PART III

TRIBAL POPULATION AND WELFARE
TRIBAL POPULATION, TRIBAL VILLAGES AND SETTLEMENTS

Tribal population in Baghelkhand region accounts for about 18 million which is 15 per cent of the State's total tribal population. The region contains 35 specified tribes according to 1971 Census. Among these, the Baigas, the Bhumias, the Gonds, the Kawars, the Kols and the Oraons together constitute a major part (about 84 per cent) of its total tribal population (Fig.10.1). All the major tribes are concentrated in the districts of Sidhi, Shahdol and Surguja, and of these, the Kawars and the Oraons are confined only to the Surguja district.

Naturally, about 97 per cent of the tribal population lives in rural areas. The tribals always wander in search of better job opportunities. Therefore, there is a large influx of these tribals in several towns.

located in this region, resulting thereby in an increase in the urban population of these towns. But still the impact of urbanization among the tribals as compared with that on the general population of the region is very little.

Population of tribals in rural areas increased by 23.37 per cent between 1961 and 1971 while between 1971 and 1981 it declined by 1.16 per cent, reducing it to 22.21 per cent.

**DISTRIBUTION AND GROWTH OF POPULATION - 1951 to 1981**

Since 1951, considerable changes have occurred in the population and density of tribal population in Baghelkhand. During the decade from 1951 to 1961, it increased from 0.68 million to 1.20 million, registering an additional 0.51 million tribals and an increase of 7.47 per cent per annum. As a result, the share of tribal population increased in 1961 to 51.31 per cent as compared with 1951 when the tribal population accounted for only 36.62 per cent. Further, between 1961 and 1971, 0.29 million more tribals were registered, but their growth rate decreased from 7.47 per cent as registered in the previous decade to 2.42 per cent annually. Between 1971 and 1981 another 0.33 million tribals were added,
registering an annual growth of 2.26 per cent per annum and the share of tribal population to the total population dropped to 46.00 per cent compared with 1961 figures. These variations in population are given in Table VII.

Though there are no very clear reasons for the drop in the percentage of tribals to the total population, this appears to be mainly due to the outward migration of tribals from the region and the regular flow of non-tribals in it. Another factor may be the high mortality rate among the tribal children.

The pattern of population density as revealed by the 1981 Census shows a great variation - from 13 T.P.\(^1\)/km\(^2\) 77 T.P./km\(^2\) (Table VIII). There is no particular reason for this. But most probably the regular exploitation of natural resources by non-tribals and regular shifting of tribals in search of better occupation are the causes of this variation.

Tahsilwise distribution of tribal population density per square kilometre is shown in Fig. 10.2. It is evident from these figures that four tahsils make a

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1 T.P. = Tribal Population.
TABLE VI

Variations in population (1951-1981)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of population</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1971</th>
<th>1981</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tribal (a) Population</td>
<td>687,104</td>
<td>1,200,752</td>
<td>1,491,323</td>
<td>1,843,279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Variation</td>
<td>+ 513,648</td>
<td>+ 290,571</td>
<td>+ 331,951</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Percentage of variation</td>
<td>+ 74.76</td>
<td>+ 24.20</td>
<td>+ 22.26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General(a) Population</td>
<td>1,875,927</td>
<td>2,339,946</td>
<td>3,133,064</td>
<td>3,963,921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Variation</td>
<td>+ 464,019</td>
<td>+ 793,118</td>
<td>+ 830,857</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Percentage of variation</td>
<td>+ 24.74</td>
<td>+ 33.89</td>
<td>+ 26.52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (i) Vindhya Pradesh, Vol.XVI, Part II.
1. Census of India 1951, Madhya Pradesh.
2. Census of India 1961, Madhya Pradesh, Part IIC (i).
**TABLE VIII**

Density of Tribal population in Baghelkhand Region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Tahsil</th>
<th>Tribal population density per sq. km</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Manendragarh</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ambikapur</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Baikunthpur</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sohagpur</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Pushparajgarh</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Samri</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Surajpur</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Pal</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Beohari</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Deosar</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Gopadbanas</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Bandogarh</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Singrauli</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Bharatpur</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, 1981.
compact block of high density which lies in the southwestern part of the region, while Ambikapur, detached tahsil bearing high density, is located in the southeastern part of the region. Tahsils Samri, Pal and Surguja in the eastern part, and Beohari and Sohagpur in the western part of the region exhibit medium density range. In the remaining five tahsils the density per sq. km is lowest, four of them, Gopadbanas, Deosar, Singrauli, Bharatpur lie in the northern part and Bandogarh tahsil lies in the western part of the region.

**Tribal Workers**

The tribal population of main workers in Baghelkhand region stood at 797,140 in 1981. This was about 44 per cent

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1 Census of India 1981, Series II, Madhya Pradesh, Paper I, 1982 defines the category 'main workers' as those who work for the major part of a year. The main activity of a person who is engaged in more than one activity has been reckoned in terms of time disposition. For example, if a person works as a daily wages labourer for four months, as an agricultural labourer for one month and as cultivator for two months, he has been treated as a main worker on the basis of total time spent on work and his main activity has been reckoned as daily wage labour since he spends a greater part of his working time in this activity compared with that spent as cultivator or agricultural labourer.
of the total number of tribals in the region. Fig. 10.3 shows the percentage of tribal workers to the total number of workers in different tahsils of Baghelkhand in 1981. However, if the population of tribal workers is compared with that of the total number of workers (tribals and non-tribals both) the share of the tribal workers is 51.64 per cent to the total number of workers of the region.

TABLE IX

Distribution of Tribal workers in Baghelkhand region 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranks</th>
<th>Total tribals population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>173,943</td>
<td>47.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>590,425</td>
<td>42.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>32,772</td>
<td>38.14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the basis of standard deviation, Fig. 10.3 indicates three distinct categories of tribal workers as high, medium and low. In order to compare Table IX and Fig. 10.3, it can easily be said that the medium category comprises the largest number of tribal workers i.e. 590,425 persons which comes to 42.43 per cent in nine tahsils namely, Surguja, Ambikapur, Baikunthpur, Bandgarh, Pal, Samri, Gopadbanas, Sohagpur and Bharatpur. In the high category the share of the tribal workers is 47.54 per cent or (173,943 persons) in four tahsils of the region viz., Pushprajgarh, Deosar, Beohari and Singrauli. The low category of tribal workers with 38.14 per cent share (32,772 persons) is in Manendragarh tahsil of Surguja district.

It has been observed that in the tribal dominated areas the economic (subsistence type of economy) and social problems are comparatively less, especially in the southern parts, while in the areas where the tribals are scattered the problems are manifold. In these areas a majority of members of tribal families are engaged in some work to earn their livelihood.

The northeastern part of Madhya Pradesh is known as a rice bowl and the three districts of the region are part of this bowl. The involvement of tribals as workers
is also seen in the cropping system, different crops requiring different number of workers. The participation rates are highest in the rice tracts and decrease as the importance of rice in the cropping pattern diminishes.

Among the major crops, rice is the most labour intensive crop which needs 72 man-days per acre. The man-day requirements per acre of other crops sown in the region are: jowar 39, cotton 52, groundnut 67, wheat 18 and gram 14.

**DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL AND URBAN TRIBAL WORKERS ACCORDING TO SEXES**

The number of tribal workers in the region stands at 571,725, which makes 71.72 per cent of its total tribal workers' population. Of these, 555,333 (97.13 per cent) are rural workers and 16,030 (2.87 per cent) are urban workers.

The distribution of rural and urban male tribal workers can be put under three categories as 'high' 'medium' and 'low' (Table A, Fig. 10.4). The number of rural tribal workers in the high range category

1 NCAER, Techno-Economic Survey of Madhya Pradesh, New Delhi, 1960, p.5.
TABLE X

Distribution of male tribal workers in Baghelkhand region, 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranks</th>
<th>Rural Male</th>
<th>Urban Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>272,293</td>
<td>74.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>189,985</td>
<td>61.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>102,023</td>
<td>58.87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, 1981.

in the tahsils of Manendragarh, Samri, Ambikapur, Baikunthpur and Surajpur is 272,293 persons or 74.54 per cent of the total number of workers, while percentage of urban male tribal workers is 56.75 per cent or 2,449 persons in tahsils of Ambikapur, Beohari, Pal and Surajpur.

In the case of medium category there are 189,985 (61.75 per cent) rural male workers in the tahsils of Singrauli, Sohagpur, Pal, Deosar and Bharatpur. The two tahsils of Manendragarh and Sohagpur have 11,127 or 53.89 per cent of urban male tribal workers. In the low category there are 102,023 tribal workers in the rural areas in Gopadbanas, Pushparajgarh and Beohari tahsils,
Figure 10.4

Baghelkhand

Percent Rural Urban Male Tribal Workers 1981

NE = Non-Existent

Legend:

High

Medium

Low

PERCENT

20 40 60 80

Kilometers

0
58.87 per cent of the total number of workers, while there are 2,454 male tribal workers in the urban areas, of Gopadbanas, Baikunthpur and Bandogarh their share in the total number of male urban workers being 46.94 per cent.

It was observed that this difference of rural and urban category was mainly due to the nature of tribal economy and traditions. Traditional rural tribal male workers are greater in numbers because they are engaged in work from a young age. The economic condition of the urban based tribals is better than that of the rural ones. The urban tribals' children are generally school going and do not start working at an early age.

**Rural and Urban Female Tribal Workers**

The majority of tribal population is agriculturist, but except ploughing, in all the agricultural operations the females work shoulder to shoulder with male population, besides doing all the regular house jobs. The number of female tribal workers stands at 225,417 which comes to 28.28 per cent of the total number of tribal workers. Of this number of female tribal workers 221,257 (98.15 per cent) are rural workers while 4,160 (1.85 per cent) work in urban areas.
It is observed that generally as the tribal population decreases and the proportion of non-tribals increases. This is because both males and females are engaged in earning their livelihood. In the urban areas the female tribal workers are seen engaged in building construction, baniyas' shops, collieries, domestic service, bidi rolling, nursing etc.

Table XI and Fig. 10.5 indicate that high category of rural tribal female workers are met within six tahsils, Gopadbanas, Douasar, Singrauli, Manendragarh, Seohari and Pushparajgarh and urban tribal female workers in the tahsils of Pal and Seohari, the number and percentage of rural and urban female tribal workers being 86,111 (54.92 per cent) and 430 (27.34 per cent) respectively. In the medium category of female tribal workers, rural areas fall in tahsils Bharatpur, Sohagpur and Bandogarh tahsils while urban areas are in Ambikapur, Bandogarh, Gopadbanas and Sohagpur, the respective number of workers and percentages of the rural and urban female tribal workers being 64,670 (30.28 per cent) and 2,796 (15.75 per cent). Five tahsils, namely Surajpur, Ambikapur, Baikunthpur, Pal and Samri fall in the low category of rural female tribal workers while three, namely Manendragarh,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranks</th>
<th>Rural Female</th>
<th>Urban Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>86,111</td>
<td>34.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>64,670</td>
<td>30.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>65,344</td>
<td>17.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, 1981.

Baikunthpur and Surajpur are in the same category of urban female tribal workers, the respective numbers and percentages of the two being 65,344 (17.04 per cent) and 327 (7.55 per cent).
Main Activity of Workers

According to their main activity, workers have been classified into three categories viz., cultivators, agricultural labourers and others workers.¹

Cultivators

According to the 1981 census the tribal cultivators in the region are 494,671 in number, and constitute about 62 per cent of the total workers' population in the region. Of these, 484,671 (99.39 per cent) are rural and only 3,031 (0.61 per cent) are urban workers, which shows a

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¹ According to the 1971 Census, there are nine categories of workers: 1) cultivators, 2) agricultural labourers, 3) livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting, plantations, orchard and allied activities, 4) mining, 5) manufacturing, processing and servicing with sub-categories: a) household industry and b) other than household industry, 6) construction, 7) trade and commerce, 8) transport, storage and communication, and 9) other workers.

In the 1981 Census, however, main workers were divided into only 4 categories, viz., i) cultivators, ii) agricultural labourers, iii) those engaged in household industry and iv) other work. For purposes of this chapter, main workers have been divided into 3 categories i) cultivators, ii) agricultural labourers and iii) other workers, non-agricultural labourers.
decline since 1961. In 1961 about 72.13 per cent of the workers were cultivators. After a decade in 1971 the percentage of cultivator came down to just 59.49 per cent and in 1981 it slightly increased, to 62 per cent.

The decline between 1961 and 1971 was probably due to the fact that a considerable number of tribal cultivators had been alienated from their holdings. About two-third of these tribal cultivators have holdings of less than four hectares, and the holding of about half the tribals are even less than two hectares, which is not sufficient for them even to provide food to their families for the whole year. Their misery is increased due to the influx of non-tribals and their land alienation practices. The construction of dams, establishment of industries and collieries in these poor and backward tribal areas have been attracting the non-tribals to monopolise job and business opportunities, which has pushed the tribals out of their fields and jobs. The ignorant tribal cultivators have lost their lands to the government for industrial establishments and mining. The slight recovery in percentage between 1971-81 is due to establishments

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1 Bahadur, F.K., op. cit., p.10.
of Integrated Tribal Development Programmes (I.T.D.Ps) and other schemes, which has helped the tribals in retaining and recovering their lands.

In Table XII rural and urban tribal cultivators are classified into three categories i.e. high, medium and low (vide Fig. 10.6).

### TABLE XII

Distribution of Tribal cultivators in Baghelkhand region, 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranks</th>
<th>Rural Total population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Urban Total population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>262,443</td>
<td>76.63</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>37.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>92,078</td>
<td>63.58</td>
<td>2,389</td>
<td>14.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>137,119</td>
<td>44.47</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>6.48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, 1981.

1 Based on Standard Deviation System.
BAGHELKHAND
PERCENT RURAL, URBAN TRIBAL CULTIVATORS
1981

PERCENT
HIGH > 70.9
MEDIUM 70.9 - 57.41
LOW < 57.41

PERCENT
HIGH > 19.2
MEDIUM 19.2 - 8.6
LOW < 8.6

NE = Non-Existing

FIG. 10.6
The high category of rural tribal cultivators, comprising 262,443 persons or 76.63 per cent, are found in six tahsils of Baikunthpur, Pushparajgarh, Ambikapur, Samri, Surajpur and Manendragarh. There are 92,078 persons or 63.58 per cent cultivators in the medium category in the tahsils of Singrauli, Deosar, Pal and Bharatpur. The remaining four tahsils, namely Gopadbanas, Bandogarh, Beohari and Sohagpur are in the low category.

The urban tribal cultivators of high category having 559 persons or 37.77 per cent are found in the tahsils of Bandogarh and Surajpur. The cultivators of medium category are 2,389 in number or 14.67 per cent of the population in the tahsils of Ambikapur, Beohari, Baikunthpur and Sohagpur. The remaining three tahsils, namely Manendragarh, Gopadbanas and Pal fall under the low category, having 83 persons or 6.48 per cent.

The cultivators' percentages among the major tribals of the region are as follows: Baigas (45.16), Bharias (50.50), Gonds (69.83), Kawars (83.67), Kols (18.35) and Oraons (77.31). Though Baigas are poor and traditional

Note: Because of paucity of 1981 Census data the percentages of each tribe according to the 1971 data are being given.
farmer who have not yet adopted new methods, Gonds, the largest tribe of the region, have a low percentage of cultivators. Bharias who are generally found all over the region and are mainly concentrated in its southern parts are also traditional farmers, while Oraon and Kawars have a high literacy rate and are good farmers.

Agricultural Labourers (Rural and Urban)

The number of agricultural labourers in Baghelkhand region stands at 238,540, which makes 30 per cent of the total of tribal workers' population. Of the 238,540 agricultural labourers 232,757 (97.60 per cent) are rural and 5,833 (2.40 per cent) are urban. Due to traditional wage system (generally in kind) and low incomes, a considerable number of landless agricultural labourers are migrating out of the region in search of better prospects. Those who do not go out find better incomes in others jobs like brick making, mining, rickshaw pulling or work as khallasis or coolies. The skilled ones works as masons, carpenters and drivers. But in spite of all this shifting of jobs, the numbers of agricultural labourers in increasing. In 1961, the share of agricultural labourers among the workers was just 21 per cent, while in 1971 their percentage increased to 35 per cent. In the 1981 Census it was recorded as 30 per cent. Though
detailed tribe-wise figures of agricultural labourers for the year 1981 are not yet available, on the basis of the fact that the total number of tribal workers in this category has registered an increased, it is perhaps safe to assume that every tribe has contributed to their increase.

The major tribes of the region, which makes eighty four per cent of their total population, registered increase of percentage of agricultural labourers among them between the years 1961 and 1971, the respective figures of which are: Baigas¹ (27.12 and 49.21), Bharia or Bhumia (24.72 and 42.37), Gond (12.09 and 25.24), Kawar (5.49 and 13.44), Kols (61.48 and 75.96) and Oraon (5.54 and 17.58).

This variation can be attributed to a number of factors such as general opening up of the area, search for better economic prospects, decreasing demand of agricultural labourers etc. The most important factor is that non-tribals are trying to acquire tribal lands, leaving the tribals with very little land. The result

¹ The percentages of agricultural labourers in years 1961 and 1971 of each tribe are given in (brackets).
TABLE XIII

Distribution of Tribals agricultural labourers in 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranks</th>
<th>Rural Total population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Urban Total population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>130,203</td>
<td>46.33</td>
<td>5,379</td>
<td>39.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>42,815</td>
<td>29.27</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>18.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>59,689</td>
<td>17.29</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>5.31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, 1981.

is that the tribals who have sold their lands have become agricultural labourers, knowing no others work. Their increase in the decade 1961-71 can be attributed to this fact. However, the decrease in 1971-81 was due to the fact that Governmental agencies came to the rescue of the tribals and the magnitude of land alienation decreased.

Tahsilwise distribution of rural and urban agricultural labourers is given in percentages and has been classified into high, medium and low categories. It is shown in Table XIII and has also been depicted in Fig.10.7. Tahsils Sohagpur, Bandogarh, Beohari
and Gopadbanas fall under high category with 130,203 tribal labourers or 46.33 per cent. The four tahsils, namely Bharatpur, Pal, Singrauli and Deosar, which have 42,815 labourers or 29.27 per cent of the rural tribal agricultural labourers, come in the medium category and the remaining six tahsils of low category of the rural tribal agricultural labourers are Manendragarh, Surajpur, Samri, Baikunthpur, Ambikapur and Pushparajgarh, comprising 59,689 persons or 17.29 per cent.

Only nine tahsils of the region have urban population and a considerable number of urban tribal agricultural labourers are found in these tahsil which are categorized as high medium and low. 5,079 labourers or 39.92 per cent are found in the four tahsils of high category, namely Bandogarh, Gopadbanas, Sohagpur and Beohari. The medium category includes two tahsils, namely Ambikapur and Pal, having 278 labourers or 18.22 per cent and the remaining three tahsils, namely Manendragarh, Surajpur and Baikunthpur have 176 labourers or 5.31 per cent total number of urban tribal agricultural labourers.

Other Rural and Urban Tribal Workers or Non-Agricultural Labourers

The tribals of the region other than cultivators and agricultural labourers are about 66,767 or about
20 per cent of the total number of workers. Of these, 55,461 (83.04 per cent) are rural and 11,326 (16.96 per cent) are urban. Tribals living in urban and sub-urban areas are engaged in secondary and tertiary activities. The tribals in rural areas are mostly unable to participate in such activities because of poverty, ignorance, traditional ways of living and influx of non-tribal traders and contractors. The major tribes of the region, except Oraons and Kawars, registered a decline in percentages of other workers during the period between 1961 and 1971 e.g. Baigas (10.08, 5.63), Bharias or Bhumias (12.12, 7.13), Gonds (4.66, 4.93), Kawars (2.90, 2.89), Kols (13.04, 5.69) and Oraons (4.80, 5.11).

### TABLE XIV

Distribution of Tribal workers in Baghelkhand region — other workers (III: IX)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranks</th>
<th>Rural Total population</th>
<th>Rural Percentage</th>
<th>Urban Total population</th>
<th>Urban Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>25,389</td>
<td>10.87</td>
<td>4,184</td>
<td>85.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>12,979</td>
<td>6.20</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>52.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>17,093</td>
<td>4.59</td>
<td>6,711</td>
<td>46.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, 1981.

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1 The percentages of rural and urban tribal workers of each tribe for the years 1961 and 1971 are given in brackets.
As regards rural areas, the tahsils of the region have been classified into high, medium and low in respect of the percentages of other tribal workers. Table XIV and Fig. 10.8 indicates that the percentage of other rural tribal workers of high category comprised 25,389 persons or 10.87 per cent in the four tahsils of Bandogarh, Baikunthpur, Singrauli and Sohagpur. In the medium category there were 12,979 persons or 6.20 per cent other rural tribal workers in four tahsils, namely Pal, Surajpur, Manendragarh and Bharatpur. The remaining six tahsils, viz., Ambikapur, Beohari, Pushparajgarh, Deosar, Samri and Gopadbanas fall in the low category having 17,093 persons or 4.59 per cent.

In the high category of other urban tribal workers there are four tahsils, namely Pal, Ambikapur, Baikunthpur and Manendragarh comprising 4,184 persons or 85.50 per cent. Two tahsils, namely Gopadbanas and Surajpur fall in the medium category having 431 tribals or 52.48 per cent. The remaining three tahsils, namely Beohari, Bandogarh and Sohagpur fall in the low category and have 6,711 tribal worker or 46.36 per cent.
Literacy Among the Tribals

Due to high rate of their illiteracy the tribals have to face many problems. Chief of them is their ruthless exploitation, making them miserable victims of economic and social injustice. This position is true of all parts of India, and Baghelkhand region is no exception. Education, therefore, is a necessity for the uplift of the tribal people of Baghelkhand region.

The literacy rates among tribals show that though some efforts have been made towards improvement in this respect, they are still far behind the non-tribals in education, though there are a fairly large number of educational establishments with requisite facilities in the region (Tables XV and XVI). There is also a great disparity between male and female literacy rates.

Education appears to be a luxury to the tribals which they cannot afford to provide to their children. Again, a tribal child is involved in some work to enable his parents to make both ends meet. Often he is entrusted with the task of looking after other younger children or acting as a watchman of his house in the absence of his parents. Tribal children can be educated only if school hours and school-days are fixed in such a way that they
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saiga</td>
<td>F</td>
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<td>95.96</td>
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<td>99.01</td>
<td>96.60</td>
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<td>95.56</td>
<td>92.86</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>98.76</td>
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<td>95.19</td>
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<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>97.39</td>
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<td>NA</td>
<td>97.47</td>
<td>97.46</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>91.65</td>
<td>87.09</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>97.77</td>
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<td>91.16</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>99.89</td>
<td>99.06</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>99.87</td>
<td>95.63</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>99.49</td>
<td>98.67</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>99.78</td>
<td>97.02</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>99.81</td>
<td>99.29</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>98.99</td>
</tr>
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</table>

2. Census of India, 1971, Madhya Pradesh, Part II-C (i), Social and Cultural Tables
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of education</th>
<th>Baiga Percentage</th>
<th>Bhumia Percentage</th>
<th>Gond Percentage</th>
<th>Kawan Percentage</th>
<th>Kol Percentage</th>
<th>Oran Percentage</th>
<th>All scheduled tribe Percentage</th>
<th>General population Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Literate without educational level</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>79.20</td>
<td>54.22</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>87.83</td>
<td>76.04</td>
<td>NA</td>
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<td></td>
<td>M</td>
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<td>83.33</td>
<td>35.60</td>
<td>NA</td>
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<td>Primary or Junior basic</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>5.70</td>
<td>55.29</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>11.66</td>
<td>23.33</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>12.42</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>5.62</td>
<td>57.76</td>
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<td>10.30</td>
<td>33.47</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>12.17</td>
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<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>7.55</td>
<td>35.57</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>16.67</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>16.46</td>
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<td>Matric and above</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.63</td>
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<td>0.63</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>0.12</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.71</td>
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<td>0.37</td>
<td>1.01</td>
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<td>0.13</td>
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<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1.89</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Census of India, 1971, Madhya Pradesh, Part II-C (i), Social and Cultural Tables
may conveniently attend school. Seasonal institutions may be opened when maximum opportunity is available for a tribal to send his children to school.

The problem of education in the Baghelkhand regions is two-fold:

1. Consolidation of existing educational facilities.
2. Greater dispersal of education.

Educational facilities in the villages of Baghelkhand region, according to 1971 Census of India, are as follows:

1. Primary Schools 2,924
2. Middle School 265
3. Higher Secondary Schools 50

The above data will reveal that educational facilities at the primary school level are adequate. There are 6,488 villages in the region out of which 2,924 villages have primary schools i.e., on an average about 2 villages are covered by each primary school. Special incentives are given to tribals for sending their children to schools. The tribals do get their children enrolled in the schools only to avail themselves of some benefits like quotas of sugar and kerosene oil, but actually they
do not send them to the schools, and instead they have
to work at house. Therefore the attendance of students
in the schools is always much lower than the number
enrolled.¹

There are 265 middle schools in the region. This
means there is one middle school for every 11 to 12 primary
schools. This number is not sufficient to cover the
numbers of students leaving primary schools. There are
50 higher secondary schools in the region and one college,
in Singrauli Tahsil of Sidhi district.

Male and Female Tribal Literates

Tables XV and XVI show some facts about literacy
among the major tribes of the region.

Among the literate tribals, the highest percentage
is of the 'literate without educational level', which too
has been decreasing rapidly since 1961. On the other hand,
there was a large increase in the percentage of literates
among Baigas, Bhumias, Gonds, Kawars, Kols and Oraons in
the category of primary or junior basic level literates

¹ The present researcher observed when he went to the
villages Patra Pali, Bodh Gaon of Baikunthpur tahsil,
Nagam Paseena, Chaingdra and Raghunathpur of Ambikapur
and Gandhigram of Gopadhanas that the attendance of
students in primary schools was much lower than
number of students enrolled.
between 1961 and 1971. There has been no progress in the percentages of literates in the matric and above category which was below one per cent except in the Kawar and Oraon tribes during the same period. This inadequacy of education creates a lacuna in the socio-economic development of the tribals.

TABLE XVII

Distribution of male and female literate tribals in Baghelkhand region - 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranks</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total production</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>62,272</td>
<td>17.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>41,792</td>
<td>13.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>27,416</td>
<td>10.23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, 1981.

Tahsilwise percentages of male and female literate tribals in Baghelkhand region have been categorized as high, medium and low in Table XVII and are also represented in Fig.10.9. The six tahsils of high category of male tribal literates are Ambikapur, Samri, Bharatpur, Nanendragarh, Pushparajgarh, Baikunthpur where the percentage
of literates was 17.99. In the medium category there are three tahsils namely Bandogarh, Sohagpur and Surajpur where the percentage of male literate tribals was 12.23. The remaining five tahsils namely Deosar, Singrauli, Gopadbanas, Pal and Beohari fall under last category with 10.23 per cent literates.

The percentages of literate among the female tribals were very low. This was because of poverty, ignorance, early marriage, distant educational establishments, change from bride price to dowry system etc. In the high category there were four tahsils - Manendragarh, Ambikapur, Samri and Baikunthpur with 3.70 per cent female literates. Five tahsils namely Pal, Sohagpur, Surajpur, Bharatpur and Pushparajgarh fell in the medium category with 1.60 per cent female tribal literates. The remaining five tahsils which were in the low category, namely Deosar, Singrauli, Beohari, Gopadbanas, and Bandogarh had as low as 0.69 per cent female tribal literates.

TRIBAL VILLAGES AND RURAL SETTLEMENTS

A rural settlement in tribal areas is a grouping of dwellings in their typical form exhibiting a definite
relationship and 'a fine adjustment' to soil, topography, climate and water supply, which determine the nature of a settlement in the region. Generalizations are not possible and patterns of settlement cannot be explained only in terms of a few isolated factors. During the course of village surveys of the region one is easily convinced of the importance of such cultural factors as the sense of security and migration, ethnic composition and traditions, socio-economic bonds, clan solidarity, irrigation facilities, cooperation in agriculture, methods of cultivation, size and fragmentation of holdings and lease systems. Thus, now it is realized that many factors are involved, the mode of life of the tribal people, the tribal economy, the historical background and, most important of all, the geographical setting must be considered. Therefore to understand forms of settlement, one must study physical as well as cultural factors, because settlement types show interesting correlations with both the physical and cultural factors.

Baghelkhand region is predominantly rural in character, where above 40 per cent rural population is tribal, living in 6,203 villages. Among these villages 1,524 (24.57 per cent) have a concentration of tribals, which is put in high categories. These 1,524 villages have a total population of 616,245 tribals which is 70.98 per cent of total population and form parts of Pushparajgarh, Bharatpur, Manendragarh, Ambikapur and Samri tehsils (Fig. 10.10 and Table XVIII). There are 2,605 villages (42 per cent) in medium category which includes tahsils of Bandogarh, Beohar, Sohagpur, Surajpur and Pal and have a tribal population of 804,633 persons, which is 51 per cent of total population of these tahsils. The remaining 2,074 villages (33.43 per cent) which belong to the low category are spread over the tahsils of Gopadbanas, Deosar, Singrauli and Baikantpur which are inhabited by 364,374 tribals, which is 34.4 per cent of total population of these tahsils. The distribution of villages categorywise according to the size of houses is as follows:

Of the 1,524 villages in the high category of tribal concentration, there are 247 villages (16.21 per cent) with population of less than 200, 547 villages (35.89 per cent) with population of between 200 and 499, 532 villages (34.91 per cent) with population of between
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category based on percentage of rural tribal population to the total rural population</th>
<th>Rural Tribal population 1981</th>
<th>Village classified by population size 1981</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of Tribals</td>
<td>Percentage total population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>616245 (34.51)</td>
<td>70.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>604633 (45.07)</td>
<td>51.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>364374 (20.42)</td>
<td>34.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1785252</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

500 and 999 and 198 villages (12.99 per cent) with above 1,000 people.

Of the 2,605 villages in the medium category of tribal concentration, there are 460 villages (17.66 per cent) with population of less than 200, 937 villages (35.97 per cent) with population of between 200 and 499, 773 villages (29.67 per cent) with population between 500 and 999 and 435 villages (16.70 per cent) with above 1,000 people.

Of the 2,074 villages in the low category of tribal concentration, there are 643 villages (31 per cent) with population of less than 200, 637 villages (30.71 per cent) with population of between 200 and 499, 689 villages (30.71 per cent) with population between 500, 999 and 305 villages (14.71 per cent with above 1,000 people.

The locational patterns of villages and house types in these essentially tribal areas are somewhat different from those occurring elsewhere and there are a large number of villages in these areas where there are no compact settlements, villages comprising isolated homesteads and dispersed clusters. Further, there is a great tendency in these areas, particularly in the eastern
and southern part of the region, toward formation of separate hamlets which are sometimes 3 to 5 km away from one another, and almost bear the resemblance of separate villages.

Locational Pattern

Location and growth of villages of the region may further be classified on the basis of common factors like availability of water, fertility of land, topography and transport facilities. The last of these factors may either enhance the importance of an existing village or initiate the establishment of a settlement.

Taking the availability of water as a locational factor, the settlements may be classified into three, i.e. well settlements, tank settlements and river side settlements.

The 'well settlements' are important in Bandogarh tahsil and also in parts of Deosar and Gopadbanas tahsils. Some of them are¹ - Mungwani (Bandogarh, 776-82), Titalli

¹ Name of the tahsil to which a settlement belongs, with total population and tribal population figures of 1971 are given in bracket against each example.
(Gopadbanas, 1045-154), Khaira (Deosar, 689-225) and Patrapali (Baikunthpur 319-126). In these villages spacing is haphazard because of rugged terrain underlain by a variety of rock formations causing variations in the depth of the water table.

The 'tank settlements' are found in Badagaon Viran (Gopadbanas 70-48), Rampur (Gopadbanas, 52-35), Putadand (Baikunthpur 314-267) etc. These settlements are usually far apart. Each tank supports one or two villages and are surrounded by a few hamlets where people are engaged in fishing and agriculture.

Riverside settlements are also quite large and are located on high stony banks. Among them are Bharatpur (Bharatpur 656-136), Jiyawan (Deosar 1218-430), Sihawal (Gopadbanas 832-103), Bijauni (Sohagpur, 555-395), etc. Usually, chains of settlements along a stream flowing on gently undulating plateau surface may be marked. Examples may be seen along the Ghorchattar in Bandogarh tahsil, Mohan river in Deosar tahsil etc. These villages are upto 500 m from the river in most cases. Another category of interfluvial location of villages may be marked in Bandogarh tahsil along the tributaries of Ghorchhatar river where some of the villages are, Bhanpura (642-502),
Silaundi (551-353), Barhi Chhot (55-8) etc. Usually the top of the interfluve (dry point) of small streams is selected for protection against floods of short duration and also for conserving cultivable land, the soil mantle of which is renewed every year by floods.

The other important factor to be considered is transport. Only 54 villages of the region are located either near metalled roads or railway lines. The typical examples of such villages are Ragunathpur (Ambikapur 399-261), Amarpur (Baikunthpur 402-213), Benibari (Pushparajgarh 705-560) and Khutar (Singrauli 3175-116) along metalled roads while Sarai (Deosar 1571-442), Karanji (Surajpur 1151-48), Bailbehra (Manendragarh 590-361) are along railway lines. These settlements are usually not large, as the frequency and volume of traffic passing through them is very small, due to the poor resource base of their hinterlands.

Beside the above-mentioned types of settlements, the foothill type is also found along the Maikala foothill zone in Shahdol district. Two such chains are located along the 2,000 feet and 1,750 feet contour lines (Fig.10.11). Among the dense forests, villages are also located on hill-tops. In such cases usually a few hamlets
are seen on flat topped spurs with supporting sister settlements down below. Examples of such settlements are Gopalpur (430-398) and Rampur (158-108) in Bandogarh tahsil.

Some unique type of 'ghat' settlements are seen along the Maikala hills. The traffic passes through a number of ghat which support two settlements each - one at the top and the other at the bottom. A total of 25 such ghat (passes) are found along this zone and some villages supported by them are Tumichot (427-404), Ghunghuti (762 457), Ahirgaon (217 202) etc. in Sohagpur tahsil. Two such ghat are also there in Bharatpur tahsil, namely, Kamraj (490-430) and Harchauka (425-327). Ferry and ford point location of settlements may also be mentioned in this context. The paramount factor in such cases seems to be the break of bulk points rather than merely a riverside location. A chain of point settlements is found along the Mahanadi river where it marks the political boundary between Murwas and Bandogarh tahsils.

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1 Ghat, is a local term used for pass in a mountainous area.
Mention may also be made of some mining villages. Among them are Bijuri (398-169), Kotma (Sohagpur, 1362-644) etc.

Ancient sites which were once flourishing towns have also influenced the siting of settlements in the Baghelkhand region. Manpur (Bandogarh, 3523-723) was a flourishing centre in the Gupta period and was known as Manapuram. Majhouli (262-177) is said to be an ancient sacred place connected with Varha Avtar. In Bharatpur, Harchoka (425-328) is supposed to be connected with the temple monasteries of 1870-71.

A few lines may be added about the impact of Rihand Dam on the distribution of settlements in Singrauli tahsil where some area has been submerged under water. The submerged area is generally known as 'doab area' and people affected are called 'doab people'. Some of the submerged villages are Tilgawan, Judi, Gubadi, Churchuria etc. Usually the traders have occupied open roadside

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1 Majumdar, R.C., Ray Chaudhari and Kalikinkar Datta, An Advanced History of India, p. 150.
2 Hira, Lal Rai Bahadur, Descriptive List of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar, Nagpur, 1916.
3 Doab area = submerged area.
forests which have thick soil cover. On the fringes of the existing large settlements, hamlets may be seen built by such people. The tribals have entered the forested portions of the interior according to their tradition.

**Settlement Types and Patterns**

Generally compact, semi-compact and isolated types of settlements are found in the region. The ground plans of these settlements are dominated by climate, geologico-topographical conditions and the degree of material culture. The patterns of settlements i.e. the actual arrangements of streets and roads may be of several types like radial, star-shaped, chess-board, circular, fan-shaped etc. These patterns may exist in both types of settlements commonly found in the region, compact and semi-compact, which have developed on level stretches and undulating plateaus. The hill ranges and their associated drainage channels have given rise to linear type of settlements. Besides these, rect-angular and triangular patterns of settlements are also exist.

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Isolated groups of hamlets are also met with in tribal areas where the patterns of houses may differ according to the type of tribe inhabiting a village. For example, Baigas do not use plough for tilling the land because using a plough means lacerating "the breast of Mother Earth". Moreover, they maintain that God made the jungles to produce the necessities of life and made the Baigas, the king of the forest, giving them wisdom to discover the things provided for them. Their major implement is the iron axe. Therefore they like to live in the scattered forested villages with rugged terrain sometimes in only isolated homesteads. While on the other hand, nearly all the Gonds, the largest tribe of the region, are dependent on agriculture either as cultivators or as agricultural labourers and prefer to make their houses near to their fields.

Compact and Semi-Compact Settlements

Such settlements are seen on the interplateau basins of Baghelkhand region (Fig. 10.11, 3). Such villages

1 Dube, B.K. and Bahadur, F., A Study of the People and Tribal Areas of Madhya Pradesh, Bhopal, 1966, p. 86.
2 ibid., p. 85.
have generally grown at junctions of roads near a waterbody. Beohari, exhibiting a radial pattern (Fig.10.18, 8), is an important example of this type. It is dotted with a number of small tanks and agricultural fields. In actual siting of settlements, preference to agricultural land and lines of communication are equal in importance to the waterbody. The neighbouring nuclei also exhibit such preference. Examples of radial pattern are also met with in Bharkhara (64A/1), Barhi (64A/13), etc. The limited resource base of the surrounding area of such settlements makes import a necessity. Hence transport has a greater influence on siting than merely a tank or a stream. Along the Shahdol-Anuppur section also such examples may be met with at Lalpur, Singpur, Anuppur, Ponri and Murwahi villages etc. Among the bends of the Son also, compact type of settlements are found (Fig.10.11,3). The river bends, in their process of evolution, have created wide level areas, full of alluvial soils, providing attractive sites for settlements. Example of such villages are Imilia, Balhoun, Saria and Burwo etc.

Some settlements around old forts are also of this type. Kanhawara, Chorhat, Khatlai may be cited as examples.
Linear Settlements

Linear type of settlements also dominate the cultural landscape of the region. Some examples of such settlements have been shown in Fig. 10.11, 4,5. A strong lineation tendency may be marked west of Sihawal (Fig. 10.11, 4). These habitations have avoided the vast central extent of fertile land. Clustering is in small groups along water sites. Around Chorhat too, such linear tendency may be marked on either side of the Faponala. The size of the waterbody has determined the number of houses. Fertile soils have attracted cultivators. The patterns are haphazard and in places a semi-circular pattern is found. Such tendency is also seen along the Maikal slopes, but the number of villages being very few, it is not as strong as in the cases discussed above. As already stated, means of communication have also contributed to the tendency of linear settlements. In Banas-Gopad basins there are examples of such settlements.

Rectangular and Triangular Settlements

Rectangular pattern is commonly found in Deosar, Sohagpur, Pushpurajgarh and Bandogarh tahsils. Usually these settlements are located along the main roads with a shorter road branching off in another direction. This latter road
road leads to the interior of a village. Such settlements are Piprodh Rajbandh (L/10) Kanhawara (64A/5), Kua (64A/13), Banyara Kalan (64A/10), Dukaria (64A/13) (Fig. 10.18, 9-12) etc. Triangular pattern is seen in villages which are in between the junction of a main road and a small road. In between the triangular space thus available, houses naturally form a triangular pattern. Such examples are met with in Jhinghri (64A/5) and Chaka (64A/5) etc.

House Types

Climate and local environment determine the style and structure of houses. Usually enclosed house types are avoided and open and airy houses are preferred. The central and most important feature of the traditional the Indian houses as well as houses of/region under study whether in a village or in a town, is the courtyard (Angan or Uthan) where most of a occupants' time passes, while in the rooms property is secured and shelter sought from the rigours of the weather. The courtyard is for living, the room mainly for storage and retiring.

The architecture of a house in rural areas is thus mainly determined by (i) the commanding position

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occupied by the courtyard or quadrangle, (ii) the need to safeguard livestock and draught cattle, the harvest, the household god (choura) and the kitchen, and (iii) the availability of local material for wall and roof. Considerations of privacy, decency, elbow room and sufficiency of covered living area come only when these basic requirements have been fulfilled. The scale of building and size of rooms are of course determined by the nature of the raw material used and its stress and load bearing capacity, and, above all, by the economic status of the owner.

The most elementary form of rural house consists of a single room set in some open space surrounded by trees and a kitchen garden which gives it seclusion and privacy within the community. The structure may have either a round or a rectangular plinth or floor area with a single slope or double slope or high round conical roof (Fig.10.12).

Sal wood beams supporting the roof are called 'dharna' and bamboo or wood support of tiles is known as 'bata'. The absence of windows in the houses is remarkable.

ibid., Census of India, 1961.
SINGLE ROOFED WITH DOUBLE SLOPE HOUSE

SINGLE ROOFED WITH SINGLE SLOPE HOUSE

DOUBLE ROOFED HIGH ROUND CONICAL ROOF HOUSE

TRIBAL HOUSE TYPES
This is because there is no security and except for Christian Oraons, they have no money to buy iron or wooden bars for the purpose. They make round holes or small windows. For ventilation, some space is left between the wall and the roof.

Food grains, poultry, livestock (goats, sheep or pigs), and kitchen are all housed in different portions or compartments made of waist high partitions within the single roomed-house. Most of the household chores are done in the courtyard.

**Wall and Roof Materials**

The present researcher observed during his field survey of the villages that the most common material for the wall is mud. At some places grass, leaves and bamboo are also used as wall material. Generally this type of wall material is found in forest villages. Walls built with unburnt bricks are also found in some places. These are very uncommon and indicate the prosperity of a tribal. A negligible number of houses have stone walls. (Table XIX).

The most common roof material is khipra or khaprel (tile). In the past the tribals habitually made roofs of their houses with grass, leaves, unburnt bricks or
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Tahsil</th>
<th>Name of the village</th>
<th>Total number of houses</th>
<th>Grass, reeds or bamboo</th>
<th>Unburnt bricks</th>
<th>Wood</th>
<th>Stone</th>
<th>Grass, reeds or bamboo</th>
<th>Tiles, thatch unburnt brick or bamboo</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sidhi</td>
<td>Gopadbanas</td>
<td>Gandhidram Khoha</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>Kol (45), Gond (30), Panika (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bagaiha</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>Gond (60), Kol (35), Baiga (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deosar</td>
<td>Ambatola</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>Gond (60), Panika (70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shahdol</td>
<td>Sembiraha</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>Baiga (161), Kol (20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deogawan</td>
<td></td>
<td>65</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>Baiga (164), Kol (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Surguja</td>
<td>Baikunthpur Patra Pali</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>Gond (300), Baiga (90), Oraon (20), Agariya (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Badagaon</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>Gond (200), Baiga (130), Oraon (40), Kol (30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Surajpur Chandra</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1,668</td>
<td>Oraon (1,000), Korwa (500), Nagesia (10), Panika (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ambikapur Nagam Pasuna</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>Korwa (150), Nagesia (100), Korwa (7), Oraon (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>695</strong></td>
<td><strong>110</strong></td>
<td><strong>743</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
<td><strong>?</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>795</strong></td>
<td><strong>12.29</strong>, <strong>63.03</strong>, <strong>1.56</strong>, <strong>2.90</strong>, <strong>0.25</strong>, <strong>11.73</strong>, <strong>66.27</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:**
1) Population of each tribe of respective villages is given in the bracket.
2) The names of backward tribes are underlined.
bamboo. But non-tribal migrants to these tribal areas introduced the durable and easy technique of khipra (tile). Consequently, in the majority of the roofs the predominant material is khipra. A smaller section still make their roofs with grass, leaves, unburnt brick or bamboo. This type of roof is made either by poor tribals living near forests or when temporary houses are needed for a short duration of time.

**TABLE XX**

Accommodation of Houses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of rooms</th>
<th>Number of houses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single room accommodation</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double room accommodation</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triple room accommodation</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation with more than three rooms</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
House Plan and Accommodation

The majority of tribals of the region are ill-housed people. A sample survey conducted during the course of field work revealed that (as given in the Table XX and Fig. 10.13) in rural areas, out of 850 houses, 159 consisted of single room accommodation, 270 houses had double room accommodation, 240 had three rooms and 180 houses consisted of more than three rooms.

Lay-out of Houses

There is no set pattern of the lay-out of houses. Usually they are scattered. Almost all the villages are of irregular or amorphous pattern, as they were settled before the construction of roads. The people built their house wherever they found it convenient to do so. It was later that the tracks and lanes developed. The lanes run with rows of houses on either sides. The main entrance of the houses mostly faces the roads or lanes. However, there are a few exception to this.

Arrangement of Rooms

A poor man's house consist of single room accommodation with an attached verandah. The room is large,
generally 5.50 m x 2.50 m and the verandah is of the same size. An open courtyard is generally attached to the verandah.

Houses with double room are also built by the tribals who have greater resource at their command. These houses have either a single verandah or a verandah on either side of the house. The provision of a courtyard is generally made in every house. Houses with three or more rooms are owned by tribals enjoying a high economic status.

The houses are generally built in a row. Sometimes, large families or members of a clan build their houses in a single quadrangle. There is generally some open space between the houses.

Apart from agriculture, the economy of the tribals of the region largely depends on livestock. Therefore sheds either open or closed are generally built for keeping livestock. Sometimes the poor tribals also keep cattle along with the family members in the verandah.

Usually all the members of a family sleep at one place. If there is a "Dhum Kuriya", he is provided separate accommodation.

---

1 Dhum Kuriya, Sometimes a boy is adopted or hired to work in the fields. He is known as Dhum Kuriya.
The tribals, though they look dirty themselves, keep their houses clean and tidy. Housewives are particularly keen to keep their houses neat and clean. Cleaning is done every day, and at least twice a week, the floor is plastered with cowdung mixed with mud.

Selection of House Sites and Rituals Connected with Houses

Before constructing a house the tribals carefully select a site for it. They follow their customs in this regard. Generally for a house, land adjoining a road or a lane is preferred. To select a site, four pits are dug on four corners of a plot and some rice grains are put in each pit and it is covered with a clod of earth. A fowl or pigeon is then sacrificed. This ceremony is performed on a Saturday or a Tuesday, particularly in the evening. On the next day, the number of grains are carefully counted. Reduction in the number of grains is regarded as ominous and if grains are found intact in all the four pits the site is regarded as a good one. Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays are considered auspicious for laying the foundation of a house. On the appointed day incense is burnt and fowl and rice beer (kusna) or mahua
wine are offered to friends and relatives. The family 
gods and goddesses are worshipped. After the construction 
of a house is over, a ceremony is performed before its 
occupation. On the first entrance in the newly constructed 
house 'Pharmesh' (the supreme deity), Bura-buri (the 
ancestors), Gaon pujari or Guniya (the village deity) 
are worshipped with the sacrifice of a fowl. For this, 
a portion of the western side of the house is selected 
and cleaned. Nowadays, these practices are gradually 
disappearing because of acculturation, owing to the 
influence of the non-tribals. The houses are constructed 
primarily with the help of family members. Some labourers 
may be employed for which payment is generally made in 
kind. Both collateral and affinal relatives are invited 
to participate in the construction work. Neighbours also 
help in the construction. At the day's end, those 
participating in the building of the house are served with 
rice beer and are feasted.
CHAPTER XI

TRIBAL WELFARE

Developing societies are strenuously struggling to accelerate their growth in the face of their own serious handicaps and inadequate support from outside. The proven social, political and economic mechanisms borrowed from developed societies are ineffective in removing the sluggishness and inertia of the masses which expect the government to perform miracles of development, even going beyond their own expectations. As no government could succeed in bringing about the expected wonders, frustrations are rising, bringing in their wake political and economic instability. These problems have attracted the attention of political scientists, economists, sociologists, anthropologists, geographers and others. However, when the problems of the development of tribal areas in a developing society are scrutinized, the startling reality stares one in the face. The illiterate tribals with his own tribal dialects have no basis of interaction with the elite who cherish the values of economic development and modernisation. The middlemen, government servants, teachers, traders and money lenders, who forge links between the elite and the tribals, generally do not understand their warp of life. Some of those who do understand,
exploit them for their own ends. Under this situation, the development of tribal areas poses a serious problem.

Welfare of tribals has always been one of the serious concerns of the Government. However, the philosophies and mode of execution of policies of development have been undergoing change from time to time. Under the alien rule i.e. prior to 1947, the basic plank of the philosophy was, to use a rather simplistic term, that of isolation i.e. minimizing the intrusion of, and interference by, outsiders and letting the primitive tribes develop of their own, according to their own genius. One may criticise this policy as one which aimed at keeping the tribals in a zoo, one may criticise the slow pace of development that took place because of this policy; one may even talk about the ill-effects of isolation which resulted in cutting the tribal societies off from the mainstream of national life and the cultural and economic development of the country. All this criticism may be valid. Over this, endless debate has been going on for more than half a century now. But one can never doubt the sincerity of purpose and the genuineness of intentions behind this policy.
Be that as it may, the policy of isolation may have been suitable at a certain time and situation. It certainly could not be suitable for all time. And some people who were interested in the tribals and their problems started thinking that the sooner the tribals could be assimilated into the mainstream of Indian society, the better it would be. A rapid and fast process of assimilation, however, had its own dangers. Living in fortresses of hills and forests, these tribals had nurtured their own distinctive culture for centuries and this culture had certain very distinctive values—courage—sincerity—truthfulness, love for labour, cooperative and community feeling, love for songs and dances and for the finer things of life. A rapid and fast change, it was apprehended, would tend to erode, and even completely wash off, these distinctive traits and these vital elements. It was thought that the results of assimilation would be far from happy. Therefore, it was thought that the tribals should develop along the lines of their own genius and imposing any thing on them should be avoided.

The tribals are a delicate and sensitive people and national integration is an extremely delicate and
sensitive process. It is not proposed here to go into the history of the development of the tribal population. It may only be stated that in spite of four five year plans the gap between the development of the tribals and that of the general population did not appear to be narrowing. Maybe, the tribals were developing all right but the nation in general was developing at a faster rate, and hence there was something wrong somewhere.\(^1\)

This feeling resulted in evolving national policy for tribal development which was incorporated in the Fifth Five Year Plan, and in a declaration of the Prime Minister on 19th June 1974. According to this strategy, the entire problem of tribal development was divided broadly into two parts, dealing with:

1) tribal majority areas, and
2) dispersed tribals.

Besides this broad two-way classification, another category of primitive tribal communities was also

recognized for special attention, irrespective of whether they lived within the areas of tribal concentration or outside.

The first question in the Fifth Plan was, from where to start the new thrust and how to phase this important task. The earlier programme of Tribal Development Blocks had been started in 1954 in areas of high tribal concentration and was gradually extended by the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan to all those areas which had more than two third tribal population. These blocks covered about 40 per cent of the total tribal population in the country. Thus the position was that even after Four Five Year Plans, bulk of the tribals were outside the ambit of any intensive tribal development programme.

At this stage it was also noted that socio-economic condition of dispersed tribal communities was much worse than that of those living in compact tribal majority areas. In most cases, the former had lost their resource base. Moreover in view of their small numbers they did not claim much attention. It was also accepted that the strategies for development in areas of tribal concentration and for dispersed tribals had to be
different. In the former case a strategy of Area Development with focus on the development of tribal communities was necessary. On the other hand, in the case of the dispersed tribals, the problems had to be tackled within the general development programmes of the concerned areas. Thus, the task of the dispersed tribals was admittedly a more difficult one.

In the context of this situation, it was decided that a major thrust should be made in the tribal majority areas, drawing upon the experience of earlier 'Tribal Development Blocks'. Simultaneously, a beginning was also to be made for the upliftment of tribals living in smaller concentrations. The objective was that the entire tribal population should be fully covered by an intensive programme in the second phase of tribal development.

The first task was to delineate the tribal majority areas. But the distribution of tribal population in different states is widely different. In some states the vast majority of the tribal people live in tribal-majority areas, while in some other states there were hardly any areas of tribal concentration. Consequently, a flexible approach was adopted. A block or taluka was
taken as the basic unit for the purpose of delineation of tribal majority areas. Accordingly, the preparation of tribal sub-plans was taken up in different states. However, it was found that although by adopting this formula a large section of tribal population was covered under the sub-plans in the states of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Manipur and Himachal Pradesh, each state and area had to have its own plan within a broad framework.

The Sixth Five Year Plan was devoted to the consolidation of the Fifth Plan efforts. Therefore there was only a marginal change in the coverage of tribal population under the tribal sub-plans programme. The smallest unit for inclusion in a sub-plan was taken as an area with a population threshold of 10,000. This helped in increasing the coverage of tribal sub-plans in the states of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh.

The Baghelkhand regions of Madhya Pradesh has had a large share of development under the auspices of I.T.D.Ps and sub-plan strategy. About 60 per cent area of the region was covered by these programmes.
Bagheli dialect is common, while in Surguja district the Chattisgarh dialect is spoken. And dialects of other tribes have their own identities. As far as the economic condition is concerned, the Baigas are the most backward tribal community of the region, while the Oraons are socio-economically its most advance tribe. The Gond who comprise the largest Hinduized tribe of the region, mainly engage in agriculture, while among the Oraons, comparatively high literacy is due to the efforts of Christian missionaries. Such a physiographically united and culturally diversified region has been enjoying the privilege of I.T.D.Ps under the tribal sub-plans.

As shown in Fig.11.1 and Tables XX, XXI, the following areas of Bagheli region are covered by the I.T.D.Ps:
**Sidhi District:** Kusmi Tribal Development Block of Gopabanas Tahsil.

**Shahdol:** Pushparajgarh and Sohagpur Tahsils and Jaisinghnagar Community Development Block of Gopadbanas Tahsil.

**Surguja District:** The whole district.

### TABLE XXI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Blocks/Pockets</th>
<th>Number of villages</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Population of S.T.</th>
<th>Percentage of S.T.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SIDHI</strong></td>
<td>Gopadbanas</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>66,352</td>
<td>43,627</td>
<td>65.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singrauli</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>18,293</td>
<td>13,086</td>
<td>71.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deosar</td>
<td>532</td>
<td>196,746</td>
<td>91,862</td>
<td>46.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SHAHDOL</strong></td>
<td>Bandogarh</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>97,950</td>
<td>61,132</td>
<td>62.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beohari</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>26,227</td>
<td>16,375</td>
<td>62.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,150</td>
<td>405,568</td>
<td>226,082</td>
<td>55.74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE XXII

**Integrated Tribal development projects**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I.T.D.P.</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number of blocks covered</th>
<th>Area (sq. km)</th>
<th>Population (1971 Census)</th>
<th>Baghelkhand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fully</td>
<td>Partly</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>S.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kusmi</td>
<td>Sidhi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,474</td>
<td>31,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahdol</td>
<td>Shahdol</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5,481</td>
<td>547,578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushparajgarh</td>
<td>Shahdol</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,764</td>
<td>108,573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaisinghnagar</td>
<td>Shahdol</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,542</td>
<td>82,946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambikapur</td>
<td>Surguja</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4,602</td>
<td>435,048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pal</td>
<td>Surguja</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5,483</td>
<td>258,722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surajpur</td>
<td>Surguja</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5,625</td>
<td>341,601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Surguja</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6,286</td>
<td>291,074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
<td>32,257</td>
<td>2,096,992</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Ministry of Home Affairs, Tribal Sub-Plan Areas, New Delhi 1983.
The Kusmi Block of Gopadbanas Tahsil of Sidhi district, Pushparajgarh and Sohagpur Tahsils of Shahdol District, and whole of Surguja District come under the purview of the ITDP. In Baghelkhand region these programmes cover an area of 32,617 sq. km with more than 55 per cent of its population, (1971 Census) inhabiting 4,275 revenue and forest villages. A negligible number of tribals, 13 per cent, live in urban areas.

The tribal population living within ITDP areas have a purely rural character and more than 90 per cent tribals directly or indirectly depend upon primitive and subsistence type of agriculture. Table XXII shows that the yields per hectare of food crops grown in tribal areas are in general lower than those of the rest of their respective districts. The chief means of livelihood of tribals agriculture. So Government has been trying to lay more emphasis on progress in the agricultural as compared with other sectors, to reduce their socio-economic backwardness. It was good that though belatedly but it was ultimately realized that the various tribal communities are at different stages of socio-economic development and may require different treatment. The agricultural tribes of the region cannot get rid of their poverty until their incomes are raised through
TABLE XXIII

Yields of food crops in Baghelkhand region (kg/hectare)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ITDPs Kusmi</td>
<td>Sidhi</td>
<td>ITDPs Sohagpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paddy</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jowar</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>737</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gram</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tur</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesame</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lineseed</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: (i) District Statistics Hand Book of
(1) Sidhi 1983
(2) Shahdol 1983
(3) Surguja 1983
(ii) Field Work.
agricultural development as well as with the help of other sources of income. Therefore, some suggestions for agricultural development as well as supplementary activities are being made in the following paragraphs.

(i) **Soil Erosion**

In Baghelkhand region, especially in its tribal dominated areas, soil erosion is a matter of great concern. There are many causes of soil erosion. An important cause is the monsoon rainfall. Some steps have already been taken to check soil erosion in the region. However greater emphasis should be placed on the prevention of sheet washing or soil planation by growing grasses and other forms of natural vegetation suitable to the area and by contour bunding. Continual vigilance is required and constant warefare has to be waged against the gully where it has formed. The gullies may be checked by damming, planting the slopes with proper grasses, improving the plant cover, scientific farm management, contour ploughing, terracing etc.

(ii) **Irrigation**

Irrigation is an important factor for increasing the production of crops in tribal areas. Resources
of existing perennial irrigation require special attention. Rural electrification for tapping all the water resources available is required by installing electric motor pumps. Wherever electric lines are not available, diesel pumping sets may be installed on rivers and nalla flowings. The farmers may be motivated to construct their own wells for the purpose of irrigation. For this purpose a detailed survey of ground water table is necessary. On the basis of existing wells and water resources in individual fields and patches ground water availability can be worked out which will facilitate the implementation of the programme of digging wells.

(iii) Improvements in Cropping Pattern

In order to increase the yields of crops, improvement in the cropping pattern is required. A systematic rotation of crops in this context will be fruitful.

(a) Research and Training - In proposing and starting new programmes it is essential to undertake research and trials in order to evolve new methods of crop production. The cropping programmes should be based on the experience
of the field specialists. The expertise on new crops that is obtained from these specialists needs to be tried on the farmers' field under different conditions like local verification trials, mini kit trials, demonstrations etc.

(b) **Training** - To transmit the knowledge obtained through research to the farmers it is necessary to prepare them psychologically and giving them the know-how of the crop development. It is suggested that training camps should be set up at village level or covering 3 to 5 villages before the sowing of **kharif** and **rabi** crops.

(c) **Demonstration** - The best method to persuade a farmer to adopt new practices is demonstration, along with group discussions. A chain of demonstrations at farmers' fields every year is needed.

(d) **Urea Spray** - Under the crop development programme, urea spray on standing **kharif** and **rabi** crops is proposed. It has been observed that urea spray results in quite good yields and it is also a measure that can be adopted without any difficulty even in unapproachable areas. The application of fertilizers as a basal doze in the crops may not be possible under the shallow soil condition of
the area. Inputs like H.Y.V. fertilizers, pesticides etc. should be provided at subsidised rates. Improved agricultural implements like sprayers, dusters, iron ploughs may be provided to these tribals.

(iv) Development of the handicrafts and cottage industries based on local raw material and labour force.

(v) Improvement in the quality of cattle to increase the dairy products.

(vi) Development of horticulture.

Education can play a very important role in accelerating the effective implementation of these programmes of tribal welfare. But there are some hurdles in the way of the spread of education among the tribals which are given in the following paragraphs.

The social history of the tribals reveals that the skills of reading and writing were unknown to them until recent times. The technical skills, religious beliefs and mythology were transferred from one generation to another, through oral tradition only. Literacy among these communities is thus a very recent development.
The apathy of tribal parents towards education discourages even their intelligent children from joining and continuing their education in schools. A majority of tribal children in Baghelkhand belong to the first generation of learners. The atmosphere at home is mostly uncongenial and unsympathetic towards children who wish to pursue their studies. Parents look upon education as a sort of luxury and it is generally thought that only the non-tribals can afford to educate their children. To the tribals, the proper place of a child is in the house or in the fields or forests, assisting their parents. Most of the males and sometimes whole family, are addicted to alcohol. That is why considerable amount of their meagre income is spent on drinks. Naturally, the parents do not have the will to spend even a tiny amount on the education of their children.

Their cultural isolation also hinders the education of the tribals. Most of the tribals are culturally isolated from non-tribals. They are suspicious of non-tribal teachers, who, in their turn, also treat tribal children shabbily and show contempt for their manners, dress, accent etc.
One of the reasons of low literacy among the tribals is their general poverty. A child, from the age of 6 or 7 years, starts assisting the family. They keep young ones at home while the elders member of the family are away for work. Later, after one or two years the children are also supposed to earn their own bread. Thus there is no time left with a tribal boy or girl to attend school.

Education of tribal children also depends on the location of educational institutions. If a school is located in a village, the parent living there readily permit their children to attend the school. But they do not like to send their children (especially girls) to far away places from their native villages.

Early marriage, which is quite common among the tribals, is another obstacle in the way of their education. After marriage it is not possible for tribal children, especially girls, to carry on their education. After marriage the burden of household duties falls on the girls and they have also to engage in earning their livelihood.

The curriculum of education does not suit the tribal people. Most of the text books contain lessons
related to the urban and upper or middle class life. Often, the tribal children are not able to follow simple concepts presented in these lessons.

The rate of literacy is low to very low among the tribes of Baghelkhand region. It does not exceed 13 per cent even among the socially advanced tribes. Education can act as a catalytic agent for the implementation of tribal welfare programmes.

The present researcher has observed that the anganbadi schools are mostly located in easily accessible areas, especially those near the towns. More anganbadi schools should be opened in the forested, hilly, inaccessible areas. These schools should be provided with all the facilities to educate the tribal children properly. In inaccessible tribal areas, residential facilities should be provided to the teachers in order to help them make use of all their academic skill. The tribal students should be encouraged to familiarize themselves with literature in their own tribal dialects.

While appointing a teacher in tribal areas, special care should be taken by the Government. Well trained and capable people should be given preference.
Their pay scales should be the same as in Government schools and special amenities should be provided to them when they are posted in inaccessible areas.

The tribal children must have a chance to be educated in non-tribal institutions so that they are able to mix with the non-tribals. This will lead to cultural adjustment between the tribals and the non-tribals.

A number of Governmental measures have been decided upon to improve the socio-economic condition of the tribals; but due to lack of their implementation by the concerned agencies their full benefits are not realized. Hence it is absolutely essential that the implementation of all tribal welfare programmes is strictly monitored.