CHAPTER – I

INTRODUCTION

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There is no nation in the world that does not represent a state of ethnic heterogeneity. The differences between culturally defined groups of these composite wholes vary from situation to situation and over time. In this expansive category, comes a vast section of humanity known by variety of puzzling names such as primitive, tribal, indigenous, aboriginal, and native and so on. Some major characteristics of these groups are simple, pre-machine economy, unsophisticated rituals and social customs, lack of scripts for their speech, small local community-centric organisation etc.

Since prehistoric times, India has been the home of multiple ethno-cultural stocks.[1] Since then, cultural diversities between various ethnic groups have become enormous. This implies not only the coexistence of non-identical ethno-cultural groups in the Indian sub-continent, but also a situation where there could be harmony as well as conflict. Such natural settings ordinarily provide scope for assimilation and consequent merger of smaller groups of discrete cultures into a body of the larger ones.

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[1] A.L. Basham, (1954). *The Wonder that was India,* London: Sedgwick and Jackson, p.13

1.1   The Problem

After the independence of India from the colonial rule, the government has adopted various measures for the socio-economic development of tribal. This developmental process is directed towards supporting the underprivileged sections of the society, who for centuries, have suffered humiliation, exploitation and miserable poverty. To achieve this objective, various anti-exploitative and protective measures have been taken. But vulnerable conditions of any community cannot be improved without taking certain positive steps to help them overcome their helplessness caused by their socio-economic backwardness. Keeping this in mind, various legislative and welfare measures have been undertaken by the state to uplift these communities. Since the very beginning of the era of planning, concerted efforts have been made to ameliorates their conditions and raise their levels of social, economic and educational status. The problems of tribal development baffled the policy makers, administrators and social scientists in India, because hunger, starvation, poor shelter and exploitation faced by almost all the tribal groups were crying for immediate, effective solutions.

For the welfare of the tribals, the Constituent Assembly adopted Article 45 of the Constitution of India and assured that 'the state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people in general, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs), and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.'[2] Besides, the 'Fifth and Sixth Schedules'[3] of the Constitution provides special provision for the welfare of tribals.

However, over the years, it has been experienced that the government's intense efforts to draw these tribes from a subsistence economy into the wider economic frameworks of the country through legislative protection and progressive socio-economic programs have not met with much success. Instead of governmental assistance going to the tribal communities, the old entrenched exploitative elements, have usurped them. The

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[2] Constitution of India, Article – '46'

[3] The Fifth Schedule is related to provision as to the administration and control of scheduled areas and Scheduled Tribes in any State other than States coming under the purview of Sixth Schedule. The Sixth Schedule is related to provision as to the administration of tribal areas in the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram.

numerous tribal development programs through Five Year Plans and lately the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) have helped the tribes, but marginally. The development process has, in many cases, been instrumental in causing numerous disadvantages; prominent among them being displacement and loss of land – the tribals' main resource base. [4] Thousands of tribal families have been evicted by the construction of multi-purpose dams, mining and industrialisation.[5]

Besides, improvements in the socio-economic conditions of STs in terms of increased literacy rates, reduction in poverty, etc. have not been proportionate to the investments made. As compared to other sections of the Indian society, the tribal population has the lowest Human Development Index (HDI). In addition, they suffer from geographical and cultural exclusion, which are not captured in the HDI. Similarly, lack of empowerment to make choices for themselves is also not accounted for. A large segment of the tribal population lives below the poverty line and suffers from a high infant mortality rate, severe malnutrition, various communicable diseases, lower literacy rates and an extremely slow pace of development. 'Underdevelopment coupled with lack of access to proper administrative and judicial machinery in tribal areas further increases their deprivation.'[6] In order to identify and rectify these problems, much has been written about the backwardness of tribal communities and the need for their development. Almost every kind of professional like an anthropologists, social workers, bureaucrats and politician have, with their acquaintance of the tribal ways of life, offered numerous suggestions to improve tribal life, but with meagre outcome.

This brings into question the role of 'Tribal Development Administration' established by the Government of India to further improve the socio-economic backwardness of the tribal. The question also arises as to whether there is something wrong with the policy, approach and implementation of development programs related to

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[4] *Eight Five Year Plan,* (1992-97), Vol. 2, Government of India, New Delhi: Planning Commission, p.420

[5] Achyut Das and Vidhya Das, (1992), Development of Tribal Women*, Economic and Political Weekly*, 27 (27), pp. 1372-1373

[6] S.N Chaudhary (Ed.). (2009). *Tribal Development since Independence*, New Delhi: Concept Publisher, p. 208

tribals. Besides, there is also an impression of lack of 'good governance,'[7] which refers to the quality of governance that expresses itself through attributes such as accountability, transparency, efficiency, empowerment, participation, sustainability, equity and justice,[8] in the system of administration and in the institutional structure of tribal development.

Against this backdrop, the present study focuses on issues related to tribal development administration in Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council (TTAADC). The TTAADC was created under the Sixth Schedule of Indian Constitution to safeguard the constitutional and traditional right of the tribals. Tribal Welfare Department created in the year 1982, is the nodal agency. So, the present study would mainly focus on TTAADC and its impact in promoting the welfare of the tribals, divergence between prescription and practices in the implementation of programs and to find out the nature of relationship between elected local leaders and government officials in executing development works.

The state of Tripura was tribal dominated princely state when it was incorporated into the Union of India in 1949. However, successive waves of migration of Bengali Hindus and Muslims from Bangladesh (then East Pakistan) have reduced the tribal population to a minority. The huge influx also created pressure on the land and economy of Tripura. There has been a continuous demand for setting up of Tribal Autonomous Council to provide self government to the tribals and thereby protect their socio-economic and cultural interests. Against this backdrop, the Legislative Assembly of Tripura passed the Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council Act, in 1979. [9]

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[7] 'Good governance' enters the lexicon of Public Administration since the nineteen eighties. Third World government are 'soft' on policy implementation, there is an absence of proper accounting and budgetary system, widespread corruption, and general lack of popular participation due to public apathy and misinformation. So, informal, non-governmental mechanism, community and voluntary organization are found better for public needs or for solving community problems. Non-Governmental organization working in the developmental sector has opened up the possibility of governance without government.

[8] Hasnat Abdul Hye, (2001). *Good Governance: A Social Contract for the New Millennium,* in Hye's (Ed.), *Governance: South Asain Perspective,* New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, p. 7.

[9] Vijay Hansaria, (2010). *Sixth Schedule to the Constitution,* New Delhi: Universal Law Publishing, p. 181

With a view to fulfil the aspirations of the tribals to have autonomy and administer themselves, the Tripura Legislative Assembly passed a resolution on 19th March,1982, and another on 11th February, 1983 urging the Government of India to apply the provisions of the Sixth Schedule to the tribal areas of the State of Tripura. Accordingly, the Constitution was amended by the 49th Amendment Act, 1984 and the provisions of the Sixth Schedule were made applicable to the tribal areas of Tripura. [10]

1.2   Conceptual Definitions
1.2.1   *Tribal:*

There is no concrete definition of 'tribal.' It is an attribute of a tribe, and any individual connected with a tribe is generally referred to as tribal. The word 'tribe' is derived from the Middle English which having Latin roots referred to the divisions of the early Romans. The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary defined 'tribe' as a group of people of the same race, and with the same customs, language, religion, etc., and living in a particular area and often led by a chief. According to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, tribe is a group of families or communities linked by social, economic, religion or blood ties and usually having a common culture and a recognised leader.

Anthropologists like Piddington (1955) are of the opinion that 'a tribe is a group of people speaking a common dialect, inhabiting a common territory and displaying certain homogeneity in their culture.' [11] Along the same lines, Hoebel (1949) opines that 'a tribe is a social group speaking a distinctive language or dialect and possessing distinctive cultures that makes it off from other tribes. It is not necessarily organised politically.'[12] DN Majumdar defines it as 'a social group with territorial affiliation, endogamous, with no specialisation of functions, ruled by tribal officers, hereditary or otherwise united in language or dialect, recognising social distance with other tribes or castes without any social oblige attaching to them, as it does in the caste structure, following tribal traditions,

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[10] Vijay Hansaria, *Ibid.* p. 181

[11] Quoted by L.P. Vidyarthi, and B.K. Rai, (1977), *Tribal Culture of India,* New Delhi: Concept Publication, p. 167

[12] *Ibid.* p. 167

beliefs and customs, illiberal of naturalisation of ideas from alien sources, above all conscious of homogeneity of ethnic and territorial integration.' [13]

A tribe, thus, may be defined as a group of people speaking a common language, observing uniform rules of social organisation and working together for common purposes such as trade, agriculture and welfare. Tribes have more kin-oriented societies, and maintain a mechanical social solidarity. In their society, there is less hierarchy and no economic specialisation. They depend on nature, adapting themselves to local situations, using crude technology.

Anthropologists have identified the following characteristics of tribal communities – (1) smallness, (2) distinctiveness, (3) homogeneity, (4) isolation and self-sufficiency, (5) sensitivity, (6) anxiety to retain their identity, and (7) fear of extinction.[14] A small community, like tribe, is thus said to have the following four qualities.

1) Distinctiveness: Where the community begins and where it ends is clearly visible. The distinctiveness is apparent to the observer and is expressed in the group consciousness of the people of the community.

2) Smallness: A compact community with a small population provides, in some part of it, a unit of personal observation fully representative of the whole.

3) Homogeneity: Activities and state of mind are much alike for all persons and career of one generation repeats that of the preceding and, thus a state of homogeneity exists.

4) Self-sufficiency: The community is self-sufficient and provides for all or most of the activities and needs of the people.

A.R. Desai (1979) [15] has pointed out certain common features emerging from the definition of tribes. They are:

1) Living away from the civilised world, inaccessible forests and hills;

2) Belonging to any one of the three stocks: Negroid, Australoid and Mongoloid;

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[13] Retrieved from http://www.sociologyguide.com/tribal-society/, on 11th May, 2014

[14] Ashok Ranjan Basu, (1985), *Tribal Development Programmes and Administration in India: With Special reference to Himachal Pradesh,* New Delhi: National Book Organisation, pp. 37-38.

[15] A.R. Desai, (1979), *Rural India in Transition,* Bombay: Popular Prakashan, pp. 49-50.

3) Speaking their dialect;

4) Professing a primitive religious animism;

5) Following primitive occupations such as gardening, hunting and gathering of forest produce;

6) They are being largely carnivorous; and

7) Living either naked or semi naked, using free barks and leaves for clothing, having nomadic habits and a love for drink and dance.

The following seven criteria could be attributed in identifying a tribe:

1) A tribe has the least functional interdependence within the community.

2) A tribe is economically backward.

3) A tribe is geographically isolated from other people.

4) A tribe speaks a common dialect which may however be subject to regional variations.

5) A tribe is politically a unit under a common tribal authority, and

6) A tribe has its own traditional laws which often differ from those of the majority communities.

To sum up, a tribe is always considered primitive and lives in backward areas of remote forest and inaccessible hill-tracts. The situation is more or less the same in across the world. They are social groups of people inhabiting a definite territory or claiming to occupy a common territory, known by a common name, speaking a common dialect, sharing a common culture, showing behaviour of an endogamous group. They observe common taboos, work together under distinctive social and political systems, keep full faith in their leaders and lives on mutual cooperation and interdependence.

Tribal economy by its very nature is a non-monetised economy. For, 'in a society based on a domestic economy, where producers are themselves the consumers, the role of money does not exist.' [16] At the economic and cultural level, the family is a unit of both production and consumption. The community itself acts like a cooperative unit, and the tribal communities living in a village or location are economically interdependent. The

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[16] Andre Bateille, (1977), *op. cit.,* p.12.

distribution is generally based on gifts and ceremonial exchange. [17] They have a very simple technology which fits well with their ecological surroundings and conservative outlook. Their economy can be said to be a subsistent economy. They practice different occupations to sustain themselves and live on marginal economy. Some of the basic features of tribal economy are given below:

1) Small Economy: Small Economy is the fundamental characteristic of tribal societies. Most of the resources, goods, and service-transaction take place within a small economy, geographical area and within a community of persons numbered in hundreds or thousands.

2) Simple Technology: Compared to the industrialised economies, the technology adopted in tribal economy is much simpler and crude. Tools are either made by the user himself or are acquired from craftsmen or manufacturing groups.

3) Geographical or cultural isolation: Tribals live mostly in secluded and isolated areas and maintain their distinct cultural heritage. They are, generally, hesitant in intermingling with the outside world and adopting the advanced concepts for developing their economy.

Thus, the main characteristic of tribal economy can be summarised in the following points: (1) forest-based economy; (2) the family as a unit of production, consumption and pattern of labour; (3) simple technology; (4) absence of profit motive in economic dealings; (5) the community as a cooperative unit; (6) gift and ceremonial exchange; (7) periodical local markets; (8) interdependence, and (9) prevalence of cooperation rather than competition in tribal economy.

As far as India is concerned, the first census report by Bain during 1891, the then Commissioner for Census of India, included all tribal groups as 'forest tribes' and kept them under the sub-heading of 'agricultural and pastoral castes.' The tribals were again classified as 'animists' in the census report of 1901 by Risley and as 'tribal animist' or people following tribal religion in the census report of 1911 by Gait; as 'hill and forest tribe' in the census report of 1931 by Hutton. Later all these peoples came to be known as

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[17] L.P. Vidyarthi and B.K. Rai, (1977). *op. cit.,* p. 29

'backward tribes' in the Government of India Act 1935 and as 'tribes' in the census report of 1941.

Over time the term 'tribe' in Indian context, by and large, is synonymously used as *Adhivsi* (original settlers), *Girijan* (hill dwellers), *Vanyajati* (forest caste), *Adimjati* (primitive caste), *Janajati* (folk communities) and *Anusuchit Janajati* (scheduled tribe). Identification of tribals groups through various fictitious names not only brought many common masses into its fold, but also imposed various new names, which the tribal people do not even recognise.

The term 'tribe' has not been defined in the Constitution of India. The term 'Scheduled Tribe' (ST) was inserted in the Indian Constitution vide Article 342 (I). [18] Article 355 (25) of the constitution of India refers to STs as those communities, who are scheduled in accordance with Article 342 of the Indian Constitution. This article says that only those communities which have been declared as such by the President through an initial public notification or through a subsequent amending Act of Parliament will be considered to be STs.

Article 342 further provides for specification of tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purposes of this constitution be deemed to be STs in relation to that state or Union Territory (UT). In pursuance of these provisions, the lists of STs are notified for each state or UT and are valid only within the jurisdiction of that state or UT and not outside.

The list of STs is state / UT specific, and a community declared as an ST in a state need not be so in another state. The inclusion of a community as an ST is a continuous process. The essential characteristics, first laid down by the 'Lokur Committee,' [19] for a community to be identified as STs in India are:

1) Indications of primitive traits;
2) A distinctive culture;

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[18] Constitution of India, Articles - 342 (i)

[19] A special Advisory Committee set up by the Government of India, Department of Social Security, in the year 1965, to make a Revision of the List of Schedule Tribes and Schedule Castes.

3) Shyness of contact with the community at large;

4) Geographical isolation; and

5) Backwardness.

1.2.2 *Tribal Development:*

Before defining 'tribal development,' it would be relevant to define 'development.' Attempts have been made by scholars of different disciplines to define the concept of 'development.' In its 1980 final report, the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, chaired by former German Chancellor Willy Brandt reports that, 'development never will be, and never can be, defined to universal satisfaction.'[20] Similarly, Uphoff and Ilchman (1972) points out that development is probably one of the most depreciated terms in social science literature, having been used more than it has been understood. [21] The definition varies from increased in national economy to social improvement and increased in the capacity of the political system. Thus, development is a complex phenomenon comprising many dimensions – social, political, economic, administrative etc.

According to Gerhard Colm and Theodore Geiger (1952), development means 'change plus growth.'[22] Esman (1955), defines development as, 'the rational process of organising and carrying out prudently conceived and staffed programmes or projects as one would organise and carry military or engineering operations.'[23] Weidner (1979), defines it as a 'process of growth in the direction of nation-building and socio-economic progress.'[24] TN Chatturvedi (1978) defines it as 'a process which stands for transformation

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[20] As cited by Laurent Goetschel *et al.* in *Swiss Foreign Policy: Foundations and Possibilities*, London: Routledge Publication, p. 94.

[21] Norman T. Uphoff and Warren F. Ilchman, (Eds.), (1972), *The Political Economy of Development: Theoretical and Empirical Contributions,* California: University of California Press, p. 9.

[22] Gerhard Colm and Theodore Geiger, (1962). *Country programming as a Guide to Development,* in Development of Emerging Countries: An Agenda for Research, Washington: Brookings Institution, p. 47.

[23] Milton J. Esman, (1966), *The Politics of Development Administration,* in Montgomery and Siffin (Eds.), *Approach to Development: Politics, Administration and Change,* New York, p. 95.

[24] Edward W. Weidner, (1970), *The Element of Development Administration,* in Weidner (Eds.), *Development Administration in Asia,* Durham: N.C. Duke University Press, p. 8.

of society.'[25] Riggs (1970) defines development in terms of 'rising levels of autonomy or discretion in the sense of ability to choose among alternatives, not, of course in the sense of caution and moderation.' [26]

Dudley Seers (1971), found it difficult to define development in the absence of a reduction in equality, poverty, and unemployment. [27] Denis Goulet (1971) went ahead and indicated 'life sustenance, self-esteem and freedom of choice as to three core values of development for individual and societies.'[28] Chi-Yuen Wu (1978) defines development 'as process of societal transformation from a traditional society to a modern society and such a transformation is also known as modernisation.' [29] Michael Todaro (1977) also describes development as multi-dimensional process involving changes in structures, attitudes and institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of absolute poverty. [30]

In a broader sense, while development signifies all aspects of development that are of collective nature pertaining to the society as a whole, in a narrower sense, it has been used either with reference to the human welfare aspects of development or in connection with structural transformation in a society. The main aim of development is to increase national and per capita income and to raise the living standard of the people and to secure justice, freedom, equality and security in a society. The focus of development is now increasingly on – equitable distribution of wealth and income, full utilisation of

[25] T.N. Chatturvedi, (1978), *Development: The Dynamics Thorns and Thistles,* in Sudesh Kumar Sharma (Ed.), *Dynamic of Development: An International Perspective*, Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, Vol. 2, p. 693

[26] Fred W. Riggs, (1970). *The Idea of Development Administration,* in Edward W. Weidner (Ed.), *op. cit.,* p.27

[27] Dudley Seers, (1971), *The Meaning of Development,* in *Insight: For Decision Makers in Asia,* July, pp. 18-23

[28] Denis Goulet, (1971), *The Cruel Choice: A New Concept on the Theory of Development,* New York, pp. 23, 87-94

[29] Chi-Yuen Wu, (1978), *The Nature of Modern Development: Challenge of Underdevelopment and Mal-development,* in S.K. Sharma (ed.), *op. cit.,* No. 6, Vol. 1, p. 2

[30] Michael P. Todaro, (1977), *Economic for a Developing World,* London, P. 96

manpower, better utilisation of natural resources, protection of the human environment, etc. [31]

However, development should not be discussed in terms of economic development only. The political component of development seems to consist of increasing rationality, secularisation, equality and participation in the political systems. In the social dimension, it seems to consist of such features as the transformation of obligations from a network of individuals, family or group relationships into obligations to the community and increase social mobility and social freedom.

Development is, thus, never complete; it is relative, a state of mind, a tendency, a direction, rather than a fixed goal; it is a rate of change in a particular direction. Therefore, the fulfilment of a certain goal alone cannot be termed as development. [32] In the ultimate analysis, it results in a sense of well being among the members of society. Development, therefore, relates to transforming the entire society, enmeshing together its economic, social, political and administrative aspects, for an all-round balanced upward change. [33]

So, development may be understood as a state of mind, a change in a desirable direction, aiming at bringing about improvement, qualitatively and quantitatively, in the social, political and economic life of a nation. A desirable change in the social sphere is described as social development. Similarly, a desirable change in the political sphere and economic sphere are refers to political development and economic development respectively.

'Tribal development' therefore, could be defined as uplifts of the tribal communities, which are at different stages of socio-economic and cultural development. It implies social and economic development of the tribal people through phased manner and time-bound integrated area development and other programs suiting the genius and the

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[31] As quoted by Avinash Samal, in *Tribal Development Administration: Case Study of a District in Orissa,* University of Mysore, Mysore, 2001, p. 23.

[32] Edward, Weidner, (1962), *Development Administration: A New Focus for Research,* in Ferrel Heady and Sybil L. Stoke (Eds.), *Papers in Comparative Public Administration,* Michigan: University of Michigan Press.

[33] As quoted by Avinash Samal, *ibid,* p.23

economic situation of the people, ensuring the progressive elimination of all forms of exploitation and ensuring a move towards the goal of equality and social justice.

Tribes in India are not only numerous, but also differ widely in their habitat, level of development, modes of production, exposure to the wider world, traditional values, customs, beliefs, etc. There are tribes living in inaccessible hill tops, having minimal contact with the world beyond them. There are tribes in the plains living with a non-tribal population and obviously having a large degree of interdependence. There are tribes practicing diverse modes of production, right from hunting, fishing, fruit-gathering to being engaged as industrial-urban workers. Some tribes have gone far ahead of others educationally (details are discussed in Chapter 2). There are tribes with collective ownership of land and forest resources, ensuring an egalitarian and unstructured social set-up and exhibiting a strong sense of solidarity. There are also tribes having individual ownership of property leading to a structured society akin to the mainstream India. While there are tribes which have been coming into the fold of the Hindu cultural pattern, there are those which are moving in the opposite direction.[34] With such diversities, attempts to evolve a general scheme of tribal development, having universal application to all tribes in India, are bound to be abortive. Tribal development, because of the diverse situations, has to be area-specific.

The problem of tribal development emanate from equating tribal areas with any other economically backward area and recommending identical packages of measures for their uplift. Tribals, as a class, are viewed as poor;[35] they are described as constituting the matrix of Indian poverty.[36] Quite apart from the fact that scantiness in some tribal societies, particularly those living in inaccessible regions, may just represent a mode of living in their natural setting, rather than being reflective of their poverty,[37] the approach

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[34] Annada C Bhagabati, (1982). *Emergent Tribal Identity in North-East India*, in Buddhadeb Chaudhury (Ed), *Tribal Development in India: Problems and Prospect,* Delhi, p 25.

[35] National Council of Applied Economic Research expressed this view. See Report on Socio-Economic Conditions of Primitive Tribes in Madhya Pradesh, New Delhi, 1978, p 9.

[36] L P Vidyarthi, (1982), *Problems and Prospects of Tribal Development in India*, in Buddhadeb Chaudhury (Ed), *ibid,* Delhi, p. 375.

[37] B.D. Sharma, (1978), *Tribal Development: The Concept and the Frame*, New Delhi: Prachi Prakashan, p. 5.

oversimplifies the complex problem of tribal development by making it a purely economic one. The problem is more basic and includes, apart from economic development, preservation of ethnic identity, ecology, language, culture, style of living, indigenous practices, etc. A mere plan of economic development would be utterly inadequate. Along with economic planning, there should be social and political planning in an integrated manner.[38]

Tribal Development thus, should include both quantitative and qualitative changes. Social and cultural aspects of the concerned population should be considered. Imposition of ideas and values, plans and programs, and also priorities of work without considering the felt needs of the concerned population should not be made. Development should promote participation of the concerned population in the development process. Development should not only prevent alienation of the tribals over productive resources; it should also not affect the physical environment to any appreciable extent and the traditional customary rights of the tribals over productive resources. Development should not in any way affect the quality of life, but is expected to improve it.

1.2.3   *Tribal Development Administration:*

Tribal development administration again, could not be defined without defining the concept of 'development administration.' In fact, the former is derived from the concept of the latter. A number of scholars of public administration and related disciplines have attempted to define the concepts of development administration. The public administration dictionary defines development administration as 'the enhancement or improvement of techniques processes, and system organised to increase the administrative capacity of a nation, usually a newly emerging nation.' [39]

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[38] B K Roy Burman, (2002), *Integrated Area Approach to the Problems of the Hill Tribes of North East India*, in K.S. Singh, (ed.), *Tribal Situation in India*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, p.96

[39] Ralph C. Chandler and Jack C. Plano, (1982). *The Public Administration Dictionary,* New York, John Wiley and Sons, p. 12.

Edward Weidner (1952) defines development administration as an 'action oriented, goal oriented administration system.'[40]   At the same line, John Montgomery (1955) defines development administration as 'carrying out planned change in the economy, and to a lesser extent, in the social services of the state especially education and public health.' [41] Similarly, Inayatullah (1970) defines it as 'the complex of organisational arrangements for the achievement of action through public authority in pursuance of (1) socio-economic goals, and (2) nation-building. It presupposes policies, plans and programs with a distinct development bias as well as a bureaucracy which consciously and continually seeks to modernise itself to meet the demands of planned change.'[42]

Again, Fred W. Riggs (1970) defines development administration as 'organised efforts to carry out programmes or projects thought by those involved to serve developmental objectives.'[43] Further placing an emphasis on administration of development and development administration, Riggs observes that 'development administration refers not only to a government's efforts to carry out programmes designed to reshape its physical, human, and cultural environment, but also to the struggle to enlarge a government's capacity to engage in such programmes.' [44]

So, development administration is concerned with plans, policies, programs and projects which focus on nation building and socio-economic development. It aims to achieve socio-economic goals through the talents and expertise of bureaucrats. Development administration also refers those aspects of changes in Public Administration that are essential for the formulation and implementation of socio-economic development, plans, policies, programs and projects undertaken by the governments of developing countries in order to eradicate poverty, unemployment, inequality and to attain economic

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[40] Edward Weidner, (1962). *Development Administration: A New Focus For Research,* in Ferrel Heady, Sybil and Stokes (Eds.), *Papers in Comparative Public Administration,* University of Machigan, p. 98

[41] John Montgomery, (1966). *A Royal Invitation: Variations on Three Classic Themes,* in Montgomery and William Siffin (Eds.), *Approaches to Development: Politics, Administration and Change,* New, p. 256.

[42] Inayatullah, (1970). *Local Administration in Developing Country – The Pakistan Case,* in Weidner (Ed.), *Development Administration in Asia,* Durham: Duke University Press, p. 74

[43]   F.W. Riggs, (1970). *The Context of Development Administration,* in Riggs (Ed.), *Frontiers of Development Administration,* Durham: N.C. Duke University, p. 73

[44] F.W. Riggs, (1970). *op.cit.* p.75

development, social justice, democracy, mass participation, national integration, modernisation and cultural growth. The government uses its administrative authority to achieve national development tasks by formulating, organising and implementing large - scale action programs. To handle these complex activities, the instrument of development administration is employed. Development administration is an instrumental means for defining, consolidating and implementing national goals in developing countries.[45]

Ramesh K Arora (1979) says that 'in the literature on Public Administration, the term development administration has been used in two interrelated senses. First, it refers to the administration of development programs, to the methods used by large scale organisations, notably governments, to implement policies and plans designed to meet their developmental objectives. Secondly, it, by implication, rather than directly, involves the strengthening of administrative capabilities. These two aspects of development administration, i.e. administration of development and development of administration is intertwined in most definitions of the term.' [46] Thus, development administration has two concepts – 'administration of development' and 'administrative development.' Administration of development refers to the need to make optimum utilisation of available resources and making new means of development. So administration of development involves following objectives – (1) innovation at all levels of planning, (2) importance to development at grassroots level, (3) development of human capital as a resource, (4) politics and administration must go hand in hand to establish a rapid change in society and bring about just and distinct social order, and (5) freedom of administrative machinery to express ideas and views for the most effective and efficient use of natural resources.

Thus, in administration of development, one expects development administration to act as an instrument in the implementation of development programs, projects and policies. This may involve raising the standard of education, transforming the social system and improving public health, raising national income, stabilising political system,

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[45] C. Ralph, Chandler and Jack C. Plano, (1982). *The Public Administration Dictionary,* New Work: John Wiley and Sons, p. 13

[46] Ramesh K. Arora, (1979). *Comparative Public Administration: An Ecological Perspective* Associated Publishing House, New Delhi, p. 145

conserving national resources, improving communication system, constructing dams, power plants and other developmental tasks of national importance.

Administrative development, on the other hand, indicates to increasing and improving the capabilities of administrative system for achieving goals. It involves the modernisation of administrative structure, capabilities of personnel, attitudinal and behavioral changes among the administrators. For effective development administration, structure of the administration itself must be empowered, large and capable enough to sustain the pressures by the developmental activities. In simpler words it means to develop administrative health by rationalising and institution building and bringing about a radical change in the administrative framework, to handle and create socio-economic and political development and social change. The objectives of administrative development can be summarised as – (1) building decision making capabilities, (2) development of skill and specialisation to tackle complex issues in the personnel, (3) giving importance to training, effective use of technology to bring about change in administrative approach, (4) increasing administrative capacity, capabilities, removing corruption and bringing in more accountability, and (5) creating leaders out of bureaucrats for promotion of development initiatives.

To summarise, in order to achieve development goals it is necessary that there is proper planning, optimum utilisation of resources, skilled personnel, accountability in actions and words, self-reliance and emphasis on technology. At the same time we need to develop the bureaucracy, innovativeness, build capabilities, integrity and decentralised decision making.

The two aspects are two sides of the same coin. FW Riggs (1970) remarks: 'The reciprocal relatedness of these two sides involves a chicken and an egg type of causation. Administration cannot normally be improved very much without changes in the environmental constraints (the infrastructure) that hamper its effectiveness; and the environment itself cannot be changed unless the administration of developmental programs is strengthened.'[47] Unless the administrative effectiveness of government is increased, the developmental objectives which a developing country may aspire for

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[47] F.W. Riggs, *The Idea of Development Administration,* in Weidner (Ed.), *op.cit.,* pp. 32-33

fulfilment cannot be achieved. [48] The present research while dealing with both the aspects would assert more on the structural aspect that is administrative development.

Thus, tribal development administration refers to administration of development project and programs for the all round development of a tribal people and the areas they live in. Since tribal areas present an extremely complex socio-economic situation, it also includes the development of administrative machinery in the tribal areas and its capacity to administer development in the face of specific environmental and geographical constraints.

Tribal development administration could not be said to be altogether different from development administration in terms of its function. It is the same as that of development administration, in which a system is specially designed to suit to the socio-cultural, economic and political environment of the tribal people. The system has to work under peculiar environmental and geographic conditions and cultural specific areas, catering to the needs and requirement of numerous tribal groups living in different parts of the country. It is only when tribal interests and rights are protected and respected and they are given the freedom to do whatever they want according to their own genius, some desired change can be brought in the tribal society.

BK Roy Burman (1985) says that, 'development activities, particularly in the context of tribal should be concerned with – satisfaction of minimum needs, control and management of productive resources, employment optimisation, broad-based participation in the development process and socio-cultural and political aspect of national integration.'[49]

Thus, broad-based participation of tribals in the development process and development on the lines of their own genius should be the hallmark of our national policy on tribal development and it is recommended that nothing should be imposed on them. It

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[48] Radhakrishnan Sapru, (1981), Development Administration: An Overview, *Thai Journal of Development Administration,* 21 (4), p. 590

[49] B.K Roy Burman, (1986), *Challenges of Tribal Development and Tribal Women in India,* Report of the National Conference on *Tribal Women and Development: Problems and Perspectives*, MLV Tribal Research Institute, Udaipur.

is also advisable that tribal rights over land and forests should be respected. Development should improve the quality of life.

In recent years, tribal development administration has become an important area of research in social science subjects. The subject has acquired immense importance not only at the national but also at the international level. The active support and hectic campaign by a number of national and international Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), championing the cause of 'indigenous people' has made it a burning issue all over the world. Further, the United Nation's Declaration of 1993 as the '*International Year for World's Indigenous People*'[50] provides ample evidence of the growing concern of the world's highest body for the development of the indigenous people all over the world.

1.3   Theoretical framework

Development Administration grew when Western industrialised nations began to aid Third World development, using government and public-sponsored institutions as agents of social change. During the 1950s and 1960s, development administration was influenced by the early approaches to development. Administrators believed that: (1) development was desirable, (2) development could be planned, directed, and controlled by public agencies, (3) poverty could be eliminated by improving the quantity and quality of public goods and services, and (4) obstacles to development could be overcome (Fred Riggs, 1985). Development was primarily viewed as economic development, and development administration was largely economic administration, with little or not much concern for an equitable distribution of social benefits.

However, the focus of development administration has changed over the years, keeping pace with new development theorising. Now, it is less bound to the western approach to development. The focus is on indigenous development which is sustainable, and which meets the basic needs of the people. Once confined to the deployment of foreign aid, development administration today focuses on planned change to meet a

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[50] The International Day of the World's Indigenous Peoples is observed on August 9 each year, to promote and protect the rights of the world's indigenous population. It was first proclaimed by the General Assembly in December 1994.

nation's broad political, economic, social, and cultural objectives.[51] Localised, decentralised, and participative approaches to development are encouraged and therefore, community organisations are now increasingly involved in development projects.

1.3.1 *Two trends in contemporary development administration approach*:

There are two trends in contemporary development administration theory. Firstly, shifts from a blueprint approach to a learning-process approach. Secondly, shifts from a production-centred to a people-centred approach to development. The blueprint approach involves designing a specific plan of action in advance for administering a development program (David C. Korten and Rudi Klauss, 1984). However, this approach is inflexible and somewhat closed-ended, with its inability to respond to the needs of a changing environment (Friedman, 1984). In contrast to the blueprint approach, a learning-process approach is a relatively open-ended strategy, to planned social change. It involves a cybernetic process by which development administration can adapt themselves to changing environments and incorporate mid-course corrections, based on existing local conditions (David C Korten and Rudi Klauss, 1984). Problems are diagnosed and solutions implemented, by people and administrators jointly via a process of mutual learning (Edgar S Dunn, 1984). In short, the blueprint approach emphasises advanced planning for the people. The learning-process approach emphasises planning with the people, during the process of administering a development program.

The production-centred approach to development emphasises production of goods and services to maximise returns on investment (David C Korten and George Carner, 1984). This approach stresses – (1) industry over agriculture, (2) urban development over rural development, (3) utilisation of capital resources over human resources, (4) exploiting the environment for short-term gains over sustained harnessing of natural resources, and (5) establishing large-scale industries over small-scale industries (David C Korten, 1984). This approach arguably neglects the basic needs of the rural poor in the Third World countries, and promotes socio-economic inequality. The *people-centred* approach to development, however, emphasises the needs of the people over the needs of the

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[51] Wesley Bjur and Gerald Caiden, (1978). *Reforming Institutional Bureaucracies,* International Review of Administrative Sciences, Vol. 24, pp. 359-365.

production system. This approach views an individual not as a subject, but as an actor, who defines the goals, controls the resources, and directs the processes affecting his/her life. The central points of this approach are empowerment of people, and development of an administrative process which responds to the needs of the people (Peter L Berger and Richard Neuhaus, 1984). Thus, basic elements in people-centered development are – (a) human growth and well-being, (b) self-reliance, (c) equality (d) participation and sustainability. A development program could be sustained by creating a felt need among beneficiaries about the efficacy of the program, developing institution which continually adapts (Wesley Bjur, 1977), providing of resources, and building support among political elites and community groups (Louise G White, 1987).

1.3.2 *Normative model of development administration:*

Taking guidelines from the two approaches discussed above, one could derive a normative model of development administration, which could incorporate the required organisation, institution, processes and mechanism. The question is what kind of organisations, institutions, processes and mechanism should be evolved so that there is efficiency, equity, sustainability etc. Institution here refers to formal norms and structures like rules, law, constitutions etc., and informal norms structures like norms, customs, and morals within the framework of which the actors of decision making pursue their self-interests in strategic manner, so that an efficient and fair decision-making is ensured and opportunistic behaviour is shunned. Organisation refers to those arrangements that enables the actors to assemble and participates in the decision-making process. Processes are channels by which the actor works through to arrive at decisions. Mechanism are the guiding forces that bring the process to arrive at decisions or solutions that are satisfactory to all of those who participates in the decision making process. [52]

The people-centred approach to development administration therefore, calls for establishing organisation at different levels so that – (a) in general it promotes closer social interaction between the citizens and government agents, so that while the opportunistic behaviour of the agents is minimised, it also makes the organisation more responsive to people's need and local development needs; and (b) such social interaction

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[52] Abdul Aziz, N. Sivanna, *et al.*, (2002). *Decentralised Governance and Planning: A Comparative Study in Three South Indian States*, New Delhi: Macmillan India, p. 7.

takes place at each level for different levels of decision-making. Interpreting this to decentralisation, the decentralised bodies should not only be closer to people so that transparency and accountability are ensured, but they should also be hierarchical, so as to take care of the different levels of needs of the people.

Once such organisational structures are established, the formal institutions should be developed so that there is clear and full information as to which level of organisation, should deal with a specific set of subjects for decision-making. In other words, powers and functions of various levels of organisation should be clearly defined, so that there is no overlapping of functions, duplication of efforts and wastage of resources. Besides, information should be available for various levels of organisation about the sources of finances available to them, how these are devolved and on what criteria, in order that they function as autonomous bodies and are not at the mercy of state government. [53]

Therefore, the principles that should govern such organisational structures are as follows:

1) The organisations should be close enough to the people so that social interaction between the principal and the agents is possible and opportunistic behaviour is prevented.

2) To take care of the varying needs of the people, different tiers of governing organisation be established.

3) The different tiers of governing system should also have full information about the resources they have access to and these resources should be adequate enough to make them autonomous entities.

4) The decision-making process should be participatory and people's participation should be ensured at all levels.

5) In order to break the political monopoly of the better endowed, co-option of or reservation for, the less endowed sections should be followed.

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[53] Abdul Aziz, N. Sivanna *et al*, (2002). *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

6) To enable the less endowed sections to effectively participate in the decision-making process, they should be appropriately trained and their capabilities upgraded. [54]

Based on the normative model of development administration discussed above, the present study would analyse and examine tribal development administration in Tripura. The study would critically analyse whether the principles that govern TTAADC are adopting people-centred approach to tribal development administration. The study, therefore, looks into the very nature of participation, equity, transparency, sustainability, decision making, and accountability in the entire functioning of the TTAADC. On the other hand, powers and functions of various levels of organisation would be clearly examined, as to whether there is overlapping of functions, duplication of efforts and wastage of resources.

1.4   Identification of key concepts

From the above discussion on the theoretical framework of development administration, some relevant concepts, which are fundamental to the present study were accordingly evolved and identified.

1.4.1   *Governance:*

Governance is used in a variety of ways and has a variety of meanings. There is, however, a baseline agreement that governance refers to the development of governing styles in which boundaries between and within public and private sectors has become blurred. The essence of governance is its focus on governing mechanism which does not rest on recourse to the authority and sanctions of government. 'The governance concept points to the creation of a structure or an order which cannot be externally imposed, but is the result of the interaction of a multiplicity of governing and each other influencing actors.' [55]

Governance could be structured under five propositions: (1) It refers to a set of institutions and actors that are drawn from but also beyond government. (2) It identifies

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[54] Abdul Aziz, N. Sivanna *et al*, (2002). *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

[55] Kooiman, J., and Van Vliet, M. (1993). *Governance and Public Management,* in K Eliassen and J. Kooiman (Eds.), *Managing Public Organisation,* p. 64.

the blurring of boundaries and responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues. (3) It identifies the power dependence involved in the relationships between institutions involved in collective action. (4) It is about autonomous self-governing networks of actors. (5) It recognises the capacity to get things done which does not rest on the power of government to command or use its authority. It sees government as able to use new tools and techniques to steer and guide.

The main idea is that in an increasingly complex world where different sub-systems are emerging, the state has lost its capacity for action. It finds it difficult to foresee the consequences of its actions and cannot avoid the creation of harmful effects. The state cannot meet the increased load of social demands. The public is growing increasingly disillusioned. State action is neither efficient nor even equitable. The traditional methods of running the public services are considered to be ineffective and expensive. The crisis calls for new forms of regulation.

Thus, good governance is the solution and the means of resolving the conflicts engendered by political and social development. The response to the growing dysfunction of state action is new forms of governance. The state with its limited ability to plan, forecast, take action and faced with competition from elsewhere, must share its power and forms partnership, especially with the private sectors. Good governance is characterised by the move away from supervision to contracting out; from centralisation to decentralisation; from public service management to management following market principles; and from state guidance to co-operation between the state and the private sectors. The key concepts of good governance are accountability, transparency, responsive, equitable and inclusive, effective and efficiency, and participatory.

When good governance is discussed in the context of tribal development administration, it signifies the process of interaction of government with the rural tribals in delivering goods and services. The tribals in general are settled in remote and inaccessible areas and it becomes challenging for the government to carry out developmental activities. As good governance demands transparency, inclusivity, participatory etc, it is the responsibility of government in meeting the needs of the tribal people with accessible

information, carry out development works inclusive of entire sections of rural tribals, and with full participation of the locality.

1.4.2 *Decentralisation:*

The central theme of decentralisation is the delegation of powers to be operated in the system of socio-political organisation. Decentralisation is usually referred to as the transfer of powers from central government to lower levels in a political-administrative and territorial hierarchy (Crook and Manor 1998, Agarwal and Ribot, 1999). It means democratisation of powers. Democratisation means the participation of the people in the decision-making process of the newly created organisations, institutions and agencies. Thus, dispersal of control over powers is the main concern of decentralisation.

The concept of decentralisation also refers to the process of *deconcentration, devolution* and *delegation* of powers and authority. Deconcentration refers to how agents of central government's control are reallocated among the lower level and geographically dispersed. It is 'the transfer of administrative responsibility for specified functions to lower levels within the central government bureaucracy, generally on some spatial basis.' [56] The process of devolution of powers and authority, on the other hand, refers to the constitutional legal transfer of power to formally create regional or local authorities for discharging the specified functions. [57] It is the transfer of rights and assets from the centre to local governments or communities. Lastly, the process of delegation refers to transfer of managerial responsibility for specified functions to other public organisations outside normal central government control, whether provincial or local government or parastatal agencies. [58]

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[56] Ferguson and Chandrasekharan (2004). *Paths and pitfalls of decentralization for sustainable forest management: experiences of the Asia-Pacific region.* Paper presented at the Interlaken Workshop on Decentralization in Forestry, 27-30 April 2004. Retrieved from http://www.cifor.cgiar.org/publications/pdf_files/Interlaken/Ferguson_Chandrasekharan.pdf

[57] A.K. Monditoka (2000). *Decentralised Governance in tribal India: Negotiating Space between the State, Community and Civil Society,* New Castle: Cambridge Publisher, pp. 25-26.

[58] Ferguson and Chandrasekharan, (2004). *Op. cit.,*

According to World Development Report of World Bank (World Bank, 2000), there are three types of decentralisation. These are *Political decentralisation, Administrative decentralisation,* and *Fiscal decentralisation*. By political decentralisation, it indicates the transfer of policy and legislative powers from the central government to the autonomous lower level assemblies and local councils that have been democratically elected by their constituencies. Administrative decentralisation places planning and implementation responsibility in the hands of locally situated civil servants and these local servants are under the jurisdiction of elected local governments. Fiscal decentralisation accords substantial revenue and expenditure authority to intermediate and local governments. In this case, previously concentrated powers to tax and generate revenues are dispersed to other lower levels of government, that is, local governments are given the power to raise and retain financial resources to fulfil their responsibilities.

When decentralisation is discussed in the context of tribal development administration, it indicates the level of decentralisation of powers, to provide self-rule for the bulk of tribal population. It also indicates the devolution of powers and authority at village level for discharging the specified functions. Thus, village governance with grassroots participatory democracy is being encouraged. Besides, suitable administrative frameworks with traditional management practices were being encouraged in order to safeguard and preserve the traditions and customs of tribals.

1.5   Review of Literature

Tribal development in India is an arena where the actors, the tribal people, do not have any influential powers. They are only at the receiving end. Even when a development project comes to their doors, it passes them by. They are the objects of development and not subjects. This is the overall scenario in India. From this standpoint, the need for studies of tribal development administration in India is indeed pressing. This demands more attention from research scholars.

Thus, there have been continuous efforts on the part of researchers to probe into the working of tribal development administration. As there are large numbers of tribal development programs, it is essential to know how far those programs have improved the

conditions of tribals. This obviously motivates researchers to undertake research studies to find out the success of those programs.

If one takes tribal development administration as a whole, the literature available is vast and comprehensive. And this has been found from different sources such as, team investigation, intensive study conducted by interested public citizens, research scholars, bureaucrats, academicians etc. These widespread sources can be grouped in the forms of books, seminar paper, conference reports, individual research works and group's research works. A brief review of those studies and their findings are presented below.

1.5.1 *Literature on Tribal Development Administration in India:*

An intensive study of tribal development administration was conducted by C.P. Singh (1994).[59] In this book he made a detailed study on the evolution of tribal development administration; different development department, recruitment and qualification; training of development personnel; powers, functions and role of development personnel; supervision, control and coordination of tribal development administration and finally popular participation in tribal development administration.

In his study, he found that the institutional arrangement of development administration, like Santal Parganas Autonomous Development Authority in the district needs to be strengthened. Likewise, the Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP) is in a state of suspended animation. He also points out that the bureaucracy is not development oriented. They lack the development psyche. No specific tests or training have been evolved for the officer being posted in the tribal regions. They are mainly linked with bastions of vested interest groups. Again, the organisations in these areas do not always operate in terms of formal prescriptions and various informal factors come into picture in the course of organisational behaviour. Despite the formal arrangement of control and coordination, in practice they lack effectiveness. The total picture emerging out of all the administrative efforts does not seem to be very much encouraging. Developmental activities have not produced the desired impact on the social, economic and educationally handicapped tribal groups.

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[59] C.P. Singh, (1994). *Tribal Development Administration: A Case Study of Santal Parganas in Bihar,* New Delhi: Mittal Publication.

A clear picture was made by A.R. Basu (1985) [60] on tribal administration in Himachal Pradesh, especially in Bharmour and Pangi sub-divisions of Chamba district. In this study he analysed the various aspects of development programs in the tribal belt. He points 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 programs have failed to produce popular support and participation of the local people. The study also points out that because of several bottlenecks in the administrative machinery little has been done in these areas.

Analysing development administration in the tribal district of Kinnaur Biwajit Sen (1994)[61] studied the recent changes, conflicts and tensions in the present Kinnaur society for a number of reasons, the most important being perhaps the introduction of modern welfare-oriented administration and Kinnaur's gradual exposure to other cultures of India. Sen has perceived that despite being a very traditional and isolated people, Kinnaur tribals have welcomed the recent innovations and have been consequently benefitted a lot in the process. Thus, there is more employment, greater protection, and a better deal of life for Kinnaur tribals.

Describing the strategy for tribal development with special reference to the tribes in North-East India, Atul Goswami (1984) [62] argues 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 the national economy and their contact with the economy has been minimal. He views that attempt to extend the national economy to their communities in haste is likely to be counter-productive for development, besides, setting in motion waves of social unrest. He also says that the emergent tribal identity of the recent trend towards re-tribalisation can be

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[60] A.R. Basu, (1985). *Tribal Development Programme and Administration in India,* Delhi: National Book Organization.

[61] Biswajit Sen (1994). *Tribal Development Administration: A case Study of Kinnaur District in Himachal Pradesh,* in Ashok Ranjan Basu and Satish Nijhawan (Eds.), *Tribal Development Administration in India,* New Delhi: Mittal Publications, pp. 160 - 169

[62] Atul Goswami,(1984). Tribal Development with Special Reference to North-East India, *Social Scientist,* 12 (8), pp. 55-60.

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 minimising the adverse effects on future resource availability and on ecology without jeopardising 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.

Examining the tribal development problem in a global context, Lal Mani Prasad (1988) [63] argues that the policy, programs and constitutional provisions in India regarding tribal development are unmatchable when compared to other countries. The author gives a clear narration of the tribal development policies and programs adopted during the pre- and post-independent eras. He was 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.

Pointing the defects of Fifth and Sixth Schedule, Mukul (1997)[64] said that, in spite of several provisions in the Fifth and Sixth Schedule, the tribal areas are being governed mechanically and sometimes ruthlessly, by the law passed by the state and central government without any modification. So, provision of the Panchayat act of 1995, empowers the tribal communities to regulate various forces according to their needs. He suggests that, the success will however depend on the state legislation as to how they frame their respective laws. It will also depend upon people's assertion, tribal movements, and political parties to make this Act a working reality in their respective areas.

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[63] Mani Lal Prasad, (1988). Tribal Development Administration in India, *Social Change* 18 (1)

[64] Mukul (1997). Tribal Areas: Transition to Self-Governance, *Economic and Political Weekly,* 32 (18), pp. 926-929

P.D. Saikia and Durgeswar Borah (1990)[65] demonstrated that contrary to the popular belief that tribals are usually averse to development programs and change, the tribals readily accept any change or development program if they found that would bring them economic advancement.

In an attempt to examine the overall impact of different developmental initiatives on tribals under Indian Five Year Plan, B.B. Mohanty (2005)[66] found that the tribals continue to be the disadvantaged communities in terms of major development indicators. They lag far behind the non-tribals even in the tribal areas. The gains of development have been usurped by the non-tribals. In many cases, though the tribals bear the socio-economic cost of development, the benefits are largely siphoned off by the non-tribals.

Discussing the various efforts made by the Indian government during the plan period for the development of tribals Chopfoza Catherine (2009)[67] found that despite all such efforts and massive input, the results have fallen well short of expectations. She also mentioned that the benefits of development did not reach uniformly to all sections among the tribals and moreover, the primitive tribal communities remained beyond the pale of development administration. The preoccupation of the planners with issues related to accelerating the pace of economic growth and the inadequate understanding of village life primarily account for poor planning and slow implementation and failure of development programs.

In an attempt to understand the nature and history of strategies undertaken by the Indian Government to carry the development of tribal communities in Orissa from 1970s onward, Prasanna Kumar Nayak (2010)[68] reveals two distinct phases of tribal development

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[65] P.D. Saikia and Durgeswar Borah, (1990). *Evaluation of Tribal Development Programme: A few case studies of N.E. India,* in B.N. Bordoloi (Ed.), *Constraint of Tribal Development in North-East India,* Guwahati: Tribal Research Institute, pp. 171-182.

[66] B.B. Mohanty (2005), Policy for Tribal Development: Protective Discrimination or Discrimination Protected, *Journal of The Eastern Anthropologist*, 58 (1), pp. 27- 55.

[67] Chopfoza Caterine, (2009), Tribal Development in India with Reference to Manipur: Trajectory and Literature, *The NEHU Journal*, 7, (1), pp. 68-87

[68] Prasanna Kumar Nayak, (2010), *The rise and fall of Tribal Development in Orissa,* in *The Focus: 'Indigenous' India, 21& 22,* The Newsletter, No. 53.

in the state. According to him, tribal development received new impulse from the Indian government's 4th five year plan. Many development activities were undertaken in rapid succession. However, 1990s witnessed a relatively quiescent period in tribal development. He suggested that conduct of everyday affairs in development offices needs much greater attention. The tribal leaders who are at the helm of affairs, the machinery of development administration and the tribal activists have to rise to the occasion and reformulate the tribal policy and redesign the development strategy for the tribal areas and the people. A major re-think is essential at this juncture. A new philosophy has to grow, be propagated and practiced. Bias and bossism have to be checked.

Enquiring into the functioning of the Integrated Tribal Development Program (ITDP) in Birbhum District of West Bengal Dipankar Gupta (1985)[69] discusses the incongruities in the ITDP administrative structure, the lack of control over resources, the complete absence of popular initiatives, the non-involvement of popular bodies and the complete failure of its monitoring system. The findings of the study also underscore the fact that developmental programs which skirt around political issues have limited potentialities.

Explaining the failure of government programs for tribal development, Steve Jones (1978)[70] assessed the role of the state in maintaining the underdevelopment of tribals. He also points out that, the Indian Government has not only failed to encourage the development of the tribals but has actively maintained their underdevelopment. The resource development decisions made by distant bureaucrats in the state capitals, in Delhi and in the boardrooms of the multi-national corporations in the West, meant that, even the renewable (forest) resources of tribal India are 'exploited' to provide investment capital for the further development of the non-tribal and the developed world. He clearly mentions that in India's case, the volumes of laws and administrative provisions drawn up to protect and develop the tribals have proved to be nominal, given the realities of the political structure of the country.

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[69] Dipankar Gupta, (1986). Tribal Development in West Bengal District: Programmes, Structures and Process, *Economic and Political Weekly,* Vol. 21, No. 1, Jan., pp. 35-45.

[70] Steve Jones, (1978). *Tribal Underdevelopment in India,* Development and Change, (ISAGE, London and Beverly Hills), Vol. 9, pp. 41-70.

Vidhya Das (2003)[71] found that despite the presence of progressive legislation designed to ensure democracy in backward tribal regions, underdevelopment and poor governance are rife in such areas. He said that as incidents from the more backward tribal dominated regions of Orissa reveal, the bureaucrat-contractor-politician nexus continues to ensure that the tribals are denied even those rights that assure a meaningful existence, such as a right to livelihood.

The above literature mainly refers to information covering the general success and failure of tribal development programs, rather than highlighting the possible reasons. It mainly discusses the problems and difficulties faced by the tribals despite several welfare measures and programs but do not basically concentrate on the administration aspect of those welfare measures and programs. Its focus lies on the structural aspects of tribal development plans, which has been written in the forms of textbook and articles, aiming to cover all aspects. Nevertheless, the information given in those studies touches upon the principles and ideas of tribal development administration in different states. They, thus, more or less give an impression of being a comparative study. But, when this literature is carefully studied, it is found that it is mainly concentrating on the development pattern under India's Five Year Plans and other development programs without concentrating on particular institutional arrangements of tribal development.

Another group of studies mainly analyses the problems and prospects associated with tribal development administration. They basically narrate the constraints in the implementation processes and factors responsible for these. Such studies and their findings are discussed below.

Elucidating the different welfare activities organised for the overall uplift of social, economic, education and health of the scheduled tribes in Uttar Pradesh under different Plan, Mahendra Mohan Verma (1995)[72] found that different departments do not consult

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[71] Vidhya Das, (2003), Democratic Governance in Tribal Regions, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 38 (42), pp. 4429-4432.

[72] M.M. Verma, (1996), *Tribal Development in India: Programmes and Perspectives,* Mittal Publications, New Delhi, India.

one another while implementing tribal welfare schemes, resulting in overlapping and duplication of efforts. The author also said that there is lack of cooperation and coordination within the department and the field staff were not devoted and committed to implement the tribal welfare schemes. He further point out that they did not take interest in visiting tribal villages but rather stayed in office and gossip. He argues that tribals did not cooperate with the field personnel because they are illiterate, lacking in awareness about the schemes. Besides, the personnel in the department of Tribal development were lacking proper training to deal effectively with the tribal milieu and also appropriate ways and means to help tribal people.

A thorough presentation on problems of tribal development is given by Luke Daimary(2009).[73] In this paper he found out that the main hurdles to tribal development are – indebtedness, land alienation, educational backwardness, insurgency and corruption. He also pointed that, the development schemes that the government at the centre and the states undertake are satisfactory and sufficient fund is earmarked for all such schemes but there are huge irregularities in the utilisation of such funds by the implementing agencies. He suggests that corruption at all levels must be checked and the government should be sincere and willing to get all schemes implemented irrespective of the places.

Mentioning the different issues and challenges faced by the government in uplifting the tribals KB Jamatia (2009)[74] points out that the main challenges in the development of tribals are to improve their quality of life, to eliminate poverty among them, to augment the production, to check extinction of lesser tribes, to remove illiteracy, to eliminate exploitation, to stop them from shifting cultivation, to provide with good infrastructure and finally `help them in the utilisation of vast natural resources for developmental purpose.

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[73] Luke Daimary, (2009), *Major Hurdles to Tribal Development,* in Gautam Kumar Bera (Ed.), *Tribal Development in Tripura,* EBH Publisher, Guwahati, pp. 137-148

[74] K.B. Jamatia, (2009), *Perspective of Tribal Development: Issues and Challenges,* in Gautam Kumar Bera (Ed.), *ibid,* pp. 17-28

BK Roy Burman (1994)[75] gives very useful information about how tribal development took the present shape through various plans, especially the Seventh Plans. In this paper, Burman made some suggestion for tribal development like harnessing of natural resources, measures to hand over back to the tribals, their land, rehabilitation of displaced tribals because of various projects, implementation of legislative measures, integrating the administration in the tribal areas, concurrent evaluation and monitoring of tribal development programs, giving concrete shape to planning from below etc.

In studying the socio-economic development of tribal of Adilabad district in Andhra Pradesh, T Lakshmaiah (1984)[76] found that in spite 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 certain suggestions which include the assessment of their immediate problems, needs and priorities, proper understanding of the socio-cultural dimension of tribal life – norms, values and taboos, steps to be taken to safeguard the interests of the tribals with specific reference to their land, indebtedness, special provisions for education and employment. He 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.

Highlighting the problems and prospect of tribal development in Manipur, M Romesh Singh (2004)[77] mentioned that it is very important to have *peace* in the State for progress and development. He found out that the main reasons of tribal unrest are largely due to the negligence, apathetic and biased attitude of both the government as well as the NGOs towards hill tribes in the implementation of developmental programs. He suggests to have separate allocation of funds and development strategies for the tribals living in

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[75] B.K.Roy Burman, (1994), *Approach to Tribal Development: An Overview,* in Ashok Ranjan Basu and Satish Nijhawan (Eds.), *Tribal Development Administration in India,* Mittal Publications, New Delhi, pp. 142-148

[76] T. Lakshmaiah, (1984). Socio-Economic Development of Tribals, *Mainstream,* 18 (9)

[77] M.Romesh Singh, (2004), Tribal Development in Manipur: Problems and Prospects*, Journal of Rural Development,* 23 (4), pp. 523-535.

plain and hill areas for a justified distribution of development benefits and to protect the due share of poor tribals living in the hill areas.

Making a detailed study of the socio-economic lives of the tribals in India Dr. Nishakar Panda (2005)[78] points out the important factors that are necessary for their development. He found that improvement in the quality of life, reduction of the incidence of poverty, raising the level of productivity, checking extinction of lesser tribes, removal of illiteracy, elimination of exploitation, supportive infrastructure in tribal areas, prevention of shifting cultivation, exploitation of vast natural resources were the important areas to be developed in order to enhance tribal development.

Delineating the situation of Scheduled Tribes in the background of various policies of the state during the successive plan periods and its impact on their socio-economic mobility M. Gopinath Reddy and K. Anil Kumar (2010)[79] found that during these various Five Year Plans, there has been a considerable increase in the fund allocation for the tribal areas. But most of the tribals were not able to draw benefits from the facilities provided by the government because of large-scale corruption among officials and improper implementation of tribal development schemes. Therefore, the majority of the hill tribes in Andhra Pradesh suffer from the absence of proper infrastructure and communication facilities. They suggested that improper management of schemes and inefficient implementation of suitable programs in the tribal region create a major problem. The majority of the tribal people are not even aware of the development schemes implemented by government agencies. Without creating awareness among the tribal people, it is difficult to achieve better results. There is a need for periodical status reviews and evaluation of the impact of the schemes and programs. Active participation from the tribals is very essential for the implementation of the tribal development program effectively. Before the implementation of any act, policy, programs, and schemes, more time should be spent on the creation of awareness so that they reach very remote areas.

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[78] N. Panda, (2006). Tribal Development: Imperatives and Compulsions, *Orissa Review*, Dec., pp. 37-41.

[79] M. Gopinath Reddy, and Anil Kumar, (2010), *Political Economy of Tribal Development: A Case Study of Andhra Pradesh,* Working Paper (85), Center for Economic and Social Studies, Begumpet, Hyderabad.

Providing a broad profile of the tribal population in rural Maharashtra, specifically in the rural areas of Dhule, Thana, Nasik and Chandrapur districts, SD Kulkarni (1980)[80] lays down' the principles that should guide any official or voluntary program of tribal development in these areas. On the crucial question of land alienation, which is a major problem faced by the tribals, Kulkarni points out that the present legal provisions to prevent such land alienation are adequate and the implementation of these provisions, in respect of lands alienated illegally, has been more or less satisfactory. What is, however less satisfactory has been the implementation of these provisions in respect of land 'legally' alienated from the tribal people. He also finds that the government's resolution on regularisation of the encroachments on forest and government lands by tribals is full of deficiencies and deprived of the majority of tribal encroachers of the intended benefit.

Pointing the various pattern of transformation of tribal society, K.S. Singh (1982)[81] has discussed in detail how these social and economic changes have given rise to, and are reflected in, various ethnic based solidarity movements as well as socio-cultural movement revolving round the question of tribal religion, language and script and political movements. These movements in turn gave rise to fresh demands, ranging from greater political autonomy to independence and whose methods range from constitutional agitation to armed insurgency.

Snehalata Panda (2007)[82] made an intensive study on the tribes of Parajas and Gadavas in undivided Koraput district of South Orissa. The author made a thorough study on their society and culture, occupation and indebtedness. She also describes the different development programs implemented in their areas under the constitutional provision of India. The author found that in spite of all these developmental programs, there is no substantial change in their attitude, education, occupation, health care and nutrition. She

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[80] S.D Kulkarni, (1980). Problems of Tribal Development in Maharashtra, *Economic and Political Weekly,* 15 (38), pp. 1598-1600.

[81] K.S. Singh, (1982). Transformation of Tribal Society: Integration vs. Assimilation, *Economic and Political Weekly,* 17 (34), pp. 1376-1384.

[82] Snehalata, Panda, (2007). Socio-Economic Profile and Development of Tribes in Orissa, *Kurukshetra – A Journal on Rural Development,* 55 (10), pp. 31 – 38.

made some suggestions to include the general public in the decision making process, encouraged the local influential members to identify programs for their development, encouraged literacy programs and involve the community in providing services, sensitises them and motivates them to handle the services without the help of outsiders.

This category of studies focuses mainly on the problems and prospect, relating to the working of the tribal development administration. They also attempt to give an analytical picture on the different aspects of those developmental programs. Most of these works are based on author's personal information, observations and impressions. These studies also lack and fail to give a detail account of the actual relevance of the tribal development plan and policies. Though several of these studies are problem oriented, it simply serves as sources of information on the subject. However, some authors have tried to identify certain key structural and functional inadequacies and suggest remedial measures for tribal development.

1.5.2 *Literatures on Tribal Development Administration in Tripura:*

Pointing out the different efforts put by the Government of Tripura to uplift the tribal people, Jayanta Choudhury (2009)[83] points out the strength and weakness of different Government's policy and also mentioned some issues and challenges that lie ahead. Some of the strengths are - effective implementation of reservation policy for STs and SCs, implementation of plantation based settled schemes for tribals, involvement of District Administration in the implementation of schemes etc. On the other hand, the main weaknesses are - poor social and economic infrastructure in backward and tribal areas, poor literacy and educational standards among tribals, high proportion below poverty line, non availability of adequate Government support in terms of entrepreneurship development etc. Suggestions put forward by him are - a separate training centre under TTAADC, Bharat Nirman need to emphasised in tribal areas, forest right and right to information Act be properly implemented etc.

Highlighting the implementation of different tribal development schemes like Jhumia Rehabilitation Schemes, Tribal Sub-Plan etc., and their success and failure in

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[83] Jayanta Choudhury, (2009). *Efforts of Tribal Development in Tripura: An Assessment,* in Gautam Kumar Bera (Ed.), *op. cit.* pp. 121- 135.

Tripura, Gayatri Bhattacharyya (1988)[84] found that despite spending huge amount for the welfare and development of the tribals, the economic condition of them is not improving.

Explaining the defect of administration and its inadequacies in safeguarding the tribals in Tripura, Suchintya Bhattarcharyya (1991)[85] found that the socio-economic condition of the tribal peoples in Tripura has undergone little changes. No remarkable progress or advancement regarding any aspect of their life is noticeable. Most of the tribals are still living in abject poverty.

Similarly, commenting on the problem of insurgency and rural development in Tripura, KS Subramanian (2000) [86] pointed out the irregularities in implementation of various central schemes and projects. In fear of insurgency, schemes targeted to rural tribals are diverted to non-tribals and this worsens the economic conditions of rural tribals. Officials were also found to be irresponsible in the implementation process.

The available studies on tribal development administration in Tripura are general in nature and informative. At best these studies serve only as background for researchers to understand the state's tribal development administration system.

1.5.3 *Literatures on Autonomous District Council:*

Lucidly presenting the actual condition of the Council in Meghalaya E.R. Tariang (1997)[87] found that the District Councils in Meghalaya have not been trying to make any efforts to promote Arts and Cultures, sports and games activities and other socio-economic advancement of the people. They have almost entirely plunged themselves into the labyrinth of politics, which though not totally bad tends to have cornered into selfish and mischievous gains. Power-feuds have been the order of the day.

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[84] Gayatri Bhattarcharyya, (1988). *Refugee Rehabilitation and its impact on Tripura's Economy,* Guwahati: Western Book Depot, pp. 124-146

[85] Suchintya Bhattarcharyya, (1991). *Genesis of Tribal Extremism in Tripura,* New Delhi: Gyan Publisher, pp. 73-100.

[86] K.S Subramanian, (2000). Tribal Insurgency and Rural development in Tripura, *Economic and Political Weekly,* 35 (8/9), pp. 601-602.

[87] E.R. Tariang, (1997). *Autonomous District Council: The Sixth Schedule, Autonomy and Development,* in L.S. Gassah (Ed.), *The Autonomous District Councils,* New Delhi: Omsons Publications, 74-81

Jagat Joyti Roy (1997)[88] points out that, since the formation of the Autonomous District Council there has been fiscal mismanagement and also due to lack of financial resources nothing remarkable was afforded. He further mentioned that relation between the Autonomous District Council and the State government is not congenial because of the uneven financial transaction. Roy highlights some of the weaknesses - 1) Autonomous District Council could not ensure effective safeguard and protection to the tribals; 2) Autonomous District Council could not exercise its power conferred by the constitution; 3) The Autonomous District Council could not show even the least improvement of the tribals masses from its ordeals.

Discussing the relationship between the State and District Council, Bhupinder Singh (2007)[89] found that on various occasions, the Councils have nursed the expectations about financial and administrative supports from the state governments; where the state governments perceive the Council without much accountability. This article focuses on the ways these differences can be bridged, like modification in the Sixth Schedule, evaluation and reassessment of the roles and functions of the Councils and State governments.

Elaborating the powers, functions and responsibility given by the Indian constitution to the District Council in relation to the states, Pranay Jyoti Goswami (1997) [90] points out that, the District Council complaint of not receiving funds from the state in time. The State Government sometimes does not disburse funds to the District Council. Funds are diverted to other purposes. The standard of education is deteriorating day by day. The role of District Councils for increasing literacy in these areas is very marginal. More money is spent on non-plan expenditures. The common man is not benefitted much

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[88] Jagat Joyti Roy, (1997). *Working of Autonomous District Council in Tripura (1997), in L.S. Gassah (Ed.), ibid.,* pp. 313-322

[89] Bhupinder Singh, (2007). The Sixth Schedule: Its Concepts and Praxis*, Indian Journal of Public Administration,* 53 (2), pp. 151-169.

[90] P.J. Goswami, (1997). *The Sixth Scheduled and Tribal Development in the North-East: A Critical Appraisal,* in L.S. Gassah (Ed.), *op.cit.* pp. 96-102

from the Districts Councils. There is also a political diarchy at the administrative level. Most of the Courts of the District Councils are sophisticated and sometimes run by Judicial Officers who are inexpert. He also made some suggestions like constituting a special body to resolve any problems within the District Councils, NGOs be encouraged to develop the cultural program among the tribals, needless of District Council in Meghalaya and Mizoram after the reorganisation of Assam, every tribal students till the age of 14 be enrolled compulsorily in school etc.

Literature relating to tribal development under Autonomous District Council (ADC) is very limited. Some researchers have studied the state-council relationship and the functioning of the District Council. But they are sketchy in their content and no proper analysis can be made.

Thus, although so much emphasis has been laid by these scholars in unfolding the dynamics of tribal situation in India, they have left some areas unexplored. They are mainly focused on the economic backwardness of the tribals. Indeed, the tribals are extremely poor and needy. They need to be uplifted from their severe economic backwardness. Here comes the importance of a system of administration, which was left out by those researchers. Programs and projects cannot succeed unless there is an effective administration at the implementation level. Tribal development administration thus appears to be the crying need.

The present study, therefore, goes beyond the description of success and failure of different government programs for tribal development. It will try to analyse the impact of tribal administration like Autonomous District Council provided under the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. It is obviously an improvement from the rest of the reviewed literatures in so far as it tries to elucidate the aspect of administration, which is the pivot of all other aspects like economic, social and cultural development.

1.6　Objectives

The following are the main objectives of the present study:

1) To study the structure and functions of Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council;

2) To examine the mode of implementation of development programs of Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council; and

3) To discuss the relationship between government officials and elected representatives.

1.7　Research Questions

Based on research objectives, research questions have been framed. The following question is, therefore, addressed and analysed in the present study.

1) To what extent Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council has performed the powers and functions entrusted to it?

2) What are the different impediments faced by the Council in the implementation of development programs?

3) What is the level of cooperation and communication between government officials and elected representatives?

1.8　Significance of the Study

The present study is of immense importance in understanding the functioning of the autonomous district council under the Sixth Schedule of Indian Constitution. It is a known fact that tribals in India are the most vulnerable section of the entire Indian society. Government of India has adopted and enacted different policies for the uplift of tribals. Autonomous district council is one of them, in which tribals were given powers and functions to administer themselves according to their own traditions and culture. But a bigger question is – Is Autonomous District Council relevant for the actual socio-economic development of the tribals?

Hence, the present study tries to explore the institutional structure, governance and administration of the Council. This work is expected to unveil the fact about the actual impact of the Council, which would obviously influence the government, policy makers, researchers and the people in general, for further examination of the Council.

1.9   Locale of the Study

The present study area is the entire Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council (TTAADC), which is within the State of Tripura. Unlike autonomous district council in other Indian north-eastern State, it is not geographically location specific in case of Tripura. The area of the district council straddles across the entire State of Tripura.

The District Council is divided into four Zones – West Zone, South Zone, North Zone, Dhalai Zone [91] each coterminous with revenue districts of Tripura. Each Zone is further sub-divided into 33 (thirty three) Sub-Zones – *B.C. Manu, Ratanpur, Kalashimukh, Manubankul, Kaladhepa, Karbook, Dalak, Ompi, Killa, Garjee, Bishramganj, Takarjala, Mohanbhog, Abhicharan, Hezamara, Mandai, Khumulwng, Mungiakami, Daski, Bachaibari, Baijalbari, Maharani, Ambassa, Ganganagar, Manu, Chawmanu, Gandacharra, Damcherra, Vanghmun, Dasda, Noagang, Machmara, Rajkandi* (Tripura Gazette, 2016), extending to all 8 (eight) revenue districts of the State – North Tripura, Unakoti, Dhalai, West Tripura, Khowai, Gomati, Sepahijala, and South Tripura. They are, except for a few, coterminous with the boundaries of R. D. Blocks. There are 52 (fifty two) Rural Development Blocks (R.D. Blocks) in the State. 23 (twenty three) R.D. Blocks are entirely within Sixth Schedule areas known as TTAADC Blocks and 23 (twenty three) R.D. Blocks are within the jurisdiction of both Sixth Schedule and Panchayat areas. The remaining 6 (six) R.D. Blocks are entirely outside TTAADC areas.

Diagram 1.A shows the areas of TTAADC within the State of Tripura. It could be seen that the areas of TTAADC straddles across entire revenue district of Tripura. It is not location specific and hence is difficult to identify in an accurate manner.

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[91] From 2014, one new Zone has been created namely, Khowai Zone, which is bifurcated firm West Zone. But for the purpose of present study earlier record would be used for analysis.

Diagram 1.A
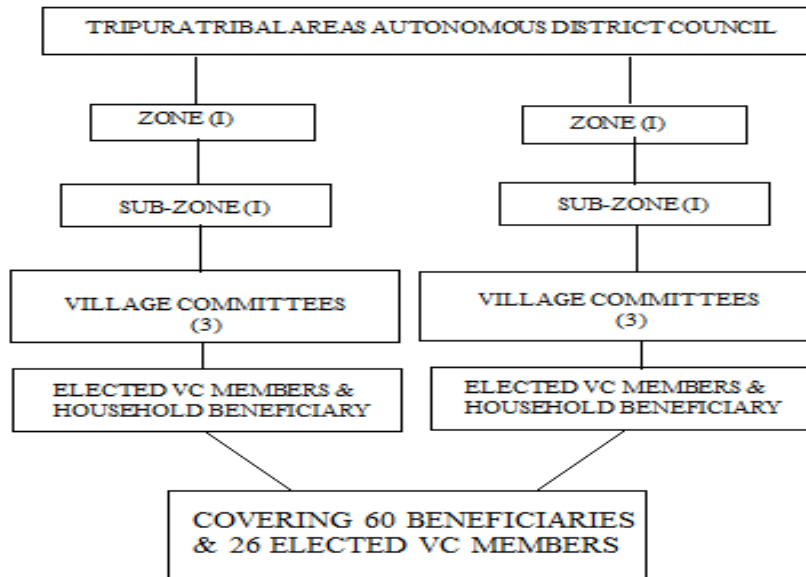**Map of Tripura showing areas of TTAADC**
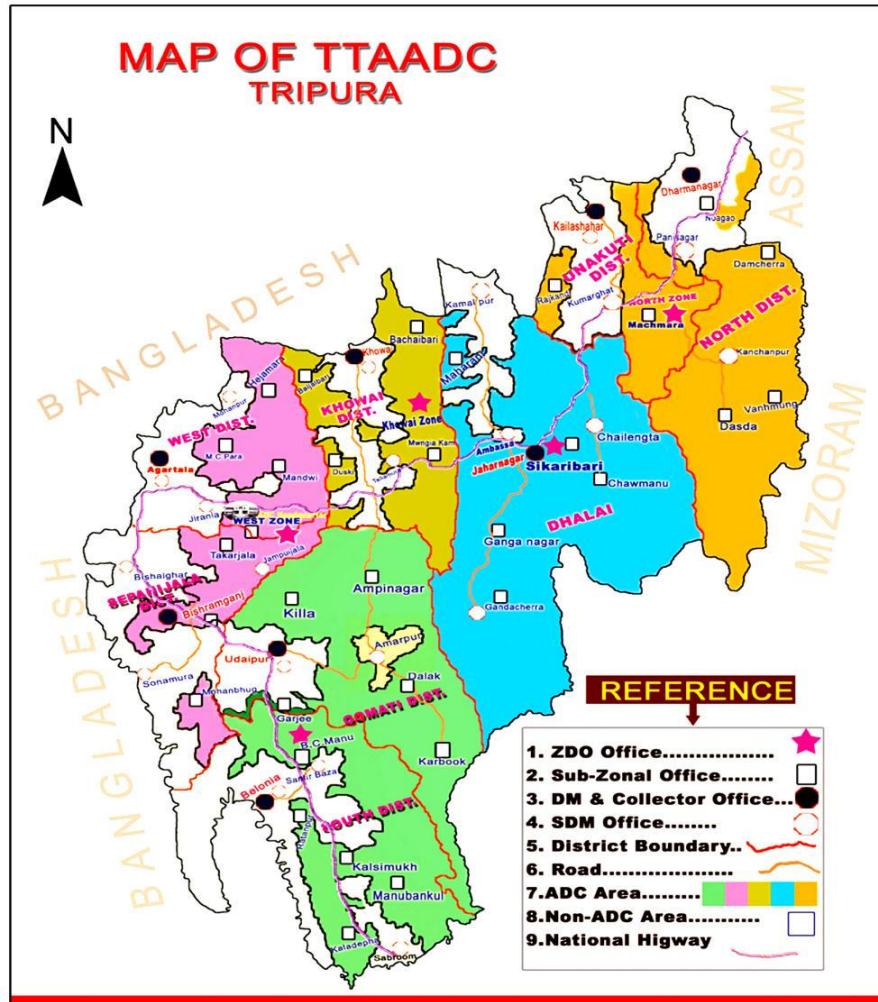
1.10   Methodology

The present study is empirical in nature and both quantitative and qualitative research methods have been used.

1.10.1 *Sampling Procedures:*

In the present study, one chapter (implementation of development programs) is basically based on primary data collected through fieldworks, and accordingly, multistage

purposive sampling is followed to select the sampling unit. That is, sampling is carried out in stages using smaller and smaller sampling units at each stage. As shown in figure 1.B, the sampling process is carried out at three different stages.

Diagram 1.B
Diagram indicating the selection of sampling units

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│      TRIPURA TRIBAL AREAS AUTONOMOUS DISTRICT COUNCIL         │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
            │                                   │
      ┌───────────┐                       ┌───────────┐
      │  ZONE (I) │                       │  ZONE (I) │
      └───────────┘                       └───────────┘
            │                                   │
    ┌───────────────┐                   ┌───────────────┐
    │  SUB-ZONE (I) │                   │  SUB-ZONE (I) │
    └───────────────┘                   └───────────────┘
            │                                   │
  ┌──────────────────┐                ┌──────────────────┐
  │ VILLAGE COMMITTEES│               │ VILLAGE COMMITTEES│
  │        (3)       │                │        (3)       │
  └──────────────────┘                └──────────────────┘
            │                                   │
  ┌──────────────────┐                ┌──────────────────┐
  │ ELECTED VC MEMBERS &│             │ ELECTED VC MEMBERS &│
  │ HOUSEHOLD BENEFICIARY│            │ HOUSEHOLD BENEFICIARY│
  └──────────────────┘                └──────────────────┘
              \                         /
            ┌──────────────────────────────┐
            │  COVERING 60 BENEFICIARIES    │
            │  & 26 ELECTED VC MEMBERS      │
            └──────────────────────────────┘
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1.10.2 *Selection of Zones:*

Taking into consideration the population, concentrations of different communities, accessibility and the economic conditions, two Zones namely West Zone and North Zone are selected for the purpose of study. West Zone is located within the revenue district of West Tripura and Gomati District and the Headquarters of TTAADC Khwmulwng, is also located within West Zone. North Zone is within the revenue district of North Tripura and Unakoti District, and is the farthest Zone form the TTAADC Headquarters, Khumulwng. In terms of tribal population, West Zone is most populated and North Zone is most thinly populated (Zone-wise distribution of population is given in chapter 3).

1.10.3 *Selection of Sub-Zones:*

After selection of Zones, it is followed by the second sampling stage, which is the selection of Sub-Zones. One Sub-zone is selected from each selected Zones, taking into consideration the geographical location, distance from the Zonal Office and their socio-economic standard of living in general. Accordingly, Khumulwng Sub-Zone from West Zone, and Noagang Sub-Zone from North Zone were purposively selected, taking into

consideration the above mentioned factors. The Khumulwng Sub-Zone is located within West Zone and economically most developed as compared to other Sub-Zone.

Whereas, Noagang Sub-Zone is one of the farthest Sub-Zone and economically most backward area comprising the hill ranges of Assam-Tripura border. In terms of population, it is the least of all the other Sub-Zones within North Zone. (Name of Sub-Zones that comes under the jurisdiction of North Zone is given chapter 3). While there are only 7 (seven) VCs under Noagang Sub-Zone, Khwmulwng Sub-Zone have 28 (twenty eight) VCs under its jurisdiction.

1.10.4 *Selection of Village Committees and Respondent:*

The third stage in the sampling process consists of the selection of VC and family beneficiaries for collection of primary data. Before selecting VCs and respondents, comprehensive study has been made on different development schemes and projects which are implemented by the Council. Thus, village-wise and program-wise lists of beneficiaries were obtained from Sub-Zonal Office of the selected Sub-Zone and from Headquarters of TTAADC Khwmulwng, Agartala.

Accordingly, a total of six VCs (as shown in diagram 1.B) were selected for the present study, taking three VCs form each Sub-Zone. The three selected VCs from Noagang Sub-Zone are Indurail VC, Noagang VC and Zoitang VC. Similarly, three selected VC from Khumulwng Sub-Zone are Jirania Khola VC, Dupchhera VC and Santi Nagar VC. The selection bases were the same as the selection of Zone and Sub-Zone.

Having selected VCs, family beneficiaries were selected through purposive sampling. Numbers of beneficiaries interviewed, could not be same among different selected VCs. It varies depending on the availability of beneficiaries and programs selected for study. So, a total of 60 (sixty) beneficiaries were selected for the present study. Question could arise as to why the number of beneficiaries is restricted to only 60. Because, unlike state level development programs, beneficiary under TTAADC generated programs are few in numbers and hence, difficult to have physical contact with them. While selecting the family beneficiaries due care has been taken as to whether they are the

recipient of family beneficiary. Attempts were made to include a diverse section of tribal beneficiary.

In addition, elected VC Chairpersons and Members of six selected VCs were also interviewed with structured questionnaires. The pattern of selection is same as that of the beneficiaries. A total of 26 (twenty six) elected VC Chairpersons and Members were interviewed with structured interview schedule comprising of both closed and open ended questions.

Thus, interviews with structured interview schedule were conducted with the following categories of respondents:

a) Representative of VC level.
b) Beneficiaries of different development programs.

Table 1.1   indicates the distribution according to the category of respondents and VC.

Table 1.1
Distribution of respondent according to Sub-Zones and VillageCommittees

Total: 86

Category of Respondent	Noagang Sub-Zone			Khwmulwng Sub-Zone			Total
	Indurail VC	Noagang VC	Zoitang VC	Jirania VC	Dupcharra VC	Santi Nagar VC	
Beneficiary	10	14	10	10	9	7	**60**
Elected VC Members	5	5	5	4	4	3	**26**
Total	19	22	18	17	17	13	**86**

Source: As per data collected from filed work

Besides, informal discussions were conducted with government officials and non-beneficiaries. Through the discussion, attempt has been made to find out their views and opinions. They were approached with checklist and open-ended questions to verify the authenticity of answers provided by beneficiary and VC Members. Those officials include Principal Officers (POs), Zonal Development Officers (ZDOs), Sub-Zonal Development Officers (SZDOs), and other officials of Zonal Office and Sub-Zonal Office. Besides, discussions were also made with few Members of District Council (MDCs).

After making a typology of all the development programs the following four such family-oriented income generating programs, which are TTAADC own generated programs and is sustainable in nature were selected for study: (1) Rubber Plantation Scheme; (2) Improved method of Jhum (Shifting) Cultivation; (3) Fish Productivity and Fishery Extension Schemes, and (4) Kuroiler Farming Scheme. Those beneficiaries who got assistance within the year 2011 - 2013, were selected for the present study. In selecting the programs for the study, emphasis is being given to family-oriented income generating schemes implemented by the Council. Selections have been made keeping in mind the possibility of maximum coverage of the rural tribal population.

1.10.5 *Sources of Data:*

Information has been collected both from primary and secondary sources. Personal interview is conducted with the beneficiaries. Besides, discussions with elected representatives of the District Council and departmental officials have been used as sources of primary data in the present research. The published materials available in the form of books, journals, seminar papers have been consulted for secondary information.

In order to understand the legal frameworks of the different policies and schemes adopted by the government of India for tribal development administration, the Act and Rules issued by the government since Independence were consulted. The reports of the various commissions, committees and study teams conducted by the Union and State Governments were also consulted for obtaining information about the structural and functional aspects of the District Council. The Census data of 2011, conducted by the Government of India, have been taken as a reference for figuring population and percentages.

1.11   Organisation of Chapters

The chapter discussed the research problem, conceptual definitions and theoretical framework. Besides, review of literatures, objectives and scope of the study, research questions and the methodology adopted for carrying out the study are also discussed in details.

Chapter 2 makes a detailed analysis of tribal development administration in India. Thus, the chapter discusses the approaches of tribal development administration both

before and after Indian independence. Besides, it also discussed various provisions relating to protection of STs, key Acts and Amendments of the Indian constitution to safeguard STs, and provision under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India.

Chapter 3 makes an analysis of the policies of tribal development administration in TTAADC. It, therefore, examines the institutional structures and functions of TTAADC under the Sixth Schedule. Accordingly, structures and composition of TTAADC; functions of committees at different levels of the District Council; executive, legislative, financial and judicial powers; functions of different departments; and process of fund allocation were thoroughly studied. Based on the powers and functions vested with the Council, an attempt has been made to understand the extent to which these powers and functions were put into practice.

Chapter 4 analyses the process of implementation of development programs within TTAADC. Study were made regarding the process of allocation of development programs, selection and identification of beneficiary, financing processes, leakages in implementation, causes of failure of programs, beneficiary's participation in the implementation process and role of local political leaders in implementation.

Chapter 5 analyses the relationship between elected representatives and government officials in the entire administration. Thus, this chapter made a thorough discussion of their relationship in executing day to day works. Based on these relationships, an attempt has been made to analyse the levels of cooperation and coordination in between them.

Chapter 6 consists of findings and conclusions. The chapter, therefore, discusses the major findings of the study. On the basis of these findings, the chapter outlines suggestions and policy prescriptions for effective systems of tribal development administration with effective people's participation, efficiency and accountability.