China along Mac Mohan Line and part of Dibang Valley district in the North, Changlang

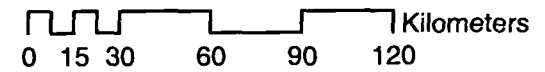
ARUNACHAL PRADESH : LOCATION MAP



Legend

- International Boundary
- State Boundary
- District Boundary
- STATE CAPITAL

Fig. No : 2.1



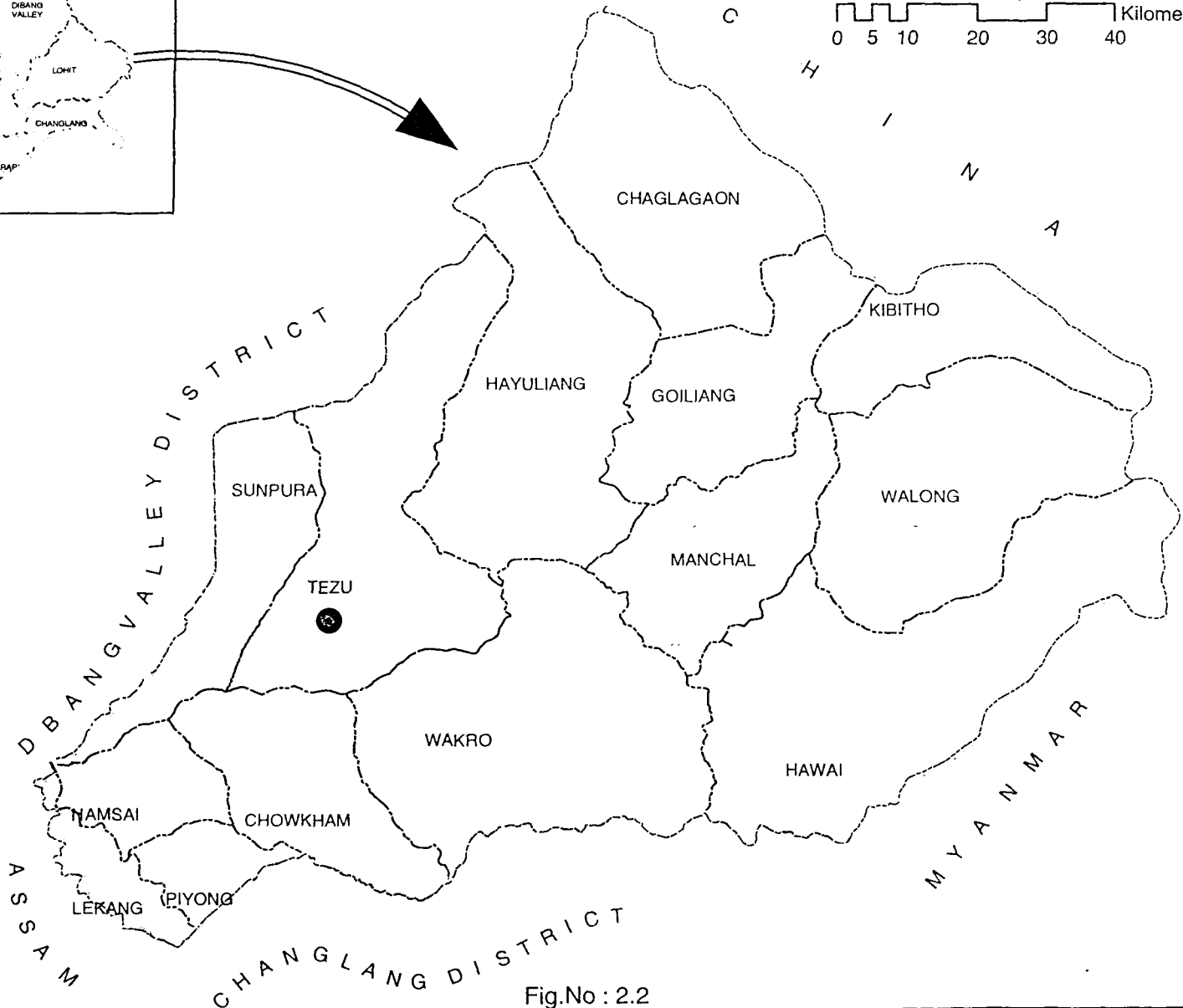
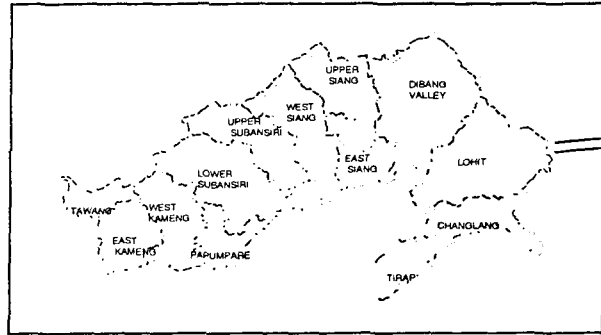
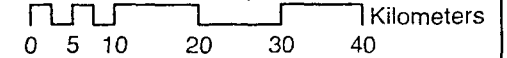
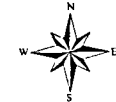
district to the south, China and Burma to the east and Assam state and part of Lower Dibang valley district to the west (Statistical Handbook of Lohit District: 1994:)

The Lohit district of Arunachal Pradesh, consist of continuous chains of Hills and Mountains, the altitudes of which vary from 500 feet to 17000 feet. The mountains in the north, which are the eastward extension of the Himalayas, remain snow-clad almost throughout the year. The southern part consists of the plains drained by the rivers like Lohit, the Kamlang, the Digaru, the Noa-Dihing, the Tengapani, etc and their tributaries. The plain areas in the foothill regions are covered by dense tropical forests and provide safe living for varieties of wild animals.

Lohit district in Arunachal Pradesh is one of the most important physio-culturally distinct regions of the state. The district has derived its name from the Lohit River flowing in the district. This district was part of the former Lakhimpur District of Assam prior of Assam prior to 1914. It has passed through different phases of constitutional and administrative changes. The present Lohit district took shape in June 1980 under Arunachal Pradesh Re organization act, 1980 when Anini subdivision of former Lohit District was formed into Dibang valley district then the district is divided into three subdivisions and 12 Circle Headquarters and 487 villages. There are two urban centers namely, Tezu and Namsai. The Present administrative units of the district is shown in Table No: 2.1

ARUNACHAL PRADESH

LOHIT DISTRICT : LOCATION MAP



LEGEND

- International Boundary
- State Boundary
- District Boundary
- DISTRICT HEADQUARTER

Fig.No : 2.2

Table No: 2.1
Arunachal Pradesh: Political Subdivisions of Lohit District

Sl. No.	Name of the Sub Division*	Circle	No. of Villages and Towns
A	Tezu Sub-Division	1. Tezu	22+1 Town
		2. Sunpura	10
B	Namsai Sub-Division	1. Namsai	59 +1 Town
		2. Cowkham	28
		3. Mahadevpur	39
		4. Wakro	38
C	Hayuliang Sub - Division	1. Chaglagam	42
		2. Goiliang	34
		3. Hayuliang	119
		4. Hawaii	56
		5. Walong	22
		6. Kibithoo	7

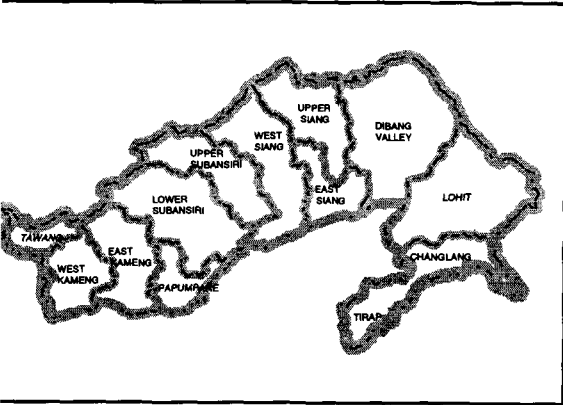
Source: Census of India, 1991, Series 3 Part XII A&B, District Census Handbooks, Lohit, Village and Town Directory, Arunachal Pradesh.

**Subdivision is co-terminus with CD Block*

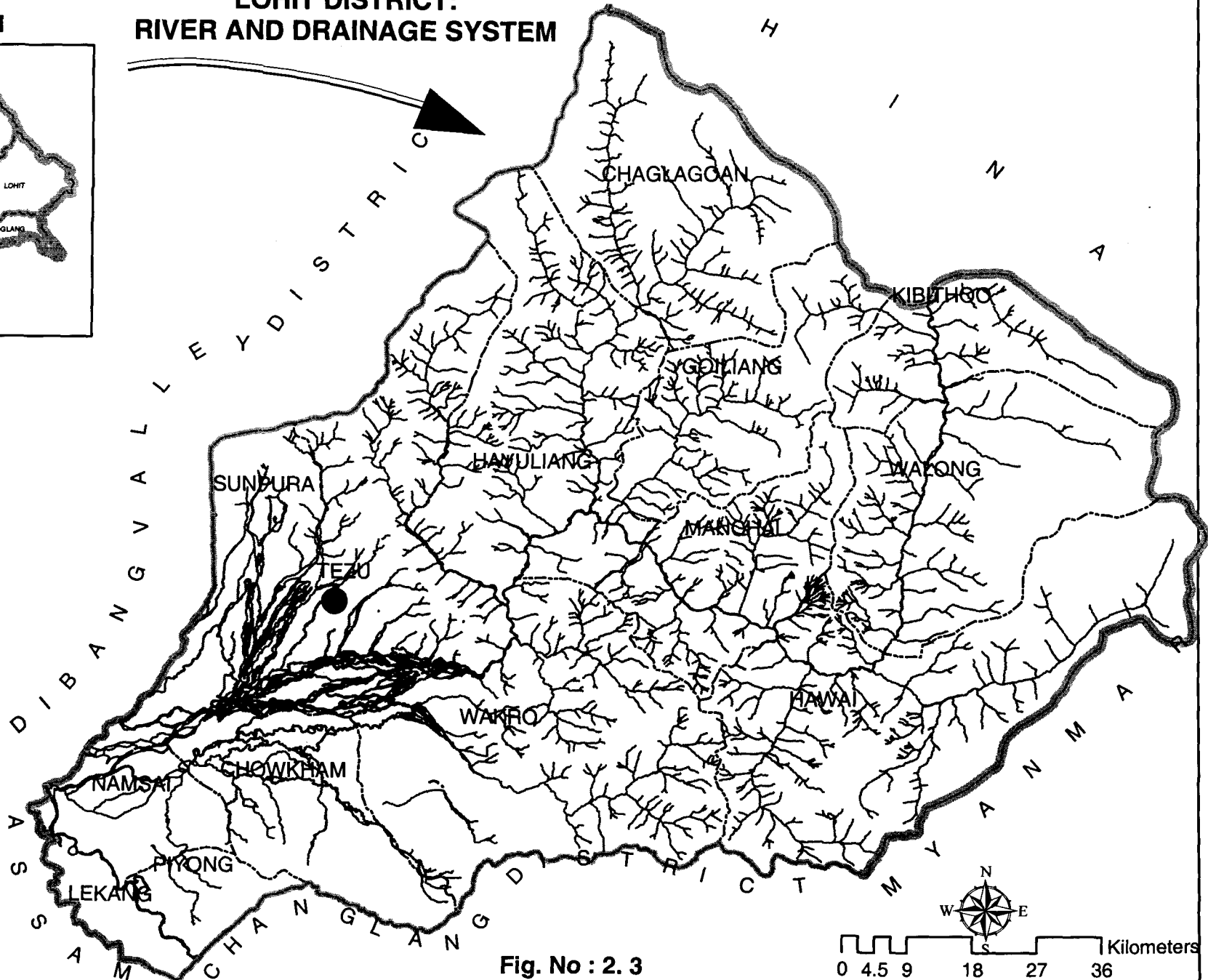
2.2.2 Climate

The climate of the Lohit district is largely influenced by the nature of its terrain. There are high hills and snowcapped mountains, deep ravines and wide valleys intersected by innumerable streams and rivers. As a result, the climate is cool and highly humid in the lower elevations and in the valleys and intensely cold in the higher elevation. The winter prevail during the month from late November to March. Precipitation occurs mostly in the form of snowfall in the northern areas. It is hot and humid during the summers, ranging from month of April to October, with intermittent heavy rainfall. The climate in the district varies from

ARUNACHAL PRADESH



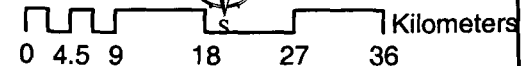
LOHIT DISTRICT: RIVER AND DRAINAGE SYSTEM



LEGEND

- International Boundary
- State Boundary
- District Boundary
- Circle Boundary
- River
- District Headquarter

Fig. No : 2.3



place to place. In foothill region such as Tezu, Chowkham, Namsai, it is extreme hot during summer and moderately cold during winter while at places in high altitude such as Kibithoo, Walong, Hawaii, Chaglagam etc are extremely cold during winter and moderate in summer

Table No: 2.2
Lohit District: Rainfall, and Temperature of District Headquarters, Tezu

Months	Rainfall in mm	Average temperature in degree Celsius	
		Maximum	Minimum
January	163.0	15.4	13.5
February	301.2	18.6	15.2
March	173.6	21.4	16.9
April	172.1	24.7	19.8
May	822.6	24.6	21.9
June	975.6	27.1	23.9
July	1258.6	28.0	25.1
August	1262.2	27.9	26.1
September	423.7	29.0	24.4
October	78.0	26.1	22.7
November	15.5	21.7	18.6
December	14.0	18.2	15.4

Source: Statistical handbook of Lohit District, 1994, Government of Arunachal Pradesh

The annual rainfall in the north of the district exceeds 4000 mm and in the south it is over 2500mm. In the northern most parts of the district, rainfall in the form snow occur during the winter months of January and February and amount to 5 to 10 percent of the annual rainfall. Variability of annual and monsoon rainfall being small, the variations in rainfall from year to year are not significant. The maximum temperature of the district is 38 degree Celsius. A statement showing the annual rainfall and temperature of the year 1993 of the district Headquarters is given in Table No: 2.2

STUDY AREA : NAMSAI AND CHOWKHAM CIRCLE

TEZU CIRCLE



SUNPURA CIRCLE

WAKRO CIRCLE

LEKANG CIRCLE

CHANGLANG DISTRICT

LEGEND

- DISTRICT BOUNDARY
- - - - - CIRCLE BOUNDARY
- RIVER/DRAINAGE

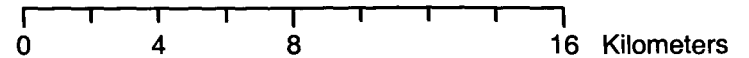
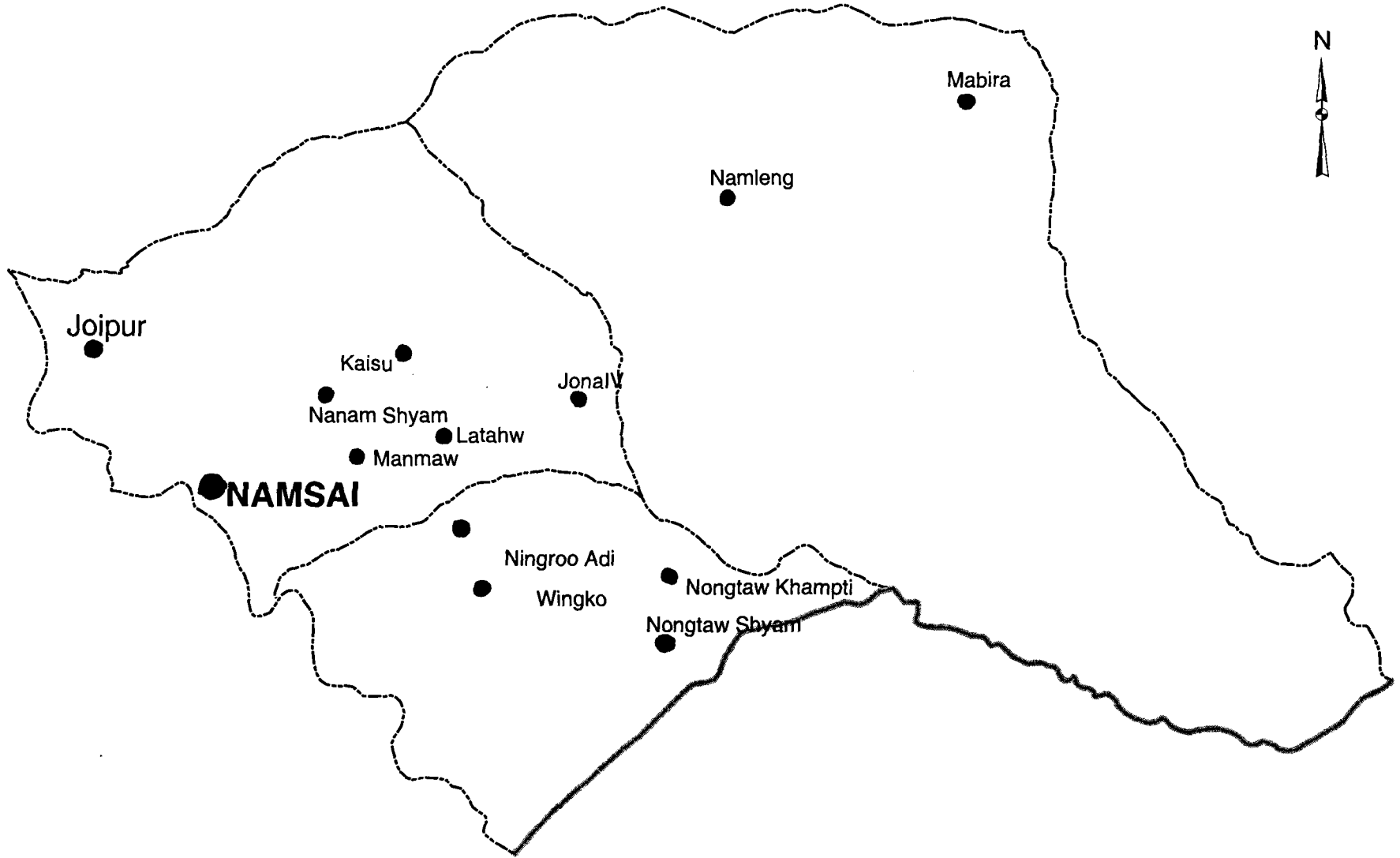


Fig. No : 2.4

LOCATION : SAMPLE VILLAGES



- Sample villages
- Namsai

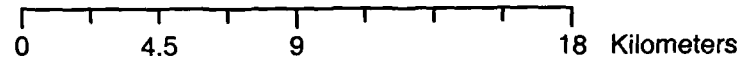
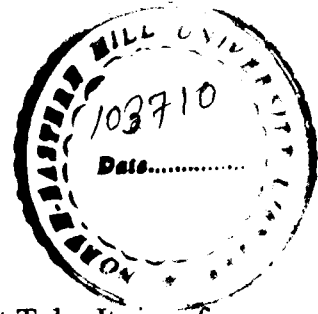


Fig. No : 2.5



2.2.3 Drainage System

The Principal River of the district is Lohit. The Mishmi call it Telu. It rises from the mountain range across the northeast border of the district, where it is known as Zayul-Chu. Flowing southwards, it enters the district through a gorge approximately 6 K.m north of Kibithoo. The river has a course of about 190 K.m through precipitant hills and villages before it reaches the plains of Parashuram-Kund, a place of pilgrimage near Tezu. It receives in its course many tributaries of which Dao (Dou), Delai, Digaru, Ghalum, Dichu, Tidding and Kamlang are important, all these tributaries are not snow fed and before they join Lohit they are also fed by many tributaries.

The plain towards the south of the district is drained by the Kamlang and Noa -Dihing rivers. The main tributaries of Noa-Dihing inn the Lohit district are Dirak on the left bank and Tengapani on the right. During the monsoon, the rivers overflow their banks causing serious erosion, they change their courses very often and cut themselves into innumerable channels, The River Kamlang originates from Glow Lake in the Wakro circle and flow eat west to the Lohit River. The flood occurs due to these rivers causes considerable damage to the roads and bridges every year.

2.2.4 Mineral:

Geological survey of India has been engaged in geological investigation in this remotest part in India. Since the inception of the department, by organizing

expeditions in the course of geological investigation, the geological survey of India has located quite a few mineral occurrences in the areas so far investigated.

i) Asbestos: minor occurrence of asbestos have been reported from a place one kilometer upstream of the confluence of Lohit and Tidding rivers on the Tezu Hayuliang road and in the tiding valley

ii) Copper ore: Minor stringers of copper ore in the form chalcopyrite, boromite, covelite, ozrite etc and in the association of quartz veins have been noticed in hornblends granite in and around Tellu River.

iii) Lime stones: Deposit of cement based lime stones have been located at Tidding which is about 56 km from Tezu

iv) Marble: Near Tezu there are two marble bands, namely, Tezu rivers deposit and Dura River deposit

v) Graphite: A deposit of low grade graphite schist occurs at Lalpani. The deposit comprises bands of granite forms graphite schist in which graphite occurs in the form of fine and medium sized flakes and inclusions

2.2.5 Flora and fauna

i) Flora: The district is endowed with varieties of flora and the banks of floods plains of several rivulets are choked with luxuriant growth of tall grasses. They belong to “Neyaudiareyna-udina” species.

The regional adjacent to the Lohit river and in lower elevations support a deciduous forest with islands of evergreen forests, the vegetation look very much that of the adjacent upper Assam plains. The dense vegetation displays a

thick and tall arrangement of several species of trees very much similar to their rain forests. The trees are dense, close together, with tall boles carrying the widespread canopy to the sky. The dominant species are *Dipterocarpus macrocarpus*, *Terminalia myriocarpa*, *Acrocarpus fraxinifolius* and *Chikrasia*, larger *Stroemia perrillora*, *Pterospermum acerifolium*, *Bischofia javanica*, cinamonum species and *Phoebe* species.

In many open areas and stream margins gregarious clumps of screw pine occur with tall grasses of *Arundo donax* and *Sclerum spontanium*. Herbaceous epiphytic growth occurs on almost every tree. These include chiefly fern allies, orchids and members of family Gesneriaceae, Comlinaceae and Zingiberaceae.

Subtropical evergreen forest occurs at higher elevations above 1000 meters to 2000 meters altitude. These forests are not so dense or impenetrable, with more modest sized trees. The components are cinamonum, *Lindrea*, *Mognotia*, *quecus*, *Castanopsis* and *Pyrus* along with *Ta-lauma*, *Sterculia*, undergrowth undergrowth in these is composed of *Oxyspora*, *Melastoma*, *Polygonum*, and also *Forestia* and *Musa*.

About 2000 meters the woody vegetation tends to be sparse in the large areas of grassy land. Above 4000 meters, the mountain faces look almost bare. The woody vegetation in scattered clumps consists of characteristic coniferous kind including *Pinus Wallichianae*, *Abies densa* and *Taxus*. Further

up on mountain tops support alpine vegetation composed of tussocks of dwarf grasses.

ii) Fauna: The forest surrounding the region nourish a wide variety of wild animals, and birds, zoo geographically, the district lies in the Indo Chinese sub region of oriental zoo geographically region, but some of elements of Indian sub-region and pale-arctic region are also represented in this region.

The alluvial plains at the foothills extending from Sadiya to Tezu to Tezu is preferred by several species of bableers, chat, warblers, bulbuls, mynus , grasses and in the neighborhood of cultivation. The steep precipitous hill slopes bear lofty dense evergreen jungle comprising enormous forest trees covered with bananas, tree ferns and bamboo clusters and goat-weid and spiny creepers loops grow at the forest edge.

Above 4000 meters, Scaaltersmenal, Eardpheasant are found in suitable places. In the higher altitudes over 4500 meters, the Tibetan snow cock are observed along scrubs and the dwarf Rhodendrom searching for food among mosses and lichens. During the winter, concentration of bird population increases to a grater extent by augmentation of the migrating bird from the northern Asia. From the Himalayas and Tibet, the Brahminy duck visit the river waters.

Of the wild animals, the important among are carnivores, are the tigers and leopard. The jungle cat inhabits the drier and more open parts of the country keeping more to grasslands. The larger Indian civet is a solitary

sheltering in bushes or scrubs jungle while the common palm civet is more dominant in warmer forest. Different kinds of deer of which the principal varieties are the sambar, the flag deer and there barking deer, line in the thickly wooded hills. The wild boar lives in the grassy and bushy jungles of this region. The Indian elephant is fairly common, especially at the foothills. Among the smaller mammals, the insectivores and the rodents are very common.

2.3 Distribution of Major Ethnic Groups in the Districts

The major ethnic groups living in the district are Khampti, Mishmi (Digaru and Mizu), Singpho, Deori, Shyam and Adi. The distribution of each tribe is very skewed and confined to their pockets, typical of tribal settlement; they have their own social, cultural and religious peculiarities within their community.

Table 2.3
Lohit District: Circle Wise Distribution of Major Ethnic Group

Sl No	Circles	Major Ethnic group
1.	Tezu	Miju Mishmi
2	Sunpura	Digaru Mishmi and Adi
3	Namsai	Khampti, Shyam and Adi
4	Chowkham	Khampti , Singpho, Adi
5	Mahadevpur	Khampti , Deori and Kachari
6	Wakro	Digaru and Miju Mishmi
7	Hayuliang	Digaru and Miju Mishmi
8	Chaglagam	Digaru Mishmi
9	Goiliang	Miju Mishmi

10	Hawai	Miju Mishmi
11	Walong	Meyor and Miju Mishmi
12	Kibithoo	Meyor and Miju Mishmi

Source: District Census Handbook, census of India, Part XII, A&B, 1991, Lohit District, Arunachal Pradesh 1991

2.4 Demographic pattern of Lohit District

As per the 1991 census, the total population of the district is recorded 109706 out of the total population of 8, 64,558 in the state. Lohit districts constitute 12 percent of the total population of Arunachal Pradesh. The rural population of the district of the state is 86460 and the urban population is 23246. The percentage of literacy in the district as per the 1991 census is noted 42.98 percent.

2.4.1 Distribution of population

The district is inhabited by four major Arunachalee tribes, two immigrated Assamese tribe and sprinkle of Adi population, there is a spatial variation in the distribution of population due to different geographical, cultural and economic factors. For instance, nearly 80 percent of the total population are inhabiting in the plains and the rest 20 percent are settled in remote and mountainous areas in the district giving very skewed pattern of population density.

Table No: 2.4
Lohit District: Circle Wise Distribution of Population of Lohit District (1991)

Name of the circles	HH	Total Population	Male	Female	% of the total population	Sex Ratio
Tezu	5688	26033	15330	10703	23.73	698

Sunpura	894	4160	2325	1835	3.79	798
Namsai	4914	25740	14121	11619	23.46	822
Chowkham	2514	13373	7336	6037	12.19	823
Mahadevpur	2554	18466	9577	8889	16.83	928
Wakro	1138	4745	2635	2110	4.33	800
Hayuliang	1558	7336	4097	3239	6.99	790
Chaglagam	500	2280	1210	1070	2.08	884
Goiliang	320	1472	779	693	1.34	897
Hawai	898	3699	1956	1743	1.37	891
Walong	3598	1781	1259	522	1.62	414
Kibithoo	122	621	418	203	0.57	486
Total Lohit	24698	109706	61043	48663	98.3	797

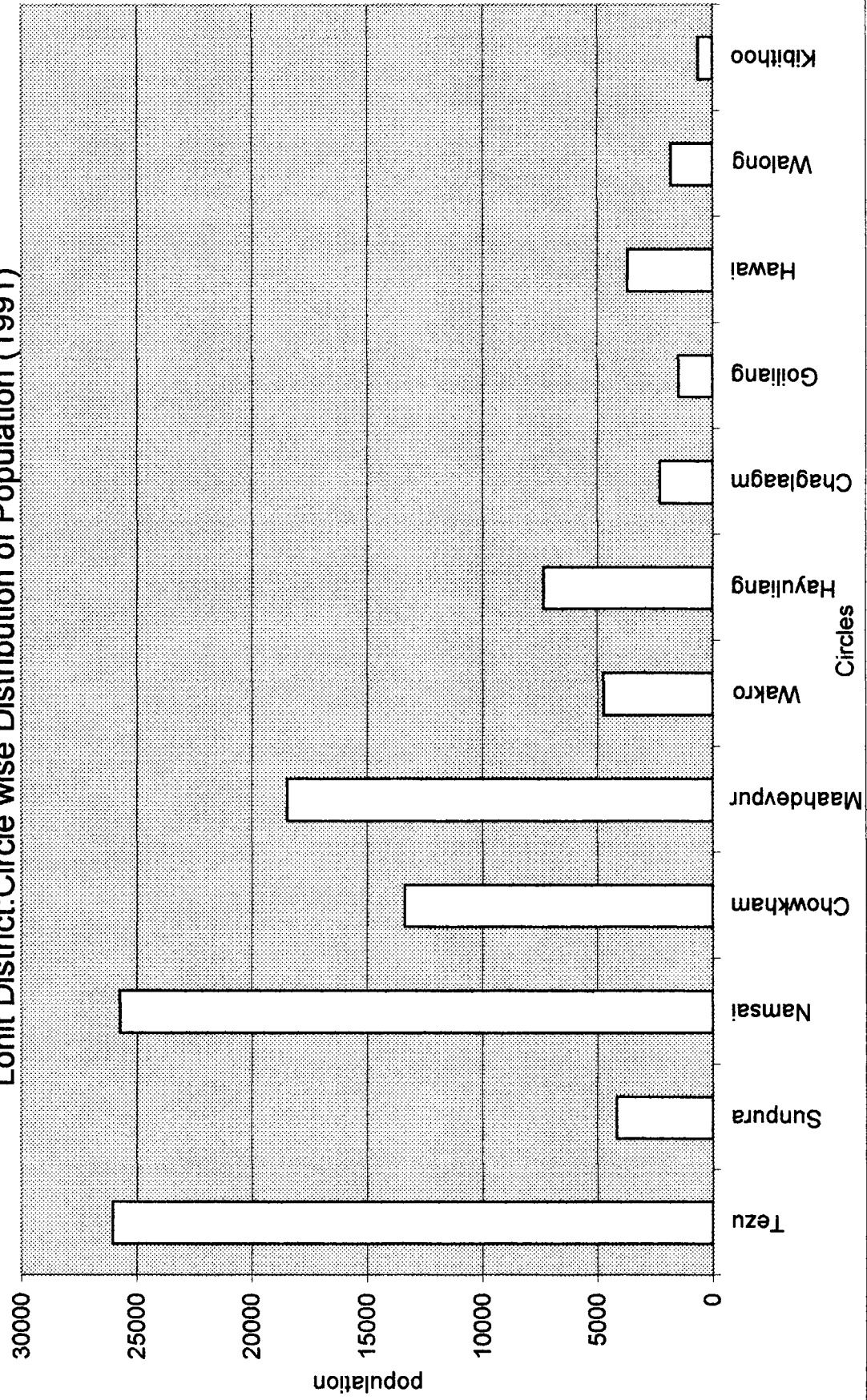
Source: District Census Handbook, census of India, Part XII, A&B, 1991, Lohit District, Arunachal Pradesh 1991

The details of circle-wise distribution of population of the district as well as its sex composition of the census year of 1991 are shown in Table No: 2.4. The single most striking feature about the population is that it is not uniformly distributed. In 1991, the total population of Lohit district stands at 109706 and is 12.69 percent of total population of Arunachal Pradesh with 61043 males and 48663 females and the district is fourth in terms of area with 13.62 percent of the states of the states geographical area.. It shows that population of the district is more or less to its area as far as the state is concerned and the average density is ten persons per square kilometer at par with the state.

2.4.2 Literacy

According to 1991 census, 49.21 percent of the total population of the district found literates whereas the literacy percentage of the state is 41.91 percent in the year 91. Lohit stands at second rank in terms of literacy after Papumpare district of Arunachal Pradesh.

Fig. No: 2.6
 Lohit District: Circle wise Distribution of Population (1991)



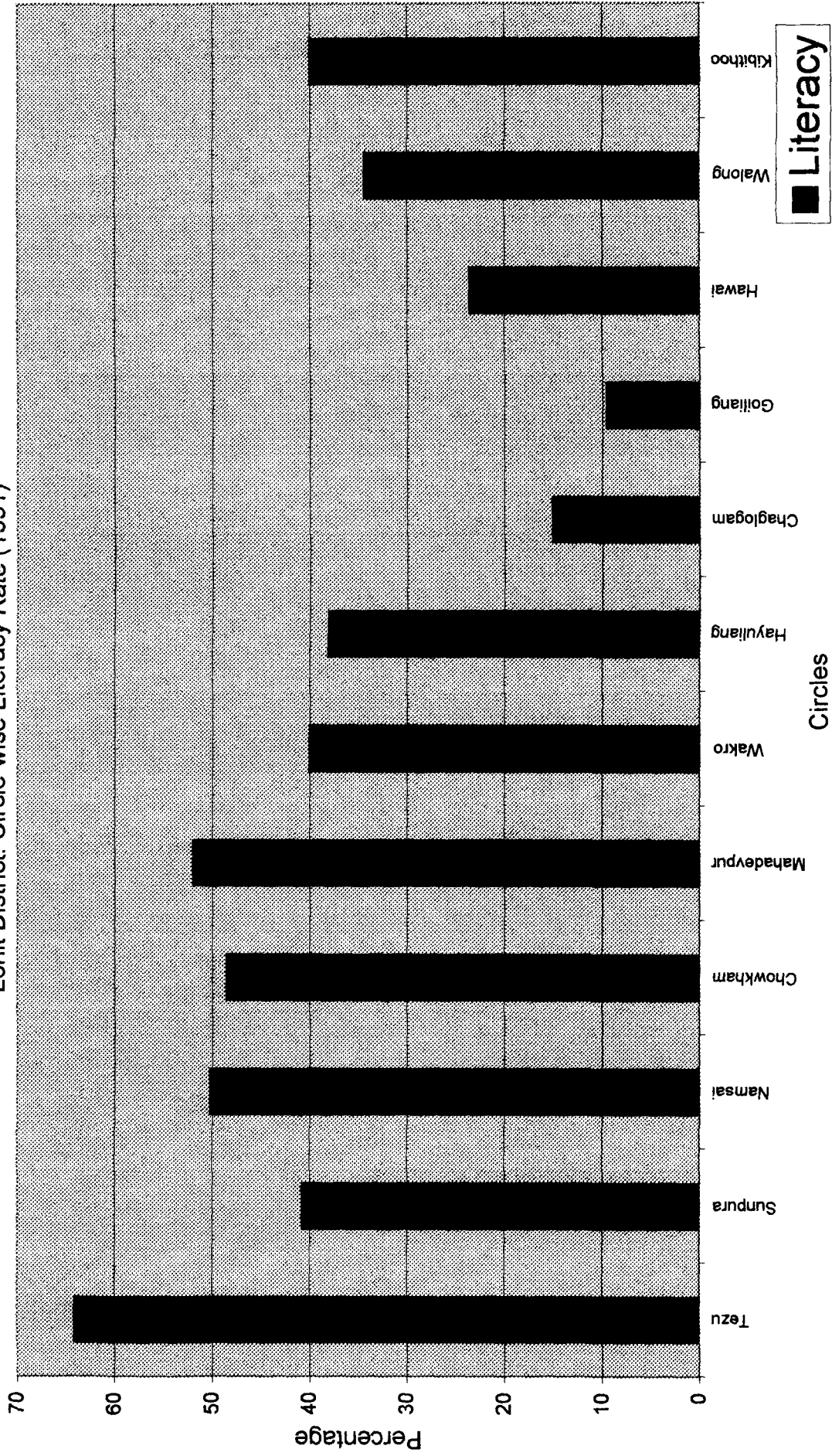
2.4.3 Agriculture

The people in the district are mainly agriculturist. About 70-80 percent of the population is involved in agriculture. The mode of cultivation is both permanent and shifting. Permanent cultivation is mostly confined to Namsai sub division, Sunpura circle, around Tezu and its nearby villages where plain lands are available on the foothills. The Region mostly inhabited by Mishmi practiced shifting cultivation.

2.4.5 Land Tenure System

The ownership of land and the individual right to use, it is determined by tradition and custom of the people living in the district. Each tribe has its different customs and traditions. For example, the Khamptis have a chieftainship type of society and the Khampti chief (Chau Faa) is the de facto owner of the land. Among the Mishmi, there is practically no village council. A respected old man is approached to settle down to dispute. More or less so is the case with Deori. In the broader sense, three types of ownership of land is observed in the district. Firstly, villages or common land, second, clan land and thirdly, individual land. Clan land is feature among the tribes practicing Jhum cultivation. The individual right of land ownership is giving more importance in recent years, because of settled cultivation, especially promoted through land development.

Fig.No: 2.7
Lohit District: Circle-wise Literacy Rate (1991)



2.5 Habitat of the Sample Tribe

The tribes under study in its geographical setting are similar to the geographical setting of the plains in the foothills of Lohit district of Arunachal Pradesh. All the tribes inhabit beyond Kamlang River to the south east corner of the district. It spreads over mainly in Namsai and Chowkham circles and constitutes the plain portion of the district.

The study area supports a deciduous forest with patches of evergreen ones, the vegetation very much like that of the adjacent upper Assam plains. The trees are dense, close together with tall boles carrying the wide spread canopy to the sky. The plant species in this forest include *dipterocarpus- macrocarpu*, *Terminallia myricarpa*, *ocrocarpus*, *flanifolious* and *chikarasia*, *larger stroemia parvitlora*, *ptersoperum*, *accerifolum*, , *blistochia javanica*, *cinamonum* species and phobe species. Luxuriant growth of variety of climbers, herbaceous climbers, screw pines, tall grasses, epiphytes and bamboo makes the forest dense and impenetrable. The forest surrounding the study area nourishes a variety of wild animals, the common species being the Indian elephant, the tiger, the leopard, the shamber, the barking deer, etc. Among the small mammals, the insectivores and the rodents are very common. A large number of birds, reptiles, amphibians and *mollusca* are also found in this forest.

2.6 The Khampti

2.6.1 Village Settlement and House Pattern

Khampti villages The khampti inhabit some thirty villages big and small under Namsai and Chowkham circles the major Khampti villages in Namsai Sub-division include Lathaw, Sulongtoo, Sengsap, Enten, Mansai, Ningroo- Charalee, Piyong , Janglai, Nampong, Pangen, Wingko, Faneng, Nongtaw Khampti., Momong, Nalong, Chowkham, Gunanagar, Kherem, Mime, Empong, Mankaw, Tesu, Pankhao.

In Khampti villages, land is under the traditional ownership of the village council with *Chaw Maan* as head. No land record exists as no cadastral survey has been carried out. The village land is put to agricultural and non agricultural uses. As per tradition, individual families enjoy usu-fructuary rights in cultivable land but in practice individual rights on agricultural land have been established. Land use for non agricultural purposes mainly includes forest lands.

The Khampti villages are widely separated from each other. The spatial organization of houses in villages of the Khampti displays variations in the settlement pattern. In villages like Lathaw, Namsai and Chowkham Compact type of settlement is observed because the dwellings are almost clustered about the center. In some villages like Momong, the houses are being built along either side of the river which reflects linear pattern of settlement. Circular pattern of settlement is seen in Manmow where the houses are situated around the school and temple.

Invariably the Khampti villages are situated near water source. Each village has a definite boundary demarcated by streams or natural markers. Every Khampti and village has its own Monastery*

The Khampti houses are strong timber and bamboo structure on raised platform with thatched roof. To each house a *Chan* (Portico) is attached which is climbed by a wooden ladder. In recent years, many houses of the villages are either SPT (Semi Permanent Type) or RCC (Reinforced Concrete and Cement).

The unique feature about Khampti houses is that unlike the houses of other tribe, every Khampti houses has a compound with bamboo fencing for growing flowers and vegetables. Granary of every house is invariably constructed a little away from the main house on raised platform, but usually within the premises. The space below the platform on which the house is constructed is used for variety of purposes. It is the place for domestic animals, storage of firewood and for *Howk* (traditional loom)

2.6.2 Ethnic and Linguistic Affinities

The Khampti have their own distinct script resembling Burmese scripts. The language closely resembles the Northern Shan group of languages. A large portion of variability is common to both these languages while the Alphabets are nearly identical (Grierson: 1966:16). According to Grierson, the Khampti language belongs to Tai speech families of Siamese Chinese sub-family, which is

* The monastery is usually constructed to the East of the Village. But as the village becomes old and houses go on shifting from one place to another, the location of monastery changes the direction

a branch of Tibeto- Chinese Family (Vidyarthi & Rai :1976: 68). The traditional Khampti alphabet consists of 17 letters. But in recent years they have incorporated nine more letters so as to represent some sounds like 'pa', 'ra' which are absent in their original system of alphabets.

The Khampti manifest predominantly Mongoloid traits in their physical features. Contrary to the earlier observation that they are not a handsome race and 'are of darker complexion" (Dalton: 1872:6), the Khamptis are found to be fair in complexion. Men are tall, muscular and well built. The Khampti women are pretty. The Epicanthic eye fold is distinct and is easily observable. The nose is small rather than flat. The mouth is large and prognathism can be marked in some cases (Mishra: 1994:42).

2.6.3 Migration

Available historical sources confirmed that the Khampti entered into Assam through Patkai Pass in Indo Burma Boarder from Upper Burma towards the last part of 18th Century. The process of immigration, however, continued in batches till 1850 and eventually the total Khamti population reached 3040 in Assam province by 1891(Grierson op cit: 63)

The Khampti migrated from their original seat Bor khampti and entered into Assam probably when the Burmese King *Alamphra* dismembered the kingdom the *Mongkong*. He applied a policy of divide and rule and as a consequence the chief of the principalities of Bor-Khampti lost their unity. At first, the conflict broke out in between *Longkeing* and Manchey. In this conflict the

former was killed and his three sons: *Pharateka*, *Chowtam* and *Lonkeing* were kept in prison. In the meantime, *Manchey* chief was assassinated by his own son and brought the principality under his own control. At this time it is said that *Pharateka*, *Chowtan* and *Longkeing* left their homeland crossing Patkai range through chowkang pass and subsequently arrived in Ahom kingdom.

According to second version, there was a king or chief named *Cha cham lonkeing kham* in the principality of *Longkeing*. He had two sons. The elder killed his father to occupy the throne. The younger one *chow Ngi Llongkeing kham* considering in security of his life migrated to India with his two hundred Khampti followers through Chow-khang pass. The entire version agrees that the Khamptis left their home land owing to political instability.

Most probably they arrived at *Khomong*, the present Vijaynagar in Changlang district of Arunachal Pradesh. *Khomong*, a very fertile plateau situated on the southern slope of the Patkai ranges, was inhabited by the Khampti for a good number of years. From there they moved towards Tengapani and settled there with the permission of the then Ahom ruler. However, they had to fight with the Singpho chief, *Beesagam*, as Tengapani area was under his control. In subsequent years they had to fight with the *Ahoms*, *Matakas* and finally with the Britishers (Behera Opcit: 20-21)

2.6.4 Socio Cultural Life of the Khamptis

The Khampti, said to be Shan descendants, are of mongoloid origin and have held from *Moung Khampti Loung* (Bor Khamti area) near Upper Sources of

Irrawady river. They Migrated to India and to their present homeland in Lohit District towards the second half of the 18th century during the Ahom Rules in Assam. The first batch of the khampti made their settlement near Tengapani River in 1751 A.D with the permission of the then Ahom ruler Paramatta Singh (1744-1751) or of Rajeswar Singh (1751-1769) (Devi: 1968)

2.6.5 Social Institutions of the Khamptis

The Khampti normally live in multi clan villages. There basic social institution is family. A family is formed through marriage as is the case in general and as a rule consists of husband, wife, (wives) and children. The tribal endogamy and clan exogamy are the two basic principles in establishing marital ties. In the Khampti society marriages are usually solemnized outside the villages, although village endogamy is not prohibited. While monogamy is a general rule, polygamy has social section behind it. The family system is Petri-lineal and Petri-local, and normally they live in a joint family. But if there is misunderstanding among the members, the family breaks up and the married brothers/ sons establish separate house holds.

Next to family comes the clan. The clan is composed of a number of families, often bearing a common designation and which believe that they have all sprung from a common ancestor. But an interesting aspect about the khampti clan identity is that the clans are presently identified with reference to their earlier places of settlement before they entered into India. For example, *Mantaw* and *Mannow* are believed to have e sprung from a common ancestor. They have

assumed different clan identity because of their settlement in the upper course and lower course of the river in *Moung-Khampti-loung*. Members of the clan living in a village in the upper course of the river were identified as *Mannow* while those living in lower course as *Mantaw*, there by forming two separate clans subsequently. Another feature about Khampti society is that the institution of the phratry exists in a very loose form, for which they use the phrase *si long si sam*". For example *Mansai*, *Manphai*, *Khamhoo*, and *kokma* are four clans and formed into one group which may be a phratry. Marriage is strictly prohibited among four clans of the same phratry.

i)Marriage

The Khampti use the term *Tang houn* for marriage which literary means to set up a home. Marriage is universal and cross cousin marriage is a preferential mode and usually first preference is given to ego's embidy (Mother's Bother's Daughter), if she is other wise eligible. Parallel cousin marriage is strictly prohibited. Marriage is a responsibility of the parents, though *Hak Kan* (Love marriage), *an laak* (capture) *an Khun koi* (marriage by service) have the social section, *Mimai tanghaun* (widow remarriage), *Put pillow* (Levirate), *Put-long-saw* (Sorrorate) are also practice in the society. When bride is selected *Ho kaa* (Bride price) has to be paid to her parents about which there are prescribed norm in *Thamasat* , (law book of the Khampti). The custom of the bride bringing with her *Khounng yam* (gift) in the form of articles daily uses such as *Saa and ampaa* (basket) *Mit* (dao) *kounng Hok* (traditional loom) etc is prevalent in the society.

ii) Social Stratification

Traditionally, the khampti society is divided into three distinct strata like the chiefs, the commoners, and the slaves. Although the *Bhante* or the monks among the khampti have higher status than other members of the society, they are not considered as a stratum in the three fold hierarchy due to their detachment from the mundane affairs (Mishra: Opcit:53)

2.6.6 Khampti Civic and Political Life

The Khampti village is a well defined political and administrative unit though the Khampti have the institution of chieftainship at the tribe level. Every Khampti village has a council of elders headed by the *Chawmaan*. He takes all the decision with the consultation of the village elders regarding civil and criminal cases. The decision is taken according to the provision codified in the *Thamachat*. The *Chawmaan* commands greatest respect in the village. He is the symbol of pride and prestige of village. The function of the village *Chaumaan* includes the following:-

- (i) Allotment of land to the individual;
- (ii) Allotment of land to the *Kon mau* (new comer) who wants to settle in the village area;
- (iii) Allotment of land to the government;
- (iv) Resolving internal disputes and quarrel of any sort in the village;

(v) Organizing co operative activities for digging or repairing irrigational channel, common fencing etc;

(vi) Imposing fines or punishment to the offenders of the customary law of the community and to those who practice witchcraft or sorcery. (*Ibid:13*)

The *Chau Faa* at the tribe level is also a functional head. There exist a *Mokchum* (Council of ministers) under the leadership of *Chawfaa*. The *Mokchum* is the representative of all the clans.

Though the *Chau Faa* is the head of the tribe, he never interferes in the functioning of *Chawmaan*. Cases not resolved at the village level are refereed to him and he gives his decision in consultation with the *Mokchum*. Besides the *Chawfaa* settles the inter village disputes and negotiate with an outsider on behalf of the community. He can also impose fine or punishment on the offenders of the law according to the provision of *Thamasat*. The permission of *Chau Faa* is sought for in case:

- (i) a new village is established;
- (ii) a tribal man other than khampti wants to settle in the area;
- (iii) the government wants to occupy land in the area which does not fall within any village limit. However, in all the matters he invariably consults the *Mokchum*

With the introduction of Panchayati Raj in 1972 in Arunachal Pradesh, the traditional; civic and political institution has undergone changes. *Gram Panchayat* members, *Anchal Samiti* members, *Zila parishad* members continue to be elected

to represent their village and zones within the Khampti area. Though their traditional and modern political institution co exists in the villages; the former is gradually loosing its significance.

2.6.7Khampti Economic Life

The Khampti are good agriculturists. Besides, they are also engaged in trade and commerce. Even in nineteenth century they are famous in trade and agriculture. Cooper writes that, "The Khamptis inveterate traders, and to their Northern Assam is much indebted for the best rice and vegetables, especially potatoes." (Cooper: 18731995): 59). The Khamptis practice permanent cultivation and undertake both wet and dry cultivations. They raise both Khariff and Rabi crops: the former being paddy and later comprising potato, maize and vegetables and sometimes paddy. Paddy is mainly grown as Khariff crop. The Khampti are both engaged in agriculture and non agricultural activities. Non agricultural activity includes hunting, fishing, collection of firewood edible roots and leaves, house building material from the forest and trade. They were engaged in elephant catching and extracting rubber from a typical rubber tree of this area. Their traditional trade items consist of forest products like honey, ivory, rubber, task, elephant etc and agricultural products like rice and potato. Burmese clothes, gold dust, decorated khampti bags, opium are also the item which they used to trade with the people of plains.

The khampti women contribute a lot towards economic activities. In agriculture, right from preparing nursery bed to harvesting of paddy, the khampti

women virtually do all the activities except ploughing and felling of trees. Traditionally they have slavery system which also supplied to the work force. Usually well to do khampti people do little labour specifically related to forest activities and ploughing. Besides agriculture, the khampti women do the whole of weaving, the whole of collecting firewood, vegetables from the jungle, side by side their other household duties.

i)Food Habit

The food habit of the Khamptis is relating d to their agricultural practice and their cultural life. Their food habit may be categorized under regular habit and occasional habits during festival occasion.

Usually rice constitutes their staple food but they also take a variety of vegetables and potatoes produced by them. Meat, fish, wild roots, herbs and shrubs and bamboo shoots constitute important item of food. The boiling process of food of the khampti has a specialty in the sense that they daily use quite a good numbers of locally available spices for giving flavour to the taste.

During festivals the Khamptis prepare more items like cakes and porridge. The cakes which are popular during festivals are *khaopook*, *khaumosen*, *Khaomotop*, etc. The porridge item includes *khaunampaa*. They also add *Khau Tek* (Dried paddy) to their Festive diet.

In the process of economic transformation in Arunachal Pradesh the Khamptis are also not left behind. Many entrepreneurs have emerged who have established saw and veneer mills. Many have taken to plantation industries mainly

at Chowkham and Lathaw. The entrepreneurial activities have also been extended to establishment of educational institutions (Behera and Mantaw: 1996).

2.6.8 Khampti Religious Life

The religious life of the Khamptis can neither be studied under the 'tribal religious faith' nor strictly under '*Theravada*' cult of Buddhism which they profess, does a spirit of "animistic faith" prevail under the veil of Buddhism.

The people observe all the ceremonial pieties associated to the *Theravada* cult and at the same time believe in the spirit worship. As Buddhist they are to be monotheists, but in practice they follow polytheism as they believe in so many deities, some being the gods of the village territory while others being the gods of individual capacity. For example, they worship *Phi Moung* (the deity of village), *Phinoy* (the deity of jungle/hill), *Hong Khon Khaw* (the mother of goddess of paddy), etc. At the same time, they also conceive of *Chow khonsang* (A supreme creator) and believe in another god subordinate to the supreme god of creation, called *Chow ci giya*, who look after the welfare of human beings.

Being Buddhist they believe that salvation or *Nirvana* after death is possible by following the noble eight fold path- Right view, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mind fullness and right meditation- as preached by the lord Buddha. Elderly Khampti follows *Panchasheela*, *Asthasheela* and *dasha-shila* or five eight and ten principles respectively, to lead a pious life like a devout Buddhist. They have a strong belief that worship of Buddha, offering food and dress to the monks, etc., are the deeds to attain *Nipaan* (Nirvana)

in the long run. Offering cooked food to the monks in the village monastery immediately after cooking and before anyone eating it, is still in vogue in all the khampti villages, showing Khampti attachment to Buddhism (Barua: 1976: 28-36).

i) Festival and Rituals

Khamptis usually celebrate seven festivals connected with the birth and death of Lord Buddha or death of monks, Most important festivals is Sungken celebrated in the khampti month of *Nuen Haa* corresponding to the Sunkranti of Baisakh. This Festival is observed for three consecutive days. The images of Lord Buddha are brought out of the *Chong* (Temple) to a specifically designed pandal in the premises. The images are given clean wash on all these days and at the end of the celebration, the images are taken back to *the chong*. The celebration is observed by praying, feasting, putting on new garments offering, merry making, and spraying coloured water on each other.

Besides Sangken, Khamptis also observe *Khaowa* and *nauwa* in the months of July -August on full moon day of *Nuen Pet*. This marks the beginning of three months' period of meditation by the monks. They are not supposed to move out of the *Chong* for three months during the rainy season. During these three months they celebrate thirteen *Satangs* each on every seventh days beginning from the full moon day of *Nuen pet*. On these days, the villagers visit the *Chong* (Vihara) with offering of fruits, candles flowers and food. . Throughout the period especially old men and women visit the *Chong* to say their prayers. . *Potwaa* which makes the

end of meditation period for three months which is celebrated during October-November, on the full moon day of *Nuen Sip Pet*. The monks are worshipped with the valuable offerings on this occasion. There are some festivals and rituals observed by the Khamptis which are associated with their faith in animism

2.6.9 Khampti Cultural Life

Following Elwin's (Elwin 1943:1) line of classification of Indian tribes with reference to "external influence" on them, the Khamptis are put in the second category (Behera Op cit. :31-33) Their cultural life is studied with reference to both material and non material culture.

i) Art and Crafts

The art and craft of the khampti are a part of their heritage. They form an integral part of their religious life as well as economic necessity. The culture realizes the economic necessity in artistic way. The Khamti arts and crafts bear their indigenous characteristics in respect of their pattern, colour schemes, shapes and techniques.

Their craft specimen include utilitarian decorative and magi co religious objects of the former, mention may be made of textile items such as cotton jacket, scarf, loin cloth, lungi, bags and articles of domestic use such as baskets, fishing traps, daos , smoking pipes, music instrument and bamboo works etc

Khampti art and craft have not remained unchanged. Availability of items in the market and economic diversification have almost destroyed making of

traditional art and crafts. Whatever now are made do not display the aesthetic sense of artistic beauty.

ii)Literature

The Khamptis have a rich tradition of written literature. They have volumes of texts all in the form of manuscripts. These include volumes of Abhidhamma, vijaya and sata-pitakas, illustrated manuscript on heavenly and ghostly worlds, handbooks on on tenets of *Theravada* Buddhism, historical works, Jatakas and other tales etc. The manuscripts are copied, produced and preserved meticulously by the monks and the common men alike. Every village monastery is rich with manuscripts, which are donated by the individuals and monks to earn charity (Kondinya: 1986:57).

Besides, some of the households possess literature on medicine and some people in the community practice medicine. The Khamti have a chronicle *Chetyu* similar to Ahom Buranji, in which their mythical origin, some of past events, their past seats of settlement have been recorded. The khampti like other Shans tribes copy the old texts and thus have the tradition to keep up the texts through centuries. Another important scripture to be found in the community is *Thamasat*. It contains a good deal of legal measures pertaining to criminal law and procedures, law contracts and civil procedures.

Khamptis also composes poems on different themes. A tune of love, romance, patriotism, heroism can be traced in the songs. However most of the poems are composed describing events in Lord Buddha's life.

2.7 THE SHYAM

The Shyam which is also known as Khamyang, as they have been mentioned in the 1971 census are a small tribal group having close racial and cultural affinities with the Khamptis. Their original language is Tai as of the Khampti, their script is Shans. Their settlements are adjacent to the Khamptis villages in the Plain belts. They have been in close contact with the Assamese speaking people for as long period of time and in the process of cultural intercourse they have today taken up Assamese as their language

The Shyams are Buddhist of the *Theravada* School. Their religious beliefs and ceremonies are virtually the same as those of the Khampti tribe of the district, namely the Khamptis and the Singphos.

2.7.1 Historical Background

The Khamyangs are said to have had the charge of the pass over the Patkai, and to have been divided into two sections of *Mong Nam* (Pani or Low land Nora) and *Mong Noe* (bam or highland Nora). They are called Khamyangs as they settled at the place of that name after they had left Mung Kong. This Place of one of the stages on the route followed by the Ahoms in entering Assam and was here from which Sukhapha, having committed a series of raids on some Naga villages brought them under subjection and put Khamyang Mong (according to some Buronjis *Kang – khrang – Mong*) Gohain in charge. Census of 1891 only thirty persons were recorded as Khamyangs, but Hannay says that they are commonly known by the name of Nora or Pani Nora it is possible that some of the persons so

returned are Khamyangs. It may also be that many of them have lost their tribal identity, as even in 1841 it was reported that they had must mixed up with the Assamese and could speak that language, although at that time they still retained their own language, custom and Buddhist religion).

2.8 THE ADI

The Adis are in fact a hill tribe who constitute a major tribe in the state of Arunachal Pradesh. Former they are found in the three districts i.e., East Siang, West Siang, Upper Siang and the Eastern fringe of upper Subansiri district and south western part of Dibang valley districts of Arunachal Pradesh. Now some sections of the Adi tribe are inhabited in the Lohit district of Arunachal Pradesh. For the present study the socio cultural life of the Adi are divided into two sections viz., the Adi in general in Arunachal Pradesh and the Adi somuwa in Lohit district. In Lohit district of Arunachal Pradesh, the Adi form a migrant tribe. The first section describes about the Adi in general in Arunachal Pradesh followed by the description of the socio cultural life of the Adi Somuwa[†]. The difference between the two groups is due to the long isolation from each other. For the present study four Adi villages have been selected in which two comes under the group of Adi in general namely, Namleng village and Ningroo Adi[‡]. Mabira village and Joipur village comes under the Adi somuwa group.

[†] The categorization of people under Adi somuwa follows the categorization of RK Deori in his paper titled "Ethnographic not on the Adi Somuwas", Resarun, 1996, Directorate of Research, Itanagar Government of Arunachal Pradesh.

[‡] The people of Ningroo- Adi migrated from former Siang division of Arunachal Pradesh. They migrated from their original place after the shifting of Saw mill from Murkong Selek to Namsai area after the 1950

2.8.1 Migration

The problem of the original home of the Adis has not yet been fully studied. Some writers in the past attempted to trace out their early home and to give connected account of their migration to their present area. Each group of sub tribe has their own myth and stories relating to their early home and migration. The original habitat of the Adis was the lofty mountain ranges between the Assam and Tibet and the place Damro (Damloh), a Padam village in the present East Siang district as the common center of dispersal of the Adis. Due to the increase of population and want of more land, they came down to the lower Assam side through the gorge of Dihang.

2.8.2 Village Settlement and House Pattern

The Adi are settled in the five districts of the state constituting a large number of population of Arunachal Pradesh, though some sections are inhabiting in Namleng, Kaba, and Ningroo Adi villages of Lohit district also. Some of the important towns of the Adis are Pasighat, Roing, Along, Yingkiong, Daporijo

The house of the Adi in different districts reflects their surrounding environment and it differs from area to area. But the main structure and the interior arrangements and materials used for building of the houses are almost the same everywhere depending on the availability of materials and suitability of ground within in the village and the result of the divination. The traditional houses

earthquake. The Adi of Namlemg shifted after the 1950 earthquake in search of cultivable land with due permission of Khampti Chau faa

of the Adi are constructed with bamboos, woods, canes, leaves etc. No metal or nail is used in the construction of houses. They decorate their interior section with jaws, hides of animals, skulls of *Methuns*, jaws of pigs.

Most of the settlements of the Adi areas are of scattered type but some of the villages have compact type of settlement which was seen in the Kambu, Bene, and Kombo villages. Granaries are constructed at little distance from the cluster of the house usually in the outskirts of the village.

2.8.3 Socio Cultural Life of the Adi

i) Clan

As already mentioned the Adis are divided into two broad groups and the each group has a number of sub tribes. Each subtribes is consisting of a number of clan and the sub clans. Each such sub clans is consisting of families which may be considered as the smallest unit in the Adi society. The density of Cohesion thins out gradually from a family outwards towards a nebulous feeling of unity for an Adi people as a whole. (Roy: 1966; 207)

Practically the Adi Society is based on the clan organization. The clan or exogamous step among the Adis is known as *Opins Or Ali*. Each clan and its sub clans normally trace their descent from one common ancestor. The clans and sub clans of the Adis are generally exogamous and in the past that were in maintaining this principle. Today, however, some clans do not maintain this custom.

ii) Family

The family, called *Rumtum* or *Rutum* by the Adis is the smallest unit in the structure of their society. The society of the Adis is patrilineal and patriarchal. As the society is patriarchal, the senior most men in the Adi family are its head.

iii) Marriage

The marriage system of the Adi varies slightly from one group to another.[§] Monogamy is common among the Adi but polygamy is also prevalent among them, particularly more popular among the rich persons. It exists for various reasons, economic, death of brothers, love affairs, and desires of male child and the bareness of the wife. In this system, the eldest wife has a position of superior to other co wives and it is she who holds the reign of the family affairs, for the subsequent marriages, the opinion of the first wife is always sought and after the marriage all wives live together under the same roof...

iv) Social Institution

Among the social institutions of the Adi the *Moshup* (Boys dormitory) and *Rasheng* (girl's dormitory) of the Padam-Minyong area are important. The *Moshup*, a padam term which got considerable publicity is called *Dere* by the Minyongs and galos, *Ngaptek* by the Milangs and *benge* by the *Boris*, *Ashings* and *Tangams*. *B.S Guha* sums up the purpose of the *Moshup*;

[§] Discussion related to marriage system of each sub tribe is beyond the scope of the chapter. For details please refer 'History and culture of the Adis', by Dr T Nyori(1993)

“There are two underlying principles on which the institution (*Mushups*) is built, namely the creating of habits of discipline among the children at their formative stage of life and in developing of a spirit of cooperation and collaboration so that the tribe can act as a unit and fissionary tendencies within the body politics of the tribe may have very little room for growth”.(Guha:1953;83).

The girls’ dormitory is called *Rasheng* or *Risheng* in Adi, literally meaning a meeting place or rest house. It is training institution for the girls in discipline, comradeship, responsibility and leadership.

2.8.4 Political Life of the Adi

i) Kebang

Every Adi village (Dolung) is run by a council called *Kebang*. All the adult members of the village are its members and they participate in the sessions of the *Kebang*. The deliberation of the *Kebang* is guided by the elders of the council who are known as the *Kebang Abu*. Thus the *Kebang* has a collective leadership. The *Kebang* leadership is also not hereditary but is acquired by an elder by virtue of his personality, wealth, influence and ability to present a case in the traditional manner. During the British rule, some village elders who had been appointed as *Gams* also served as *Kebang Abus* in the village council. At present all the experienced and mature leaders, orators and *gams* of the village are the *Kebang Abus*.

Theoretically, the *Kebang* is a democratic institution and all the members of the village have to take part in it. Practically, however, the participation of women in the *Kebang* is very limited. Although, there is no restriction for the participation of women in the *Kebang* assembly.

After independence *Kebang* has been divided into three divisions. They are *Dolung Kebang* at village level which is the earliest and the smallest administrative institution of the Adi. It is *Bango-kebang* at circle level and *Bugum-Bokang kebang* for the whole Adi tribe.

In *Kebang* all conflict resolution is solved. In any *Kebang*, generally matters are introduced and moved by experienced member known as *Kebang Abus* and they guide the proceedings of the session. Matters of interest and importance are discussed, debated and argued in detail. The deliberation goes on as long as there sometime is willing to speak on the subject. Thus the session of the *Kebang* continued for along period till all are exhausted and arrive at an agreeable decision or is adjourned for the next session. (Nyori: 1993:pp 133)

2.8.5 Economic Life of the Adi

The economic life of a people in any particular region normally depends on its climatic condition, physical and topographical features, soil as well as their ingenuity to device means to improve their lot. The traditional economy of the Adi was primarily based on food gathering, hunting, fishing, Jhuming or Shifting cultivation.

i) Hunting

Hunting is one of the earliest occupations of the Adi. It is organized in two form; one, collectively and the other, individually. In the collective hunting all the young male members of the village take part. But in the individual hunting, a man goes out to the jungle towards any direction at his will and hunts,

ii) Agriculture

The traditional economic life of the people centered *jhuming* agriculture. This method of agriculture engaged both men and women throughout the year. The entire land falling under the jurisdiction of the village is grouped into three different categories; -1) land for residential purpose; 2) land for games and hunting and 3) land for the agriculture, including grazing land.

The land assigned for *Jhuming* are divided into a number of patches called *patat*, each patch is divided among the families of the village. A particular patch is taken up for cultivation by families and this they do for about three years which they shift to another patch leaving the earlier fallow. In general, however, they open a new block in second patch in addition to first in the second year and in the third year still another block in third patch is opened for cultivation along with the earlier ones. But in the fourth year, the first is totally abandoned and the second and the third patches are under cultivation. At the same time a new block is opened in fourth patch (ibid; 186 1966). Crops like maize, red pepper, cucumber, gourd, pumpkin, bean, soybean till are grown.

Settled forms of agriculture are practiced in the Padam-Minyong group in the East Siang and Dibang valley districts. The Adi those who have shifted to Lohit district practice wet rice cultivation like the Khamptis.

iii) Food and Drink

The food habit of the Adi is related to their agricultural practices and their cultural life. Rice is the staple food for the majority of the Adi. However in the high altitude region, rice is not produced sufficiently: So the *Bokars*, *Ramas*, *Ashings* and others eat more food of maize, and millet. They prepare their curry from brinjal , pumpkin, gourd, arum, mustard leaves, bean, soybean, bamboo shoot and varieties of green leaves. They eat varieties of edible roots and leaves which are plenty in jungles. Meat and fish are taken with rice but these are not everyday item of food

The common indigenous drink of the Adi is *Apong* or *opo* (rice beer). *Apong* is prepared from rice, millet and Job's tears (*Anyek*) is essential item of their everyday consumption. It is taken at all social, economic, political and religious occasions.

2.8.6 Cultural Life of the Adi

i) Art and Craft

The Adi women are good weavers and they have also the colour choice and artistic designs of their own. The Adi make almost all the articles required for their daily use in their society. Most of these were made of bamboos and canes. They still make their bows and arrows, different types of household articles or

implements, such as varieties of baskets, bamboo container, and cups. They also make cane hats of different shapes and sizes. (Borgohain: 1980, pp 15-21)

ii) Dance and Music

Dance and music are an important medium through which the art and culture of the tribal people find expression. The Adis have varieties of song and dance such as *Ponung, Delong, bari, nitom, mopin* songs and dances. These songs and dances of the tribe may be grouped into two types. One is ceremonial or religious and these are performed on the occasion of festivals, wedding and other rites. The other type is recreational and these songs and dances may be sung and danced at any time; by the boys and girls, not to please the god but to please themselves

iii) Dresses and Ornaments

The dresses of the Adi may be divided into two parts; one is the upper dress worn above the waist and the lower garment. The *galuk* (Adi coat) is used as the upper garment by the males of the Padams, Pasis, Pangings, Minyong, Galo and others. The Adi men wear as their head dress and caps made of cane or animal skin. A *dao* is carried by a man with the dress.

The traditional lower garments of the Adi males is their loin cloth (*Ugon Or Sabe*) women especially were full sleeved black blouses with yellow bands of border designs as their upper garments, The lower garment of the Adi women are long skirts known as *Gale*. *Gales* are with free ends either pinkish red with a number of yellow horizontal lines or yellow with black horizontal lines running

across the middle. Both the Adi men and women wear most of their ornaments on their necks hanging down their chest.

2.8.7 Religion and Beliefs of the Adi

All the Adi group of people believes in animism. In recent years there has been a tendency among the writers, both Adi and non Adi, to call the religion of the tribe as donyi poloism or Donyi polo religion, a name which has been derived from the recognition of Donyi polo, the combined divine figure of Donyi (the Sun, and Polo (the Moon), as their popular god (Erring 1985 pp1-4). Like religion of many people in the world the origin of the religion of the Adis too is shrouded in numerous myths and traditions of the tribe which are old as the tribe itself. .

A priest is called as *Nyibo* or *Nyibu* or *Miri*. He performs all sorts of religious rites and ceremonies of the tribe. The Adis perform a number of rituals and socio religious festivals. Some of these are performed individually and while others are formed on community basis. For example, *Solung* is the most important festival of the Padam- Minyong group and Mopin is celebrated by the Galos where the goddess of wealth and prosperity is propitiated. All the festivals of the Adis are related to the agricultural cycle.

2.8.8 The Taboo

The Adis have number of taboos which are known as *aririnam* by the Galos and *nyonam* by the Padams-Minyongs. Taboos are observed to avoid bad luck, sickness, epidemic or anger of the spirits. First is the taboo on movement: when they keep themselves confined indoors, the period of confinement varies

from occasion to occasion. The second is the taboo on works by which, after a rite the restrictions are imposed on the felling of big trees, cutting of banana trees, digging of big holes and damming of the river. Third is the taboo on eating of some fruits and vegetables, during the illness and some rituals at home. (Nyori: 1993: P-281)

2.9 THE ADI SOMUWA

Adi Somuwa is a small group of tribal people living in the Namsai and Chowkam Sub division in 13 villages namely Mabira, Joypur, Dhonekona, and Melangkong, New Joypur, Dodum Jona, Jengthu, New Jengthu, Deobeel, New Mohong, Samuguru, Jona II and Morapat.

2.9.1 Migration

Earlier the Adi Somuwa was known as Somuwa Miris. They have been known as Adi Somuwa from very recently. Adi somuwas is a newly adopted term by the Somuwa Miris. Shri Lokheswar Sharma, the 3rd Indian Political Officer of Sadiya Frontier Tract April 1948 to June 1951, mentioned in his book, "Mishmi Paharor Reng Singa" published in 1965, that there were two Miri villages Majera and Tengali at a distance of 2 miles East of Sunpura. Shri Sharma, the then Political Officer of Sadiya Frontier Tract visited the Majera and Tengali villages on 6th and 7th January 1950 respectively and found 15 Miri families at Majera village and Tangali village on 6th and 7th January 1950 respectively. According to Shri Sharma, these two Miri villages were situated in Lohit valley. The Majera village was situated at a distance of two miles East of

Sunpura and the Tengali was situated at a distance of three miles of East of Majera. Both Majera and Tengali had been migrated to the interior of Lohit district in and around 1954 and began to settle in a place called Mabira, a place near Tenagpani river as their properties had been badly damaged by the great earthquake of 1950. They left their old settlement in the year 1954. Now they are settling in various villages around Namsai and Chowkham sub-division

2.9.2 Settlement and Housing Pattern

The villages of the Adi Somuwa are of small to medium sizes and are situated in the plain belt of the district. The people of four to five clans are found in the most of the villages. The villages of Adi Somuwa are not very filthy as their houses are not huddled in clusters. The villages are more or less neat and clean.

The Adi Somuwa invariably inhabits in the river side as observed in Jengthu, Mabira and Joipur villages. Their houses are built to face in any direction and are situated sparsely in the villages. Their houses are not invariably rectangular in shape like the houses of other neighboring tribes of the district and not all having *Chang* type. Mostly their houses are of ground floor as only a few houses have been built as a *Chang*. Almost each household has one or two granaries at a very little distance from the main house for keeping paddy and other food grain.

2.9.3 Socio cultural life

i) Social Institutions of the Adi Somuwa

The word Adi somuwa is newly adopted term by Somuwa Miris as they were known by all to very recently as Somuwas Miris^{**}. However, Adi Somuwa is a compact social group but they do not strictly follow the rule of tribe endogamy which does not ensure the solidarity of the tribe, but they follow clan exogamy. No myth is available about their origin as the so called Adi Somuwas is probably being the branch of the Miris (Mishings) of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. . However they marry with in their own group but deviation is found in their marriages between Adi Somuwa and the Mishing.

Unlike other tribal groups, the Adi Somuwa, clans cannot be ascertained as among them one can find some Mishing surnames, some padam surnames, some Gallong surnames, Some Minyong surnames. An Adi Somuwa can marry a woman from any clan except from his own clan. There is no language group among the clansmen for which marriage is prohibited. No specific rights and duties are vested on certain clan group and no specific opportunity is given to a particular clan's man to have the village chief or community chief. The clan organization of the Adi Somuwa does not give effect to the social and political life of the people.

The elementary unit of the society is the family which consists of parents and their married and unmarried children. The Adi Somuwa's basic family unit is mostly nuclear family as joint family is hardly found amongst them. In a family the father is the central figure and, therefore, authority is vested on him.

^{**} Miris are Scheduled tribe of Assam

ii) Marriage

Marriage with consanguineous relation is not found but marriage with affinal relation is a common practice in the society. It was mentioned earlier that they follow the clan exogamy, so members of a clan usually marry from outside. However monogamy is their common form of marriage but polygamy is also found amongst them. The Adi Somuwa practice cross cousin marriage i.e. marriage between mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter and it is prescribed and acquiesced as a preferential marriage even the father of the boy and mother of the girl are brother and sister of the same family group or very close affinal relation. In the society all the illicit and irregular unions are not given social cognizance. However, marriage by negotiation is performed in the society but elopement is very often practiced by them. For the marriage negotiation a go-between is engaged and he success the bride-price in consultation with the parents of either parties or the relatives. For negotiated marriage there is no fixed amount to pay as bride-price and not only that even for marriage by elopement and love marriages also there is no fixed amount for the bride- price but normally the bride-price for elopement and love are slightly higher than the marriage by negotiation. The bride-price is paid either by cash or by kind. Senior levirate and junior sororate are practiced by them. The system of widow marriage is also prevalent in the society. However the divorce is not uncommon but it is very rarely practiced in the society. Adultery is treated as a crime and punishment is given as per decision

of the village elder besides negotiation, elopement, love and service, capture is occasionally practiced in the e society. But this practice is not popular.

Child marriage is never heard in the society. Premarital and extra marital sex relations are treated as crime. However, divorce may raised by both husband and wife and proposal may be initiated by either side of the couple but it seem probable from the husband's side. If divorce is happily happened by initial of the husband, than, the husband is to compensate the wives as per the decision of the village elders. The children of the divorced couple are taken by the husband except the milk sucking babies. Such children shall have to go to the father's house after four or five years of age. In the case of marriage by negotiation the marriage ceremony is held first at the girl's parent's house and than at the boy's parent's house. To the marriage ceremony all near relatives are invited

2.9.4 Political Life of the Adi Somuwa

The system of self government of a particular society is called a local self government of that society the nucleus of this system is the village council which is age-old and informal in character. It is constituted by elderly and influential persons of the concerned village or villages whose judgment are acceptable by the fellow villagers. in such villages, every participants is regarded as a member of the consent of that day and although every participation has the liberty to speak in the village council but final decision prerogative to one of the village elder who is empowered to conduct the council of that day session and his decision would be binding and final. . In such council all vital problems relating to the village or

villages are discussed and decisions are taken by the village elders. In Adi Somuwa society there is no organized village council like there Khampti neighbors.

In fact, the village council is a democratic institution where all the vital problems relating to a village or villages of particular tribe or society are discussed freely and publicly and the Adi Somuwa society to their discussion accordingly. It may be held for a day or more days if necessary until a consensus is raised. In each village there is a headman (*Gao Bura*) who is responsible for the welfare and other matter of the village. In Village council judicial and development matters are discussed including settlement of disputes of concerned village or villagers. The *Gaobura* is normally the head of the council of his village and moreover he acts as the representative of the administration at the village level. The *Gao Bura* is to assist the government officials in performing their duties in the village level.

Now a day the Panchayat Raj system of local self Government is functioning in the Adi Somuwa by three tier structure of self government bodies mainly *Gram Panchayat*, *Anchal Samity* and *Zeela Parishad*. The cases like theft, rape adultery and abduction are very rarely found in the society and if such crimes are happened than decision are taken by the village elders. Oath and ordeals are also practiced by them to proof the innocence and to detect he actual culprit, divorce is, however not unknown but it is happened very rarely and such cases are decided by the elders of the village in presence of the concerned persons.

2.9.5 Economic Life of the Adi Somuwa

i) Land Tenure

Since the Adi Somuwas have been migrated from Majera and Tingali villages of Sunpura areas around 1954 to Mabira village of Chowkham Circle of Lohit district in- Arunachal Pradesh. They do not have traditional land tenure system as the land they are now occupying for homestead and cultivation are spared by the khampiti dominant areas of the district. Each village has a boundary for village land as well as cultivable land and the village people make their houses and do cultivation within their village boundary. There are wastelands for cattle grazing and for cremation. There are primary school in most of these villages and a middle school at Joipur village . There are *Namghars* and (*Vaisnowite* temples) almost in every village. The land as used for schools and *Namghars* and grazing for cattle are common village land.

The Adi Somuwa are mainly agriculturist and the economy is based on the agriculture and they are sedentary cultivators. Their main agricultural implements are Daos, hoes, axe, sickle and plough. Besides paddy they cultivate crops like also potato, brinjal, chili, pumpkin, bean, mustard seeds, pulse etc. Banana, betel and betel leaves are also grown. However they sometimes collect wild leaves and roots from the jungle for vegetables but food gathering is not there regular feature for food guest. Besides agriculture cattle rearing, fish rearing are not seen in their society for trade purpose. Their excess agricultural produces are sold at weekly Sunday market at Namsai.

The Adi Somuwa society is primarily agriculturist and besides agriculture other occupation like weaving, cane and bamboo works, cattle breeding, poultry, and pig rearing etc. are not their supplementary occupation as they do very little in such occupation. In their cultivable field men, women and their grown up children work together. However, hunting and fishing, expeditions are part of tribal life, but hunting and fishing are not taken as pursuit of their livelihood.

ii) Food Habit of the Adi Somuwa

Rice is the staple food of the Adi somuwas. Along with the rice they cultivate seasonal vegetables. They also collect wild leaves and tubers occasionally for food. They cultivate Rabi crops like mustered seeds, potato, *matimah* and gourd at their cultivable field as well as at their kitchen Garden. They rear cows and buffaloes for ploughing and milking purposes and pigs and goats, fowls, ducks for meat as they do not scarifies any domestic bird as and animals to appeases spirit and deities. Rice beer is a common drink for all and its preparation is purely a job of the females.

(vii) Religious Life of the Adi Somuwa

As told by the Adi Somuwas, they are now follower of *Nrigunaa dharma*, but in earlier days they are animist, The word Nriguna seems to be a new word for common people but they have been following this religion for around 1956, when an old Gaobura of Joipur village was suffering from an unknown disease and to recover him from that disease they had to perform a number of worship by sacrificing a good number of domestic birds and animals by their local priest but

the old man ultimately died without carrying to their rites by sacrificing domestic birds and animals. Meanwhile they heard about their present guru (Priest) and to get rid of from the cause of unknown illness they invited him to Joipur village .He (Guru) advised them to give up sacrifice and to follow him where no sacrifices are required in any occasion. However they cannot explain about the doctrine of their religion but it seems probable that it may be the *Vaisnowite* cult. There guru belongs to Ahom Community of Assam but he is residing in Nongkhon area of Lekang Circle of Lohit district of Arunachal Pradesh.

It was mentioned earlier that the Adi Somuwas have *Namghar* (Vesnowite Temple) in their villages where they used to worship in the system of Vaisnowite cult.

2.9.6 Cultural Life of the Adi Somuwa

i) Art and Craft

Cane and bamboo baskets that are required for their daily life are found in their houses. Out of these baskets the Assamese word *Pasi* , *Kharahi* are found in every household for keeping paddy, rice and other cereals and winnowing fan and sieve are also found in every household. The cane and bamboo baskets are made by their own artisans. The rain shields made of *Takupat*(, cane and bamboo are also used by them. The fishing net and fishing traps of various shapes and designs are found in their houses. Weaving is found is found in every household but goldsmithy and blacksmithy are not found in their society. So, the tools and

implements that are required for their everyday use are purchased from outside markets

i) Music and Dance

In fact, the art of music and dance is one of the most important aspect of human societies and it is an important aspect even of the Adi Somuwa society too as rhythmical sounds and songs are often heard amongst them while working in the field and in the jungle and rhythmical songs and dances are played in the marriages, festivals. The youths of the villages used to bit drums and cymbals and the damsels and aged women used to dance with the males. The musical instruments like drum and cymbals are used by them besides the flute

ii) Dress and Ornament

The dress of Adi somuwa men and women are simple. The men commonly wear shirt, coat and *dhuti* like the plain people. Some men wear white cotton turban as head dress but men and women are invariably found in barefooted, however, they use to wear shoe and *chappal*. The dresses of the males are purchased from the market but the dresses of the females are woven by the women at their own loin looms. The women wear earrings made of silver and ear bobs of amber and chains of four *Anna* or eight *Anna* coins around the neck as necklace. The women cover their bodies up to chest by coloured cotton skirts (*Mekhela*) which is folded over the breast under the arms and reaches the calves. The married women wear either a white or a coloured scarf around the waist which covers her hip. The unmarried girls wear a skirt around the waist either of plain cotton cloth

or of coloured cotton cloth and along with a blouse and *chaddar* are worn to cover the upper part of the body. Now a days it is seen that that the women and the girls used to wear *Adi- Gale* (Adi Female Skirt)

iii) Death and Disposal

Death may occur due to old age or other unnatural causes. Death at the old age is taken as natural death while the premature or accidental that like snakebite, killed by tiger, elephant, buffalo or other domestic or wild animal and falling from trees or drowning in water are considered as unnatural death. The deaths of a pregnant woman, stillborn and prenatal death are believed to be the cause of some evil spirits and such death are also considered as unnatural death. Suicide is also considered as unnatural death but it is it is very rare in the society.

For disposal of death the only system prevalent among the Adi Somuwa is burial as the question of natural or unnatural death does not arise for separate system of disposal. The burial ground lies outside their village boundary. To appease the soul of the death their priest (*Guru*) is invited and he performs all mortuary rites in the system of *Nirguna* dharma where no sacrifices are offered. The presence of there *guru* is must for the performance of all mortuary rites.

When a person grows old than his interest towards the life and destiny as well as mundane employment wanes and , therefore, he usually likes to relinquish himself from his day to day works by giving the charge to one of his grown up sons. Mortuary rites are performed according to the *Nirguna* cult and other rites

are also performed by their *Guru* (priest) during one's lifetime and as when necessity arises.

2.10 Concluding Remarks:

The study of both habitat and socio cultural life of the tribes under study helped to understand the base for subsequent analysis. The chapter revolves leads to the following conclusion

- i) The district lies in the North Eastern part of the state and consists of both high mountains and plain region. The tribes selected for the present study are inhabited in the plain region of the Lohit district. The Mishmi, Khampti and the Singphos are Buddhist of Theravada section. The Mishmi, Adi and the Deoris worship super natural objects. The Khamptis have their own script for writing and they have a chieftainship type of society. The Shyams have the cultural affiliation with the Khamptis. The Adi are migrant tribes from other districts of Arunachal Pradesh and Assam
- ii) As per the 1991 census, Lohit district consists of 12.69 % of the total population of the state and occupies 13.62 percent of the total area of Arunachal Pradesh. It can be said that population of Lohit district is proportionate to its area. The selected tribes under study inhabits in the plain region of the district. The higher concentration of population is noticed in the Namsai, Chowkham, Chowkham circles. The Scheduled tribe population is the second lowest with 40933 persons among the eleven districts of the state sharing only 37.3 percent.

- iii) The occurrence of mineral like graphite, limestone, marble stone are available mostly in areas around Tezu namely, Lalpani, Tidding, Tezu and Dura river. There are no mineral deposits around Namsai sub division.
- iv) Lohit District is probably the best developed district in agriculture amongst all the district of the state. About 70-80% of the working population is involved in agriculture. The mode of cultivation is however, not uniform all over the district due to the vast variations in terrains and rainfall between the various parts of the district. Permanent cultivation is mostly confined to Namsai Sub division, Sunpura circle around Tezu where plain land is available on the foot hills belt. Agriculture practices are also well developed in these areas and multiple cropping is practiced on a good scale. The variation of agro climatic condition provides wide scope of horticulture plantation in the district for cultivation of both horticulture plantations.

CHAPTER- III

REVIEW OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA WITH REFERENCE TO NORTH EAST INDIA AND ARUNACHAL PRADESH

3.1 Introductory Statement

Amelioration of socio-economic condition of the weaker sections of the society, particularly of Scheduled Castes and Schedule Tribes is a Constitutional obligation. Provisions are there in Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles of State Policy and 5th and 6th Schedules of the constitution. To safeguard their interest accordingly the Five Year Plans take special steps for all round development of these sections. The present chapter has made an attempt to discuss the nature of development policies and plan measures towards Tribal Development in North-East India with special reference to Arunachal Pradesh.

Development of the tribes by the Government of India took place after independence. But it has also attracted the Nationalist leaders before Independence. Unlike British policy of isolation, the nationalist leaders had thought in terms of positive discrimination for the all-round development. In other words, an attempt has been made to present an overview of policies and schemes meant for the development of the Tribes.

The Constitution of India envisages that " the State shall promote special care the educational and economic interests of all the weaker sections of the people and, in particular of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation." A period of 10 years was set initially to achieve the goal but as the problem was deep rooted

and manifested a single decade was bound to persist through decades. Nevertheless a good beginning was made. We continue to guard the tribal interests, which reflect the sense of responsibility of Indian people towards their tribal brethren (Vidyarthi: 1977:411)

Tribal populations constitutes over 8.08 percent of the national population* and are concentrated mostly in the mountain belts and forest tracts of sub Himalayan region on the North and Northeast, the hilly terrain across central India and Southernmost parts of the Western Ghats. They remained isolated from majority of Indian communities and also remained socially and economically backward. Taking account of the above characteristics, the government of India has specified 427 communities and has included them in the schedule of tribes. The first list of scheduled tribe was notified in 1950 by the President of India. It was amended in the Parliament in 1956 on the recommendation of the Backward Classes Commission (Rao: 1986: 34). These Tribes are known as Scheduled Tribes and are entitled to special protection and privileges under the Constitution of India.

The basic problems of the Tribal people, as of the vast majority of the non-tribal population, are that of the poverty. The problem of low standard of living, hunger, starvation, malnutrition, illiteracy, diseases, poor sanitary facilities etc., are all common to the tribal and vast majority of the non tribal population. The difference is of only degree. Then why is it necessary to formulate special plan for

*Excluding Jammu & Kashmir where census enumeration could not be carried out in 1991

Tribal Development? Because the tribals, in addition to the problem mentioned above, face the problem that are specific and confined to them alone. Centuries of isolation from the main civilization has kept the tribal ignorant of the modern institutions, scientific developments and changing environment, and has contributed to their ignorance, illiteracy, primitive mode of living and poor resource base at their economy (Chand and Puri: 1983:454)

Keeping all these considerations in view, the government of India initiated special schemes for the development of tribal areas to supplement the benefit accruing from general programmes of development in different fields such as agriculture, cooperation, communications, health, housing etc. They can be grouped under four heading - (a) Communication (b) education and culture, (c) Development of tribal economy, and (d) health, housing and water supply (*Second Five Year Plan, Planning Commission, 590*).

The concept of tribal development is based on twin approaches, (Raha: 1989: xxvi), firstly, the protection of the Tribal people-legal administrative support and secondly to implement programmes to promote their standard and level of living. Presently the main instrument of such development is Tribal Sub Plans launched since 1974-75 and being implemented through the state plans, Special Central Assistance, Centrally Sponsored Programmes and Institutional Finance. Under the revised 20 points programmes, a high priority has been given to the development of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

3.2 Constitutional Safeguards for Tribals

With India attaining Independence, the British policy of isolation and non-interference towards tribals was replaced by a policy to integrate them through development. In perusal of this policy several provisions were made in Indian constitution. The most important of one is article 244 which provides for administration of Scheduled Areas in accordance with Schedule V to the Constitution and the administration of tribal areas (Assam State) under Schedule VI.

Article 5, 16, 19, 46, 244, 275, 330, 334, 332, 335, 339 and 342 of the Indian Constitution provided specific provisions for the advancement of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. There are reservations in educational institutions, services, political bodies, special relaxation in age, qualification, etc. Further the provisions allowed for the necessity for Tribal Development Programmes. Many special provisions were made in Schedule V of the Constitution in the interest of Tribal Areas. Clause 6 of the Schedule V empowered the President of India to declare any area where there is predominant concentration of Tribal people as Scheduled Area. This provision has two clear objectives. One, to assist the tribal in enjoying their existing rights, unhindered or unobstructed by other. Two, to develop the areas and promote economic, educational, and social progress among them. In these schemes, protection of their rights and interests come first (*Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled tribes Commission, Vol. I P-39 and Government of India*).

The Fifth Schedule also gave powers to State Governors empowering them even to modify the existing enactment and make regulations for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes. Article 338 of the Constitution provides for constituting a Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The objective of appointing the Commissioner is to report on the administration of Tribal Areas in general and about the provisions of educational, medical facilities and communications in such regions in particular. The Commissioner's report is to be placed before the parliament.

3.3 Approaches to Tribal Development: A Historical Perspective

It is essential to know how these Tribal people have been approached so far by the administration. The approaches to the Tribals may be separately considered in the context of pre-independence and post-independence period. Historically, there have been three approaches viz., 'Isolationist Approach', 'Assimilationist Approach' and Integrationist Approach.

The Tribal areas were the last to come under the British policy due to their inaccessibility. To avoid troubles from Tribal the British government adopted the policy of pacification through indirect rule with respect to Tribal areas and treated them different from the rest of the country. These were the foremost policies which were adopted by the British colonial rulers to isolate these Tribal people from the general mass and separate the tribal areas from the purview of the normal administration.

The policy of isolation by the British Government was largely affected by their deliberate effort not to develop communication in the Tribal areas which, as a result, remained cut off from the rest of the population. The most burning example that can be cited in this respect is of North East Himalayan Tribes. They had no communication with the rest of the India and consequently a sense of separation has developed in them (Vidyarthi: 1977: 413)

Being scared of administrative difficulties and problems in far flung tribal belts and considering that the Independence movement could spread infection among tribes too, the people in power announced that the Tribal should not be disturbed by the outside administration, policies, programmes and elements. Such thinking led to the rise of “Excluded” and “Partially Excluded” Tribal areas, treating them as “reserves” against alien intervention. Thus originated the policy of Isolation and partially excluded areas act which come into existence in 1935 which resulted in the non appearance of any legislation of the provincial government to tribal areas except on the direction of central government. The Act also enabled Governors to pass special regulations for Tribal areas with prior consent of the Governor General.

Adoption of Isolation approach resulted in the widening gulf between the worlds of Tribal and Non tribal people and in the preservation of distinctive identity of the tribals, thereby minimizing their interaction and inhibiting their integration into the mainstream of the national life. Their distinctive identity and their relative isolation only fostered isolation. Ghurye pointed out that, in view of

the fact the tribals are often suffer and in occasions violent, the main purpose of the British policy was to secure peace and not necessarily to help to advance on the road to progress either by integration with plains Hindus otherwise". (Ghurye:1963:79). The out come of British administrative policy can be broadly summarized quoting from Sharma who writes that, "The administration in tribal areas during pre independence days was not formalized. The decision making both in British India and Indian States, was near enough the common mass. The system could respond to the needs of each specific situation. Development, as a function of the administration had yet to emerge. Therefore the socio economic life of the community was largely left untouched.....Maintenance of order and protection from unwanted elements where necessary, were the main objective of administration". (Sharma : 1977:578). The British rule bequeathed more liabilities than assets, more problems than solution, in regard to the tribal areas and their people. They followed the policy of Isolation or "leave them alone". The isolation led to much exploitation by Non-Tribals, Contractors, *Zamindars* and Middleman. Almost parallel to this emerged those who expressed concern about the problems and miseries inherent in tribal inhabited areas in the country. Among these lots were the missionaries, both Christians and Hindus whose ideology asked for radical reforms and changes in Tribal society, so much so that they expressed feelings and ideas of making the second rate copies of Christians and Hindus. This was made abundantly clear when they tried to assimilate tribals into the broader tenets of Christianity and Hinduism. The trend promoted the policy of

“Assimilation”. The later did not remain in tune with, the then British Government Policy of Isolation.

The assimilation of the Tribal people with the rest of the population is another approach and is a continuous process and the cultural contact with the neighboring population is held responsible for it. However, this has also created some problems for them, partly because of their limited world view. In India, the Tribal people have come in contact with the different Hindu and other communities and situations, different degree of cultural contact leading to assimilation in different parts. Some Tribals have gradually adopted the Hindu way of life and others have converted to Christianity.

The policy of assimilation worked as a double edged weapon. It affected the loss of identity while it also fostered emotional and cultural alienation. Strongly reacting to the Assimilationist Approach, *Jairam Daulatram*, the then Governor of Assam had epitomized his reaction in a figurative and rhetorical vein:

"Each section of our large population contributes to the making of the national in the same manner as each flower helps to make a garden. Every flower has the right to grow according to its own laws of growth, has the right to enrich and develop its colour and form and spread its own fragrances to make up the cumulative beauty and splendour of the garden. I would not like to change my roses into lilies nor my lilies into roses. Nor do I want to sacrifice lovely orchids and *rho do dendrons* of the hills" (Elwin: 1960:57).

Neither isolation nor assimilation can solve the problem of the Tribals were appreciated in the integrated approach. For the first time, late Jawaharlal Nehru in his foreword to Elwin's book, *A Philosophy for NEFA* (1958:xiii) gave a "*Panchaseela*" i.e. five fundamental principles for the Tribal upliftment as an *integrational approach*. The five principles are as follow:

- (i) "People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.
- (ii) Tribal right to lands and forest should be respected;
- (iii) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personal from outside will no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into the Tribal territory;
- (iv) We should not over administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.
- (v) We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but the quality of human character that is evolved."

From the working experience of the working of the "*Panchahseel*" for the tribal we find:

- (i) That we should not force Tribals to do things;

- (ii) That Tribal right aims at saving Tribal from exploitation which can be possible only by integrating them with the neighbouring people;
- (iii) That only tribal officers may work in the area with some local bias, and in those conditions experienced non tribal officers have proved themselves to the anthropological approach;
- (iv) That tribal Programmes be very simple;
- (v) That, one has to serve the Tribals in a “dedicated spirit”.

3.4 Tribal Development Under The Plan

Article 46 of the Constitution explicitly recognises that the Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes as the weaker sections of the society and calls for the promotion of their educational and economic interest as well as their protection from exploitation. What the Union and State Governments have been doing for the Tribal welfare can be had from several reports like the Annual Report of the Commissioner for the Schedule Tribe and Schedule Castes, from 1950 onwards, the Report of the Backward Classes Commission 1955, Report of the Study Team Social Welfare, Welfare of backward classes 1959, forty eight report of the Estimates committee of Parliament 1959, Report of the Committee on Special Multi Purpose Tribal Development Blocks 1960, Report of the Schedule Areas and Schedule Tribes Commission, 1960-61, Report of the Study Group on the welfare of the weaker sections of the village community 1961, Reports on the seminar

on Employment of Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes,1964, Report of the Committee on Tribal Development Programmes,1969, Reports of the Parliamentary Committee on the welfare of Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes, Report of the Task Force on Development of Tribal Areas,1973 and various reports of State Governments (Vidyarthi:1977:412).

In India, Tribal development programmes have been merely an extension of the rural development programmes meant for the country as a whole. (Goswami:1990:17). Importance has been given for the Tribal Development right from First Five Year Plan. The percentage of plan outlay during the First Five Year Plan was 1.00 percent to 8.18 percent during the Eighth Five Year Plan. Table No: 3.1 shows the total outlay for Five Year Plans.

Table No: 3.1
India: Plan Outlay for the Scheduled Tribes in Plan Periods

Plan Outlay For The Scheduled Tribes			
Plan Period	Plan Outlay (Rs. in Crore)		
	Total	Scheduled Tribes	Percentage to total
First Five Year Plan	1960	19.93	1.00
2 nd Five Year Plan	4672	42.92	0.90
3 rd Five Year Plan	8577	50.53	0.60
4 th Five Year Plan	15779	79.85	0.50
5 th Five Year Plan	39426	1157.67	3.00
6 th Five Year Plan	109292	3640.25	3.33
7 th Five Year Plan	180000	6744.85	3.75
8 th Five Year Plan	181735	1487343	8.18

Source: Ministry of Welfare

During the First Five Year Plan emphasis was on education and economic development, improvement of roads and communications and provision for medical and public health facilities. An extensive rural development programme commonly known as Community Development Programme, was launched in the year 1952 with the following objectives:

- (i) To provide substantial increase in the countries agricultural production and to improve the system of communication, rural health, hygiene and rural education;
- (ii) To initiate and direct processes of integrated culture change aimed at transforming the social and economic life of the villagers.

To carry out these programmes, Tribal Development Blocks were established on the lines of community development. Such tribal development blocks were constituted in the areas predominantly inhabited by the tribals and each block was intended to cover only about 25000 persons against the coverage of 66,000 persons in the community development blocks. Community Development programmes were considered to be people's programmes with government participation, the success depended to a considerable degree on the co operation and participation of the people for whom the programmes were intended. The basic input of Community Development programme is "man" and all efforts were geared towards using this input in the best possible way to bring about an integrated development of the community life. It is a project of "the people, by the

people and for the people, wherein the role of the government and administrative authorities is to help the people to help themselves (Chand & Puri :1983:275).

During the Second Five Year Plan, multipurpose project blocks (M.P.P.Blocks) was the most significance step taken towards development of Tribal areas. The main objective of M.P.P. Blocks were to create a progressive outlook in the tribal economy and achieve higher level of material and cultural development. The Second Five Year Plan advocated the establishment of multipurpose pilot project for “intensive and co ordinated development in tribal areas on the general pattern of community development, but modified to suit tribal condition and supplemented by additional resources”. The task of these project was to cover all aspect of tribal life. It also had such provisions as the encouragement of settled form of agriculture in place of shifting cultivation, improvement of agriculture, provision of medical and and public health services, improvement of communication, development of art and crafts, organisation of cooperations and the establishment of community welfare center (*Planning Commision, Second Five Year P lan:593*). Further changes were brought in the functioning of Multi Purpose Blocks as a result of the two important reports which made several recommendation for the future of Tribal Development Programmes. An evaluation report submitted by the committee headed by *Verrier Elwin* on Special Multi Purpose Blocks (1960) led to the opening of

the Tribal Development Blocks from Third Plan Period onwards. The committee opined that the Multi Purpose Projects have created much awareness, though they suffered the usual disadvantages of pilot projects. The report made several recommendations regarding structure and functioning of Blocks. Important of them were;

- (i) To adopt a more flexible approach towards schematic allocation;
- (ii) Reduction in the outlay of expenditure, and
- (iii) Introduction of Panchayat Raj bodies to supervise the functioning of the blocks.

Based on the recommendations, the multipurpose projects were converted into Tribal Development Blocks after the end of the project period.

During the Third Five Year Plan, 489 Community Development Blocks where percentage of tribal population was 66 or above, were converted into Tribal Development Blocks. Thus, the Tribal Development Blocks Programmes was rather on intensification of community development blocks programmes with higher investment of resources (Bordoloi :1989:117). The Tribal Development Blocks programme was expected to take care of all the problems in the tribal areas. By the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan the number of Tribal development blocks was increased to 504.

The Tribal Development Blocks which came into existence formed the major channel of Tribal Welfare Programmes from 1962 onward though

the Tribal Development Blocks have brought about some changes, their impact was said to have fallen short of expectations.

Some of the observations made regarding the making of Tribal Development Blocks were:

- (i) The results and effort of the Tribal Development Blocks in most cases are exclusive effort of the tribal sector and general sector programmes failed to reward Tribal areas.
- (ii) The benefits of development did not percolate beyond the upper crust of the tribal communities in most of the tribal areas (Roy Burman :1975:54).

The *Shilu Ao* Committee (Report of the Study Team on Tribal Development Programmes : 1969, Planning Commission) which has evaluated the impact of Tribal Development Programmes pointed out various snags in the functioning of Tribal Development blocks .They are ;

- (i) A large number of standardised schemes in vogue among advanced communities have been applied to tribal areas;
- (ii) The employment aspect of development has not been attended to;
- (iii) Settlement of land disputes at pre extension stage was not taken up;
- (iv) In productive schemes like agriculture, irrigation and animal husbandary, 20 percent of the investment was on constructions;
- (v) Sixty to seventy percent of the funds were spent on “brick and mortar” schemes;

(vi) In many cases co operatives have been started without much education and propagations among the tribals. And followed cumbursion procedures;

(vii)The benefits had mostly accrued to the more advanced among the tribals;

The report indicated that the fragmentory approach toward development planning formed an important limitation on Tribal Development Blocks. Due to their comparatively low economic base and the small size, the blocks could not take up long term programmes.

Shilu Ao Team (1969) suggested an integrated perspective development of each tribal community. The Dhebar Commission (1961) had also stressed integrated approach.

The expert committee set up in 1972 headed by Professor *S.C Dube* to formulate new strategy for Tribal Development in the country during the Fifth Five Year Plan has equated tribal development as social and economic development of the Tribal people through fast and time bound area development and other programmes suiting the genius of the people, progressive elimination of all forces of exploitation and ensuring a move towards the goal of equality and justice.

On the basis of the recommendation of the *Dube* committee mentioned ion the above Para, the new strategy for Tribal Development were spelt out in the fifth Five year Plan document. Two important strategies are:-

- (i) An integrated approach to tribal development with a view to bridging the gap between the level of development of tribal areas and other areas
- (ii) Improving the 'Quality of life' of the tribal people.

Realizing the lopsided development, the National Planning Commission envisaged a new strategy of planning for Tribal areas in the Fifth Five Year Plan. During this period, Tribal Development project emerged in the line with the IRDP (Integrated Rural Development Programmes). The strategy for integrated approach to tribal development led to the launching of the Tribal Sub-Plan. The concept of Tribal Sub-Plan based on the fundamental facts (Bordoloi:1989:119).

Firstly, there are variations in social, political, cultural milieu among the Scheduled Tribe communities in India.

Secondly, these communities are concentrated in some parts of states and dispersed in other states.

Thirdly, The most backward Tribes or primitive Tribes lived in secluded regions.

The immediate objectives of the Tribal Sub-Plan have been envisaged in the elimination of exploitation accelerating the pace of development, building inner strength of the people and improving their organisational capability.

Resources for tribal sub-Plan are pooled together by;

- (i) on quantifying an amount from the divisible State plan outlay,

- (ii) Special Central Assistance from the Home Ministry, Government of India,
- (iii) Grants from the Central Ministries and
- (iv) Institutional finance.

It may, however, be mentioned that during the Fifth Five Year Plan while more emphasis was given on the infrastructural development in the Tribal areas, in the Sixth Plan the approach has been changed and more emphasis has been changed and more emphasis has been given on the family oriented schemes.

It may, however, be mentioned that during the Fifth Five Year Plan while more emphasis was given on the infrastructural development in the tribal areas. (*Ibid*)

During the Sixth Five Year Plan more emphasis on the family oriented schemes and was laid on poverty alleviation and consequently the Sub-Plan areas also showed an intensification of Poverty Alleviation Schemes. There was a shift from infra structure development to beneficiary oriented scheme. The Seventh and Eighth Plans also continued the emphasis on poverty alleviation. But the programmes were beneficiary oriented and emphasised human resource development schemes with an aim of attacking poverty by providing income and wage employment.

3.5 Tribal Development Programmes In North- East India

The North east region consists of the seven States of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Tripura and Nagaland¹. These States are popularly known as seven sisters. . The Northeast India is surrounded by Bhutan, China, Burma and Bangladesh in all sides except a narrow corridor of Indian Territory that connects it with rest of the country. It comprises 7.1 percent of the country's area. The region has almost all types of physical formations ranging from alluvial plains to table lands, low hills and high mountains, narrow valleys and flat ranges. Consequently, two distinct kind of agricultural practices are popular; settled plough cultivation in the plains, valley and gentle slopes and Jhum (Slash and burn) agriculture elsewhere.

The Tribal population of North-East region is around 81.42 Lakh (Table No: 2.1) in an area of 2,55,083 square kilometer in seven states. In total there are almost 130 major Tribal groups and one third of the total number of listed Tribe for the whole of India are to be found in this region. The share of Scheduled Tribe population to the total population of each State of the North-East region is presented in the Table No: 3.2.

Table No: 3.2
North East India: Population Distribution, Density, Area, ST Population (1991)

Name of the States	Area (Sq K.m)	Total Population	Population Density	% of ST population
Arunachal Pradesh	83743	864558	10	63.66
Assam	78438	22414322	286	12.82
Amnipur	22327	1837149	82	34.41
Meghalaya	22429	1774778	79	85.53

1. Sikkim is not included in the discussion

Mizoram	22081	689756	33	94.75
Nagaland	16579	1209546	73	87.70
Tripura	10486	2757205	263	30.95

Source: NEC Shillong, 1995

The region is inhabited by a large and different number of tribal groups. In a state like Arunachal Pradesh there are about 25 major tribal groups. Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura have 39, 15 and 19 tribal groups respectively, while in Assam, Meghalaya and Mizoram these figures are 14 in the autonomous districts, 11 in Tribal areas other than autonomous districts and in other parts of Assam excluding Tribal areas

During the pre- independence period the government did not formulate any rational policy for the development of the tribal communities of North-East India and as such they did not have any development strategy for them in true sense of the term. The areas inhabited by the tribals were either Excluded or Partially Excluded ones. The main intention of the British Government was to keep the tribals as far as practicable at a long distance from the rest of the population. They followed this policy to suit the needs of the administration and found that it has been working well in serving their interests in full.

During the British period, some development was however undertaken by the British Government. They were undertaken not in the interest of the Tribal people of this region, but to serve the interest, both administrative and commercial, of the rulers. New railway lines were laid to carry coals, timbers, oil, tea, etc., from this region to outside, roads were constructed to connect district and

Sub-Divisional Headquarters so that soldiers and police personal could be sent quickly as soon as possible. Some tribal people living in the North East region reaped some of the benefits of the of tribal schemes primarily meant for providing basic amenities to the employees of the British rulers and other infrastructural facilities created for smooth running of the administration and also for serving the commercial interest of the rulers.

The British Government approach towards Tribals to make them feel the impact of administration was very gradual and from the team of reappraisal, no specific strategies for the tribal development was enunciated. Although the Government of India Act, 1935 had envisaged some development strategies for the tribal communities in India, they were primarily meant for the tribes of central India and not for the tribes of North East India. The British Government did not have specific strategies for the development of tribal communities of North-East India either.

The policy adopted by the post independence government broadly followed the same administration pattern and certain special provisions were made in the Constitution of India. While, Article 224 and 275 along with the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution provide the politico-administrative structure to suit the genius of the tribal folk. The Commissioner for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes also enumerated that the respective plans of the state are primarily meant for major tribal populace (*Report of Commissioner for SCs and STs: 1986-87:36*) and general in nature.

Article 244 empowers the President of India to declare the area under the Fifth and Sixth Schedules and (or) the Sixth Schedule separately. It is also very interesting to note that the Sixth Schedule was created only for the Hill tribal areas of Assam (Undivided). Since the Hill Tribal communities of Assam had their own system of administration through the traditional socio political institutions. The founding fathers of Constitution of India, created this special provision with a view to allow the Autonomous Districts Council to manage their own affairs including the development aspects according to their likings.

Article 339 (2) lays down that the executive power of the Union extend to the giving of directions to a State as to the drawing up and execution of schemes for welfare of Schedule Tribes in the State.

Article 275 provides for financial assistance to the state for implementation of schemes of development of Scheduled Tribes and raising the level of administration in the Scheduled Areas. The Constitution also makes provision for appointment of a Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Article 339 was provided for setting up of a Commission at the end of ten years of the commencement of the Constitution to review the Tribal situations and to recommend measures for their development.

Tribal development in general has been an extension of Rural Development Programme. But in North-East States, it is more rural development oriented. The Tribal Sub-Plan concept is not applicable to states like Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Mizoram and Meghalaya, where the majority of the population belongs

to Scheduled Tribes. Whatever development schemes are meant for the state, can therefore be regarded as Tribal Development Programmes (Bordoloi:1989:120). No special programmes like ITDP (Integrated Tribal Development Programme) are implemented there except in Assam where there are nineteen ITDP blocks.

In Arunachal Pradesh, Poverty Alleviation Programmes have been launched for the development of the Tribal and Tribal villages which are being implemented by Rural Development Department in the state. The Programmes launched in Arunachal Pradesh for employment generation and alleviation of rural poverty has, as elsewhere, two components:

- (i) to create rural infrastructure for generating wage employment under *JRY/EAS/AY/MWS* and;
- (ii) To promote self employment under *IRDP/DWCRA/TRYSEM*.

These two components are two different ways which aim at making a direct attack on rural poverty

3.6 Concluding Statement

The review of literature regarding the tribal development in India with reference to North East India and Arunachal Pradesh leads to the following broad conclusion:

- i) In India, tribal population constitutes 8.08 percent of the national; population. They remained isolated from the majority of Indian communities and also remained socially backward. The development of the tribal took place after the independence with a shift in approach in various Five Year Plans. The basic problems of the tribal population are

poverty with low standard of living, hunger, starvation etc and their problem is specific and confined to them alone. Keeping in view their problem the government of India initiated special schemes for the development. Article 5, 16, 19, 46, 244, 275, 338, 332, 335, 339 and 342 of the constitution provided specific provision for the advancement of scheduled caste and scheduled tribes. The Fifth schedule gave powers to state governors empowering them even to modify the existing enactment and make regulations for the welfare of scheduled tribes

- ii) The approaches to the development of tribal communities may be viewed in the context of both pre independence and post independence period. During the pre independence period, the British adopted the policy of isolation with respect to tribal areas. Being scared of administrative difficulties in far flung tribal belts and considering that the independence movement could spread infection among tribes too; the people power announced that the tribal should not be disturbed by the outside administration, policies, programmes and elements. Adoption of isolation approach resulted in the widening gulf between the worlds of tribals and non-tribals and in the preservation of distinctive identity of the tribals, thereby minimizing their interaction and inhibiting their integration into the mainstream of the national life, the policy of isolation led to much exploitation by the non-tribals and other external force. Almost parallel to this emerged those who expressed concerned about the problems and miseries inherent in tribal

inhabited areas in the country, those were the Christian and Hindu missionaries, the trend promoted the policy of assimilation. However this has also created some problems instead of developing them. The policy of assimilation worked as a double edged weapon. It affected the loss of identity while it also fostered emotional and cultural alienation. Both isolation and assimilation could not solve the problems of the tribals,

- iii) The integrated approach formulated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India was better appreciated for the development of the tribals. For them the approaches consist of five fundamental principles for the tribal upliftment. The Panchasheel suggests that we should not force tribals to do things and they should develop along the lines of their own genius and tribal rights to land and forest should be respected, tribal programmes should be very simple and one has to serve the tribals in a dedicated approach.
- iv) In India, Tribal Development Programmes have been merely an extension of the rural development programmes meant for the country as a whole. The percentage of plan outlay during the first five year plan was 1.00 percent during the Eighth Five Year Plan. During the First Five Year Plan emphasis was on education and economic development, improvement of roads and communications and provision for medical and public health facilities. An extensive Rural Development Programme commonly known as Community Development Programme was launched in the year 1952.

To carry out these programmes, Tribal Development Blocks were established on the lines of community development..

- iv) During the Second Five Year Plan, Multi Purpose Project Blocks(MPP) were the most the most significance step taken towards development of tribal areas. The main objective of MPP blocks were to create a progressive outlook in the tribal economy and achieve higher level of material and culture development..
- v) During the Third Fiver Year Plan, 489 community development blocks where percentage of tribal population was 66 or above were converted into tribal development blocks.. The Shilu Ao Committee which has evaluated the impact of tribal development programmes pointed out various snags in the functioning of tribal development blocks and suggested an integrated perspective development of each tribal community.
- vi) Realizing the lopsided development, the national planning commission envisages a new strategy of planning for the tribal areas in the Fifth Five Year Plan in which tribal development projects emerged in the line with the Integrated Rural Development Programmes (IRDP). The strategy for integrated approach to tribal development led to the launching of the Tribal Sub-Plan.
- vii) During the Sixth Five Year Plan more emphasis on the family oriented schemes and was laid on poverty alleviation and consequently the Sub Plan areas also showed an intensification of poverty alleviation schemes. There

was a shift from infra structure development to beneficiary oriented schemes.

- viii) In North east India, the tribals were either excluded or partially excluded ones. There was no any rational policy for the development of the tribals in the region. During the British period, some development was however undertaken by the British government but not inn the interest of the tribal people in this region but to serve the interest, both administrative and commercial of the rulers.
- ix) Tribal development in general has been an extension of rural development. But in North East states it is more rural development oriented. The tribal Sub-Plan concept is not applicable to states like Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Meghalaya, Mizoram, where the majority where the majority of the population belong to the scheduled tribes.
- x) In Arunachal Pradesh, Poverty Alleviation Programmes have been launched for the development of the tribal which are being implemented by Rural Development Department in the state.

CHAPTER- IV

PLANNING PROCESS AND ACHIEVEMENT OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES: A STUDY OF GOVERNMENT RECORDS OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH

4.1 Introductory Statement

This chapter is designed with a view to study the nature and extent of decentralized planning process with regard to the implementation of Poverty Alleviation Programmes (PAPs) along with a focus on their achievement during the Eight Five Year Plan in Arunachal Pradesh. Besides this, the Planning process in Arunachal Pradesh has also been discussed.

In Arunachal Pradesh, Poverty Alleviation Programmes have been launched for the development of the tribals and tribal villages. Hence all aspects having significance for the tribals and which are in vogue in Arunachal Pradesh have been discussed as features in different programmes.

4.2 Planning Process for Poverty Alleviation Programmes

This Indian Planning exercise has passed through an evolutionary process involving three stages on its quest for realizing the goal of achieving rural development with the central focus on eradication of poverty in the rural areas.

The stages are:

- a) The community development programme was initiated and enlarged to cover Panchayati Raj as a system of local self government with popular participation of the people at the grass root level.
- b) This was followed by a major thrust on intensification of agriculture emphasizing concentration on resource areas for increasing food production.

c) Then, there was a major shift to direct assault on poverty with identification of target groups and area oriented special programmes embodied in the integrated rural development approach to poverty alleviation (Mishra: 1984:131)

Planning in India began at the national level with a highly centralized approach for the economic development. Still there were scopes and provisions for rural development by identifying the specificity of the nature of rural problem. Accompanied with it was the ideal of planning from below since the beginning of the planning era (*Various Five Year Plans*). The First Five Year Plans *inter alia*, sought to initiate a process of transformation of social and economic life of the villages through community development. It read:

“Democratic planning to succeed must have to energize the entire community and to place before it a good endeavor which will call forth all its latent creative urges”

Further, the First Five Year Plan documents also contained the spirit of Decentralized Planning which is clear in the following lines:

“A democracy working for social ends has to base itself on the willing assent of the people and not the coercive power of the state. Their own views about their needs and difficulties and the correct solutions must be elicited and given the fullest weight on making the plans, on the execution of which they will be called upon to assist... means have, therefore, to be devised to bring the people into association both at the stage of formulation of the plans and in their implementation from stage to stage”.

The same position was reiterated in one form or another in all the subsequent plan documents, village, block and District Plans were required to be prepared on the eve of the formulation of the Second Five Year Plan. Consequently, the plan also re-emphasized the importance of village level planning, which was expected to take into account the entire community and more specifically the weaker sections of the society following the Report of *Balwant Rai Mehta* study team¹ the Third Plan emphasized on the role of people participations in local level planning under the frame work of democratic decentralization of Panchayati Raj. The Third Plan also describes a methodology for preparing State Plan for rural development on the basis of district and Block Plans.

The plan programmes were hampered by severe drought conditions, outbreak of Indo-Pak war and scarcity of foreign exchange. Therefore, for the next three years consecutively, the planners framed Annual Plans.

During the above period of reference, Planning from below was more or less a theoretical comprehension without significant practical base. Most decision on policy and programmes were taken at the higher level. Even the much publicized Community Development Programme had paid little attention to developing planning capability at the local level. Under this programme, "There was not much planning for taking up the works; much depended on whether the fifty percent public contribution was forthcoming or not". (*Verma: 1984:3-4*)

¹ *this team was appointed on 1957 to study the community development and National Extension Service programmes with special reference to popular participation

During the Sixties, the approach to Planning took a new turn. In 1960 the Government launched an Intensive Agricultural District Programme (IADP) because of the over-riding need for raising food production to meet the food crisis and disappointing performance of community development programmes in raising agriculture production. This programme was controlled from above and managed entirely by the bureaucracy. Further, in the Mid Sixties the Government of India launched High Yielding Varieties Programmes (HYVP), the package known as “Green Revolution”.

This programme reflected the ascendancy of the Democratic Approach to development. Several other “Central” or “Centrally sponsored” schemes were introduced in due course, leading to a further centralization of planning (Prasad: 1988:19)

At that time, the Government of India set up an All India Committee (Report of the All India Rural Credit Review: 1969). The committee in its report recommended, *inter alia*, the need for formulating special development programme for small marginal farmers and agricultural labourers. The report highlighted the need for placing greater emphasis on improvement of standard of living of poor and less privileged.

In 1969 also the Planning Commission worked out guidelines for District Planning with an aim of encouraging the formulation of District Plan. This was the first major document giving a comprehensive outline of methodology of District Planning. But the planning at district and block levels had a real

beginning with the Janata Government coming to the power in 1977. Since then, a trend toward decentralised planning has emerged. The Planning Commission during the period of Janata Government started formulating guidelines for block level planning with the framework of the state plans. It appointed a working group of Block Level Planning under the chairmanship of Professor *M.L.Dantwala* in November 1977. This committee's Report examined feasibility of introducing planning at the block level. During this period a committee on Panchayati Raj institution was appointed under the Chairmanship of *Ashoka Mehta*. Both the committees submitted their Report in 1978.

The Sixth Plan continued the emphasis on decentralization and formulated a central Programme for strengthening at the district level. In 1983, the Economic Advisory Council (EAC) to the Prime minister presented its reports on decentralization of development Planning and implementation in the States (1984). The working group in 1982 also submitted its report in 1984. The report had advocated a gradual approach towards the introduction of District Planning. It had also made several recommendations which form the basis of the Seventh Plan's framework on Decentralized Planning especially in implementing Poverty Alleviation Programmes.

4.4 Decentralised Planning For Poverty Alleviation Programmes.

Poverty Alleviation Programmes mainly operate in Districts and Blocks of the country and hence, have assigned an important role to the planning at the level of district and block. Besides, the programmes are meant for rural poor for whom

involvement of rural poor bears greater significance. Thus, these programmes also need planning at village for their successful implementation. "This is an important aspect of decentralised planning and the new approach is envisaged to recognized the locational specificity of needs and the variety of patterns resulting from it" (Kurian: 1978:143)

Planning therefore, must involve the active participation of the masses in the formation and implementation of policies. This is the very essence of the Decentralized Planning. It is at this level that the planning is directly concerned with the people and their problems. The Decentralized Planning institution would better handle the antipoverty programmes because of their intimate knowledge of the local economic, social and cultural milieu, historical legacies and group alignments. The information and communication gap between the planners at macro level and executioners at local level would not exist. The success of Poverty Alleviation Programmes depends on participation of the people whom the programme is meant for. As Mandal (Mandal, 1991:87) writes community development programmes could not attend the expected success because of, among other things, "their inability to evolve area oriented projects to make best possible use of the local human resources".

Thus, Poverty Alleviation Programmes and the Decentralized Planning go together in objective realization. The IRDP guidelines, therefore, have stipulated the formulations of IRDP plans at the Block and District levels.

Some institutions have so designed to cope with the decentralised planning. For example, among the banking institutions, the bad bank for the district conducts “Socio-economic surveys in the districts, gets detail of the development programmes from different government departments, forms on idea of development potential, makes on estimate of credit need and then prepares a credit plan for the district (Prasad: 1988:24).

This has enabled bankers to gain considerable experience and has led to better understanding of the need for the process of planning at the district level (*Ibid: 144-150*).

4.5 Decentralised Planning and some Implications:

Planners with their avowed aim at eradication of rural poverty have been trying with different schemes and programmes accompanied by suitable theoretical approach to planning. As such, we have witnessed the evolution in the process of planning right from the “democratic planning” during First Five Year Plan to “decentralized planning” of recent years. Democratic planning means share of power with lower level at equal term. But, decentralised planning involves the devolution of decision making power from higher level with corresponding devolution of resources. Decentralised planning, as such has at least three implications:

- a) One is devolution of authority from centre to lower bodies in the hierarchy of administration. The devolution applies both to decision making and execution.

b) The second implication is decentralization allocation of funds to different territorial areas composing the country. According to this principle finance is more or less equally distributed over all areas or administrative districts.

c) The Third implication is decentralization of development projects instead of their concentration in and around big cities as few select areas (Mandal: op-cit)

4.6 Planning Process in Arunachal Pradesh

In Arunachal Pradesh decentralised planning has been adopted for implementing anti-poverty programmes. *Zila Parishads* are functioning as District Planning Boards in which DRDAs (at present Project Directors) are ex-officio Secretary of these Planning bodies. Closely linked with the concept of decentralised planning is the delegation of financial power and accordingly by an order in 1989 the State Government has empowered the Deputy Commissioner to accord administrative approval and expenditure sanction to the tune of rupees one Lakh for the “work scheme” and Rs.50000 for “other services” (*Draft Annual Plan: 1994-95:31*) This apart there is no district sector scheme except those taken up under united fund. (*Ibid: 31*)

4.6.1 Organisational Set up

A success of decentralised planning needs a good planning organisation. In Arunachal Pradesh the organisational set up in the process of decentralised planning became discernible since 1989. At State level there is planning and

development Department which looks after sectoral planning and centrally sponsored schemes for rural development. Taking advantage of this Central Scheme, one post of joint Director (Planning), one post of Deputy Director (Planning). Two posts of Research Officers and one post of senior research Assistant have since been created.

For the setting up of District Planning unit, eleven posts of District Planning officers (DPO) along with eleven Research Assistants and eleven LDCs have been created under the centrally sponsored schemes. The State Planning Board is the apex body for plan formulation in the State. The composition of State Planning Board is as under:

Chairman	Chief Minister
Deputy Chairman	As may be appointed from amongst non-officials from time to time. At present one MLA has been appointed as Deputy Chairman
Members	All Ministers, Chief Secretary, Development Commissioner (PWD), Commissioner (RWD), Commissioner (Finance) Commissioner (Power)
Member Secretary	Commissioner (Planning & Man Power)

However the organizational set up of the State Planning Board is not rigid. Since Sept. 1996, an MLA has been appointed as the Chairman of the Board.

The District Planning Body in each of the district has been set up by way of declaring Zila Parishads as District Planning Bodies under the Chairmanship of the respective Deputy Commissioners. The composition of *Zila Parishad* is as under:

Chairman	Deputy Commissioner
Vice Chairman	Vice-President, Zila Parishad
Member	Zila Parishad Member
Ex-officio	DRDO, however ,a proposal for including DPOs as the Members Secretary to the District Planning Bodies are now under consideration of the Government.

At block level though there is not a planning body, the machinery involved in the process of implementation of anti-poverty programme is constituted as under:

B.DO	Chairman
Anchal Vice-president:	Public Representative t the village level the body involved in the process consists of :-
A.S.M.	Chairman

V.L.W.	Government representatives
G.P.M.	Member
All members of Gram sabha:	Generally G.B. and some interest members take part

The DRDA is another major institution concerned with Decentralized Planning. It was established at the beginning of the Sixth Plan and implementation of schemes to be taken up at local levels under the IRDP. But presently this agency forms a part of administrative system for the anti-poverty programmes.

The DRDA in Arunachal Pradesh is headed by the Project Director earlier known as DRDO. Besides, there are APOs for monitoring and evaluation, DW CRA schemes, etc. Supervising Inspector/Sub-inspector, Technical Assistant, who are together said to constitute the planning team of DRDA. All these officers are responsible for planning Project formulation as well as implementation in their respective sectors.

A special feature of these institutions are that it is registered as society whose ultimate control is vested in a governing council headed by district Collector (Deputy Commissioner in Arunachal Pradesh (Prasad: op-cit: 90). The DRDO, presently designated Project Director, is *ex-officio* Secretary of the Council designated as District Planning body in Arunachal Pradesh.

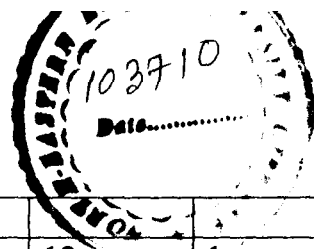
4.7 Other Institutions related to Poverty Alleviation Programmes

Different institutions other than the nodal rural development department and DRDA work in the State for promoting rural development in one way or the other. One of them is the State Institute of Rural Development (SIRD) which was established in June 1993 to promote, among other things, the study of rural development programmes in all aspects of Arunachal Pradesh keeping pace with the social changes and economic needs and aspiration of the people (State Institute of Rural Development Naharlagun).

The SIRD is an autonomous body which aims at training field personals organizing workshops and seminars in connection with rural development programmes. Functionally, it is neither an implementing body nor a planning body. But the training to field personals helps them in understanding the planning process for implementation of poverty alleviation programmes. The nature of decentralised planning depends more on the functioning style of the field personnel than the planning structure itself. Hence, SIRD's role is functionally related to promoting decentralised nature of planning.

Table No: 4.1
Arunachal Pradesh: Training Courses of State Institute of Rural Development (SIRD), 1996-97

Sl. No	Title of the Courses	Level of Participant	No. of Trainees	No. of Courses
1	Orientation training Course on Rural Development programme and role of	Village level workers (VLW) of Papum pare District.	145	5



	Panchayat			
2	Courses of DWCRA in Arunachal Pradesh	Assistant Project Officer	13	-1
3	Training cum workshop on Panchayat and decentralized Planning	Members of Anchal Samitee and Gram Panchayat of West Kameng District	160	4
4	Course on integrated water shed management in the special context of rural development.	Assistant project officer, Extension Officer, Juniors engineers	63	3
5	Course on management of rural development programme	Extension Officer, Assistant Project Officer (RE)	20	1
6	Course on integrated watershed management in the special context of Rural development programmes	Extension officer (agriculture, veterinary, Engineering)	20	1
7	Course on Multi level planning in Arunachal Pradesh	District level Officers of Development Department	20	1
8	Foundation Course for BDOs of Arunachal Pradesh	BDOs and Joint BDOs	40	2
9	Training cum workshop on methods and Techniques of Rural industrialization and implementation programme in A.P	Extension Officers (Industries)	20	1
10	Course on role of voluntary Organization in rural Development Programme	Representatives of Voluntary Organizations of A.P	20	1
11	Course on Planning and implementation of Rural development Programme	Extension Officers(Agriculture/ veterinary / Fisheries)		

Source: SIRD, Naharlagun, Arunachal Pradesh

During the year 1996-97, the SIRD has conducted twenty one training programmes in eleven different courses in different districts of Arunachal Pradesh. A total of 557 participants from Panchayat bodies and field personnel

of government departments were imparted training. The training programmes are shown in Table No: 4.1

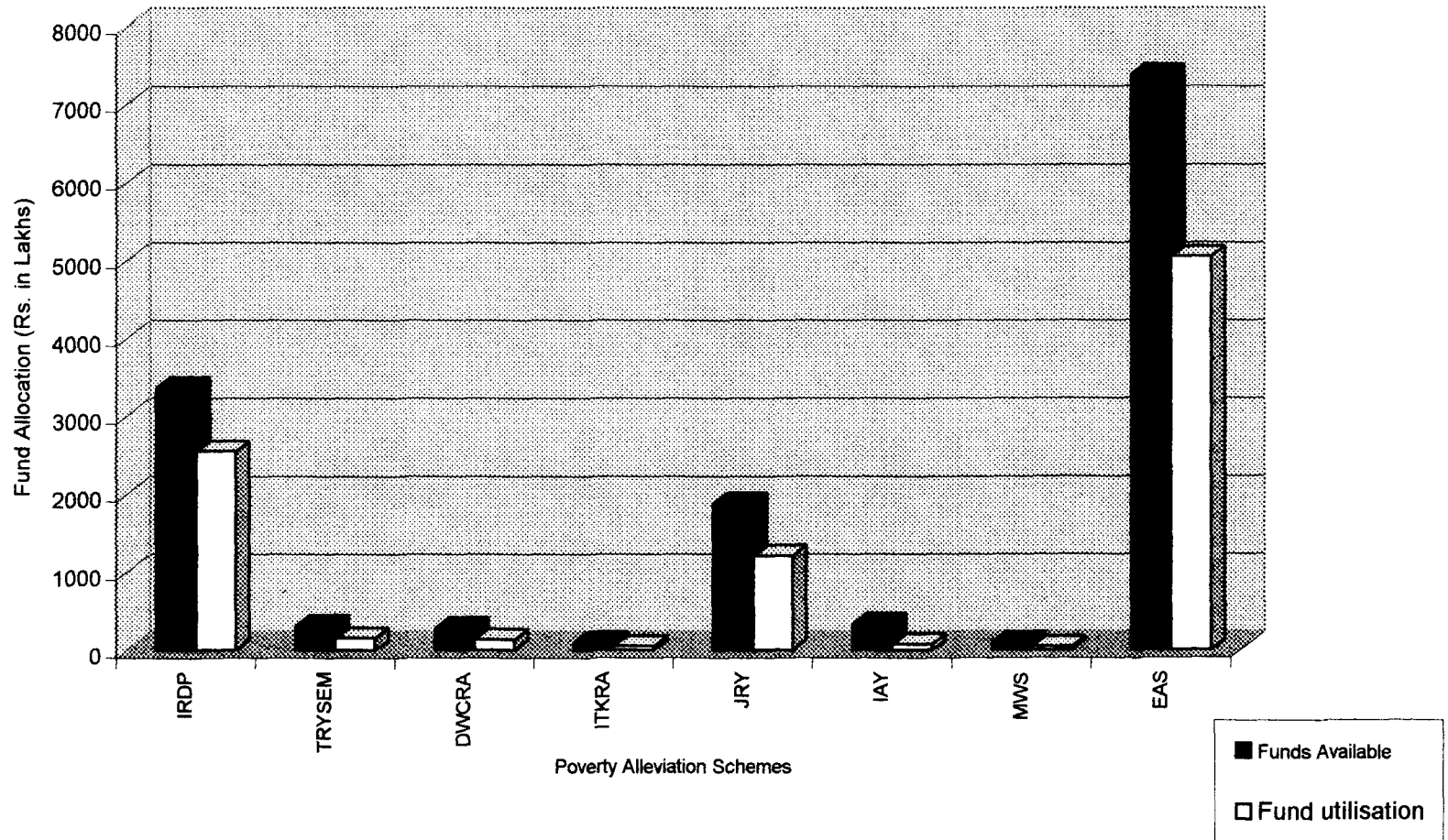
The ICDS in spite of the specificity of its objective has a link with poverty alleviation programmes by encouraging the rural women who are members of ICDS centers and who are below the poverty line to form into DWCRA group if they had not done so. Such a function of the ICDS points to the nature of Decentralized Planning which aims at the involvement of local human resources.

4.8. Poverty Alleviation Programmes and Achievements In Arunachal Pradesh: An Overview:

All the Poverty Alleviation Programmes for rural development are said to provide packages of assistance and services to the target group of rural population so that they can employ themselves in a subsistence vocation and earn enough income to covers the poverty line and improve their overall standard of living. These programmes fall into three categories namely:

- i) Central schemes funded cent percent by the Govt. of India.
- ii) Centrally sponsored schemes funded jointly by centre and the State Government at given ratio;
- iii) State Plan schemes funded cent percent by the State Government for the present purpose centrally sponsored schemes aiming at creating rural infrastructure and generating wage-employment under JRY/EAS/IAY/MWS

Fig No:4.1
Arunachal Pradesh: Financial Achievements Under Poverty Alleviation
Programmes during Eighth Five Year Plan



and providing self employment under IRDP/DWCRA/TRYSEM have been discussed.

An analysis of the above schemes has been undertaken so as to understand the planning process for their implementation.

Table No: 4.2

Arunachal Pradesh: Financial Achievements under Poverty Alleviation Programmes during Eighth Five Year Plan

Programmes	Pattern of Funding Center: State	Funds available with DRDA (in Lakhs)	Funds Utilized (Rs in Lakhs)	Percentage of utilization
IRDP	50:50	3366.556	2553.05	75.83
TRYSEM	50:50	310.1	155.9	50.27
DWCRA	50:50	281.42	137.41	48.82
ITKRA	100:00	105.32	50.188	47.65
JRY	80:20	1882.44	1210.21	58.79
IAY	80:20	336.10	77.97	23.19
MWS	80:20	105.03	41.42	39.43
EAS	80:20	7381.82	5047.74	68.38

Source: Department of Rural Development, Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Itanagar

Table No: 4.3

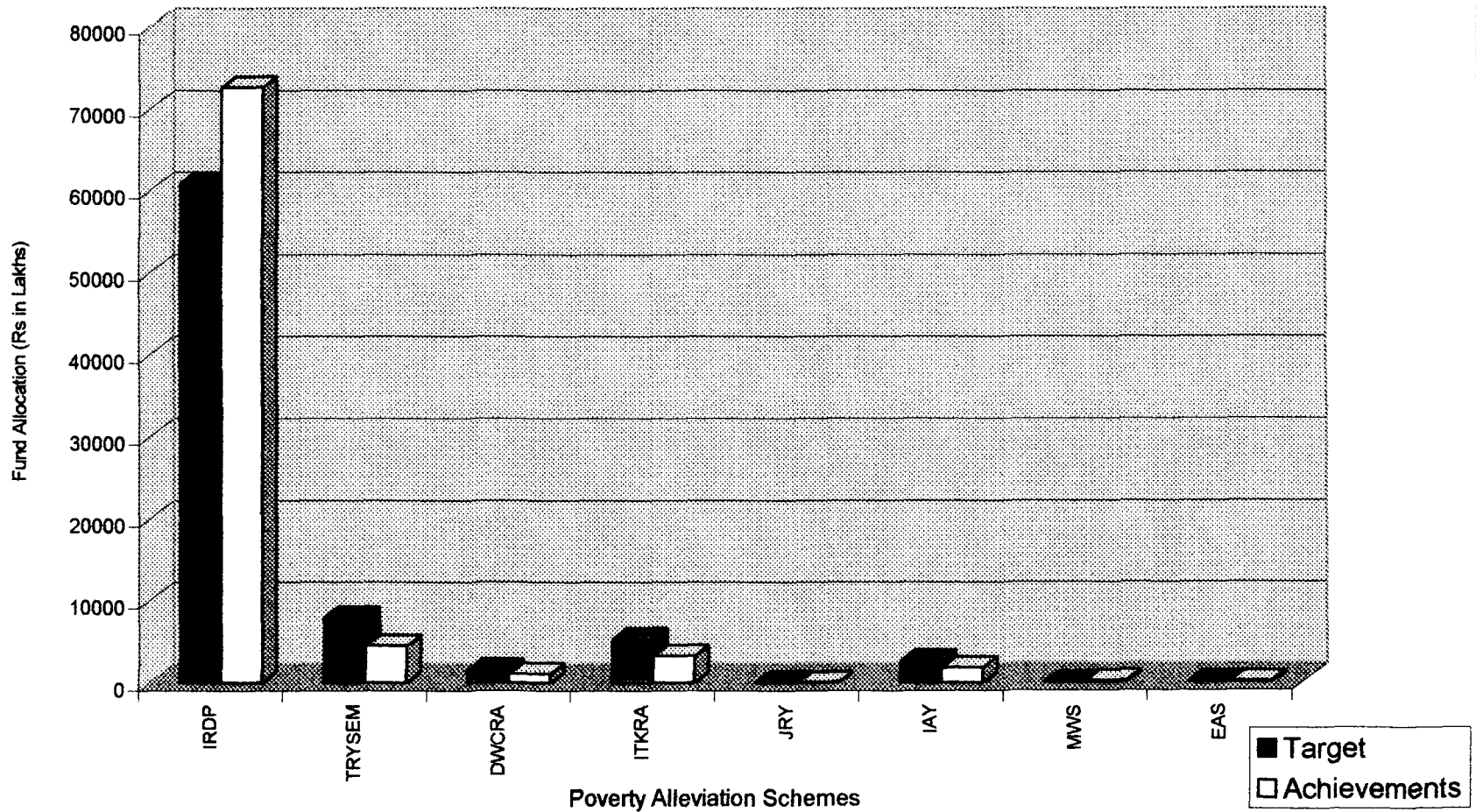
Arunachal Pradesh: Physical Achievements under Poverty Alleviation Programmes during Eighth Five Year Plan

Programmes	Unit of Physical Achievement	Target	Achievement	Percent age
IRDP	No. of beneficiary assisted	60942	72689	119.27
TRYSEM	No. of Persons trained	7934	4517	56.93
DWCRA	No. of women 's groups organized	1569	1078	68.70
ITKRA	No. of Kits supplied	5356	3288	61.38
JRY	Man days generated (in Lakhs)	41.32	27.91	67.54
IAY	No. of Houses constructed	2678	1821	67.99
MWS	No. of wells constructed	NA	201	-
EAS	Man days generated	130	111.59	85.83

Source: Department of Rural Development, Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Itanagar

Fig No:4.2

Arunachal Pradesh : Physical Achievements under Poverty Aleviation Programmes during Eighth Five Year
Pain



4.8.1. Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP)

The IRDP has emerged as one of the most important beneficiary oriented plan for rural development in India. Integrated Rural Development is an approach which through a better utilization of local resources and by creating infrastructural facilities for economic and social development, aims at improving the equality of life of the rural population, especially the rural poor by creating expanded employment and income earning opportunities for them. The main objective of IRDP is to provide assistance to families living below poverty line and to enable them to improve their income and generate employment.

a) Salient Features

- i) A family is generally taken to be the unit for the purpose of giving assistance
- ii) A family with an annual income of Rs.11, 000/- or less with reference to the price level of 1991-92 is considered below the poverty line. The focus on the poorest of the poor and therefore, priority is given to rural poor with annual income below the cut off line of Rs, 8, 500/-
- iii) The family below poverty line covers small farmers, marginal farmers, agricultural labourers rural artisans etc.
- iv) Forty percent of those assisted should be women. However, priority is to be given to physically handicapped persons*

v) Subsidy is fifty percent of the cost of the scheme subject to the maximum of Rs.6000/-. In case, more than one member from a family assisted by giving separate scheme to each members, the total subsidy admissible to the family is Rs.6,000/-

vi) Cash payment is admissible only for working capital. The cost of the scheme includes insurance ** provision for assets supplied under IRDP. Insurance of livestock is a compulsory provision. Though credit is mandatory in the norms for assistance on the IRDP, it is not compulsory up to the estimated cost of Rs.4, 000/- of any project.

vii) Under the IRDP such schemes in which beneficiary is interested and for which necessary physical facilities and infrastructural support as well as marketing are available are considered.

viii) Application for credit are sponsored to the financial institution by B.D.O. usually twice in a year first by the end of the September and the second, by the end of December in every year.

ix) Credit is provided upto an amount of Rs.10000 without any security but the assets under the project are hypothecated to the concerned financial institution. In case of industry, service and business factors, the limit of this loan amount is Rs.25, 000.

b) Achievements

During the Eighth Five Year Plan period as can be seen from Table No: 4.3, The number of beneficiaries recorded being assisted stands at 72689 out of set target of 60942. The percentage of achievement is noted 119.27%. In terms of financial achievement, Rs.2553.05 Lakhs have been utilized out of 3366.556 lakhs available with DRDA for the purpose of recording 75.83 percentage of fund utilization (Table No: 4.2)

4.8.2. Training for Rural Youth for Self-Employment: (TRYSEM)

It started as a national scheme in 1979 and was merged into the integrated Rural Development Programme in 1980. The main objective of the programme is to provide technical and managerial skills to rural youths who need to acquire skills from families below poverty line. The programmes covers the self-employment opportunities in all the three producing sectors and provide assistance for strengthening of existing infrastructure. (*Pandey: 1990:77*)

a) Salient Features

- i) The target group for assistance under TRYSEM comprises rural youth from poor families in the age group of 18-35 years; the upper limit being relax able up to 45 years.
- ii) At least 40 percent of beneficiaries should be women and three percent the physically handicapped persons
- iii) Training is to be done in recognized institution or in government production-cum-training centers, such as ITI, craft centers etc.
- iv) Tool kits are provided to trainees free of cost subject to a maximum of Rs.600

v) Honorarium is paid at the rate of Rs.100 and Rs.75/- per trainee per month to training institution and master craftsmen with a limit of ten trainees respectively. Trainees receive stipend at the rate of Rs.50/- per month during training within the village and Rs.250/- if trained outside with the provision of free accommodation and Rs.300/- without accommodation. Journey expenditure is provided to trainees residing in hill areas. There is also the provision for daily stipend if period of training is less than one month.

vi) For raw materials, training institutions/master craftsmen are provided with a sum of Rs.60/- per trainee every month during the training period subject to a limit of Rs.500/-.

viii) Willing TRYSEM trainees are provided assistance under IRDP on completion of TRYSEM programme.

b) Achievements

With reference to Table No: 4.2 and Table No: 4.3, the achievements in terms of fund utilization and target realization are not satisfactory. Out of Rs.310.1 Lakhs available with DRRDA under this programme, an amount of Rs.155.9 i.e. 50.27 percent has been utilized. Similarly, out of a target of 7434 persons identified for training, 4517 persons have been trained there by recording only 56.93 percent of physical achievement.

4.8.3. Development of Women And Children In Rural Areas (DWCRA)

The programme of DWCRA is a component of IRDP which was introduced during the year 1982 with UNICEF co-operation to strengthen the rural woman of families below poverty line. It aims at raising the income level of women of poor household and to improve their access to basic services of health, sanitation, education, childcare, nutrition etc.

a) Salient Features

- i) The selection of beneficiaries under DWCRA scheme is same as that of under the IRDP programme. The first stage of the programme is the formulation of groups of women from households below poverty line in the rural areas. The groups of women are assisted by the Gram sevika/Extension Officer for working procedure.
- ii) For each group, an amount of Rs.15,000/- called revolving fund, is given by the centre, state and UNICEF in equal share. The allotted fund in the groups are usually meant for the purposes of purchasing raw materials, organization of market, infrastructure support, one time expenditure on child care activities, Rs.50/- per month to group organizer, Rs.500/- to meet traveling allowance of group members for the purpose of project work. In addition to this each women group is admissible to the benefits of loan and subsidy to individual members under IRDP.
- iii) A single group can take up more than one activity at a time depending on the aptitude and skill of the individual members of the group.

iv) An amount of Rs.200 is given for traveling allowances annually to the group organizers.

b) Achievements

Table No: 4.2 shows that during Eighth Five Year Plan, an amount of Rs.137.41 lakhs was utilized out of Rs.281.42 lakhs available with DRDA. During the plan period, 1078 women's group have been organized out of the target set at 1569 (Table No: 4.3) In terms of financial and physical achievements, 48.82 percent and 68.70 percent respectively have been achieved, on noticeable aspect of DWCRA is that group activities have been carried on with the amount given for the revolving fund without loan till 1993-94 (IRDP Programmes of Arunachal Pradesh :1993-94 : 21)

4.8.4 Improved Tool Kits to Rural Artisans(ITKRA)

This scheme is implemented as a part of IRDP to enable the rural artisans to enhance the quality of product and to increase the production and their income and lead a better quality of life with use of tools. It also aims at reducing rural urban migration. The scheme covers both subsidy and bank credits, proto types of modern tools in pottery, carpentry, blacksmith, etc, have been designed. The average cost of a tool-kit is Rs.2000/- and the unit cost is fixed by DRDA concern selected artisans are provided with extension and training programmes for the use of modern tools.

a) Achievements

During the period of reference 47.65 percent of the fund available with DRDA, have been utilized (Table No: 4.2) by supplying 3288 number of kits which constitute 61.38 percent of the target set (Table No:4.3)

4.8.5. Jawahar Rozgar Yozana (JRY)

Jawahar Rozgar Yozana aims at two objectives, i.e., generating additional gainful employment for the unemployed man and women in rural areas and creating infrastructure for economic development and creating community assets for overall improvement in the quality of life in the rural areas.

a)Salient Features

- i) People below the poverty line are the target group. They are engaged in employment opportunities on the payment of daily wages. Thirty percent of employment opportunities are available for women.
- ii) The central allocation is made on the basis of the ratio of rural poor in a State/union territory to the rural poor in the country.
- iii) In Arunachal Pradesh the allocation of fund to district is based on population criterion. *
- iv) Fund allocation to Anchal Samitees is made by the DRDA on the basis of number of Gram Panchayat under each Anchal samitees and population under it.
- v) For each Gram pinhead, allocation of fund equals to the product of the number of members in that Gram Pinhead and 'F' a quotient; where $F = \frac{A}{B}$; and $A =$ Funds available with DRDA for district Anchal Samitees.

vi) Contractors or middlemen are not engaged in the execution of Jawahar Rozgar Yojana works.

vii) At least sixty percent of estimated cost of a project has to be spent on wage component which consists of no provision of food grain in Arunachal Pradesh

b) Achievements

In terms of financial achievement, 59.95 percent of the funds available with DRDAs were spent during the period of reference as can be seen in Table No: 4.2. In terms of physical achievement (Table No: 4.3), 27.91 lakhs mandays were generated during the same period which is noted 67.54 percent of the set target.

4.8.6. Indira Awas Yozana (IAY)

The Indira Awas Yozana is a sub-scheme of JRY which aims to providing low cost houses free of cost for the poorest of poor including scheduled tribes.

a) Salient Features

i) Ten percent of the resources at the national level under JRY are earmarked for this programme

ii) Rs.14, 500 is the cost ceiling of the house. Any additional requirement may be made by the beneficiaries from their own source. Houses are to be built in clusters as to facilitate provisions of common facilities. In case of individual families getting the benefit the houses are constructed without cluster approach.

iii) The allotment of house is in the name of the female beneficiaries of household.

It may also be in the joint name of husband and wife. Widows generally get higher priority.

v) The beneficiaries are to make their own arrangement for construction to suit their requirements.

v) Wage component, role of contractor/middle-men and employment provision are similar to the provision under JRY.

b) Achievements

The achievement made under Indira Awas Yozana is not satisfactory as can be seen from Table No: 3.2 and Table No:3.3. Only 23.19 percent of fund available with DRDAs under these schemes is utilised to construct 1821 numbers of houses which is 67.99 percent of the set target.

4.8.7. Million Well Schemes (MWS)

The Million Well scheme is a part of JRY. It aims at providing open irrigation wells free of cost to small and marginal farmers belonging to families below poverty line including scheduled tribe where wells are not possible. The fund earmarked for MWS is utilised for irrigations, tank, water harvesting structure, land development, irrigation channel etc. Twenty percent of the total JRY allocation is earmarked for MWS. This fund cannot be diverted to general scheme. The beneficiaries already assisted under IRDP/ASMF for minor irrigation/land development are not eligible to get assistance under this scheme

a) Achievements

The achievement is shown in Table No 4.2 and Table 4.3. is not satisfactory under this scheme. Only 39.43 percent of available fund is utilised with no record of Target set, however in Eighth Five Year Plan, 201 Nos. of wells were constructed.

4.8.8. Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS)

The aim of this scheme is to generate employment opportunities to the rural poor. Its secondary objective is the creation of economic infrastructure and community assets for sustained employment and development.

a)Salient Features

- i) All able bodied adults in rural areas over 18 years and below 60 years of age get this benefit.
- ii) A maximum of two adults per family are provided the assurance of 100 days employment.
- iii) Works should be labour intensive only which result in the creation of valuable productive asset.

b)Achievements

In terms of financial and physical achievements 68.38 and 85.83 percent of fund utilization and of target man days generated respectively have been recorded in Arunachal Pradesh during Eighth Five year plan period as can be seen with reference to Table No : 4.2 and Table No:4.3.

4.9 Implementation Process of Poverty Alleviation Programmes:

The process of implementation of anti-poverty programmes suggest decentralised nature of planning involving the participation of members of *Gram Sabha* at village level. At the district level there is the provision of quarterly meeting but in most of the cases *Zila Parishad* meetings are held less than four times. As has been discussed, the D.C. is the Chairman of the meeting and the Project Director is the member Secretary. Heads of the Departments concerned with providing opportunities for socio-economic development attend the meeting as members to examine the technical aspect of the scheme approved by the Zila Parishad, MLAS, ZPMS, Anchal Samity Vice-Presidents and the District President are also asked to attend the meeting, performance of earlier schemes are dropped if their performances are found to be unsatisfactory. People's representatives make suggestion; but the decision of government machinery prevails. Member of schemes are approved on the basis of funds available with the DRDAS.

Considering the population and possibility of implementation of programme in relation to physical constraints, schemes are intimated to B.D.Os.. The BDOs intimate the ASM about the scheme. The ASM call the meeting at village level. Though all the members of *Gram Sabha* are required to attend the meeting in practice, Gram Panchayat Members and few influential village elites attend it. The VLW attend the meeting as the government delegate. The names of beneficiaries are finalized and are sent to the BDO. The BDO in turn consolidates the list for the block in meeting in which Extension Officers, ASMs, etc. are

the list for the block in meeting in which Extension Officers, ASMs, etc. are members. The list of beneficiaries form at the Block is submitted to DRDA. During Block level Plan, the DRDA prepares the district level annual plan equivalent to the value of 125 percent of allocation of fund for the district and priority of schemes prepared by *Anchal Samitees*. Then this plan is placed before the governing body of DRDA for the scrutiny and approval. The BDO sponsors the credit application of the beneficiaries to the concerned branch.

The beneficiaries are selected from a list of families below poverty line which was prepared at the beginning of Eighth Five Year Plan.

4.10 Concluding Statement:

The analysis of planning process and achievement of tribal development programmes in Arunachal Pradesh during the Eight Five Year Plan period leads to the following broad conclusion:

- a) The Indian planning exercise has passed through an evolutionary process involving various stages on its quest for realizing the goal of achieving rural development with the central focus on eradication of poverty. In Arunachal Pradesh Poverty Alleviation Programmes have been launched for the development of the tribals and tribal villages. The review of Indian planning process relating to the Tribal Development in particular shows various stages. At the initial stage the Community Development Programmes with Panchayati-Raj system with participation of people at

- ii) Planning in India began at the national level with a highly centralized approach for the economic development. During the Second and Third Five Year Plan emphasized on the importance of village level plan through people's participation. It also emphasized on the methodology for preparing state plan for Rural Development on the basis of district and block plans. During the reference period the planning was more or less a theoretical comprehension without significant practical base. The policies were taken up only at higher level and paid little attention at the local level.
- iii) In 1969, the planning commission worked out guidelines for District Planning .The planning at District and Block level had a real beginning during the year 1977. The Sixth Plan continued the emphasis on decentralization and formulated a central programme for strengthening at the district level. The recommendations and reports from various committees during the course of time have led to gradual approach towards the introduction of District Planning during the Seventh Five Year Plan.
- iv) Poverty Alleviation Programmes mainly operate in Districts and Blocks of the country. The very essence of decentralised planning is active participation of the masses in the formation and implantation of policies. The decentralised planning institution would handle the antipoverty programmes because of their intimate knowledge of the local economic, social and cultural milieu, historical legacies and group alignments. Poverty

alleviation programmes and the decentralised planning go together in objective realization

- v) In Arunachal Pradesh decentralized planning has been adopted for implementing antipoverty programmes. Zila Parishads are functioning as district planning board in which DRDA are ex-officio secretary of these planning bodies. In Arunachal Pradesh the organizational setup in the process of decentralised planning became discernible since 1989. At state level there is planning and development department which look after sectoral planning and centrally sponsored schemes for Rural Development.
- vi) In Arunachal Pradesh, the district planning body in each of the district has been set up by way of declaring Zila Parishad as district planning bodies under the chairmanship of the deputy commissioner. At the block level though there is not a planning body, the machinery involved in the process of implementation of antipoverty programmes constitutes Block development Officer, Anchal vice president, Anchal Samitees members, Village level workers, gram Panchayat member and all members of gram Sabha
- vii) Other institution related to Poverty Alleviation Programmes under Rural Development Department in the state is SIRD (State Institute of Rural Development). The SIRD is an autonomous body which aims at training field personals and organizing workshop and seminars in connection with rural development programmes. Functionally it is neither an implementing

body nor a planning body. But the training to field personals helps them in understanding the planning process for implementation of Poverty Alleviation Programmes. SIRD's role is functionally related to promoting decentralised nature of planning. During the year 1996-97 the SIRD has imparted training on the role of Panchayat, management of Rural Development Programmes, training courses on multi level planning etc.. The ICDS under Social Welfare Department in the state has also link with Poverty Alleviation Programmes by encouraging the rural women to form DWCRA groups in the villages.

- viii) In Arunachal Pradesh, Poverty Alleviation Programmes are funded both from the Centre and State. The pattern of funding falls into three categories; they are .cent percent Centrally funded schemes, Center and State government funded at given ratio, and cent percent state fund. IRDP, TRYSEM, DWCRA, are shared equally by state and center at the ratio of 50:50. ITKRA is fully funded by center. Schemes like JRY, IAY, MWS, and EAS are shared by both center and state at the ratio of 50:50.
- ix) During the Eighth Five Year Plan schemes under IRDP,EAS and JRY got more importance among all the programmes under Poverty Alleviation Programmes in terms of financial achievement. Other programmes TRYSEM DWCRA ITKRA got lesser importance among all the schemes. IRDP shares the highest fund utilization sharing 2553.05 Lakhs Rupees. MWS shares the lowest share of fund utilization with only 41.42Lakhs Rs

out of the total fund utilization during the Eighth Five Year Plan. In terms of physical achievement also, IRDP shares the highest with 72689 beneficiaries were assisted during the reference period. The IRDP has emerged as one of the most important beneficiary oriented plan for the rural development in India. The main aim of IRDP is to provide assistance to families living below poverty Line and to enable them to improve their income and generate employment. The percentage of achievement is noted 119 percent.

- x) TRYSEM covers the self employment opportunities in all the three producing sectors and provide assistance for strengthening of existing infrastructure. It provides training and managerial skill to rural youths. The achievement in terms of fund utilization and target realization are not satisfactory during the eighth five year plan period.
- xi) DWCRA is a component of IRDP which was introduced during the year 1982 with UNICEF cooperation to strengthen the rural women. In terms of financial and physical achievements 48.82 percent and 68.70 percent respectively have been achieved.
- xii) Under ITKRA 47.65 fund available with DRDA have been utilized by supplying 3288 number of kits which constitute 61.38 percent of the target set.

- xiii) Under JRY, 27.91 Lakhs man days were generated during the same period which is noted 67.54 percent of the set target. JRY aims at two objectives; generating employment and creating infrastructure in the rural areas.
- xiv) IAY is a sub scheme of JRY which provides assistance cost of housing in the rural area. The achievement made under Indira Awas Yozana is not satisfactory as can be seen. Only 23.19 percent of fund available with DRDA's under these schemes is utilized to construct 1821 number of houses which is 676.99 percent of the set target.
- xv) MWS is also a part of JRY. It aims at providing open irrigation wells free of cost to small and marginal farmers belonging to families below poverty line. The achievement in this scheme is also not satisfactory. Only 39.43 percent of available fund is utilised with no record of target set, however in Eighth Five Year Plan 201 Nos of wells were constructed..
- xvi) EAS is also an employment generating scheme by creating economic infrastructure and community assets. In terms of financial and physical achievement 63.38 and 85.83 percent of fund utilization and of target man days generated respectively have been recorded in Arunachal Pradesh during the Eighth Five Year Plan period.
- xvii) The beneficiaries of the above schemes are selected from a list of families below poverty line which was prepared at the beginning of Eighth Five Year Plan.

CHAPTER-V

INTER TRIBAL DIFFERENCES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS

5.1 Introductory Statement

Inter-tribe difference is apparently indicative of differences at tribe level but the sample villages selected for the study are single tribe villages. Naturally differences in the three groups of villages are taken to be the measure of differences between three groups of tribes namely Khampti, Adi and Shyam. With this logic, this chapter discusses inter-tribe differences in terms of fund utilization and number of schemes implemented under Poverty Alleviation Programmes in these three groups of villages. The fund utilization is considered in terms of absolute and relative terms and under different schemes.

5.2 Inter Tribal differences in the Implementation Poverty Alleviation Programmes during Eighth Five Year Plan

An inter-tribe comparison of BPL households presents confusing picture in that in Arunachal Pradesh only Arunachalee tribes enjoy membership rights to a village both in customary and present sense. A Right to landed property goes to only Arunachalee tribes. Non-Arunachalees in Arunachal villages are migrants and are deprived of the land and other rights which an Arunachalee enjoys as a member of the village. That there exists inconsistency in the enumeration of Families Below Poverty line is clearly evident in the study itself.

Table No: 5.1
Lohit District: Percentage of ST Households to Total Households in Sample Tribe Villages

Villages	No. of HHs*	No. of ST	% of ST HHs to total HHs
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		HH	
Khampti	696	154	22.10
Adi	136	116	85.30
Shyam	180	108	60.00

Source: Field data, 1999

**Households*

Though households below poverty line are less than the total households in the villages, except in the Adi villages where all households are enumerated in BPL category, the percentage of ST households below poverty line is estimated more than 100 percent. Obviously, non-Arunachalee households are also included in the category of households Below Poverty Line. It is found that the percentage of ST households to total households is higher in Adi villages followed by Shyam village and Khampti villages. Moreover, a comparatively high percentage of households below poverty line are directly related to the percentage of ST households to total households.

Table No: 5.2

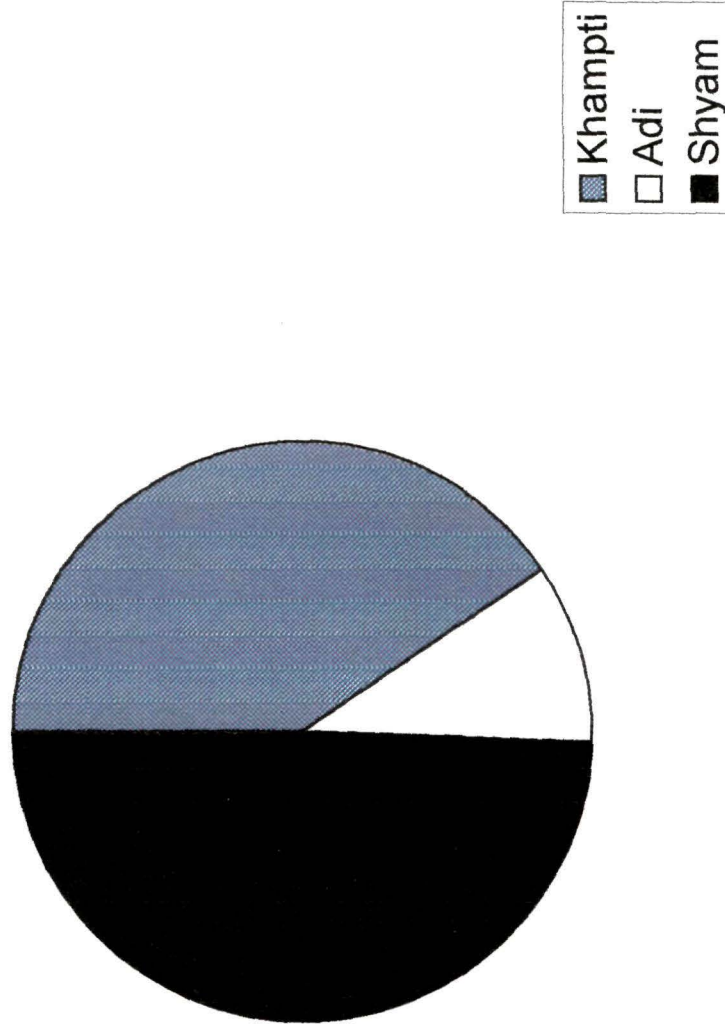
Lohit District: Percentage of Households Below Poverty Line in Sample Tribe Villages

Villages	No. of HH	No. of HHs in BPL	% of BPL HH
Khampti	696	220	31.70
Adi	136	136	100.00
Shyam	180	111	61.70
Total	1012	467	46.14

Source: Field data, 1999

It transpires from Table No: 5.1 that in Adi villages, 85.3 percent of the households belong to ST category followed by Shyam villages at 60 percent and

Fig No:5.1
Sample Tribes:Fund Utilisation under various PAP schemes in three tribes during
the Eight Five Year Pain



Khampti villages at 22.1 percent. Corresponding to it, the percentage of BPL households is recorded highest (100 percent) among the Adi villages followed by 61.7 percent among the Shyam and 31.7 percent among Khamptis. This is evident in Table No: 5.2

All the villages display a common trend in terms of BPL families in that the non Arunachalee households were enumerated under the category of BPL households.

Table No: 5.3
Lohit District: Fund Utilization in various schemes Under PAPs in sample tribe villages During Eighth Five Year Plan

Programmes / Schemes	Tribes and Fund utilized			Total fund under PAP Scheme
	Khampti	Adi	Shyam	
IRDP*	152721+287546 = 440267	34326+146726 =181052	16823+100484 =117307	203870+534757 = 738627
JRY	216649	36151	32600	285400
DWCRA	48800	46513	48800	144113
EAS	779854	24992	1177688	1982534
IAY	91400	-	22000	113400
TRYSEM	-	-	-	-
MWS	230075	-	-	230075
TOTAL	1807045	288708	1398395	3260273

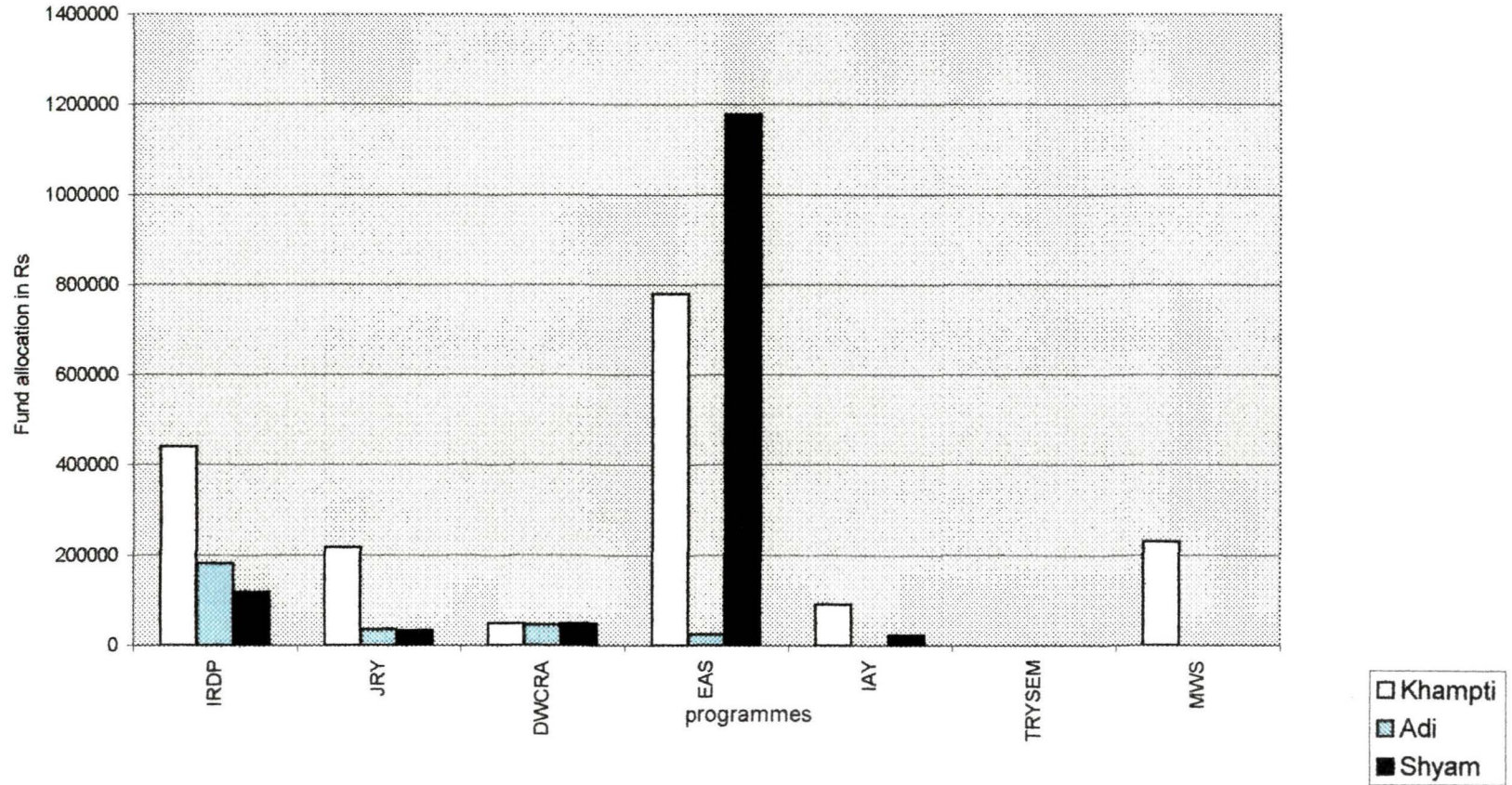
Source: Field data, 1999

The 1st figure shows loan, 2nd shows subsidy and 3rd shows total of both.

Table No: 5.3 shows scheme wise fund utilization by different tribes under Poverty Alleviation Programmes during the Eighth Five Year Plan. This indicates also the utilization difference in fund utilization in tribal villages. During this period total fund utilized under different schemes stands at Rs 3260273 as can be seen from the table of reference. Out of this the Khampti villages share Rs 1807045, Adi villages Rs 288708 and the Shyam villages 1398395. A simple

Fig.No: 5.2

Sample Tribes: Fund Utilisation under various PAP schemes in three tribes during Eighth Five Year Plan
Year Plan



calculation will show that the average expenditure in a village comes around Rs 271689, but in terms of a Khampti villages it is calculated Rs 393292, Shyam Villages Rs 349599 and in terms of Adi village, it is Rs 72177.(Table No:5.9)

Table No.5.4
Lohit District: Share Of Total Outlay Under Different PAP
Schemes in sample tribe villages During Eighth Five Year Plan

Programmes / Schemes	Tribes and Fund utilized			Total (%)
	Khampti	Adi	Shyam	
IRDP	59.6	24.5	15.9	100
JRY	75.91	12.67	11.42	100
DWCRA	33.86	33.28	33.86	100
EAS	39.34	1.26	59.40	100
IAY	80.60	---	19.40	100
TRYSEM	---	---	---	---
MWS	100	---	---	---
TOTAL	51.72	8.26	40.02	100

Source: Field data, 1999

Table No: 5.4 depict the tribe-wise and scheme-wise fund utilization under various programmes during the Eighth Five Year Plan. The package of Poverty Alleviation Programmes manifests marked differences between the tribes in terms of money allocation also. Not only there are differences in total money allocation and utilization but also there exist such differences at village and family levels.

In terms of percentage share, the inter tribe difference is shown in Table No: 5.4. Of the total fund utilized under Poverty Alleviation Programmes during the period of Eighth Five Year Plan, the percentage share of Khamptis is highest at 51.72 percent followed by Shyams at 40.02 percent and Adis only at 8.86 percent. It is evident that in terms of average expenditure in villages, the Adi village is far below the total average. Clearly the spatial variation in fund utilization could be

taken as a rough measure of spatial variation in the implementation of development programmes.

A comparative study of Table No: 5.2 and Table No: 5.3 and simple calculation will also reinforce the idea inequality at family levels in villages of different tribes. For example in terms of average expenditure for BPL families, a Khampti family shares an average of Rs.3368, a Shyam family shares Rs.2,994/- and an Adi family shares only Rs.680 (Table No:5.10) Some of the schemes like IAY (Indira Awas Yozana) did not exist in Adi villages and MWS did not also exist in both Adi and Shyam villages (Table No: 5.4). Not only there are differences at the level of total utilization but also there are differences at the level of individual schemes. It can be seen in the Table of reference that under IRDP, Khamptis' share 59.6 percent followed by Adis at 24.5 percent and Shyam's at 15.9 percent. The same trend follows under JRY scheme in which the Khampti shares 75.91 percent, the Adi at 12.67 percent and the Shyam at 11.24 percent. Under DWCRA programme there exist equality at around 33 percent fund utilization for all the three tribes. Under IAY also the Khampti share 80.6 percent followed by the Shyam at 19.40 percent. But exceptionally under EAS (Employment Assurance Scheme) the Shyams share 59.40 percent followed by Khamptis at 39.34 percent and Adi at 1.26 percent.

The differences in fund allocation and utilization are concomitant with the variation of number of schemes between the tribes. It is recorded that Khampti villages share around 50 percent of the total schemes provided under Poverty

Alleviation Programmes during the Eighth Five Year Plan. The share of the Adi and the Shyam villages is recorded at 28.36 percent and 21.09 percent respectively. Not only in terms of total share of schemes but in terms of share of individual schemes, the share in Khampti villages is recorded highest in all the schemes except EAS in which Shyam villages have a 50 percent share.

Table No: 5.5
Lohit District: Percentage of Fund Utilization under Loan And Subsidy under IRDP in Sample Tribe Villages

Name of Tribe	Percentage of loan	Percentage of Subsidy	Total
Khampti	34.7	65.3	100
Adi	19.0	81.0	100
Shyam	14.3	85.7	100
Total	27.6	72.4	100

Source: Field data, 1999

The fund utilized under different schemes has two components namely; loan and subsidy. As per the guidelines of the scheme, 50 percent of the cost of the scheme will be subsidized by the government while the remaining 50 percent will be a loan from commercial bank. But in terms of access to loan there is a spatial variation. The Khampti villages have comparatively more access to loan (34.7 percent) than followed by Adi villages at 19 percent and Shyam villages at 14.43 percent. This difference is presented in Table No: 5.5. What is clear that depending more on subsidy and less on loan would make a scheme economically crippled as the scheme is not operated with in the full cost of its planning.

Table No: 5.6
Lohit District: Scheme-wise Share of Total Outlay Allotted To Each Sample Tribe Villages during Eighth Five Year Plan

Programmes / Schemes	Tribes and Fund utilized			Total (in %)
	Khampti	Adi	Shyam	
IRDP	24.36	62.71	8.38	21.14
JRY	11.99	12.52	2.33	8.16
DWCRA	3.10	16.11	3.49	4.12
EAS	43.16	8.66	84.22	56.74
IAY	5.06	---	1.57	3.24
TRYSEM	---	---	---	---
MWS	12.73	---	---	6.59
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Source: Field data,1999

Table No: 5.7

Lohit District: Distribution of Total Fund Allotted under Each Scheme under PAP in sample tribe villages During Eighth Five Year Plan

Programmes / Schemes	Tribes and Fund utilized			Total (in %)
	Khampti	Adi	Shyam	
IRDP	50.00	29.92	20.08	100
JRY	55.56	22.22	22.22	100
DWCRA	33.33	33.33	33.33	100
EAS	37.50	12.50	50.00	100
IAY	83.33	---	16.67	100
TRYSEM	---	---	---	---
MWS	1.00	---	---	100
TOTAL	50.55	28.36	21.09	100

Source: Field data,1999

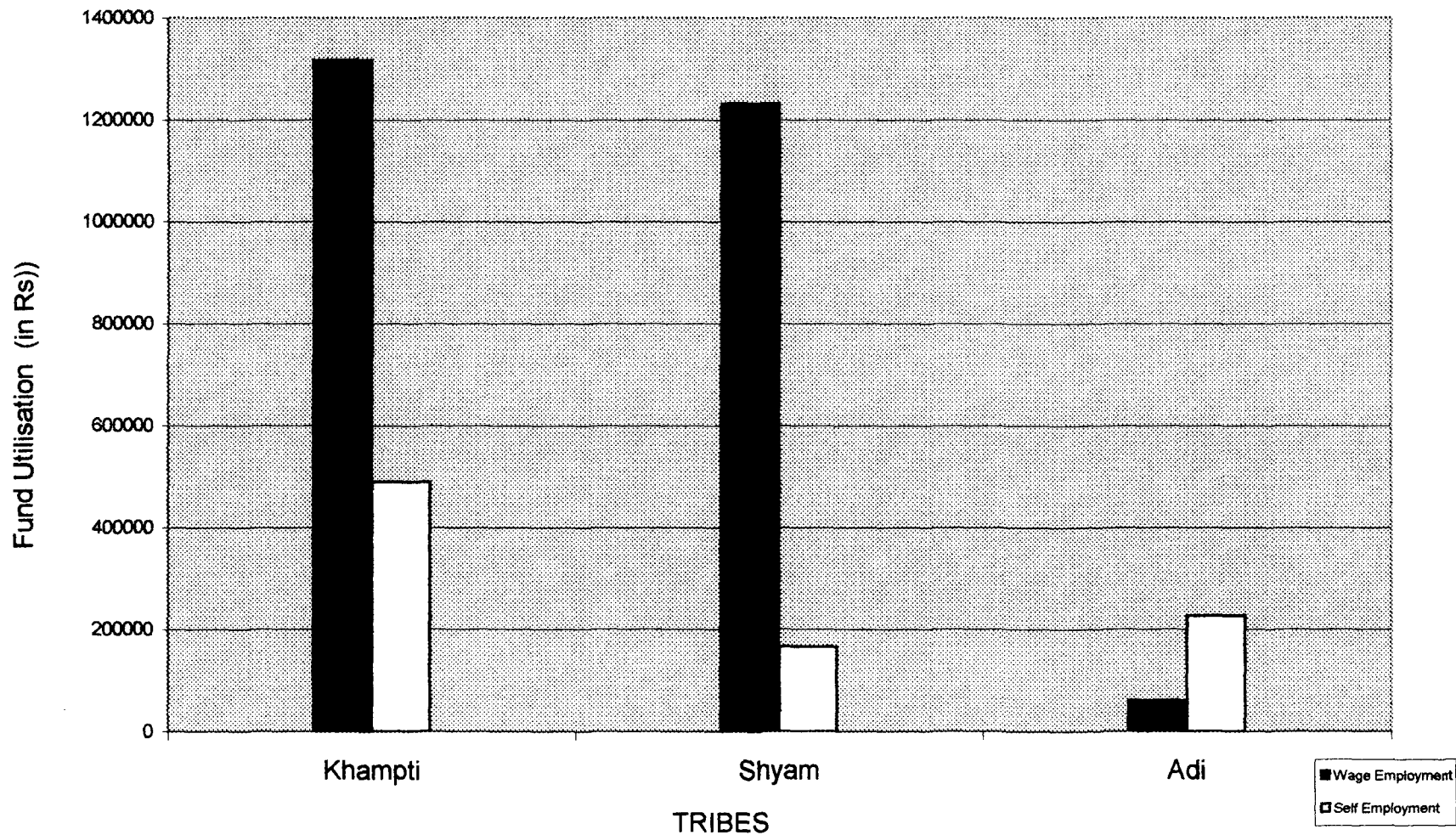
Table No: 5.8

Lohit District: Distribution of the Number Of PAP Schemes in Sample Tribe Villages During Eighth Five Year Plan

	Tribes and Fund utilized *	Total (in %)
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Fig. No: 5.3

SAMPLE TRIBES: DISTRIBUTION OF PAP SCHEMES FUND UNDER WAGE EMPLOYMENT & SELF EMPLOYMENT SCHEMES DURING EIGHTH FIVE YEAR PALN



Khampti	110066.75	54162.25	12200.00	159213.50	22850	---	34799.5 0	393292.00
Adi	45263	9037.75	11628.25	6248	---	---	---	72177.00
Shyam	29327.25	8150	12200	294422	5500	---	---	349599.25
Total average	61552.30	23783.30	12009.40	153294.5 0	9450. 0	---	11599.8 0	271689.4 1

Source: Field data, 1999

Table No: 5:10
Lohit District: Sample Tribe Villages and Average Expenditure for BPL
Families under PAP Schemes

Villages	IRDP	JRY	DWCR A	EAS	IAY	TRY -SEM	MWS	Total
Khampti	2001.20	984.70	221.80	2894.70	415.00	---	632.7 0	3368.00
Adi	1331.26	265.80	342.00	183.76	---	---	---	618.21
Shyam	1056.80	293.60	439.60	10609.80	198.10	---	---	2994.42
Total average	1581.00	611.13	308.50	3939.04	242.80	---	298.0 6	

Source: Field data, 1999

The average expenditure under IRDP is highest in Khampti village at 2001.20 followed by shyam village at Rs 1056.81 and Adi village at Rs 1331.26. The same trend holds in JRY also. But in case of DWCR A, that a family Below Poverty Line in Shyam village shares Rs. 439.60 followed by an Adi family at Rs. 342 and a Khampti village at Rs. 221.80. But the Shyam villages share the highest fund in EAS (Rs 10609.80) followed by Khampti villages at Rs 2894.70 by a Khampti family at only Rs. 183.76 by an Adi family (See Table No: 5.10). Obviously the intensity of work in Adi villages is comparatively less than the Shyam and the Khampti villages respectively.

Appendix No: 5.1**Name of the Village Scheme and Financial Cost Under PAP
During Eighth Five Year Plan**

villages	schemes	Nature of work undertaken under different	Total cost	year
Nongtaw Khampti	EAS	1) Rural Link Road	Rs 154858	95-96
		2) Minor Irrigation Project at Paddy field	Rs 4000	96-97
Wingko	-do-	3) SPT Primary School Building	Rs 620996	95-96
Joipur	-do-	4) Rural Link Road	Rs 24992	96-97
Jona-IV	-do-	5) Earth Embankment at paddy field	Rs 318999	95-96
		6) Rural Link Road at Jona-IV	Rs 296257	95-96
		7) C/O of L/P work (Phase I)	Rs 281216	96-97
		8) C/O L/P work	Rs 281216	96-97
		9) Rural link road and embankment	Rs 97413	96-97
Lathaw	JRY	10) Rural Link Road	Rs. 70308	92-93
		11) Metaling work of RLR	Rs. 99500	95-96
Nongtaw Khampti	-do-	12) Rural Link Road	Rs. 10700	92-93
Manmow	-do-	13) RLR Of Manmow-Sengsap village	Rs. 18718	92-93
Wingko	-do-	14) Football ground	Rs. 17423	92-93
Kaisu	-do-	15) MIBT Anganwadi Building	Rs. 27600	92-93
Nanam Shyam	-do-	16) Rural Link Road	Rs. 5000	92-93
Joipur	-do-	17) RLR at Joipur -Jengthu	Rs. 27600	92-93
Ningroo Adi	-do-	18) Play ground	Rs 5200	95-96
Wingko	MWS	19) Dewatering channel at paddy field	Rs 100975	92-93
Manmow	-do-	20) Installation of 10 No. of tube wells	Rs. 129100	96-97
Manmow	IAY	21) Rural of LT Rural Houses	Rs. 15800	95-96
Lathaw	-do-	22) Construction of Rural House	Rs. 15800	95-96
		23) Construction of rural	Rs. 15800	95-96

		houses		
Wingko	-do-	24)Construction of Rural House	Rs. 22000	96-97
		25)Construction of rural houses	Rs. 22000	96-97
Jona-IV	-do-	26)Construction of rural houses	Rs. 22000	96-97
Nongtaw Khampti	DWCRA	27)Weaving group	Rs. 24400	96-97
Lathaw	-do-	28)Weaving group	Rs. 24400	96-97
Joipur	-do-	29)Goatery farming group	Rs. 24400	96-97
Namleng	-do-	30)Goatery farming group	Rs. 22113	96-97
Kaisu	-do-	31)Weaving group	Rs 24400	96-97

Source: Register of village wise beneficiaries under Namsai CD Block, Office of the BDO, Namsai CD Block

APPENDIX NO: 5.2

NUMBER OF SCHEMES, BANK LOAN AND SUBSIDY UNDER IRDP* IN THE SAMPLE VILLAGES DURING THE EIGHTH FIVE YEAR PLAN

Name of the villages	No of schemes	Subsidy	Loan	Total financial cost
Lathaw	45	Rs 108816	Rs 67314	Rs 176130
Manmow	29	Rs 69050	Rs 34244	Rs 103294
Nongtaw Khampti	28	Rs 61830	Rs 25636	Rs 87466
Wingko	20	Rs 47849	Rs 25527	Rs 73376
Mabira	24	Rs 46538	Rs 9087	Rs.55625
Namleng	14	Rs 25840	Rs 7687	Rs.33529
Ningroo Adi	20	Rs 42437	Rs 13249	Rs. 55686
Joipur	15	Rs 31909	Rs 9951	Rs. 41860
Jona-IV	14	Rs 28900	Rs 8761	Rs. 37661
Kaisu	15	Rs 28052	Nil	Rs 28052
Nanam Shyam	9	Rs 21859	Rs 4447	Rs 26306
Nongtaw Shyam	11	Rs 21673	Rs 3615	Rs 25288

Source: Register of village wise beneficiaries under Namsai CD Block, Office of the BDO, Namsai CD Block

*IRDP Schemes includes Ginger Cultivation, Plough Bullock, Litchi cum Pineapple Garden, piggery farming, ginger cum vegetable garden, Dairy farming, Bamboo cum ginger cultivation, potato cultivation, Rice huller, Hand cart, Goatery farming, Litchi cum ginger cultivation, fishpond, Toko cum ginger cultivation.

Concluding Remarks

The comparative analysis of the implementation and fund utilization under poverty Alleviation Programmes in three groups of tribal villages leads to the following broad conclusions in respect of inter-tribe differences:

1. It seems that enumerator of households below poverty were not clear who in the villages of Arunachal Pradesh would be identified as beneficiary under PAPs. As a result, non Arunachalee households were included under the households of BPL category mostly in sample Khampti villages.
2. Poverty level in the village is positively related to the percentage of STY households to total households in sample villages, given that Arunachalee households are only eligible to benefits under PAPs.
3. The share of different group of villages namely, Khampti, Adi and Shyam villages in total outlay under PAPs varies. The Khampti villages share 51.72 % of the total outlay under PAPs during the Eighth Plan period followed by 40.02 percent in Shyam villages and 8.26 percent in Adi villages. Under IRDP and JRY, Khampti villages have greater share followed by Adi villages: The Shyam group of villages has the largest share, 59.60% under the under EAS followed by the Khampti and the Adi group of villages. This apart, schemes under MWS and IAY have not been implemented in all th villages. In terms of average expenditure for BPL families, a khampti family shares an average of Rs 3368 , a Shyam family shares rs2994 and an

Adi Family shares only Rs 680. The inter-tribe differences in terms of fund allocation are quite apparent.

4. The schemes especially under IRDP have not been implemented by beneficiary households at full cost price. This is evident from the fact that loan component is less than subsidy component which actually forms 50:50 in the total cost of the scheme.

To sum up the inter-tribe differences in the process of implementation of PAPs have many facets: the differences exist in the fund allocation and utilization and number of schemes implemented in three groups of villages.

CHAPTER-VI

INTRA TRIBAL DIFFERENCES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS

6.1 Introductory statement

The villages selected are single tribe villages. The differences between the villages of a particular tribe in terms of fund utilization and numbers and types of project executed have been considered as indicative of intra-tribe differences. Moreover, the number of beneficiaries assisted under IRDP has also been taken as a measure of intra tribe differences. The fact that all the BPL families in a village are not assisted under IRDP schemes indicates intra tribe differences in the coverage of BPL families by itself. The variation in the unit cost under IRDP schemes between the villages of a tribe also points to intra-tribe differences in terms of fund allocation and utilization. When all the villages do not have equal access to all kinds of schemes under PAPs, naturally, there exist intra-tribe differences in terms of access to various schemes. Intra-tribe dimension on the impact of Poverty Alleviation Programmes has been studied in terms of intra-tribal differences in the implementation of Tribal Development Plans. Obviously, inequality in the impact of poverty alleviation programmes not only has an inter-tribe implication but also manifests an intra-tribe dimension. A comparative study of the Khampti, the Adi, the Shyam village highlights intra-tribe differences in the implementation of poverty alleviation programmes of the Sample Villages under Study

6.2 Delineation of the villages under study:

A brief introduction of the villages under study will help to understand the intra tribe variation on the implementation of Poverty Alleviation Programmes during the Eighth Five Year Plan

6.2.1 Khampti villages:-

The sample villages are Lathaw, Manmow, Nongtaw-Khampti and Wingko. The following are the brief description of the sample villages. All the Khamptis are Buddhist by religion and practice permanent wet rice cultivation.

a) Lathaw: Lathaw is situated on the national highway leading to the district headquarters Tezu and falls at a distance of 12 K.m from the Block Headquarters Namsai and it is also well connected with pukkaa (metalled) road. The village has regular transportation facilities, proper water and electricity supply, and a 14 bedded primary health center. School up to secondary section is also there. However for Bank and postal facilities, it has to depend on Namsai, the Block Head quarters. The total ST population of the village is 598 and literacy rate 31.77percent. It has a weekly market in the village. There is a tea production center and he workers are non Arunachalee. The total ST household is 98.nad 59 BPL household forming 23.28 percent. Total Household in the village is 419.

b) Manmow: this village is situated at a distance of 5km and very near to the block head quarters. It has a total population ST population of 202 The total ST household is 22 percent of families below poverty line is 19.68 percent and the literacy rate is15.65percent.Manmow is well connected with pukkaa road and a

regular transportation facilities, electricity supply, water supply. However, the village has to depend on Namsai for health, postal, banking facilities. A school is there up to secondary section. Total number of household is 102

c) **Nongtaw Khampti**: This village is located at a distance of 32 K.m from the Block head quarters and falls under the category of interior villages in Namsai sub division. For transportation, health facilities it depends on Diyun village which is situated at a distance of 10 K.m from the villages. There is a provision for water supply and a school up to primary section. Since the village is not connected with proper road facilities, the mobility decreases mostly in the summer season. For banking, postal and market it depends on Namsai town. As per the 1991 census the total ST population of the village 131 the literacy rate of the village is 20.63. The percentage of families below poverty line is 23.40 percent. Total number of household 94

d) **Wingko**: This village is also located at a distance of 15 K.m from the Namsai Township. As per the 1991 census the total ST population in the village is 78 persons and the literacy rate is 13.66 percent. The percentage of families below poverty line is 17.28 percent. It is connected with Kutchara road (unmetalled road). There is no transportation, health, post and telegraph facility in the villages. For transportation and health it has to depend on Piyong which is located at a distance of 5 km from the village. There is an educational center up to primary section only.

6.2.2. Adi villages

a) Mabira: Situated at a distance of 53 K.m from the Block Headquarters, village of Mabira constitutes a total ST population of 150 persons as per the 1991 census. The total number of Households in the village is 88 out of which 46 fall under BPL category forming 52.27 percent of the total households. The literacy rate in this village is very low and is well below the literacy rate of the Lohit district which is 20.55percent. The village falls across the Bereng River near Nalong village with no connecting bridge .As such the road connection is non-existent. For other facilities viz., transportation, health, banking services, Mabira is totally dependent on the adjoining villages of Nalong and Chowkham which are located at a distance of 5 to 10 K.m. Educational facilities are also not available. The village is yet to be connected with power supply. Water supply is procured solely through tap.

b) Namleng: Situated at a distance of 35 K.m from the Block Headquarters village of Namleng constitutes a ST population of 136 persons as per 1991 census. The total number of Households in the village is 164 out of which 30 fall under BPL category forming 18.29 percent of the total household. The literacy rate in this village is very low and is well below the literacy rate of the Lohit district which is 11.36 percent. The village is connected with Kutchara road up to Chowkham which is at a distance of 5 km. For other facilities such as transportation, health, banking services, Namleng is totally dependent on Chowkham town. Educational facilities up to primary level are there. The village

is having power supply for domestic use. Water supply is procured solely through tube well.

c) Ningroo-Adi: Situated at a distance of 5 K.m from the Block Headquarters village of Ningroo-Adi constitutes a ST population of 209 persons as per 1991 census. The total number of Households in the village is 47 out of which 31 fall under BPL category forming 65.95 percent of the total household. The literacy rate in this village is very low and is well below the literacy rate of the Lohit district which is 49.30percent. The village is well connected with pukkaa road and a regular transportation facility. For health services it has to depend on Piyong village which is at a distance of 5km fro the village. Educational facility up to primary level is available. For postal and telegraph as well as banking services it has to be dependent on Namsai township The village is yet to be connected with power supply. Water supply is procured through well and tube well.

d) Joipur: Situated at a distance of 5 K.m from the Blockheadquarters the village Mabira constitutes a ST population of 223 persons as per the 1991 census. The total number of Households in the village is 37 out of which 29 fall under BPL category forming 78.37 percent of the total household. The literacy rate in this village is very low and is well below the literacy rate of the Lohit district which is 37.66percent. The village is well connected with pukkaa road but a transportation service has to be availed from Namsai which is situated at a distance of 5k.m. For health services it has to depend on Namsai which .Educational facilities such as primary level, Middle level and Adult education

center are available in the village. For postal and telegraph as well as banking services it has to be dependent on Namsai township. Even though the village is situated near Namsai so far the village has not received power supply. Water supply is procured solely through tube well.

6.2.3 Shyam Villages

a) Jona IV: Jona IV village is situated at a distance of 22 K.m from the Block Headquarters, and 8 K.m from Lathaw. The village has a total ST population of 243 persons as per 1991 census. The total number of Households in the village is 43 out of which 42 fall under BPL category forming 97.67 percent of the total households. The literacy rate in this village is very low and is well below the literacy rate of the Lohit district which is 57.33 percent. The village is connected with fair weather road. For transportation and health services the village is dependent on Lathaw village. Educational facility up to primary level is available. The postal and telegraph as well as banking services it has to be dependent on Namsai Township which is located at a distance of 20 K.m. The Jona-IV village is yet to receive electrification. Water supply is procured only through tube well

b) Kaisu: Kaisu is situated at a distance of 8 K.m from the Block Headquarters, Namsai. As per 1991 census it has a total ST population of 134 persons. The total number of Households in the village is 32 out of which 22 fall under BPL category forming 68.75 percent of the total households. The literacy rate in this village is very low and is well below the literacy rate of the Lohit district which is 61.80percent which is higher than the district as a well as state average... The

village is connected with Kutchara road. For transportation and health services it is dependent on Namsai. Educational facility up to primary level is available. The postal and telegraph as well as banking services it has to depend on Namsai Township which is located at a distance of 8 K.m. The kaisu village is yet to receive electrification. For water supply the village is dependent on tube- well and taps water.

c) Nanam Shyam: This village is situated at a distance of 10 K.m from the Block Headquarters, Namsai. As per 1991 census it has a total ST population of 195 persons. The total number of Households in the village is 63 out of which 17 fall under BPL category forming 26.98 percent of the total households. The literacy rate in this village is very low and is well below the literacy rate of the Lohit district which is 52.05 percent which is at par with the state average. The village is connected with Kutchara road. For transportation and health services it is dependent on Namsai. Educational facilities such as primary level and adult education center are available. The postal and telegraph as well as banking services it has to depend on Namsai Township which is located at a distance of 8 K.m. The Nanam Shyam village is yet to receive electrification. For water supply the village is dependent on well and tube well.

d) Nongtaw Shyam: This village falls in the category of interior section of the area which is situated at a distance of 30. Km from the block Headquarters. As per 1991 census it has a total ST population of 147 persons. The total number of Households in the village is 42 out of which 29 fall under BPL category forming

69.04 percent of the total households. The literacy rate in this village is very low and is well below the literacy rate of the Lohit district which is 70.19 percent which is well above the state average. The village is connected with Kutchaa road. For transportation and health services it is dependent on Diyun town which is situated at a distance of 10 K.m. Educational facilities up to primary level is available. The postal and telegraph as well as banking services it has to depend on Namsai Township which is located at a distance of 30 K.m. The Nongtaw-Shyam village is yet to receive electrification. For water supply the village is dependent on tube well only.

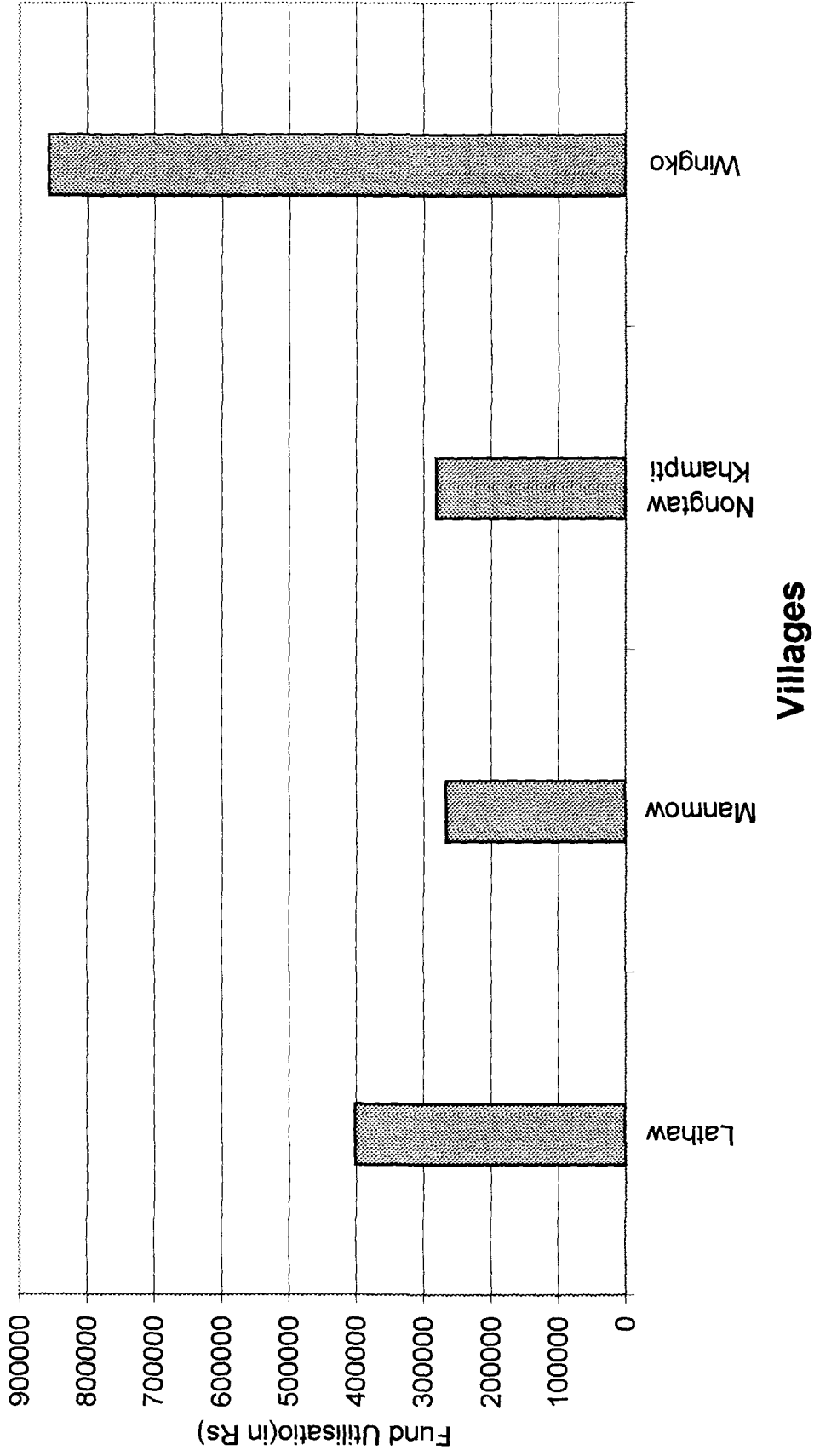
6.2 Khampti Villages: Intra tribe differences in the implementation of Poverty Alleviation Programmes during Eighth Five Year Plan

It transpire from the Table No: 6.1 that among the Khamptis, Wingko village shares 47.41 percent of the total fund utilized in four Khampti village followed by Lathaw at 22.24 percent, Nongtaw Khampti at 15.57 percent and Manmow at 14.77 percent.

Table No: 6.1
Khampti villages: Inter Village Distribution Of Total Fund Under Each Scheme during Eighth Five Year Plan

Programmes and Schemes	Khampti Villages and Fund Utilized				Total
	Lathaw	Manmow	Nongtaw Khampti	Wingko	
IRDP	40.00	23.46	19.87	16.67	100
JRY	78.38	8.64	4.94	8.04	100
DWCRA	50.00	-	50.00	-	100
EAS	-	-	-	-	100
IAY	34.57	17.29	-	41.94	100
TRYSEM	-	-	-	-	-
MWS	-	56.11	-	43.89	100

Fig No:6.1
Khampati Villages: Intra Tribe variation in Fund Utilisation Under PAPs



Total	22.24	14.77	15.57	47.41	100
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Source: Field data

On the other hand, Wingko village is located at the distance of 17 kms without any regular transport or bus communication though it is connected with fair weather roads from Piyong and Ningroo Char-ali. The higher side of fund allocation under different schemes to BPL on an average in Wingko village is due to the highest portion of share 47.41 percent of the total fund under different schemes. Of course, there are differences in allocation under various schemes. As has been said the Poverty Alleviation Programmes have two objectives; 1) to provide income and employment to the people who otherwise would have been deprived of it in the absence of such programmes; 2) to create sustainable community assets in the process.

Table No: 6.2

Khampti Villages: Average Expenditure for BPL Families under Different Schemes during Eighth Five Year Plan

Villages	Programmes and schemes							Family wise Average
	IRDP	JRY	DWCRA	EAS	IAY	TRY SEM	MWS	
Lathaw	2985.25	2878	413.5	-	535.5	-		6812.51
Manmow	2065.80	374.3	-	-	316	-	2582	5338.24
N.Khampti	2082.5	254.7	580.9	3782.3		-	-	6702.57
Wingko	1063	252.5	-	8999	637.6	-	1463.4	12416.94

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

If we consider the average share in fund allocation under different schemes with reference to BPL families (Table No:6.2), Wingko village has the highest share per family at Rs 12416.94 followed by Lathaw village at Rs 6812.51, Nongtaw Khampti village at Rs 6700.57 and Manmow village at Rs.

5338.24. Surprisingly, Manmow village is very nearer to Block headquarters (5kms).

The variations under different schemes reflect inequality even at the level of objective realization. For example, 78.38 percent of fund under JRY scheme emphasizes more on wage employment in Lathaw village as compared to other Khampti villages. Similarly, 40 percent of fund allocated under IRDP scheme in Lathaw is more likely to create strong base for employment generation where allocation in other Khampti villages is just around half of the fund allocated in Lathaw village under IRDP scheme as reflected on (Table No: 6.1). MWS was shared by only two villages i.e Manmow with 56.11 percent and 43.89 percent.

Table No: 6.3
Khampti Villages per Unit Cost under IRDP (In Rs)

Villages	Unit Cost (Rs)
Lathaw	3914
Manmow	3562
Nongtaw Khampti	3124
Wingko	3669

Source: Same as Table 6.1

With reference to Table No:6.3 the unit cost of the schemes under IRDP is highest at Rs 3914 in Lathaw village followed by Wingko village at Rs 3669, Manmow village at Rs 3562 and Nongtaw Khampti village at Rs 3124. The differences in unit cost of the schemes under IRDP, the variation in average expenditure for Below Poverty Line Families and intra village differences in fund allocation under different schemes do not provide any consistency. For

example, Wingko village shares 16.67 percent of the total fund allotted under IRDP, the lowest among four Khampti villages, (TableNo:6.1).

It displays higher unit cost under IRDP scheme, being second among the said villages. Whether it is village-wise differences in average expenditure for Below Poverty Line families (Table No: 6.2), or per unit cost under IRDP (Table No: 6.3) or differences in distribution of total fund under different schemes (Table No: 6.1) or differences in percentage distribution of number of individual schemes (Table No: 6.8) in Khampti villages, they indicate intra tribe dimension of differences in the implementation of development schemes.

Table No: 6. 4
Khampti Village: Village- Wise Distribution of Numbers of Pap Schemes under each Category during Eighth Five Year Plan

Programmes and Schemes	Percentage of Number of Programmes				Total
	Lathaw	Manmow	Nongtaw Khampti	Wingko	
IRDP	36.89	23.77	22.95	16.39	100
JRY	40	20	20	20	100
DWCRA	50	-	50	-	100
EAS	-	-	66.67	33.33	100
IAY	40	20	-	40	100
TRYSEM	-	-	-	-	100
MWS	-	50	-	50	100
TOTAL	35.97	23.02	23.32	17.99	100

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

Table No: 6. 5
Khampti Villages: Distribution of Number of Schemes under Each Category During Eighth Five Year Plan

Programmes and	Fund Utilization				Total
	Lathaw	Manmow	Nongtaw	Wingko	

Schemes			Khampti		
IRDP	45	29	28	20	122
JRY	2	1	1	1	5
DWCRA	1	-	1	-	2
EAS	-	-	2	1	3
IAY	2	1	-	2	5
TRYSEM	-	-	-	-	-
MWS	-	1	-	1	2
TOTAL	50	32	32	25	139

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

In terms of number of programmes, as is shown in Table No: 6.4 (Also see Table No: 6.5) for differences in schemes implemented, Table No: 6.6 for differences in total allocated fund and Table No: 6.7 for difference in percentage of fund allocated under particular schemes in Khampti villages. Lathaw village shares 35.97 percent of the total fund allocated while Manmow and Nongtaw Khampti villages share 23.02 percent each equally. On the other hand, Wingko shares only 17.99 percent (Table NO: 6.4). But in all the villages IRDP programmes are more in number as compared to other programmes. Even in IRDP programmes, Lathaw village has the highest share at 36.89 percent and in Wingko village lowest at 16.39 percent. Other villages share almost equally at around 23 percent each (Table 6.4). The average unit cost of

IRDP programmes ranges between Rs. 3124 in Nongtaw- Khampti and Rs. 3914 in Lathaw village.

Table No: 6. 6
Khampti Villages: Scheme wise Fund Utilization under PAPs During Eighth FiveYear Plan

Programmes and Schemes	Khampti Villages and Fund Utilized				Total
	Lathaw	Manmow	Nongtaw Khampti	Wingko	
IRDP	108816+ 67314 =176130*	69050+ 34244 =103294	61830+ 25636 =87466	47849+ 25526 =73375	287546 + 152721 =440265
JRY	169808	18718	10700	17423	216649
DWCRA	24400	-	24400	-	48800
EAS	-	-	158858	620966	779854
IAY	31600	15800	-	44000	91400
TRYSEM	-	-	-	-	-
MWS	-	129100	-	100975	230075
TOTAL	401938	266912	281424	856769	1807043

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

The 1st figure shows loan, 2nd shows subsidy and 3rd shows total of the both.

Again inequality is also noticed in fund utilization. Lathaw is found to have benefited comparatively more than other villages under IRDP (Integrated Rural development programme) programmes. In terms of percentage of outlay under individual schemes to total outlay EAS shares the highest percentage with 43.16 followed by IRDP with 24.36 percent, MWS (12.73percent), JRY 11.99 percent, IAY 5.06 percent and DWCRA with 2.70 percent. TRYSEM did not exist in any of the villages.

Fig No:6.2

Khampti Villages: Scheme-wise Fund Utilisation under variuos PAP Schemes during Eighth Five Year Plan

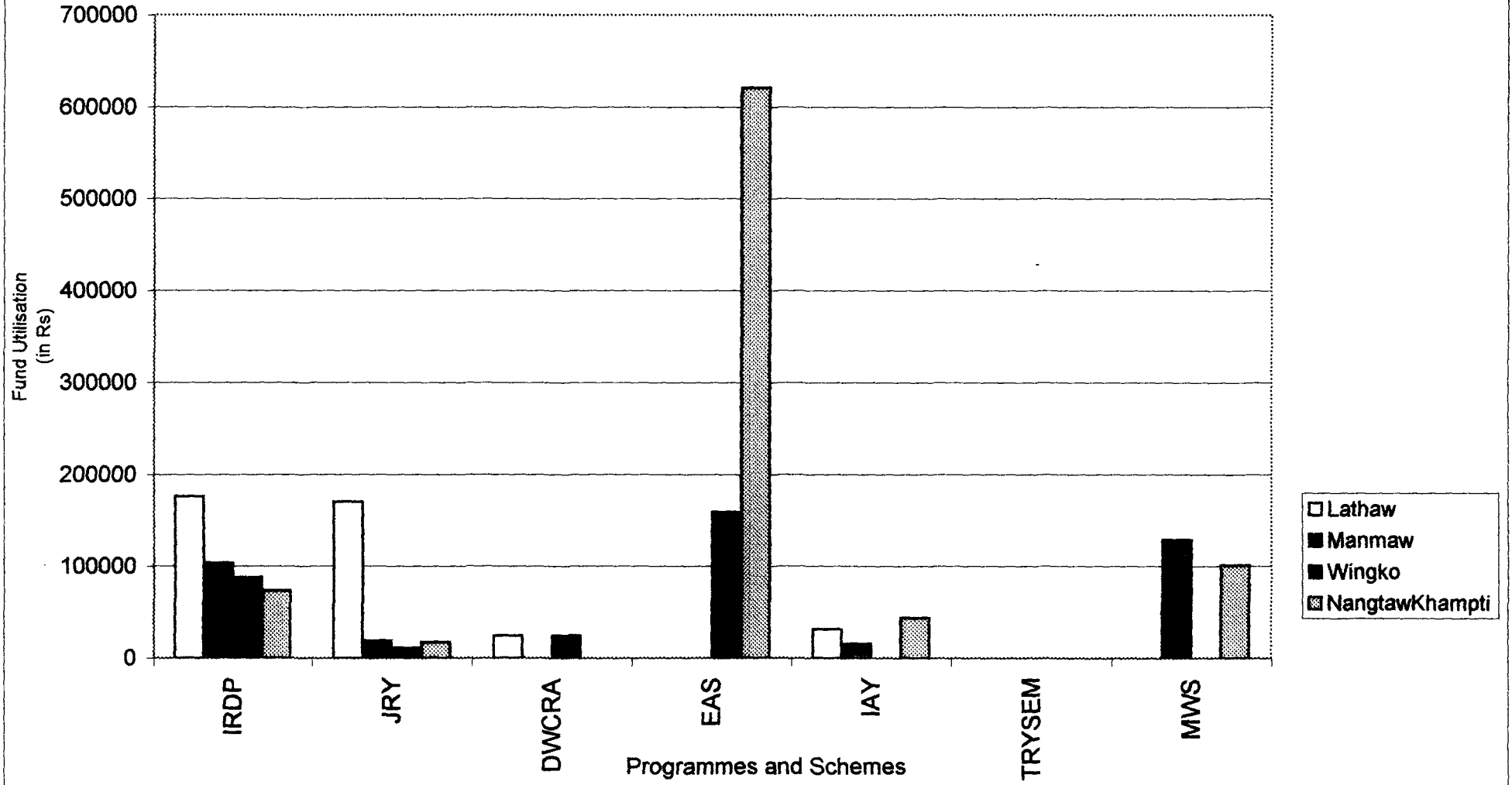


Table No: 6.7
Khampti Village: Percentage of Outlay under Individual Schemes to Total Outlay during Eighth Five Year Plan

Programmes and Schemes	Khampti Villages and Percentage of Fund Utilized				Total
	Lathaw	Manmow	Nongtaw Khampti	Wingko	
IRDP	43.82	38.70	31.08	8.56	24.36
JRY	42.25	7.01	3.80	2.03	11.99
DWCRA	6.07	-	8.67	-	2.70
EAS	-	5.92	56.45	72.48	43.16
IAY	7.86	-	-	5.14	5.06
TRYSEM	-	-	-	-	-
MWS	-	48.37	-	11.79	12.73
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

Table No: 6.8
Khampti Village: Percentage Distribution of Number of Individual Schemes during Eighth Five Year Plan

Programmes	Khampti Villages and Fund Utilized				Total
	Lathaw	Manmow	Nongtaw Khampti	Wingko	
IRDP	90	90.62	87.5	80	87.77
JRY	4	3.13	3.1	4	3.60
DWCRA	2	-	3.1	-	1.44
EAS	-	-	6.3	4	2.16
IAY	4	3.13	-	8	3.59
TRYSEM	-	-	-	-	-
MWS	-	3.13	-	4	1.44
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

Even all the programmes in the Khampti villages are also not equally found. For example, DWCRA scheme did not exist in Manmow and Wingko villages. Similarly MWS, scheme was found in Lathaw and Nongtaw Khampti villages while these villages did not have any scheme under IAY. Wage programmes are also marked with reference to BPL families in each village for a comparative analysis (See Table No: 6.2)

Fig No:6.3

Khampti Villages: Distribution of PAP Fund under wage Employment and Self Employment

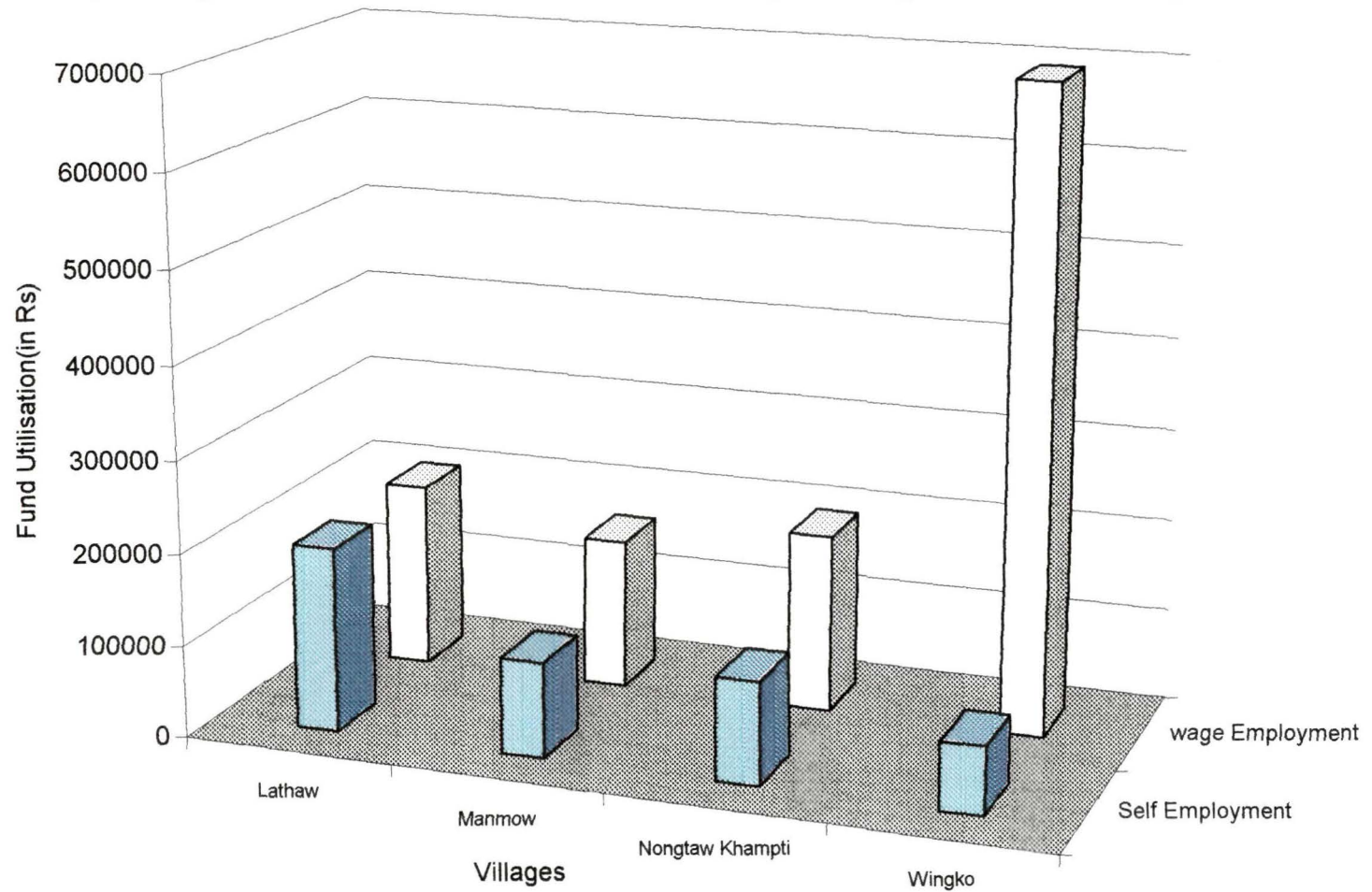
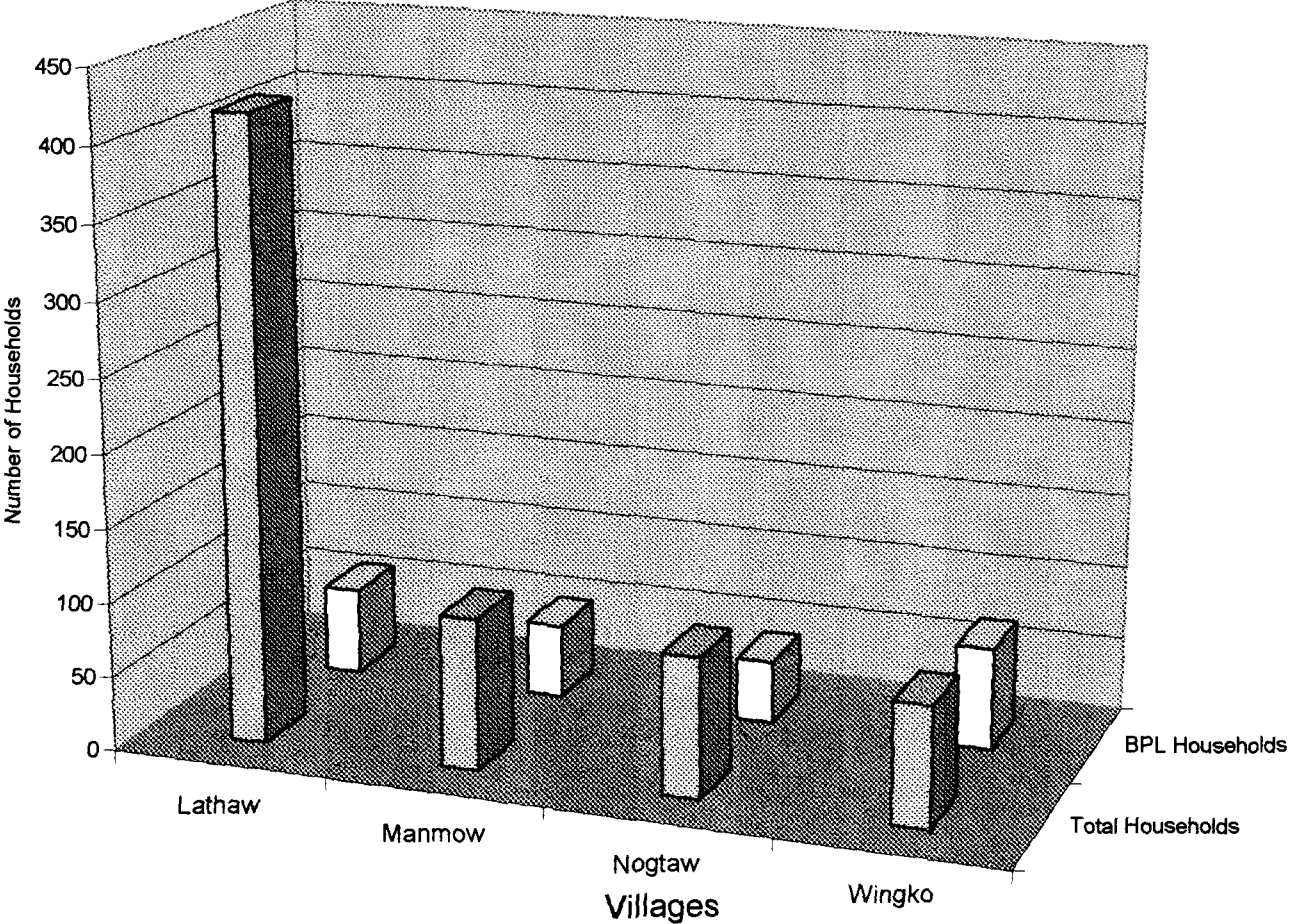


Fig No:6.4
Khampti Villages: Households Below Poverty Line



The average expenditure under JRY scheme is highest in Lathaw at Rs.2878 if we consider BPL families as a unit. In Manmow, Nongtaw Khampti and Wingko villages such unit expenditures have been recorded very low at Rs. 374.30, Rs. 254.70 and Rs. 252.50. But such programmes have a high average under EAS schemes in Nongtaw Khampti and Wingko villages, being recorded at Rs. 3782.3 and Rs. 8999 respectively. But Lathaw and Manmow villages did not have any expenditure under EAS (Table No: 6.2)

Table No: 6.9
Khampti Village: Percentage of ST Households to Total House Holds
During Eighth Five Year Plan

Khampti Villages	No. of HH	No. of ST HH	Number of STHH BPL
Lathaw	419	98	23.28
Manmow	102	20	19.68
Nongtaw Khampti	94	22	23.40
Wingko	81	14	17.28
Total	696	154	21.22

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

Table No: 6.10
Khampti villages: Percentage of Households Below Poverty Line

Khampti Villages	No. of HH	No. of HH BPL	% of HH BPL
Lathaw	419	59	14.08
Manmow	102	50	49.01
Nongtaw Khampti	94	42	44.68
Wingko	81	69	85.18
Total	696	220	31.60

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

Table No: 6.9 and Table No: 6.10 can be referred to focus on the level of poverty in four Khampti villages. In Arunachal Pradesh non

Arunachalees are not considered to be the inhabitant of the village. For example, in a Khampti village, the Khampti households are considered to be belonging to the village itself and thereby are entitled to the benefits under rural development programmes when non Arunachalee households in the village.

With reference to Table No: 6.9, it can be seen that number of total households in a village is far more than the ST households. During enumeration of families Below Poverty Line, some non tribal households, who are tenants of Khampti households, are included in the list in Lathaw and Wingko villages. But the percentage of houses Below Poverty Line is calculated with reference to the total households in order that the level of poverty in the village landscape can be easily appreciated for our purpose. Since in some villages, both tribals and non tribals are included in the Below Poverty Line list, such a presentation would create problem for comparison.

It can be seen with reference to Table No: 6.9 and Table No: 6.10 that the total Below Poverty Line Families are more than the total ST households in Manmow, Nongtaw Khampti and Wingko villages. That is why the percentage of Below Poverty Line Households has been calculated with reference to the total household. These holds true in case of other two tribes namely the Adi and the Shyam. But it is to be noted that the difference between the number of households below poverty line and number of ST household is quite large in

Khampti villages as compared to Adi and Shyam villages. This has two implications; there is less concentration of non tribal village in Shyam and Adi villages respectively as compared to Khampti villages on an average. However there is a difference in the percentage of households Below Poverty Line in Khampti, Adi and Shyam villages, as noted at 31.60 percent, 38.39 percent, 58.88 percent respectively. This indicates to inter-tribe differences of the level of poverty.

On the basis of some analogy the inter-tribe differences can be established. In Lathaw, the difference in the percentage of ST Households to total Households in Khampti villages is indicative of the difference in the level of poverty. Because the village with less concentration of ST households has more outside tenant Households and is therefore suppose to be less poor as compared to others.

6.3 ADI: Intra Tribe Differences in the Implementation of Poverty Alleviation Programmes During the Eighth Five Year Plan

Table No: 6.11 reflects the inter village percentage distribution of total fund under each schemes during the Eighth Five Year Plan in the Adi villages under study. It transpires that out of the total fund utilized, Joipur village shares the highest fund utilization with 41.84 percent during the reference period followed by 20.60 percent in Ningroo Adi village. Both Mabira and Namleng villages share an equal share at 18.78 percentages of the total fund utilized.

Fig. No:6.5
Adi Villages: Intra Tribe Variation in Fund Utilisation Under PAPs

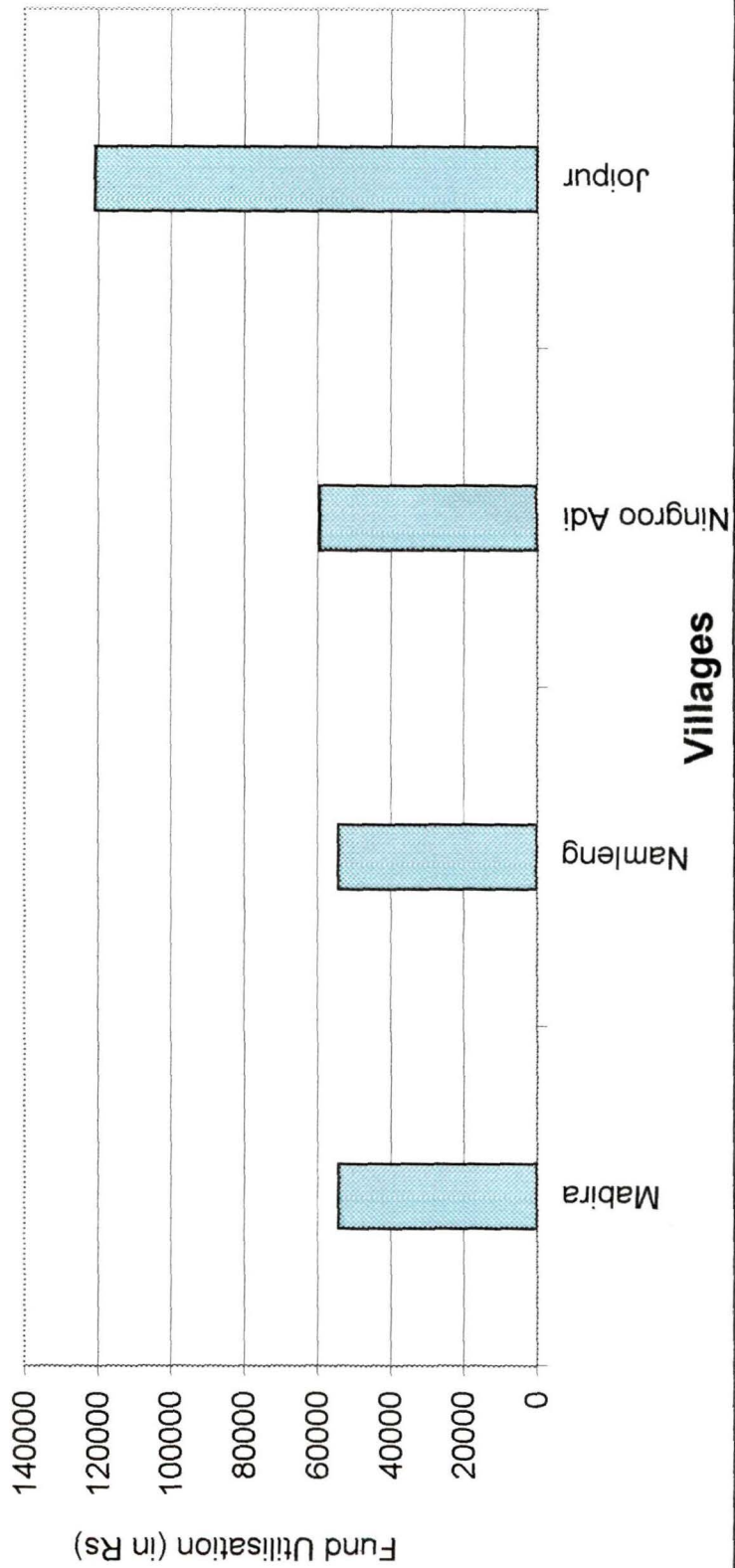


Table No: 6.11
Adi Village: Inter Village Distribution of total Fund under
Each Scheme during Eighth Five Year Plan

Programmes/ Schemes	Adi Villages and Fund Utilized				Total
	Mabira	Namleng	Ningroo Adi	Joipur	
IRDP	29.94	17.74	29.98	22.34	100
JRY	-	-	14.38	85.62	100
DWCRA	-	47.54	-	52.46	100
EAS	-	-	-	100	100
IAY	-	-	-	-	-
TRYSEM	-	-	-	-	-
MWS	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	18.78	18.78	20.60	41.84	100

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

Among these Adi villages, in terms of distance from the Block headquarters, Joipur village has the advantage of being located near at a distance of 10 K.ms, whereas Mabira village is located at a distance of 40 K.ms from the Block head quarters.

In terms of average expenditure under different schemes as can be seen from Table No: 6.12, Joipur village has the highest average expenditure per family at Rs 4165.17 followed by Rs. 2357.73 at Namleng village, Rs 1918 at Ningroo Adi village and Rs. 1178.54 at Mabira village. The average expenditure under IRDP scheme is almost equal in all the Adi villages as can be seen from the same table, the highest being at Ningroo Adi village with Rs 1750.77 followed by Rs1396.30 at Namleng village and Rs 1394.7 at Joipur village and Rs 1178 at Mabira village. The average expenditure under JRY schemes is Rs. 1067.27 at Joipur and only Rs 167.74 at Ningroo Adi village. The average expenditure under DWCRA is

Rs 841.37 and Rs 961.43 at Joipur village and Mabira village respectively. Under EAS scheme, only Joipur village benefited with an average expenditure of Rs 861.79 as can be seen in Table No: 6.12.

Table No: 6.12
Adi Village: Average Expenditure For Bpl Families Under
Different PAP Schemes (In Rs.)

VILLAGE S	PROGRAMMES AND SCHEMES							FAMILY WISE AVERAG E
	IRDP	JRY	DWCRA	EAS	IAY	TRYS -EM	MW S	
Mabira	1178	-	961.43	-	-	-	-	1178.54
Namleng	1396.30	-						2357.73
Ningroo Adi	1750.77	167.74	-	-	-	-	-	1918.51
Joipur	1394.7	1067.27	841.37	861.7	-	-	-	4165.17

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

Table No: 6.13
Adi Village: Per Unit Cost under IRDP

Villages	Unit Cost(in Rs)
Mabira	2258.87
Namleng	2293.92
Ningroo Adi	2713.7
Joipur	2696

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

With reference to Table No: 6.13 the unit cost under IRDP is above Rs 2200 in all the Adi villages. It is highest in Ningroo Adi village at Rs 2713.70 followed by Rs.2696 in Joipur village, and Rs 2258.87 and Rs 2293.92 in Mabira and Namleng villages respectively.

Table No: 6.14
Adi Villages: Village-Wise Distribution Of PAP Schemes under each
Category During Eighth Five Year Plan

Programmes/ Schemes	Adi Villages and Fund Utilized	
------------------------	--------------------------------	--

	Mabira	Namleng	Ningroo Adi	Joipur	Total
IRDP	32.88	19.18	27.40	20.54	100
JRY	-	-	50.00	50.00	100
DWCRA	-	50.00	-	50.00	100
EAS	-	-	-	100	100
IAY	-	-	-	-	-
TRYSEM	-	-	-	-	-
MWS	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	30.77	19.23	26.92	23.08	100

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

Table No: 6.14 depicts the village wise percentage distribution of different schemes under Poverty Alleviation Programmes during the reference period. Mabira shares 30.77 percent followed by Ningroo Adi village at 26 percent, Joipur at 23.08 percent and Namleng at 19.23 percent.

Table No: 6.15
Adi Villages Distributions of Number of Schemes Under Each Category
During Eighth Five Year Plan

Programmes/ Schemes	Adi Villages and Fund Utilized				Total
	Mabira	Namleng	Ningroo- Adi	Joipur	
IRDP	24	14	20	15	73
JRY	-	-	1	1	2
DWCRA	-	1	-	1	2
EAS	-	-	-	1	1
IAY	-	-	-	-	-
TRYSEM	-	-	-	-	-
-MWS	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	24	15	21	18	78

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

Note: Figures in parenthesis shows percentage of BPL families covered under IRDP schemes

In terms of number of programmes as reflected in Table No: 15, IRDP shares the highest percentage in all the Adi villages as compared to other schemes. Schemes like IAY, TRYSEM and MWS did not exist in any of the villages under study. JRY and DWCRA existed only in Ningroo Adi village and Joipur village.

Table No: 6.16
Adi Villages Scheme wise Fund Utilization under PAP
During Eighth Five Year Plan

Programmes/ Schemes	Villages and Fund Utilized				Total
	Mabira	Namleng	Ningroo Adi	Joipur	
IRDP	46538+7675 =54213	25840+6275 =32115	42437+11837 =54274	31909+8538 =40447	146726+34326 =181052
JRY	-	-	5200	30951	36151
DWCRA	-	22113	-	24400	46513
EAS	-	-	-	24992	24992
IAY	-	-	-	-	-
TRYSEM	-	-	-	-	-
MWS	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	54213	54228	59474	120790	288705

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

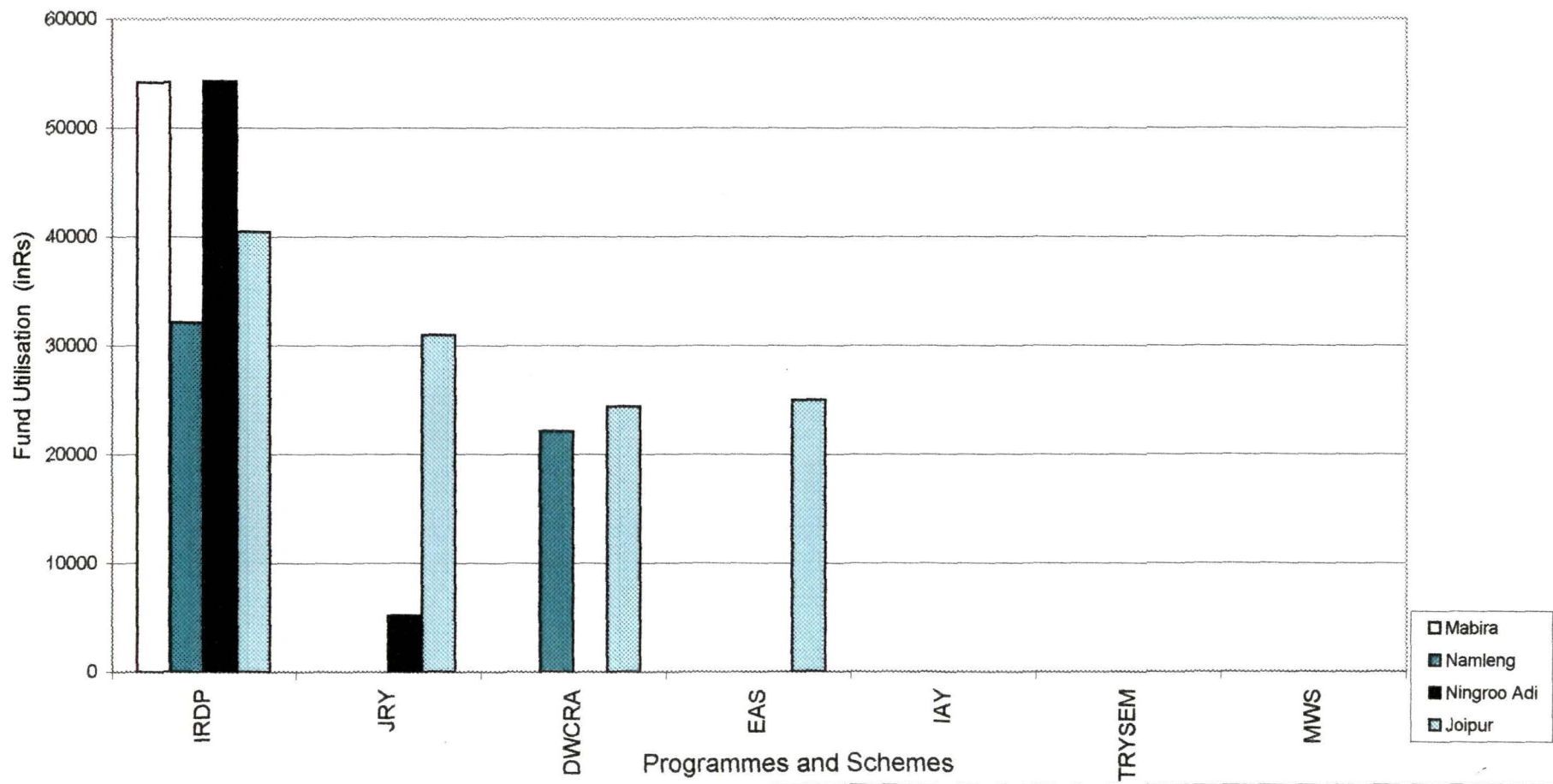
** The 1st figure shows loan, 2nd shows subsidy and 3rd shows total of the both*

Table No: 6.16 presents scheme wise fund utilization in Adi villages.

Joipur has got the highest amount of fund among the entire Adi villages at Rs 120790 out of Rs 288705 during the reference period. This constitutes 41.84 percent of the total fund allotted in all the Adi villages. Joipur is followed by Ningroo Adi village at Rs 59474 whereas other two villages,

Fig No:6.6

Adi Villages: Scheme-wise Fund Utilisation under various PAP Schemes During Eighth Five Year Plan



namely Mabira and Namleng villages share almost equal amount at Rs 54213 and Rs 54228 respectively. (Also see Table No: 6.11).

Table No: 6.17
Adi Villages: Percentage of Outlay under Individual Schemes to Total Outlay in each Village during Eighth Five Year Plan

Programmes/ Schemes	Adi Villages and Fund Utilized				Total
	Mabira	Namleng	Ningroo Adi	Joipur	
IRDP	100	59.22	91.26	33.49	62.71
JRY	-	-	-	0.02	12.52
DWCRA	-	40.78	-	20.20	16.11
EAS	-	-	-	20.69	8.66
IAY	-	-	-	-	-
TRYSEM	-	-	-	-	-
MWS	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

Table No: 6.17 reflects the percentage utilization of total outlay under individual scheme in each Adi village. It transpires from the table of reference that IRDP shares 62.71 percent followed by DWCRA at 16.11percent, JRY at 12.52 percent and EAS at 8.66 Percent. If we see village-wise allocation, Mabira has the highest percentage at 100 percent followed by 91percent in Ningroo Adi village, 59.22 percent in Namleng and only 33.49 percent in Joipur under IRDP schemes. Joipur village benefited with maximum programmes with 20.20 percent under DWCRA scheme and 20.69 percent under EAS scheme. Mabira did not get any other schemes except IRDP. There is a spatial variation in the distribution of fund in the Adi villages

In terms of families Below Poverty Line, in Adi villages the percentage is highest in Joipur at 78.37 percent followed by Ningroo Adi at 65.95 percent. Even though the village Joipur has the advantage of being nearer to Block headquarters and higher number of schemes it has the highest number of families Below Poverty Line among Adi villages (Table No: 6.20)

Table No: 6.18
Adi Village: Percentage Distribution of Number of Individual Schemes to Total Schemes in each Village during Eighth Five Year Plan

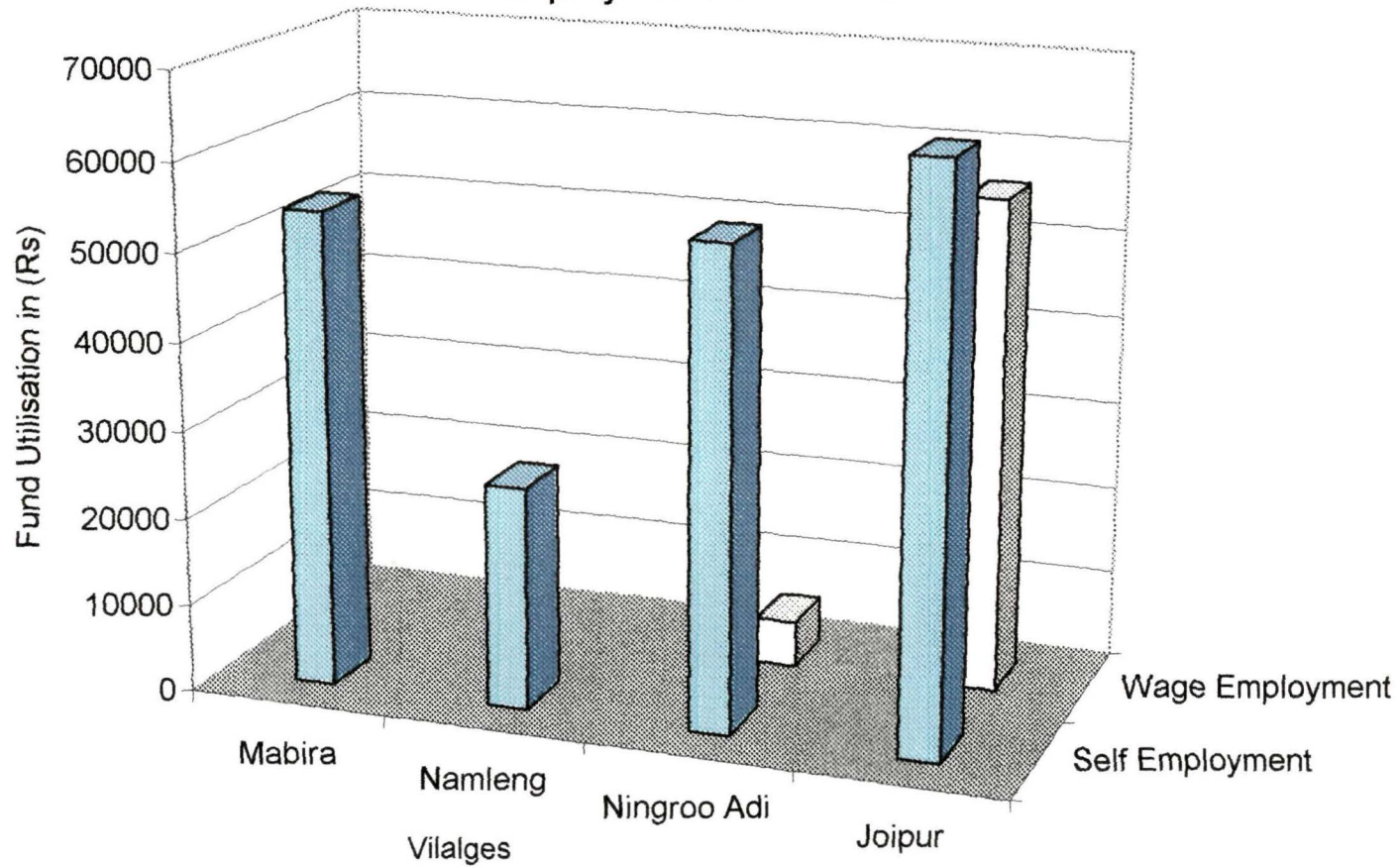
Programmes/ Schemes	Adi Villages and Fund Utilized				Total
	Mabira	Namleng	Ningroo Adi	Joipur	
IRDP	100	93.33	95.24	83.33	93.69
JRY	-	-	4.76	5.56	2.56
DWCRA	-	6.67	-	5.56	2.56
EAS	-	-	-	5.56	1.28
IAY	-	-	-	-	
TRYSEM	-	-	-	-	
MWS	-	-	-	-	
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

Table No: 6.18 reflect the percentage distribution of number of individual scheme to total schemes. Here, IRDP shares the highest percentage with 93.69. The percentage of other schemes is insignificant. It can be seen in the Table No: 6.18 that only 2.56 percent each in JRY and DWCRA and 1.28 percent under EAS scheme have been allotted.

Table No: 6.19
Adi Villages: Percentage of ST Household to total House-Holds During Eighth Five Year Plan Period

Fig No:6.7
Adi Villages: Distribution of PAP Fund under Wage Employment and Self
Employment Schemes



Adi villages	No. of HH	No. of ST HH	% of ST to total HH
Mabira	88	23	26.13
Namleng	164	22	13.41
Ningroo	47	33	70.21
Joipur	37	28	75.67
Total	336	116	34.52

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

Table No: 6.20

Adi Village: Percentage Of Household Below Poverty Line In Study Villages

Adi villages	No. of HH	No. of ST	% of HH BPL
Mabira	88	46	52.27
Namleng	164	23	14.02
Ningroo	47	31	65.95
Adi			
Joipur	37	29	78.37
Total	336	129	38.39

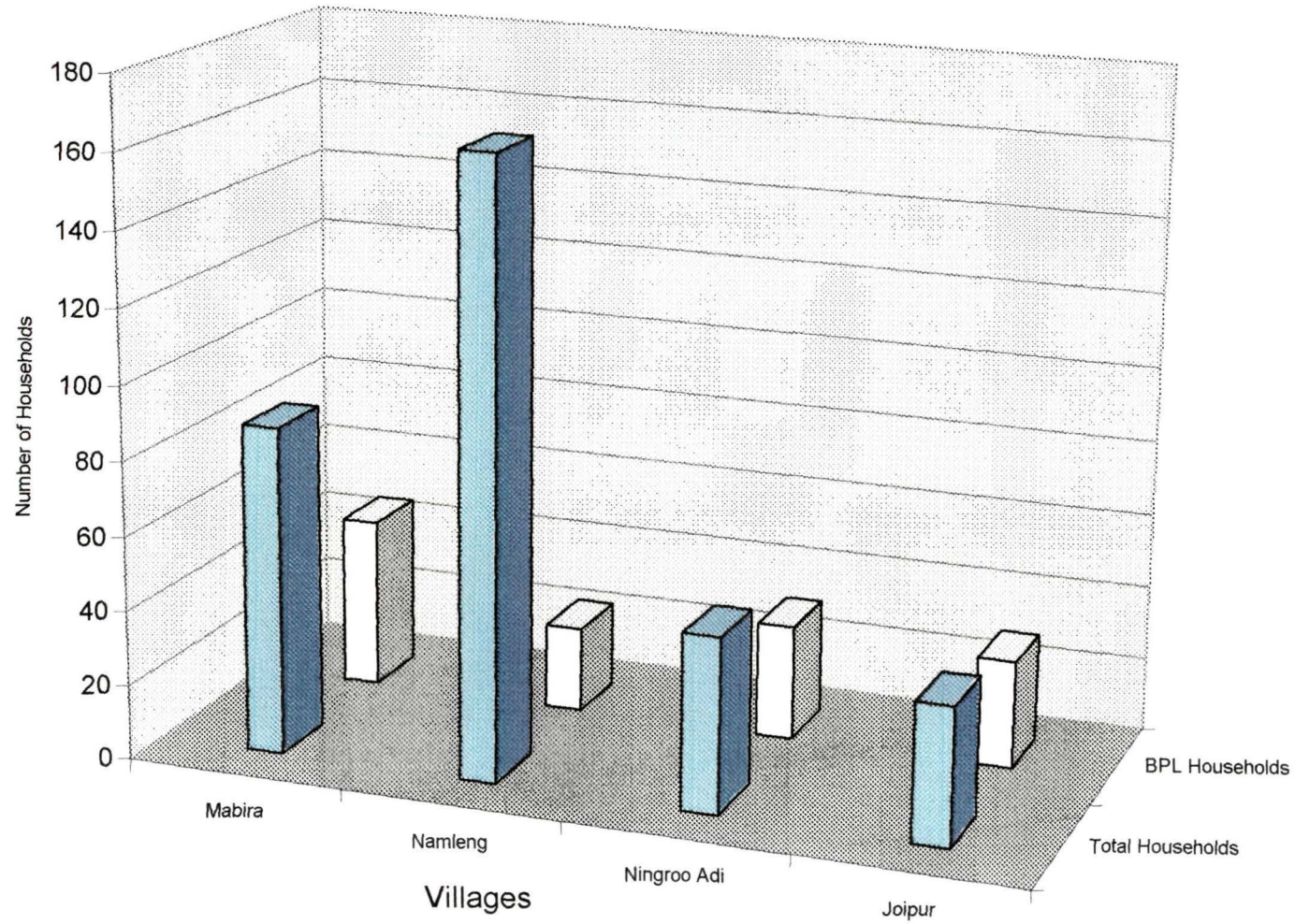
Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

Table No: 6.19 and Table No: 6.20 show the percentage of ST households to total house holds and the percentage of households Below Poverty Line in Adi villages respectively. The total percentage of ST households in all the selected Adi villages is 34.52 percent. The percentage of ST households is highest in Joipur village at 75.67 percent followed by Ningroo Adi village at 70.21 percent, Mabira village 26.13 percent and Namleng village at 13.41 percent.

6.4 :SHYAM Intra tribe differences in the implementation of Poverty Alleviation Programmes

Shyam tribe has more or less the same socio cultural characteristics as of the Khampti. With reference to Table No 6.21, among the Shyam villages, Jona-IV shares the highest fund utilization with 88.4 percent of the total fund followed by very insignificant share at only 5.73 percent at Kaisu village, 3.55 percent at

Fig No: 6.8
Adi Villages:Households Below Poverty Line



Nongtaw Shyam and 2.24 percent at Nanam Shyam villages respectively which is also relected in the following figure no 6.3

Table No: 6.21
Shyam Villages: Inter Village Distribution of Total Fund Under Each Scheme During Eighth Five Year Plan

Programmes/ Schemes	Shyam Villages and % of Fund Utilized				Total
	Jona-IV	Kaisu	Nanam Shyam	Nongtaw Shyam	
IRDP	32.10	23.97	22.43	21.56	100
JRY	-	84.66	15.34		100
DWCRA		50.00	-	50.00	100
EAS	100	-	-	-	100
IAY	100	-	-	-	100
TRYSEM	-	-	-	-	-
MWS	-	-	-	-	100
TOTAL	88.48	5.73	2.24	3.55	100

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

Nanam Shyam and Kaisu villages are nearer to Block headquarters but there is no advantage of being close to the Block head quarters in terms of access to fund under Poverty Alleviation Programmes.

Table No: 6.22
Shyam Villages: Average Expenditure for BPL Families under different Schemes (In R

Villages	PROGRAMMES AND SCHEMES							FAMILY- WISE AVERAG E
	IRDP	JRY	DWCR A	EAS	IAY	TRY- SEM	MW S	
Jona-IV	896.69	-		28040.19	523.80	-	-	29460.69
Kaisu	1275.09	1254.54	1109.09	-	-	-	-	3638.73
Nanam- Shyam	1547.41	294.11	-	-	-	-	-	1841.53
Nongtaw Shyam	1011.52	-	976.00	-	-	-	-	1987.52

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

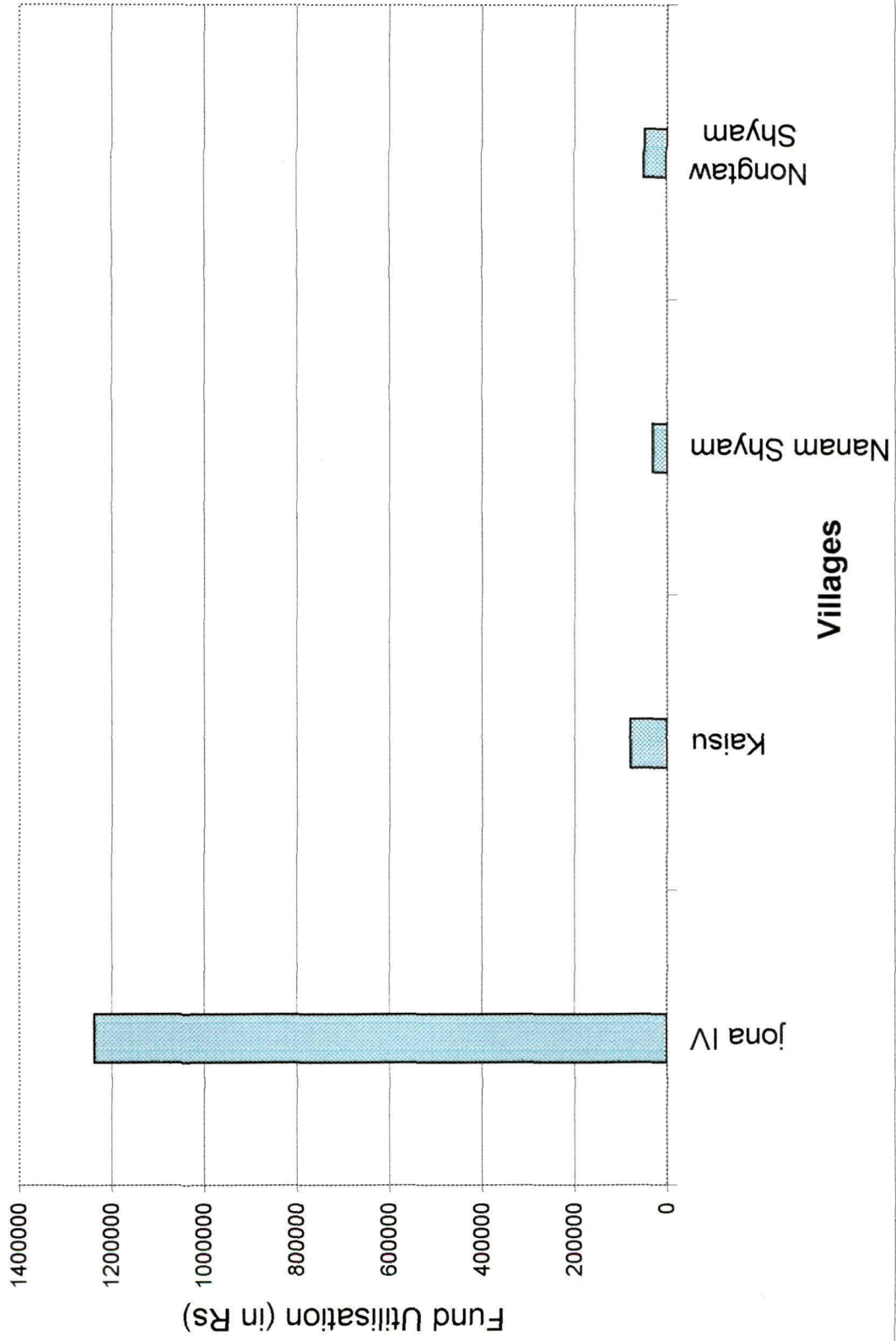
If we consider the average share in fund allocation under different schemes with reference to families Below Poverty Line as can be seen from Table No: 6.22, Jona-IV village has the highest share per family at Rs 29460 followed by Kaisu village at Rs 3638.73 and followed by Rs 1987.52 at Nanam Shyam village at Rs 1841.53 only.

The average expenditure in JRY is Rs. 1254.54 in Kaisu village followed by Rs. 294.11 at Nanam- Shyam village. The other two villages have not been covered under JRY programmes during the reference period. The average expenditure in EAS in Jona-IV village is Rs. 28040.19 and this programme did not exist at Kaisu, Nanam-Shyam and Nongtaw- Shyam villages. Similarly, in IAY also, Jona-IV was only benefited with an average expenditure of Rs. 523.80. Nanam Shyam village is located at a distance of 5 K.ms and is nearest to the block office. The difference in the average share per family is due to the difference allocation of funds under different schemes. Jona-IV village is having the highest share among the four villages. The advantage may be attributed to political factors¹. Even if the village is located with no proper road communication it has been benefited comparatively during the Eighth Five Year Plan. The average unit cost of IRDP programmes ranges between Rs 1870.13 in Kaisu village to Rs 2690.07 at Jona-IV village as can be seen in Table No: 6.23.

Table No: 6.23

¹ Details are given in Chapter VIII

Fig No: 6.9
ShyamVillages: Intra tribe Variation in fund Utilisation Under PAP



Shyam Villages: Per Unit Cost under IRDP

Villages	UNIT COST (in Rs)
Jona-IV	2690.07
Kaisu	1870.13
Nanam Shyam	2922.88
Nongtaw Shyam	2298.90

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

The variation under different schemes reflects inequality even at the level of the objective realization. With reference to Table No 6.23, the unit cost of schemes under IRDP is the highest at Rs 2922.88 in Nanam Shyam village followed by Rs 2690.07 in Jona-IV village at Rs 2298.90 in Nongtaw Shyam village Rs 1870.13 in Kaisu village. The difference in unit cost of schemes under IRDP, the variation in average expenditure

Below Poverty Line and intra village differences in fund allocation under different schemes do not provide any consistency. For example Nongtaw Shyam village shares the lowest share with only 21.56 percent of the total fund allotted under IRDP schemes while it is highest in Jona-IV village with 32 percent. If we see the other programmes like IAY and EAS, Jona-IV village shares 100 percent (Table No: 6.21)

Table No: 6.24

Shyam Villages: Village-Wise Distribution of Number of PAP Schemes Under Each Category During Eighth Five Year Plan

Programmes/ Schemes	Shyam Villages and Fund Utilized				Total
	Jona-IV	Kaisu	Nanam Shyam	Nongtaw Shyam	
IRDP	28.57	30.61	18.38	22.44	100
JRY	-	50.00	50.00	-	100
DWCRA	-	50.00	-	50.00	100

EAS	100	-	-	-	100
IAY	100	-	-	-	100
TRYSEM	-	-	-	-	-
MWS	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	32.67	29.31	17.24	20.69	100

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

Table No: 6.25
Shyam Villages Distribution of Numbers of Number Under PAP During
Eighth Five Year Plan

Programmes/ Schemes	Shyam Villages and Fund Utilized (%)				Total
	Jona-IV	Kaisu	Nanam Shyam	Nongtaw Shyam	
IRDP	14	15	9	11	49
JRY	-	1	1	-	2
DWCRA	-	1	-	-	2
EAS	4	-	-	-	4
IAY	1	-	-	-	1
TRYSEM	-	-	-	-	-
MWS	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	19	17	10	12	58

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

Note: Figures in parenthesis shows percentage of BPL families covered under IRDP schemes.

Table No: 6.24 and Table No: 6.25 presents variation in the number of schemes implemented in the study villages. Even in number of programmes also, Jona-IV village shares the highest share with 32 percent followed by 29.39 percent at Kaisu village (Table No: 6.24). The other two villages namely, Nanam Shyam and Nongtaw Shyam shares nearly equal at 17.24 percent and 20.69 Percent. It is seen that all the villages shares highest in IRDP programmes. TRYSEM and MWS did not exist in any of the villages. EAS and IAY existed only in Jona-IV village.

Table No: 6.26

**Shyam Villages: Scheme-Wise Fund Utilization under PAPs during
Eighth
Five Year Plan**

Programmes/ Schemes	Shyam Villages and Fund Utilized				Total
	Jona-IV	Kaisu	Nanam Shyam	Nongtaw Shyam	
IRDP	28900+8761 = 37661	28052+0 = 28052	21859+4447= 26306	21673+3615 = 25288	100484+16823= 117307
JRY	-	27600	5000	-	32600
DWCRA	-	24400	-	24400	48800
EAS	1177688	-	-	-	1177688
IAY	22000	-	-	-	22000
TRYSEM	-	-	-	-	-
MWS	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	1237349	80052	31306	49688	1398395

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

- The 1st figure shows loan, 2nd shows subsidy and 3rd shows total of the both

Table No: 6.26 depict the scheme wise fund utilization under Poverty Alleviation Programmes during the Eighth Five Year Plan. Among the various schemes, Jona-IV villages hares the highest percentage with 32.10 percent followed by Kaisu village at 23.97 percent, Nanam Shyam at 22.43 percent and in Nongtaw Shyam village at 21.56 percent. There is inconsistency in the distribution of schemes. TRYSEM and MWS did not exist in any of the villages under study. Even all the Poverty Alleviation Programmes under Shyam villages are not equally present. EAS and IAY existed only in Jona-IV. Similarly JRY was implemented only in two villages i.e., Kaisu and Nanam Shyam villages, whereas; scheme like DWCRA existed only in Kaisu and Nongtaw Shyam.

Fig 6.10

Shyam Villages: Scheme-wise Fund Utilisation under Various PAP Schemes During Eighth Five Year Plan

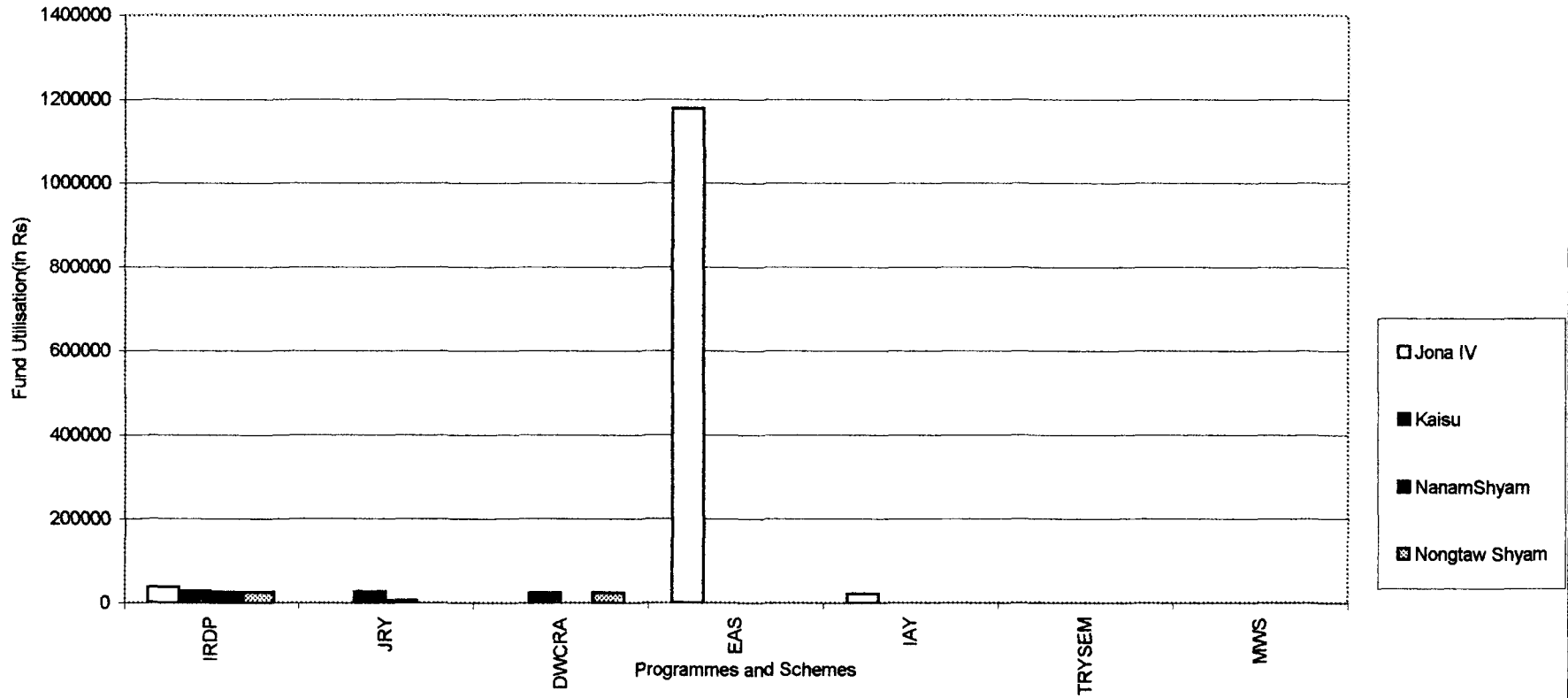


Fig No:6.11
 Shyam Village: Distribution of PAP Fund Under Wage Employment and Self
 Employment Scheme

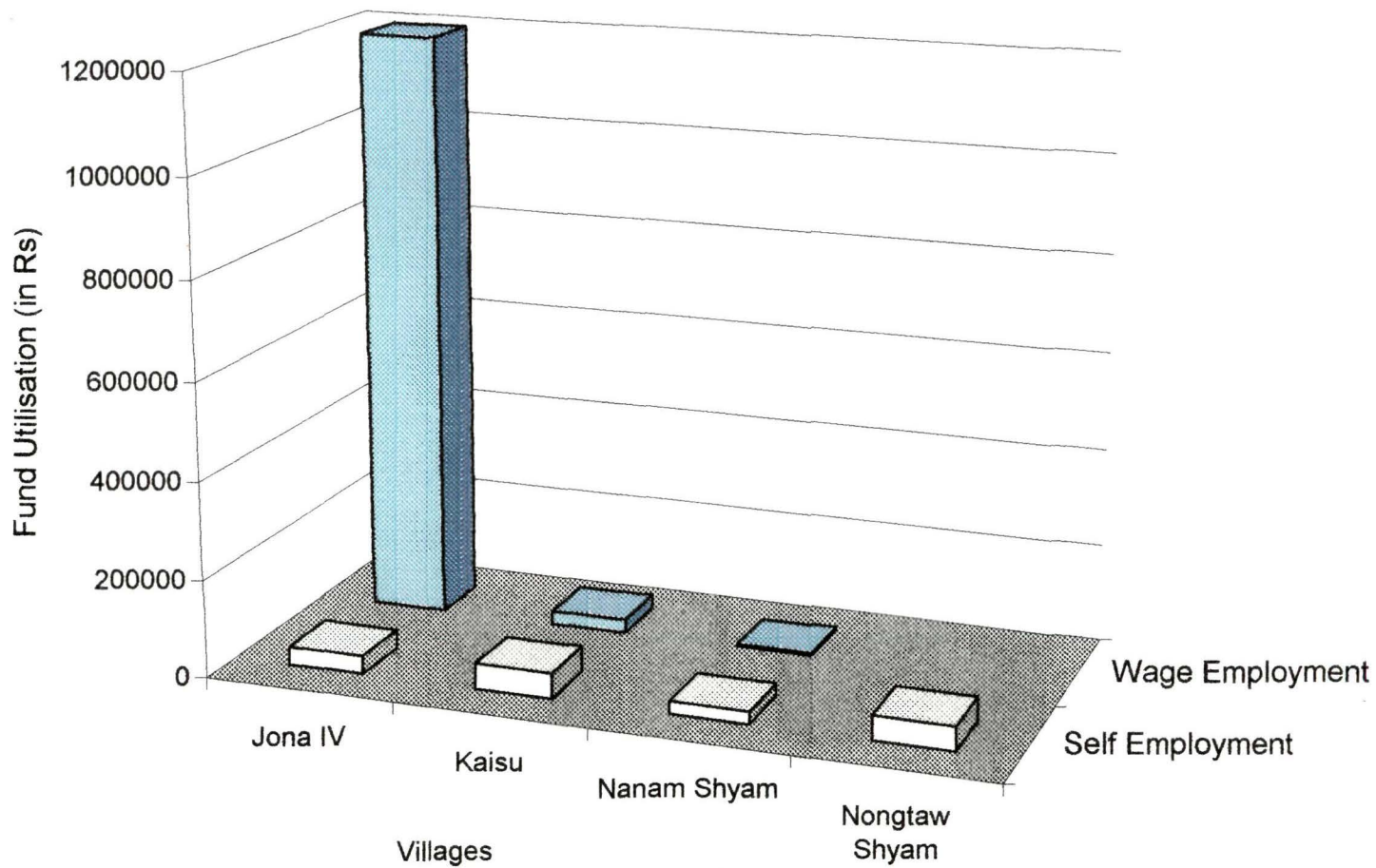


Table No: 6.27
Shyam Villages: Percentage of Outlay Under Individual Schemes to Total Outlay During Eighth Five Year Plan

Programmes/ Schemes	Shyam Villages and % of Fund Utilized				Total
	Jona-IV	Kaisu	Nanam Shyam	Nongtaw Shyam	
IRDP	3.04	35.04	84.03	50.89	8.39
JRY	-	34.48	15.97	-	2.33
DWCRA	-	30.48	-	49.11	3.48
EAS	95.18	-	-	-	84.21
IAY	1.78	-	-	--	1.58
TRYSEM	-	-	-	-	-
MWS	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

With reference to Table No: 6.27, the percentage of outlay under individual schemes shows inconsistency. Among all the Shyam villages, IRDP shares the highest percentage of fund among all the schemes except in Jona-IV village which shares only 3.04 percent. This is due to the exceptionally higher percentage of fund utilization under EAS scheme. At Kaisu village, IRDP, JRY, DWCRA shares 35.04 percent, 34.48 percent and 30.48 percent respectively.

Table No: 6.28
Shyam Village: Percentage Distribution of Number Of Individual Schemes To Total Schemes During Eighth Five Year Plan

Programmes/ Schemes	Shyam Villages and Fund Utilized				Total
	Jona-IV	Kaisu	Nanam Shyam	Nongtaw Shyam	
IRDP	73.68	88.24	90.00	91.67	84.48
JRY	-	5.88	10.00	-	3.45
DWCRA	-	5.88	-	8.33	3.45
EAS	21.05	-	-	-	6.90

IAY	5.27	-	-	-	1.72
TRYSEM	-	-	-	-	-
MWS	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Same as Table No: 6.1

The percentage distribution of number of individual schemes to total schemes is reflected in the Table No: 6.28. IRDP shares the highest percentage in all the Shyam villages. It is clearly seen that the IRDP share at Nongtaw Shyam village is 91.67 percent followed by 90 percent at Nanam Shyam village, 88.24 at Kaisu village and 73.68 percent at Jona-IV village.

Table No: 6.29

Shyam Villages: Percentage of ST Households to Total Households during Eighth Five Year Plan Period

Shyam villages	No. of HH	No. of ST HH BPL	% of ST HH to total HH
Jona-IV	43	41	95.34
Kaisu	32	22	68.75
Nanam Shyam	63	16	25.39
Nongtaw Shyam	42	25	59.52
Total	180	104	57.77

Source: Same as Table 6.1

Table No: 6.30

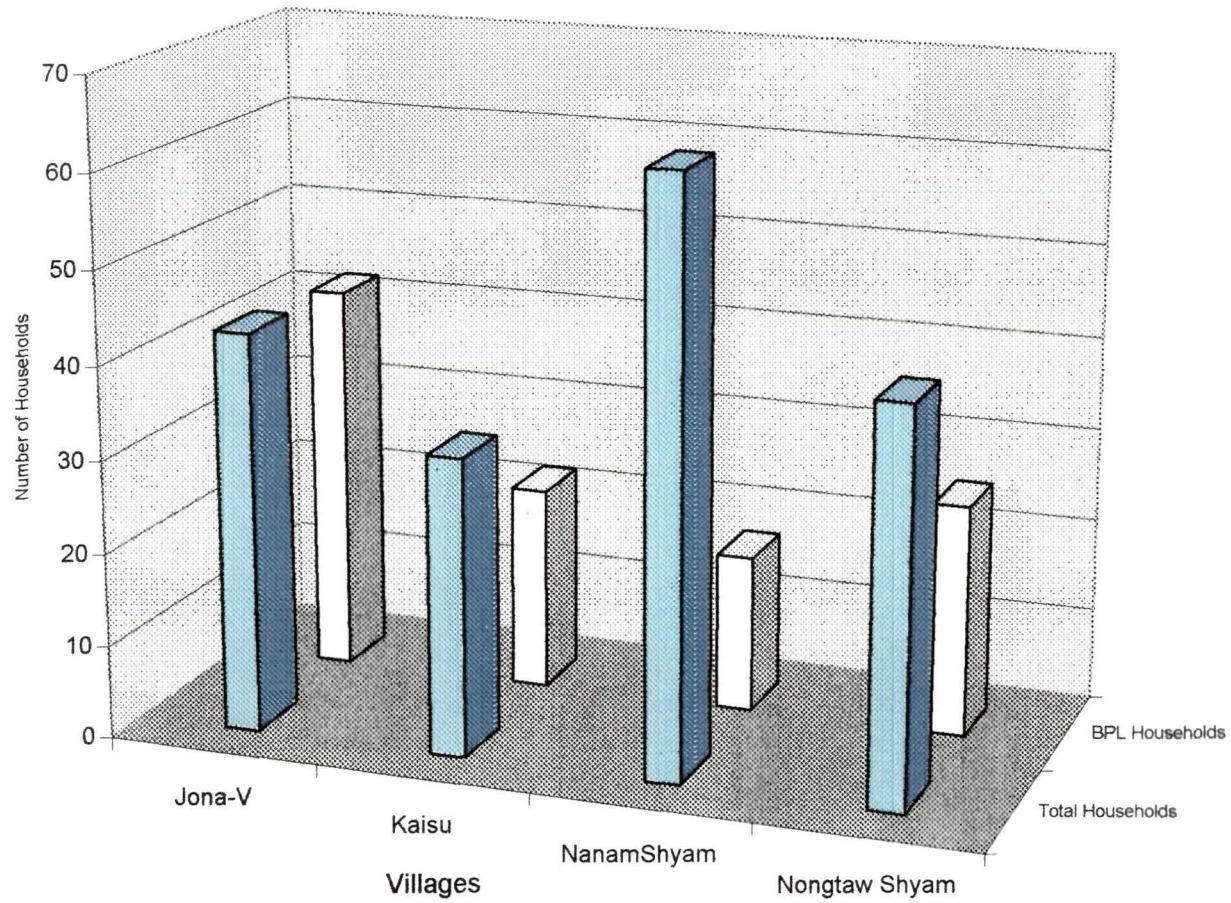
Shyam Villages Percentage of Household Below Poverty Line

Shyam villages	No. of HH	No. of HH BPL	% of HH BPL
Jona-IV	43	42	97.67
Kaisu	32	22	67.75
Nanam Shyam	63	17	26.98
Nongtaw Shyam	42	25	59.52
Total	180	106	58.88

Source: Same as Table 6.1

With reference to Table No 6.29 the percentage of ST households to total households is highest in Jona-IV village with 95.34 percent followed

Fig No:6.12
Shyam Villages:Household Below Poverty Line



by 68.75 percent in Kaisu village, 59.52 percent at Nongtaw Shyam village and 25.39 percent in Nanam Shyam village. Table No: 6.30 helps to understand the level of poverty in the selected Shyam villages under study. The percentage of BPL family to total ST households is highest in Jona-IV village (97.67percent) followed by Kaisu village (67.75percent), Nongtaw Shyam village (59.52 percent) and Nanam Shyam village (Table No: 6.30)

Jona-IV is found to have benefited comparatively more than other villages in terms of fund utilization. Under IRDP programmes almost all the villages have benefited equally.

6.5 Concluding Remarks

The analysis of the implementation of developmental scheme under PAP in the villages during the reference period leads to the following broad conclusion.

6.5.1 Khampti Villages:

Whether it is village's differences in average expenditure for BPL families, per unit cost under IRDP, differences in distribution of total fund under different schemes, differences in percentage distribution of number of individual schemes to total schemes in Khampti villages, they indicate intra tribe dimension of difference in the implementation of development schemes. When all the villages do not have equal access to all kinds of schemes under PAPs, naturally, there exist intra tribal differences in terms of access to various schemes.

The inter village distribution of total fund under each scheme during the reference period shows wide variation. Among all the sample villages, Wingko village shares the highest percentage of fund utilization with 47 percent of the total fund for the four sample villages, even though it is not well connected with transportation facilities and located at a far distance from the headquarters. The higher share of fund is due to the inclusion of EAS scheme which is not a family oriented programme. To raise the standard of living of a family depends on the family oriented programme. In terms of family wise average expenditure, Wingko shares the highest with 12416.94 Rs and only 5338.29 Rs at Manmow where as it located at a distance of 5 km from head quarters. There is a variation in the per unit cost under IRDP showing Lathaw as the leading village with 3914 Rs. In terms of total number of number of schemes Lathaw shares the highest number of programmes with 35,97 percent of the total and only 17.99 percent. There is also variation in the percentage of outlay under individual schemes to total outlay. If we see scheme wise, programmes like IRDP is highest in all the sample villages. Programmes like TRYSEM did not exist in any of the villages. MWS existed only in Manmow and Wingko. The relation between the distance and head quarters can be referred to the programmes like IRDP, JRY. The distance factor plays an important role in the developmental activities. Programmes like IRDP leads among all the other programmes distance factor in Khampti village. It is found that Lathaw 45, Manmow 29, Nongtaw -Khampti 28 and Wingko 20.

The hypothesis framed for the study can be related here. Villages which are situated near the head quarters got more benefit Lathaw being situated at a distance of 12 K.m and Manmow at a distance of 5 K.m got benefit more than the other two villages which are located at a comparatively far distance from the Block Head quarters.

6.5.2 Adi villages

The inter village variation is also marked in the Adi group of tribe. Among the four sample villages, Joipur shares the highest fund utilization during the reference period. Out of the total fund under PAP Joipur village shares 41.84 percent. Joipur is located at a distance of 5 km whereas Mabira and Namleng share the lowest fund utilization with only 18% each. This two are located at a distance of 58 K.M and 35 K.M away from the Block head quarters.. Joipur also shares the highest family wise average expenditure. However the average expenditure has an equal amount in all the Adi villages. The unit cost under IRDP is almost same in all the villages.

In terms of number of programmes under different scheme during the reference period Mabira leads among the four Adi sample villages but received only one program viz., IRDP. Except IRDP, Mabira did not get benefit of other programmes during the reference period. In Adi villages Programmes like IAY, TRYSEM and MWS also did not exist in any of the village.

6.5.3 Shyam Villages:

Jona- IV is found to have benefited comparatively more than other three sample villages in terms of fund utilization during the Eighth Five Year Plan even though it is located in the interior village without any proper transport and other facilities. Out of the total funds allocated under Poverty Alleviating Programmes, during the reference period, Jona IV Shares 88.4 percent of fund utilization. Even at the average share in fund allocation under different schemes with reference to BPL, Jona-IV has the highest share per family. There's a variation in average share per family due to the difference in allocation of fund in different schemes

There is no variation in the unit cost of IRDP as it shares almost same in all the sample villages. In terms of number of programmes, Jona-IV received the highest number of programmes sharing 32 percent of the total programmes and schemes. TRYSEM and MWS did not exist in any of the Shyam villages. Scheme like EAS existed only in Jona- IV village.

The percentage of outlay under individual schemes shows inconsistency. IRDP shares the highest percentage of fund among all the schemes except in Jona IV village. The percentage of BPL family to total ST household is highest in Jona IV sharing 97.67.

Jona IV village is found to have benefited comparatively more than other villages in terms of fund utilization even though the location did not effect in this group of tribe.

CHAPTER VII
SOCIO ECONOMIC CONSTRAINTS IN TRIBAL
DEVELOPMENT IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH- AN ATTEMPT
AT AN EXPLANATION

7.1 Introductory statement

This chapter is designed with a view to understand the socio-economic constraint in tribal development. The discussions in forgoing chapters reveal that there are both inter and intra tribe variations in terms of fund utilization and in terms of scheme implementation. These differences do not corroborate a definite relationship between selected variables are literacy, remoteness and various schemes implemented in the sample villages. Hence an explanation is attempted to understand the causes of ineffectiveness of Plan programmes in terms of their implementation with reference to socio cultural factors in general.

At the outset it is to be mentioned that the level of poverty in a village is positively related to number of Arunachalee (ST) households. If the percentage of BPL households can be taken as an indicator of the level of village poverty then it is evident that less is the percentage of ST households to total households, less is the percentage of households below poverty line. With reference to Table No: 5.1 and Table No: 5.2 it is clear that Khampti villages have 22.10 percent of ST households to total households. Correspondingly it has the lowest percentage, that is 31.70 percent; of households below poverty line. Adi and Shyam villages have 60 percent and 85.30 percent of ST households corresponding 61.70 percent and 100 percent of households below poverty line. Evidently it can be argued that

more is the concentration of tribal households more is the concentration of poverty level.

But this trend has a different version altogether. Usually non Arunachalee households are tenant households and households of employees in different government and private sectors. They are not eligible for assistance under PAP because they do not belong to the village and they do not have the right to purchase and own land. A comparative study of Table No: 5.1 and Table No: 5.2 shows that numbers of BPL families in Khampti, Adi and Shyam villages are more than the number of ST households. Obviously non ST households are included in the BPL list. During field study and household survey it was learnt that in Wingko and Lathaw villages the non ST households were enumerated under BPL families. In Lathaw, the chief of the village, as the Khamptis have the chieftain type of the society, enumerated his tenant households as BPL families. But in Wingko the reason is something different. The BPL list was prepared without the knowledge of villages in general and Panchayat members of that village in particular. The VLW who usually stayed outside the village had prepared the list on his own. It was learned that he had included tenant households of those families who were not included in the BPL list. But interestingly the Gram Panchayat Member and the *Gaobura* who were not included in the list were assisted with wage employment scheme under EAS. This work was executed by two families with the help of hired labourers to construct dewatering channel in their rice fields which belonged to both of them.

Evidently it is ignorance, individual interest and power position that have influenced the implementation of schemes. In Lathaw, the tenant households assisted with plough bullocks which they used to cultivate the Chief's paddy field. In exchange the chief used to get 5 quintals of paddy annually for one pair of bullocks. The scheme meant to provide self employment to beneficiary has been used as a tool to wrongly identify a beneficiary family and to exploit it in demanding obedience and earning. The family who got the benefit remained royal to the chief's family as long as he used the bullock. The chief's family on the other without investing anything created a source of earning.

In Wingko, schemes particularly to the families of G.B and Panchayat members have two implications. These families are in contact with the officers and officials because of their positions. So, they were more nearer to the implementing officers of Poverty Alleviation Programs. They could persuade and availed of the scheme though they were not eligible. On the other hand, the officers because of their weakness did not want to displease the man with power. The weakness lies in preparing the list of families and in creating awareness among the people who were socially invisible. This means those who were busy in their daily works and had little time to establish contact either due to lack of time or due to indifference are socially invisible to the government officers who implement the schemes.

During field study it was also learnt that those families who frequently visited Namsai due to one reason or the other have got more assistance under PAP

schemes directly or indirectly through their relatives or tenant households as compared to other households. In the Adi group of villages, Joipur being nearer to Namsai have got more schemes and more fund as compared to other villages. On the other hand, Mabira being the remotest village has not got anything except the IRDP scheme. Here though remoteness is evidently a determining factor it is not so in all the cases. Manmow in Khampti group of villages is only 5 K.m from Namsai, but it has received only 14.77 percent of total fund under various schemes. Even Nongtaw-Khampti, the remotest of the Khampti group of villages has received 15.57 percent of the total fund. It is not because of the number of BPL families because there is not difference between Manmow and Nongtaw-Khampti villages. If this apparent difference could be the guiding factor to draw inference, then it could be argued that distance factor has no influence in the distribution of schemes. Wingko has 69 percent families below poverty line, where as Nongtaw-Khampti 42 families. But in terms of sharing funds under IRDP, Nongtaw-Khampti shares 19.87 percent of the total fund allocated under IRDP while Wingko has shared only 16.67 percent. Understandably no definite criterion is followed in providing the assistance to BPL families.

But what is implicit and influencing are contact, power position and manipulative capacity in the process of implementation of scheme. The manipulative capacity is clear in the implementation of EAS work in Jona-IV. The chief's family of Lathaw could manipulate fund under EAS against Jona-IV village to construct embankment in order to protect his paddy field from flood.

That is why during 1995-96 and 1996-97 four different works under EAS were recorded against Jona-IV village, though the work undertaken was the construction of embankment in Tengapani river. The work was executed with hired labours. Similarly, the Rural Link Road between Wingko and Chesing village was constructed by the *GaoBura* of Wingko village with hired labourers. But the assistance was recorded against Chesing village.

The contact and influence as determining factors are also evident as unlisted families whose members are in government jobs have got assistance.

In Lathaw under the leadership of the wife of ASM, the DWCRA group was formed for a weaving unit. When the unit was sanctioned, the leader of the group did not organize any work nor any meeting for the purpose. She owned the asset and avoided other members in one pretext or the other. Apparently, she embezzled the money and for that purpose she had formed the DWCRA group. On the other hand, the members who were less influential could not be assertive. Moreover, the social relation between families in different clans stood on their way, because the group members were from different clans. Differences between two families of two different clans in opposite groups which effect social and community works. Moreover, individual dignity of simple tribal mind was powerful in them as compared to the life of the ASM. This is because the wife of ASM is not as tradition bound as the other ladies due to her interaction with non traditional way of life. Being the wife of the ASM and belonging to the elite class,

she works more in mind than in hearts like others. Naturally, the traditional social relation also affect to some extent the implementation of schemes effectively.

The members of the DWCRA group other than the wife of an ASM did not complain to the BDO either. During discussions with these members the reasons which were found out were interesting and thought provoking. Of course, there was the consideration of not antagonizing the family of the ASM and the individual dignity of the members. But associated with it was their outlook. There was a sense of hesitation in going to the office of the BDO. Though, they had gone earlier with the wife of ASM. They were more passive by standards. They had not talked to any body as they did not know what to talk and whom to talk. The office was totally a situation different from their normal way of life. The very idea of lodging complains, created a sense of discomfort and they could not muster of courage to go ahead with the idea. At the same time they could also rationalize of not going for the complain because to them the BDO and the ASM belong to the same group and so complain lodged before one group against the other would be meaningless. The simple event of forming the DWCRA group and becoming unsuccessful in operating relates to a deeper human understanding during the transitional phase of tribal communities consequent upon development interventions. Conclusively decentralization of power through Panchayat Raj system to ensure participation of the entire beneficiary in different stages of implementation of PAPs creates an intermediary group at the level of people's

representatives from where benefits do not percolate down to the real beneficiaries unhindered.

Traditional role of the women has been found contributing factor to ineffectiveness of many schemes under IRDP. It was observed in Manmow that the sewing machine issued before Eighth Five Year Plan was lying ideal. This is because the beneficiary was not trend domestic work. She had no time to use it commercially or to mend the clothes of Household members¹. Though the instance is with reference to scheme before Eighth Five Year Plan it helps in driving at the inconsistency in at implementation stage. During the Eighth Five Year Plan their mere trainings in fish farming, tailoring, cane and bamboo work ,embroidery under TRYSEM. Not a single case of beneficiary under TRYSEM was recorded in sample villages. Evidently the schemes where provided did not take into consideration the skill endowment of the beneficiary.

The schemes provided under IRDP did not have continuity. Though the study was limited to Eighth Five Year Plan was found in the register of the beneficiaries in BDO Office that in different Plan Periods different schemes were given weightage. During Eighth Five Year Plan the importance was given to such schemes as potato, ginger, plough bullock whereas in earlier plans importance was given to Rice Huller, Sewing machines, knitting machines. Obviously the schemes during Eighth Five Year Plan are different in nature from such schemes as Rice

¹ Traditional nature of work like collecting firewood, cooking, .preparing rice beer, vegetable, agricultural work which keep herself engaged with household works

Huller, Sewing Machines, and *Knitting Machines. Importance to a particular nature of schemes during a particular plan period indicates about the selection of schemes at a particular level. In other words the schemes were more likely elected as department level than by the beneficiary themselves.

When people are not involved in the process of selection of the scheme it is natural that they are not serious in its implementation to reap the benefit. This could be another reason why the sewing machine was kept ideal. What seemingly concerns people most are the desire to have schemes even though they do not have any practical utility. Traditionally Khamptis do not work as wage earners. When they get any scheme under wage employment programme they hire outside labourers. The football ground in Wingko village was constructed by engaging bulldozer of Rural Works Department. . In execution of the work, wage component did not accrue to the so called beneficiaries, though the community asset was created in terms of the football ground. Similarly RLR (Rural Link Road) at Lathaw was constructed with the help of tenant households and the surplus money was used to organize a community feast.

Non selection of schemes by beneficiary has another implication. In the study area land is plentifully available. Households who could manage expanded their cultivation by engaging outside labourers. Others kept themselves engaged to earn their livelihood from different activities like agriculture, timber business and other forest activities. Because of their engagement, the new schemes did not seem important to add to their livelihoods.

Importance to different types of schemes in different Plan periods has sidelined the follow up actions. When the poultry and duckery farms died of diseases, no further doze of assistance was given to continue the schemes. At this level the objective of the scheme to eradicate poverty is weakly perceived. There are instances in Jona-IV, Manmow, and Wingko and in Namleng villages where the fish ponds were damaged by flood water. Then the scheme discontinued as no follow-up action was linked to the scheme in case of such eventualities.

That the beneficiaries were mere interested in obtaining schemes than in implementing it effectively to reap the benefit can be understood with reference to Table No: 5.3 and Appendix No: 5.2. In all the villages the loan component is less than the subsidy component but according to the IRDP guideline the cost of the scheme must constitute both loan and subsidy component in the ratio of 50:50. Since the loan component is less than the subsidy implies that many of the beneficiaries did not go for loan. In other words many schemes did not operate in its full cost structure. In this sense many schemes were financially inefficient. Clearly this shows the interest of the beneficiaries in subsidy money only.

Impact of poverty alleviation programmes in tribal villages has not been uniform. There are apparent differences which could be attributed to non-conventional factors like good governance, access to information and predominance of traditional way of life in villages. The “politician bureaucracy” nexus is found as a stumbling block towards the effective and meaningful implementation of poverty alleviation schemes. It is because of the nexus, a

politician from another village could manipulate funds under EAS scheme against Jona-IV village to execute work for the interest of his individual families. The nature of economic diversification is very fluid and superficial because traditional economic pursuits like subsistence cultivation supplemented by food gathering, hunting and fishing, ownership of land within customary framework and manufacturing activities for domestic consumption are predominant. Consequent upon this traditional nature of activities of the masses they do not have timely access to information about the schemes under PAPs and therefore do not have chance of obtaining such schemes. They do not have also the awareness about the forward linkages of these schemes in terms of market linkage for real benefit to be accrued from the schemes. Lack of access to information is quite evident when people were found ignorant about the execution of schemes by politically influential persons from other villages against their own villages. Even in the same village influential families manipulate to include those families in BPL which are not in fact entitled. This is the reason for which non-Arunachalee households are enumerated under BPL category. Compared to Shyams and Adis, Khamptis are more influential in the region. Adis are in fact migrants from other districts but they are entitled to these schemes because of their Arunachalee status. Shyams have ethnic affiliation with Khamptis and are less numerous and less politically influential. But their affiliation to Khamptis has made them comparatively more influential as compared to Adis. The consideration of ethnic superiority is a contributing factor for the differences in the impact of PAPs

between the tribes. The superiority consideration also exists in explaining the phenomena of intra-tribal differences.

Nature of decentralization through Panchayat Raj to empower people with a view to bring about all round rural development is screened at the level of people's representatives. It is found that the wife of an ASM embezzled the money under DWCRA scheme in Lathaw village by forming a group of women who were ignorant of such formation.

Table No.7.1
Sample Tribe: Literacy, Sex-ratio of ST Population of each
Sample Tribe under Study (1991)

Name of the tribe	Total ST population	Male	Female	Sex ratio	Literacy %
Khampti	929	479	450	939	25.0
Adi Somuwa	718	383	335	874	24.2
Shyam	719	425	394	927	59.0

Source: Census of India, 1991, Series 3, Part XII A&B, District Census Hand Book, Lohit, Village and Town Directory, Arunachal Pradesh 1991

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

In India the tribal communities usually live in villages. It is therefore natural to consider Tribal Development within the broader frame of rural development. This is because programmes and policies for rural development are also applied to the development of tribals without or with modification keeping in the line of specific constitutional provisions and various concessions granted to them under different policies and schemes. It is in this line of thinking that Poverty Alleviation Programmes during Eighth Five Year Plan were considered to study the tribal development with reference to selected tribes in Lohit District in Arunachal Pradesh.

In this context it is to be noted that right from the inception of planning in India, poverty alleviation has been an important objective of development planning in India. The strategies, however, have changed over different plan periods. The government of India soon after independence launched the Community Development Programmes to rejuvenate economic and social life. Later on multipurpose Project Blocks, Community development Blocks, Integrated Rural Development Programmes (IRDP) etc., were experimented with. Of course there were provisions like Tribal Development Blocks, Tribal Sub-Plan etc., for the development of tribal communities. But Integrated Tribal Development Blocks and Tribal Sub-Plan were not meant for tribal dominated states/ Union Territories like Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, and Lakshadweep etc. In this states general Plan programmes were implemented with special concessions

for the tribals. Obviously the Poverty Alleviations Programmes discussed in the present work to study tribal development has a reference to general plan programmes meant for the tribal areas. It is to be noted that the poverty Alleviations implemented in sample villages namely Lathaw, Manmow, Wingko, and Nongtaw Khampti, Joipur, Ningroo Adi, Mabira, Namleng, Kaisu, Jona IV, Nanam Shyam, Nongtaw Khampti in Lohit district of Arunachal Pradesh during Eighth Five Year Plan were analyzed for the purpose of our study.

As usual the first Chapter begun with spelling out objectives, methodology, significance of the study etc were discussed. In the second Chapter the socio cultural profile of the people, geographical personality of the study has been discussed. The tribes selected for the purpose of study broadly belong to two racial stock; the Khamptis and the Shyam are of Shan descents while the Adi and Adi somuwa belong to the Tani group. Though there are variations in many aspects of their cultural life, their economy was in tune of the environment of their settlement area and locational advantages in relation to the distance from main road, Administrative Head Quarters and Business centers.

For the better understanding of Tribal development vis-à-vis Poverty Alleviation Programmes there is a review of tribal development in India with special reference to North-East and Arunachal Pradesh. Besides constitutional safeguards for the tribals, various approaches to tribal development have been discussed in historical perspectives, specifically approaches, goals and strategies for tribal development under different plan programmes have been

outlined in general and with reference to North East India and Arunachal Pradesh in particular. The emphasis is laid on such programmes as JRY/ EAS etc to create rural infrastructure for generating wage employment and IRDP and DWCRA to promote self employment as entry point of discussion in the present work. In the fourth chapter there is a general discussion on the nature of planning and organizational set up for implementing Poverty Alleviation Programmes in Arunachal Pradesh. There is also a discussion on related institutions working toward alleviations of poverty in rural areas. This apart both physical and financial achievements under various achievements under various Poverty Alleviation Programmes during Eighth Five Year Plan have been enumerated for a better understanding of the sample villages. In Chapter Five and Six both inter and intra tribal differences in the implementation of Poverty Alleviation Programmes have been presented. The analysis in these two Chapters have been formed the basis of explanation of socio economic constraint in tribal development in Arunachal Pradesh. It has been found that tribal development vis-a- vis rural Development through Poverty Alleviation Programmes has not been effective in study areas. Both inter and intra tribe variation in terms of fund utilization and in terms of Scheme implementation have been noticed in the villages studied. However these variations do not corroborate a definite relationship between selected variables such as literacy, remoteness and various schemes implemented in the sample villages.

An inter tribe comparisons of Below Poverty Line Households could not be indicative of differences at the level of village poverty because of inclusion of non Arunachalee Households in some villages. It is to be noted that during the period of study out of a total amount of Rs 3260273 the khampti villages shared Rs 1807045, Adi villages Rs 288708 and the Shyam villages Rs 1398395. In terms of percentage allocation, the percentage share of Khamptis was highest at 51.72 percent followed by Shyams at 40.02 percent and Adis only at 8.86 percent. In terms of fund utilization and fund allocation under different schemes it was recorded that Khampti villages shared around 50 percent of the total schemes followed by Adi villages at 28.36 percent and Shyam villages at 21.09 percent respectively. In terms of distribution of individual schemes under IRDP the Khampti villages shared 59.6 percent followed by Adi villages at 24.5 percent and Shyam villages at 15.9 percent. The same trend followed under JRY schemes in which the Khampti villages shared 75.91 percent, The Adi at 12.67 percent and the Shyam at 11.24 percent. But under EAS the Shyam villages shared 59.40 percent followed by Khampti 39.34 percent and Adi at 1.26 percent. It is to be noted that the inter village differences have been taken as measure of studying inter tribe differences.

The differences in villages of a particular tribe however is considered to understand intra tribal differences in the implementation of Poverty Alleviation Programmes, and thereby the nature extent of Tribal development. It is to be noted that that among the Khamptis Wingko village shared 47.42 percent of the total

fund utilized followed by Lathaw at 22.24 percent, Nongtaw Khampti village at 15.57 percent and Manmow village at 14.77 percent. In terms of unit cost of IRDP schemes under IRDP it was recorded highest at Rs 3914 in Lathaw followed by Wingko at Rs 3669, Manmow at Rs 3562 and Nongtaw Khampti at Rs 3124. Similarly among Adi villages Joipur shared 41.84 percent followed by Ningroo-Adi at 20.60 percent and both Mabira and Namleng at 18.78 percent each in terms of total fund utilization. In terms of unit cost under IRDP it was recorded highest in Ningroo Adi at Rs 2713.70 followed by Joipur at Rs 2696, Namleng at Rs 2293.92 and Mabira at Rs 2258.87. An Intra tribal difference is also obvious in Shyam villages. In terms of average share in fund allocation Jona IV village had the highest share at Rs 29460 followed by Kaisu at Rs 3638.73, Nongtaw Shyam at Rs 1987.52 and Nanam Shyam at Rs 1841.53. The average unit cost of schemes under IRDP was recorded highest at Rs 2922.88 in Nanam Shyam Village followed by Jona IV at Rs 2690.07, Nongtaw Shyam at Rs 2298.90 and Kaisu at Rs 1870.13.

A further analysis of literacy, remoteness etc does not establish any casual relationship with various schemes implemented in sample villages. The study had attributed non conventional factors like good governance, access to information and predominance, traditional way of life of villages to the inter tribe and intra tribe differences. It was also noted in the study that top down approach through politician bureaucracy nexus existed in spirit and practice. Coupled with it where local conditions and local practices which prevent” bottom of approach which on

the other hand weakened the very objective behind people's empower through decentralization. It was also noted that people who had more contact with administrative headquarters got more benefit than others. There are evidences which showed that ignorance, individual interest and power positions affected the implementation scheme adversely.

The essence of findings is that the impact of Poverty Alleviation Programmes in tribal villages could be better studied by applying non-conventional methods. In the process of transformation in tribal communities various factors act and interact in such a way that their over all impact could only be studied in a holistic perspective.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AICR	All India Rural Credit Review
AOP	Annual Operation Plan
APO	Assistant Project Officer
ASM	Anchal Samitee Member
AVP	Anchal Vice President
BDO	Block Development Officer
BPL	Below Poverty Line
CDB	Community Development Block
DC	Deputy Commissioner
DPO	District Planning Officer
DRDA	District Rural Development Agency
DRDA	District Rural Development Agency
DRDO	District Rural Development Officer
DWCRA	Development of Women and Child in Rural Areas
EAC	Economic Advisory Council
EAS	Employment Assurance Scheme
EO	Extension Officer
GB	Gao Buraa
GPM	Gram Panchayat Member
HYVP	High Yielding Variety Programmes
IADP	Integrated Area Development Programme
IAY	Indira Awas Yozana
ICDS	Integrated Child Development Service
IRDP	I Integrated Rural Development Programme
ITDP	Integrated Tribal development Programme
JRY	Jawahar Rozgar Yozana

LDC	Lower Division Clerk
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MWS	Million Well Scheme
NERC	North East Regional Council
NGO	Non Government Organization
NIRD	National Institute of Rural development
NREP	National Rural Employment Programme
PA	Project Assistance
PAP	Poverty Alleviation Programme
PD	Project Director
PWD	Public Work Department
RD	Rural Development
RLGEP	Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme
RLR	Rural Link Road
RWD	Rural Work Department
SFDA	Small farmer Development Agency
SIRD	State Institute of Rural Development
TRYSEM	Training for Youth for Self Employment Programme
TSP	Tribal Sub Plan
VLW	Village Level Worker
VP	Vice President
ZPM	Zila Parishad Member

GLOSSARY

Khampti Terms

An Laak:	Marriage by capture
An Khon Khoi	Marriage by service
Chaan:	Portico
Chau Khun Sang	The supreme creator
Chawmaan	Village Headman
Chong	Temple of the Khampti
Hak kan	Love marriage
Hong Khon Khaw	Goddess of paddy, also the ceremony of bring home goddess of rice
Howk:	Traditional Handloom
Khautek:	Roasted Paddy which is used for making sweets during festive occasion and also used during daily prayers
Khoung Hok	Traditional Handloom materials
Khoung Yam	Gift during marriage
Kon Maan	Villagers
Maan	Village
Mi May Tang Hawn	Widow remarriage
Mit	Dao
Mokchum	Traditional Council
Momong	Mango
Moung Nam	Lowland Country
Moung noe	Highland Country
Nuen	Month
Pahn eon	Lower class among the khampti
Phan chau	Upper class among the Khampti

Phi Noy;	The deity of Village / hills
Phimoung	The deity of the whole world
Phi Maan	The deity of village
Put Long Saw	Sororate
Put pillow	Levirate
Saa and Ampaa	Basket
Sungken	A festival celebrated in the Khampti month of Nuen Haa (April) corresponding to the Sangkranti of Baisakh
Tan Ho Kaa	Bride Price
Tang hawn:	Marriage
Thamasat	Law Book of the Khampti

Adi terms

Anyek	A corn cultivated by the Adi, Job's tears
Apong or Opo	Rice beer
Bango Kebang	Inter Village Council
Bogum Bokang	The zonal council of the Adi which meant for the whole community
Dere	Community Hall
Doulg Krbang	Smallest Administrative Institutions of the Adi in the village
Gams	Village Head Man
Keabng Abu	Elders of the Village Council, Kebang
Kebang	Village Council
Moshup	Dormitory for the boys
Nyibo, Miri	priest
Opin or Ali	Clan
Patat	Number of patches of <i>Jhum</i> cultivation,
Ponung/ Panu	Songs and Dance
Rasheng	Dormitory for girls
Rumtum	Family

Adi somuwa terms

Anna	paisa
Chadadr	shawl

Chang	House with a raised floor
Dhuti	Male dress
Kharahoi	Basket
Matimah	Black gram
Mekhela	skirt
Namghar	Temple
Nriguna dharma	
Pasi	Basket
Tokopat	leave used for constructing traditional house

SCHEDULE FOR POVERTY ALLEVIATION PROGRAMMES

*(Information collected with the help of this schedule will be kept confidential
And be used for academic purpose only)*

VILLAGE SCHEDULE

1. Identification Particulars

1.1 Name of the sample village :

1.2 District: Block:

.....

1.3 Time taken for survey :

1.4 No. of household surveyed :

1.5 Informant : VLW / ASM / GPM / BDO /GB

2. General Information

2.1 Area/boundary of the village :

Area : North boundary :

Southern boundary: East boundary :

.....

West boundary :

Any other:

2.2 Total households (1991 census / survey)

Native households: Beneficiary households:

.....

2.3 Households self employed :

2.3.1 Only in Agriculture :

2.3.2 In Agriculture and timber operation :

2.3.3 In Agriculture, timber and other

- Activities :
- 2.4 Household engaged in :
- 2.4.1 Agriculture and transport :
- 2.4.2 Agriculture and rental business :
- 2.4.3 Agriculture and Govt. jobs :
- 2.4.4 Agriculture, business and Govt. jobs :
- 2.4.5 Any other :

3. Availability of facilities (Write 'O' if within the village)

<u>Facilities</u>	<u>Distance</u>
3.1 Major district road
Bus station
Bank
Post Office
School (Standard)
Fair price shop
Hot/Weekly market
Veterinary dispensary
Health Centre
Block Hqs.
3.2 Whether the village is connected with	
All weather road ?
Electricity
Nos. of shops
Any other

4. Households under different schemes

<u>4.1 Name of the scheme</u>	<u>No. of households</u>
IRDP

JRY
 MWS
 IAY
 Improved tools & kits
 EAS
 DWACRA
 TRYSEM

4.2 Name of the scheme (more than one) No. of households

IRDP & JRY

IRDP, TRYSEM, DWACRA

5. Miscellaneous

5.1 Were economic activities affected by the following calamities during reference period ?

Flood/Earthquake/Epidemic/Drought/

Others (Specify)

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