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STRATEGIES FOR TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT-A REVIEW

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Abstract

Various tribal groups of our country are at different stages of economy starting from food collection stage to settled agriculture. They are most disadvantaged groups and engaged in food gathering, hunting and fishing stage and facing multifarious problems in modern times in their own habitats. State government and administrations of union territories should make an objective study of the extent to which each of the tribal development programmes need special attention for the really backward communities. A pragmatic and holistic approach to tribal development alone can help to understand the results of the efforts. Along with the government schemes and programmes for the welfare of the tribals, the travails of tribal development need to be understood properly. When the tribal development programmes are related to the specific needs of the tribal community, the benefits will reach to the target group. In this context, the present paper reviewed various strategies of Government for the development of Tribals with a view to understand the government efforts for promoting the welfare of tribals.

Keywords: Agriculture, Tribal Development Programmes, Backward Communities, Tribal Welfare.

Introduction

India represents 705 Scheduled Tribes with 8.6 percent of the total population which accounts for one-fourth of the world's tribal population. Tribes in India constitute second largest population in the world, next to Africa. Out of the total Scheduled Tribe (ST) population of 10.43 crore, about 80 percent are found in central India, 12 percent in the north eastern states and the rest in southern India. Since the President of India issued the first notification to recognize the STs in 1950, India had no policy to deal with indigenous and tribal peoples of the country. The STs constituted about 8.6 per cent of the total population according to the 2011 census and remain in the lowest ladder of the society in all respects.

The government of India identified all STs as primitive races. In the Hindi text of the constitution of India, the Scheduled Tribe is translated as Adimjati, literally meaning "primitive races". The first President of India Dr Rajendra Prasad, suggested Adimajati as a translation for the Scheduled Tribe as a compromised text by which was used in Bihar.

Mr Jaipal Singh and Mr A V Takkar insisted on the use of the word "Adivasi" instead of "Vanjati" to describe the Scheduled Tribe during the debates at the constituent assembly. Article 366 of the constitution of India has defined the scheduled tribes as such of those PTGs or tribe communities which have been so declared by the constitution order under Article 342 of the Constitution of India there are 461 ST groups who were identified as STs. [Singh.K.S1994]. They were earlier described as aboriginals, primitives, adivasis and some other names such as Vanajathis and Girijans.

Various tribal groups of our country are at different stages of economy starting from food collection stage to settled agriculture. The most disadvantaged groups who are at food gathering, hunting and fishing stage are facing multifarious problems in modern times in their own habitats. The question of taking the problems of more backward communities has received the attention of various commission and study teams connected with tribal welfare.

The Dhebar Commission (1960-1961) found that within the Scheduled Tribe classification an inequality existed in the rate of development of certain tribes over others. As a result in the fourth Five Year Plan the sub-category "Primitive Tribal Group" (PTG) was created within the grouping of Scheduled Tribe to identify groups considered to be especially lacking in modern development. The features of Primitive tribalgroup include the existence of a pre-agricultural system, practice of hunting and gathering, zero or negative population growth, and extremely low levels of literacy in comparison with other tribal groups. Commission classified the Scheduled PTGs of our country in to the following four different groups. i) those that are living in the remotest corners and for that reason are almost in a Primitive Stage,i). those in the Jhum (shifting) Cultivation stage, iii) those who have taken to regular agriculture and iv) those who have already been assimilated.



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A team under the leadership of Shilu AO studied Tribal Development Programmes (1969) distinct the imbalance development among the tribal communities and highlighted that a large number of tribal communities continuing to be extremely backward, some of them still in the primitive food gathering stage. They reiterated the view of the Dhebar Commission that the 'Lowest Layer' needed the utmost consideration and should be made the special concern of the state government. They suggested that state governments and administrations of union territories should make an objective study of the extent to which each of the tribal development programmes and select on the basis of such a study the really backward communities that need special attention. Further, separate schemes for imparting education and economic uplift should be framed and treated as central schemes, including special provision in the plan for the purpose.

At the time of review of tribal development programmes on the eve of the Fifth Plan, it was recognized that special programmes for the extremely backward tribal groups known as primitive groups, should be taken up on the basis of proper identification on the lines suggested by the Shilu A O Team. It was also envisaged that the programmes would be financed entirely by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs. The important guidelines for identification of Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) are: pre-agricultural level of technology, low level of literacy and stagnant or diminishing population.

A Primitive Tribal Group was considered if it was satisfied any of the criterion. At the end of Fifth Five-year plan, based on recommendations made by Indian state governments 52 communities were identified as being a "primitive tribal group". At the conclusion of the Sixth Five-year plan 20 additional groups were added and 2 more were added in the Seventh Five-year plan and finally one more group was added in the eighth five-year plan, for a total 75 groups were identified as Primitive Tribal Group. The 75th group recognized as PTG was the Maram in Manipur in 1993-94. On the basis of the 2011 census no new group was declared as PTG.

Majority of the PTGs in India is in perpetual poverty and stands much below the poverty line, suffering from an alarming malnutrition and high illiteracy. Unless the government take initiative more seriously, sincerely, and effectively to create sustainable development programmes among them they would not come out from vulnerability. The 10th plan of the government of India lucidly describes the problems of these vulnerable communities: A decline in their sustenance base and the resultant food insecurity, malnutrition and ill-health force them to live in the most fragile living conditions and some of them are even under the threat of getting extinct. This information reveals that there are certain communities. As a consequence, these under-privileged STs were left out of the process of development (Ministry of Tribe Affairs-2002). An attempt has been made to list out PTGs in India by P.K.Mohanty in his book "Development of PTGs in India" (2002-03) where in it was mentioned that the identification was made during the census 1931 itself. These tribal people are in the state of extreme poverty and are subjected to exploitation and are in the lowest level of literacy.

In 2006 the government of India changed the name of "Primitive tribal group" to "Particularly vulnerable tribal group" PTG has since been renamed particularly vulnerable tribal group by the government of India. According to 2011 census, out of 705, 75 PVTGs Scheduled Tribes spread over 18 states and one Union Territory (A&N Islands) in the country. Among the 75 listed PVTG's the highest number are found in Odisha (13), followed by Andhra Pradesh (12). The scenario of the tribal economy of Andhra Pradesh can be explained with the help of statistical information relating to the PVTGs in AP. The demographic statistics of scheduled PVTGs in India and Andhra Pradesh state reveal that the decadal growth (2001-2011) of PTGs in India is recorded as 24.45 percent, in case of Andhra Pradesh it is recorded as relatively low at 19.64 percent in all India level the proportion of ST population in total population in 2011 is recorded as 8.2 percent while in case of AP it is recorded relatively lower at 6.6 percent. Andhra Pradesh is having 5.99 of the total ST population in the country. The decadal growth rates of ST and the general population from 1961 to 2011 both in the Indian economy and in AP state shows that both in case of the growth of the general population and ST population (except in the case of 1991 over 1981) the five decadal rates are relatively recorded higher at the national level. Another important aspect is that all the five decadal rates of ST population both at national level and state level are recorded very higher when compared to the decadal growth rates of general population.

In case of ST population growth during 1991 over 1981 the decadal growth rate of AP state is relatively recorded higher compared to national level. The information relating to the growth of ST population in proportion to total population from 1961 to 2011 reveal that from decade to decade the ST population in AP is increasing continuously during different decades. A significant increase can be noticed in between the decades of 1971 to 1981 when compared to other census. The decadal growth difference is very minimum in between 1961 to 1971 and 2001 to 2011 census. The sex-wise proportional growth of ST population during different census shows that the proportion of both ST male and female has shown an increasing trend during different decades. In between ST male and female the growth ST male has relatively recorded higher when compared to the growth of ST female during different decades. Regarding both



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ST male and female the growth is recorded higher in between 1971 to 1981 when compared to the other decades. The rural urban classification of ST population during different decades reveal that among the STs in AP more than 90 percent of them are still living in rural areas. However, one noticeable trend is that from decade to decade the proportion of STs living in rural areas is gradually declining. Also it can be observed that inspite of the intensive implementation of development programmes towards development of tribal communities, the decline in the rural population recorded very marginally during 2001 to 2011census.

The information relating to comparative literacy rates of STs and general population in AP during different census periods shows that the literacy rates of STs in AP during different census periods are recorded very low. However, the female and male literacy rates of the STs are showing a little bit improvement during last two census periods. Still the female literacy rates of the STs are recorded very low when compared to male literacy rates. The low female literacy rates of STs in Andhra Pradesh necessitates the further intensification of female literacy programmes in the agency areas of Andhra Pradesh. The information relating to the number of ITDAs, MADA pockets and Primitive Tribal Groups in A.P shows that AP is having 8 ITDAs, 41 MADA Pockets, 17 Clusters and 12 PTG Groups.

The state of Andhra Pradesh consists of 12 PTGs with a population of 6.59 percent of its total population. The scheduled area in Andhra Pradesh comprises of 29,683 square kilometers, which occupies 10.7 per cent of the total geographical area of the state and 11.00 per cent of the total scheduled area of the country. The tribal villages are inhabited by different variety of PTGs. The important PTGs are Koya, Konda Reddies, Naikpads in Khammam and Godavari districts, Bagatha, Valmiki, Savara, Gadaba, Konda Dora and Kondhs in the districts of North Coastal Andhra Pradesh, Chenchus in Kurnool and Prakesam districts. A large proportion of tribe population in Andhra Pradesh state is mainly concentrated in the six Districts namely Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, and Kurnool.

In Andhra Pradesh, Government of India has identified Chenchus of, Kurnool, Prakasam and Guntur districts in the year 1975-76 and Konda Reddies of East Godavari, West Godavari and Khammam districts in the year 1980 as PTGs. The central sector schemes for the development of PTGs are being implemented through Integrated Tribal Development Agencies (ITDAs). At present in Andhra Pradesh there are12 PVTG Groups (PVTGs) namely: Chenchu, Bodo Gadaba, Gutob Gadaba, Dongiria Kondh, Kutiya Kondh, Kolam, Konda Reddi, Konda Savara, Bondo Poraja, Kondh Poraja, Parangi Poraja and Thoti. These PTGs settlements are mostly found on hill tops and slopes of interior forest areas of Eastern Ghats. They relatively live in isolation of interior forests and hills. Still these PTGs are largely depending on food gathering, hunting, non-timber forest produce collection and shifting (Podu) cultivation for their subsistence and survival. In general the tribal economy in Eastern Ghats is agro-forest based and largely considered as subsistence economy. The PTGs population is mostly concentrated in the nine scheduled districts. All these districts fall in the Sub-Plan areas of Andhra Pradesh.

Basic Features of Indian Tribal Economy

Social and economic change is a universal phenomenon. In the context of recent progress in technology and its percolation even to remote areas, human societies have been experiencing rapid changes everywhere; tribal societies are no exception to this phenomenon. The programmes of planned development of tribal areas after the dawn of Indian independence have changed the canvas of tribal societies in various parts of the country. In this context, a study of the dynamics of socio-economic change in the tribal society exposed to various developmental programmes has a vital importance.

A brief account of the contact situation of tribal society in India is given here for the purpose of delineating the research problem. Before independence, the contacts of tribals in India were confined only to a few non tribal traders, caste Hindus who settled in the midst of tribal villages and social reforms who paid sporadic visits to the tribal areas. The contact with nontribal traders in the early stages caused little or no change in the tribal society because the traders tried to maintain their transactions with the tribals.

During the British regimes, the British Government did not pay much attention on the tribes living in the interior forest areas. To ascertain by saying that in respect of law and order, the British rulers enforced them with an iron hand. Their attitude to the tribes otherwise was paternalistic and protective. But the compulsion of the situation forced them to send their engineers and contractors, civil and military officials of all ranks and their provision suppliers, traders and shop-keepers into all these inaccessible regions of the interior and frontiers. Thus, a money economy was introduced among the tribal communities⁴.

After Indian independence, many policies and programmes were initiated in the tribal areas, which had far reaching consequences on tribal economy. As a result of the national forest policy of 1952 the government began to discourage shifting



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cultivation. In 1956 shifting cultivation was restricted on certain gradients of hills in the study area, shaking the basic economic system of a large section of the tribes. On the other hand the Government introduced the special multipurpose project (MPP) in 1956 for developing tribal economy on a special footing. The activities of various other government departments forest, soil and water conservation, roads and buildings, the Girijan Co-operative Corporation, the silk farm etc. have greatly increased employment potential in the tribal areas. Development of modern means of transport services and the railways have opened up the tribal area in the recent decades and several nontribals came in contact with the tribals⁵. Due to the thrust of the directed contact and the accelerated social interaction with the Hindu and Christian cultures after independence, the tribal society in India has been undergoing rapid changes.

Introduction of wage labour, new crops, modern technology and money economy in the tribal area has produced considerable changes in the life-ways of the tribals living in different areas with the introduction of new forest rules, several tribes who used to depend mainly on podu lands, lost them in the contact centre and adopted wage labour. In the wake of wage labour, the tribes were having almost given up certain traditional economic pursuits like food gathering; hunting game which was an occasion for collective activity completely disappeared. The tribes who own dry lands are still cultivating dry crops and a few modern crops that can be grown without irrigation. Some of the land owning tribes began to cultivate more of the traditional commercial crops like pulses, oilseeds, etc., and thus they are shifting from substance economy to market economy. Nevertheless nearly 30 per cent of the tribal families in India are non cultivators depend on wage labour, business, salaried service etc. Although nearly 60 per cent of the tribal families are cultivators, about one-third of them is tenant cultivators and earns wages in some seasons to supplement their income from cultivation⁶.

The economy found in tribal India is in compatible with the traditional agro-forest-based economy and has brought about significant changes in the relations within the families of different tribes. In this situation, individuals, both men and women began to be having independent of their parents and leaders in pursuit of their self interest. Women began to take new economic roles as wage labour, trade, business etc. Both men and women have developed individualism, which resulted in the breakdown of joint family system. In the past, land belongs to male members of the joint family. Now, nuclear family is the predominant unit and no joint farming is found among the different tribes in India.

The traditional system of reciprocal obligations, mutual exchange of labour and cooperation has almost disappeared and now tribals pay money wages for labour with in their tribe. However, the tradition still persists in the case of re-thatching of houses. Where tribes serve food and rice-bear for the workers instead of paying money wages⁸. With the diversified economy, the relations among different tribes are also changing in India. The tribals in India now pay cash for posts sold in the weekly shandies instead of annual payments. They also pay cash in many day to day transactions. Thus the pattern of relations among different tribes is transformed.

Nearly 80 per cent of the tribal families in India are engaged in cultivation in the interior and hill areas. A good number of tribals still continuous podu cultivation. In the context of modern farm technology, several of the non cultivators could find employment in the agricultural sector. Although some tribes in India have taken to non agriculture wages⁹. The modern farm technology which is the decisive change agent has reinforced the agricultural economy and there is no incompatibility between the traditional and modern systems. Although money economy has come into vogue, better system still holds the away in India. Some instances where the exotic vegetable, like potatoes are bartered for grains instead of selling them for cash in the weekly shandies. Apart from wage labour, the system of reciprocal exchange of labour among Kinsmen still persists in the case of cultivators of traditional crops. In the cultivation of modern crops, however, they pay wages. The system of customary payments to Naidu, Pujari and village servants is still continued and the old modern of independence between them and the artisan tribes also persists.

However, there is a tremendous decline in the dependency of different tribes on the collection of forest produce and hunting while decline in hunting activity is the direct result of the forest policy, decline in food gathering activity is mainly due to the fact that several tribes are now wholly engaged in the cultivation of modern crops¹¹. The impact of money wages and modern farm technology is negligible in the remote and interior tribal areas. They still cultivate podu. Hence the traditional economic organization of tribes remained largely intact further when the Girijan Cooperative Corporation began to offer better prices for their minor forest produce, tribes in the remote areas began to devote relatively more attention on this persuit, thus strengthening their bond with forest¹². Thus there is no change in the economic relations among tribals in the interior and remote areas.

Tribes generally give high value to cultivation and regard wage labour as a degrading profession. In the wake of new forest rules and the opening up of new economic opportunities, the tribes in any parts of India have adopted wage labour while those in the interior and the remote areas still give high value to land and its cultivation. Although, tribes in many parts of India have compromised to the new economic situation, several of them still regard cultivation as prestigious occupation. Some tribes have taken lands under



userfractuary mortgage with their savings from wage labour and started cultivation; but they have not given up wage labour because it provides almost a regular source of income¹³. The tribal economy in India has changed the economic roles among different tribes. In the interior areas the adoption of new farm technology has reinforced the traditional economic system and so this area has not shown significant changes in economic roles.

Implementation aspects of tribal development strategies

About the implementation part of the tribal development strategy there are different views among the researchers. Some argue that what was happened to tribals in India during the last 75 years is agonizing. The approach to tribal development from the Fourth Plan onwards had found that actual benefits trickling down to the tribals have not been consistent with promises we have made. The gap between tribals and non-tribals has been widening and tribal exploitation has become more effective and increased after the implementation of developmental plans. A.K Sharma pointed out that, Government of India has not only failed to encourage the development of tribals but has actively maintained they're under development. He also stated that the laws and programmes have failed because of the attitudes of the powerful feudal elitist groups and non-involvement of tribals in the development process.

Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad and Agro Economic Research Centre, Waltair etc., have corroborate the views of earlier committees such as Malayappan, Ray, Dhebar commission etc., regarding the exploitation of tribals by non-tribal traders-cum-money lenders even after passing of protective legislation and introduction of agencies such as GCC, ITDA etc. Inspite of huge investment outlays, the implementation of the tribal development programmes is not a story of success. Approach to tribal development in the Sixth Plan states that the benefits accruing the tribals were inconsistent with huge investment. The Working Group on tribal development for Eighth Five Year Plan also observed that tribal Sub-Plan strategy has yielded results but these do not corresponding to the expectations and investments made so far. The area based and individual based programmes did not have desired impact.

However, some micro level studies of which focused mainly on the impact of development programs on tribal households indicate a mixed pattern. There were many reasons for the failure of tribal development programs. There were delays in the implementation of the programs. Coordination at various levels was absent, the state Governments did not ensure a reasonable share of benefits from the general development programs to the tribals. The developmental efforts increased the differences between tribal groups. The performance of the administrative machinery is very unsatisfactory. The remarks of the Planning Commission in this regard about the need of fresh look on the tribal development are worth mentioning.

Schemes for Tribal Development

Majority of the tribal areas in the country are broadly divided into three categories, viz., (i) predominantly tribal stated union territories (ii) Scheduled area, and (iii) Non-Scheduled areas in the states. All the tribal-majority States and Union Territories are placed in a special category for availing funds. The development and administration of tribal areas is accepted as a special responsibility of the central government even though they are integral parts of the concerned states. Financial provisions for their development were considered in detail by the constituent assembly itself. The schemes have been divided into two categories, viz., (i). central sector programmes which are fully financed by the central government. (ii). the centrally sponsored programmes which are partly financed by the central government, and rest of the expenditure meted out by the concerned State government. According to Dr. B.D. Sharma, financial resources for developmental programmes in a state may comprise the following elements- (i). investment in the central and centrally sponsored schemes; (ii). state revenues; (iii). share from certain central revenue; (iv). plan assistance from the central government and (v). grants under Article 275 (1) on the basis of the recommendations of the Finance Commission. The utilisation of State funds is broadly classified under two categories i.e.Plan and non-plan. The plan technically covers all those items which are included in the State or the Central plan. The non-plan includes expenditure on general administration as also on the maintenance of development schemes.

The Special Central Assistance (SCA) for tribal sub-plans is allocated between different states on the basis of three criteria as under. (i). the tribal population of Sub-Plan area; (ii). the geographical area of the Sub-Plan; and (iii). the per capita gross output of the state. The weightage for these three elements has been fixed in a certain proportion. While the first two criteria are simple, the quantum of assistance on the basis of the third criterion is determined with reference to the difference between the inverse of the State's per capita gross product and the inverse of the per capita gross national product. The financing agencies rendering their services in the tribal areas are Central Government, State Governments, institutions, viz., commercial banks, co-operative banks, NABARD and voluntary organisations.



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Programmes for Tribal Welfare

A number of employment oriented and developmental programmes for tribals have been introduced by the government of India. The major programmes among them are Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), Jawahar Rosgar Yojana (JRY), Prime Ministers Rosgar Yojana (PMRY) and Training for Self-Employment for Rural youth (TRYSEM). IRDP scheme is absolutely for rural people those belong to below poverty line and others are for both rural as well as urban youth. All three schemes are implemented in the state by District Rural Development Agencies (DRDA's) in collaboration with Commercial and Cooperative Banks. In order to tackle the burning problem of educated unemployment PMRY was initiated in October 1993. PMRY relates to setting up of selfemployment ventures through industries and services. According the scheme any unemployed youth who is metric failed/passed or above or IT1 passed, is eligible for the benefits of the scheme subject to the condition that if he is between the age group of 18 to 35 years and his family income does not exceed Rs. 24,000 per annum. The youth should also be the permanent resident of the areas for at least three years and he should not be defaulter to any bank or financial institution. The scheme envisages 22.5 per cent reservation for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe and 27 per cent for OBC. A maximum loan of Rs 1 lakh per candidate is provided under this scheme, at an interest rate of 12.5 to 15.5 per cent. The entrepreneur has to contribute 5 per cent of project cost as margin money. No collateral security guarantee is asked on such loans. Period of repayment starts after a moratorium of six to eighteen months and range over 3 to 7 years. The government provides subsidy to the extent of 15 per cent of the total loan imbrued with a ceiling of Rs.7,500 per entrepreneur. In case of joint venture each partner may be provided a loan of Rs.1 lakh subsidy. In such cases the interest is calculated for each partner separately at a rate of 15 per cent of his share in the project cost limited to Rs.7,500 for each partner.

A salient feature of the scheme is the provision of compulsory training to entrepreneurship development is Duration of this training is one month and trainees are provided stipend of Rs.500 during the training period. In the year 1979 on the Independence Day the scheme of TRYSEM was introduced with the objective of providing technical skills to rural youth to enable them to take up self-employment in the fields of agriculture and allied activities, industries, services and business activities. The scheme works as a part of Integrated Rural Development Programme and aims at imparting training to about 2 lakhs rural youths every year from the 5,011 development blocks of the country and to lift them above the poverty line. Under this scheme, those rural youth who are in the age group of 18 to 35 years with annual timely income from all sources are not exceeding Rs.8,500- are eligible for selection. Preference is given to Scheduled Caste and scheduled Tribe (50%) women (40%) and physically handicapped (3%). The selected beneficiaries are trained into the field of agriculture and allied activities, industry, service and business activities. The trainees are paid a monthly stipend or daily allowance during the training period. The training institution is provided honorarium along with Rs.75 per trainee per month for purchase of raw materials. After completion of training, the beneficiaries are assisted in getting finance from the banks. A maximum of Rs.35,000 can be sanctioned to each beneficiary as a composite loan.

Trained youths are granted a subsidy by the government at the rate of 1/3 of the cost of the project to set up self-employment venture. Beneficiaries are also provided marketing support for their finished products. The amount spent on this scheme is contributed by the Central and the State governments in 50:50 ratios. Since 1983 the scope of TRYSEM scheme has been enlarged. Removal of poverty in tribal areas is the main thrust of the development strategies during the recent past. The main causes of poverty are identified as illiteracy, unemployment, under employment and law productivity in agriculture. Since farmers in TSP area the fertility of land is very low. where the land holding mostly on hill slopes, Further, droughts and soil erosion are now recurring features in the tribal areas which has reduced employment opportunities of the tribals.

For improving the economic status of tribals, special programmes were launched, during 1980's, mainly (a). The Asset Programme and (b). the Employment Programme. The Asset Programme aims at the overall integrated development of rural life through the removal of poverty and unemployment in rural areas. In this programme productive assets are directly given to the poor. The purpose of income generated from these productive assets would not only be sufficient to repay the bank loans but will help the assisted families to cross the 'poverty line'. This programme is popularly known as Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP). The Employment Programme on the other hand aims at providing employment through public works during the adverse agricultural season. The employment programme asserts that poverty persists because of the lack of employment opportunities. The earlier employment schemes were adhoc in nature but the employment programme launched from Oct 1 980, popularly known as National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) is considered as a permanent plan programme.

To conclude, a pragmatic and holistic approach to tribal development alone can produce good results. Along with the government schemes and programmes for the welfare of the tribals, the travails of tribal development need to be understood properly. When the tribal development programmes are related to the specific needs of the tribal community, the benefits will reach to the target group. And steps should be taken to integrate the ongoing rural development programmes which are meant for poverty alleviation.



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