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All possible efforts are being made to bring the tribals away from the isolation in which we find them today, so that, they may join the mainstream of the nation's life and become active participants in the development process.



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Tribal development programmes: a review

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IN INDIA ABOUT 65 PERCENT of the tribals are living in areas of more than 50 percent of tribal concentration for whom Tribal Plans or sub-plans were prepared during the Fifth plan. Generally the Tribal sub-plan is much wider than the state and central plans. It encompasses the totality of the developmental efforts in the tribal areas and also takes care of the protective aspects, administrative and institutional infra-structure. In fact, a sub-plan should be drawn up for the tribal areas in all the states which may present an integrated view of the problems of tribals, the broad objectives and strategies, an outline of the various programmes, physical inputs, financial outlays, legislative and administrative frame.

Profile of the tribals

THE TRIBALS WHO LIVE IN SALEM District are called the Malayalis. The word 'Malayali' denotes inhabitant of the hills viz. Malai hill or mountain. The Malayalis do not have, however, the characteristics of Todas of the Nilgiris District but they are Tamil speaking people who migrated from the plains in the 16th century. Their dress is similar to that worn by the plain people with the addition of a Kambili, which is a luxury denied to the females. According to a tradition the Malayalis originally belonged to the Vellala caste and migrated from the sacred city of Kancheepuram to the hills about ten generations ago, when Muhammadan rule was dominant in South India.

According to 1981 census, the tribal population in Salem District is 1.22 lakhs representing 3.54 percent of the total population of the District viz. 34.42 lakhs. Among the tribal population, 0.62 lakhs are male and the remaining 0.60 lakhs are female. As regards literacy, 0.07 lakhs tribals are literate in the district as against 1.06 lakhs literate tribals in the State as per 1981 census. Among the total tribals in the District, 0.68 lakhs are main workers, 0.04 lakhs are marginal workers and 0.51 lakhs are non-workers. Hence, a sizeable tribal population of the State lives in the hilly and tribal areas of Salem District. Living in seclusion far away from the modern civilisation the tribals in the hill areas are honest, creditworthy but easy going.

Tribal sub-plan areas

DURING THE FIFTH FIVE YEAR PLAN a new Tribal Sub-plan concept was introduced in Tamil Nadu including in the district to bring the entire tribal people under the Tribal Development Programmes. On the basis of this concept, nine Integrated Tribal Development Pro-

gramme areas were identified in the State under Tribal Sub-plan in the Districts of Salem, North Arcot, South Arcot, Dharmapuri and Tiruchirapalli, of which, five Integrated Tribal Development Programme areas were identified in Salem District alone. The following table indicates the names of the five Integrated Tribal Development Programme Areas under the Tribal Sub-Plan, their total population, their tribal population and the percentage of tribal population to total population in the District.

TABLE-I
Tribal population in the Integrated Tribal Development Programme areas in Salem District

Sl. No.	Name of the taluk	Name of the pockets (ITDP)	1971 Census			1981 Census
			Total polulation	Tribal population	Percentage of tribal population to total population	Tribal population (Estimate)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1)	Namakkal and Rasipuram	Kolli Hills	25,036	23,799	95.06	30,665
2)	Yercaud	Yercaud Hills	30,816	16,823	54.59	21,676
3)	Attur	Kalrayan Hills	17,038	16,038	94.13	20,665
4)	Salem	Aranuthamalai	10,143	5,125	50.53	6,604
5)	Attur	Pachamalai	10,039	5,109	50.89	6,583

Source: Office of the District Collector, Salem

It may be seen from the above table that Kolli Hills stands first for coverage of tribal population in the district (95.06%) under the tribal sub-plan, followed by Kalrayan Hills (94.13%); Yercaud (54.59%); Pachamalai (50.89%) and Aranuthamalai (50.53%).

Tribal development programmes

THE REGION OF TRIBAL CONCENTRATION or the Sub-plan area in all the five Districts in the State comprises of a number of viable project areas. For each project, an Integrated Area Development Programme focussing attention on the specific problems of the area and the people in that region will have to be formulated. The basic objective of the Tribal Sub-plan is to eliminate exploitation in all forms, to speed up the processes of social and economic development, to build up the inner strength of the tribal people and to improve their organisational capabilities.

Hence, a new strategy of Sub-plan for tribal development brings to focus the fact that the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes is primarily the responsibility of the general sectors of the development. Infact, the various development programmes are being implemented in the District under the Tribal Sub-plan for the welfare of Malayalis, the primitive tribe of the hill areas in the District from 1976 onwards.

The total outlay and expenditure for tribal development under the sub-plan area have been increased steadily in the district since 1976-77 in order to eliminate all forms of exploitation and to diffuse the benefits of development programmes as widely as possible in the tribal areas. Again to enable the tribal families to cross the poverty line, a package of development programmes also being implemented in the district. Apart from this, number of specific programmes under horticulture, animal husbandry, sericulture, cottage industries and Integrated Rural Development Programme have been implemented in the district. Both under Integrated Rural Development Programme and under Tribal Sub-Plan, the tribals have been given a subsidy of 50 percent for various development purposes. Hence, the special emphasis has been laid on acceleration of Family Oriented Programmes for the development of Scheduled Tribes in the district.

THE FUNDAMENTAL AIM OF Tribal Development Programme is to raise the economic standard of tribals by providing them with the basic minimum needs. The tribal plan also laid particular emphasis on programmes of education both general and adult education, medical and public health, water supply and social and cultural programmes. In order to sustain the attempts at giving them the basic minimum needs and to support their general well-being, there are vigorous programmes to improve their economic conditions by means of bringing to them the modern methods of cultivation, animal husbandry, cottage industries etc. There is also a sufficient and fairly well laid out communication infrastructure in the form of construction of new roads. Again, electrification including energisation of pumpsets for agricultural purposes is also received due priority. Special attention is also paid to the scheme for the establishment of village and social clubs which are expected to help to remove many social inhibitions that stand in the way of the development of the tribal communities. For the above purpose the size of the tribal development plan is constantly increasing from year to year in the district. The significance of the Tribal Development Programmes in developing the tribal economy in Salem District is briefly reviewed under the following heads.

(a) Horticulture: Under this sector, high-yielding crop seeds like paddy, pulses, millets and fertilizers, plant protection chemicals and different varieties of fruit plants

are being distributed at 50 percent of subsidy through the LAMP Co-operative societies. Individual orchards have also been established in the own lands of tribals. More and more areas have been brought under the new method of cultivation in the tribal areas. Besides, the tribal farmers have been taken to different places on agricultural tour. Demonstration plots and rural compost demonstrations are also being carried out. In this connection a sum of Rs. 34,122 was spent during the year 1976-77. Again, 48 demonstration plots, 202 compost pits, 202 agricultural implements, training programme for the benefit of 250 tribal farmers and land levelling work in 2.40 hectare are being carried out. Total 715 tribal families have been benefited through these activities during the above period. But in 1982-83, a sum of Rs. 6,47,500 was spent towards distribution of seeds, fertilizers, pesticides etc. Apart from this, 21 demonstration plots for the benefit of 1046 tribal farmers have been laid and 350 individual orchards have been established. During this year 1,350 tribal families have been benefited.

In addition, the Giant orchard was started at Chinna Kalrayan Hills in the District in 1981 with the object of converting the waste lands into a productive and remunerative orchard. The total extent of the proposed orchard is 1037.26 acres of Governments Poramboke lands. Out of which 800 acres are expected to come under planting, leaving an extent of 237.26 acres for office buildings, staff quarters, wells, thrashing floor, pathway, check dams and other rocky portions. So far about 594 acres of the land was handed over to the Horticulture Department and a total of Rs. 8.71 lakhs was deposited in the Revenue department for the land cost. About 150 men and 170 women are being provided with the employment. Daily an average of 50 tribal families are getting employment. In the Orchard, fruit plants alone have been planted over an area of 114 acres. During the year 1982-83, a sum of Rs. 22.76 lakhs was spent for various items of works. It was further more developed in 1983-84, 1984-85 and 1985-86.

(b) Soil conservation: Generally, in the tribal areas modern and scientific soil conservation is not widely practised. The soil erosion is quite common in all the hill tracts. Because of this reason, the cost per hectare for land levelling and contour stone wall is about Rs. 3,700 and contour bunding is Rs. 500. In view of the poor economic status of the tribals they are not in a position to meet the cost of soil conservation works. Hence the scheme is being implemented on 100 percent subsidy basis in order to make agriculture more remunerative and also to improve the socio-economic conditions of those engaged in it in the hill areas. From 1976-77 to 1981-82, an area of 331.39 hectares of land has been covered with soil conservation measures for the welfare of 653 tribal families. Again, 23 check dams and 4 percolation tanks have also been taken up at a cost of Rs. 10.19 lakhs.

(c) Animal husbandry: The programme under animal husbandry includes assistance to tribals in rearing milch cattle, setting up poultry units, piggery and sheep units, provision of health cover to the animals and arrangement of educational tour for the benefit of tribal youth to visit various livestock farms within the state. Under the scheme, the milch animals, poultry units, piggery units and sheep are being distributed at 50 percent subsidy to the tribals in order to raise their level of living. During the year 1976-77, 150 units of rams and ewes and 24 units of cockerels were distributed. In 1977-78, 370 number of milch animals, 488 sheep units, 92 piggery units and 35 poultry units were given. In 1978-79, 395 sheep units, 326 milch animals, 154 pairs of bullocks and 56 poultry units were supplied. In the year 1979-80, 265 milch animals, 247 sheep units, 190 pairs of bullocks, 60 poultry units and 54 piggery units were distributed. During the year 1980-81, 203 number of milch animals, 243 sheep units, 185 pairs of bullocks, 65 poultry units and 65 piggery units were given. So far 4,936 tribals have been benefited under the animal husbandry scheme in the Tribal Sub-plan areas in Salem District. On the other side veterinary dispensaries with mobile medical units have also been started in Yercaud, Kalrayan, Kolli hills, Aranuthamalai and Pachamalai to extend the medical facilities to the animals owned by the tribals.

(d) Co-operation: In order to provide a package of services under one roof to the tribals, 4 LAMP co-operative societies have been organised in the Integrated Tribal Development Programme Areas during year 1976-77 and 1977-78 and one more society has also been organised very recently in the Pachamalai. All the five LAMPs in the district supplied concessional finance at 4 percent interest for production and consumption purposes, distributed agricultural inputs and consumer articles, and arranged the marketing of minor forest produce and agricultural produce for the benefit of tribals. So far 14,700 tribal families have benefited through the services rendered by the LAMPs in the District.

(e) Minor irrigation: With the object to increase the food production and to bring more areas under cultivation, major, medium and minor irrigation programmes are being implemented in the tribal sub-plan areas. During 1977-78, 4 check dams were constructed. In the year 1978-79, 3 check dams, one percolation pond and 5 wells were constructed. In 1979-80, 5 check dams and one well were taken up. During the year 1980-81 one percolation pond and one check dam have been taken up. For 1981-82, the Government have sanctioned 7 minor irrigation works. Further, the Government have sanctioned 6

minor irrigation works at an estimated cost of Rs. 6.75 lakhs in the year 1983-84.

(f) Forestry: The forestry schemes have been formulated to give employment opportunities to the tribals to raise their economic conditions. In the earlier years under Afforestration Programmes, various kinds of seedlings have been distributed to the tribals and the plantation works are being undertaken on forest lands. On both sides of the existing roads avenue trees have been planted. In this connection, a sum of Rs. 66,700 was spent in 1976-77 and it was increased to Rs. 7,64,190 in the year 1982-83.

(g) Education: In the Report of the working Group on Tribal Development during Sixth Plan of 1980-85 it has been suggested that residential schools will be opened in the tribal areas. On the basis of this recommendation, number of Government Tribal Residential Schools have been started since 1978-79 onwards. For instance in 1978-79, 2 Residential Schools were opened at Kalrayan Hills. During 1979-80, 4 residential schools were opened in the tribal sub-plan areas. Again 2 residential schools were opened in the year 1980-81. At present there are 18 Government Tribal Residential Schools working in the tribal sub-plan areas for the benefit of tribals boys. During the year 1983-84, the Government have sanctioned 5 more residential schools in the District.

(h) Social education: Under the scheme of social education, number of pre-schools and tailoring centres are being opened for the benefit of tribal communities in the district. In this connection, 12 pre-schools in 1977-78, 8 pre-schools in 1978-79, 5 pre-schools and 3 tailoring centres in 1979-80, 20 pre-schools in 1980-81, 11 pre-schools in 1981-82, and 10 pre-schools in 1982-83 were opened in the tribal areas with liberal financial assistance from the Government.

(i) Electrification: For the purpose of providing electricity facilities to the tribal hamlets, number of electrification works were carried out from 1976-77 on wards. In the year 1977-78, 147 street lights were put up benefiting 23 hamlets. During 1978-79, electrification was provided to 10 villages in Pachamalai. In 1979-80, three villages were electrified in Aranuthamalai. During the year 1980-81 totally 13 villages were electrified in the Tribal Sub-Plan Areas. In 1981-82 providing electrification work in 5 villages in Pachamalai, 4 villages in Kolli hills, 2 villages in Aranuthamalai were taken up. Again in 1982-83, 2 villages in Aranuthamalai were electrified and works in 4 villages in Pachamalai is in progress.

(j) Medical: Under the health cover, Government dispensaries and quarters for the dispensary staff were constructed in the tribal areas. During 1976-77, one Government Dispensary was opened in Karumanthurai (Kalrayan Hills). During 1977-78 another Government Dispensary was opened at Pachamalai. During 1978-79, two quarters were constructed for the Assistant Surgeons of the above dispensaries. During 1979-80, quarters for the para medical staff of the above dispensaries were constructed. Again in the year 1980-81 and 1981-82, one more Government Dispensary in each year was opened. During the year 1982-83, the work was started for construction of quarters for the doctors and other staff of the above two dispensaries.

(k) Village industries: In the attempt to diversify the occupational pattern of the tribals and to keep them away from more dependence on agriculture alone, importance has been given to the development of village industries in the Tribal Sub-Plan Areas. During the year 1977-78, a sum of Rs. 57,750 was spent for distribution of 1650 Bee-hives with other equipments and totally 165 tribal families have been benefited. In the year 1980-81 a sum of Rs. 7000 was spent towards training for 20 tribal families. For distribution of 1000 Bee-hives, a sum of Rs. 60,000 was sanctioned in 1981-82 for the benefit of 100 tribal families. Again, a sum of Rs. 1,05,250 was alloted for distribution of 1250 Bee-hives for the benefit of 125 tribal families during the year 1982-83.

(l) Sericulture: Sericulture is also a labour oriented village industry which will help the tribals to revamp their economic conditions. Initially, this industry was introduced among the tribal families in Kalrayan and Kolli Hills during the year 1978-79. About 40 acres of land was brought under sericulture cultivation for the benefit of 40 tribal families during that period. In the year 1979-80, 50 acres of land was brought under sericulture cultivation for the benefit of 50 tribal families. Again, the scheme has been extended to cover an area of 100 acres for the benefit of 130 tribal families. In the year 1981-82, the scheme has been covered another 120 acres of land for the benefit of 120 tribal families. Training facilities were also given to them during that year. Further, the scheme was extended over an area of 113 acres of land in Kolli Hills and Kalrayan Hills for the benefit of 122 families during the year 1982-83

(m) Rural water supply: In the Report of the working Group on Tribal Development during Sixth Plan 1980-85, it has been mentioned that next to provision of food through higher production and off season employment, provision of drinking water should be given the highest priority through safe drinking water wells, tube wells, open wells etc. It has also been mentioned that atleast one of the such water sources should be available within one kilometre of village or hamlet within the above plan period. Further in the Tamil Nadu Tribal Development Authority's meeting held at Madras on 5th June 1982, the Chairman of the Committee pointed out that all tribal

villages have to be provided safe drinking water facilities within the period of two years. Hence, according to the funds available under the Tribal Sub-Plan necessary steps are being taken up to provide drinking water facilities to the tribal villages/hamlets step by step in the district. In the year 1978-79, bore wells were provided in 19 habitations in Kalrayan Hills. In 1979-80 the bore wells were provided in another 15 habitations. Further 21 habitations were given with bore wells in 1980-81. During the year 1981-82, few bore wells were constructed in 2 villages in Kolli Hills, one in Yercaud and four in Pachamalai. In the year 1982-83 this scheme was taken up in 7 villages in Yercaud, one in Pachamalai, one in Aranuthamalai, two in Kalrayan Hills and 12 in Kolli Hills. In this respect, a sum of Rs. 5,81,000 was spent for provision of good and protected drinking water to the tribal habitations in the district during the above period.

(n) Communication: Road Schemes are being sanctioned annually out of the master list prepared. During the year 1976-77 the road work 'from Pappinaickenpatti Karumandurai road to Kariakoil Valavu' in Kalrayan hills was taken up to a length of 10 K.M. In the year 1977-78 formation of road 'from Top Sengattupatti to Odaikattupudur' was taken up in Pachamalai to a length of 10.20 K.M. In 1978-79 the road work for improvement to 'Vaniyar road to Pagodapoint' in Yercaud was carried out to a length of about 10 K.M. During the year 1979-80 formation of a road work 'from Poluthikuttai to Aranuthamalai' in Aranuthamalai was taken up at a total cost of Rs. 17.40 lakhs. Further new road works were started in Kolli hills, Yercaud and Pachamalai in the year 1980-81. Rs. 27.66,397 were spent for the above purpose. In addition, a sum of Rs. 66,304 was also spent for construction of new roads and for repairing the existing roads in Kolli Hills, Aranuthamalai, Kalrayan, Pachamalai and Yercaud Hills during the year 1982-83 and 1983-84.

(o) Housing scheme: For construction of houses for tribals, proposals are being received by the Government from the Managing Director of Tamil Nadu Adi-Dravidar Housing and Development Corporation. Under the Tribal Sub-Plan in 1983-84, the Government have been requested to sanction a sum of Rs. 1,73,250 towards construction of 33 houses in Pachamalai in place of burnt houses by fire. In this connection, the Government have requested the Adi-Dravidar and Tribal Welfare Department, Madras to consider the proposal under Tribal Sub-Plan in 1984-85.

(p) Community development: For the year 1984-85, it has been proposed to supply 50 Radio sets with loud speakers at a cost of Rs. 50,000 to all the five Integrated Tribal Development Programme Areas in the district. Again, it was proposed to construct 10 shelters at an estimated cost of Rs. 1,000 for each in the shandy areas of Kalrayan Hills during the year 1984-85 in order to protect the sales product of the tribals from the sun and rain.

Conclusion

IN FACT THE PROBLEM OF TRIBAL development has reached a critical stage and has assumed an added significance in the context of the high priority accorded to social justice in the new planning effort. Some of the tribal groups have remained completely untouched by the process of economic development and some have even been adversely affected by it. It is, therefore, to take a fresh look at the tribal situation in the hill tracts, review the strategy of development and define the total needed national effort with a view to making tribal communities equal partners in all sphere of national life.



Social changes among tribals — a study

R. GUNASEKARAN and G. RAMASWAMY

INDIA HAS PERHAPS THE HIGHEST TRIBAL population than any single country whose major population is non-tribal. Tribals in India form about seven percent of our total population, living through centuries their own life in the remote parts of the country. The definition of tribe as it has emerged from attempts of scholars on tribal life is—'a social, group usually with a definite area, dialect, cultural homogenity and unifying social organisation'. As urbanisation grew rapidly in the country, the tribals who did not get into the mainstream of change, naturally got isolated within narrow confines, preserving to some extent their ancient patterns of living.[1] The tribals now do not want to remain in isolation on ground of neither false prestige nor the spiritual superiority of their ancestors. The tribals are gradually rising to a more higher and advanced cultural and social life and may be expected to raise the same standard of living as the rural people of the same area has got.[2]

The tribal development programmes launched in the country since independence provide unusual opportunities to develop a new pattern of agricultural production and new economic basis for life and also offers a change to develop a new social relationship and new social structure in tribal society.[3] Keeping this in view, the present paper made an attempt to examine the social changes which took place among the Malayali tribes of Kolli Hills in Salem district.

About this study

THE FOLLOWING ARE THE SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES of the present study:

1. to know the dimensions of socio-economic status of tribes.
2. to assess the nature of change, types of change and magnitude of change.
3. to assess the impact of environmental conditions and their changing dynamics on the tribal habitats.
4. to study the government plans and their impacts on the tribal community.

In the present study, both the primary and secondary data have been used. The purposive sampling method has been adopted to know the changing social habits of the tribes. On this basis twenty five tribal hamlets were selected for detailed enquiry. These hamlets were selected with reference to their physical environment. The method of direct enquiry was adopted, the respondents were collected from the 407 tribal families. Most of the data used here is primary data gathered by the author themselves during the time of field work. As regards the secondary data, it was collected from various statistical and union office records. The present study pertains to

a tribal block of Kolli Hills, which is one of the five areas of tribal concentration in Tamil Nadu. The entire area of Kolli Hills extending over 273 sq. km. demarcated into a separate Community Development Block on 2nd October, 1961 and was converted into a Tribal Development Block with effect from 1st April, 1963. The Kolli Hills lie between 11°10' and 11°25' of the Northern latitudes and 78°15' and 78°25' of the Eastern latitudes. The Kolli Hills lie in parts of Namakkal and Rasipuram taluks of Salem district with 14 Panchayats consisting of 16 revenue villages.

The study area which is a hilly terrain, ranges from 28 kms north to south and 19 kms east to west. The average altitude of this hilly area is about 1220 meters. It has maximum elevation upto 4,500 feet above sea level. Only the central part of the hill is a plateau and the rest of the area has very undulating topography with small valleys and steep slopes. The climate is salubrious in the summer and make the hills an ideal summer resort. The plateau of the hill enjoys a mild and equable climate which is favourable to vegetations. The plain at the foot of the plateau is subject to a hot and unpleasant dry climate. The average rainfall in this hill range is about 1200 mm per annum. The bulk of the rainfall is derived from South East Monsoon. Periacombai and Aiyyaru rivers are the two main seasonal streams in the Kolli Hills. There are also several natural streams and rivulets but they do not offer facilities for irrigation. At the bottom of the valleys, there are numerous springs with the help of which wet rice cultivation is undertaken.

Profile of Malayali Tribes

TAMIL NADU HAS 42 TRIBAL COMMUNITIES, of these Malayalis form the major tribal community. Malayalis are Vellalas migrated from Conjeevaram. They have been living for at least ten generations there. Malayalis are a fine manly race . Men generally reach an average height of 5'5". They have a rude figure, sturdy look, rough appearance; yet they are as refreshing as the forest in which they live. They are extremely mild and simple, and well built and strong. They are very active even after their fifties. Malayalis speak Tamil but with a slang. Their life is simple and ambitionless in general. Men, women and children work hard but get little. They are engaged in agriculture and many of them are landless farm labourers. Their routine consists picking fruits very early in the morning, walking a few kilometers down the ravines and the valleys and market them in a few selected shandies at the foot of the hills. Most often they exchange their produce for other articles.

Malayalis' social customs and habits are however quite complex. They are in the habits of spending large sums of social functions. Polygamy is common. Widow remarriage is allowed. Polyandry is not prevalent but women, though she can marry only one man at a time, take paramours in numbers. Elopement is costly. The eloping man has to feast the whole village in addition to paying fines.

Malayalis worship Lord Siva and Ganesha. The chief festivals observed by the Malayalis are Pongal, Deepavali and the 18th Adi. The second day of Pongal (Mattupongal); Deepavali is celebrated by a great hunting excursion and by bull dances.

Population growth and distribution

THE TRIBAL POPULATION IN TAMIL NADU is 5,20,426 persons and it forms 1.07 percent of the total population of State. The tribal population in Salem dirstrict form 3.56 percent of the total population of the district. Nearly one fourth of the total Scheduled Tribe population of the state is in Salem district. It forms 23.54 percent.[4] The population of this study area has been steadily increasing from 1951 onwards from about 18,759 in 1951 to 20,776 in 1961 and to 24,742 in 1971. The present population of this tribal block is 28,499 persons. Of this, male population accounts for 14,314 and female population 14,185. The tribal population only accounts for 94.6 percent of the total population of this block.

Considering the spatial distribution of tribal population of this block, the highest population is found in Bail Nadu with 3389 persons, followed by Valappur Nadu (3347), Ariyur Nadu (3183) Valavanthi Nadu (2739) and Gundur Nadu (2423). The highest tribal population found in these villages is mainly due to the availability of health, education and transport facilities.

Like population, the density pattern of the population of this tribal block also steadily changed. The density of the population in 1951 was 67 per sq. km. and has increased to 74 in 1961, 88 in 1971 and 104 in 1981. As per 1981 census, Valavanthi Nadu has the highest density of population of 204 persons per sq. km among the villages. The population density is also high in Valappur Nadu (160), Chittor Nadu (135), Selur Nadu (134) and Alathur Nadu (126).

Changes in social structure

SOCIAL CHANGE IS A CONTINUOUS process and any change in the environment of tribal community will bring some changes in its social structure. In this social change process, the leadership within the tribal community is also bound to change.

Malayalis have an ancient system of internal administration. Each village of this tribal block is under *Ooru Gounder* who invariably happens to be rich and influencial. The *Ooru-Gounder* is also called *Ooru-Mudalai*. Caste disputes among the Malayalis are decided by *Ooru-Gounder*. He is assisted by a *Kangani* or by a number of *Karkkarams* who are elected. There is a *Manikaran* for each hamlet with the limited functions of pertaining marriage and death rites. A group of village is under the hangemony of a *Pattakarar* whose sway over the tribes is considerable. Succession to these office is hereditary following the patriarchal system. He imposes fine on the erring tribal men or women and usually takes a share of fine.[5]

Though this system is still predominating in the tribal society, there is a change in many villages due to the spread of education, contact with the officials and with other community people. The chairman of the Kolli hills Union, educated tribes, school teachers, Union officials and police officials have been involving in their internal affairs to settle their problems. The money economy, influx of and contact with different cultural groups and modernisation of education and administration have resulted in notable changes among the tribes. There is a social disintegration in the scene. The 'collective thinking' and 'single life pattern' are decaying fastly.[6]

Dwellings

DWELLINGS HOLD A HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT place in the geographical hierarchy of phenomena[7] as these constitute the basic and 'most universal element of cultural landscape[8] imbibing a vivid index of the complex relationship between man and nature. As man always and everywhere uses as good as he can, all that lives within the reach of his hand, he finds the local resources as base house buildings. Local materials form the basis of wall and roof while climatic conditions determine the form of roof; cultural factors mainly account for varied architectual styles.[9]

The tribal houses are mainly built with the help of materials like bamboos, grass and timber which are available locally. The size and plan of the house depends upon the needs and requirements of the tribes. The houses are situated in elevated and rocky places. Clustered together they live organised community life with recognised headman in each hamlet. The houses are one room tenements squared, built of mudwalls and covered by thatched roof. The tribals use paddy hay and wild grass locally called *Samapillu* for thatching their huts.

The dwelling pattern of the tribals of Kolli Hills is changing gradually. Number of development schemes in this tribal block, close contact with other community people, transport and communication development, frequent visits to the nearest urban centers and the development in their agricultural economy paved way to the new dwelling patterns with brick walls, tiled roof, wooden doors and wooden wings. New architectural designs and building materials like tiles, bricks, lime, cement and iron bars have been used extensively by the tribal community. Socio-economic variation is also well reflected in their size and plan of the houses. The survey conducted by the author clearly reveals that the most of the tribals are living in mud walls with thatched roof and log walls with tin or thatched roof houses accounting 64.86 percent and 14.9 percent respectively. They are economically backward tribals having a small plot of land whose produce is just enough for the family and also rearing cattles. They work on others lands as daily wagers. The tribals those who are economically sound occupying the houses of brick walls with tiled roof accounts for 20.1 percent. This type of houses are mostly found in the villages along the transportation corridors which is very important to bring the building materials such as tiles, cement, bricks and iron bars.

Education

PRIOR TO 1950, THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA had no direct programme for the education of tribals. With the adoption of the constitution, the promotion of education of Scheduled Tribes has become a special responsibility of the Central and State Governments. Since then the problem of the Scheduled Tribes have received the special consideration of the Governments and exclusive development programmes were drawn up for their upliftment.[10] The major portion of the expenditure under tribal development programmes has been incurred on education. Education concessions are extensive. Improvement in tirbal education is perceptible though the rate of progress is much less than that of the rest of population.[11]

In general, the tribals have more problems to send their children to schools. The child labour is required at home for supplementing the family income. "For a tribal family, to send its grown up girl or boy to school is essentially a matter of economics and dislocation in the traditional pattern of division of labour.....many parents cannot just afford to send their children to school.[12]

The credit of spreading literacy in this tribal area goes to the Christian Missionaries established by J.W. Brand, who lived on the hills between the years 1913 and 1929. After that it was continued by his wife for some years.[13] Now, there has been a great change in the tribal education set up recently. In order to solve the lack of educational facilities, number of schools have been opened as

part of the development schemes. There are 49 primary schools and one each of higher elementary and secondary schools with a total strength of 4150 pupils. There is one residential school located at Valavanthi, where education is free and the tribal students get free hostel accommodation and boarding. The strength of working teachers in primary school is 96.

But mere presence of schools and teachers in position do not mean that education is available to tribe, since most of the schools do not function properly, except those closer to the headquarter of the block. Until recently, the attendance at the schools, both of students and teachers, has been very irregular. With the introduction of Nutrition Meal Scheme in the State since August 1982, the attendance of both has become very regular. Also the enrolment has been increased, since the Nutrition Meal Scheme covers children upto 12 years in the tribal block.[14]

Apart from the primary schools, secondary school and higher secondary school, there are 14 Balvadis operating in all the villages of this tribal block. These pre schools are established with a view to teach healthy habits and to provide supplementary food to the tribal children. There is also one tailoring centre at Semmedu (Valavanthi Nadu) for teaching tailoring and embroidary to the tribal girls.

Literacy and health

ILLITERACY IS ROOTCAUSE of all the ills and false beliefs of the tribals. The level of literacy among the tribals is too low to compare with the state. The 407 persons interviewed during the field survey clearly show that 12 percent of the tribals are literate, of them 52 percent primary level, 18 percent middle level, 14 percent higher secondary and 4 percent College. As per census, 440 persons were literates in 1951, 1230 persons in 1961 and 3,468 persons in 1971. In 1981, the number of literate persons in this tribal block was 8,996. This sudden increase indicates the easy availability of education to the tribals of this block.

The tribal housing condition is deplorable, particularly during the mansoon, life here is miserable. The tribals do not give importance to keep their house clean. Their poor staple food (*ragi, Samai, thinnai* and *varagu*) leads to the disease and malnutrition. Absence of protected drinking water poses a major problem and leads to their being susceptible to water borne diseases. Some of the noted and widely prevalent diseases in this tribal block are: anaemia, jaundice, hookworm, roundworm, fungal infection and sexually transmitted diseases. The incidence of sexually transmitted diseases is very common is maies and females, even in children of this area.

Now a days, the medical awareness among the tribals has been increasing. With the starting of government schemes, the tribals show an increased awareness of their needs, rights and demands now. Health and education are their primary needs.[15] The sample survey, conducted by the author, of types of medical treatment shows that 55 percent of the tribals seek allopathic treatment, 24 percent homeopathic, 14 percent ayurvedic and the rest of the tribals simple home remedies.

To improve the health of the tribals, particularly to those who are not adequately protected now, the health programme has been intensively implemented in this tribal block through an integrated administration of public health, nutrition and family planning programmes with a view to promote their nutritional status, providing protected water in adequate measures, sanitary facilities and generally protecting them from epidemic diseases and relieving them from endemic diseases.

The tribal block has one primary health centre at Semmedu (Valavanthi Nadu) which covers all villages of this block. Apart from this, there are 3 maternity centres and 5 sub centres in this block. As a part of the health delivery system, Malaria eradication, Cholera immunization and BCG and Polio vaccination services function effectively in the tribal block. Also, periodic camps have been organised and Assistant Health Workers provide door-to-door services in all the villages.

Conclusion

WITH A VIEW TO DEVELOP THE TRIBALS, the Central and State Governments together drew up an Integrated Tribal Development Programme, implemented in the Tribal Block from 1976-77, providing all facilities such as education, communication and transport, water supply, power, minor irrigation schemes. This made a profound impact on the life of Malayalis. The State Government also has a plan to develop the Kolli Hills as a tourist centre as well as a health resort. To improve the Kolli Hills as a Tourist Centre, a Youth Hostel and a Tourist Bungalow have been constructed. Also a telescope has been set up here to attract Tourists. A health resort has been promised at Akasa Gangai—a perennial waterfall in Kolli Hills—attracts a large crowd during 18 Adi festival. With the growth of tourism, there will be a great change in the life style of the tribals. In the past, the tribals were looked upon as objects of curiosity. Now, the circumstances have changed. They do tend to

(Contd. on page 21)

Gujjars—the nomads of the Himalayas

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RAJPUTANA, Gujarat and Malwa, wherein one found traces of people, kings and palaces known by the name of 'Gurjara' or any other name associated with it, were not uninhabited places even before the 6th century. From early times brahmans, kshatriyas and vaishyas of Aryo-Dravidian race and aborigines lived there; and the foreign Huns or Gurjaras only came, if at all, as conquering tribes to win, to settle and to be absorbed among existing population. The Rajputs of Rajputana, so named by Muslim Chroniclers could not be all Huns and Gurjaras, who simply sent out the original kshatriyas; and donned the belief, tradition and culture of their victims as if it were a cloak. And if so, where did the old kshatriyas go?

The answer for this query raised by K.M. Munshi in one of his writings is with the Gujjars of Jammu & Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh. The Gujjars are a nomadic tribe who leave their home and hearth particularly in winter in search of fodder for their animals. They were the kshatriyas of Rajputana who were converted to Islam and now lead a nomadic or semi-nomadic life.

Gujjars are a pastoral tribe of Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir. They move from place to place in Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and even in hilly regions of Uttar Pradesh. Unlike Gaddis, they wander in search of grazing pastures for their cattle, throughout the year. Their huts can be seen scattered here and there. They build their *deras* (huts) with the grass leaves and wood available in the interior jungles. These sheds are temporary and are destroyed or abandoned after they change their grazing tracts.

When the nomads are asked about their migration, they simply say that their ancestors had come from Gujarat. But nobody knows the year in which they migrated from their original abodes. It is also not certain whether they were converted to Islam before they entered the Kashmir Valley as Islam came to Kashmir in the 14th century A.D. and was preached by the Sufi saints in different parts of the valley.

A Gujjar woman scales the Himalayan peaks on foot along with her children, husband and elder members of the family. She ties her baby on to her lap, puts two to four earthen pots, filled with milk and butter on her head and holds only a stick in one hand while covering a painful journey in these valleys. If during the journey, a Gujjar woman has labour pain, with no nurse and medicine available, she breaks her journey for a week and after a week's rest, she resumes her journey and does not stop till she reaches her destination. During such migration there have been many cases of delivery among the tribal

women. For the Gujjars, difficulty arises when the forest authorities do not permit their buffaloes to cross certain river bridges as the animals weighing 250 kgs or so may destroy them. As the Gujjars cannot forsake their cattle, they have to take longer routes.

The Gujjars migrate to the Dhars (high mountains) during summer and come down in winter. The men look after the cattle, whereas the women-folk cook food, milk the animals and prepare ghee. The Gujjars, like Gaddis are simple, sturdy, hard-working and virtuous. They are peace-loving, polite, social and hospitable. They love their cattle, their jungles, their huts and the tracks they cover.

Gujjars can be recognised by their typical beard and dress. They wear on their head a special type of turban, which resembles the Rajput head dress. Women wear Kurta and Churidar Paijama like the Mohammedan women of Kashmir but do not strictly follow the Purdah system or wear Burka which is a common practice among the Muslim women.

The Gujjars' staple diet is simple but nourishing. It consists of maize, milk and ghee. It is surprising that the vast majority neither use any beverage nor any stimulant. During my recent visit I came across a dozen centenarians among Gujjars who never touched wine. Whether they pass the snow-covered tracks or cross the deep forest, they never feel the necessity of any beverage.

I also found a tribal zone in Dehra Dun District and found Gujjar families wandering from place to place in search of fodder for their buffaloes and goats. These Gujjars had migrated from Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh and were roaming in the lower hills for grazing their cattle.

During my recent visit I also met, by chance, a Gujjar called Ali Mohammed whom I happened to meet in my last visit to Chamba Valley twenty years back. At that time he was a small boy and was very keen on studying. To my surprise I found Ali Mohammed could not have any education in spite of his great desire to study mainly because he was wandering from place to place and education was not possible in such a state. I was told that he is married and has children and is leading a nomadic life looking after the cattle like other Gujjars. This only proves that not much has been done to change their way of life and to improve their condition.

The same conditions prevail among these Gujjars even after 40 years of advancement in the country. I met some other Gujjars and tribals living in these hills and conducted a sample sociological survey. I found very slow process of progress or equal to nil in these areas. I was told when I asked about the development, that the middleman manages somehow to snatch the bread and butter provided by various welfare departments of Central and State Governments and nothing reaches them. This, they told after great hesitation. Not only these people but the tribals of Joansar Bawar and other areas also do not want to disclose any such incidents of injustice or exploitation due to fear of the middlemen and other exploiters.

The Gujjars cannot stick to one place for a long time. Hence, welfare schemes launched for them, have normally failed. Nomadism is a blot on any nation and it needs to be removed. The following suggestions may be considered for implementation in order to make them lead a better and more settled life and thus join the mainstrean.

1. They should be allotted land for their permanent settlement.
2. They should be provided with grazing fields for their cattle.
3. If dairy experts are asked to guide them properly, more milk can be obtained. They should be encouraged to establish more milk dairies. A silent revolution can be brought about on a cooperative basis.
4. Schools and boarding houses should be opened for educating their children.
5. Adim Jati Sewak Sangh, Parvatiya Adim Jati Sewak Sangh and other social and tribal agencies should be asked to increase their areas of activities.
6. Medical facilities should be provided in their *deras*.
7. The authorities should be sympathetic to their requirements.
8. Liberal financial assistance should be made available for building their houses.
9. They should be recruited in the Army for defending our borders, which they know better than others.
10. Evaluation of welfare schemes for the Gujjars should be done by some high level committee now and then.

Impact of various development programmes on tribals of wynad

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KNOWN AS 'KASHMIR OF KERALA' "Wynad", the vast mountainous region in northern Kerala, is the abode of many tribals. Classified mainly into 'Paniya', 'Adiya', 'Kuruma', 'Kurichia' and 'Kattunaikka' tribals, the tribal population of Wynad according to 1981 census is 95557. Even 40 years after independence, adivasis of Wynad like other tribal people in India are confronted with many social, cultural and economic problems and are exploited by the upper classes of society. But in the midst of these problems and hardships, the tribals of this mountainous plateau of northern Kerala are seen marching towards modernity. In this regard, the various welfare programmes taken so far by the Central and State Governments and voluntary organizations for the amelioration of tribals of Wynad are conspicuously commendable. Adivasis in Wynad are now understood to have improved from their past status as "down-trodden"—upto four or five decades ago, tribals of Wynad were sold, purchased and exchanged on the occassion of Valliyurkavu temple (this temple is at a distance of 3 kms from Manantoddy in North Wynad) annual festival by their landlords who assembled on the temple premises with their 'slave' adivasis with their hands tied in chains! The tribals are the original inhabitants of Wynad, the vast highland resting 3000 feet above the sea level. They were landless people till the time of independence. Since independence, some 2000 adivasi families have so far become the owners of small plots of lands (at a maximum of 1 acre per family) owing to the Government's Scheme of supplying surplus lands to adivasis.

Various welfare programmes

WITH THE ADVANCEMENT OF communication and transport system and with the implementation of welfare programmes by the Government, drastic changes have been brought about in the lives of these tribals. For carrying out tribal welfare schemes, two tribal development offices, one at Manantoddy in north Wynad and other at Kalpetta in south Wynad are functioning at present. Besides these two offices, an 'Integrated Tribal Project Office' (ITDP) is operating at Manantoddy for looking after the development of Wynadan tribals and tribals in Kolayad and Kannavam. The Central and State Government's financial aid is being given through these three offices.

Housing facilities: Adivasis, who live in dilapidated huts made of bamboo, mud and straw are being financially assisted for constructing shell roofed houses. Each adivasi's house meets an allotment of Rs. 7,200 by the State Government for its construction. Last year 36 houses were constructed in Wynad for adivasis. Besides, for thatching the traditional tribal huts, financial assistance

amounting Rs. 75 per hut is given to adivasis every year.

Promoting Cultivation: For promoting cultivation tendencies of adivasis on the surplus lands provided to them by the Government, financial assistance limiting upto Rs. 3000/ per land-holder is being granted nowadays. Every year 2 tribal youths are selected as trainees and they are sent for 6 months training in tractor and power tiller maintainance at the Agro-industries Corporation, Sultans Battery.

Health care: Since health is considered to be the most important aspect, it should be the rule that all persons should have been entitled to health care. Adivasis in Wynad are ailing now from various diseases like gastro-enteritis, Colera, Scabies and most of them are malnourished. Unhygienic conditions such as lack of pure drinking water, untidy premises are all the counting factors. Since the formation of Wynad district on November 1, 1980, under the Integrated Tribal Development Project, 50 anganwadies impart health education to adivasis. Anganwady provides special care for the health of children below 6 years, who are its inmates. ITDP office also runs 22 Balwadis, 3 nursery schools at Thariyode, Pakkam and Kunjom, 2 midwifery centres at Pulpalli and Thirunelli and 1 Vikas Bhavan at Manatoddy. 2 tribal hospitals at Thirunelli and Pulpalli under I.T.D.P are also working satisfactorily. In addition to these I.T.D.P Prgrammes by the Central Government, the State Government runs a nursery school and an Aaurvedic dispensary at Thariyode and 8 Balwadies in different parts of Wynad District. Medical camps are also conducted nowadays rendering free medical service to tribals. Last year two such camps were conducted by the I.T.D.P. office receiving an aid of Rs. 4,500 from the centre.

Programmes for removing illiteracy: Literacy among Wynad tribals is not very high. Various educational expansion programmes by the Central and State Governments have helped to raise the literacy rate of Wynad adivasis. Children constitute nearly 40 percent of the Wynad tribal population. For the education of tribal children, 32 tribal hostels are functioning now in Wynad District, having facilities for staying and studying. Maximum number of inmates per hostel is 40. Tribal hostel inmates are being provided food, dress and books free of cost. The teachers of these hostels are given incentive awards. Every year Rs. 2000 is granted for the development of adult education and, the tribal children attending schools from their huts are provided incentive grants, lumpsum grants and monthly stipends. These grants are supplied through headmasters of concerned schools to the parents of tribal students.

A tribal student who fails in a class is issued only half the lumpsum grants, but no cutdown in his monthly stipends. It is quite obvious that these various educational developement measures by the central and state governments have brought about considerable improvement in the literacy rate of Wynad tribals. According to official records, the total number of tribal students in various schools of Wynad at present are 12,452. Although tribals in Wynad are progressing in the field of education, not many employment opportunities are offered to the educated tribals in Government services.

Integrated Child Development Scheme: The integrated Child Development Scheme (I.C.D.S.), commenced since 1983 in three blocks of Wynad such as Kalpetta Block, Manantoddy block and Sultan's Battery block, have put a milestone in the development of Wynad tribals. The tribal Children exposed to many hardships which are detrimental to health, are getting benefits of the I.C.D.S. Under the I.C.D.S., 403 Anganwadies are now in operation in which 124, 128 and 151 are in Kalpetta, Sultan's Battery and Manantoddy blocks respectively. Children below 6 years are taken care of by these Anganwadies. In Anganwadi, children are provided with wheat, Soyabean and C.S.M. (a food prepared by mixing corn, soyabean and milk) as precaution against malnutrition. Since Vitamin-A deficiency is found common among children, Vitamin-A Capsules are also provided to them. When medical camps are conducted in villages, the doctors visit the Anganwadi and provide free check-ups and medicines to children, pregnant women and mothers. According to the information received from the child development office at Kalpetta, an estimated 7000 tribal children are now the beneficiaries of the I.C.D.S. Very recently they have started supplying free dresses and tiffin boxes to Anganwadi children.

Other activities

NOW A TRIBAL TRAINING CENTRE has been instituted at Manantoddy. Instruction in stitching and tailoring is given to tribal youth in this institute. Tribals who are interested in business are also allotted Rs. 2,000 per head, for starting small petty shops, by the State Government. Financial aid is provided for purchasing goats, bulls, agricultural equipment and pumpsets to Adivasis.

Rehabilitation: For the rehabilitation of these downtrodden people, a project was started in 1977 at Sugandagiri hill tracts at Vithiri of south Wynad. Known by "Sugandagiri Project", it was inaugurated under the western ghats development programme. The target was to convert 1,500 hectares of forest area into Cardamum cultivation and settle 750 adivasi families here by 1983. But in truth this project is a good example of the tardy progress. Only 1200 hectares were cleared so far for Cardamum cultivation and settling 715 adivasi families in

the project area.

The role of 'Swami Vivekananda Medical Mission': Moved by the miserable conditions of Wynad tribals Swami Vivekananda Medical Mission has established a hospital for tribals at Muttil in Wynad. Functioning since 1972, now it is known as the only hospital for the tribals in Kerala. It is now a well-equipped hospital through the sustained efforts of dedicated workers equally supported by Philanthropic well-wishers. This hospital has a 15 bed general ward, a labour room, X-ray room, Laboratory, E.C.G. and ambulance. The hospital has been offering free medical service to Wynad tribals. Swami Vivekananda Medical Mission is established for the charitable purpose of fostering health and spreading knowledge of health and hygiene among masses so that they are able to lead healthier lives. The tribal patients from distant villages visit this hospital in need of free medical check-up and medicine. With the help of the Coffee Board, Bangalore and M.S.P. family Joint trust, Kalpetta, a mobile despensary cum ambulance was provided. Since then, a medical team is visiting distant tribal villages and these medical vistits are taking place at least once a week. At the medical camps, tribals are imparted health education and provided free treatment and medicine. A prophylactic Vitamin-A dose is given to Tribal Children in the medical camps. 29697 tribals patients have been treated so far at the 290 medical camps conducted by this mission hospital. Besides these health reformative measures, a community survey had been conducted last year by the mission in order to study the socio-economic and cultural aspects of tribal life. Today, one can see the tribal men putting on dhoti and shirt and women doning saree and blouse. In the place of tribal music with drums and flute, the tribals now are fond of radio, cinema and other modern entertainments. Thus, the tribals in Wynad today are gradually joining the mainstream of civilized humanity, thanks to the efforts being undertaken by the Central and State Governments.

Suggestions

APART FROM THE UNION'S WELFARE SCHEMES, following things may be considered for improving their living conditions further.

1

There must be organised seminars in which the participants should deal and study the problem of Wynad adivasis and such knowledge would be and should be a guidline for future activities in promoting their social security.

2

The State Govt. with the help of Central Government agencies, such as A.I.R., Films Division should take documentary films depicting adivasi life and there must be cultural programmes for adivasis.

3

Certain political parties are exploiting adivasis much and they seem to be their main guides—such political intervention with a view to win over elections often leads to misguidance. Political parties and their petty leaders are the local heroes of the adivasis. Such political intervention is a clear misguidance and such leaders are taking undue advantage.

4

The state Tribal Welfare Department and their allied agencies should make independent local committees, members consisting of departmental officers and representatives of adivasis.

5

State labour legislations have not got results in tribal upliftment. Special laws connected with tribals should have been implemented from time to time.

6

To get proper price for their products, marketing societies should be established in order to put an end to the exploitation of adivasis by the local business people.

7

Today, a vast number of tribals are fond of spending their money provided by the Government for cultivation, purchasing of goats, bulls and for other purposes, recklessly for drinking liquor. Hence, the government should prohibit village liquor shops in tribal areas.

8

It is essential to probe into the socio-cultural aspects and problems of Wynad tribals and find out the reasons for the tardy progress of tribal development projects (such as "Sugandagiri" project at Vythiri) operating in Wynad and immediate steps should be taken for checking-up official-corruption and malpractices.

Tribal education—a study in M.P.

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IN RECENT YEARS THERE HAS BEEN a greater emphasis on relating the process of education with the development of the society. Development is meant progress of society towards particular goals. These goals represent the changes to be brought about in various aspects of individuals and society. In any society, it is through the system of education, deliberate attempts are made to introduce such development inputs.

The integral relationship between education and economic development has received conceptual recognition since the time of classical economists. The basic assumption in relating education to economic growth is the potentiality of education to contribute to the national economy. It is recognised that education and economy are mutually dependent sectors of national life. The interdependency of these two sectors—educational and economic growth in national, as well as individual life—has brought to the academic issue of economics of education.

The word 'Education' has been defined by different educationalists. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi, "By education I mean an all-round drawing out of the best in child and man—body, mind and spirit. Literacy is not the end of education nor even the beginning".[1]

Dr. Zakir Husain, the former President of India, an eminent educationalist defined education as "the individualised subjective revivification of objective culture. It is the transformation of the objective into the subjective mind. It is individually organised sense of value, awakend by goods of culture which are embodiment of the values accessible in experience to the person concerned".[2]

'A Dictionary of Education' by GOOD defined education as "the aggregate of all the process by means of which a person develops abilities, attitudes and other forms of behaviour of positive value in the society in which he lives".

From the above given definition it is clear that education helps all-round developments of mind, body, culture, and ultimately it leads to the welfare of individual and society, through which people can enjoy the economic fruits of their efforts.

Education and Literacy are different words. The definition of a literate person adopted in the 1981 census is as follows "A person who can both read and write with understanding in any language is to be taken as literate. A person who can merely read but can't write is not literate. It is not necessary that a person who is literate should have received any formal education or should have passed any minimum educational standard".[3]

Economic development of a nation always depends on education. If people are illiterate, the authorities can't

implement strict economic policies. In order to grasp the significance of policies and programmes they must be given some sort of higher education.

In India more than 60 percent of the population lag behind education. In rural areas the situation is comparatively worse. Of the nation's total population, 7.76 percent constitute tribals or adivasis. The rate of literacy and their role in economic development is negligible even after the completion of 40 years of independence. Hence a drastic and pragmatic policy is needed for their economic betterment as well as development of the nation as a whole. Specially in States like Nagaland, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Madhya Pradesh the rate of literacy is very low.

Up to the Sixth Plan education was considered to be a social service rather than an input in the development process. There has been a change in the emphasis beginning with the Sixth Plan, wherein it has been considered to be pivotal in the social and economic development of the country through development of human resources. Emphasis has been laid for education of the weaker sections of the society including girls, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Planning Commission approved an outlay of Rs. 2,524 crores for education in the Sixth Plan. This forms 2.6 percent of the outlay. The anticipated expenditure during the Sixth Plan was Rs. 2,964 crores.

Total population of Madhya Pradesh according to 1981 census was 52,178,844. While in 1971 it was 41,654,119. The state population constitutes 7.62 percent of the population of India. Crossing through the census of 1981 the total tribal population of the state was 11,987,031. It constitutes 22.97 percent of the state population. While it was 20.14 percent in 1971. The number of male tribes in Madhya Pradesh was 6,003,304, ie (22.33 pecent) and females were 5,983,727. ie (23.66 percent), according to 1981 census.

The percentage of literacy among the Scheduled Tribe population of India is 16.35 percent, while in Madhya Pradesh it is 10.68 percent, which is slightly less than the national average. The average state literacy is above the percentage of Scheduled Tribes ie 27.82 percent. Literacy among males is 17.74 percent while in the case of females, it is 3.6 percent. The percentage of literacy among the Scheduled Tribes rural population in India is 14.92 percent, but in Madhya Pradesh it is 10.05 percent, according to the census of 1981. So, literacy percentage among the Scheduled Tribe urban population in the State is 38.64 percent while female urban literacy is 15.18 percent.

Among the five districts of the West Tribal Zone of Madhya Pradesh, East Nimar stands first in literacy. Out of the total population of the district 11,53,580, i.e. 25.65 percent constitute tribals. Of this 8.01 percent are literate. Literate males are 88.78 percent and literate females 11.22 percent. Among the literate persons, rural literate males are in majority 89.45 percent and the rural literate females are in minority. In Jhabua district the average literacy is 10.23 percent which is lower than the State percentage of 27.82 percent. The literacy among the tribals is 4.12 percent. According to 1981 census the total population of the district is 7,95,168. While 83.48 percent is constituted by tribals i.e. 6,63,796. Out of this Scheduled Tribes population, only 27,314 persons got education. Female literacy in the district is comparatively higher than the district of East Nimar. Literacy among the males is high when compared to rural females.

West Nimar occupies the second place in the case of literacy among the districts. Out of the total population of the state 7,05.424, i.e. 6.32 percent got education. Female education is also low in comparison to other districts of the same zone, ie 14.23 percent.

The population of Dhar district is 10,57,469; while the state population is 52,178,844, according to the census of 1981. Of this district population of tribals is 5,50,539. It constitutes 52.06 percent of the district population. The rural population is about 90 percent of the district population. So the district is rural in character. The area of the district is 8,153 sq.kms. In other words it has 1.84 percent of the state area and ranks 26th among the districts of the state. The density of the district is 129, while the state density is 119 per sq km. The percentage of literacy in the district is 18.64 percent as against the state percentage of 27.82 percent. Among the tribal population 5.54 percent got education. The total literate males according to 1981 census were 27,228. Out of this 24,871 males reside in rural areas. Literacy rate of female is also very low ie 10.64 percent. Literacy percentage of rural males and females 90.29 percent and 9.71 percent respectively.

Ratlam district posseses the fourth position among the literally developed districts of the West Zone. The total area of the district is 4,861 sq kms. Rate of literacy of the tribals to the general population of the district is 4.85 percent. As in other districts of the zone, literacy among the males is more than among the females. The total number of females who are literate in urban and rural areas 812 and 516 respectively. While their strength is 2,598 in urban areas and 80,520 in rural areas. According to 1981 census the total population of the district is 7,82,729. Out of this 1,68,203 are tribals. They constitute 21.49 percent of the state population.

FROM THE ABOVE COMPARATIVE analysis it is interesting to note that all these districts are rural in character. Concentration of population, specially tribes are

more in the rural areas.

Another remarkable fact revealed from the study is that literacy among females in these districts is very low. The state Government provides free education to females. A drastic and effective policy is to be implemented in order to bring them at par with others.

It is universally accepted that women are a powerful force for development by virtue of their distinct role as mothers. Education of a mother means, education of the whole family, and it has been rightly pointed out that unless women are educated there is little hope for social transformation. Women's education has been advocated right from the dawn of independence by social thinkers and social reformers. In the national policy of education (1986) special emphasis has been given on women's education[5] and it has been observed that female education in the year 1981 has improved in comparison to 1950-51 from 7.93 percent to 24.32 percent. Our late Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi expressed her deep concern about women's education in India and said that female literacy was less than 25 percent and even this was only an average of various states of India. In many states the percentage is lower. In an analysis of the "situation of children in India" (1984) published by UNICEF, it has been found that the actual number of female illiterates increased with the time and such increase is faster than number of male illiterates[6]. Female illiteracy in rural India is very high. As per 1981 census the female literacy in India is 24.82 percent and in some states it is around 11 percent and in Madhya Pradesh it is 36 percent. The important role of education in shaping the future of the economy can't be overemphasised.

The tribal people of the West Zone of Madhya Pradesh are still retain the vigour, charm and simplicity. The literacy percentage among them is comparatively low compared to other communities of the state. From the empirical analysis it is clear that national average literacy of the tribal group is about 10.67 percent, while in the West Zone it is less than 10 percent. On the basis of survey done in West Zone Madhya Pradesh following suggestions are given for implementation and betterment of tribal people.

1. Topmost priority should be given to construction of Ashram schools at the primary stage, the provision of facilities will have to be established in sparsely populated areas. The medium of instruction in the Ashram schools should be tribal language and teachers should be invariably conversant with it. Through this system the needs of education can be seen in the minds of tribal children.

2. After two or three years the medium of instruction should be changed to some other language and later in the third stage it should be changed to national language. By gradual process of change they can be taught to join the mainstream of life.

3. The appointment of teachers in the Ashram schools should be made from the educated tribal people if they are available. Otherwise people with missionary zeal should be appointed for this purpose and they should be given attractive emoluments. Free mid-day food, free education, stipend etc will attract the tribal children to attend the classes.

4. Another suggestion for the improvement of literacy among the tribal people is Adult education, with more emphasis on female education. Adult illiteracy can be arrested by comprehensive educational programmes. It is better to conduct evening classes, say 4 to 6 everyday and the lessons should be either religious, relating to God or something creative.

5. Tribal classes should always begin with short stories of some legendaries. Study classes regarding utensil maintenance, poultry farming, kitchen gardening etc may be interesting to the females. Some sort of tribal education may help them to understand the need of education among their children.

6. Some sort of training should be given to the tribals regarding the best management of their money, the proper utilisation of available resources, the need for savings and the scope of investment etc. This will help them to cultivate self-reliance among themselves.

7. The literacy percentage among the tribals especially women can be improved through free education policy. The Government of Madhya Pradesh has already started free education programmes for women only. But more concentration is needed among the tribal population. Free and compulsory education will attract them, specially female students.

8. Job-oriented education will also help them to reduce illiteracy rate within the tribal areas and also help to obtain some livelihood. It would be desirable to establish district-wise job-oriented training institutions where poor children could learn crafts like carpentry, doll-making, paper works, and cane weaving, tailoring and other work such as cloth-dyeing, cycle repair, automobile works, printing and typing etc.

9. Tribals should be given technical education too. Today's world is competitive and it is very difficult to compete the tribal products with modern

implement strict economic policies. In order to grasp the significance of policies and programmes they must be given some sort of higher education.

In India more than 60 percent of the population lag behind education. In rural areas the situation is comparatively worse. Of the nation's total population, 7.76 percent constitute tribals or adivasis. The rate of literacy and their role in economic development is negligible even after the completion of 40 years of independence. Hence a drastic and pragmatic policy is needed for their economic betterment as well as development of the nation as a whole. Specially in States like Nagaland, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Madhya Pradesh the rate of literacy is very low.

Up to the Sixth Plan education was considered to be a social service rather than an input in the development process. There has been a change in the emphasis beginning with the Sixth Plan, wherein it has been considered to be pivotal in the social and economic development of the country through development of human resources. Emphasis has been laid for education of the weaker sections of the society including girls, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Planning Commission approved an outlay of Rs. 2,524 crores for education in the Sixth Plan. This forms 2.6 percent of the outlay. The anticipated expenditure during the Sixth Plan was Rs. 2,964 crores.

Total population of Madhya Pradesh according to 1981 census was 52,178,844. While in 1971 it was 41,654,119. The state population constitutes 7.62 percent of the population of India. Crossing through the census of 1981 the total tribal population of the state was 11,987,031. It constitutes 22.97 percent of the state population. While it was 20.14 percent in 1971. The number of male tribes in Madhya Pradesh was 6,003,304. ie (22.33 pecent) and females were 5,983,727. ie (23.66 percent), according to 1981 census.

The percentage of literacy among the Scheduled Tribe population of India is 16.35 percent, while in Madhya Pradesh it is 10.68 percent, which is slightly less than the national average. The average state literacy is above the percentage of Scheduled Tribes ie 27.82 percent. Literacy among males is 17.74 percent while in the case of females, it is 3.6 percent. The percentage of literacy among the Scheduled Tribes rural population in India is 14.92 percent, but in Madhya Pradesh it is 10.05 percent, according to the census of 1981. So, literacy percentage among the Scheduled Tribe urban population in the State is 38.64 percent while female urban literacy is 15.18 percent.

Among the five districts of the West Tribal Zone of Madhya Pradesh, East Nimar stands first in literacy. Out of the total population of the district 11,53,580, i.e. 25.65 percent constitute tribals. Of this 8.01 percent are literate. Literate males are 88.78 percent and literate females 11.22 percent. Among the literate persons, rural literate males are in majority 89.45 percent and the rural literate females are in minority. In Jhabua district the average literacy is 10.23 percent which is lower than the State percentage of 27.82 percent. The literacy among the tribals is 4.12 percent. According to 1981 census the total population of the district is 7,95,168. While 83.48 percent is constituted by tribals i.e. 6,63,796. Out of this Scheduled Tribes population, only 27,314 persons got education. Female literacy in the district is comparatively higher than the district of East Nimar. Literacy among the males is high when compared to rural females.

West Nimar occupies the second place in the case of literacy among the districts. Out of the total population of the state 7,05.424, i.e. 6.32 percent got education. Female education is also low in comparison to other districts of the same zone, ie 14.23 percent.

The population of Dhar district is 10,57,469; while the state population is 52,178,844, according to the census of 1981. Of this district population of tribals is 5,50,539. It constitutes 52.06 percent of the district population. The rural population is about 90 percent of the district population. So the district is rural in character. The area of the district is 8,153 sq.kms. In other words it has 1.84 percent of the state area and ranks 26th among the districts of the state. The density of the district is 129, while the state density is 119 per sq km. The percentage of literacy in the district is 18.64 percent as against the state percentage of 27.82 percent. Among the tribal population 5.54 percent got education. The total literate males according to 1981 census were 27,228. Out of this 24,871 males reside in rural areas. Literacy rate of female is also very low ie 10.64 percent. Literacy percentage of rural males and females 90.29 percent and 9.71 percent respectively.

Ratlam district posseses the fourth position among the literally developed districts of the West Zone. The total area of the district is 4,861 sq kms. Rate of literacy of the tribals to the general population of the district is 4.85 percent. As in other districts of the zone, literacy among the males is more than among the females. The total number of females who are literate in urban and rural areas 812 and 516 respectively. While their strength is 2,598 in urban areas and 80,520 in rural areas. According to 1981 census the total population of the district is 7,82,729. Out of this 1,68,203 are tribals. They constitute 21.49 percent of the state population.

FROM THE ABOVE COMPARATIVE analysis it is interesting to note that all these districts are rural in character. Concentration of population, specially tribes are

more in the rural areas.

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9. Tribals should be given technical education too. Today's world is competitive and it is very difficult to compete the tribal products with modern

machine-made goods in the market. The only remedy is that they should be given technical education as well as some financial aid to produce them with the help of machines at cheap rates, without destroying the traditional tribal culture. Today there is a wide market for tribal products like crockery items with modern arts, colourful lamps and beautiful combs which are made with the help of bamboos either without any cost or at a nominal rate. The tribal arts includes musical instruments, tobacco pouches, tools and weapons, ornaments, utensils, combs and hairpins, houses, elephants, camels, bulls figures, necklaces and even statues of Gods and Goddesses etc. Technical and workshop education will help them to produce these at minimum price.

Lastly, workshop education for tribal women is another measure for their economic betterment. Through the workshops they should be given technical education for knitting, weaving of cloth, basket weaving etc. It automatically strengthens their knowledge and helps them to earn their livelihood.

Education is to give ample and proper assistance and guidence to the tribal folk under study for their all-round economic development. If the suggested steps taken, it will positively bring fruitful results and the dream of upliftment of tribal people will be true.

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Some aspects of planning infrastructure for rural marketing

RAJAGOPAL
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MARKETING COULD BE VIEWED as the design, organisation and implementation of an economic operation influence public participation in nation's development. This involves techniques of marketing research, product planning, financing, communication and distribution. In the economic sense, marketing may be defined as the business activity involved in the flow of goods and services from producer to trader and finally to consumer.

The developing countries are now beginning to realise that the marketing function, if properly designed and effectively organised, can enable important sectors such as agriculture and industry to contribute more significantly to their national income. Marketing is one of the principal factors determining the regional economy. The socio-economic condition of the people is reflected in the functions of the markets.

In the rural areas, the problems of marketing are too many to be comprehensively considered. However, it is indisputable that provision of infrastructural facilities is of crucial importance and demand foremost priority. A well-knit infrastructure is an essential element to improve the marketing efficiency and other functional aspects.

In early days, traders dealing in particular agriculture products themselves set up small business houses in one part of the village or town, which was commonly known as *'haat or ganj'*. These traders gradually extended their business operations to cereals, edible oil, and other consumable products. This place formed a nucleus for the economy of the village and its surroundings, as it served as a place for marketing of the produce of the hinterland around it. In course of time, with agricultural, industrial, and commercial orientation, size and functions of the town markets grew up, the dominance of the village markets shown a declining trend. Despite this, it still plays a very important role in the rural sector

IN RECENT YEARS, LOCAL AUTHORITIES like the Market Management Committees and Gram Panchayats took up the task of development of rural markets. These authorities, in some places, developed rural markets as commercial complexes, and allotted plots for carrying different types of trades. One often finds Gram Panchayats collecting the cess for these plots even now. However, by and large, no statutory regulations in these rural markets could be found.

Legislation on marketing was first introduced in Madras and Bombay, later followed by several other States in the country. Under such legislation, it becomes obligatory for the state governments to regulate the sale of agricultural and other specified produces in the Notified Markets with a view to abolish the unfair practices that exist in the rural markets. At present, there are more than 22,000 rural markets, including periodic markets in the country. These markets are important not only in the

machine-made goods in the market. The only remedy is that they should be given technical education as well as some financial aid to produce them with the help of machines at cheap rates, without destroying the traditional tribal culture. Today there is a wide market for tribal products like crockery items with modern arts, colourful lamps and beautiful combs which are made with the help of bamboos either without any cost or at a nominal rate. The tribal arts includes musical instruments, tobacco pouches, tools and weapons, ornaments, utensils, combs and hairpins, houses, elephants, camels, bulls figures, necklaces and even statues of Gods and Goddesses etc. Technical and workshop education will help them to produce these at minimum price.

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context of assembling small quantities of marketable surplus, but also for fulfilling the supply functions. A large number of farmers and non-farmers visit these markets regularly to get essential goods and services. The State governments have also drawn up programmes to develop new rural marketing complexes in small towns. It is therefore evident that infrastructural development should receive adequate attention since it facilitates the expansion and efficiency of rural marketing system.

THE PRESENT PAPER DISCUSSES primarily the need for infrastructural development in the rural areas to gear-up the market operations for products of agriculture and village and cottage industries. It also attempts to suggest a strategy for planning sound infrastructure, especially of roads, transport and communication facilities, storage facilities, market yards, etc., in rural areas.

Before a detailed infrastructural planning and designing exercise for a market is attempted, it is essential to gather much information relating to the financial aspects of the markets around the region. It also requires identification of the type of the trade or business in the particular type of market i.e., (where local marketable surplus is brought in by cultivators, village merchants and itinerant traders for assembling or sale to traders, processors or consumers), or (where produce is brought from outside for local consumption, or for sale to other areas), or a combination of both. Accordingly, a market survey and analysis would need to investigate into the following factors for infrastructural plannings:

a) range or anticipated influence sphere of the market;
b) marketing season of different commodities, and arrivals from the areas of its interland;
c) existing and required marketing facilities;
d) type of traders (viz., cultivators, village merchants commission agents, etc.) and trading practices;
e) existing transportation and communication facilities;
f) warehousing facilities in the area; and
g) commodity requirements in the market e.g. drying, processing, weighing, etc.

The survey data thus collected and analysed would provide an appropriate base to plan the necessary infrastructure for developing the rural markets and its functions more efficiently.

Physiography and hierarchy

THE REGIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVES and site location such as topographic, climatic, and hydrological conditions, and the land use pattern have an important bearing on market locations a study of these factors alongwith an analysis of the existing transport network system would help finding the appropriate location for the rural markets.

The hierarchial structure regarding the channels of marketing to town markets from village markets would need to be analysed to assess the pattern of marketing facilities. This sort of analytical investigation would reveal whether any tier of this structure is paralysed or not properly linked with the higher tier of the market by appropriate means of communication and other relevant factors. In short rural markets may be classified into two tiers, "primary" and "secondary" markets according to their functions and seller-buyer participation potentiality. The rural assembling and distribution centres may be termed as primary market centres, and the regulated rural markets where grading, standardisation and redistribution is carried on, may be termed as secondary markets. The markets classified as such may be as follows. The terminal markets, secondary markets or *gunj*, and primary rural markets. Further, the stratified markets at the village, block, sub-divisional and district levels have to be analysed on the basis of their type of trade and growth to determine the kind of facilities to be provided to such markets. If the rural markets show signs of adequate development, the contributory factors involved therein have to be identified and studied so as to replicate them in its counterparts.

The markets in rural areas are generally of primary economic nature where the assembling of products is the dominent function. Such markets have to be linked with the secondary market centres where grading and standardisation of the products take place. If the rural markets are not linked to these markets by apropriate transport and communication network, the commodities assembled in the rural markets may undergo many undesirable business effects pertaining to demand, supply and price, due to interruption in the mobility of goods and services causing monetary loss to the producers and traders.

Accessibility and communication

AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM WORKS best and works in an efficient manner when appropriate road links are established. The location and provision of missing infrastructure is a necessary exercise in regional planning for rural marketing. The creation of an infrastructure like transportation network system is an essential prerequisite for the socio-economic development of rural areas. The inadequacy of the road linkages may restrict the growth of the rural markets. The physical linkages generally serve two purposes such as accessibility and mobility of goods and services. The storage, processing and institutional facilities should be easily made accessible to all

the villages in an area or should be provided in a central place which may cover atleast 10 adjoining villages and function as a growth centre. It should also be provided with road links with the second and first order markets, (or secondary and terminal markets respectively). To strengthen the inter-village economy all the third order markets (or primary rural markets) have to be linked with each other to motivate and liberalise the movement of goods and services. The first order market should be linked through National or State Highways with large cities and second order markets. The markets of second order may likewise be linked with district roads and third order markets.

The provision of all weather rural roads facilitates quick movement of goods and traffic at a cheap cost. Vegetables, foodgrains and products of animal husbandry cannot find their way to nearby towns unless the villages are linked with proper roads. Under the Minimum Needs Programme, many villages have been interlinked. It was during the planning era that development of rural roads has been given proper attention. The draft of the Sixth Plan evisaged that roads provided an effective means of transport for the haulage of goods passengers over short and medium distances. Within an integrated road development programme, rural roads are proposed to be assigned higher priority so as to bring more of our villages into national mainstream.[1]

Since the rural roads are an important part of the nation's total highway network, the development must be closely linked with the primary and secondary road system comprising of national highways, state highways and major district roads. At the same time, these rural roads must complement and coordinate with railways, waterways and other means of transport to form a country-wide efficient transport required for the movement of agricultural surpluses from villages to markets and at agricultural inputs like seeds, fertilisers, etc., from the town to villages.[2] The present accessibility of villages to the roads is very low. Only 29 percent of villages have all weather roads, and 55 per cent have fair weather roads.

There are also wide variations of accessibility amongst different states, Haryana, Punjab, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh being in an improved situation. On the other spectrum are hilly states and the states of Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Bihar where the accessibility levels are still poor and have much to be desired for a balanced service to the rural areas in the country.

The efficient marketing is predominantly influenced by efficient distribution system. This means that the products should reach the ultimate consumers in the quickest time possible, and at the minimum cost. This is possible only if there is enough infrastructural facilities, like convenient and efficient transport system. The rural folk who enjoy the railway or matalled road aminety is only about one-fourth of the total rural population.

It is true that even under very bad transport and storage conditions, goods reach remote corners of the market. But the question is at what cost, when and in what form? Since rural marketing is ever growing, it should be the immediate concern of government to see that rural marketing is given a boost.

An efficient communication system ensures easy access to credit, storage and processing in an integrated pattern to all the villages and to its concerning linkages, the efforts have to be made to link the small centres of marketing and administrative units with large trading or industrial or administrative centres.

Communication and promotion is a very important aspects in the field of marketing, though it is an expensive and difficult task in rural markets. The advertisement and publicity campaign requires to be specifically designed to appeal to the rural people. The development of communication systems appropriate to rural market may cost up to six times as much as reaching an urban market through established media. The most effective media for the rural markets could be local newspaper, television, radio, posters, local microphone announcements, cinema slides etc.

Selection of site

ONCE THE CENTRE IS SELECTED the site assumes importance. In the selection of the site the considerations regarding the availability and acquisition of the land should be taken up. The cost of the land may presently be ignored for the purpose of computation of the economic viability of the market projects. By and large the final decision regarding the selection of site may rest with the State Marketing Board or Federation, or Market Committee, although the producers, traders and sellers have necessarily to be consulted as they have the principal interest towards its use. The State Marketing Board or Marketing Committee or Federation, may enter into a contract at the same time, to allot shops to them at an appointed data and terms framed. In such way the shofting of trade may be facilitated.

Market facilities

AN ATTEMPT IS TO BE MADE to determine the physical planning parameters for establishing adequate infrastructural facilities on the basis of the surveys and data collected in respect of the existing rural markets.

The survey and analysis of the existing rural markets would indicate the land utilisation for trading activities, ancillary facilities, and infrastructural services. The minimum facilities, as a first step in the development of the rural markets should be as follows:—

a) Sale platforms — open and covered—
b Open drying platform
c) Information cell-cum-small godown-cum-office
d) Drinking water
e) Electricity
f) Cattle trough

The type of ancillary facilities such as check post administrative office, villagers rest house, bank and post office, police post, veterinary hospital, cattle shed, canteen, canteen shed, public toilets, water tough, etc., may be determined and their special characteristics to be worked out in relation to the products brought and sold, and to the attendance of the traders.

Trading premises

THE PRINCIPAL FACILITIES IN THE MARKET are the trading premises. In the case of first and second order markets, the activity moves around the traders and, therefore their comforts constitute form the nucleus of the market. In the markets of the third order (rural markets), attention is to be paid to the products and the central place. In such markets, the producers and purchasers gather may be on uncovered platforms or on an open ground. It is therefore, essential to assess the primary and secondary trade characteristics at the preplanning phase.

In the case of the third order markets where the activity is likely to be confined to weekly or bi-weekly markets, it may not be possible to make large capital investments. Therefore, the basic facility that needs attention is the covered trading premises in such markets. The arrival of various products such as foodgrains, vegetables, dairy products, and other consumption fowls, articles, cosmatic and the like, fail to withstand direct sunlight, rain or cold. Besides, ancillary facilities like, electricity, drinking water, inn, cattle trough may be provided to facilitate trading for the buyers and sellers in the rural markets. Public weighing machines are also needed, one in each rural market of ensure correct weighment for the farm and non-farm arrivals. If the market demand and arrivals, including the projections for the next 5 to 10 years are taken into account, the sale platforms have to be constructed in such a way that enables the producer to display his product easily and secure a better price. The width of the platforms is suggested to be 5 metres for farm activities and 3 metres for vegetables, provision, dairy products, etc,.

The trading facility requirements in the third order markets are very different from those of the second order. Since arrivals will be largely from distant places, activity moves around the traders, be they forwarding agents, commission agents or wholesellers. In these markets, covered platform are essential. In the case of foodgrains, provisions, clothes and other consumable articles, such facility require loading, unloading display place, storage godown, and an office.

THE SEMINAR ON REGULATED MARKETS organised during 22 to 24th January, 1959 by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Govt. of India, in Mysore, recommended that, as far as possible, the regulated market yards should be confined as the layouts specified in Indian Standards. During its very shortime the Committee for Market Standards did a commendable task of Formulating Indian Standards on regulated markets, i.e., for the markets of second order commonly known as *Mandi* or *Ganj*, which are located in a central place covering 10-15 villages within a radius of 20 kms. The recommended Indian Standards for the regulated yards or platforms are as follow:—

IS :	1497 — 1959	— Layout for Regulated Market yards for Argricultural Commodities.
IS :	1487 — 1967	— Layout for Regulated Market yards for Fruit and Vegetables.
IS :	1788 — 1961	— Layout for Regulated Market yards for Cattle.

The formulated standards provided in brief the terminology applicable in this field, categories of the market yards depending upon the arrival of the daily agriculture produce, salient features of location and layout plans to suit the local and geographical roads. The shop-cum-godown and residential accommodation should also be provided to the traders in the second order markets.

In the rural markets with an attendance of over 2,000, market information cells have to established with relevant and adequate staff to make the villagers aware of the prevailing market prices and stock position. The office of the cell should be in the market locality.

FOOD GRAIN AND FOREST PRODUCES are assembled mainly in the rural markets. The products of both types involve holding and preservation through time. Foodgrain is stored in India in many different ways. The two basic methods are: bulk storages and storage in bags or other small containers. There are relatively little published data on the types of foodgrain storage structure in India and its effectiveness. The two village level studies[3] however provide some indications as to the situation at

this level. A study of wheat storage in villages in Uttar Pradesh showed that the most common means of the storage were jute bags, mud pots and cylindrical bin of mud brick mixed with straw or dung with a capacity of one to two tonnes. The study revealed that (Table 1), after storage for seven months the quantitative damage by the type of storage was one an average 2.0 per cent for metal drums, 2.3 per cent for bags; 7.6 per cen for bin of mud brick with straw and dung, and 9.5 per cent for rectangular mud bin of 2.8 tonnes capacity.

TABLE
Grain damage in Rural Indoor Wheat Storage in Uttar Pradesh

	Storage structure	*No. used*	*Infestation*			*Average loss (%)*
			Insects	*Rodents*	*Mould*	
a)	Jute bags	310	73	69	8	2.3
b)	Metal bins	20	16	—	—	2.0
c)	Mud Pot	160	65	—	—	N D
d)	Cylindrical bin (Mud brick, straw & Dung)	38	82	53	8	7.6
e)	Rectangular bin (Mud)	21	71	35	5	9.5

Source : Ramaswami T. Op. cit.
ND : No data

It is thus clear that storage facility is the basic element in the rural marketing infrastructure. It is directly related with the supply factor and price trend.

The report of the National Commission on Agriculture[4] observes that the government should not depend on private agencies to store foodgrains. The cooperative marketing societies and regulated markets should plan an increase in the capacity of warehouses. The National Cooperative Development Corporation, constructed large number of godowns in rural areas. The improved storage structures needed by farmers should be manufactured by agro-industries corporations and other entrepreneures as per ISI specifications. Existance of storage facility is often taken as an index of the development of an area where sizeable surpluses are being generated as a result of agro-economic development. Different commodities require different types of storage facilities. The Bureau of Indian Standards recommended the following types of storage facilities for the rural areas to be set up in the rural markets:

IS : 600 — 1955 — Code of practice for construction of Bukhari type of rural foodgrains storage structure.

IS : 601 — 1955 — Code of practice for construction of Kothar type of godown.

IS : 602 — 1955 — Code of practice for construction of Morai type of foodgrain storage.

IS : 609 — 1955 — Code of practice for improvement of existing structure.

IS : 603 — 1960 — Code of practice for construction of underground foodgrain storage.

IS : 607 — 1971 — Code of practice for construction of Bagged godown.

These standards layouts give broad guidelines regarding facilities to be provided for rural market areas. However, a recourse should be made to the Bureau of Indian Standards on storage structures which lay down certain minimum requirements.

General facilities and amenities

THESE STANDARDS, BESIDES PROVIDING the structural patterns on the construction of market yards and godowns, also specify general facilities and amenities for a good rural regulated market. These general requirements include: shops and small godowns for different categories of trade, ancillary platforms, packing places, storage godowns, market office-cum-information cell, bank and post office, fire fighting arrangement, etc. The banking and credit facilities are an important prerequisite for mobilising the private resources as well as to motivate the productive and commercial activities. The general amenities that should form part of the regulated market yards should include, public urinals and latrines, water well or taps or hand pumps, water trough for cattle, rest house, canteen, cattle trough, electricity and vaterinary shoe maker.

Recommendations

RURAL MARKETING IS THE NERVE centre of a rural economy. Rural markets are the channels for the movement of goods and services from village to village as well as to promote cultural integration. Rural marketing, therefore should be subjected for an all-round development. In this, as such the context, the following recommendations may be considered:

1

Rural roads constitute productive work and are in the nature of durable assets. They should receive adequate attention along with other sectoral projects. Each rural market, be it regular, weekly, bi-weekly covering a minimum of 10 villages within a radius of 10-12 kms should be developed as a growth centre. Such growth centre hav-

ing attendance of over 5000 should have all infrastructural facilities like inter-village all weather market roads, storage facilities, market yards, information cell and transportation and communication network.

2

The market villages with an attendance of 3000-5000 producers and traders should have a status of "Sub-growth Centre" with basic requirements such as yards, godowns, cooperative bank, post-office, information-cell, weighing bridge, etc.

3

The cart-transport appears to be dominant in the rural areas. It is found that most of the rural producers cannot afford to have carts for their own transportation purpose. They have to undergo some lengthy procedure to take loans from banks for such purpose. Therefore, a producers cooperative transport union may be constituted with a minimum of 25 members. Each share-holder may contribute Rs. 100 towards equity share. The Large Scale Multipurpose Cooperative Society (LAMPS) or Commercial Bank may treat such transport union as a primary cooperative society and provide loan facility ten times of its share capital on completion of legal write-ups as per rules.

4

These Cooperative Transport Unions should purchase, carts, power tillers (5HP), and accessories to provide to its members whenever required at the rates as prescribed by the Registrar of Cooperative Societies. The village panchayat, secretary should be appointed as a honorary secretary to this Union. The transport facility should be rendered to the growth centre market or Mandi from the village

5

Rural roads have to be developed in the village and Zilla Panchayats. The panchayat should take up the work of road construction in the villages of its jurisdiction with its own financial resources. The budget of the gram panchayats has to be supplemented by the government grants under control of the Block level officials. A minimum of 80 per cent of the total village roads programme outlay specified by the gram panchayats should be anticipated by way of grants.

6

The producers and traders should have separate godowns at the growth centre level. The construction of godowns on the cooperative basis should be encouraged at the village panchayat level. The metal bins, should also be provided to producers on hire for a fixed period if the producer is unable to lift the produce to the godown. The State Warehousing Corporation should undertake the administrative control of these rural warehousing cooperatives.

7

The modern foodgrain techniques should be frequently coveyed in the rural areas with audio-visual media. The mode of mass-communication should be in regional language or local dialect.



Apology for excellence

ANIL C. SHAH
Chief Executive, Aga Khan Rural Support Programme
Ahmedabad

THE GOVERNMENT ENGINEER ASKED "Why are you in a hurry?"

"If you give technical sanction soon our Cooperative Society may be able to get subsidy and execute the scheme in time for the Rabi season." An organiser of a voluntary agency replies respectfully.

The Executive Engineer looks in disdain, "but there are hardly three months left".

"Yes sir. The scheme that you had seen at Ratanpara village for which you gave completion certificate was completed in less than 3 months." The Executive Engineer is confused and said. He remembers his own schemes which are languishing because the contractor had run away or because the levy cement was not available. He also remembers his scheme where the pipes have burst and the pumping set is out of order for 18 months. The Organiser of voluntary agency reads the passing thoughts of the government engineer and assures him in apologetic tone, "We can do this only because of your support. We have the advantage of flexibility. We can buy the quality material without insisting upon the lowest quotation. We carry out most of the work departmentally through our worker on the site who can mobilise the people on account of his reputation in the area".

With such apology the government engineer relaxes and looks at the papers. The wise organiser continues his apology, "You have to face a very difficult task. You are asked to swim with your hands and legs tightly bound". The organiser finds the engineer nodding while glancing through his paper. He therefore continues, "Sometimes I am surprised how government functionaries are able to turn out the work they do." This is misunderstood and the government engineer looks sternly at the organiser who is now regretting what he meant to say. The apologetic organiser thinks furiously to retrieve the situation quickly, otherwise the offended engineer might make the remarks on the proposal "scrutinize carefully after visiting the site"—which would mean delay of atleast three months. The Organiser rephrases what he meant to say, "What I meant was that how even a good officer like you can complete works and produce results with more than half the staff indifferent to their work and worried about their promotions and transfers, in comparison working in organisation like ours is much easier". The engineer is mollified. His stunned look changes into relaxed nodding and the organiser of the voluntary agency anxiously hopes that the Government engineer would write in the margin of his proposal "This is a good scheme, I have seen another executed by this agency which was very good. Examine quickly and put up for technical sanction". How dare the organiser ask what the engineer had written. However, being tactful he asks, "When do I

enquire? I would not like to bother you about this small matter if you can tell whom I should meet". Organiser is extremely lucky as the engineer, while throwing his papers in the outward tray, tells him "you may enquire with my junior engineer after one month." The organiser feels depressed. But without losing heart, he prepares for a second round of apologetic pursuation with the junior engineer which he thinks of starting much sooner than one month. However he has to find out what sort of person he is and how to tackle him.

AN ORGANISER OF ANOTHER VOLUNTARY AGENCY promoting wasteland development is meeting a revenue officer seeking permission to develop public wasteland to raise trees giving employment and income to the landless. The seasoned revenue officer asked, "Have you seen the wasteland that you are asking for?"

"Yes sir, it was shown to me by the Sarpanch and by the patwari." The revenue officer looks at the organiser with surprise, "Really? I had seen a complaint of encroachment of public land in village Barodi by the Sarpanch". The Organiser hesitated for a moment to decide whether he should reveal his knowledge of the local situation. He steers the course by saying, "I was shown land on the other side of the village pond. It is not good land for cultivation. We are asking only for this land". The officer asks "Oh! yes, I had also noticed that barren hilly land. What will you do with that?" The Organiser jumps at the opportunity and starts elaborating on the achievements of his organisation. "Have you not seen our social forestry programme in Tansa? It was also barren land perhaps worse but almost 90 percent of the saplings that we planted have survived" The knowledge of the revenue officer cannot be easily challenged like this. He asserts, "The government agency does not have more than 50 percent survival of the saplings in much better land. I had heard this in the last monthly coordination meeting. How can you have 90 percent survival?" The Organiser has to be in defensive, "You are right sir, it was very difficult. It would not have been possible but our worker in Tansa could pursuade the people who work on this land to provide two waterings when he found that the plants were drying up". The officer gets interested. "Why cannot the Forest Department take similar care of the plants?"

Remembering that he has to approach the forest officials for saplings and for getting the technical sanction of his scheme, the organiser of the voluntary agency again becomes apologetic, "It is sir very difficult for them. Before they can know the villagers and their areas and establish rapport, they are transferred."

Nothing new for the revenue officer. He brushes aside this explanation: "I know, I know. Perhaps you do not know what they are. If they are not transferred and settle down in an area for long, they may do worse things." Even though the organiser would have liked to say, "I know, I know", he keeps quiet and brings back the Officer to his proposal, "You will consider our proposal sympathetically?" Though the officer was inclined, he was not sure how his subordinates would view the proposal. He replies, "I will get this examined". This is better than rejection but the organiser tries to get some more lead for getting clearance in time before the monsoon. He asks "Sir, when do I see you again?" Somewhat irritated, the officer replies, "Well this will take sometime. My inspector will have to visit the site".

WITH THE ADVANTAGES OF FLEXIBILITY and more stable committed workers, a professionally managed voluntary organisation's performance in many cases will be qualitatively better than of typical government department. If such a voluntary agency is conscious about importance of quality and does not pressurise its workers for excessive quantitative results, and strives to be closer to the people it seeks to serve, the performance will be still better. A typical government organisation driven by target obsession imposed by ambitious superiors, with indifferent personnel and uncertain finance will always be sacrificing quality for quantities that have to be reported as achievements against targets. The voluntary agencies may content themselves with working in small spheres with greater concern for quality, innovativeness and people's participation; government organisations striving to reach and report on the quantitative results in sizeable pilot projects and large project decided under State and Central five year plans with physical and financial targets make large impact on the economy. Voluntary agencies thus work at micro level striving to create models which when successful, may be adapted by other voluntary agencies and if feasible to replicate on a large scale, even by government organisations. Government organisations work at macro-level with goals of redistribution of resources and extending services to total populations. With such demarcation of spheres of activities, voluntary agencies and government organisations can work in the same area without conflict and preferably as mutually supportive systems.

However, voluntary agencies are always short of resources and on the other hand government is in command of large resources meant for promoting programmes in which voluntary agencies are interested. Government has many a time schemes where resources are to be spent through voluntary agencies or voluntary agencies may obtain financial support for participating in a particular programme in which they are interested. Sometimes certain resources like wasteland or river waters or power supply are in complete government control and voluntary agencies have to obtain permission of concerned government organisations to carry out

their programmes based on such resources, even if the project resources are available with voluntary agencies.

In our country, with government transferring to itself a very large portion of the national income and making plans to render variety of services, serious voluntary agencies cannot avoid dealing with government whether they want financial support or not. Therefore voluntary agencies will have to approach government organisations and obtain permission and sanctions from government offices. They would like therefore the government organisations to be sympathetic to their programme and extend speedy support to their requests. But why should the government officers and clerks be interested in extending such support? They may even view the performance of quality concious voluntary agency as an irritating comparison with their massive programme. Why should they support centres of unfair competition which some higher up may notice? It would be enough to show lip sympathy and make a show of appreciation for voluntary agency's dedication.

In fact when many of them are not supporting work being done by their own lower level officers, how can one expect them to appreciate and support work by outsiders who with the resources or approvals which they would make available may create unnecessary irritating problems for them? To them it is obvious that it does not benefit them to support voluntary agencies and in fact it has a potential of doing harm to them.

Voluntary agencies which are dependent on government organisations for permissions and sanctions better learn how to amuse key people in the government organisations and if necessary tone down their own achievements. They may even be apologetic for their excellence. Perhaps there is a way out.

If a message reaches from top down that government offices will be judged among the other things, by the manner and the extent by which they are able to enlist the cooperation of the voluntary agencies, some of the officers may begin to see the benefit in extending support to voluntary agencies, as has been done for the enhanced earmarked funds for social forestry under the National Rural Employment Programme which has to be spent through non-governmental organisations. There will be additional impetus to government officers to seek out appropriate voluntary agencies and encourage them to participate in their own programme. Of course without sustained policies in this direction the government officers at lower level are likely to report non-existence or non-cooperation or non-competence of voluntary agencies in their area to participate in their programmes and therefore they may plead that unless the policies are made more flexible, funds would not be spent. Getting such reports the policy makers would review and may too readily reverse the policy arguing that how can any programme be made to suffer, and funds allowed to lapse by insisting on spending government funds through outside agencies. If however the policy makers can survive such initial setbacks and remain steadfast in their conviction that only voluntary agencies with their flexibility and commitments can create new models of quality development, they would be able to sustain their policy and overcome the resistance of the officers in their departments. It would be idle to expect many policy makers who would know about innovative work being done by many voluntary agencies and therefore it would be unrealistic to expect such massive directive support coming from the higher levels impelling the lower levels to provide willing support to the voluntary agencies. It is therefore in the practical interest of the voluntary agencies to learn to live with and to work with indifferent government organisations harbouring many officials who would have apparent or hidden resistance to the success of voluntary agencies. Industrialists who are dependent upon government organisations for permits and sanctions have already learnt how to amuse them to get their permits and sanctions. Voluntary agencies cannot afford and would not like to amuse government officers the way many industrialists do. They will have to develop their own expertise of rousing sympethetic support from the officers whose goodwill they need, if necessary, by being apologetic for their excellence.



How to make IRDP more effective?

KRISHNA MURARI
Delhi

IN INDIA, CHINA AND THROUGHOUT LATIN America and Africa, the compelling challenge today is to conquer entrenched rural poverty and massive unemployment and to bring to their over whelming rural population the benefits of modern technologies and services.

The concept of decentralised and spatial planning is a new strategy of economic planning to fight the evils of poverty and unemployment. The recommendations of Ashok Mehta Committee, Dantwala Committee, Dr. G.V.K. Rao's Committee's (Sept. 1986) visualise decentralisation at grassroot level.

IN 1952, INDIA LAUNCHED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, a national programme of economic and social engineering to reach 360 million people scattered over 550,000 villages. Its antecedent was famed ETAWAH PILOT PROJECT. Community Development became one of the most ambiguous and misunderstood terms in the development vocabulary. National extension services on the recommendations of Grow More Food Committee's Report, 1953 was the operational arm for Community Development Programme. In practice, the idea was complicated by a lack of local organisations. Many implementation problems and scarcity of quantifiable cost effectiveness led critics to label it a failure and resulted in its submergence into the Ministry of Food and Agriculture in 1966.

As a result of social dislocations following the Green Revolution some new concepts of economic planning, i.e. Grassroot planning, planning from the bottom and target planning, several area development programmes were incorporated in Fourth and Fifth Five Year Plans, like Small Farmers Development Agency (1969), Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers (1971), Drought Prone Area Programme (1970), Hill Area Development Programme (1972), Canal Area Development (1974), Special Livestock Production Programme (1975), Minimum Needss Programme (1977) and Antyodaya etc. However, all these programme due to their adhoc and piecemeal nature and low quantum subsidy have not been much effective in removal of massive problem of rural poverty and unemployment.

TO LAUNCH A MASSIVE ONSLAUGHT on the problem of abject rural poverty and unemployment, the government, therefore, came out with a new strategy of Integrated Rural Development Programme in the year 1978-79. Unlike earlier efforts, governments attention is focussed on targeted population. The IRDP is based on microlevel planning and offers a package of action pro-

grammes covering marginal and small farmers, landless labourers, substenance farmers, share croppers, artisans. SCs. and STs., women, unemployed youths, and ex-servicemen etc. IRDP is a multi-level, multi-sector and multi-section programme; covering a mutually supporting projects and activities concerned with different sectors of rural communities. It involves a process of changing in rural sub-systems and their interaction, leading to desired improvements in rural incomes and income distribution, employment opportunities, rural welfare and other aspects of rural life. This strategy has been designed on the principles of area-planning and target group planning for maximum possible exploitation of endowment and resource potentials (both natural and human) in respect to local needs. Initially the programme was started at 2300 blocks in the country. Subsequently, from October 2, 1980, the programme was extended to all over the country. This approach was given top priority in the Sixth Five Year Plan with particular emphasis on....increasing the earnings....of the underprivileged.

The main objectives of IRDP were to increase the productivity of agriculture and other sectors to provide the income generating assets, to build local capacity for sustained area development. It also aims to the creation and expansion of employment opportunities in village handicrafts, animal husbandry mainly dairying, poultry farming, piggery etc., agro-based industries, in Primary, Secondary and Tertiary sectors of industries under ISB & TRYSEM. And lastly, its target is the alleviation of rural poverty.

SAMPLE SURVEYS CONDUCTED by the P.E.O. of Planning Commission (May 1985) regarding money being illspent says that 31 percent of assets supplied were not intact and of these 20 percent were due to unexpected events like illness, death etc. 90 percent sample survey beneficiaries felt that they had benefitted from the programmes and 90.7 percent had increased their employment.

It is clear that bottom-up planning and local participation are essential to the success of rural development programmes. Due to leakage in policy making, leakage in selection of target group, leakage in resource allocation, leakage in programme implementation the programme has not fulfilled its real objective.

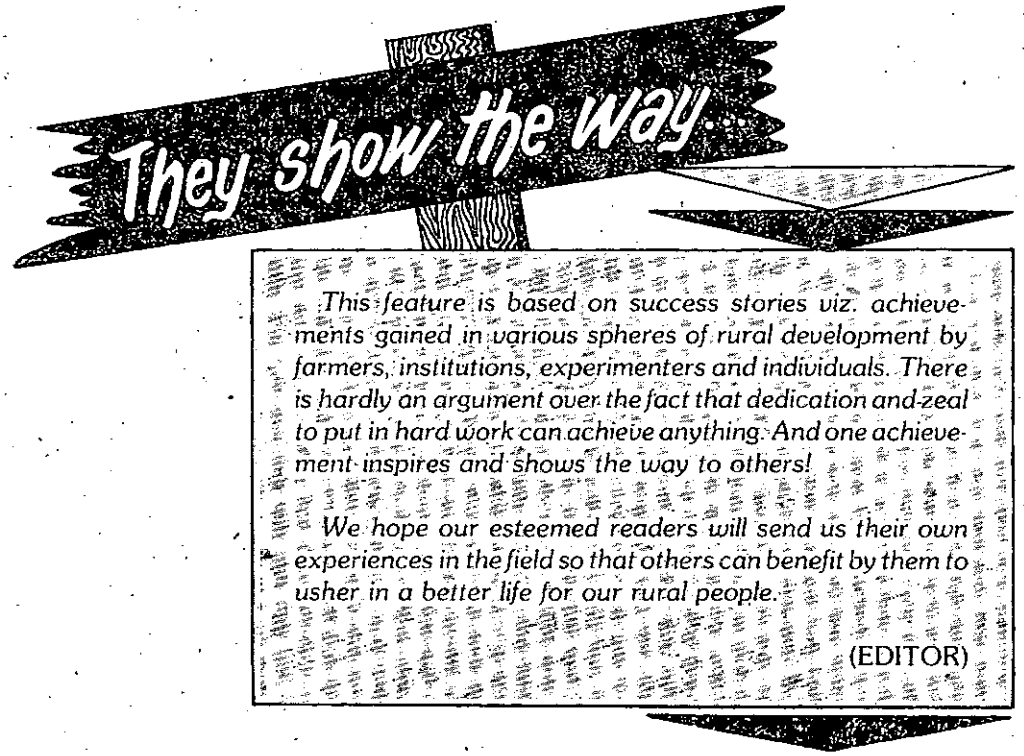
Another cause of failure of rural development programme is the migration of skills, savings and resources from rural to urban areas, in a manner that the former tend to be economically exploited.

Seventh Five Year Plan has very rightly allocated approximately 40 percent of the total outlay on rural development. The fourfold increase in allocation on IRDP i.e. Rs. 16,000 crores itself is symptomatic of growing realisation of serious problems of mass poverty and massive unemployment. It aims at reducing the percentage of peoples below the poverty line from 39.9 percent to 28.2 percent by 1989-90. 20 million households are expected to be provided assistance under IRDP. Seventh Plan's major emphasis is on: Spatial planning in the forms of district and Block level Planning; development bureaucracy operating at local and higher level of administration; health and education; family planning etc.

ACTION WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE tends to get misdirected and knowledge without action become sterile. In view of this adage, it is more important in rural development measures that knowledge must be exercised in the line of executions. In this respect, following suggestions are put forward. There is a need of integration of departmental resources around a problem solving focus, and to do this it in a decentralised organisational structure which can incorporate local needs and constraints in devising implementation plans. Strong local participation and team approach is also essential. For this government must give up fancy plans beginning from the top. It must begin from the base and build it strong. The assets and skills of the poor should be augmented and more and more innovative approaches should be adopted. A strong follow-up machinery will help in reviewing the performance of the programme. "Internal Consistency" and "permanency" in the administrative staffs for rural development, separate administrative staff for rural development specialised in area development programmes and planning, proper coordination among various concerned departments and agencies are essential for effective implementation of all development schemes.

Monitoring, evaluation, surveillance and a proper reporting system by government and non-government agencies should be made more effective. Creation of economic, physical, social and cultural infra-structure. Elastic policy for allotment of loans on the basis of requirement should be made and local resources should be optimally utilised. Defaulters should be separated from those whose assets remain unutilised or underutilised because of the exogenous factors i.e. beyond the control of beneficiaries. Bank Managers should be involved right from the inception of training under TRYSEM. Emphasis should be on establishment of more and more labour intensive units e.g. Agarbatti, Match and Candle making, laundary soap and other viable growth centres. Village should be the target under IRD instead of family. It will certainly enhance greater participation, and cooperative efforts of rural populace. Educated youths should be recruited as VLWs and extension workers as

(Contd. on page 36)



This feature is based on success stories viz. achievements gained in various spheres of rural development by farmers, institutions, experimenters and individuals. There is hardly an argument over the fact that dedication and zeal to put in hard work can achieve anything. And one achievement inspires and shows the way to others!

We hope our esteemed readers will send us their own experiences in the field so that others can benefit by them to usher in a better life for our rural people.

(EDITOR)

From caves to houses

IDUKKI DISTRICT IS A comparatively new district carved out of the erstwhile, Kottayam and Ernakulam districts in the state of Kerala. This district was formed as the activities of development did not reach the remote areas. The rolling plains, the undulating slopes, the criss-crossing rivulets and waterways and the hilly terrain all added to the problems of communication, extension and development of the area. Blessed with the bounties of nature, it now stands as the major supplier of condiments, spices and tea. It is also the producer of Hydro Electric Power. Once the project was started the outer world started to influence the life of district. The effects can be seen in the degraded forest. The flora and fauna of the area is feared to be losing its existance. It also disturbed the socio-cultural environments of the tribal population. Unexposed to the vagaries of civilization, unable to face the onslaught of the new encroachers and unwilling to desert the surroundings which were dear to them; the tribes started receding to the unreachable interiors of the forest. Even there they did not feel secure. The net result was that the majority of the tribal population were forced to live in the suburbs of the new settlements, picking on the scrap and sundries thrown out to them by the so called civilised people. Any effort to restore the original atmosphere and climate was not made by any agency in that area. It was under these circumstances that a new step forward was taken by the Block of Devikolam in the district to assist and direct tribal population in their march towards development.

The Hillmen of Marayur is a representative set of the tribal population described above.

Afraid of the civilised people, government servants and the politicians, they had established a colony of their own on the undulating rocky areas of Marayur village. Their main livelihood was from the collection and selling of minor forest produce like honey, wild cardamom, rattan etc. which is now very rare to find in the degrading forest. There is very little authentic knowledge of the ancient history of these hillmen. Whether they belonged to a civilization of the palaeolithic age is also not confirmed even though it is believed that their civilization belongs to the stone age. History tells that the valleys of Anchanad consisted of Devikolam, Marayur, Kanthallur, Keezhanthur and Karayur 'Gramas' and was headed by the tribal chief Kannan Devan in the 19th century. It was after him that the development of the area started since the English



A lot of coaxing required to bring then out of their hidings.

established vast tea plantations. The hillmen still owe their allegiance to Kannan Devan.

The breakthrough was planned by the Devikolam Block to bring these people into the main stream of the village life and expose them to the patterns of development as envisaged by the administration. A team of officers led by the District Collector made a series of visits to the rocky settlement constantly. In the first instance whenever the vehicles and dressed people were noticed, the inhabitants including the children ran into the deepness of the forest. A lot of coaxing and pursuasion was necessary even to discuss with them about anything.



RLEGP Road being laid out to the colony

But gradually this alienation disappeared and a channel of communication was opened between the block personnel and the tribes. The hillmen were living in small huts without any shape or plan, constructed by placing some plaques of stone torn out of the rocks (shown in photo) and the hut or cave whatever name we may attribute to it was just an enclosure of about 5 square feet where all the human functions from birth to death were carried out. The untouchability, unemployment, the starvation, the malnutrition, endemic diseases were all the hallmark of their life. They had no belief on their civilised brethren. It was in this background that the block decided to break the ice by providing them with permanent convenient houses for their dwelling. As they were landless, they were assigned 10 cents of land in the nearby village of Kanthallur and the entire 29 families living in the rockey caves were taken to the new environment. The provisions of Indira Awaas Yojana was utilised to construct pucca residential houses for them. The provisions under RLEGP were made use of for laying out a good all weather road to the new settlement.

Coconut seedlings, improved agricultural implements, clothing, cooking utensils etc. were issued to them, using the provisions of various development schemes implemented by various departments, under the guidance and direction of the District Collector. All these families were brought under the umbrella of IRDP and suitable viable economic schemes were also given to them by the nearby nationalised banks. One rural functional literacy unit was also started in this colony to initiate these people to the basics of reading and writing.

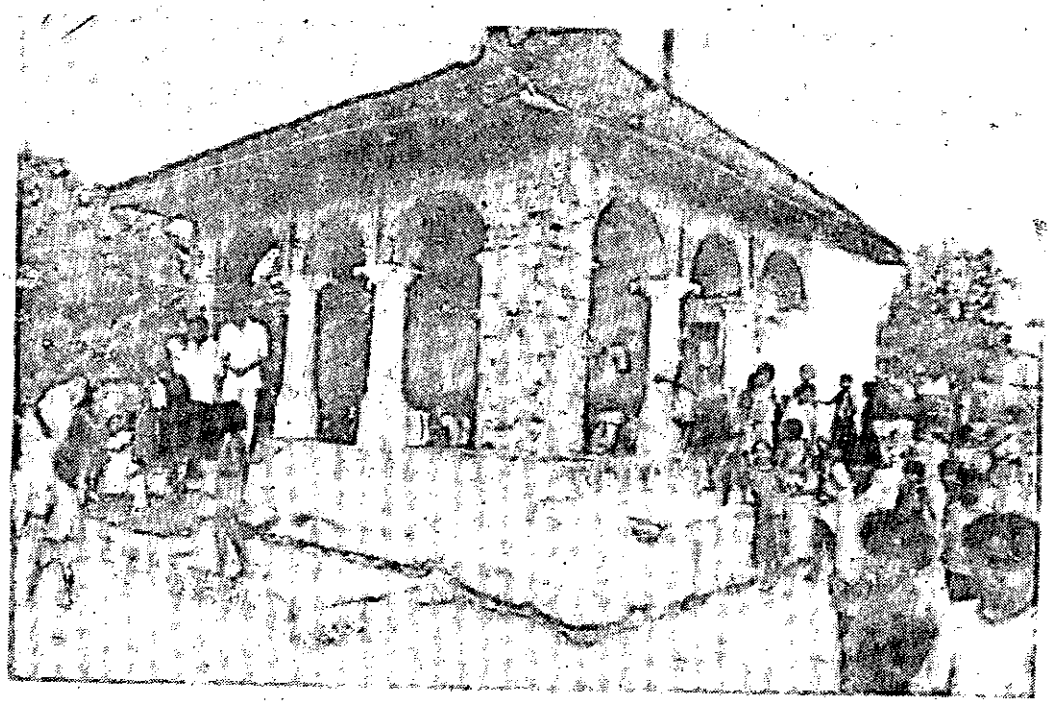
The shifting of these families to the new environment was done in a colourful function participated by the Minister, M.P. and M.L.A. and that was a day of rejoicing and merry making which was expressed by them by the night long dance and entertainment by the community.

K. Karthikeyan Nair
Deputy Director,
State Institute of Rural Development

A divine answer

IT WAS IN 1982 THAT A DECISION was taken to open 100 Anganwadi Centres in Koyyalagudem in West Godavari District. But in spite of the best efforts of the Child Development Project Officer (CDPO), it became difficult to get proper locations to start the Anganwadis.

Elders of the villages suggested the Ramalayams (Rama Temples) be put to use for this purpose. As a result, some 60 Anganwadis began functioning in the locality very soon.



The young devotees of Ramalayam Anganwadi

Parimpudi is a sleepy village in Koyyalagudem. Earlier, the, ringing of the temple bells awakened the village to its days labours. Children used to sleep on till their mothers or grandmothers came to wake them up.

But now things have changed. The bell rings in the new day for the children also. They scramble noisily to reach the centre, adding to the morning bustle of village life.

At the Centre, children upto six years of age get a package of services of which health is the foremost. From supplementary nutrition to immunisation, they get every possible medical attention at the centre. Moreover, they get pre-school education too.

All mothers upto the age of 45, particularly nursing mothers get medical attention in the centre. The needy and the deprived benefit most from the scheme.

The children find the centres most attractive. Instead of idling away their time at home, from which the parents are usually absent to work in the fields during day time, now, they can play and learn with other children of their own age-group, under trained guidance. Indeed, they are a little sad when the temple song sounds in the evening, marking an end to their fun and frolic. They return sure in their minds that the bell will ring again in the morning, summoning them to play and study the next morning.

Efforts to move Anganwadis to new permanent places are meeting with scarce success. Villagers are happy with the way things are. After all their ancestors had studied in the *pathasalas* attached to the same temple. The time has changed, but why can't the temple serve the same purpose? They proved that the temples can. To them it is a "divine answer" to their problem.

Meanwhile, the hunt is on for locations to open new centres, as decided earlier. Now they know that happy children contribute their share to the making of a happy family.

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(Contd. from page 32),

they are more energetic and full of enthusiasm. Rampant corruption must also be dealt with heavy hand. Inordinate delays in the energisation of tube-wells and inopportune shedding of power during the sowing season must be taken care of.

Recommendations of Dr. G.V.K. Rao's Committee (Sept. 1986) should also be accorded due importance. The people and their representatives should be involved in drawing and execution of rural development programme. Panchayati Raj Institutions have to be activised. He also calls for timely and immediate elections to these bodies. Voluntary efforts should be maximised. The district should be the basic unit for policy planning and programme implementation. The Committee has expressed special concern over hold of moneylenders, who still meet 60 percent of total rural credit. He wanted that cooperatives, commercial and regional banks should come in a bigger way to meet rural credit requirements. Block Development Office should be the sheet anchor of entire rural development process. For this he suggested upgrading of Block Development Office and its occupants

S.N. Dubey in his article "Environment, Technology & Decision-making in Panchayati Raj" (E.P.W. 1975) has rightly emphasised upon adopting a compromise approach in place of computational or routine in the allocation of facilities and services; as it will generate a kind of obligation and reciprocity.[7] Policy planners must also keep it in mind that large, pluralistic and diverse societies like India are far too complex for any single treatment. There is very little evidence that spending more money is the answer to our problems of abject rural poverty and unemployment.

Though we have improvements in technology and relatively greater availability of resources and expertise, the basic problem remains the same, how to reach the local areas and involve the rural population in the various programmes of economic and social uplift.

What we need is "SYSTEM ORIENTATION PROGRAMME DEVELOPMENT", as any other approach would be like repeating the mistakes of Community Development. To implement Integrated Rural Development Programme in its true spirit, the operational, political and bureaucratic infrastructure should be understood in totality. An understanding of the critical relations between political support and field operations, and between the field organisation and community is essential in building a successful strategy of rural development.

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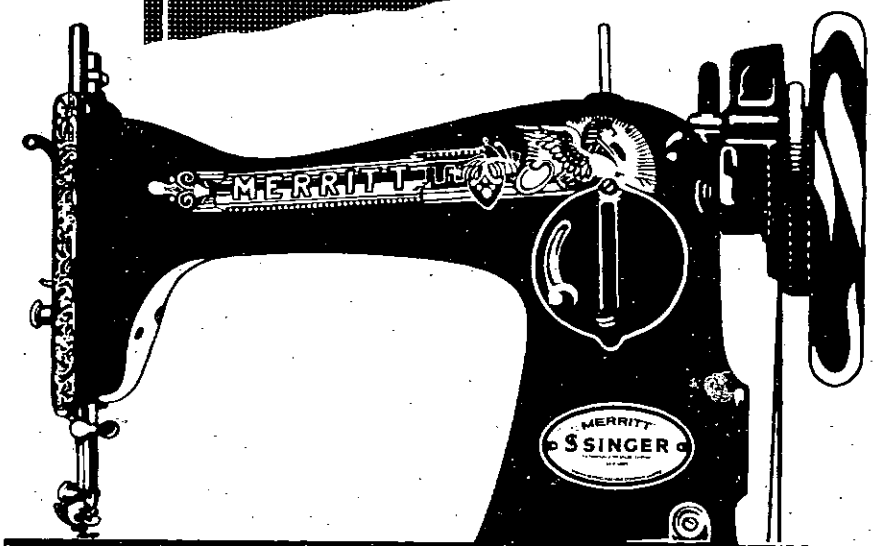
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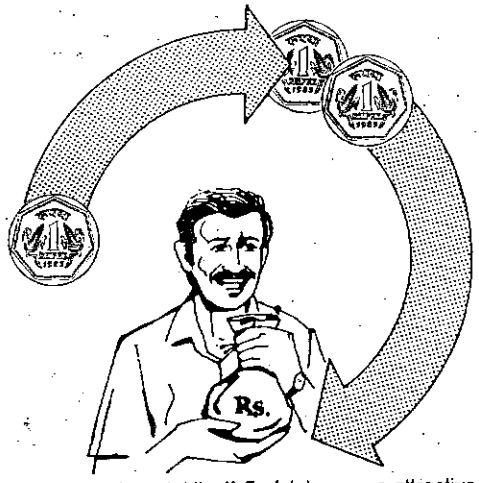
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