CHAPTER - III
SOCIO- ECONOMIC SURVEY
Certain aspects of socio-economic conditions related to nutrition of the Kamar tribe are discussed in the Chapter under the following sub-titles:

1. Introduction
2. Earlier work
3. Results and discussion
   (a) Social data
   (b) Economic data
4. Conclusion

iii (1) **INTRODUCTION**:

Human society is heterogenous in nature. Social stratification is a national division and hierarchical social order of society. With the dawn of independence a modest attempt has been made to transform India into a welfare State. 

The history of man is as a social being in small tribal group. Their communities passed through a prolonged phase of raw struggle for existence against elements of nature and other denizens. The man succeeded in this struggle acquiring higher skills through experience using increasingly greater organisational power.

It is a fact that traditional socio-economic and cultural life of the tribal people was very much associated with their original settlements but the colonial administration mainly and various other factors during post independence era forced them to leave their original habitat and migrate to different regions and start with new settlements under diverse eco-systems, different sociocultural environment and economic order. This is a major reason why they can easily be distinguished till this day as tribal people, bearing a distinctive socio-cultural life, thinking, and outlook easily distinguishable from others. The main issues in tribal development in India today are not philosophical. It is a question of better appreciation of the nature of socio-economic force operating there or likely to operate as these areas get opened-
up. The appropriate growth paths have to be determined for their progression during the transitional phase. A number of choices would be available in the beginning but as the time runs out the options will get circumscribed.  

Socio-economic structure in a particular community considerably influences various economic activities right from production, distribution and exchange to final consumption of a natural product. Thus, the social beliefs, traditions and taboos influence the technique of production, particularly the use of modern technology in the production process, the method of distribution of national product with special reference to rent of agricultural land.

The social factor such as the size of family, literacy, sex-ratio, social desparations, womens' socio-economic status, caste rigidities, socio-mobility etc. either retard or promote the process of economic growth by influencing the efficiency in production, distribution, exchange and consumption. In the traditional tribal community the social factors acquire an added importance mainly because of the characteristic closed economy of the tribal community.

The social status and economic condition of any society are based on each other and effect vice-versa. Prior to a nutrition survey, data is to be collected to have a general impression of the level of nutriture to be encountered in the population. Socio-economic data serve as indirect indicator of the level of health and nutrition. A study of socio-economic characteristics of any society is a broad spectrum of life and further progress is dependent on them.

Most of the Kamar population is superstitious, poor and ignorant. Percentage of literacy and education is very low. Mostly they prefer to send their children to fields or jungles instead of sending them to schools, so that they may earn something. Otherwise the young children take care of their young brothers or sisters.

The Kamar are equally backward in their economy. In a sense they have become more backward as time has passed by. Originally the Kamar
were the masters of all they surveyed. As professor Christoph Venturress Haimendref states that the Kamaris stood mid way between food-gatherers and primitive agriculturists.

These tribes have their own socio-cultural, economic and political set-up. Therefore, they have attracted the attention of social scientists. Particularly of the anthropologists who have studied them with different objectives and numerous studies mainly of ethnographic nature have been undertaken on different tribes of M.P. The socio-economic data of nutritional relevance as described by Jelfilife are:

(a) **SOCIAL DATA**:

It consists of population of community (number, age, sex, distribution), family details (size, relationship and interval between children), educational status (literacy of parents and children), housing condition (type, floor, roof, walls, lighting, ventilation, etc., number of rooms, population per house, owned or rented), Kitchen facility (location, fuel, type and condition of cooking utensils, rubbish disposal, food storage). Water supply (source, distance from house, purity) and Sewage (type, condition cleanliness etc.)

(b) **ECONOMIC DATA**:

In the study of Economic data the points considered are: Occupation (primary and secondary), family income (wages, home industries, cash crops, noncash income), tangible wealth (land, number of live-stocks, modern status symbols) and budgeting (expenditure of food, clothes, rent, fuel, light, education, recreation, domestic services etc.). Socio-economic survey was carried-out employing a modified pretested schedule as described by ICMR Hyderabad.

In this socio-economic survey not only their customs, traditions, religion, caste, educational status, occupation, per capita income and other opportunities of additional sources of income were studied, but other important factors were also recorded such as their housing pattern, water
supply, sewage facility, recreational and transport facilities, their religious and social functions etc.

Nutrition is closely related to several aspects of human life. An understanding of the social and economic aspects of nutrition is therefore, imperative for an integrated implementation of food and nutrition policies and programmes. What people eat depends on many factors, including the availability of food. Consequently, biological hunger is transformed into culturally determined appetite and social patterned practices. Therefore, nutrition cannot be considered in isolation. The economic, social and cultural back-ground of those, who are to be fed, should form the basis for planning nutrition programmes.

As per Devadas, the social and economic factors which influence the nutritional status are: income which decides the standard of living, poverty and malnutrition; joint family system which is the cradle of customs and traditions and gives shape to food habits; family size-obviously affecting the quantity and also quality of food-intake to some extent.

Thus, the factors above affect the nutritional status and override the entire living conditions of a community.

iii (2) EARLIER WORKS:

Outside India, the tribes that are reported to rely on nature for their food are the Bakitara tribe in Banyor, North-West of Victoria Nyanza, Africa and Ainus tribe of Japanese, Yezo (Sengupta, 1960), Iraq tribes in Arab (AlAni, 1980), Tasaday tribe of Philippines (Robson et al, 1976). Amazonas of Peru (Berlin and Markell, 1977) and Alakan tribe of circumpolar region in Papua-New-Guinea (Robson and Wadsworth, 1977). E. Adamsan Hoebel has studied the socio-economic conditions of primitive tribes in his "Man in the primitive world".

J.H. Steward has given socio economic information in his work "The economic and social basis of primitive bards. Shri Amal kumar Das"
has studied the socio economic and cultural profile of the tribes of West Bengal. K. Mohan Rao has conducted the study on socio-economic and demographic profile of the Porja-a primitive tribe of Vishakha patanam district of Andhra Pradesh. Y. M. Verma described the socio-economic condition of primitive tribes in "Problems of tribal India.".

Food gathering forms a part of the economy with almost all the tribals. The food gathering, hunting and fishing economy of the forest tribes vary according to season cycle and area.

The tribals who subsist mainly on nature for their livelihood are Toders and Sorni tribe of Kerala and Nilgiri hills (Roy and Rao, 1962), Onges of Andman and Nicobar Island (Swaminathan et al, 1971), Sompen tribe of Nicobar Island (Sengupta, 1980), Chenchus from Andhra Pradesh (Rao and Satya Narayana, 1974), Pratap (1973), and Kadar a south Indian tribe (Bhoumik, 1971).

Maria Gonds of Maharashtra is listed as one of the primitive tribes of state based on their low population growth, low literay rate and pre-agricultural level of technology. C.P. Vithal in his study seeks to highlight the nature and extent of socio-economic transformation of the Chenchus tribe of Andhra Pradesh. An economical analysis has been done by Asha Dorle and Kashi Kailashnath Sharma on Khairnar tribes of M.P.

Socio-logical study of labour amongst the Muria tribals of Bastar, Madhya Pradesh, has been performed by Dr. R.S. Shrivastava. Socio economic survey of four tribal development blocks were done in the blocks of Kathiwar, Jashpurnagar, Konta and Bhimpur.

Socio economic survey of tribal development block was performed in Kotma block of Shahdol district in Madhya Pradesh. A study was carried out on socio-economic conditions of Dorla tribes in South Bastar M.P. Dr. B.D. Sharma has performed a comparative study of different tribal groups in view of socio-economic forces their nature and dimension.
The socio-economic study was extended over four tribal development blocks in Betul district of Madhya Pradesh.

In his work, "The kamar-a way of life," Shri Jajoria has given detailed report on the occupation and socio-economic condition of Kamar tribes.

Socio-economic study with reference to occupation and literacy has been done by Shri K.S. Singh on Kamar tribe.

An attempt has been made by Harish Chandra Shrivastava to study the socio-economic as well as demographic characteristics of Kamar tribe of Madhya Pradesh.

A survey has been done by Shri Hanumantha Rao et al. for the assessment of nutritional status of Jenu Kurubas-a primitive tribe of Karnataka. Demographic informations and family economic particulars were also analysed. Social organisation of the family, its occupational status were studied among the tribal communities of Orissa and Maharashtra.

Socio-economic study was conducted on tribal groups in Madhya Pradesh with special reference to their social function, indebtedness and impact on their economy.

iii (3) RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The socio-economic data are shown in Tables 2-6. The overview of the analysis is as follows:

SOCIAL DATA

POPULATION OF COMMUNITY:

The total population of Kamar tribes in four blocks of study area was 13,655; ten percent sample was selected from different Kamar settlement using simple random sampling method. A detailed study on community population was conducted. It was analysed age and sex wise. The total subjects were 1355. Out of them 684 were males and 671 were females. Distribution
of the subjects surveyed is shown in Table No. 2

26 subjects were between the age group 0 to 6 months, 12 between 7 to 12 months, 132 between 1 to 3 years, 134 between 4 to 6 years, 104 between 7 to 9 years, 109 between 10 to 12 years, 74 between 13 to 15 years, 65 between 16 to 18 years, 412 between 19 to 35 years, 237 between 36 to 55 years and 56 above 55 years of age.

Under the Kamar Development Agency, the tribal blocks of Garicaband, Chhura, Mainpur and Nagari are included.

As per a recent survey by Kamar Development Agency in the year 1995 there were 3343 families with 14,922 population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No. Block</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Tola</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Gariaband</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>1173</td>
<td>2668</td>
<td>2653</td>
<td>5261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mainpur</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>1717</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>3433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Chhura</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>1398</td>
<td>1398</td>
<td>2796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Nagari</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>1721</td>
<td>1711</td>
<td>3432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>3343</td>
<td>7444</td>
<td>7478</td>
<td>14922</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The growth of the Kamar population of Raipur district in 1911, 1931, 1961 and 1971 is as follows respectively:

Year : 1911 1931 1961 1971 AD
Population : 7,185 9,244 11,008 12,418

It may be seen from the above that in two decades i.e. 1911-1931 the Kamar population growth was 28.65% in the next three decades i.e. 1931-1961 the Kamar population growth was registered at 19.08% while their population growth between 1961-71 was 12.8% In 1981 the Kamar population was found to be 13,655.

This means during the period 1971-81 the Kamar population growth
FIG. 1: CURVE SHOWING GROWTH RATE OF KAMAR POPULATION
rate further fell down to 8.7%. These statistics are very alarming as far as the Kamar tribe is concerned. In the two decade 1911-31 growth rate of the Kamars was very encouraging and it is clear that because of the isolation in jungle habitat, the Kamar tribe was not affected by the great influenza to them. Epidemic of 1918 which took a heavy toll of human lives in the plain areas and was very much reflected in the census-1921.  

Indian Council of Medical Research Jabalpur observed that the median age of the population is 21.4 years. It is slightly higher for males (21.7) than the females (21.06).  

Percentage of population below 15 years is 41.1 and above the age 60 years is 3.7. The percentage dependency ratio is 84.9 out of 100 working persons, there are 85 non working persons in the population. The Kamar is a very circumscribed tribe and there is no migration at all. The only conclusion therefore, is that the population growth rate become dangerously slow and this can only be due to high mortality rate, accompanied by a low birth rate. Some factors came into operation during 1931-61 which caused the population growth to be alarmingly low because of high mortality rate.

There is no history of any epidemic in the area. The only information that is available is that the Kamar mode of life under went a drastic change for the worse and over this change, the Kamars had no control at all. Because of motorised transport their monopoly of transporting timber via rivers ended. When an absolute ban was imposed on the age old Dahya and Beora cultivation with the result that production of food grains became almost zero, since there was no alternative land. Wild animals became scarce and the jungle less and less bountiful in the supply of roots and tubers.

The Kamar consequently became hungry and starving tribe and deaths became larger in number.

Sex ratio i.e. number of females per 1000 males is quite high among
the Kamars. In 1961 the sex ratio of the Kamars inhabiting the area under consideration was 1009 which rose to 1025 in 1971.

Russell and Hiralal (1976) considered the Kamars as offshoots of the Gonds. Their population, according to the 1981 census is 17517 (8673 males and 8844 females).

According to the Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) report, the sex ratio observed in the population and the growth rate was found to be quite favourable for the females (1037/1000 males). The sexwise break-up was found to be as follows: in 1981 males 6600, females 6900 which means that the sex ratio had risen to 1044. This shows that the growth rate of females in the Kamar society has been much faster than that of the males. This clearly brought out the fact that in the period 1961-71 the growth rate of Kamar female population has been 13.74% as against the growth rate of 11.9% Kamar male population.

In a study carried out by Harish C. Shrivastava this phenomenon was found contradictory to the usual sex ratio of the population of India where males maintain their supremacy over females. The probable reason for higher proportion of females in the Kamar population might be due to underenumeration of males in the census return, since the activities of the tribe include hunting, food gathering and of late, some of the Kamars have started taking up job of labourers also. In all their activities a significant proportion of male population is engaged perhaps because of their being away from the villages of Kamar habitat, they might have not been enumerated in the census returns. However, there is need to investigate the authentic reason for the overall excess of females over males among the Kamars, despite relatively lower social status accorded to their females.

The growth rate of the Kamars during the decade 1961-71 is only 12.8 as against the State growth rate of 28.67 and only 8.71 in 1971-83 as against 28.15 in 1971-81. This abnormally low growth rate points towards a
high death rate. There is absolutely no out-migration of the Kamars and as such resort can not be taken to that explanation.

Since the population is almost non contracepting and the growth rate is below the national level (1.8%), the causes of low fertility is also a main factor of low growth rate of the Kamar population.

**FAMILY DATA:**

Man has the gift of a highly developed brain which enables him to engage in organised behaviour to exploit and harness nature. The groupings thus came into existence may have for their immediate cause and binding force several principle of integration, the simplest and most obvious of these is the principle of kinship, that is, relationship between different members of family based on marriage and on descent.

Tribal India exhibits a colourful diversity of families because of varied rules and customs among different tribes. Two types of families may be distinguished on the basis of the number of family members:

1) Simple or nuclear family.
2) Extended or joint family.

As per Majumdar and Madan, (1967) "this relationship is of a three fold nature; that between husband, wife, that between parents and children; and that between children of the same parents."

In Kamar tribe there is in general no custom of joint family. The family details were also taken. Table No.3 shows the position of single and joint family and their size. The data reveals that there were 228 single families (79.72%) and 58 joint families (20.28%). The size of family varied from 1 to 23 members. 142 families had 1 to 4 members, 178 families had between 5 to 8 members and 16 families had more than 8 person in the family. The average family size observed was 4.73 persons per family. According to Indian Council of Medical Research, Jabalpur majority of Kamar house holds...
FIG. 2: FAMILY SIZE DEPICTED IN GRAPHIC FORM
were nuclear (81%) and the average household size was 4.7 persons. Our data are in line with the above findings. The family among the Kamars is patrilineal and patrilocal. Usually parents and their unmarried children stay together and constitute unilateral social group. Vithal examined the family size of Chenchus and found that on an average the family size is less than 4. Pratap says that Chenchu families are nuclear and neolocal residence is the rule; he however attributes the small size of the Chenchu family to high infant mortality and poor nutrition.

In Darjeeling district (Scheduled tribe communites living in the ITDP area), the average size of non beneficiary households was 4.33 which is however, lower than that of the beneficiary families 5.68.

In Maria tribes of Maharashtra (Hanumanth Rao et al 1992) there were 78.4% nuclear families with average family size of 5.1 person per family, and in Jenu tribes of Karnataka (Hanumanth Rao et al 1993). 4.7 persons per family was found where as the percentage of nuclear family was 93.8.

According to Dr. Mishra, the family size of Bharia tribes of Patalkot (M.P.) on an average is 8-10 members per family which is much higher than other tribes. It might be due to this reason that the share of food and other facilities in the family becomes scarce. Infants of large sized families are at disadvantage. Therefore many infants in large sized families do not get sufficient nutrition and proper health care. Such conditions lead to malnutrition and poor health status of the children.

**EDUCATIONAL DETAILS:**

Education is the most important element in the development of any community. The role of education as an investment in human resources has been increasingly recognized all over the underdeveloped and developed countries.

Moreover, education enables them to cross the social, psychological and economic barriers under which they have been labouring for countries.
and millenniums. Denying this basic input to the members of these communities is a denial of the very right to participate as an equal partner in the national life.\textsuperscript{168}

Like all other sectors of socio-economic life educationally, the tribal people are at different levels of development but, on the whole, formal education has made very little impact on tribal groups. In the light of the past efforts it is not shocking because prior to 1950 the Government of India had no direct programme for the education of the tribals. With the adoption of the constitution, the promotion of education of scheduled tribes has become a special responsibility of the Central as well as State Government.\textsuperscript{73}

Tribal people desire to have education much more than what we generally recognise for them. They want education for different reasons. Some need it for their vocational improvement, others want it so that they can cope up with the requirements of the modern world, still others need it because they value education for its own sake. The difficulty in school education system arises because the school stresses education for its own sake and not so much as a means for the development of the individual. It is generally said that a tribal child is indifferent, towards education.\textsuperscript{122}

The level of literacy in a society particularly in the contemporary period, has become the real gauge to indicate the state of development.

The seventh plan document envisages that "Human Resource Development" has necessarily to be assigned a key role in any strategy, particularly in a country with large population.

Trained and educated on sound lives, a large population can itself become an asset in accelerating economic growth and in ensuring social change in desired direction.\textsuperscript{79}

In the view of low percentage of literacy for the country as a whole only 16.6 percent (for male 24.9 percent and for females 7.9 percent in 1951) According to 1931 census figures of 7,611,803 persons belonging to tribal
567,452 were illiterate, i.e. only 0.58% were literate. \(^{169}\)

### Literacy rates among scheduled tribes and rest of the population:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rest of people</th>
<th>Scheduled tribes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>27.86</td>
<td>8.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(16.59)(^*)</td>
<td>(3.16)(^*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>33.80</td>
<td>11.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(17.11)(^*)</td>
<td>(4.85)(^*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>41.22</td>
<td>16.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(29.51)(^*)</td>
<td>(3.04)(^*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991(^**)</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>29.60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^*\) Figures in bracket represent female literacy percent

As per 1981 census against 41.22% literacy rate \(^*\) was only 16.35% among tribals. \(^{170}\)

According to 1981 census of Madhya Pradesh the total percentage of literacy was 22.97 percent and in tribes this figure was only 10.68 percent. \(^{171}\)

For the study of educational details all the subjects above the age of 4 years had been covered. The number of subjects come to 1185 which forms 87.45% of the population surveyed. Out of the above number 1055 subjects were illiterate and only 130 subjects were found to be literate. The level of education found amongst the above literate males was 76 up to primary school, 9 up to middle school level and 4 had a high school level of education. Out of the literate female 39 had primary level, 2 middle school level and nobody had a high school level of education. It was found that the percent of literacy in Kamar tribe was 10%.

Shri K.S. Singh\(^{172}\) observed that the Kamars have achieved a literacy rate of 4.5%. (1981 census) while the average literacy rate of the scheduled
tribes of the State is 10.88 percent. Literacy rate among the females is only 1.02 percent, while 8.06 percent of the males are literate.

According to Indian Council of Medical Research, Jabalpur, the percentage literacy (7th years) in the population is 10.4%. Percentage of literacy in males in 15.5% as compared to 5.3% in females.

The main reason of the low level of literacy among Kamars is their poverty. They cannot afford their basic needs of education. Inspite of above stated reason the tendency of their scattered hutment residences in far off places from main village or education centre also creates problem to them. Mostly the younger children are made busy for collecting food, woods and to look after the household chores and the infant at home.

It is evident from the above data that the literacy level is still very low in afore said major tribal groups who are about 80% of state total tribal population. Very large number of tribal population still has not been attracted towards education.

It is also clear that the level of education amongst the tribal is still much lower than the level in general existing in the state.

The economic condition of these tribes is also very poor. While some of them i.e. Baiga and Kamar live in interior tribal areas and have less contact with non-tribals, others like the Bhil and the Kol came in contact with the non-tribals quite early.

In the comparative study of literacy level in Kamar, Koraku and Gond tribes, it is found that the position of Kamar tribe, is better than Gond
Fig -3 : EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF KAMARS AS COMPARED TO OTHER TRIBES
and Koraku tribes. The clear picture of standard wise educational level of three tribes are here by shown in the figure (3)\textsuperscript{109}

Poorja tribe trends bring out grave situation in the field of education. Illiterates constitute 94.94% among males and 99.30% among females.\textsuperscript{74}

The percentage of total literacy in Maria Gond tribe was found to be 8.9% (Hanumanth Rao et al)\textsuperscript{81} and in Jenu Kurubas as 26.4%. (Hanumanth Rao et al)\textsuperscript{80}

In the same way it was found that in Koraku tribes the percentage of literacy of male member was 16.89%. The standard wise literacy level analysis was only 0.7% were educated up to high school, 0.35% up to middle school and the rest 15.75% were only up to primary standard. In this survey not even a single woman was found to be literate.\textsuperscript{172}

Differences in the literacy level were observed between the three study areas, particularly amongst males, Sarguja had a distinctly higher literacy status of 25% as compared to 11.2% in Jhabua and 7.3% in Bastar. The level of female literacy was observed to be relatively higher in Sarguja (3.4%) and Jhabua (3.0%) as compared to Bastar (1%)\textsuperscript{107}

For sometime in the past, indigenous education has considerable strides in Assam though this system does not result in literacy as it is known in the West. Such education... has been imparted to the Nagas has not been an unmixed blessing, for there is a surplus of half educated youths, unwilling to go back to the village life of their fathers and looking in vain for employment
which they consider for their talents.\textsuperscript{173}

Education is very important factor in maintaining the good health and nutritional status of children. Kamar Development Agency,\textsuperscript{38} in order to attract Kamar children for education has proposed opening of new ashrams and hostels in the VIII five year plan. Presently 10 primary schools are being run in Kamar agency area where Kamar children are staying. These schools are without building, therefore 10 primary school building are being proposed for which Rs. 7.50 lakhs will be required.

In order to improve the quality of education television is proposed to be provided in ashrams and hostels for which a sum of three lakhs is being proposed. Crushing poverty and a backward social system appear to be the main cause of their educational backwardness.\textsuperscript{174}

Low economic condition of the tribals does not admit even a smallest expenditure on education. Formal education in tribal areas had started late. Population in sparse of communications are scanty and difficult because of natural barriers like river, hills, forest etc. The number of educational institutions is quite inadequate. Teachers in tribal areas come mostly from non-tribal areas. Conditions of life and work are difficult for them. Very large number of tribal population still has not been attracted towards education.\textsuperscript{175}

Gupta (1965)\textsuperscript{176} surveyed Adivasi students in Ranchi district. He concluded that the over all situation posed by the Adivasi students was far from satisfactory. Their problems of adjustment to different spheres of life social, financial, personal and academic dependency on various factors such as social class, accommodation, personality traits, distance from the native place, financial incentives and level of education.

Chawdhary (1985)\textsuperscript{177} focused on the education and social change among the scheduled tribes of North Bengal. Some of his findings are that the indigenous scheduled tribes, were generally more advanced compared to migrant scheduled tribes, plantation workers and village settlers in the field
of literacy and gainful occupation. Migrant scheduled tribes at the village were alarmingly backward in education in relation to migrant scheduled tribes in the tea estate and indigenous scheduled tribes in the village.

Chand (1985) compared various Naga tribal students in relation to their self-perception, socio-economic status and allied aspects. It was found that the boys belonging to Angani and Sema tribes were significantly different from the girls of same tribe in self perception. The girls belonging to three different tribes were found similar on self-perception. The vocational choice of girls belonging to these three tribes were not found to differ significantly from one another. Likewise the educational aspirations of the boys were found to be similar.

**HOUSING:**

House sense coupled with utility and artistic value is another aspect of housing among the tribe people. Many of the tribes have developed a real pride in having good houses. On the other hand, there are a number of small tribes who completely lack any house sense. More than half a century ago, Lewis Henry Morgan attempted a pioneer study in the relation between house form and social living.

Housing is one sector of tribal life which is not very gloomy but not all tribals are so fortunate. Particularly in the plains, some are landless and houseless and their plight is really miserable. A notable example of the situation is Yenadi tribe of Andhra Pradesh who live on the sufferance of climate, police and local landlords. It is tribe like the Yenadi who need special attention in any scheme of housing because they make use of the vacant land on both sides of the Public Works Department roads and canals for housing purpose until they are driven away again.

Generally the tribal hut has a single room, the front of which is usually used for sitting and sleeping purpose, while the back is used as kitchen. There is usually a side room or a shed for accommodation of the cattle, which is shown great consideration in rural life. A single room house has
generally two doors, one in the front and the other at the back, but they provide all the ventilation that is required. The height of the house is also generally low, particularly with the tribes like the Dupla living on subsistence economy. The richer tribes, like the Dhodia, Gamit and Dhanka have however better houses.455.

The Kamar have few villages exclusively of their own. In general the tribe has one to ten households each. About 58% villages in Bindra\nNawagarh tahsil and 78% villages in Dhamtari tahsil are those where the Kamar households are one-tenth in number i.e. about 980 in population. Some of which are even uniclan villages.

As a rule, the Kamars do not live in regular villages mixed-up with the other tribes and castes. They always build their separate Kamar settlement. This Kamar settlement is generally at a distance from the normal village and is separated on the hill tops, as in Orh, Nagari, Kukrar or in the heart of the forest. Even where the Kamar settlement is near the roads as in Pantora, they build their houses deep from the road near the forest. In the comparatively wilder Kamar villages and settlements the nature of scattered house do not present the picture of corporate village. For example; in Kulharight, the houses are scattered in the jungle in clusters of two or three houses separted from one another by distance of about 100-200 meters. On the other hand, Kamar settlements like Garbhatora and Chikhali, the picture is that of a corporate village. But such villages are few in number.

Kamar's housing pattern is very simple. They use locally available material for construction of their houses. Out of the total surveyed houses of Kamar families about 93.68% families possess kutcha house and only 6.32% families have pucca houses.38

Thatching material is a layer of "Bodla" leaves covered with "Dall" and "Sukela" grass. The walls are made from either small branches of trees, neatly tied with bark or roughly interwoven split bamboos. These are tied to the piles, and then plasterd with mud. When the mud dries-up, it is again
plastered with cow dung. The doors are generally made of bamboo wicker (Pliant twig) work. Floors are plastered with cow dung paste, some times even designs can be seen on this plaster. Fish-trap; baskets and other bamboo artifacts are found on the walls of houses. 34

The housing position of Kamar population and their survey data has been shown in table No.4. 98.95% of the Kamar families had "Kutcha" houses. Walls are erected by mud and soil while the roof is covered with straw and reeds. Houses have temporary doors. There was no provision of windows and ventilators. Only 1.05% were residing in 'Pucca' houses (concreted).

There wasn't any system of rented house. All of them had their own house, though they are all very congested and have quite insufficient accommodation. In the report of the "Health Survey and Development Committee", an average room size suggested for a single person is 10ft. x 12ft x 10ft with a verandah of 8 ft x 8ft x 10ft. Similarly for married couple two rooms (10ftx12ftx12ft) and verandah (8ftx8ftx10ft), kitchen, bathroom and latrine have been suggested. The subjects in the present study were far below from the required standards.

227 house holds (96.85%) had no window at all, 8(2.8%) had only single window in the room, while only one house (0.35%) had two windows in the room. Mostly, there was no ventilation arrangement in the houses. Only 8 houses (2.8%) had ventilators and 14 households (4.9%) were having electric facility that too provided by the State Government. Remaining (95.1%) 272 were dependent upon kerosine lamp i.e. called "Chimani" in their local language. Most of the Kamars who are under poverty line have the facility of "Indira Awas" provided by the State Government. In these houses the accommodation available is two rooms and one verandah. Due to lack of window and ventilation and use of firewood and the burning of lamps (they called it "Chimani") they get polluted air with a lot of carbon monoxide smokes. Some of the houses are provided with single point connection as free electricity facility. For want of fresh air about 30.9% population was
found suffering from respiratory problems. All the houses were kutcha type. The average number of rooms per houses is 1.9%. The houses have no drainage facility and no toilet facility. Only 13% houses are electrified.

According to Kamar project, Housing pattern of the surveyed Kamar villages are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particulars</th>
<th>No. of Families</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indira Awas</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>2.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kutir Housing Scheme</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>1.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing Provided by Agency</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Houses</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>25.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Kutcha House</td>
<td>6243</td>
<td>64.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pucca Houses</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>4.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above figure does not show the real housing problem of Kamars. The sample survey conducted by the scheduled tribe and scheduled caste Development Authority Raipur, in 1992 revealed that out of 297 Kamar families surveyed, 193 have built their houses on encroached land while 104 families have their houses on their own land. Many Kamars are unaware about the ownership of the land. They do not even know that it is a forest land. Generally, a Kamar family likes two rooms and open verandah and attached kitchen garden. Close to their living rooms they keep their cattle and birds in separate rooms.

It is also observed that Kamars do not like "Indira Awas" or "Kutir Awas" because these houses do not fulfill the requirements of the Kamar. They need more space for kitchen garden, cattle shed and working place. Most of the Kamars are engaged in domestic work. They prepare may articles like Chattai, Basket, Supa, Phool-Bahari etc. They need a large space to keep their bamboos and to prepare these articles properly.

There are only 20 villages which are absolutely inhabited by Kamar. The remaining villages have scattered households in each settlement. Normally a cluster settlement of Kamar household consists of 45-50 members.
Kamars do not like to live in a compact village, but they always try to settle away in separate hamlets. Such settlements are mostly adjacent to forests. Therefore, it is proposed that the Kamars should be given houses like Indira Awas, Kutir, etc. and should be supplied with house constructing materials in kind and financial assistance in cash to construct houses.

During the study of housing facility of Kamar tribes it was brought into knowledge that a sufficient amount has been expanded for their habitat but they are less benefitted as compared to the expenditure incurred by the Government Agency.

A good number of low cost houses have been built under "Indira Awas Scheme" but most of them are lying vacant. It was also told that there is a tradition in Kamar tribe that when any family member of Kamar tribe dies in any particular place/house, they arrange another place/house, due to their traditional superstitious belief.

This belief is also one of the reasons of their being homeless. Inspite of several plannings and schemes of the Government they become again and again houseless and "Indira Awas" houses remain unused.

In the Integrated Rural Development Programme (ITDP) meeting the collector (Shri D. P. Tiwari) Raipur, has informed that Rs. 18.00 lakhs has been sanctioned under "Jawahar Rojgar Yojna" to construct 50 to 95 "Indira Awas" houses in Kamar village through Gram panchayats.

Olaon houses are bigger in size as compared to other tribal groups of Madhya Pradesh. Generally houses have more than one room with a separate kitchen facility. Houses are invariably surrounded by a "Badi" (a piece of small cultivated land) in which they grow vegetables for their household consumption. Besides, their houses there are stables for the cattle wealth.

The aboriginal dwelling is generally always damp, insufficiently ventilated, overcrowded and devoid of most rudimentary sanitary facilities. All of these factors strongly favour the spread of respiratory and digestive
In fact, aboriginal dwellings in trees are found in the continuous belt, form south India (especially amongst the Kanikkar and Mandavar in the extreme south) and sometimes among the Irulas of the eastern Nilgiri hills, to Assam (among Garo) and various parts of Indochina as far as the Miao country on the Chinese frontier. 183

The houses are usually mere huts made of forest saplings and branches and covered with leaf thatching. The floor is sometimes raised by dumping earth and beating it down into a platform. 184

The Bhil houses are at present undergoing a great change. Instead of thatched roofs some of them have tiles which are made locally. Some of the Bhils in some areas have brick wall for their houses.

In tribal India the type of houses or huts is linked to the socio-economic level of the tribes which is also true for rural India. The agriculturist tribe like the Santhal, Munda, Oraon, Ho, Bhil, Gond etc. who live in permanent villages have more complex houses, sometimes having two or even more hutments. The walls are of mud or of bricks, decorated and the inclined roof thatched or tiled. In the richer section of the tribes the houses are of Pucca structure. Wooden wall houses are popular in the Himalayan region and are in some cases double storeyed. The hill cultivators like Malers have the four walls made of bamboo sometimes plastered with mud and cowdung.

The forest hunting tribes like the Hill Kharia, Chenchu etc. have their huts made of timber and thatched with leaves, straw or grass. The Birhor traditional hut is made of wood and leaves, and is of conical shape. Further, it is observed that the huts are from complex to simple type according to their economy. 185

A Bondo house is a single unit and not connected to its neighbours. All the houses are alike and no distinction is made based on the status the individual may have in the community. A house consists of a single room which may be
divided by a partition wall.

In the tea estate with better facilities most of the workers live in pucca houses. The pucca houses are mostly two roomed; a few houses, however have three rooms and each room has two windows. Kamalpur tea estate too is characterized by predominance of kutcha house having no windows.

The cleanliness of the houses, irrespective of their types is at a very low level. Ventilation specially of the kutcha houses is inadequate.

Most to the houses provided by the government for needy tribals suffer from unimaginative and misfit designs. What generally happens is that some architect in the state capital who has never seen a good tribal house or visited a tribe, draws up a type-plan which is followed automatically throughout the State. Any scheme of housing of stereotyped lines without taking into consideration the tribal customs, practices and superstitions, is bound to meet with disapproval by the prospective inhabitants of the houses. Consultation with the tribals to ascertain their wishes regarding the designs of house should be made a condition precedent to the approval of any tribal housing scheme. This is not to suggest that houses should not be built for them but that the improvements should be in accordance with their ideas and superstitions regarding lay-out and design. It may also be necessary that the selection of sites and construction of houses are preceded by the due observance of tribal rites and rituals.

**KITCHEN FACILITY:**

The Kamars are very poor and do not have much household possession worth the name. They have only the barest equipment necessary for their primitive mode of life. A few utensils for cooking and eating are their only possession.

Among Kamars a large number of house-holds have no separate kitchen. 247 (66.36%) had the cooking arrangements in living room itself. Only 39 (13.64%) households had a separate kitchen room. "Chullahas" were used
for cooking and mostly wood was used as a major fuel. Aluminium utensils were commonly used for cooking and serving food. Brass, bronze, steel, wooden and clay utensils were rarely found in use.

In past they were mostly using earthen pots for storage of drinking water, and earthen pots "handi" for cooking of rice and pulses etc. in the same way kalunji is used for cooking vegetables. Now a days aluminium pots are also popular among them.

Other important household items like "Moosar"-wooden thresher, bamboo matterresses for sitting and sleeping over, bows and arrows. "Moorainga" for digging tubers, winnowers, grinding mill, "lota", "mahul" leaf cups and plates, earthen hearths, broom sticks are also their essential commodities.

The storage tank for food items were made with ropes prepared from tree bark. Food storage tank prepared by erecting wall of mud and soil called "Kothies" were also found in few houses. As per ICMR studies, some of them use close earthen hearth smokeless chullha with wood as fuel.

V.K. Jajoria concludes in his study that they are quite carefree and under developed. As the Kamars generally do not worry much about the future and, as such, possessions in their house hold are meagre. The large size grain bins made of paddy straw, small bins made of "mahul" leaf, bamboo baskets of all types and sizes, special baskets. Jhapi" for keeping valuable items and clothes, with latch for lock are usually found in their houses.

Most of the houses, except "Indira Awas" no separate kitchen room was provided. Due to polluted water, lack of proper drainage in the kitchen, they are bound to live in inhygienic conditions. Cleanliness was also not observed by the Kamars. The household possession in almost all the Kamar are similar. Size variations can be seen according to economic status. These facilities are directly linked with their economic status, though their awareness and education are also important factor.
The Kamar's economic life is very simple and remains basically subsistence oriented. The concept of surplus production has not yet been accepted by the Kamar society. Hoarding, saving and affluence have little meaning for them. The whole effort of their life is aimed at physical survival and fight against vagries of nature and starvation in his economic pursuits the Kamar is concerned primarily and almost wholly with the present.

All facilities specially the kitchen facility is directly related with their economic pursuits, their food habits and cooking practices. Their trends, tendencies and traditions are also important factors which cannot be ignored. Overall their kitchen facilities are quite inhygienic, insufficient and unsatisfactory.

**FOOD STORAGE PRACTICES OF TRIBALS:**

The habit of storing excess food is more evident in the tribes living in the dense forests where more surplus can be collected. However, since their food pattern is related to cycle of seasons, food storage practices among the tribals appear to be not popular.


Some of the storage practices of tribes outside India are storage of meat, fish and turtle by smoking or sundrying or cooking till half done in salted water and sundrying; storing cooked caryota palm pith by wrapping in leaf; storing of wild leaves, bark, resins, fruits of some plants, roots and yoghurt by sundrying; soaking dates in small amounts of water and storing in the bags made of sheep or goat skin (Grivetti, 1979, Robson et al. 1976, Newman, 1975, Al-Ani, 1980, Horner et al. 1981, Weiwo and Draper-1975).
WATER SUPPLY:

Water supply arrangement was found to be quite insufficient in these 'Basties'. Availability and utilisation of water is very critical for the health of the community. 12 households (14.68%) used well-waters, 162 (58.4%) hand pump and the remaining 77 families (26.92%) were using tank/river water. There was no facility of tap water. The water arrangement was quite inadequate and unhygienic also.

Generally during summer the river, nala and lakes get dry. They face very critical problem even for drinking water. The people are also suffering from acute shortage of water for daily routine and it causes the skin disease to them.

They do not use any process to get clean water and as a result many water borne infections like jaundice, cirrhosis, dysentery, pain in stomach are found commonly among the Kamars.

Indian Council of Medical Research, Jabalpur, found it in survey that the source of drinking water is uncovered well (71.4%) followed by hand-pump (14.3%) and ponds (14.3%). Usually house-wife fetches water and for this she had to cover less than a kilometer, usually. Mostly the Kamar villages are situated on river beds.

According to Shri Pankaj Agrawal's research paper the area is suffering from serious shortage of both drinking water and water for "Nistar". Since the water from existing bores (fitted with hand pumps) contains large amount of iron, therefore, people are using it just for cleaning their utensils and other minor uses. The food turns black if cooked in this water. There have been instances of cirrhosis (in which liver gets hardened) in Bastar but fortunately, one such case has come to notice in this area, so people use 'Jhirias' (shallow well near nalla) for drinking water and water required cooking of late. Attempts have been made to dig new bores. Since area is unapproachable, fast drilling machines cannot reach and calix machines...
consume lot of time. Presently one calix machine is working here. The results are still awaited.

The people are suffering from acute shortage of water for Nistar. The Collector has recently sanctioned a stop-dam in Aamamora village. It will be ready in winter and shall be used next year onwards. The Rauts of Orh are also demanding a stop-dam but the D.F.O. (East Raipur Division) feels that it will not benefit the tribals and the water will be used by the forest department. The forest department is not showing any interest in it. After visiting the site, they also realised the hidden intentions of Rauts. They now feel that a small stop-dam should be constructed so as to collect enough of water for Nistar. A minor division structure costing Rs. 10,000/- (Ten thousand) shall greatly relieve people of Amlore. The safe hygienic drinking water is also required in educational institutions, hostels, ashram in the Kamar agency area, so that the children do not suffer from any water borne disease. (Kamar Development Agency).

Out of 249 surveyed Kamar villages, 188 (75.5 percent) villages have the source of hygienic drinking water facility.

Existing drinking water sources available in Kamar village are as under -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Drinking Water</th>
<th>Number of Villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tube-wells</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand-Pumps</td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wells</td>
<td>1284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tank</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stream/River</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 114 hamlets of 65 villages safe drinking water facilities are not available. Hence, installation of 65 hand-pumps for providing safe drinking water facility is being proposed for VII Five year plan.

Source of drinking water available for different Kamar village by distance in km. are :-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance (km)</th>
<th>Number of Villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-above</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The village of four blocks of Kamar Agency are where drinking water facility is required in the educational institution.

To solve the problem of drinking water during last few years the Kamar Development Agency has provided the facility of 83 tube wells and 214 handpumps in this area.

Generally the Kamar tribes (specially backward classes) prefer to live in terrain hilly areas in groups i.e. in tolas. In these far off places, due to lack of drinking water facilities they utilise the available source of water, which are full of impurities.

Badly polluted water is the main cause of spreading diseases in this region. For want of proper medical facilities these diseases become more dangerous. Hence, the Kamar Development Agency has planned to provide drinking water facility. In each tola/village at least one hand-pump or tube well is installed. As per Kamar Development Agency report till date 437 hand-pumps and 1284 drinking water wells have been provided in this area. There is also a provision of 27.60 and 22.00 lakhs respectively for the year 96-97 to provide 92 tube-wells and 74 hand-pumps in these blocks.

In the tea estates with better medical facilities both kutchha and pucca wells and taps are sources of drinking water. Water from these sources are also used for other purposes such as bathing, clothes and utensil washing etc. While one out of the three residential areas has tap facilities, the remaining three have facilities of pucca and kutchha wells only. Where there is tap facility there is optimum use of the taps Those who are without the facility remain contented with the wells which are not regularly disinfected. Well water is cleaned annually and thus workers are prone to water borne diseases. Purification of water is not done by any of the families. In fact, they do not have any idea of purifying water for drinking.135

(Kotma block tribal) out of the 85 families surveyed 48 bring their drinking water from wells, 21 from "Jhiriyas", 14 from tanks and 2 from
rivers. Only 64.71% of the drinking water sources provide water for drinking and other purposes throughout the year.\

**SEWAGE FACILITY:**

Proper drainage arrangements are not even available in city and town areas, then to expect sewage facility in rural areas is quite hypothetical. In villages no public drain arrangements are possible. Only a few persons who can have cemented house can afford drainage and sewage facility. Though the water supply and waste disposal are now accepted as fundamental to health, but still in our villages these arrangements have not been done.

In our survey in different Kamar villages, only three cemented houses were found, but sewage facility was not seen anywhere. These facilities are directly proportional to their prospectives and awakening and literacy also.

Generally Kamaras go to outer areas near ponds or to the open fields. Such unhygienic sewage facilities may lead to many chronic and long term illnesses.

In Kamar basties drainage system of proper type is absent. Sewage water from the house is drained out up to the outer periphery of the courtyard where it gets accumulated. Rain water as well as water from the wells, flow to main drain which surround cluster of houses but the drain remains usually choked resulting in water accumulation. The accumulated water forms a fertile ground for mosquito germ breeding and spread of diseases.

**OCCUPATION:**

Most of the tribal economy is built around agriculture, either shifting or settled agricultural and allied labour, forest resources, fishing and hunting. According to the census from Bureau of economics and statistics (1981-82), 43.2% of the scheduled tribes in India are cultivators and 43.7% are agricultural labourers. Studies conducted on various tribes in and outside India, revealed that agriculture forms the main subsistence. A majority of
the tribals attach great importance to their land and engage subsistence farming despite the fact that the lands are not very fertile (Onuoha, 1982). Agricultural labour and the related work in various plantations and forest departments form the basis of economy of the greater number of tribes. Whenever possible, the tribal people supplement their income by raising poultry, weaving and gathering various forest products. (Ray and Rao, 1962. Sengupta).

Daryll Forde (1950) does not agree with the idea of economic stages because he does not believe that people live at economic stages and finds no single exclusive economy but combination of economies, the growth of cultures. Gurdon Child holds more or less the similar opinion with regard to prehistoric economies. Forde agrees with "Herskovits" (1952) fivefold division of economics (1) Collection (ii) Hunting (iii) Fishing (iv) Cultivation (v) Stock raising.

These are some of the important classifications encompassing various facts of economic life as lived in different corners of the world. But, it does not seem possible to study the economic organisation of Indian tribes on the basis or single classification given above. Every tribe lives by a variety of economic activities. A certain type of activity may be playing a dominant role in the economic organization but some others are also there to supplement. However, the tribes of India may be divided into following broad categories on the basis of dominant economic activities in the respective economies:

1) Food gatherers and hunters.
2) Shifting cultivators
3) Fishing
4) Basket making
5) Trade and Barter
6) Occasional labours for wages.
### The Annual Economic Cycle of the Kamars

The economic cycle of the Kamars classifies the statistics regarding their economic life. In spite of a higher participation rate, the Kamar economy is at a precarious stage. Basket making and collection of food in the form of roots and tubers, leaves and tendrils in the prepeteral economic activity: agricultural labour and forest labour is a seasonal economic activity and sustain the Kamar economy for only a part of the year.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Kamars months</th>
<th>Corresponding period</th>
<th>Economic activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chait</td>
<td>March-April</td>
<td>Food gathering from forests, hunting, basket making, forest labour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baisakh</td>
<td>April-May</td>
<td>Hunting, fishing, food gathering, basket making forest labour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jath</td>
<td>May-June</td>
<td>Field levelling and ploughing etc where households have land, collecting dry wood and fuel wood, repairing house, collection of grass, fishing in ponds and pool, hunting and gathering wild roots and fruits, basket making, forest labour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asadh</td>
<td>June-July</td>
<td>Sowing maize, beans, pumpkin etc, in the bari, ploughing the fields incase of cultivating households, collection of roots and vegetables from the forest, basket making, forest labour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sawan</td>
<td>July-August</td>
<td>Collection of roots and vegetables, collection of tuber, edible leaves and bamboo shoots etc from the forests, basket making.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadon</td>
<td>August-Sep.</td>
<td>Agricultural labour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katik</td>
<td>October-Nov.</td>
<td>Basket making, forest labour, agricultural labour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aghan</td>
<td>November-Dec.</td>
<td>Forest labour, collection of food from the forests, basket making.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pus</td>
<td>December-Jan.</td>
<td>Labour in the forests, food gathering from forest, basket making.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magh</td>
<td>January-Feb.</td>
<td>Labour in the forests, hunting, fishing, basket making and food gathering from forests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kagh</td>
<td>Feburauy-March</td>
<td>Labour in the forest, hunting, fishing, and basket making.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
S. C. Dubey: In the olden days when the Kamars had their freedom of the forest, they got their livelihood partly from their primitive method of agriculture and partly from hunting, fishing and food collection from the forest.

The stoppage of shifting cultivation and the numerous restriction on hunting, fishing and food collection, imposed upon them by administrative agencies forced the Kamars to seek new outlets for earning their livelihood. They can broadly be classified as follows:

1) Primitive agriculture (Dahi and Beora)
2) Bamboo work
3) Collection of "Tendu" leaves
4) Collection of "Mahul" leaves
5) Collection of tubers, hunting and fishing (for self consumption)
6) Bari (Kitchen garden) cultivation of maize and vegetables.
7) Collection of ripe mangoes from the local forest (sustains them for about 2 months)

SHIFTING CULTIVATORS:

A conservative estimate suggests that more than 90% of the total population in India practice one type of agriculture or the other. Most of the Indian tribes who depend upon agriculture follow this pursuit in two ways viz. primitive and traditional mode of slash and burn known as shifting cultivation and settled or plough cultivation with the help of various types of agricultural tools and implements.

Shifting cultivation is an age old institution among the Indian tribes. This is the principal means of cultivation of a plot of land for a temporary period and then leave it. It consists of clearing the forest slopes, burning the fallen trees and bushes and broadcasting the seed in the ash covered soil. The rest is left to nature. The sowing on the plot may be done for one or more
season but not beyond this. After that, fertility of the soil is exhausted and then other plot of land is cleaned and the agricultural operation are transferred to it.

In India this mode of cultivation existed in remote hill areas of North-Eastern region; Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and to a lesser extent in several other parts of the country. Although it has been declared unlawful in most of the areas, it still exists on a lesser scale. Shifting cultivation is known by different regional names in India. It is called "Jhoom" among the tribes of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh: Bawar or Dahya in Madhay Pradesh, Podu in Andhra Pradesh and Koman or Bringal in North Orissa. The major tribes practising it are Lohta, Anjanai Naga, Khasi and Kuki of North-Eastern region. Asura of Bihar, Saora and Juany of Orissa, Baiga and Gond of Madhya Pradesh and Korwa of Uttar Pradesh.

An interesting aspect of shifting cultivators is that they themselves inhabit permanent villages in a more or less settled way but keep on changing the plot of land for the purpose of procuring food grains.

Since the mode of cultivation is highly uneconomic due to extremely low yield, most of the shifting cultivators spend their days in poverty and misery. It has been pointed-out that if shifting cultivation is not stopped it will bring down the tribes practising it to an underdeveloped and low socio-economic level. However, it must be recognised that a change over from shifting to permanent plough cultivation cannot take place suddenly as the economic life of a people is woven inextricably with all the other aspect of their life.

**CULTIVATION:**

Prior to 1951 the area was under the zamindari administration, the Kamar used to practise slash and burn cultivation which was viz. Dahi, Beora and Gihad. The main difference between the "Dahi" and "Beora" cultivation is that in the former the trees and branches cut elsewhere are transported to
a level field and burnt there; in the latter type i.e. "Beora" cultivation the
filling is done at the same place which is going to be cultivated. "Gihad"
cultivation is the shifting cultivation in the bamboo-preponderant forest and
as such this was restricted only to some village of Manipur area.

"Dahi" is the favourite agricultural practice of Kamars. Most suitable
land is selected; levelled which generally lies between slopes and have a regular
supply of water during the paddy season. On the "Dahi" fields mainly paddy
is sown, but, in some areas "madia" and "kodon" is also grown.

The sowing operations commence in the month of "Phagun" (Feb-
March). In the month of Chait (April-May) the embankment of "Dahi" field
is repaired so that the field can retain rain water. In the month of "Baisakh"
(May-June), the Dahi is burnt to ashes to act as manure. The sowing of
paddy in the field is done in the month of "Assarh" (June-July) after the
advent of rains. And the crop is harvested near "Dashera" festival in the
month of October.

After the first year sowing of paddy in "Dahi" the field is allowed to
remain follow up the second year. In the third year the first year cycle of
operation is repeated and paddy is again sown, grown and harvested.

"Beora" is another form of slash and burn, primitive cultivation of
Kamars. It is practiced in lands with fairly light soils and suited for paddy
cultivation, where rain water is not retained. Such patches of land with
overgrown shrubs and bushes are selected for "Beora" operations. No
embankment are prepared around "Beora" field. The operations start in the
month of "Poosh Magh" (January) by cutting down the shrubs and bushes grown
in the field.

These are then evenly spread over the field and allowed to dry. "Beora"
is burnt to ashes in the month of "Baisakh" (May-June) and with the advent
of first shower sowing operations are started.

"Beora" fields are prepared mainly for the sowing of minor millets
like "madia", "korsa", pulses like "urad" and oil seeds like mustard and "till". The crop rotation cycle is followed over a period of four to five years in each "Beora" field on the following pattern. 1st year- 'Madia', 2nd year 'Korsa', 3rd year 'Urad' and 4th year 'Tili/Mustard, 5th year 'Madia'. It becomes obvious that each Kamar family needs at least 4-5 "Beora" fields for getting all the varieties of crops, that they need over a year, for their consumption.

The lush green crops of 'Madia' and Korsa can be seen in the month of September. Harvesting is done after 'Diwali' in the month of November.

The pattern of agriculture varies from one tribe to another depending partly upon the opportunity and partly upon the tradition of the people (Burling, 1965). A large part of the tribe activities is hill or shifting cultivation and whenever possible a near by water source is exploited to induce artificial irrigation. This is called "Terrace" cultivation followed mainly in the cultivation of rice. The tribals who live in plain or lower regions of hills practice settled and also wet cultivation depending upon the irrigation source available (Bhowmik, 1971). Among the Indian tribes-Tripura tribes (Rao, 1971), Koyas and Mariya Gonds of Central India (Pingle, 1973), tribes of Nefa, Gonds and muria of Madhya Pradesh, Santhal tribe of Bihar (Sengupta, 1980) are reported to practice both shifting and settled agriculture.

**HUNTING:**

Other sources of Kamar livelihood in the past were hunting and fishing, making baskets and other products from bamboo and occasional labour for wages. Unauthorised hunting in the forests has been stopped and in any case the number of animals in the forests have so much decreased that the Kamars have hardly any animal to eat.

The Kamars have a very well deserved reputation for being an expert hunter. Kamars with their bow and arrow are good marks men. They are expert in hunting of small animals like rabbit, and some times they kill even
a wild bear. Due to restrictions on hunting and non-availability of the game this activity is on the decline. Kamars are very much fond of rabbits. Rabbit traps can be seen almost anywhere in the Kamar country. Hunting of mouse is a fun and a game. As soon as a mouse is spotted in the fields the children of the village start chasing it. Elders also join them. When the prey is caught it is roasted and distributed to the children on leaf plates. 

In hunting or trapping operations the main prey are small games like, hare, deer, birds etc. The Lodhas of West Bengal catch snakes (Bhaumik 1963 : 33). Both individual and collective hunting is practised. Collective hunting is preceded and followed by a series of rituals and customs: (Sinha, 1958 : 90). The night before the day fixed for the hunt, the implements are gathered. In the Birhors (Sinha 1958) in a monkey hunt a number of big nets are placed end to end, to form a huge semicircle.

FOOD GATHERING:

In most parts of Kamar country, the produce from primitive agriculture ("Dahi" & "Beora") is hardly enough to sustain them, even for four months in the year. They, therefore seek other supplementary sources of food collection. Forest is a very important source for their sustenance. Wild fruits, plants, roots and tubers are important part of the diet of the Kamars. The supplies from the forest vary from season to season. Most of the food stuffs they collect from the forest in consumed immediately. Only a little quantity of it is stored for use in times of need. The most important fruit which seasonally break the monotony of their diet are 'Tendu' and 'Char'. The mahua flowers provide another very substantial item of their diet. "Chirongi" in taken out of the hard kernel of Char. The other fruits which supplement their diet are mangoes, various figs, tamarind indica and Engenia Janbalona. The fresh mahua flowers are boiled and eaten. Even dried mahua flowers are boiled and eaten. Dried mahua flowers are used for distilling liquor. Mahua has a long way in solving the food Problem of Kamars. The Kamar relish various kinds of mashrooms. fresh leaves of pipal, buhar and
tamarind. These food stuffs are boiled and cooked as vegetables. Kheda, chenoh, lalbhaji vegetables are all eagerly eaten by them. Similarly edible roots and tubers also occupy an important place in their diet. The "Keu kanda" is brought from the jungle, roasted and eaten. The keu kanda is cooked in boiling water and then eaten. Similarly "Peeth kand" is also consumed after boiling in water. Karu kanda being very bitter is left boiling in an earthen pot for the whole night and then consumed in the morning. The Baichandi tubers are used for preparing chips which are dehydrated and sold in the market. "Tikhur" is also dehydrated. Since 'Tikhur' & Baichandi fetch a good price in the market, the Kamars now do not generally consume them as food, instead they sell them in the market.

Kamar families consisting of husband, wife and children, go to the forest for digging out tubers in the afternoon. Male members carry the digging stick and the women carry the basket. Children follow them. They return with baskets full of tubers before sunset. Digging of tubers from the forests is also stopped during summer season because the earth becomes dry and hard.

FOOD GATHERERS AND HUNTERERS:

This is a fast vanishing category of tribes which persists in deep forest and mountain ranges. Due to fast expanding means of communication and consequentliy increasing culture contacts with the people possessing advanced technology, they are turning into cultivators. However, there are some tribes who still depend upon collection and hunting, unaware of the technique of cultivation.

This category includes those who earn their livelihood through collection of edible roots, fruits and honey and hunt small animals for food. They also go for fishing, if the avenues are there. Some such tribes also collect wax, gum, tusks etc; and sell them through barter system. In this way, they are able to fulfill their essential needs even in the absence of cultivation.
of food grains.

The dependence of gathering and hunting people in nature is so pronounced that they appear to be a part of nature exhibiting excellent mode of cultural adaptability. Most of such tribes are found in southern India, the Kadai, the Chenchu, the Birhor and the Khonta of Bihar. Kamar, Baiga and Abhujmaria of Madhya Pradesh, Katakari of Maharashtra and Yenadi of Andhra Pradesh may also be included in this category. Yet the dominant mode of economic organization still remains food gathering and hunting.

Most of the characteristics of primitive economic organization are present in the economics of food gathering and hunting tribes of India. Mostly, they live by their physical prowess and competence amidst the awful lack of technological alternatives which is quite natural at this stage of technological development. The very notion of "Surplus" is absent in these economies because neither they are in a position to generate surplus nor they are equipped to preserve the surplus commodities of everyday life. Furthermore, their nomadic existence also prohibits the development of techniques of preservation and conservation among them. Since their entire physical existence is spent in procuring foods there is hardly any scope for rapid development in any other sphere of life. Industrialization and development of commercial centres, communication system and provision of opportunities for crop and animal husbandry are reported to have brought some changes in their occupation, food habits and traditional cooking practices (Robson and Wadsworth 1977, Kuhnlein and Calloway, 1977, Colloway and Gibbs, 1976, Horner et al, 1981, Joseph, 1981, Fluret, 1979, Swaninathan et al, 1971, Newman, 1975).

**BASKET MAKING:**

Kamars carry-out basket making almost throughout the year. Bamboo work and labour for wages is the only sustaining factor of the Kamar economy at present. They work as agricultural labourers which at best is only a seasonal
operation and brings some sustenance to them during the four months of Kharif crop. The peak rainy season and April/May are the dull periods. With rains in September they get busy in collection and sale of 'Mahul' leaves and also thrive on maize grown in their kitchen gardens.

The Bamboo work is almost stopped for two reasons. First the area under bamboo has shrunk and at present bamboo is available only in some parts of Mainpur block and in the eastern part of Bindranawagarh tahsil below the plateau Gauragarh.

Secondly, the Kamars appear to be quite fond of collection of "Tendu" leaves even for a change, so much so that during this season the Kamar weekly markets remain deserted and they remain busy in leaf collection. Sometimes it becomes difficult to get Kamar labour for digging of tanks and other works, during this season.

The Kamars living near Gariaband have to go to eastern part of tahsil to get their bamboo. This entails at least two days of stiff walking to reach the area. One day in cutting the requisite quantity of bamboo and again 2-3 days in returning. Thus, almost one full week is spent in collecting bamboo, a week to ten days is required in cutting bamboo and preparing baskets or mats. This 15 days labour is then brought to market.

It has to be remembered that there is no profit in this occupation, but they sell things at throw away prices. Even the most enterprising Kamar household is not able to get more than 400/- per month out of this, even if they are wholly engaged in the bamboo work.

The situation is worse confounded by two factors. First, The forest department charges some amount from the Kamars, who bring bamboo products to sell in the market. Second, there are middle men who exploit the helplessness of the Kamars. They do it by advancing some amount to the Kamars and then buy the whole of their products at throw away prices. It is not always that the bamboo baskets and bamboo mats are sold for cash.
They are occasionally exchanged for small quantities of sal, paddy, vegetables and cheap ornaments.

Bamboo work plays a vital role in Kamar economy. This work is carried out through major part of the year. The work contributes substantially to income of a major section of Kamars. The Kamars have a reputation for their skill in mat making and basket making. Besides, baskets, winnowers and mats of different sizes and designs are also made. They also specialise in making beautiful bamboo 'Jhapi' which are very useful as boxes. Kamars are equally famous for their 'Tatta' bamboo (screens) and other wicker works, various types of fish traps such as "Choriya" "Dandair" and other are remarkable for the quality of their workmanship and durability. The Kamars also make very good "khumari" and "mori"- rain hats with split bamboo and dried "tendu" or 'palas' leaves. These hats are commonly used in Kamar Country during rainy season. Men, women and children, old and young alike, participate in bamboo work.

**FISHING:**

Fishing and hunting are equally important source of Kamar livelihood. Fishing is so very popular among the Kamars that in each Kamar house fishing traps of various types of size depending on the water area of operation and the size of fish proposed to be the trapped, can be seen. Men, women and children all take interest in fishing and have a fairly detailed knowledge about the various species. The common type of fishes found in Kamar area are 'Baiju', 'Bami', 'Danda', 'Motu' 'Thru', 'Chaingta', 'Pot konda' and 'Doomra'.

A common method of fishing is to dam up a stream with sand, throw the water out of the little pool and catch the fish. This method is applied to get small fish (chingari).

Kamars sometimes organise communal fishing. On such occasions almost the entire local group participates in it. The communal fishing is organised in late winters and early summers when the water is shallow, Kamar
children are very much fond of crabs also.

"Bari" (Kitchen Garden) is one important institution of Kamar economy. Within the bamboo fence of the 'Bari' Kamars grow varieties of vegetables especially during rainy season. The vegetables generally grown in the 'Bari' include pumpkin, gourd, chillies, beans of different types and 'chaichada.' But the most important crop taken into Bari is maize, which sustains them during the month of 'Kunwar' (September-October). Fresh maize corn is consumed after roasting in fire. Maize seeds are used in the preparation of gruel. The women folk take-out the seeds in large quantities, and with the help of "Moosar" (Thresher) these are crushed. The pounded corn is then boiled in water and the maize gruel is ready for consumption.

During September and upto middle of November collection and sale of "Mahul" leaves occupies the members of Kamar families. Collection of leaves is mostly done by women. They go to the forest in the morning collect leaves and then return back in the room. During the month of "Chait" (April-May) the Kamar families are mainly engaged in collection of "Tendu" leaves used in rolling of 'Bidi'.

As Dubey noted in his work on the Kamars "every year", during the rains a number of Kamars make good income from the river transport of timber and bamboos. "With the construction of roads and introduction of motorised transport, even this source of Kamar economy has crumbled down.

**HONEY COLLECTION:**

Honey although does not form a regular part of their diet, many Kamars are experts in honey collection. Honey readily fetches a good price in the market and it is primarily for this reason that the Kamars nearly sell all the honey which they take-out from the combs in the jungle.

Agriculturist may use their items very freely and frequently in the meals of their children. Generally pregnant women of poor income group are
malnourished and engaged in heavy labour, while women from better income group receive good diet and health care during pregnancy. It is a fact that a healthy and well nourished mother gives birth to a healthy and well nourished infant. Mothers and children from poor and landless families are disadvantaged persons of the society because they don't have sufficient food and health facilities, resulting in poor health and nutritional status.

**FAMILY INCOME:**

The most severe handicap which tribals face in matters of their economic upliftment and progress is not just their ignorance and poverty but it is rather the absence of substantial economic base in terms of productive resources and assets where upon they can build-up and develop their means of livelihood. In view of this the Government had decided to have separate development plans, in the form of tribal sub-plans. Under these sub-plans an all round effort was envisaged and mounted to accelerate the pace of the economic development of the tribals. A special focus of these efforts was strengthening and widening the economic base of the tribal communities.

The Kamars are equally backward in their economy. Family income is an important variable in the evaluation of nutritional behaviour.

It is very difficult to analyse the economy having large non-monetized components, still we shall try to assess the state of economy of this area.

Major source of income is forest and labour. About 98% households have land below 5 acres which is not sufficient for the whole family. Generally wife and husband both go to work. The financial position is the main factor of their social backwardness.

The family income varied from Rs. 100/- to Rs. 3000/- per month. The per capita monthly income also varied from Rs. 50/- to 350/- It is evident from table no-4 that most of the subjects had their per capita monthly income between Rs. 80/- to Rs. 200/-.

In the low income groups, none of the families paid special attention
to the diets of children. They were given the same cereal dominated diet which was consumed by the adults. Indian Council of Medical Research, Jabalpur observed that the majority (90%) of the Kamar households are economically below poverty line. Unlike the other primitive tribes, they are availing the treatment, facilities available to them, but their poverty is the main hindrance in their way.

The annual income and expenditure per Kamar household was estimated to be 4788/- and Rs. 5171/- respectively.

According to ICMR the per head expenditure and its break-up was as under :-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Expenditure (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>68.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>11.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>7.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol &amp; Others</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>92.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Food is the most important item in expenditure of the Kamars. Liquor is another item of expenditure with them. Annually they have also their earnings for clothes and other requirements.

**ACCORDING TO K.C. DUBEY** : Food quest is the central theme in the life of the Kamars. They have not yet been able to rise much above the starvation level. Subsisting partly or the produce of the forest, the Kamars have never faced actual famine condition although they have also not know the foretime of plenty.

Most of the food that they collect is consumed immediately. Except a certain quantity of mahua the Kamars do not store any of the forest produce for a long time. The other wild vegetables, leaves, roots, tubers and fruits that they gather are all consumed, within a short time. Most of the yield from their heora and dahya cultivations is consumed from standing crops. However the yield of their dahya fields does not last for more than four, five or at the most six months.
Whatever meat they get occasionl is consumed almost immediately. Some varieties of small fish are preserved and stored, the others are consumed. Food is the most important item in expenditure of the Kamars. Annually they have also to spend a considerable amount of their earnings on clothes. Further the Kamars have also to pay a part of their earnings to zamindar who entitles them to collect mahua and other forest produces. All Kamrs engaged in basket making have to pay one rupee per family for the bamboo they require for basket making. All non-agriculturists have to pay commutation at the rate of one rupee per house per year. The agriculturists have to pay land revenue at scheduled rates.

Liquor is another item of expenditure for them. They illicitly distill sufficient quantities of it. Even then they are often required to buy it from the kalar contracters and have to pay them. For the males tobacco is a necessity of life. They produce some tobacco in the courtyard of their houses. The rest of their requirements of tobacco is brought for a cash price.

Shri Hanumantha Rao et al (1992) surveyed Maria Gonds of Maharashtra. Their average monthly per capita income was about Rs. 50/. Non agricultural labour made major contribution to the total income (66.2%) followed by agriculture (21.2%). About 6% of the income was from forest produces.

Hanumantha Rao et al (1993) focused on the income among the scheduled tribes of Jenu Kurubas of Karnataka. Some of his findings are as follows:

The average monthly per capita income was about Rs. 74/- The major contribution comes from agricultural/other labour (86.6%). The forest produce and agriculture account for 9.4% and 3.8% respectively of the total income.

The results revealed that income of family has great influence on nutritional status of an infant as most of the infants of low income group were under nourished and most of the high income group infants were well nourished.
Indrabal et al\textsuperscript{203} Chopdar and Napasso\textsuperscript{204} found that poor socio-economic status is the reason of low weight of the newborn. From the analysis it may be pointed-out that for improving the economic conditions of the tribals it is of utmost importance that special efforts need to be organised and mounted to provide gainful employment for sufficient duration of the years. Considering the socio-economic background of the tribal communities, such efforts also need to be innovated and tailored according to their needs and the prevailing condition of the areas. For all those earners like non-agricultural laborers and construction workers who generally go far outside from their own villages, some type of regular and settled wage or income earning activities need to be organised. Moreover, the opportunities for such income earning activities should be created in the vicinity of their villages, so that they do not have to go far in search of work. Similarly, a large number of idle (non-earning) members in tribal households also require suitable training and skill formation, so as to enable them to increasingly take-up different types of secondary and tertiary occupation of their own on permanent basis, in the nature of small scale, home industries, animal husbandry, business etc. to strengthen the economic base and supplement their family income.\textsuperscript{205}

**TANGIBLE WEALTH**

Live stocks, beside household equipments are the other indicators of economic status.

The Kamars have not yet taken to domestication of animals. Even for their agricultural needs they do not have enough cattle. They are beginning to keep bullocks and buffaloes. Not many Kamars have cattle for milk, although cow is now becoming popular. Among the Kamars, goats are now becoming increasingly popular, pigs are also very popular. Each Kamar family invariably owns a number of fowls. In this connection, it is interesting to note that pigs and fowls are eaten only by men and not by the women folk. The other domestic animal popular is dog.\textsuperscript{26}
The result of our study survey are as under:

As far as cattle wealth is concerned 28 families had cow, 23 bullocks, 8 buffaloes, 25 goats, 1 sheep and 4 families had other animals (Pigs). Beside the above poultry was found to be more popular with about 114 families having birds in the form of cock, hen and chicks. The average livestock holding of these families is not good.

According to Mr. V.K. Jajoria "Kamars are also taking to domestication of cattle and poultry birds. They are now beginning to keep bullocks and buffaloes also. Not many Kamars have taken to milching although cow is now becoming popular with them. For their agricultural operation they do not have enough draught animals. Poultry and goats are also being reared by Kamars. Though not for sale these are meant only for home consumption of offerings. In some parts pigs are also reared."

A long term work plan 1996-97 to 2000-2001 has been started for the development and welfare of the Kamar tribes by "Kamar Development Agency" in Gariaband, Mainpur, Chhura and Nagari blocks of Raipur district.

**LAND & LAND HOLDINGS:**

According to latest statistics nearly 88% of the scheduled tribes are engaged in agriculture. The tribals have great emotional attachment with their land.

On an average a person dependant on agriculture in India has 1.6 acres of land as against 7.5 acres in U.S.A. and 4.5 acres in U.S.S.R.

According to the report of the scheduled areas and scheduled tribes commission 1961 Gujarat Vidya Peeth conducted a socio-economic survey of Khed brahma tribal development block in the Sabar kantha district of Gujarat in 1959. It shows that out of 459 families surveyed 12 were land less and each family had on an average of 5.32 acres of land.

The Madhya Pradesh Government conducted an socioeconomic survey in
The ownership of land among the tribes is governed by a set of customary rights. Though it is true that by and large among the tribal, individual ownership is predominant yet the example of communal ownership either managed by the village panchayat or settled with the pradhan or chief also is not rare. In middle India examples can be had from Santhal Pargana and Bastar. In the north eastern Himalayan region it is a common feature. It has also been noted that where the land is community owned there has been less alienation of land. In individual ownership the major hurdle to the development of tribal agriculture is the problem of land alienation. A considerable area of tribal land has gone to money lenders, superior farmers and for industrial projects. In context of socio-economic condition of Chenchu tribes of village Sarlapalli Kalpana Saini and Yogendra Saini found that Chenchu tribes are yet in the primitive stage of agriculture. Only one family had 1 acre of land. Again one family was in the group of 1 - 2.50 acres of land, 10 families had 2.50 to 5.00 acres of land while only one family had land above 5 acres. Out of the families surveyed 2 had no land at all.

In another study of Chenchus in Andhra pradesh Shri C.P. Vithal found that all the Chenchu respondents had land holding of the size of 3 acres or slightly less given by the government for their rehabilitation. However, among the sample respondents, alone one person reported to have been given slightly less than 3 acres of land. The average land holding of Dorlas tribe was found to be around 12 acres per household in two out of eight surveyed villages. It varies from 6 to 10 acres in 4 villages and below 5 acres in 2 villages. Thus the total average comes to 8.70 acres per household. It was also pointed out that land is not fertile and also unirrigated. Even holding of 15 acres can not sustain a family.

A tribal family from Chitapoor has a large agriculture base having an average of 1-1/4 acre where as a family in Mailaram has only 1/2 acre. It
was also observed that 20% of tribal families were landless (Tribal of Chennurtaluk, Adilabad district, A.P.).

In Maria Gond, about 89.5% of the families had dry podu lands and nearly half of them had less than 5 acres. About 7% of the families possessed less than one acre of wet land irrigated through stream water.

Agricultural labour was the main economic activity. Only about 46% of the 226 families surveyed owned less than 5 acres of land. Only small proportion (5.3%) of land was irrigated through stream and wells. The rest depends on rainfall.

In the view of the hilly and unfertile land, almost complete absence of irrigation facilities and under developed techniques of agriculture, any land holding of less then 10 acres is uneconomic and can hardly sustain an average family. The position however, is that about two third (65%) cultivating households in tribal areas have less than 10 acres of land. A little over 55% of these have less than five acres. Further, the size of holding does not give a true picture of land operated for agricultural purposes in tribal areas. In fact the land recorded in the name of a tribal cultivator includes 'Tikra' of waste land also for which he does not have the means of cultivation. The agricultural holdings in tribal area are thus uneconomic. In our research area out of 286 families land holding was found in 98 families (32.27%) while the remaining 188 (65.73%) were land less. It was also found that there was a scheme for development of land for cultivation with a provision of 10.35 lacs for levelling of land construction of bund etc.

In his study on Kamar tribe, Shri Pankaj Agrawal concluded that the average land holding (of each Kamar family) is 3.80 acres out of this the share of encroached land is 2.12 acres. The reason behind such large share of encroached holding is that since 1996-97 no fresh settlement has been done.

According to Shri K.C. Dubey's report out of 2220 Kamar house holds
there are only 444 households who have some land for cultivation. This means that 80% of the families are absolutely landless and do not have even an inch of cultivable land. Of the 20% households who own some cultivable land, 247 households are small farmers (56.6%) and 197 households (43.4%) are marginal farmers. The average size of land owned by a household of the 444 land owning households is 1.5 acres only.

**SCHEME FOR SUPPLY OF BULLOCKS AND BUFFALOES:**

To attract the Kamar tribes towards agriculture, it is essential to provide necessary means and facilities. In this scheme bullocks and buffaloes pair are provided on 50 percent subsidy to Kamar cultivators. The total provision is for Rs. 39,456 lakhs under the scheme.

**SCHEME FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF PIG UNITS:**

Thought it is not too popular among the Kamar tribes as per their traditional occupation, but it is profitable. Hence, to attract them the scheme was started with a target of 40 families with grant of 30 percent subsidy. The amount of Rs. 2.59 lakhs has been provided.

**SCHEME FOR REARING UP MILCH CATTLE:**

Dairy unit well equipped and provided beneficiaries of the plan area residing around block headquarter. There is Scheme for 25 interested families with an amount of Rs. 5.25 lakhs. Some of the Kamar people are granted and given bullocks and agricultural land by the Government through "Kamar Development Agency", but they are unable to maintain property. Even they cannot manage foods for the cattle. In some cases it was also found that they sell their (cattles) for wine and other purposes.

Being non-vegetarian, they sometimes use them for food, sale the goats, pigs and cocks instead of taming, protection and increasing them for business purposes. They are not business minded. They require proper guidance and supervision. Their progress must be closely monitored to avoid mistakes. They
are not free from superstitions and even in this era they pay offerings of cattle to deity and God during their illness instead of availing medical facilities or taking medicines. This is also an improtant factor to effect their financial position and their economy directly.

Shri Pankaj Agrawal has given a record of the livestock holding of Kamar families in his report that about 60% families have bullocks and cows. As the Kamars do not eat beef hence, they rear goats and birds for meat. This year most of their poultry birds died in an epidemic. This happened for the first time in past seventy years. These people do not eat egg but rear poultry birds for meat.

Previously, their livestock used to be quite healthy. They had acquired bullocks and cows through I.R.D.P. (Integrated Rural Development Plan) and after one year sold them at huge profit thereby they could pay back the loan component and bring new bullocks. Now a days due to general population pressure, due to excessive grazing especially by herds (Sheep) from Rajasthan and Orissa they are facing extreme shortage of fodder. Therefore, their animals are now quite weak & give poor yield.

In solution of the above problem some solid step has also been taken. The D.F.O. Shri Deshmukh has intimated that recently the honourable supreme court of India has finally decided the grazing route and fortunately this year onwards the administration shall make all efforts to keep the migratory herds away from this area.

In the study of primitive tribes of Darjelling district of West Bengal, Shri Lal prasad Gupta finds that livestocks, besides household equipments, are the other indicators of economic status. Cattle, pigs, goats, chicks, ducks, buffalo were possessed by only 10.62% of households. Bullock is regarded as an essential animal basically for an agricultural family for ploughing the lands. But, this was also limited only to 48.13% of the household. Similarly, only 70 household (43.75%) possessed cows- the other important economic asset. Pig rearing is supposed to be popular...
among the tribals but this was also limited only to 38.13% of tribal household.

Moreover, whatever animals are possessed by the tribals are in general of sub-standard quality. This implies that most of the tribals do not possess livestocks which could have been additional sources of income to their families, and that who ever possessed them could not acquire much benefit because of those being sub standard in quality. While giving cows, bullocks etc. it is useless to transport a Hariyana cow (high breed cow) who is accustomed to a particular type of diet and care, to these primitive tribals.

There is scheme for training of animal husbandry specially for the Mana Gond of Maharasra. The Madia youths are trained in animal husbandry and dairy work for a month with Rs. 300/- stipend per trainee.

According to S.G. Deogaonkar report regarding scheme implementation, animal farms at Bhamarayad are nicely maintained.

As per Saran A.B. report under the family oriented programmes of "Integrated Rural Development Project supply of milk-cattle, goat, sheep, pig and poultry was launched."

For the success of these programmes infrastructural facilities like animal health, breeding facility, marketing support and supply of fodder etc. have been developed.

In Bhil and Gond tribes of Jhabua and Bastar it is found that possession of livestock is a great economic asset amongst Bhils. Milk yields are reported to be very poor and it is used only for the calves. Traditional poultry was also popular.

Traditionally the Lohra were not habituated in keeping domesticated animals. However, now a days they domesticate animals like calves, goats, pigs and birds like pigeons, ducks, parrots, fowl etc. Some of the animals like bullocks, buffaloes are necessary for agricultural operations, and pigs, goats, hen etc. are very important items for sacrificial purposes. In major cases animal husbandry supports the economy of Lohra. Thus animal
husbandry both as primary and subsidiary occupation helps the people to maintain their life. Need of veterinary dispensary is felt by the Lohras especially when their cattle wealth gets affected by epidemic. The traditional methods are not helpful at all to save the animals. Through animal husbandry programme the main problem of economy may be solved to a great extent. Therefore, establishment of special unit for development of animal husbandry according to the suitability of environment and culture of the people is very important.

RECREATIONAL FACILITY:

Music and dance include instrumental and vocal music and also various types of dance and dance-dramas. Oral literature includes folk-tales, folk songs, riddles, proverbs, myths and common sayings.

Most of the Indian tribes have evolved one type of collective dance or the other, which is accompanied by music also. Karma dance of the Gonds and the Bihu of the north eastern tribes are very famous. Bhils of Rajasthan are also famous for their "Gauri" dance-drama.

In most of the Kamar villages there are no means of general recreation. The individual facilities were also found to be almost absent due to poverty and illiteracy.

However, out of all the Kamar families visited in 32 villages of 4 blocks, only one family had television. Radio and transistors were found in 12 families. Besides the above recreational facilities, they rejoice the marriages and other festive occasions by performing traditional folk dances. One of their entertainment is hunting and fishing also.

It has been observed by various studies, that primitive tribes of Bastar areas are very much fond of dancing and singing. Dance constitutes the social amusement and recreation of the Gonds, and they are passionately fond of it. The Principal dance is the 'Karma' which is performed to celebrate the bringing of the leafy branch of a tree from the forest in the rains.
In the Maria dance men and women dance together, in a great circle, each man holding the girl next to him on one side round the neck and on the other side round the waist. They keep perfect time, moving each foot round in a slow circle. Only unmarried girls may join in Maria dance and once a woman is married she can never dance again.

In a study of Chenchu tribes, by Kalpana Sainy and Dr. Yogendra Sainy, it was observed that out of 15 families only 5 families had a transistor. The other tribes have also not much facility of recreation and amusement. Dr. Lalan Gupta finds in his study in Darjeeling district of West-Bengal that only 21.25% have Radios and Tape-recorders and only one (0.62%) had a television set. It may also be relevant here to mention that one portable B/W T.V. being operated by battery was possessed by a tribal panchayat member whose family member happened to be one of the beneficiaries of assistance under the poverty alleviation programme.

TRANSPORT FACILITY:

Tribals have been living in isolation for centuries past. The main reason for this isolation is lack of communication. To develop the tribal areas and to improve their economic condition, communication is a sine-qua-non and its importance in the tribal economy hardly needs any reiteration and emphasis.

Transport is the most important means of communication as far as the tribal population is concerned. If we view the situation from the aspect of comparative development, we see, that there is a long way to be made-up. The present all India average length of roads per hundred square kilometers in tribal areas is very poor in comparison to other rural and urban areas. Many of the rivers in scheduled areas are still unbridged and conditions are such that for several months in a year, these areas are cut off from the rest of the world.

Many of the tribes are very good cultivators of some good varieties of rice, food grains and fruits. With a good network of roads, their production
will be able to reach far off markets and they will be fetching handsome returns. In the absence of adequate means of communications they have to sell their produce at comparatively low prices and are easily brow beaten by the local non-tribal traders to sell their produce at throw away prices. Top priority should be given to the construction of village roads, bridge paths and motorable roads.

Transportation of finished products is one of the major problems faced by the artisan groups. It becomes difficult to transport the finished products especially during the rainy season. For collection of raw materials and sale of finished products, the tribal carpenters residing in interior and remote villages either have to wait for two whole days of a week or the to pay high amount for transportation of their finished goods. Lack of adequate transport facilities thus hinders their production and sale.

In the days gone by when the Kamar habitat did not know of motorised transport, the Kamars used to transport timber by river and they enjoyed so much reputation for this that hardly any other people than Kamars were employed in transport of timber by river. The Kamars used to float timber from the interior through river 'Pairy' and delivered it at the court yards of forest department at Rajim. On an average they used to float 80 logs, 100 poles or 100 bamboos in one lot.

2-3 persons were needed to carry one lot. This transport was a seasonal operation but in any case, the Kamars used to earn some livelihood from July to October. As Dubey noted in his work on the Kamars "every year during the rains a number of Kamars make good income from this river by transport of timber and bamboos. "With the construction of roads and introduction of motorised, even this source of Kamar economy has circumscribed down."

There is a lack of means of communication in most of the villages, especially in rains it becomes quite difficult to approach one to other village. Even for medical facilities they can not go up to the health centres in
emergency cases also due to non-availability of proper means of communication.

Lack of means of communication and unapproachability is also one of the main hinderances of their progress.

Generally they transport their daily needs from weekly market by feet. In the survey of 286 families it was found that only one Kamar family had a bullock cart and 49 families had a bicycle. No other facilities were observed in these villages.

In the Integrated Tribal Development Plan, there is a scheme for distribution of bullock carts. Also wood is available in the forest. The forest department in having logging centres and log depots in all areas. The Punjab Rao Krishi Vidya peeth had intorduced a scheme of giving training to tribals in carpentry. Through some such schemes village artisans should be asked to prepare bullock-carts for the group of villagers. It will not only solve the problem of transportation, but they may earn some-thing through this also.

**CONCLUSION :**

It is concluded from the above results that the socio economic level is very low. The Kamar tribe is socially and economically backward. Though, their family size is 4.73% but inspite of this their housing and sanitary conditions are far from satisfactory. Though, there are so many sources of income, but their family income is quite low. In other words we can say that it is the most fertile and rich area, but the most poor people live hare. Other facilities like water works, irrigation, transport, means of communication, recreation, educational facilities are too less.

Percentage of education level is only 10 which is quite unsatisfactory. They do not want to give-up their old and traditional customs and systems of life style. It means the rays of modern culture has not touched them. There is much to work for their upliftment and their progress.
Definite and time bound programmes should be planned for the management of their housing, water supply, electricity, transport and means of communication facilities. Trends of modern cultivation should also be adopted.

There is now an increasing awareness of the interrelationship between mal-nutrition and socio-economic factors such as income, social relationship and education.

Futrell et al., Bildhaiya and Bose, and Krishnamurthy et al. recently reported that the parental literacy and per capita income have an impact on the nutritional status of children.

To eradicate their superstitions and ignorance a regular and sincere effort is a must. They require proper education and guidance then only their socio-economic and nutritional status will improve. We have to change their views and lifestyle by not only educating them but by facilitating them with their minimum needs for improvements. This should not be done only by education but by practical training also. For concrete results continuous monitoring of their progress is essential.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE GROUP</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>MEAN AGE MALE</th>
<th>MEAN AGE FEMALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-6 MONTH</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.97 ±0.90</td>
<td>2.30 ±1.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-12 MONTH</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>8.12 ±0.92</td>
<td>6.00 ±1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 YEARS</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>7.23 ±0.76</td>
<td>6.00 ±0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-6 YEARS</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>7.97 ±0.78</td>
<td>6.31 ±0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-9 YEARS</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>7.75 ±0.66</td>
<td>5.93 ±0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-12 YEARS</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>10.84 ±0.88</td>
<td>8.31 ±0.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-15 YEARS</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>10.84 ±0.95</td>
<td>8.31 ±0.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-18 YEARS</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13.94 ±1.00</td>
<td>10.87 ±0.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-35 YEARS</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>17.36 ±1.00</td>
<td>13.18 ±0.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-55 YEARS</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>22.69 ±1.00</td>
<td>17.27 ±0.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABOVE 55 YEARS</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>32.86 ±1.00</td>
<td>32.87 ±1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1355</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>21.88 ±1.00</td>
<td>22.71 ±1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE -3
SOCIO - ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC DATA OF THE SUBJECTS SURVEYED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DETAILS</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type of family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Single</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>79.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Joint</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>20.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Members in Family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) 1-4</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>49.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) 5-8</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>44.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Above 8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Capita Income (Monthly)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Upto Rs. 50</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>22.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Rs. 51-100</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>48.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Rs. 101-150</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>17.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Rs. 151-200</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Rs. 201-250</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) Rs. 251-300</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) Rs. 301-350</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total population above 4 years of age</td>
<td>1185</td>
<td>87.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Illiterate</td>
<td>1055</td>
<td>89.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Males</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>47.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Females</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>52.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Literate</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>10.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Males</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>68.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>58.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>6.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>3.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Females</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>31.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE -4
DISTRIBUTION OF THE KAMAR FAMILIES AS PER THEIR HOUSING AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITION.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DETAILS</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type of House</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I (a) Kutchha</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>98.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Pucca</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II (c) Rented</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Own</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen facility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) In living room</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>86.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Separate</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>13.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ventilation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windows</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) No windows</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>96.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) One Windows</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>2.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Two windows</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) 3 or more</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ventilators</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Present</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>2.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Absent</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>97.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Present</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Absent</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>95.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Supply</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Well</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>14.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Tap</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Hand Pump</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>58.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Tank/river</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>26.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanitary Conditions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Own w.c</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Public Latrine</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Open field</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DETAILS</td>
<td>NUMBER</td>
<td>PERCENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGRICULTURE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Land owner</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>34.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Land less</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>65.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CATTLE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Cow</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Ox</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Buffalo</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>2.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Goat</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Sheep</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) Other</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>1.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEALTH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poultry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Cock</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>2.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Hen</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>21.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Chicks</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>15.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DETAILS</td>
<td>NUMBER</td>
<td>PERCENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECREATIONAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FACILITIES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Radio/Transister</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) T. V.</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANSPORT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FACILITIES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Bullock Cart</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Bicycle</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>17.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Motor Byke</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>