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AGRO-ECONOMIC
RESEARCH CENTRE
FOR
MADHYA PRADESH

Report on
Tribes of Madhya Pradesh

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Main Findings of Report on

T R I B E S O F M A D H Y A P R A D E S H

(An Appraisal of their Socio-Economics Conditions)

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

India is having the largest tribal people anywhere in the world perhaps except Africa. According to the Census 1961, there were 427 Scheduled tribes and 2,98,83,470 tribesmen in the country, who comprised 6.86 per cent in the total population. Among the Indian States and Union territories, the largest number of tribesmen returned from Madhya Pradesh where they constituted every fifth person in the State population. There were 66,78,410 tribal people in the State and they covered 22.35 percent in India's scheduled Tribes population and 20.63 percent in the State's total population. The tribal population in the State had larger number of females than males with a sex-ratio of 1003 females for every 1000 males. About 98.88 percent of this population lived in the rural area, mostly in the forest-clad-hilly terrains not yet properly accessed by the modern means of transportation and communication.

Tribal population in Madhya Pradesh all over the State except Damoh and Sagar but 81.26 percent of this was concentrated only in 14 districts. These districts were, Jhabua, Bastar, Mandla, Surguja, Sehdol, Dhar, Raigarh, West Nimar, Seoni, Sidhi, Chhindwara, Betul, Bilaspur and Raipur. In the first five districts, the tribal people constituted between 50 and 85 percent in the district population and in the next five subsequent district between 30 and 50 per cent. Among all the districts, the proportion of tribal population in the district population was reported largest in Jhabua with 84.72 percent followed by Bastar 72.27 percent and Mandla 61.81 percent. In all, there were 33 main tribes living in the State but 8 of them were reported having sizable population and comprising more than 2 per cent persons in the tribal population. These tribes were Gond (47.12 per cent), Bhil (18.42 percent), Kole (5.78 percent), Baiga (5.21 percent), Kaware (4.92 percent), Oraon (4.24 percent), Saharia (2.61 percent) and Korku (2.58 percent). Among all, the Gond, Bhil, Kole and Baiga tribes were reported to be well spread tribal sections and constituted the hard core of tribal population in the State.

Since the tribesmen constitute one of the weaker sections of vast Indian Society, special safeguards were made in the constitution for the development of these people so as to integrate their with rest of the Indian population in the near future.

To achieve this goal, several programmes for improving the social and economic conditions of tribal people had been in operation among the tribal areas. Side by side, with the break away of isolation conditions, the forces like culture contact, industrialization, urbanization, technology etc. had also been trying to influence the traditional canvas of tribal life. Even at the lapse of more than an quarter of a century, the complex of developmental programmes and other forces of change had been without much fruitful results. All this has posed a warring question to all now-a-days.

Rural Sociology unit of Agro-Economic Research Centre for Madhya Pradesh had been conducting social and economic studies in the tribal areas. These studies envisaged (i) different fabrics of tribal culture and their role of determine the social and economic behaviours in the community, (ii) main levers of change and the direction of change in the light of the forces of change active therein and (iii) the socio-cultural factors affecting the development of tribal areas in the light of new incentives offered there. Advisory Body of the Centre, while reviewing the progress of research work done by this Unit, during its meeting on 11th January 1971 at Bhopal, made a recommendation that a comprehensive summary report based on the tribal studies and research papers of this unit, should be brought out to focus the attention on the socio-economic conditions of tribal people of Madhya Pradesh. This study should highlight the salient features of the tribes in a coordinated manner, indicate the effect of massive developmental activities and raise main issues and problems so that it could be utilized by planning and developmental agencies for the purpose of tribal welfare in the State. Thus, a comprehensive study on the basis of data collected for 8 tribal village studies (including two on Bhil villages-Bamanta and Gwahan in Jhabua district, three on Gond villages-Dhusawani and Mohpari Malguzari in Chhindwara and Bakud in Betul district, two on Korku villages-Bakari-Khapa and Dedba-Kund in Betul district and one on Baiga village-Silpuri in Mandla district) and the number of research papers published by the research workers of Rural Sociology unit, have been brought out by the end of 1971. To distinguish between the pristine and assimilated traits of present tribal life in the light of forces of change active therein for a long time, old records like District Gazettters Land Settlement Reports, etc. were also taken into account. Thus,

the present study is equipped with a comprehensive information on (i) the common and distinctive features of cultural, social, religious and economic aspects of Gond, Bhil, Baiga, and Korku tribesmen in a coordinative and historical perspectives, (ii) changes taken place in the different aspects of tribal life, particularly after independence, in the light of directed (developmental programmes) and spontaneous forces of change alongwith the main levers of change, (iii) socio-cultural obstacles reported stagnating or retarding the progress of tribal people in the light of present day developmental activities and lastly (iv) the expanding horizons of tribals knowledge and opinion about their own erring customs, as well as about the present day developmental programmes and activities, present government, national leaders and political parties. All this pertains to the Gonds, Bhils, Baigas and Korkus who constituted 73.33 percent of tribal population in the State. Main findings of this study are summarized here in brief.

MAIN FINDINGS

Transport and Communication

1. Isolation of tribal villages, even situated in the remote forested hilly areas, have been broken down by constructing fair weather hard surfaced or pacca roads and the villages have been linked with these roads by approach cant roads and foot paths. This has allowed in and out going of men and material and have brought the tribal people incontact with townships and other areas. But all this is yet limited to a very little extent.
2. During rainy months, most of the tribal village become cut off from other places and the in and out going of man and material becomes standstill. This sort of conditions have been still putting them in the semi-isolation conditions.
3. There is a general absence of transport facilities in the tribal areas, even the motor transport is hardly available there. Consequently, the tribal people have no option but to use bullock cart, livestock or himself as least of burden for the transportation purposes.

✓ *** All the tribal areas should be provided with a network of all weather pucca roads and every village should be linked with these roads at least by constructing hard surfaced cart roads so as to enable the easy in and out going of men and material throughout the year. It is very essential for the fast development of tribal areas.

2. Motor transport should be extended to a larger extent to keep pucca with the demands of development. Every village should be provided this facility within the easy reach at least at a distance of 10 Kms.

3. To assess the requirements of roads and transportation facilities, a detailed survey of tribal areas is very essential to tackle the problem in the right manner.

Housing and Sanitation

✓ 1. There is a general absence of compact and large size villages in the tribal area. The houses in the tribal villages are scattered over a large area, having a small group of houses hither and thither so called hamlets.

2. The village hamlets being at some distance from each other does not allow the compact community life and also effect the easy coordination among the villages themselves. Developmental personnel find it difficult to contact people very easily in the larger number and shorter time. During rains, these hamlets generally cut off from each other due to the over flooding of streams between them.

3. Metaphysical considerations and reasons of expediency play a deciding role in the selection of a village and house site.

✓ 4. There has been no significant change in the traditional panorama of tribal housing except that in the Gond and Korku villages mud walls and tiled roofs have come up in the newly constructed houses. Houses are of hut type situated on the either side of a lane and usually possess one room accommodation used for all purposes. These houses are completely lacking in modern sanitary conditions like ventilations, drainages, etc. The cow-dung stink due to the livestock being kept in the same building or just adjacent to it pollutes in the atmosphere of the house all the times.

*** A separate rural housing scheme is greatly needed for tribal area. Such a scheme should have a combination of traditional and modern housing with three or four room accommodation and necessary sanitary facilities. This scheme should not need upward radical change in the workmanship, materials and cost. This type of housing very likely to be accepted by the tribal people, if the Government plays a leading role by extending necessary facilities of land, cost, workmanship etc.

5. Tribal villages suffer from insanitary conditions and the cow dung dumps, and other refuses floats hither and thither in and around the village. During rains these things create havoc to the life of village inmates.

*** A separate machinery within the village should be established with the help of Grampanchayat to maintain the sanitary conditions in the village. Villagers should be mobilized to become particular about the sanitary conditions both of their houses as well as for the village as a whole.

6. There exist a marked shortage of drinking water facilities. There are a few villages having drinking water wells with in the village. In general, the villagers has to go some distance, sometimes more than a kilometer, to fetch water for drinking water from a spring, pond, stream or well. During summer, most of them faces a acute shortage of water and many of their cattle die due to thirst. During draught conditions, both human and animal beings find themselves in the miserable position in this respect.

*** Proper drinking water facilities are badly needed for tribal villages. For this purpose, every village should be provided with a suitable number of perennial drinking water community wells. Further the existing drinking water facilities should also be protected from their insanitary conditions.

Recreation Facilities :

✓ Song and dance programmes having seasonal variations have been the only source of recreation in the tribal villages. But these programmes have been disappearing fast due to the inferiority complex developed among the tribals in the face of other communities. This is creating frustration in their life due to the absence of any other recreational facility to replace them.

✓*** Traditional song and dance programmes should be convalenced and reformed suitably alongwith the eludation of inferiority complex came up among the tribals due to the prevalence of these programmes. Further, the community recreational centres, sports, games, etc. should also be properly introduced in the tribal villages to fill the gap of recreational facilities.

Population and Health

- X Tribal population badly suffer from the lower longevity of life as nearly 42.29 percent persons belong to 0-14, 42.76 percent to 15-44 and only 14.95 percent to 45 and above age groups.
- X 2. The males have outnumbered the females in 0-14 age groups while it is just opposite in other age groups.
3. In general, the females are in larger number than males and they also have longer survival than males.
4. In the total population, 44.95 percent are never married, 48.04 percent as married, 6.16 percent as widowed and 0.85 percent as divorced or separated. The never married population mainly belongs to 0-14 age groups and that of widowed, divorced or separated to the age groups above 45 and above age groups. It is due to the prevalence of adult marriages and remarriages of widowed and divorced persons.
5. The tribal population consists of 607 workers per thousand in general and among males 635 workers and females 579 workers per thousand. These figures are higher than the state figures of 523 workers in general, 602 workers among males and 440 workers among females in per thousand persons.
6. Among the tribal workers 72.90 are cultivators, 20.50 percent agricultural labourers, 2.30 percent non-agricultural labourers and remaining engaged in other jobs.
7. During last decade, the birth rate has been steadily rising while the death rate has been slightly declining. Birth rate has almost gone up from 37 to 48 or by little less than 30 per cent during the recent years.

8. Due to the change in diet reduction in liquor consumption and other favourable conditions, the fertility span of females have increased. Now on an average women start giving births at the age of 19 instead of 21 years and continue to do so even after the age of 45 years. While in the past fertility was reported terminated among them at 41 years of age. They also produce next child in the third year instead of fourth year reported in the past. Consequently, on an average, they now given 9 births as against 6 reported in the past.

9. There has been a decline in the mother mortality rate from 180 to 136 per thousand. The infant mortality rate has also come down during last decade and now 7 or 8 babies out of every ten now born survive as against 5 or 6 in the past. This has been possible due to the change in food habits and child care.

10. Among the deads, more than 90 per cent belong to 0-5 year age group including 65 per cent below one year age.

11. Different types of fevers, cold and cough, dysentery, small-pox, typhoid have been the most common diseases responsible to cause sickness as well as dieing the people.

12. In obedience of religious belief deeply rooted in them, the tribal people invariable call on their village priests and magiemen in every case to illness and resort to magico-religious devices instead of taking medical helps. Many of their sick person die at the hands of their village priests and magiemen who always diagnose angré of some deity or spirit causing the illness and eventually forbid people from other helps. Some of the enlightened persons may go for medical helps when the condition of patient becomes quite critical leaving no hope for his life.

*** In the prevailing conditions of tribal population and health, massive facilities and efforts for medical aids and family planning measures are warranted immediately, before the situation becomes quite explosive. These efforts may become quite successful in the near future if introduce by winning the confidence and helps of village priests, magiemen, and village leaders who constitute the backbone of tribal communities in every respect and regular the village life.

Education and Literacy

- * According to census 1961, rural tribal population included 4.98 percent literates and among males 9.06 percent and among females 0.93 percent.
2. Among the 1000 literates, 800 were without educational levels, 193 as primary or junior basic and 3 as high school or above.
 3. Among the villages studied by the centre, the literacy find its birth after the establishment of the primary school in the village itself.
 4. An analysis of progress of 7 primary schools working in the 8 tribal villages gave the following glimpses.
 - i) These schools made steady progress in enrolments during first three years and thereafter have been facing declining progress during all the subsequent years and could not even maintain the strength of first year.
 - ii) Total rate of stagnation and wastage of education in these primary schools was reported between 90-95 per cent. If there were 100 students enrolled in the first standard, 26 drop out from the same standard, 37 from the second standard, 20 from the third standard, 7 from the fourth standard and 3 from fifth standard. Only 5 could go through the examination.
 - iii) Percentage attendance of these primary schools remained 50 percent on an average. During busy agricultural days and marry making periods, percentage of attendance was reduced to between 20 to 30 percent.
 - iv) These schools were not well equipped with necessary teaching materials and had one or two teachers to look after the five standards.
 5. There has been many factors contributing towards the slow progress and wastage of education in the tribal communities. Important among them were: (i) Tribals economic activities are as such that the children are also required to be engaged in them,

(ii) education upto 5th standard, which is easily possible in the village itself, according to them, causes loss of working hands in the family but do not bring any significant change in the personality of the student who also not brings any additional economic gain afterwards due to the same, (iii) being having much attachment with their children and suffering from geographical proximity latitude, they do not like to send their children for schooling in Middle or High Schools situated at far distances and urban like places, (iv) the children even educated upto High School generally did not get employment but they become white collars and do not attend to the household works, (v) tribals think that the education is right of well-to-do persons like landlords and a common man cannot make full use of it.

*** / Education may progress in the tribal areas with following facilities:

- / 1. There should be childcare cum feeding centre in every village allowing children from 3-6 years. In these centres learning by recreational method should be made applicable alongwith other activities.
- / 2. As soon as the child completes the 6 years of age, he should be directly transferred on the rules of primary school in the village, giving no chance to the parents to engage him in other jobs.
- / 3. Education from primary to higher secondary atleast should be made as an gainfull employment so that it may attract people to educate their children even for such a gain. This may be achieved by introducing Basic-totem system and some vocational works in the school. In this system most of the students may be allowed to continue their studies upto Higher Secondary by their parents.
- / 4. A Sperate Scheme should be planned to provide employment or other economic persuits to the tribal students after their studies even upto Middle or Higher Sevondary level. This will provide much encouragements to the tribal people to educate their children.
- / 5. Summer, Dassehra and Diwali vacations should be re-organized as such that the students should become available to the parents during busy agricultural days for work.

6. Above all, all the special facilities like Scholarships, free boarding and lodging, reservations in technical institutions and in services should be reorganized and should be connected with the economic conditions of tribal families. The land lords, well-to-do and well placed tribal families should be prohibited to make use of special facilities. Practically, so far these tribal land lords and well placed families which are already in a position to complete with other sections in every respect, have been reaping the real fruits of the special privileges and the common tribal people have not yet get the chance to avail them. If this way, these special privileges reached the common people, there is no reason that the education may not make steady progress among the tribal people.

Community Life

Community life in the tribal villages is governed according to the generations old prescribed customs, traditions, and norms to maintain unity and balanced relations between the individuals, individuals and groups and between the groups. These village norms are generally common to all the villages.

2. The village norms, even if have become not suitable some of them, are to be adhered to in common life. Those who do not conform with these norms are severally dealt with by the council of elders by imposing punishments in the light of traditional laws. Such punishments generally include excommunication, worships, and caste-fines. In these circumstances, one follows these in the strict sense and avoid the adoption of new ways if not permitted by the village norms.

Social Organization

Tribal people believe that their first ancestors were born from the soil with the help of some divinity.

2. Every tribe is reported endogamous and divided into exogamous clans, lineages and families. Gonds and Baigas are possessed with dual-social organization.

3. Gond, Baiga and Bhils have to-temic clans and that of Korkus non-totemic ones. Clans have lost most of their economic and political functions.

4. Social organization of tribes provides reckoning of descent and inheritance of properties in the male line from the genitor. Sons get equal share in the properties of father after his death and the daughters have no say in this regard.

5. Joint or extended families preponderate in the tribal communities due to social and economic reasons but this institution is reported fast disintegrating in the present conditions. However, partition is still taken after the death of father, not before that, as it brings bad name in the community and also no share of properties from father.

Marriages

Clan exogamy is to be observed for marriage alliances. This restriction is being extended upto moiety level among the Gonds and Baigas.

2. Selection of males is done by the parents on both sides and the boys and girls have no say in it, at the first instance.

3. The Gonds and Baigas practice cross-cousin matings socially sanctioned to them. They may marry outside only when the spouse is not available within the cross-cousin circles. In practice, the cross-cousin marriages have been leading to unsuitable unions and frequent divorces in the community.

4. Tribal people acquire mates in many ways such as by proper settlement, serving for the wife, elopement and intrusion. The marriage ways except by proper settlement (Vivah), are practised in the desperate conditions and cause abruptness in the community. These ways covered about 33 per cent marriages among the Gonds, Bhils, Baigas and Korkus.

5. Tribal people practice adult marriages and preferably marry boys between 20-25 and the girls between 16-20 years, of age.

6. Bride price is necessarily paid in one way or the other in every type of marriage sooner or later. It remains fixed for all and is paid by the groom's parents to the Bride's parents in the traditional manner. It usually costs between Rs 1000-1500 and lays heavy economic burden on the groom's family alone. The amount of

bride-price became very high in comparison to the economic conditions of tribal families. An analysis in this respect had revealed that in 74 per cent marriages, this amount was paid by taking loans from relatives, friends and moneylenders on the interest rate varied from 25 to 50 percent per year and those borrowed above Rs 400 remained indebted for a decade or so.

Divorce

Tribal rules have provisions for divorce in a well settled order and allow equal freedom to both males and females to resort to this rupture.

2. Frequency of divorce was reported to be very high and 17-20 per cent marriages were reported ending by this way. And among the present married males, 16 per cent had faced divorce once, 9 per cent twice, and 4 per cent thrice.

3. Frequency of divorce was closely associated with the sex and period of marriage life. About 84 per cent divorces were taken by the females and 92 per cent were taken in the early period of married life before giving birth to any child.

4. Strict adherence to the preferential matings, not much value attached to the chastity, unfettered liberty granted to young boys and girls to intermingle with each other, absence of consent of boys and girls in the mate selection and easy method of divorce have been the basic factors contributing towards the high frequency of divorce.

5. High frequency of divorce have been reported affecting the progress of tribal people. This rupture disrupts the smooth functioning of one's agriculture is remain mainly dependent on the cooperation of wife and it also lays on other heavy expenditure on marriage. Above all, it brings no gain to any body but certainly causes social and economic losses to all concerned.

Remarriage

Both males and females who became single by death or divorce of their spouses are freely allowed to remarry with all categories of persons like unmarried, widowed or divorced. Remarriage is performed by a simple ceremony called 'Pat - Lagana', which is very

short and economic as compared to the regular marriage. For remarriage, the spouses enjoy full freedom to select spouse of their own choice and satisfaction.

Religion and Magic

Tribal people follow more or less a common religion and magic. Their religion is polytheistic and characterized by animism, animatism and naturalism. But their religion has been under the influence of Hindu religion for a long time and hither to several Hindu beliefs, deities, worships, festivals etc. have been suitably accommodated in it and adhered to in the common life like the traditional ones.

2. Panorama of religion and magic is composed of beliefs, deities and spirits, worships and festivals, omens and superstitions, myths and magical practices which determine the every walk of life and play a pivotal role in uniting to live together in the prescribed manner.

3. Religion and magic is deeply rooted among the tribal people. Whatever they do or behave or possess that is all remain conceived in the religious and magical practices and belief and done according to the religious traditions and norms. In practice, every activity, possession and behaviour is being attached with some religious value to determine what to do and not, what to possess and what not.

4. Tribal people consider themselves as helpless creatures on this earth and attribute their all possessions and attainments in life due the kindness of supernatural powers like deities and spirits. Consequently they owe a number of deities and spirits and propitiate them by way of worships and festivals at different levels such as village, tribe and family, to seek their divine helps for different types of possessions, attainments and welfares. They firmly believe that nothing can be achieved in life without the help of supernatural powers that too by propitiating them in accordance with the religious traditional and practices.

5. They believe that the village priests and magicians are endowed with the super human knowledge and skills to contact the supernatural powers for different kinds of helps. They are the only persons who can help them in seeking the divine cooperations as

well as to guide them about the religious and magical traditions, norms etc. to be adhered to in common life.

6. Misfortunes and calamities like illness, absence of progeny, failure of crops, absence of rain for a long time, draught conditions etc. all are attributed to the manifestations of supernatural powers *angre*. Consequently, for the eliminations of misfortunes they resort to their prescribed religious and magical devices through their priests and magicians invariably rather than to any other help.

7. The panorama of their religion and magic as existed today is very rigid, short, scanty and short-sighted and it does not include new possessions activities and behaviours which have become necessary for the present day progress. Therefore, present day developmental programmes, possessions and actions are judged in terms of religious pros and cons. If found in accordance with the religious traditions, they are accepted otherwise discarded attributing the fact that their adoption may annoy the deities who may manifest some calamities to express their *angre*. With the result, present day medical aids, inoculations, family planning measures etc. could not yet make any head way in the tribal communities. Similarly the chemical fertilizers improved seeds, new implements and agricultural practices which could not give good result at the first instance due to the absence of irrigation and suitable land conditions faced a major set back in their adoption and received so far a very slow and meagre acceptance among the tribal communities.

8. If the adoption of any new activity is marked with a failure as compared to the local ones or is followed by some unusual happenings like outbreak of an epidemic, dying out of human or animal beings in larger numbers in succession, that is all attributed towards the religious unsuitabilities of that activity. In this situation, the further adoption of that activity is reduced to the minimum if not stopped. Unfortunately such happenings followed the adoption of chemical fertilizers, improved seeds, inoculations etc. initiated in the tribal areas for their developments.

9. Practically, the religious blindness of tribal people have been mainly responsible for the poor response and adoption of present day developmental activities carried out in their area in a massive order for speedy progress.

Traditional Councils

Traditionally, every tribe in the village was having its own council and every tribal village was having a collective political body of all castes and tribes. Former was dealing with the tribal affairs and that later with village affairs and welfare activities and were headed by tribal heads and village headman respectively. Now these councils have intermingled and did not function independently. There has emerged a fused body of all the village councils to be known as the council of village elders.

2. Virtually, family heads are the members of this council and it is headed by the traditional village headman. But the caste/tribal heads, village officials (village Patel, village headman, and village priest) and village leaders are considered to be most effective members and they dominate the council in every manner.

3. Main function of this council is to maintain social solidarity and coherence among the village people by upholding the traditional customs and norms and by punishing those who do not conform with them. Besides, it also look after the village administration and welfare in the traditional manner. For this purpose, it organizes village worships and festivals and other welfare activities in the village.

4. Council of elders also act as an agency of justice for the villagers and it decides cases in a well settled order in the light of traditional laws. Villagers also report their all types of cases to this body for arbitration and feel satisfied with its decisions.

5. Council imposes punishments in the traditional manner which generally includes ex-communication, observance of some special worship or a heavy cash fine depending upon the type and severity of the offence. Now-a-days these fines injure the social and economic progress of the people.

6. Council practically works as a 'backbone' of the village community but strongly suffer from the traditionalism, thus, obstains people from the new set of activities. Being deeply rooted among the people, therefore, the democraetic institution of gram-panchayat could not find acceptance in its presence and has remained limited to the official files only.

*** It is suggested that both the treditinal councils and the gram-panchayats should be reorganized and at their place one common body should be evolved. This new body should have its wider membership and functions. It should have a capacity to maintain pace between the traditional and new set of activities. It should do all the functions of the traditional councils and should also share the full responsibilities for the initiation and organization of present day developmental activities in the village. This sort of body will find much acceptance among the villagers and may prove effective agency for the village development.

Village Leaders

Tribal villages are having traditional cum institutional type of leaders who include mainly caste/tribal heads, and village officials.

2. These leaders exercise their leadership mainly due to their institutional positions, while their superior knowledge and experience about traditional village affairs, comparatively well-to-do economic status and positive personality traits also contribute towards their leadership.

3. Tribal people follow different leaders for different purposes. Such as, for tribal affairs they go to tribal headman, for village affairs to village headman and for religious affairs to the village priest and magician.

4. Village leaders occupy pivotal position in the village set-up and determine the pattern of village life in many ways being most trusted and favoured persons in the village. But these leaders invariably suffer from the ethnocentrism and do not cultivate people for the adoption of new ideas, practices and activities necessary for the speedy progress. They rather devise people to adhere to the traditionalisms both in later and practice.

5. Present day leaders generally suffer from the lack of education as well as about the knowledge of present day developmental programmes and activities. Therefore, they have been failing to enable their people to swim in the current of old and new activities in the balanced manner.

*** As the tribals do not want to do away their old pattern of life completely but want to maintain pace between the old and new, they also expressed desire to follow one leader for all purposes instead of so many, there is a great need for polymorphic emergent leaders in the tribal villages. These leaders should have enough education and full knowledge about the traditional life as well as about the present day ideas, programmes and activities. They should be trained enough to establish coordination between the old and new set of activities. They should prove themselves as 'master mind' for all purposes in the village so as to lead the tribal people towards the desired path of progress and prosperity. This may fill the absence of progressive and effective leadership in the tribal villages and may prove much helpful in the acceptance of new innovations and incentives among the tribal communities.

Ownership Pattern of Land

An analysis of land ownership pattern in the 8 tribal villages has indicated that 12.61 percent households did not own land at all, 11.28 percent owned less than one hectare, 42.91 percent between 1-5 hectare, 21.89 percent between 5-10 hectare, 9.95 percent between 10-20 hectare and 1.36 percent more than 20 hectares.

2. About 60 percent land was owned by the 11.31 percent households. These households possessed more than 10 hectare land each. Thus the land was most unevenly distributed among the tribal families.

*** Land reforms are urgently warranted for the redistribution of land among the tribal villages on the basis of size of the household. Present day land ceiling programme if implemented properly, may solve the problem to a larger extent.

Conditions of Agricultural Land

Tribal villages being situated in the forested hilly terrains, the land under cultivation there is most undulated, consists of stones to a larger extent and possesses shallow soil.

2. Agricultural land is located mainly at three places, namely near the villages houses to be called Bari land, in the valleys called Khet and on the slopes and tops of hill ranges, known as Barra. From the view point of quality and depth of soil and productivity, Bari land is considered best followed by Khet type of land. Barra is most rough and is used for growing rough crops like Kodon and Kutki.

3. Agricultural land is faced with soil erosion all along at all the places. Soil erosion is affecting both quality and productivity of soil every year.

*** Land improvement measures are urgently needed. Contour bunding was marked with some success, therefore, it should be carried out on the rational basis among the tribal areas. Terracing of fields may also be tried and it may be marked with success. Soil conservation measures are very necessary for reducing the extent of soil erosion.

Sources of Irrigation and Irrigated Area

There was no irrigated area in the tribal villages in the strict sense of agricultural development.

2. Out of 8 tribal villages, 3 were having irrigation wells numbering between 2-4. Due to the paucity of water among them, one well could not irrigate land more than one hectare during the normal years.

3. Streams etc. which are in larger number could not be used for irrigation as these become dry generally after October.

*** As there are too much streams in the tribal areas, the minor irrigation schemes should be worked out for every village. These schemes can irrigate the land situated around the villages and in the valleys constituting about 18-26 per cent of the total agricultural land. By this about 15 percent land can easily be covered under these schemes for irrigation.

Tube well irrigation system is also very likely to solve the problem of irrigation in the tribal villages. All these irrigation facilities by and large should be carried out by the government.

Cropped Area

Due to the undulating topography and acute soil erosion, the fertility of the soil in the tribal areas diminished at a faster rate. Consequently, about 30 percent of the area under cultivation remained as fallow land. Land attached with the houses was cultivated every year, while land in the valleys for 5-7 years continuously and then left as fallows for 2-3 years and that situated at slopes and tops of hills for 2-3 years in succession then kept as fallows for 5-7 years for fertility reasons.

2. Area cultivated during the year was sown for kharif crops only and Rabi crops entirely depended on the behaviour of rains. If the rains fall suitably, about 10 percent area was sown for Rabi crops like wheat, gram and masoor. Tribal farmers usually grow one crop over a field during the year, other than the Bari land.

3. Double cropped area as such did not exist in the tribal villages. If the rains behave favourable, Bari fields may be used for growing wheat and gram after harvesting maize and vegetables largely grown in these fields during kharif.

*** All the area under Bari fields and a large ^{size} of the situated in the valleys may be turned into double cropped area, if the minor irrigation schemes, suggested earlier, are successfully carried out in the villages.

4. There is general absence of crop rotations in the tribal areas. Tribal farmers continue to grow the same crop in field till it is not left as fallow land.

*** Suitable crop rotations should be suggested to the tribal farmers in the light of the crops grown in different fields. This may help in the productivity and may lessen the fast diminishing of fertility of the soil due to soil erosion etc.

Land Tenure

Generally there were land owner cultivators in the tribal villages. But the share cropping on fifty-fifty and on seventy five and 25 per cent share was also practise inthe tribal villages. Such share cropper farmers varied below five per cent in the list of total farmers. As the land owners were usually supplying the inputs, therefore, the produce was to be divided by deducing the inputs with 50 per cent interest on it. Consequently, the 50 percent share was reduced to the level of 35 percent and that of 25 percent to the 20 per cent in the case of share cropper.

2. Cases of leased in and out, contract rent, and mortgage were also reported but were not in the larger number in the tribal villages.

*** Practices of share cropping, leased in and leased out, contract rent and land mortgage should be stopped herewith by introducing necessary land reforms and enacting the suitable machinery to have checks on these practices in future.

Methods of Cultivation

The Gonds, Bhils, and Korhus now-a-days practise only the settled type of plough cultivation, while Baigas also do shifting cultivation (Bewar) so called 'burn and ash' cultivation on the fields specifically allotted to them in the light of their socio religious attachment with this type of cultivation.

2. Tribal farmers are doing plough cultivation in a less skillful manner in their traditional way. New improved practices have not yet find acceptance among them.

3. They are also going on with the less skillfully made agricultural implements and tools which they claim best suited to the conditions of their land and bullock power.

*** A massive adoption of improved agricultural practices and that of new implements is urgently warranted among the tribal farmers for the all-round development of agriculture. But this can work well if the conditions of land and irrigation facilities are improved accordingly.

Cropping Pattern

Cropping pattern among the tribal villages includes cereals, millets, pulses, oilseeds, vegetables and fibres.

2. Tribal people generally grow kharif crops being dependent on rains and the Rabi crops depend on the behaviour of rains but during normal years, these crops comprise between 5-10 per cent in the gross-cropped area.

3. Cropping pattern in the tribal villages is directly related with the earlier stated categories of land. Minor millets like Kodon, Kutki, Sanwa, Jagani, etc. which cover about 45 per cent cropped area, are usually sown in the Barra lands. Jowar, Bajra, Arhar, Urad, Moong, Kutki, groundnut and cotton are largely grown on the lands situated in the valleys. Sometimes wheat and gram is also taken in some of these fields but in this case these fields are not sown for Kharif crops. Maize, vegetables, wheat, gram are grown in the Bari-fields attached to the village houses.

4. Tribal farmers generally do not apply manure except the crops grown in Bari-fields and they still use local seed which they usually procure themselves.

5. Crops need much intercultural operations due to fast growing of weeds, require constant watching against wild animals and often suffer from the insects and pests.

6. Fertilizers, improved seeds and insecticides and pesticides have not yet find acceptance in the tribal village. A very small number of farmers in the Gond, Korku and Bhil villages were reported using the improved seeds of maize, groundnut, wheat and gram.

*** Cropping pattern in the tribal villages should not be drastically changed by introducing new crops. But the improved varieties of the crops already grown should be developed. These should be short duration crops having much resistance to the local conditions of the soil.

2. Cropping pattern as such should be reorganized on the principles of dry land farming by adjusting sowing dates in the light of moisture, humidity, temperature etc. This may increase the extent of double cropping even in the existing situations.

3. More stress should be given on the growing of cash crops like oilseeds, vegetables, cotton etc. so that cultivation may become more remunerative as compared to the present. High prices of these crops as against other commodities may attract a larger number of farmers to go for these crops and even for the adoption of improved seeds of these crops alongwith chemical fertilizers etc.

Livestock

Livestock in the tribal villages mainly include cattle which they keep beyond their capabilities just for the supply of bullocks for draft labour and cow-dung manure.

2. Size of the livestock was reported positively related with the size of holding.

3. Livestock possessed by the tribal people are of local breed, short and slight. They look like half-starved being very lean and thin.

4. Due to the poor health, the livestock in general do not yield dairy production for their owners. Even the bullocks did not work more than four hours at a stretch.

5. For feeding, the livestock depend on the unchaffed dry fodder of maize, jowar, paddy, kodon and kutki along with the grazing of grasses in the forests. During summer, there become a acute shortage of all fodders and drinking water, consequently, many of the livestock die due to hunger and thirst. Overall, the livestock are very poorly maintained in the tribal villages and their loss and addition both do not make any concern to the owners except in the case of bullocks.

*** Feeding method of the livestock is to be changed in the light of plain areas. Fodder crops need to be introduced and the tribal people should be mobilized to adopt the new methods of fodder preservation.

2. Tribal farmers should be advised to maintain lesser number of livestock than at present. It will be helpful for the good health of the livestock.

3. Tribal farmers should be attracted towards the fruitfulness of dairy products. This may work as an incentive to adopt the improved means of livestock feeding as well as new breeds of livestock.

Poultry

Hens and cocks are commonly reared by every tribal family but mainly to meet the demands of sacrifices to the deities and to supplement the non-vegetarian food.

2. Due to the Hindu influence, the poultry farming is receiving a set back among the tribal villages. Piggery which was once reported common among the tribal families has completely disappeared from the tribal villages.

*** Poultry farming should be protected against fast disappearing by adopting suitable measures. Facilities of supplying poultry feeds and purchasing of eggs and chickens should be extended among the tribal villages on the regular basis. This sort of arrangement may give a new incentive to the tribal people to reorganize their poultry farming on commercial lines. It may further attract them to adopt the new breeds and modern techniques of poultry farming.

Forest Produces

During former times, tribal people were making the free use of forest products to supplement their food requirements and incomes. They considered themselves as the owner of forests while doing so.

2. Present Forest Laws have totally prohibited them from such uses and required them to obtain permits on payment of some fees even for collecting wood for fuel and for grazing the cattle. Consequently, their incomes from forest products have reduced to the last and this has compelled them to resent against the present day Forest Law.

*** It is suggested that the present Forest Laws should be liberalized to a greater extent and the tribal people should be allowed to collect forest products like Mahua flowers and fruits, Harra and Chironji fruits, Gun, grasses and tendu leaves etc. quite freely. They should also be permitted wood for fuel and buildings and grazing of livestock without any payment.

2. A separate machinery should be established to purchase the forest products collected by the tribal people on the immediate payment basis.

Labour and Employment

Traditional practices of forced and exchange labour have come to an end and due to the lucrative wages offered by the non-agricultural avenues, annual and seasonal agricultural labour and cattle grazing labour have also become scarce in the tribal villages. Now-a-days daily wage labour has become prevalent in all the tribal villages.

2. Agriculture, forests and P.W.D. works are the main employment avenues easily available to the tribal people in their area. Agriculture offers jobs for a limited period particularly during busy agricultural days of kharif. Forests also offer jobs mainly during busy agricultural days and then in the summer days. P.W.D. works extends labour jobs almost throughout the year in one way or the other.

3. Agriculture offers the lowest wages which are in kind and had remained the same for generations. Agricultural wages differ from one work to another, such as, a male labourer for plough gets about 3 kg grain, for weeding 1.25 kg, for harvesting 2 kg., for winnowing and threshing about 4 kg grain. Female and child labour is paid at some reduced rates. Other avenues of employment pay wages at the rates prescribed by the government time to time. An annual agriculture labour is paid about 2.50 quintal grains, two changes of clothes, a pair of local shoes and a rough blanket. If he eats with the employer, his grain payment is made fifty per cent. A seasonal labour is paid about one quintal grains for kharif and about 50 kg. for Rabi crops. In addition he is also given a shirt for each season.

4. Labour has become an important source to supplement the income in the tribal villages and it is followed by all in one way or the other. Members of farming families resort to labour when free from their own work, while others try to pursue it throughout the year. Since, tribal people generally grow kharif crops, most of them become open for labour jobs from November to the middle of June.

5. For labour employment, tribal people observe geographical proximity latitude and they generally avoid employment at far places which require even a week long absence from their families.

Consequently, they try to engage themselves as labourer in the village or nearby villages to the maximum and they go to attend jobs at far distances disparately when their economic conditions becomes very critical, not allowing even the daily food. But, if the non-agricultural avenues provides jobs in the vicinity of the village throughout the year, as was reported in the case of Gond village Mohpani-Malguzari in Chhindwara district, the tribal people resort to these jobs to the maximum throughout the year and earn a larger income that way. In this condition, not only the labourers for agriculture become scare but the agricultural families also do their agricultural activities more hurriedly so as to pursue labour for more days. This eventually affects the agricultural development of the village in many ways.

6. In the villages having non-agricultural avenues at far distance, a labourer on an average worked for 82 days including 60 days in the village and in all he earned Rs 104 as wages. While in village where non-agricultural jobs existed in the vicinity throughout the year, the same labourer worked for 245 days including 18 days in agriculture and earned Rs 330 as wages including Rs 14 from agricultural wages.

*** Since the tribal people have enough time to work as labourer from November to mid June, the non-agricultural labour jobs should be created at large by starting rural works and Seasonal small scale industries.

2. In view of the tribals' proximity latitude, the avenues of employment should be created in the vicinity of tribal villages itself so that these could be fully utilized by the tribal people without facing any absence from their village.

3. In these avenues of employment, the local people should be engaged to the maximum.

4. Looking to the larger size of the labour force, it is suggested that labour guilds should be organized in every tribal village. The guild leaders should be given some training about labour practices etc. so as to enable them to contract labour jobs for their members. This will make it easier to tribal people to contract labour jobs on fair wages as well as will also protect them from the exploitations.

5. Structure of agricultural wages prevalent in the tribal villages should be reviewed and efforts should be made to change it as such that agricultural wages should also become equally remunerative at par with the non-agricultural labour wages.

Income from Different Sources

Agriculture including livestock and poultry farming, labour and tapping of forest production were reported to be the main sources of income and livelihood in the tribal villages. Tribal people in their attempt to seek maximum satisfaction do not restrict themselves to a particular source but pursue at the three sources in one way or the other to fulfil their manifold needs.

2. Per head average income from all the sources was reported between Rs 145 to Rs 326 per year during 1959-65. The villages mainly dependent on labour returned with a higher rate of income per head which varied from Rs 224 to Rs 326.

3. Proportion of income came from the agriculture and labour was found positively associated with the size of holding. With the increase in the size of holding, the income from agriculture was also reported increasing proportionately while from labour run in the opposite direction.

4. In the tribal villages having the sufficient facilities of non-agricultural labour jobs in the vicinity throughout the year, labour was reported dominating in the size of income and it also over run the progress of agriculture.

5. Among all the people, tribal people considered non-agricultural labour jobs more lucrative than any other source of income pursued by them.

Family Budget

Food, clothing, intoxicants and social ceremonies were the main items of tribal's budget, while nominal expenditures on lighting, personal hygiene, travels, entertainments etc. were also reported.

2. Yearly average per head expenditure varied from Rs 72.82 to Rs 208.32 during 1959-60 - 1965-66. Of this budget 60 to 84 percent was on food items, 8 to 21 percent on clothing, 10 to 14 percent on intoxicants, 8 to 10 percent on social ceremonies and remaining on other minor items.

3. Among food items, cereals, millets and pulses together accounted for 65 to 80 percent expenditure on all the food items. Fats, fruits, milk and spices had a very nominal expenditure on them.

Indebtedness

Broadly speaking, none among the tribal families was reported quite safe from the shackles of indebtedness. Because those reported not having debts, were also found in dire need of loans for coming activities of their families.

2. Extent of indebted families varied from one tribe to another, but it was highest among Baigas covering 90 per cent families, followed by Bhils 63 to 85 percent families and Gond's 51 to 75 percent families. Korkus returned with 60 percent indebted families, the lowest.

3. Amount of loans was closely associated with the size of holding. Landless families had loans below Rs 200 on an average. The families owning land below 5 hectare were indebted with Rs 200-300, having 5-10 hectare land with Rs 300-500 and having more than 10 hectare with more than Rs 500. The land being considered as a security by all the agencies of lending in one way or the other, have been the main reason for this type of borrowing behaviour.

4. In general, 25 to 46 per cent amount of loans was taken for meeting consumption requirements, 12 to 30 percent to meet the expenditure on social ceremonies particularly on marriages, purificatory rites and death rites, and remaining for agricultural purposes.

5. Of the total loans, 31 to 73 per cent came from traditional money lenders, 9 to 16 percent from the relatives and friends and rest from the cooperative societies and government institutions. Loans from the private agencies were mainly taken for non-productive purposes and that from cooperative societies and government institutions for productive purposes, the agricultural development. Loan taken for productive purposes were reported considerably diverted towards the social ceremonies like marriages.

6. Private agencies charged 25 to 50 percent interest per year and that of cooperative societies etc. between 7 and 9 per cent.

7. There existed a bounded relationships between the traditional money lenders and the tribal borrowers. Traditional money lenders were to be behaved as good friends and well wishers as they were extending loans without any security for all purposes at any time.

*** Private money lending should be banned completely by law and an agency should be instituted to have proper checks on it in the future.

2. Existing private loans should be settled by cutting across the bounded relationship with the help of the village leaders. The village leaders usually possess full knowledge about the debts in the village and their association in this difficult task may prove very effective.

3. Procedures of granting loans adopted by the cooperative societies and government institutions, should be simplified to the maximum so that the tribal farmers may not feel them as complicated one. Similar should be done in the case of repayments.

4. These institutional agencies should extend loans for all purposes and should respond to the credit demands of tribal people in time. Loans should remain open all the times at par with the traditional money lenders. This sort of arrangement will encourage tribal to cut off their ties with the traditional money lenders and they may preferably start taking loans invariably from these institutional agencies in the near future.

Socio-Cultural Obstacles to Development

Socio-cultural institutions like marriage by unsocial ways, preferential matings, high bride price, high frequency of divorce, system of ex-communication and purificatory rite, strict adherence to the magico-religious beliefs and rites, pursuance of magico-religious practices for the elimination of sickness and other misfortunes, blind faith in the knowledge and skills of village priests and magicians, traditionalism of traditional councils, ethnocentrism of tribal village leaders, traditional ways of punishments and social control, geographical propinquity latitude for marriage alliances and labour employment, conspicuous spendings on socio-religious ceremonies, traditional sense of ethnocentrism etc. were reported hampering the progress in the tribal areas.

2. Many of these institutions give reasons to the tribal people not to adopt the new developmental activities. Above all, the prevalence of these institutions has not been only acting as impediments to retard, stagnate or accord resistance to the present day developmental activities but it has also been eating up the real benefits that accrued to the tribal people due to the adoption of developmental activities.

*** These institutions being having socio-religious sanctions can not be washed out from the tribal communities completely within a short period but their magnitude can be reduced to the minimum to hamper the progress. This may be easily done through the case work method of social work. This social work should be carried out by the tribal leaders including M.L.A.'s, M.P.'s, political workers, well educated and well placed tribesmen, tribal landlords and ex-malguzars and the present village leaders. All these persons should make industrious efforts in a coordinative manner to mobilize the common tribal people against these erring institutions. These persons should lead by substituting these customs with some progressive ones. They should cut off ties with these customs first and encourage their people to act behind them.

Horizons of Knowledge and Opinions

The tribal people have become aware about the consequences of erring socio-cultural institutions stated earlier. They also wanted to do away with them but could not due to their inability to fill the gap which will come up by their elimination. They are not finding the institutions to replace them, therefore, have preferred to continue them in the traditional manner.

2. So far they have acquired some knowledge not fair, about the developmental institutions like community Development Blocks, Cooperative Societies, Grampanchayats, Family Planning, alternative avenues of employment, child care centres, improved seeds and implements, chemical fertilizers etc. They have favourable opinions about the activities of these institutions at the core of their heart. They expressed their inability to cooperate fully towards these institutions calling themselves the blind slave of the shackles of their traditionalism and that of their own makings.

3. Truly speaking, the tribal people had no knowledge about the present form of our government. They still call the present Government as feudal government and say that Angrej Raj had gone and Gandhi Raj has come. They also have no knowledge about the national leaders except knowing the names of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi which were also known to a few persons.

4. There was a general absence of knowledge about different political parties and a complete absence of political workers among the tribal people. Congress was the only party known by both its name and election symbol, otherwise, other parties were known to them only by their election symbols.

*** Different political parties should extend their activities in the tribal villages on the rational basis and they should make local workers to popularize their ideologies in the tribal villages. Their workers and ideologies may prove effective in the elimination of traditionalism as well as in the adoption of new ways of life particularly the developmental activities.

R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S

Wherever possible, specific suggestions have already been given alongwith the general findings highlighted earlier. Here some efforts are being made to suggest some guiding principles and institutions which may prove effective in the all sided development of tribal areas at an faster rate than at present. Briefs of these suggestions are summarized as under:

1. It is a fact that the tribal people at present do not want to do away completely with the past but they are desirous to establish a pace between the old and new set of activities and programmes. It is therefore, quite desirable that drastic replacements or changes should not be made in the present patterns of their life but massive efforts should be made to maintain a continuity between the old and new in a sociological perspective so that the tribal people may swim easily/ⁱⁿthe mixed current of old and new ideas and activities to achieve the goal of social and economic progress in the near future to a desired level.

2. It is another fact that the tribal people believe almost on their own people, especially the leaders, and look others with suspicions. Therefore, the progressive minded tribesmen for every village should be identified and these persons should be cultivated for the adoption of new ideas and activities through the suitable extension techniques. Leading role played by these persons in the adoption of new ideas and activities may allow automatic followings by other persons without any resistance and hesitation.

3. Development of tribal areas is directly associated with the net work of roads, transportation, irrigation, soil conservation and effective functioning of cooperatives, grampanchayats and schools. Real development can not take place until unless this sort of net work is established in the tribal areas. It should be achieved with utmost priority so that development may come sooner and at a faster rate.

4. Under the present day land reforms, the term landless should be limited to the marginal farmers and agricultural labourers and the surplus land should be distributed among these categories of families. As per the multiple factors theory of social and economic actions, the marginal farmers and the agricultural labourers are expected to obtain good results in the agricultural development as compared to those not yet associated with the farming.

5. These new farmers should be organized as a separate group for some time so as to unite them to face the challenges may be created by the traditional exploiters to take away their land or its benefits in one way or the other. Union like organization may be more suitable to face the new challenges, exploitations etc.

6. Some separate agencies should be established to protect the interests of these new farmers against exploitations. These agencies should extend all helps needed by these farmers in their new tasks of agricultural development.

Creation of Weekly market cum Growth Centres

Weekly market centres have been occupying an important place in the tribal areas, and practically work as regulators of behaviour, centre of socio economic intercourse and culture contact. Every weekly market covers certain specified villages and most of the

persons from these villages come to it on the market day not only for buying and selling business but also to meet their relatives and friends, to negotiate marriages and to attend the regional activities of their traditional institutions. Traditional money lenders and regional heads of the councils and other institutions usually also come from these places. In view of all these functions of present day weekly market centres working in the tribal areas, it is suggested that these market centres should be developed in to primary growth centres by giving them a new set of functions thought necessary for the all sided development of tribal people. Under this scheme a weekly market should be allotted 20-30 villages situated within 10-15 Kms. radius and wherever necessary new weekly market centres should be created. The place of weekly market should be at the central place among the villages covered under it. Every village should be linked at least through cartable roads with every village and the market place itself should be linked through all weather pucca road with main roads, other market places, towns and cities. Transportation and communication facilities should be extended to it to such a extent that easy in and out going of men and materials may become possible. These centres should be provided with the following developmental functions to serve the villagers as service- cum-growth centres.

- i) Educational facilities upto higher secondary level.
- ii) A dispensary or primary health centre, family planning centre and a veterinary centre.
- iii) An employment bureau to help the local people in seeking jobs and other informations about the employment.
- iv) A service cooperative society to extend credit facilities in cash as well as by way of seeds, fertilizers, insecticides and pesticides, irrigation machinery, new implements, etc.
- v) A centre to extend facilities of irrigation machineries oil engines, tractors and other mechanization implements, spraying equipments for insecticides and pesticides on hire basis to the tribal farmers.
- vi) Servicing and repairing workshops for the maintenance of mechanized implements and tools, oil engines, pumps, tractors etc.

- vii) Store and sale centres for seeds, fertilizers, insecticides and pesticides, new implements and tools etc.
- viii) A centre for the supply of poultry feeds and breeds and to purchase poultry products.
- ix) A centre to purchase milk and cheese.
- x) Fair price shops for different commodities.
- xi) Demonstration and experiment plots for new varieties and for the application of fertilizers etc.
- xii) A exhibition centre extending informations about new innovations and incentives.
- xiii) Small Scale industrial units like handlooms, soap making, tile and brick making based on forest products, oil crushing etc.
- xiv) A centre for giving training to the farmers and village leaders about the new set of activities.
- xv) Possibly a branch of commercial bank to deposit savings and to extend credit for developmental purposes.

All these functions in the initial stage should be managed by the Government by employing people preferably from the local inhabitants of different villages. Later on, these institutions may be transferred under cooperative managements. The net work of this type of weekly market cum growth centres will facilitate the fair distribution of developmental activities and institutions which is not so at present. This will also provide development facilities to every village within its easy reach. Above these primary growth centres, secondary and apex growth centres at Block and district level may be created with higher level of same functions to feed the primary growth centres for their smooth functioning to render services to the villagers in a satisfactory manner.

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