



2

3/3

2  
5-8-10

**Report**  
**on the**  
**Evaluation of the Scheme**  
**of Rehabilitation of**  
**Shifting Cultivators**  
**in**  
**Chanda District,**  
  
**1969**

TRIBAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE,  
DIRECTORATE OF SOCIAL WELFARE,  
MAHARASHTRA STATE,  
POONA-1.

2

3/2

REPORT ON THE EVALUATION OF THE SCHEME  
OF REHABILITATION OF SHIFTING CULTIVA-  
TORS IN CHANDA DISTRICT.

TRIBAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE,

DIRECTORATE OF SOCIAL WELFARE,

MAHARASHTRA STATE,

POONA-1.

1 9 6 9

C O N T E N T S

	<u>Pages</u>
INTRODUCTION -	1 - 2
Chapter one: The problem of shifting cultivation.	3 - 13
Chapter two: The scheme for the rehabilitation of the Scheduled Tribes practising shifting cultivation in Chanda district.	19 - 20
Chapter three: Socio-economic survey of tribals who still practice shifting cultivation	20 - 44
Chapter four: Observations & suggestions	45 - 53
Appendix I - Statement showing the details of the budgetary allotment	<del>53</del> 54
Appendix II - Statement showing the number of School going children.	<del>59</del> 55
Appendix III - Statement showing the area of operation by the cultivators during shifting cultivation.	56-57 <del>60-61</del>
Appendix IV - Statement showing the agricultural aid given.	<del>62</del> 58
Appendix V - General information regarding land and no. of tribals trained upto 1964-65.	<del>63</del> 59
Appendix VI - Statement showing the expenditure on the proposed staff and other items	<del>64</del> 60
Appendix VII - Note on Baiga chalk	<del>65-66</del>
Appendix VIII - Statement showing the list of persons who still practise Shifting Cultivation in Chanda district.	61-62 63-64

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

Shifting Cultivation, a traditional mode of raising the crop by tribals was widely practised in this State some fifty years back. The settlement reports and other records indicate that this practice was being followed in Chanda district by the Madia Gonds, in Nanded by the Kolams and in the former Janjira state by the Katkaris. As a result of the national forest policy adopted in the year 1952, this practice was banned and necessary legislation was passed to this effect. Thereafter the question of rehabilitation of those who practised Shifting Cultivation in the forest was engaging the attention of the Government. The Government formulated necessary scheme during second five year plan to rehabilitate all those with whom this method was the chief mode of living. After necessary inquiries it was revealed that the tribals of Janjira State and Nanded now follow settled cultivation, whereas the tribals of Chandrapur could not have any other means of livelihood except their traditional mode of cultivation. A comprehensive scheme to rehabilitate about 200 families in Chandrapur district was chalked out and phased programme of settling 25 families per year was drawn up under the Centrally Sponsored Programme during the Second Five Year Plan. During the third five year plan the same programme was continued under the committed sector.

As suggested by the Chairman of the Governing Council, this subject was taken up for the study. The scope and method of the study were finalised and comprehensive questionnaire and Schedules were prepared

by the Officer in charge in consultation with the Chief Research Officer. The Government record and available material pertaining to the historical background of this practice was also studied. Discussions were also held with the forest officers and other officers, who were associated with the implementation of the programme from the very beginning.

This research project has been completed by Shri N.S. Hazari, ex-Research Officer, with the assistance of Shri Sonawane and Shri Tikare. The Research Team has to undergo many difficulties in order to study the socio-economic conditions of those tribals, who still practice shifting cultivation. This report is the result of their hard work.

The report will be useful to the students of Anthropology, Anthropologists, General Administrators and non-officials working in the tribal areas.

Poona,  
24-3-1969.

Sd/- (P.R. SIRSALKAR)  
Chief Research Officer,  
Tribal Research Institute,  
Directorate of Social Welfare,  
Maharashtra State,  
Poona.

CHAPTER 1.

The Problem of Shifting Cultivation.

Whatever may be the historical reasons, it is a geographical fact, today, that tribals live in areas where conditions of life are difficult. The terrain is usually hilly and full of forest. Availability of good cultivable land is limited, the soil is generally poor and erosion is comparatively faster. In spite of these unfavourable environments, it is really a great credit for the tribal folks that they have managed to raise the crops for their subsistence in these difficult tracts.

Agriculture is the main stay of the tribal economy. Nearly 90% of tribals of India have been enumerated as agriculturists. This includes cultivators as well as agricultural labourers. In Maharashtra 83% of the tribals subsist on land. Times have changed. With the growth of population and increasing pressure on land, today, the tribals have to cultivate and raise crops for their livelihood and survive on the available land.

Chandrapur district, which is situated between 20.50 and 17.50 north latitude and 80.59 and 70.48 east longitude, comprising an area of 261 Sq.K.ms., presents the true picture of tribal Maharashtra. The Marias, the most primitive type of tribals reside in south east zone of the district, adjoining the area of Bastar of Madhya Pradesh. The whole life of Maria in this district is engaged primarily towards the raising of food from the earth either by cultivation or by gathering the fruits of forests or by fishing and hunting. The area where the Marias reside i.e.

the Aheri Zamindari area is rich in forest. According to the district Gazetteer for the bulk of population of the Zamindaries, Cultivation is merely a secondary means of livelihood and agricultural produce simply serves to supplement the food supply forthcoming from the jungle. The call of the jungle is for ever in the ears of Marias. Naturally his method of cultivation is also linked up with the forest and its surroundings.

The Raj Gonds, who were the ruling tribe of Chandrapur district, are settled agriculturists. Their method of cultivation is much more improved than that of the Media Gonds. The Madias who live in the most inaccessible hilly areas which are full of forests, practise a method of shifting cultivation, known as 'dahia' or 'bewar' and also as 'Penda' in this area. Shifting cultivation is the traditional system practised by the tribals in the hilly areas, throughout the world known. "It is the common method of cultivation in the forests of South America, in many parts of South Africa, Melanesia and the Atlantic islands, in Assam, in Ceylon and the remoter forest areas of South and Central India. This type of cultivation is known as 'Jhum' in Assam and Tripura, "Bewar" or 'Dhaya' in Madhya Pradesh and Chandrapur district of Maharashtra State. 'Podu' in Andhra Pradesh; 'Pama Dohi', 'Komon' or 'Bringa' in North Orissa, 'Gudia' or 'Dongar Chas' in the South Orissa, and 'Beora' in the Jashpur area by the Pahari Korwas. "

This typical cultivation of the Zamindari is the 'Khamori' system, well-known in Chandrapur district,

---

" The Baigas, By V. Elwin, Page 100.

under the name of 'Dhaia'. This type of cultivation consists of clearing the forests, slopes, burning the fallen trees and bushes and dribbling or broadcasting the seed in the ash-covered soil. The rest is left to nature. By this method for one or two years, good crops are produced, but the fertility of the soil is seen lost and some of it is washed away in heavy rains. Cultivators then shift to other clearings and thus the cycle continues in rotation. This typical type of cultivation bears the impression of the woodman rather than that of the farmer. In Chandrapur district, the shifting cultivation is done on the slopes of Chhota and Bada Madia Hills. For this a level or slightly slopping plot of ground is selected and towards the close of the hot weather, the bushes are cleared off and spread out on the ground to dry it. Later on it is covered with dry wood to a depth of a few inches. The mass of the timber is set alight and is allowed to burn down. Rice and other lesser Millets are mixed and thrown on the field. No ploughing is required. The out turn is very great. From the cultivators point of view the process is quite economical.

Usually the plot is abandoned after one crop has been taken off, but occasionally a second crop of Kutki is produced in the ensuing year. After two or atmost three years the plot is abandoned and brushwood is allowed to grow upon. It either reverts permanently to its original state of jungle or remain undisturbed for a period of at least ten year, till the new growth is sufficiently grown for some one to attempt to repeat the process. This system is very wasteful, but it is suited to the simple appliances of the aborigines and within their limit.



As a result of this even at present 25,89,401 tribals practise this type of cultivation over an area of 13,51,937 acres of land in India. In Maharashtra 25,000 tribal folks were practising shifting cultivation over an area of 72,300 acres. This problem is not so acute in Maharashtra compared to that of Assam, Bihar, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh.

Though it is generally agreed that shifting cultivation is an arduous and wasteful type of agriculture, yet it is a recognised fact that tribal agriculture is both a way of life and an aspect of culture.

Most of the tribal folk practised this crude type of cultivation because of their cultural and traditional belief in respecting the mother earth. The Baigas belief regarding plough cultivation is as below: \* "Lacerating the breast of mother earth that they had incurred the displeasure of God by their plough cultivation; their uneasiness over it resulted in moral depression." There is a legend amongst the Baigas about Shifting Cultivation. "Baigas were established in practice of Dewar by Bhagwan himself, when he called all the tribes of the world together to make a king, at first chose the Baiga. But Nanga Baiga begged that the Gond, his brother, might be in his place. Bhagwan was pleased at his request and as mark of his favour took Nanga Baiga by hand and placed him on his throne by his side. He granted the prayer to make the Gond King and he gave the Baiga even greater blessing. All the Kingdom of the world he said may fall to the pieces but he who is made of earth is Bhumiraja, Lord of the earth, shall never fore sake it.

\* "The Scheduled Tribes", by G.S.Shurey, Page 156.

You will make living from the earth. You will dig roots and eat them. You will cut wood and carry it on your shoulders. Your wife will pick leaves and sell it. You must not tear breast of your mother earth with the plough like Gonds and Hindus. You will cut down trees and burn them and sow your seed in the ashes... The Bhagwan showed Hanga Baiga how to cut Bewar and sow seeds in the ashes of burnt trees, and when he had taught them everything he called him to receive gifts of seed." The Marias of course have no such religious belief about shifting cultivation. It is the simple form of cultivation in the hilly areas carried within their means. Thus it is seen that the primitive tribes who live in the hilly and mountainous areas carry on the practice of shifting cultivation. It is a major problem in Eastern India, Assam, Manipur and Tripura, Nefa, Nagaland and in Orissa. Elsewhere it is now found only on a limited scale and cannot really be claimed to be a menace either to rainfall or the forest.

There is no doubt that this is an arduous & wasteful type of cultivation and that with the decrease in the period of rotation, it gives progressively poor crops and also leads to faster erosion. Hence there cannot be two opinions that shifting cultivation should be discouraged and better and improved agriculture should be introduced to these tribes who practice shifting cultivation. But our right condemnation of shifting cultivation may bring out an inferiority complex and may create unhealthy atmosphere for launching any developmental schemes among those people.

The occupational habits as that of food habits are very hard to change. The modern trend of the administrator towards this problem is more liberal and scientific. M.D.A. Chaturvedi who was formerly the Inspector General of Forests in the Government of India said that " The correct approach to the problem of shifting cultivation lies in accepting it not as a necessary evil but recognizing it as a way of life not condemning it as an evil practice, but regarding it as an agricultural practice evolved as a reflex to the physiographical character of the land". Similarly M. S. Sivraman, advisor to the Programme Administration of the Planning Commission said "It is a mistake to assume that Jhum in itself is unscientific land use. Actually it is a practical approach to certain inherent difficulties in preparing a proper seed bed on steep slopes where any disturbance of the surface by harving or ploughing, will result in washing away the fertile top soil. The tribal people, therefore, take care not to plough or disturb the soil before sowing. The destruction of Weeds and improvement of tilth, necessary for proper seed bed, are achieved with the help of fire."

Shifting cultivation practised by the tribals in the Chandrapur district, in fact, did not pose any problem to the forest department as it did not prevail to any appreciable extent in the State forest and was localized to small areas of exproprietary forests of Aheri Zamindari. Even then taking into account the forest policy of 1952 and the constitutional responsibilities of the Government of bringing the tribals on par with

the advanced communities, the scheme of rehabilitating the shifting cultivators was taken up.

The needs of Marias of Chandrapur district as that of the other tribals in the surrounding areas, were few and they were contented in their primitive method of cultivation. Dr. V. Elwin in his book "The Baigas" has stated as below:

" So long these people do nothing but grow Kodo Kutkee on dhaya patches for their own food; so long as they produce nothing at all for sale or barter to other people; and so long as they actually consume nothing except a few grams of salt from the outer world, they can never rise in the human scale, but must continue to be wild-men of the wood as they are now. Thus in order to raise these widlmen of the wood to the status of responsible citizens of our country and also with a view to get a greater return for the labour and for the conservancy of the forests, it is evéry where agreed to introduce a better type of cultivation. "

As a result of which for the first time in the second Five Year Plan a sum of two crores and 87.33 lakhs of rupees was set apart for the purpose. Before taking up any steps for the rehabilitation of shifting cultivators, the tribal people's right in lands and in forests be recognised and also their right to settle their own destinies by evolution from within and not by force imposed from outside. Thus guided by this principles we should be very cautious for bringing shifting cultivation to and end.

Establishment of agricultural colonies, is considered to be the only means of solving the problem of shifting cultivation. This idea seems to have arisen from the belief that shifting cultivation means the shifting villages. Thus for settling the shifting cultivators the establishment of the colonies is unnecessary. There is no reason of bringing tribal down from the hills to the plains. This results in uprooting the tribal from the hills they love and the land to which they are bound by many intimacies of memory and religion.

The tribals, being susceptible to any new change, hesitate to take up to settled cultivation. Firstly they think that inferior millets like Kosra and Kutkee and the vegetable they consume can only be grown on the slopes of the hills. Thus before criticising the shifting cultivation practice and trying to orally persuade the tribals for giving up their age old practice we have to effectively counter-act their argument and demonstrate to them the new methods.

1. The inferior type of millets like Kosra and Kutkee can as well be grown in stable cultivation.
2. They can grow all sorts ~~of~~ of crops and vegetables in stable cultivation.
3. The yield of crop in stable cultivation can be higher than that of the shifting cultivation.
4. For their cultivation they need not burn

trees and shift areas. The tribals are shrewed and sensible folk. It has been found in NEFA that once they are convinced of the value of alternative methods

.....

\* Dr. M. Elwin .... "The Baigas", Page 101.

of cultivation and where there is land available, on which they can practise them, they take them with enthusiasm. Instead of first of all forbidding the people to cultivate in old way we are virtually forcing them away from the hills. It would be better to reserve the process and begin by starting demonstration farm in areas where there is a plenty of land available. The shifting cultivators then could be invited to see the new methods and when they themselves desire to come and practise, then they should be helped gradually to take up to the settled cultivation. Such type of gradual change from that of shifting cultivation to settle cultivation does not create any vacuum in the normal life of the tribals. Such evolution method was not followed while rehabilitating the shifting cultivators in Chandrapur district. The Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas Commission recommended for undertaking research in agronomy and Sociology in every area where Jhuming cultivation exist on a wild scale.

Secondly in the plain cultivation, the tribals obtain better harvest and there is always a possibility of being exploited by outsiders who are not however interested in their hill clearings. It is, therefore, necessary that we should proceed cautiously in weaning the people away from this practice gradually.

The Renuka Ray Committee has given emphatic support to the following three main problems of tribal agriculture:-

1. The Restoration and preservation of the land rights of the tribal communities.
2. The introduction of scientific shifting cultivation.

3. Improvement of agricultural practices for more and better production of food.

The problem of shifting cultivation is indeed initially related to the problem of tribal land. Shifting cultivation is broadly categorized into two categories:-

I. Shifting cultivation on hilly slopes.

II. Shifting cultivation on low lying areas.

The former type is more primitive and more arduous type of agriculture. The Bada and the Chota Marias of Chandrapur district practise the former type of cultivation.

The Marias, the inhabitants of Aheri region, used to practise shifting cultivation on large scale till 1959-60. The forest department after taking over the possession of 20,000 acres of valuable forest in the year 1873 finalised a scheme for forest conservation. Till then large tracts of valuable forest were being damaged every year because of shifting cultivation. After taking over the possession of forest from Aheri Zamindar, the forest department restricted shifting cultivation to areas within the village lands which are at least two miles away from the forest boundaries. This was the first check brought by the Government over shifting cultivation. But even this check did not prove effective as Marias being superstitious shift their villages from one place to another for some reason or the other and naturally as and when the village shifted the area of operation for practising shifting cultivation also changed. Thus a great deal of destruction and denudation of forest resulted which in turn brought about deterioration of land.

The agricultural output was also very low after two to three years and the tribals could neither make adequate living nor improve their standard of life. For the conservancy of the forest, the forest department had prepared elaborate scheme for the rehabilitation of these shifting cultivators in the ex-State of Madhya Pradesh, but the proposal could not then be materialized. During 1959-1960 the scheme with an annual outlay of Rs.1,00,000/- was sanctioned for the first two years under the Centrally Sponsored Programme for the Welfare of Scheduled Tribes and subsequently under the committed programme.



C H A P T E R . II.

THE SCHEME FOR THE REHABILITATION OF THE SCHEDULED TRIBES PRACTISING SHIFTING CULTIVATION IN CHANDRAPUR DISTRICT.

The problem of rehabilitating the shifting cultivations in Chandrapur district was under consideration of the Government for a considerable period. This plan materialised first during the year 1959-60; with the sanction of the scheme under the central sector. The scheme worked out for rehabilitating the Tribal families practising shifting cultivation is as follows:

BRIEF DESCRIPTION

In the Re-organized Bombay Territory shifting cultivation was practised in South Chanda, Dang, Kolaba and Janjira. It was said to be more widespread in South Chanda and Dangs District. It was therefore proposed to introduce a scheme in these two districts for weaning the Tribals away from shifting cultivation. There were said to be 188 families of tribals in Chanda district practising shifting cultivation and about the same numbers in the Dangs district. It was not possible all at once to settle all families on permanent cultivation.

It was proposed to settle 50 families of the tribals in each district. Shifting cultivation is a way of life with these tribals. They have a rough and ready way of preparing their fields for cultivation. They turn to areas which being nature has clothed with luxuriant forest; clear them of tree growth; burn the debris and dibble their seeds in the ashes without any attempt to plough or otherwise prepare the earth.

These lands are usually on the slopes of the hills and are utilised for cultivation for a year or two; then abandoned because the surface fertility of the land is washed away by erosion; and then the tribal cultivators move to another patch of land following the same routine. This shifting cultivation has caused a great deal of erosion in hill areas and left permanent scar on the forest of tribal improvidence. In his trial, he leaves behind abandoned patches of cultivation with badly hacked charred and lopped trees, dotted here and there. There is thus a great deal of destruction and denudation of forest and deterioration of land which ultimately becomes useless. The agricultural output is very low and the tribals can neither make adequate living nor improve their standard of life.

The solution to the problem of shifting cultivation and the improvement of economic condition of the tribals lies in helping them to settle down permanently on cultivable lands. They will have to be taught ordinary improved methods of cultivation and will have to be provided with means of stable cultivation and settlement. Unless sufficient incentives are offered to the tribal people, they will not like to colonies in preference to their jungle life of comparative ease i.e. a life, where wants are very few and can be satisfied from the primitive shifting cultivation. The tribals will have to be provided with free land, bullocks, seeds, implements, fertilisers etc. for cultivation and huts for living, with amenities of Schools for their children and a well for drinking water.

It was therefore proposed to start a model colony of 50 tribal families practising shifting cultivation in each district of South Chanda and Dangs. It was intended that this colony should serve as demonstration to other Scheduled Tribes families practising shifting cultivation so that they should take to settled cultivation.

This colony of tribal families practising shifting cultivation will consist of 50 hutments on the pattern of hutments built, by Sant Tukdoji Maharaj in Amraoti district of this State. These were modest structures and will cost about Rs.500/- each. The timber for construction of houses will be supplied at reasonable rate by the forest department and the expenditure thereon will be met with from the subsidy under the proposed scheme.

One well will be provided in the colony at the cost of Rs.1500/-. Medical aid is of prime importance and, therefore, Medical Chest containing very common medicines at a cost of Rs.100/- will be provided. Since these colonies will be in the Tribal areas, medical aid from the Tribal Block will also be available.

In the scheme it was proposed that the colonies of tribals practising shifting cultivation will be given the following economic assistance in each colony:-

(a) LAND:

Roughly 10 acres of land will be given to each Tribal family so that they can earn a fairly decent living. It is expected that the forest Department will provide 500 acres of land for each colony free of cost.

(b) BULLOCK:

A pair of bullocks at a cost of Rs.300/- will be provided to each Tribal family.

(c) PLOUGH: Plough, implements and bullocks carts will be provided to each family at a cost of Rs.200/- per family.

(d) As subsidiary avocation each family will be supplied with cows or goats and poultry at a cost of Rs.200/- per family.

(e) Seeds and fertilisers will be provided at a cost of Rs.50/- per family.

(f) Each family will be provided with grains etc. for maintenance almost for a year till they reap one harvest at a cost of Rs.300/- per family.

(g) The virgin lands will be cleared of shrubs and trees teraced and bunded at a cost of Rs.100/- per family.

Besides the above economic assistance, each ~~family~~ colony will have to be provided with a School for children of the tribal families. School building will be a simple thatched structure at the cost of about Rs.1,000/-. One teacher on a consolidated pay of Rs.80/- per month will be provided. The School going children will have to be supplied with dresses, slates & books. The total expenditure on each school will be approximately -

Non-recurring Rs.1,000/- and

Recurring Rs.1,500/-.

In order to teach and guide the tribal families in cultivation, terracing and bunding of the lands, it is necessary to provide one agricultural jamadar with one peon for each Colony. The Agricultural Jamadar will give technical advice and guidance to the Tribal colonies. The pay & allowances of the Agricultural Jamadar and his peon will amount to Rs.200/- per month. A small model farm of about 5-10 acres to be managed by the Agricultural Jamadar, should be attached to each colony. The cost of this farm including bullocks, seeds, fertilisers, implements etc. will be approximately Rs.200/- for two years. The Agricultural Jamadar and his peon will be provided with residential quarters of temporary nature in the initial stages and they are estimated to cost of Rs.400/-.

The fodder for animals will be supplied by the forest department at permit rates which are nominal. The financial implications to the scheme are shown in Appendix (I).

The Social Welfare Department implemented centrally sponsored scheme through the area organiser Aheri till the formation of Zilla Parishads. Later on this scheme has been transferred to Zilla Parishad, Chandrapur for execution. Accordingly this scheme was taken up for execution in the month of January, 1960 and up till now (146) families have been rehabilitated at the following places in the vicinity of 15 to 20 miles:-

Year	Name of the villages.	Name of the Tribes.	No. of families	Total population.
-1-	-2-	-3-	-4-	-5-
1959-60	Koyar.	Chhota.	13	79
	Murangal.	Madia.	12	62
1960-61	Laheri	Bada Madia.	5	86
	Bangadi		11	53
	Gundenhod.		9	59
1961-62	Got padi.	Chota Madia	25	94
1962-63	Poerkuti	Bada "	25	102
1963-64	<del>Tada</del> Tadpari	-do-	15	66
	Bedange.	Chota Madia.	10	50
1964-65	Hiddur	Badda Madia	10	61
	Koyar	Chota Madia.	4	
	Murangal	-do-	4	
	Bondanga	-do-	3	
TOTAL			146	692

Each family of these colonies had been given ten acres of land free of cost for permanent cultivation. Rs.100/- per family had been given for clearing the forest land of ten acres.

Each family was also given Rs.500/- for the construction of hutments and the construction of 150 huts mostly on tribal pattern have been constructed. The timber had been supplied at a reasonable rate by the forest department.

Each family was provided with a pair of bullock worth Rs.300/-. In addition to this the families were given bullock carts, pickaxe, crowbar, sickle and other agricultural implements worth Rs.300/- per family, seeds and fertilisers worth Rs.50/- were also supplied to all these families. Under the item poultry and milch cattle, cows and poultry birds were supplied.

As per provision under the scheme one well is constructed at Murangal which has however collapsed and not in use of the colonists. The other well which is in use of the colonists is at Gotpadi. Two school buildings costing Rs.100/- each have been constructed at Koyar and Gotpadi. In this way amenities for education of the children of Adiwasis practising shifting cultivation has been provided.

10 acres of land has been acquired at the central place Laheri and a demonstration farm has been established for giving knowledge of improved methods of cultivation to the colonists. The agricultural Jamadar has been appointed under the scheme to look after the demonstration farm. One more agricultural assistant is appointed and posted at Hiddur for the same purpose.

During the survey, it has been informed that the selection of site for the hutments & agricultural lands was done in accordance with the instruction and desires of the tribal families to be rehabilitated so as not to disturb their superstition and religious and social customs.

CHAPTER - III

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY OF TRIBALS WHO STILL PRACTISE SHIFTING CULTIVATION.

In the South-eastern corner of Chandrapur district bordering Bastar, is a small tract of hilly land known as Bada Madia and Chhota Madia hills where the Madias still practise the crude method of agriculture known as shifting cultivation. There are in all (84) families, who still practise this type of cultivation, reside in the following villages:

1. Binegunda	17
2. Permal Bhatt	16
3. Kuwakadi	16
4. Timmewahi	9
5. Ture Marka	20
6. Unchur	5
7. Damanmarka	1
	-----
Total	84
	-----

From the survey conducted, it reveals that out of 83 families surveyed there are 77 single families and six joint families, whose main occupation is shifting cultivation. The statement substantiates the findings.

Name of the village.	No. of families.	Average No. of persons in each family.	Main occupation.	Remarks
.....				
1. Binegunda.	17	4	Shifting cultivation.	2 Joint families. (15) single families.
2. Permal Bhatti.	16	5	-do-	One Joint family. (15) single families.
3. Kuwakodi.	16	4	-do-	3 Joint families. (13) single families.
4. Timmewahi.	9	5	-do-	(9) single families.
5. Ture Marka.	20	4	-do-	(20) -do-
6. Unchur.	5	6	-do-	(5) -do-
.....				



The administration of these villages is vested to Revenue department. The people living in these villages are practising shifting cultivation over an area of 930 acres annually. The area cut annually under shifting cultivation is shown in the statement given below:

Name of the village.	No. of families.	Area cut annually on an average.
1. Binegunda.	17	193 acres.
2. Permal Bhati.	16	180 "
3. Kuwakodi.	16	209 "
4. Timmewahi.	9	70 "
5. Ture Marka.	20	192 "
6. Unchur.	5	73 "
7. Daman Marka.	1	10 "
		Total: 930 acres

Thus out of the unsurveyed land of forests, 930 acres are cut annually and brought illegally under cultivation. This area is rich in forest. It consists of the country teak and the bamboos. The later being commercial species for paper industry needs conservation but this tract being 76 miles away in the interior and being most in-accessible, the timber and the bamboos cannot easily be transported from this area and are practically of no commercial value to the Government.

POPULATION:

The survey was undertaken in six villages of this tract. All these villages are cent percent populated by the tribals. The village-wise population is given in the statement given below:

Name of the village.	No. of families.	TOTAL POPULATION			
		Males	Females	Total	
Binegunda.	17	37	33	70	
Permal Bhatti.	16	48	37	85	
Kuwakdi.	16	42	43	85	
Timmenwahi.	9	15	13	28	
Ture Marka.	20	41	38	79	
Unchur.	5	15	20	35	
Total:		83	198	184	382

In the Rehabilitated villages, except Laheri, all the villages are populated by Madias. Mixed population is found only at village Laheri.

OCCUPATION:

Shifting cultivation is the main source of living of all the tribals in the villages surveyed. From the findings derived from the statement of individual details given in Appendix VIII, it is gathered that each family cuts an area of ten acres and with less labour gets an yield amounting to Rs.500 to Rs.700, being virgin land, as against to those who have been rehabilitated in colonies. It is seen that in the rehabilitated centres each family on an average can prepare a land roughly 4 to 5 acres, as evident from the collected statistics given in Appendix III. The reasons for cultivating lesser acreage compared to that of shifting cultivators are that ploughing in the deforested land is a difficult task, because of the obstacle of the stumps of trees that remain in the land even after deforestation. The average yield of the settled cultivators comes to Rs.200/- to Rs.400/- inspite of providing them with better seeds, implements etc. The income statement of two villages i.e. one of the villages where shifting cultivation is

prevalent and another of the villages where settled cultivation is practised, are given below to justify the findings of the survey.

VILLAGE / <sup>Timnewahi</sup> TALUKA SIRONCHA, WHERE SHIFTING CULTIVATION IS PRACTISED.

Name of Head of the family.	No. of family members.	Income from agricultural labour.	Income from agricultural produce.	Income from the sale of minor forest produce.	Income from other sources.	Total.	
1. Donge Dunga Kanga.	3	1	-	700	5	-	705
2. Mundi Keye Wadde.	2	1	-	560	5	-	565
3. Chaitu Karu Podadi.	2	1	-	490	5	-	495
4. Dasru Gaga Timma.	3	1	-	700	5	-	705
5. Bijjya Billo Pungati.	2	-	-	560	5	-	565
6. Chaitu Kuma Vidpi.	2	-	-	350	5	-	355
7. Nanda Kuma Timma.	2	-	-	350	5	-	355
8. Maharu Bayal Padadi.	3	1	-	700	5	-	705
9. Watte Marya Pungati.	3	1	-	700	5	-	705
TOTAL:	22	6	-	5110	45	-	5155

VILLAGE LAHERI, TALUKA SIRONCHA, WHERE SETTLED  
CULTIVATION IS PRACTISED.

Name of Head of the family.	No. of family members.	Earn- ing.	Depe- ndent.	Income from agricul- tural Labour.	Income from agri- cultu- ral produce.	Income from the sale of minor forest produce.	Income from other sources.	To- tal.
1. Jogi Doba.	2	1		350	40	200	Nil	590
2. Kumma Irpa Pallo.	4	1		340	50	200	"	590
3. Wanja Dasru Gotla.	2	4		260	80	300	"	640
4. Dagge Karppa.	3	2		160	60	300	"	520
5. Bijjya Mukka.	2	3		220	60	200	"	480
TOTAL:	13	11		1330	290	1200	"	2820

Thus it is concluded that inspite of Government aid and sincere efforts the desired results of material gain can not be obtained unless the lands allotted for settled cultivation are fully cleared with the aid of bull-dozers and unless the irrigation facilities are provided. We cannot expect good results out of the settled cultivation. As at the present juncture it is not possible for settled cultivators with the sources at their disposal to bring the entire allotted land of 10 acres under plough. Hence naturally the tribals, who were practising shifting cultivation and <sup>those</sup> who have now been rehabilitated in the colonies are practically not happy with this change. It has therefore been suggested earlier that lands deforested should be fully cleared off by the Government

and after demarcation, it should be allotted to the tribals to get the desired results. Secondly the allotment of ten acres of dry land is not sufficient for maintaining a family consisting of 4 to 6 members for the whole year. This area being the paddy growing area irrigation facilities be provided to the families, who have been rehabilitated.

INCOME & EXPENDITURE:

The tribal economy is largely based upon subsistence production and barter. Household data collected during survey of both the categories of tribals who still practise shifting cultivation and those who have been rehabilitated on settled agriculture are presented in the following tables:

AVERAGE ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME (BINGAGUNDA VILLAGE).

Name of the head of the family.	No. of family members.	Earning.	Income from agri-culture, cultural labour.	Income from forest labour.	Income from the sale of forest produce.	Income from other sources.	Total	Per head income.
1. Modi Durwa.	5		1050	Nil	40	Nil	1130	188.33
2. Mura Boya Padadi.	6		1400	"	50	"	1500	166.66
3. Kupla Jala Kondga.	2		700	"	30	"	750	150.00
4. Soma Reka Talo.	0		700	"	30	"	760	380.00
5. Tuge Mura Talo.	1		700	"	30	"	730	365
6. Chaitu Kana Durwa.	3		1400	"	50	"	1490	186.25
7. Masa Anla Parsa.	3		1120	"	40	"	1190	297.5
8. Vijya Mura Usandi.	4		1190	"	40	"	1280	320.00
9. Saibi Doge Durwa.	1		700	"	30	"	750	187.5
10. Mura Gudsa Kudanga.	2		840	"	30	"	910	227.5
11. Tuge Bonga Podadi.	2		1050	"	40	"	1140	380.00
12. Masa Keru Durwa.	3		840	"	30	"	910	182
13. Tuge Dobbal Timmal.	5		1560	"	50	"	1660	332.00
14. Masa Kolal Podadi.	2		700	"	30	"	760	152
15. Koma Analu Podadi.	3	Son in law (Ghar Jawai)	840	"	50	"	50	50
16. Kuma Mura Podadi.	3		840	"	50	"	930	310
17. Bande Mura Podadi.	1		-	"	50	"	50	50
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>14790</b>	<b>670</b>	<b>530</b>	<b>5990</b>	<b>238.44</b>	

ANNUAL FAMILY EXPENDITURE (BINAGUND VILLAGE):

ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE								Total	Average of fa- mily expendi- ture.	Per head expendi- ture.
Cloth- ing & adorn- ment.	Liquor & fuel.	Light To- bacco.	Blidi ing. bacco.	Hous- ing. cer- emonies.	Fest- ivals & cere- monies.	Taxes & salt.	Hot- eling.			
60	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	5	15	20	1360	226.66	
110	"	"	"	"	5	15	20	1200	133.33	
70	"	"	"	"	5	15	20	600	120	
35	"	"	"	"	5	15	10	555	277.5	
20	"	"	"	"	5	15	15	405	202.5	
130	"	"	"	"	5	15	40	1380	172.5	
70	"	"	"	"	5	15	30	1030	257.5	
70	"	"	"	"	5	15	30	1240	310	
70	"	"	"	"	5	15	15	805	201.25	
70	"	"	"	"	5	15	10	800	280	
80	"	"	"	"	5	15	30	970	323.33	
60	"	"	"	"	5	15	20	800	160	
70	"	"	"	"	5	25	20	1370	274	
80	"	"	"	"	5	15	25	825	165	
10	"	"	"	"	5	5	10	60	60	
50	"	"	"	"	5	15	20	790	263.33	
10	"	"	"	"	5	15	10	70	70	
1065	"	"	"	"	85	245	345	14260	203.71	

- 29 -  
FAMILY INCOME. II-Permal Bhatti village.

Income from agriculture.	Income from agricultural labour.	Income from forest labour.	Income from the sale of minor forest produce.	Income from other sources.	Total	Income per head
350	Nil	Nil	Nil	240	1290	215
700	"	50	10	Nil	760	126.66
560	"	"	10	"	570	190
350	"	50	10	"	1110	158.57
30	"	"	10	"	570	142.22
700	"	25	10	"	735	122.51
400	"	100	10	"	1510	215.51
560	"	Nil	10	"	570	114
560	"	"	10	"	570	114
700	"	"	10	"	710	142
700	"	"	10	"	710	142
400	"	50	10	"	1460	243.33
560	"	Nil	10	"	570	142.05
350	"	"	Nil	"	350	175
700	"	30	10	"	740	123.33
350	"	25	10	"	1085	135.62
.....						
300	-	330	140	240	13310	156.54
.....						



Shatti. AVERAGE ANNUAL FAMILY EXPENDITURE.

.....										
ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE.										
sd	Cloth- ing & adorn- ment.	Liquor	Light & fuel.	Bidi To- bacco	Hous- ing.	Fest- ivals & cere- monies.	Taxes & Other (salt)	Hotel- ing.	Total	Average family expenditure.
.....										
0	110	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	5	15		830	138.60
0	90	"	"	"	"	5	15		670	111.66
0	50	"	"	"	"	5	15		490	163.33
0	75	"	"	"	"	5	15		795	113.57
0	50	"	"	"	"	5	15		560	140
0	60	"	"	"	"	5	15		710	118.33
0	85	"	"	"	"	5	15		1455	208
0	60	"	"	"	"	5	15		500	100
0	65	"	"	"	"	5	15		505	101
0	70	"	"	"	"	5	15		650	130
0	100	"	"	"	"	5	15		750	150
0	75	"	"	"	"	5	15		1355	225.83
0	70	"	"	"	"	5	15		580	145
0	70	"	"	"	"	5	15		235	145
0	15	"	"	"	"	5	15		645	104
0	65	"	"	"	"	5	15		960	120
0	100	"	"	"	"	5	15			
.....										
240	1140	Average expenditure:				80	240		11700	137.69
.....										

30

KUWAKUDI VILLAGE II AVERAGE ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME.

Name of the Head of the family.	No. of family members.	Income from agriculture.	Income from agricultural labour.	Income from forest labour.	Income from the sale of minor forest produce.	Income from other sources.	Total	Per head income.
1. Erpa Guasa Usande	2	700	-	-	5	-	705	141
2. Hedma Banga Usande	1	700	50	-	5	-	755	251
3. Urijai Gudam Usandi	2	700	-	-	5	-	705	235
4. Juriya Urji Usandi	2	630	-	-	5	-	635	158.75
5. Singa Gudsa Usandi	7	1540	-	-	10	-	1550	172.22
6. Vatte Modi	4	1050	-	-	10	-	1060	212
7. Saybi Dobbal Kanga	3	1050	-	-	5	-	1055	211
8. Koppa Paghu Vidja	5	1120	-	-	10	-	1130	226
9. Bora Wanga Usandi	5	1120	-	-	10	-	1130	188.38
10. Keya Gudsa Usandi	8	1540	-	-	10	-	1550	148.98
11. Keya Katiya Parasa	3	770	-	-	5	-	755	193.75
12. Kana Masru Usandi	5	1120	-	-	10	-	1130	141.25
13. Musare Masa Usandi	1(widow)	350	50	-	5	-	405	202.5
14. Pende Phusi Usandi	6	1540	-	-	10	-	1550	221.42
15. Poge Mura Usandi	3	840	-	-	5	-	845	211.25
16. Watte Banga Usandi	3	840	-	-	5	-	845	211.25
Total	60	15610	100	-	155	-	15825	186.17

T A B L E- NO. VI

Kuwakodi Village III-Average Annual Family Expenditure.

Name of the Head of the Family.	No. of family members.	Items of Expenditure.											Total.	Per Head expenditure.
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11		
		Food.	Cloth- ing & adorn- ment.	Lic- uor.	Light- ing & fuel.	Bidi & tobacco.	Hous- ing.	Post- ival & Cere- monics.	Taxes & other (Salt)	Hostel- ing.				
1. Erpa Gudsa Usandi	3	560	95	-	-	-	-	5/-	15/-	-	-	-	675/-	133-00
2. Hedma Banga Usandi	2	420	40	-	-	-	-	5/-	10/-	-	-	-	475/-	153-33
3. Urjai Gudsa Usandi	1	420	55	-	-	-	-	5/-	7/-	-	-	-	487/-	162-33
4. Juriya Urji Usandi	2	560	80	-	-	-	-	5/-	10/-	-	-	-	655/-	163-75
5. Singa Gudsa Usandi	2	1330	160	-	-	-	-	5/-	15/-	-	-	-	1510/-	167-77
6. Vatte Mod:	1	700	170	-	-	-	-	5/-	15/-	-	-	-	790/-	158-00
7. Saybi Dobbal Kanga	2	700	100	-	-	-	-	5/-	15/-	-	-	-	820/-	164-00
8. Koppa Paghu Vidya	0	700	80	-	-	-	-	5/-	15/-	-	-	-	800/-	160-00
9. Bora Wanga Usandi	1	840	95	-	-	-	-	5/-	15/-	-	-	-	955/-	159-16
10. Keya Gudsa Usandi	3	1400	230	-	-	-	-	5/-	15/-	-	-	-	1650/-	150-00
11. Keya Kadiyala Usandi	1	700	80	-	-	-	-	5/-	10/-	-	-	-	795/-	198-75
12. Kana Desru Usandi	3	840	105	-	-	-	-	5/-	15/-	-	-	-	965/-	120-62
13. Musare Ma sa Usar (Widcw)	1	350	40	-	-	-	-	5/-	5/-	-	-	-	400/-	200-00
14. Penda Bhusal Usandi	1	1400	100	-	-	-	-	5/-	15/-	-	-	-	1520/-	217-14
15. Doge Mure Usandi	1	700	55	-	-	-	-	5/-	10/-	-	-	-	770/-	192-15
16. Watte Banga Usandi	1	840	45	-	-	-	-	5/-	10/-	-	-	-	900/-	225-00

Total: 25 60 12460 1430 - - - 80/- 197/- 14167/- 166.67

Table No. VII

TIMMEWAHI VILLAGE AVERAGE ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME.

Name of the head of the Family.	No. of the family members.	Income from agriculture.	Income from agriculture.	Income from forest labour	Income from the sale of forest produce.	Income from other sources	Total	Per head income.
1. Daga Donga Kandga	2	700	---	---	5/-	---	705/-	176-25
2. Mjdu Kaye Wadda.	2	560	---	---	5/-	---	565/-	188-38
3. Chaitu Karav Poladi	2	490	---	---	5/-	---	495/-	165-00
4. Dasaxu Goga Timma	3	700	---	---	5/-	---	705/-	176-25
5. Vijja Billov Pungati	2	560	---	---	5/-	---	565/-	282-05
6. Chaitu Kuma Vidpi.	2	350	---	---	5/-	---	355/-	177-05
7. Monda Karpa Timma	2	350	---	---	5/-	---	355/-	177-05
8. Mahru Bayal Podadi	3	700	---	---	5/-	---	705/-	176-25
9. Vattu Korya Pungati	3	700	---	---	5/-	---	705/-	176-25.
Total:-	22	5110	---	---	45/-	---	5155/-	184.11

Table No. VIII PUNGASUR (VINCHUR) VILLAGE AVERAGE ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME

1. Kanc Chaitu Pungati (Widow)	2	560	---	---	10/-	---	570/-	114-00
2. Priya Walc Pungati	3	560	---	---	10/-	---	570/-	114-00
3. Kohella Gilla Pungati	7	1540	---	---	10/-	---	1550/-	172-22
4. Billo Timma Pungati	6	1540	---	---	10/-	---	1550/-	221-42
5. Koya Gilla Pungati.	4	1120	---	---	10/-	---	1130/-	161-42
6. Kulo Bonja Pungati.	2	560	---	---	5/-	---	565/-	282-05
Total:-	24	5880	---	---	55/-	---	5935/-	169-57

TABLE No. IX.

TIMMEWAHI VILLAGE AVERAGE ANNUAL FAMILY EXPENDITURE.

Name of the Head of the family.	No. of family members.	ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE.										TOTAL. Per Head expenditure.		
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		11	12
			Food.	Cloth- ing & adorn- ment.	Liq- uor.	Light & fuel.	Bidi & Tobac- co.	Hous- ing.	Fest- ival & cere- monies.	Taxes & Other (salt)	Hot -eling			
1. Doge Dunga Kandga.	1	3	490	65	--	--	--	--	5	10	--	--	576	142.5
2. Modi Keya Waddo.	1	2	350	45	--	--	--	--	5	5	--	--	405	135
3. Chaitu Karva Podadi.	1	2	350	45	--	--	--	--	5	5	--	--	405	135
4. Dassaru Goga Timma.	1	3	490	65	--	--	--	--	5	10	--	--	570	142.5
5. Vijja Lillw Tangati.	0	2	280	35	--	--	--	--	5	5	--	--	325	102.5
6. Chaitu Kuma Vidpi.	0	2	280	35	--	--	--	--	5	5	--	--	325	102.5
7. Nonda Karpa Timma.	0	2	280	35	--	--	--	--	5	5	--	--	325	102.5
8. Mahru Bayal Podadi.	1	3	490	70	--	--	--	--	5	10	--	--	575	143.75
9. Vatte Kopya Pungati.	1	3	490	65	--	--	--	--	5	10	--	--	570	142.5
TOTAL :-	6	22	3500	460	--	--	--	--	45	65	--	--	4070	145.35

TABLE No. X.

PUNGASUR (VINGHUR) VILLAGE.		AVERAGE ANNUAL FAMILY EXPENDITURE.	
1. Kane Chattu Pangati.	3 (Widow)	2	490
2. Poriya Walo Pungati.	2	3	490
3. Kohalle Gilla Pungati.	2	7	1050
4. Billo Wumme Pungati.	1 (Wid)	6	700
5. Koya Gilla Pungati.	3	4	560
6. Kule Bonge Pungati.	0	2	460
TOTAL :-	11	24	3750

590 110  
580 116  
1220 135.55  
840 120  
710 101.42  
505 252.5  
4445 127

TABLE NO. XI  
TUREMARKA VILLAGE ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME.

Name of the Head of the family.	No. of the family members.	Earn- ing.	Depen- dent.	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
				Income from agriculture.	Income from agriculture Labour.	Income from Forest Labour.	Income from the sale of minor forest product.	Income from other sources.	Total.	Per Head Income.
1. Delu Wejja Usandi.	3		0	700	--	--	5	--	705	235
2. Meharu Vanjya Podadi.	3		3	560	--	--	10	--	570	114
3. Banga Kudde Podadi.	3		2	770	--	--	10	--	780	156
4. Dogi Daya Usandi.	2		0	490	--	--	5	--	495	247.50
5. Dodange Mushi Podadi.	4		0	1120	--	--	5	--	1125	281.25
6. Saibi Gudsa Podadi.	6		1	1540	--	--	10	--	1550	221.42
7. Malla Bichia Podadi.	2		1	560	--	--	5	565	565	188.33
8. Bora Koppa Podadi.	4		3	1050	--	--	10	--	1060	151.42
9. Mase Suka Podadi.	2		1	560	--	--	5	--	565	188.33
10. Wayya Bora Wadde.	2		1	560	--	--	5	--	565	188.33
11. Vijjya Dogi Podadi.	5		2	770	--	--	10	565	565	156
12. Kcyya Mallya Podadi.	2		1	560	--	--	5	--	565	188.33
13. Chaitu Pendo Podadi.	4		1	1050	--	--	10	--	1060	212
14. Pedu Daiya Gotal.	2		2	560	--	--	5	--	565	141.25
15. Maharu Watte Usandi.	2		0	770	--	--	5	--	775	258.33
16. Dogge Mura Usandi.	2		0	560	--	--	5	565	565	282.50
17. Pisha Labadi Podadi.	3		1	700	--	--	5	--	705	176.25
18. Karrya Firangi Podadi.	3		2	770	--	--	10	--	780	156
19. Jenglu Kutts Wadde.	2		0	490	--	--	5	--	495	247.56
20. Vijja Wadde.	2		2	560	--	--	5	--	565	141.25
TOTAL :	56	23		14700	--	--	135	--	14835	187.78

Table No. XII.  
TUREMARKA VILLAGE AVERAGE ANNUAL FAMILY EXPENDITURE.

Sr. No. of the head No. of the family.	No. of family members.	ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE										Average family expenditure.		
		Earn-Depend- ing. ant.	-3-	-4-	-5-	-6-	-7-	-8-	-9-	-10-	-11-		-12-	-13-
			Food.	Cloth	Liqu	Light	Bidi	Hou-	Fest	Taxes	Hote	ling		
			adorn- ment.	-ing& -or.	Fluel.	Toba	-cco.	& sing	ivals	& cere	other	monies.	(salt)	
1. DeLu Wanjya Usendi	0	3	490	45					5	10			550	183.33
2. Maharu Vanjya Podadi.	3	2	490	65					5	15			575	115
3. Banga Kuda Podadi.	2	3	490	105					5	15			615	123
4. Bondanga Mahi Podadi.	0	4	560	70					5	10			645	161.25
5. Dogi Baya Usendi.	0	2	280	35					5	5			325	162.50
6. Saibi Gulsa Podadi.	1	6	700	130					5	15			850	121.42
7. Malla Lhicha Podadi.	1	2	490	45					5	10			550	183.33
8. Bore Koppa Podadi.	3	4	840	140					5	15			1000	142.85
9. Mese Suka Podadi.	1	2	350	45					5	10			410	136.66
10. Wayya Bora Wadde.	1	2	350	45					5	10			410	136.66
11. Vijjya Dogi Podadi.	2	3	490	80					5	15			590	118
12. Korya Malliya Podadi.	1	2	350	55					5	10			420	140
13. Chaitu Pnedc Podadi.	1	2	700	100					5	15			420	165
14. Pedu Baiya Gotal.	2	2	420	65					5	10			500	125
15. Maharu Wutte Usendi.	0	3	490	45					5	10			560	183.33
16. Dogge Mura Usendi.	0	2	350	35					5	5			395	197.50
17. Pisha Labadi Podadi.	1	3	490	65					5	10			570	142.50
18. Karyya Firangi Podadi.	2	3	490	80					5	15			590	118.00
19. Janalu Kntta Wadde	0	2	280	35					5	-10			330	165
20. Vijjya Wadde.	2	2	350	70					5	10			435	108.75
TOTAL....	23	56	9450	1355					100	225			11130	140.88

Table No. XIII.  
 SETTLED VILLAGE LAHERI AVERAGE ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME.

Name of the head of the family.	No. of family members.	Income from agriculture.	Income from the forest labour.	Income from the sale of forest produce.	Income from other sources.	Total per head income.
Jogi Doba.	1	350	40	Nil.	Nil.	590
Kumra Erappa Pallo	4	340	50	Nil.	Nil.	590
Wanja Dasaru Gotta	2	260	80	Nil.	Nil.	640
Dogge Korppa.	3	150	60	Nil.	Nil.	520
Vijaya Mukka.	2	320	60	Nil.	Nil.	580
Total...	14	1330	290	1200	Nil.	2920

Table No. XIV.  
 REHABILITATED COLONY AT LAHERI AVERAGE ANNUAL FAMILY EXPENDITURE

Name of the head of the family.	No. of family members.	Food.	Cloth & adornment.	Light & fuel.	Bidi & Tabaco.	Housing.	Festivals & ceremonies.	Taxes & others.	Total	Average family expenditure.	Remarks.
Jogi Doba.	1	480	60	5	5	10	10	---	560	183.33	*Housing & all necessary Agri-cultural implements are provided through the Scheme.
Kumra Erappa Pallo	4	520	80	10	10	10	10	---	630	126.00	
Wanja Dasaru Gotta.	2	560	60	10	10	10	10	---	650	108.33	
Dogge Korppa.	3	520	60	10	10	10	10	---	610	122.00	
Vijaya Mukka.	2	500	60	10	10	10	10	---	590	118.00	
Total..	11	2580	320	45	45	50	50	---	3040	126.66	

N.B.: Hotelling expenditure is excluded.

/Ashok/MA/



The most striking conclusion emerging from this data is that tribal income is considerably below the average level as a whole. Taking into an account an average family size, as being five, income per head comes to Rs.227.87 of more who still practise shifting cultivation and the per head income of the tribals who have been rehabilitated on settled agriculture comes to Rs. 131.19. Thus it is evident that the family income of the tribals who are practising shifting cultivation is more compared to the income of the tribals.,rehabilitated in the colonies.

In the areas where the tribals still practice shifting cultivation, 99 percent of the income is derived from agriculture and only one percent either from forest produce or from agricultural labour, whereas in the area where settled cultivation is a mode of occupation over 55% of the income is derived from agriculture, 40% from forest labour and the rest of the income is either from the agricultural labour or from other sources.

At most all income from cultivation are subsistence income. Most of the wage income is in kind. Thus cent percent income of an average tribal house hold is non money income. The existance of large proportion of non money incomes in this tract leads to the introduction of barter economy, which ultimately is responsible for the exploitation of tribals by the traders and also hampers the process of economic development of the area.

From the studies of some of the aspects of expenditure, it is revealed that in the family budget of the tribals expenditure on food is dominant; next comes clothing, festivals and ceremonies. Expenditure on education and medical treatment is practically Nil. Though the use of liquor and Tobacco is frequent in this tract it is observed that no amount is spent over these items as the tribals grow Tobacco in the court yard of their houses for domestic consumptions. Similarly liequor is distilled illicitly and hence the tribals generally do not spend any portion of their income over these items. For shifting cultivators luxuries are unknown, yet they are very fond of ornaments which they purchase once in a year from the markets on the occasion of Jatra either at Aheri in Chandrapur District or at Narayanpur in Bastar State. Those who have been rehabilitated in colonies of course have taken to hoteling and whenever they visit the market places, they spend Rs.5/- to ten on hoteling. The rest of the city attractions like cinemas and shopping have of course no attraction even to the settled cultivators. The rest of the city attraction even to the settled cultivators. The data of expenditure collected during survey is given in the earlier statements.

The itemwise expenditure is described below :

FOOD : The food consumed is simple. Their daily food consists of course cereals like Kosra and the Vegetables, they grow in the fields i.e. Ambadi and Walbeans. From the income statement it reveals that shifting cultivators grow sufficient quantity

of food grains. Their agricultural produce is surplus whereas the agricultural produce of the settled agriculturists is deficit due to reasons given above. Animals hunted in the forests as also the yields of the forests like fruits, tubers, roots etc. supplement their food. The tribals who have been rehabilitated are not in a position to produce sufficient quantity of food grains inspite of their labour. Hence they are being subsidised by way of subsistence grant from the Social Welfare Department and Khavti Taccavi from the revenue department. This clearly indicates that there are some defects in our rehabilitation programme which needs to be rectified. Because of the acculturation and the forest income in cash wages, the Madias who have been rehabilitated in colonies are changing their food habits. Many of the colonists use rice instead of Kosra and the pulses which they grow in their fields in their <sup>daily</sup> manu. Marias are generally Omnivorous in their food habits and therefore, they consume everything that is edible. Eating of goats meat is a ~~ba~~ taboot to Madias who are from Durwa clan. The Marias keep fowls which are enjoyed mostly on festival occasions.

ALCOHOLIC DRINKS : The tribals in this tract \* tap the palm & Gorga trees and whole day they are found fully drunk. The Gorga Juice is treated as an item of food in this tract.

TOBACCO : Tobacco is grown in the court yard of their houses hence they do not spend any share of their income over this item.

FUEL : The tribals use wood for fuel which they get abundently from forest. They make the fire in the living room, which is used for cooking the food, for lighting the room and for warming the people. In the rehabilitated centres some of the acculturated tribals use Kerosine oil for lightening purposes. Hence the expenditure on fuel is also nil.

DRESS : Much difference is noticed in the use of dress between the settled cultivators and those who are still practising shifting cultivation. The Tribals in the shifting cultivation zone ~~were~~ wear a little cloth. The dress of a male consists of loin cloth and ~~waist~~ cost while female wears only a lower garment. The children are often seen naked. As against this the tribals who have been rehabilitated in Colonies have adopted using shifts, dhotis and the females sarees, to cover up the whole body up to knee. Thus the Marias who have taken up the settled cultivation comparatively spend more on clothing than those who are practising shifting cultivation. It is gathered that nearly 10 to 15 % of their income is spent on dresses by the shifting cultivators, whereas those who have been rehabilitated in colonies spend 15 to 20% of their income over this item.

ORNAMENTS : The tribals are very fond of ornaments, Metal Ornaments and glass breed ornaments are purchased on the occasion of Jatras and festivals from the markets. Every family spends Rs.20 to 50 over this item, in a year.

70

SOCIAL & RELIGIOUS FUNCTIONS : One of the important items of expenditure next to food and dress is Social and religious functions. They have strong attachment for the Community. They join together in propitiating Gods and Goddesses. On every religious occasion they offer sacrifices on behalf of the community. Feast and the dances follow the rituals. The village priest known as "Kurma" performs the rituals. The following are some of the common religious functions of both the categories of Marias i.e. those who follow the shifting cultivation and those who have been rehabilitated in colonies. All these religious functions have affinity with their agricultural operations.

1. PINDI PANDUM : They start clearing the jungle for cultivation after this festival. This religious ceremony is performed at the outskirts of the village. Rice or Kōsra, a fowl and cash of 50 paise to one Rupee is collected from all the households in the village and rituals are performed by the Kurma of this village.
2. BIJYA PANDUM : This is a festival of sowing. After this festival the sowing operations are started.
3. PUNA PANDUM : Festival of eating new vegetable grown in the field.
4. JKATA PANDUM : This ceremony is performed in the month of December after the new crop is harvested.

Over and above these religious ceremonies the tribals spend lavishly during the marriage functions and on such Social functions like birth day and mourning ceremonies for feeding, drinking and dancing. For meeting out the expenses of these social functions, they take loans without interest from the well to do persons, amongst them, in exchange of crops or overtime labour. Thus these functions and occasions form a part of the family expenditure. Besides these items the Marias in the tract do not spend any portion of their income towards housing or payment of rent etc., as they get housing material free of cost from the jungle, similarly the lands they cultivate are either illegal occupations or not recorded for payment of rent. From the income and expenditure statement it is revealed that as their wants are few and as there are lesser items of expenditure, their economy can be classified as self sufficient economy.

INDEBTEDNESS : The striking feature of the tribal economy is absence of the problem of indebtedness in the area i.e. both in the area where shifting cultivation is prevalent and in the rehabilitated centres. During Survey it is informed that after the abolition of Zamindari and the enforcement of debt reconciliation, they have stopped taking loans and at present none are in debit. Only during the year 1965-66 the Revenue Department have advanced Khavti taccavi to 50) tribal cultivators who have been rehabilitated in the

Centres @ Rs.750/- each out of which only Rs.187.50 is repayable within the period of three years at the interest rate of Rs.4.5 %

CATTLE : The Marias who are still practising shifting cultivation are not rich in cattle wealth. The villages which have been visited during survey, cattle are rarely found. It is only in the plains where colonies have been constructed cattle are found. This is mainly due to the Government aid. Cows and Buffalows are not milched. They rear cow only for breeding purposes. Poultry birds are found in sufficient numbers. They keep the hens for sacrificing them on festive and religious occasions. The eggs are not consumed. They keep the eggs for hatching purposes. The statement of cattle wealth is given below :

Contd..

Name of the Village.	Whether settled families or shifting cultivators.	No. of families.	CATTLE WEALTH.				
			Bull-ocks.	Cows.	Sheep	Pigs	Foultry Birds.
-1-	-2-	-3-	-4-	-5-	-6-	-7-	-8-
1. Timmowahi	Shifting cultivators	9	--	--	1	6	7
2. Kuwakodi	-do-	16	--	21	2	10	6
3. Ture Marka	-do-	20	--	--	-	5	10
4. Permal Bhatti	-do-	16	--	9	-	7	5
5. Unchur.	-do-	5	--	--	2	2	2
6. Bine Gunda.	-do-	17	1	18/2	-	9	12
7. Laheri.	Settled Cultivators	5	10	5/4	2	4	10
8. Koyar.	-do-	17	34	17/4	4	7	20
9. Murangal.	-do-	16	32	16/7	2	5	12
10. Bangdi.	-do-	11	22	11	5	2	6
11. Gundenhod.	-do-	9	18	5	3	3	6
12. Poerkutti	-do-	25	50	20	10	6	20
13. Tadpari.	-do-	15	30	15	2	5	80
14. Bodange.	-do-	10	20	8	3	3	8
15. Hiddur.	-do-	14	28	10	10	5	12
		205	245	155/17	46	79	216

**ATTITUDE TOWARDS SHIFTING CULTIVATION :-** Out of 84 families, who still practise shifting cultivation, 83 Maria families were contacted on enquiry, it is revealed that none of these families want to change this primitive method of agriculture as they say that this type of cultivation was even practised by their fore fathers. Besides this they informed that they get sufficient yield with in the shortest period of three months with lesser labour. Madia Cultivators preferably those who are sufficiently older in age feel that their every day life has become very dull. The ceremonial pomp of the 'dhaia or bewar cultivation is Vanishing year by year.

.....

They say that now a days there are rarely community hunts and dances. Social ceremonies have become lifeless. In short in their opinion the life has lost all its charm of the past. In spite of this, they are not in favour of giving up this cultivation. For them it is the link with their past and with their ancestors. Some of the Marias who were rehabilitated under the scheme have gone back and joined the hands of shifting cultivators. All these factors make them feel that shifting cultivation is definitely better than the present settled agriculture. In short they do not want the restricted type of life which some of their relatives are leading in the rehabilitated colonies.

As against the shifting cultivators, contacts were made with the 45 rehabilitated families, during survey to ascertain their views about the change. Almost all of them opined that since the time they have taken up the plough cultivation the yield is not sufficient. Besides this they have informed that previously they used to grow whatever they like in their lands without much difficulty. Now in spite of hard labour and spending their much of the time in the field they are not getting what actually they used to get as shifting cultivators. Because of their contacts with the non tribals on the plains their wants have also been increased. The new generation of Marias of course who have come in contact with the non tribals and other settled agriculturists of the area are in favour of the settled agriculture. The cash economy and the spirit of individual ownership of land is of course turning the minds of young generation towards settled cultivation.

Even though the findings of the Survey conducted are mostly in favour of shifting cultivation, yet as pointed in the earlier chapters that the Marias who are following this crude type of cultivation are to be weaned away from this primitive way of life as the main policy of the Government is to integrate the tribal Communities with the rest of the economically advanced Communities of the country and simultaneously to Conserve the forests which is our national wealth. This change of course should be brought out without disturbing their Social structures or interfering with the way of their lives; which can be possible only if the remaining 84 families of shifting cultivators are rehabilitated in their own areas without bringing them on the plains from the hills on the lines of Mandlaghat district i.e. by reserving a certain tract as that of Baiga chalk and

-- --

and simultaneously introducing settled cultivation by means of establishing demonstration farm in the area. Then only the desired object of weaning the tribals away from this crude types of cultivation can be achieved without disturbing their culture.

.....

1. The list of the persons who are still practising shifting cultivation is given in Appendix. VIII.

45

C H A P T E R - I V .

SELECTION OF BENEFICIARIES:      OBSERVATION AND  
SUGGESTION

During survey it is revealed that prior to the taking up of the rehabilitation scheme, no systematic survey of the area and tribals practising shifting cultivation was under taken either by the Forest Department or by the Social Welfare Department. It is only the Marias residing in the following villages in the hills of Bada and Chhota Maida have been brought down from the hills and are being settled in the agricultural colonies constructed on the plains assuming that all of them belonged to the class of shifting cultivation:

1. Binegunda.
2. Daman Marka.
3. Permalbhatti.
4. Kuvakodi.
5. Timveli.
6. Gundonhode.
7. Punsaoor.
8. Morameta.
9. Kamarkodi.
10. Mesili.

This approach is unscientific, In fact from the anthropological point of view a systematic survey of all the 200 families to be rehabilitated in agricultural colonies should have been taken earlier. In Hiddur colony three cases were noticed during survey of the persons who have been rehabilitated as shifting cultivators, actually belonged to the class of forest labourers and never practised shifting cultivation.

2.      ALLOTMENT OF LAND AND DEMARCATION OF PLOT:

The forest department has deforested 1580 acres of forest land for cultivation. The details of the land allotted and demarcated are given vide appendix V. From the survey it reveals that on an average four      cont. .



acres of land have been brought under cultivation by the cultivators.

3. CONSTRUCTION OF HUTS: According to the budgetory provision, Rs 500/- is provided for the construction of modest hut on tribal pattern, with the clear understanding that the timber requested for the houses will be supplied at a reasonable rate by the forest department. During Survey it was noticed that at Laheri and Murangal the houses have been constructed thrice with the allotted provision. This indicates that the houses originally constructed were not of the value to the extent of allotted provision i.e. Rs 500/-. A house on tribal pattern having two rooms, one varadha and one separate cattle shed is provided under the scheme. Out of 150 houses constructed 100 houses are having country tiled roofs & the rest 50 houses are thatched with grass. It is therefore suggested that remaining 50 houses may also be provided ~~under-the~~ country tile roofing so as to be safe from accidental fire. It has been estimated that another Rs 17,500/- are required, if the remaining houses are to be roofed with country tiles.

2. No proper lay out has been given before the construction of the colony particularly in the following villages:

1. Murangal.
2. Bangdi.
3. Gundenhood.

For the most important social institution of Ghotul, an hut has been constructed in the colonies. On enquiry it is reported that though no budgetary allotment was made for this item yet a small dormitory has been constructed by them but it is not properly maintained. It is, however suggested that provision of Rs 100/- may be made for the maintainence of this hut.

#### CONSTRUCTION OF WELL

As per the budgetory provision, one drinking water well is provided for a unit of 50 houses and thus so far two wells at the cost of Rs 1500/- each have been constructed at Murangal and Gotpadi. The well at Murangal has collapsed and is of no use to the colonists. The Shifting cultivators settled at Laheri fetch ~~demon-~~ ~~stration-farm~~ water from the well constructed in the agricultural demonstration farm. Out of ten colonies constructed 7 colonies are having no drinking water facilities. The colonists fetch water from the near by nalas and ponds and hence fall an easy prey to many diseases.

contd... ..

It is therefore suggested that one sanitary drinking water well may be constructed in each colony irrespective of the number of houses constructed there. The Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled areas commission has also recommended in its report that each agricultural colony should have one drinking water well. Thus it is suggested that a provision for additional 8 wells for the villages noted below may immediately be provided:-

1. Tadpari.
2. Guadenhod.
3. Bangali.
4. Hiddur.
5. Poerkuti.
6. Koer.
7. Kurangal.
8. Bodange.

COST OF CLEARING LANDS OF SHRUBS & TREES  
TERRACING & BUNDING @ Rs 100/- PER FAMILY.

Under this item only Rs 100/- are provided to each cultivator for clearing ten acres of forest land. Terracing and bunding is not possible with this amount only three to four acres of land is cleared and brought under cultivation. It is therefore, suggested that at least Rs 500/- may be provided for clearing the forest of ten acres. The terracing and bunding may got done, by the agricultural department. Out of 1580 acres, deforested for the cultivation by the forest department only an area of 840 acres of land is being brought under cultivation (see Appendix V(Col4)).

COST OF BULLOCKS: For settled type of cultivation bullocks and ~~xxx~~ ploughs are the essential factors. Thus under the scheme a pair of bullocks costing Rs 300/- is given to the cultivators for plough cultivation. The prices are day by day going high in the market and obviously the cost of the standard size of bullocks have also increased. In order to achieve the financial targets, the bullocks of minor ages, unfit to put to any agricultural operations are purchased and given to the cultivators. The cultivators rehabilitated at Hiddur, complained about the type of bullocks given to them.

contd.. ..

The Area Organiser, Aheri, on enquiry reported that there is no cattle market in Sironcha Tahsil. Such markets are at a distance of 150 miles away from the area. Bullocks are purchased either from Gidem market at Jagdaplur or at Wani, district Yeotmal. A good pair of bullocks is not available for Rs 300/-. Besides this the transport charges are heavy. Thus taking into consideration all the factors, it is suggested that the ceiling may be raised to Rs 500/- from that of Rs 300/-

#### POULTRY AND MILCH CATTLE:

As a subsidiary occupation, each family has been supplied with a cow or goat at a cost of Rs 200/- with two fold objects i.e. the tribals should get additional income from the poultry and Milch cattles and also may be in a position to get milk and eggs for their under nourished children. This scheme has been proved to be a total failure in the area. The dairy occupation is unknown to Marias. They do not milk cows and buffaloes but yoke them to the ploughs like bullocks. Hence the desired objects are not achieved.

#### SCHOOL:

In order to provide educational amenities to the children of Adiwasis, practising shifting cultivation, one school is provided in the budget for a unit of fifty houses. Two such schools have so far been opened, one at Koyer and other at Gotpadi. During survey it is noticed that the educational programme in the area has miserably failed. The strength of the boys at Koyer school though on the register is 12, it has been informed that only 3 boys attend the school. The medium of instruction in these schools is Marathi. This area being scheduled, Marias know no other ~~language~~ other than their mother tongue. Naturally the children can only make out the meaning of any word taught to them only through their mother tongue. Imparting education through the ~~unknown~~ unknown language, had created disinterest among the pupils. The boys who are reported to be attending the schools regularly could not follow the simple questions asked to them in Marathi. This reveals that these schools are not functioning well in these areas.

The school teacher of Koyer village have been entrusted the supervision of the construction work of the houses at Hiddur is it self a fact that they take little interest in running the schools. Thus the entire provision under this head is merely a waste.

contd... ..

/language

In order to overcome this difficulty, it is suggested that the scheme of Ashram school be introduced in the area for which the buildings and agricultural lands are readily available at a central place like Laheri. This will not only help in spreading the education in the area but also train up the young generation to acquire the skill of the settled cultivation. Substantial efforts have been made by the teachers even for the enrollment of the boys in their schools. The tribals of these villages think that attending to school means a waste of time for the children and that such time could have been better utilized in some productive purposes, such as cattle grazing in the forest; looking after younger children in the houses, helping the parent in fields or in collecting forest produce. Some of the children also feel that regular hours of attendance and work every day at school under the discipline of teachers are too tiring and they prefer to play about in the jungle or stay idle at home. The statement of school going children is given in Appendix II.

#### DEMONSTRATION FARM:

A plot of ten acres of land is acquired at a central place Laheri for the establishment of demonstration farm. One Jamadar and a field man is appointed for the farm. This farm does not give any attractive appearance to any outsiders as no agricultural development seen in the farm. Hence it is a matter to be considered that how far this farm might have played a role in demonstrating the improved techniques of agriculture to all these primitive shifting cultivators who are being rehabilitated in the agricultural colonies. The agricultural Jamadar has even no record to show as to whom he has imparted the technique of settled cultivation. One more agricultural Jamadar has been appointed for Hiddur without a farm and agricultural accessories. At present, he is in charge of the construction of houses at Hiddur. This indicates that the very aims and objects of the scheme for which the appointments are made are defeated. It is therefore suggested that in the Job-Chart of agricultural Jamadar, it should be included that they should frequently pay visits to the nearby agricultural colonies, and assist the cultivators by way of demonstration of the improved methods of Agriculture. The cultivators contacted do not know, even the the transplantation methods. No manure pits were noticed in any of the villages during survey.

contd.. ..

/posts

This indicates that no proper demonstration is being done in the improved methods of agriculture. The agricultural Jamadar and fieldman at Laheré are at present being paid from constigancies. It is suggested that these posts should be made budgeted posts so that the persons working on these/may have some stability so as to put heart to work. The second demonstration farm at Hiddur may immediately be established to utilise the services of agricultural Jamadar posted at Hiddur in a better way.

At present the scheme of Rehabilitating the shifting cultivators in Chandrapur district is looked after by the following staff.

1. Area Organiser Aheri.
2. Circle Organiser, Shifting Cultivation scheme Bhamragadh.
3. The forest Ranger.

The staff is quite inadequate compared to the nature of work and resources at their disposal. It is agreed that the scheme has suffered for want of supervision and follow up of the scheme. The following staff in the state sector is proposed:-

1. SPECIAL REHABILITATION OFFICER:

It is proposed to create one post of rehabilitation officer with its head quarters at Bhamragadh in the cadre of Area Organiser. The Social Welfare Officer, Chanda is incharge of the scheme and he is under Zilla Parishad administration. Because of the multifarious activities he is not able to pay his adequate attention towards this scheme. It is therefore proposed that the post of an Officer delegated with necessary financial, revenue, and administrative powers be created.

2. At present one post of a forest guard is provided in the budget. So far 1580 acres of forest land have been deforested for the scheme. In order to have strict supervision over the deforesting work and the conservation of the adjacent forest, two additional posts of forest guards have been proposed under the scheme.

PROPAGANDISTS:

At the beginning of the scheme in the past two posts of propagandists were provided to assist the staff in the field work. Later on these posts have been withdrawn. contd. ..

:- :-

The Madias being primitive hesitate to change their habits and customs. In order to take up the settled cultivation pursuation and propaganda is essential. It is therefore suggested that posts of two propagandists may be created in the budget.

OFFICE STAFF:

For the office of the Special rehabilitation Officer, Ministerial Staff consisting of one senior clerk and one Junior Clerk is proposed.

It is further suggested that the staff working under the scheme and to be appointed may not be changed till the completion of the scheme. The tribals often suspect about sudden changes made in the scheme, because the versions and propaganda made about the scheme differ from man to man. During survey it has been reported that Shri Kamble, the Circle Organizer, incharge of shifting Cultivation was working since the inception of the scheme has been transferred on promotion. Shri B.M. Polkade formerly a gram sevak and having no soft corner towards the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and the scheme, is posted there. This scheme is very delicate and needs careful handling with watchful observations in the settlement of tribals entirely in the new atmosphere, Dr. V. Elwin has also, laid down much stress upon the personnel for the successful implementation of the scheme in the tribal areas.

The rehabilitation of shifting cultivators, being mostly the agricultural scheme, it is suggested that an agricultural assistant be provided for each colony to give guidance and practical demonstration on the lines of scientific cultivation.

The tribal area of Chandrapur district being mostly the paddy growing area some irrigation facilities in the shape of small tanks may be provided for each colony. Besides this Oil engines either for lift irrigation or well irrigation should also be supplied for each colony.

The financial implications of the proposed scheme has been worked out and given at Appendix VI. FOLLOW UP: Since the inception of the scheme no follow up has been done to know whether (1) the shifting cultivators have taken upto settled ~~at~~ cultivation without any difficulty, (2) The land allotted has been cleared and brought under cultivation or not; and (3) Individual demarcation of plots ~~had~~ been done or not.

contd.. ..

It is therefore, suggested that a regular follow up of the scheme be under taken to know the results of the scheme.

Before concluding the evaluation report it is suggested that the following suggestions of the experts may be taken into account while rehabilitating the remaining tribal families of shifting cultivators in Chandrapur district.

Shifting cultivation even though is an arduous and wasteful means of cultivation has been accepted a tribal agriculture which is both a way of life and an aspect of culture.

In order to respect the tribal way of life and culture, the following suggestions are put forth to regulate this type of cultivation instead of its total replacement.

1. In the existing areas a restricted type of shifting cultivation be introduced for this purpose, some area should be set apart. This type of cultivation is prevalent in the areas of Mandlaghat in M.P. amongst the Biagas. The area reserved is known as Baigas' Chalk. The details of Baiga Chalk are given at Appendix VII.

The Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas commission suggested the following methods for continuation of restricted type of shifting cultivation:

"The land should be divided into three parts according to its slopes. Hills and steep slopes should be kept permanent under afforestation. Gentle slopes up to 10 should be terraced and in between shifting cultivation may be permitted leaving enough land for rotation purpose. Immediately after the use of land or simultaneously it should be taken for afforestation of the Jhumed areas".

"It is most desirable that in the hilly areas where there is a pressure on agricultural land, we should concentrate, on the scientific improvement of shifting cultivation in order to maintain the fertility of the soil. This plan has been accepted by both the Renuka Ray and the Inaccessible Areas Committee. Dr. V. Elwin has suggested that when the crop is weeded or harvested all damages to the shoots that come up from the stools is carefully avoided so that after the cropping is over, they quickly shoot out branches and leaves, cover. Thus protecting it till the next clearing is due".

cont... ..

Shri Sivraman's suggestion is as follows:

"At present the restoration of soil fertility depends mainly on the decay of weeds, grass and leaves and this level of fertility is greatly reduced in two years of cropping. In order to hasten the restoration of fertility all weeds and grass in such area should be suppressed by leguminous cover crops which fix Nitrogen in the soil and non descripte trees, which are not all leguminous should be replaced by leguminous shrubs which can be out of destroyed easily.

The above objects can be completely achieved by growing in the third year, when the jhumeed land is left follow perennial redgram (Arwar) is dibbled. The Arwar provides extra food for the people and fix Nitrogen in the soil and also improve soil fertility by leaf fall".

Instead of forbidding shifting cultivation and thus causing a drastic disturbances to tribal life, surely a positive approach would not only be fairer to the tribals themselves but would have a greater chance of success also. In Assam and Tripura where there is a dirth of cultivable land, the hill slopes of the Jhumeed areas have been terraced and the erosion of the soil is checked to a greater extent. This change has proved to be a great success in Assam. Terracing is costly and particularly by the Marias who are simple folk. There is another method akin to terracing which is prevalent in Chandrapur district, is known as "Gatta Cultivation" under this method hill slopes are terraced and bunded by felling big trees and lying them on the slopes of the hills at distances so as to convert the slopes into various plots. The flow of water is obstructed and the erosion of soil is checked to a little extent. Instead of terrace cultivation being done in Assam the 'gutta cultivation' can be followed in the areas where the shifting cultivation is in practice.

Shifting cultivation as mentioned earlier being an arduous and wateful method, is condemned but it has its bright side also. The system of shifting cultivation provides an excellent foundation for the cooperative communal farming towards which many parts of the world are moving. The introduction of permanent cultivation is turning the minds of the younger people more and more to the idea of private ownership. We have to be on the guard that introduction of stable cultivation that fosters individualism and private ownership does not lead to fragmentation and litigation about land. This sociological factor would have to be seriously kept in view in formulating all our schemes. contd.. ...



## APPENDIX- 'A'.

## STATEMENT SHOWING THE DETAILS OF THE BUDGETORY ALLOTMENT.

Sr. No.	Item.	Chanda District.
1.	Cost of hutments @Rs.500/- each. (50 in each district).	25,000
2.	Cost of wells one in each district.	1,500
3.	Cost of clearing lands of shrubs and trees terracing and bunding at Rs.100/- per family.	5,000
4.	Cost of bullocks (50 pairs) in each district @Rs.300/- each.	15,000
5.	Seeds and Fertilisers @ Rs.50/- per family.	2,500
6.	Implements etc. Rs.300/- per family.	15,000
7.	Poultry and milch cattle @Rs.200/- per family.	10,000
8.	Maintenance charges @Rs.300/- per family.	15,000
9.	Cost of one School building.	1,000
10.	Pay of teachers @Rs.80/- per month (contingent expenditure on school at Rs.40/- per annum expenditure on dress salaries, books etc. 500 per annum.)	1,500
11.	Supervisory staff of agricultural Jamadar and Rs.120/- per month and one peon @Rs.80/- p.m. inclusive allowance.	2,400
12.	Cost on small demonstration <del>from</del> farm of 10 acres including bullocks seeds fertilisers implements etc.	4,000
13.	Cost of huts for staff etc.	4,000
14.	Contingencies.	100
Total....		1,00,000/-
Non-recurrent.		94,000/-
Recurrent.		6,000/-

A P P E N D I X - IIISTATEMENT SHOWING THE AREA OF OPERATION  
BY THE CULTIVATORS DURING SHIFTING CUL-  
TIVATION AND AREA BROUGHT UNDER CULTIVATI-  
ON DURING SETTLED CULTIVATION.

Sr. No.	Name of the shifting cultivator.	Original place of habitant.	Acre- age of shift- ing cul- tivation.	Name of the vill- age where rehabili- tated.	Area allow- ted.	Actually brought under cultivat- ion.
-1-	-2-	-3-	-4-	-5-	-6-	-7-
1.	Mura Dasa	Pungati Timai.	10 acres.	Tadpari	10acres	6acres.
2.	Dunga Baya	Dirangi ulchar.	10 acres.	Poyar koti.	10acres.	5acres.
3.	Ulgi Kotla vadde.	Timwai	10 acres.	Tadapari.	10acres.	5acres.
4.	Muri Dasa	Timwai.	10 acres.	Tadpari.	10acres.	4acres.
5.	Dassaya Joga Godwe.	Timwai.	10 acres.	Tadpari.	10acres.	5acres.
6.	Tuge Agal.	Koer.	10 acres.	Koer.	10acres.	4 acres.
7.	Erapa Meena	Koer.	10 acres.	Koer.	10acres.	5acres.
8.	Musa Gana	Koer.	10 acres.	Koer.	10acres.	5acres.
9.	Vijaya Moka.	Vengurwada.	12 acres.	Koer.	10acres.	4 acres.
10.	Medho Masa.	Nikameta.	10 acres.	Gotpadi.	10acres.	4acres.
11.	Mhiku Kumma	Nikampta	10 acres.	Gotpadi.	10acres.	8acres.
12.	Bodka Doba	Nikampta.	8 acres.	Gotpadi.	10acres.	5acres.
13.	Dunga Goga.	Pongchur	8 acres.	Hiddur.	10acres.	3acres.
14.	Doga Bija	Timeli.	10 acres.	Hiddur.	10acres.	3acres.
15.	Masa Gota.D	Damanmarka.	10 acres.	Hiddur.	10acres.	5.acres.
16.	Kolha Nondi.	Bingunda.	8acres.	Hiddur	10acres.	3acres.
17.	Bicha Madi.	Turemarks.	10acres.	Hidaur	10acres.	5acres.
18.	Pusa Masa.	Metwada.	5acres.	Hiddur.	10acres.	5acres.
19.	Bonga Pandu.	Potdawada.	10acres.	Hiddur	10acres.	3acres.

contd.. ..

-1-	-2-	-3-	-4-	-5-	-6-	-7-
20.	Gatti Bodanga.	Hiddur.	10acres.	Hiddur.	10acres.	5 acres.
21.	Gycchya Keye.	Damanmarke.	10acres.	Hiddur.	10acres.	5 acres.
22.	Watte Janglu.	Koddaka.	5acres.	Hiddur	10acres.	3 acres.
23.	Chaitue Keye.	Phulcher.	15a	Hiddur.	10acres.	3 acres.
24.	Gundu Mura.	Turemarka	10acres.	Godhod	10acres.	5 acres.
25.	Bette Mura.	Turemarka.	5acres.	Godhod.	10acres.	5 acres.
26.	Kothal Gunda.	Damanmarka.	10acres.	Godhod.	10acres.	5 acres.
27.	Dunga Watte.	-do-	10	-do-	10	-do-
28.	Masa Bija	-do-	8	-do-	10	-do-
29	Chaitu Doli.	Turemarka	10	-do-	10	-do-
30	Watte Gowa.	Damanmarka	15	-do-	10	-do-
31	Chaitu Jalla.	Batkada.	18	-do-	Gunden hod.	10
32	Mura Katta.		8	-do-	Bangadi.	10
33	Masa Pandu.	Vengurwada.	10	-do-	10	-do-
34	VanjaKarpa	-do-	8	-do-	10	-do-
35	Firpa Gatti.	-do-	10	-do-	10	-do-
36	Pandu Doli.	-do-	8	-do-	10	-do-
37	Lata Mura.	-do-	10	-do-	10	-do-
38	Kola Oga.	-do-	10	-do-	10	-do-
39	Turga Murga.	-do-	8	-do-	10	-do-
40	Keye Mura,	-do-	6	-do-	10	-do-
41	Chaitu Muka.	-do-	10	-do-	10	-do-
42	Kule Bonge.	Vincuur.	10	-do-	10	-do-
43	Kana Mura	-do-	10	-do-	10	-do-
44	Eragu Mongga.	Dirangi.	8	-do-	Keer Koti.	10
45	Gila Dasaru.	-do-	8	-do-	10	-do-
Total :-			403		450acres.	205 acres.

## Appendix IV

## STATEMENT SHOWING THE AGRICULTURAL AID GIVEN

Sr. No.	Name of the Cultivator.	Place of Rehabilitation.	No. of plough bullocks given.	No. of milk cattle given.	Agricultural Accessories.
-1-	-2-	-3-	-4-	-5-	-6-
1.	Mura Dasa Pungati	Tadpari	2	1	All necessary agricultural implements.
2.	Dunga Baya	Poyar Kuti	2	2	-do-
3.	Vigi Kotla Vadde	Tadpari	2	1	-do-
4.	Muri Dasa	"	2	2	-do-
5.	Dasasya Joga Godwe	"	2	-	-do-
6.	Tuge Agal	Koyar	2	-	-do-
7.	Erapa Meena	"	2	-	-do-
8.	Musa Gana	"	2	-	-do-
9.	Vijya Moka.	"	2	-	-do-
10.	Mahdho Masa.	Gotpadi	2	-	-do-
11.	Chaitu Kumma.	"	2	-	-do-
12.	Bodke Doba.	"	2	1	-do-
13.	Dunga Goga.	Hiddur.	2	-	-do-
14.	Doge Bija.	"	2	-	-do-
15.	Masa Gota.	"	2	2	-do-
16.	Kolha Mohdi.	"	2	-	-do-
17.	Bicha Madi	"	2	1	-do-
18.	Pusu Masa.	"	2	2	-do-
19.	Bonga Pandu.	"	2	1	-do-
20.	Gatti Bodanga.	"	2	-	-do-
21.	Biccya Keya.	"	2	2	-do-
22.	Watte Janglu.	"	2	2	-do-
23.	Chaitu Keye.	"	2	2	-do-
24.	Gundu Mura.	Gundenhod	2	1	-do-
25.	Bett Mura.	"	2	1	-do-
26.	Kothla Gunda.	"	2	-	-do-
27.	Masa Bija.	"	2	1	-do-
28.	Dunga Watte.	"	2	-	-do-
29.	Chaitu Doli.	"	2	-	-do-
30.	Watte Gowa.	"	2	1	-do-
31.	Chaitu Jalia.	Bangadi.	2	1	-do-
32.	Mura Katta.	Gundenhod.	2	1	-do-
33.	Masa Pandu.	Bangadi	2	1	-do-
34.	Nanja Karpa	"	2	-	-do-
35.	Pandu Doli.	"	2	-	-do-
36.	Eirpa Gatti.	"	2	-	-do-
37.	Kata Mura	"	2	1	-do-
38.	Kola Oga.	"	2	1	-do-
39.	Durga Mura.	Hiddur.	2	1	-do-
40.	Keya Mura.	"	2	1	-do-
41.	Chaitu Muka.	"	2	-	-do-
42.	Kule Bonga.	"	2	-	-do-
43.	Kana Mura.	Peer Koti.	2	2	-do-
44.	Eragu Monga.	Ful-chai.	2	-	-do-
45.	Gila Dassaru.	"	-	-	-do-
			88	31	

Appendix V

General information regarding land and No. of Tribals trained up to 1964-65.

Sr. No.	Name of the Colony.	Total no. of land allotted.	Total Acreage of land actually brought under cultivation.	Name of the village where the agricultural demonstration farm has been established.	Distance from Colony	Total no. of agriculturists trained in the technique of settled or improved agricultures.
-1-	-2-	-3-	-4-	-5-	-6-	-7-
1.	Laheri	50 acres	40 acres	Laheri	---	5
2.	Koer	140 + 40	80 plus 70 acres	-do-	9 Miles	Nil
3.	Gotpadei	250	70 acres	-do-	---	Nil
4.	Peorkoti	250	230 "	-do-	---	Nil
5.	Tadpari	150	100 "	-do-	2 Miles	Nil.
6.	Murangal	120 + 10 + 40	70 "	-do-	7 Miles.	Nil.
7.	Hiddur	200	Nil	(proposed) Hiddur.	----	---
8.	Gundenhod	90	70 "	Laheri	4 Miles	Nil.
9.	Bangadi.	110	40 "	-do-	4 Miles.	Nil.
10.	Bodange.	100 + 30	70 "			Nil.
Total		1580 acres.	840 acres.			

APPENDIX VI

Statement showing the expenditure on the proposed staff and other items.

Recurring .....	Rs. 16,800/-
Non recurring .....	Rs. 80,000/-
Total	Rs. 96,800/-

PAY & ALLOWANCES :

	Pay.	D. A.	Total
1. Special Rehabilitation Officer, One (250 to 500 )	3000	480	3480/-
1.(a) Agricultural Assistants (15)			
2. Forest guards Two. 100 x 2	2400	720	3120/-
3. Clerks Two: One Senior Clerk (145-185)	1876	540	2416/-
4x Junior Clerk one (100-170)	1200	540	1740/-
4. Peons Two (75-75)	1680	720	2400/-
5. Driver Two. Field Man. 15	2400	720	3120/-
Total:	12556	3720	16276/-

Traveling allowance : Rs. 500/- 16776 i.e.  
16800

CONTINGENCIES:

1. Purchase of Tractor -----	Rs. 18,000/-
2. Petrol and Maintenance Charges for Tractor.	Rs. 1,000/-
3. Purchase of Furniture.	Rs. 500/-
*4. Office Contingencies.	Rs. 500/-
*5. Oil Engines. 10	Rs. 30,000/-
6. Irrigation Wells. 10	Rs. 30,000/-

Total: Rs. 80,000/-

\* The maintenance charges of oil engines should be done by the Colonists.

61

APPENDIX-VII

Note on the BAIGA CHALK.

In the South Eastern corner of Mandla<sup>D</sup> District, bordering on the district of Bilaspur, is a small tract of hilly land where the Baigas are permitted under forest regulations to practise shifting cultivation which they call "bewar". This tract lies in the lap of Maikal hills at an attitude of about 2,400 feet above the sea level.

In 1867 the practice of bewar, was stopped by the Government and in 1890, a regulation passed by Government by which Baiga Chalk, was created to rehabilitate the primitive Baigas in their own environment. A total area of 23,920 acres of wild forest was demarketed for the chalk. This area has been inaccessible to outsiders till recently when the forest roads were built.

Originally seven forest villages were settled inside Baiga Chalk. The boundary has since changed slightly and at present there are five villages in the Baiga Chalk where the shifting cultivators among Baigas live. They are Ajgar, Dhurukutta, Tankaram, Silpury and Dhabas.

ADMINISTRATION :- Tankaram,

The administration of Baiga Chalk and neighbouring villages is vested in the forest department. The people living in the forest villages are supplied with rent free land by the forest department and the people are permitted to take forest timber, bamboos and fuel sufficient for their own needs, and wild roots and fruits grasses and tubers for consumption and sale. Forest Contractors are not permitted to operate in the chalk. A condition imposed on them by

Forest Department, is that at least one member from each family will have to work on the forest works whenever asked to do so by the forest officers.

PRACTICE OF BEWAR :- Every year the forest department allots and demarcates some coupes, where in the Baigas are permitted to practice Bewar. The trees and the shrubs on the allotted tract are felled in September, October and are allowed to dry for three months or so. In March, April, they are set on fire and just before the rains in June the seeds are scattered in the moist ashes. Rainy season crops such as Kutki Media, Raseni, Sannula, Baira and Kang are raised. Those are harvested in September, October.

Besides being permitted to practice-Bewar, the Baigas have been encouraged to take up settled plough cultivation called, Nangar. For this land is provided and grants are made available for cattle and seeds. Recently the forest department has started a scheme for resettling the younger generation amongst the Baigas, who practice shifting cultivation, in villages which are called as Nangar Villages, where Bewar is not allowed. Thus such villages have been settled near the chalk. Forest authorities are hopeful of persuading this younger generation of Baigas to give up Bewar altogether.



APPENDIX-VIII

Statement showing the list of the persons who still practice shifting cultivation in Chandrapur District.

Sr. No.	Name of the shifting cultivator.	Place of shifting cultivation.	Area cut annually (acres).
1	2	3	4
1.	Modu Karu Durwa.	DINAGUNDA.	10 acres.
2.	Mura Boya Kodadi.	--do--	20
3.	Kupia Jala Kondga.	--do--	10
4.	Soma Beka Talo.	--do--	10
5.	Tuga Mura Talo.	--do--	10
6.	Chittu Kena Durya.	--do--	20
7.	Masa Amala Parsa.	--do--	12
8.	Vijga Mura Usandi.	--do--	16
9.	Saibi Doge Durwa.	--do--	10
10.	Mura Gudsa Hudanga.	--do--	12
11.	Tuge Bunga Podadi.	--do--	15
12.	Masa Keru Durwa.	--do--	10
13.	Turga Dobbal Timmul.	--do--	20
14.	Masa Kolal Podadi.	--do--	10
15.	Koma Amalu Podadi.	--do--	--
16.	Kuma Mura Podadi.	--do--	10
17.	Bande Mura Podadi.	--do--	--
18.	Masa Vanja Usandi.	PERMALBHATTI.	15 acres.
19.	Masa Menda Talodi.	--do--	10
20.	Vijaya Dunga Deda.	--do--	0
21.	Aga Wenda Nagoti.	--do--	15
22.	Lalu Kopa Usande.	--do--	8
23.	Rama Gunderu Durwa.	--do--	10
24.	Baya Doge Usande.	--do--	20
25.	Soma Channu Durbal.	--do--	8
26.	Keghu Mura Gumma.	--do--	8
27.	Kumma Nenda Podadi.	--do--	10
28.	Vatta Chaitu Usande.	--do--	10
29.	Kumma Vanjya Usande.	--do--	20
30.	Penda Malu Wadada.	--do--	8
31.	Masare Bidwa Mengai.	--do--	5
32.	Mura Chambru Durwa.	--do--	10
33.	Mehru Katta Timma.	--do--	15
34.	Erapa Gudsa Usande.	KUNAKODI.	10
35.	Hedma Danga Usandi.	--do--	10
36.	Urgai Gudas-u Usanda.	--do--	10
37.	Juriya Urgi Usandi.	--do--	20
38.	Singa Gadne Usandi.	--do--	10
39.	Vatta Modi.	--do--	15
40.	Saybi Dobbal Kanga.	--do--	13
41.	Koppa Paghu Vidjy.	--do--	15
42.	Bora Wanga Usandi.	--do--	16
43.	Keye Gudsa Usandi.	--do--	20
44.	Kyeye Katiya Paras.	--do--	10
45.	Kena Dasru Usandi.	--do--	15

.....

1	2	3	4
46.	Pende Bhusi Usandi.	KUNAKODI.	20 acres.
47.	Doga Mura Usande.	-do-	20
48.	Watte Banga Usande.	-do-	10
49.	Musari Masa Usande.	-do-	5
50.	Doge Dunga Kadanga.	TIMMEWAHI.	10
51.	Modi Keye Wadde.	-do-	7
52.	Chaitu Kerava Podadi.	-do-	7
53.	Dasaru Goga Timma.	-do-	10
54.	Vijjya Bille Bungati.	-do-	6
55.	Chattu Kumma Widapi.	-do-	5
56.	Menda Kurpa Timma.	TIMMEWAHI.	5
57.	Maharu Bayal Podadi.	-do-	10
58.	Watte Koyya Pongati.	-do-	10
59.	Kanya Chaittu Pongati.	UNCHUR.	7
60.	Periyawale Pongati.	-do-	7
61.	Kohale Gilla Pongati.	-do-	20
62.	Billow Tumme Pongati.	-do-	20
63.	Kiye Gilla Pongati.	-do-	12
64.	Kule Bonge Pongati.	-do-	7
65.	Delu Wanja Usandei.	TURRMARKA.	10
66.	Maharu Wanja Podadi.	-do-	7
67.	Banga Kutta Podadi.	-do-	10
68.	Badonga Misi Podadi.	-do-	12
69.	Dogi Baya Usandi.	-do-	7
70.	Saibi Gudsa Podadi.	-do-	20
71.	Malla Bhichya Podadi.	-do-	7
72.	Boye Koppa Podadi.	-do-	15
73.	Meso Suka Podadi.	-do-	7
74.	Waya Bora Wadde.	-do-	7
75.	Vijjya Dogi Podadi.	-do-	10
76.	Karya Malla Podadi.	-do-	7
77.	Chaitu Pendo Podadi.	-do-	15
78.	Pedu Baiya Gota.	-do-	7
79.	Maharu Watte Usande.	-do-	10
80.	Doge Mura Usande.	-do-	7
81.	Pisa Labadi Podadi.	-do-	10
82.	Marya Firing Podadi.	-do-	10
83.	Janglu Kuttya Wadde.	-do-	7
84.	Vijjya Wadde.	-do-	7