

## **CHAPTER - 2**

### **SCHEDULED AREAS AND SCHEDULED TRIBES OF HIMACHAL PRADESH**

After having discussed the scheduled tribes in the historical and contemporary perspective, the present chapter analyses the scheduled areas and tribes in Himachal Pradesh. The need to look at the case of Himachal Pradesh arises not because of the study concerns with it but also because of the unique past of the tribes and their areas.

The total area of Himachal Pradesh is 55673 square Kilometre, which is divided into 12 administrative districts, 48 Sub-Divisions and 102 Tehsil and Sub-Tehsils. Out of this total area, 32,271 square Kilometres is the measured area according to revenue records of the Pradesh. The total population of Himachal Pradesh according to 2001 census was 60, 77900 and a density of population is 109 persons per square kilometre. The Scheduled Tribe population of the Pradesh, which has its concentration in districts of Kinnaur and Lahaul-Spiti, parts of Chamba district and scattered in other district is 245000, which is 4.02 per cent of the total population. About 69 per cent of the State's tribal population falls under the Tribal Sub-Plan areas. There are wide variations in Area and Population figures of the districts (Census, 1971).

The tribal areas include Kinnaur and Lahaul-Spiti districts in their entirety along with Pangi and Bharmour tehsils of Chamba district. It covers 42.49 per cent of the total geographical area of the state. It encompasses nine tehsils and three sub-tehsils of the state, namely, Bharmour, Pangi, Nichar, Holi, Lahaul, Kalpa, Spiti, Udaipur, Morang, Sangla, Pooh and Hangrang (Census, 2001). The tribal areas of Himachal Pradesh form a contiguous belt in the far hinterland behind High Mountain passes and is

amongst the remotest and most inaccessible areas in the State with average altitude being 3281 meter above the mean sea level. Snow glaciers, high altitudes and highly rugged terrain, criss-crossed by fast flowing rivers are the peculiar features of the tribal areas. The most distinguishing mark of the tribal areas in the State is that they are very vast in area but extremely small in population with the result that per unit cost of infrastructural activity is very exorbitant.

## **2.1 A PROFILE OF TRIBAL AREAS BETWEEN THE YEARS 1971 TO 2001**

According to the 1971-Census report, on the basis of numerical strength seven tribes had been qualified to be major scheduled tribes. Of the total population, 141610 persons had been reported as scheduled tribes, which constituted 4.09 per cent of the total population of the state. Lahaul and Spiti district, Pangi and Bharmour tehsils of Chamba district and Hangrang, Morang and Sangla tehsils of Kinnaur district had the main concentration of scheduled tribe population. Amongst all the major tribes Gaddi (50,061) had the highest numerical strength. This tribe is mainly concentrated in Chaurah, Chamba, Bhatiyat and Bharmour tehsils of Chamba district. Kannaura (35,546) is the second major scheduled tribe in the state. Gujjars have been mainly reported from Chaurah, Chamba, Jogindernagar, Mandi, Bilaspur, Solan and Nahan tehsils. Jad, Lamba, Khampa, Bhot or Bodh have their concentration in Lahaul and Spiti district and Pangi tehsil of Chamba district. Pangwal and Swangla are mainly concentrated in Pangi and Lahaul tehsils respectively. Thus, the concentration of major scheduled tribes and scheduled areas is in Chamba, Kinnaur and Lahaul and Spiti districts.

**Table 2.1 Tribal Areas and Population in 2001**

ITDP	Area (Sq. Km) (%)	Population			Density (Per sq. km)	Sex Ratio
		Persons	Males	Females		
Kinnaur	6401 (27.08)	78334 (47.08)	42173	36161	12	857
Lahaul	6244 (26.40)	22545 (13.55)	12567	9978	4	794
Spiti	7591 (32.09)	10679 (6.42)	5874	4805	1	818
Pangi	1601 (6.77)	17598 (10.58)	9259	8339	11	901
Bharmour	1818 (7.59)	37246 (22.38)	19259	17987	20	934
Total (Tribal Area)	23655 (100)	166402 (100)	89132	77270	7	867
Himachal Pradesh	55673	6077900	3087940	2989960	109	968

The tribal areas constitute 42.49 per cent of the state's area and represent 2.74 per cent of the total population. The tribal population has increased to 166402 in 2001. Sex ratio has improved to 968 and density of population per square kilometres is 7. Of the total population in the scheduled areas, 68 per cent are scheduled tribes; 9.61 per cent scheduled castes and the rest are others. Males and females are in the ratio of 54:46. The entire population in the tribal belt continues to be rural. The proportion of workers is as high as 59.31 as against the states average of 49.23 per cent. The proportion of agriculture workers fell from 90 per cent in 1971 to 56.97 per cent in 2001 of the main workers against that of 55.45 per cent for the state as a whole. Overall literacy for tribal areas has improved from 21.89 per cent to 70.38 per cent in 2001 as compared to 76.5 per cent for

the state as a whole. Female literacy rate continued to lag behind as compared to 67.4 per cent for the state; it is only 58.7 per cent for the tribal areas. Average size of operational holding in tribal areas varies from 0.94 to 1.89 per cent as compared to that of 1.30 hectare for the state. Area under horticulture has increased from 1787 hectare in 1973-74 to 12015 hectare in 2003-04. As against only 18 per cent cropped area bring irrigated in the Pradesh as whole. The proportion in the tribal areas was as high as 61 per cent as compared to 39 per cent in 1979-80. The area under commercial crops has also increased tremendously. With respect to both animal and human health care, there were 159 Veterinary hospital dispensaries in 2002-04 as compared to that of 32 in 1974-75. Road density per hundred square kilometer of area has improved to 7km in 2004-05 but is way behind the State average of 32 km. All the villages have been covered under piped water supply and have been electrified (Census, 2001).

In the context of Kinnaur, only 2.16 per cent of the total area is inhabited, the average density of population was 8 persons per square kilometer in 1971. Till 1961 the district always exhibited high sex ratio (969 in 1961) as compared to India and Himachal Pradesh. After this period sex ratio fell to 887 in 1971. With regard to the occupational structure till 1961 cultivation (66.5 per cent of the work force) and household industry consisting of mainly handicrafts (15 per cent) were the major occupations of the people. In 1971 these occupations engaged only 62.72 per cent and 4.10 per cent of the workers. The other services that occupied only 3.90 per cent came to employ as many as 13.41 per cent of the workers. In 1981 the cultivators formed 68 per cent of the main workers alone. Agriculture and household industry workers engaged 5.31 per cent and 2.35 per cent of the main workers. However the percentage of other workers rose to 30.37 per cent. In the year 1991 the portrait further underwent a significant change with 55.21 per cent, 5.10 per cent, 2.35 per cent and 36.45 per cent workers employed in cultivation, agricultural labour, household industry and

other works respectively. The appreciable fall in the category of cultivators and a rapid rise in other workers speak about the economic diversity that is slowly and gradually emerging in the region as a result of population dynamics (Census, 1971; Chib, 1998).

The study conducted by Government of Himachal Pradesh, District Statistical Office Rekonig Peo (1985) on the socio economic conditions in district Kinnaur to assess the structure of economy, levels of development and the possibilities of development of the district was quite revealing. It formed very small average size of holding in the sample villages. Such a state could be attributed mainly to the hilly terrain and partly to sub-divisions as a result of prevailing law of inheritance. About 24 per cent households had no pack animals, 63 per cent had one or more pair of pack animals and 13 per cent households had only one pack animal. The literacy percentage according to 1981 census of Kinnaur District stood at 36.84 against 42.40 per cent of the state. The average annual household income varied from Rs.564 (lowest) to Rs.13028 (highest). The main sources of household income in the sample area were agriculture, animal husbandry, poultry, fisheries and horticulture. Of the total sample households 72 per cent households were under debt. During the year 1984-85 about 57 per cent of the indebted households have taken debt from landlords, moneylenders and traders, 22 per cent have taken from banks and the remaining 21 per cent have taken the debt from other sources such as relatives and friends. The debts have been taken for the improvement of land, purchasing pack animals and tools as well as for consumption purpose.

The Directorate of Economics and Statistics (1972) conducted an evaluation study of Lahaul and Spiti district of Himachal Pradesh. The study indicated that the literacy rate 30.5 per cent in Lahaul block and 17 per cent in Spiti block. Out of the sampled households 14 per cent were under debt in Lahaul block, whereas no household was found under debt in Spiti block.

The average debt per indebted family amounted to Rs.2102. About 43.5 per cent loans were taken for the purpose of household consumption expenditure and 26 per cent were taken for house construction. The rest of the loans were taken for other purposes. About 56.5 per cent loans were obtained from the moneylenders, 21.7 per cent of the loans were obtained from friends and relatives and only 17.4 per cent were taken from the government. This shows that people preferred loans from the private sources. About 88.4 per cent of the total loans taken during the last five years were outstanding at the time of the study. It was found that in Lahaul block 95.5 per cent houses were 'semi-pucca' and the remaining 4.5 were "kutcha" houses, whereas all the selected households in the Spiti block had "kutcha" houses. This revealed that the socio-economic conditions in Lahaul block were better than the in Spiti block. In Lahaul out of the total sample villages about 37.5 per cent were electrified, whereas in Spiti block no village was electrified. Finally the survey indicated that only two villages out of 16 selected villages in Lahaul block and only one village out of 6 selected villages in Spiti block had a dispensary to provide health services.

A similar investigation was carried out in 1980 by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics to assess the totality of infrastructure and economic profile of the area. The survey highlighted that 53.4 per cent of the population constituted the labour force. The extent of underemployment was 3.4 per cent and unemployment was negligible i.e. 0.8 per cent. The average size of holding was 0.75 hectare putting tremendous pressure on land in terms of land- man ratio. Only 70 per cent household had heard about approved seeds, 20 per cent about chemical fertilizer about 3 per cent pesticide. Of these only 3 per cent has adopted the improved agricultural practices.

The 1981 Census revealed that Spitiens had the lowest literacy rate i.e. 25.19 per cent. The main workers constituted 64.07 per cent and the marginal 1.73 per cent. It had 47 primary, 10 middle and 4 high schools and in all 6 dispensaries, one hospital, 3 primary health sub-centers and 20 community health workers. 27 villages had tap water and the rest depended on river water. Rural electrification benefited only one village. But in 1991 Census the area registered tremendous progress. Of the inhabited villages 66.67 per cent had the educational facilities provided at 56 primary schools, 14 middle schools, 6 high schools and one senior secondary school. The literacy rate had risen to 56.24 better than all tribals' average of 53.15 per cent. Medical institutions including one primary health center, 9 sub-centers and 6 dispensaries had come into being to provide health cover. Save one all the villages had drinking water facility. Roads had been laid and 59.92 percent of the population made use of pucca road. Electricity had been supplied to 76.54 per cent population.

A survey conducted in Spiti by Thakur, Moorti and Sharma (1984) to evaluate the impact of the developmental effort on the tribal economy found that in Spiti 57.14 per cent families had at least one person who had read up to primary or middle level. The average size of the holding was 1.08 hectare. 57 per cent marginal farmers owned 24 per cent of the land while small farmers had 36.47 per cent of the land and the large farmers had 39.30 per cent of the total area under plough. Milch cattle accounted 27.83 per cent and sheep and goats 22.11 per cent of the total livestock. It was estimated that 73.81 per cent of the household income was contributed by farms. According to this study though there had been positive impact of government programmes on the income and employment levels, yet the gains had not favoured the weaker segments.

The population of Gaddis according to the 1971 census was 27067 i.e. 23.69 per cent of the total population of tribal areas in the state. In 1991,

it rose to 28.4 percent, in 2001-it dropped to 25.5 per cent. Sex ratio too went a significant change. In 1971 it stood at 890 and 870 in 1981. It has gone up to 954 in 1991 and 998 in 2001. In 1991 the literacy rate among Gaddis was 36.7 percent in which male and female literacy rates are 53.5 and 19.8 respectively. It went up to 57.1 in 2001 in which the ratio of male and female literacy rate is 71.6 and 42.7 respectively. The net sown area was recorded at 4106 hectares out of the total cropped area of 5429 in 1977-78, irrigation covering 7 hectares only. The whole area was covered under food crops. Horticulture in the area had not developed to mentionable extent. The number of livestock during this period was 118812. To provide medical care, there were 6 institutions in 1973-74 and 9 in 1979-80. By the end of year 1974-75 there were 3 High schools, 9 Middle schools and 61 Primary schools coaching a total of 1450 students. During this period there were one primary health centre, 3 sub-centres and 6 ayurvedic dispensaries. There was no road before 1971. By the end of 1974-75 length of motor able road was 16 kms, while the length of jeep able road was 29 kms. Almost the same length comprised 12 feet wide stretches. Only one village was electrified in 1971. Piped drinking water was practically lacking in 1974-75. Between 1974-75 and 1981-82 the cooperatives and bank branches did not proliferate at all (Census, 1971; Verma, 1996).

In the context of Pangi Census report 1971 revealed that there were 52 primary 3 middle, 2 high and 2 senior secondary schools, 5 dispensaries, 1 health centre, tap water supply in 23 villages, no village was electrified, no village was connected with kutchra or pucca road, there was no telephone facility and only one post and telegraph office for the whole area.

The main occupation of people in tribal areas of Himachal Pradesh is agriculture and allied activities. This is supported by the fact that 58 per cent of total main workers were cultivators in 1991. The ratio of agricultural



labourers to total main workers was 3.2 per cent. Among the different tribal regions the percentage of cultivators in total workers population was highest (73.7 per cent) in Bharmour and lowest (30.1 per cent) in Spiti. In Bharmour and Pangti regions due to greater dependence of work force on traditional agriculture the marginal productivity of labour engaged therein is very low. The land use pattern of tribal areas in the state reveals that a small proportion of total reported area is suitable for cultivation. The net area sown was 2 per cent of the total reported area during 1993-94. It ranged between 1 per cent in Pangti to about 3 per cent in Kinnaur and Bharmour. Area under permanent pastures and forests was 48 per cent and 41 per cent respectively of the total reported area. The proportion of area under permanent pastures was highest (82.1 per cent) in Bharmour and lowest (11.6 per cent) in Pangti. Until 1971-72 the tribal agrarian economy was mostly non-commercial in nature. In Kinnaur and Lahaul about 90 and 75 per cent of the total cropped area was under cereal crops respectively. The area under cash crops like fruits, potato and vegetables was about 14 and 7 per cent in Lahaul and Kinnaur. During the period 1971-72 to 1993-94 cropping pattern for the tribal areas has registered some change. The percentage of area under fruits and vegetables was highest in Lahaul and Spiti (27 per cent) followed by Kinnaur (25 per cent) and Bharmour (5 per cent) (Singh, 1998).

According to 2001 census the overall literacy rate in tribal areas is 70.30 per cent. Area wise kinnaur (75.27 per cent) has highest literacy rate followed by Spiti (74.1 per cent), Lahaul (65.59 per cent) and Bharmour (62.18 per cent) and Pangti (60.3 per cent). With regard to female literacy rate Bharmour (67.64 per cent) has highest percentage followed by Kinnaur (64.77 per cent), Spiti (58.7 per cent), Lahaul (55.28 per cent) and Pangti (44.2 per cent). As far as number of educational institutions is concerned Kinnaur has highest number of primary, middle, high and senior secondary schools followed by Lahaul-Spiti, Bharmour and Pangti. Both Kinnaur and

Lahaul-Spiti have a degree college, but Bharmour and Pangi have no degree college. With regard to the working population Kinnaur has highest number of main working population followed by Bharmour, Lahaul-Spiti and Pangi. The average size of land holding is 2.28 hectares. Lahaul-Spiti has the largest size of landholdings and Bharmour has the lowest size of landholding. The total cropped area is largest in Kinnaur followed by Lahaul-Spiti, Pangi and Bharmour. The land under irrigation is also largest in Kinnaur and Lahaul-Spiti, whereas such area in Bharmour and Pangi is almost negligible. Area under fruit crops and cash crops is also largest in Kinnaur followed by Lahaul-Spiti. Pangi and Bharmour have very small area under fruit crops and negligible under cash crops. The number of banking institution is highest in Kinnaur (33), followed by Lahaul-Spiti (16), Bharmour (9) and Pangi (2). As regard the health facilities Kinnaur has highest number of Civil Hospital, Primary Health Centers, Community Health Centers, Dispensaries and Sub-centers followed by Lahaul-Spiti, Bharmour and Pangi. The position with regard to veterinary institutions is also same in these areas. Kinnaur has the largest number of livestock followed by Bharmour, Pangi and Lahaul-Spiti. The length of roads is also highest in Kinnaur, followed by Lahaul-Spiti, Bharmour and Pangi (Census, 2001).

The foregoing analysis revealed that in 1971 all the tribal areas were backward, but the tribal areas of Chamba i.e. Pangi and Bharmour were extremely backward. Since then all these areas have made a lot of progress. But the progress in all these areas has not been even. Certain areas have developed more than the others. The tribal areas of Kinnaur and Lahaul-Spiti have been far more developed in many respects such as health, education, roads, employment, communication, size of landholdings, increase in cash crops etc. than the tribal areas of Chamba. Thus, the development efforts of the government have not even in all the tribal areas. Why it happened so, is a question of empirical investigation?

The existence of large disparities in the living standard between regions and the social classes question the development and the development processes with special reference to distributive justice. This awareness and the wide spread concern at present about those who have been left out of the gains of planned development call for effective ways and strategies to ensure greater opportunities and better distributive justice to them. Although special programmes aimed at providing better deal to them have been formulated since independence but it appears that somewhere in their execution something has gone wrong either by design or default. This calls for an in depth analysis both in terms of historicity of the efforts made and the sociological analysis of the extent and magnitude of their success and failure

## **2.2 SOCIO-ECONOMIC SCHEDULED TRIBES OF HIMACHAL PRADESH**

The history suggests Kols, Kinnaras, Kirtas, Khashas, Kunnids, Kunets, Gaddis, Gujjars and Lahualas inhabited Himachal Pradesh since ancient times (Thakur, 1997: 26-37). Though all of them did not constitute tribe but these groups commanded distinct identities of their own because of their racial and ethnic origins and backgrounds.

The survivors of the said hill aborigines are found in the Kolis, Hallis, Doms, Dagis and Dhaugies, while the successors of the Khasas are traced from the Khasia and the Kanet Rajputs. The progeny of the Aryans and the Indo-Aryans is seen in the Brahmins, Rajputs, Khattris, Thakurs, Rathis, Rawats, Chauhans, Parmars, Ghirats, Gaddis, Mahajans and others. The descendents of Scythians are found among the Gujjars and some Jad families in the lower Shivaliks. The heirs to the Mongolian and Tibetan races – the Spitians, Lauhlas, Kinnauras, Bhots, and Jads – are the residents of trans-Himalayan regions of the state. The scions of the Shakas, the Kushans and the Huns, who also passed through some of its areas, are

lost to history and so are the Nagas, Kirtas and Yakshas. However, the Nag worship, Kirta rites, Yakshini siddhi are still practiced in many parts of the state (Mittoo, 1978: 9).

Among the modern tribes inhabiting Himachal Pradesh are Gaddi, Gujjars, Kannaura or Kinnara, Lahaula, Swangla, Pangwala, Jad or Lamba, and Bhot or Bodh. These groups were included in the schedule of the tribes at different points of time and under different Presidential notifications. While the Gaddi tribe was notified in 1950, the Kannauras, Gujjars and Jad were notified in 1951, 1951 and 1956 respectively. The other groups, namely Lamba, Bhot, Pangwala, Lahaula etc. were notified in 1966 (Negi, 1976: 7). The Gaddis and the Gujjars are not treated as Scheduled Tribe throughout the state; especially those who were the inhabitants of the territories specified in sub-section (1) of section 5 of the Punjab Reorganization Act 31 of 1966. They were excluded from being designated as Scheduled Tribe. Finally under the notification (Scheduled Areas – Himachal Pradesh – order 1975) issued by the then President of India, Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, eight main tribes, namely Bhot or Bodh, Gaddi, Gujjar, Jad or Lamba or Khampa, Kannaura or Kinnara, Lahula, Pangwala and Swangla. These tribes fall in the scheduled list under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution of India (Compendium, 1993 Govt. of Himachal Pradesh).

The scheduled tribe population of the state as per 2001 Census comes to 244,587 persons forming 4.02 percent of the total population. The highest proportion of 73.0 percent tribal population has been returned from Lahul & Spiti and is followed by Kinnaur (71.8) and Chamba (25.5). In remaining districts, this proportion is almost negligible. During 1991-2001 most of districts except Kinnaur show minor decline in the proportion Scheduled Tribes. The proportion of Scheduled Tribes was 55.6 per cent in Kinnaur during 1991, which rose to 71.8 per cent in 2001 census.

About 48.1 per cent of the total scheduled tribe population of state, is distributed in Chamba district followed by Kinnaur (23 per cent), Lahaul Spiti (9.9) Kullu (4.6) Mandi (4.3) Bilaspur (3.8) Sirmour (2.4) Shimla (1.7) and Solan (1.4). Una, Kangra and Hamirpur District have almost negligible proportion of tribal population.)

Kannauras historical past goes as far back as 'the Vedas, the Puranas, the Indian Epics, the theological literature of the Jainas and the Budhists, and the later literature (Negi, 1976: 13). It is further stressed 'Much more detailed work is needed to trace the origin and pin down, historically the various tribes and races that followed the original Kannaura to produce the modern Kannaura' (Ibid: 19-20). He argues that apart from Homskad, which is the mother tongue of nearly 75 per cent of the Kinnuaras and which used to be the lingua franca for the remaining inhabitants also; there are nine other dialects, which constitute the respective mother tongues of various sections of the rest of permanent population. One of the dialects is spoken in a solitary village. The others cover groups of villages. The dialect of the entire Hangrang sub-tehsil and certain villages of Pooh and Morang tehsils are predominantly and very closely akin to Tibetan. Those, who prefer regarding themselves as "Harijans", come close to the mother tongue of certain parts of the adjoining Shimla District. The remaining dialects are each quite a curious and intriguing mixture (Ibid: 19).

The tribal inhabiting Lahaul and Spiti mainly belong to three tribes – the Lahualas, the Swangla and the Bhods or Bhots. On the basis of philology, it is suggested by some scholars that aboriginal tribes, who in language and stock were analogues to the Munda speaking tribes of Bengal and Central India, inhabited the area of Lahaul in about 2000 B.C. (Hutchinson and Vogel, 1982: 474). Negi, while giving a brief description of Lahaula tribe argues, 'Lahaula simply means a resident of Lahaul. Ethnically and socially the Lahualas are a counterpart of Lahuala proper,

especially the Pattan Valley, of which Chamba–Lahual is just an extension' {Negi, 1976: 144(b)}. Sahni (1994: 106-07) in his work 'Lahual: The Mystery Land in the Himalyas' provides detailed account of the origins and migrations of the people in different valleys of Lahual. He is of the view that the people of Chamba – Lahual are of the same ethnic background as the people of the Pamir and Hindukush regions, and in ancient times most of these were Hindus. The origin of the different tribes and castes – the Swangla, the Bhots and the Chanals – inhabiting the Pattan Valley varies from one another. The Swanglas or Brahmans, who worship Shiva and place themselves at the top of the social hierarchy in the region are either original inhabitants of the area as Lahual itself is called by many as Swangla Desh, or they have migrated to the Pattan or Chandra–Bhaga valley from the neighbouring states like Chamba, Jammu, Kishatwar and Kashmir (Negi, 1976: 97). Sherring (1974: 3) is also of the view that the Brahmans of Lahual have come from Chamba and other parts and are found only in Pattan.

With regard to Bhods or Bhots, as the name also suggests they belong to Buddhist. But, elsewhere it is not necessary that they come from the same origin. Spiti is their main homeland, though they are also found in Lahual and Pattan valleys, and some other places. In Pattan valley, they are primarily known as Kshatriyas or Rajputs and the term "Bhod" seems to indicate their adherence to Buddhism and in some cases their origin in Ladakh or Zaskar or Western Tibet. This group contains the greatest amalgamation of peoples of different origins such as Malana, Busher, Bir Bhangal, Kullu, Chamba and Bharmour, besides Ladakh and Zaskar (Sahni, 1994: 114-115). Similarly the people of Gondhla valley are a mixture of the people of Malana, Busher, Zaskar and Ladakh (Ibid: 109)

The people of Kham district of Tibet, by religion Khampa, came to India as itinerant traders and moved into upper parts of the Himalayas, which formed their annual nomadic beat. Those who gradually settled in parts of Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh came to be known by different names, though the suffix Khampa is common to them. In Census returns they are clubbed together with Jads, Bhods and Lambas, who too are Tibetan in origin {Negi, 1976: 144 (a)}. Since such migrations were individual centred, it is difficult to indicate the exact period of their settlement in the area. Hartcourt and Sherring are of the view that inhabitants of Spiti have largely intermingled with the Tartar across the border and they bear unmistakable evidence on their faces of their Mongolian descent (Harcourt, 1972: 41-43; Sherring, 1974: 5-6).

Pangi and Bharmour, the other two tribal belts in the extreme west of the tribal belt of the Pradesh, were part of erstwhile Chamba state and now form part of Chamba district. The Pangwals and Gaddis, live mostly in this part of the district. Neither of them is aboriginal to the land. Pangwal is a generic term and territorial in nature. It is used for all the natives of Pangi irrespective of their origin, caste or social status.) These residents, says Negi, seemed to have converged on Pangi from various quarters {Negi, 1976: 144 (a)}. Hutchinson and Rose, who co-authored the gazetteer of Chamba State, say that they migrated from various parts of the hills; some from the lower Chenab and the Ravi valleys, others from Lahaul and Kullu (Gazetteer of Chamba State, 1904, rpt. 1996: 156).

Even now the pasture grounds called 'Gahar' are let out every year by the Forest Department to shepherds from the Ravi valley, who cross the Pangi range in great numbers with their flocks. Migrations of the people having Mongoloid features too have been reported from the Zanskar area. The people having Mongolian features called Bhot inhabit a number of villages. It is because of this reason that these villages are also

known as Bhatouri (Himachal Pradesh District Gazetteers – Chamba, 1963: 10-11).

Some scholars believe that in the remote past people of Lahaul and Lower Chenab were faced with problem of inadequate arable land and pastures. They therefore migrated to Pangi where at that point of time existed rich pasture and plenty of land. The Pangwal are the descendents of those immigrants (Shankhyan and Sharma, 1996: 440; Verma, 1997: 53)

Like Pangwal, Gaddi is also a generic term and has territorial connotation. But all the Gaddis are not treated as scheduled tribe. The place of Gaddis is Bharmour, the territory laying on the either side of Dhuladhar, in particular on both banks of the river Ravi and its tributary Budhil. The Gazetteer of Kangra District 1883-84 mentions that the original home of the Gaddi tribe was on the headwaters of the Ravi River in Chamba territory to the north of Dhualadhar or the outer Himalaya. The country behind that great range commonly goes by the general name of Gadderan or Gaddi land; but for a long time past great numbers of Gaddis have resided for a part of the year or for the whole, and held land in that part of Kangra, which extends along the northern slopes of the Dhualadhar from Boh, in taluka Rihlu, to Bir in taluka Bhangal. At least three-fourths of those who live in Kangra have shares in lands and houses in Chamba territory. Most of the shepherds in both territories are subjects of Chamba state only. Here in the Kangra valley, the majority of the Gaddis are Khattris and the sub-divisions of the caste correspond with those of the Khattris of the plains. Impure castes are not styled Gaddis, but are known by the name of Badi, Sipi or Hali (Gazetteer of Kangra District, 1883-84: 91-92).

Nothing is known with regard to the original inhabitants of Bharmour, except that the region being a part of the Western Himalaya might have been occupied by the Kols of Central India or their descendents, who are



known as Kolis, Sipis, Halis, Dagis or collectively and contemptuously as Chanals. Thakurs and Rathis, too were regarded as belonging to one caste, appear to have settled thereafter. This fact is somewhat substantiated by a common saying in the hills 'Chanal jetha, Rathi Kanetha'. It is believed that this is an unconscious expression of the general conviction that Chanals were the original inhabitants of this area (Hutchinson and Vogel, 1933: 272). As far as Gaddi Brahmans are concerned, both tradition and available sources indicate that they came from Delhi, whereas the Gaddi Khattris were believed to be from Lahore. In the context of the latter, there is a saying 'Ujriya Lahore, vasiya Bharmour'. It is further believed that the Brahmans and Chauhan Rajuts migrated to the valley during the reign of Raja Ajia Varman, and the Khattris in the time of Prithvi Singh (Gazetteer of Chamba State, 1904: 71).

About the reasons of these migrations some sources mention that the Gaddi Brahmans and Chauhan Rajputs accompanied Raja Ajia Varman; still others point out that these people, in particular, Gaddi Khattris and Churhan, Harkan, Pakhru, Chiledi, Manglu and Kundail Rajputs fled to escape persecutions either at the hands of early Mohammedan rulers or Aurangzeb (Hutchinson and Vogel, 1933: 272, 308). The Gazetteer of Kangra district (1883: 94) also mentions that they preserve a tradition of descent from the Punjab plains, stating that their ancestors fled from the open country to escape the horrors of the Muslim invasions and took refuge in these ranges, which were at that period almost uninhabited.

Another significant tribe in Himachal Pradesh is Gujjar. Like Gaddis, they are neither the aborigines nor original inhabitants of the areas they are found in. Some scholars identify Gujjars with the Kushan or Yuechi or Tochari, a tribe of the Eastern Tartars. It is said that about a century B.C., their chief conquered Kabul and Peshwar, while his son Wima Kadbhises established his sway over the whole of upper Punjab and the banks of the

Yamuna as far as Mathura and the Vindyas. His successor, king Kanishka, the first Buddhist Indo- Scythian prince, annexed Kashmir to the Kingdom of Tochari. Originally, the Gujjars were 'mostly Hindus but during the reign of Aurangzeb they embraced Islam, hence are mostly Sunnis though their sub-castes viz. Chandel, Bhatti, Banza, Lodhe, Kasane, Bhensi, Chopra, Chauhan, Chechi, Klatapa are found even today which smack of Rajput clan (Negi, 1976: 116). Others trace their origin to the Gurjar Rajputs. In this regard Rose (1914: 36) says, "Soon after the Huns came, the Gurjaras who may indeed have come along with them, though the Gurjaras are never heard of until near the end of the sixth century, as records frequently bracket them the Hunas. Recent investigation has shown that the Pratihara clan of the Rajputs was really only a section of Gujjars".

These accounts about the origin of the Gujjars are, however, inconclusive. Nevertheless, it is certain that the Gujjars entered into Himachal Pradesh from neighbouring regions mostly by way of isolated and stray migrations. The Hindu Gujjars are now largely found in the districts of Kangra, Bilaspur, Sirmour and Solan, whereas the Muslim Gujjars in Chamba and Sirmour. It is argued that Raja Shamsheer Prakash originally brought them to Sirmour from Punchh, whereas the Chamba Gujjars are migrants from the adjacent areas of Jammu and Kashmir. It is from these two states that they spread to Mandi, Bilaspur and Solan (Negi, 1976: 117).

The situation of tribes and tribal development in Himachal Pradesh has been analysed from time to time either by the academicians and individual scholars or by the state commissioned surveys and record compilations. Negi (1976) though wrote almost three decades ago, yet remains quite appropriate in the present context. He emphasized, "Unless social scientists and the governmental machinery intervenes with informed, enlightened and farsighted policies, much that is of deep human value

might get destroyed. The consequences of thoughtless, unplanned and impetuous drift towards transformation or assimilation might be worse. Tribal communities may lose all moorings. It is therefore necessary that attempts should be made to preserve the best in the tribal culture to the enrichment of 'our composite culture' of which 'the tribal heritage is an important component and at the same time, help tribal people to absorb the best in the ways of modernization.

Government of Himachal Pradesh (1978) conducted the indebtedness survey among the scheduled tribes of Chamba district. The result of this study revealed that 28.9 and 31.1 per cent of the households in Bharmour and Pangi areas respectively were under debt.

A study of the Government of Himachal Pradesh, Planning Department (1983) on Gujjars' socio-economic conditions revealed that the nomadic Gujjars of Himachal Pradesh inhabit the interior and forest areas of Chamba, Mandi, Sirmour, Bilaspur and Shimla districts. Their population according to 1981 Census has been estimated at about 46 thousand persons of which 18 thousand are nomadic, 23 thousand are settled and about 5 thousand are semi-settled. The nomadic Gujjars are those who go over to other states during winter, semi-nomadic are those who leave their permanent living place for short while and migrate to the districts within state and settled Gujjars are those who have discontinued grazing cattle in forest lands. Only 2 per cent of Gujjars live in urban areas; their literacy level is very low. The working population of Gujjars estimated at about 40 per cent; 33 per cent are engaged in cultivation, 3.77 per cent in livestock and forestry and 1.33 per cent were agricultural labourers. About 35.5 per cent Gujjar families earned up to 6 to 10 thousand from animal husbandry and another 11.89 per cent earned 10 to 15 thousand per annum. This makes some of the Gujjars quite rich. Their outlay on food is about 72 per cent of their total consumer outlay. The rest of the money is spent on

kerosene, clothing, foot bears and medicines. Very few Gujjar families have been observed to be in debt. Those who take loans, get these from moneylenders, friends and relatives. No Gujjar at that time had taken a loan from bank, may be due to backwardness and low literacy rate among them.

Another survey conducted by the Government of Himachal Pradesh (1984) in Chamba district with a view to study the socio-economic conditions of the inhabitants of Bharmour tribal area along with the impact of various development programmes on the people. This study reveals that the poor inhabitants of Bharmour tribal area earn their livelihood mainly from agriculture, rearing sheep and other family enterprises, such as spinning and weaving. The study shows that if Rs. 75 per capita per month consumer expenditure is taken as a cut off point, then about 55.2 per cent of the total sample population is found to be living below poverty line. The indebtedness arises because of excess expenditure over meagre income. This problem arises as a result of rising cost of living in extraordinary situations, such as natural calamities, extreme variation in climatic conditions, failure of agricultural crops and fulfilling religious obligations. Sometimes loan was taken simply to repay the outstanding loan.

Khosla, Sharma and Bhatt (1985) conducted an investigation in Bharmour by adopting two criteria viz., (i) a 'severe index of poverty', and (ii) a 'soft index of poverty'. They concluded that according to 'severe index of poverty' those households are deemed to be suffering from poverty that do not use tap water and electricity, they had inadequate living space (two or more persons sharing a room). They do not possess even one of the consumer durables (i.e. radio, chairs, tables, watches, bicycles, scooter, motor-cycles, etc.) and they can either never afford to consume milk, meat, egg and fruits or can do so occasionally. Among the sample households, 15 per cent possessed these characteristics. According to 'soft index of

poverty' those households are poor, which have inadequate living space (two or more persons sharing a room), which do not possess even one of the above mentioned consumer durables, which can either never afford to consume milk, meat eggs and fruits or can afford only occasionally irrespective of the fact whether they use tap water and electricity or not. On the basis of this criterion 25 per cent households were found to be suffering from poverty.

Guleria (1986) on the basis of primary investigation concluded that there are income inequalities in the tribal area of Lahaul and Spiti. The average annual income stood at Rs.7, 732 per household for the entire sample. The average annual gross income under stratum I, II, III, IV has been worked out at Rs.8528, Rs.6622, Rs.5915 and Rs.8472 per household respectively. Therefore, the highest average annual income per household and per capita annual income was found to be highest under stratum I. Over 68 per cent of the households were below the annual income of Rs. 6000, while the remaining about 32 per cent households were below the poverty line. The extent of poverty in stratum I, II, III, IV was found to be 60.9, 96.7, 75.0, and 44.0 per cent of the respective total households. Therefore the extent of income inequality was highest in first three strata. He further concluded that there is inequality in asset distribution. About 23 per cent of the households were landless. The proportion of landless households was the highest at 32 per cent under stratum IV. Both marginal and small households accounted for 65.5 per cent of the total number of holdings and possessed only 34.5 per cent of the total number of holdings and possessed 68.6 per cent area. Thus Spiti area was found to have unequal distribution of land holdings, thus reflecting income disparities.

Guleria (1987) conducted an empirical investigation of Bharmaur block in Chamba district and concluded that about 3.7 per cent of the

households were landless. The extent of the landless households in the sample village of Bharmaur block was found the highest i.e. 40 per cent. The rest of the households possessed 65.06 hectares of land. The conditioned followed for leasing out land was to get 50 per cent of the net produce in the study area. Excluding the land leased out, the total operational landholdings of the sample farmers stood at 63.3 hectares or nearly 0.5 hectares per household. In this area none of the farmer could be included in the category of large farmers. Marginal farmers constituted 89 per cent of the total-cultivating households and possessed 64 per cent area, while small and medium farmers together constituted 11 per cent and occupied only 36 per cent of the operational holdings.

Sharma (1992) in his study found that there exist considerable inequalities in the distribution of household assets, income and consumption expenditure among the sample households, which resulted in wide variations in the level of living of the tribals of Himachal Pradesh. Sharda & Sharma (1998) argued that educationally the scheduled tribes of Himachal Pradesh have taken remarkable strides forward. According to 1991 census, the percentage of literacy was 53.4 for all the tribal areas taken together, the ratio of male and female literacy was 68.1 and 36.1 among different tribal regions, the overall literacy ratio was the highest (60 per cent) in Spiti and lowest in Pangi (34.4 per cent). Even till today, about 80 per cent female in Pangi and 70 per cent in Bharmaur are illiterate. Low female literacy coupled with adverse sex ratio implies that the social status of women is low and much needs to be done to improve this situation.

As per 1990-91 Agriculture Census, the average size of holding was 1.25 hector for all the tribal regions taken together. It was marginally higher than the figure for Himachal Pradesh (1.20 hector). It may be due to the restrictions imposed by the Government on purchase of land by the non-tribal people. The average size of land holding is the biggest (1.90 ha) in

Lahaul and smallest in Bharmour (.70 ha). In the absence of irrigation facilities in this region such a small size of holding cannot be considered economic.

According to 1992 Livestock Census, the population of livestock was highest (86 per cent) in Pangi and lowest in Spiti (65 per cent). More than 80 per cent of total sheep population is indigenous and wool production is about one kilogram/animal/year.

Kharwal (1998) argued that agriculture and allied activities such as sheep rearing and grazing still remain the principal occupation of Gaddis. The average size of land holdings is smallest in Bharmour area i.e. 0.70 hector. In the absence of irrigation facilities in this region such a small size of land holdings cannot be considered economic. Only 3 per cent of the total land is suitable for cultivation. The proportion of area under forests and pasturelands is highest in Bharmour i.e. 82.1 per cent. The percentage of the area under fruits and vegetables is about 5 per cent. The number of main and marginal workers is 8954 and 2909 respectively.

In Himachal Pradesh 99.51 per cent of the Gujjars live in the backward pockets of the rural areas. They profess different religions: 56.97 per cent are Hindus followed by 42.96 per cent are Muslims and remaining 0.07 per cent are Sikhs or Christians or Budhists. The literacy rate amongst the Gujjars is very low. Most of the Gujjars (94 per cent) are illiterate, 0.67 percent has studied up to middle standard and 5.33 per cent have got education up to primary level. The economy of Gujjars revolves around animal husbandry and forests. The number of buffaloes an individual possesses determines his economic status. Most of the Gujjar families are landless and very few own land. Their landholdings are very small and they have hardly any income from their land (Singh and Manohar, 1998).

According to Thakur, (1998) the socio-politico-economic milieu of the tribal household has undergone a progressive change for the better. The tribal people who earlier shied away from outsiders and were diffident have now become more sociable and confident. They have become more responsive to new ideas and technological innovations to improve their economic conditions. Communication network and electrification has further added to the economic potential and prosperity of the region. The household income has increased remarkably over the years, though disparities between the small and marginal and large farmers have widened. The household income is so unevenly distributed that the share of the bottom 25 per cent of the household is as low as 5 per cent in Kinnaur 6 per cent in Lahaul and Bharmour and 9 per cent in Pangi. The top 25 per cent of the household in these tribal areas receive as high as 53 per cent of income respectively. It is found that the income distribution is highly uneven in more developed areas. This aspect deserves attention while evolving strategies for tribal development in future.

Unemployment rate was found to be high in the tribal regions in comparison to other areas of Himachal Pradesh. In 1989-90 on an average there was gainful employment for 112 and 138 day per worker in Lahaul and Kinnaur respectively. This means that for about two thirds of the workers remain without gainful employment. This vast potential of under-employed labour force could be utilized to increase their income if alternative additional employment opportunities are created. (Bhati, Singh & Sharma, 1998)

Sharma (1998) observes that besides the changes in the material aspects of agriculture in the tribal belt the non-material aspects of the tribal areas particularly the social structure have also undergone some change. This is indicated by change in land relationship between 1960 and 1991. Mainly the owner cultivators constituted the agrarian social structure during



the 1960's in the tribal belt and there were very few agricultural labourers. This however did not imply the non-existence of inequalities of land ownership. In fact inequalities as well as regional disparities did exist right from the beginning. These got further aggravated with a shift from the traditional subsistence farming to commercial farming, cash crops and horticulture. The rich market potentials and consequent linkage between tribal economy and national market economy benefit the rich cultivators with large land holdings certainly much more than the farmers with smallholdings.

The data with regard to land relationship for the period 1971 to 1991 indicate that over the years the number of cultivators in the tribal areas of Himachal Pradesh have increased from 38.89 per cent to 57.99 per cent. This indicates that the number of agricultural labourers in the tribal belt as a whole has increased from 1.89 per cent to 4.03 per cent. Although the growth in the number of agricultural labourers remains quite small in comparison to the increase in the area under crop production on the one hand and decline in the size of land holdings also visible from the increase in the number of agricultural labourers. The underlying assumption here is that when the size of land holdings starts decreasing the small landowners are gradually reduced to agricultural labourers because of their uneconomic holdings. Therefore increase in the number of agricultural labourers in these areas suggests that a number of small farmers are gradually losing their lands and thus being reduced to the status of agricultural labourers (Sharma, 1998).

Sharma et al (1998) found high-income inequalities and widespread prevalence of poverty in all tribal areas of Himachal Pradesh. The rich were very rich and the poor were very poor as is evident from the very large income inequalities between different income classes.

Thus, from various official and academic researches that have been carried out to review the tribal situation in the state, it appears that the tribal population of Himachal Pradesh is not tribal due to their origin except the Kinnauras. The most significant attribute of the tribes of Himachal Pradesh is their ecological characterization. They, including some of the left out tribal people belonging to Dodrakawar, Malana, and trans-Giri areas, and to the Gaddi and Gujjars of merged areas awaiting to be scheduled as tribes, live in isolated, difficult, far flung, inhospitable and comparatively inaccessible mountainous and snow bound regions of the Pradesh. Many of the tribal attributes— whether cultural distinctiveness or techno-economic backwardness—flow from this ecological settlement and isolation. Analysis of the studies also revealed that the issues relating to the tribals and tribal areas are not only developmental but also of inequalities between tribes and tribal areas. Besides tribals of the Himachal Pradesh suffer from many problems viz., poverty inequality, landlessness, differential landholdings, unemployment, inaccessibility of areas, lack of means of communication and transportation, lack of health services, low level of literacy especially among women, uneconomic landholdings, low productivity, differential developmental levels among different tribal regions, disparities in the living standards between regions and social classes etc.

## **2.3 HYPOTHESES**

The Gaddis of Himachal Pradesh are also suffering from these problems. Landlessness among them is increasing, pasture lands are diminishing, inequalities among castes and classes are increasing, size of the landholdings is decreasing, productivity is very low, unemployment is increasing, quality education is lacking and so on. It raises the question that where our developmental policies, strategies and programmes have gone wrong? It requires an in depth empirical investigation of our policies,

strategies, programmes and implementing agencies. Since the Gaddi tribe is central to the study in view of which it is hypothesized that:

First, the differential development inputs in relation to Gaddis in the scheduled and non-scheduled areas are likely to cause differential developmental outputs i.e. the gains accruing to the tribal people in both areas.

Second, since non-scheduled areas are relatively more experienced in terms of general development, the impact of which on Gaddis in these areas is likely to be more than the special development policies and programmes implemented in the tribal areas. The developmental impact is likely to be mediated through more awareness, exposure etc.

Third, since the Gaddis concentration in the tribal areas is more than that of the non-tribal areas, the impact of tribal development policies and programmes is likely to be felt more in the former in terms of social, cultural, economic and political changes.

Fourth, any development policy programme alien to the tribal culture is likely to have less positive impact or unacceptable to the people.

Fifth, the tribal households living under the conditions of debt are likely to experience little socio-economic transformation than those having no debt liability.

Sixth, higher the incidence of indebtedness greater is the likelihood of increasing land alienation and other problems suffered by the tribal.

## **2.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

First, to analyse and understand the nature of strategies and prospects of tribal development policies and programmes in the Indian

society at large and Himachal Pradesh in particular in the historical and contemporary perspective.

Second, to understand the tribal social structure in terms of social, cultural, economic and political dynamics and the impact of development schemes on the tribal social structure in Himachal Pradesh with special reference to Gaddis in the scheduled and non-scheduled areas.

Third, to analyze the perception, awareness and response of various developmental schemes among Gaddis in scheduled and non-scheduled areas.

Fourth, the organizational structure of policies and programmes implementing agencies, the strategies and procedures followed in the implementation of programmes.

## **2.5 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY**

In order to accomplish the objectives of the study appropriate conceptual and methodology are the pre-requisite. The need for both arises to make the analysis scientific, systematic and orderly. Whether conceptual framework precedes methodology or vice-a-versa remains an issue of concern in social sciences. However some of the observations indicate conceptual framework forming part of the methodology. Madan (1972:283) identified three different meanings associated with the word 'methodology'. First, pertains to theoretical discussions of the nature of social science and the consequent implications for the conduct of social research; second, in a more restricted sense referred to the methods, techniques or tools employed for the collection and processing of data; and, the third helps to designate the concepts and procedures. In brief, the conceptual framework and the procedures constitute two parts of methodology as such. This is,

however, certain that conceptual and theoretical formulations are essential for the proper selection of techniques and procedures.

Kaplan (1985:4293) while writing on research methodology in the perspective of behavioural sciences makes it clear that methodology as a discipline lies between two poles. On the one hand are techniques of research and on the other hand is philosophy of science, the logical analysis of concepts presupposed in the scientific enterprise as a whole – evidence, objectivity, truth, or inductive inference. In short, methodology generally denotes a combination of: (a) 'technology' of data collection; (b) analytical tools; and (c) philosophy, theory and epistemology of social science guiding the conduct of research. Bose (1995:1) observes,

"Methodology is taken to be a discipline, bordering on philosophy whose function is to recommend and examine the methods, which should be used to produce valid knowledge. Different philosophies may conceive of that relationship in different terms, and to that extent each discourse describes a different "regime of truth", that is, the operation of criteria, norms and procedures for identifying or arguing about 'true' propositions in any given case".

In social sciences methodology therefore has two components, namely conceptual and procedural. The former refers to the operationalization of the major concepts used in the study; the latter pertains to the techniques and tools used in the systematic collection and organization of data. A precise explication of concepts being utilized by the researcher is a natural and sensible methodical requirement for any study. It means that conceptual clarity is a must as it helps to build up relationship between the subjective and objective reality of the phenomenon. The absence of which may lead to create serious problems of communication among scientists and affect the cumulative and integrated growth of knowledge adversely.

### **2.5.1 Conceptual Framework**

The term development since its inception has been used in economic terms indicating national income, gross national product and per capita income. Others have been referring to it in social and political terms, such as social progress and democratisation of the political system respectively. Since development is a complex phenomenon having divergent dimensions – social, political, economic, administrative and so on, it becomes necessary to conceptually clarify it in the context of present study.

Initially, particularly after World War-II, the economists interested in the advancement of economies laid stress on economic growth. But social scientist in general believed that economic growth is necessary but not a sufficient condition for the development of any society there are non-economic parameters too with equal importance in the development of human beings. The role of the socio-cultural factors can not be ignored in the conceptualisation of the term development. As such, development cannot be conceived in terms of growth only, but it is viewed now as “growth plus social change.

Sanders (1958) views development as a movement emphasizing upon building up organizational structure; a programme emphasizing on activities; a method emphasizing on certain achievable ends, a process emphasizing upon what happens to people not only economically and socially but also psychologically, and institutionalisation of newly discovered skills and procedures leading to social change without completely breaking away from the past. The point he emphasizes is that development takes place only when people become economically better off; there is positive growth in social relations; mental health of the people improves and the changes that occur in various subsystems are internalised without causing abrupt changes in the culture.

According to Sparkman (1961), "Effective development is a comprehensive balanced or integrated development; and is obviously a dynamic process, which signify goal oriented, guided and gradual change from something considered to be less desirable to something thought to be desirable or more desirable" which includes better standard of living, better physical quality of life, better social relations, better mental health and absence of disease, squalor and poverty.

Development therefore appears to be a wider concept. However, it is generally considered in terms of economic growth. The problem arises when economic growth is considered synonymous to 'development' and hence 'economic- technological determinism' emerges so predominantly that other equally important aspects of development are sacrificed. Modern economic growth or development is a creation of the scientific revolution, for it reflects man's growing knowledge of natural phenomena and the power thereby attained to mould his environment according to his needs. The spectrum of change due to modern economic development encompasses changes in techniques of production, transportation, distribution of goods, in the scale of organization of productive activities and in types of output and inputs. It incorporates major shifts in industrial, occupational and spatial distribution of productive resources and in the degree of exchange basis and monetization of the economy. On the social and demographic side it involves significant alterations in fertility, mortality, and migration, changes in place of residence, in family size and structure, in the educational system, and in provision for public health. Its influence extends into the areas of income distribution, class structure, government organization and political structure (Easterlin, 1968).

Lee (1970:108) by adding the component of sustainability defines development as a process of acquiring a sustained growth of a system's capability to cope with new, continuous changes toward the achievement of

progressive political, economic and social objectives. Lee sees development both as a process and a purpose. It is a process, as it requires several things to be done before reaching the desired objectives as well as it is never ending. It is a purpose as it is the ultimate goal of all societies and cultures.

Belshaw (1972) argues that though development is popularly regarded as an economic process, equal emphasis should be placed on the qualitative aspects of the human development. Sociologically speaking, development should be looked upon as an organized activity with the aim of satisfying certain basic needs and to psychologically orient the tribals to adapt to new skills, attitudes, and life styles; so that they build up the inner strength, an appropriate, social and cultural infrastructure to stand pressure of the new situation and accrue benefits from the new programmes and maintain higher levels of life.

Schneider (1975) says that, development is a multidimensional process to progressively improve the social, cultural, economic and human conditions of the people - all vital sectors necessary for a balanced growth of the society. One emphasis should be paid to establish meaningful links between local and national levels of development and of the world at large.

In a seminal paper, Seers argued that development involved "the realization of the potential of human personality" and went on to suggest that this was best achieved through the reduction of poverty, unemployment and inequality (Vol.11: 2-6). Chi-Yuen (1978: 2) defines development as "a process of societal transformation from a traditional society to a modern society. To Chaturvedi, also development means a process, which stands for transformation of society (1978:8).



Sharma (1986) argues that development thinking has moved from earlier Euro-centric concerns to the present indigenous learning. It has gone through three phases: first, Predominance of Western paradigm of development; second search for third world alternatives in development; and third the rise of ethno-development. Ethno-Development means 'people centred development', unlike paradigms of economic growth centred development. Analytically speaking, ethno-development represents the significance of people's perspective on development, with stress on centrality of culture in it. It entails following ideas: a) precedence to people's conception of development over planner's conception of it; b) reliance on development planning at the grassroots level; c) salience of culture in development and; d) autonomy of ethnic groups to build development on their historical, cultural, and indigenous resources. Thus ethno-development implies a change in the planning strategy from the current practice of planning 'for' the people to planning with people and ultimately planning by the people at the grassroots level.

Shukla (1987) states that the concept of 'development' incorporates multi-dimensional phenomena and may be understood as political, social, economic, spiritual, emotional, physical and intellectual in accordance with its use and expanse. Each dimension may be viewed independently and comprehensively. Nevertheless the economic aspect of development has invariably occupied a pivotal position and influenced all other aspects. He further says that the concept of development implies reorganization, modification, and innovation of the existing institutional structures.

Dube (1988) argued that economic development is undeniably necessary, but it alone is socially inadequate as increased national wealth, while solving some problems, also generates a wide range of baffling new problems. Growth rates, Gross National Product and per capita income figures are often deceptive; their facade hides the ugly realities of

impoverishment and degradation of sizable groups. Therefore Dube called upon academia to rethink development in terms of Gross National Welfare and social development. He described development as a blueprint for the preferred future. It is a course of action that is need oriented, endogenous, self reliant, ecologically sound and based on structural transformation. Above all it is aimed at meeting human needs, endogenously defined with primary focus on those who have been deprived and exploited. It recognizes the importance of equality, freedom of expression, conviviality and creativity. Thus to him development is a universal phenomenon. But the issues involved in it differ from country to country and society to society. The essence of the concept of development is its contextualization in terms of both society and culture (Dube, 1991).

The Brandt Commission Report (1980) described the nature of the concept of development as changing with time and varying from society to society. Brandt (1986) argues that does not relate only to the material prosperity but also to something more in terms of human dignity, security, justice and equity. Dreze and Sen refer to it in terms of enhancing people's entitlements and capabilities. Sen's argument is that the normative goal of empowerment (enlarging one's capacity and capability to function), equity (of both costs and benefits), and human agency is much more significant than the factor of institutional efficiency in the developmental milieu. In his view, the basic objective of development is to expand human capability referred to as the alternative combinations of functioning from which a person can choose out of a range of options in deciding what kind of life he or she wants to lead. It is in this sense that both lay stress that the development policies should view people as an end rather than as the "means of production" (Dreze and Sen, 1995, 1999)

The World Development report (1991: 4) looks at several indices of development. To quote from the Report: "The challenge of development, in

the broadest sense, is to improve the quality of life. A better quality of life generally calls for higher incomes- but it involves much more. It encompasses, as ends in themselves, better education, higher standards of health and nutrition, less poverty, a cleaner environment, more equality of opportunities, greater individual freedom, and a richer cultural life”.

Gore (2003) says that the re-examination of the concept of economic development has led to its broadening into the concept of social development. In the historical context in which the term ‘social development’ has evolved it has come to imply economic growth with social justice. The concept of social development is inclusive of economic development but differs from it in the sense that it emphasizes the development of the totality of society in its economic, political, social and cultural aspect. Social development is distinct from economic development in the sense that it involves planning for simultaneous development on many different fronts. He further goes on to say that social development means something more than merely socio-economic, political and environmental development. He argues that most of the national development plans provide for economic, physical, infrastructural, educational, health and welfare targets. But social development planning requires the perception and delineation of the nature of interrelationships between different sectors. Social development is integrative in nature and this integration depends upon a clear enunciation of the values and the type of society toward which planning is to be undertaken.

The term development and its saga over the years has undergone tremendous shift in emphasis and in its conceptualisation. There has been a shift from the sole indicator of development to the quality of life or life chances index, to social development to the ethno-development and more recently to the sustainable development. In brief, development is a process of improving the well being of people. It is about raising the standard of

living of the people, improving their education and health, and also opening out to them new and equal opportunities for a richer and more varied life. Social development has come to mean bringing about improvement in the social well being of the people. It lays stress on the provision of health services, education, housing, cultural amenities, protection of children, improved status of workers, reduction of disease, poverty and other social ill and people's involvement in the management of their own affairs. The concept of social development includes all the major aspects of life i.e. economic, social, demographic, political, cultural, people's perception of development etc. Therefore in the present study the following operational indicators will be used to measure social development:

**Economic:** - (a) per capita income per household; (b) inequality in asset distribution; (c) occupational patterns; (d) level of technology; (e) purchasing power and; (f) consumption patterns and fulfilment of basic needs.

**Social:** - (a) human development index – based on life expectancy, adult literacy and combined enrolment ratio; (b) occupational and social status; (c) gender inequality; (d) provision of civic amenities and ratio of schools, hospitals, banks, cooperatives etc. to the population; (e) availability of facilities like communication, transport, marketing etc.

**Demographic:** - (a) population growth rate; (b) density of population; (c) birth and death rate and infant mortality rate; (d) ratio of males per thousand females; (e) workable population and dependency ratio; (f) participation of women workforce.

**Political:** - (a) level of political awareness; (b) level of participation in political processes (c) awareness of their rights; (d) awareness about development policies and programmes; (e) participation in planning and implementing development policies and programmes; (f) basis of power

structure and changes in traditional power structure and; (g) participation of women in political processes.

**Cultural:** - (a) cultural autonomy – whether maintained their cultural identity or integrated with mainstream society; (b) cultural perception of development programmes – whether culture is supportive of development programmes or not; (c) people's response to change and (d) cultural alternatives viz. family, marriage patterns etc.

## **2.5.2 Methods and Techniques**

After having examined the concept of development and its operationalization in the context of present study this section discusses the second component of methodology pertaining mainly to technology of research or methods and techniques.

## **2.6 NATURE OF STUDY AND RESEARCH DESIGN**

The present study, as the title suggests, is concerned with analysing and understanding the impact of development strategies on the Gaddis in the scheduled and the non-scheduled areas. This implies analysis of change under the impact of interventions, which can be analysed over a given period of time and space. Since scheduled tribes areas of Himachal Pradesh came into being in 1975, the study therefore tends to analyse change between 1971 to 2006. The year 1971 is taken as cut off date because of data prior to declaration of tribal areas.

Since the analyses involve comparison between two points of time the study also tends to carry on comparison between Gaddis living in the scheduled and non-scheduled areas. In this way the empirical exercise involves book exploration and experimentation. It therefore, follows 'exploratory-cum-quasi-experimental' research design. In this context the study will take into consideration two aspects of the life of Gaddis. First,

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their condition in those areas where no specific developmental schemes have been launched by the government and then those areas which have been declared as scheduled and have been covered under various developmental schemes. In other words it involves a comparative analysis of the Gaddis of scheduled and non-scheduled areas. Alternatively, this study has a control group comprising the Gaddis of non-scheduled area who have not been the beneficiaries of various schemes started by the government.

## **2.7 SOURCES OF DATA**

Generally, data is collected from two sources, namely primary and secondary. The primary data is collected directly interacting with the people to gather first hand information in the field. Secondary data, on the other hand is gathered from secondary sources such as reference books, periodicals, journals, census reports, reports of the committees and commissions etc. In the present study primary data has been collected through fieldwork by taking sampled households as unit of analysis and the secondary sources. The need for secondary data in this study arose due to the fact that Special Component Plan has been in operation for more than three decades. To develop a comprehensive understanding of the input made for development policy and consequences of the same, consultation of various researches, reports and secondary sources was not only desirable but essential too.

## **2.8 TECHNIQUES OF DATA COLLECTION**

There are various techniques of data collection such as observation (participant or non-participant), questionnaire, interview guide, and schedule, case study, life history, content analysis projective techniques etc. Selection of one or other techniques is dependent upon the nature of

the population to be studied as well as the objectives of study. Interview schedule was thought to be most suitable technique for the purpose of this study. To supplement and cross-examine data certain tribal leaders and officials in development programmes at different levels were interviewed. Survey of historical and official records both qualitative and quantitative was undertaken.

The study has been carried out in two tehsils namely Bharmour and Chamba, each representing a scheduled and non-scheduled area respectively of district Chamba, which has nine Community Development Blocks and ten Tehsils. There are 7462 households in both tehsils 5346 and 2116 in each respectively. The total population in these areas is 45875, which includes 23322 males and 22553 females. In Bharmour proportion of male and female population is 14671 and 13800 respectively and in Chamba it is 8651 and 8753 (Census, 2001).

The village wise distribution of these households reveals them highly dispersed over a large number of villages/panchayats. The whole population is predominantly rural. Keeping in view the objective of study the Gaddi population of Bharmour and Chamba tehsils comprised the study population.

Keeping in view the objectives of the study the sample was selected with the help of simple random sampling method. A process that not only gives each element in the population an equal chance of being included in the sample but also makes the selection of every possible combination of cases in the desired size, equally likely, selects a simple random sample. The study was conducted in 9 villages with highest population concentration each from both Bharmour and Chamba respectively. The total population in these eighteen villages is 10836. In terms of households it comes at 2155 households. This population of eighteen villages comprised the universe of

study. The household was the unit of analysis. A sample of 20 per cent was taken for empirical analysis, which comes at 432 households.

## **2.9 DATA ANALYSIS**

The data collected with the Interview schedule was coded with the help of code design. The qualitative data was first converted into quantitative data and then tabulated. The same was fed to computer for processing and analysis. To work out frequency tables and comparative analysis between various variables, the SPSS programme was used.

## **2.10 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

This study has been carried out in the scheduled and non -scheduled areas of Chamba district in Himachal Pradesh. The major objective of the study is to highlight the level of development in scheduled area as compared to non-scheduled area. It will also bring out the deficiencies in the tribal development programmes both at policy as well as implementation level. The study will also evaluate the impact of tribal development policies and programmes being implemented in the tribal areas, so that the same can be moulded to meet the requirements and needs felt by the people at local level.