MANKIRDIA

Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI) Bhubaneswar - 751003

FOREWORD

In the remote wilderness of Similipal National Park and its periphery one finds small groups of nomads living in an archaic age of hunting and food gathering. They are traditionally skilled in catching monkey and rope making out of the bark of *siali* fibre. They wander from place to place in small bands in search of rope making materials and monkey. They live in temporary makeshift leaf huts raised in forest clearings and village outskirts. People call them "Mankidi" or "Mankirdia" i.e., the people who live on mokey catching but they identify themselves as "Birhor" (*bir* – Jungle and *hor*- people) meaning "the denizers of forest". In fact they constitute a semi-normadic section of the Birhor tribe.

Besides the Similipal forests of Mayurbhanj district, small wandering bands of Mankirdia are also found in neighbouring districts of Keonjhar, Sundergarh, Sambalpur, Dhenkanal, Jajpur and Balasore. The tribe represents a slowly changing primitive society with ancient tribal cultural characteristics. They speak a language of their own that belongs to the 'Munda' branch of Austro-Asiatic language group. Some of them can also speak the local language, Oriya. Though few in numbers, the tribe has successfully retained its distinctive cultural features as well as cultural identity.

To eke out a living, they shuttle between forests and the local markets for collecting *siali* fibers and selling or bartering their products such as ropes, slings, oil press baskets etc. In the present times, they lead a life of relative deprivation because their forest dependent subsistence activities have been checked by the injunctions of forest and biosphere rules.

The Mankirdia has been identified as a Primitive Tribal Group (PTG) in Orissa. A Micro Project named "Hill-Kharia and Mankirdia Development Agency" headquartered at Jashipur In Mayurbhanj district is working for bringing about their all round development since 1987. It has set up two Mankirdia settlement colonies to rehabilitate the nomads. The community has shown a good response to their development programmes and changes are visible in their life style. Yet there are many other wandering bands left to be covered.

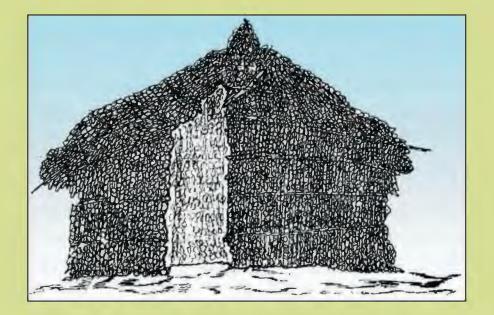
A photographic documentation of the tradition and change in the life style of this tribe will be useful to students, academicians, inquisitive tourists, laymen and development functionaries.

Dr. A.B. Ota, Director and Sri S.C. Mohanty, Research Officer, SCSTRTI who have laboriously conceived, designed and produced this colourful Photo Hand Book deserve my thanks. This is the 4th publication in the series of 5 Photo Hand Books on 5 selected Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) of Orissa. I hope learned readers will find this book interesting and useful.

Spiped

Shri A. K. Tripathy, I.A.S. Principal Secretary ST & SC Development Department, Government of Orissa

MANKIRDIA



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INTRODUCTION

The Mankirdia constitute a semi-nomadic section of the Birhor tribe. They are primarily a hunting and food gathering community. For their traditional skill of rope making, trapping and eating monkey, their neighbours call them 'Mankidi' or 'Mankirdia'. In the district of Kalahandi and Sundargarh they are named Mankidi whereas in Mayurbhanj and Sambalpur districts they go by the name Mankirdia. They catch and kill monkeys from the forests and eat monkey's meat. When these monkeys create havoc in the rural areas and destroy crops, fruits and vegetables, the local people employ the Mankirdia to catch them.



They are one of the most primitive and little known forest dwelling and wandering communities of the state as well as the country. They wander inside forests in small bands and stay at different *tandas*- the temporary make shift settlements, comprising of temporary dome shaped leaf huts, known as *kumbhas*. They speak a form of Munda language and some of them are also conversant in Oriya.

The typical physical characteristic features of Mankirdia are short stature, dark complexion with long head, broad flat nose, thick lips, wavy hair, loose arms and bow-like legs. They are simple and shy in nature.

The nomadic hunter-gatherer exemplifies the past life of men in the forest in archaic conditions. The scenic Chotanagpur plateau is said to be their place of origin. From there they might have migrated to different parts of Orissa and ultimately chosen temporary habitations around the hill tracts.











Besides Orissa, they are found in Jharkhand, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh & Maharashtra. In Orissa, small wandering bands of Mankirdia are largely found in Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Balasore, Jäjpur, Deogarh, Sundergarh and Sambalpur districts. They are mostly distributed in and around the Similipal hills. They number 1050 persons as per 2001 census. About 99 % of the Mankirdia populations are ruralites. Their sex ratio is 937 females per 1000 males. Only 7 percent of them are literates.

Their traditional style of dress and ornaments are plain and simple. They follow the same pattern as the neighbouring Munda speaking tribes like the Santal, Munda, Kol, Ho etc. Men use coarse handloom loin cloth and women wear similar sarees. These white coloured clothes have coloured check pattern and are woven by local weavers. Women put on few ornaments made of glass, beads and cheap metal. Often women fix a wooden comb in their hair knot.





HABITAT & SETTLEMENT



The Mankirdia wander in the forest tracts of the states, like Orissa, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Chhatisgarh and West Bengal. Generally they are seen moving in the jungle areas of northwestern Orissa comprising the districts, such as Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Sundargarh, Deogarh, Sambalpur, Balasore, Jajpur and Dhenkanal.



Sometimes they travel long distances in the jungle crossing the State and district boundaries in search of games and natural resources ie, the *siali* creepers and minor forest produce. For instance they wander from Orissa to Hazaribagh district in West Bengal. It has been observed that often they go out of State and come in after two or three years. It has also been found that the Mankirdia bands had moved out of State and were camping in and around TATA Nagar in Jharkhand State for about a year mainly for marital purposes and then they had returned to the Mayurbhaj district.





The temporary settlement of Mankirdia is a small one, called *tanda*, the leaf hutments. After observing the ritual testing of suitability of the site by the *Dehuri*, the priest, a new *tanda* is set up at a place close to forest, water source and weekly *hat*, market. Most often the *tanda* is found in the fringe of a village.



Large number of families in a *tanda* affects adversely to their forest and market based economy. So it houses 10 to 15 families comprising about 50 people. Some of the families are related to each other consanguinally and others, affinally. In a *tanda*, besides the *kumbhas* (leaf huts) belonging to the individual families, there are two other huts, called *Dhugala*, used by the unmarried boys and *Kudi Ada*, used by the unmarried girls for sleeping at hight. In one more *kumbha* the *tanda* deity is installed.







Most often their *tandas* are traced in and around the Similipal hills of Mayaurbhanj and Balasore districts. One can see their camps in the fringes of the Similipal forest close to the areas of Karanjia, Jashipur, Rairangpur and Thakurmunda blocks in Mayurbhanj district.



Their movement from place to place is more frequent in summer than in other seasons. But in rainy season they set up their *tanda* and stay all the four months in a locality preferably near a peasant village. In winter season they change the camp two or three times. The frequent change of settlement is primarily made in search of forest produce. Moreover, the wanton destruction of the forest by some tribal communities who practise shifting cultivation and by non-tribal people who gather fire wood and forest produce from the forest make it difficult for the Mankirdia to get required amount of forest produce i.e., the *siali* bark with which they make ropes. But the general pattern of movement is that a Birhor *tanda* is confined to one or two places in the rainy season and it is more frequent in summer months.

The Mankirdia wandering in Karanjia area put forth the following reasons for their frequent change of camps. They divide themselves into different groups on the basis of kinship ties and move from place to place in search of forest resources, mainly for abundant availability of the mature *siali* creepers and monkey population and the prospect of marketing of ropes.

The other reasons could be short supply of *siali* creepers and disturbed monkey populations at an approachable distance in the forest and diminishing demand of rope



among the peasants and other people of the locality. Superstition over the issue of unnatural death of a relation, constant conflict among *tanda* members, seeking for a prospective bride, violation of incest taboo, observation of rites and rituals of a close relative at other *tanda*, etc. often force the Mankirdia to leave one *tanda* and join with other groups. During monsoon the Mankirdia stick to a place to avail the employment opportunity in the agricultural operations of the local farmers.



HOUSING



Kumbha, the leaf huts in which the Mankirdia live are dome shaped, having an opening for entrance. It is made of twigs with leaves of *sal* (*shorea robusta*) tree, woven in a framework of wooden saplings tied together with *siali* fiber. The height of *kumbha* as found in Karanjia area of Mayurbhanj district in Orissa, is about 5 feet. It covers a circular space having a circumference of 46 - 50 feet. During the rainy season they build an earthen ridge around the outer circumference of the *kumbha* to prevent seepage of water into it. It is windowless but has a door (*badgir*) shutter of 3'x3' size made of twigs and *sal* leaves. The stjucture is leak proof.





The Mankirdia enter into the kumbha by creeping. The kumbha accommodates men, domestic animals and birds, and the scanty household belongings. Their belongings include few clothes, cooking and serving pots and utensils, few implements made of wood and iron used for rope making. A portion inside it serves as kitchen and store. They are so skilled in constructing the kumbha that a Mankirdia family takes few hours to collect

the required raw materials and build a *kumbha*. The Mankirdia say, "the *kumbha* keeps them warm in winter, cool in summer, and it is wind and waterproof".

A tiny kumbha erected behind the main one is used as the abode of their ancestral deity. Alabonga. They strongly believe that the spirits of the deceased live with them in the tanda. The main kumbha is destroyed before a Mankirdia abandons a tanda and migrates to another locality. But the ancestor's tiny kumbha is left in tact. Rather the sacred materials kept within it is carned respectfully to be placed in a new tiny hut in the new tanda.





Mankirdia

LIVELIHOOD

The primary occupation of the Mankirdias is making of ropes out of the bark of the siali creepers (Lama Bayer, which are used by the local peasantry for different agricultural and domestic purposes. Various kinds of ropes prepared by the Mankirdla is listed below:

L ocal term 1. <i>Sika</i> (Sling)	Mankirdia term Sikur
2. Pagha (Halter for cattle)	Pa gha
3. <i>Barjao</i> (Rope for drawing water)	Barehi
4. <i>Panda chhatı</i> (halter for buffalo)	Kodadgha
5. Chheli Pagha (Halter for goat)	Meronijoda
6. <i>Jaunli</i> (Rope used during harvest)	Dhaunri

Manner of use Used in carrying poles for carrying things on shoulders Rope for tethering cattle Used for drawing water by means of pots from wells Robes in which buffaloes are tethered For tying goats

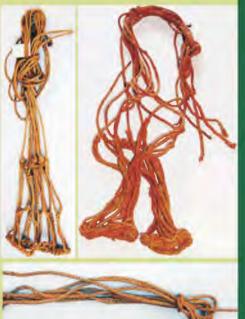
For tying cattle at the time of harvest

Daily out turn 2 pairs per head

> 20 pieces per head 10 pieces per two persons

8 to 10 pieces per head

20 pieces per head 10 to 12 pieces per head





The craft of rope making is the lifeline of Mankirdia's subsistence economy. They produce good variety of fibres by chopping and stripping the bark of seasoned siali creepers. On an open workshop, which sits in front of their kumbhas and most often beneath big trees, they tear the siali fibres into different sizes, make thin threads and braid and twist them to get the finished products of ropes, slings, nets, bags and small baskets (topa).





The *topas* are used for oil pressing in an indigenous way. It helps contain oil seeds placed between two wooden planks which are pressed for extraction of oil using crude method by the tribals.



Except the oil press baskets and halters used for tying the buffaloes, which cannot be prepared by women, all other types of ropes are made by both the sexes. The women folk preferably the old generation weave mat out of datepalm leave and that is for their own use but not for sale. On an average a Mankirdia produces items worth Rs.30/- to Rs. 40/- in a day.



In this craft making they use small tools like axe, knife, bamboo club and knife-sized bamboo/wooden blade. At times, they use jute as raw material to prepare ropes to meet requirements of local peasants. Now-a-days some Mankirdlas are making fancy items like hand bags out of jute and *siali* strings. These products have a good demand among the local peasants. The later use these products with their agricultural implements and cattle and draw water from the wells with the help of the ropes.



The Mankirdias are skilled monkey catchers. They use large nets made of siali fibers for catching monkeys. They eat the flesh of the monkeys and sell the skin to the local skin traders for cash. A taboo is observed against the use of turmeric paste for preparing curry out of monkey's flesh. It is generally believed by them that the use of turmeric in the preparation of the said curry will make them unsuccessful in their monkey hunting. Often,



they catch birds, snares, squirrels, hare and deer with the help of traps and nets. The birds and animals caught are generally sold in nearby villages or at market places for cash.

Many Mankirdias have learnt some of the techniques of agricultural operations such as weeding, transplanting and harvesting of paddy. The local people very often employ them as labourers during agricultural season. The wage earned from this pursuit by both the sexes adds to their family income.





The Mankirdia rear domestic animals like, goats, fowls, dogs etc to supplement their food and income Although the Mankirdias tap different sources for their livelihood. they run deficit in their food supply many a times. During scarce puriod they eat mango kernels, which are preserved at home for consumption in difficult times.



The staple food of the Mankirdia is rice. With the sale proceeds of ropes and forest produce they buy their weekly requirements of rice and other provisions from the market. They also buy corn and minor millets in harvest seasons and eat these in addition to cooked rice. They collect various types of green leaves, mushrooms and various types of fruits such as *Kendu*, palm and mango from the forest for their own consumption. During their trip to forest for collection of barks, they dig out roots, fibres and also collect honey which supplements their diet. In many places cocoons are available in forest and the Mankirdias are well acquainted with these places. The sale of cocoons add to the income of the Mankirdias in the form of cash, which they use for buying their clothes.





During festive occasions they prepare and eat non-veg dishes, various kinds of cakes and other delicious items. They like the most to eat the flesh of monkey. When they kill monkey and have some surplus meat, they dry it under the sun and preserve it for future consumption.



They are also fond of alcoholic drinks like their traditional rice beer (*handia*) and *mohuli* liquor. Handia is their most favorite drink which women prepare at home. They also buy and consume drinks available in the market places. Mankirdia males smoke and chew tobacco.

The subsistence activities of Mankirdia revolve around forests and the markets. Therefore they venerate the natural forest for their safety from the attack of wild animals and for a successful hunt and availability of forest produce. Annually they have a great ceremonial hunt in the forest, known as *Disum Sendra*. Often they use to live in makeshift hutments in the forest for about half a week or so to perform the forest collections and return to their *tanda* for preparation of ropes and baskets.



In the weekly market days they visit markets without fail for disposal of ropes and procurement of their daily provisions. The other attractions are meeting friends and relatives and enjoying tasty snacks and drinks. The bachelors and spinsters seek in the market the possibility of meeting with their beloved ones from different *tandas*. Under the impact of modernization the Birhor minds are tuned with the market economy but they still practise barter. Occasionally, they are seen in village streets trying push-sale of ropes and small baskets in exchange of rice and *mudhi* (puffed rice)- the popular fast food of Mayurbhanj district.





Forest provides them with free supply of raw materials, i.e., *siali* fibres with which they make ropes and baskets. The market provides them the outlet for selling or bartering their products on one hand and buying their requirements on the other. Their livelihood depends upon regular interaction with the forest and market.



The economic life of the Mankirdia is full of hazards and hardships and barely at the level of subsistence. Even though they live from hand to mouth, they appear to be joyful and contented.



SOCIAL LIFE

The Mankirdia perceive life as a continuous process from birth to death, through infancy, adolescence, youth, marriage, family life and old age. The death, which brings life to an end, takes him/her to the unseen world where a man is transformed into a spirit and starts influencing the fate of living human beings.



The birth of a baby is a matter of great rejoice among the Mankirdias. The father is addressed as *Aba* and the mother, as *Mai*. Being addressed as such they feel proud of their parenthood whereas those having none to address them as such remain unhappy. Among them a male child is preferred to a female child because the latter leaves her parents after marriage.



During pregnancy a woman observes some taboos and prohibitions regarding her food, work and mobility. She is relieved of doing hard work and particularly, cooking. Most often she is not allowed to go out or come in contact with a dead body and move near the shrine. She is forbidden to take consecrated meat. While going out she must cover her body completely with her clothes, lest enemies or persons with evil eye may cause harm.

After the birth of the child, which often takes place with the help of a traditional midwife, the whole tanda is







Marriage is very colourful event in a Mankırdia's life. It takes place when a girl attains 14 - 18 years of age and a boy, 20 - 25 years. Prior to marriage the Mankırdia boys and girls have to spend atleast 2 years in their dormitories to learn the lessons of life from their seniors after which the marriage is contemplated.



Marriage within the *tanda* is in vogue as the *tanda* is multi-clan in structure. Cross-cousin marriage is absent but marriages of sororate and levirate types are in vogue. Arranged marriage is common. Besides, marriage by elopement and marriage by exchange are also practised.



Their society permits divorce, remarriage of widows, widowers and divorcees. For all regular kinds of marriage the customary bride price is paid by the groom's side to the bride's parents. It usually comprises some amount of cash and three pieces of clothes.



There is no specified month for holding wedding ceremonies. Generally the best time for marnage is after the monsoon when people have some savings in hand and the guests and relatives can be entertained without difficulty.





On the wedding day the groom accompanied by his friends, relatives and *tanda* members goes in a merry procession to the bride's *tanda* where they are accorded a warm reception by the bride's side.



With pomp and ceremony the marriage is solemnized by the groom smearing vermilion on the bride's forehead.







At this time the boys and girls of both the parties dance and sing in great joy and happiness to the tune of their drums and other musical instruments. After the wedding ceremony is over, the bride and the groom with the party return to the latter's *tanda* where the groom's father arranges a feast for them.







The Mankirdia **famil**y is invariably of nuclear type. It comprises of father, mother and unmarried children. In some cases either the widow mother or the widower father lives with the married son in his family. The next higher social unit is clan that regulates marriage and prohibits incestuous sexual union. A number of clans are found among the Mankirdias, some of which are *Sinkhili, Hembrum, Nagpuria, Malihi, Sikria*, etc.



In a Mankirdia family men and women supplement and complement each other as equal partners. While men take up harder jobs like hunting, women accomplish relatively lighter tasks besides shouldering their typical responsibilities of housekeeping, child care, processing, cooking and serving food. Children help their parents and there by learn the art of living in their respective gender based domains. Even the aged people do not sit idle. They do whatever they can to contribute to the family earning.







When **death** takes place in any Mankirdia's house, other members of his family send the news to all the people of their lineage. Death occurring prior to old age is believed to be caused due to the machination of evil spirits or sorcerers. Generally the dead body is buried in a trench. Head of the dead body is kept in southwest direction. The pollution is observed for a period of ten days. On the 10th day *Dehuri* (priest) conducts purificatory rites and sprinkles water all over the *tanda* and over the lineage members. In the evening a feast is arranged for the elderly persons of the *tanda*, lineage members and other invitees.



Whenever, the people of a *tanda* want to shift to a new place all the families of the *tanda* move together to the place where they set up their new *tanda*. A man can leave his parent *tanda* at his will and join a new *tanda* elsewhere. He is also at liberty to return to his parent *tanda* where he will be received by the inmates of the *tanda* cordially. It is the customary practice that the newcomer offers drinks to the headman and the fellowmen of the *tanda* for his readmission.



MAGICO-RELIGIOUS LIFE

The Birhors are polytheists. Basically they worship the elements of nature. They believe that Gods and spirits who create trouble and illness and death are malevolent and others who bring progress and prosperity and overall well being to the society are benevolent.



Like most of the neighbouring Munda speaking tribes they worship the Sun God as their Supreme God. In the thicket of Similipal hill ranges the abode of their two supreme deities such as *Logobir* and *Budhimai* lies.



They worship their ancestors for the purpose of enjoying good health and achieving success in hunting and collection of forest produce without meeting any accident. They are worshipped regularly in different months. Every clan has its



own deity for which, a small leaf hut is constructed in the *Tanda* and food and prayers are offered to the deity on all ritual occasions.





SOCIAL CONTROL



For all practical purposes the Mankirdia *tanda* is an autonomous socio-political unit. The headman of the *Tanda* is called *Mukhya*. His post is hereditary. The headman often acts as the priest. In this capacity he worships the deities and officiates in all the ritual performances. He does not receive any remuneration for his services except a major share of the sacrificial meat. But he commands respect and allegiance of his fellowmen.





Customaty matters relating to the *tanda* and its members are discussed and decided in the meetings of the traditional Tanda council. The male household heads of the *tanda* are members of the council which is headed by the *Mukhya*. They punish the sinners and offenders by social boycott, which they call *Chindal* or *Began*. The situation which invokes this kind of social sanction is incestuous sexual union between brother and sister or persons belonging to the same clain who are also considered as brothers and sisters by blood or with the members of the communities whom the Mankirdia consider socially inferior to them. When any person develops maggots in the sore on any part of the body he is also boycotted until the sore is healed and a purificatory ritual is conducted accompanied with a common feast in the *tanda*.





As regards their social interaction with the neighbouring communities, the Mankirdia eat cooked food in the houses of **S**antal and Kolha but not the *vice versa*. They do not accept cooked food from the Muslims, the Scheduled Castes and the Kharias. Any breach of this social norm leads to social boycott.



MUSIC, SONG & DANCE

Mankirdia

Like other tribes of Orissa, the Mankirdia are passionately fond of music, songs and dancing through which their artistic talents find expression. They dance and sing when they are in happy mood. Dancing and music are associated with all the rituals and festivals. This is a way to free oneself from the tired and boring life. They may sing, dance and beat the drums unceasingly the whole night. Their music, songs and dances closely resemble those of their neighbouring tribes viz, Munda, Kol and Santal.



The principal varie-ties of dances they traditionally perform are known as the *Dong*, the *Lagre*, and the *Mutkar*, the *Jadur* (with *Gena*) and the *Karam* (with *Khemta*, *Jhumar*, and *Hansda*) dances. Each of these dances are associated with appropriate songs known respectively as the *Dong siring*, the *Lagre siring* and *Mütkar siring* etc. The characteristic Mankirdia dances - the *Dong*, the *Lagre* and the *Mutkar* are really wedding dances performed in accompaniment to marriage songs on occasions of weddings. *Lagre s*ongs are mostly worded in Hindi. Devotional songs are sung during religious ceremonies.





For dance and music they use various kinds of musical instruments like the *dholak* or *madal*, *tomka* or *magra* (kettledrums), the *tirio* or the bamboo flute with 3 or 5 or 7 holes along its length and stopped by the fingers, the *kendera* or banjo with a wooden body and a sounding board covered with the lizard skin and strings played with a bow, and clappers and ankle-bells (*ghungurs*) both made of brass.





Dancing is associated with all happy occasions like births, weddings, feasts and festivals. Dancing is invariably accompanied by singing and drumming. The males play the musical instruments and females dance to the rhythm singing songs.



The Mankirdia dance is a group affair. Boys and girls, old and young, participate in it. There is no hard and fast rule regarding the time and place for dancing. But they generally dance at night. The dancers do not wear any special dress during their performances. Mankirdia dances, even today, are a source of healthy recreation.









PLANNED CHANGE

The Mankirdia pursue a seminomadic way of life. For their livelihood, they are very much dependent on forest and more particularly the Similipal hill ranges which is now a National Park and a Tiger Project. Usually, they set up their tandas very close to forest. Their tandas are seen in and around the Similipal forest.



Due to operation of forest and wild life conservation rules and regulations the free movements of these nomads deep inside the forests and their subsistence activities have been checked. As they are yet to graduate into a settled economy, they are left without any viable alternative.



Now the Birhors are thinking to give up their wandering habits and settle down permanently upon agriculture and allied pursuits. Presently, they have been identified as one among the 13 Primitive Tribal Groups (PTG) of Onssa. A Micro Project named Hill-Kharia and Mankirdia Development Agency (HK&MDA) headquartered at Jashipur in Mayurbhani district is working for bringing about their all round development since 1987.



This Micro Project has setup two Mankirdia settlement colonies, one at Durdura village of Jashipur Block and another at Kendumundi village of Karanjia Block under Karanjia ITDA in Mayurbhanj district in which it has successfully rehabilitated two bands of Mankirdias.



In these colonies the Mankirdia families have been provided with community houses, wells, tube wells, Anganwadi Centers at the community level and Indira Awaas houses, kitchen gardens. Voter Identity Cards, Ration Cards, BPL cards, Old Age Pensions and also the benefits of different Income Generating Schemes etc. individually.



The community has shown a good response to their development programmes initiated by the micro project and other agencies. By the impact of these interventions some of them have crossed the poverty line; turned literate, sharecroppers, businessmen, tractor drivers and sent their children to schools. All of them have given up their wandering habit and lead a settled life.





This Agency's area of operation is limited. There are other bands of Mankirdlas still wandering outside the Micro Project area. They are seen in few localities of Karanjia, Rairangpur, Kaptipada, Baripada ITDAs of Mauyrbhanj district and the adjoining Nilagiri ITDA area of Balasore district and the Similipal National Park.



In these areas, for not being permanent residents they are relatively deprived of the development interventions as a PTG. There they lead a life of Impoverishment coupled with illiteracy, landlessness, homelessness, etc. Influenced by the progress of the Mankirdias rehabilitated in Kendumundi and Durdura colonies by HK&MDA these wandering bands also want to settle down.



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