In the beginning, definite works on primitive economics or economic anthropology had been taken up by Franz Boas, Richard Thurnwald and Bronislaw Malinowski. Their pioneering works had mainly undertaken economic motivation as mutual parts of social process that maintain unity in the existence of social order and develop amicable reciprocity. Boas's ethnographic studies of the Eskimos (1888), Kwakiutl Indians (1897), and the North-western tribes of Canada (1898) had an influential impact upon the serious scholars who enquired into the primitive nature of 'marketless' economy. He emphasized that the simple-minded people of that age were not interested in profit but they were certainly conscious of cultural and environmental factors which contributed to their unity. The people were free to exercise their choice within communal frame; however, their spontaneous behaviour did not go against their social solidarity. Malinowski's attempt is a notable one as he had intensively


collected the first hand data though participant observation among the most primitive and traditional aborigines, 'Trobi-and Islanders' in the Papua-Melanesia (1922). He brought out the social context of economic activity in his study of 'Kula trade' network which was inter-tribal. Malinowski stated that the whole tribal life was permeated by a constant give and take policy which was free from any compulsive element. The people of that society were exchanging the articles/goods that moved in a circular direction not only to meet in economic needs but also ritual obligations.

Richard Thurnwald (1932) conducted his ethnographical studies in East Africa and said that social stratification usually started from cultural contact of occupationally specialized communities. He further discussed the theory of economic development with a focus upon gift giving or reciprocity as an essential element in the economic life of the tribals. In his view the tribals were much contented with simple socio-economic conditions and did not subscribe

6. Ibid., pp.xii-xiii.
to the acquisitive nature of the modern self-regulating market process. 7

Ruth Benedict (1935) explored the visible cultural differences and the patterns of interaction amongst the pre-industrial people. She analysed the Pueblos of New Mexico, Dobu of eastern New Guinea and the Indians of Pacific sea coast Alaska with reference to their cultural ethos and routinized behaviour. They differed from one another but lived within their cultural sanction and boundary. The people of that culture were living in a state of compact whole with close interaction, reciprocity and strong fellow-feelingness. They were performing different cultural attributes as per their ethnic nature and cultural boundary but all of them remained united to maintain their solidarity before the social structure and civilization. The Appolonian and Dionysian cultures go without afflicting each other. 8 The former type had peaceful characteristics, while the latter had a wild or aggressive pattern of behaviour.

Margaret Mead (1935) starting from a different methodological (social personality) base, studied the primitive

culture and socialization process. The theme of her analysis is that non-industrial people were capable of a rational approach in every respect of their socio-cultural life. To call the people as savage and senseless is not proper because such people were well equipped with rationality and logicality. They were maintaining the social solidarity through exchange and reciprocity of food and property. The society was non-competitive and peaceful.

A careful comparative study among three different communities in Polynesia, Melanesia and North-West America had been done by Marcel Mauss (1925). Calling the societies archaic, he stressed that in those societies the transaction was based upon both social obligation and economic self interest. Further, Mauss said that in those societies the gifts received had to be repaid as there was a moral obligation. The gifts and terms of contract were the constituent elements of total presentation. The total presentation was maintaining the balance of relationship between various tribes; and in the process the society facilitated the

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pursuance of amiable and reciprocal relationship.11

During the last five decades there have been considerable interests in the study of primitive economies. These studies have heralded new trends and also used concepts of modern economies indiscriminately without proper knowledge about the same, and therefore, outcome of the borrowing has not been entirely profitable to know about the primitive economies. Although the earlier studies of Malinowski, Mead, Thurnwald and Mauss had certain limitations, they brought about an awareness of the social context of distribution, reciprocity, exchange/barter, as they rightfully pointed out that economic life was a part of the total web of life of the tribal community. But some of the recent anthropologists, anxious to use concepts from contemporary economic theories, had attempted to cast anthropological data in the frame of modern economies. These anthropologists used wrong techniques to interpret their data and failed to balance their views because of lack of demarcation between anthropology and economics. Herskovits' work is an example of how empirical knowledge of primitive economies was misplaced within the framework of orthodox economic

theory. He treated topics such as production, distribution, exchange, property and economic surplus, a scheme which was reminiscent of classical economists. He, further, went beyond the horizon to undermine anthropology but regarded the primitive culture as the calculative and economic one. Hence, in his view, the primitive culture and people, though were very much interdependent but exclusively thorough on monetized and comparing process because monetized mind of the people was the sole criterion to decide their social behaviour.12

Sol Tax (1953), likewise, described the Guatemalan village as a perfect example of strong 'market economy', a money economy with a viable market scheme and perfect competition. He explored a lot on primitive and market economy but his descriptive detail hardly supported his specific characterization. The institutional basis of the market economy and the sharp differences between market and non-market institutional patterns were not clearly delineated. In his Guatemalan village, for example, land was easily transferred but its sale was restricted by traditional norms and sanctions which preserved the land within family circles. There was no true labour market though a few free and

landless workers are found. And there hardly existed a capital market although loans were occasionally granted for consumer of goods. Further, a weakness of Tax’s account appears when he seemed to impose a conceptual framework of modern economic theory upon his field data. \(^{13}\) Another important theory is that of D.M. Goodfellow (1939) who argued that the concept of economic theory has universal validity, although he treated four Bantu economies as self-contained entities. \(^{14}\)

More useful and satisfactory analyses of peasant economies within the frame of modern economic theory had been undertaken by Raymond Firth. \(^{15}\) In his primary study of Tikopia (1939), Firth applied concepts of economic theory to prove that the Polynesian society is both realistic and rational in its economic life. Further, when his data reflected economic theory as in the case of the Malayan fishing economy (1956), he used them with great profit. Later, he was keen to distinguish between the economics and

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15. R. Firth in his *Primitive Polenesian Economy* (1965), *Malay Fisherman, Their Peasant Economy* (1956) and also in *Themes in Economic Anthropology* (1967), discussed at length about the primacy of economic organizations.
anthropology and viewed that economic organization was a type of social action. The social framework confirms people's choice and gives them the basic meaning without which the economic process could not continue. Therefore, the economist is apt to think of the social framework as consisting mainly of the contracts exercised by law. Again, Firth stated that social relations were primarily concerned with economic values (Le Clair 1968). While the principles of economics are universal in their application and deal with general scheme, the anthropologists struggle with a diversity of types; their work examines these economic principles in specific social or cultural contexts.

The small group research was the main plank of George C. Homans (1958) that led him to explain the elementary social behaviour. He said that in the social process there was a continuous interaction between humankind in terms of exchange of goods-material and non-material. The behaviour was always psychological that made exchange theory to bring sociology closer to economics. Further, the social behaviour in the interaction process extended gave and took relationship to balance the exchanges and maintained social

16. Ibid., p.62.
Recently, Dewey (1962), Bohannan and Dalton (1962) presented interesting data on peasant and tribal markets. Dewey's ethnography of a peasant market in Java was less concerned with the socio-cultural implications of a market as an institution. The market was known for its speciality as that broadly dealt with various economic transactions. So his treatment of the market was more economic than cultural, more segmental than holistic and more price-oriented than reciprocal exchange relationship. The Bohannan-Dalton volume contained various papers which envisaged a strict economic frame for socio-economic contexts. The papers presented all the outstanding problems/factors of market in different types of economies. As their study broadly covered the classification of primitive African communities, it discussed forms rather than functions of the markets. Moreover, their studies failed to undertake the vital points regarding the socio-cultural ramifications of


tribal marketing. 19

The economic theory is more formal and it focuses on the problems of alternative and choice but it often interferes with the institutional character of anthropological studies. Unlike economists, anthropologists' approaches are holistic, diachronic and multi-dimensional. They strive to develop a broader theoretical scheme, broad enough to cover the market economy and the economies of tribal people in which non-formal social institution and formal economics appear as integral part of society.

Now at the multifaceted trends of different societies, the most notable collaboration between formalists and sub-Stantvists have provided valuable insights into the relationship between economy and society. The right hour intervention and expedient contribution by Karl Polanyi, C.M. Arensberg and H.W. Pearson in their edited treatise "Trade and Market in the Early Empires" (1957) 20 emphasised 'market place' and 'marketless economies' in history and society,


where there was little economic framework to motivate the individual for rational and efficient economic activity or optimum allocation of resources. They broadly suggested that in such societies the existence of economy was not subjected to formal economy only but that it facilitated institutional analysis (1957:357). Further, they made a very useful distinction between modern "self-regulating market" and the "market-place" and discovered the intricate relationship continuing with them since long ago. They also provided new ideas for the understanding of marketing in modern place and traditional "marketless societies". Moreover, the scholars have very systematically portrayed the significance of anthropology and the anthropological studies that have been all along exploring the mutual relationship institutional and individual - which classical economy failed to accelerate and establish. 

While one comes down to study market situation in a fast changing and complex set up like India and that too takes special drives on the tribal market study, he/she faces extraordinary and unequivocal challenges -- either directly or indirectly, natural or manmade, or global or peripheral. Therefore, it shows that the market study

21. Ibid., p.357.
remains yet to be processual because outside and inside scholars avidly add different dimensions to understand the nature of market position in general not the tribal market in particular. Even the specific tribal market study in India, done so far cover only limited aspects and the scholars are from diverse fields and interests.

The ethnographic study of tribal market by D.P. Sinha, gave top priority to the tribal market situation in India. His book, *Culture Change in an Inter-Tribal Market* (1968)²² among the hill people of Chotanagpur belt in the Ranchi region of Bihar was a depiction of the whole diversity of tribe, village and outside institution in which the cultural change is structured and channelled. His study aimed at a holistic analysis of an inter-tribal market called Banari 82 km distance from Ranchi, where tribes and castes met together to buy and sell their necessary goods and articles. The market operated on every Monday where tribesmen, villagers, castemen and city people did act as change agents of modernity.²³ While observing the market trend, he gave the

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comparative analysis about the functional and structural aspects of the Banari weekly market. He said that functionally, the Banari market acted as a little fair, maintained a network of socio-cultural ties among the people of its hinterland, and gave them a common base in the region. Structurally the market covered much more where people of the both communities shared and met regularly as a symbol of 'ethnic mosaic' and joining of many cultures."24 Again, D.P. Sinha added that with the active participation of different tribes and castes and with the flow of all purpose money the change on various fronts occurred.

Thus, D.P. Sinha in the course of his ethnographic study analysed the five significant factors: (a) relationship between the tribes and castes within the ambience of the Banari market situation, (b) the market as the focus of the network of social, economic and ceremonial ties and obligations, (c) ethnic, cultural, linguistic, class, caste and geographic boundaries, (d) the market as the contact point between tribal people, peasant groups and agents from the government and industrialized world and (e) the market offered an ideal laboratory for observing the processes of social change. But Sinha did not refer to the erosion of

tribal life due to the advent of modern forces and the introduction of monetary economy.\textsuperscript{25}

Sachchidanand, in his monograph \textit{Culture Change in Tribal Bihar} (1964) referred to the bi-weekly market, 'Maranghada' which was situated 16 kms away from Khunti (Ranchi) in the Munda dominated area. The market was held on every Tuesday and Saturday, linking one village with another and acting as an important agent of social change. In his subsequent work, \textit{The Changing Munda} (1979), Sachchidanand widely covered many other periodic markets in the same locality and pointed out that those markets had almost lost their traditional barter and reciprocity, as money was used for buying and selling.\textsuperscript{26} The tribals in the area somehow welcomed the modern market schemes and in the process the change was imminent (pp.167-175). Since Sachchidanand's study focussed on the change which was occurring very rapidly in the present Indian society, he somehow not highlighted the day to day problems being faced by the tribals as a class of people in their socio-cultural and economic lives.\textsuperscript{27}

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{25} Ibid., pp.1-103.
\item \textsuperscript{26} Sachchidanand, \textit{The Changing Munda}, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1979, pp.167-75.
\item \textsuperscript{27} Ibid., pp.177-86.
\end{itemize}
A Chandrasekhar in his valuable contributions (1965a, 1965b) developed an insight into the weekly markets amongst the Kondhs in the hill region of Andhra Pradesh. He studied two different market places, viz. 'Lamthampadu' in the Paderu Taluk of Visakhapatnam District and 'Matteweda' in the Narasampat Taluk of Warangal District of Andhra Pradesh. In these studies he pointed out that the traditional, non-monetized exchange and reciprocity which were the integral parts of the tribals in the hinterland were no more prevalent now-a-days. The change was quite apparent and phenomenal and causing adverse impact upon the tribals because of the influx of outsiders and traders into these market places and lands. The influx of non-tribal merchants in the tribal markets and their calculative activities led to the establishment of more business centres, besides, they exorbitantly charged high rates of interest on the money which the tribals borrowed from them. In the market places the non-tribal traders bought tribal products and other items more in quantity for less payment from the poor inno-

cent tribals. The Kondhs, who were unaware of the modern market and change, got easily exploited through multiple means by the outside merchants. Now the two market centres are fully occupied by the outside non-tribal people. So in his exploration Chandrasekhar found out that the influx of the castemen and business people from outside gave negative returns to the tribals in the two market places.²⁹

Sudhir V. Wanmali in his book *Periodic Markets and Rural Development in India* (1981)³⁰ discussed about the markets located in the tribal belt of Chaibasa sub-division of Singhbhum district in the South-eastern part of Chotanagpur division of Bihar. While studying 199 periodic markets in the region, Wanmali interrelated the periodic market exchange system with rural development and planning. He emphasised that the space time arrangement of the markets tend to help the traders to keep a firm grip on prices of all types of commodities. As a scholar of Geography, Sudhir V. Wanmali considered the emergence of periodic markets as a result of prevailing ethno-economic and politico-administrative factors, where the primary objective and basic demands

²⁹. Ibid.

of the tribal people are hijacked by the modern market forces with money economy and utilitarian values.\(^{31}\)

S. Mahalingam and Vasanthi Rajendran (1991)\(^{32}\) in their article called "Marketing of agricultural produces through tribal cooperatives - replica of Tawang Model in North-East India" focussed on the development of organised rural markets in the tribal area in ensuring a reasonable price for the products sold by the tribal communities. In their view, an organised rural market at Tawang in Arunachal Pradesh had proved to be effective and efficient in marketing, distribution, credit and post-harvest services for the socio-economic transformation of the tribal community as a whole in North-East India. Thus, both the scholars had listed the major commodities that were getting marketed through the tribal co-operatives to encourage a systematic life process of the tribal society.\(^{33}\)

B.K. Lavania in his monograph *Tribal Fairs as Centres of Culture Diffusion and Change: A Study of Goti-Amba Fair*

\(^{31}\) Ibid., pp.110-70.


discussed about the nature and functions of the fair which took place in the district of Banswara of Southern Rajasthan by the Bhils in the month of March-April (p.29) every year. In the fair three-fourths of the visitors belonged to the Bhil tribes and the fair remained as an excellent centre of group interaction and persistence of cultural patterns. The fair brought about a change in their activities on many fronts and an overall innovation in their cultural activities, and social aspects. The gradual process of culture change through its associated processes modified into the community structure of the tribes. Moreover, the interaction between castes and tribes at an elementary level fostered some new changes in the socio-cultural and political life of the Bhils (p.33). Hence, Goti-Amba fair as a mark of culture change analysed by Lavania put forth the fact that the tribal fairs modified their earlier activities as they entered into modernity.

Further, a general pattern of analysis about different types of weekly markets were undertaken by many scholars from different backgrounds. A note on the weekly market at Gokulpith (Nagpur) by B.K. Dasgupta, P.K. Mishra, H.M.

Banerjee and S.K. Ganguli (1963)\textsuperscript{35} delineated the significance of economic transaction in which the buyers and sellers were from the different classes. Their data base on caste-community relationship and male-female ratio as the setup of Gokulpith in an urban area represented an interlocking of 43 different caste groups hailing from 52 territorially distinct zones (p.149). Thus, in their view, the Sukarbari hat falling, in the sub-urban area of Nagpur city is fully controlled by modern market system with competitive economy.\textsuperscript{36} Another study by Tarasish Mukhopadhyya (1967) on "Ecology and Markets in Eastern Midnapur" explains that the basic formation, pattern and development of the weekly markets influence the socio-economic life of the people in the eastern Midnapur. He stated that the ecological and environmental factors play an active role in determining certain structural aspects of the village, caste composition, occupation and weekly markets (p.61).\textsuperscript{37}

To know about Orissa, the first very attempt was made by F.G. Bailey in the early fifties. His book \textit{Caste and}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{35} B.K. Dasgupta et. al., 'A Note on the Weekly Market at Gokulpith (Nagpur)', in \textit{The Eastern Anthropologist}, Vol.16(2), 1963, p.148.
  \item \textsuperscript{36} Op. cit., p.149.
\end{itemize}

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Economic Frontier: A Village in Highland Orissa (1964) narrated the life of the aboriginal Konds. Studying about the village Bisipara, he observed a rough correlation between various aspects like caste-tribe continuum, markets etc. (p.94). About weekly markets, he said that in the Kondmal area on different days the periodic markets took place which sold both perishable and semi-perishable goods either by the growers or his agents. In the area this periodic markets always remained peaceful as there was no tribe-caste segregation or division between caste and tribe in terms of occupational specialization (pp.7-19). Though there was no sharp distinction in selling and buying commodities in market places, the poor Konds sold cash crops, turmerics and oilseeds at lower prices. Therefore, in the accounts of F.G. Bailey, the modern market competition and domination was not observed though money was used as the medium of exchange by all people, including tribes and castes. The tribals in overall situation remained poor and unrepresented and were not able to get adjusted with change.

38. F.G. Bailey, Caste and Economic Frontier, OUP, Bombay, p.94.

39. Ibid., pp.7-19.
A direct focus upon tribal market had been studied by Bibhuti Bhusan Maharana in his article, "A Weekly Tribal Market in Orissa" (1977). He discussed and interrelated the past and present market trend of a market which was situated in the Phulbani proper district. Here the Kondh tribe was in majority followed by Harijans. But the largest number of shops were owned by the Kondhs who sold vegetable and rice. In the market place the caste-tribe hostility was very strong which was unlike the observation of F.G. Bailey. While studying the various aspects of the market, B.B. Maharana stated that the market had an inter-tribal character and served as the centre for socio-economic exchange and reciprocity. The market acts as a centre for disseminating news, selection of brides and meeting the relatives (p.15). Now in the market, there is no barter or reciprocal exchange of goods because the tribes initiated the change in their locality and market places (p.46). Therefore, the scholars' who attempt to investigate the various dimensions of tribal people, remained confined to the boundary of space and time but did not deal with the macro dimensions of their problems and contemporary difficulties. Thus, the tribal

41. Ibid.
market study remains much beyond their interest.

**Note and Methodology**

The review of literature has highlighted the diversities in the study of preliterate or tribal economic systems. The market studies done so far, at macro and micro levels by economist, economic historian and contemporary scholar reflect as usual and general market feature -- choice, mode, demand, supply, price, utility, etc. The studies by western scholars seem to be oriented towards a comparison between western and market economies. The scholars have dealt with the most common aspects instead of their exclusive interest to know about the proportionate forms of periodic/weekly market that play substantial role in the life of the tribals. Most of them remain confined within the boundary of primitive economies, primarily highlighting the barter/exchange, reciprocity and redistribution. Some of them, while steeped in the anthropological background, concluded that the 'marketless economy' among the primitive people never had any formal character. They started using their own method and paradigm to put forth the substantive framework of the tribal studies (Dalton, Polanyi et. al.). On the other, the classical and formal economists said that their exercises covered all pertinent aspects of the socie-
The debate continued to create more sharp differences between the two major theorists. The formalists and substantivists never accepted the paradigm of each other. The contemporary Marxism has also developed a different shape of Marxism as the situation demands. Hence, the trichotomous debate still continues to affect the tribals as the scholars failed to develop on integrated approach at present, because the lack of interest of the scholars, their methodological errors and moreover, their stereotypical treatment and management put the tribals in greater difficulties and further intensified their problems.

On the other hand, the Indian tribal situation needs a thorough investigation and intensive study. The studies so far done in India mainly reflect interethnic aspects (tribal and non-tribal networks). The Indian scholars treat social and cultural change as the most prominent aspect. The tribal markets have not been intensively studied with the exception of a few cited above. Therefore, both the western scholars and Indian scholars have so far failed to develop a synthesized methodology which can help in a systematic enquiry into the tribal market. The scholars have not explored or analysed the tensions or conflicts in the tribal society vis-a-vis the non-tribals. The predominant
position the functionalist approach to the tribal society has sidelined the conflict dimension. Hence, the present study aims at correcting this lacuna.

Objectives of the Study

The present study intends to look into the tribal problems from the below. The single confronting issue, which, is ever challenging the tribals in general and the Sukinda tribe in particular, gets the priority in the present study besides covering all other pertinent problems of the tribals of the region. Unlike the earlier processual work and stereotype approach, the study proposes to locate the tribes in the 'class framework'. Keeping Marx's guideline as the main reference, the selected study goes further to explore critically the reasons that made the tribal market to lose their primitive and simple character. The study broadly discusses the questions relating to the influence of outsiders (non-tribals), businessmen, the growth and expansion of mines and the present tribal market situation. The two tribal periodic markets viz. Duburi and Tata Mines at two different geographical places remain the locus of the study. To know about the nature and feature of the 'post-independence change' as the prime target of the study. The diachronic dimension of change, after the arrival of mer-
chants, sowkars, companies, and non-tribals are also examined in the study. The study further reiterates that modernism, liberalism and utilitarianism do not help the tribals and poor people. If one looks at the proper contours of social change, then it becomes clear that not all individuals or groups have drawn the benefits, in the contemporary capitalist society. The change which occurred so far has mainly catered to the interests of a few governing, elites and capitalists. The Sukinda region as a particular instance uncovers the truth behind modernism and change. To know about all the existing factors, an intensive study has been undertaken spreading over different time frame in order to notice change at the two markets. Along with the market situation and their trends, other tribal aspects viz. habitation, education, health dimension and developmental measures are investigated and incorporated in the study.

**Assumptions**

These are the following assumptions which inevitably play to earmark the importance of the study. The assumptions reveal the relevance of the selected topic.

(1) In the process of tribal market economy, traditional market and tribal exchange and reciprocity are being endangered due to the aggressive role of modernity and
coercive change.

(2) The non-tribal traders, merchants and usurers as a 'privileged class' entered into the tribal lands and manifested/aggravated the tribal problems in multifold.

(3) Tribal exchange, reciprocity and modern market are intricately related - the former is on the verge of extinction while the latter is alienating them.

(4) The local, native, weekly or periodic markets are already marginalized because the outsiders, mines masters and caste people have fully controlled the market price and captured the tribal lands.

(5) The change which has occurred protected the 'privileged class' but deprived the 'poor tribals'.

**Universe of the Study**

Sukinda as the area of research is entangled with multifaceted factors and different logical propositions. The most important reason behind the spot selection is that Sukinda, unlike other tribal areas, is having its special geographical location and outside contacts.
In the Sukinda block, there are three major tribal groups: Munda, Shabar and other six minor tribal communities. They are Santal, Bathudi, Bhumij, Juang, Matya and Malhar. Their population is quite high. They have been living in the area since time antiquity and they have their unique lifestyle and socio-cultural ethos. Out of total, 1,01,865 people, the tribals occupy the second largest majority, i.e. 37,255 (36.57%) next to the other castes (OCs). The two market places, Duburi and Tata Mines, are situated at two different locations and blended with similarities and differences in market trend, road and communication and tribe-caste ratio. The difference is also sharp between the two markets because of their geographical location like low area and valley region. In the area from the beginning, the tribals are non-conformist with the dominant outside values as they adhere to their culture, religion, custom and other happenings. Now the emergence of modern competitive market economy badly affected the socio-economic conditions of the tribal people. The tribals' 'marketless' economy with barter and reciprocity are increasingly challenged by the modern competitive market economy.

Unlike the present tribe caste ratio, earlier the tribes in the region were dominant. Still now the tribals are numerically preponderant and quite a good number of
their markets are seen, but they are yet to be properly/correctly enlisted in the census of India. So far the area is remained unexplored and no systematic (not even any) work is done. The tribals of the region are lagging behind the non-tribals in the sphere of education, policy making and politics, though the Jajpur district is tremendously developing with modern industries. Due to the present circumstance the tribals of Sukinda region have not only lost their autonomy and freedom but also dominated by caste Hindus, outsiders and non-tribals at market places and usual activities. These privilege classes/outside forces have intruded into the tribal land, market place and denied their indigenous rights and opportunities.

To have an idea about the tribal markets and the nature of change, the two markets are strategically selected because of their geographical location. For example, the location of Duburi market is well-exposed to the outside world because of frequent service of trucks, tractors and buses on the Daitari-Paradeep express highway. The market's roadside location is attracting people to get down and to buy and sell the commodities. The change is seen to be very fast during the recent days as the outsiders, non-tribal merchants and big traders are coming from distant places to
the market. Because of its plain land location, the market observed radical changes from all sides and challenge the tribal market situation.

The Tata Mines market is situated in the highland area of the Sukinda and its topography is changing because of the establishment of new mines, influx of outsiders (employee, worker and labourer) and on the top, the business communities of people. The tribals of the area are more alienated and exploited than those who participate in the Duburi market.

**Method of Data Collection**

Looking at the diversified aspects of the region, the study undertakes to pinpoint the comprehensive and particular questions being faced by the tribals. In the beginning, the study basically depended upon the secondary sources of data and pilot study. Participant observation being the main method, unconstructed questionnaire and interview guide were used to know about the four categories of people in both the markets. Informal discussions were conducted after the market hours matching the market situation because the merchants and people (both tribal and non-tribal) remain busy in their own schedule of work. To analyse the data, the four categories of people viz. tribal merchant, tribal
people, outside merchant and outside people are selected in equal numbers in both the markets. In both the markets the total 300 respondents were chosen and 150 for each market. In the Duburi market, out of total 150 respondents taken, 50 each belonged to tribal merchants and tribal people i.e. 50x2=100. The remaining 50 respondents covered both outside merchants and outside people i.e. 25x2=50. The same number of respondents were chosen for the Tata Mines market study. To develop a full-fledged idea about the two market situation several study trips are made in the tribal villages to know about their views on the market. Male, female and children were interviewed to test the assumptions. The calculation of each market is done separately as well as jointly in the seventh chapter. For the qualitative study, full scale data are collected from the indigenous or unclassified markets that are existing in the region. For the secondary or documentary source of data about the total population of the block (region), number of villages, number of grampanchayats, MADA (Modified Area Development Approach) villages and welfare programmes, are collected from the Block Development Office at Sukindagarh and from Revenue Inspectors (RIs). Finally, a systematic analyses was made to present an integrated account of action and reaction regarding the tribal exchange, market, their exposure to
modernity and contours of social change.

**Field Work Chart**

To have a complete command over the region and blocks of people, the field work plan has been accordingly set and conducted keeping in view the different period of time and multidimensional aspects of the markets that vary from time to time. For the completion of the field work totally 120 days (4 months) are spent while keeping the importance of the season as the market fluctuation during that period. Hence, from the time of pilot study to preliminary study to extensive study three different seasons, viz., winter, autumn and rainy seasons are accorded. It has been well-noticed that both the markets pick up during autumn and later part of winter. But the Tata Mines market remains busy during almost all seasons because of the pressing demands of workers, employees and outside settlers (colony dweller). In both the markets, all types of household and perishable commodities are sold and purchased with variance in demand and price. The chart of the field work, which affected line, gives the complete information of the field work as conducted.
### FIELD WORK CHART

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of times visited to the Area</th>
<th>Duration of Field work</th>
<th>Period visited</th>
<th>No. of Market days observed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pilot study</td>
<td>Preliminary</td>
<td>Year Month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Extensive</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Study</td>
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<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1994 Oct.-Nov.</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1995 Feb.-Mar.</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>75</td>
<td>1996 Sep.-Nov.</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>(days)*</td>
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</table>

* 4 months in total.

### CONCLUSION

The tribal market study has not been undertaken by scholars except in a limited way. Therefore, after reviewing the relevant literature on economic anthropology or sociology, it is suggested that with the 'class approach' the genuine problems of the tribal markets could be easily assessed and proper remedial measures should be accordingly taken up. This would ensure a better tomorrow to the tribals to live equally like others without discrimination,
exploitation and alienation. To know about the tribal market and their further problem in a diachronic sense, the next chapter (third) will focus upon the socio-historical profile of the Sukinda region.