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

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### **Statement of the Problem**

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

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

ii) Self-esteem, and

iii) Freedom from servitude: to be able to choose

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

## **Review of Literature**

### **A. GENERAL:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### B. INDIA:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### C. MANIPUR:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Area of the Study**

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

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

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

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

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

Source: *Revenue Census, 1988.*

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

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

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

### **Objectives**

The objectives of the study are:

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

## Sources of Data Collection and Methods

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Chapterization**

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

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

## CHAPTER-VI

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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

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

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

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

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

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

development thinking has moved away from the limited objective of raising of the GNP. Its new concerns- prevention of the degradation of environment, preservation of scarce natural resources or finding alternatives to them, population control and so forth- have wide ramifications in the domain of culture. Any consideration of the quality of life will be meaningless if it does not take into account deeply held cultural values. Similarly, human resource development has vital cultural underpinnings. The notion of basic or minimum needs- nutrition, education, health, housing, employment etc, - is organically linked to culture. In this perspective, culture acquires still more significance. 27

The case for evolving interpenetrating and interdependent cultural and development policies therefore is strong. The record of the last five decades shows that development strategies that are not sensitive and responsive to the cultural fabric, its delicate balance and cherished finalities, run the risk of encountering rough weather. 28

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

mobilization, beneficiary identification, implementation or monitoring and evaluation.

What are those?

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

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

4. Since there is heterogeneity in beneficiary groups, community specific plan must be formulated. This means plans can be an outcome of one single master plan and this master plan must be made flexible to suit the cultural background of the ethnic group concerned. This point was brought to light by the work of L.P. Vidyarthi (1984), who said that the development programmes meant for the tribals were uniformly planned. As a result the needy received the least benefits while those

more advantageously placed in terms of population, size, and economic strength cornered most of the gains.

5. Low awareness amongst the tribal people about the development schemes/programmes has led the planners to find flaws with the tribal society instead of the development programmes. Therefore, development of awareness among the people about the programmes needs immediate attention. Awareness is also an important weapon to curtail possible irregularities by the implementing agencies. It is essential to have intensive campaigning and dissemination of information about the programmes through electronic media in local language and through conventional and non-conventional systems like advertisement in vernacular newspapers, local TV channels, dance, drama, poster, display on boards etc.

6. The present expenditure-oriented plans must be replaced with result-oriented plans. However important the policies and programmes may be, unless they are implemented effectively, the realization of the objectives becomes a remote possibility.

7. While giving financial aid care must be taken to see that it is utilized in a proper manner because it has been seen that assistance given to them is not utilized properly or is misused by them for purposes other than the one for which it was given. And, if possible aid must be given in kind, not in cash, and only about those items which the people cannot manage easily through their own resources such as seeds, fertilizers, etc.

8. The officials must establish a beneficiary-friendly approach with the tribal people and reach a consensus with the beneficiaries as to what change was required. This

would help in formulating a realistic policy keeping in view the local needs of the tribals.

9. Lack of training of the administrative personnel meant to implement the tribal schemes has also been responsible for the poor development of tribal areas. Therefore, the government must make it necessary for officers to have working knowledge of the tribal language, traditions and culture. In this regard Ashok Ranjan Basu (1988) in his study on tribal development in Himachal Pradesh pointed out that the training of the personnel must be emphasized to: (a) familiarize the officers with those aspects of tribal culture that impinge on their development work; and (b) instil in them right attitudinal and behavioural patterns for service, as outside people are still not perceived as agents of change, but as agents of the group who have traditionally exploited them.

10. The officials posted must devote more time to fieldwork. They must maintain field diaries that would indicate the places and persons contacted by them. This is lacking as has been found during fieldwork among the villagers, and confirmed by the officials themselves.

11. To solve the problem of indebtedness among the tribal community, the existing co-operative systems must be reorganized and loan must be given to tribals without interest and within a short time on easy terms and conditions.

12. Tribal planning is required to focus on the tribal masses and they are required to be protected from tribal elites who do not allow percolation of the benefits of planning process. Similarly, institutions like village development councils and co-

operatives should be regulated in such a way that they would not work as channels of exploitation.

13. There is a need to change the mindset of tribals in a manner that they do not become victims of dependency syndrome but develop their self-confidence and capability.

14. The participation of tribals in development plans has to be ensured by strategic efforts for promoting system, delivery system, transparency and direct contacts of delivery agency.

15. Intervention by a few qualified NGOs with appropriate administrative structure, strong service motivation and professional competence is absolutely essential to achieve expected tribal development objectives.

16. Proper and careful formulation of programmes, development of awareness about the programmes and transparency in their implementation and evolving more effective monitoring mechanism for better implementation of the schemes are prerequisites of a successful tribal development plan.

If the poorest of the poor are to be reached and served, emphasis in the planning and implementation of human development will need to be firmly rested on the centrality of the human dimension. The need is to understand what the people feel about services designed for them and the reason why they often respond to those initiatives in ways different from the expectations of the planners and administrators. ✓