

RE-EXAMINATION OF VERRIER ELWIN'S TRIBAL POLICY IN THE LIGHT OF UTILIZATION OF DEVELOPMENT INPUTS AMONG THE LODHAS OF PASCHIM MEDINIPUR DISTRICT, WEST BENGAL: A CASE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

In this article, the utilization of various types of development inputs among the Lodha community (a Primitive Tribal Groups) in three administrative blocks of Paschim (west) Medinipur district of West Bengal are studied. The study identified landlessness, poverty and disregard to their needs and ways of life as major constraints in implementing developmental programmes among the Lodhas. Distribution of patta land and that of solar cells and houses to landless Lodha families by the Government have been made in unjust way. No proper planning for developmental inputs like housing scheme (under IAY) was done. Under this scenario we compared the utilization of development inputs in the three blocks. We have found that the development inputs both in terms of patta and solar cell distribution and its utilisation by the beneficiary families in Binpur-II block lie in a sorry state of affairs. The development assistance given in the form of high technology solar cells revealed a grim scenario both at Binpur II and Nayagram blocks while the Solar cell have not been given to the Lodha families of Narayangarh block. But the beneficiaries of Narayangarh block showed the overall better performance towards the utilisation of other development keys. The study reveals that the utilization of development inputs depend on policy and planning as well as social and political factors. We also observed that till today, after 72 years of our Independence, the tribals are denied with their fundamental rights-rights of land, rights of forest and rights of living their own way of lives, which Verrier marked as the major problems to be addressed for their sustenance and existence. Finally, some recommendations are advanced for better implantation of development inputs among this marginalized community of West Bengal in tune with Verrier's policy planning.

Keywords: *Lodha, applied anthropology, land distribution, denotified tribe, marginalized community. Development input, Verrier Elwin.*

INTRODUCTION

The paper is based on an empirical study on the utilization of various types of development inputs among the Lodha community (a scheduled tribe) in three administrative blocks of Paschim (west) Medinipur district of West Bengal. An attempt has been made in this article to record the comparative findings on the implementation of development programme under the various developmental schemes. The comparative study consists of three administrative blocks of Paschim (west) Medinipur district of West Bengal which was earmarked as a 'Backward district' by the Government of India. A specific development scheme was launched during 2004-2005 by the Planning Commission of India and it is known as the Rastriya Sama Vikas Yojna (RSVY). The scheme aimed at focused development programmes for backward areas which would help reduce imbalances and speed up development. Under the RSVY scheme, the Central Government aimed to cover 100 backward districts in India. Already 50 backward districts have been covered during 2003-2004 and a sum of Rs.15 crore per year was provided to each of the districts for a period of three years, that is a total of Rs. 45.00 crore per district was released to the State Governments on hundred percent grant basis in installment. The plan document revealed that the main objective of the RSVY scheme would be to address the problems of low agricultural productivity, unemployment in the rural areas, and to fill in the critical gaps in the physical and social infrastructures of the 'Backward region'. There is a scope in the scheme to make plans to improve socio-economic conditions of the 'poorer pockets' and/or specific disadvantaged groups and communities [13]. Government launched another programme i.e. Indira Awas Yojana (IAY) in 1985 to develop the personal living condition of the poor rural people. It is a Government of India social welfare programme and also one of the major flagship programs of the Rural Development Ministry to construct houses for BPL population in the villages. Under the scheme, financial assistance worth Rs. 45000/- in plain areas and Rs. 48500/- in difficult areas (high land area) are provided for construction of houses. The houses are allotted in the name of the woman or jointly between husband and wife. The construction of the houses is the sole responsibility of the beneficiary and engagement of contractors is strictly prohibited[11]. Besides these, there are 192 Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDPs) / Integrated Tribal Development Agencies (ITDAs) spread over 19 States / Union Territories in the country. The concerned State Governments implement these schemes/ programme by releasing funds to their administrative units viz. ITDPs / ITDAs etc. and details of funding and implementation of items of work of these schemes / programmes, are maintained by these States. The responsibility of monitoring their administrative units rests with the State. [12]

The broad purpose of these schemes is to provide financial assistance to some of the weakest sections of society to upgrade their quality of personal living [7]. Under this backdrop, an attempt has been made to assess

the impact of the various developmental inputs by comparing the developmental set-up among the Lodhas in the three administrative blocks of Paschim Medinipur District in West Bengal.

Verrier Elwin's tribal policy

Verrier came to India in 1927, became acquainted with Mahatma Gandhi, G.B. Pant, V.B. Patel, Jamunalal Bajaj, A.B. Thakkar, Jawharlal Nehru, Subhas Bose and some other towering personalities of Indian National Congress. He became involved with National Movement. Shortly with the advice of Jamunalal Bajaj, Thakkar, Patel and finally with permission of Gandhi, Verrier shifted to tribal discourse and devoted himself till his death to the cause of tribals of India. During his time some eminent tribal activists, social workers, anthropologists, social scientists and administrators like G.V. Grigson, N.K. Rustomji, W.G. Archar, J.H. Hutton, W.B. Thomson, J. Forsyth, S.C. Roy, Colonel Bloomfield, Russel, Hiralal, Bompas, P.O. Boddington, E.T. Dalton, Rivers, Malinowski, J.P. Mills, Haimendorf and later G.S. Ghurye, B.K. Roy Burmon, D.N. Majumdar, P.K. Bhowmik, Mahasweta Devi, G.N. Devi along with some noted others have made tremendous contributions towards the upliftment of tribes of India in respect to their culture and socio-economic aspects. Verrier was pioneer in this field and was a father figure of Indian tribes. His publications, many being voluminous, including monographs, general books, novels, pamphlets, exceed 39 save his numerous articles published in newspapers and periodicals. He is remembered as a poet, anthropologist, theologian, essayist, and freedom fighter and above all as a philosopher of Indian tribe. In this article, we are constrained to discuss on his multi-faceted contributions save his philosophical works. He had had the opportunity to become a member/chairman of two Tribal Advisory Committees/Commissions and lastly became the Advisor for Tribal Affairs in Nehru Government in 1953 and held the position till his death in 1964. 'A New Deal for India', an abridged form of the Dhebar Commission report and 'A Philosophy for NEFA' were published during this period. We shall try to elucidate his tribal policy which attracted criticism in favor and against during his life time and after his death. We also wish to observe the relevance of his policy in today's tribal development scenario. Verrier had spent 23 years of his life among the tribes like Baiga, Gond, Saora, Agaria, Pradhan, Muria, Maria, Kamar, Jhoria, Juang, Binjhors etc in the Central Province of India (Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh) and more than a decade amongst the hill tribes like Adi, Abors, Mishmi, Monpas, Wanchos, Khampti and many other hill tribes in NEFA region (Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Nagaland). He studied Santals, Mundas, Hos living in West Bengal and Jharkhand, shared views with his the then counter-parts though having little opportunity to study and work with the Lodhas.

Verrier envisaged his tribal policy in a broader context with an aim to their advancement and integration and embraced all the tribes of India in particular and the tribals of the world in general. Verrier observed that their feeling of exclusiveness, their all pervading culture, strict adherence to their beliefs, their poverty and indigence were though problems but not their major problems, rather they were “simple, trusting, tough and hardy, convinced of the wholesomeness of its way of life and yet willing to change when faith and reason convince it that a change is necessary.” [3a] He laid emphasis on Nehru’s perception of tribal development in which Nehru quoted:

I am anxious that they should advance, but I am even more anxious that they should not lose their artistry and joy in life and the culture that distinguishes them in many ways. Schemes for welfare, education, communication, and medical relief are no doubt essential; one must always remember, however, that we do not mean to interfere with their way of life, but to help them to live it. [1]

Similarly the essence of Verrier’s tribal philosophy may be found out in his own sayings:

So in this tribal policy, nothing was to be forced or imposed on the people who were to be encouraged to develop (the key word is ‘develop’) along the path of their own traditions.... This , off-course, imposed considerable restraint on officials who, in all countries, are apt to feel superior to so called primitive folk and to think that they have a god- given right to teach them better and do them good. [2]

Verrier, in his ‘A Philosophy for NEFA’, has characterized the major problems of the tribes as aims such as material aims, psychological aims, religious aims, social aims and cultural aims. We have, in this paper, little scope to go on discussing all these in details. The problem of land and forest is the fundamental material problem of the tribes all over the world. Most of the tribal uprisings/rebellions occurred due to the illegal deprivation of their rights in land and forest.

Besides these twin needs, the danger of creating inferiority complex in their minds in respect to their dress, art, songs, dances, customs and culture; the danger of pauperization and the danger of exploitation in the hands of money lenders and contractors were marked as other major problems. Verrier proposed to set up Tribal Commissions with adequate powers and legislation in district, state and central level and suggested that all development schemes should be implemented through Tribal Development Blocks, Tribal Welfare Centers and Panchayats with ‘trained’ officials and trained ‘gramsevakas’ and ‘gramsevikas’. He emphasized that,

The success of the development programmes in the tribal areas will be largely conditioned by the approach of the official and non-official agencies, their understanding of tribal culture and traditions and their appreciation of social, psychological and economic problems. A body of trained personnel with necessary aptitude and back ground of tribal life will be required.[3]

We shall justify the utilization of development inputs among the Lodhas of West Bengal considered in our case study-its success and failure, in the backdrop of Elwin's philosophy as narrated above in a few words.

About the Lodhas

In West Bengal there are 38 scheduled tribes distributed mainly in the southwest and the northern parts of the state [4]. Among these tribes the Lodhas are mainly found in the western part of the state in the districts of Purulia, Bankura and Paschim(West) Medinipur along with other tribes like Santal, Munda, Bhumij and Oraon, who are numerically and economically in a much better condition than the Lodhas. The Lodhas generally live in and around the forest covered areas of the southwestern districts of the state and still largely depend on forest produce for their livelihood.

In one of the pioneering anthropological study, the Lodhas were depicted as a semi-nomadic community who used to move from one place to another in search of livelihood [5]. According to Bhowmick, the Lodhas of erstwhile Medinipur district depended mainly on food gathering and hunting and some of them were found to be engaged in agricultural as well as non-agricultural activities as hired labourers of the higher caste and wealthy families of the villages. By and large, since dependence on forest produce was not sufficient for them, the Lodhas were also found to be engaged in a variety of occupations to sustain their livelihood [5].

The Lodhas were included as one among the criminal tribes by the British administration [6]. In 1952, the Criminal Tribes Act was repealed by the Government and all the communities who were designated as criminal tribes were reclassified as denotified communities. The Lodhas were also included under the denotified and nomadic tribes along with 19 communities of West Bengal [7] still later. Since 1971 the Lodhas are designated as one of the Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) of India [4].

In a paper written much later in the *Newsletter* of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, Bhowmick (1981) explained the socio-psychological processes which created a vicious circle of underdevelopment, poverty and mistrust among the Lodhas. We quote him below:

The chronic poverty and low aspiration level and lack of zeal of these people have created socio-cultural and economic constraints which, in turn, have made them lazy and lethargic. This has also made them unresponsive to any sort of change or innovation introduced for their uplift. [7].

Mahasveta Devi herself also wrote a number of articles in Bengali and English in which she depicted the ground realities regarding the problems of the implementation of development inputs and schemes among the Lodhas. In one of her articles published in the *Economic and Political Weekly* in 1983, Mahasveta Devi cited examples of some Lodha villages in the present Paschim Medinipur district in which government schemes have failed to reach the beneficiaries, although they were badly in need of the development programmes [8].

OBJECTIVES

- Listing of development inputs and their utilizations by the beneficiaries.
- To find out the overall variation towards the utilization development inputs in the three administrative blocks of Paschim Medinipur District.
- To find out reason behind the non-utilization of development inputs.
- An attempt would be made to formulate some recommendations for better implementation of development inputs in the three blocks.

MATERIALS, METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

The primary data for the research have been collected through intensive anthropological fieldwork conducted for about two consecutive years. These data included qualitative and quantitative information collected through household census, structured and unstructured questionnaire schedule and also with the help of genealogy, case study, participatory observation, focus group discussion, and panel interviews.

STUDY AREA

The primary data for the research have been collected from three hundred thirty two (332) Lodha households (the total population is 1382) in the three blocks of Paschim (west) Medinipur district, West Bengal, viz., Binpur II, Nayagram and Narayangargh. The fieldwork was conducted during 2015-2017.

Table 1: Block-wise household and population

SL.NO	BLOCK	HOUSEHOLD	TOTAL POPULATION	MEAN HOUSEHOLD SIZE
1	Binpur-II	87(26.20)	319(23.08)	3.7
2	Nayagram	182(54.82)	720(52.10)	3.9
3	Narayangarh	63(18.97)	343(24.82)	5.4
TOTAL		332(99.99)	1382(100.00)	4.2

Figures in parentheses represent percentages

FINDINGS OF THIS STUDY

In order to understand the variation that existed among the utilisation of the various inputs, we have chosen three major types of development inputs, viz., (i) distribution of *patta* land, (ii) utilisation of the financial assistance in house building, (iii) distribution of solar cells in the three administrative blocks of Paschim Medinipur district.

Table 2: Utilization of Patta land in the three blocks

Total no. of households	No. of households who received patta	No. of households utilizing the patta land	No. of households who received the patta but could not utilize the land
332	45 (13.55)	27(8.13)[60.00]	18(5.42)[40.00]

() Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the total number of households.

[] Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the total Patta holder.

This table shows that only forty five households (13.55%) received *patta* land out of three hundred thirty two households, 8.13 percent beneficiary families utilized the *patta* land whereas 5.42 percent beneficiaries could not utilize that.

Table 3: Utilization of House under IAY in the three blocks

Total no. of households	No. of households who received Solar plate	No. of households fully utilizing Solar plate	No. of households who received the solar plate but after few days they have either sold the Solar plate or those became non-functional
332	105 (32.63)	64[60.95](19.28)	41[39.05](12.35)

() Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the total number of households.

[] Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the total household's beneficiaries.

The financial assistance for the construction of house presents a better scenario than distribution of *patta* land to the Lodhas. A little more than half of the total number of beneficiary families received financial assistance for house building. From this table 58 percent beneficiaries have been fully utilized of this development input. About thirty one percent of the families of the total population have fully utilized the aforesaid financial assistance while twenty two percent of the households could not use the financial help properly.

Table 4: Utilization of solar cell in three blocks

Total no. of households	No. of households who received financial assistance for house construction	No. of households who fully utilized the financial assistance for house construction	No. of households who received financial assistance for house construction but could not use it properly.
332	175 (52.71)	102 [58.29] (30.72)	73[41.71] (21.99)

() Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the total number of households.

[] Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the total household's beneficiaries

The solar cells were distributed to the Lodha beneficiaries in the study area under the RSVY scheme for their uses in domestic purpose. We have found at the time of our fieldwork that out of 105 families' 65 families used the solar cells to glow lamps in their houses and 41 families have either sold the cells at a low price to the well-to-do neighbours or those gadgets were lying non-functional.

Table 5: Profiles of patta records and cultivation on patta land among the lodha /sabar households in Binpur –II, Nayagram & Narayangarh blocks of paschim medinipur

No. of Households who received patta record				No. of Households found to be actually cultivating patta land			
Binpur -II	Nayagram	Narayan garh	Total	Binpur -II	Nayagram	Narayan garh	Total
10	28	17	45	01	11	15	27
[11.94]	[15.38]	[26.98]	[13.55]	[10.00]	[39.28]	[88.28]	[60.00]
(3.01)	(8.43)	(5.12)	(13.55)	(0.30)	(3.31)	(4.51)	(8.13)

() Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the total number of households.

[] Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the block wise Patta holder.

The above table shows the scenario of *patta* land distribution by the Government and its utilisation by the Lodha families in the three blocks of the study area. It is found that the condition of the Binpur-II block was worst both in terms of *patta* distribution and its utilisation by the beneficiary families. About twelve percent of the total number of surveyed households received *patta* land from the Government and only one family was found to use it, whereas, in Narayangarh twenty seven percent of the total number of families received *patta* land and as high as eighty eight percent of the families were found to cultivate their land. In Nayagram the percentage of recipients was about fifteen, while the users turned out to be thirty nine percent.

Table 6: Profile of housing scheme distribution and used under Indira Awas Yoyona among the lodha households in Binpur –II, Nayagram and Narayangarh blocks of Paschim Medinipur.

No. of Households who received financial assistance under the scheme					No. of Households who actually utilised the benefits of the scheme			
Total	Binpur -II	Nayagram	Narayan garh	Total	Binpur -II	Nayagram	Narayan garh	Total
332	36	124	15	175	12	75	15	102
	[41.37]	[68.13]	[23.81]	(52.71)	[33.33]	[60.48]	[100.00]	[58.29]
	(10.84)	(37.35)	(4.52)		(3.61)	(22.59)	(4.52)	(30.72)

() Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the total number of households.

[] Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the block wise house holder.

From the above table it is found that the highest percentage of families of the Nayagram block received financial assistance from the Government to build their houses and the lowest percentage was found among the Lodhas of Narayangarh. But the financial assistance towards house building was best utilized by the Lodhas of Narayangarh

indicating awareness of the beneficiaries. In Nayagram also the scenario of utilization was found to be fairly good whereas the utilization percentage at Binpur II was found to be very poor

Table 7: Profiles of solar cell distribution and utilisation among the lodha /sabar households in Binpur –II, Nayagram & Narayangarh blocks of Paschim Medinipur.

No. of Households who received Solar Plate				No. of Households found to be actually Use the Solar plate			
Binpur -II	Nayagram	Narayan garh	Total	Binpur -II	Nayagram	Narayan garh	Total
23	82	Nil	105	04	60	Nil	64
[26.64]	[45.05]		(32.63)	[17.39]	[73.17]		[60.95]
(6.92)	(24.69)			(1.20)	(18.07)		(19.28)

() Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the total number of households.

[] Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the block wise solar holder.

The distribution of solar cells by the Government was done in Binpur-II and Nayagram. The Lodha families of Narayangarh block were not covered under this scheme. Our respondents of Narayangarh reported that according to Government officials, the families of this block were considered to be in a better economic condition, so they were not provided with solar cells. The percentage of families who received solar cells was much higher in Nayagram and we have also found better utilisation of this gadget in this block. In Binpur-II only four families out of twenty three were found to use solar cells. Most of the families in Binpur II were found to have sold out the solar cells at very low price to outsiders in order to meet their domestic needs.

Development scenario among the Lodhas in the three blocks

In this part, we have made an attempt to utilisation pattern of the three major (Patta land, House and Solar cell) development inputs given to the Lodhas in the study area which contains three blocks of the Paschim Medinipur district. The rationale behind the comparison is twofold. Firstly, through this comparison we have presented the overall scenario of the utilisation vis-à-vis non-utilisation of the development keys by the study population at a glance.

Secondly, the study reveals the variation among the households in the three blocks in the utilisation of the development keys.

In Binpur-II block, 69 beneficiary families have received three major development inputs. In Nayagram Block, 234 beneficiary families have received three major development keys. But In Narayangarh block, they received two major development keys, their beneficiary families are 32.

The comparative scenario of the utilization of the three major development keys in the three blocks among the Lodhas showed a marked overall variation. Variation was also found in terms of the type of development input. Let us enumerate the variations.

1. The development inputs given to the Lodhas have been utilized by them most successfully in the Narayangarh block and interestingly, solar plates have not been distributed in this block.
2. The most horrible scenario is found in the Binpur-II block in which non-utilisation of all the development inputs predominated the scene. Nayagram lies in the middle position in terms of the utilisation of the development keys.
3. The utilization of financial assistance for house construction given as a development input showed that even the overall worst performers (Lodhas of Binpur-II) have made a substantial utilization of house construction as a development key.
4. Regarding *patta* land, we do not find full utilisation in any of the blocks studied but in case of house we find full utilisation in Narayangarh Block.

The following bar graph shows the comparative scenario of utilization and non-utilization of development inputs among the three administrative Blocks of Paschim Medinipur District.

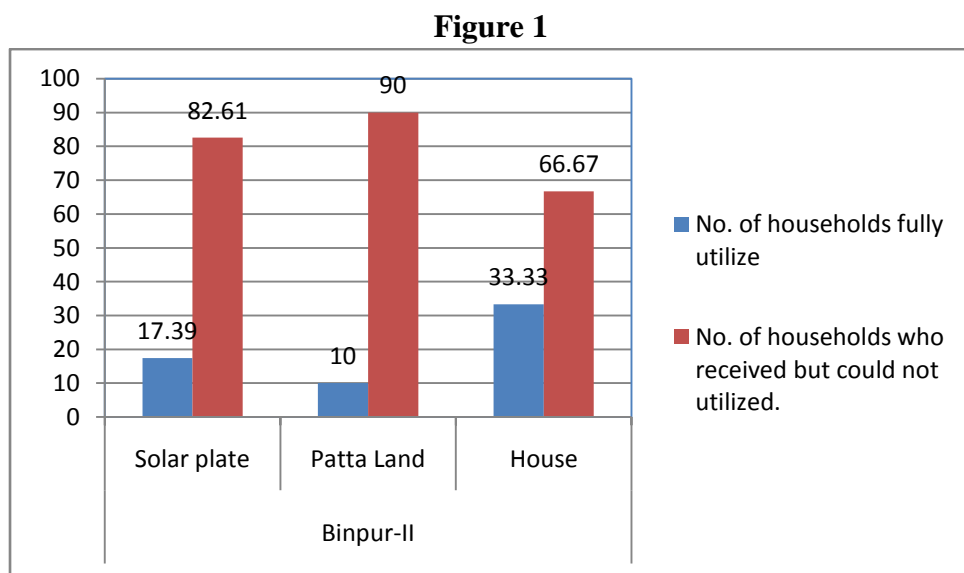


Figure 2

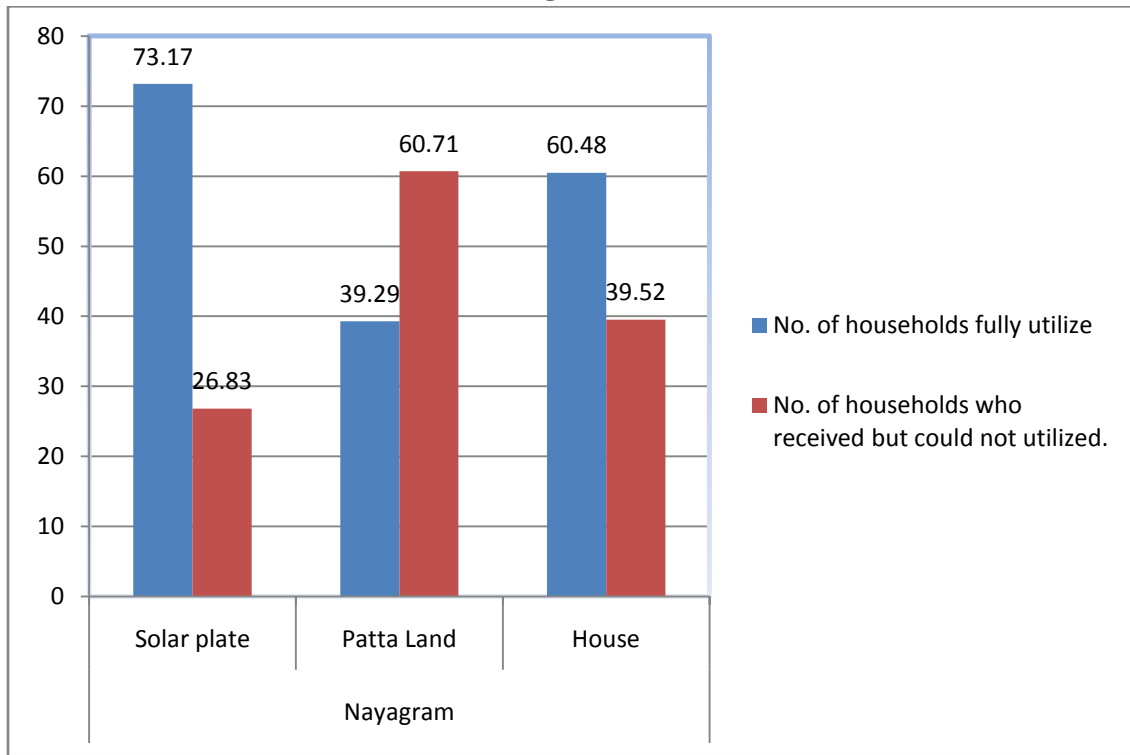
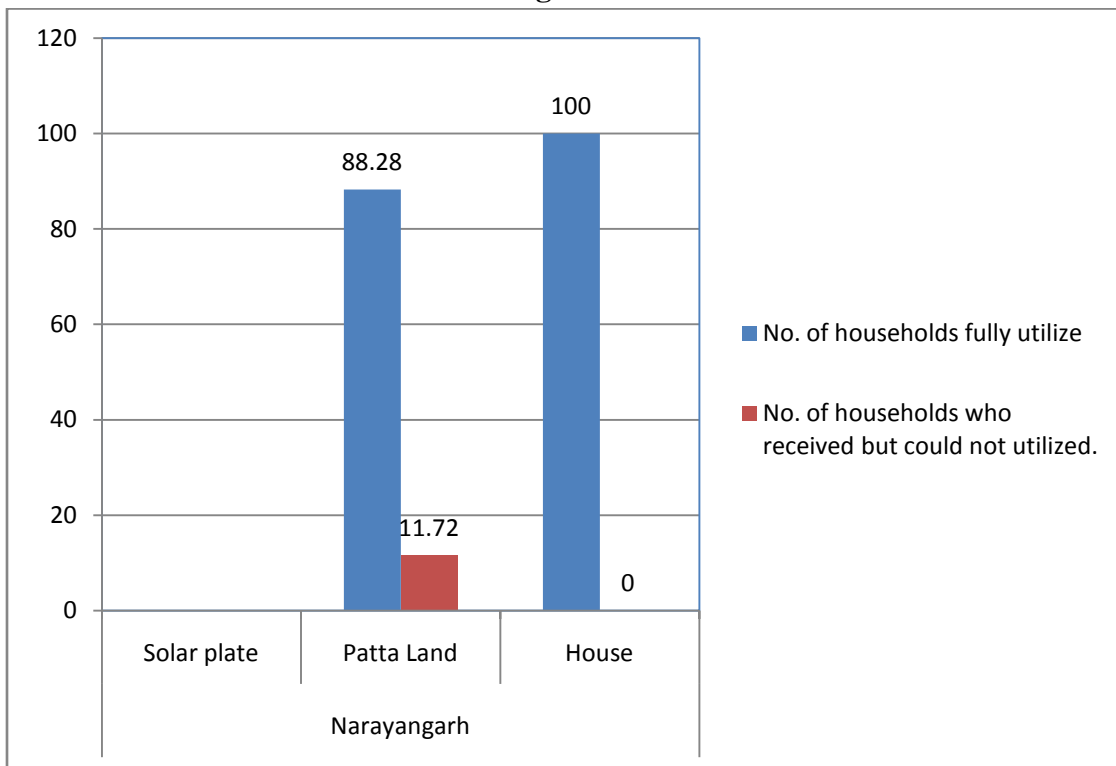


Figure 3



The following case studies support our findings

Case Study 1

Name of informant: Sambhu Sabar **Age:** 42 **Sex:** Male
Village: Amlasole, **JL. No:** 25 **Block:** Binpur-II

According to Sambhu they are dependent on forest product collection and daily labour for their survival. The informant received (i) *patta* land from the Block Land and Land Reforms (BLLRO) Department, (ii) financial assistance for house building under IAY scheme from the Government and (iii) domestic animal from Panchayat Department in 2005. He said that 'I have received the papers on *patta* land in 06.12.2005. The plot nos. 206 and 203 in the Amlasole *mouza* were allotted to me and the total amount of the land was 0.60 acre only, but till now I could not cultivate the land.' He again narrated: 'I have received *patta* land on paper in 2004 and the amount of the land is 0.15 acre only, but till now I have not seen the land or the plot which has been allotted under my name. May be some other person is cultivating the land. The government official who gave the *patta* paper to me did not show the actual spot where my piece of land is located.' Sambhu reported about the financial assistance given to him for building his house. According to him: 'The newly built house was not suitable for living and I am still living in my old ancestral house and use the new house for keeping the minor forest products and the domestic animals'. This is due to the poor planning of the house by the contractor appointed by the panchayats who did not care to consult us.' He further added: 'I also received six goats in 2005 but after thirteen days all the goats died because the goats were not vaccinated and the goats were also very weak. Moreover, I have not been provided with any training regarding the rearing and proper upkeep of the domestic animals.' [9]

Case Study 2

Name of informant: Swapan Mallick **Age:** 52 **Sex:** Male
Village: Singdhui, **JL. No:** 06 **Block:** Nayagram

According to Swapan they are dependants on forest resource collection and daily labour for their survival. The informant received a solar cell in 2004 under the RSVY scheme and financial assistance for house building in 1994 under IAY scheme from the Government He said: 'I received the solar cell in 2004 and for this I had to deposit Rs. 1200/- to the Panchayat Pradhan in 2003. After receiving the solar cell, I used it for lighting bulbs in my house. After few days in this year in the summer, I could not get any work as daily labour and during this period the forest was also dry. It was a period of acute crisis. So I decided to sell the solar cell for sheer survival. I talked to a well-to-do Mahata family of Chandabila village of Nayagram block through my father-in-law that I wanted to sell my solar cell. After three days the man came to my home with a CPI (M) leader and asked me about the price of the solar cell. I replied to him that it will be Rs. 8000/-. After hearing the rate the leader said to me, "You don't know the real price of the solar cell in the market." But I did not want to lower down my price. Next day, a man came to my home by riding on a motorcycle. His name was Ajoy Mahata. He came from Singaduba village. I sold it to him at a price of Rs. 6000/- and with the money I purchased a bicycle, some clothes for my family members and repaired my house. I was in need for these things more than the solar cell.' [9]

CONCLUSION

In this study we have found differences in terms of the utilisation of the developmental inputs by the Lodha families of the three administrative blocks of Paschim Medinipur district. The findings of this study exposed that the utilization have not been done according to Verrier Elwin's concept as well as his recommendations for the tribal development. Most of the beneficiaries (90%) have not used the Patta land, because the Lodhas have received the *patta* record only in papers but they have not seen the plot. About 61% beneficiaries of Nayagram block could not use the patta land due to lack of agricultural implements and proper irrigation. But we have found in Narayangarh block that about 90 % beneficiaries utilized the patta land. In respect to another development inputs house, about 67 % houses in Binpur II block and 40 % of that in Nayagram block remained unutilized. Because poor construction and non-participatory nature of planning towards the construction of the houses by the concerned department of the State Government. But in Narayangarh block they were fully utilized. (Case study 1 & 2)

In Binpur II block, the beneficiaries suffered from terrible communication and transport system, and lack of access to the panchayat members of the area although the local panchayat leader belonged to their own community. The central and state Governments both have not yet been able to organize any skill development training programmes for the Lodhas towards implementation of the development schemes.

In Nayagram block, the Lodhas were found to be in better condition than they were in Binpur-II, in terms of communication and access to local panchayat leadership. Here the Government had also taken up some training programmes vis-à-vis awareness programme through an NGO. We have also found in this block the NGO played a good role towards monitoring the implementation of the development keys.

In Natrayangarh block, the Lodhas also seemed to be more aware about the development inputs than their counterparts in the other blocks studied in this study. They also owned cultivable land and got training in agriculture and other skill development training programmes organized jointly by an NGO and the state Government. In this block, there is an Anthropological Institute viz., Institute of Social Research and Applied Anthropology (ISRAA) established by eminent anthropologist Prof. Probodh Kumar Bhowmick.

The failure in proper utilization of development inputs comes out of lack of a 'human touch' with them, lack of an understanding their ways of and zest for life and lack of a feeling to treat the tribes as human beings. It is to be noted that though Verrier's tribal policy was turned down after his death, today's tribal development works are being carried out through the Panchyats and tribal development blocks in another names.

Last but not the least we may conclude in the words of Verrier as: “ among the very poor and exploited people, we need to maintain those imponderable values that give dignity to life of a man, we need to restore to them their self-respect and the feeling of being loved,..... we need a ‘steady will for social order’” [2a]

Under this backdrop, we have made an effort to detail a list of recommendations for consideration by the concerned departments of the Governments and the policymakers for the better implementation of the developmental keys according to the specific needs of the Lodha community in the study area, which are as follows:

- The Lodha families to whom *patta* land have been issued on paper should immediately be given the actual right of possession with full protection against all odds which Verrier has given the top priority.
- The Lodha families who are cultivating on *patta* land but does not possess agricultural implements and bullocks should be given those items with proper arrangement of training by the concerned department of the Government and the schemes should be befitted with their way of life, as viewed by Elwin.
- Skill development and agricultural training should be given to all the Lodhas of three administrative blocks. And here also special attention should be given to the level of awareness of the community members in each specific location. Verrier always laid stress on skilled, trained officials and non officials for successful implementation of development schemes.
- Public Private Partnership (PPP) programme may be undertaken to monitor the implementation of the developmental inputs.
- The beneficiary families are given the liberty to plan and construct the houses according to their specific needs and demand. Verrier strongly viewed that their cultural, economical and social problems should be understood first, and a sense of consciousness among them should be aroused to make them feel that they were building their own fate, doing their own works-the outsiders were there just to help them.
- The High technology gadget (Solar cells) should not be given to individual Lodha families without enquiring into their socioeconomic conditions. Here also the level of education and consciousness of the community members should be studied first.

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