

PROBLEMS OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT:  
A STUDY OF TWO VILLAGES IN MANIPUR

A Thesis submitted for the Degree  
Of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
In  
Anthropology

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Declaration

I hereby declare that the work embodied in this thesis entitled, "PROBLEMS OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF TWO VILLAGES IN MANIPUR", carried out by me under the supervision of Prof. P. Venkata Rao, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Hyderabad, is original. This has not been submitted in part or full for any other diploma or degree of any University.

  
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Certificate

I hereby affirm that Mr. M. Romesh Singh has carried out the research work embodied in the present thesis under my supervision and guidance. I recommend his thesis entitled, "PROBLEMS OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF TWO VILLAGES IN MANIPUR", for submission for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology.

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## Acknowledgements:

During the course of my work I received help from different quarters. Now the time has come for me to express sincerest thanks for all the help that I had received from them. Directly or indirectly, all are responsible for the completion of this thesis but for whose help this would not have possible.

I deem it my privilege to thank my research supervisor **Prof. P.Venkata Rao** for the continued cooperation and untiring effort by him to bring this work to fruition. His critical insights and I may say so, elliptical suggestions have supplied the foundations of the present work. He has been a continuous source of inspiration and encouragement that was at times needed, and patiently supervised the work till its destiny. I will look back on my association with **Prof. Rao** during my **MA, M.phil, and Ph.D dissertation**, with a sense of pride and privilege.

This is also an occasion to thank **Prof. Raghava Rao** and **Prof. K.K. Mishra** for their unstinted support, cooperation and warmth. My teachers **Dr. R. Siva prasad, Dr. BV Sharma**, who had taught me, placed me in a position to critically look at things, analyse them and made me feel at home in anthropology.

I am extremely grateful to **Dr. Narendra Bondla, Dr. Tarakan, Dr. Suvvada sreenivas, Dr. P.H Mohamad and Dr. Aneel babu J** for their cooperation and constructive suggestions which have broadened my knowledge on the subject.

I am very thankful to all my senior and junior researchers, classmates and friends on and off the campus that were of help. I specially thank **Panchu, Shaji, Senthil, Hemu, Somdev, Apratim** for their timely and invaluable help.

I am greatly indebted to the villagers of **Khangshim** and **Minou** who had been a constant source of help throughout my field work. I am indebted for the hospitality and many a kindness shown to me during fieldwork. In this regard, I fail my duty if I do not acknowledge the timely help that I had received from **Koshang uncle** and **Peter** and other key informants in the villages.

## **III**

I owe a great deal to **Prof. R.P.Singh, Dr. Kamkhengthang, Dr. MC Arun, Samungou, and Ajitdar** for their valuable suggestions.

Above **all**, my friend **Anil** has always been constant source of inspiration and encouragement all through my stay in the University. **Raj** has helped me ungrudgingly during the times of need. **BK Srenivas, Bhaskar, Bheem, Manichandan, Nandu** have always provided their companionship and emotional support all through the work.

I thank to my beloved brothers **Tajou Raghu, Suresh, Dinesh, Kennedy, Kumarjit, Subhash, Sanjay, Jhonstone, Prem** for being source of inspiration and their concern to complete the dissertation.

I am obliged to **my parents** who designed my disposition, from the cradle, to this stage who is responsible for the state of mind. **My brothers, sisters, and sister-in-law** had always been a source of encouragement. **My Uncles, Aunts and cousins** helped in accomplishing this academic endeavor.

I also express my thanks to **She khar, Adinarayan, Ash ok, Niranjan** for their ~~CO~~ operation during my stay in Department of Anthropology,

I extend my heart felt thanks for the library staff **IGM, NIRD, MU, DDTBC (research wing library)** and other libraries.

Last but not the least my sincere thanks to go to well wishes and friends who have helped me in and out of my work at different phases. Listing them would be mountainous task, but their help was invaluable during the work.

**M. Romesh Singh**

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# **CHAPTER-1**

## **INTRODUCTION:**

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

The term '**development**' involves all aspects of human activity. In still broader context, nations have been defined as **developed** or developing. But how can one justify that one is more developed than those who are to be developed. These questions **have** become very sensitive now a days when one finds under developed in some spheres everywhere. A society or nation may be more developed in economic front whereas, it may be underdeveloped in social front. So, one cannot define development in some aspects only, rather it should be viewed **multi-dimensionally**. The narrow concept of development prevalent in the fifties and early sixties has been **seriously** questioned and has been widened to include non-economic aspects as well. The negative consequences and social injuries of rapid technological changes witnessed in the forms of widespread alienation, increase in divorce rate, crime, social violence, drug addiction, AIDS and other patterns of social pathology, not to speak of pollution and depletion of resources, have brought the narrow economic conceptualizations under critical study.

The concept of indigenous development centres on man, and correspond to the internal characteristics of the society in question that take into account its specific features and its integrating qualities. It must retain its individual character drawing its

strength from its own innate models of thought and action and adopting goals in keeping with these values. When a society develops indigenously, its way of life should be based on respect for its traditional values for the authenticity of its culture and for creative attitudes for its people. If development is to fulfil people's expectation it cannot be patterned on an outside model. It must be achieved in accordance with goals and methods freely chosen by the society.

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

For Goulet. D (1971) life sustenance, self esteem and freedom of choice are the three core values of development, both for individuals as well as societies. Todaro. M (1977) says that development is a multi-dimensional process, and it involves changes in structure, attitudes and institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of absolute poverty.

Chi Yum (1978) defines development as a process of societal transformation from a traditional to a modern society and such a transformation is also known as **modernization**. Lerner. D (1985) opines that modernization is a systematic process involving complementary change in the demographic, economic, political, communication and cultural sectors of a society.

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

Anthropologists like Belshaw (1977) described development as an increase in the capacities of the society to organize for its own objectives and to carry out its programmes more effectively. From this point of view, development is an organized activity and a **multi**-dimensional process to improve the social, cultural, economic and human conditions of the people for balanced growth of the society. Vidyarthi (1981) defines development as "growth" plus "change". It involves material and human factors. He clarifies this point saying that the economic approach of development is not acceptable for an anthropologists who firmly believes that socio-cultural factors are integral part of the dynamics of growth and that social change is not a simply a non functional effect of planning. There fore, development is a holistic phenomenon.

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

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

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

Anthropologists have long been concerned with process of social and cultural change and have made significant contributions to their understanding. General anthropological theories of development and under development which have been reviewed by Schneider (1975: 128), and Nash (81: 109) dealt with only in so far as they illuminate or are illuminated by anthropologists experience with development assistance activities.

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

During colonial era, Anthropologists were commissioned to prepare notes on tribal way of life, their rituals and customs etc. and also acted as advisors to the

colonial government. Malinowsky comes in the forefront of anthropologists who contributed to colonial administration. The interest of anthropologists on native affairs made them to continue their involvement even after many colonies became independent. After getting independence the national government started introducing radical plans and schemes for the development of the countries. Anthropologists are attracted towards these process and consequences of directed change attempted through planned development. A number of studies stressing on cultural complexities, resistance, streaming up from values and attitudes in the context of introduction of innovations came into existence as a result of such interest. Spicer (1952), and Foster (1962) dealt on various aspect of social cultural and psychological ramifications of technological innovations. Mead (1950), Barnett (1953), Hogbin (1958), Goodenough (1963) and Arensberg and Nioff (1964) provides insights into the problems involved in the process of planned change in the traditional societies. In the context of innovations introduced for planned changes, these studies focussed upon the integration of culture and inter relationship between institutions of the society. Viewing tradition as collective adaptation to the environment, the studies emphasized the necessity to prevent any cultural maladjustment in the process of planned change. The common theme of anthropological work of planned development is on the examination of cultural factors in the programmes of planned change. David H. penny( 1972:5), an economist, writes: "from certain points of **views**, social anthropologists appear, from their training, to be well qualified to study the development process - they learn the language of the people they are studying, they stay long enough in the field to get to know at least some people well, and to see development process, and they know that they must study a society in all aspects."

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

## **TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA:**

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

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

## **APPROACH TO TRIBAL : A HISTORICAL APPRAISAL:**

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

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

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

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



## **POLICY OF INTREGATION:**

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

## **CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS FOR TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT :**

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

1. Directive principles of state policy - Articles 46.
2. Social safeguards- Articles 17, 23, 24, 25 (2) (B).
3. Education and cultural safeguards- Articles 15(A), 29 (1), 350(A).
4. Political safeguards-Articles 164(1), 330, 332, 334, 371A, 371B, 371C, and 371F.

5. Services safeguards-Articles **16(4), 335, 320(A)**.
6. Economic **safeguards-Articles** 224, 275(1). Fifth and Sixth Schedules

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

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

### **APPROACH AND INSTITUTIONAL SET- UP :**

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

just an instance to emphasise the need for proper training to the personnel engaged in tribal development at any level.

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

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

The comprehensive reports from various committees and experts revealed the repeated kind of suggestions for the improvement of tribals. Most of these reports

were mainly emphasis on the preservation of **tribal** culture, working through or making use of tribal institutions, instilling among tribals a sense of confidence and self-respect. It also evoke serious concerns for understanding and taking care of the tribals consent, initiative, involvement and felt-needs of the tribals. Apart from the special multipurpose tribal blocks of **1956**, various valuable multifarious measures have been taken for the development of Scheduled Tribes. The fifth five-year plan can be considered as a land mark in the history of tribal in India when the integrated tribal development projects came into existence. Tribal Development Blocks, large scale multipurpose co-operative societies (LAMPS), Tribal Development Agencies, Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDA), Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) pockets and clusters, Micro projects for primitive tribal groups (PTGs) reflect various strategies and modification in the process of tribal development (Rao,P.V 2001:88). Over five decades, new strategies, initiatives and approaches have come into, being based on past experiences and changing needs. Variety of approaches and strategies like top-down approach, regional planning, target group approach, integrated development, participatory development, joint forest management, poverty alleviation and family oriented programmes have formed part of **the** development efforts. Of late, however, the prime emphasis and concentration has been paid to the tribal people's participation in the development process at grass-roots level. Besides, various groups and NGOs are striving hard to increase the awareness and participation levels of scheduled tribes. The Panchayats and **Co-**operative bodies are in existence for five decades. According to Constitution, allocating more power to the Panchayats is a significant step for the development of rural or tribal people.

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

Anthropological studies in India are predominantly on tribal societies. The special emphasis laid on scheduled tribes by the government of India further led anthropologists to concentrate on tribal problems. In fact, most of the studies are

based on various socio cultural aspects of tribal and problems of welfare. Studies done by Banerjee (1963), Singh.S (1972), Bose.N.K (1973), and Chattopadhyay (1973), give good account of various tribes in India and their culture. Moreover, Studies carried out by Vidyarthi (1980,1984), Buddhadeb, C (1982) and Mathur, H.M (1977,1989) also provide lots of insight on planning for tribal development in India. These are considered as classical works on tribal development in India.

Vidyarthi (1978) and Schidananda (1980) reviewed some of the works of anthropologists dealing with problems of tribal and development of tribal areas. They conclude that the success of tribal development programmes is largely conditioned by the approach of the official and non official agencies implementing them. Hence, their understanding of tribal culture and traditions and appreciation of social, psychological and economic factors along with their intellectual conditioning in **grappling** with the true objectives are most crucial in the process of welfare and development of a large, long neglected segment of Indian society. The services of anthropologists are being utilized in governmental agencies. The interest of anthropologists on tribal communities resulted in several works dealing with tribal problems, policies and implementation of development programmes for them.

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

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

### **REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE:**

There are number of studies done by Anthropologists and other Social Scientists and scholars on tribal development. Some of the studies are reviews on the topic of under study to understand the problems of tribal development and administration,

policy, and practices. The available literature on Tribal Development have been categorized into five sections i.e., Tribal development Planning and Administration; Suggestions, Comments on Problems of **tribal** development; Works based on field studies; Studies in North eastern Region; and Studies in Manipur.

### **TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND ADMINISTRATION:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Pachauri **S.K(1984)**, **Ramana** Rao (1992) argued that for the success of any plan of development it is necessary that all previous approaches are properly evaluated and the deficiencies and loopholes plugged in to so as to improve performance and aim for better results.

Hasnain, N. (1991) points out that the administrator, as a matter of policy must emphasize on the concept of development instead of welfare. Welfare programmes are linked with the distribution of doles which neglect the integrated growth of the tribal society and also lead to the release of forces of conflict and tension of both inter and intra types.

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

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

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

Tara datt (2001:128) argued that the successful implementation of the planning process depends upon the quality of manpower responsible for handling the plans and programmes. He further states that it is desirable to recognize the much stronger traditional bodies of tribal communities and associate them in the planning and implementation of the development projects till the demand for democratization of public institutions comes from the tribal themselves.



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

### **SUGGESTIONS.COMMENT ON PROBLEMS OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT:**

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

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

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

Mishra, R.P. et al (1979) express that each tribe has its distinctive pattern of living but at the same time contacts with non tribal people have made dent in the

tribal cultural configuration. They further pointed out that in this process each tribal has reached a particular level of development and acculturation. They also pointed that social structure of developing societies which conceived at the national or regional level is inhibitive of real development. The benefits of increased investment in economic and social activities in these areas go to those who need them least.

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

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

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

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

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

**Singh. B** (1982) suggested that one way to overcome the problems and bring in the desired change is to combat these only at grass root level, with totally locally **available** means and ways. Ajit. R (1984), **Gopalkrishnan** (1991) felt that the creation of specialisation in the **adminsitrative** organization was essentially for evolving a new strategy for the development of the tribal areas. It is observed that the sophisticated administrative machinery had failed to function effectively mainly because of the long chain of command and lack of coordination. Studies carried out by **Singh.A.K** (1984) and Nayak (1989) reveal that development programmes in tribal areas in particular lack a scientific understanding and assessment of the social, cultural, economic, health and hygiene conditions.

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

on the part of various development agencies to adopt scientific planning and to ensure the implementation of research findings, inadequate funds and lack of administrative machinery to integrate all the sectoral programmes are some of them. Verma, Y.M. (1986) made a study about the bureaucratic apathy towards development programmes and attitudes of the general masses towards development. Particularly the tribals are suspicious of losing their identity due to development.

Prasad, L (1988) opined that the administrators in India are not aware of the ethos of tribal areas. Thirumal (1988) analyzed the problems of tribals with special reference to those in Tamilnadu. He also suggested that the ethnical and ecological background of the primitive tribes must be studied first for the special programmes. Sen B (1989) suggested that the quality of life of tribal can be improved by involving them in the decision making and at the implementation level.

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

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

Patel L.M(1994) considered that emphasis is to be given on special strategy for the development of primitive tribal groups and nomadic tribes. Participation of social activists and voluntary organizations in fighting injustice and the need for more specific remedies to arrest the rising trend of atrocities on tribals. He further says that

micro level planning should be followed sincerely to boost up the growth rate of the more backward areas.

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

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

Prasad, R.N. (1998) feels that there could not be any improvement in the life of tribal masses without institutional change. He further highlights that the change in the distribution of assets and incomes in favour of poor is not possible without genuine and determined political will.

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

Narayana.S (2002:150) says that " The tribal development programmes lack the indigenous approach. In a country like India where we have the vast natural resources, we ought to tap and link the indigenous raw materials with such an

important programme. Children are the future of the country and future can be turned in to reality when world view, ethos, ecology and environment of the target group is taken into account. We have to do heart searching as to how much relevant and successful these programmes are.

### **OBSERVATIONS FROM THE FIELD STUDIES:**

A number of case studies have been made about the problems of tribal development in different parts of the country. Sharma.B.D(1976) studied among the Jhabua in Madhya Pradesh. He says that it is clear that unless a bare minimum subsistence level is guaranteed in these regions, the socio economic forces may work in the direction of disorganization, which may ultimately spell disaster for the community. He concludes that planning in these areas must start from the human end and weakest part. Apte (1976) studied of fifteen villages in Kolaba district, Maharashtra. He revealed that **tribals** cannot benefit from government schemes because they are not aware of them or are unable to complete the required formalities for getting credit or other facilities. Study in hill tracts of Gujarat by **Lal** and Solanka (1976) revealed that development programmes have been directed to change the crude form of agriculture type and to popularize a settled type of cultivation and ultimately improved methods of cultivation. Agriculture extension and animal husbandry programmes have been given priority to these tribes. But these programmes have not been able to go deep, with the result that by and large the tribal scene in this region has remained unchanged. In another study of Gujarat, Gupta (1977) feels that the cooperatives actually accelerated inequalities instead of eliminating them

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

**Umapathy** (1979) Studied tribal development measures in Karnataka. He says that the social welfare department is not manned by trained personnel. At all level, the people associated with tribal welfare schemes are not well trained. So the plans

could not be properly implemented. The concerned social welfare officers and the tribal development inspectors have not taken much interest in the tribal development.

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

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

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

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

**Basu.A.R(1985)** in his study on tribal development programmes in Himachal Pradesh, in Bharmour and Pangi sub division of Chanta district observed that the efforts made by the government were inadequate to solve the basic problems of poverty, malnutrition, and exploitation of tribals in this area. The study shows that the development programmes failed to elicit popular support and participation of the local people.

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

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

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

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

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



## **STUDIES IN NORTH EASTERN REGION:**

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

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

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

Roy **Burman. B.K.(1972)** in his article" integrated Area Approach to the Problems of North east India", describes the various problems in the hills of North East India. It is obvious that a mere plan of economic development would be utterly inadequate. Along with economic planning, there should be social and political planning in an integrated manner. Puri.R (1972) argued that there is no use in expending valuable time, energy and resources on solving the North East Problem, as

the Government seems to be doing generally in the region. He further says that problems will have to be dealt with from root up, and it involved urgent and effective measures to end the isolation of the tribes of their **district** from the rest of the country.

Haldipur.R.N (1972) considered that a single line administrations with proper leadership can bring about a renaissance of tribal life and culture. He further says that posting dissatisfied officials in to interior area will not advance the cause of integration. Sinha.A.P.(1972) argued that in the absence of any effective forum or opportunity for the people of the Hill districts to participate in local development through democratic processes, of which each of the tribal community has a rich tradition, discontent and frustration is a natural consequence.

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

Nongbri(198S) says that while the tribal development policy has led to the emergence of a new class of elite and a proliferation of political leaders with improved standards of life and status, it has not made significant impact on the majority of the tribal population living in North Eastern Region.

Bhattacharjee, P.R. (1987) states the basic problem as socio-economic dualism centered around the tribal and non-tribal dichotomy and points out the causes contributing to the persistence of this socio-economic dualism. For solving this problem in Tripura, Tribal Autonomous District Councils for the predominantly tribal areas of the state were established. Since the socio-economic dualism is the creation of complex forces of history and facts of geography of the state, the council faces an

uphill task indeed. The author doubts whether organizational set up is suited for solving the problem. The serious obstacles in the effective measure for the development of Autonomous District Council area is lack of detailed information on its **techno-economic** characteristics. There is the problem of the growth of enlightened leadership in the rural area.

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

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

**Nunthara.C(1990), Xaxa. V (1990)** opined that numerous development measures have been taken up for the upliftment of the this region but the promise of accelerating the development process failed to take shape. This is mainly because the masses are not involved at any stage of the process of planning. No due consideration was given to the aspirations of the local people. They considered that the path of development has sharpened the stress and strain and social inequality in the region.

Dev, B.J. **etal** (2002) express that there can be no two opinions about the fact that special category state of **North-Eastern** states by itself failed to generate any worth while development and as a result the region continues to remain in the vortex of backwardness. It is against this background that the new development initiatives ought to be taken into account. What is, however, urgently needed is to set forth an agenda for development linking the **priorities**. So that concerted efforts could be set in motion to achieve the objectives.

### **STUDIES IN MANIPUR:**

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

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

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

**group. The main task here will be to determine the exact nature and character of the regional group."**

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

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

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

Singh R.P. (2000) expressed that the development of one sector opens up the possibilities for another, the development activities under various sectors have to be coordinated with each other. Interlinking of one spatial unit with another will help to achieve a comprehensive development of district by optimum utilization of locally available resources. His study, thus provides an insight into the emerging patterns of tribal economy and settlement heirarchy of a fascinating tract.

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

### **OBSERVATIONS FROM THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE:**

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

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

- \* Development programmes meant for the tribals are not properly planned, and corruption exists in the programmes implementation. Therefore, the neediest **tribals** got the least benefit, those who are better off got more benefits;
- \* The development policy of the tribal areas has to give priority to material progress of particular areas.

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

#### PURPOSE OF THE STUDY AND SCOPE **OF** THE STUDY :

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

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

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

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

#### OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:

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

- To understand the history of tribal development in Manipur through plan-wise perspective and the associated constraints.



- To provide an ethnographic profile of the selected villages and problems faced by the villagers.
- To study, the development programmes **carried** out by various departments, and agencies in the selected villages.
- To examine, role and contribution of Administrators, Institutions, NGOS and Church with regard to village level development activities.
- To examine, the impact of unrest on tribal development in Manipur and the socio economic change in the study villages.

### METHODOLOGY :

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

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

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

designing of the study tools. After this, an intensive **fieldwork** for a period of 9 months from September 2001 to May 2002, was **carried out**.

The researcher is native of Manipur State and is aware of language as well as tribal situation. This being one reason for selecting Manipur. Within the Manipur, Chandel district is been selected as study area. Chandel district is considered to be one of the backward tribal districts in Manipur, and inhabited by large tribal population. Besides, lots of illegal activities like insurgency, tribal conflicts, drug business, are taking place in this area since district is located in **Indo-Myanmar** border. Moreover, the district is well connected with other plain areas. Generally in Manipur, majority of tribals are living in hill areas and some are in plain. The researcher has selected two villages, i.e., Khangshim (Plain) and Minou (Hill) villages in Chandel district of Manipur for intensive field **study**. **Khangshim** village is resided by Khoibu tribe whereas Minou village is resided by the Maring tribe. They are almost similar in their lifestyle, occupation and culture. Broadly, Khoibu are also going by the name of Maring in their schedule tribe certificates. But they want to be known as Khoibu. And they are seeking for separate tribal identity. A plain village and hill village have been selected for study to understand the differences and similarities with regard to developmental programmes and associated problems. Both the villages come under the administration of Machi Block, which is one of the most backward tribal Blocks in Manipur.

Anthropological research tools are used for collecting qualitative and quantitative data. As far as the state situation is concerned, staying in the tribal village is problematic because of ethnic conflicts and insurgency. As researcher belonged to Manipur there was not much problem. During period of field work, researcher developed good rapport with the people under study for collecting qualitative ethnographic data. The native tribal provided information only when they came to trust the researcher completely. It helped in collecting case studies and other in- depth information. Some intentional acts and some coincidents led to initial contact and rapport establishment. Discussions on political issues, insurgents, movies and education etc., made the people to come closer to the researcher, so much so that

some people addressed him with kin terms. In the present thesis, Informants names have been changed in chapter five and six to protect their identity.

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

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

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

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

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

## ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## **CHAPTER-2**

### **TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN MANIPUR;**

Manipur is an isolated hill girt state in the North Eastern part of India. It extends from 93° 03', to 94° 47' east longitudes and 23° 50' North to 25° 40' North Latitudes. It is bordered on the north by Nagaland, on the East by Myanmar, on the south partly by Mizoram and the Chin hills of Myanmar, and on the west by Cachar district of Assam. The total area of the State is 22,356 sq.km.

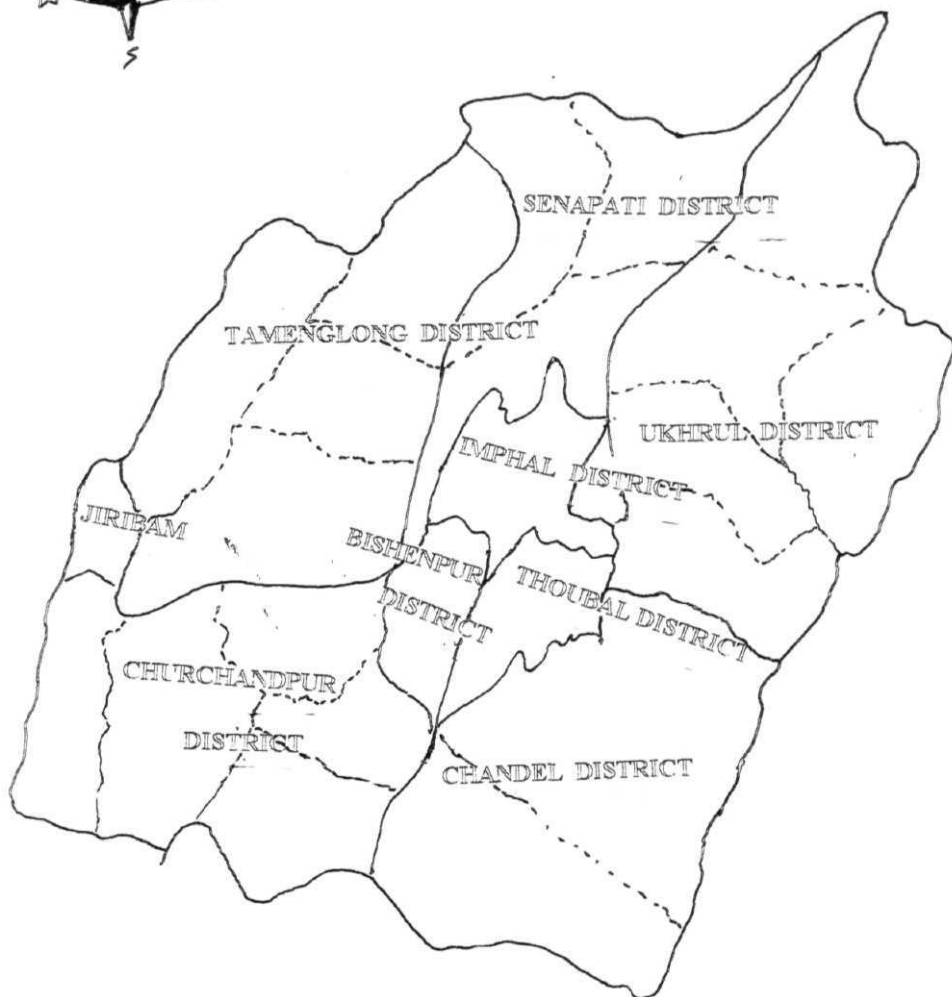
The Manipur hills provide the geographical base to the state as they cover about 90 per cent of its area surrounding the small central valley and accommodate over one third of the state population. The hills comprise five tribal districts: Senapati, Tamenglong, Churachandpur, Ukhrul, Chandel and the valley of four plain districts of Imphal west, Imphal east, Bishnupur and Thoubal.

In Manipur, there are altogether 29 tribes that are scheduled to merit constitutional benefits. They are, Aimol, Anal, Angami, Chiru, Chothe, Gangte, Hmar, Kabui, Kacha Naga, Koirao, Koirang, Kom, Lamgang, Mizo, Maram, Maring, Mao, Monsang, Mayon, Paite, Purum Ralte, Sema, Simte, Salhte, Thongkhul, Thadou, Vaiphei and Zou.

Apart from these, there are another eleven communities seeking for scheduling. They include Paumei, Kharam, Khoibu, Thanggan, Semi Liangmei, Rongmei, Inpumei, Mate, Tarao, and Chongthu.

Manipur ranks ninth in the human resource development index and twenty first in the poverty index in India (National Human development reports, 2001, Planning Commission). The state by its topographical structure, had problems of economic development and socio-economic transformation for a long period. With predominantly tribal population, shifting cultivation dominated economy, absence of

# MAP OF MANIPUR



industries, and minimal urbanization, the hill districts of Manipur present a scene of poverty, unemployment, economic exploitation, social deprivation, poor health, illiteracy and lack of infrastructure. As such it is difficult to think of the balanced development of the state without improving the lot of the tribal people living in hill districts.

The tribal areas of Manipur cover more than 90% of the total geographical areas of the state. Out of the total nine districts in the state, five are in the hills covering 20,089 sq.kms and the rest are in the valley areas occupying 2,238 sq. km. The tribal population in the state numbering 6,32,173 persons distributed over the five hill districts and in the valley area as indicated in the table below. Table below indicates the distribution of area and population in districts as per 1991 census:

**Table 1.1: Distribution of Area and Population in Districts:**

Name of the District	Area in sq.km.	POPULATION			Total
		SC	ST	General	
Valley	1,299	22,764	33,900	6,54,597	7,11,261
1. Imphal(including east and west districts)					
2. Thoubal	409	11,044	,2,844	2,80,070	2,93,958
3. Bishnupur	530	2,333	9,575	1,68,865	1,80,773
Total (Valley)	2,238	36,141	46,319	11,03,532	11,85,992



<b>Hills</b>					
1. Senapati	3,271	172	1,75,206	33,208	2,08,406
2. Tamenglong	4,392	33	83,332	2,913	86,278
3. Churchandpur	4,570	301	1,64,709	11,174	1,76,184
4. Chandel	3,313	237	<b>60,729</b>	10,048	71,014
5. Ukhrul	4,544	221	1,01,878	7,176	1,09,275
Total (Hills)	20,089	964	5,85,854	64,339	6,51,157
Total (State)	22,327	37,105	6,32,173	11,67,871	18,37,149

Source: Ninth Five Year Tribal Sub-Plan (1997-2002) and Annual Plan (1998-99)  
 Directorate for Development of Tribals & Scheduled Castes: Manipur.

It can be understood from the above table, that the Manipur hills provide the geographical base to the state as they cover about 90 per cent area and one third of population lives in valley. Hence, it has become difficult task to take up development activities in equal way in both hill areas and valley.

Manipur did not receive much attention prior to Independence of India. During the British rule, it is the Christian missionaries who made a beginning by starting schools. Austein (1967) narrated the **sequence** of events that the condition of the Manipur tribes before independence or after the merger with the state of Indian union goes to show the British policy of isolation and maintenance of the statusquo. The tribal people live in their **remote** hills and forests. It was only with the entry of Christian Missionaries into this area that the officers of government started paying some attention to them. In 1890, the year in which Surchandra Singh was forced to abdicate from the throne in Manipur, a young English Missionary named William Pettigrew arrived in Bengal. He came to Manipur and started his school in Imphal. But in the meantime political agent Major Maxwell suggested to him to work in the Hill areas. Then Pettigrew began his work at Ukhrul among the Nagas and also established Baptist Church in 1902. In Manipur, upto 1910, Church membership was only 14. Later on, Missionaries established schools, Orphanages, Leper asylums, and **dispensaries** in the hill areas of Manipur. During the mission period the main Christian efforts in Manipur were diverted towards the people inhabiting the hill areas

among the Tangkhul Nagas, Kuki, Rongmei, and Mao Nagas. " In the year 1980 Tangkhul Church had more than one-lakh members. Further, in 1971, it has 26.03% of the total population of the state."(Gori. khan.1984).

Thus, Long before the development plans were introduced, the Christian Missionaries had reached every nook and corner of hills and served the neglected communities. With their limited resources they had done a yeoman service. At present, tribal society of Manipur is mostly on the pattern of Christian society. One can see at least a Church, a school and a dispensary catering to a group of villages within walkable distance. Christianity has not only enlightened but has also earned for them prestige, social status and regards from others, which they never had before. Missionaries have always laid great stress on the spread of knowledge. The established missionary schools have succeeded in improving socio-economic status to the tribal people. Transport and communication facilities were meagre in Manipur. There was only one route from Manipur, which was Imphal-Cachar Hill trail, and was improved during A.D. 1837 and remained the Imphal-Cachar road. The Imphal-Mao road was completed in A.D. 1881. It was later extended to Dimapur in A.D. 1893 (Gori,Khan 1984:28)

Administration in the tribal area was regulated by the Manipur hill people's Regulation Act, 1947 (Ibid, p 28). Under this Act one Minister in the Maharaja's council of Ministers was solely responsible for the administration of tribal area. The tribal areas were then divided into three sub-divisions and these were further subdivided into nine circles which had one elected circle authority. There were village court, circle bench and hill bench in matters of judicial administration. Separate funds were also earmarked for the administration of the tribal area and the expenditure on this had to be kept at the level not below 17.50% of the average real revenue of the state.

#### POST- INDEPENDENCE:

With the merger of Manipur with the Indian Union on 15<sup>th</sup> October 1949, the State of Manipur had to be administered by the Central Government through a Chief

Commissioner. Under the State Merger order, 1950, The Manipur (Courts) Act, 1953 was created and the Act made the Cr.P.C, I.P.C. and Indian Evidence Act applicable to the tribal areas of Manipur. Hence, the Circle Bench, the Hill Bench, and Chief Court under the Hill People's Regulation Act, 1947 were replaced by the Court of Magistrate like the Court of S.D.C., the sessions judge and the Judicial Commissioner (Ibid, p :29).

Since merger of Manipur in Indian Union, the Indian Constitution became applicable in Manipur. The Constitution prescribed the protective measures and safeguards for the Scheduled tribes, Scheduled Castes and other backward classes.

An examination of socio-economic development of tribals in the light of plan-wise policies of the government highlights the progress of the tribal development made so far in the state. The Union Government as well as the Government of Manipur has invested a large amount of money in the various Five-Year Plans to uplift the socio-economic status of the tribals.

Planning for the development of the economy of Manipur was introduced with the launching of the first five-year plan of the Indian Union. " During the plan, Manipur's share was Rs.1.55 crore only. The expenditure on the development of transport and communication was 73 per cent followed by about 19 per cent for the social service sector"(Sanjenbam,V,1998). During this period, there was no separate outlay and actual expenditure on tribal development. At that time Manipur was a "Part C" state under Chief Commissioner's administration which had no separate provision for the administration of the tribal areas. As a whole of state, the processes of development were at the initial stage.

During the Second Five Year Plan, Manipur became a Union Territory under the Union Territories Act, 1956. The Plan outlay increased to more than four times that of the earlier plan. A number of infrastructural development works were introduced in the State. The total outlay of second Five-Year Plan was Rs.6.25 crores. Out of this total expenditure, Rs.79.87 lakhs was invested on the welfare of the backward classes especially, the scheduled tribes(DES. Hand book, 1982). The

overall implementation charge of the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes was handled by the Development Commissioner and was looked after at the **district** level by an Additional Deputy Commissioner of tribal welfare. At the end of the plan, the fund allotment had been divided into two sectors i.e. state and central.

The aim of the third **Five-Year** Plan was to secure a marked development towards self-sustaining growth. During this period, **Rs. 1.2** crore was earmarked for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes. In view of the acute communication problem faced by the state, more importance was laid on the improvement of communication facilities. The third plan was combined by three adhoc plans.

#### **FOURTH FIVE -YEAR PLAN:**

Due to the disadvantage of communication facilities within the state itself and with the rest of the country, the progress of infrastructural development was very slow upto the first three **five** year plans. The fourth five-year plan was, perhaps, one of the most ambitious plans in terms of plan allotment. “ The total outlay of the state was **Rs.30.25** crores, which was nearly three times that of the Third Five-Year Plan outlay. During the Fourth Plan period, Manipur became a full-fledged state, which was inaugurated on 21<sup>st</sup> January 1972. From the total allocated fund, the approved outlay for the scheduled tribe was **Rs.12.5** crores”(Annual Plan: 1972-1973). On the whole, the plan laid emphasis on upliftment and better health, education and economic development.

With the increasing expenditure the socio-economic conditions and education of the hill people were remarkably improved in the fourth five-year plan. Moreover, during the end of the fourth plan, five autonomous District Councils were set up for bringing the people closer to the decentralised form of democratic government. As of now, autonomous district council is not functioning in tribal areas. Besides **this**, Several major programmes from both the state and the centrally sponsored sectors like post **matric** scholarship, girls hostels, tribal development blocks, co-operatives, research and training institutes, measures for improvement in the living and working condition of the tribal people etc., were introduced during the fourth plan period. During this

plan the main function was intensive implementation of block development programmes with the actual expenditure of Rs.36.00 lakhs against Rs.32.00 lakhs of the approved outlay. Development programmes were carried out in 20 tribal blocks during fourth plan.

#### **FIFTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN:**

The fifth five-year plan embodied a larger programme with the total outlay of Rs.139.70 lakhs for the welfare of the scheduled tribes in Manipur of which Rs.137.94 lakhs were actually spent on this purpose(Fifth plan:1974-79,Govt.of Manipur). During the fifth five-year plan, considerable emphasis was laid on the development of agriculture and communication. But the mode of distribution of the plan outlay into different major heads of development was more or less the same as that of the fourth plan. “ In this plan a Directorate for Scheduled Tribes was set up in January 1976”(Gori,K:1984). The Directorate was to keep in view that proportionate district-wise allotment of funds on population basis at the time of sanction so that no block remains neglected. However, the targets and achievements in the 5<sup>th</sup> plan give an unsuccessful picture.

**TABLE-1.2: Targets and Achievements during Fifth Plan:**

Sl. No	ITEM	UNIT	TARGET	ACHIEVEMENT
<b>01</b>	<b>Education:</b>			
(a)	Construction of Teacher's Quarters	Nos.	315	35
(b)	Award of pre-matric stipend	Nos.	3750	584
(c)	Construction of Hostel Buildings	Nos.	50	20
(d)	Construction of School Buildings	Nos.	300	25
(e)	Encouragement of books in tribal dialects	Nos.	300	200
<b>02</b>	<b>Economic Upliftment:</b>			
(a)	Construction of jeepable roads	Kms.	19200	5603
(b)	Construction and improvement of inter village path	Kms.	960	360

(c)	Construction of culverts and bridges	Nos.	250	240
(d)	Construction of marketing sheds	Nos.	190	23
(e)	Construction of terraces	Acres	<b>1000</b>	35
(f)	Irrigational Canal	<b>Kms.</b>	100	20
03	<b>Health and Housing, etc:</b>			
(a)	Water supply schemes	Nos.	198	35
(b)	Housing	Nos.	446	65

Source: Government of Manipur. Annual Plan 1974-75, 1979-80 with component plan for Scheduled Castes.

It is clear from the table that **during** the Fifth Plan Period there is hardly any marked improvement in the development of hill areas. Achievements of the various **programmes under** the heads of economic upliftment, education, health and housing programmes are much lower than the targets expected. Thus, it can be said that so far as the state planning is concerned, the fifth five-year plan is one of the most unsuccessful plans. The reason behind the unsuccessful plan may be due to disturbance of law and order and socio-political changes at the centre and state as well (Binota, 1999:12). The Fifth Plan was therefore terminated a year earlier to the actual end. As a result of the termination, there were annual plans between the fifth and sixth plan (i.e. Annual Plan 1978-79 and Annual plan 1979-80). Moreover, past experience of the earliest plans reveals that general development effort could not make much significant impact on the socio-economic conditions of the tribes. Therefore, to give a better impact and to ensure proper allocation of the plan provisions, i.e. Tribal sub-plan was adopted at the end of the fifth five-year plan.

In Manipur, out of 9 districts, 5 districts are identified as tribal concentration areas for adopting Tribal sub-plan approach to these areas. Within the tribal concentration areas, only the "**Maram** Tribe" was declared as a primitive tribe while Maring are also considered as primitive but not officially declared yet. Special central assistance is being released to these groups.

### **SIXTH FIVE YEAR-PLAN:**

During this plan, out of the total outlay of Rs 246 crores, Rs **231.85** Lakhs was allocated for the development schemes relating to scheduled tribes in Manipur. A review of some important schemes along with their physical targets and achievements clearly reveal that during the sixth five year plan the infrastructural development for the tribals has shown an improvement as compared to the Fifth Five Year Plan (draft, 7<sup>th</sup> five-year plan, **1985-86**). But lot has to be done for the basic requirement of the over all development of the areas i.e. road and communication development and the infrastructure etc., this is the primary need for the socio-economic upliftment of the tribal people, which is not yet achieved.

### **SEVENTH FIVE YEAR-PLAN:**

Both the Central and State Government have been taking care of proper implementation of the programmes by introducing tribal sub-plan with sub-heads **under** the main budget heads in **respect** to the given outlays. "The total outlay of State during the 7<sup>th</sup> **Five-Year** Plan was Rs.430.0 crores and relative allotted share of tribal development was **Rs.400.00** lakhs. In addition to the state fund **Rs.1251** lakhs of central assistance was given for the development of tribal areas (DDTBC, 1985). Infact, maximum stress was given to the education, art and culture and followed by agriculture, horticulture, and water supply. In spite of all these developmental programmes, the tribal Benchmark Survey Report of the hill **district** conducted in **1982-83** indicated that about 92 per cent of the total families were still cultivators, of which 72 per cent were depending on shifting cultivation. It also revealed that out of the total 76,209 tribal families in the hill areas, 47,568 families were living below the poverty line, which formed 62.42 percent of the tribal families of the hill area (DDTBC, 1988:1). Besides, special development programmes of primitive tribes, establishment of tribal research institute and some of the basic schemes for development like marketing development scheme, village small scale industry, forestry and minor irrigation facilities are still neglected.

### **EIGHTH FIVE YEAR-PLAN:**

The eighth five-year plan could not commence in 1990-1991 on account of political changes at the Centre. It was preceded by two Annual Plans 1990-91 and 1991-92. The total outlay for the two Annual Plans was **Rs.310.10** crores with an expenditure of Rs.349.2 crores. Out of the total plan outlay of the state, the approved combined outlay for the SC and ST for the two Annual Plans were **Rs. 164.71** lakhs and **Rs. 175.00** lakhs respectively (DDTBC, 1992:27).

During the eighth five-year plan period 1992-1997, the total state plan outlay was agreed to Rs.979.00 crores; of this allocation the fund flow to TSP was 42.25 per cent.

In addition to the expenditure for the State Plan, there was also the special central assistance to the TSP areas for the eighth five-year plan period. The agreed outlay for the said period was Rs.227.50 crores but the actual expenditure spent for TSP areas was **Rs.239.10** crores. It is indicated that the expenditure exceeded the outlay by **11.60** crores (DDTBC, 1997:8). The basic objective of the eighth five-year plan was to accelerate the socio-economic development of the tribal people by taking into account the existing and socio-economic conditions.

### **NINTH FIVE YEAR PLAN:**

**The** ninth five-year plan gave due regard to the general strategies adopted during the eighth five-year plan period. The basic objective to the plan remains the acceleration of the socio-economic development for the **tribal** people taking into account the existing environment and socio-economic conditions prevalent in this area. The strategy adopted in this plan **period** is creation of amenities through infrastructure development schemes, poverty alleviation through family oriented income-generating schemes and improvement of tribal talent through the implementation of research oriented schemes/ programmes. The state plan outlay of the Ninth Five Year Plan was agreed to Rs.2424.39 crores and against this allocation of funds for the TSP areas was



**Rs.1022.75** crores which is 42.15 per cent of the total state plan outlay. The outlay under the special central assistance to TSP was made at Rs.28.75 crores (*Ibid*, p3-8).

Looking back at the progress of tribal development and experience during the last various five-year plans, it can be said that the progress of the tribal development is highly concentrated with more emphasis given to the educational and the agricultural sectors. There has also been a qualitative change with the passage of time. Just from the Fourth Five Year Plan onwards the largest amount of the allocation outlay were allotted to educational and agricultural sectors. The systematic planning on education became one of the most important input in the developmental progress not only to improve the quality of life but also a weapon and protective shield to enable the tribals to meet and negotiate the new challenges (Binota, 1991:24). However, from the analysis in the preceding plan periods, it is clear that massive efforts have been made during the plan periods for development of tribals. Some of the basic problems such as poverty, lack of road and communication facilities, problems of drinking water, irrigation, education, health and housing have been taken up. The tribal sub-plan introduced in the fifth five year plan gave importance on the one hand to the elimination of the exploitation of scheduled tribes, specially in the field of land alienation, money lending, forest operations etc, and to the development of population and the area through plan schemes. Therefore, it is to speed up the process of social and economic development to build up the inner strength of the tribal people and to improve their organisational capabilities. Despite all such efforts, the results have fallen short of expectation. It is also evident from the documents available that there has been increase in the fund allocation for the tribal areas during various five year plan periods. It may, therefore, be stated that the central as well as the state government has been allocating more and more funds for the upliftment of this backward section of the society. But most of the tribes could not get benefit from the facilities provided by government in the last several five-year plans due to mis-utilisation of development funds by the officials and improper implementation of tribal development schemes. Therefore majority of hilly tribes in Manipur are suffering from the absence of proper infrastructure and communication facilities.

### **TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES IN MANIPUR:**

In addition to the five year plans launched by the Government of India, there are other formal agencies such as the North East Council (NEC), the Directorate for Development of Tribal and Backward Classes (**DDTBC**), and Manipur Tribal Development Corporation (MTDC), which too have played significant roles for bringing economic development for the tribals of this region. Moreover, there are some non-governmental agencies such as the Church and the Church run organizations.

### **THE NORTH EAST COUNCIL(NEC):**

Though the idea of establishing the NEC was conceived in 1968, it was established on August 8, 1972, under the North Eastern Council Act, 1971. The NEC is similar to the zonal councils and deals with matters of common interest to the states in the region namely: Assam, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and **Mizoram** (Journal NEC, Shillong, 1988, p.1). Since its inception, the NEC has been addressing itself to the different problems of the region. It could formulate a unified and co-ordinated plan for the whole Northeast India. The plans are to include schemes for inter-state communications, common irrigation, flood control, generation of electricity, development of agriculture and attain balanced industrial development. The council was to supervise the execution of plans and discuss matters relating to inter-state transport economic and social planning.

Unfortunately, the share of plan outlay for Manipur from the NEC has been insignificant being around 3% to 7% only. What is disturbing is that the state's share in NEC plan has been decreasing over the years.

The table below gives the share of NEC's plan allocation for **Manipur** over the years.

**Table-1.3: NEC's Fund Allocation for the State Since (1974-78);**

**(Rupees in crores)**

PLAN PERIOD	NEC	MANIPUR
	APPROVED <b>OUTLAY(Rs</b> in Crores)	APPROVED <b>OUTLAY(Rs</b> in Crores)
Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-78)	65.11	5.06 (7.77%)
Rolling Plan (78-80)	82.45	3.69 (4.47%)
Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-1985)	417.15	13.65 (3.27%)
Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-1990)	<b>811.05</b>	37.91 (3.93%)
Annual Plan (1990-1991)	202.00	6.45 (3.19%)
Annual Plan (1991-1992)	219.50	7.22 (3.29%)
Eighth Five Year Plan (1992-1997)	1436.08	23.70(1.60%)

Source: Ninth plan ,**Govt.** of Manipur,1998

**DIRECTORATE FOR DEVELOPMENT OF TRIBAL AND BACKWARD CLASSES(DDTBC):**

The objective of DDTBC is to further accelerate the economic development of the tribals of Manipur. This Directorate was set up in 1976 by bifurcating from the Development Department. The Directorate has opened its district offices in all the five hill districts in the state under the charge of one office in the rank of Deputy Director in 1990 (**DIPR,Admn.Report:** 1990-91). The Deputy Directors are responsible for the effective implementation of the development programmes at the District level. The Deputy Commissioner of the hill districts are declared the Drawing and Disbursing Officers in respect of the schemes of the Directorate. The resources for implementation of various development schemes for the ST in the state are provided from two major heads (1) State Plan Fund (2) Special Central Assistance. The flow of fund to TSP areas is under the control of the concerned

development departments whereas the funds under the special central assistance to TSP area are utilized by the DDTBC. The programmes implemented under the tribal development are all supplemental in nature as they implement various development programmes, both family oriented and community development programmes.

### **MANIPUR TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION (MTDC):**

The **MTDC** is another important formal agency established for the economic development of the backward classes of Manipur. “This corporation was constituted under the Companies Act of 1956 during the year 1987-89 with the objective of giving financial as well as technical assistance for the promotion of welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in the state (DDTBC, 1991: 25). Some of the important programmes, which the MTDC implements, are agriculture, housing, marketing trade, education, health etc. Besides this, the corporation also provides capital, **credit**, and also assists the tribals for the conduct of their work and business. A drive for immediate earning programmes has been the priority of the MTDC. The Engineering Cell in MTDC looks after the construction works in the hill areas of the state. **In** the year 1994-95, an agricultural cell was created to look after the needs in the field of potato and mushroom cultivation. This cell takes out activities of seed production programmes for cultivation of paddy and potato crops in collaboration with the Department of Agriculture and Supplies the produce to the agriculture department. The corporation is engaged in the implementation of various developmental programmes as well as rehabilitation of Jhumia families with the fund available from the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment and from the State Government. In addition to the formal agencies, there are some other informal agencies, which to a limited extend, have been helping in launching the **developmental** programmes for the growth and welfare of the tribals of Manipur. These agencies are the Church and Church run developmental agencies.

### **THE CHURCH:**

Christian Missionaries came to Manipur from two denominations. One was the Arthington Aborigines Mission Society, which later on became the American Baptist

Mission, and the other was the Welsh Presbyterian Mission. The contribution of **the** Roman Catholic Church in Manipur is also remarkable in the field of education. The schools run by the Church are considered as the prestigious institutions in the State. Moreover, the **Christian** population collects funds in cash and in kind to help the poor, sick and the needy. In this regard, the steps taken by the Christian women societies of the individual Churches are remarkable. In spite of limited funds, they give financial help to the poor, sick and orphans. With the coming of Christian Missionaries, there is a general feeling of security and development among the tribes.

### **PROBLEM OF RESERVATION POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MANIPUR:**

In pursuance of Article 16(A) and Article 335 of the Indian constitution, the union and the state government have made reservation for SC and STs in services under their control in proportion to their population. State reservation Act came into force vide notification No 10/19/76-D, dated the 16<sup>th</sup> March 1977 but the notification was made public only after two years on the 17<sup>th</sup> May 1979 (Kamkhengthang, H, 2001:1). It shows that state government is not serious about the reservation Act. Consequently, this reservation Act 1976 does not provide reservation in contract appointment for SC/STs in Manipur where as appointment on contract basis provided reservation for SC/STs in central government. Moreover, the popular system in Manipur for easy entrance into permanent post is through appointment on contract basis. Normally those who are on contract basis are getting absorption into regular services in the long run. Therefore, it is necessary to provide reservation in contract appointment for SC/STs. On other hand opportunities for SC/STs candidates are very less since direct recruitment (permanent) are very less in Manipur.

One important point in reservation Act is that " the Act is without a set of rules for long since the Act was put into force as far back as in 1977. In the absence of rules there is no punitive clause to punish any head of the department who do not follow the provision of the Act" (Ibid, p-4). It is not actually Known how much percentage of the total posts in government in Manipur have been held by SC/STs. According to Nengseng (1994:31), collection of figures from a few departments are given below.

**TABLE-1.4: No. of ST Govt employees in various deDt. in Manipur**

Sericulture Department	Total	Number of STs	Percentage %
Deputy Director	11	5	45%
Superintendent	40	9	22%
Superintendent (Assistant)	97	17	17%
Inspector	10	3	30%
UDCs	15	4	29%
LDCs	16	5	31%
Veterinary Department: Grade –1		NIL	NIL
Grade-2	40	1	2.4%
Grade -3 and 4	92	6	6.5%
Education Department: Pricipal	13	2	16.6%
Lecturer	734	43	6.6%
DM. College and GP college	162	6	5.6%
Head/D.I/Higher Secondary Schools	121	45	34%
Combined list of Graduate Teachers	842	115	13.6%

From the above figure it is clear that sericulture department achieved the best percentage of ST employees in different grades. The percentage of ST employees in other departments is very poor even though the sericulture department has not

achieved the required percentage i.e., 31%. There is no machinery for redressal of the grievances of SC/STs Employees in the state.

However, the National Commission for SCs and STs headed by the Chairman made spot enquiry into the matter and on the basis of their findings through state level review meetings and interviews etc. instructed to take up immediate action on the poor representation of SC and ST candidates within reserved quota. But implementation of the provisions of this Act has not been automatic and reservations have never been seriously or sincerely enforced, except in politics for electing representatives of the people to the Lok Sabha in Parliament at the Centre and the Legislative Assemblies in the State. As a result, in the significant areas of education and employment, the reservations have failed to achieve more essential things. They have proved to be a great disappointment especially to the tribals in general and educated tribal youth in particular.

#### **MAJOR DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS OF MANIPUR:**

In spite of all the efforts, Manipur continues to be one of the most backward state with regard to economic growth in the country. In terms of infrastructure development, the state lags behind the rest of the country by 21%. The density of road per 100 sq. km. of area in 1992-1993 for the state is only 32.64 kms as against 63.82 kms for all India. The per capita energy consumption for Manipur was 140.40 kwh as against 330.60 kwh for all India.

The per capita income for Manipur for 1993-94 at current prices was only Rs.5326 as against Rs.6929 for all India (9<sup>th</sup> plan, Government of Manipur, 1998). Thus, Regional imbalances exist in the levels of economic development in India, a country with continental dimensions, not only between different states but also within the state between different districts and regions. Therefore, the planned economic development of the state has brought wide disparities in the socio-economic situation in various districts as reflected in variations in the magnitude of poverty presented in the following table.

**TABLE-1.5:Percentage of population below poverty line in various districts of Manipur :**

DISTRICT	Percent of Population below poverty line
<b>Imphal</b> East/ West (Plain Area)	48.87
Thoubal(Plain Area)	42.02
<b>Bhishnupur</b> (Plain Area)	38.01
Senapati (Hill Area)	21.57
<b>Tamenglong</b> (Hill Area)	55.10
<b>Churchandpur</b> (Hill Area)	51.78
Chandel (Hill Area)	64.07
Ukhrul (Hill Area)	52.28

Source: Eighth Five-Year Plan 1992-1997

The hill **districts**, except Senapati, are reeling under acute poverty mainly due to under utilisation of their natural resources due to lack of infrastructure. In Chandel district over 64 percent of the people live below the poverty line and in Churchandpur, Ukhrul and Tamenglong, the rate concerned is between 51 and 55 per cent. In Senapati, the poverty infested people form 21.57 percent of population, the lowest magnitude in the entire state, for better connectivity and enterprising nature of the people. In the plain, the proportion of population living below the poverty line ranges between 38.01 percent in Bishnupur to 48.87 percent in Imphal east and west as against 45.06 percent in the entire state. In absolute terms, all the districts of Manipur are below the national standards.

Manipur, which was once a surplus state is not self sufficient in food grain production. Rice being the main food crop both for the valley and hill, has witnessed a decline in its production trend during the last decade mainly due to natural calamities like droughts and floods besides ever increasing population. The state has to import about one-third of its food requirements from the central pool.



The backwardness of the economy is further evident from the fact that there has been virtually no diversion from agriculture to other activities such as plantation and forestry for which there is tremendous scope in this State. Settled form of agriculture still continues to be concentrated in the valley and **jhum** cultivation continues to be pre-dominant in the hill. Even after 55 years of independence, agriculture continues to depend on monsoon and the state continues to be the net importer of food grains.

Forests, covering about four-fifths of the state area, contribute too little to the state's net domestic product mainly due to poor management practices including indiscriminate exploitation, **jhuming**, forest fires etc.

Apart from the above problems, there has been rapid decline in industrial output in Manipur. Even well established industries and factories are not able to function due to law and order problems, particularly demands for money by the insurgency groups. Since profit margin reduced due to extortion, no new investment has been coming to the state. Besides, there is no source of income from the public and private sectors to this state. Because of remoteness and the poor transportation and law and order situation, private sector has not come forward with investment in Manipur. Thus state has been kept outside the scope of external assistance which may have added to the state plan. There is also lack of banking system, out of 31 blocks in the state, 18 blocks are not having banking facilities. In these areas, most of the beneficiaries-oriented banks credit linked schemes cannot be implemented. This has affected seriously the new bank credit linked schemes.

Manipur is not far behind from other states in tribal education but its shares in technical and profession education is not up to the mark. The hill areas suffer from lack of institutions of higher learning. Similar situation persists in the field of medical and health services. The availability of doctors and nurses and beds in the hill districts is meagre while it is abundant in the valley districts. The medical staff making such institutions ineffective for the people, casually visit most of the health centres, sub-centres and dispensaries in the rural, tribal areas.

In **Manipur**, the main avenue of employment in the organized sector is primarily restricted to the government employment and the scope in **private** sector is negligible due to lack of industrial base as revealed by the following:

**Table-1.6: The main avenues of employment in Manipur.**

Sl. No	ITEM	UNIT	MANIPUR	ALL-INDIA
1	Public Sector Employment	%	97	71
2	Private Sector Employment	%	3	29
3	Organized Sector Employment per lakh population	Nos.	3124	3202

Source Ninth five-year plan (1997-2002), Planning department Manipur

Government employment has been static during the 8<sup>th</sup> Plan due to ban on recruitment because of severe resource constraints. So much so that 20% of the plan allocation of 1993-94 were diverted to non-plan for meeting salaries. The salary element in the plan was Rs.63 crores, i.e.,36% of the revised annual plan of 1993-94 was spent on maintenance instead of investment. For the Annual Plan in the year 97-98, it was projected at Rs.93.02 crores. With the implementation of the 5<sup>th</sup> pay commission Report, the requirements of funds for payment of salaries during 9<sup>th</sup> plan is estimated at Rs.475.00 crores (*ibid*, p-6).

Due to problems mentioned above, the state has a high rate of unemployment particularly among the educated youth. The problem has been accentuated due to the fact that avenues for private employment are restricted. The unemployment problem in the state is mainly responsible for social tension through manifestations in the form of drug addiction, social unrest, and ethnic clashes. This causes a strain on the resources of the state and hampers development activity.

Drinking of alcohol and drug addiction are a major obstacle in socio-economic development of Manipur. Specially, the youth indulge in drinking and usage of drugs. The government has however banned usage of drugs and alcohol in the state for long. The ban has not contributed to the reduction of such abuses. The

youth have free access to such drugs and alcohol from underground trafficking. The drugs available in the State are of huge cost. These costs are however borne by the youth through anti-social and uneconomic ways. Thus, illegal drug trafficking is posing a threat to economic and social balance in the Manipur State.

Besides, Manipur state is critically located on the border of Myanmar. State has been a cauldron of social unrest. Rise of militancy in the region is another reason hindering socio-economic development. It can be understood as having three dimensions protecting their livelihood, defending their identity, and propounding a sub-nationalism specific to their culture and ethnic group.

The grievances of insurgency groups can be traced back to the colonial policies followed by the post colonial process of national formation. The border minority groups found their voice subdued after the formation of the nation state. This phenomena has been the core cause of the unrest in the region. The youth are increasingly taking to illegal trade and joining insurgent groups. Some of them are in contact with other insurgent groups across the border. As a result of this many of the innocent Manipur people are sometimes charged with problem of insurgency. One can *never* expect a normal life everyday. People of Manipur are living under the pressure from these two groups, i.e., insurgency and armed forces. This also leads to the stagnation of socio-economic development in Manipur State.

In addition to these problems in Manipur, Naga and Kuki tribe ‘war’ began in mid 1993 and has resulted in the damage of thousands of homes and killing thousands of people of both Nagas and Kukis. Many villages have been destroyed, creating a serious refugee problem. Properties and crops were burned down during Kuki and Naga war in Manipur. Consequently, tribal victims who are involved in the conflict are not able to regain their earlier economic position due to heavy loss in that conflict.

As a result of this conflict, it leads to the hatred spread among these two groups. It is noteworthy that groups like Naga or Kuki played an important role in development work in Manipur tribal areas. Higher authorities who belongs to Naga

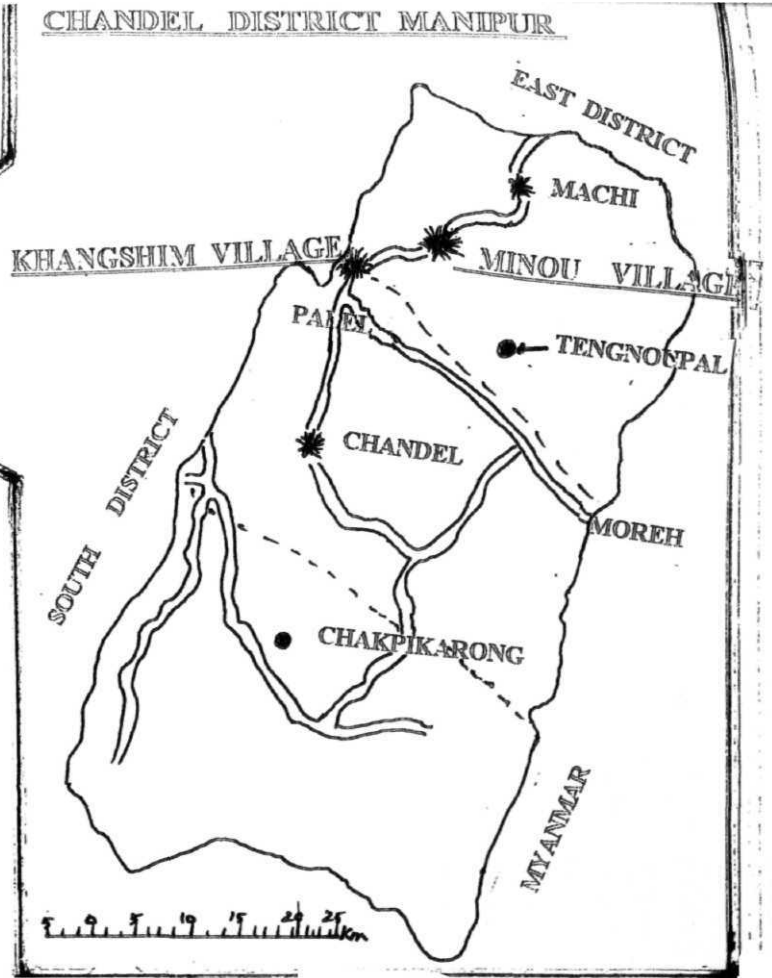
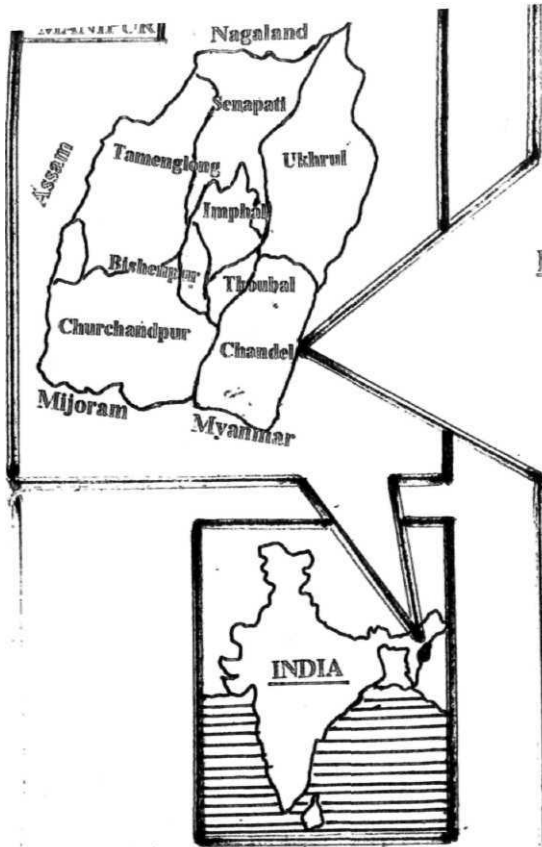
or Kuki are more inclined to do better things to the people belonging to their own group either Kuki tribe or Naga tribe. This is also creating an imbalance in development among the tribes living in Manipur hill areas.

### **ADMINISTRATION IN CHANDEL DISTRICT:**

Since the integration of the Manipur state in the Indian Union in 1949, the hill areas were divided into many sub-divisions and circles. Chandel district, known at that time as Tengenoupal area, formed part of the Sadar hill circle. In 1958-59 for administrative convenience and greater decentralisation of the governmental machinery, Tengenoupal area was separated from the Sadar hills and was constituted into a sub-division, placed under a sub-divisional officer, with headquarters at Tengenoupal..

With a view of introducing a more efficient system of administration, the state was reorganized into five districts - Manipur Central, Manipur North, Manipur South, Manipur East, and Manipur West which was divided further into 25 sub-divisions, with effect from **14<sup>th</sup>** November 1969. The then Tengenoupal sub-division was **trifurcated** into Tengenoupal, Chandel and Chakpikarong sub-divisions and made part of the Manipur Central **district**, which also included the fertile and densely populated area in Manipur valley. Tengenoupal district, comprising three hill sub-divisions of Manipur Central district was inaugurated on **13<sup>th</sup>** May, 1974 with Chandel as district headquarters. Under the policy of the State Government to redesignate the districts after the name of headquarter, Tengenoupal district was rechristened as Chandel district on **15<sup>th</sup>** July 1983.

Thus, Chandel district came into existence on the **13<sup>th</sup>** May 1974. This district is a hilly region situated in the **south-east** of Manipur. It covers an area of 3,313 sq. km. with a population of 71,014 and 85.52 per cent of the total population of the district are recorded as Scheduled Tribes according 1991 census. This district is inhabited by different tribes such as Maring, Monsang, Anal, **Aimol**, Chiru, Haokip, **Lamkang**, Khoibu, **Purum**, Tarao and Moyon etc. of which Maring tribe are of the highest population strength followed by Anal.



The district initially comprised three tribal development blocks - Tengenoupal, Chandel, and Chakpikarong. **Tengenoupal** was divided into three circles, Tengenoupal, **Moreh** and Machi; Chakpikarong into two circles - Chakpikarong and **Khengjoy**; and Chandel alone formed one circle - Chandel. The sub-divisional headquarters of Tengenoupal was subsequently shifted to Moreh, and Machi circle of erstwhile Tengenoupal sub-division was upgraded to the sub-divisional level known as Machi sub-division with effect from 6<sup>th</sup> January 1994. The District has got two Assembly Constituencies - Chandel and Tengenoupal, which form part of the outer Manipur Lok sabha Constituency. There is an autonomous district council with 20 members to enable popular participation in administration of the district.

**TABLE-1.7:** Area. Population. Number of Settlements **and** Circles at the Sub Divisional Level in **the** District.

Sub-Division/ Block	Area (Km) <sup>2</sup>	Population (According to 1991 census)	Number of		
			Villages	Towns	Circles
Machi	440	10133	47	~	1
<b>Moreh</b>	802	20755	62	<b>1</b>	2
Chandel	685	18544	82	~	<b>1</b>
Chakpikarong	<b>1386</b>	21582	101	~	2

Source: Manipur General Population Tables (1991) Department of Revenue, Settlement and Land Records, Government of Manipur.

The district is open towards north-west with regular bus service operating between Imphal, the economic focus of the state, and almost all important centres in the area such as Chandel, Moreh, Tengenoupal and Chakpikarong. Moreh, on the international border, is an important trade centre busy in transacting various consumer items and goods to and from **Tamu** in Myanmar.

## **DEVELOPMENT PROFILE OF CHANDEL DISTRICT:**

Chandel district forms the southern half of the Manipur eastern hills, situated between the Manipur valley in the west and the Chindwin valley of Myanmar in the East. About 80 per cent of the district is covered with forest containing species like teak, pine and cinnamon. It is quite rich in mineral wealth like - limestone, copper, nickel, chromites and asbestos, which remain unexploited till date. Agriculture is the main occupation of the people, practiced as shifting cultivation by the tribals who constitute 85.52 per cent of the total population.

The natural resource base, inter-twined with human resources, offer a lot of opportunities for the socio-economic transformation of the area and its inhabitants. But, the pace of development in the district is hampered by a variety of physical, cultural and economic constraints, which have resulted in the general absence of infrastructure, amenities and services affecting the living standards of the people.

The prospects of economic development in the district mainly revolve around agriculture and allied sectors including horticulture, livestock, poultry and forestry. The poor transportation network, lack of technical knowledge and social unrest hamper the growth of industries in this resource rich region, which has potential to develop agro and forest based industries besides **handloom**, handicrafts, dairying and tourism. Apart from this, the literacy percentage is 46.68 according to 1991 census. The male literacy rate is 57.39 % and the female literacy rate is 34.80 %. The growth rate of literacy during this decade is very encouraging, yet rate of literacy is below the state average.

## **DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES AND THEIR PROGRESS:**

Agriculture is the main occupation of Chandel district. The total agricultural area is reported to be 24694 hectares. Out of the total working force mentioned in 1991 census, about 73 percent are engaged in the agricultural activities. The District

Agricultural Department of Chandel is taking various actions to increase the production of various crops by distributing good seeds to the farmers from time to time and also by distribution of fertilizers. With the active participation of the public in the agricultural programme, the economy of the district is expected to improve so as to meet the needs of the people.

**Table-1.8: Cropping Pattern (1994-1995 to 1997-1998).**

YEAR	RICE		MAIZE	
	Area ( <sup>'000</sup> hector.)	Production ( <sup>'000</sup> tonnes)	Area ( <sup>'000</sup> hector.)	Production ( <sup>'000</sup> tonnes)
94-95	8.43	12.45	0.45	0.56
95-96	7.09	8.06	0.04	0.05
96-97	9.06	10.26	0.15	0.18
97-98	7.05	9.26	0.03	0.04

Source: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Manipur.

The figures given above are irregular in terms of productions. The reason for unevenness is due to the natural calamities like drought, flood, etc that occurred in particular year. Rice and Maize are the important cereal crops grown in this district.

### **HORTICULTURE:**

The main horticulture products of this district include pineapple, guava, mango, orange, chillies etc. The other root plants like potatoes, sweet potatoes, tapioca etc., are also grown in this district. The present quantum of horticultural products is much below the demand. Most of the products are brought from remote villages. There are different kinds of horticultural schemes started during 1997-1998 (source: Horticultural Department, Chandel, Manipur)



- (a) Area expansion for integrated development of tropical arid zone and temperate fruits scheme: Under this scheme, a sum of **Rs.3.80** lakhs was spent for planting 30 hectares of lime, 40 hectares of tree bean, 10 hectares of mango and 5 hectares of pomegranate. This scheme benefited 88 families in **the** district.
- (b) Roof Crops Development Scheme: Under this scheme, 8 plots of demonstration and 30 plots of Mini kits were taken up and benefited 30 families.
- (c) Area Expansion Under Vegetable Production Programme: Under this scheme 454.95 kgs of vegetable seeds like cabbage, tomato, **brinjal** etc., were distributed to 270 beneficiaries to produce more vegetables in the Chandel district.

During 1994-1995, chemical fertilizers of 112 tonnes were distributed to the farmers. But the fertilizers were mostly used in the fields where permanent types of cultivation were practiced.

#### **MINOR IRRIGATION:**

Although Manipur's economy is predominantly agricultural, there has been no major and medium irrigation schemes and therefore, agriculture is solely dependent on the capricious rainfalls.

In Chandel area, the minor irrigation schemes like the ones at **Toupokpi, Kamunching, Uchantampak**, Teiyang, Tousil, etc., are working in full swing. During 1996-1997 the department could create an irrigation potential of about 150 hectares. During 1997-1998, some of the minor irrigation schemes like 1. **M.I.scheme** at Nungpan, 2. M.I. scheme at Modi, 3.M.I scheme at Japhou, 4.M.I.scheme at Yangoulain were at an advance stage of completion. The schemes on completion are to create an irrigation potential of about 500 hectares.

## **FISHERIES:**

Manipur state is land locked and as such there is no coastline. There is only inland fishing, which is generally practiced, in the low-lying paddy fields, rivers, ponds, etc. Again, there is no lake in this district. The inland catches are generally utilized for domestic consumption in the district. After the opening of District Fishery Office at Chandel headquarters, a number of schemes were taken up between 1996-1997 and 1997-1998. In 1997, a sum of Rs.0.14 lakhs was realized from the sale of fish seeds.

**Table -1.9: The Following Table Indicates the Information about Fish Farming in the Chandel District:**

ITEMS	UNIT	1995	1996	1997
Fish Farm	No	1	1	1
Nursery Area	(In Hect)	0.50	0.50	0.50
Area under Pisciculture	(In Hect.)	2.00	2.00	2.00
Production:				
Table Fish	(in Kg)	400	500	550
Fish Fingerlings	(in Lakhs)	3.01	3.51	5.00
Revenue Collected	(Rs. in '000)	0.12	0.12	0.14

Source: District Fishery Officer, Chandel

During the year 1997, under the Assistance to pisciculture scheme, the area covered was recorded as 10.00 hectares and beneficiaries as 150 numbers.

### ELECTRICITY:

The present electricity generating capacity is very meagre and it is insufficient to meet even the requirement for domestic consumption. However, electricity is available in all the sub-divisional head quarters of the district. The number of villages electrified is 248 out of total 292 villages. Electrification of all the villages was expected to be complete during **1999-2002**. But due to the heavy financial crisis of Manipur, it still remains incomplete.

### SMALL SCALE INDUSTRIES:

Chandel district is endowed with artisans of different crafts/ trades. Almost every household has a loin loom. Use of hand woven clothing at home and also in various ceremonies, is common for all the tribes. Tribes in Chandel district are good in the making of cane and bamboo handicrafts, in addition to their agricultural pursuits. Unfortunately, there is no government industrial training institute, to cater **their** need. Though the district is richly endowed with various natural **resources**, the district is industrially most backward due to infrastructure bottlenecks, lack of entrepreneurship, lack of technical personnel in supervisory levels, inadequate banking facilities, shyness in the flow of private capital and non-existence of central level development organizations in the district. Contribution from large-scale industries is nil and that from small-scale industries is marginal.

The progress and development of industries in the Chandel district is presented in the following table:

**Table-1.10: No. of Industrial Units**

Category of Industry	No. of Units registered during		
	1994-1995	1995-1996	1996-1997
Agro based	4	1	2
Forest based	7	4	1
Textile based	3	1	1
<b>Servicing/Repairing</b>	1	1	~
Others	1	~	~
Total	16	7	4

Source: District Industries Centre, Chandel

From the above table, it is evident that the entry of small-scale **industries** in the district is decreasing from year to year. A number of units stopped functioning every year and consequently they are deregistered, in due course of time.

### **SERICULTURE:**

Sericulture industry in this district is meant for Rural Development particularly for giving **self-employment**, forestry, Poverty elimination, alleviation, human resource mobilization and environment protection. Sericulture being an agro-based industry is practiced under three sectors namely Tassar, Mulberry and Eri in the district. There are 8 Tassar seed farms, one Tassar seed grainage and one mulberry extension centre in the Chandel district.

### **VETERINARY SERVICES:**

In Chandel district, there are 4 veterinary hospitals, 6 veterinary dispensaries, 4 veterinary aid centres, 1 district piggery farm, 1 veterinary emergency unit, 1 veterinary check post, 1 quarantine centre, 2 sample survey units and 2 rinderpest monitoring cells. These institutions carry out the activities like treatment of sick animals, prevention and control of epidemic diseases through periodical vaccination programme along with allied extension programme for improvement of livestock and birds so as to increase the livestock produce through public/ mass participation, according to the sources available in veterinary department, Chandel.

The field activity includes - 1. Maintenance of livestock farm for production of improved variety of livestock/ birds for supply to the needy farmers, 2. Training, demonstration etc. to the farmers to popularize the rearing of improved types of livestock, 3. To encourage the educated unemployed youths to rear improved livestock/ birds as a means of self-employment to generate income besides production of proteinous food like milk, meat , eggs etc.

In the year 1997-1998, **25,840** livestock and birds are rendered medical aid and medicine distributed and 5960 numbers of animals vaccinated against epidemic disease. In 1998, revenue collected under this scheme was **Rs. 1.86** years.

### **ROAD TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION:**

Transport plays a vital role in economic development. Roads are the only means of transport in Chandel district. The district headquarters is connected by State Highway in Chandel **pallet** road, which is of the length of 30 km from National Highway No.39. The status of this road is below the standards of norms of the state highways. The main transportation of goods in the district is carried out by trucks. In the interior parts, only jeeps are used for transportation of goods and passengers. In some plain areas buses and mini buses are also used for carrying goods in small quantities along with passengers.

The total length of roads in Chandel district is 501.96 **kms.** There are some roads, which are not all weather roads, and hence they are to be widened. In addition to this a number of new roads are required to connect the far-flung areas of the district. Communication facilities have an important bearing on the socio-economic development of a backward region like Chandel district. There are two telegraph offices located at Chandel district headquarters and Moreh within the Tegnoupal sub-division. At present, there are only 3 sub post offices and 220 branch post offices in the Chandel district.

### **LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT:**

There is an employment exchange office in the Chandel district. One town employment exchange in SDO office complex at Moreh and one at Tegnoupal as a sub division office. The employment service has to play a vital role in identifying job seekers and providing self-employment opportunities and employment ventures. The total number of job seekers on the live register at the end of 1997 recorded to 15,377 against which only **12** are placed in appointment.

### CO OPERATIVES:

By the end of the co-operative year 1997-1998, there were 166 co-operative societies of all types, having membership of **17,431** persons. The total working capital of **these** societies was Rs.20.30 lakhs.

### BANKING:

In all, there are only 4 banks operating in this district.

**Table-2.1: The Following Table Indicates the Different Banks in the Chandel**

District:

Banks	Name of sub-division (Blocks)				Total
	Chandel	Chakpikarong	Tengnoupal	Machi	
State Bank of India	1	1	0	1	3
United Bank of India	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1
Cooperative Bank	-	--	-	-	~
Other Banks	~	--		~	

### EDUCATION FACILITIES:

There are 202 **pre-primary/** J.B./U.J.B. schools, 26 middle/ sr. **basic/** jr. high schools, 18 high/ higher secondary, Government College and 1 grant-in-aid college in the district. Of the total 15,869 students enrolled in the schools, 41.75% is in pre-primary/ UJB schools, 19.53% in middle school and 38.71% in high/ higher secondary schools.

### **MEDICAL AND PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES:**

The State Government provided the main medical facilities in the district. There are 2 hospitals, 12 primary health centres and 24 primary health sub-centres in Chandel district. The total number of beds available in the hospitals/ centres are 94.

**Table-2.2: The Following Table Shows Sub-division wise Medical Facilities:**

Items	Name of sub-division (Blocks)				Total
	Chandel	Tengnoupal	Chakpikarong	Machi	
Hospitals	1	1	Nil	Nil	2
Primary Health Centre	8	1	2	1	12
Primary Health sub-centre	g	7	7	2	24
Beds available	30	34	20	10	94
Doctors	16	5	4	1	26
Nurses	7	1	1	Nil	9
Pharmacists	4	2	2	Nil	g

Source: Chief Medical Office, Chandel District.

### **WEAKER SECTIONS PROGRAMMES:**

Tribal development office, Chandel is implementing various development programmes for the upliftment of Scheduled Tribes of this district who constitute the weaker sections of the society. The schemes/ programmes implemented by the Tribal Development Office are all supplementary in nature to the schemes implemented by the Development Departments in the district. Under the family oriented scheme taken up by the department, various development programmes were under taken, out of which agriculture, horticulture, fishery, animal husbandry, village and small-scale industries, housing etc., may be mentioned.

From the above discussions, the district appears to be having a good network of educational and health institutions etc., but most of them lack of buildings,

furniture and necessary equipments and suffer to some extent due to the intermittent absence of staff and existence of social problems. All these factors adversely affected the socio-economic development of Chandel district. Moreover, most of the departments do not maintain proper records for the kind of activities taken up by government from **1998** onwards. There are separate funds for **preparing** reports or hand books for the development activities carried out by the concerned departments. But none of these department took it seriously. All the money has been utilized for other purposes. The available records presented above do not reveal to the real situation existing in Chandel district. Most of the departments remain closed for long time and buildings are also in pathetic condition. Concerned officers are not available in the offices. All these factors add to the slow development of Chandel District.

### **MACHI BLOCK:**

Machi block came into existence on **6<sup>th</sup>** January 1994. Machi is an important place in Chandel district. Physically it is a land of hills and jungles. It is in the heart of the forest. The total area of Machi block is 440 km. Total population according to 1991 census is **10,133**. The entire population of Machi block is rural. There are in all 47 villages in the block. There is only one Police Station located at Machi block and that too without proper infrastructure and it remains nonfunctional till today. There is one nonfunctioning SB1, and no telephone facilities are available at Machi block. This block is considered as one of the most backward Tribal Development Blocks in Chandel district. Before this block was established, it was part of the administrative unit of the Tengenoupal block. Later on (1994) it got separated from Tengenoupal and **became** a separate unit. This means, Machi block is entitled to have its own finances and other facilities of a full-fledged block, but from then on Machi block has not received any financial package from centre through direct means. This is because the centre has not acknowledged its independent status. There is no separate financial allocation from government. It has got some share from Tengenoupal Block. Actual records are not available with regard to financial allocation to the Machi Block due to nonfunctioning of Block Office. There is no proper management of development activities at the Block level, and Office remains closed most of the time. As expressed



by the officers, Machi Block could get meagre amount for development activities. So, it is obvious that the Machi Block's growth is restrained.

## **CHAPTER-3**

### **PROFILE OF THE VILLAGES:**

#### **VILLAGES UNDER STUDY:**

The villages that **were** taken up for the present study come under the jurisdiction of **Machi** block, Chandel district, situated near Kakching town of Thoubal district of Manipur. One of them is **Khangshim** village, which is located at a distance of 2 **k.m.** on the N.H. 39 linking between Kakching to Moreh and Chandel district. The other one is called - Minou village, which is 15 **kms** away from Kakching town and comes in the right side of the N.H.39 running between Kakching and **Imphal**.

#### **ORIGIN OF THE VILLAGES:**

The Minou village came into existence about 100 years ago with about 12 households belonging to four different Clans (**Phung**), namely; **Dangsawaa**, **Makunga/Tontanga**, **Charangaa**, and **Kansonwaa**.

The people of Minou village explain that, the Maring tribes were living a nomadic life in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. They started looking for permanent settlement in around different areas of Chandel district. The main areas inhabited by Maring tribe are - Langol, Machi, Khunbi, and Karungthel.

These settlements experienced a jolt after few years due to the onslaught of the second world war. As a consequence, there was no proper settlement for tribes in Manipur. When the second world war ceased, the Maring tribe started coming back to their early settlements. As part of this process of migration, some of the **Maring**

tribe also were coming back to the Minou village. Minou village is inhabited only by "Maring tribe".

The name of the village Minou is derived from the words, "*Me*", and "*Anouba*", as "*me*" refers to human being or Man, "*anouba*" refers to new, as the people who settled in this village were very new at that time. So, their place of settlement was named as Minou village. After some years, Minou village got official recognition from Manipur Government.

**Khangshim** village came into **existence** around 1970s. It is reasonably new when compared to many other tribal villages in Manipur. This village got recognition from Manipur Government in 1975. People who live here mostly migrated from **Khoibu** Khullen and Yamonching. The migrants found Khangshim village to be better for the education, and welfare of their generations to come.

Khangshim village is inhabited by "**Khoibu** tribe" alone and it has seven clans (*Saring*) namely; *Charang, Daagsaa, Tawntaang, Saakaa, Khaling, Rawnglo and Hawngsaa*.

Households of Khangshim village proliferated accordingly with the increase of migrants from various places like Biyang, Yamonching, Khoibu Khullen, Haotak etc.

As narrated by the villagers, 'Khangshim' means place for making pottery. The Village was known for making of pottery in Manipur. The place acquired its name from the people who had such an occupation for their life. Now-a-days, Khangshim village is one of the most developed tribal village in Machi block of Chandel district. The "Maring" and "Khoibu" groups come under Manipur Naga group.

#### **ORIGIN OF MARING AND KHOIBU:**

The Maring tribe is settled in Chandel district of Manipur centering around Pallel, extending their jurisdiction even up to Kabow valley of Myanmar. This tribes

# INDEX:

- Thatch House
- Pucca House
- ① Rick house

Water hand pump

Nature cure clinic

Waiting shed

## KHANGSHUM VILLAGE

Community Hall

Play Ground  
School  
Private School

Church

Village Well

Public latrine

Shed

Way to Chandel and March

National High Way 39

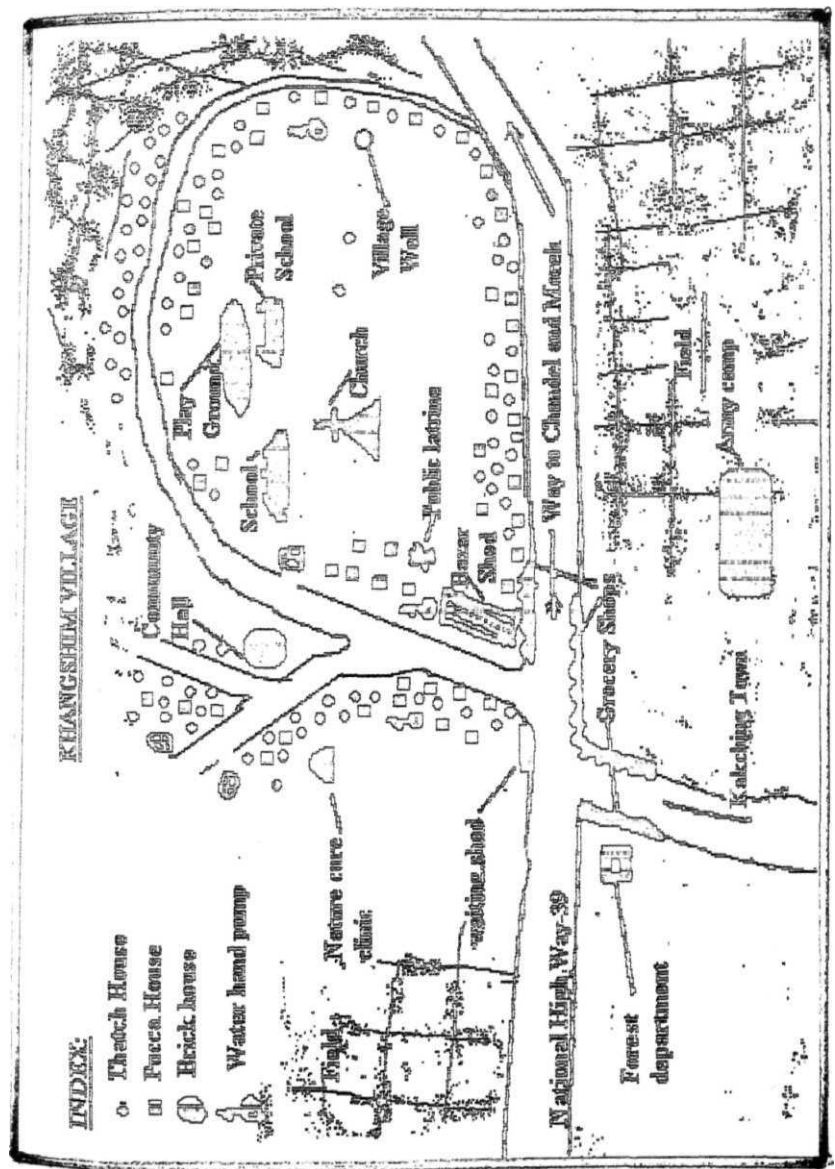
Storey Shop

Forest department

Field

Army camp

Kakching Town



INDEX

BOINOU VILLAGE

□ pucca house

○ Thatch house

Veterinary hospital

HILL AREA

Water head pump

Shop

Community hall

School

Church

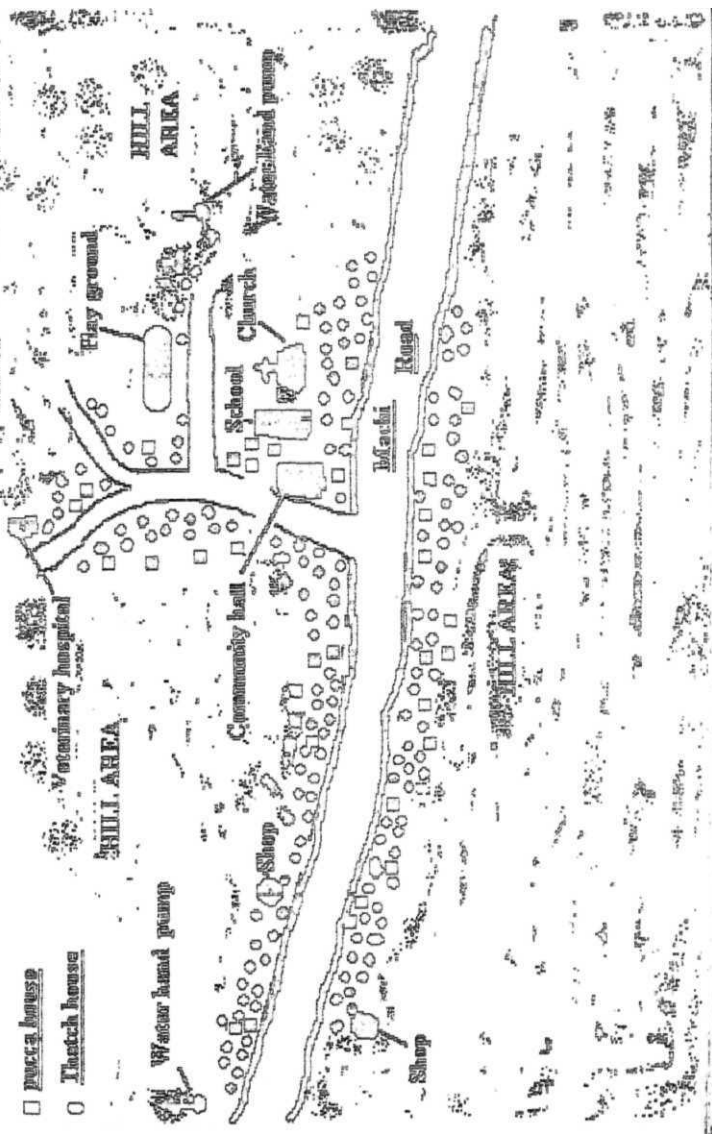
HILL AREA

Water head pump

Market Road

Shop

HILL AREA



may be considered to be one of the backward tribes in Manipur. There are two stories generally prevailing among the Marings in respect of their origin. One story says Maring originated from two different places as two tribes and merged together as one tribe. One group originated from the then capital of Manipur at present called •Haubam Maruk', ('Hao' means Naga tribe, 'bum' means place 'Maruk' is derived from the word 'Maru' means seed, source or origin) while the other originated from a village 'Leisong kong' in the valley about 16-20 kms south of the capital. The other story says they originally came from the earth near the eastern foot of the Heiroke range, but in kabow valley, in the higher ground, immediately under the hills at a place named 'Mungra'. Seven men and seven women came out from whom the Maring tribe descended. The term 'Khoipu' derived from the version of 'Khoi' means bee and 'pu' derived from 'Akapu' which means owner. Therefore, Khoipu means the people who owns bee, beehives, honey in the indigenous land of Khoibu territory. In the long run it is literally pronounced as Khoibu. They are often exchanged gifts with the neighbouring communities. Khoibus are immediate neighbour to Maring in terms of habitation. As such, there is frequent social interaction between the two tribes. Religious activities, social activities like groups and sports etc are jointly organized. There are even inter marriages between the two tribes. By this reason, other people recognized them as Maring tribe. However, the Khoibu's are not pure Maring in the sense that they had a different tribal origin and different dialect.

#### SETTLEMENT PATTERN:

Khangshim village is located near Kakching town and consists of 87 households. There are mainly two blocks separated by inter village road. Whereas, Minou village is situated on the slopes of a hill of thick forest where communication and transport facilities are very poor. Minou village consists of 112 households. There is semi pucca road which connects Machi block and Kakching town.

Both the villages show somewhat irregular arrangement of houses. The arrangement of both settlements in terms of orientation of the houses and shape of the houses are common. Each house has a front room, which is used as living room. In

some houses, this room is used also as kitchen. Most of the houses have two or three rooms, which are partitioned by mud wall and bamboo wall. In both the villages, we can find three types of houses according to building material.

1. Built with mud wall and thatched.
2. Built with Aluminum and Wood
3. Built with Brick and Masonary.

**Table-2.3: The distribution of houses on the above mentioned basis in the two villages is shown below:**

Type of House	Khangshim Village		Minou Village	
	No.of houses	Percentage	No.of houses	Percentage
Thatch	45	51.7	83	74.1
Aluminium	38	43.7	29	25.9
Brick	4	4.6	~	-
Total	87	100	112	100

It is clear from the above table, majority of the households in both the villages are living in thatch house. Besides, no brick house is found in the Minou village. It is very difficult to construct brick house in the hill areas due to the scarcity of water.

### **CLIMATE AND SOIL:**

The hills of the Khangshim and Minou village have got tremendous potentialities in most suitable soil and climate condition to grow tropical, sub-tropical and temperate fruits like pineapple, and crops like maize, potatoes etc. In addition spices like tejpatha, chillies, ginger, onion and garlic etc. grow well.

Manipur state is covered mainly of tertiary rock. Soil is mostly clay to clay loam. The temperature ranges from 34 degree centigrade maximum to 5 degree centigrade minimum. During summer, heat is quite normal compared to other states of India. Hot months of the year are May and June and winter months of the year are November to February. But, winter is very cold.

#### **FLORA AND FAUNA:**

The Khangshim and Minou villages are located on the slopes of hills where different kinds of trees and fruits are grown. There are different types of trees and shrubs like Banyan, Pine, Bamboo etc. Pineapple, apples, Mango, papaya etc., are the main fruits of the region. Moreover, various plants of fruits are grown in the surrounding of a house for domestic purposes.

Animals of the region are deer, fox, wild cat and stag. People of these two villages keep dogs, cats as domestic pets and oxen, buffaloes for their agricultural purpose. Pigs, oxen and buffaloes are the main animals they use for meat.

#### **SOURCE OF IRRIGATION:**

The climate of Manipur is highly suitable for agricultural works. The rainy season provides good water supply to the people of Manipur for carrying out easier and more convenient way of cultivation. The villagers of Khangshim and Minou are depending mainly on the rainy season for cultivation. Rivers and Canals are also an important source of water for cultivation, where droughts also occur in the region. Actually, it is common in these areas on average droughts occur once in five years. Farmers of Khangshim village use the engines for bringing water through canals from the rivers but it is not possible for the farmers of Minou village since the village is situated on the slopes of hill with thick forest.

#### **MATERIAL CULTURE:**



The most obvious elements of a culture are its material products. One cannot walk through a tribal camp or peasant village without noticing huts, clothes, crops, cooking, pots, beds, plough and many other elements. All these things together constitute the material culture of the group.

Manipur, tribals have got similar kind of material culture in terms of their agricultural implements, musical instruments, hunting, fishing and household implements. Their material culture is a combination of old and new.

### **AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS:**

They use **wooden** plough, yoke, bamboo **leveller-cum-clod** crusher, spade, hoe and dao, sickle, wooden forked flail, large bamboo mat, winnowing fan made of bamboo, slices, wooden winnowing spoon etc.. Bullock carts and also tractors for ploughing the fields are also used. For storing the grains the traditional methods are followed. They use big bamboo containers for storing grains.

### **HUNTING IMPLEMENTS:**

These days villagers do not rely on hunting as the main source of subsistence. Yet, they do go for hunting occasionally. For this, they use bow and arrow, axe, spear, sometimes gun, etc.

### **FISHING IMPLEMENTS:**

For fishing, the villagers use different implements made out of cane and bamboo. These include *Taijep*, *Lu*, *Tungol* etc. They also use fishing net (made by nylon) and small painted iron rod which they buy in the market

### **HOUSEHOLD IMPLEMENTS:**

The utensils used are made mostly of stainless steel, aluminium, brass and bell metal. Stainless steel is mostly favoured. For storing materials bamboo and cane

baskets are used. Particularly, for pounding of the grain they used both traditional **chumbal** and modern mill. The villagers use modern furniture like cot, mat, table, chair etc.

### **MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS:**

Musical instruments include *dhola*, *pena*, *senbung*, *gortan*, etc. are found with **the** people. Now-a-days they call band parties and use music set for the **marriage** ceremonies. Watching VCD during the time of festivals and functions can be seen.

### **DRESS AND ORNAMENTS:**

Maring and **Khoibu** tribes have their own distinctive customary dress and ornaments different for men and **women**. However, now-a-days, traditional dresses are worn during customary rites and festival only. Still traditional dress can be seen with old folks of the village. As a result of urban contact, both the tribes are wearing all the up-to-date dresses worn by the educated Manipuris of the town. With all the modern market facilities around, they are going for synthetic fabrics. The men folk wear trousers and shirts. For women, '*phanek*' is common lower wear, while upper wear is shawl and both are made of handloom.

But, the younger generation prefer to wear trousers, shirts, frocks etc. During the winter they start wearing woolen clothes, jacket etc. The jewellery of Maring and Khoibu women consist of silver anklets, bangles, and ear studs. Some of the affluent tribal women wear gold ornaments also. Among new generation girls, the ornaments made out of cheap metals have become popular.

### **MATERIAL POSSESSIONS:**

It is observed that the tribals in these two villages possess some luxurious items like T.V, Motor cycles, Bicycles, Watch, **Radio/Tape** etc.

**Table-2.4: The table shows the total number of material possessed by Khangshim and Minou villagers.**

Name of the village	Cycles	Television	Motor cycle	Radio/Tape	Watch(Wall clocks)
Khangshim village	92	16	6	76	36
MinouVillage	12	3	2	47	11
Total	104	19	8	123	47

It is observed that the material possession like cycle, television, radio/tape and watch are more among the villagers of Khangshim compared with the Minou villagers.

### **FOOD HABITS:**

Rice is the staple food of the residents of Khangshim and Minou as their main crop produced is paddy. Along with it potatoes, cabbage, sugar cane etc, constitute a part of their daily diet. Rice is always **supplemented** by pulses and roti. The most favourite food items are rice and roti.

As most of the households possess 'kitchen garden' near by the house, both the villagers grow different types of vegetables and fruits in it. The vegetables grown includes radish, pumpkin, pea, bean, tomato etc. The fruits they get from kitchen

garden are mangoes, papayas, etc. All these kitchen garden products supplement rice according to season .

They consume food in gruel forms. They relish these staple foods with some pulses, vegetables and leaf curries in the form of soups. They used to have meal thrice a day. Occasionally, Non vegetarian foods are consumed during some festivals and marriage ceremonies. Now a days, they are having meal twice a day. Instead of having early morning food which is left over of previous night dinner, they are taking tea and snacks of different varieties. Villagers are also taking Non Vegetarian food frequently. Moreover, intake of tea and snacks is more among the villagers of Khangshim than Minou villagers.

From the daily market, both the villagers buy vegetables for their consumption, which are not grown in kitchen garden. Meat, poultry and eggs are consumed mainly during the time of festivals, marriage ceremony or when their friends or kinsmen visit their place.

#### **PHYSICAL APPEARANCE:**

Both the villagers are of medium stature and height ranges from 4" to 5.7'. They come under Mongoloid race. They have epicanthic eye fold, flat nose and low forehead and their skin colour is light brown.

### **POPULATION:**

The total population of **Khangshim** is 493 and that of Minou is 556.

**Table-2.5:Distribution of population by age and sex of population in both the villages is given below:**

Age	KHANGSHIM			MINOU		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
00-10	72 (14.6)	66 (13.4)	138 (27.9)	89 (16.0)	71 (12.8)	160 (28.8)
11-20	49 (9.9)	55 (11.2)	104 (21.1)	51 (9.2)	54 (9.7)	105 (18.9)
21-30	54 (10.9)	52 (10.5)	106 (21.5)	63 (11.3)	56 (10.1)	119 (21.4)
31-40	34 (6.9)	43 (8.7)	77 (15.6)	46 <b>(8.3)</b>	48 (8.6)	94 (16.9)
41-50	21 (4.3)	17 (3.4)	38 (7.7)	32 (5.8)	27 (4.9)	59 (10.6)
51-60	11 (2.2)	10 (2.0)	21 (4.3)	6 (1.1)	<b>8</b> (1.4)	14 (2.5)
61+	6 (1.2)	3 (0.6)	9 (1.8)	3 (0.5)	2 (0.4)	5 (0.9)
Total	247 (50.1)	246 (49.9)	493	290 (52.2)	266 (47.8)	556

The above table shows that the total population of Khangshim village is 493 out of which the male population is 247 constituting 50.1% of the total population and female population is 246 constituting 49.9% of the total population, whereas the total population of Minou village is 556 out of which the male population is 290 constituting 52.2% of the total population and female population is 266 constituting 47.8% of the total population. The table also shows that children belonging to the age

group of 0-10 constitute the major section in both the villages, who **are 138** constituting 27.9% in Khangshim whereas **160** in Minou village constituting 28.8% of the total population. It is also evident from the table that the population falling within the age group of 60 above constitute the least in both the villages that is 9 which comes to 1.8% in Khangshim village whereas 5 in Minou village which comes to 9% of the total population.

### **LANGUAGE:**

The **Maring** language belongs to Tibeto- Burman group. Their dialect is not exactly similar to the Naga dialect, but has closer resemblance with Kuki Chin Lushai group of languages. Maring language has influences of Naga and Meithie dialects and particularly the influence of Tangkhul dialect is visible.

Khoibu language is locally called "*Khoibu tlow*". It is said that Khoibu script was preserved in tree barks and latter transferred on to paper in the form of manuscripts. However, due to the absence of **printing** books and due to the dominance of the scripts like that of Bengali and Roman, the Khoibu script could not be put into use any more. Now Khoibu people are using the Roman scripts.

Both Maring and Khoibu tribes have their own dialects and cannot understand each **other's**. They use Manipuri language for their communication with each other. Their language belongs to Tibeto -Burman family of Chinese language family of the Mongoloid race.

### **RELIGION:**

Religion forms one of the most important aspects of culture. In its broadest sense, religion encompasses all specific beliefs about the ultimate nature of reality, and the origin, meaning and destiny of life as well as the myths and rituals that symbolically express them. So religion is basic to each and every human society.

Majority of the villagers have converted to Christianity. The **Khangshim** and **Minou** Churches are maintaining specific days for prayer based on gender. The specific days are Friday-General Prayer, Wednesday-Females, Saturday-Male, and Sunday-General Prayer.

Among the above, Sunday prayer is compulsory for all villagers. On Sunday, they have two sessions of preaching, i.e. morning and evening. Preaching for each sessions is different as given below. Morning - prayers for excuses, and evening for giving spiritual message to the villagers.

Every Sunday, villagers abstain from their daily work. Some of the elder age people in Minou village are not converted in to Christianity, and still believe in their traditional or ancestral deities. Sometimes this creates problems in village in terms of community development work and decision making etc.

#### **NON-CHRISTIANS IN MINOU VILLAGE: RITUALS AND FESTIVALS:**

Most of the population in these two villages have converted into Christianity, but in Minou village there are 120 elder people within the Christian families who have not converted into Christianity. These people believed in their local deities. But they are not able to perform the rituals and festivals related to their Gods due to the dominance of Christian population. To perform rituals or festivals it requires lot of younger people to take initiative and money has to be collected from the village for making it a perfect celebration. It is highly impossible for those non-Christian elders to perform rituals or festivals in the village. Therefore, ritual and festivals related to local deities are not visible in Minou village. However, non-Christian people still believe in their local deities.

They worshipped an idol called “*Thenbung lai*” which is maintained by an elder person and kept in the centre of the village. Now, it is fully covered by bushes as nobody takes care of it. Earlier they used to celebrate the ritual/ festival once in a year. In fact, the festival and worship are for the welfare of the village. They used to

sacrifice deer or wild pig as part of ritual. Later on, due to scarcity of deer and wild pig, it was replaced by the sacrifice of cattle available in the village.

They also worshiped the local deity called "*Panthong lai*". It is kept at the village gate to protect the villagers from outside evil spirits and others. In the past, this ritual was performed once in a year in the form of sacrificing one cow or ox. The younger people used to sing and dance during this ritual.

Another aspect of this village is that in every house, people used to worship family deity called "*Yumloi*". Those days they believed in magic and supernatural forces. For worshipping God "*Yumloi*" they used a particular place inside the house, which they considered is a holy place. Villagers used to pray "*Yumloi*" two times everyday, in the morning and in the evening.

Apart from these, their life was full of entertainment and very festive. These people used to celebrate festivals like *Shandong maming thonba*, *shahong leihongba*, *thelhongba*. Now-a-days these festivals are no more celebrated in the Minou village.

### **FOLKLORE:**

Folklore includes folk songs, folk dance, and folk tales etc. They had special ceremonies like "*Hao Chongba*", during which folk songs are must and dances are performed.

### **MARRIAGE:**

Marriage is an institution and a mechanism for formation of social group and fosters social relationship with other members as well as for the perpetuation of human kind. It regulates social life. Marriage and its stability are depended on the ground that it is important for the young to grow up in a secure atmosphere. The marriage is for the benefit of the young and also for the aged.



It is noted that an individual is treated as an adult only when he or she gets married or possessed mates. Generally, in Manipur tribals marriages take place in the following ways:

1. Marriage by love (*Nungsinaraga luhongba*)
2. Marriage by capture (*Pharaga luhongba*)
3. Marriage by negotiation (*Haijaraga luhongba*)

Traditionally, Maring and Khoibu are practiced endogamy. They practiced exogamy also, but clan endogamy is strictly prohibited. Monogamy is a predominant feature in both the villages. But sometimes polygyny also takes place. But it is **strictly** restricted by the society. The most preferential and predominant form of marriage is love marriage.

Marriage system involved "Bride Price (*Haijapot puba*)" as a payment from the family of groom to the family of bride which can be either money or items like gold, clothes, eatables etc., at the time of marriage. The expenditure for the marriage is borne by the bridegroom's family and it varies from one family to other depending upon the standard of living. The bride brings her belongings and some household materials like cot, utensils, chairs, clothes etc. On these items, the expenditure will be almost same as that of bridegroom's family has spent. Marriage ceremony is held at Baptist Church under the instruction of a Pastor.

### FAMILY:

Traditionally, Manipur society is male dominant society i.e., Patriarchal. In any family of Manipur the matters related to a family materialize only after the decision of male head of the family. The same tradition also appears in tribal societies too.

In these two villages, nuclear families are dominant. The villagers think that joint family creates more problems. So any male member who gets married has to separate from the day they marry or after some months and have to look after themselves.

They think that nuclear family prospers faster. There are also a few joint families and broken families in the village.

The following table shows the family types among the two selected villages.

**Table-2.6: Typology of Family**

TYPES	KHANGSHIM	PERCENTAGE	MINOU	PERCENTAGE
Nuclear	75	86.2	84	75.0
Joint	4	<b>4.6</b>	7	6.2
Broken	6	6.8	<b>12</b>	10.7
Incomplete	2	2.2	9	8.0
Total	87	100	112	100

It can be understood from the above table, the **majority** of the villagers are living in nuclear family and there are few joint families also found in both the villages.

### **NAMING OF CHILD:**

These two tribes have similar way of naming their children. Generally, eldest male child of a family name invariably start with " *Mo*", this name is immediately given after birth. The second male child name start with "***Ko***" the third "***Ang***", the **fourth,"*Me***"and the fifth and after starts ,"***Tol***". For the female child, the first name will be starting with "***Te***", and second is "*To*", the third child "*Tung*", the fourth "***Ku***", and fifth and after "***Lei***". Majority of the villagers names are based on this system but the younger generations are not following this system strictly.

### **KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY:**

The terminology of **Khangshim** and Minou village is influenced by the Manipuri meitei terminology, as a result of which it resembles that of the Manipuris. They follow **the** classificatory system of kinship terminology.

### **AVOIDANCE:**

Avoidance is seen between father-in-law and daughter-in-law, son-in-law and mother-in-law and also in case of husband's elder brother. The villagers' avoidance reflects mutual respect and restraint. It strengthens the marital bond and at the same time minimizes conflict.

### **JOKING RELATIONSHIP:**

The opposite of avoidance is joking relationship. It is a particular combination of friendliness and antagonism. By teasing each other and playing games, they develop a **friendly** relationship, which protects them from conflict and hostility. In Khangshim and Minou villages, this relationship exists with eider's brother's wife and the younger brother of her husband, brother in law and sister in law, nephew and aunt, etc. Joking relationship shows friendship and it is a means to maximize interaction.

### **EDUCATION:**

The word "education" has been defined, described and analysed by various educationalists, philosophers and social scientists. It has been considered as a training for better life and better social adjustment in a community or group.

After the coming of Christianity, there was drastic change in the educational scene of Manipur tribal areas. Most of the people started taking interest towards education irrespective of their income level.

In **Khangshim** village, most of the parents are sending their children to private schools or colleges in Kakching, Imphal, Pallel, Chandel etc, which is more expensive. The total number of students going to private schools are **136**. Parents who cannot afford private school send their children to government school in the village. Thus, the whole village is strongly involved in education.

Whereas, in Minou village, there is only one junior high school which has Nursery to **Class-V**. After completion of **Class-V** exam, students have to go out from the village for further study, which is very much expensive for villagers. Few economically sound families are sending their children for further studies in the urban areas. Absence of high school and colleges near to the village is primary reason for having low literacy rate. The following table gives the education levels for the members of two selected villages.

**Table-2.7:Distribution of Educated Villagers at Different Levels:**

CLASS	KHANGSHIM VILLAGE			MINOU VILLAGE		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Nursery-V	55 (20.3)	42 (15.5)	97 (35.8)	52 (27.1)	31 (16.1)	83 (43.2)
<b>VI-IX</b>	46 (17.0)	39 (14.4)	85 (31.4)	36 (18.8)	32 (16.7)	68 (35.4)
<b>X-XII</b>	37 (13.7)	26 (9.6)	63 (23.2)	22 (11.5)	13 (6.8)	35 (18.2)
TDC1-III	15 (5.5)	<b>5</b> <b>(1.8)</b>	20 (7.4)	5 (2.6)	1 (0.5)	6 (3.1)
B.Tech.	2 (0.7)	-	2 (0.7)	--	-	-
MBBS	<b>1</b> (0.4)	-	1 (0.4)	-	-	--
P.G.	2 (0.7)	1 (0.4)	3 (1.1)	-	-	-
Total	158	113	271	115	77	192

	(58.3)	(41.7)	(55.0)	(60.00)	(40.1)	(34.5)
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The above table illustrates that the literacy rate of Khangshim and Minou villages are 55.0 per cent and 34.5 per cent respectively. The total educated population of Khangshim village is 271 (55.0) out of which the male educated population is 158 constituting 58.3 per cent and female population is 113 constituting 41.7 per cent. The total educated population of Minou village is 192 (39.5) out of which the male education population is 115 constituting 60.00 per cent and female population is 77 constituting 40.1 per cent.

### **HEALTH AND HYGIENE:**

The Khangshim and Minou villagers are conscious of their health. They take care of themselves and their children. They brush their teeth and take bath every day. For brushing they use tooth twig where as for bath they use soap. They clean their clothes with the help of a soap or detergent powder.

As far as diseases are concerned they go to Kakching Rural Hospital for treatment. Besides, the government hospital, there are many private clinics to visit at the time of need.

### **ECONOMY:**

Economics, popularly speaking, deals with the aspects of production, distribution and exchange in totality. Economic system is designed in such a way to satisfy material wants of the people to organize production, to control distribution and to determine the rights and claims of ownership within the community. **(Ralp, Piddington,1952:18).** And economic organization is a type of social action. **It** involves the combination of various kinds of human services with one another and with non human goods in such a way that they serve given ends (Raymond, Firth1952:123)

An examination of contemporary tribal economies in India, which are broadly presumed to represent ancient phases of the economic order, may provide valuable illustrations of a wholesome understanding of the issue. As in most of the world, economic involvement of tribals in contemporary India is diverse and multiple. An examination of distribution of means of livelihood and levels of economic involvement reveals agriculture as the most widely practiced among tribals in India to-day and the great majority of them carry out settled cultivation as the primary means of subsistence.

Due to its physical geography as well as the social and political conditions prevailing in this region, North east India has a relatively backward economy. The production per hectare is lower than that of India's as a whole. Geographically, the area consists of hills and plains with different levels of production. The agricultural economy, consists of wet rice cultivation in the plain areas and shifting and terrace in the hill areas. The single crop agricultural economy of North-East India has resulted in low production and low living standards for the inhabitants of the region.

The tribal culture is cognated to tribal economy and economic system of the tribals which can be understood in the purview of the cultural factors. Economy is an important constituent of the community life and plays a deciding role in the formation of the culture and social structure of a society. The economic life of the tribal people help us to understand important features of their culture. Every basic need is related to the existence of its members failing which they are threatened with extinction. Nature here comes forward and joins hands with them to fulfill their needs fashioned of course, in their customs, traditions, demographic structure etc. Owing to this, people with the same natural surrounding have developed different economic processes to meet their ends.

The scattered tribal settlements do not constitute a composite economy in terms of territorial units. Tribes in Manipur, however, have a more or less similar economy as their settlements have been made within similar topography and natural eco-system that greatly influence their economic system. The main sources of earning a living are agriculture( crops like paddy, parkia, cabbage, sugar cane,

banana, potatoes etc) household industry ( making of baskets, furniture, weaving etc,) animal husbandry (rearing of pig, fowl, dog, buffaloes, cow etc), government employment and other gainful activities, such as business. However, the majority of them depend on agriculture for their livelihood.

### ECONOMY OF VILLAGES UNDER STUDY:

The unit of production in the **Khangshim** and Minou Villages' economy is the family. The family is directly engaged in **various** processes of agricultural activities and largely controls **them**.

Though the technology and individual skills are relatively simple, not everybody is engaged in all kinds of economic activities. Tasks and activities are allotted to different individuals on the basis of sex and age. Two types of divisions of labour namely divisions of labour by sex and age are found in these tribes.

A woman is not an economic dependent but a productive, earning partner in familial life. A woman either does all the domestic work, such as cooking of food, washing of clothes, nursing of children, husking of paddy and weaving of clothes herself and divides the work, if there are grown-up daughters who can assist her. Both men and women are engaged in agricultural work. Men, however, generally perform works like tilling the soil, which needs more physical power or strength and women customarily perform transplantation of paddy seedlings and weeding of unwanted grass from the paddy fields. During harvest men are always assisted by women. Besides, women gather edible leaves, roots, fruits and firewood from the nearby forest. They are engaged in fishing too.

The Maring and **Khoibu**, whose way of life still continues to be traditional, have organized their **socio-cultural** as well as economic activities on the basis of

patrilineal clan (*Phung, Saring*) groups. It is obligatory on the part of the clan members to participate in family ceremonies like marriage, baptism, death etc. During a marriage ceremony all clan members extend co-operation for making it a success.

Important economic activities like agriculture are performed with the cooperation of the clan (*Phung, Saring*) members and villagers. They also help one another in various other pursuits. For instance, in constructing a house, generally clan members render their services to the house owner. The clan (*Phung, Saring*) is an important cooperative unit among the tribes in Manipur especially in these villages.

Hunting, fishing, agricultural operations like ploughing, threshing and forest cutting are exclusively male activities. The females collect vegetables, forest products like roots, timbers, leaves, etc. besides undertaking domestic chores, cattle tending etc. A man, however, helps his wife in the collection of forest produce and woman helps her husband in the agricultural field to complete the agricultural activities of the season in time. Some of the government employee's wives in Khangshim village are not engaged in any agricultural activities. They just look after their children and household work.

### **LAND OWNERSHIP:**

The total agricultural land owned by the households of Khangshim and Minou villages under different types of cultivation is shown below:

**Table-2.8: Land Holding Pattern in the Villages:**

No.of Frequency	Khangshim village				Minou Village			
	WET		DRY		WET		DRY	
	No.of Househ olds	Acres	No.of House holds	Acres	No.of House holds	Acres	No.of House holds	Acres
0-1	24 (54.5)	20 (29.4)	18 (72.0)	16.5 (56.9)	7 (28.0)	5 (12.7)	82 (77.4)	73.5 (57.4)



<b>1-2</b>	<b>5</b> (11.4)	<b>7.5</b> (11.01)	<b>7</b> (28.0)	<b>12.5</b> (43.1)	<b>12</b> (48.0)	<b>18</b> (45.6)	<b>13</b> (12.3)	<b>24.5</b> (19.1)
<b>2-3</b>	<b>12</b> (27.2)	<b>27.5</b> (40.4)	<b>~</b>	<b>~</b>	<b>4</b> (16.0)	<b>9</b> (22.8)	<b>9</b> (8.5)	<b>24</b> (18.8)
<b>3+</b>	<b>3</b> (6.8)	<b>13</b> (19.1)	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>2</b> (8.0)	<b>7.5</b> (18.9)	<b>2</b> (1.9)	<b>6</b> (4.7)
<b>Total</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>39.5</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>128</b>

The above table illustrates that the total wet land in the **Khangshim** village is 68 acres, forty-four households are possessing wet land out of 87 households and dry land is spread to 29 acres. Among them twenty-five households are practicing dry land cultivation. Whereas the total wet land in the Minou village is 39.5 acres and only twenty-five households are practicing wet cultivation. It is evident from the table that dry land cultivation is more in the Minou village when compared to Khangshim village. The total area of dry land in Minou village is 128 acres and 106 households are engaged in dry land cultivation. However, there are eighteen landless households in Khangshim and two landless households in Minou village.

Agriculture is the backbone of tribal economy, consequently land is the main economic resource for them. Every village has its own specific land within its own well demarcated boundary. The village council that represents the village community is the owner of the community land that comprises all open and forest land of the village wherefrom the villagers freely collect timber, firewood, thatching grass, bamboo, fruits, vegetables and herbs both for domestic and commercial purposes. Every tribal village has reserved forest areas where valuable trees, cane and bamboo are grown. No villager is allowed to collect any forest produce from this area without the prior permission from the village council. All the products of such a reserved forest are generally sold by the village council and money will be spent on the developmental works of the village. The Chairman is authorised by the council to manage such deals.

**Individual** homesteads, horticulture farms, gardens and jhum land come under the category of the individually owned land with hereditary possessory rights. The villagers, have the rights of using these lands permanently as long as they used them. But they have no rights of transferring the land to other persons in case they leave the village. In such a situation the village council takes over the possessory rights from the person who leaves the village.

The individually owned land includes wet land and permanent cultivable land that are personally owned by individual as their private property. As the economy of the people centres around agriculture, agricultural land plays an important role in their socio - economic life. An analysis of land holding of these two villages is given below:

**Table-2.9: Land Ownership (in Acres) in the Villages;**

Name of the Village	No.of House holds	Landless Households	0-1		1-2		2-3		3-	
			Wet	Dry	Wet	Dry	Wet	Dry	Wet	Dry
<b>Khangshim</b>	87	18	24	18	5	7	12	~	3	-
Minou	112	2	7	82	12	13	4	9	2	2

The above table reveals that 66 households of the total 87 households in Khangshim village possess land in wet and dry land respectively and there are eighteen landless households in Khangshim village. Whereas, In Minou village, 110 households possess wet and dry lands. It is also evident that there are two landless households. This table also leads to the conclusion that though their economy centres around agriculture more than half of the total households cannot thrive on agriculture, for they do not have enough land to cultivate.

The vast area of forest land that is called community land is not under their direct use but they greedily exploit the forest produce for their benefit. The **Jhum** land, horticulture farms and gardens are made on the slopes of the hills by clearing bushes and felling big trees. The primitive methods of Jhum cultivation do not yield

enough food. It is also observed that they do not use all the land for cultivation of paddy in their Jhum fields. Half of the jhum areas, they grow vegetables and fruits, which can give income through out the year.

#### **WET LAND CULTIVATION:**

The wet lands where the tribals practice wet cultivation are in the plains area of the foot hills. Such plains land is divided into a number of rectangular or square shaped plots, the boundary of which is demarcated by mud ridges.

They have adopted certain innovations of scientific agriculture to some extent, but are still traditional cultivators, for they still use traditional farm practices and techniques that are handed down from the past through generations. Mono cropping is the rule in the case of paddy fields. Their paddy fields remain barren for at least six months in a year. If the rain comes regularly after harvesting of paddy, they cultivate potatoes, mustards and arum etc in the paddy field. But it is not on regular basis. Everything depends on rain. However, the Khanghsim and Minou village farmers keep their kitchen gardens productive throughout the year by growing different varieties of seasonal vegetables both for household consumption and sale in the market. They also make maximum use of their jhum fields before they abandon them. Different varieties of cash crops such as potato, ginger, arum and pulses are grown in rotation in the jhum fields as well as in the kitchen gardens.

In the past, they used to manure their paddy fields with locally available manure. The excreta of domestic animals mixed with the daily household sweep and other waste materials are stored in pits on the periphery of the habitation of every household at least for the year so that the materials may rot completely. Then the manure is spread over or mixed with the soil before the onset of the first monsoon rain to make the fields fertile. They are not capable of intensive manuring of their fields as they can not produce manure on a large scale. At present, in both the villages, cultivators use chemical fertilisers to manure their fields. Though they responded well to this innovation, they cannot make full use of it because of the insufficient knowledge of its application, lack of ready cash for purchase and uncertainty

involved in its availability. They have to purchase fertilisers from out side their villages from distant places..

It is important to note that the **Khangshim** village uses the maximum amount of fertilizer. The principal chemical fertilizers in use are Super phosphate, Di **Amonium** phosphate and Urea. Insecticides and pesticides, though not on a large scale, are also used by the Minou village cultivators.

### **AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS:**

The Mating and **Khoibu** being a traditional tribal group, still make use of simple but nevertheless efficient tools and implements that are easily available for **various** farm operations. These are either obtained from the market or made by the local specialists such as carpenters, blacksmiths, etc.

Almost every family has its own collection of agricultural implements and do not depend very much upon others. The number of **each** type of implements however, varies from family to family according to the land holding size of the families. The larger the land holding, the larger are the number of implements. The number of ploughs (to be yoked either to a pair of bullocks or to a buffalo ) possessed by a family is the indication of the size of land holding of the family. At present it is also observed that some families use power levellers or hire for the preparatory tillage of their fields.

**Table-2.10Agricultural Implements Used by Farmers:**

OPERATION	AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS
Preparatory tillage	Wooden plough, Yoke, bamboo leveller- <b>cum-clod</b> crusher, spade, hoe and dao, tractor.
Sowing in <b>Jhum</b> fields	Hoe, digging implements
Weeding	Hoe, doe
Reaping	Sickle

Threshing	Wooden forked flail large bamboo mat
Winnowing	Winnowing fan made of bamboo, slices, wooden winnowing spoon
Transportation	Bullock or buffalo drawn cart, tractor

### **AGRICULTURAL CYCLE:**

The Maring and Khoibu farming method involve a large number of processes such as preparatory tillage, manuring, sowing, transplantation, weeding, reaping, threshing, winnowing and finally transporting and storing up the products. The period involved in these processes varies from six to ten months according to the varieties of the crop.

**Table-3.1:Planting and Harvesting Season of Paddy and some other Major Crops by the Maring and Khoibu:**

SPECIES	TYPE OF AGRICULTURE	PLANTING SEASON	HARVESTING SEASON
Paddy	Jhum cultivation	April/May	Oct/Nov
Paddy	Wet cultivation	June/July	Nov/Dec
Potato	Jhum cultivation	Oct/Nov	April
Ginger	Jhum cultivation	March/April	December
Arum	Jhum cultivation	March/April	Nov/Dec

Preparatory tillage is a primary operation. In case of paddy fields it is generally done by the wooden plough yoked to a pair of bullocks or buffalo. Spade and hoe are the important implements used for tillage of Jhum fields and kitchen gardens. The number of ploughings varies with crops. For example, five to six times for paddy, four to five times for potato, ginger and arum. At present, most of the farmers in Khangshim village are using tractors for preparatory tillage. Whereas, in

Minou village maximum number of farmers are using wooden plough yoked to a pair of bullocks or a buffalo for preparatory tillage.

Manuring in farm is done once in a year before the onset of the first monsoon every year. The manure is scattered evenly over the soil, Chemical fertilizer is either mixed with the soil before sowing or plantation, or scattered over the crop **when it** is about one month old. Application of chemical fertilizer is done twice or thrice in the period between sowing or plantation, and harvesting. They are yet to master the correct method and timing of application of different chemical fertilizers they use.

Sowing generally takes place after the field has been thoroughly prepared by ploughing and levelling. In case of paddy, the farmers have adopted the broadcasting method for sowing the seeds. Sowing, in case of potato, ginger, arum, pulses and vegetables is performed by dropping seeds in furrows made by spades horizontally along with long ridges that are made in the fields for the convenience of sowing as well as weeding. It is of interest to note that paddy plants that are grown in nursery beds are transplanted to the paddy fields when the seedlings are about ten to fifteen centimeters high.

Weeding is generally done twice or thrice before harvesting. In case of paddy plants, weeding is performed without any implements. However, in case of other crops it is done with either a hoe or a dao. Harvesting takes place when the plants are fully grown in case of vegetables or crop is ripe in case of cereals, potato, pulses, etc. It is either done daily over a period as in the case of vegetables or carried out at the end of a period as in the case of paddy, pulses, potato etc. Different types of implements are used for the harvest of different crops. Sickle in case of paddy, and pulses, spade for ginger, potato and arum. However, hand picking is done in case of vegetables.

Threshing and winnowing are found necessary only for paddy and pulses. For paddy and pulses grains are first separated from the stalk with the help of wooden flail on a big bamboo mat. Winnowing of immature grain and other unwanted materials is carried out with the traditional implements like winnowing fan and

winnowing spoon. The tribal farmers are still ignorant of mechanized threshers and winnowers.

Threshing and winnowing in case of paddy takes place in the field itself and the yield is usually transported by bullock cart, tractor or by men and women who participate in the threshing and winnowing operations. The use of bullock carts for the transportation is not found in Minou village which is situated on the slopes of mountains. Transportation of other grains and vegetables generally grown in the Jhum fields is, as a convention, leisurely done by women and men.

The tradition bound Maring and Khoibu agriculture is labour oriented and laden with an increasing human pressure on the presently available land resources. The manual labour of the cultivators and their domestic animals particularly a pair of bullocks or a buffaloes, is supplemented by the limited number of agricultural implements of which mention may be made of a yoke, a plough, implements associated with weeding, reaping and harvesting and a bullock cart, tractor. The local origin of the majority of the implements is the index of a kind of social symbiosis among the different individuals of Khangshim and Minou village and the nearly self contained situation of these communities. The departure from traditionalism to modernity in respect of the Khoibu and Maring agriculture lies, among others, in the fact that local self-sufficiency is being increasingly replaced by external dependance resulting from the import of inputs like chemical fertilisers, pesticides, improved agricultural implements, high yielding varieties of crops etc., obtainable only from extra local areas and urban market.

Adoption of modern agricultural practice like application of fertilizer and other pesticide etc are very few and still slow to take place in the Minou village as compared to Khangshim village. Various inputs such as, tillage of soil, manuring, sowing, transportation, weeding, protection of plants against pests, harvesting, etc., are made in the form of manual labour provided by the cultivator.

**Table-3.2: The Approximate Expenditure and income from Agriculture for one acre of Wet land is as follow:**

Agricultural <b>Operations/Items</b>	Total Input (Rs)
Ploughing	500=00
Seeds	250=00
Labour (Male)	200=00
Sowing Labour (Female)	300=00
Weeding	250=00
Fertilizers	500=00
Harvesting (reaping/threshing)	1000=00
Refreshment	400=00
Transportation	200=00
Total	3600=00

Expected income = 50 bags X **Rs.150** = Rs.7,500/- / per acre

The output of their agriculture is primarily a subsistence output needed to support the farmer and his family in the form of daily food items and his domestic animals in the form of fodder derived from the by-products of the crops raised.

They also grow, though not on a large scale, some cash crops for ready cash income. Ginger and arum deserve special mention. Vegetables are also grown both for consumption and sale. Paddy cultivation is their primary occupation but they cannot produce enough even for their own family consumption, because their land holdings, which range from one acre to two acres is too small to produce enough food for their family. Apart from this, their paddy fields have become less fertile because of long, constant use and their farming techniques and methods are too simple to get maximum yield from their cultivated fields.

It, however, does not mean that they do not have profit when their input is compared to their output. They have profit in terms of their agricultural input and output, but they do not have enough land, resources, and appropriate technology that can support their family economically. Only three households in Khangshim and two



households in Minou have three or more acres of wet cultivated land. They are the only persons who have some kind of economic surplus by their local economic standards.

### **HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRIES:**

Villagers from Khangshim and Minou engage themselves in a number of household industries such as, basketry, weaving, pottery making, blacksmith, carpentry, etc, **primarily** for supplementing their subsistence economy. They are great basket makers. They make baskets of different shapes and sizes from the locally available bamboo and cane for different domestic purpose. They also make various kinds of fishing implements such as automatic valve trap, cage trap, plunge basket made out of the bamboo. Specially, in Khangshim and Minou villages, there are some villagers whose economy is mainly based on basket making. They don't possess any kind of land for cultivation.

**Table-3.3: Number of Households engaged in Basket Making and their income (per month) is shown below:**

Name of the Village	Income Ranges (in Rupees)			Total
	1000-1500	1500-2000	2000+	
Khangshim (Number of Households)	3	4	2	9
Minou (Number of Households)	2	0	0	2

From the above table, we could examine that there are nine households in Khangshim village and two households from Minou village whose economy is dependent on basket making. Generally, they sell the basket in town areas like Kakching, Pallel, etc, Sometimes, they sell baskets by going house to house in plain areas. The rate of basket depends on the type and size of the basket. It starts from fifty rupees to four hundred rupees.

## POTTERY MAKING. BLACKSMITH

Pottery making is another age-old household activity of these tribes. Hand made earthen jars and pots are used for various household purposes. Pottery making is not seen in these two villages since the stainless steel became very popular among them. Moreover demand for pottery is also not there in these areas.

Blacksmiths and carpenters in the context of the Khoibu and Maring society, are part time specialists who work for cash income. However, they are very few in this village. Number of villagers engaged in blacksmith and carpentry are given below.

. **Table-3.4: Number of Villagers engaged in Blacksmith and Carpentry:**

Name of the village	Blacksmith (No. of households)	Carpenter (No. of households)
Khangshim	2	4
Minou	Nil	2

From the above table, it is clear that there are only two blacksmiths and four carpenters in Khangshim village, whereas in Minou village, blacksmiths are nil and there are two carpenters. Generally, they do it as part of supplementing their family income during the off season.

A blacksmith is generally engaged in making and repairing of implements needed for various agricultural and farming operations and gets remuneration, either in cash or kind from the owners of the implements. For instance, they used to charge two to three hundreds for making a dao, sickle, spade etc. For repairing, they take fifty to hundred rupees.

The carpenters, like the blacksmiths work on payment basis for the services they render. It is, however, reported that the tribals in Manipur engage highly skilled Meitei (Manipuri) carpenters from the plains at the time of constructing schools and slightly modern houses, as the local ones are not skilled carpenters.

## **WEAVING:**

Weaving is a part of life for the tribal women in Manipur. Almost every Khoibu and Maring household has a loin loom. The girls start learning the art of weaving from their early childhood. Girls and women weave their traditional clothes in their loin loom so that their families may not face any shortage of traditional clothes for domestic as well as ceremonial use. They do not practice weaving as a means of earning cash income. Sometimes, they participate in contracts of weaving work, which is offered to them once in a year.

## **LIVESTOCK REARING:**

The animals reared are poultry, pigs, oxen, buffaloes and others such as cats, dogs etc. The particulars of the livestock for selected villages are given below.

**Table-3.5: Particulars of the Livestock for selected Villages;**

Village	Poultry	Pigs	Dogs	Cats	Oxen	Cow	Buffaloes
<b>Khangshim</b>	232 (39.6)	28 (37.3)	56 (29.3)	24 (14.5)	11 (13.9)	12 (32.4)	6 (24)
Minou	354 (60.4)	47 (62.7)	135 (70.7)	142 (85.5)	68 (86.1)	25 (67.6)	19 (76)
Total	586	75	191	166	79	37	25

Livestock rearing is part and parcel of the Khoibu and Maring agricultural economy because it not only assists them in various agricultural operations such as, tilling of soil, transportation of agricultural produce etc., but also provides basic inputs in the form of organic manure and basic source of meat and protein. It has also become a means for earning cash income for villagers as the demand for animal and poultry products has increased and market facilities for selling the products have also emerged.

The Khangshim and Minou economy centres primarily around agriculture and its allied activities such as live stock rearing on the one hand and other household crafts on the other hand. It is further supplemented by a number of seasonal and casual activities of which hunting, fishing, collecting minor forest produce and working as wage labourers are noticeable.

They occasionally perform hunting and fishing though these activities are no longer a regular means of sustaining their livelihood. The young men of the tribe go out for hunting with guns, while spear and bow and arrow are the important implements for the old folk.

Important game of hunting includes birds like wild fowls, partridges, etc. Small animals like rabbits, squirrels etc., and big animals like deer. When a big game is hunted the village chief first gets his due share and the remains are distributed among the neighbours and relatives. Birds are hunted on small scale with the help of different kinds of traps. It is reported that organized community hunting was performed in the form of a marital sport in the past. They also practiced fishing in the nearby rivers and ponds. Poisoning, angling and netting are the most important methods used by the Khoibu and Maring in fishing which is meant for household consumption. But, they do fishing only outside the villages like rivers, ponds, and small lakes etc. Because there is no scope for fishing in these two village and the villagers used to go far away from their villages.

They engage themselves in collecting minor forest produce during slack seasons when they are free from their agricultural activities. Firewood, which they generally store up for future use, is an important item of forest produce that they collect from the nearby forest. Both men and women are engaged in fetching firewood. Firewood are mainly used for coocking purpose. There are 12 households in Khangshim village using LP Gas for their cooking purpose whereas in Minou village, all the households are using only firewood for cooking.

Fruits, edible roots and tubers, and few other minor items are also collected. Working as wage labour is another subsidiary means of earning cash income for few villagers during off-season.

Another economic activity to which some **Khoibu** families and Maring families have taken recourse to is in conjunction with the primary occupation that is private businesses such as running of small and grocery shops in the village. The number of households, who get income from grocery shops and small scale business are given in the table below:

**Table-3.6:** Number of Households engaged in Grocery and Small scale Business:

Name of the Village	Grocery Shops		Small Scale Business	
	No.of Households	Income Range (in rupees)	No.of Households	Income Range (in rupees)
Khangshim	12	1500-2000	9	500-800
Minou	3	500-700	Nil	

The above table shows that there are 12 and 9 households who get income from grocery and small-scale business in Khangshim. They are more professional in these activities and their families depend on it for livelihood.

There are only 3 households running grocery shops in the Minou village. Moreover, It is not a regular type of business and shops will be closed in between 10 a.m. to 3 p.m. During these hours, villagers go for agricultural work and other activities. Besides there are two families running video parlour in Minou village where they earn minimum 50 rupees per day. They are having daily one show in the evening. Two rice mills are also functioning in the Minou village. Their income from rice mills varies from day to day. One more rice mill is also functioning in Khangshim but it is not as regular as Minou village rice mills because most of the people buy rice from the market.

Some of the Khangshim and Minou villagers are also found engaged in government services. Number of persons engaged in government services and their grade are given below:

**Table-3.7: Number of Persons engaged in Government Services and their Grade;**

Designation	Khangshim Village	Percentage	Minou Village	Percentage
Clerk (Grade III-IV)	18	39.1	10	50.0
Nurses	3	6.5	Nil	0
Teachers	15	32.6	6	30.0
Force	6	13.0	4	20.0
Officer (Grade-II)	3	6.5	Nil	0
Doctor	1	2.2	Nil	0
Total	46	9.3	20	3.6

According to the total number of households in Khangshim village, half of the families have at least one person who is engaged in government job whereas, Minou village has got very less number of government employees as compared with Khangshim village. It has great impact on village development programmes.

At the household level all the households except 18 of Khangshim village and 2 of Minou village, practice agriculture which is the primary source of livelihood. There are occupational variations at the individual level within an agricultural household. For instances, in a family the father engages himself in agriculture and

educated sons, generally, employ themselves in government services. It however, does not mean that the employed persons disengage themselves from agricultural work.

### **SAVINGS:**

The economy of the tribal people in Manipur is based on agriculture, and non-agriculture activities. There is not much surplus for savings. Their life mainly depends on rain fed agriculture. The productivity on agriculture is very low. So, most of the people are not having much surplus for saving. Some families in Khangshim and Minou village, who are government employees and landlords took insurance policies for their children in the Life Insurance Corporation, Chandel and Kakching branch. They pay premium of fixed amount every month or once in every 3 months.

**Table-3.8: The Following table shows the number of Persons who have taken Insurance in Life Insurance Corporation and the Pavments they make:**

No. of Persons		Amount per month (Rupees in range)	No. of Persons		Amount per month (Rupees in range)
Khangshim	Minou		Khangshim	Minou	
15	2	50-100	6	1	300-400
3	Nil	100-200	2	Nil	400-500
4	2	200-300	1	Nil	500 +

From the above table we can see that out of 87 households in Khangshim villages, only 31 persons are saving money whereas, in Minou village, out of 112 households, only 5 persons are saving money for their childrens and family members. Here, awareness or concept of saving money in the bank or LIC etc is not so popular, especially in Minou village. Khangshim people know about saving but due to huge

expenditure in family, majority of the villagers could not save money either in Bank or **LIC** etc.

### INDEBTEDNESS:

The chronic indebtedness probably has been and is still, is the most difficult problem faced by almost the entire tribal population of India. Consequently one of the worst forms of exploitation to which the tribal people are exposed is through traditional money lending. Barring certain areas in the North Eastern region which **were** closed to the middlemen and contractors during British rule, indebtedness is quite widespread and crushing among the entire Indian tribes.

In the study villages, some of the households are in the state of indebtedness because they do not have enough income and surplus to maintain their families. In case of emergency they get money from others. Generally people take money for expenses of treatment, starting business, construction of house, expenditure on children's education and sometimes for employment purpose etc.

Table-3.9: The Following table shows the Number of Household in **Khangshim** and **Minou** who have **taken Credit**.

Number of Households.		Amount (range in rupees)
Khangshim	Minou	
4	15	1500-2000
12	4	2000-2500
7	-	2500-3000
4	--	3000 +

Out of the 87 households in Khangshim village, only 27 people took money from moneylenders in the village whereas out of 112 households in Minou, only 19 persons are indebted. They are not repaying this amount. Generally in these villages interest rate is 5 rupees for 100/- per month.



Moreover, nobody has taken money from government agencies or traders because it involves a long process to get money and it is difficult for them to get money when they are in need of money. Besides, government agencies do not take much initiatives to supply credit to the poor people and it has been neglected by the agencies. The indebted villagers are not able to pay back, as their income is sufficient only for their daily expenses.

Hence, indebted people are more in **Khangshim**, as some of the landless villagers took credit from others to establish small-scale business and others took credit due to some emergency cases.

To sum up, Agriculture is their main occupation. They are practicing settled cultivation as well as shifting cultivation. They generally grow paddy in wet and dry lands and some area is kept for the cultivation of sugar cane and some vegetables in dry land. Income from sugar cane and selling of vegetables help them in supplementing their day to day family expenditure. Besides, they are doing labour work and small scale business in the market.

The total land holdings of Khangshim village is 68 acres in wet and 29 acres in dry land. Whereas, the total land holding of Minou village is 39.5 acres in wet land and **128** acres in dry land.

Apart from this, both the villagers are engaged in basket making, carpentry, black Smith, weaving, livestock rearing, hunting and fishing and also in the collection of minor forest products. Moreover, some of the villagers are employed in various state and central government **departments**.

**Table-3.10: Supplementary Occupations and Employment:**

Sl. No.	Type of Occupation	Kangshim Village		Minou Village	
		No.of Households	Percentage	No.of Households	Percentage
01	Basket Making	9	10.3	2	1.7

02	Carpenter	4	4.6	2	1.7
03	Black Smith	2	2.3	-	-
04	Grocery <b>shop(including Pan</b> shop)	12	13.8	3	2.6
05	Small Scale Business	3	3.4	0	
06	Employees	46	52.8	20	17.8

It is clear from the above table that villagers of Khangshim are engaged in different types of small-scale business regularly whereas people of Minou are not regularly engaged in small-scale business. Minou villagers are fully engaged in **agricultural** work rather than business.

### **POLITICAL ORGANIZATION:**

Both the villages come under the Machi block and Tengenoupal constituency of Chandel district. Both the villages have village authority council. It consists of 7 members according to the rule provided by the village authority act. There are different designations for all the members, ie., Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer and other four members. These two villages followed the hereditary system, for the selection of village **chairman.i.e.,Khullakpa.**

For the selection of other functionaries, election will be held in the village under the guidance of sub-divisional officer. Election will be conducted for every five years. But the post of Chairman (*Khullakpa*) will remain unchanged until he retired. If the *khullakpa* post is vacant, the post will be given to his son or brother.

The role of village authority is to look after the villagers' problems and other development activities in the villages. The village authority acts as the supreme legal, social and political body in the villages. Chairman enjoys social prestige and is placed first in the local heirarchy. Generally the village authority discusses the

matters relating to the village and takes the decisions, but the final decision-maker is Chairman who makes the decision based on the collective opinion of the village.

The main duties of the village authority are to maintain the social values prescribed by the society and the maintenance of law and order. For performing of functions such as Christmas festival, Good Friday, New year etc, the village authority holds meeting of the villagers. Decisions will be taken with consent of villagers.

Apart from these activities, it also deals with inter-tribal and **intra-tribal** disputes and settles them. It takes up issues like adultery, elopement, divorce, family quarrels and other incidents that would degrade the prestige of the whole **tribe** and village. If any individual violates the social norms or violates the decisions of the Village authority, it is considered as a serious offence and is punished accordingly.

Generally, in the village **authority's** meeting every one is free to express their views and urge for the justice. The village authority takes the decision or passes its judgement after hearing the complaint and explanation from both the parties. The decision of the village authority will be ultimate one and cannot be questioned. It is observed in these two villages that every individual wishes to settle matters of dispute in the purview of village authority.

Besides, the villagers take an active part in the modern political system. They play an important role during general election in their constituency. Villagers supported a candidate who belongs to Naga tribe in last Assembly election. Their politics is not based on party. It is more based on community, especially in this constituency.

### **COMMUNICATION FACILITIES:**

**Khangshim** is well connected by the road with the neighbouring town **Kakching** which is about 2 **k.m.** The nearest telephone facilities are available at Kakching town and five households in Khangshim village are having telephone facilities at home.

For telegram facility, they have to go to Imphal city which is 46 k.ms. from the village.

In Minou village communication facilities are very poor as compared to Khangshim. Truck and Lorry service is available once in a day connecting to Kakching town. Villagers are facing transport problem **during** rainy season, and it is quite difficult to run trucks or lorries in rainy season. Village main road which is going via from Machi Block to Kakching town remains in pathetic condition.

#### **AMENITIES AVAILABLE:**

Khangshim is comparatively better place as far as education and market facilities are concerned. Some of the main facilities available in Khangshim village are:

1. Small Bazar Shed
2. One Govt. Junior School/ One Private English School
3. Church Building
4. Playground
5. Community Hall
6. Waiting Shed
7. Public Latrine
8. Two ring well tubes
9. Youth Club
10. Anganwadi Centre

Besides, college and high schools are available in the Kakching town at a distance of two or three kilometres.

In Minou village too they are able to avail some modern facilities like one government school, two hand pumps, sub-branch post office, and one veterinary health care centre, play ground and Church etc.

Besides, both the villages have electricity facilities.

**Table-4.1: Number of Households Electrified in the Study Villages:**

Name of the village	Electrified households	Non <b>Electrified</b> households	Total Households in the villages
<b>Khangshim</b> village	46	41	87
Minou village	48	<b>64</b>	112
Total	94	105	199

The total households of Khangshim village is 87, out of which 41 households are not having electricity facility, whereas in Minou village, out of **112** households, 64 households are not having electricity facility at home.

Apart from this, playgrounds for kids and adults are available where they conduct village annual sports. They have general stores, bakery, tea stall etc. in both the villages.

## **CHAPTER-4**

### **DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN THE VILLAGES:**

#### **DEVELOPMENT PROGRESS IN MINOU VILLAGE:**

The Minou village is situated on hilly terrain. It came to public view in **1940s**. It is located in a forest region with the people living a nomadic but a self-sufficient life. However, with the beginning of community development programme, the village was linked to mainstream through many ways. To begin with, the Chief Commissioner of Manipur laid a footpath, which linked Machi block to Pallel. This enabled the tribes of Machi block to come in contact with others down the valley. This contact resulted in ideas of education coming to the minds of Minou villagers. These ideas lead them to construct a school, which was administered by the village **authority(Yunlhais)**. After five years of its inception, the government of Manipur adopted the school during the tenure of Naga MLA, **Mr.Haokim**. He took more initiative in this regard.

The **PWD** added to the development process by expanding the footpath to semi pucca road in 1980. Jeeps started plying from then on. It didn't stop there. The roads were widened after which trucks and lorries started plying on this road.

In 1973, a post office was established at Minou village but without proper building. The post office was largely a single man's institution with the postman's residence serving as his office. However, the setting up of post office not only strengthened the communications but also brought awareness among the villagers about the written mode of communication. But, a single person mans the post office even today. That's why villagers of Minou face many problems like late delivery of letters and unavailability of required postal items. It is not so regular as commonly seen in other plain areas.

Later on, through the welfare programmes the Minou village received few basic requirements. To begin with, establishment of Anganwadi Centre at the village, and availability of two hand pumps for drinking water, access to **electricity** facilities etc.

But, the Minou villagers still require more infrastructure to meet their daily needs and to improve their style of living.

### **DEVELOPMENT PROGRESS IN KHANGSHIM VILLAGE:**

Unlike Minou village, **Khangshim** village is situated within the vicinity of the **Kakching** town NH 39, which is connected to Moreh, passes by the side of this village. This geographical nearness gives Khangshim an advantage over Minou in terms of development and social outlook. However, village itself was established only in 1970s. Nevertheless, the development process was fast due to its special advantages listed before. The Khangshim villagers enjoy other advantages, which Minou didn't have. For instance, the literacy rate, contact with bureaucrats, and awareness of development process were at the higher level among Khangshim villagers when compared to that of Minou villagers.

Although Khangshim village had a late start when compared to Minou, the welfare programmes it received in the last 30 years are wide and rich as compared with other villages in Manipur in general. To begin with, the Bazaar shed was established in 1970s quite adjacent to the Khangshim village. This enabled the

villagers to sell their products outside. It was established to provide marketing facilities among the tribals living in this block. But major beneficiaries are the **Khangshim** villagers since it is near to the village. Some of the villagers managed to do regular types of small business in this bazaar to sustain their livelihood.

The establishment of school enhanced the development of education. Moreover, majority of the villagers were aware of the importance of education. Besides, the construction of culverts provided proper drainage system, which helped in the maintenance of hygiene around the village. Both the activities were taken up in the year 1970.

The community development programmes enriched with the setting up of infrastructure facilities in **Khangshim** village. For instance, in the year 1994, villagers constructed one public latrine cum urinal, which was financed by DRDA, Chandel district. Immediately after a gap of one year, villagers have installed three hand water pumps through local MLA fund. Subsequently, **Khangshim** people got financial support from DRDA, Chandel, to construct two ring wells in the village to provide additional water facilities. In fact, under the supervision of village Chairman, the villagers dug wells and constructed wells, and the masonry expenditure was borne by DRDA office. **Khangshim** villagers are not facing any problems with regard to the scarcity of water, which is very common in other hill areas. Besides, villagers themselves were involved in community development programmes as well. The establishment or construction of a Church building and digging of community pond are examples of such community work. The nineteen eighties (1980) witnessed the arrival of electricity supply to the village. Telephone facilities are also available in **Khangshim** village, which is also not there in many tribal villages like **Minou** village.

The financial packages of Center are meant for development of all the villages. But, the facilities available in the above two villages show an imbalance in some way or other. For instance, the villagers of **Khangshim** are obtaining more facilities like public latrine, anganwadi center building, community hall, wells etc provided by the government whereas it is not so in **Minou** Village which is located in



a remote hilly area. As stated before, very often such **distribution** of government development programmes are disturbed at many levels. These disturbances occur due to the negligence of responsible government officials or due to the partialities of the management. For instance, the administrative division of block and district don't work in proper coordination. District headquarters often appropriates the funds, which are allocated for blocks. This is because of vested interests among various groups at the district headquarters.

Besides, due to the insensitivity to administrative apparatus of the blocks, there are problems, which are inherent to the villages. Geographical condition is one such problem. In Manipur, villages are located both in the hilly terrain and in the plain as well. As we have seen in the case of Minou and Khangshim, the villages belonging to hilly terrain don't enjoy as much wealth and progress like that of the villages in the plain area. For instance, the settlement of Minou village is much older than Khangshim village. As they are easily accessible to the plain area, more educated people and development agencies are also taking interest to the Khangshim village since it is located near to NH 39. Whereas, Minou village is not easily accessible to the plain area due to poor transport facilities and development personnel are also not interested to take up development initiatives due to the "unrest problems" existing in the hill areas. The "unrest problems" in the sense that various groups of insurgents moving in the hill areas and Naga and Kuki conflict in hill areas, make the officials reluctant to reach hill villages. As a whole, hill areas like Minou village are not favourable for development activities. The difference between the socio-economic growth of Minou and Khangshim is a classical example of such differences in the growth of Manipur's tribal areas.

Prolonged negligence lead to the disfunction of many blocks for a considerable period, as in the case of Machi block. Besides, geographical nearness, there are other parameters that aid the development process. They include literacy level, their contact with government officials and presence of wealthy, educated people in the village. These factors are more crucial than allocation of finances itself. If the village has higher literacy rate and has a wealthy educated class living in it, the village will attract more development activities. The Minou village doesn't have a

powerful people to procure the development process as that of **Khangshim** village. The difference of socio-economic growth between Minou and Khangshim villages is essentially created because of these differences, i.e., hilly terrain, poor literacy, poor transport and communication, unrest problems etc.

Apart from this, the planning and development strategies for the tribal development in Manipur is common for both the hill and plain areas. There is no separate planning and development strategies for tribals who are living in the hill areas. Majority of the tribals are living in the hill areas whereas very few populations live in the plain areas. They have different kinds of lifestyles which can not be treated as common with regard to their development activities. Moreover, tribals living in plain areas are more advanced and well educated, which do not require much attention like hill people. **Even** though, the plain people were more benefited from many development programmes carried out by the government agencies that were basically meant for the poor tribals. Hence, the common planning and development strategies also led to the deprivation of majority of the tribals living in hill areas.

#### **FAMILY ORIENTED SCHEMES IMPLEMENTED IN MINOU AND KHANGSHIM VILLAGES:**

The various developmental schemes **carried** out for the benefit of tribals basically aim at narrowing down the gap between the tribal and non-tribal areas by increasing the productivity and income level of beneficiaries. For that, the two major sources of finances are the special central assistance fund and state plan outlays. The programmes under the special central assistance are under agriculture, horticulture, small-scale industries, fishery, and animal husbandry, which are mainly aimed at the economic development of the tribals. The infrastructure development programmes included water supply scheme, construction of suspension and wooden bridges, inter village road, construction of school, community hall etc. Besides this, welfare schemes comprising of the programmes dealing with the financial assistance for medical treatment, imparting training to tribal youth, and housing schemes were carried out.

This section is devoted to the developmental activities undertaken during the period between 1995 to 2001 in Minou and Khangshim villages. The following table shows the various developmental benefits received in both the villages.

**Table-4.2: Distribution of development benefits according to land ownership:**

Land ownership (plain and shifting) in acres							
Scheme Items		Land Less	0-1	1.1-2	2.1-3	3.1+	Total
HYV	KV			1	3	2	6
	MV						
Cash Crops	KV			2	2	1	5
	MV			1	1		2
Bullock & Buffaloes	KV	3		1	3	2	9
	MV	1		1			2
Piggery	KV		1		2	1	4
	MV			1			1
Bee Keeping	KV					1	1
	MV						
Fish farming	KV						
	MV				1		1
Carpentry	KV	1			3		4
	MV			1			1
Weaving	KV	1	1	3	1	2	8
	MV			1	1		2
PMRY	KV			1	1		2
	MV						
Small scale Business	KV	1		2			3
	MV			1	1		2
Housing	KV		3	3	1	2	9
	MV			2			2
Total		7	5	21	20	11	64

\* KV - Khangshim village \* MV - Minou village

The above table illustrate that there are only 64 beneficiaries in both the villages. It is observed that the share of Minou village is very less when compared with that of Khangshim village. Out of 64 beneficiaries, only 13 are from Minou village and the 51 are from Khangshim village. This shows the apathy towards hill villagers with regard to developmental benefits. This table clearly shows that landless and farmers with marginal holdings received less number of development benefits.

### **AGRICULTURE:**

In Minou and Khangshim village, we find that **agriculture** represents a peculiar mix of tradition and modernity. **Agriculture** of this area is subsistence agriculture

The steps that were taken up primarily to increase agricultural production in Machi block during 95-2001 include:

1. Better irrigation facilities
2. Application of improved seed and their distribution
3. Encouragement of the use of fertilizer and plant protection, etc.

To follow up these measures, government started taking up soil conservation schemes. In 95-96 a check dam was constructed at Khangshim village. The purpose was to store the water, which comes from the hill stream, and divert it to the fields through the canals, so that the beneficiary may go for wet cultivation and also enable him to do double cropping system. But the real situation in the village is quite opposite to the above statement of development agency. For the construction of check dam, materials were provided to villagers by the government officials and the villlage Chairman was asked to employ labourers from village by paying day wage money. The Chairman informed villagers about the construction and started working with the guidance of officials. Though work was finished within two months, the labourers did not receive their wages for one year. Taking all risks, Chairman went to meet officials in Chandel D.C. office and informed about the non-release of wage money. Immediately after a week, villagers got their wages of around Rs.200 for each individual who participated in the construction programme. Around 27 villagers participated in the construction of check dam.

When it comes to utilization of check dam, it could not be utilized by the villagers as the check dam could not store water in the rainy season, due to poor quality of the materials used in the construction of dam and unskilled work. Another reason for the failure of utilization of check dam was due to the construction of the dam directly facing to the speedy flow of water during rainy season. This was totally ignored by the concerned irrigation department official of Chandel district. After 1 ½ year of its construction, the checkdam was washed away by the heavy flow of the stream. It was found difficult and very expensive to construct check dam in hilly terrain. It requires more water and extra labour than what is actually required in plain area. Due to government's failure to construct such dams, most of the agricultural practices in these areas are totally dependent on rainfall. They couldn't practice double cropping in these areas since there are no proper water facilities.

In addition to this, efforts were made to replace the low yielding variety with high yielding variety of crops. The Minou and Khangshim villagers mainly cultivate food crops as they produced mainly for their consumption. Rice is staple food of the people and other main crops are maize, potatoes, cabbage, parkia (yongchak), sugar cane, ginger, groundnut, etc.

High yielding variety of paddy (Thoibi Phau, KDI, Maming thondabi etc) was introduced by Agriculture department in the year 1994, to increase the rice production of Manipur farmers. During that time, 4 persons from Khangshim village were distributed HYV seed by the agriculture department, Chandel district. They tried HYV on their Jhum fields. After harvest they found that the output of paddy was below their expectation. That made them to fall back to the earlier type, which was very much suitable for jhum land and they are continuing it till today. Actually, HYV seed is meant for the plain cultivation. But jhum cultivators inspired by the lucrative outcome of using HYV by plain cultivators, also started using HYV. Infact, the process of cultivation in plains area is of two types i.e., sowing and broadcasting. But sowing cannot be done in hill areas whereas broadcasting is done in jhum cultivation. Due to the similarity in broadcasting, farmers thought that HYV can be applied to their jhum land. That's why jhum cultivators preferred to use HYV which

is not appropriate for them to cultivate in jhum land without a proper cross checking. After the huge failure experienced by the villagers in the jhum land, they are coming back to the earlier crops like, Ralthang, Sayang , Yang, Chingchang, Chatang, Chardans etc.

The following case studies of farmers will provide, some of the problems of using high yielding variety in the jhum land. Modan, 45 years old is from Khoibu tribe living in Khangshim village. He cultivates 2 ½ acres of Jhum land, and got HYV seed (paddy) from agriculture department, Chandel. He took help from one of his friends working in the Agriculture department as a clerk. In fact, he spent roughly one hundred rupees on travelling and other expenses for this scheme. He got one bag of HYV seed after two months of the scheme announcement. Later, he broadcast all the HYV seed in one acre of jhum land. But he didn't take care of the plants when they started growing. Due to improper caring of HYV plants, it was severely affected by insects when the paddy started flowering. At that time too he didn't consult any experts about protection of paddy from insects. Therefore, Modan could get very meagre quantity of crop, which is very much less than previous year's crop. As result of this, his family faced problem of insufficiency of food for consumption. Afterwards, he never tried this scheme.

**Koshel:** He migrated from Khoibu Khullen few years back and still engaged in jhum cultivation. He cultivated 2 acres of jhum land and got HYV scheme through his brother working at Chandel DC office. He didn't spend any money for this scheme, because as all the official processes were taken care by his brother. Consequently, he cultivated HYV in 1 ½ acre of jhum land with lots of expectation. In fact, he also faced the same problem of not being able to afford to buy fertilizer which is a basic requirement for this type of HYV crops. Besides there was no rain when the paddy started flowering. Due to these problems he could get only 10 sack bags (one sack bag is equal to forty kgs.) of paddy from HYV variety. Earlier he used to get minimum 20 sack bags. As narrated by the informants, these varieties of crops ( Thoibi Phou, K.D.1 and Mamming thondabi ) are not suitable for jhum land, and it adds more trouble to jhum farmers.

Solomon: He is also practicing **jhum** cultivation at Khoibu khullen, and once tried HYV crops in his jhum field. He got the seeds with the help of village Chairman and spent 250 rupees on getting the seeds. It took four months for him to get the seeds from Agricultural department, Chandel. According to him, the officer had given instructions about the plantation of this HYV seeds in the field. He followed the instructions given by the agro-officer at the time of plantation. Besides, he applied fertilizer and pesticide in jhum land. After the harvest, he found that the quantity was very less than earlier crops. But he spent more money on this HYV cultivation than earlier crops. Therefore, he felt that it is waste of money to go for this variety. He also reverted back to the earlier local variety of crops.

From the above case studies, it is clear that reason for not getting high yield among the beneficiaries are due to jhum cultivation. Jhum cultivation is one of the major factor responsible for deterioration of forest and ecological balance. Moreover, after sowing of HYV paddy (Thoibi, KDI, Maming thondabi), it required follow up steps like timely application of chemical fertilizer and pesticide for better yield. These HYV varieties are only suitable for wet cultivation. Generally villagers don't go for fertilizers especially in jhum cultivation, and most of the people cannot afford to buy. Moreover, HYV sowing should be done at appropriate time and fertilizer should be used at suitable period. Water supply is quite necessary in time. Since people are dependent upon the rainfall, it is unthinkable to get water in time. Jhum soil is not suitable for these varieties.

Inspite of all these problems, HYV benefited the villagers who are economically sound and practiced plain cultivation in the villages. These varieties i.e., Thoibe Phou, KDI, Maming thondabi are very much suitable for plain cultivation where fertilizers and pesticides are used extensively.

The villagers informed that some of the villagers tried HYV again in their plain fields, after HYV failed to produce good quantity at jhum area. They were very much inspired by plain farmers, as it was very popular among farmer in plain areas. As a result of this, villagers sowed the seed in a part of their plain fields under the guidance of a plain farmer living at Kakching town. After harvest, the villagers found that the

produce was more than that of earlier variety. Consequently, these varieties became very popular among Minou and Khangshim. There are some selective case studies, which provide how the villagers got benefited from HYV introduced by government agencies.

**Sangraman** is living in Khangshim village. He is an employee in the veterinary department, Chandel. He possess 2 acres of wet land in plain area and maintains close relationship with other plain people. He came to know about the HYV through his official friends and got it from MTDC within two months. After that, he sowed HYV in his field. Besides, he had taken all the steps which are required for HYV. He spent around 600 rupees on fertilizers and Rs.200 on pesticides. Consequently, he hired a labourer for removing unwanted plants from the field. After harvesting, he found that the paddy crops was 15 bags more than what actually he used to get before. Thus, he is continuing with HYV.

**T. Angdong:** He belongs to Maring tribe, and is living in Minou village. Angdong is working as a teacher and possess 3 acres of land in plain area. He was inspired by other plain farmers about HYV. He bought seeds from a plains farmer and cultivated on his land. He also followed the same steps that other plains farmers carry. Application of fertilizer and pesticide was done for his plains field. Besides, he spent Rs.600/- for clearing unwanted plants from the paddy field. As expressed by the informant, he got very satisfied with yield of crops. As of now, HYV crops are very popular among the villagers who are practicing plains cultivation.

**Koshang:** Chairman of Khangshim village and his educational qualification is B.A. degree. One of his sons is a doctor and other two sons are studying B.Tech. He has 3 ½ acres of plain land. In fact, he tried HYV paddy in jhum land but it was not successful. After that, he got HYV paddy seeds from MTDC, Imphal. He didn't spend much amount on this scheme as he was familiar with officials. Initially, he tried HYV only in one acre of his land because he was not confident of getting more yield from this variety. He spent around Rs.2000/- on the fertilizers, pesticides and labour charges. After harvesting he was very much satisfied with yield, and he has been continuing with this variety. As told by him, the taste of rice is also good.



Considering these above case studies, HYV seeds gave successful results to the villagers. But, these HYV varieties gave benefit only to some villagers who possess land in plain area, and can afford to use chemical fertilizer. Majority of the tribals are practicing jhum cultivation which is their way of life, and are not benefited by introduction of HYV among the Minou and Khangshim villagers. There are 25 households practicing jhum cultivation out of 87 total households in Khangshim village whereas 106 households are practicing jhum cultivation out of total 112 households in Minou village. The extent of jhum land in Khangshim village is 29 acres, and 128 acres in Minou village. Generally, majority of the tribals are practicing jhum cultivation and sustaining their life. And HYV is introduced to improve the production level of the poor farmers and it failed to provide benefits to the poor tribals who are engaged in jhum cultivation. These varieties of seeds were introduced by the government agencies without taking into consideration of jhum land condition and its suitability. That's why, it couldn't provide benefit among the jhum farmers. According to the villagers, government agencies are not taking much initiative to improve the productivity level of jhum farmers, which constitute major population of Manipur tribals. If this situation continues for long time, it will automatically lead to widening gap between poor tribals and other elites.

In this regard, it is necessary to take up jhum control measures suitable to the tribals. Another problem is the absence of individual ownership of land in the hill areas as the land in the hill areas belong to the community or village chiefs. Only a very small area is owned by some individual tribal families, especially in plain areas. Suitable land tenure system has to be evolved for introducing land ownership for permanent improvement of the land by the individuals. Once government made an attempt to introduce permanent land ownership and started identifying jhum land with the help of survey conducted by Revenue Department during 1993. Unfortunately, it could not continued and remained incomplete due to kuki/ Naga conflict, and insurgency in hill areas. After that the government did not make any further attempt to conduct survey in the hill areas due to insurgency problems. These problems really hindered the pace of development in Manipur's tribal areas in all aspects.

### CASH CROPS:

There are some changes we can notice in **jhum** cultivation. Because of soil erosion and increase in population, they are unable to get more returns from jhum practices. The paddy cultivation in jhum field takes more time to get yield. Under the influence of other non-tribal people who are cultivating cash crops, the tribals too started cultivating other cash crops like vegetables, potatoes, yongchak, banana, sugar cane, maize, etc., in jhum area, and leaving half of the area for paddy cultivation, for the consumption of family. Cultivation of these cash crops help to supplement their income throughout the year by selling them in plains market.

The inception of **Manipur** Tribal Development Corporation(MTDC) and Directorate for Development of Tribal and Backward Classes(DDTBC) have given a new thrust to the development of the tribal people. Through these agencies several schemes were implemented. In the Minou and Khangshim villages, seven persons got benefit from these agencies, and benefits given to them are for cultivation of sugarcane, potato, ginger and maize. Of the developmental benefits received in these two villages, five persons were from Khangshim village and two persons were from Minou village. The share of Minou village is less as seen in the table shown below:

**Table-4.3: Showing the Number of Cash Crop Beneficiaries from these two Villages:**

Items	Minou	Khangshim
Maize	-	1
Sugarcane	1	2
Potato	-	1
Ginger	1	1
Total	2	5

The developmental benefits distributed in these two villages have not really benefited all the beneficiaries. There are lots of problems involved in these schemes. The following case study shows the kind of problems, and difficulties come across by beneficiaries.

T. Kodon is an attendant in PWD, Chandel district. He is living in **Khangshim** village for the past ten years. He had migrated from **Khoibu Khullen** where majority of the **Khoibu** tribals live. He came to know about the schemes implemented by **MTDC**, through his personal contact with officials working in **MTDC**. With the help of official friends, he received a scheme, a loan of **Rs.4000/-** to start sugarcane cultivation. But the amount he actually received was rupees **Rs.2500/-** only. In this way, he revealed that the total amount sanctioned for the beneficiaries were never received. Only half of the amount is received and it is a serious problem faced by beneficiaries. Moreover, it took one year for him to get the sanction of this scheme. He went to meet officials several times for the small amount. Then, the money which he got from **MTDC** for sugar cane cultivation was spent on consumption purpose like family maintenance, and was not used for the real purpose.

Even if he wants to take up sugar cane cultivation, he knows that it requires a lot of hard work, labour and **one** person to look after the sugar cane field. It is highly impossible for him to meet all the requirements of sugar cane cultivation since he himself is an employee. That made him to misuse the scheme provided by the officials. Thus, sugar cane scheme has not really benefited him. Like him, other beneficiaries too misused the scheme money in various ways, i.e., treatment of children, family consumption etc.

There is one individual who really benefited from the same scheme. **Kothel** is a rich **Maring** tribal who lives in **Minou** village. He was provided sugar cane scheme with a loan of **Rs.4000/-**. However, he managed to get only three thousand rupees from that amount of **Rs.4000/-**, with the help of village Chairman. He cultivated sugarcane in part of his field. After harvesting, he could earn **Rs. 15,000/-** from the sugar cane cultivation. The total amount he spent for whole process of sugar cane cultivation was roughly six thousand, which includes wage labour, fertilizer etc. He is the only beneficiary who really benefited from the sugar cane scheme provided by **MTDC** and is still continuing sugar cane cultivation.

Actually, sugar cane is sold in Imphal or Kakching markets for making sugar cane juice. The villagers have good contact with Non-Manipuris (Mayang), who sell sugar cane juice in the town markets. Some villagers make chuhi (kind of thick juice which is made up from the sugar cane juice, by boiling it for hours together). This juice (chuhi) can be kept for a long time and can be sold to other villagers whenever the owner requires money. This juice (chuhi) is widely used for making different types of traditional sweets in Manipur. It has popular demand throughout the year.

Regarding ginger and potato provided by MTDC, were also not successful due to late supply of items. As told by beneficiaries they got 1 bag of ginger and 2 bags of potato to cultivate in their respective fields. But they couldn't do the cultivation, since Ginger and potatoes are generally cultivated before or after paddy cultivation. Due to the delay in supply of these commodities, they were given during the cultivation of paddy crops. So, the farmers had to wait for another six or seven months for cultivating the Ginger and Potatoe. They need to be preserved in safe place to prevent from spoiling. This is also a time and labour consuming practice. This lead them to sell these items to others instead of cultivating themselves.

It is seen from the case study of Thomas, an illiterate farmer who is forty one years old, belongs to Maring tribe living in Minou village. He owns two acres of jhum land and one acre of wet land. He got two bags of potatoes from MTDC with the help of village chairman. After getting the potatoes, he has to keep them in a safe place until the harvesting got over. Actually, he lives in thatch house which is a congested one. There is no proper place to keep potatoes in his house. That is why, he sold it to other villagers and got one thousand rupees. As narrated by him, the money was used for his family consumption. Considering these problems, appropriate timing and season for particular item has to be taken into consideration very seriously. Otherwise, it is difficult to see positive impact of these development scheme in tribal areas.

From the above discussion, it is understood that development agencies have provided few agriculture and allied development schemes to promote the agricultural products of the poor farmers. Unfortunately, it could not provide real benefit to the poor tribal

families since the agriculture schemes were not suitable for the jhum farmer. In fact, government has failed to take up jhum control measure in the hill areas. Considering these facts, their agriculture development has been static and still remain to continue for long time without much change and improvement. Similarly, cash crop schemes also failed to result in significant improvement among the beneficiaries due to improper implementation and lack of proper management of the schemes. Therefore, these schemes had been distributed to the undeserving clients, at the same time deprived the deserving clients who were capable of doing such cultivation.

Above all, these programmes mostly benefited the tribal elites who are practicing settled agriculture in both the villages. Moreover, poor tribals are totally neglected from getting such schemes. The schemes implemented for the upliftment of the poor tribals are giving more benefits to the economically better off families, instead of serving poor tribal families. It can be highlighted that planning and strategies for tribal development in Manipur lack proper initiatives and understanding of the tribals living conditions. Because, most of the agriculture schemes launched in Manipur are generally in tune with the plain lifestyle and it is not fit into the hill areas. To develop tribals in Manipur, it is necessary to initiate agriculture scheme related to jhum cultivation.

#### **ANIMAL HUSBANDRY:**

Animal husbandry is one of most important bases for development of tribal economy in Machi block as the hilly terrain and nature of soil is not very conducive for agriculture. The tribals by nature are non-vegetarians and they prefer rearing animals.

Taking into consideration these factors, government paid attention to animal husbandry among the development programmes undertaken in these areas, For increasing their breeds, pigs, bullocks and buffaloes etc., were distributed. Benefits that were distributed in the villages are given below:

#### **BULLOCKS AND BUFFALOES:**

Both bullocks and buffaloes are very important animals for agriculture. For poor tribal farmers, it is difficult to purchase bullocks or buffaloes on their own. Distribution of bullocks and buffaloes among land owning households of Minou and Khangshim villages was carried out by various departments. The table shows that Khangshim villagers are the most benefited:

**Table-4.4: Showing the Number of Beneficiaries of Bullocks and Buffaloes Scheme Provided by Development Agencies.**

<b>Scheme</b> Items	Minou	Khangshim	Total
Bullocks	-	3	3
Buffaloes	2	6	<b>8</b>
Total	<b>2</b>	9	11

Under this scheme, bullocks and buffaloes were to be given to farmers having terrace or plain land, not less than one acre. In Minou village, 18 families are possessing not less than one acre land in plains area, and 20 families in Khangshim village.

Altogether, there are only **11** beneficiaries from both the villages. Out of the **11**, four beneficiaries don't possess a single piece of land in plain area. There are 38 households, which are in need of bullocks and buffaloes. Out of the 38, only 7 households were **able** to get assistance from the government authorities in the form of bullocks and buffaloes. Some of the case studies have been discussed to explain the problems of **beneficiaries**.

Thelhei is forty five years old Maring, living in the Minou village. He possessed one and half acres of wet land. With help of chairman of Minou village, he **could-get** two buffaloes from **IRD**P Chandel, in 1996. He spent around five hundred rupees for running after the officials and to get the scheme. It took four months to get the scheme. Unfortunately, he couldn't get benefit from the buffaloes because they died in the young age. The reason for the death of buffaloes were due to illness and he did not take proper care when they were young. Moreover, he did not take any suggestion

from the official experts in the rearing of buffaloes. Therefore, he couldn't draw any benefits from the IRDP scheme.

Mocha, forty one years old, belongs to Khangshim village and he does not have land in the plain area. But he managed to get the scheme with the help of his friend working in District Commissioner office, Chandel. He spent eight hundred rupees for bribing the officers since he doesn't have land in plain area. He got the scheme after five months of the scheme's announcement. He reared the buffaloes provided by officials until they grew up perfectly. Because nobody is interested to buy buffaloes when they are young. It requires lot of care for feeding them. At last, he sold it to other villagers and got twelve thousand rupees. As told by the informant, the money was used for repairing his house.

Thelheiran is fifty three years old Khoibu tribal migrated from Khoibu Khullen ten years back. He is a teacher in Machi high school. He has good relations with BDO Machi Block. He possessed two acres of land in plain area. After the scheme's announcement, he applied through BDO Machi Block. He got the scheme without much effort in the sense that he did not spend money for the scheme. All the process was done by Block officer. He is rearing those buffaloes provided by officials and using them for agricultural work. As narrated by the informant, he is planning to sell them next year for his daughter's marriage. He is expecting to get fifteen thousand rupees from those buffaloes.

It is clear that selection of beneficiaries is based on corruption, personal contacts with officials and good rapport with Chairman of the village. In the 8 pairs of buffaloes provided to the beneficiaries, 2 pairs died due to illness as explained in the above case study. Besides, other four beneficiaries who did not possess land in plain area resorted to selling them to other villagers. Actually, distribution of buffaloes/bullocks should be given more attention rather than spending money on other schemes, because beneficiaries could earn something out of this scheme, either by selling them to the butchers for meat or to be used in agricultural work. Moreover illness or sickness is rare to the bullocks and buffaloes in these villages. There are 79 bullocks and 23 buffaloes in both the villages. Most of them were purchased on their

own without approaching government officials. Apart from this, villagers consumed meat or beef extensively during Christmas or marriage ceremonies etc. Moreover, distribution of bullocks/ buffaloes scheme doesn't conflict with any seasonal cycle, bullocks/ buffaloes can be used both the way i.e., consumption or agriculture work.

### **PIGGERY SCHEME:**

Consumption of pork is very popular and it has strong demand in market of Manipur state. In this context, piggery scheme has been one of the important schemes for the development of tribals as part of supplementary income.

Considering the situation, government started implementing piggery scheme through different agencies like, **IRD**P, MTDC, DDTBC, animal husbandry department etc., during different plan periods. As a result of the scheme undertaken by the government agencies, five villagers were given piggery scheme in the form of 6 piglets each. Out of the 5 beneficiaries, only one household in Minou village got assistance from government agencies. **Khangshim** villagers are the most benefited in most of the schemes implemented by government agencies as compared to Minou village.

**Unfortunately**, this scheme has not really benefited the beneficiaries as the pigs died in an early age. Rearing of pigs need special knowledge and regular attention from veterinary doctor. Villagers don't take much attention especially in giving prepared feeds at the young age. The piglets that were distributed in these villages could not survive due to improper feeding, lack of awareness about diseases etc. Beneficiaries told that instead of this piglets, agencies should give middle aged pigs which don't require much attention like piglets. Generally, villagers are not able to take special care of animals since they are engaged in various kinds of agricultural works and wage labour throughout the year.

The following case study will show how one recipient got benefit from piggery scheme:



Moshang: (Khoibu tribe) lives in **Khangshim** village. He was provided 5 piglets by veterinary department, Chandel district. One of his brother is working in veterinary department and used to get necessary medicine for piglets to protect them from diseases etc. He kept them in a pigsty which was constructed at a cost of Rs.500/-. He regularly got piglets food from his brother's office, free of cost. After some months, one pig died due to illness and remaining four grew up perfectly. Then, he sold them in Kakching town market where demand for pork is more and earned fourteen thousand rupees from sale. After that he started rearing them. During the study period he was rearing 6 pigs which were brought from plain area.

### **BEE KEEPING:**

Bee keeping scheme was implemented in this area to promote the honey production from local available resources. In fact, Chairman of Khangshim village was provided bee keeping scheme by **IRDP** during 1999 which supplied five boxes and one extractor. He got bees from one of his friend who lives in Khoibu Khullen. Generally, bees are easily available in the tribal villages. He managed to get honey from them and used it for his family. He is continuing bee keeping at home. The honey he is getting is just sufficient for his family consumption. This scheme did not give positive result on large scale.

The officials never take into consideration the eligibility criteria of beneficiary and suitable area for any particular scheme. The following case study shows the carelessness of officials with regard to suitability of area for a particular scheme. Toshelngam, a Maring lives in Minou village. He was provided a scheme for fish farming by fishery department, Chandel district. The Department provided the scheme in the form of cash of Rs.3000/-, to start fish farming. Money was spent on family expenditure and others since there is no scope for fish farming. Infact, people of Minou village are not having any sort of water facilities where they can do fish farming. Moreover, water is a serious problem in this village for their daily requirements at home. Hence, there is no scope for fish farming in this village. He managed to get the fishery scheme with the help of village Chairman.

Over all, the animal husbandry schemes provided to the villagers have yielded considerably results as compared with agricultural department schemes. It was observed that beneficiaries were able to earn thousands of rupees from these schemes except in few cases. Moreover, they could utilize it for their agriculture purpose. Infact, these schemes have more scope for getting successful results in these areas since tribals are using them for multiple purposes. Besides, it is failed to give benefit to the poor tribals. Only the persons who are skilled in bribing officials and influence the officials seems to be the most eligible applicants for any type of scheme implemented by government agencies in Manipur.

### **EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING PROGRAMMES:**

The tribals are industrially very backward, because of poor means of communication, inaccessibility of the area, poverty and backwardness of the people. Industries have not been attracted to these areas. For their industrial development, therefore, a determined effort and a comprehensive programme is required. The industrialists and entrepreneurs will not be attracted to these areas unless there are both incentives and compulsions (Verma, Y.M. 1986: 87).

In Machi block there is scope for establishment of small scale industries. So far, nothing has been done from government side. Since it is located within the forest area, it has rich natural resources. Therefore, forest based small scale industries can be established.

Subsidiary occupations for the majority of the tribal people are small and village industries. Under this sector of development, tribal families are provided with training in knitting, tailoring, and carpentry. Besides, under the self employment schemes, a grocery shop, tea stall, and small scale business were also provided by various government agencies. All the activities that were distributed in both the villages are discussed below:

### **CARPENTRY:**

In the year 1999, carpentry training had been introduced to the tribal people in district headquarters and forty people from different tribal villages were trained under TRYSEM. However, out of 40 trainers, only 35 continued till the end of the training. Trainees have been provided Rs.200 as stipend during their training period. Duration of the training was only for two months.

Under this scheme, carpentry instruments (Horai, **Aramdan**, **Paija** etc) were issued to those who have received training under TRYSEM. Carpentry instruments were provided to 4 persons in **Khangshim** village and one person in Minou village. This scheme was expected to provide good income to each carpenter since there is a lot of demand for wooden furniture, construction of houses in hills and plains area. Unfortunately these people who got benefitted under TRYSEM are not able to derive income from carpentry work because they cannot compete with the plain people due to lack of skill and improper training provided in a very short period.

Kodon is thirty-nine years old. He is a Khoibu tribe living in Khangshim village. He got the carpentry scheme through village chairman. He is not able to earn livelihood from this occupation. Even then, he is doing it as a part-time job and making minor furniture works at home. He used to do furniture work like, making tables, chairs, cots for ordinary use, which doesn't require much technical skill. Infact he is not doing it regularly. He spends more time in agricultural work rather than in carpenter work. Because, it was difficult to manage his family expenditure with carpentry occupation.

If there is need of carpenter for construction of house or any kind of furniture, the villagers of Khangshim and Minou prefer to go to plains area carpenter who is expert in this field for the past ten/ twelve years. Due to these reasons, the trainee carpenters from TRYSEM are coming back to the agriculture labour or other activities as they couldn't make a living out of carpentry. But, beneficiaries were able to do minor furniture works during odd season for villagers who could not afford to go for plains carpenter. For example, construction of school building at Minou village is done by plains carpenter along with one local beneficiary of carpentry scheme

assisting him. These beneficiaries have been working as an assistant for the plain carpenters and getting a meager amount. This is not on a regular basis.

### **WEAVING:**

Under the weaving and knitting schemes, tribals in Minou and Khangshim were provided benefits in cash and kind. For poor tribal women it is difficult to buy weaving machines on their own. Since the tribal women in Manipur are well known experts in weaving activities. It was aimed at promoting local women to engage regularly in weaving occupation. Besides, they could earn some income from this activity to supplement their families expenditures.

**Table-4.5: The Following Table Presents the Distribution of Weaving Scheme among Tribal Women of Minou and Khangshim Villages:**

NAME	YEAR	CASH/ KIND	AGENCIES	UTILI- SATION	VILLAGE
Tongmunshang	1995	Rs5000	DDTBC	House construction	Khangshim Village
Tongmunshang	<b>1999</b>	<b>Rs3500</b>	DRDA	Family expenditure	-do-
<b>Kooha</b>	1999	Rs3000	DRDA	Health/ treatment	<b>-do-</b>
Bongueishang	1995	Rs4000	<b>IRDP</b>	Family expenditure	-do-
Thelhuiran	1997	Machine	Khadi Board	Benefited	-do-
<b>Khamran</b>	1999	<b>Rs3000</b>	DRDA	Tea stall	-do-
Thelhei	1999	<b>Rs3000</b>	DRDA	Family expenditure	-do-
<b>Kochame</b>	1999	Machine	Khadi Board	Benefited	-do-
<b>Kanreita</b>	1999	<b>Rs3000</b>	DRDA	Family expenditure	-do-
Rita	1996	Rs2500	<b>IRDP</b>	Family	Minou

				expenditure	Village
Thoine	1999	Rs3000	DRDA	Cultivation	-do-

It is evident from the above table on the development scheme of weaving implemented in Khangshim and Minou villages, the share of Minou is very less when compared with that of Khangshim village. Out of the ten beneficiaries, only two are from Minou village. Khangshim villagers are the most benefited in this scheme. However, majority of the beneficiaries did not utilize the scheme for actual purpose since the beneficiaries were provided in the form of cash. Tribal families are always in need of money and they utilized the money for their family purpose in various ways, i.e., treatment, running tea stall, house construction etc. Majority of them don't even know actual amount of the scheme which was supposed to be given to one beneficiary. All the execution was done by village Chairman. Some of the case studies are given below to understand the utilization of money by the beneficiaries.

Kocha, a Khoibu living in the Khangshim village applied for the weaving scheme on behalf of his wife. He applied for the scheme with the help of chairman and spent five hundred rupees on getting the scheme. Later, he got from the scheme, rupees three thousand. He expressed that the actual amount must be more than four thousand, but he never tried to find out the actual money. He was happy with the three thousand rupees sanctioned by the officials. With regard to utilization of the scheme money, he couldn't use the money for buying weaving machine for his wife. He used the money for his wife's operation. As expressed by his wife, she could undergo an operation with the help of weaving scheme money. Otherwise her life was under threat.

Tongmunshang belongs to Kahngshim village. She is educated up to class ten. She is living with her husband and two children. Her husband has good relation with village chairman as well as with officials. She got the weaving scheme twice i.e., once in 1996 from DDTBC and another one in 1999 from DRDA. According to her, she got five thousand rupees from DDTBC and three thousand rupees from DRDA. But she couldn't buy weaving machine for the actual purpose of the scheme despite getting

benefited two times. The first five thousand was utilized for the construction of her house and later one spent on family expenditure. She further said that none of the officials came to her for checking about the utilization of scheme.

As narrated by beneficiaries, it is difficult to get any kind of scheme without serious help of village Chairman. Once the scheme got sanctioned, none of the officials came to the village for inspection or inquiry about beneficiaries' work. There are two beneficiaries in **Khangshim** village who do weaving and supplement their family economy from their earnings.

Here, one of the beneficiary's case study is discussed, **Kochame** is thirty two years old and she is a **Khoibu** living in the Khangshim village. She studied up to intermediate. She acquired a good skill of weaving and she was provided weaving machine by the Khadi Board, Imphal in the year 1999. She got the scheme with help of her father's friend working in the Khadi Board. She has been actively engaged in weaving work. During the summer, she used to make ladies blouses and sell them to villagers and local merchants. Apart from this, She is also making sweaters in winter season. From these activities, she has been earning minimum two thousand rupees per month. It is always felt that providing weaving machine to the beneficiaries instead of giving money is always better in long run. Moreover, same schemes are being **implemented** by various agencies, leading to overlapping of programmes. Some times one could benefit two and three times in one particular scheme. Therefore, it is very necessary to specify particular department, to look after the specific scheme which will be provided to beneficiaries as to avoid the overlapping of programmes from departments like DRDA, MTDC, DDTBC etc.

All these agencies are implementing the same kind of schemes without proper coordination. It leads to the maximum benefit to some particular group or villages who have more access to the officials in various departments. That's why, it is seen that Minou villagers got very less benefit in any schemes when compared to that of Khangshim villagers.

#### **PRIME MINISTERS' ROJGAR YOJANA:**

The scheme was launched on the auspicious day of 2<sup>nd</sup> **Oct,1993** the birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, all over the country. The main objective of the PMRY scheme was to provide easy subsidized financial assistance to educated unemployed youth for starting their own enterprises in **manufacturing**, business and services etc. The scheme was started in Manipur in the year 1994. According to the Directorate of Commerce and **Industries**, so far more than 7900 educated unemployed youth have been assisted through the scheme. In **Khangshim** village, there are two persons who got PMRY scheme provided by the Manipur Government.

The following are the case studies of the beneficiaries under PMRY scheme.

Shelthang is a graduate of **Khoibu** tribe. During 1995-1996, he applied for PMRY by taking help of tribal welfare Minister. After one year of struggle for this scheme, he was provided with rupees one lakh as capital to start a small business. But the amount he actually received was Rs.90,000/- only. Out of Rs.90,000/- he spent Rs.40,000/- on construction of house and remaining Rs.50,000/- was invested in grocery shop. Grocery shop functioned for one year with meager profits because there were very few customers. The shop was not popular among the villagers. In fact, it was difficult for him to attract customers due to dominance of other grocery shops which have been functioning for long time. Later on, he could not continue grocery shop for long due to his ill health and less profit.

One more example is given below where PMRY scheme given to a villager failed. **Hoime**, a khoibu lives in Khangshim village. He made only one attempt to get PMRY, offered by Manipur government. Some how, he could get the sanction of **Rs. 1,00,000/-** to start a business. After getting this money, he bought one second hand mini bus and started operating from Kakching to Pallel. From this service, he started earning good amount of money. Later on, the bus met with an accident and there was some casualty also. Because of this accident, he needed huge amount of money to repair. But due to unavailable of the required money, he was forced to stop bus service. Then, he sold it to another person. In general PMRY scheme spent lots of money for unemployed youth, but success rate of this scheme is very low. As mentioned by the two informants, as per the guidelines all the selected candidates

under PMRY have to undergo training. The concerned officials have to provide the training to the candidates by making the necessary arrangement. But in practice, there was no such training given to selected candidates. Once the scheme is sanctioned, the relationship between candidates and officials ended. There is no further enquiry about the progress of the candidates. This is also one reason for not getting successful results. However, at least two youths in Khangshim village were able to get the PMRY scheme, but none of the youth from Minou village got this scheme provided by the Manipur government. There are number of youths in Minou village who really deserved to get PMRY scheme provided by government. But due to unawareness among the youth regarding the scheme and lack of influential persons in the village, no one could get a single benefit from PMRY scheme. Generally, Minou village has been neglected in every aspect of development activities taken up by government agencies. Some of the youth in Minou village know about the PMRY scheme, but they felt that it is waste of time and money, since they don't have powerful person to get the scheme. These type of activities force the youth into depression, which again is dangerous for the present day situation. In this case, these type of schemes create more problems rather than giving benefit to the unemployed youth especially in Manipur.

#### **SMALL SCALE BUSINESS:**

Under self employment schemes, financial assistance is given to tribals of Manipur. Coming to Minou and Khangshim villages, two persons in Minou and 3 persons in Khangshim were provided assistance for starting small scale business. With the financial assistance provided by **IRDP**, each beneficiary started running pan shops and tea stall respectively. This scheme is expected to provide good income to its beneficiary and they could sustain their livelihood. Beneficiaries who are running pan shop and tea stall at Khangshim village are doing good business but its quite opposite in Minou village as two beneficiaries in this village are not able to get income out of this business since there are very less customers. That's why, they stopped running the shop in the village and started engaging themselves in wage labour to earn their day to day family expenditure.



**Kopham**, thirty nine years old, belongs to Minou village and is living with his wife and three children. He applied for small scale business scheme with the help of village chairman. He got the sanction of five thousand rupees to start a small scale business. He spent one thousand rupees for running after the officials. Immediately after getting the scheme, he started one pan cum grocery shop in his village. Unfortunately, he couldn't get profit from this business. As narrated by the informant, most of the villagers used to buy their daily requirements from town Markets since they often visit the plain areas. Besides, he was not able to sell at less or equal price than the market price. Generally, villagers come to his shop when they need something very urgently. Moreover, **during** 10 a.m to 4 p.m, nobody visits his shop since villagers are engaged in the field. Even then, he used to sit throughout the day without any customers. He continued for six months in the same fashion, after that he closed the shop due to less income and started working in his field as well as a wage labour in other's field.

The above case study reveals the need to assess the suitability and feasibility of programmes before implementing them in tribal village. **In** spite of the above, these types of schemes are more suitable for Khangshim village since it is situated near NH 39 and lots of people gather in this area. Thus, these types of business are doing well especially in Khangshim village. The case study of one beneficiary who got benefited from this scheme is given below:

Konsheng, forty three years old Khoibu is living in Khangshim village for the past ten years. Actually he migrated from Khoibu Khullen. He has benefited from the scheme provided by the DRDA, Chandel. He got five thousand rupees from officials. It took him four months to get the scheme money after spending five hundred rupees for officials' expenditure. All the processing work was done by one of his friend working in the DRDA, office. After getting money, he started one shop at his village in 1997 and was continuing till field work period. He and his wife are fully engaged in this business. His family income is dependent upon this business. He could earn minimum three thousand rupees per month. During the time of field work, he applied for one more scheme for the expansion of his shop with the help of village chairman.

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that employment and training programmes failed to give positive impact on socio economic life of the tribal families. It is a fact that it served a little purpose except among few exceptional beneficiaries. The factors responsible for the failure of these programmes are due to untimely grant, not receiving total grant money, lack of training and initiative from government side. Moreover, government need to take more initiative in these types of schemes as it is meant for the unemployed youth. Hence, it may result into various problems instead of solving the problems. Close scrutinisation of selecting deserving candidate for any schemes related to youth, has to be done very seriously to avoid negative consequences from such schemes.

### HOUSING SCHEME:

Housing scheme has been implemented in Manipur for the past **5-6** years through various development agencies. This scheme is meant for poor people who cannot afford to construct houses with their own finance. Many individuals got benefited from this scheme. When it comes to Minou and **Khangshim** villages, there are nine beneficiaries in Khangshim and two in Minou village. They have been provided in the form of zinc sheet (35 pieces) for covering the roof of the house. Majority of the beneficiaries revealed that it is not sufficient to cover the whole roof of the house. They have to get some pieces of zinc sheet with their own money. The beneficiaries who couldn't afford to buy extra zinc sheets covered their house roof by mixing zinc sheet and thatch. It looks very ugly especially on a newly constructed house. People do not prefer to mix these two types. Thus, zinc sheet provided to the poor tribal families for housing scheme were sold to other villagers, because they are neither sufficient to construct a new house nor villagers could afford to buy additional requirements.

The following are a few case studies of housing scheme beneficiaries. Tollen is a farmer living in Khangshim village. He is considered as one of the poor persons in the village. The village chairman helped him to get the housing scheme provided by the DDTBC, Imphal in the year 1997. He spent six hundred rupees from his pocket

for other expenses. He got five bundles of zinc sheet from the officials to be used in the construction of house. As narrated by him, it was not sufficient for him to cover the entire roof of the house. Besides, he did not have money to buy extra bundle for his house. That's why, the zinc sheets lying down in the house for long time. Later, he sold them to one of his friends. He got seven thousand rupees from the scheme. After that he completed his house and he is living in thatch house.

**Yaima** is a Maring living in Minou village. He is a school teacher and possesses three acres of land in plain area. He has good rapport with government officials in DRDA, MTBC etc. When he started constructing his house in the year 1999, one of his friend who is working in DRDA office suggested him to apply for the scheme. Considering his requirement, he applied for housing scheme through his friend and got five bundles of zinc sheet. It was not sufficient for his house. So he brought four more bundles from local market and finished the house construction. Actually, he was not eligible for the scheme since he is a rich man and also a government employee. But the corruption prevailing in Manipur allowed him to get the housing scheme without any problem. He spent one thousand rupees in applying for the scheme.

Village Chairman of **Khangshim** village expressed that it could have been better if government **provides** money instead of zinc sheet, with proper inspection and guidance, so that a poor person also can construct a thatch house with a low budget. Moreover, these programmes mostly benefited economically sound families who are employees in various departments. The following table shows the distribution of development benefits according to occupation.

**Table-4.6: Distribution of Development Benefits According to Occupation During 1995-2001:**

Beneficiaries occupation	Khangshim Village (No.of beneficiaries)	Minou Village (No.of beneficiaries)	Total
Wage labour	7 (13.7%)	1 (7.6%)	8(12.5%)
Marginal farmer	5 (9.8%)		5(7.5%)

<b>(0-1acre)</b>			
Middle farmer <b>(1.1&amp;above)</b>	16 (13.3%)	5 (38.4%)	21 (32.8%)
Employees *	23 (45.0%)	7 (53.8%)	30 (46.8%)
Total	51(79.6%)	<b>13</b> (20.3%)	64

\* Employees include marginal farmers and middle farmers also.

It is clear from the above table that land owners received proportionately more number of development benefits. Among land owners receipt of developmental benefits is maximum among employees. This shows the advantage of education and government employment as it helps individuals to approach the officials more easily.

It is noticed that the criteria for selecting beneficiary is other than that of helping the poor villagers. Generally people living in Minou village are not aware of schemes and development activities. They are busy in agricultural work throughout the day and **don't** want to waste time in applying for schemes. It is difficult for them to go several times to district headquarters, since they are living in hilly area where communication facilities are very meager. There are examples of people who went several times to meet officials for schemes.

S.Tongkhu, aged 38 years, belongs to Khangshim village and is working as LDC in **SBI**, Imphal. He applied for weaving scheme one year back on behalf of his wife. He visited to DDTBC office, Imphal more than ten times. In fact, it was easy for him to visit DDTBC office as he is an employee in SBI, Imphal. Even after all the trips, officials are asking him to wait for another two months. As told by the informant, the DDTBC office is nearer to his office otherwise, it is not possible to visit them frequently. People who are living in far off places at hills do not apply for schemes implemented by Manipur government.

Another informant by name T.Angthang, a khoibu living in Khangshim village applied for housing scheme implemented through **DRDA** in the year 1995. He came to know about the scheme through one of his friends working in DRDA office, Chandel. After the submission of application, he started running after the officials

and spent lots of money. According to him, he went there roughly twelve times to get scheme and every time offered them tea and snacks. Even then, officials kept postponing his sanction order. Later, he went along with village Chairman to DRDA office, and they assured to give him the benefit. At last, he got the scheme after one year of struggle. He narrated that it is difficult to get scheme without having influential people at higher level. Hence, most of the tribal villagers are not getting benefits provided by government.

It is observed that beneficiaries really struggle to get any type of scheme implemented by development agencies. Infact, most of the development schemes are managed in the state head quarters or district quarters. It is highly impossible for the poor tribals living in hill areas to run after government schemes. In this regard, one need to think the implementation of programmes through block level with proper coordination and initiative from head quarters. It could reduce the difficulties faced the villagers.

#### **REHABILITATION PROGRAMME:**

The **Kuki** and Naga “war” began in mid 1993 and has resulted in the burning of thousands of houses, killing thousands of people of both Nagas and Kukis. Many villages have been destroyed creating serious refugee problem. Lots of properties and crops were burnt down during this war. This has become one of the major obstacles for tribal development in Manipur. A lot of people are living under hand to mouth existences. In **Khangshim** village, there are 25 households migrated from Khoibu Khullen **during** Naga/ Kuki war. Their houses were burnt down by kuki people and properties were destroyed. In view of this problem, government of Manipur has taken up the housing scheme for the people who lost their houses during Naga and Kuki war. The migrants are earning their livelihood through different types of activities, i.e., some people are working as wage labourers and other migrants are engaged in small scale business, i.e., selling vegetables, fruits etc. Besides, three of them are engaged in selling goods which are brought from Moreh. They have constructed their own thatch house after migration to Khangshim village.

Through the scheme provided by different agencies, 12 people could get housing scheme in different periods, with the help of village Chairman. It was provided in the form of zinc sheets given before to the other villagers. Because of this, refugees faced the same problems like other beneficiaries in the village. As a result of these problems, majority of the villagers sold out zinc sheet to other people and constructed thatch houses in low cost. However, it was noticed that zinc sheet is lying down waste in front of two beneficiaries houses, because they got the scheme after 3 years of their house construction. Still, there are thirteen villagers who had been affected during Naga and Kuki clash, and still waiting for housing scheme. All of them submitted their application forms to concerned authorities three years back but nothing has come out for these people. They are provided kacha houses arranged by the village authority of **Khangshim** village. These people are suffering a lot due to lack of proper houses and other daily requirements. Here, one can see how villagers are affected due to **Kuki** and Naga war by taking up the case study of one victim in Khangshim village.

**Koshangmen** migrated from khoibu khullen during Naga and Kuki war in 1993. His wife was killed by Kuki and daughter got severe injuries on her chest. That time, he was greatly in need of money for her daughter's treatment and nobody supported him in the financial matter. That's why he sold some of his properties and arranged treatment for his daughter. Now he is living in hand to mouth condition. Moreover he didn't get any scheme so far. He told that there are a lot of people in other parts of hill area who are suffering from financial problems due to Kuki and Naga clash. Government has not done anything for most affected victims who are living in interior part of hill areas.

On the whole, there are many villagers who applied for various schemes and not able to get even one till date. On the other hand, there are some villagers who already got more than three different schemes from government agencies. The beneficiaries who are getting more than one scheme are either government employees or who are close to village authorities. Non-beneficiaries revealed that there is lot of partiality starting from the village authority to high official. They have gone several times to meet

officials spending Rs.600/- to **Rs.1,000/-** and wasted precious time. That's why people are unhappy with officials.

They further mentioned that some of the family oriented programmes which were to be implemented in hill district were implemented in valley district. Some of the **non-tribals** also applied for the schemes which are implemented in hill area and got them easily with the help of officials. Generally, majority of the victims suffered due to the non supply of housing scheme and scheme money was utilized by the **government** officials.

#### ON GOING DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES:

As far as community development is concerned, one community hall has been under construction for the past 2 years. The villagers of Khangshim are not able to complete it due to lack of financial support. Still, they are trying for financial support from **DRDA**, Chandel. Construction of community Hall was started when there was Naga MLA in this constituency. After he lost in assembly elections, all developmental activities in Naga area came to a stand still since Kuku MLA is in office.

Regarding the communication facility, construction of village approach road from main road to the village is in progress and is expected to be completed soon. Besides, a water supply project has been started by Primary Health Engineering Department, Chandel for providing better water facilities among tribals living in this area. It may take another one year to get completed. They are now depending upon rain water and hand pump's **water**.

When it comes to Minou village, one extra school building is under construction which is financed by Autonomous District Council, Chandel. For better transport facilities, village main road widening work and levelling are in the progress. Besides, Church building is also under construction with contributions from villagers, Church organisation and village authority. They are planning to complete it by the end of 2002. Villagers didn't get any financial help from government or other Christian missionary agencies for the construction of Church.

## **PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION:**

For the success of any development programme, people's participation is most important. Since the community development programme is a programme of the people and for the people, their role for its success cannot be overlooked. They are the main basis on whom depends all development. Without the will and participation of the people, development programmes will be a forced liability and will not succeed. The extent of people's participation in the development programmes is difficult to be measured. From the previous account, it is observed that the programmes and schemes on village level development activities are successfully executed whereas the family oriented schemes or individual schemes are less successful. The success of the village development programmes are because of the involvement of village authority who are capable of organizing social activities in the village. Even the funding from the development agencies is inadequate. Village authority can mobilize money from the villagers to make a scheme successful. The money released from government are sufficient, if not misused. It is quite clear that sanctioned amounts of the scheme are misused in different ways like bribing the officials, paying for extortions by insurgents etc.

As a result of the problems mentioned above, villagers get very less financial assistance from officials. However, for the community development programme the labour works taken up in these two villages are carried out by the villagers. It has become a common activity. In Khangshim and Minou villages, almost all the programmes, especially community development programmes like labour work for construction of culvert, market shed, digging ring well, construction of school building, inner village road, levelling of play ground etc., are done by the villagers under the supervision of village authority. It is quite impressive and very successful. Sometimes, the villagers take up the development activities even without any financial help from government agencies but under the guidelines of village authority. In fact the involvement of the villagers of Khangshim and Minou in village development programmes is quite impressive.



It is observed that the programme implemented for family development and economic development have failed. Little has been done for the under developed and poorest of the poor with regard to economic upliftment. The reasons for the failure are: schemes are misused due to poverty, commissions drawn by officials, partiality of officials in selecting beneficiaries and carelessness of research wing in studying the socio-economic life of tribals. Infact, there is one separate tribal research wing, which has got separate financial allocation from the government to carry out the survey on socio –**economic** conditions of the hill people. As far as their works are concerned, tribal research wing is not carrying out any kind of research work which they are supposed to do. Moreover, villagers are not encouraged to participate in the planning process also.

### **GENERAL PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES FACED BY THE BENEFICIARIES:**

Tribal Development Programme is an instrument to alleviate tribal poverty. Its objective is to enable families below poverty line in rural areas to cross the poverty line permanently. Programmes are implemented at **Khangshim** and **Minou** villages to help the poor families below the poverty line through various kinds of scheme. But the beneficiaries in both the villages are facing many problems. Some of the major problems as narrated by the beneficiaries are given below: -

- Maximum number of the villagers are illiterate, and villagers are not having faith on the officials and officials do not give **co-operation** to the villagers at the time of applying schemes.
- Corruption at the time of beneficiary selection is common.
- Total amount sanctioned for the beneficiary is never received. Only half of the amount is received and it becomes a big problem for beneficiaries. This is a common problem for most of the beneficiaries.

At Machi, the block does not function at all, as it is difficult to meet BDO at the office as the office is closed most of the time. Because of this closed office, district headquarter office has to carry on the work of this closed office. It is this block

which is supposed to administer all the programmes in the villages. But they failed to do so and the structure is not functioning at all. For instance, many of the blocks in Tribal areas don't even have proper office. In **Machi** block, officer is conducting his official work at home. Besides, officers working in the district headquarters are also not regularly attending their offices.

As experienced by researcher, the DDTBC, Chandel branch remained closed all the time, and only Chowkidar's family was available in the office. Deputy Director of Chandel branch is attending office at **Imphal** headquarters. Therefore, villagers applying for schemes have to go to officers house for any clarification or getting signature etc. The problem becomes multiple when block officer is residing in far away from villager. To reach these officers, villagers have to travel forty-five kilometer from their house which costs them traveling fares and precious time. Very often the villagers were disturbed and their buses or vehicles are stopped on their way by Patrolling Army forces searching for suspected insurgents.

There are no proper training facilities to impart how to use the schemes which made them to **misutilize** the schemes. Moreover, development agencies take time in providing the scheme. It is found **that** groups like Naga/Kuki take initiative to conduct development work in the Manipur tribal areas. Officials or politicians of particular tribe are inclined to give contracts etc., to the people belonging to their own group or tribe and also help them illegally. It is clearly seen that in **Khangshim** and Minou village, development activities are more during the rulling of Naga **MLA** period for Naga villages i.e., Khangshim and Minou. This group **favourism** became stronger after Naga and Kuki war and is prevailing throughout the tribal areas in Manipur. Besides, beneficiaries are not utilizing the scheme for the actual purpose and they spend most of the schemes money for personal consumption and not for the meant purpose.

#### **PROBLEMS FACED BY THE VILLAGERS OF KHANGSHIM AND MINOU:**

Coming to the problems faced by villagers of Khangshim and Minou villages, we find that tribal people have a number of problems which need the attention of administration, voluntary agencies, social reformers etc.

To begin with, the villagers of Minou are facing shortage of water. There are only two under ground bore water hand pumps available to supply water to the villagers for their daily consumption. And also these water sources are located at outer areas of the village. Therefore, villagers residing in the inner area of the village have to go a long distance to fetch water for drinking and other purposes. Number of attempts have been made to install more under ground bore water hand pumps, but the attempts failed due to lack of financial support from government side. Moreover, it is very costly to install under ground bore water hand pumps especially in hill areas

Another important problem is the absence of health centre in these two villages especially in the Minou village. Whenever emergency health problems come among the villagers, it gives a lot of trouble to the patient because of non-availability of first aid medical facilities. However, Khangshim villagers are better in this situation since they are very near to Kakching town, where a hospital and more clinics are available. At the time of emergency health problems, number of villagers have died in Minou village due to the non availability of first aid as reported by the villagers. Besides, transport facilities are also not easily available whenever somebody wants to take a patient to town area. These are major problems which have to be taken under consideration very seriously. The villagers of Minou have submitted proposal to District Commissioner for providing medical facilities like clinic or small hospital but nothing has come out till today.

It has been observed that delay in budget provision proved to be a major obstacle in the development work. In case of Khangshim village, community hall has been under construction since last two years and not yet completed. Due to delay in funding, some part of the hall which had already been constructed is also slowly getting damaged day by day. Village Authority has been trying hard to complete the construction by collecting funds from various sources. But It is difficult task for them to complete without the financial support from government agencies.

Majority of people who practice shifting cultivation faced a problem of low productivity of land. Generally, shifting cultivation leads to heavy soil erosion and low water retention capacity. The villagers, being poor do not have the means to take up soil conservation measures on their own. Soil conservation was taken up by the government in other parts of Manipur. But there was no response from government in these areas. Recently, a plan for soil conservation programme in these areas was proposed but measures to cover the entire area of the block may take many years.

In the matter of food production, their production is far less than what actually required for them. Hence, these villagers are depending on nearby plain area for fulfilling their necessities.

In Minou village transport facilities are available only once in a day for going to the town and coming back to the village. Because of poor transportation facilities, due to poor quality of road construction (muddy road), they are totally cut off from town during rainy season. Some times, it affects their family economy especially for the people who have to go out of their village for selling their products. Whereas Khangshim village is far better in terms of transport and market facilities, since they are close to Kakching town and being roadside of National high way 39 connecting nearby town. The villagers are thus able to avail more facilities in terms of selling and buying. They don't have the kind of problem which is faced by Minou villagers during rainy season.

The excessive drinking habit of the people adds to their economic problems. Especially youth in the village spend lots of money on drinking which is waste expenditure. Most of the youth are not earning and totally dependent upon their parents for financial support and that creates a major problem to socio-economic development. Some of the youth in the villages are used to alcohols and drugs, which is very expensive since it is **considered** as illegal activity in the State. Generally, youth's try to get these items through black marketing system. This is one of the extra financial burdens for the villagers.

From the above discussion it is clear that both the villages have been provided with **various** development schemes like agriculture and allied activities, animal husbandry, self employment and training programmes by the state government development agencies, for their socio economic development. Unfortunately, most of the development schemes have failed to serve the real purpose due to many constraints. It is observed that most of development scheme's benefits differ from one village to another and from individual to individual depending upon the availability of influential and educated persons living in particular villages. As such, majority of the benefits are gained by Khangshim villagers and even more by elite groups within the village. The **Minou** villagers suffered due to lack of basic infrastructure in their village. The existence of imbalance in development among tribals in these areas is clearly seen from this.

## **CHAPTER-5**

### **DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTIONS AND PERSONNEL:**

#### **ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE AND ACTIVITIES:**

The administrative structure in the hill districts of Manipur is classified into different levels. At the apex, there is Work Advisory Board or Hill Area Committee. This board consists of Minister of Tribal Development as Chairman and all members of Legislative Assembly elected from the hill areas as its members. Besides, Commissioner of Tribal Development as member and Director of Tribal Development as member secretary. This is the highest body in the State. This board charts out the various programmes for tribal development and also oversee the planning and implementation process of the hill areas. However, due to frequent changes in State Government, this board does not function properly, and most of the works are carried out by Commissioner and Director.

At the state level, the hill Commissioner is the nodal authority to look after the development process of the hill area. As a whole, the overall administration in the hill districts of Manipur is under the concerned of District Commissioners. Most of the schemes/ programmes at the district level are implemented through the District Commissioners, who are also on the other hand, function as District Magistrates. In

the process of programmes implementation, the DC coordinates with the district officers and block officers. Since the flow of funds for the tribal development are still controlled by the concerned departments, the developmental programmes are independently implemented by them. When it comes to practicality of their work, there is no coordination among the district officers and block officers. They work on their own without any help or coordination from other departments.

There is a district level beneficiaries selection committee, which consists of District Commissioner as Chairman of the Committee, and other block officers and District Tribal Development Officers are appointed as members and member-secretary. From each block, some four to five different members from social workers also participate in the committee.

There are village authorities at the village level and district autonomous council at the district level. The role of these statutory bodies is yet to be brought into practical terms, though they used to carry out some of the developmental schemes. Autonomous District Council have not been given the required power to take up development activities in tribal areas. These bodies were established to bring better administration for tribal areas in Manipur. But they failed to do so, since the power is cornered by other agencies. Earlier, they used to carry out some development activities at village level with the coordination of village chairman. Afterwards, these councils stopped functioning after the demand for sixth schedule in Hill areas.

### **ROLE OF OFFICIALS AND THEIR VIEWS:**

Interviews and discussions were conducted with the officials working for tribal development in Manipur. There are various comments and views expressed by the officials. Generally, they revealed that delayed allotment results in lapse of funds meant for a particular use. For instance, there was seven lakhs rupees sanction from DRDA office for repairing main road of Machi block. Initially, DC suggested the villagers to work themselves as labourer for payment of daily wage for repairing the road. At the same time, MLA wanted to give it to the contractor to get some share of money. Therefore, the controversy among the higher officials and political leaders

led to delay in repairing of road. As a result, the road has remained in pathetic condition for the past one year. Actually, none of the villagers know where the money has been used, and they suspect that it might have been used by the higher authorities for their personal purpose. One more problem with officials is that those who are transferred to hill areas are not ready to work. So, instead of doing official duty for **tribals**, they start running after higher officials or Ministers for getting transfer to plain areas. This, on the other hand, is disrupting the development work on large scale.

According to the officials, development of tribal area in Manipur is a sensitive issue. It requires an efficient manpower. The personnels, who work for the tribals, must have sense of commitment and humanitarian outlook. The interviews held with different officials, who are working in various tribal development departments of the study, revealed that persons who work in the departments may not succeed in the area of tribal development. Because, there are lots of problems involved in it which are difficult to be solved by one person or an official. It needs cooperation from various sections of the people. For example, officials working in development agency should work sincerely. Similarly, the clients who seek development scheme shouldn't also indulge in malpractice or bribing the officials to avail the scheme. They need to be distributed according to the need of the villagers or Villages. One more important aspect is that the problems of insurgency and hatred among Naga and **Kuki** tribes must be wiped out. Until and unless these problems are solved in Manipur, it is not possible to see progress in tribal development of Manipur, despite pouring of huge money for development from the Center. The existing social problems have to be given first priority for the solution, if one desires to see development in this State.

The following **case** studies of some officials working in various departments depict the problems existing in tribal development agencies;

**Ramana** Singh is a BDO in Machi block. He has been working in this block for the past 4 years. Before this, he was working as a SDC, and after getting promotion, he had come to Machi block. During his time, some of developmental programmes are implemented through village authority. He narrated that all the process of planning



and implementation work is done at District Headquarters. Besides, Machi block got very meager sources of finance and it is very difficult for him to allocate schemes to all the villages, because there are as many as 47 villages situated in the Machi block. The required finance for this block is not available but they implement schemes like weaving, poultry, small scale business etc.

There are sufficient numbers of staff to carry out all the development work in an effective manner but none of the officials comes to office. Moreover, there is no proper buildings and security force in Machi block. He received demands from insurgency groups to pay money quite frequently. In this type of situation, working in hill area like Machi block is mentally disturbing in some way or other. There are no proper communication facilities to contact with other people staying in plain areas during times of emergency.

Considering all these problems, he avoids attending office at Machi block. The District Commissioner gave him oral instructions to work at any main centre, i.e., **Imphal** or Chandel. But he is working at his home, which is 45 km away from Machi block. Villagers, who are willing to apply for schemes or any other work, have to go to his house by spending lots of money and wasting their precious time.

According to him, insurgency problem and corruption have to be wiped out, otherwise they remain as a major obstacle on the path of development programmes. For example, whenever development schemes are sanctioned, some of its percentage ought to be shared with insurgents and higher authorities. That's why, officials cannot implement the scheme effectively due to shortage of finance. As a result of this, villagers are blaming the officials.

Jhonathon (Joint Director, DDTBC) has been working for the past 15 years in the office. He has not been transferred to any other department since he joined DDTBC. The purpose of this office is to conduct research work in tribal areas and to find out the socio-economic conditions of the tribals, so that government can implement or take up development programmes in a better way. He revealed that this department is not conducting any kind of research work. There are so many officials

working in the government offices who are getting their monthly salary without doing any work. As far as the funds sanctioned by the central government are concerned, corruption is always a matter of concern. The central government continues to pour money in the state but nobody in the state has the courage to complain openly that all the development projects exist only on papers in Manipur, especially for the people living in hill area. For instance, Manipur state government is not taking up any step in building schools, roads and hospitals that are desperately needed by the tribals. They have been, in fact, paying the salaries of their fake appointees by using the development funds.

He says that if tribals can have the provision of sixth schedule in Manipur hill areas it will be much better than what the tribals are facing to day. It provides more power to the members of Autonomous District Councils to carry out development schemes in the tribal areas. All the members are supposed to be elected from the villages. Because, they can understand the villagers problems better than any other officials working for tribal development. Moreover, these members generally maintain close relationship with the villagers. It can also help in bringing awareness among the villagers.

Amitkant (Asst. Director of Planning), has been working in DDTBC since 1981. He is the only non-Manipuri working in this office and looks after all the planning processes of Manipur tribal development. As narrated by him, due to financial problems in the State, government is not taking up any development programmes. Moreover, government officials did not get their monthly salary for 3 months consecutively in the year 2002. That's why, nobody is interested to take initiative in tribal development in Manipur. In fact, officials are finding it difficult to manage their own financial problems. In this situation, nobody can expect officials to work on development activities in Manipur. He also suggested that 'single window approach' has to be adopted in tribal development of Manipur. In the sense that development schemes have to be implemented from one head only. Infact, tribal development schemes are independently implemented by various departments without proper coordination. To avoid this, all the programmes need to be finalized and planned from one head and should be given responsibility to the particular

department for implementing one particular scheme. And similar type of scheme should not be implemented by various departments, as prevailed in tribal development agencies. This can avoid the overlapping of programmes. Because every department is implementing schemes for the tribals. But there is no coordination among the various departments. DDTBC is assisting all the schemes and there are lot of overlapping of programmes implemented by concerned departments.

Besides, all the financial matters are dealt at the Head office due to security problem. So, it creates lots of problems for tribals. He also suggested that sixth schedule provision should be provided in hill areas so that development can start from grassroots level and the village authority will have more power to work on development activities. The village authority plays an important role in the selection of Autonomous District Council members. It is also obvious that they will have some share on any development programmes carried out by the ADC. Actually, sixth scheduled is meant for the empowerment of this Councils in Manipur hill areas. Once it is accepted by the central government, there may definitely be some improvement in tribal development in Manipur. As of now, all the development programmes are implemented by the government agencies. The village authority has failed to influence the officials as they used to do in the Autonomous District council members. He commented that Ministers, who are looking after this issue, are not taking keen interest towards the demand for the 6<sup>th</sup> schedule.

Jhone is working as a research officer at Chandel district Commissioner's office. He reveals that there is no proper planning cell at District level. Employees, who come from plain areas, are not attending their duty regularly. It is really difficult for him to manage the whole office work alone in the absence of other staff. Number of complaints have been lodge against irregular office staff, but no step' been taken so far, because they have close relation with some political leaders or officers who can protect them.

According to the official sources, some of the ultra outfit groups have taken two lakh rupees from officials. Actually, the money was supposed to be used for

development activities in the district. Again, one more incident in Chandel occurred during fieldwork that **District** Commissioner was kidnapped by ultra outfit for demanding money as ransom and other issues etc. He was kept for more than ten days in their custody and released afterwards. Villagers commented that government might have given some lakhs of rupees for his release from ultra group. But they never disclose the fact to the people. Most of the people are sure about the fact that government has given money to insurgents to release the officer. Thus, development activities have not seen in the village level due to the fund utilized for non desirable purpose.

In this situation, nobody opts to work in hill areas until these social problems in Manipur are solved. It is difficult to think of development activities in the hill areas in particular and plain areas in general.

### **VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION:**

The hill areas Act 1955 was passed for the establishment of Manipur Village Authorities. Under this act, every recognized village having 2 to 60 tax paying houses was to have 5 members, 60 to 100 tax paying houses 7 members, 100 to 150 houses, 10 members and more than 150 houses, 12 members. The electoral rolls prepared for election to Lok Sabha are used for these elections. The chief of the village( *Khulakpa*) is to be ex-officio Chairman of the village authority and where there is no such chief (*Khulakpa*), the Chairman is elected by the members of the village authority from among Villagers. The main functions of the village authority are to maintain law and order, to utilize the power and perform the duty generally conferred or imposed on the police under the Police Act 1961.

The village authority has to review all development work and report to the block development officials or committees. The village authority has to be the managing committee for the government school in the village. The village authority has to look after the overall functioning of the school including absentees among the staff. It helps to gain the people's support to supplement governmental efforts in developmental work. The Governor can appoint any two or more members of the

village authority. Village authority is to have jurisdiction concurrent with that of the criminal court within the local limits, of whose jurisdiction, the village is situated for the trial of the any offences which are punishable.

There is a block development committee in every block or sub division. It consists of the members of the District Councils elected in the local jurisdiction of the Block. Six members of villages are elected by village authority and concerned MLA. From these members, a chairman is chosen who will also examine the development programme chalked out by circle development committee. At present, these committees are not at all functioning in the tribal areas. It is there just for the name sake. Because, none of the members are taking interest to conduct meetings or discussion regarding development activities in the Block. Moreover, Block offices remain close all the time and their works are carried out at the district level. In this situation, Block development committee members are not taking initiatives. Besides, after the suspension of Autonomous District Councils in Manipur, there are no members from district council, who are supposed to take/play important part in this Block Development Committee. Actually, all the powers are usurped by the local MLA.

In the hill areas of the district, village authorities have been constituted under the provision of Village Authority Act 1956. These village authorities, which are also functioning as village councils, have been playing an important part in the administration of justice, both civil and criminal, and development work in hill areas. As a whole, the village authorities are successful in maintaining peace in the village.

Both Minou and Khangshim villages are administered by the Village Authority Council Act. The Village Authority consists of 7 members according to the rule provided by Village Authority Act 1955. The designations of functionaries are given below.

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**Table 4.7:** Designations of Functionaries of Village Authority:

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DESIGNATION	MINOU VILLAGE (Name of the Members)	KHANGSHIM VILLAGE (Name of the Members)
Chairman	D.Peter	K.Koshang
Secretary	M.Kopham	S.T.Homi
Treasurer	M.Tauna	T.Kores
Member	D.Korongphum	K.Modon
Member	M.Koshilning	R.Doranshed
Member	Kh.Santeen	H.Khamba
Member	L.Angphun	R.Angrong

Source: Village Authority Councils in Minou and Khangshim village.

The tenure of Village Authority members is five years, except for the Chairman. Chairman post remains unchanged. After five years, another new village Authority shall be elected. The selection of the village Chairman is not based on election. It totally depends on the hereditary succession in both the villages.

For electing the other remaining six members of Village Authority, the senior villagers and educated persons form an election committee under the guidance of Block Development Officer. And they hold meeting in the village community hall and discuss and inform the villagers for giving their names from those who are willing to take charge for the respective posts. After nominating the persons for the respective posts, the committee will take the consent from the villagers and the majority opinion of the villagers will be accepted. The village authority is looking

after all the problems and development activities in the village. Chairman and Secretary play a major role in conducting any kind of development activities in both the villages.

It is seen that the Chairmen of these two villages are powerful men from dominant tribe or from wealthy family background. They have been ruling their village administration since long because of the hereditary succession system of Chairman. These persons are well known to the block officials and they know the areas of development works or schemes implemented by the development agencies. Most of the village development works were executed by them like construction of Kacha road, school building, culverts, wells, hand pumps(under ground bore well) etc.

With regard to development activities in the village, Chairman of **Khangshim** is more active and gives more attention towards development activities of the village, whereas Chairman of Minou is a teacher in village school. So he does not get much time to go to government offices regularly. Besides, it is difficult for him to visit office due to poor transport facilities.

The Chairmen of Minou and Khangshim villages are possessing considerable quantity of agricultural lands, good houses as compared to the common villagers. Their children are studying outside Manipur State.

They always maintain good rapport with the Block Development Officer and District officials etc. Sometimes, they used to get into arguments with officials regarding scheme allotment to the villages. They also have interaction with villagers regarding village development activities. Information about development programmes are offered by government agencies. Sometimes block or district officers inform to the village authority. But most of the times, village Chairman has to chase for development programme. Otherwise, programmes will be implemented somewhere else or money will be used for their (officials) own purpose.

Whenever money comes for village development programme, they call a general meeting of the villagers and common decisions are taken. Any type of

development activities are undertaken by villagers, either in the form of payment or non-payment labour. It is done under the supervision of Village Authority.

Apart from this, many problems like fighting, divorces, disputes etc., arise among the villagers. The Chairman calls for a meeting of village authority and sit together to take decision on related issues. Then the Chairman and other six members resolve the problems by making compromise or giving punishment. During the fieldwork, a divorce case in Minou village was solved by the village authority. For performing functions and Christmas festival, the village authority organises meetings with the villagers. Decisions are taken by village authority after consulting the villagers.

Regarding general election, majority of the people prefer to vote their own group's candidate either Naga or Kuki. In the recent election, both the villagers supported only the Naga candidate. Because, they know that if Naga candidate wins the election, he will get some development programmes for the these two villages, since he belong to Naga tribe. Their politics is not based on party. All the people of Naga tribe, who are living in this constituency, support Naga candidates irrespective of political party.

According to the village's Chairmen, the rivalry between Naga and Kuki tribe influence the political and economic growth of tribals in these two villages. These tribes have their own factions and affinity for certain reasons. For instance, an MLA from the Naga or Kuki tribe will never concentrate for the development of their opposite tribe in his constituency. This kind of sectarianism continues to influence the minds of officials as well. It resulted that both villages couldn't get development programmes during the time of Kuki MLA. Even, they had gone through various kinds of arguments with Kuki MLA and other officials for blocking the scheme money which was already given order to be released.

For instance, there was a sanction of Rs 2.70 lakhs for the construction of school building at Minou village. The sanction order for school building construction was given by Naga MLA. Before starting the execution of work, a Kuki MLA came



to power in the constituency. He tried to use that money for school construction at Kuki village, but not in the Naga village. In this situation, Chairman of Minou village had heated argument with the officers as well as MLAs. Later on, Chairman took help from insurgents and got the money within a short time. With the money, construction of the school is going on at Minou village. In this case, insurgency groups acted as a positive force against non-democratic appropriation of financial resources. Due to this problem, Khangshim community hall whose construction was started two years back, is still lying incomplete. Chairman of Khangshim village expressed that villagers are expecting to complete it soon as Naga MLA is now in power in this constituency.

One more instance, the electoral roll of Minou village is not properly collected. For instance, the officials in charge of electoral roll writing do not go to every house and collect data about the members of electorate. Instead of going house to house, they collect the data directly from the Chairman of village, who has the list of villagers, which is often exaggerated for the election purpose. This list includes all the children, who are not eligible to cast their votes. This type of malpractice in electoral roll may also be prevalent in other tribal villages. This helps them to elect their own candidate.

During election, this leads to large-scale malpractices with every member casting votes several times. Besides, small boys and girls, who are not eligible to cast vote, are also allowed to cast vote. There is no proper management to control such malpractices during the time of general election. In general, these practices are prevailing everywhere in the hill areas of Manipur.

In short, the rivalry between the tribal groups has led to imbalance in growth of Manipur tribal villages. All this, village authority has very important role to play in the development of tribal villages.

Besides, both the villages have got their own village forests, which are owned by the village authority. Forest products are sold to the villagers or neighbouring

villagers and money is used for village development. However, they can not take forest products to the plain area, because forest departments collect taxes from them.

Both the Chairmen are educated up to B.A. level. The Chairman of **Khangshim** village reads news paper daily in the morning. He always suggests other villagers to go through the news papers daily. And some of the villagers also read news paper. They purchase themselves or read it some where. But facility for regular reading of news paper are not available to the villagers of Minou. But they used to listen radio news everyday to keep themselves aware of things happening in the State. As a whole, village authorities are looking after the overall functioning of these two villages.

To sum up, the planning of development programmes in Manipur Tribal areas is a super imposition on the tribals which is generally based on centralized planning and not from the below. The research work shows that there is a huge gap between the government agencies and the development experience of concerned tribals. Because, officials and their records projected a wide range of development work in tribal areas carried out by government agencies. But when it comes to the village level, majority of the villagers are not aware of development schemes implemented by government agencies. Some of the villagers do not know the existence of tribal development agencies. Without creating awareness among the villagers, it is difficult to get better results. The officials never make an attempt to spread awareness among the villagers regarding these schemes. Nobody is taking initiative to do this type of work. It has been observed that delaying of budgeting provision has been proved to be a major obstacle in the process of development. If allotment is not made in time, no development work can succeed. Corruption prevails at the time of selecting beneficiaries. Government officials, who are implementing development programmes, have important role to play here. When it comes to practicality of the officials' work, nobody does his/her work sincerely. They do not interact with the people. Majority of the villagers have bad impression on officials who are working in the tribal development agencies. Moreover, there are other social constraints which destruct the development process in the State.

## **EDUCATION:**

Education in the sense of literacy and formal schooling programme is a powerful social instrument with a tremendous potential for good and evil. The importance of education as an agency of modernization as well as a source of employment is well recognized in the national plans for tribal development. A greater proportion of the grant both from the State and Central sectors has been invested in imparting education at primary, pre-matric and post-matric levels. However, the problem of wastage and dropouts in tribal education has been equally stupendous. Lack of education contributes to the poor standard of living. It also leads to their further exploitation in the hands of non-tribals. Thus, in order to free the tribals from exploitation and to improve the quality of their life, education and literacy are pre-requisites for bringing them into the mainstream of national development (Trilochan 1994:163).

For success of any development programme, it is necessary that the people should be educated. The problem of education, as far as scheduled tribes are concerned, needs to be viewed in a proper way. For people in the backward areas, education is most important communicative channel for the beneficial aspect of the process of change. In tribal areas, educational efforts need to be different from those in general areas.

Education scenario in Manipur is much better, when one looks at the percentage of literacy in Manipur. It is quite higher than the national average of literacy rate. But, when it comes to the quality of education, Manipur is lacking behind compared to other states in India. Within the state, the tribal literacy rate is 53.63 percent, which is again lower than the other plain Manipuris. There are a total of 1814 primary/secondary schools and institutions available in the six hill districts of Manipur (as on 30/9/99). But most of the institutions are not functioning properly. The problems of

infrastructure like lack of buildings, absence of staff, etc are common in these areas (**Binota,1998**). This is the same case in Chandel district also. There are a total of 248 institutions which include all the educational institutions in the Chandel district. As told by the officials, some of the schools are functioning without school building. Nobody takes care of this problem. It also resulted to have less literacy rate i.e. 46.68 percent, which is lower than other hill districts in Manipur. Even in Machi block, actual figures of institutions are not available, but this block also faces lots of problems regarding education. There is only one High school, which is having classes up to X. Other remaining schools are all at primary level, which have classes only up to fifth or sixth. The school, which offers class X, is not easily accessible to all the villages located in Machi Block. Therefore, most of the children in this Block face problems after finishing their primary education for pursuing higher education.

In Minou village, one junior primary school was constructed in the year 1950. It was run by the village authority. Later, it was upgraded into full-fledged government junior primary school. The school started with two teachers before **government's** reorganization. Then it was converted into government school and three more teachers were appointed. **It** has classes from **LKG** to Standard V. There was a total 80 students and five teachers in this school during the year 2002. However, two teachers are from the village itself and other three are non-tribal teachers from plain areas. Most of the students in this school were less interested in education in the 1960s to 1970s, and none in the village passed **Matriculation**. The villagers of the Minou were completely preoccupied in agricultural work. Gradually, they started taking interest towards education under the influence from plain area's educated Hindu. Parents of Minou village started insisting on their children to go to school. And hence, the interest towards education grew up and prevailed among the villagers of Minou.

These days, most of the parents of poor families send their children to village school. Some of the rich families are sending their children to plain areas schools, which are very expensive. These schools have boarding facilities for the students. Thus, all the villagers are strongly motivated by the educational system. Despite of its regular

functioning and strong involvement, the village could achieve low literacy compared to the existing rate of literacy in the plain areas of Manipur.

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**Table-4.8: Showing the Literacy according to Age in the two Villages:**

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AGE (in range)	KHANGSHIM VILLAGE			MINOU VILLAGE		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
01-15	86	72	158	76	55	131
15-30	41	26	67	31	19	50
30-45	19	11	30	08	03	11
45-65	12	04	16	-	--	-
Total	158	113	271	115	77	192

There is much difference between Khangshim village and Minou village with regard to education.. In Khangshim village, there are two schools of which one is recognized by the government of Manipur and the other one is a private school. The former has classes from LKG to class 11 and the later has classes from LKG to class 11. Villagers prefer to send their children only to the private school, since the government school does not function properly. Therefore, the government school remains closed throughout the year. Villagers of Khangshim revealed that one teacher of the village government primary school is from plain area. He comes once in a month to the school. Least students are available in the government school, since maximum number of children in this village join in the private school. The teacher from the plain area doesn't have any work except taking his monthly salary. Villagers further narrated that he is actively engaged in personal business in his town.

By considering the ineffective educational system in the village government primary school, the villagers have started preferring the private school to provide

better schooling for their children. The private school has total number of forty students and five staff including non teaching staff. They charge monthly Rs.70/- from each and every student as tuition fees. This school is actually meant for the students under the age of five to ten years, who cannot go to plain areas schools, which are far away from their village. After finishing class II in their village private school, the parents send their children to plain areas private schools or government schools in nearby town. And private schools and government schools at Kakching town are just 2-3 kms away from Khangshim village. Parents, who can't afford to send their children to private schools, which is also very expensive, are sending their children to the government schools. Villagers developed awareness about education and its importance. Educational expenditure has become a kind of burden to every parent in the Khangshim village. Apart from this, they also send their children to the teachers of the plain areas for extra tuitions. When we look at the literacy in Khangshim village, it is much more impressive compared to that of Minou village.

**1 able-4.9: Showing the Children going to Schools in Defferent places from the two Villages:**

Name of the Village	Number of Children (From Class I - Class X)			Name of Place
	Boys	Girls	Total	
Khangshim	42	35	77	Schools in Kakching
	16	18	34	Schools in Pallel
	10	04	14	Schools in Imphal & Other Places
Total	68	57	125	
Minou	18	12	30	Schools in Kakching
	13	16	29	Schools in Pallel
	09	05	14	Schools in Imphal & other places
Total	40	33	73	

It is clearly seen from the above table that these villagers are sending their children to schools of plain areas like Kakching, Pallel, Imphal etc. Among these places, the maximum numbers of the students are studying at Kakching. And some of the remaining students go to Pallel and Imphal.

Apart from this, there is one theological college (bible college) in **Khangshim** village. It is a private institution, runs under the supervision of one lady of this village. And the financial support is provided by the missionary agencies. This college offers courses like diploma in theology for one year and bachelor of theology for three years. As told by the instructor, bachelor degree in the theology course is equivalent to the degree qualification of general education. As of now, this college has only three students, one in diploma course and other two are doing bachelors degree in theology. The purpose of doing this type of degree course is to have deeper knowledge about Christianity. Whoever completes this degree is eligible to become Pastor of any Church. The payment of monthly salary for a Pastor is based on their theological qualification.

#### **PROBLEMS FACED BY TRIBALS STUDENTS:**

People living in the hill areas face many problems especially in Minou village with regard to education. For instance, inspection of school by higher educational authority from government is very much needed in hill area to improve the quality of education, to understand the problems faced by teachers as well as students and basic requirements of school infrastructure. If there is frequent inspection from the educational authority, the teachers cannot neglect attending school regularly. Hence, they start taking classes regularly. In this process, students will develop interest in attending school despite of their busy work at home. The teachers working in Minou village school do not attend school regularly since the inspections are not there in the village. This also leads to the irregular functioning of school and, at the same time, students are also not taking much interest to attend class. Therefore, it is must for the government authority to inspect the school regularly. The schools in Machi block in general and Minou village in particular are not at all inspected by concerned authority. Due to this negligence of authority, it leads to poor administration of the

schools and absence of teachers for long time. But the tribal teachers are taking some initiatives to improve the education in the village.

In most of the tribal inhabited areas in Manipur hills, the transportation through road is one of the major problems. Not even jeepable roads are found in some of these hill areas. In this condition, it is very difficult for the students who do not have schools at their villages, to walk a long distance to go to distance school. When it comes to Minou village, students are facing many problems after finishing their class V, if they want to pursue their further studies. In this situation, they have to go to plain areas and study there. That's why half of the students are dropping out from school after class V, because students' parents are not in positions to send their children to plain area schools since their family incomes are very low to sustain their livelihood. Moreover, studying in the plain areas schools requires the family to be financially sound. Actually, one needs to spend minimum one thousand five hundred per month, which is very difficult for the poor villagers. So students from rich families, who can afford to go to plain areas schools, are continuing their studies, even though it is very expensive for them too.

Majority of the villagers live below poverty line; their socio-economic status are very low. During the schooling days in the Minou village, the parents of some students couldn't send their children to school. Because their children were to help them either in the field or look after the household works while parents were in the field. Consequently, most of the students couldn't attend the classes during this period. So, these children do not pay much attention in their studies. As a result of this, students are very poor in studies. But in Minou village, most of the students pass through up to Class V by copying during examination. After passing class V, some of the students, who are studying in plain areas, find it very difficult to adjust with the educational system, as they were allowed to copy during exam when they were in the village school. But copying in the examination is not allowed in the plain areas schools. Therefore, they obviously fail in the examinations. It automatically leads to discontinuation of their study due to psychological problem as well as financial problem. Because the parents cannot support them financially to repeat in the same class for two or three years again and again. Here, some of the case studies are



given to understand the problems faced by the Minou students who studied and discontinued their studies in plain areas.

Angshel, a Maring lives in Minou village. His family is considered to be a wealthy family as compared to other families in the Minou village. Actually, his father is an employee in PWD department, Chandel district. His father's main source of income is his monthly salary. Besides, his father takes lot of interest in education. That's why, he was sent by his father to study in Pallel private English school, where food and lodging facilities are available with the payment of money on monthly basis. He joined in class VI and stayed in the hostel for one year for study. Due to lack of basic knowledge, he failed in exam. After that, he joined in government school at Kakching. Actually, examination system is less rigid in government school. In the sense that students some times do malpractice in the examination hall e.g students can copy during the exam. In this process, he continued till class X in the same government school. After that, he couldn't continue his study, because he failed in class x examination, which is conducted by Board of secondary education, Manipur. As told by the informant, he faced lots of problem in studying subjects like Maths, Sciences, Hindi etc. He has come back to the village after failing in Class X exam. During his study in the plain area, he used to spend rupees one thousand five hundred per month and sometimes more than this.

Another case study is that of Mekham, who belongs to Maring tribe and lives in Minou village. His father is a farmer and possesses two acres of land in the plain areas. His father also takes keen interest in the education. That is the reason why, his father sent him to study in the plain area immediately after class V from his village school. He joined in private English school at Kakching. He stayed in the hostel. His monthly expenditure in that school was one thousand two hundreds rupees per month inclusive of boarding and studying. As narrated by the informant, it was too difficult for him to adjust with the new educational system. So, he faced language problem and was unable to understand the class lecture delivered in English. He was basically very poor in English language. Generally, class lecture in private schools are delivered in English, since they all follow English medium, whereas government schools are of Manipuri medium. Due to the above problems, he always failed in the

exam. After that, he lost interest in his studies since he found it very difficult. Later, he joined in Mechanical work. He is still learning mechanical works.

As narrated by the villagers in Minou village, their children face many problems while studying up to class X; Because, copying in the examination hall is strictly restricted in state board examination. Without copying in exam hall, it is difficult for them to pass in exam. But once they came through class X exam, it is obvious that their students surely go up to their bachelors degree or intermediate. Because in this level, mass copying in the examination hall is common in the colleges which makes them to get through the exam by using the same means. Therefore, students face major problem during their schooling rather than college.

Morung, is doing bachelor degree in komlathabi college. As revealed by informant, he failed once in class VIII and twice in class X exam. His father told him to study and always encouraged him to continue his studies. That's why, he got through class X exam with lot of hard work. Besides, he used to go for extra tuition during his preparation for exam. Because of these efforts, he could pass the exam. Later, he joined for intermediate and passed by doing malpractice in the exam. He said that he would be completing bachelor degree next year i.e., 2003.

It is clearly seen from the above that many difficulties are faced by the tribal students in schools, especially by those who live in the hill areas. Even after the completion of bachelor's degree, they don't acquire basic ideas about their subjects due to malpractice during examination. It makes them to remain as unemployed youth, which is again a problem for state in general and village in particular. There are number of students who have completed their degree and but remain as unemployed youth in the villages for the reason that they are not well educated..

Apart from this, in Minou village, school teachers are irregular in attending school all the time due to poor transport systems and other social problems, especially for those teachers who are not from the same village. Even the local teachers find it very difficult to manage the classes in the absence of non-tribal teachers. Even when non local teachers come and teach, the children of the village,

face problems to understand the instruction from non tribal teachers due to difference in dialect. And non tribal teachers don't know this village dialect (Maring Lon). Subjects like Maths, Sciences and Hindi are taught by non tribal teachers. Because of poor basic knowledge in school, they find it too difficult, when they go for further studies .

Moreover, these teachers also don't teach regularly. Due to lack of teaching, students are very poor in Maths, Science and Hindi subjects. That's why, tribal students studying Mathematics or Science and Hindi in the higher education are very less. When it comes to infrastructure in the school, the requirements like books, chalks, boards etc. are less available in the village school. And school building is not in good condition and another new building is now under construction process. Besides, they don't have class room furniture like benches, desks, tables, almirah etc. Students in Minou village school bring empty sack bag to sit in the class room since there is no desks and benches.

Schools in hill areas generally don't employ Chowkidar or caretaker who take care of the school building, and furniture items etc.. However, it is there in plain area school. That's why, school building, furniture items etc, in Minou village primary school, got damaged soon after its construction. The cattle like cows and buffaloes are staying inside the school building during non-school hours. This also creates unhygienic condition in the school premises. All these problems occur due to the absence of chowkidar or caretaker to look after the school .

In general, majority of the tribal people are very weak in sciences and mathematics subjects. There are not many students in higher studies. This reason of weakness in these subjects is due to the medium of language in which they study. The basic concepts of mathematics and science subjects are not clear when they first begin to learn these subjects. There is always communication gap between teacher and students due to language problems, since the teachers cannot speak their local dialects. Another cause is that local teachers are not available who can teach these subjects. So the non-tribal teachers have to be posted. But due to non-availability of necessary items and other social problems, the teachers do not come regularly. If the

non-tribal teachers would like to teach tribal students in this village, they have to stay in the village so that they can regularly attend the school. But these things never happen in the village **school**.

The teachers from plain areas feel insecure to stay in the hill areas since the situation of insurgencies occur in Manipur, specially in the hill areas. In this situation, teachers who are appointed to teach in the hill areas schools try to apply for leave or start bribing higher officials to get transferred to the plain areas schools.

One of the non-tribal teacher's in Minou village revealed that he comes to the school only in the end of month. Village Authority (*yonkhroi and Yunhai-ur*) has appointed one villager for teaching in his absence and he pays **Rs.1500** to that villager from the teachers salary. He also said that he is very scared of staying in the village because, army and insurgents groups keep coming to the village. It may create trouble to him. That's why, he is parting with **Rs.1500/-** instead of attending school. He is trying very hard to get transferred to plain area. Village Chairman (*Alel and Khullak*), who is also a teacher in Minou **primary** school, narrated that teachers who came from plain area never stay in the village and get transferred within a short time. This also affects the teaching atmosphere in the school.

Recently, the Head Master of the school got transferred to plain area. His post is lying vacant for quite a long time, and the Chairman has submitted a written complaint to higher authorities to send one Head Master. But the post is still lying vacant. Chairman (*Alel and Khullak*) look after the administration of the school since there is no Head Master in this school. This also makes the village Chairman very busy all the time. As told by the chairman, he is also trying to get promotion as Head Master of this school.

**Table-4.10** Showing Number of Students in Different Classes in Minou Village

Primary School:

Classes in Ranges	Minou Village		Total
	Boys	Girls	
<b>KG.I</b> - Standard I	22	16	38
Std.II - Std.III	12	15	27

Std.IV - Std.V	09	06	15
Total	43	37	80

Khangshim village is relatively in better condition with regard to education facilities. Students in this village did not face the problems like students of Minou village. Number of schools and colleges are available just two kilometers away from the village. This is one reason for having more number of educated persons in Khangshim village. But still lot has to be done to be par with non tribal.

From the above discussion, it is quite clear that there are larger degree of variations that exist in terms of literacy and other facilities available among the tribals living in the hill areas and plain areas. Infact, tribals living in the plain areas are always in the forefront to avail all the educational facilities provided by government as well as private agencies. Moreover, education scenario has remarkably improved compared to earlier times. This is one kind of positive result seen after the establishment of schools in both the villages. Educational institutions in both the villages are providing benefit to the villagers. Besides, tribal teachers are also taking more initiatives for the upliftment of education system in the study villages. But non tribal teachers could do little for the tribals as they are not regularly available at the village schools due to other constraints.

Above all, village students are suffering from lack of proper infrastructure. As whole, educational institutions and personnel are rendering good services to the village students with the available resources. But still more manpower and better infrastructure facilities are required to improve the existing education system.

### **ANGANWADI CENTRE:**

The Ministry of Planning had suggested in 1972 that a scheme for integrated childcare services might be worked out for implementation in all states. The steering group set up by the planning commission to advise on the formulation of the fifth plan also suggested the adoption of an integrated approach to early childhood services. Its

recommendations were accepted and the scheme of integrated child development service was included in the plan in social welfare sector to give a definite focus on the development service for early childhood. This scheme is being implemented in Manipur since mid 1980s. Under this scheme, children in the age of 3-4 years will have the benefit of non-school education through the institution of “Anganwadi” set up in each village. Non-formal pre-school education activities are also started for children below 6 years of age in each Anganwadi. It will not impart formal learning but develop in the child desirable attitude, values and behaviour patterns and aims in providing environmental stimulation.

In Minou village, Anganwadi Centre was established in 1983 and it has been functioning at the home of Anganwadi worker, who is looking after the centre. There is no separate building for Anganwadi Centre in Minou village. The main feature of the centre is to provide education to the child in the age of 3-5 years and provide milk and meal to the children for their good health.

It is quite contrasting when it comes to the ground reality. As narrated by worker in this centre, in the initial period, center used to provide milk and meals to the children four times in a month. Sometimes, it was not sufficient due to more number of children (irrespective of age). Around forty children used to attend the centre. Out of 40, half of the children were not eligible for availing the facilities given by Anganwadi centre. However, centre gave meal and milk to the children whoever came to the centre. Because, all the children were near and dear of workers in the village and couldn't object them from providing milk and meal. Majority of the children came to the centre only on the day when centre provided milk and meals.

Teaching part was totally neglected due to irregular attendance of the children. Majority of the children are not interested in attending to Anganwadi Centre. Generally, children start attending school at late age, especially in this village, compared to the children of plain areas.

It was observed that the Anganwadi Centre is not functioning properly. Officials stopped supplying provisions for Anganwadi Centre. Village Authority had given a complaint to the higher officials regarding supply of provisions for Anganwadi Centre. But the officials reacted that stock is not available and government doesn't have funds to provide basic provisions. It made the centre totally defunct. Villagers no more feel the existence of Anganwadi Centre in the village. Villagers revealed that the quality of the milk, which was provided before, was of very poor quality and some of the money sanctioned for buying milk was used by higher officials for their own purpose. Getting provisions is also very hectic job as told by the Anganwadi worker. She has to visit them number of times and officials keep postponing dates asking her to come some other day. This makes her reluctant to go to the office. Sometimes, she took help from village chairman to get things done within a stipulated time. As of now, this Anganwadi Center does not provide any sort of facilities to the children in the village.

An Anganwadi Centre was started in Khangshim village. Separate building has been constructed by government. Here, it is interesting to note that the Anganwadi Center, which was functioning in Minou village, didn't have separate building. It also shows that Khangshim village has got better facilities than Minou village. Besides, Khangshim villagers maintain relations with development agencies. Therefore, they are always in forefront to get any provision provided by development agencies whether it is government or non government agencies. As narrated by a worker, Anganwadi centre has been running successfully for three years. Attendance of the children in the centre also very impressive and milk given to the children regularly. Later on, government officials stopped providing provisions to the Anganwadi centre due to financial problems. Anganwadi Centre is totally closed down now and the in charge of the Anganwadi centre is now working in Khangshim village private school.

Apart from this, the center used to provide minor treatment to the pregnant women and who delivered in the village. But actual number of treatment given to mothers in both the villages are not available since it has stopped giving such treatment since long. According to the Anganwadi Centre workers, Medical teams used to come from Chandel to these two villages once in a month and checked the health of mothers and

gave treatment also. During that time, the team used to give treatment to the other villagers who suffered from diseases or illness for both male and female. The villagers expressed that medical team did not provide the medical aid like drugs, tablets etc. to the patients. Generally, the patient or client used to buy them from the plain areas markets. Infact, there was provision for providing medical aid to the villagers. But nobody got this facilities from medical team who came from Chandel headquarter except checking their health condition. Villagers suspected that the money might have been used by the medical officers or staff. However, this type of activities are not seen any more in these two villages, now- a -days .

From the above discussion, it is clear that Anganwadi Centres in these areas are not functioning properly. They failed to provide basic requirements for the children, who are living in poor condition and mothers in the villages. As told by the Chairman, the record of functioning these centers are there in the government files and government must be allocating special package for these centers. In this situation, nobody knows where the money is being spent instead of being provided to the poor villagers. As a whole, most of the centers are not working properly in the hill areas. Moreover, none of the higher officials tries to look into these problems seriously, despite of the complaints given by the workers.

#### **VETERINARY DISPENSARY HOSPITAL:**

A veterinary dispensary hospital at Minou village was established in 1984 to provide medical aid to the cattle. It was to encourage and give assistance to the people who are involved in dairy, piggery, poultry etc. Government has appointed five employees from other villages to run and look after this dispensary. In the beginning of the dispensary, only Minou villagers were utilizing the facilities available in this veterinary hospital. Later on, people from other villages also started coming to the dispensary for medical aid and sought suggestions from veterinary staff. The staff used to come to the office regularly and provided medical facilities to the villagers. The veterinary dispensary hospital has been closed from the past 5-6 years. It is due to lack of supply of basic requirements to the centre (**veterinary hospital**). The building has three rooms, and one room has been allotted to the



Nepali family who looks after cattle in the village during off season. And rest of the rooms are used by village youths as a recreation rooms.

Now-a-days, staff are attending office at Chandel district headquarters once in a week. As an example, **Khamtrim**, forty six years old Khoibu tribal, is living in the **Khangshim** village. He is an employee in veterinary department. Actually, he has been posted in Minou veterinary hospital. Due to the closed down office, he is not attending office at Minou. Most of the time, he spends in his house. Sometimes, he visits the Chandel veterinary department. He is getting salary without doing any official duty. He is actively engaged in agricultural work like cultivation of potatoes, cabbage and mustard etc. As expressed by the villagers of Minou, the other officials are also getting their salary without doing their duties. Infact, Village Authority has lodged many complaints to revive this center, but no result has come out till date.

#### ROLE OF NATURE CURE CLINIC:

There is one Nature Cure Clinic in Khangshim Village run by one villager who is an expert in herbal medicine. During the field study period, there were seven patients admitted to this Clinic. Actually, it is a private Clinic. He gives herbal medicine to patients who come to take his help and charges money according to the dose /quality of the medicine. Even, some people used to admit in his Clinic for getting better treatment. It is little bit expensive because he charges one hundred rupees for a day. This treatment is familiar among the elderly people who are not used to modern medicine. Actually, this is helping to the villagers who are not having a habit of using modern medicine.

For instance, Merang is sixty four years old Khoibu tribal, living in Khangshim village. He takes only herbal medicine whenever he gets sick. As told by him, this Clinic is helping him a lot. Actually, he tried modern medicine once when he got fever. He was instructed to have tablet but he couldn't take it into his stomach. Whenever he tried to take modern medicine, he vomited. Due to this problem, Nature Cure Clinic has been helping number of tribals in this village and nearby villages. As told by the medicine man, number of people come from different places

to get treatment from him. These days, even younger people are also coming for treatment of diseases like Jaundice. He told that he is an expert in curing this disease by using herbal medicine which is prepared by himself. This Clinic is useful for the many villagers.

### **FUNCTIONING OF COOPERATIVE SOCIETY:**

The cooperative societies have been set up since 1974 in tribal areas in the country with a view to supply under one roof various requirements of tribals. Their credit-cum marketing needs are particularly looked after by the societies. They were also started in Manipur hill areas.

In the **year1978**, Cooperative Society was established in the **Khangshim** village with an aim of providing credit cum marketing needs to the villagers. Initially, society had supplied credit to the villagers for starting small-scale business and other family purposes. They used to provide credit to the villagers within the ranges of Rs.500 to **Rs.2000**. Society had provided credit to 18 villagers in Khangshim and 6 from outside the village. Only 9 individuals could repay the credit amount and rest of the villagers didn't pay back money to the society. As narrated by Tongnai, a Khoibu woman who lives in Khangshim village has taken one thousand rupees credit from Khangshim Cooperative Society for starting small scale business of selling vegetables at the village Market. Later on, she stopped selling vegetables due to less profit as the village Market was not so popular in that time. She couldn't repay the full amount which she took from the society. Only half of the amount was repaid to the society. According to her, nobody in the village took initiative to repay the credit. The society members **couldn't** take up action towards the villagers who did not repay credit from Cooperative. As a result of this, society faced severe financial problems due to non-recovery of credit. Because of this problem, it remained closed for long. It failed to provide benefit to the villagers. During the field work period the building is being used by youth of village for their recreations. The following table shows the institutional facilities available in Khangshim and Minou.

Table-5.1:Facilities **Available** in the **two Villages**:

KHANGSHIM VILLAGE	MINOU VILLAGE
Cooperative society	<b>Veterinary</b> Department
Anganwadi	Anganwadi (without Building)
Methodology College	Government School
Nature Cure	Branch Post Office (without Building)
Government Primary School	
Private School	
Market Shed	

Relatively more facilities are available in Khangshim village when compared to those in Minou village. Majority of the institutions established in these two villages remained closed for quite a long time and not able to provide any type of benefit to the people who are living in **these** areas. It is observed that institutions set up in both the villages initially rendered good services to the villagers. But due to various reasons, the institutions established could not continue to function in an effective manner. Some of the basic reasons are : negligence and lack of initiative from higher authorities, less enthusiasm among the officials working in the institutions, and not having powerful and influential persons in the villages. These problems are similar to those prevalent in most of the tribals areas.

#### NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS:

Currently in India, great debates are going on in different forms regarding the role of voluntary agencies, especially with regard to rural development including tribal development. During the course of evolution of voluntary organizations in India especially since the beginning of the nineteenth century till today, they are more or less progressive in providing relief and protective service to the women, children, weaker section, flood affected people etc. They have been engaged in the

task of reform and rehabilitation of deprived, alcohol and drug addicts, etc. Some of them provide educational health, housing and recreational facilities.

The role played by NGOs working in Manipur for the Scheduled Tribes are mostly in the areas of educational **development**. There are a few residential schools, computer-training centres for SC/ST students run by various NGOs. Many NGOs are keen to take up more and more projects but many of them are struggling in the process to get financial support.

Coming to the **Khangshim** and Minou villages, functioning of NGOs in these two villages differs with regard to NGOs activities. NGOs activities are very much impressive in Khangshim village and appreciated by the villagers whereas Minou village is not getting any benefit from NGOs. There is not a single work or activity carried out by NGOs in Minou village. There are two NGOs actively working in the Khangshim village, i.e. SERDO and World Vision.

#### **SOUTH EAST RURAL DEVELOPMENT ORGANISATION:**

This organisation has rendered sizeable services especially with regard to construction of latrines for poor families in the village. In the beginning, organization had collected Rs.200/- each from the beneficiaries for registration. After that, organization provided **masonry** materials and workers to construct latrines in the respective houses. There are 22 households who got benefited from SERDO in this village. As revealed by the villagers, selection of beneficiaries was based on the financial condition of the family who couldn't afford to construct latrine at home. In fact, the selection of beneficiaries was done with the help of village authority. Because Village authority knew better about the family conditions of the villagers.

The following case studies are presented to give a picture of NGOs work and villagers views on their work.

Koshel is a farmer and possesses one and half acres of wet land and he does shifting cultivation. He got one latrine constructed by SERDO. Initially, he paid two hundred rupees for registration. After that, the organization workers came to his

house, and discussed about the place for latrine construction. Then, organization sent all the materials and requirements for construction along with workers, who were experts in masonry work. They completed the construction within a week. As expressed by informant, this organization has done every work very fast without creating any problems to beneficiary. He had spent roughly hundred rupees for providing tea and snacks to the workers who were constructing latrine during their work. He further said that he did not approach them several times to construct the latrine. They only came to him. He felt that NGOs were much better than government agencies.

Moden, a Khoibu tribal, lives in Khangshim village. He is quite rich compared to other villagers. Somehow, he managed to get the latrine constructed by SERDO with the help of village chairman. He also paid the same amount as per the rule of the organization. He complained that the latrine was very small and very uncomfortable to be used. That's why, he invested another two thousand rupees for the construction and made it bigger. He told that other people were managing with the smaller latrines since they didn't have extra money to invest.

Koshel has been living in Khangshim village for the past ten years. He has migrated from Khoibu Khullen. He is doing shifting cultivation. He is considered to be a poor person in the village. He also applied for the same scheme which was provided by the SERDO and got selected. His latrine construction is not yet completed, it is just half constructed due to short supply of masonry materials. He complained to the organization president to release the remaining items and resume the work. But, they did not send the items required for the construction. As told by an informant, it may take some more time because the construction materials are out of stock. He is planning to complete the construction with his own money.

From the above case studies, it is understood that there are some discrepancies at the village level. Some of the beneficiaries are rich and they can afford to construct latrine. Even then, they also got the scheme with help of village authorities. Some of the non beneficiaries complained that the organization showed partiality among the villagers in selecting beneficiaries for the scheme. Only those who

maintained good relation with village authority are getting the benefits. By and large, this organization has done good work for the villagers in Khangshim village.

Main objective of the organization is to construct latrines in tribal areas for better hygiene. But they couldn't proceed to other hill areas due to social problems.[Social problem refers to the existing insurgency problems. There are more than seven insurgency groups operating throughout the Manipur. Besides, they spend most the time in the hill areas where army forces can not easily approach]. This organization has made an attempt to implement the same programme at Minou village, but failed due to unavailability of water required for **masonry** work. And it is more expensive in this village compared to that of Khangshim village. Besides, most of the workers in the organization are reluctant to go to hill areas and nobody is ready to take risk of working in hill areas. As a result of this, NGOs activities are not noticed in hill areas, especially in Minou village. After implementation of the above scheme, SERDO **couldn't** continue function effectively due to financial problem. One of the members in the organization told that there are number of NGOs coming up in Manipur, but funding agencies are very few. So it becomes very difficult to get financial support, and corruption is involved in getting funds. They have to bribe the concerned persons and this act of bribing the officials has become common practice for any kind of NGOs activities. This also leads to the decline in the quality of work carried out by NGOs. Now-a-days, NGOs are more commercialized in Manipur.

### **WORLD VISION:**

This organization is run by Christian Missionaries throughout the country. Christian Missionaries of the Western countries started their welfare programmes and brought their Christianity to the tribals of India. They have gone for evangelization of tribals; it has been supported by various welfare schemes for the conversions such as, opening of school, dispensaries, hospitals, and providing material comforts to these people. The tribes of northeastern region have been the center for the activities of these Missionaries. Apart from providing educational and health facilities, they have done pioneering work in the field of economic development programmes.

In Machi block, world vision has been functioning since the year 1979 onwards. It's been quite a long time, world vision has been involved in these areas for the socio-economic development of tribals in this area. Their main aim is to serve poor tribal families and poor villagers.

With reference to the above aims and objectives, World Vision has taken up various development programmes in Khangshim village, i.e., construction of youth office, culvert, digging of village well, and provided one water hand pump. Youth club was constructed by the world vision. They provided Zinc sheet (for using on the roof), wooden materials and Bamboos to the village youth. And rest of the works were done by the youth in the village under the guidelines of Village Chairman. The foundation work was done with mud and the same mud was used for building the wall. All these works were done together and voluntarily by the village youth. Availability of Club facility enables the village youth to gather in the club whenever they want to discuss about sports and other related issues. It provides space to have close interaction among the village youth. They create enthusiastic interests towards sports and other social activities of the village.

World Vision provides well water to the villagers for availing better water facilities. They provide all the required items and materials like bricks, cements etc. for the construction of well. And digging of earth for constructing the well was done by the villagers voluntarily. After the construction of this well, villagers are having more water facilities. After a gap of two years, World Vision again provided two more water hand pumps to the villagers. Apart from this, they supplied six culverts to the villager for maintaining proper drainage during the rainy season. Villagers revealed that earlier it was difficult to walk inside the village especially during rainy season due to lack of proper drainage facilities. It made the villagers quite comfortable after putting up culverts on the village road. Villagers further expressed that this organization has done real social work for them within a short span of time. All these development programmes were initiated on the basis of the needs expressed by the Khangshim villagers for their development.

All the programmes implemented by World Vision are highly participatory. Programmes are initiated by the villagers and villagers also provide necessary labour and other supports. These programmes are managed by villagers themselves. Villagers of Khangshim are very happy with the development activities carried out by the world vision.

Apart from these community development programme, World Vision selected 25 poor students in the Khangshim village with the help of village authority and provided them books, exercise notebooks, umbrella etc. so that it could help them in their study purposes. Koshangmun is a forty one years old villager living in Khangshim village. He has two daughters and one son. He has been suffering severe loss due to destruction of his properties during Naga and Kuki clash. He is not in position to buy his children's basic requirements for their education. Considering his problem, the village chairman recommended to World Vision members to provide basic educational requirements for his children. After one month, his children got one umbrella, some books, towels etc. He expressed that it really helped the children. Otherwise, he had to buy all these items from his own money. These items are must for the students. Umbrella is compulsory for the student during rainy season. He couldn't buy all these items due to financial problem of his family.

Moshang is a Khoibu tribe, living in Khangshim village for the past twelve years. He is a farmer doing shifting cultivation. He lives with his wife and four children. All the children are going to school. He doesn't have sufficient income to run his family and provide good facilities to his children for their education. That's why, he is sending all his children to the government school, which is just two kilometer away from the village. His children also got the same items i.e., umbrella, books, towels, pen etc. from World Vision. As told by an informant, his children were very happy with the help provided by World vision. Because, they faced lots of problem during rainy season for going to school. Moreover, He couldn't afford to buy books and umbrella. It was a great help to him from World Vision.

From the above, it is clear that World Vision is helping the poor families, who cannot afford to buy books and umbrella, which is also one of the important items for



**children's education. Even though, among these twenty five students, six families are not really poor families, their children also got this benefit with the help of their friends who are working in World Vision. For instance, Koshel is a government employee and has only two children. He has land property in plain areas. He has got sufficient income to run his family and send children to the private English school at Kakching town. His children also got the same facilities provided by World Vision. Actually, according to the World Vision scheme, his children are not eligible to apply for the scheme. But with help of his close relation with World vision members, his children could get all the facilities. This shows the existence of malpractice in any kind activities taking place in villages. Nevertheless, World Vision is considered to be one of the best agencies working in this Khangshim village.**

**Sometimes, they provide medical treatment to the children who suffer from diseases. Sonthang is nine years old Khoibu tribe, living in Khangshim village. He belongs to a poor family. He has been suffering from the disease since long. Due to poor financial condition of his family, he was not able to get proper treatment from the specialist doctors. Later, with the help of village chairman, his father requested World Vision members to provide some amount for his treatment. As narrated by Sonthang's father, World vision members came to his house and collected all the information about his son. After three months, they gave him four thousand rupees for medical treatment. Sonthang told that he got treatment from specialists and he is much better than earlier condition. But, unfortunately, he is still having health problem and not so active like other children.**

**This organisation has done extensive work in Khangshim village. Majority of the Khangshim villagers feel satisfied with the development work done by World Vision. All the activities are done within a short span of time.**

**Some of the basic problems faced by NGOs in Manipur are: it is difficult to create awareness about programmes to the villagers, limited source of finance, frequent road bandhs and non peaceful situation in Manipur.**

In Minou village, villagers did not get any benefit from World Vision and SERDO. This shows that Minou villagers have been neglected by government as well as NGOs in various development aspects. In fact, there are some social factors that make any organisation to restrict their activities to some particular area.

Chairman of Minou village feels that NGOs are same as government officials. They don't want to work in hill areas. They always concentrate only in the plain areas where they feel more comfortable. World Vision organisation had come to the Minou village and assured to the villagers that they were going to take up some development activities. Infact, this organization didn't take up any development activity in this village so far. Some of the villagers in Minou commented that none of the development agencies were interested to visit this village.

### **WEAKER SECTIONS DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL:**

The Weaker Sections Development Council (WSDC) in **Khangshim** village was established on 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1990 by social workers, educationalists, volunteers and government employees. On 17<sup>th</sup> June 1992, the council was registered. The council has collected data from the area of operations and neighbouring rural areas of hill and plain areas.

Council has taken up programmes like socio-economic upliftment of weaker sections particularly for old aged people and focused mainly on development of women in the society. They got financial support from different means like, donations and contribution from the public, grant from central government and state government and grant from financing agencies etc.

WSDC provides revolving type of credit to the village women for establishment of small-scale business, weaving etc. After six months or one year of its credit given to individual, it will be collected back by the council members without any interest. Again council will give it to other women who did not get benefit from the council. In this way, money is revolving around among the village women. Many

of the women are engaged in small-scale business with the help of credit from WSDC. And some women discontinued due to financial problem. The council has provided revolving credit to 42 women in Khangshim village.

Temshim is forty three years old woman living in Khangshim village. She took credit from WSDC without interest. After that, she started selling vegetables and fruits in the village Market. She repaid the amount within six months. Selling of vegetables and fruits was helping her to supplement family income, besides her husband's earning. It was continued successfully for two years. After that, she couldn't continue due to her illness. And she got in to financial problem because of her treatment. As told by the informants, it is really helping the village women by having this credit system. Because of this credit, number of women in this village could earn money by selling vegetables, fruits etc. This credit system does not burden the villager since the payment of interest is not there. Therefore, most of the women in this village try to get credit from WSDC, not only to start small scale business but also for utilizing during any emergency of their families.

Tengnoi is also from Khangshim village. She lives with her husband and three children. Her husband is a fanner and they don't have much surplus income to run their family. By considering her problems, the Secretary of WSDC provided her credit to start small business for maintaining her family. After wards, she started small shop for selling tea and snacks in the village market and is continuing till today. She also repaid the credit amount in time. As expressed by an informant, it is really helping to earn supplementary income for her family. She could get minimum forty rupees per day from this business.

Another project taken up by WSDC was science and technology project for three years. Government has sanctioned 3 lakhs to the organization for making fertilizers from plants, dry leaves etc. They have tried to introduce new fertilizers instead of using chemical fertilizers. Under this project, 35 women have been trained by the experts from other States. The compost fertilizers were applied in the field but it was not much effective compared to that of chemical fertilizers. It failed to give good yield especially in paddy crop. As narrated by T.Sangnaidar, who is working in

Council, it takes lots of time to make compost fertilizer from plants and dry leaves. However, some of the women in Khangshim village are still using these fertilizers in their kitchen garden. For example, Sonai is thirty nine years old woman who participated in the training for making the fertilizer from dry leaves and plants. She told that this fertilizer was helpful for the people who couldn't afford to buy chemical fertilizer from market. Generally, she used to collect leaves and plants from village surrounding and forest and made fertilizer during her leisure time. She applies this fertilizer in her kitchen garden where lots of vegetables are grown. Usually, villagers do not use fertilizers in kitchen garden. They use fertilizer only in the paddy crops in wet land. Because of this fertilizer, she is getting good yield from vegetables and selling it to other villagers or village market.

Apart from these activities, council has mobilized around 30 women in the village to be engaged in weaving activities. WSDC is having contact with REACH organization in Orissa. REACH organization sent money for buying weaving material to enable WSDC to start weaving activities. After that, the product is sent to REACH. In this process, women who are engaged in weaving could earn money, but not in the form of regular activities. It comes once in a year. There are villagers, who got benefit from the weaving activities.

Tonai is thirty six years old. She lives with her husband and two children. She participated in weaving activities. Infact, she is an expert in weaving. According to her, she used to work in the morning and night since she worked in the agricultural field during day time. The whole work was completed within a month. Then they sent it to REACH organization in orissa. From this work, she earned one thousand six hundred rupees. This work was done on contract basis every year. And only expert women in weaving are selected to participate in weaving. Because, the quality and looks of the shawl have to be good.

Tengleima is forty three years old Khoibu woman. She is a widow living with two sons and one daughter. Actually, she is living a difficult life to earn daily needs for her family. When the weaving contract was taken up by the WSDC, they would select the women who were experts in weaving activities. But the secretary selected

her by considering her financial problems. As revealed by the informant, she was not so good in weaving as compared to other women participants. But she worked hard to complete her share within a month. She worked in day and night. After the completion of weaving, she also got one thousand six hundred rupees from WSDC secretary. It helped her to manage her financial problems to some extent.

It clearly shows that WSDC is successfully conducting good activities as far as women groups of Khangshim are concerned. It helps the poor families in the village by giving credit or allowing them to work in weaving activities. But it has not benefited to the women who are living in Minou village or other areas. Moreover, it is quite contrast in Minou village, since this type of activities are not seen in the village. There is always dearth of woman who could take up such type of services in the hill areas. Most of the women in the hill areas are not aware about such facilities. Thus, they are lagging behind from other plain areas people in every aspect.

#### **CHURCH IN VILLAGES:**

In both Minou and Khangshim villages, Churches were constructed by the villagers with contributed money from them. There is no exact amount for the contributions; it can be contributed depending on the economical condition of the family. At the time of construction, both the villagers didn't take any financial support from any agencies.

For smooth functioning of the Church, they have appointed four officials each for both the villages. These staff are responsible for looking after the Church and activities held in Church. The selection of the staff is done by Village Authority with the help of the villagers. The appointment of staff is based on their personality, character, educational qualifications etc.

At present, all the staff working in both the Churches are paid on monthly basis. Their payment varies from one village to another, because it is decided by the village authority and the Church advisor.

Table-5.2: The Variation of Salaries for Church staff is given below:

DESIGNATION	MINOU	KHANGSHIM
Pastor	Rs.1300/-	Rs.2500/-
Secretary	Rs.1000/-	Rs.200/-
Treasurer	Rs.800/-	Rs.200/-
Chowkidar	Rs.700/-	Rs.500/-

Source collected from: village authority of **Minou** and **Khangshim** villages.

The contribution of money take place on every Sunday in the Church after the completion of prayer. There is no fixed amount of contribution. All the villagers contribute to Church at least ten percent of their earning from their respective occupation; either it is money or any other offerings. Employees also contribute ten per cent of their salary to Church every month. The amount contributed by the villagers are being utilized for the payment of staff salaries and also to help the village youth who are interested to do theological courses inside or outside the state. Themshing is a **Khoibu** tribal living in Khangshim village. After the completion of class x, he wanted to study theological degree in Bangalore. But he was not in a position to financially afford for that course. His family could not afford the expensive cost for this course and send him to study in Bangalore for three years. Later, he gave one proposal to the village chairman and church committee to provide some financial help for his study in Bangalore. Considering his financial problem, Village Authority and Church Committee accepted to provide half of the expenses for his study and rest of the money to be borne by his family. Then, he went to study in Bangalore for three years. He is the first person in Khangshim village who has completed theological degree. He expresses that church fund is helping to the villager in various ways.

Funds are also utilized for helping poor families in the villages who are in trouble and spent on some developmental activities like, construction of Church, community hall etc.

On Sunday, they have two sessions of prayers in general. This is attended by all the villagers. On Sunday, all the villagers abstain from their regular work to attend Church. Every year, they celebrate Christmas in a grand way. Most of the families enjoy and participate in different types of activities and recreational programmes. Each and every family in the villages spend money especially on the Christmas Eve.

Sunday gathering helps village authority to discuss about their progress and problems in the villages. Otherwise, it is not easy to gather all the villagers for particular discussion. In this way, Church is helping them in various ways like bringing villagers together and to hold meetings etc.

However, there are some elder people within the Christian families who are not following Christianity in the Minou village. Sometimes, it leads to arguments and controversy within the family level as well as village level. They still believe in earlier tribal practices, but celebrations are not seen in the village due to less number of non Christian population.

From the above discussion, it is observed that the initiatives taken up by NGOs in both the villages differ broadly. As already stated, there was not a single work carried out by NGOs in Minou village. Infact, NGOs services mostly benefited the villagers of Khangshim. The NGOs activities carried out in Khangshim village provided significant services to the villagers. Many of the villagers were able to get benefit from various NGOs without putting much efforts. Their activities are appreciated by majority of the villagers. Compared to development programmes implemented by government in Khangshim village, the impact of NGOs programmes are more significant. Because, NGOs workers generally take up programmes according to the need and suitability of the programmes to the villagers. Moreover, they maintain a close relationship with the villagers unlike government agencies. Due to this reason, NGOs are more successful in implementing schemes than the government agencies. But, one cannot deny that that government agencies did better than the NGOs in the case of Minou village.

To sum up, overall, contribution of institutions and personnel to socio economic development of the tribals is not significant. They could not provided the basic facilities and benefits required by the villagers. Majority of the institutions and personnel failed to rendered regular services to the villagers. As mentioned earlier, there are many constraints associated with the functioning of the institutions.

The higher authorities need to take more interest in the functioning of development agencies and should strive to revive all the non- functioning institutions. Besides, Village Authority need to be given more power and money for faster development process in tribal areas. Moreover, all the village development activities should be carried out with the proper co-ordination of Village Authority. This will bring considerable improvement among the tribals living in Manipur.



## CHAPTER-6

### PROBLEMS OF UNREST:

It has been common these days to interpret developments in Manipur in the light of the presence of insurgency groups in the State. In fact, law and order situation is one of the key factor for slow pace of development. So, it is very much necessary to understand the insurgency problems in the State which has given birth to various problems in socio-economic development. There are number of insurgency groups, i.e., National Socialist Council of Nagaland(IM) & (K), Kuki National Front, Peoples Liberation Army, United National Liberation Front, and Kangleipak Yaonlup Kanba Lup etc., operating in Manipur. In Manipur, insurgency has almost become the order of the day. Today, NSCN(IM), the biggest insurgent group in North-East India is operating in Nagaland, North-Cachar and the hill areas in Manipur. It is leading the insurgency under the guidance of one of the associates of the late A.Z.Phizo, who had propagated the demand for the independence of Nagaland (Ajit K.Danda 1998). There is of course, another faction of NSCN led by Kaphlang, who has retained the headquarters at Kachin in Myanmar. The NSCN(IM) has emerged as the focal point around which other insurgent groups have been moving. Besides NSCN(K), **UNLF** operates from Myanmar with which the valley insurgent groups of Manipur have developed good coordination. Besides, the Kuki insurgents are also active in Manipur hills. Sometime back, they were engaged in clashes with the Nagas. Their ultimate objective is to establish a Kuki homeland. At present, Manipur has become an important centre of insurgency. A report in the Statesman from Manipur highlights ""The fastest growing industry in Manipur is insurgency and insurgent groups come up with the ease with which companies are floated elsewhere in the country. There are established "Liberation" groups carrying on the struggle for more than 30 years now" (Laba 1995: 9).

As a whole, the **insurgence** violence in **Manipur** has virtually turned this state into a battlefield. However, it is well known that while the insurgents in the valley are fighting for an independent Manipur, those in the hills have launched a struggle for an independent Nagaland including Naga-inhabited areas of Manipur. The latest in the fray are the Kukis with the objective of forming a greater **Kuki** home land.

### **ORIGIN AND SPREAD OF INSURGENCY:**

The insurgency problems in Manipur came to existence in the late 60's and 70's. There were no problem of insurgency when Manipur merged into India. Later, these problems started slowly and now it has become a big issue in the State as well as Central government. Sarin U.K. (1980:121) pointed out "Political **Integration** alone is not enough. Integration should be accompanied by suitable government measures to consolidate it. The case of Manipur is a clear example of the failure of the government on this account. The fact that integration did not entail any organized revolt immediately and that it occurred at a later stage. The acquiescence of the Manipur to merger was an indication that they were prepared to associate themselves with India".

Moreover, integration was necessary for a State like Manipur because of her non-viability and peculiar geographical position. "Nationalities, however small, would not renounce their sovereign existence when they do not find in the new arrangement changes of protecting their "national" interest as perceived by them (**Sareen, 1981**)". For example, some of the basic aspirations of the people everywhere are speedy development of their region, increased amenities, better standard of living and a sense of belonging through effective participation in the major activities of the State. One of the reasons for the present insurgency in Manipur is the gradually widening gap between the expectations of the people and their attainments. "The former Governor of Manipur points out that economic backwardness of the State is making the people impatient and egging them on to take into insurgency. He also further said that political integration of Manipur was not followed by the economic development. Instead, the people after integration had to witness a most painful period of neglect and step motherly treatment and indifference right upto the societies" (Burney, S.M.

1981, cited in Frontier Chronicle Imphal, August 18). L.P. Singh (1981) says "As insurgency in Manipur is directly linked with the problems of the educated, unemployed youth, channelising their energies by creating employment opportunities will go a long way in weaning them away from the path of violence". To substantiate the above statement, the unemployment problems are also linked with the rotten education system in the State. There is no proper system of learning and teaching in educational institutions. In fact, examination halls are centres of malpractices. Generally, students pass out the degree without having basic knowledge of their concerned subject. As a result of this, they are not in position to compete with other people. Thus, majority of the people rely upon the State government jobs where getting job is possible through bribing higher officials and Ministers. Besides, corruption is also being the principal cause of growing insurgency in Manipur. While there is no denying fact that corruption is found in many other states in India also, the magnitude of the problem as prevailing in Manipur, has threatened the very existence of the society. Apart from this, public money is shared among the Ministers, bureaucrats, the contractors etc. Very little of it percolates down to the people in the form of developmental measures and tangible benefits while the central government has been pouring large amount of money.

All these above facts as a whole can be considered as the main cause of insurgency in Manipur, despite their different goals and objectives. Most of the persons, who joined in the insurgency groups, are youth in the age group of 15-30. In the initial part of the insurgency, revolt was carried in with peaceful and systematic manner and they had better understanding with the people of Manipur. Even people used to have sympathy towards the insurgent groups. Today, it is quite the contrast with the earlier part of the revolt. Because, in the process of revolt for long time they are gradually losing their good image among the people and, at the same time, number of insurgency groups have increased within a short span of time due to differences of ideas. There are factions among insurgents who are fighting against each other, instead of being united as one group. In fact, if the insurgents in Manipur unite under one group, the problem would be really formidable. But this is not likely to happen because of their inability to see eye to eye with one other. This factionalism among the insurgency groups conveys wrong impression to the public. Many elderly

persons do not approve of the violent path adopted by the insurgents but they are unable to dissuade these youth.

In order to run their organizations, they collect and demand money from various sources i.e. collecting money from business men, villagers, officials etc. Sometimes, insurgents also demand money from Ministers and MLAs. Everybody knows about this fact but nobody has the courage to defend themselves and express it openly.

### **INSURGENCY AND THE VILLAGES:**

Here an attempt is made to examine the various problems faced by the villagers due to insurgency. The villages under study have been quite familiar with insurgency groups. At the same time they have come across many problems in their day to day life. During field work, villagers including youth and elderly people complained about the problems faced by them because of insurgents. They used to visit the villages and force the villagers to harbour them for a night or more. Then villagers need to take care of them, sheltering them in the village. They have to provide food to those people. This is also an additional burden to the villagers since they are living in very meagre source of economy. Villagers are forced to provide hospitality to them. Above all, their presence in the villages has created lot of tensions and fear among the villagers. Usually, they come to the villages in groups of not less than 10 members. Even the children are scared by seeing their uniform and guns. Villagers couldn't move freely when the insurgents are present in the village despite of their important works. Sometimes, the chairman of the village requests them not come to the village frequently. **It's** really disturbing peace and harmony of the villagers' day to day life activities. As a result of their frequent visits to these villages, youth are getting close to them and it adds more pressure to the parents of youth in the villages. In fact, it is easy to attract youth of the villages, pushing them into this path, since these youth are struggling for survival in the present day society.

Apart from this, insurgency groups have been collecting money in order to raise their funds to be enable to operate their organization. Sometimes, they used to

collect money from the villagers who are economically better off. For instance, an informant, working in the SBI, Imphal, owns three acres wet land. He is married and has two sons. He is considered as one of the most economically better off persons in the village. As narrated by him, insurgency group has collected money from him. Some of the youth came to his house and asked him to donate fifty thousands rupees in cash. He was really shocked and worried. He requested them not to demand money from him, but all his requests were not accepted by the insurgents. Later, he realized that he can not escape from this group. Then he gave assurance to them to donate some money but not fifty thousands. He requested them to reduce the amount to twenty thousands. At last, they came to an agreement that he should pay twenty thousand rupees within a week. And he gave the said amount to insurgents in time. He expressed that all his four months earning was finished just in one day. It really disturbed him mentally and physically. After wards, he was not able to concentrate on his activities both in office and household. His mind was totally carried away by the incident that happened to him. It took a long time for him to come back to his normal life.

Jones, aged about 44 years, living with wife, one son and two daughters. He is also an employee in the Chandel DC Office. His son is studying outside Manipur, and he needs to spend more money for his son's study. Additionally, he is doing sugar cane cultivation which could get him fifteen thousand rupees to twenty thousand rupees in a year. He is also economically better off when compared to other villagers. He also contributed fifteen thousand rupees to the insurgency group. It was not voluntary contribution from his side. Actually, they threatened him to pay them the money. That was the reason why he has given the said amount. He further expressed that the insurgents who came to him, for demanding money were not well educated, and sometime they behaved badly with him. He was really angry with their behaviour and treatment, but he couldn't do anything against them. Otherwise, it might have lead to worse consequences.

From the above case studies of the two villagers, it is clearly evident that these groups are able to operate or function in the State with the help of money collected from various sources. It is interesting to note that outsiders or Armies have

assumed that people of Manipur are backing these insurgency groups by giving financial support or giving shelter etc. If one looks at the reality in these two villages, people who have contributed money to insurgents have not done voluntarily as such. Actually, they are threatened and forced to give money to them and these helpless villagers didn't have any alternative to escape from them. This is the reality which one needs to understand. **In** fact, villagers have developed lots of antagonism towards these groups and criticized them when they are not present in the village. But, none of the villagers of these two villages have the courage to express their feelings and their views. As a whole, this may be the same case in all parts of Manipur.

Thus, insurgency groups have created lots of problems to the villagers. One more interesting thing to note is that the local youth are indulging in robbery, looting and collecting money by taking advantage of the imbroglio created by insurgency. Often one hears that youth who are not really insurgents scare the villagers and collect money from the innocent villagers.

Tongnai, 40 years old, is a farmer and owns two acres of land. He is also working in Excise Department. Two years back, he got demand letter for contributing money to the insurgency groups from three youth who claimed themselves to be insurgents. They have collected ten thousand rupees from him. He has given the money without knowing or enquiring about them since he didn't want to meet them. Later on, he came to know that they don't belong to any of the insurgency groups in Manipur. He also heard that they have been collecting money from various people in the name of insurgency. After two months, they were killed by real insurgents. This type of incidents happen quite frequently and villagers misunderstand insurgents due to these acts of fake insurgents.

Considering this situation, innocent villagers are also put into dilemma in recognizing true insurgents coming to them. Villagers don't dare to do any sort of enquiry about insurgents since they have more power. Ultimately, both the groups, either it may be insurgency or robbery, it appears to the villagers as same. Hence, the villagers are facing problems from both real and fake insurgents. One of the

villagers commented during the field work that insurgency groups are able to survive because of people and they need to be educated regarding their behaviour. He further says that one can't see any positive aspects of change from this revolt in Manipur. Instead of fighting for the real cause they are fighting among themselves and killing each other due to increasing number of factions within the insurgency groups.

**Koshal** a fanner, lives with his wife and four children. He has 1 ½ acres of land. He is always busy with agriculture work from morning to evening every day. Generally, he spent most of time working in the field. One night, four youth came to his house and requested him to arrange some food to eat and provide them shelter for one night. That time, all of his family members were in deep sleep. He had to wake up his wife and both of them prepared food and served them. After that he arranged beds and mattresses for them to sleep in his house. They were very polite to him instead of forcing or threatening like any other insurgency groups. Immediately in the next morning they left for another village. Even then, he expressed that he **couldn't** sleep the whole night because of the presence of those youth in his house. And he couldn't go for his agricultural work in the next morning due to night out.

Moreover, there are lots of factions among the insurgency groups which are operating in Manipur. This is also one kind of problems to the villagers. As expressed by the villagers in these two villages, the Naga outfit has two factions and these two groups always fight wherever they meet each other. In the process of fighting number of people have been killed. Besides, if villagers are close to one group, the other one never encourages such relation, and some time they give warning to the villagers not to maintain relations with their opposite group. Actually, none of the villager are interested in maintaining relation with these groups. Unavoidable conditions made the villagers to keep relations with any group. The villagers don't have alternative to escape from this type of situation. Because of factions among these groups, villager are not having faith on insurgents as they used have earlier. Initially they were from **just** one group.

Apart from this, it is also clearly seen that there are some difference between in the hill area and plain area with regard to insurgents who visit the villages.

Insurgency groups generally prefer to stay in the hill areas rather than plain areas, to be more secure. Basically, armed forces can easily access plain areas whereas it is not easy for armies to reach hill area. Knowing this, ignoring their comforts, insurgents spend more time in the hill areas rather than the plain areas. Therefore, Minou villagers are facing more problem rather than Khangshim villagers. One incident narrated by village Chairman of Minou is that he went to the Block Development Officer's residence to submit two application forms for Indira Awaz Yojana scheme on behalf of two villagers. He requested the BDO to select at least one of these two. But the BDO told him that some of the youth who posed themselves to be insurgency group threatened him to sanction Indira Awaz Yojana scheme to one Tangkhul lady. That's why the BDO gave one Indira Awaz Yojana scheme to that lady. After that, the Chairman had strong argument with the BDO regarding the scheme. Later on, BDO assured him that he will try to provide some other scheme to those two villagers. He further told that the Tangkhul lady is also not going to get the scheme. Because, those youth are going to collect the money on behalf of Tangkhul lady and use the money for their own purpose. It is not clear whether these youth belong to real insurgency groups or not. This incident clearly shows that there is lot of confusion among the people or officials to identify the real insurgents group from fake ones. Basically, they threaten people not to disclose such type of information to any one else. This type of problems put the villagers in to trouble, as well as officials, and affect the image of insurgents who are really involved.

During the fieldwork, around 20 youth carrying guns on their shoulders came to the village. One person among the youth directly came to the Chairman's house and requested him to provide shelter for one night. Generally, whoever from any insurgency groups come to village, will first contact village Chairman for their security. In fact, the Chairman tried to ignore them but somehow they forced him to provide shelter for just one night. Afterwards, the Chairman told them to stay in two selected houses in the village. It was quite evident that villagers were very tense, when insurgents were staying in the night. Some of the villagers didn't go out of the village. Most of the time, villagers request insurgents not to stay in the villages especially in the night. Because, villagers are aware of army's treatment when they come to the village in search of insurgency groups. These groups stay in the hill area



so that they will not have problem from Army. Certainly, villagers always wish that these two groups (i.e. insurgents and army) stop coming to the village. In fact, they will have very peaceful life despite their economic problems. Obviously, these two parties (Insurgents & Army) are becoming additional problem to them which again creates problems. Due to their frequent visits to the villages, the youth in the villages are developing good rapport with them and some times some of the youth in the villages are easily attracted towards them. To avoid this, elder people in the villages always tell their youngsters, not to maintain close relationship with insurgent groups. Otherwise, they may be influenced by insurgency to involve in their activities, when they are in state of frustration. That is the reason, why parents are also worrying about their children.

#### **PROBLEMS CREATED BY THE PRESENCE OF ARMY:**

Indian army has been given wide-ranging powers in Manipur State. On top of the existing Armed Forces (special power) Act 1958, National Security Act (NSA), the Terrorists and Disruptive (preventive) Act and Punjab Security of State Act, 1953 are imposed upon the people of Manipur. Consequently, equipped with all the powers, army raided villagers, arrested and tortured many innocent villagers and branded them as insurgency activists and sent them to jail. Many people have been killed in fake encounters. Several civilian villagers have been bombed and shelled by mortars (Shelly, Apam, 7<sup>th</sup> September 1993). However, deployment of the army to control the insurgency in Manipur has led to anger of local people. The Indian army men who are racially different tend to look upon every Manipuri as a suspected insurgent. Given the threat to their life, they feel as if they are in an enemy area. It is common to find the army moving for patrolling in every nook and corner of Manipur State and disturbing people who are travelling on the buses and riding bikes. Moreover, the over deployment of army and their combing operations and harassment have quite often led the rural youth joining the insurgents.

Considering the above, it is certainly true that villagers have faced many problems caused by army, as observed during the field study .

According to the villagers, there was an attack on an army convoy by a group of insurgents one year back nearby **Khongjom** village. Attackers left the place immediately. The army then came to the spot and indefinite curfew was imposed. Sometime later, they had started beating up the people living in the near by areas. Later on, army came to identify the attackers from the villagers. They called out all the males and questioned about the insurgents. Villagers suffered a lot since they couldn't communicate with army, because most of the villagers don't know Hindi. Besides nobody was able to go out from the village due to curfew imposed by army. In this type of situation, the poor villagers have been the worst hit when frequent curfew was imposed due to such incidences. Because they are the people who are earning their livelihood by engaging themselves in wage labour outside the village, and men and women are engaged in selling vegetables and goods in the market. In fact, such type of incidents created lots of fear among the villagers. It also strongly disturbs them mentally as well as economically. This type of incidents are occurring in different parts of the State. This also plays an important role in the slow development of Manipur. One incident cited by Jane, 38 years old, is working as a Clerk in Imphal Tourism Department. He used to travel by bus to attend his office. He was told that one day there was a bomb blast in Imphal city. At that time he was in his office. As usual, the whole area of Imphal city, came under curfew. Nobody was moving on the road except army forces. That day, he couldn't come back to home due to curfew. All the family members were worried because of his non arrival at home. He didn't have any means to communicate with his family through telephone also. He stayed one night in his friends house in Imphal. Next day he came to the house without facing any problem. The whole night he was worrying about himself and his family members. He expressed that this type of problems are common these days in the state, due to rise of number of insurgency groups.

Here is one more incident narrated by **Kopham**. He is also an employee in Veterinary Department, Chandel. Generally, he used to attend office thrice in a week. Unfortunately, when he was returning back from office by bus, all the passengers of bus were stopped by the army. Immediately, he suspected that some thing might have happened in this area. Later, he came to know that it was due to the reason that some insurgents have been killed by army forces at Pallel. That's why army stopped

all the buses for two hours and interrogated all the people to find out if there were **more or** not. Then, after checking they allowed **them to go** on. He missed the lorry which goes to his village. He didn't have any option to go to his village. That's why he came to his village by foot with so much of difficulty. From then onwards, he is reluctant to go far away from the village As expressed by the Minou villagers, at least some villagers used to visit town market everyday, for selling their products and buying goods from market. They used to go by lorry in the morning and come back in the evening. There were many incidents where villagers come back to the village by foot, when army imposed sudden curfews in the town areas. In such times, Army generally stops lorries going to the hill areas. This gives **lots** of trouble to the elder people unable to walk in hill tracks. As told by the villagers, these types of problems occurs very frequently. Because of these problems, elderly people do not prefer to go far away from the village.

The problems discussed above show that how people are facing problems due to army as well as insurgency groups operating in Manipur.

Generally, people living in Manipur are very much conscious about going out from their respective villages. It is also rare to see people moving on the road after 7-30 in the night unlike other states of the country.

During the fieldwork a group of army men came to Minou village searching for insurgents. Villagers suspected that army might have got the message of insurgents moving in the hill areas. Because they came to the village the next day after the insurgents group left the village. After army entered the village, they called some of the youth and asked them about insurgents hide-outs. Besides, they searched in some of the selected houses in the village. Before leaving the village, they warned all the villagers not to encourage and provide shelter to insurgents groups. After that they left to another neighbouring village. Villagers said that they would do the same in other village also. In this situation, people who are struggling to earn their daily livelihood are disturbed. Some times they are not able to express their views or problems, created by army to the higher officials, since army has been given more power by the State and Central governments, to tackle the insurgency problem

in Manipur. In short, the villagers are at the receiving end whether it is the activities of insurgency or that of army.

#### VIEWS OF OFFICIALS:

The discussion and interviews held with the government officials of development agencies, especially for tribal development also revolved round the problems caused by insurgency. According to officials, the insurgency groups have been collecting money from each and every employee in the State. The amount of money contributed by employees depends on the pay scale of the employees. They further expressed that this practice is common for all the employees working in government institutions except army and police. Everybody knows about this issue but nobody complains to any of the higher ups or authorities. Because, they fear that these insurgents may take any ultimate action. Thus, every employee whether small grade or higher grade has to contribute at least some amount to insurgency groups, whenever they get their monthly salary.

Dongel, aged 42 years , who belongs to Khoibu tribe is working as UDC at P.W.D., Chandel. He revealed that one of his office Cashier's used to collect money from all the employees in his department. Insurgents who used to visit the office every first week of the month, and collected the money from the cashier. The entire process of collecting money and dealing with insurgency groups is done by the cashier. Other officials don't have interaction with the insurgents. He further opined that the cashier may have some possibility to get benefit out of his dealings with them. These days, insurgency groups are coming once in three months due to *non*-payment of employees salary by the state government due to severe financial crisis in Manipur.

Apart from this, it is also not unusual to hear about people using insurgency to serve their vested interests. According to the official sources of DDTBC, Chandel, there was sugar plantation scheme implemented by DDTBC. Two unidentified youth came to the DDTBC office , Chandel, and asked officers to provide the scheme for one person whom they recommended. These Insurgents told the officer that the

person was a close friend of them, and he wanted to avail the loan for sugar cane plantation. Actually, the officer didn't know anything about the applicant recommended by insurgents. Besides, the officer didn't know whether the person was eligible for that scheme or not. Still the officer of DDTBC, Chandel selected the person proposed by insurgency group to avoid further problems. This also sometimes affects the administrative system. Generally officials mention that Manipur is ruled by two governments, i.e., the State Government and the under ground groups (Insurgents groups). That's why people are suffering more and more day by day.

An informant who works in DRDA office, Chandel, narrated that, insurgency problem is the main reason for the slow development in Manipur hill areas. Basically, officers who are working in the hill districts, are not interested to be posted in hill areas due to poor infrastructure. Apart from this, insurgents put lots of pressure on them and demand money very frequently, sometime even kidnapping officials. All these problems made the district officers to work in the Head quarter, Imphal, when the financial matters come up for any programmes. Moreover, State government is also not in position to provide security to all the departments located in the hill areas. By taking advantage of security problem, higher officials simply stop coming to the office. Then, other staff are also not serious about their duty since the officers are not present in the office. Due to these factors, majority of the departments in the hill districts are not functioning properly. In this condition, ultimately the poor villagers are main losers. He further expressed that if the insurgency problems are not solved in Manipur, villagers are going to suffer more and more .

Sometimes, they also demand and collect money from the high level officials and Ministers etc. Moreover, all the financial matters of schemes allocation for the district or block are mostly done at the Head Office, Imphal for the security purpose. It also affects the villagers who are living far away from the capital city. On the other hand, the villagers generally don't prefer to travel far away from their villages, except for urgency since the law and order situation in Manipur is not so friendly for the people.

## NAGA AND KUKI CONFLICT IN MANIPUR:

The brutal Kuki-Naga killings have bloodied Manipur and Nagaland over the past few years. The Kuki belong to the larger Chin group. James Johnstone, one time political Agent in Manipur, described them as "a **wandering** race consisting of several tribes who have long been walking up from the south" (Johnstone, 1896). The term Kuki first appeared in the "Asiatic Researchers" in 1872 and A.Mackenize, writing in 1873, remarked that "we lumped together as Nagas all the tribes from Patkai to Kopili, and dubbed all hill men Kookies from North Cachar to Aracean". However, the Kukis are also divided into two groups, the early settlers in North Cachar and Manipur being old Kukis and late comers to these places being New Kukis. The Kukis are now spread over Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, Nagaland and the Assam districts of North Cachar and Karbi Anglong (Sailo, S. 1993:102).

This digression has a bearing on the Naga charge that the Kukis have been moving north, seizing and settling Naga lands. According to a Naga student federation spokesman who asserted the Naga's birth right to protect their land from encroachment (Verghese, 1996: 102). The Kuki migration in Manipur and North Cachar hills and their subsequent settlement had also been a part of colonial policy. Throughout the colonial regime the Kuki had been used by the British against the powerful Naga and **Lushai** (Ray, 1990). The present territorial politics between the Kuki and the Naga has a long colonial legacy.

National Socialists Council of Nagaland leader Muivah states that in his interview with the Sun. The Kukis want to chase the Nagas out of the Chandel district border town, Moreh and the foothills near **Imphal**. This is the crux of the problem. The Kuki leaders offered .... (to) fight us provided the Indian government back them" (Ibid, 102). The bone of contention is Moreh, a **Kuki-dominated** area and a nodal point for the most lucrative trade in narcotics and other smuggled goods that

every insurgency group would like to control. Confronted with NSCM (IM) taxation, the Kukis retaliated, sparking violent incidents that soon erupted in virulent ethnic strife in several parts of Manipur, Nagaland and the North Cachar Hills, with no holds barred. Thousands were killed and thousands rendered homeless as villages were torched and helpless women and children butchered, first in Manipur and then in Nagaland.

The Kuki version is that the British scattered them as punishment after the Kuki rebellion in 1917-18 treating them as an inter-tribal buffer. The Kuki are therefore now in a minority everywhere and, though enjoying indigenous status in Nagaland, face discrimination in employment and development. The Manipur Kuki ridicule the NSCN taunt that they are outsiders. They contend that the Nagas and Meiteis, like themselves, are of the same Tibeto-Mongoloid stock and all three migrated to their present places of domicile. Hence, none can claim superior status (Ibid, p.103).

Manipur Government has spent crores of rupees for rehabilitation programmes in 1994-95 to resettle the affected people in the conflict. Regrouping with security was one option, but this would have entailed loss of precious land in the old settlements. A joint Naga-Kuki rally was held in Imphal and a committee for the restoration of normalcy between Nagas and Kukis was set up. But this remains an uphill task, though some hundreds of broken Kuki-Naga marriages were mended. The Church has been able to do little despite both the affected communities being Christians.

Coming to the villages under study, the root cause of Naga-Kuki conflict has a long history. However, during the fieldwork, villagers narrated that the real clash started in the Chandel district area in 1993. When the Naga tribe started collecting house taxes from minority areas of Kuki villagers who are residing in Moreh areas. Immediately after few months, Kukis also started collecting house taxes from the minority areas of Naga villagers as a revenge to Naga tribes. Then the fighting started between each other. The situation became worse when there were interviews at Chandel for the appointment of school teachers in tribal areas. The

Kuki people were against conducting the interview because the selection officer belonged to the Naga tribe. Obviously, they knew that more number of Naga people were going to get selection. To stop that, they blocked the NH-39 and whoever (Naga) came to attend interview were severely beaten up by the Kuki people. Immediately the news was spread throughout the state and Naga also started attacking Kuki people elsewhere. Lots of people have suffered in this long and continuous process of conflict. It resulted in the killing of innocent people, and the destruction of property for both the groups. Both the communities had been affected severely due to this conflict. In fact, there were transfer of employees who belonged to Kukis or Nagas to their respective areas, to protect them from the sporadic conflicts and attacks.

As told by the villagers, during the time of conflict, these villagers were not able to move out of the village and couldn't take up any kind of work outside the villages. All people used to stay in the villages itself. Generally, fighting takes place only in the night when the villagers were asleep. That's why, all women and children were made to stay in one common place at the villages, and male members had to go to the village boundaries for guarding the villagers. Villagers use guns and other tools as weapons for fighting purpose. The study villages were not affected by Naga-Kuki conflict occurred in Manipur. However, there are twenty five households in the Khangshim village whose houses were burnt down by Kuki groups. Basically, they migrated from Biyang and Khoibu Khullen during the time of conflict. They have come across lots of suffering during the time of conflict and also after the conflict too.

Here some of the case studies collected from those victims are discussed to understand impact of Naga-Kuki conflict in Manipur State.

Shelthang, aged 56, belongs to the Khoibu tribe. He migrated from Khoibu Khullen. Now he is living in Khangshim village with one son and two grand children. As narrated by him, his daughter in law was killed **during** the Naga-Kuki conflict. He also sustained minor injuries and his house was also burnt down by the Kuki. He said that Khoibu Khullen village is located at interior part of hill. Moreover, when the conflict began in other parts of tribal areas the Kukis were easily



accessible to them. One night suddenly a bunch of **Kukis** came to the village and attacked the whole village. Most of the houses were burnt down leaving behind one or two. Majority of the villagers escaped from the village, and unfortunately, some of them had been killed by the Kukis. It was really difficult to escape from the village since the attack came in the night, and there were no lights around the village. Moreover, villagers were in deep sleep at that time. He never came across such a difficulty and suffering in his life. He is having tough time to earn daily needs after migrating to the Khangshim village.

Kocha, aged 45, has been living in the Khangshim village for the past 15 years. In fact, he was not affected during the Naga-Kuki clash. But some of his relatives who live in Biyang village were severely affected. They lost their houses and lots of grain stored in those houses. They ran away from Biyang to his house at Khangshim village, since they didn't have any other alternative. He kept them for two months in his house. He provides them daily food and clothes etc. Later, they went back to their village after the conflict came down to normal.

Tolkhamthel, aged 42, also migrated from Khoibu Khullen after the conflict. He was considered a rich man in the Khoibu village. His house was burnt down by Kuki, just after two years of construction. He had spent around fifty thousands for its construction. It was a pucca house. Besides, he was severely beaten and attempt was made to kill him. Luckily army came to save him from the Kuki people. Later on, he was hospitalized for two months in RIMS Hospital Imphal, and spent around ten thousand rupees on his treatment. After recovery from the injury, he could not work for two years. During the field work period, he was running a tea stall at the village to earn daily needs for his family. He is living in a small thatch house in Khangshim village.

Koshel - is a cultivator and he has 3 acres of land to cultivate at Khoibu Khullen. The attack took place when he was planning to harvest his crops. He used to get at least fifteen thousands in one year. He couldn't harvest since his paddy fields were burnt by the Kukis. Later on, he also participated in attacking Kukis in other areas as to take revenge against Kukis. They also burnt down some of the

**Kukis** houses and destroyed their properties. However, during the time of conflict he also struggled to get daily food. He is still engaged in shifting cultivation and going for labour work during the lean season. He lives with his wife and three children.

Minai, aged 55, lives in **Khangshim** village. He was also one of the victims during Naga and Kuki conflict. He also faced the same problem like losing costly house and properties. During the time of conflict, he spent two days in forest along with his family. Then, he came to the refugee camp, which was organized by the army. He stayed in the camp for one month. Later on, he shifted to the present village i.e. **Khangshim** village with the help of the village Chairman. That time, he didn't have any means to meet daily needs. To some extent, village Chairman provided some help. Apart from this, his wife and children used to go for begging rice and clothes from plain area people. Generally, begging activities are rare to witness in Manipur. But, during and after the conflict, lots of people (Naga and Kuki) came down to plain areas and started going for begging to get some rice or clothes and eatable etc. It continued for quite a long time. Later on, he started working as a wage labour in the village and outside the village. During the fieldwork period, he was engaged in business like getting goods from Moreh and selling it in local market. His condition is better off when compared to the earlier period. But he is not able to reach the level, which he had before the conflict.

Mengpham, aged forty four, migrated from the Khoibu Khullen during Naga and Kuki war. He is living with his wife and four children. During the time of conflict, his house and properties were burnt down by the Kukis. Infact, he was seriously beaten and was unable to engage in hard works like agriculture or wage labour. He is just staying at his house by doing some minor household works. His wife is running one tea stall at village market. From this income, he is running the family with lot of difficulties.

From the above case studies, it is clearly understood that how innocent villagers have suffered due to unpredictable Naga and Kuki clashes. This conflict made them homeless for quite a long time. Besides, many of them who practised settled cultivation lost their valuable crops. Some of them transformed their occupation

from agriculture to wage labour. One of the important losses during the conflict is that of people losing their houses. People take several years to construct houses of their own. Thus, lots of people have been affected. According to these villagers, **Kukis** were more affected than Nagas during this conflict. Both the tribal communities have been severely affected, especially innocent villagers, who struggle to earn their livelihood. They are suffering more than any other elite tribals either Kukis or Nagas.

Besides, huge amount of money has been spent on rehabilitation of affected people. But very less is reaching to the needy people.

As a result of the conflict, these two tribes have developed strong hatred to each other. It has also lead to **favourism** among the higher officials in terms of scheme implementations and development activities. During the fieldwork, villagers of these two villages expressed that when the Naga **MLA** was elected in this constituency, they used to get some individual schemes as well as village development schemes especially during 96-99. After the Kuki MLA come to the office in this constituency during mid 99 onwards, villagers' are getting much fewer number of schemes. Some of the victims during Naga and Kuki conflict narrated that they were supposed to get housing scheme but still not getting the housing scheme because of not having Naga MLA to help them. According to them, majority of the housing schemes have been provided to the Kuki villagers with the help of the Kuki MLA. They say that Kuki MLA has strong antagonism against any of the Naga villagers, residing in this constituency. It may be the same case in the time of Naga MLA representing this constituency. It might have affected other Kuki villages. Considering the fact, it tends to affect both the communities in one way or the other. This adds to the existing imbalance of development among the tribals living in Manipur state.

### **DISTRICT COUNCILS IN MANIPUR HILLS:**

The preparatory work for the establishment of District Councils in Manipur hills was simultaneously taken up with the preparation for the inauguration of

statehood in December 1971. The Manipur Hill Areas District Councils Act 1971 was subsequently passed to provide for the establishment of District Councils in the Hill Areas in the Union Territory of Manipur. Following the attainment of statehood in 1972, the Act was enforced in 1973 and the hill areas of Manipur were subsequently divided into six autonomous districts. The first election of the autonomous district councils was held in 1973 and six autonomous district councils were constituted in the hill areas of Manipur.

According to the Manipur Hill Areas District Councils Act 1971, the administrator is empowered to divide the hill areas into more than six autonomous districts.

The total number of seats in the District council shall not be more than eighteen. These seats are to be filled by persons directly elected on the basis of adult suffrage from territorial constituencies. Besides, the electoral members, the administrator may nominate not more than two persons, but the person doing service in government office are not to be members of any District Council.

The term of office of a member will be five years. For each district council, there will be a Chairman and a Vice-Chairman. The Chairman and the Vice-Chairman will be elected by the council itself. Besides, for every district council, there will be a chief executive officer who will be appointed by the administrator.

### **FUNCTIONS OF DISTRICT COUNCIL:**

The rules framed under the Manipur Hill Area District Council Act 1971, entrusted as many as seventeen functions to the district council. The functions include the maintenance and management of such property, movable and immovable and institutions may be transferred to the council by the Administrator. The construction of school buildings, repairing, maintenance of roads, bridges, and buildings are transferred to the council by the Administrator. Establishment, maintenance and management of primary school, dispensaries, etc. are entrusted to the charge of the council by the Administrator. The following are also the

responsibilities of the councils: the initiative, inspection, and control of relief works; the allotment, occupation or use, or the setting apart of land, other than land acquired for any public purpose, or land which is a reserved forest, for the purpose of agriculture or grazing or for residential or other non-agricultural purposes or for any other purposes likely to promote the interest of the inhabitants of any village or town situated within the autonomous district council for which the council is constituted. The management of any forest not being a reserved forest, the regulation of the practice of Jhum or other forms of shifting cultivation and any other matter which the administrator may, in consultation with the hill areas committee, entrust to the District Council in the field of agriculture, animal husbandry, community development, tribal welfare and village planning etc.

The 1971 Act did not provide the district council any legislative power. To some extent they have powers like appointment or succession of chiefs, inheritance of property, marriage and divorce, and social customs.

#### **DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DISTRICT COUNCILS UNDER THE SIXTH SCHEDULE AND DISTRICT COUNCILS IN MANIPUR (1971):**

Prior to the establishment of the district councils in the hill areas of Assam in 1952 under the sixth schedule to the Constitution of India, there were no district councils in the country. After the enforcement of the Manipur Hill Areas districts councils Act, 1971 in 1973, Six district councils were established in the hill areas of Manipur. But the district council in Manipur is fundamentally different from those enforced in Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura, which were established under the sixth schedule. Unlike district councils in other parts of the Northeast region, district councils in Manipur are not entrusted with any judicial and legislative powers. Only some executive and financial powers are entrusted to them. Even financial power is limited as the government grant is the only source of income for the district councils. The District Councils are not empowered to mobilize sources of income. The District Councils, though are given Autonomous power by Act, 1971, have not been able to impart developmental services to the tribals. It is in this sense that it has been **often** that the **autonomy** given to the council by the Act is only for name sake.

While the district councils in other **North-Eastern** states are administrated according to the provisions laid under the sixth schedule of the constitution, **Manipur's** are for all practical purposes under the administration of the state. Some points of distinction between district council under sixth schedule and district council in Manipur are given below in tabular form:

**Table-5.3: Distinction between District Council under Sixth Schedule and District Council in Manipur**

Sl. No.	List of Points	Sixth Schedule	District Councils in Manipur
01	Constitutional provisions under which District Councils are established.	Under the provision of the sixth schedule to the Constitution.	Under the provision of Manipur (Hill Areas) District Councils Act.
02	Legislative Power.	With the prior approval of the Governor, they have the power to make laws with respect to <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Allotment, occupation or use of land for agricultural and non-agricultural purposes.</li> <li>2. The management of unclassified forest;</li> <li>3. The use of canal or water course for agriculture;</li> <li>4. Regulation of <b>Jhuming</b> or other</li> </ol>	No Legislative power. Section <b>52</b> of the Act provides them only bye-laws making power

		<p>forms of shifting cultivation;</p> <p>5. Appointment and succession of chief or Head</p> <p>6. Inheritance of property</p> <p>7. Marriage</p> <p>8. Social Customs</p>	<p>They can recommend to the Government of Manipur for Legislating relating to appointment and succession of Chief or Head; Social Customs</p>
03	Judicial Power	<p>They have power to constitute village councils or courts for trial or suits</p>	<p><b>They have</b> not. The Village authorities are empowered for trial of small cases under the provision of Village Authority Act, 1965.</p>
04	<p>Power to assess and collect land revenue and to impose taxes</p> <p>b) Entry of goods etc.</p> <p>c) taxes for maintenance of schools, dispensaries or road, etc.</p>	<p>They have power</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. to assess and collect land revenue</li> <li>2. to levy and collect taxes on land and buildings and taxes on persons, and</li> <li>3. to levy and collect all or any of the following:               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) taxes on professionals, trades and employment</li> </ol> </li> </ol>	<p>No power</p> <p>No power</p> <p>They have power to levy and collect these taxes</p>

Source: Rajendra, 1993; Study of district councils in Manipur Hills, Centre for tribal studies, **Manipur** University.

A comparative picture of the two types of district councils as given above, make it clear that the nature and the extent of autonomy given to the district councils under the sixth schedule is different and more powerful than the one in Manipur.

It is therefore not unnatural for the hill people and the tribal leaders to demand for the extension of the sixth schedule to the hill areas of Manipur. In fact, the issue was raised in the Hill Areas Committee meeting as early as in March 1973. Subsequently the sixth schedule demand committee was formed by all the District Councils of Manipur. The All Tribal Students Union, Manipur (ATSUM), became instrumental in demanding immediate extension of the sixth schedule in the hill areas of Manipur. From the 1980s onwards the demand for the extension of the sixth schedule has gained momentum when memorandum after memorandum were submitted by various tribal organizations / groups to the Chief Minister, Union Home Minister and the Prime Minister.

But when in 1984, the sixth schedule was extended to Tripura State, the extension for the same to Manipur was also discussed in the Rajya Sabha and then the Prime Minister gave an assurance in the House about the inclusion of Manipur in the sixth schedule. In May, 1988 the councilors and Chairman of the autonomous districts councils submitted a petition to the Home Minister, New Delhi. After the district councils were dissolved in March 1989, the ATSUM again submitted memorandum to the Prime Minister in April for the immediate extension of the provisions of the sixth schedule to the hill areas of Manipur. So far efforts made by the tribal leaders and students have failed to produce concrete results.

In October 1990, the Chairman of the sixth schedule demand committee was told by the Chief Minister that the inclusion of hill areas of Manipur in the sixth schedule of the constitution is under active consideration. Protesting against the state government for its apathy to the long felt demand of the tribals, the committee has called and observed ban in hill areas of Manipur. The agitation continued till 1992 without concrete result.



The tribal leaders/ students felt that the existing District Council Act 1971 has failed to "protect and safeguard the interest of the tribals of Manipur". They hope and believe that the extension of the sixth schedule to the hill areas of Manipur will solve the problems that exist in the hills. It is their contention that "no proper development can be achieved unless the entire hill areas of Manipur are brought under the framework of the sixth schedule of the Constitution of India".

Unfortunately, the long struggle or protest for demanding sixth schedule in hill areas were totally destructed due to unexpected clash between Naga and Kuki in the mid 1992. Because of this incidence, tribal leaders and student community were drawn away from their concentration towards Naga/ Kuki clashes rather than to the sixth schedule. After coming back to normal life from the Naga/ Kuki war, tribal people are not united like before. So, Sixth Schedule issue had become silent and they couldn't take up any kind of strong protest or demand to Government due to shattered community affected by Naga and Kuki clash. Besides, the problems of territorial integrity became big issue all over the state. It leads to development of apprehension among the people living in the hill and plain area. As a result of all these problems, demand for the extension for the sixth schedule to the hill areas of Manipur has become totally diluted from tribals and leaders mind. There is no strong demand for sixth schedule by the people who are living in hill areas of Manipur. Recently, some of the groups are trying hard to avail sixth schedule provision in the Manipur hill areas and lots of debates are going on in this issue.

Regarding District Councils in Manipur, it has been a picture of suspension. The term of the last District Councils was over in 1988 and since then they have been kept under suspension and no election has been held so far. The district councils of Manipur are therefore virtually defunct now.

An attempt has been made to know the peoples awareness and their participation in demanding the application Sixth Schedule. The personal interviews were conducted among the two villages and some of the officials working in tribal development agencies. Awareness among the villagers about sixth schedule, is very less but they could remember the hill area bandh (Blocking road, Closing government

offices) called by All Tribal Student Union Manipur (ATSUM) and sixth Schedule demand committee. Some of the elders have not even heard about the Sixth Schedule. The students, village leaders, and employees have some knowledge about the demand for Sixth Schedule. Considering the fact that ATSUM was the only organization that took active part in demand for Sixth Schedule application. Kothil belongs to Minou village participated in demand for Sixth Schedule agitation. That time he was studying degree in D.M.College, Imphal. That's why he was able to participate in strikes and agitations. According to him, the participation of tribal students was also very less. In fact, it was organized by the tribal students studying in Imphal city and Manipur University. Tribal Students studying in other parts of the state did not actively participate in the demand. That is another reason for the lack of strong pressure on the State government as well as Central government.

In the process of demand for Sixth Schedule application, the other problems like Naga and Kuki conflict and problems of territorial integrity etc. came in the way. Due to these problems the spirit and enthusiasm of demanding Sixth Schedule had lost its momentum. Later on, it became difficult to mobilize people to participate in the demand for Sixth Schedule since two tribal groups (Naga and Kuki) have become rivals of one another.

Another informant who live in Khangshim village also participated in the protest. According to him, demand for Sixth Schedule extension was reaching high momentum. However, it couldn't continue in the same pace as was done before due to Naga-Kuki conflict. Due to this conflict, the demand committee couldn't proceed and got divided. People's attention had shifted from Sixth Schedule to Naga Kuki conflict. Most of the people have forgotten about the demand for Sixth Schedule, and are only concentrating on fighting and killing each other. After the conflict came down to normalcy also, Naga-Kuki tribes were not in a position to reunite again to demand for Sixth Schedule. He further narrated that these two tribes started concentrating more on their own communities like, demands of Kuki homeland and Naga tribe joining with Nagaland. Because of this reason, they are not making any attempt for demanding extension of Sixth Schedule to Manipur.

The Chairman of Khangshim village mentions that the main reason for not availing Sixth Schedule provision in Manipur hill area is due to the political leaders' carelessness and lack of initiatives on this issue. The tribal political leaders never put any pressure on state government as well as central government. On the other hand, especially the tribal development ministers are not interested to have Sixth Schedule provision because all the power enjoyed by them, will be transferred to the local people, if the provision of sixth schedule is implemented in tribal areas. Then village authority will have strong hold regarding any issue related to tribal people. Quite often, political leaders have been talking about the Sixth Schedule issue during the time of assembly election campaign. After elections are over, they simply ignore the issue, and never look back to consider the issue as important for tribal development. There is possibility of getting Sixth Schedule facilities in Manipur hill area, if the tribal political leaders unite together and take initiative about the issue. But it is not likely to happen since they have antagonism among themselves.

Another employee working in Chandel D.C. office also commented that as far as the demand for Sixth Schedule is concerned, there is no hope of getting it if we consider the present Manipur situation. There are lots of other problems which made people to forget about Sixth Schedule. It is better to revive the earlier Autonomous District Council. So that tribal people can have at least some voice about their problems and prospects despite its limited provisions. It is always better to have something instead of losing everything. As of now, most of the tribal people feel that the existing Autonomous District Council election should be conducted as soon as possible to restart the functioning of Autonomous District Council in Manipur hill areas.

Now, tribals of Manipur are left out with more problems. Because they are neither getting benefit from sixth schedule nor from autonomous district councils. Moreover, some of the officials and villagers revealed that political leaders are not serious about sixth schedule issue in Manipur. Otherwise, it would have succeeded long back. The reasons for un successful demand of sixth schedule was due to lack of mass involvement and inability to give strong pressure to the political leaders. In fact, majority of tribals are not aware about the demand for the extension of sixth schedule

in hill areas of Manipur. It is very much necessary to make tribals of Manipur to be aware of sixth schedule and their active involvement from different sections of tribals are necessary for effective demand of the sixth schedule.

To sum up, it can be understood from the above discussion, the study villages socio-economic life have been disturbed due to the existing unrest problems like insurgency and tribal conflict. Besides, non- functioning of ADC also affected villages development process in various aspects. Above all, villagers are not able to lead a peaceful life, which is one of the important factor for bringing socio- economic development progress in the society. All these factors hamper the development progress in both the villages especially Minou village

## **CHAPTER-7**

### **SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGE IN THE VILLAGES:**

The discussion in the earlier chapters has **showed** that a lot has been **tried** in the past, but the problems persist. As indicated, the changing schemes of tribal development continues to create new problems. However, in spite of problems, it is observed that development activities have made some impact on the tribal life and their socio-economic activities.

The **Manipur** tribal's way of life a hundred years ago had known no variation whatever for generations before that. In recent years, however, there have been tremendous **changes** so that many salient features of tribal life have completely disappeared. Tribals today are no longer insulated from various outside influences as they were in the days of yore. The present century has witnessed sudden and drastic changes and these, plus the more gradual changes which are occurring daily, have caused the present age to be labelled an age of transition. There is no aspect of tribal life which has not been touched by changes for whether we look at the tribal economically, politically or socially and in the religious fields, many transformations have been effected (**Horam.M.1978: 34**).

The days of head hunting and warfare were cut short by the intervention of the British through legislations and the various tribes have come a long way since then. They turned from the thrill of head hunting and fighting to the more useful though

comparatively tame task of agriculture, which was their occupation even in the good old days. With independence of India began a large-scale traffic between Manipur and the rest of the country. Commercial activities like shop keeping, etc were at first not taken by the tribals, certain business minded communities of North, West and Central India came to settle in the hills which had hitherto been "Excluded areas". With them came new ideas, customs, beliefs and goods, as also know how of successful businessman ship and no doubt a fair share of dishonesty and exploitation. The other states of India became a reality and not just names of distant places, and people of a country who had not communicated for centuries met, exchanged and imbibed each others ways. Like everything else these new contacts have brought their share of changes some of which are decidedly for the worse. On the brighter side there is the fulfilment of age-old need for better communication and greater contacts with the rest of the country and consequently with the rest of the world. The tribals have adopted new standards of living, which are at times conflicting with their own traditional ways. The needs of the average man are multiplying daily, to meet which, simple farmers have overnight turned to new occupations involving quick money making. This is injuring agriculture in general and weaving in particulars, especially when this last named is the only cottage industry existing today. Other tribal crafts like pottery work, basket making and such other are threatening to disappear altogether.

True that the government is doing a lot to encourage local handicrafts but no amount of encouragement can take the place of spontaneous and artistic creation.

#### **CHANGES AT VILLAGE LEVEL:**

In Machi block, Khangshim and Minou villages are near to Kakching town hence there is urban impact on the people because they are interacting with the urban area daily. At the same time, Minou village is little far away from town, and in many ways this village is representing the tribal scene of Manipur. Whereas Khangshim village is as equally developed like other plain villages of Manipur.

The socio economic conditions of the these two villages have also undergone changes due to the impact of spread of education, participation in the politics,

urbanisation, development activities, rapid development in transport and communications, and Christianity. Infact, all these factors have brought and neccesitated the transformation among the villagers and their social relationships.

#### **CHANGE IN ECONOMIC ASPECTS:**

The basic economy of the people is primarily based on agriculture. The agricultural produce of people are paddy, potatoes, groundnut, and vegetables. The main crop is paddy. According to the villagers, in the past, they were practising only shifting cultivation on large scale. With the process of development, only few years back, they learnt to cultivate in plain areas. Some of the villagers are possessing land in the plain areas and are doing settled cultivation. However, even today, shifting cultivation is predominant form of agriculture among these tribes. As mentioned previously there have been some changes in their agricultural methods. They started cultivating less area of jhum land for paddy, because it took more time from sowing to harvesting, and paddy cultivation in jhum land is not economical for their livelihood. Because of these reasons, tribals are cultivating cash crops such as potatoes, ginger, groundnut etc and vegetables in major portion of the land. So that they can earn their day to day expenditure by selling their cash crops and vegetables. It has enabled them to supplement their expenditure round the year.

With regard to settled cultivation, agricultural methods and implements of tribals are similar to the non-tribals of Manipur. Settled cultivation process starts in the beginning of rainy season in the month of June/ July. Earlier, ploughing of the field was done by male labourers with the help of oxen or buffaloes. It is observed that tractor is being used extensively in these two villages for ploughing. Villagers use oxen only when the work cannot be carried out by using tractor.

They used cow dung manure and compost for a long time. Infact, this is not seen now in these villages. All the villagers who practise settled cultivation depend mainly on chemical fertilisers. Besides, they sowed high yielding variety of seed in their plain field and they are also using insecticide. Sixty five families in these two villages who practised settled cultivation are benefited by HYV. Some villagers got HYV from

government agencies and others buy from their neighbours. As a whole, government has introduced HYV paddy seed and people are familiar with HYV of paddy. As a result, all the families practising settled cultivation are getting more Produce from this variety of seed. However, using of fertiliser and HYV seeds are not common in shifting cultivation. They used their own method for the fertilising the land. They generally burn the weeds and shrubs of the fallow land and the ashes are used as fertiliser.

After harvesting of paddy, villagers cultivate Mustard and potatoes in wet land. These crops are for household consumption as well as for sale. Those who have surplus sell it to the other people for cash income.

Besides, the villagers started new business activities like small-scale business, trading in goods from Moreh etc. The villagers are also going to other plain area centres for earning money, which was not seen in the past. Those who are not having land to cultivate are engaged as wage labour, businessmen etc. People who possess land are also engaged in marketing and selling goods and vegetables. It is observed that there has been increase in business ventures in these villages especially in the **Khangshim** village. There are number of grocery shops, Pan dukans, small scale business, tea stalls, hotels and rice mills etc. Some also specialized as goods traders. Villagers of Khangshim support their family with these businesses whereas it is not possible in Minou village because of fewer customers.

### **IMPACT OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION FACILITIES:**

Communication plays a vital role in the process of modernization. Minou village is situated on the top of the hill area. It is very difficult to reach this village even on foot. Transport and communication in this area of Machi block were very poor about **15** years ago, and so was the case with mass media also.

Earlier, for Minou villagers, collecting jungle products and also hunting were the means to earn the necessities of life. Now a days, agriculture and other allied activities



are their main source of income. They are totally depending on market centre for selling their products and obtaining household consumption items. Initially, footpath, which connected Machi to Kakching was laid in 1948. Later, in 1980 the road came under the purview of PWD and expanded to ply automobiles and lorries. It is continuing till today. Before the main road was laid, they used to go by foot. In early morning men and women start their trip towards the Kakching market in small batches carrying agricultural and forest produce on the heads or hung from bamboo pole on the shoulders. They carry to the market whatever little they can produce or find in the forest. These commodities are either sold or exchanged against certain other essential commodities such as rice, salt, tobacco etc. Those who can afford more money buy some luxury items for their houses. It is really a difficult task for them to travel such a long distance, especially on the hill track. According to the villagers of Minou, those days, they couldn't visit Kakching market regularly due to lack transport facilities. On the other hand the people from Khangshim village which is situated on the main road are not facing the problem of transport facilities. They are prosperous and many of the development schemes such as housing, weaving, animal husbandry etc have been available to this village.

It is also observed that there is little improvement in transport and communication facilities available in the Minou village as compared to earlier condition. However, improved communication system is highly essential for this region. As of now, Minou village is well connected with neighbouring town Kakching. It is the nearest market centre for them. They go to this market very frequently to sell their product and to purchase their domestic requirements. The villagers also go to the major marketing centres i.e., Imphal. In the marketing centre, these people come into contact with traders and customers from different places of this region and thereby coming into contact with non-tribal people. The market centre provides them meeting point for economic and cultural exchange with other people. Younger people are spending their time in plain areas by watching movies etc, which was not possible in the past. Apart from this, establishment of Post office increased their connections with other people, who are far-off the village.

With the improvement of transport facilities it is also seen that villagers are taking interest towards rearing of cattle, Pigs, as demands are more in the Kakching and other places. Each and every family in the Minou village is strongly involved in animal husbandry activities whereas it is less in **Khangshim** village.

### **INCREASE IN EXPENDITURE:**

One of the fundamental change that came about in Minou and Khangshim villages is the gradual elimination of the old life style. Introduction of western way of life has created a demand for consumer goods, which are never before known to them. The expenditure has also been increased through creation of such artificial and superficial needs. The whole village population became dependent on external supply and assistance. It also lead to the increase in their family expenditure with regards to their food, material possessions, dress, and ornaments.

Traditionally people of Minou and Khangshim used to have rice and curry, and they used to have meal thrice a day. Occasionally oily foods and non-vegetarian foods are **consumed** during some festivals and marriage ceremonies. There are some changes due to their frequent contact with plain area people. Now a days, inhabitants of Minou and Khangshim are having meal twice a day. Instead of early morning meal which is left over of night dinner, they are taking breakfast of different varieties such as tea and snacks, puree, bread, khichri etc. They are frequently taking non-vegetarian food. These are not common among the Minou villagers.

Taking of tea is observed among the people of Minou and Khangshim villages. People are taking tea and snacks during their agricultural work. Thus, their way of life is undergoing change everyday. Now eggs, milk, oil are also extensively used in daily food items, which didn't form part of their food in the past.

The fast changes are those in their material equipment like lamps, lanterns, matches, battery, torches, shoes, umbrellas, modern aluminium and other utensils, which replaced the earthen and wooden ones. These tribals today tend to be increasingly

sophisticated. These are also one of the reason for increase in their family expenditure.

Expenditure levels of employees are slightly higher than that of the other villagers. Most of the government employees and businessmen have luxury goods such as televisions, music systems, double cots etc. It is also noticed that there are some households in Khangshim village using both kerosene and LPG for cooking purpose, whereas Minou people still depend heavily on fire wood for cooking. Cup boards, dinning table, crockery, are uncommon among government employees of Khangshim and Minou village. Chair and table are very common in the houses of the Khangshim village whereas they are few in the Minou village.

In Khangshim village, as they are very near to Kakching, every household is having bicycles. They are used to visit Kakching by bicycle. Minou people, do not have bicycles, as they can not use cycle because the terrain is hilly and rough. But, some of the students in Minou who are studying in Plain area, are maintaining cycle for going to school and tuition. For the villagers, either they go on foot or by lorry. Apart from this, some of the villagers are also maintaining scooters, bikes in Khangshim and Minou villages.

So far as the assets in the house are concerned, Khangshim village people are in a better position economically as compared to Minou village. The only reason is that due to proximity to Kakching town, the people of Khangshim village get more opportunities to earn their livelihood. Moreover, Both the villages got electricity facility. And it also helps to the villagers, especially women who are engaged in weaving during night time. It makes it easy to move around the village during night time.

### **INDEBTEDNESS:**

Earlier, people of Khangshim and Minou were not habituated to borrow money and they managed to minimise their expenditure according to their available income. It is noticed that there are 27 households in Khangshim village and 19 households in the

Minou village, who are living under the state of indebtedness. Because they don't have surplus income to manage their family since the expenditure of families have been increased compared to there past. Generally villagers borrow money for meeting expenses of children's education, treatment, marriage etc. Infact, children and youth in the village are spending lots of money for their dresses and other activities like watching movies, parties etc. Besides, Almost all parents are eager to provide education to their children. The government employees and businessmen are earning more than other villagers, Eventhough some of them are in the state of indebtedness because of their lavish expenditure on day to day items. This can be understood by observing their standard of living.

Inspite of indebtedness, there are 31 households in **Khangshim** and 5 in Minou households having insurance policy in the name of their children or their family members. Villagers are slowly developing consciousness about saving of money, so that it will be helpful for their future.

#### **CHANGE IN HOUSE TYPES:**

The villagers build their houses mainly of wood, bamboo, and thatch. There is no garden or enclosure around the house. The traditional house is not divided into different rooms. There are two doors to the house, one at the front another at the back side. Rarely one or two windows are found in the traditional house. The present generation people are going for modern type of houses. The improved economic condition and spread of education is the main reasons for the construction of modern type houses. Due to lack of windows, the traditional houses are unhygienic and unhealthy and the attitude of the people is changing towards new pattern of house. However, traditional types of houses are visible in the Minou village, whereas they are not seen in the Khangshim village. Besides, with the help of housing scheme implemented by government, some households are living in the modern type of houses.

### **DRESS PATTERN:**

The tribal youth today are as conscious of their appearance as youth are anywhere in the world. They are spending more money on clothes, jewellery, and cosmetics than their parents. Dress pattern of tribals, especially of present generation in Khangshim and Minou has changed completely. Only women who belong to old generation are still wearing their traditional dress. The present generation is fond of new and colourful clothes, which are expensive. A change in hairstyle, is observed among most of the younger generation of Khangshim and Minou. They are changing their hairstyle or dress according to current fashion. Use of soap, powder, cosmetics, shoes, chappals are observed among the people of Khangshim and Minou.

### **IMPACT ON MARRIAGE AND FAMILY:**

Availability of transport facilities, proximity to Highway, continuous contact with people of plains along with increase of literacy in the villages have influenced and speeded up changes during last decades. Changes have taken place in both the villages with regards to marriage and family. It is said that early marriages were prevalent traditionally among Manipur tribes in general, particularly in these two villages.

Earlier, Marriage was generally endogamous in the sense that a tribal cannot marry plain Hindu person. They don't have any relation with plain in the past due to poor transport facilities. Apart from this, most of the older generation in both the villages have had the marriage at the very early age. As narrated by villagers, the practice of early marriage among tribals was there traditionally, and most of the girls are engaged by the time they crossed adolescence.

With the changing practices and time, the practice of early marriage is on decline. This is because boys and girls are engaged themselves in education. It leads to postponement of their marriage. However, It was noticed that there are tribe -caste

marriage present in Khangshim and Minou village. This is because they're having good relation with other plain area people specially those who are studying in plain area. Consequently, it leads to love marriages. There are incidences where boys and girls of these two villages have got married with plain Hindu people.

Thomas, aged 28 a Maring tribal from Minou village has married a girl from plain area of Manipur. And the girl belongs to Hindu community. These two met when they were studying in the same college. Then they started having affair and came close to each other. Since they were from different community, they were not able to express their proposals to their parents. So they eloped and married without their parents consent. In the beginning both the parents were not in a position to accept their marriage. But later, both the families have accepted them. His younger brother also got married with his wife's sister. His brother's marriage was held four years after his marriage.

Korang, aged 35, belongs to Khoibu tribe lives in Khangshim village. He also got married with one Hindu girl from Thoubal district. As told by an informant, the girl's parents didn't accept their marriage proposal. So they eloped and got married in his village. The girl's parents accepted him after one year of their marriage. He is having three children and running one grocery shop in the village Market.

Kopham is secretary of village authority council in Minou village. His daughter got married to one Hindu boy from Kakching town. As narrated by the informant, they know each other when she was studying in Kakching college. The boy used to come to his house quite often. Later, His daughter eloped with the boy. But, marriage ceremony was not performed due to opposition from the boy's family. She is living with her husband and two children.

As pointed out by Mipun.J (1978:176) the tribal joint family system is one of the most important hindrances for the development of the tribals. The properties of the family are regarded as the common property. Therefore, one doesn't take much interest in enhancement of the common property. Moreover, the members deposit their income to the head of the family. The members have no chance to utilise the income of their

own, as per their choice. This system does not help in motivating the family members for more production. It affects their economy. With the realisation of this fact, there has been change in family structure among **Khangshim** and Minou villagers. Younger people prefer to live in nuclear family for easy maintenance as well as for improving the family economy. This is how nuclear families are dominating in both the villages.

It is also seen that there is decline in social bond between parents, son, and brother after getting married. For instance, Morang, aged 65, living in Minou village. He has two sons and two daughters. All of them got married. His wife expired five years back. He is suffering from some peculiar skin diseases and staying alone in his traditional house. His two sons are living separately after their marriage. They are not at all taking care of him. They have almost deserted him.

Besides, a considerable change has been noticed in the size of the family. Earlier, people preferred to have more number of children since there was less population in the tribal villages and plenty of forest land. Moreover, life span of children was uncertain due to natural calamities, epidemics. Rate of mortality was also high due to lack of awareness and poor health facilities. It is seen that the size of family has come down to five or six members in all the cases and majority of the households are having five or less than five members. The elder members of the villages remember that they used to have atleast ten members in each and every household earlier. They are conscious about family planning.

**Table-5.4:** Shows the Average Family Size of Khangshim and Minou Villages;

Ranges of family members	Khangshim Village	Minou village	Total
0-3	8	15	23
3-6	73	82	155
6-above	6	15	21

### **SOCIAL RELATIONS:**

In the past there were hardly any social relations between **tribals** and **non-tribals**. In the past, tribals were never allowed to marry Hindu or Meitei from plain areas. Moreover, Tribals were not allowed to enter their houses and take food together.

Today, the hierarchy is not being adhered to. This is evident from the fact that inter-tribal and Tribal- non- tribal marriages are taking place in these villages. Unlike in the past, it is seen that tribals are freely moving together with non-tribal people in plain areas. These people are maintaining cordial relations with people from plain areas. They are not being discriminated while entering the houses of plain Hindu people and Hindu people are also mixing well with these tribals. It is observed that some of the villagers of **Khangshim** and Minou often visit the houses of Hindu people in **Kakching** and other places.

During Christmas festival these people invite their friends from plain areas to participate in the Christmas. Lots of people come to attend the festival. These types of social relations were not seen in the earlier generation.

### **STATUS OF WOMEN:**

Women enjoy the status of being more or less equal partners of their men folk in the economic activities. Eventhough, women were restricted from working outside for earning money. Both men and women of these villages started working outside the villages to earn money in activities like selling goods and vegetables etc. There is no looking down of females working outside the village. As of now they are more modern compared to those of earlier period. They have liberty of doing any work that man does. Earlier, there were only 2 or 3 educated females in a village, which has now increased almost equal to the number of male.



Especially in the Minou village it is observed that it is women who work along with men and earn money. Though men earn money by doing hard work, during some seasons they will have leisure, which is not in the case of women. Women in the Minou are not only engaged in household work but also engaged in the agricultural fields as labour and in others fields as wage labourers, thus earning money. Their dependence on men in monetary aspect is less because of their own earnings.

In the other hand, In Khangshim village, wives of government employees and traders are not working outside to supplement their household income. Government employees do not let their wives to work outside, as they are earning sufficient income to run their family, and they try to maintain their 'so called' prestige. Women of trader's households are helping their husbands in their business activities and so they are not in position to work outside. They are engaged in household work and taking care of their children. Though they are given freedom in spending money on market and purchasing, their personal earnings are nil, because of which they depend on their men solely for cash needs. For women of employees and traders, despite having less workload, and easier lifestyles, a change in their mode of living is observed.

On the whole, women of Minou village are engaged themselves in hard agricultural work when compared to that of Khangshim village.

#### **POLITICAL ORGANISATION:**

The village councils administer both the villages. Earlier the village council members were used to be selected from the old age group. They gave lots of importance to the aged people, and all the seats of village council were occupied by the aged persons.

In the recent past, there were no development activities in the villages and village Authority(*Yonkhroi/Yonchararoi and Yunlhai-ur*) members are not aware of such activities. Besides, majority of the members are uneducated people. This is being one reason for the slow development in tribal villages especially in the Minou village. Now, the present generation have realised that the leadership has an important role to

play in the progress and development of the community. The more enlightened and dynamic person is the leader, more rapid is the progress of the community. Similarly, if the leadership is conservative, uneducated and traditional, the progress of the community would be slow. It is clear that they were slow in the process of development as compared to present conditions. The socio-economic and geographical set up of these **tribals**, especially Minou village, comes in the way of rapid progress and development. There is limited scope for change to take place in these people since there are lots of corruption and other problems existing in Manipur State. It is observed that the members of village authority are from younger people in both the villages. Selection of village authority members is based on the qualification and their social network with other people. Villagers are also conscious about the criteria for selecting members of village Authority.

Members are educated as well as very active in the village development work as compared to that of earlier days. They are looking after various issues with regards to crime, customs, and development activities. Older people were not taking any kind of initiatives towards village development activities.

There are youth clubs in both the villages. Through them the youth started involving themselves in the development and social services for their village. The establishment of playground in the village premises made youngsters to take part in sports activities. They started playing football, which was not there in the village. They participated in the district level sports meets. The villagers encourage the youth by giving donations to participate in sports meets around the state. This type of sports meets give them lot of opportunity to interact with other people. It helps these youngsters to develop their personality as well as social outlook. Most of the youth in village have interest in being healthy and athletic.

### **IMPROVEMENT IN EDUCATION:**

Twenty years back, dormitory system was existing in the Minou village. According to the villagers, dormitory was constructed like their typical house but without cover of wall, and situated in the middle of the village. After the entry of Christianity and

establishment of school in the village, dormitory system has disappeared from the people.

In 1960s and 1970s, Schools were established for the betterment of the villagers. Unfortunately, there was less interest from the students as well as parents except few. During that time, there were less number of literate persons in both the villages. The earlier generations of these villages were not aware of the opportunities that education could bring to them. They were primarily depending on land for which they didn't see the necessity for education and it was for this reason that they engaged their children in agriculture work along with them.

These days they are aware about the need and resultant benefits of education. Hence the present generation is concentrating more on the education of their children. Parents started taking interest towards education irrespective of their income level. Most of the parents are spending substantial amounts of money on their children's education. It has put some kind of pressure on their family economy as their incomes are less.

It is also observed that education has its own importance in the villages, and these people respect educated persons of their community which in turn raises the social status of the educated individual over the others. Khangshim villagers are more progressive in their outlook towards education when compared to Minou Villagers. Government employees are more in Khangshim village rather than Minou village. Besides, they are having good social networks with other people in plain area and different development agencies.

As a whole, Both the villagers are strongly involved in education. This is a positive aspect of change among these people's life.

In spite of these positive changes, there are some problems among the educated youth in these villages. After finishing of their education. They are not able to get Government job due to severe unemployment problem in the state as well as improper implementation of reservation act which is a special provision for tribal people in

Manipur. According to them, the reserved jobs are being given to the general category people who are better educated than the tribals. Educated youths are not willing to engage themselves in agricultural work as they are out of touch with agricultural work for quite a long time.

Consequently, the youth started developing connections with the insurgency groups and they are very much influenced by insurgency groups. Insurgents visit the villages very often. They project themselves as the true social workers, fighting against the atrocities and exploitation of tribal and poor people. Due to long time relationship with insurgency groups, some of the youth are indirectly supporting insurgency. On other hand, it creates lots of tension among the parents about their children's future.

The increased urban and modern life style had its impact on the villagers group solidarity. Group solidarity is decreasing slowly and individualistic attitude is increasing. Inequality in income, and poverty because of unemployment are some of the reasons for committing crime. Sometimes, the youth are also addicted to alcohol, drugs, etc, due to frustration in their life. It is noticed that some of the youth and other people secretly indulge in smoking, drinking and drugs. Infact, most of the crimes are committed under the influence of alcohol and use of drugs.

Moshang, aged 27, a Khoibu tribal living in Khangshim village. When he was studying degree in Imphal, he was addicted to drugs. His expenditure was more than the normal expenses needed by a college student. It was because of his extra spending on drugs. His parents didn't notice about this since he was staying away from them. Later, his parents came to know about his behaviour when he returned home without completing his degree course. His parents admitted him to new life centre for rehabilitation. Then, he fully recovered and returned to normal life. He was saved because his family was in position to afford to put him in new life centre. He was kept there for five months by paying eight hundred rupees per month. As narrated by informant, there are other youth who have got addicted to drugs are still in the same position due to their parents inability to afford to admit them to new life centre.

Kophun belongs to Maring tribe and living in Minou Village. He got married to one lady from his own village five years back. He is having one son. Recently, he got divorce from his wife. Actually, he is addicted to alcohol and spent lots of money on alcohol. Generally, he used to quarrel with his wife everyday. At last, his wife decided to divorce him. Infact, divorce was decided under the supervision of village Authority. Now both of them are living separately.

Incidents such as above are more among the people of Minou and the incidents of such nature are less in Khangshim. As result of this, parents are apprehensive about their children.

### HEALTH AND HYGEINE:

Earlier consciousness about health and hygiene were not so popular among these tribes. The people were illiterate and neglected about the requirement of personal health and environmental sanitation. On the other hand, their poor socio-economic conditions and poor network with other plain people did not allow them to pause and think over the matter. Infact they did not take adequate care of themselves or of their children when they are ailing. Unless a person was bedridden for a long time, none cared to give him any type of medicine or treatment. They believed in local medicines and did not take any kind of modern medicine just fifteen years back.

These trends have changed with the improvement of road communication, education, and their social networks with plain Hindu people. These days, they are very much taking care of their hygiene with regard to health and clothes. They do take bath everyday with soaps and clothes are washed in regular basis. Moreover, Shampoos and glycerine are used extensively to protect from dandruff and dry skin especially in winter. But this is not common among the older people.

They do care for their children also. It is quite clear from their participation in the polio eradication programme. Besides They are mainly depending on modern medicine to cure small ailments like fever, cough and headache etc. Sometimes they go for herbal medicine man available in the village. In addition to this, Pastor of the

village prays for the patients for early recovery from ailment. The use of modern medicine is more among the **Khangshim** villagers whereas it is less among the Minou villagers. **Infact**, they have many financial constraints to go for modern medicine.

According to villagers in the past, there was no proper prenatal and postnatal care by the tribal people. Therefore, Infant mortality rate as well as pre- mature deaths were high in **Maring** and **Khoibu** tribes and the reason for this are such as malnutrition, ignorance of health care, death at the time of delivery etc. Now a days, they are strongly following the modern health care system. As result of this, they do consult the doctor regularly. Women are not engaged in hard work during their pregnancy period. So even for child delivery, either physician or Nurse does everything. Some of the well to do families are also preferring delivery in the hospital.

There was no modern water supply facility in Minou village just a few years back. **In** those days, villagers were depending on hill stream water. Therefore, they faced hardships in the matter of drinking water especially in summer, when the water level goes down in the hill well or the well gets dry. There was no alternative arrangement for drinking water. It causes many problems among the villagers.

Now the situation is slightly better after the installation of two hand pumps in the village. Atleast, villagers are able to get water whenever they want. They are not much worried about shortage of water in the village. On the other hand, Khangshim villagers are always in better position in terms of infrastructure facilities since its inception. With regard to sanitary conditions in the villages, it is observed that all households in khangshim village are maintaining latrine at home Whereas the number is very less in Minou village. Earlier, they did not have idea of maintaining latrine at home and they used to go in to dense area of forest or far away from the village. Majority of the households in Minou village are not maintaining latrine at home even to day. It leads to lots of inconvenience during rainy season and odd time.

Of these two villages, socio-economic development is much faster in Khangshim village whereas it is little bit slow in Minou village. In general, it may be stated that those who are found to be educationally advanced are also economically better off.

Long before any of these changes were felt in these tribes, the tribals had, in large numbers, embraced Christianity, it was brought to them by the white missionaries. The Christian religion proved beneficial in countless ways leading to removal of superstitions, introduction of schools and hospitals, cleanliness and a turning away from head hunting and such other practices (Horam,1978:39).

Along with these positive aspects of change, there are other negative effects on tribal culture also. There are many such beautiful songs in the tribal culture, which are extremely melodious, and having depth of meaning. Today, their songs and dances are meant for display along with some cultural troupe, but the life in them is already lost. Their rich cultural heritage is being wiped out by the Christian religion.

## **CHAPTER-8**

### **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS:**

Development is a composite term, which includes various aspects of human activities **such** as economic, social, political, or technical point of view. The definitions given by anthropologists like Belshaw, Lucy Mair, and Vidyarthi clearly show that development is a holistic phenomenon. Generally, anthropologists strongly believe that social cultural factors are integral part of the dynamics of growth and change. United Nations Development Programme measures human development by combining indicators of gross domestic product per capita, adjusted for local purchasing power; life expectancy at birth; adult literacy and the number of persons enrolled in educational institutions. Anthropologists do not accept just economic approach to development. Over the decades, anthropologists have been constantly engaged in the various areas of development studies. Mathur (1976) says that they are best equipped to help planners in dealing with the development problems of the poor.

Anthropological studies in India are more among the **tribal** communities. The special emphasis given on scheduled tribes by the government of India further led anthropologist to concentrate more on problems of tribals. Their attention is mostly drawn towards various socio- cultural aspects of tribals and problems of welfare. Three main schools of thought with regard to the approach towards tribals in India i.e., isolation, assimilation, and integration are well known. Integration has been continuing as the policy for the tribal people in the country.

The Government of India has been taking special care concerning the welfare of the tribal people ever since **Independence**. During pre British period, the tribal



communities in India remained fully or partially isolated from others in the country, and they remained backward. The British policy of isolation increased the misery of the tribal communities. The founders of Indian constitution seriously considered about the miserable conditions of the tribals who were segregated from the national mainstream and provided for special measures towards them.

Over five decades of independence witnessed the arrival of various committee reports dealing with socio- economic situation of the tribal population, and evaluation of the functioning of development agencies and their policies. Based on their reports, new strategies, initiatives and approaches came into existence for the development of tribals. Consequently, efforts were made in successive five year plans to uplift the poor tribal living in our country. In spite of all these efforts, desired results have not been achieved. There are several other constraints, which hamper the Tribal development process in India. Therefore, tribal development studies continue to receive attention from various scholars.

The available literature on tribal development studies carried out by various scholars throws light on different problems of tribal development and offer valuable suggestions for the betterment of tribal communities. Infact government has taken up many initiatives and provisions based on the guidelines provided by the committees reports and other expert's studies. Despite of continuous efforts tribals are still living in the pathetic condition. It is true that tribal development problem in the country could not be considered as stereotyped phenomenon. It varies from one region to another region. Thus, it is important to study all the tribal inhabited regions in different parts of the country through micro-level studies, to gain better understanding of various tribal problems. The present scenario of tribal society became more complex as compared to the earlier situation. It is noticed that most of the studies conducted on tribal development have not focused on problems of unrest that is very much part of tribal development in North Eastern region. The root cause and impact of unrest need a special attention for better development in this region. These kinds of problems are more prominently existing in Manipur State. The present study is an attempt to focus on the problems of tribal development especially those associated with unrest in Manipur.

The objectives of the present study are as follows: understanding the history of tribal development in Manipur and the associated constraints through plan wise perspective; provide an ethnographic profile of the study villages; study the development programmes carried out by various departments and agencies in the selected villages; examine the role and contribution of administrators, institutions and NGOs with regard to village level development activities; examine the impact of unrest on tribal development and the socio- economic changes in the study villages.

In the backdrop of development scenario of Manipur two tribal villages have been taken up for intensive study along with their linkages with the development institutions in the region. The study combines historical and ethnographic approach combined with analysis the functioning of development agencies and programmes.

The condition of the Manipur tribes before Independence shows the impact of British policy of isolation and maintainance of the statuesquoe. The tribals lived in their remote hills and forests. Development activities in tribal areas were initially started by the missionaries. Later on, government officials started taking some initiatives for them. Planning for the development of the economy of Manipur was introduced with the launching of the first five year plan. During the second five year plan, Manipur became a union territory and plan outlay increased to more than four times that of the earlier plans. However, specific and special allocation was not made for tribal development in the earlier plans. It was done in the later stages. The increasing expenditure as well as the development programmes carried out during successive five year plans lead to the improvement of socio economic conditions and education of the hill people. Five autonomous district councils were established in the tribal areas, and development programmes were implemented through twenty tribal development blocks in Manipur. Directorate of scheduled tribes was set up in January 1976. The objective of the eight five year plan was aimed at better socio economic development of the tribals with due consideration to the existing socio economic conditions. The ninth five year plan continued with the general strategies followed during the eight five year plan period. Along with the plans launched by government, formal agencies like NEC, DDTBC, and MTDC are taking steps for the tribal

development. Moreover, there are non-government organizations such as the church and the church run organizations, which are constantly engaged in the development of tribals in Manipur.

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 government because of large scale corruption among officials and improper implementation of tribal development schemes. Therefore, majority of hill tribes in Manipur suffer from the absence of proper infrastructure and communication facilities.

Manipur has ranked ninth position on the human development index in India. This is mainly because of better literacy. But, Manipur continued to be one of the most backward states in the country. The state heavily depends on other central pool states for its food requirements. Industries and factories remained closed due to law and order problems, and more particularly due to the demand for money by the insurgency groups. Dearth of banking facilities affected the spread of the bank credit linked schemes. Manipur is ahead of other states with regard to the educational improvement but it is lacking behind in technical and professional education. The same situation continues in the field of medical and health services as well.

The employment opportunities are confined to government employment and the scope in private sector is not favourable due to lack of industrial base. Government employment has been static due to ban on new recruitments because of severe financial crisis in the state. It resulted in more number of alcoholics and unemployed particularly among the educated youth. The employment problem is one of the main causes for social tensions through manifestations in the forms of drug addiction and unrest. In addition to the problems, implementation of reservation act, for SC and ST in Manipur has not been enforced effectively. This certainly brings a great disappointment especially to the educated tribal youth. These factors leads to hampering of socio economic development in Manipur State.

The study villages are located in the Chandel district which came into existence on the 13 May 1974. This district is situated in hilly region. It had a slow pace of development due to variety of factors including that of the physical, cultural, and economic constraints that have resulted in the general absence of infrastructure, amenities, and services affecting the living standards of the people. Within the limits of Chandel district lay Machi Block. This block came into existence on 6 th January, 1994. The entire population of this block is tuned towards rural life style. There is only one police station located at Machi block without proper infrastructure, and one nonfunctioning bank. It is notable that there is hardly any telephone facility available in Machi block. Furthermore, there is improper management of development activities at the block level, and therefore, it is a common to see the block office remained closed most of the time. This block is considered as one of the most backward tribal development blocks in Chandel district.

Both the study villages come under the administration of Machi block in Chandel district. The two tribal villages i.e., one in plain and another one in hill area have been selected for the present study. The plain village was established just thirty years back whereas the hill village got established hundred years back. The plain area tribal village is called Khangshim village, which is located on the left side of the NH-39 linking Kakching and Moreh and Chandel district. The other one is called Minou village, which is located on the top of hill. Both the villages have homogenous population. Khoibu tribe are inhabited in Khangshim village whereas Minou village is resided by the Maring tribe. The Maring tribe is settled in Chandel District of **Manipur** centering around Pallel, extending their jurisdiction even upto Kabow Valley of Myanmar. This tribe may be considered to be one of the backward tribes in Manipur. Khoibus are immediate neighbour to Maring in terms of habitation. As such, there is frequent social interaction between the two tribes. Religious activities, social activities like groups and sports etc are jointly organized. There are even inter marriages between the two tribes. By this reason, other people recognized them as Maring tribe. However, the Khoibus are not pure Maring in the sense that they had a different tribal origin and different dialect.

The majority of the villagers were converted to Christianity long back, except few elderly persons in Minou village. Traditional practices of religious activities were not found in the villages. **It** was observed that both the villages are leading a life in tune with Christian religion. Agriculture is the main occupation practiced by majority of the villagers. They are practicing settled as well as **jhum** cultivation. Some of the villagers are engaged in various activities such as basket making, carpentry, blacksmith, weaving, livestock rearing, and collection of minor forest product. Besides, some of villagers are working in different state government and central government departments.

In order to fulfill the minimum basic needs and survive each and every community requires certain basic infrastructure. Villagers in the plain village have been obtaining more facilities such as irrigation, electricity, transport, market, and co-operative institutions. It certainly made it easy to cope up with their day-to-day socio- economic activities, whereas hill villagers have been deprived of such infrastructure facilities. The comparison between the two villages clearly revealed the advantages enjoyed by the plain villages with better transport and communication facilities.

The development schemes were implemented through various agencies for the tribals basically aim at bringing some positive changes by increasing the productivity and level of income for beneficiaries. Moreover, efforts were made to minimize the existing gap between the tribal and non-tribal groups. Keeping this goal into consideration, schemes had been carried out by various agencies in both the villages. Agriculture and allied activities; self-employment schemes; co-operative credit; and housing schemes were the main development schemes for the upliftment of the villages. However, these schemes failed to give positive impact among the tribals living in both the villages. Majority of the schemes sanctioned among the villagers have gone in vain with few exceptions. For instance, irrigation scheme provided in the form of check dam failed after one and half year of its construction, thereby preventing villagers getting any benefit from the scheme. In addition to this, steps taken up towards increased agriculture production by introducing HYV paddy seeds are not useful for the majority of the tribals who are practicing jhum cultivation, as the quality of soil is not favourable to the new variety of seeds. Ultimately, it resulted in

more benefits to the plains tribal who practiced settled cultivation. Government has not given serious attention to take up measures suitable to the jhum cultivators. The distribution of other agriculture allied schemes such as sugar cane plantation; potatoes; ginger; and maize were to promote supplementary income among the tribal families. These schemes failed to produce good results due to various factors like misutilization of scheme money for family consumption, late supply of scheme items and distribution of schemes among the undeserving clients.

Animal husbandry schemes like distribution of bullocks and buffaloes relatively showed positive results as compared to other schemes. Considering the fact, one feels that distribution of bullocks and buffaloes need to be given more attention rather than spending money on other schemes. Because tribals could generate good income out of this scheme, by selling to the butchers for meat and same time they used them for agriculture purposes. Moreover, it does not conflict with seasonal cycle as seen in the horticulture related schemes. On other hand, the result shown from piggery scheme was very poor since the piglets died in the young age. The main causes of death are due to negligence and unawareness of proper rearing of piglets. Moreover, it is difficult for them to take care of animals due to their constant engagement in various kinds of agriculture and allied activities. Actually, it could have produced a good result if the agencies distributed middle age pigs, which do not require much attention like piglets.

Self-employment schemes like carpentry, weaving, small scale business, and PMRY continued to show unsuccessful results. The factors responsible for getting poor results in these schemes are due to lack of skills and improper training provided to the clients, misuse of scheme money for their family consumption, and not taking follow up or enquiry from the officials side after sanctioning of the schemes. Nevertheless, small-scale business scheme provided positive improvement among the plains villagers as it is located on the main road and they could do better business, whereas it was not successful in the hill village. One can understand that the implementation of the scheme should be done based on its suitability among the people and the location.

Housing scheme was implemented in both the villages to help the poorer sections of the community who can't afford to build their own houses and to improve their living condition with better hygiene. But housing scheme couldn't provide real benefit to the poor villagers due to insufficient house construction material provided to them and poor beneficiaries couldn't afford to buy extra requirements from their own money. Even economically better off tribals in both the villages have utilized this scheme. Similarly, the same scheme was implemented as a part of rehabilitation programme for the tribal victims who were affected during the Naga and Kuki conflict. The victims faced the similar problems.

To sum up, the land owners received proportionately more number of development benefits. Among land owners, receipt of developmental benefits is maximum among employees. This indicates the advantage of education and government employment as it helps individuals to approach the officials more easily. The programmes and schemes carried out for village level development activities show some positive aspects of change in the villages whereas the family oriented schemes or individual schemes are less successful. The reason for the successful execution of the village level development programmes is due to the dedication of village authority, who are capable of mobilizing and organizing social activities in the villages. In spite of inadequate funding from the development agencies, village authority could collect money from the villagers to make schemes successful. Infact, the involvement and participation of the people in both the villages in village level development programmes were quite encouraging. In the case of family or individual oriented schemes, majority of the villagers are unable to get any benefit and their socio-economic conditions remained same as they were before. The general reasons for the failure of schemes are: corruption; untimely grant from the officials; schemes are misused by the villagers due to poverty; commission drawn by officials; partiality of officials in selecting beneficiaries; and carelessness of research wing in studying the socio economic life of tribals. It was observed that beneficiaries never received the actual amount sanctioned for many schemes.

Improper management of schemes and inefficient implementation of suitable programmes to villages created major problems in both the villages. Some of the

basic problems, which need to be tackled are scarcity of water in hill village, and absence of health care center in the two villages. Whenever emergency of health problem occurred among the villagers, it gave lots of trouble to the patients as well as family members because of non availability of first aid medical facilities. However, Khangshim villagers are much better in this situation since they have access to Kakching town, where a hospital and clinics are available. The hill villagers are affected by lack of transport facilities and pucca road connecting them with main town. Generally, the hill people are totally cut off from the town during rainy season and it affects their family economy especially for the villagers who have to move out of the village for selling their products. Location of Khangshim village is better in terms of transport and market facilities.

The research work indicates the existence of gap between the objectives of development programmes and their implementation among the villagers. For instance, majority of the villagers are not even aware of development schemes implemented by government agencies. Some of the villagers do not know the existence of tribal development agencies. Without creating awareness among the villagers, it is difficult to get better results.

The interviews held with different officials reflect that development of tribals in Manipur is a complex issue. It needs efficient work force from top to bottom with proper initiatives and guidelines. The personnel who work for the welfare of tribals must have sense of commitment and humanitarian outlook. It is not possible only by the group of officials. Therefore, it requires serious attention from various groups and organizations to bring better development.

The role of Village Authority has been crucial in the development of these two villages. The village authority is taking care of all the problems and development activities carried out in the village. Moreover, many of the villagers whoever got development benefits from government agencies took help from the village chairman for getting the scheme in time. It was observed that chairman and secretary take initiative in implementing various kinds of development activities in both the villages. Generally, they maintain good rapport with officials and sometimes they get into



arguments with officials regarding allotment of schemes to the villages. But, most of the time village chairman had to chase after government officials for sanction and execution of development schemes. Otherwise, it is difficult to get the schemes. They maintain strong relationship with their political leaders. It was noticed that chairmen plays an important role in the assembly elections. In the last elections, under the guidance of chairman, both the villagers voted for Naga candidate irrespective of political party. This shows that village authority has very important role in the village. Besides, both the villages have their own village forests, which are controlled by village authority. Income generated from village forest is spent on social service in the village. It is important to empower Villager Authority through the revival of ADC, providing it with the status of sixth schedule, to see the better progress in Manipur tribal areas.

Education is one of the basic requirements for bringing faster socio- economic development of any community. Many efforts have been made to improve the educational level of the tribal communities. Educational levels in both the villages have shown some improvement as compared to the past. Even though, many of the children who belong to hill areas dropped from their study after junior level due to absence higher learning institutions in the nearby areas. As result of the establishment of schools in both the villages there has been gradual improvement in the literacy among the males and females. Infact, there is not much difference between male and female with regard to literacy rate. One could see elderly people taking more care of their children's education. On the other hand, one can see the negative impact of having more educated people in the villages. Especially the educated youth are more frustrated with their life due to severe unemployment problem. Besides, they are not inclined to engage themselves in hard labour work. It makes them to engage in illegal activities. The existing educational institutions in the villages are in pathetic condition due to lack of furniture and teaching aids in class room as well as unhygienic conditions created by the cattle.

The actual purpose of opening Anganwadi Centre in the village is to promote education among the children in the age of 3-6yrs and provide milk or meals for their good health. It is quite contrasting when it comes to ground reality because

Anganwadi Center is not functioning properly and not giving any sort benefits to the villagers. Officials stopped supplying requires provisions, which they used to supply in initial stage of opening of Anganwadi Center. Villagers do not feel the existence of Anganwadi Center in both the villages. Earlier, center used to provide minor treatment to the pregnant women and assist them during the time of delivery. As of now, this type of activities are not seen any more in the two villages. But, regular functioning of Anganwadi Centers are shown in the yearly report produced by the department and fund allocations are made according to the number of centers available in the state as well as district level. It is clear that money spent for Anganwadi Centers are not reaching to the tribal areas.

**Veterinary** dispensary established at Minou village got closed down for similar reasons. This veterinary dispensary could not serve its purpose to the villagers who are rearing livestock and cattle. It was observed that employees of this dispensary are getting their salary without doing their official duty. The higher authority is not taking initiative to revive the dispensary despite numerous complaints put up by village chairman. Private Nature Cure Clinic in Khangshim village is doing much better than any other institution. This clinic offers herbal treatment to villagers who are not used to take modern medicines, especially for elderly people. This clinic has been functioning regularly and giving treatment to other villagers as well.

Co-operative society established in Khangshim village remained closed since long back due to non-recovery of credit from the villagers. Initially, this co-operative society made some contribution to the villagers by providing credit to start small scale business etc. It couldn't continue for long. On the whole, Majority of the institutions set up in both the villages remained closed for quite long time, and not able to provide expected benefit to the people. It is true that most of the institutions contributed significantly in the beginning, but none of the institutions continued their activities for long. The failure of these institutions are due to lack of interest and proper attention from higher authority, and not having influential persons in the villages who could pressurize to the higher authority.

NGOs are playing active role for the development of tribals in Manipur. Their services and coverage of development activities vary from area to area. The present study shows that NGOs activities are more confined to the plain areas whereas their works are not seen in hill areas like Minou village. Some of the NGOs have taken up **various** development activities in the fields of education, health and sanitation, women and children to improve the quality of life among **Khangshim** villagers. To begin with, SERDO has initiated latrine construction programme for the villagers to promote better hygiene condition in village surrounding. Because of this programme, many of the poor villagers are availing latrine facilities at home and able to maintain hygienic surrounding. However, SERDO couldn't extend their service to the hill areas due to insurgency problem and meager financial source. The fact that nobody is willing to work sincerely in hill areas is the main reason for depriving Minou villagers from such facilities.

World Vision an NGO, has contributed significantly for the development of Khangshim village in various ways like construction of youth office, construction of culvert, digging of village well, and installation of water hand pump. All the programmes implemented by world vision are based on requirements suggested by villagers. Their programmes got good response from villagers and highly participatory. Villagers provide necessary labour and other support. Besides, World Vision rendered their service in helping school going children by providing educational items like, books, exercise books, umbrella etc. Sometimes, they give financial support for medical treatment to the children who suffer from diseases. Their activities have significant impact on the village.

WSDC another NGO, has been constantly engaged in **upliftment** of women in the study villages. This organization is helping village women through supply of credit and encourage them to start small-scale business to generate supplementary income. They provide training to the village women for making fertilizer from plants and dry leaves. Besides, they made many women to engage in weaving activity on contract basis. Most of the women in this village benefited from this organization. WSDC is involved in various social issues related to women groups and helping poor families. But it has not extended its activities to the poor women living in Minou village.

Inspite of all these activities, NGOs face many problems. Some of the basic problems are as follows: It is not so easy to create awareness about programmes in the villagers; limited resources to carry out their activities and difficulty in getting funds due to presence of many similar organizations; **Interruption** in communication facilities because of frequent bandhs and non peaceful situation in Manipur. As a whole, NGOs activities are more successful than any of the schemes implemented by government agencies. But they are not reaching to the hill areas. It is an urgent need to establish NGOs run by local educated people to carry out some development activities in the hill areas. So that youth can be useful for their own people as well as could earn livelihood through NGOs work. On the other hand, It can protect them from illegal activities like insurgency, and drug addiction.

The village church is rendering extensive services for the welfare of tribals. In both the villages, church buildings were constructed by villagers. Church administrators are taking care of church and activities held in church. Apart from this, church rendered many constructive services among the villagers. Church funds contributed by the villagers are being used in many ways like payment of staff salaries, helping poor families, and help the village youth who are interested to do theological study. Moreover, They **contribute** money for the construction of community hall etc. Sunday gathering provide lots of scope among village authority to discuss about the progress and problems of the village. Otherwise, it is difficult to gather the entire village for any particular discussion. In this way, church is helping them in bringing villagers in unity, to hold meetings together. Village Church can be utilized by development agencies with the proper encouragement from government in Manipur tribal areas.

The unrest problems threatens the existing development process in Manipur. It became major obstacle for the development in tribal areas. Insurgency problem emerged in the late sixties and seventies. Later on, it started giving lots of pressure to the state as well as central government. Moreover, number of insurgency and faction groups have come up due to difference of ideas among themselves. They have been continuously fighting against each other. Villagers have come across many problems

in their day-to-day life because of insurgency activities. Many of the villagers face various demands made by them. For instance, Insurgents come to the villages and ask the villagers to provide hospitality for one night or more. This became extra burden to the villagers and their presence creates fear and anxiety among the villagers. It is disturbing the peace and harmony of villages. As a result of their frequent visits, Youth are getting attracted. Insurgency groups have been demanding money from various people in order to raise funds for their organization. Some local youth are indulging in robbery, looting and collecting money in the name of insurgency groups. Generally, insurgency intervention is more in the hill areas rather than plain areas.

For the purpose of controlling insurgency activities in the state, armed forces are overflowing in Manipur provided with wide range of powers. Many people suffered from army forces due to their operations conducted for controlling insurgency activities. They have been posted throughout the state and disturbing the traffic and people moving on the road. Their regular visit to the villages created problems for the innocent villagers and disturbed the peaceful environment. The villagers are at the receiving end whether it is activities of insurgency or that of army.

Government officials also revealed that tribal development is very much affected because of the problem of insurgents. Their interventions at government officials level resulted in negative impact on tribal development process. Officials are reluctant to carry out their duties in hill areas because of insurgency problems and lack of proper infrastructure. There are also people seeking help from insurgency groups to serve their vested interests. All these factors contribute to the slow development in tribal areas.

This study shows how the Naga and Kuki conflict accounted for the slow development in Manipur tribal areas. Many of innocent people were affected severely due to this conflict. Moreover, economy of the villagers were most affected since they couldn't take up economic activities during the time of conflict. Some of the villagers lost their valuable houses, and properties and compelled to change their occupation from agriculture to wage labour. It was noticed that the victims engaged themselves in begging as a means of survival. As part of rehabilitation programme, huge amount

of money has been spent on affected people. Very little is reaching the victims due to heavy corruption and lack of awareness about the programmes. Nagas and **Kukis** have developed strong hatred among themselves after the conflict. It tends to affect both the communities in one way or other.

Disfunctioning of Autonomous **district council(ADC)** is considered as an obstacle in the path of Manipur tribal development. ADC stopped functioning for long time with the demand for sixth schedule. ADC failed to generate more development activities in hill areas due to less legislative power given to the council. But the demand for sixth schedule has not met with success due to lack of mass involvement from tribals, negligence of political leaders, Naga and **Kuki** clash and territorial problems in Manipur. Now, tribals of Manipur are left with more problems, as they are neither getting benefit from ADC nor they received the benefit of sixth schedule.

To sum up, it is very important to have "peace" in the state for progress and **development**. However, bringing peace in Manipur is not an easy task since there are many problems. Conflict between Naga and Kuki; insurgency problem; territorial problem; practice of heavy corruption are coming on the path of socio- economic development.

The proceeding discussion indicate that considerable attempts have been made for the **upliftment** of Manipur tribals though the problems remain the same. As discussed earlier, various factors are responsible for the slow development in tribal areas of Manipur. Both the villages have come across various kinds of problems and experiences in development activities. In spite of all, the socio economic condition of these two villages have undergone changes due to the impact of spread of education, participation in the politics, urbanization, development activities, development in transport and communication and Christianity. Infact, all these factors has brought the transformation among the villages and their social relationships. Their rich cultural heritage slowly disappeared due to the intervention of the Christian religion.

A recapitulation of the literature shows some differences and overlappings in the case of present study. Majority of the tribal development studies highlight the cultural and traditional practices as major hindrances in the way of adoption of the development innovations. In the present study, due to the conversion of the tribes into Christianity, these factors do not appear to be significant obstacle on the way of development programmes. It was found that tribal marketing and credit needs were not taken care of. Development agencies did not take much initiatives regarding these aspects. The contribution of NGOs has been clearly brought out in the present study. Besides, this study also highlights the problems of youth like drug addiction, insurgency activities and rise of **Naga/Kuki** conflict, which are main reasons for the stagnation in tribal development.

The present study shows that a thirty years old plain village experienced better progress than a hundred years old hill village. This is largely due to the negligence, apathetic and biased attitude of both the government as well as the NGOs towards hill areas in the implementation of the developmental programmes. Considering this fact, it is desirable to have separate allocation of funds and development strategies for the tribals living in plain and hill areas for a justified distribution of development benefits and to protect the due share of the poor tribals living in hill areas. Especially separate set of development measures are needed for hill tribes who mostly depend on **jhum** cultivation. In the wake of unrest problems, there is more need to enlist people's participation either by keeping this area under sixth schedule or strengthening ADC for a prosperous future of the tribals in Mnaipur.

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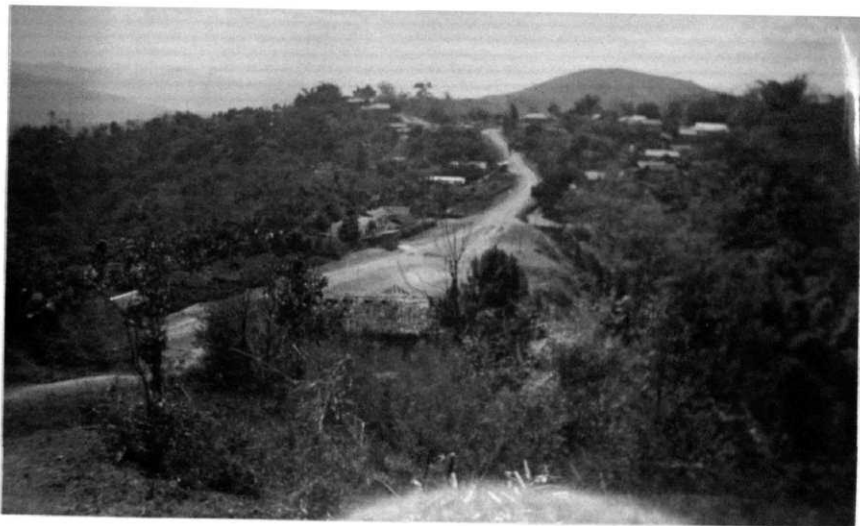
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## GLOSSARY:

<b>Yonkhroi/</b> Yonchararoi-	Village Authority in Khoibu dialect.
<b>Yunlhai-ur</b> -	Village Authority in <b>Maring</b> dialect.
Phung-	Clan ( <b>Maring</b> Dialect).
Saring-	Clan (Khoibu Dialect).
<b>Alel-</b>	Village Authority Chairman (Khoibu Dialect).
Thlowkapu-	Village Authority Secretary (Khoibu Dialect).
Khullak-	Village Authority Chairman (Maring Dialect).
Khulpu-	Village Authority Secretary (Maring Dialect).



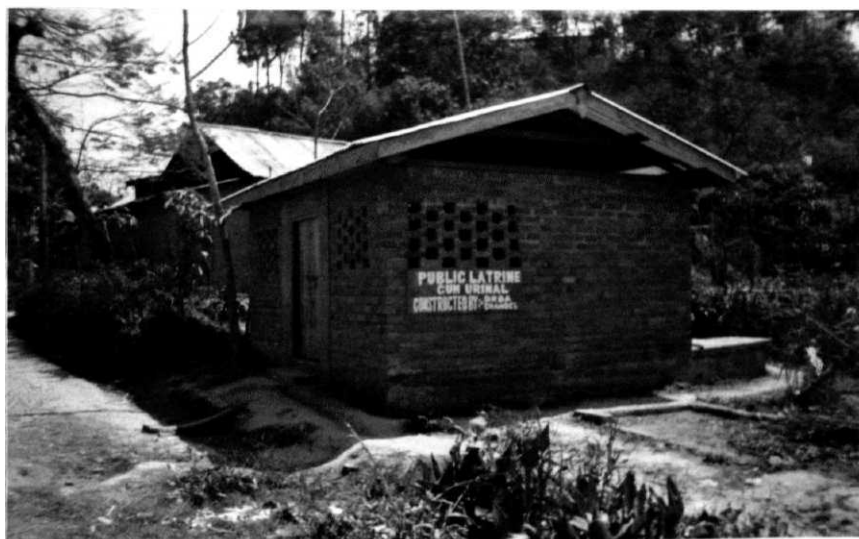
**1. A VIEW OF MINOU VILLAGE (HILL AREA)**



**2. A VIEW OF KHANGSHIM VILLAGE (PLAIN AREA)**

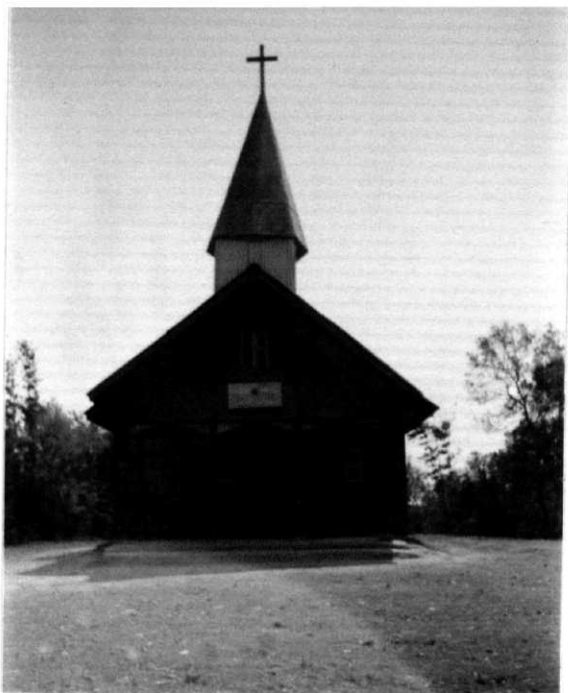


**3. A COLSED DOWN VETERINARY DESPENSARY AT MINOU VILLAGE.**



**4. A NEWLY CONSTRUCTED PUBLIC LATRINE AND URINAL AT KHANGSHIM VILLAGE**

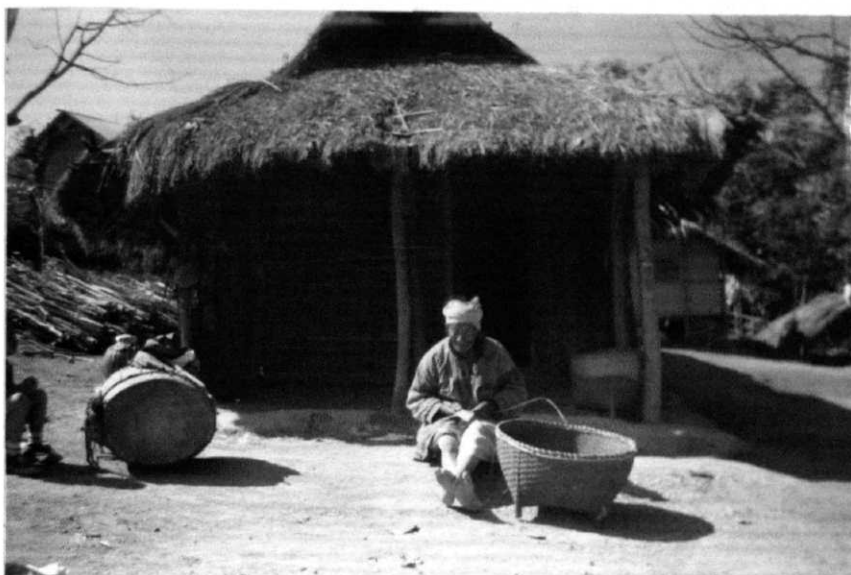




5. VILLAGE CHURCH IN KHANGSHIM VILLAGE.



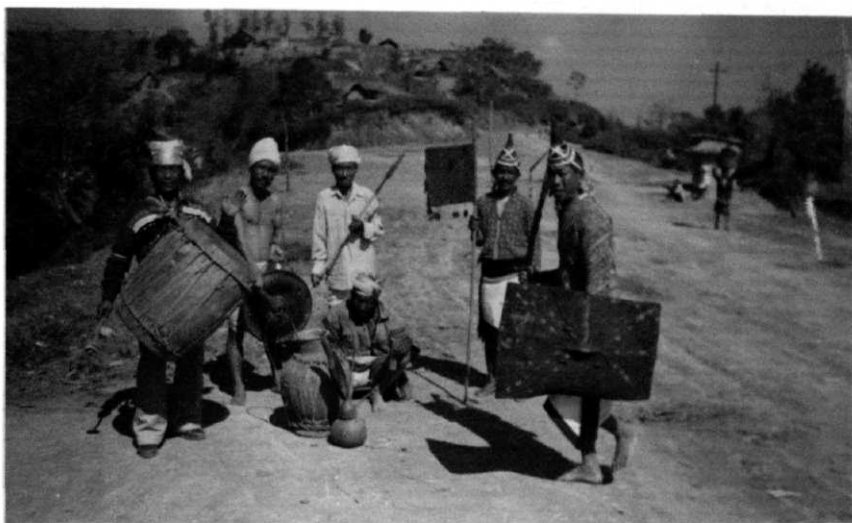
6. WOMEN ENGAGED IN WEAVING.



7. TYPICAL TRADITIONAL TRIBAL HOUSE.



8. COMMON PUBLIC TRANSPORT (MINOU VILLAGE).



9. TRADITIONAL DRESS AND INSTRUMENTS OF MARING .



10. A SCHOOL UNDER CONSTRUCTION AT MINOU VILLAGE.