

THE ADURIA DOM OF ORISSA

(A Monographic Study)

SCHEDULED CASTES
AND
SCHEDULED TRIBES
RESEARCH AND TRAINING INSTITUTE,
UNIT-VIII, BHUBANESWAR-751003

GOVERNMENT OF ORISSA
WELFARE DEPARTMENT

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(A Monographic Study)

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FOREWORD

I have the pleasure to write the foreword to the monograph on the Aduria Dom, a section of the Dom community appearing in serial No. 27 of the list of Scheduled Castes in Orissa. The communities enlisted under the Scheduled Castes comprise 16.20 per cent of the total population of our State, as per 1991 census and 3.71 per cent of the total Scheduled Caste population of the country. It is fact that 'extreme social, educational and economic backwardness arising out of the traditional practice of untouchability' is considered as the sole criterion for the determination of the status of ethnic groups as Scheduled Castes.

The preparation of monograph with comprehensive ethnographic details has a number of merits, such as, to assess the current status of ethnic groups to extend the horizon of our knowledge of the ethnic personality configuration of the country or any region, and to reveal the social identity and social boundary of various communities, defined and redefined from time to time.

I hope the present volume, prepared by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute will be helpful for the planners, policymakers and academicians.

K. ROY

**Principal Secretary to Government
Welfare Department**

Bhubaneswar,

Dated the 4th February 1997.

PREFACE

Institutionalised inequality, social injustice, economic exploitation, social disability, stigma of untouchability, abject poverty, illiteracy, servitude, negation of dignity and the like had shrouded in darkness a number of communities which become disabled and disadvantaged over years. The achieved status through constitutional provision for redefinition of their identity as the *Scheduled Castes* made them relatively more dynamic to stand on their own by developing self-reliance and self-confidence. Unlike the traditional Indian society which believed in ritual status, the modern society emphasized both on ritual status and secular status; as well and rather summation of statuses, thereby reshaping the tactics of social mobility especially among the Scheduled Castes. In the contextual frame of induced social change, constitutional provision of protective discrimination through various social Legislations has created dynamic and progressive avenues for the downtrodden to derive the benefits out of welfare and development measures.

The Scheduled Castes in Orissan context in general and the Dom in particular present two distinct interpretative trends in interactional levels with castes and tribal groups, the former representing highly stratified and hierarchized ones and the latter less segmented, less stratified and less hierarchized. The magnitude, limit, extent, scope and pattern of social discrimination and social distance varies in the above two contexts.

The present volume is a monographic account of the Aduria Dom, a section of the Dombo/Dom caste inhabiting both high-lands and coastal areas. The study is the outcome of field work conducted during 1991-92 in one village and in an enclave in Nawrangpur township. In addition, data were collected from secondary source materials, such as books based on anthropological studies, census reports, ethnographic notes, etc. The Aduria Dom had traditionally suffered from the stigma of untouchability and were living in separate enclave, generally at the outskirts of villages and township areas. Currently, they eke-out their living through agricultural labour and wage earning, besides subsidiary occupations, like drum-beating, small business, rickshaw pulling and in selling livestock and animal hides. Most of them are landless. They have their specific rituals and ceremonies for various life-cycle rituals. They are polytheists. In addition to their own deities, they also believe in a number of Hindu gods and goddesses. Prior to the establishment of Panchayati Raj system they had their traditional socio-political mechanism for social control and management of the internal

and external affairs of their caste group with such officials, the Naik, as the village-head assisted by the Challan and the Barik. Besides, the village organisation they had their caste panchayat with regional Institution, like Mutha or Khanda. During the post-independence period several programmes and schemes have been launched by Government for the upliftment of the Scheduled Caste communities in the area.

I express my hearty thanks to the authors of this monograph, Shri A. K. Mohanty, Deputy Director and Shri A. K. Gomango, Research Assistant for their painstaking efforts during field work and in preparing the draft report. The authors have been immensely benefited, while preparing the present study report, from the earlier publications of our Institute on the Scheduled Caste communities. Shri Purushottam Naik, Former Junior Investigator of the Institute deserves our thanks for rendering assistance to the authors. I extend my cordial thanks to Shri J. P. Rout, Research Officer and Shri C. K. Konhar, Statistical Assistant for preparing the locational map for this volume. My enormous thanks are due to Shri B. Choudhury, former Deputy Director, Shri B. B. Mohanty, Research Officer, Shri S. C. Biswal, Statistician who have helped me in various ways in bringing out this volume. I also thank Shri I. C. Naik, Typist and Shri S. N. Panigrahi, Senior Stenographer for typing out the manuscript.

K. K. MOHANTI

Director

CONTENTS

	Page
1. Introduction ..	1
2. Habitat and Settlement ..	11
3. Living Conditions ..	17
4. Economic Life ..	29
5. Socio-Religious Life ..	52
6. Political Life ..	88
7. Impact of Developmental Programmes ..	97
8. Concluding Suggestions ..	101
BIBLIOGRAPHY ..	104

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Indian caste system is characterised by social stratification and social hierarchy. Each caste is endogamous and has a hereditary occupational specialisation. The caste enjoys a definite status and position in the stratificational and hierarchic system. So far as the ritual status is concerned, the Brahmana occupies the highest position in the caste hierarchy and the so called untouchables are in the lowest rung traditionally. The varna order with the twice-born categories, such as the Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaishya and the Shudra, as once-born recognised untouchables as avarna/asavarna in the traditional sense. The erstwhile untouchables were regarded as "asprushya", impure, polluted, "antyaja", "panchama", "hinajati", "chandala", "mlechha", etc. and were referred to as depressed classes, backward classes, exterior castes, Harijans, outcastes etc. The stigma of untouchability was the sole and paramount criterion for the determination of their ethnic status. Further, their low occupational status, demeaning practices and typical life-style were coupled with social disability, discrimination and disadvantages. The dialectics of high-low, sprushya-asprushya, purity-pollution, hypergamy-hypregamy, varna-avarna etc. were responsible for segmenting the society in the Hindu India. Mishra aptly states, "The notion of untouchability stems from the 'Hindu ideology' of samskra. Samskara is a closed value construct manifesting symptoms of Hindu psycho-religious mythic reality of rigid ritualistic action per se." (1992 : 21). Further, Kane (1930) states that the underlying notions of untouchability are religious and ceremonial purity and pollution (quoted in Mishra, 1992 : 21). Andre Beteille (1969) emphasizing on inequality and ritual distance among castes states, "The divisions and sub-divisions within the castes system were both rigid and elaborate. At every point these divisions were reinforced by a variety of ritual sanctions. The traditional caste system can be viewed as a series of groups, each separated from the other by a greater or ritual distance. Between some, no intermarriage was possible but commensality prevailed; between others, Commensality was not allowed but other forms of social were permitted; between the two extremes as represented by Brahmins and untouchables

social relations were limited by a large number of ritual restrictions". (1978: 375-376). The primary characteristic features of caste, as outlined through the intellectual thrusts of Hutton (1946) and Leach (1962) indicate, "In various kinds of contact, especially those connected with food, sex and ritual, a member of high caste is liable to be "polluted" by a member of a 'low' caste" (quoted in Mohanti, (1993: 28). Discussing the position of the exterior castes, Hutton (1946) suggests the following tests :—

- " (1) Whether the caste or class in question can be served by clean Brahmans or not.
- (2) Whether the caste or clan in question can be served by the barbers, water-carriers, tailors etc., who serve the caste Hindus.
- (3) Whether the caste in question pollutes a high-caste Hindu by contact or by proximity.
- (4) Whether the caste or class in question is one from whose hands a caste Hindu can take water.
- (5) Whether the caste or class in question is debarred from using public conveniences, such as roads, ferries, wells or schools.
- (6) Whether the caste or class in question is debarred from the use of Hindu temples.
- (7) Whether in ordinary social intercourse a well-educated member of the caste or class in question will be treated as an equal by high caste men of the same educational qualifications.
- (8) Whether the caste or class in question is merely depressed on account of its own ignorance, illiteracy or poverty, and for that, would be subject to no social disability.
- (9) Whether it is depressed on account of the occupation followed, but for that occupation it would be subject to no social disability." (Second Edition, 1951: 184)."

Mahatma Gandhi used the term Harijan to accommodate a number of communities looked down upon as untouchables although the term Harijan can not be construed as a caste appellation. In a discourse on 'Caste in Modern India', Srinivas states, "Under the Constitution, the practice of untouchability in any form is forbidden. Enforcement of any disability arising out of Untouchability shall be an offence punishable according to law (Article 17 of the Constitution). Articles 15, 25, 29 (2), 38 and 46 deal with both the positive and negative aspects of untouchability, i. e., preventing all forms of discrimination against any group of people as well as adoption of positive measures to put an end to untouchability, and to help promote the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes." (1964:39). Later, as per Government of India Act, 1935, the term Scheduled Caste was coined to include a number of castes who suffered due to the stigma of untouchability. The list of Scheduled Castes was notified in pursuance of Article 341 of the Constitution and was notified for the first time under the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1950. The list of Scheduled Castes have been modified and amended from time to time, the more recent was in 1976.

It is worthwhile to discuss the Dom caste in the Pan-Indian context out of the accounts given by various ethnographers and scholars. The Doms are not only found in Orissa State but also in other States which is evident from earlier ethnographic records. Discussing population of the Assam valley, Dalton states, that Doms are boatmen and fishermen (1872:77). In the context of trading classes, artisans mixed and impure tribes, Dalton further states, "The habits of the widely spread Dom clan are as impure as those of the Ghasis, and they get their living much in the same fashion; they are to be found in all parts of Bengal and Northern India, living in the outskirts of villages. They are seldom seen working in the fields; they are employed to kill dogs and remove dead bodies, and sometimes as executioners and when they have none of these congenial tasks to perform, they make baskets," (1872: 326). Crooke (1896) mentions, "Dom, a Dravidian menial caste found scattered throughout these Provinces, regarding whose origin and ethnological affinities there has been speculation". Crooke further states, according to Dr. Caldwell they are the surviving representatives of an older, ruder, and blacker race who preceded the Dravidians in India." Sir H. M. Elliot considers them to be one of the

original tribes of India." According to Mr. Risley (quoted in Crooke), "a general consensus of opinion that the Doms belong to one of the races whom, for convenience of expression, we may call the aborigines of India." (1975:313). Stating their traditional low status, Crooke opines, "on the whole it may perhaps be safer to regard the Dom, not as a single, individual aggregate, but as a more or less mixed body of menials, who have been for ages in a state of the utmost degradation, and whose appearance and physique have been largely modified by the rigour of their occupation and environment." (1975:314). Thurston (1909) discusses the Domb or Dombo castemen working as weavers and menials in the hill tracts of Vizagapatam and states, "This caste appears to be an offshoot of the Dom caste of Bengal, Bihar, and the north-western Provinces. Like the Doms, the Dombas are regarded with disgust, because they eat beef, pork, horseflesh, rats and the flesh of animals which have died a natural death, and both are considered to be Chandalas or perhaps by the Bengalis and the Uriyas. The Dombs weaves the cloth and blankets worn by the hill people, but like the Periahs of the Plains, they are also labourers, scavengers, etc. Some of them are extensively engaged in trade, and they have, as a rule, more knowledge than the royts who despise them." (1975:173-174). Quoting the Census Report of 1871, Thurston highlights on the occupational status of the Doms and mentions that they are employed as horse keepers, weavers, tom-tom beaters, scavengers, petty hucksters. Quoting Mr. F. Fawcett (1901), Thurston hints on their habitation and settlement and states that being outcasts, they do not live in the villages inhabited by superior castes people, but away from them in hamlets (*Ibid*:174). Thurston further mentions five subdivisions of the Dombs as per the Madras Census Report, 1891 viz., Onomia, Odiya, Manditi, Mirgam and Kohara. Among the Odiya, Bhag(tiger), Balu (bear), Nag (cobra), Hanuman (the Monkey God), Kochchipo (tortoise), Bengni (frog), Kukra (dog), Surya (sun), Matsya (fish), and Jaikonda (lizard) septs have been noted (*Ibid*: 176-177). The Gazetteer of the Vizagapatam district mentions about the Dombs of Jeypore, Nawrangpur, Rayagada and Gunupur areas and their criminal propensities in the past. (*Ibid*: 183).

The Orissa District Gazetteers—Koraput by Senapati and Sahu (1966) states, "The name Domb or Domba is said to be derived from the word Dumba meaning devil, in reference to the thieving propensities of the tribe. The Dombs are a Dravidian caste of weavers and menials,

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found in the hill tracts of Visakhapatnam. This caste appears to have spread over Bengal, Bihar, and Madhya Pradesh. The Doms weave the cloth worn by the hill people, but they also work as labourers, scavengers, etc. Some of them are extensively engaged in trade and have more knowledge of the world than the ryots who despise them. In the Census report of 1871, it was noted that in many villages the Doms carry on the occupation of weaving, but in and around Jeypore they are employed as horse-keepers, tom-tom beaters, scavengers and other menial duties. These people are called Paidi by Telugus, Domba by Savaras and Pana by Khonds. They are the weavers, traders, money-lenders of the hill tribes being very useful as middlemen between the Khonds, Gadabas and other hill people on the one hand and the traders of the plains on the other. They have been recognised as a Scheduled Caste" (1966 : 92).

In Orissa State, the Dom, Dombo, Duria Dom occur in Serial No. 27 out of the total number of 93 castes enlisted. The Aduria Doms who are chiefly concentrated in Navrangpur and Jeypore sub divisions of Koraput (undivided) district identify themselves as such instead of as the Duria Dom. The Aduria Dom/Domb or Oriya Dom/Domb are recognised as specially vulnerable groups among the Scheduled Castes. The Aduria Dom/ Anduria Dom is regarded as inferior in social status to the Oriya Dom, another section of the Dom/Domb caste. The Aduria/Anduria is a prefix used to distinguish them from other sections. During the field work data collected on connubiality show that in the recent past marital relationship between the Aduria Dom and the Oriya Dom was strictly prohibited, as the latter claimed to be superior in social status to the former. The Oriya Dom was functioning as middlemen between the neighbouring tribesmen and the traders and Sahukars, as outsiders. The Aduria Dom was engaged in the collection and sale of hides and bearing drum in marriage and mortuary ceremonies traditionally. The Aduria Doms inhabited separate enclaves/wards in towns and outskirts of villages and hamlets. In the sphere of caste councils and their operationalisation the Oriya Doms were enjoying more dominant position than the Aduria Doms.

Distribution of Dom, Dombo, Duria Dom

They are found scattered all over Orissa State. As per 1961, 1971 and 1981 Censuses their population was 311,183, 370,236 and

427,079, respectively. The districtwise distribution of their population in 1981 by sex is given below:—

Sl. No. (1)	Name of the district (2)		Male (3)	Female (4)	Total (5)
1	Sambalpur	..	449	447	896
2	Sundargarh	..	1,269	1,195	2,464
3	Keonjhar	..	2,421	2,428	4,849
4	Mayurbhanj	..	5,317	5,071	10,388
5	Balasore	..	2,777	2,736	5,513
6	Cuttack	..	5,483	5,609	11,092
7	Dhenkanal	..	1,618	1,590	3,208
8	Phulbani	..	1,226	1,165	2,391
9	Balangir	..	1,105	1,165	2,391
10	Kalahandi	..	82,992	83,435	166,427
11	Koraput	..	101,449	101,312	202,761
12	Ganjam	..	3,319	3,760	7,079
13	Puri	..	3,967	3,906	7,873
			213,392	213,687	427,079

Source—Census of India, 1981

It transpires from the above table that their population is the highest in the Koraput district. In terms of numerical preponderance Kalahandi district occupies the second position. The female population has outnumbered the male in their community.

The present volume contains VIII Chapters in all. The Chapter-I discusses the Aduria Dom in the context of Indian caste system in the framework of traditions and changing perspective. The other Chapters except the last throw light on the salient features of habitat and settlement, living condition, economic life, socio-religious life, political life and the impact of development programmes. The last Chapter contains the concluding suggestions for socio-economic development of the community.

ORISSA

MAP SHOWING THE
LOCATION OF
STUDY AREA



ORISSA

BHUBANESWAR

• NAWARANGPUR •



CHAPTER II

HABITAT AND SETTLEMENT

Generally, the Aduria Dom live in multi-ethnic villages. For ages they were treated as untouchables like, Doms, Ghasis, Rellis and Mangalis. The stigma of untouchability kept them away from the upper castes. Their houses are situated keeping a distance from the settlement of clean caste people of a village. The settlements constitute a separate *sahi* or ward. Like Doms, Ghasis and other lower caste groups, the Aduria Doms maintain physical and social distance from the higher castes wherever they live. There is no social restriction for the Adurias to live in the settlement of Oriya Doms. They consider Ghasis, Mangalis, Rellis as lower caste than them and maintain social distance from them. The Adurias live in the same village where tribes like Bhotras and Amanatyas are found in a separate ward. Socio-religious differences between both the communities are remarkable. The Adurias play a role of service class of other tribal community participating in rituals as drummers and 'Bariks' or 'Dakuas' responsible for informing messages in and outside of the village. The settlement pattern and structure of houses of Aduria Doms are almost similar to other upper caste Hindus living in the village. There are ponds, (*bandho*) and streams (*nalo*) near to their settlements. In some villages their settlements are located near the river. The Adurias are considered impure caste and they are not allowed to use same water source, like well or tube-well which is used by upper caste Hindus in the village. They have their separate *tutha* or *ghata* in ponds, streams and rivers.

The houses of Aduria Doms are located in a scattered manner without any symmetrical order, excepting a few houses which face each other on either side of the village street. Their houses have been constructed with north-south orientation. However, they live with their own kin groups.

Houses :

A typical Aduria Dom house has a rectangular ground plan. The house has mud walls with gable-shaped straw thatch. The house reflects their economic status. However, some households have pucca houses having cemented floor and tiled roof and the rest conform to the traditional pattern.

The size of a big house is approximately $22' \times 15'$ having three rooms, each measuring $12' \times 11'$, $7' \times 11'$ and $3' \times 15'$. In this type of houses, the first room *Bada Ghara* is used for dining, sitting and sleeping purpose. The second room which is known as '*Bhitara Ghara*' is used for storing grains and performing rituals. The third one known as '*Pancha*' is used as kitchen room. It is located inside the homestead having entrance from outside verandah or *Pindha*. Generally the kitchen room is constructed by the side of entrance room or *Bada Ghara*. If the family is large one, they can use all the available space for sleeping purpose. Sometimes this big house is partitioned for accommodation of two families. After partition they close interlinking way of *Bada Ghara* and *Bhitara Ghara*. A new kitchen room is also constructed for the other family having an entrance from kitchen to the newly partitioned room. Most of the Aduria Doms live in two-roomed houses. The size of the two-roomed house is varying from $12' \times 10'$ to $15' \times 12'$. Though all the houses are rectangular in the ground plan their interior structures vary in different places. In this type of houses the entrance room is used for cooking, dining and sleeping purposes. The *Bhitara Ghara*, although is meant for storing, is used for sleeping purpose when it is empty.

The size of single-roomed house is on an average $8' \times 7'$, which has multi-purpose uses. But most of the houses of this category have enclosed kitchen space in the verandah. They have made this alternative arrangements to avoid congestion in the house. But during the rainy season the verandah is not used for cooking.

In the study villages out of 44 houses there are 22 two-roomed houses, 19 one-roomed houses and 3 three-roomed houses. It indicates that majority of the houses are one and two-roomed which comes to 41 (87 per cent). There is only one pucca house in the village which has more than three rooms. Excepting the pucca house, other four houses have cement floors.

Generally, three-roomed houses are big and spacious and belong to well-to-do families. It is observed that most of the Adurias prefer to live in two-roomed houses. This type of house can fulfil their minimum requirement and they can maintain it without any difficulty, but their low economic condition and limited space creates problems in constructing two-roomed good and strong houses. Excepting a few house most of the houses have no back doors.

There is no window for ventilation of air and light. At times there are small holes in walls instead of windows. Therefore, the interior of the house remains dark even during the day time. The verandah space is most frequently used. From morning till evening most of the household works are done here. There is no single house without verandah. The members of the house also sit, gossip and sleep on the verandah. For some houses, the verandah is used as kitchen. Due to lack of adequate space in the house they use one corner of verandah as kitchen. Thus the verandah is most essential for every house. The width of verandah is $1\frac{1}{2}'$ to $3\frac{1}{2}'$, but length reaches up to 15 feet.

There is no fence around the house site of the Aduria Dom. But a few houses have bamboo trees on the back side of the house which works as fence. Due to lack of sufficient space around the house most of the houses have no kitchen gardens. They construct sheds for domestic animals separately in front of house or at the one side of the house. The animal shed which is called Kota Shal or Goru Shal where the animals like cow, goat, and sheep etc., are kept. The pig shed is constructed with bamboo splits in the back yard of the house. They keep poultry birds in the one corner of the verandah.

They perform various socio-religious function in the *Bhitara Ghara* or sometimes in the entrance room. In this room, they worship their household deities and offer prayer. They say that, the household deities live in the *Bhitara Ghara*. But due to darkness in this room they perform rituals occasionally in the entrance room (*Bada Ghara*).

For the construction of a typical house materials, like bamboo, wood, mud, wooden poles, grass, straw, date-palm leaf, siali string are most essential. The materials used for the construction purpose are locally available. In the past these materials were available in plenty, but today they have to face a lot of problem for collecting/purchasing them. It is the result of destruction of nearby forests and restrictions by the forest department. The well-to-do households use materials, like brick, tile, cement for construction of pucca house.

While constructing a house they do not give much emphasis on foundation work. They start construction after doing negligible plinth work. The ground level work is not adequate. The super-structure of the house rests on six wooden poles. The walls are made of mud which also give some support to the superstructure. Before constructing a wall they make frame of wall with bamboo and wood, thereafter mud is plastered over. Sometimes they also use sun-dried bricks for constructing a wall. The height of the roof at middle from where two sides of roof slope begin, is within eleven feet. The minimum height of two sides roof is 4 feet from ground. The roof frame is made of split bamboo (*bata*) and wooden bars (*pati*). Thatching of roof is made with grass (*pir*), straw (*pal*), or date-palm leaf. The use of country made tile or *jhikar* is very limited.

They level the floor of house by clay and small stones. The walls and floor are plastered by mud mixed with husk. The mixing of husk with mud increases the life of walls and floors. Further, the walls and floors are plastered with cow-dung, lime clay, and red soil. The red soil is plastered to make house more attractive. In the area they prefer to use chunna mati (lime clay) which are available near some villages. Because, if they use cow-dung in plenty, it will be conducive for living white ants. But all cannot apply Chunna Mati plastering due to non-availability, thus they stick to plastering in cow-dung and coloured soil. The Adurias live in different types of houses in the area which may be categorised as, *Ghar*, *Jhikar Ghar*, *Medha Ghar* and *Kudia*. The medium or big size house which are thatched with *pir* or *pal* (thatching grass and straw) are known as *Ghar*. The *Kudia Ghar* is single-roomed and ill-maintained. *Medha Ghar* is pucca one which are confined to a few well-to-do families. But the houses which are thatched with locally available *Jhikars* known as *Jhikar Ghar*.

The Aduria Doms who have 57 householdes in the vicinity of Nowrangpur Municipality area are situated on encroached Government land adjacent to the weekly market. They have constructed hutments to hardly accommodate more than three persons. One is to crawl the door to enter the house. Inside the house a few household materials mainly utensils and torn clothes scattered alround. Since they pull on their livelihood by Rickshaw pulling or on daily wage earning. The income they earn is low to meet both their ends.

While constructing a new house, they have consultations with local *Panjikar* or *Pundits* to find out an auspicious day and time for laying the foundation stone. Generally, neighbours, close friends and relatives are invited to attend this ceremony. Well-to-do families entertain their guests with food and drink. However, as per the advice of the *Panjikar* or *Pundits* on the prescribed day they make necessary arrangements for ritual formalities. The place of house construction is cleaned and sprinkled with water. For fixing of a wooden pole a hole is dug on the specified spot. They place coconut, banana, Duba grass, Bella leaves, etc., on a leaf plate near the hole. There, the head of the household worships to deities and ancestral spirits to have blessings to complete the house construction successfully. Then the wooden pillar which is purified by applying turmeric paste, vermilion and tying mango leaves around its top is fixed by the head of the household. During fixing of wooden pole friends, relatives, neighbours and well-wishers utter the names of deities. The *Bhoga* or *Prasad* is distributed among all presents with *Pana* (molases, banana, etc., mixed water). However, well-to-do families provide food and drink for the entertainment of their guests. Wooden poles are fixed later on. After the Pole is fixed construction work of walls, roof, thatching, floor plastering and wood-works are taken up. After completion of construction work they occupy the new house. On this occasion they do not observe any rituals but the house owner and his family members placing first cooked food on a leaf plate offer prayers to ancestral spirits.

It is found that there are 47 Aduria Dom households in the study village, out of which 44 Aduria Dom households have own houses and the rest have no house. No doubt the neighbours, relatives and friends assist in constructing a house but it is very hard task for them to construct a good house for dwelling purpose. At the current rate an ordinary two-roomed house costs Rs. 1,200.00 to Rs. 1,600.00 including cost of materials, like wood, bamboo, straw and the wages of skilled labours. Further, the labour provided by household members and others minimises the cost of house construction especially economically backward families receive help from neighbours for construction.

Some of the households have been allotted record-of-rights for the homestead land at the rate of 4 decimals each. But due to non-demarcation of the allotted plot by the revenue authorities, none of the households have taken possession. Moreover, the plots are

situated in far off place for which the allottees do not prefer to shift their settlement to a remote area without any facility. They prefer the existing encroached plot situated near the urban pocket as it provides them opportunity to earn their livelihood either by rickshaw pulling or through any other pursuits in the households of other higher class communities. The heads of households during interview opined that, Government allotted 4 decimals of land for constructing houses in a place where there is neither road communication nor water facility. Moreover, the area is about 7 Kms. away from their existing habitation. There economic condition does not allow them to shift to a new area for settlement. In spite of difficulties, they prefer to settle in the existing place and have been approaching the revenue authority to allot new 'Patta' on the existing encroached land cancelling the previous 'Patta' distributed to them.

CHAPTER III

LIVING CONDITIONS

In the recent past, the Aduria Doms were treated low caste with the stigma of untouchability. Their lowest status in the caste hierarchy and untouchability played a significant role in arresting the progress and development of the said community.

Generally, the Aduria Doms live together in a separate ward which is usually located at the outskirts of the main hamlet or village where upper caste men live. The stigma of untouchability which is attached to them deprives them of using water from the same source used by higher caste groups in the villages. The influential and established higher caste-group never allow the Doms to take water from the existing tube-wells and wells in the villages. Thus they face lot a of problems in getting drinking water.

In the study village Kusumi, the Aduria Doms face difficulty in getting water for drinking bathing, etc. The existing tube-wells and wells are not in their hamlet. They are scared to use wells and tubewells as sometimes it brings about confrontation with other persons of upper castes. They use water from the tanks and nala which adversely affects their health. Some times they take bath in the water lagged in the paddy land. Somehow they manage during the rainy season. But in summer when the ponds and nalas dry off, they face difficulties. They have to go to Indrabati river for fetching water which is almost two Kms. away from their habitation. The Aduria Dom women collect water from river and their children assist them in it. Water from the existing ponds are even used for the drinking and cooking purpose. A small pond is situated in the north direction of Auria Dom settlement which is used for bathing, washing and cleaning utensils and bathing cattle. In busy agricultural season they have no time to fetch water from river or wells. They are bound to use water of ponds for all purposes. For 6 to 8 months they do not get water scarcity as during rains ponds are full of water. Further, they do not use water from wells and tube-wells which are used by higher caste people. Even in the ponds and river they have separate *Tutha* or *Ghata*. In the villages also there is scarcity of potable water. Very often various types of diseases spread due to polluted water.

They wash their clothes, clean house and surroundings which is in no way inferior to Odiya Doms or other lower caste living in the neighbours. Both men and women get up early in the morning and their children follow

them. Then they wash their faces, with tooth twigs they clean their teeth and tongues near the house. But some persons go to tube-wells, wells, ponds or river for cleaning teeth and washing mouth and face. They perform morning ablutions in the open fields or near the ponds and rivers.

They take bath everyday in the morning, i.e., before 10:00 A.M. excepting in the busy agricultural season. There is no specific time for bathing. But they prefer to take bath in the morning. In the summer season almost all person take bath twice a day, i.e., early in the morning and in the evening. But in the winter season they take bath once due to fear of cold. They do not prefer to take bath in the morning. Some persons also abstain from bathing. During bath women use oil, soap, turmeric paste, etc. They also use 'Anla Paste' on the head for keeping it cool. But men are not interested to use oil and soap. Further on the festive occasions women get up early in the morning to take bath. They use til oil for massaging, in the head and body. Now-a-days coconut oil, is also used by them. Sometimes they apply castor and mustard oil on their body. After bath they offer prayer to the Dharma Devata, Krishna, Rama, Laxmi etc. Most of the household works, like cleaning, washing etc. are done by women. Sweeping the house in the morning and evening, cleaning utensils, cleaning animal shed, washing clothes, plastering the walls, floor and courtyards with mud, cow-dung, red soil for regular maintenance are mostly done by women. The girl children also assist their mother in various household works. Most of the households do not have garbage pits to throw waste materials and dirt. But they keep cow-dung very carefully in a small pits to be used as manure and for plastering of the walls and floors. They prepare cow-dung cakes and dry them under the sun. These are locally called : *Chenna* or *Pidika* which are used as fuel for domestic cooking. The surrounding area becomes the breeding grounds for flies, mosquitoes and other harmful organisms. These waste materials decompose and become congenial for spreading of various diseases.

Clothing, Ornaments and Personal Adornment :

They use simple and cheap clothes. Their wearing pattern resembles that of the Dombs, Ghasis, Reis, and other tribes residing in the neighbourhood. The Odia Dombs also occasionally supplied clothes which were woven by them. But in course of time the mill-made clothes gained popularity in the area. These clothes are cheap and fine compared

to handlooms. Further mill-made clothes have attractive colours with different designs. Now-a-days most of them prefer to wear mill-made clothes. But some old generation and elderly persons are still continuing handloom clothes.

Generally, dhoties and coloured lungis are used by males. Their dhoties are coarse and short compared to other higher caste people. Most of them manage with coarse and cheap type clothings, either mill-made or handloom. They also use coloured gamuchha or napkins. They tie it around the waist or round the head which is called pagadi. But most of the time they put gamuchha hanging on their shoulders. Some young men occasionally wear modern dress, like shirt, pant, banions, trousers and towels available in the local market. The foot-wear is confined to limited persons. They purchase foot-wears made of unused tyres from weekly markets of nearby towns. Their low economic condition force them to keep their children undressed up to 6 years of age. The parents of school going children, at any rate provide them with half pants, shirts and frocks. But those who do not attend schools are deprived of wearing modern dress. thus especially girls use pieces of torn clothes of their mother. The small boys remain undressed or used small napkins or torn cloths of father. This type of wearing by boys is known as Kachha.

The women wear sarees like other lower caste neighbours, mostly of coarse and short variety. They use both handloom and mill-made sarees of cheap quality. In the past, the sarees were known as Khadi, but now this term has been replaced and known as saree. They prefer to wear red sarees with different coloured borders. Generally, their sarees are single colour with various coloured borders. The upper end of the saree 'Panata Kani' is also designed with different colours. But for most of working women these type of sarees are of no use, as they do not keep upper end or 'Panata Kani' of saree, hanging from shoulder on back side. While compared to wearing pattern of sarees with higher castes, their style of wearing differs. The upper side of the saree passes over right and then over the left side of shoulder covering upper part of the body. Thus it acts as a substitute of a blouse. The lower portion of saree reaches up to little beyond the knee level. Thus this type of wearing though exposes the legs, has lot of advantages for a working women, due to free movements of lower limbs during work.

However, a limited number of women especially, in socio-religious functions, while going outside, wear sarees. Use of under and upper garments, like Langa (petticoats) and blouses are limited. But the girls of younger generation are showing eagerness to use colourful mill-made sarees, blouse, petticoats, handkerchiefs, frocks and panties, etc. But use of footwear is not popular among women.

During summer, the males use short Dhoti or gamuchha. But while working under the sun they wear a piece of cloth and put on a Gamuchha or Towel around their head for protection from heat. On festive occasions they put on a banion (Badi) a shirt or at least a gamuchha. Besides, they also use new clothes on occasions of Nuakhia, Chait Parab, Amus Mas, Pusa Punei, etc.

They cannot afford to purchase winter clothes as they are costly. They manage cold by covering their body with chadar in the winter season. The poor people sleep near the fire place. The use of woolen garments and blankets are confined to a few well-to-do persons. Some people use umbrellas which are available in the local market. Most of them use indigeneous umbrellas, locally known as 'Tallari' made of bamboo and palm leaf.

In the villages, they do not get the service of washermen, barber and Brahmin priest. The Aduria Doms are considered as untouchables. They wash their clothes by themselves, using soda, soap or ashes. Some of them also perform the work of barber for the community.

Ornaments

The Aduria Dom women wear different types of ornaments for enhancing their beauty. These ornaments are made of cheap metals, like silver, aluminium, brass or its alloy. During social and religious functions they wear varieties of ornaments. They cannot purchase ornaments made of gold as it is costly and they prefer to purchase ornaments made of cheap metals. Further, ornaments made of plastic, beads, glass, etc., are gaining popularity. They purchase these ornaments from weekly markets.

They use rings, chains with lockets around the neck. The younger generation like to wear ear-rings. Even the old women who used ear-rings in their younger age have now abandoned it. Probably this is due to the impact of modernisation.

The women wear a number of ornaments in different parts of their body for personal adornment. The married women wear bangles made of glass, imitation golden metal, silver or other alloys in wrists. The Kala Mali is worn in the neck which is available in the market, Goda Mundi in toes and Mundi in right hand fingers and Antasuta (waist thread) around waist. But widows do not wear any kind of ornaments.

The following is a list of ornaments used by the Aduria Doms :—

LIST OF ORNAMENTS

Parts of Body	Kinds of ornaments worn		Kind of material used	Remarks
	English equivalent	Local term		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Head	Hairpin	Mundaphula	Silver	For adorning the head
		Chipakanta	Cheapmetal	
		Mathamani	Cheapmetal	
			Imitation or Gold.	
Nose	Ornaments for the nose.	Dandi	Gold	
		Labankeli		
		Tamatalu	Silver	
		Bari Phuli	Imitation/ Gold.	
Neck	Necklace/ Ornaments for the neck.	Basaru		
		Chipmali	Gold/Silver	
		Kalamali	Brass & Beads	
		Kachamali	Beads	
		Sarsu Mali	Beads	
		Saopsara	Brass	

Parts of Body	Kinds of ornaments worn		Kind of material used	Remarks
	English equivalent term	Local term for different varieties		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Ear ..	Ear-rings ..	Noli ..	Gold/silver or brass.	
		Pati ..	Ditto	
		Pasia ..	Ditto	
		Ringlu ..	Ditto	
		Bali ..	Ditto	
		Jhumpi ..	Ditto	
Wrist & Arm.	Wristlets ..	Wanta ..	Aluminium, silver and alloys.	
		Khadu ..	Ditto	
	Bangle ..	Kacha/ Churi	Glass/ plastic/ brass	Must for married women as symbol of marital status.
Waist ..	Waistband ..	Antasuta ..	Black or Red coloured thread	
		Kamarpati	Silver	
Heel and feet.	Chains & ornaments for the feet.	Patil/pati	Silver/ alloys	Worn by married women and grown up girls.
Fingers ..	Finger rings	Painri	Ditto	
		Mundi mundi	Gold/silver brass/iron/ alloys.	Worn by married women.
Toe ..	rings ..	Jhatia godamundi	Silver/ alloys	Worn by married women.

The Aduria Dom women are fond of decorating their bodies. They apply til, or mustard oil in the hair and decorate their hair in modern and traditional style. The hair style varies from person to person depending upon their choice. But their hair style is very simple. Most of the time the hair style is done by oneself while occasionally they get assistance from others. In personal adornment, they pay much attention to hair combing and facial make up. Some also message castor oil in the hair. Some well-to-do women use coconut oil.

The hair style of grown up and elderly women are very simple, i. e., they make hair knot on the back portion of the head. Because knot of tug type hair style brings no problem for women while working. But the younger women coil the plaited hair and fix varieties of hair-pins. They also use coloured ribbons making different designs to tie up their hair. Flowers or ribbons are fixed over the knot for more attraction. Sometimes they allow the hair to remain loose hanging over back without making any knot. The knot is locally known as Kusha. The nature has gifted them with thick and black hair, which becomes more beautiful and attractive after combing and simple dressing.

In the past, they were using wooden combs for dressing their hair. Now the Aduria women use comb mostly made of plastic. As horn comb is costly they prefer to use plastic combs which are available in the market. The wooden combs are used by a few though it has become out dated. They use kola or kajal prepared by themselves or purchased from the market. For hair dressing and facial make up they use mirror.

The man do not show much interest for personal decoration. They anoint oil and comb hair. Usually they apply oil on their body before bath and comb hair after bath. At present some also use powder, scented oil, toilet soap, cold cream, etc.

On festive occasions, women take more interest in the personal adornment. They use 'Alta' a red dye on the edges and the upper part of the feet with various designs. They use 'monjati' paste which is prepared out of leaves of Monjati plant. It is pasted around the tip of the fingers as a result that portion become red in colour. As nail polish is not popular among them, a few women who can afford to purchase it, use it. The married women apply vermilion mark on forehead.

The tatooing was prevalent among the Aduria Dom society. Now-a-days tatooing is not liked by the younger generation and is becoming outdated. However, tatoo marks are still found among elderly ladies. In the recent past women were fond of tatooing with various types of designs on different parts of their body especially arms, legs, etc. The tatooing is locally called 'gadni or gadni Bano. According to them 'Bagarliya' women visit their villages and they know the art of tatooing. They believe that after death they leave everything on this earth except the tatoo marks on the body. Further, they say that tatooing is a symbol of marital status.

Food habits :

Rice is their staple food. They are fond of non-vegetarian dishes, But they required sufficient quantity of rice. Therefore, rice is their primary food and constitutes major item of their daily meals. The cooked vegetables, fish or meat are eaten as curry with rice. But the quantity of curry varies from house to house based on their economic condition. Usually boiled rice is either taken dry or soaked in cold water. But boiled rice cannot be eaten easily without curry, thus they prefer to take watered rice which is known as 'Pakhala or Peja Bhata'. They have to toil hard to have a square meals per day. Even after working hard, they cannot get sufficient food. However, during the harvest season they manage to collect adequate food including vegetables. But after harvesting season, due to lack of any other engagement their earning decreases. As a result, they fail to get required food and have to satisfy themselves with minimum quantity of rice, ragi, vegetables and whatever edible items available to them. Economically low households usually take rice gruel. (*Turani*) or ragi gruel (*Mandia Jaau*). The vegetables, fruits, roots, cereals, pulses, fish, meat, etc., are consumed by them as available in the area. But their economic condition stands on the way of purchasing all the above items. In the backyard of some households papaya, cucumber, ladies finger, chilly, sim, sajana, etc., are produced. These are eaten by them or sold out for meeting other expenses.

On festival occasions they enjoy non-vegetarian dish, like fish, meat and eggs. Meat is either purchased or available from domesticated animals or birds. They also get opportunity to eat meat

in the communal feast on the occasion of life-cycle rituals, Chait parab, Pus Punei and Nuakhia festivals. The eggs are consumed by them after boiling in the water with salt. The raw eggs are eaten as medicine. Even today they eat beef, but the propensity of beef eating habit has decreased. Thus they are gradually refraining from beef eating. They have realised that due to unclean food habits, they are considered untouchables and impure caste. Thus, now-a-days most of the younger generation people became conscious in foregoing beef-eating. The feeling of self-respect and close habitation with the Hindus may lead them to give up beef eating completely. But they can replace beef with other meat as it is cheap and available in plenty. As non-vegetarian items are very costly, they are prepared on special festive occasion. They entertain their guests with non-vegetarian dishes at any cost. Often they kill domestic fowls for entertaining their guests.

Excepting few well-to-do families, most of them cook meat, fish, and curry in simple manner. While preparing meat curry they add water, oil, salt, chilly and turmeric powder. But now-a-days they came to know the use of various spices.

They eat meat of different domestic animals excluding dogs cats and also wild animals. They sacrifice goat, sheep, fowls, pigs, swan on religious functions to appease various deities and spirits. They also kill those animals and birds for consumption purpose. The Aduria Doms who stay near forest areas sometimes get meat of wild animals, such as deer (Jiada) wild bear, sambar, kutra, rabbit, wild fowl, peacock, etc. Occasionally they participate in hunting with other neighbours and get their share of game animals. They also catch fish for consumption purpose. The surplus fishes are sold out in the market. They preserve fishes and meat of cow, ox, and of wild animals by drying them under the sun for future consumption.

Eating of dead animals is gradually decreasing. According to them, now they do not kill cow or ox for consumption, they purchase beef from Oriya Doms. Most of them have become shy to express beef eating habit. They have realised that, it lowers their caste status in the society. They were not fond of taking milk or milk products. Now-a-days instead of selling milk to others, they take milk after realising its nutritious value.

Diet habit :

The socio-economic conditions of the Aduria Doms play an important role in their diet pattern. Their diet pattern varies from house to house which depends on food habits and capacity to spend for the purchase of food materials.

A grown up man takes food three times a day. The quantity of rice in a feast is more than normal food in his house. Usually, daily meal consists of cooked rice, dry or mixed with gruel and water and salt, which added with vegetables curry. But the meal of a poor families consists of rice or rice-gruel, chilly, onion, salt and sometimes added with vegetable curry or backed dry-fish. The use of spices for cooking vegetables or meat is confined to some well-to-do families. Vegetables, like potato, gourd, brinjal, ladies finger, beans, ribbed gourd, green leaves, mushrooms and edible tubers are often cooked with oil, salt, chilly and turmeric powder. All the above vegetables are sometimes cooked with Dal. For preparation of Dal they also add rice gruel. During festive and ceremonial occasions they take delicious food items prepared out of vegetables, cereals, pulses and non-vegetarian items.

For cooking vegetables and non-vegetarian items they use groundnut oil and til oil. Mustard or refined oils are not used as they cannot afford to purchase it. They also prepare cakes and sweets with groundnut and til oil. But those who stay in and around the forest area use edible oils pressed from mahua (Tulo Tela) or sal seed. Especially who live in plain area face lot of problems to collect fuel for cooking purpose. They use chhena or pidica (disc like cow-dung sundried cakes), dry leaves, dried tree branches, weeds and bushes as fuels which are collected by women and children. In the village under study some of them use waste wood of Mongalam Timber Limited. There is, however, scarcity of fuel in the area.

They take food three times a day, i. e., in the morning, noon and evening hours. Excepting busy agricultural seasons, they take morning food at about 8 A.M. But during busy seasons meal is taken a bit earlier. This meal consists of 'Pokhal' or 'Basi Pokhal' with onions, salt, chillies, mango pickles and baked dry fishes. They also take 'sag' boiled green leaves with Pokhal and Basi Pokhal. They also eat Ragi gruel or Jau with chillies and salt. The young men take tea in the morning. The mid-day meal is taken after 12 noon and before 2:30 P. M. In this meal, they take freshly prepared rice/rice with water (saja pokhal) with vegetable curry.

Some well-to-do families again prepare rice, dal and vegetable curry for evening meal. But children takes meal four to five times a day. Besides the meal, children take parched rice (Murhi) Chuda, etc.. On festive occasions they prepare different cakes, such as chakuli pitha, podo pitha (out of Ragi or rice powder) and non-vegetarian stuffs for eatings.

They consider kitchen room as a sacred place. The ancestral cults are installed in the north-east corner of the kitchen. They believe that Goddess Laxmi Maa is always present there, by whose blessings wealth increases. They keep kitchen neat and clean. They never allow any stranger to enter the kitchen space as it may be polluted. After completing all the work in the evening, women clean the hearth and smear with red soil and cow-dung water. They also offer small quantity of food by throwing it inside burning hearth after food items are prepared. This offer is done as a respect to Agni Devata after cooking.

Usually, food is prepared and served by the women in their society. But irrespective of sex and age everybody can take part in preparing and serving food. However, in practice, children, old and sick persons, strangers, persons under birth and death pollutions, including menstruating women are not allowed for preparing and serving of food. They wash their mouth, hands and legs before sitting for taking food. The patients, children and old persons are served with food first in family. The housewife takes food at last with other women of family after taking all the male members.

They usually sit on the floor without using wooden seats or mat. They take their food, usually in the entrance room. The verandah is also at times used for dining purpose. After taking meals, they use utensils are at once removed for washing and the floor is cleaned by sprinkling water by women.

Currently, some people observe fasting on occasions like, Shivaratri, Dasahara, Nuakhia and during Solar and Lunar Eclipses. They also avoid eating non-vegetarian dishes on these occasions. Some people have adopted caste Hindu customs and on Monday or Thursday they abstain from eating non-vegetarian food. The pregnant and menstruating women, old and sick persons and persons under birth, death pollutions are not allowed to eat certain type of food. Because, taking tabooed food may affect their health.

Drinking habit :

In the Aduria Dom society, there is no restrictions for drinking based on ethical moral point of view. Men drink more than women and some men drink beyond the limit. For them, there is no specific time, as they drink at their sweet will. It is a fact that major portion of their income is spent in liquors. As a result, they cannot improve their economic conditions. It affects adversely the children and young boys who also get habituated to drink country liquor.

A man has to spend a lot of money for offering drinks to his relations and guests on different occasions. They think that, liquor-offering raises their prestige in the society. Further, it is in their custom that as a respect the family guests should be freely entertained with drinks. In rituals and festive occasions, liquor is essential. The caste panchayat collects penalty in cash or kind (feast & liquor) after deciding disputes of concerned parties. For satisfying deities, evil spirits and ancestor's souls they offer liquor in various rituals. Liquor is needed during marriage negotiation and wedding. They have strong belief that when enemies drink together, they develop friendship.

They do not prepare liquor. They purchase it from local (desi) liquor shops. In the area liquor extracted from Mohul flower is available in plenty and is known as '*Mahul Mod*'. They also drink Salap Mod, Khajuri Rash and Handia or '*Chaula Mod*'. Of all the varieties of liquor available Mohul liquor is considered most intoxicating. They also drink liquor for curing cold and cough. They say that Khajuri Mod, Salap and Handia are mild types of liquors and by drinking those liquors they become lazy. On the other hand, the Mahul Mod gives strength to a person and they prefer to drink Mohul Mod.

They smoke *Bidi* and *Picca*, which is made of tobacco leaves. They also use '*Nasa*' (tobacco powder), Gudakhu (tobacco paste), Ganjei (hemp) and sometimes opium.

Some of them carry out unauthorised liquor vending as sub-agent of the '*Bhati*'. They bring country liquor specially on hat (weekly market) days and sale it secretly on hats. Women also participate in this business and earn a good amount on market days.

CHAPTER—IV

ECONOMIC LIFE

The Aduria Doms eke out their living by wage-earning, excepting a few households, who depend on cultivation and agricultural labour. Major portion of their annual income comes from agricultural labour. Almost all households derive income by adopting agricultural labour as main or subsidiary occupation. Thus it is appropriate to consider agricultural labour as their main occupation. Besides wage-earning and cultivation, they also earn through other activities, like drum-beating, small business in nearby weekly markets, rickshaw pulling and engaging themselves in trading animals, like cow, buffalo, bullock, etc. Some of them also collect raw hides and supply them to tanners through middlemen.

It is said that, since time immemorial they have been practising wage earning. Most of them are landless, and thus they are being compelled by the situation to take up wage earning for their livelihood. It is very difficult to trace the previous occupation of the Aduria. E. Thurston while writing Ethnographic Note on Domb has mentioned the name of the community Andiniya as a section of Dombs, but especially not regarding economic activities of Andiniya or Adhuria Dombs. However, even today, some people belonging to the Dombs or Odia Domb Community practise weaving, but as subsidiary activities. It is observed in the area that they are not currently practising weaving. They informed that some of them know the art of weaving, probably they knew it by coming in contact with Dombs, but their number is very insignificant. Considering from all sides, it may be stated here that their main occupation is wage-earning.

In the recent past, some of them in village, Kumli stated that selling of parched rice in different villages was their original occupation. People at present do not consider them untouchable and ungrudgingly barter other commodities with rice. Small porries were engaged to carry the load from village to village for trading their commodities. In course of time when 'panos' a denotified and ex-criminal tribe were segregated as untouchables and stigma of untouchability made them an unclean caste, the Adurias faced the same fate as they had a close social relationship with the 'panos'. Since then parched rice trading

was forbidden and they became only petty businessmen dealing in commodities, like silver ornaments, cheap cosmetics and grocery items, etc.

Occupational pattern :

The present study in the village, Kusumi of Nawarangpur area reveals that, most of them depend on agricultural labour. However, 47 surveyed households of the village Kusumi reveals occupational structure as discussed below.

In the village Kusumi, out of 47 Aduria Dom households, 72.34 per cent or 34 households depend on agricultural labour which is maximum. The remaining 27.66 per cent or 13 households depend on other occupation given in the table below :—

Main occupations	No. of households	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)
1. Agricultural labour	35	74.46
2. Cultivation	4	8.51
3. Service	2	4.25
4. Rickshaw pulling	1	2.13
5. Petty Business	1	2.13
6. Cattle-herding	1	2.13
7. Wage earning excepting agricultural labour	2	4.25
8. Rope making	1	2.13
Total	47	100

The above table shows that their main occupation is agricultural labour which is supplemented by various other economic activities. This is categorised on the basis of main source of the income of a household.

However, 47 Aduria Dom households have 108 working persons in the age-group of 18 to 60, in the sample village Kusumi. Agricultural labour and cultivation are the two main occupations on which they depend most. Out of 108 working population 72 persons are engaged as agricultural labourers and 8 in cultivation. Thus it is obvious, that there is no other source in rural area excepting agricultural activities which can provide means of earning for majority of the Aduria Dom. Others pursue occupations like wage-earning other than agricultural labour, service, small business, cattle herding, rope making, rickshaw pulling and drum-beating. There is one person who depends on begging.

It has been discussed earlier that the working population is 108. Distribution of working persons on the basis of primary and secondary occupations are given below:—

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN

Total working population in the age-group of 18 to 60 years			Name of the occupation	Distribution of persons in various occupation	
T	M	F		Principal	Secondary
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
108	57	51	1. Wage earning		
			(a) Agricultural labour	72	19
			(b) From other sources	2	10
			2. Cultivation	8	23
			3. Cattle herding	2	1
			4. Service	2	..
			5. Small Business	1	..
			6. Rope making	1	1
			7. Rickshaw pulling	1	..
			8. Drum beating	..	1
			9. Begging	1	..

ECONOMIC PURSUITS

1. Agriculture :

The study among the 47 households shows that only 16 households possess land and remaining 31 or about two-third households are landless and they mainly depend on wage earning as agricultural labourers for their livelihood. Out of 16 land-holding households 13 households have possessed upto 1 Ac. of land, 2 households have possessed more than 2.5 acres of land and only one household has possessed less than 2.5 acres of land. Further, 13 land-holding households possess less than one acre of land and rest 3 households have possessed more than 2.5 Ac. of land. The details are given below :—

SIZE OF LAND HOLDING

Nos. of surveyed households	Nos. of landless households	Nos. of land owning household	Distribution of land owning households to the size of land holdings		
			Up to 1 Ac.	From 1.1 Ac. to 2.5 Acrs.	More than 2.5 Acrs.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
47	31	16	13	1	2
(100.00)	(65.96%)	(34.04%)	(81.25%)	(62.5%)	(12.50%)

Types of Lands :

In the study village the lands possessed by them may be categorised into various types, depending on factors, like location, soil type, fertility, drainage, yield, kinds of crops grown and irrigation facilities. In the following table the characteristic features of different types of land are given :—

TYPES OF CULTIVABLE LAND AND CROPS GROWN WITH LOCAL TERMS

Types of land (1)	Description regarding land (2)	Local names of the land (3)	Crops grown (4)
Up lands (ATTA AND MAL)	High and dry land	Khuri	Kandul, Jada, Moong
		Bhola pati	Paddy
	Sloppy lands lying near foot small hills.	Danyara tala	Ragi, Paddy
	This land contains hard soil	Tikra	Alasi
	Fertile up land without any field lands.	Khari Buda	Vegetables, Chilli, Tel Khulth, Mustard.
		Bali buda	Arbi, Tobacco
	A good variety of up land lying near house site,	Badi	Vegetables

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Wet land	.. A good variety wet land	Khari	Paddy, Biri
(BERUA AND BAHAL)	In this land water remains through- out rainy season.	Gobar Bali	Paddy Paddy
	Low land near Nala	.. Jhala	Paddy
	A good variety Wet land	.. Kanari	Poddy, Biri
	The variety of land lying near any water sources of sand, soil, especially near river.	Antal	Sugarcane, Tomato, Chilli, Khada Cauli- flower, Jada.

The above table shows that the Berna and Bahal lands are wet lands. The wet lands are also known as Bada. The Ata and Mal variety of lands are dry and high. Thus, excepting rain, generally there is no other water sources. It is suitable for growing pulses. The Antal land is also wet land which is favourable for sugar-cane cultivation. The Berna, Bahal and Antal lands are lying on plain area or in the lower level of drainage and they receive adequate water during rainy season. These variety of land is also very fertile due to deposit of silt after flood. Thus these lands are best for paddy cultivation.

At present, the price of uplands per acre is between Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 3,000. According to them irrigated or wet land costs Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 per acre. For constructing a house in nearby villages or towns one has to spend more money for purchasing homestead land.

Cropping Pattern :

The paddy is their main crop. In addition to paddy they also produce various kinds of pulses, cereals, oil-seeds and vegetables as per the soil type and suitability of the land. Different varieties of paddy are grown in various types of land and the following table may be referred to.—

Varieties of paddy and types of land in which grown :

Sl. No.	Types of land	Varieties of paddy grown	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Up land			
1.	Ata	Ata Dhan or Bhota Dhan	Para Dhan, Mati Dhan, Alasi Dhan, Bhata, Dhana, Bhala Ghalia.
2.	Mal	Mal Dhan	Mahar Dhan, Lodasi, Talia Dhan, Dhaba Chudi, Haldi Chudi, Gada Khunti.
Wet land			
3.	Berna	Berna Dhan	Umasia Chudi, Raipuria, Asan Chudi, Kalja Khoji, Jaya Asan Chudi, Kala Maji, Masuri.
4.	Bahal	Bahal or Beda Dhan	Jagannath, Jajati, Ratna Chudi, Baya Munda, Jaya, Bada Lodasi, Berhampur-II, Phalguni, Masuri.

It is found that when the land receives untimely rain before monsoon out breaks, they plough the land once or twice. Then they wait till June so that they receive rain at regular intervals. When rain starts in the month of June after ploughing once again they sow the seeds. After 20 to 30 days the paddy plants or '*toli*' grows and they are used for transplantation or '*ruan*'.

Excepting the transplantation or *ruan* method, they sow the paddy seeds by broadcasting method which is known as *buna*. It takes place in the month of June. They follow this system to avoid extra expenditure. Further, in the rainy season some lands receive much water and accumulates for a longer period. Thus prior to receiving regular rain, in such type of land they do *buna* or broadcasting the seeds. When the paddy plants grow more than six inches, once again they plough the land to weed away grasses that is called *benusa*.

The broadcasting or *buna* is done in two ways. If they do not get chance to broadcast seeds due to heavy rains, they follow *Kadua buna* or *chibuka buna*. They cultivate the land having water in it and plain the land with leveller or *patia*. Then they broadcast seeds, when there is water in the land. They drain off water from the land after two or three days.

In the month of July-August the plants grow more than six inches. In these months the weeding operation is carried on. Most of them prefer to trans-plantation method. There is a saying that "*ruan is thua*" means, transplantation never cause crop failure. However, the short varieties of paddy are harvested in the months of October and November. The *Bada Dhan* or long duration paddy is harvested in the month of November-December. It is observed that majority abstain from second crop. Because there is no adequate irrigation facilities. Some of them produce vegetables during the summer. In the rainy season, besides paddy, other cereals, like ragi, maize etc. are also produced. These varieties of crops are produced more by those who live in hilly area compared to plain area.

Pulses:

They produce different kinds of pulses such as *biri*, *moong*, *kujthi*, *kandul* and *jana*. They broadcast black gram (*Biri*) in the paddy field. The other pulses are grown in up land or *bada*. Before sowing pulses

they plough the land two or three times. After sowing or broadcasting the seeds they again plough the land to cover seeds. They harvest all the pulses in the month of January and February.

Oil Seeds:

The important oil seeds grown by the Aduria Doms are rasi (til), mustard and castor. The rasi and mustard seeds are sown in the upland or bada land after ploughing two times. But castor is grown in small scale. In the winter season (as Rabi crop) they produce til and mustard.

Excepting few cases, most of them do not grow sugarcane. It grows in the sandy soil. Sandy type lands are situated near river. However, they grow local varieties of sugarcane, known as *danda akhu* and *khari danda*. As it is a long duration crop they do not like to produce sugarcane.

Vegetables:

The vegetables are grown to some extent in the well manured uplands. Some vegetables grown by Aduria Doms are brinjal, tomato, pumpkin, ladies-finger, onion, chilly, etc.

The collection of grazing grass from the bank of the river Indravati is a secondary occupation which provides a good income to some families. Specially the women collect grass from the river bank and dump in bundles which are carried by male members of the family to the nearby urban locality in head load and supply to the households of upper class people who rear cattle. They normally supply these grass regularly and get their price once in a week. Female members, capable boys and girls are mostly engaged in this work. The average income per family per day by this grass business is around Rs. 6 to Rs. 10. On week end every household earns about Rs. 60 to Rs.70. Besides, they also rear milch cow or buffalo for which green fodder is given for better yield.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

The Aduria Doms do not give much importance on animal husbandry as a gainful or income generating occupation. However, several households have kept cattle and poultry birds. Though a few households have kept goats but they have no extraordinary interest in goat keeping. Some households have availed loan from I. T. D. A. for dairy unit and milch buffalo scheme and supply milk in the nearby urban locality.

Out of 47 surveyed households, in 20 households, live-stock numbering, 17 heads of cows, 16 heads of oxen and 57 heads of poultry birds reared. It indicates that majority of households, i. e., 27 have no live stocks. Probably their low economic status comes on the way of cattle rearing as they can not spare much time and unable to bear more expense on cattle rearing.

They follow traditional methods for agricultural operations. They use wooden plough for cultivation. They use oxen as draught animals. It is found that general health condition of cattle is not satisfactory. The shortage of good variety of draught animals is a problem for efficient farming. But most of the households are landless thus they are not interested to keep domestic animals, like ox and buffalo. As they are conversant with the art of ploughing they can earn to the extent of Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 per day, as they say. But rendering service as an agricultural labour without own ploughing bullocks, the wage never exceeds Rs. 10 per day. Thus they may be supplied with good variety of plough with bullocks.

MANUAL LABOUR

It is revealed from the present study of economic life of Aduria Dom that most of them depend on agriculture and wage-earning. In the rural area except to agricultural activities, there is no other major source of income. Thus like their forefathers, the present generation also ekeout their livelihood by engaging in different kinds of manual labour, both in farm and non-farm activities. The majority of them are landless and small farmers, which force them to do hard work whatever earning sources available in the rural area for their survival.

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

The major portion of their annual income is derived from agricultural labour. The study reveals that, out of total 108 working persons 72 persons have taken up this occupation as their main occupation and the rest 36 as subsidiary occupation.

In the area, the agricultural labourers are categorised as Kuliari (casual labourer), Masuri (contractual labourer for a month) and Kabadi or Khambari (contractual labourer for a year). The Aduria Doms engage themselves in this way for earning their livelihood. All the above categories of labourers work in the house of well-to-do people. But the small farmers can not keep Kabadi or Khambari, thus they do farm work by Kulia or Masuri. Excepting the Kulia all other labourers take their remuneration at the week end. They get their remuneration in cash or kind. But the traditional method of measuring in Mana or Ada are still prevalent. They get their remuneration in kind which is given by Sahukars measuring in 'Mana or 'Ada'.

The Kuliari or Kulia, a daily or casual labourer engages himself in various activities on daily wages. For earning kuli or wage they work per a day or even for half-a-day. The casual labourers work is called Kuli or Kulibhuti. They have no contract or obligation to a Sahukar. Thus, they render their services very independently. However maximum number of workers are Kulia or Kuliari.

The 'Masari' works for a certain period. In the busy agricultural season, this type of labourers are engaged in various agricultural activities of employers. Labourer who works for a month is known as Masari. He works at least for a period of one month, but it is not binding upon them to work after serving for a period of one month. In general practice a masari works for a period of 5 to 6 months. For an employer, engaging a masari is more economical than casual labour. It is found that compared to casual labourer or kulia, a Masari takes less remuneration.

Before starting agricultural work the land-lords keep masari for working in the field. So, they can not leave immediately and work till the end of busy agricultural season. If they work on the daily wages they can earn more, but this type of engagement is not available always. Thus they prefer to work as Masari for continuity of work and earning.

The Kabadi or khambari is one kind of labourer who works under a land-lord or landowner on a contract basis for a year. But in actual practice the contract ends before 15 days of the completion of a year. In the month of Phaguna (February-March) after Dola Purnima Kabadi becomes free from his contract. For the next year he may or may not work in the house of same land owner. This depends on the interest of both the land owner and kabadi.

The work of a Kabadi is not restricted to agricultural activities and he also does domestic works. The Kabadi is bound to obey the order of his Sahukar in agricultural operations as well in other works.

The wages and remunerations of the Kabadi or Khambari vary from village to village. The remuneration is paid weekly. Major portion of the remuneration is taken in kind by a Kabadi. But sometimes he also takes in the shape of cash. When a person wants to be engaged as a Kabadi, he takes advance from the land owner before starting of a new working year. This advance is recovered in instalments from Kabadi's weekly remuneration. In case he fails to work as Kabadi, the advance is collected back with interest. The minimum rate of interest is 50 per cent but land owner may take more which depends on his will. Locally the advance is called baina.

Generally, a Kabadi gets minimum of five to ten manas of paddy as wage for a week. One mana of paddy is approximately equal to 3 kg. The mana is also known as guti mana. Thus sometimes the 'Kabadi' is also called guti. Those who are weak and below 15 years of age get less remuneration i. e., 5 manas of paddy for a week. Sometimes they also take their remuneration in cash.

Usually, a Kabadi gets more benefit than masari and Kuliari in certain respects. Firstly, a Kabadi engages himself in work throughout the year. He is given cotton chadar in winter and countrymade umbrella in the rainy season. In the busy agricultural season he gets some money for 'modkhia' drinking liquor. Further, kabadis also get their remuneration even if they remain absent on certain occasions. If the Sahukar is satisfied with the kabadi for his work, he does not ask to refund the advance money. It happens when the advance money is of small amount. After harvesting they also get bonus, 2.5 manas of paddy for 'Liakhia'.

The Kabadi works throughout the year. He works 8/9 hours per day, excepting in busy agricultural season. In the busy agricultural season, a Kabadi works throughout the day, and in lunch break takes a little rest. Usually, the first shift work of a Kabadi starts at 7 A. M. and continues till 12 noon or 1 P. M. In the afternoon he works again from 2:30 or 3 P. M. to 6 P. M. But in the past the work used to start at 6 P. M. Now this situation has changed.

Compared to Kabadi or khambari, the Kuliari and Masari do not work throughout, the year. A daily or casual labour gets Rs. 7:00 to Rs. 10:00 per day as daily wages. The Masari receives 10 to 12 manas of paddy per week. But their engagement is of short duration and after busy agricultural season they remain without any engagement. On the otherhand Kabadi continues his work for a year. He faces no difficulty for maintaining his family.

MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES

Besides the economic activities pertaining to agriculture, the Aduria Doms engage themselves in miscellaneous activities for earning their livelihood. In the rural area, they get engagement adequately only during the busy agricultural season. After this period they have to resort to different economic activities.

In the study village, only 9 persons have adopted non-farm activities. The number of persons engaged is one, in each small business rope-making Rickshawpulling and begging one each, and two in cattle herding. There are two persons serving as electrician and watchman in the Mangalam timber. The main occupation of other two persons is wage-earning in the Mangalam timber. The general observation in the area regarding economic activities of the Aduria Dom community reveals that, they have also adopted various pursuits to eke out their living. The condition of employment in the rural area, is instable which drive them to occupational mobility of workers.

In the slack seasons when they do not get engagement, they work under local contractors in construction and maintenance of roads, buildings, bridges, dams and canals or engage themselves in earthwork. In the area some of Aduria Dom are also engaged in semi-skilled works such as, tile making, carpentry, mat-making, brick making, transport and carriage masonry and small business. It is found that excepting major economic activities, they also do miscellaneous works to supplement

their income. Those who live in and around forest area collect fruits, roots, leaves, tubers, fire wood and other minor forest produce for consumption. Sometimes they also sale these produces in nearby villages and towns. The Adurias occasionally catch fish from the nearby rivers and tanks. They use locally made nets and fishing rods and various traps made of bamboo. They catch mainly for their consumption and rarely they sale the catch.

Their earning out of drum-beating is very occasional and restricted to rituals and festivals. The music party is known as Mela or 'Baja Mela' in which they use musical instruments, like tamaka, tudubudi, dhola and mairi (pipe organ). In religious functions they use Nagara or Nagar Baja including tudubudi and mairi. Women work as midwives and get clothes and cash for their service. During post-delivery period, the advice of midwife is necessary for keeping both mother and children in good health.

In the rural area, wages and employment situation is not up to the mark. They do not get ample opportunities for occupational mobility. As their economic status is low and educational attainment is not satisfactory shifting from the traditional occupation is very rare.

In the study village, quite a small number of persons engage in Rickshaw pulling, rope-making, small business, service and labourer excepting agricultural activities. The following table throws light on the income of the Aduria Dom from various economic activities:—

Income of the Aduria Dom from various economic activities

Total No. of Surveyed households	No. of workers	Various occupation pursued	Total No. of workers engaged	Average per capita man days of engagement per year	Average per capita income (in Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
47	108 (1)	Rickshaw pulling	1	301	Rs. 4,515
	(2)	Service	2	252	Rs. 4,112
	(3)	Small business	1	179	Rs. 3,278
	(4)	Cattle herding	3	211	Rs. 2,289
	(5)	Wage earning from agricultural activities.	12	123	Rs. 2,221
	(6)	Begging	1	264	Rs. 1,296
	(7)	Agricultural labour	91	125	Rs. 955
	(8)	Cultivation	31	103	Rs. 832
	(9)	Rope-making	2	99	Rs. 425
	(10)	Drum-beating	1	85	Rs. 425

The table shows that rickshaw pulling fetches highest income while drum-beating and rope-making fetch lowest income. Most of them are also interested to adopt rickshaw pulling. Thus, if they are supplied with rickshaw at subsidised rate, they can earn more and make them capable of crossing the poverty line.

DIVISION OF LABOUR AND CO-OPERATION

In the Aduria Dom society both men and women work hard for their survival. Generally men do hard work compared to women.

They get up early in the morning and get ready to do their daily routine work. They clean their teeth with twigs and wash their face. After breakfast they go to working field. Now-a-days they go to working place after taking only morning tea. But they were taking rice-water (Pakhala) in the past before going to work. While going to the field they take with them some rice, onion or chilly etc. to eat at the break of the work (i. e. at 9-10 a. m.). If their work place is nearer, wives or children carry food.

Works, like cleaning of the house, courtyard, cattleshed, and cleaning of utensils, fetching water, husking paddy and cooking food are the major household works of the women.

For wage earning they work in the field for the whole day without coming back home. They make necessary arrangements for food and rest for a while. Men plough and level the agricultural land while women transplant the seedlings and do the weeding. Both men and women take part in the harvesting and their children collect fire wood (Jhoori), dry leaves and cowdung for the purpose of fuel. In the evening they return back home from working field. They wash their legs and hands and sit on the verandah with others to discuss. In the meanwhile they smoke Bidi/Picca, and discuss about the next days work. Most of the male persons drink Mohuli for relaxation from whole days hard work. During this time women are busy for preparing food and doing other household works. They take their evening meals after 7-30 P. M. Men and children take food first in every family, then all go to bed after 8 P. M.

In the Aduria Dom society women always co-operate with men in their day to day life.

Budget

The Aduria Dom community is one of the lowest income groups in the area and they spend major portion of their income for maintaining their livelihood. Thus they lead a life of hand to mouth. Spending on luxurious and comfortable items is a dream for them. In general, major portion of their earning comes from agricultural labour and cultivation, earning in skilled labour, service and other pursuits are limited. As a result they fail to earn required amount for maintenance of family. Thus their annual income varies as per occupation and other engagements. For this purpose a table is given below to know income range of study village, Kusumi.

Distribution of Aduria Dom Households by major occupational pattern

Occupation and annual income ranges

Primary occupation	Total No. of households depending upon occupations under (column-2)	Number of households in the income group of				
		Total population of the households	Below Rs. 2,000	Rs. 2,001 to Rs. 4,000	Rs. 4,001 to Rs. 6,400	Above Rs. 6,400
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Cultivation ..	4	17	..	1	2	1
2. Agricultural labour	35	141	2	15	16	2
3. Service ..	2	9	..	..	1	1
4. Rickshaw pulling..	1	4	..	..	1	..
5. Small Business ..	1	3	..	..	1	..
6. Cattle herding ..	1	4	..	1	..	..
7. Wage earning excepting Agricultural labour	2	9	..	1	1	..
8. Rope making ..	1	3	1	..	..	..
Total	47	190	3	18	22	4
	(100.00)		(6.38%)	(38.29%)	(46.8%)	(8.52%)

The analysis of the above table shows that out of total 47 households, 35 households work as agricultural labourer, which is maximum. Further, 35 households comprising 141 (74 per cent) of the total population which is 190. In this category, 15 households come within the income range of Rs. 2,001.00 to Rs. 4,000.00 and 16 households in between Rs. 4,001.00 to Rs. 6,400.00. Maximum number of households i. e. 22 remain within the income range of Rs. 4,000.00 to 6,400.00 and next 18 households within the income range of Rs. 2,000.00 to Rs. 4,000.00. The table reveals that 91.14 per cent or (43 Nos.) of the households are below poverty line and 8.86 per cent or only 4 households have crossed poverty line. The Number of households who have crossed poverty line is 2 working as agricultural labourer.

In brief, the first three income groups spend nearly 68 per cent of their income on food. The four households of higher income group also spend almost same proportion. Thus, the spending amount on food of all four income groups have no much variation. Especially, in the rural area, variation in income level never affects their spending propensity on food. The annual income does not increase unexpectedly.

Expenditure on the items, like clothing, rituals and ceremonies, constructions, repair and maintenance of houses, treatment of various diseases, etc., are met by spending 22 to 27 per cent of total income. However, they spend less in medicines compared to all the above items.

For light and fuel they have to spend between 1 per cent and 2 per cent. There is acute shortage of fuel-wood due to destruction of forest area, thus spending on fuel is increasing. At present, they manage by collecting dry branches and leaves of trees, fire sticks from bushes and especially cow dung. But those who live in the forest area adjacent to forest, find no problem for fire-wood.

The Aduria Doms spend reasonable amount on clothings. The expenditure on dress comes next to food, though most of them use cheap and coarse type of clothes. Except school going children, others manage with whatever clothings are available. However, for purchasing clothings for men and women, they have to face a lot of difficulty. In the area, the cost of an ordinary saree varies from Rs. 55 to Rs. 75 and short dhoti Rs. 25 to Rs. 40. But most of the

time younger generation use lungis which costs minimum Rs. 25. Further, during socio-religious occasions they have to bear expenditure which increase their burden. They wear new clothes on occasions like, Chait Parab, Nuakhia, Pus punei and marriage. They also entertain guests with feast and drink, as a result expenditure goes beyond their income especially, while performing marriage and death rituals which become a sudden burden on them and which force them to be indebted with the local money lenders.

In the following table income and expenditure of Aduria Dom house holds are given. Comparative analysis of this will give a clear picture of deficit and surplus budget of the families.

Economic Status of Aduria Dom Households in Different Income Groups

Income groups	Distribution of households according to the nature of their income and expenditure			
	Deficit expenditure exceeding income	Balance income and expenditure maintaining same	Surplus income exceeding the expenditure	Total No. of Household
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1. below Rs. 2,000	3	..	..	3
2. Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 4,000	10	7	1	18
3. Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 6,400	12	8	2	22
4. Above Rs. 6,400	..	1	3	4
Total	25	16	6	47
	(53.19%)	(34.05%)	(12.76%)	(100.00)

The above table shows that out of total 47 households 25 or 53.19 per cent of households are under deficit budget. It indicates that whatever they earn is not adequate, which force them to incur loans to meet various expenses. Except the highest income group, most of the families from other three income groups are affected by deficit budget.

However, 16 (34.04 per cent) households belong to balanced group in which they manage their family within their income. But, there is no household of first income group in balanced column. The rest six households (or 12.76 per cent H. H.) come from last three groups having surplus budget of which three households belong to highest income group. The analysis reveals that less income of a family increases the deficit burden.

Indebtedness

It is found in the previous table that majority of the households are under deficit and the circumstances force them to incur debt. The following table shows the distribution of indebted households of different income groups and their extent of debts.

Distribution of Indebted Households in Various Income Groups and extent of present Debts.

Income groups (Annual)	Total No. of surveyed households in each group	Nos. of indebted households	Total amount of present debts (in Rs.)	Average amount of debt per households (in Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1. Below Rs. 2,000	3	2	1,020	510
2. Rs. 2,001 to Rs. 4,000	18	11	3,762	342
3. Rs. 4,001 to Rs. 6,400	22	8	2,384	298
4. Above Rs. 6,400	4	..	..	..
Total	47	21	7,166	341.23

The above table reveals that out of total number of 47 households, 21 households (44.68 per cent) are indebted. The total amount of loan is Rs. 7,166 and on an average indebtedness per households comes to Rs. 341.23. Further, analysis of the table shows that when the income is less deficit is more. For instance, two households who earn below Rs. 2,000 per annum on an average their loan amount is Rs. 510. But in the 2nd and 3rd groups the indebted households are 11(61.11 per cent, and 8)36.36 per cent respectively, out of total 18 and 22 households on an average their loan is Rs. 342 per household in the second group while it is Rs. 298.00 in the 3rd group. There is no household indebted in the highest income groups. Thus, the fact highlights that comparatively the lowest income group are incurring loan which is Rs.510.00 per household, They incur loan to meet various expenses. There are number of causes which force them to indebtedness. In most of the cases loans have been taken due to following reasons:—

1. For meeting basic requirements like, food, clothing etc. they incur loan.
2. For cultivation purpose.
3. To meet expense on socio-religious ceremonies, like birth, death, marriage, and communal festivals.
4. For construction of house.
5. Drinking habit increases monetary problem.
6. For treatment of diseases.

The following table shows the distribution of indebted households in different income groups.

Causes of indebtedness	Number of indebted families in the income groups				
	below Rs.2000	Rs.2001 to Rs.4000	Rs.4,001 to Rs.6,000	Above Rs.6,000	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Household consumption requirement ..	1	4	2	..	7
2. Cultivation ..	..	1	1	..	2

Causes of indebtedness	Number of indebted families in the income groups				
	below Rs.2000	Rs.2001 to Rs.4000	Rs.4,001 to Rs.6,000	Above Rs.6,090	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
3. For socio-religious ceremonies	1	1	2	..	4
4. Construction of house	..	1	1	..	2
5. Drinking habit	..	2	1	..	3
6. Treatment of diseases.	..	2	1	..	3
Total	2	11	8	..	21

In the study village it was found that, loan incurred for any specific purpose was also utilised for various purposes. Those who have regular drinking habit spend some portion of their earning on drinking. Thus it leads them to incur loan for maintenance of family.

Most of the indebted families incur loan from the local money lenders with a high rate of interest. Some times, they mortgage ornaments for getting the loan. The rate of interest is very high and often it is charged at the rate of 100% to 120%. They avail loan from Government agencies rarely since documentation and sanction of loan put them in difficulty.

CHAPTER - V

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS LIFE

The Aduria Doms know that human life starts with birth and ends in death. After birth, everybody has to perform duties and leave this material world after death. They believe that, God is the creator of this universe and different creatures, of which human beings are part of it. Thus, He is Almighty according to whose wishes everything happens in the universe including birth and death. He sends us to this earth for performing certain duties and calls back after completing it. They observe various life cycle rituals, such as child birth, puberty, marriage and death.

Conception :

The Aduria Doms are well aware of the fact that, the conception occurs out of sexual intercourse between male and female. The child grow inside the woman's womb till fully developed and thereafter the child is born. They compare semen with seed and ovary with fertile land. Thus if seed is properly sown at right time in the fertile land, conception occurs. However, they do not have clear idea about the entire process inside mother's womb before birth of an infant. But they say that, if the menstrual blood flowing stops, they ensured of child growing in the womb of the women. They also know it from certain outward symptoms. According to them a mass of flesh is formed inside mother's womb. Gradually the mass of flesh develops into the shape of human body. After the formation of the body, life enters into it. Then it begins movement inside the mothers womb. Generally growing child inside womb becomes fit only after nine months. Thus after nine months delivery takes place at any time.

Birth in their society is one of the happiest events. The main objective of marriage is not only confined to have sexual satisfaction, but also to get a child. If the child is not born within the five years of marriage, usually the women is considered responsible for it. Thus the husband has right to divorce the wife and get another wife. He can also bring second wife without divorcing the first one. If the child is not born both husband and wife accuse each other which leads separation, then both can get remarried somewhere.

Specially for divorced women on sterility ground the question of remarriage is difficult task. In their society barren women is looked down upon. Barren women are considered inauspicious and they do not look at the face of such women while going on important work outside, as it may bring bad result. They believe that, barren women possess occult powers, like charms, evil eye etc. Thus they avoid the presence of barren women during socio-religious ceremonies.

The motherhood is respected in the society. Both male and female children are treated equally as sons and daughters are both earning members of the family. They support their family in various economic activities. Further a girl brings prestige to her parents by her bride price and a son helps them at old age and perpetuate the family line.

They believe that the reasons of temporary sterility in women and other problems concerning conception and child birth are mainly due to bad impact of supernatural powers such as evil-eye, witch craft, black magic, malevolent spirits and often by displeasure of the deities and ancestral spirits. In cases like miscarriage, still birth difficult labour and infant mortality they consult with the Disari, Sira, and sometimes astrologer for diagnosing the causes so that effective measures can be taken. After such attempts if the result is not good, they consider the supernatural agencies to be more powerful. They also believe that physical weakness also brings temporary or permanent sterility. However, in these cases they consult the Vaidya or the Kaviraj for treatment. Usually they do not consult with doctors on sterility ground but consider it as their fate. However, during difficult delivery they go to hospital for treatment. They contact Disari, Sira, or local Vaida or Vaidya in problems concerning conception. After all type of treatment if they fail, it is confirmed as permanent sterility. They also believe that, sterility is also caused by suffering from severe illness.

Now-a-days some Aduria Dom who have realised the problems of big family have adopted modern contraceptive measures. There are also indigenous contraceptive practices in the society. These measures include periodic abstinence and use of herbal medicines. Till today they depend to a great extent on traditional practitioners such as, mid-wives for smooth delivery of the child or for abortions. But inspite of their poor economic condition, most of them desire for having more children. Thus practically, they do not take any measure for limiting

the number of children. However, diseases, starvation, miscarriage, physical deficiencies and infant mortality etc. which are beyond their control, operate as natural factors for family planning. They say that conception never be occurred without the blessings of God. A pregnant women has to observe a number of taboos. Especially a woman who is going to face first delivery receive advise from experienced women in connection with various taboos. They believe that for the well-being of both would be mother and child, one should observe all the taboos. A pregnant woman should not eat excess chilly, oil or spices with food. The Stale rice (basi pakhal), meat of dead animals and liquor are not advisable. The above food and drink may lead to deformity of child or miscarriage. They further avoid twin bananas and joint vegetables and tubers. They believe by eating these, she may give birth twins. She is also not allowed to eat meat of sacrificed animals and birds.

On the other hand her desire for eating various foods begins immediately after conception. They believe that a pregnant women's desires are of the child inside the womb. If she is not provided with her choice food items, unborn child may be seriously affected. Thus they immediately fulfil pregnant women's desired food. Sometime she expresses her willingness to certain types of food from a particular family. In this situations nobody refuses to provide her with desired food. She also gets sweets, cakes (pitha), chakuli and other favourite dishes from her parent's house.

In the early stages of the conception a woman normally attends to indoor and outdoor works. But at the advanced stage she gradually stops hard work. Doing hard work and lifting heavy objects may cause abortion or bring problem for smooth delivery. Thus she is allowed to take utmost care during advanced stage of pregnancy. She is advised by elderly women and relatives not to do works, like digging or carrying heavy objects, climbing high places, walking long distance and husking paddy etc. They believe that sexual intercourse upto seven months of pregnancy helps the child inside womb for a better growth. After seven months of pregnancy intercourse is stopped as at this stage it may be harmful for the child as well as the mother.

According to their belief, evil eye, evil spirits, supernatural elements and celestial bodies can easily bring about problems for a pregnant woman. Their bad influence on such type of woman may cause miscarriage, deformity, acute labour pain, even death etc. Thus,

to keep away bad influences, preventive measures are taken in advance. The pregnant woman is tabooed for doing certain types of activities such as attending birth, death and communal rituals, wandering during night, going alone to temples, shrines, ponds, and rivers, climbing on a ladder, sitting on grinding stones or threshold, crossing upon earthen pot, broom stick, a rope, sleeping dog and so on. After all, her freedom of movement is checked by many taboos and restrictions. She is never allowed to go to burial ground, Whenever she goes out, relatives and friends accompany her. Further, seeing animals or birds, devouring a corpse and funeral pyre may be harmful for her. She is tabooed to witness solar and lunar eclipses as they cause deformity to the child. Sometimes the pregnant woman wears magical threads of red or black colour to avoid evil effect. The locket, fetishes, copper coins etc. are worn by the pregnant women tied up with threads. These objects are available from witch doctors, saints or priests. They also keep iron knives and broom sticks near or under bed which keeps away the evil spirits during sleep. The women and her relatives often make promise to offer sacrifices to ensure the smooth delivery of the child. But the ladies of younger generation, do not like to follow old practices considering them as superstitious.

According to them the sex of the child is fixed inside mother's womb once for all is unchangable. But to know the sex of child observing certain symptoms and signs of a women, they can predict to some extent. For example, if the women looks very beautiful, the surface of belly looks round in shape, they presume that there is a girl-child inside the womb. When there is a male child inside the womb the woman appears not to be so beautiful. Further a pregnant woman prefers to eat more chilly for a male child and pickles or sour type of edibles for girl-child. However, early delivery without having much predelivery pains are indications of a male child.

The Aduria Dom women take part in routine activities till the advanced stage. When the pre-birth pain becomes acute and unbearable she becomes inactive. They can not take rest without doing any work due to their low economic status. At times, delivery occurs while working in the fields. It happens because, they can not ascertain right time of child birth by calculation. During advanced stage of pregnancy, some symptoms, such as swelling of lower abdomen,

feeling of the movement of the baby inside the womb, feeling of pain around the waist, paleness of the skin and body, are met with when they come across acuteness of these signs, they do normal work and as a result delivery takes place.

The birth

The Adurias make certain arrangement in advance before the child birth as it is considered a life crisis. For handling delivery cases smoothly they require the service of elderly and experienced women, relatives and neighbours. There is no professional midwife to render this type of service. There is no problem to deal with normal delivery cases.

When acute labour pain starts and the birth is about to take place, only a few elderly women attend upon the expectant mother. During delivery, men, children and young girls are not permitted to remain present in the labour room. During delivery the woman is made to sit down on the ground, leaning back-wards. An elderly female remains at the lateral side or back side of expectant mother for support. Another woman remain present in front of her to renders help. In the meanwhile, the midwife messages the expectant mother for relief from acute labour pain. Soon after the child birth, they inform the persons waiting outside. If the child is male there is a tradition of beating with bamboo stick on the slope of a roof. Any person can beat three times on the roof. It is done because the new born male child is important for the perpetuation of their lineage (bansa).

In the meanwhile, the umbilical cord of the new born child is tied up with a piece of thread and then cut by a midwife. There, they apply turmeric paste to save from infection. The child is bathed with tepid water in which they mix turmeric paste. For cutting of umbilical cord they use iron knife or a piece of broken earthenware pot (Khapara). Now-a-days they use blade of stainless steel for this purpose. The mother is cleaned by the midwife. The child is massaged with oil and during bath turmeric paste is applied regularly on the body. The umbilical cord is buried at the back-yard or near the house. With the umbilical cord they bury pieces of broken earthenware pots to save it from vil effect. According to them, the stump of umbilical cord dries off after seven days. After it drops down, this is given to a cow in a leaf plate which is added with rice and grass. They believe that, it would be

good for a child if the cow eats the stump of umbilical cord. After birth the child is given honey (Mahu) or a few drops of molasses water, so that he learns to suck. Some drops of mother's milk is also put in the mouth of the child. Gradually the child is allowed to take milk from mother's breast, on the other hand the mother is not allowed to eat too much food for three days as it is harmful for both mother and the child. After three days she is allowed to eat food regularly. But she is not given non-vegetarian diet at least for one month.

Hair cutting and name giving :

They do not observe the first hair cutting or name giving ceremonies. There are no appointed or fixed dates for the purpose. In some households they observe the name giving ceremony which is held on the 21st day. When they consult with the astrologer (panjkar) he is paid Rs. 5 to 10 for the selection of name. Sometimes they also contact the Disari of other communities for name giving. There are also some cases who give name to their children without contacting pundit or Disari. They can not get the services of Bhandari or barber as Aduria Dom is a low caste. The man in their own caste-group who knows the work of hair-cutting performs this. For his service he gets remuneration. Especially during first hair cutting he gets more remuneration. There is no fixed remuneration. It depends on the capability of a person. However, he gets at least Rs. 2, some salt, chilly, dal, tamarind and 1 kg. of rice ($1\frac{1}{2}$ adda) after rendering the service of barber. Further there are no rituals associated with the ear and nose-piercing.

Child rearing:

It is apt to note the child rearing practices and the process of socialisation among the Aduria Doms. The nourishment, care and training of children are essential in any society. A child at least for the first six months rely on breast feeding which is supplemented with milk of cow, gruel and boiled and diluted arrowroots. After six months the child is given semi-solid foods, like par-boiled rice, boiled vegetables without spices, dal etc. After about one year, the child is given solid diet. There is no fixed time or routine for breast feeding. The child cries whenever feels hungry and the mother nourishes through breast feeding. In the absence of mother the attendant takes care of the child. Sometimes neighbouring women allow breast-feeding and stops the child from crying.

When a baby cries incessantly and do not eat any kind of food, they believe that it is effect of evil-eyes. The Disari is consulted for necessary remedial measures. He gives herbal medicine for the child. Further in the evening to get rid of the 'dristi' or *najor*, the child's mother or father holding a pinch of salt and chilly in hand and touching on the head of the child for three or seven times throws it into the burning hearth. Another cause of child crying is that, when the village deity Budhi Thakurani plays with the child. They offer sacrifices to Budhi Thakurani not to disturb the child. Further, to drive away the impact of evil eyes or spirits, they practice 'Nimisa' with the help of Disari. The Nimisa is a ritual to drive away evil powers affecting any person. In a leaf cup they put some rice, dal and curry which is touched by the child, after chanting of mantras by Disari any person takes this leaf cup to a distant place and keeps it at the cross roads. Then he returns back home without looking back.

Gradually within six months child learns to crawl, with the advancing of months he is taught to sit down. After attaining tenth month the child is able to sit down and move with the help of knees and hands. When the child is one year old or so, he learns to stand and walk slowly. In this process parents, relatives and even neighbour help the child by teaching and helping. When the child moves freely here and there, especially the parents keep close watch on the child lest it should fall and sustain injury. At this stage the child eats earth, catch insects or harmful objects. Thus child's movement and action are watched and checked whenever necessary.

When the child is two years old it gives up breast feeding. In few cases children continue breast feeding upto 3/4 years. But parents try to stop breast feeding by giving the baby often solid food. As after 2/3 years child responds or listen to what their parents and elders say and do follow them in different activities. Gradually, children are taught to have proper toilet habits. The child is treated with love and affection. When the child cries or utters such words others understand and treat accordingly. Children usually remain naked up to the age of four years. After four years especially the female children are taught to wear torned pieces of cloth or napkins. Now-a-days small children taught to wear small chaddi or Jangia which are available in the local market. Further, a 'Anta-suta' (black or red coloured thread) is tied around the waist. They believe that wearing of this thread would resist impact of evil spirits.

Childhood:

At the age of three to four years the child is able to remember and understand to some extent. As a result curiosity and interest arises in child's mind. The child is able to learn from others at this phase of life.

He is slowly trained to respect and obey his elders. In the beginning he is taught manners with love and affection. He expects affection, kindness and friendliness from his fellow members. Thus the elders try to manipulate child's disturbing activities in such a manner that, he gets no reaction. He learns some thing out of it. The parents and elders try to fulfil his hunger by providing sufficient food. If the activities of the child is not desirable elders try to control him. The child learns by imitating his/her parents and also performs certain activities independently. The day to day activities in the home and outside and curiosity for doing the same have impact on the child's mind. Gradually he develops independent thinking and self-consciousness. The child learns to obey and shows respect to elders, along with how to speak and behave in the society and family.

He receives instructions and observes the work of elders and gradually helps his elders. The boys often go to agricultural fields with their elders, where they learn various agricultural activities. The act of drum beating with rythm is also learnt by the youngsters. The girls render help to their mothers in domestic works. They also collect fuels with their mothers. It is not only learning process but also a sort of assistance to elders.

In the Aduria Dom society both boys and girls after attaining age of 12—14 years engage themselves in various economic activities. A girl up to her marriage renders necessary support to her parents. Thus parents and elders encourage and impart training which becomes helpful give to them in economic pursuits in future.

As in other societies the Aduria Dom child learns initially at the family stage and is socialised through various institutions and groups. When the parents go out for work, their children are looked after by grand-father or grand-mother or by any other non-working members of the family. Thus a child learns reciprocity of love and affection. Further the paternal uncle or maternal uncle also take care of the child, if his parents die untimely.

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But in the multi-caste village if the higher castes hamlets are found nearby their settlement, the social environment is of different type. After a child becomes conscious of his social status, it brings a lot of problem to him. As he can not play or mix with children of higher castes it develops inferiority complex in the mind of the child. The social discrimination remains active in his mind which hampers child's development.

Puberty:

The Aduria Dom girls attain puberty at the age of twelve years or thereafter. After this event, automatically the girls are considered as adult members of the community and are fit for marriage. The attainment of puberty of a boy is passed unnoticed by the community. However at the age of 13/14 years spots are found on the face of a boy which is known as bayasa photoka. It is considered as the sign of attainment of puberty. When a girl faces the first course of menstruation, she immediately informs her mother or elder sister. The information spreads among other. The attainment of puberty of a girl is called "bada jhia". It means she has become grown up. This is a turning point in the life cycle of a female.

After attaining first menstruation, a girl remains under pollution for seven/nine days. In this period, she is not allowed to touch physically anybody. Because it is considered as unclean and her touch pollutes others. She spends that period in seclusion. She tries to conceal herself and keeps away from others.

As per the custom, during this period she takes regular bath using oil and turmeric paste. Now a days they also use soap. But she is not allowed to comb her hair during that period. She is not allowed to do any type of work in the house or outside. Especially touching food materials, entering into kitchen etc. are tabooed. She sleeps on the ground without any mat. She goes outside only to attend calls of nature. At night while going outside she is accompanied by somebody as going alone is strictly tabooed. Aduria dom believes that this period is favourable for evil spirits and powers to enter into the body of a girl very easily. Further going to other villages attending any religious ceremony, visiting temples and shrines and worshiping deities are restricted for her. She is also prohibited to take food after sunset. On

the day of the termination of pollution she is taken to a pond, river, stream or well for taking bath. The clothes used by her are washed by herself as they can not get the services of washermen. Now-a-days they also use soap for both bathing and washing clothes. They use turmeric paste and 'anla' paste on the head, hair during purificatory bath. After bath she wears new saree and returns home. Then she is allowed to perform her normal works.

Marriage:

The marriage is the most remarkable event in the life of the Aduria Dom as it terminates the bachelorhood and a person is regarded as a responsible member of the community. Besides biological urge of sex satisfaction, marriage assures the perpetuation of their community and brings status to a person in the society. The marriage further assures the man and his wife to perform rituals for the appeasement of ancestral cults and other deities. Further, marriage also leads to formation of family for economic co-operation.

Basic Principles and types of Marriage:

Before a marriage takes place they consider various factors like the clans of the marrying partners, generational status, degrees of preference and prohibition etc. When a person attains marriageable age, his parents make necessary arrangements to get a bride for his son. However, the following aspects are taken into account before a marriage is finalised.

The Aduria Doms are divided into a number of exogamous groups or units known as "bansh". They consider that, members belonging to the same "bansh" have common mythical ancestors. They are brothers and sisters and establishing matrimonial relationships within the "bansh" is considered sinful. Therefore the rules of "Bansh" exogamy is strictly followed. Besides "bansh" exogamy they also take into consideration generation status of marrying mates. Each bansh is exogamous. Thus prior to establishing marital relationship they consider the bansh as well as existing relationship from all sides.

The age factor also plays an important role in any type of marriage. According to them, a wife should be younger than her husband. In case a wife is elder than the husband the latter may suffer. They usually select a bride younger than the bride-groom.

Further in arranged marriage they take the help of Pundit or Astrologer to determine the auspiciousness of marriage. In case the union appears to be inauspicious they cancel the proposal. They also take into consideration of health condition of both bride and bridegroom.

In case of preferential type of marriage they take the consent of both the boy and girl before finalisation of marriage. Various forms of marriage, such as cross-cousin marriage, levirate and sororate are prevalent in their society.

The Adurias usually prefer to select mates from other villages but village exogamy is not followed strictly. The bansa is strictly exogamous. It is found that marriage inside the village is very rare.

The Aduria as a caste group is endogamous. They do not allow anybody to marry from a lower caste. Traditionally the Ghasi, Mangali and Relji are regarded as inferior to them. The marriage with other caste groups leads to excommunication. For readmission into the caste, penalty is imposed by Caste-council and thereafter purificatory rituals are followed by this guilty. In case of female, the customs are different and during her visit to her parents she has to stay outside the house. In the recent past they had no marital linkage with the Odiya Dom or Domb Caste-groups. The Odiya Dom are traditionally superior to the Aduria Dom.

The monogamy is the rule in their society. But there is no restriction for polygynous marriages. If a person has capability to maintain more than one wife, there is no restriction in their society. But from the economic point of view most of them prefer monogamous marriage. It is not so easy to bring a second wife when the first one is alive. He must take consent of the first wife to keep another wife. Under the different circumstances, like death, divorce, sterility or disability of the first wife, a man is permitted to marry again in which he has to spend less compared to the first marriage.

The post-pubescent marriage is a common practice. The age at marriage for a male is 18 years whereas for a female it is 14 years. According to them a girl is fit for marriage after attaining puberty. The pre-pubescent marriage is not practised in the society. In the recent past pre-pubescent marriage was practised by well to do households.

The leviration is prevalent in their society. But all the widow remarriages are not the levirate type. A man may marry the wife of his deceased elder brother if he so desires. Thus it is optional. By marrying the elder brother's wife (widow), one has to pay no bride price. The younger brother inherits all the property of his deceased elder brother. In case the deceased person's younger brother refuse to marry the widow, she can be remarried to anybody else in the village.

According to their customs the elder brother cannot marry the widow of his deceased younger brother as it comes under avoidance relationship. They observe no special rites in a widow remarriage. It is performed in very simple manner in which a man has to spend less. In this simple ceremony relation from either side and some villagers act as witnesses when the bridegroom accepts the widow as wife. The groom entertains the villagers with food and liquor. The remarriage of widow is celebrated in the bride's house. After some formalities he brings the bride to his house and puts vermilion mark on the forehead of bride and they sit on the mat together. They plead for widow remarriage for various socio-economic considerations. The arrangement assures the widow for maintenance and also for social order through regulation of sex. The widow remarriage is called "randi bibha" in their society. In case the relations of both parties in widow remarriage do not agree and they elope for remarriage, the matter comes to the purview of the caste council. The caste panchayat usually imposes cash fine as penalty. The penalty varies from time to time and place to place. However, it was 9 Mana of rice (about 27 Kgs.) excluding expenditure for drinking liquor. The expenditure imposed on the persons is about Rs. 200 to 300. All kinds of widow remarriages require approval of the caste panchayat as well as relatives. The marriage with wife's younger sister or *Sali* is prevalent in the Aduria Dom society.

Love marriage is also prevalent in their society. In this type of marriage if parents of either side agree upon it, it is held ceremoniously. Objection from any side may bring a number of problems for establishing marriage. At times the lovers may elope away. Then this matter is referred to the caste Panchayat. The caste Panchayat decides the amount of bride price and penalty to be paid by boy's parents. The amount collected is spent on feast. Then the marriage is socially approved.

But in some cases they prefer marriage by elopement due to high bride price. In this case also, bridegrooms side go through certain formalities. When this case goes to the caste Panchayat, it fixes bride price consulting girl's parents. The Panchayat also collect cash fine from boy's parents for feast.

The exchange type of marriage 'badal kania' is also found in the society. In this type of marriage a boy gives his sister to other and marries latter's sister. Either side has to pay the bride price as per formality. In this type of marriage, there is no heavy demand for payment of bride price.

Further, a boy can acquire a girl as wife by rendering service. It happens when a boy want to marry but he is unable to pay bride price. Thus in order to get a life partner a boy has to work in the house of girl's parent. If the parents are pleased with the service of boy he is allowed to marry their daughter.

The system of son-in-law in house "Ghar Juain" is prevalent as per their social customs, but it is rare. When a family has no son a suitable boy is selected to marry the daughter and he stays with them leaving his family of orientation. This type of marriage requires the approval of the caste Panchayat.

Economic aspects of marriage :

As discussed earlier marriage is most significant event in their society. In addition to the biological and social needs it also plays a vital role in the economic sphere of the community.

The bride price is one of the significant economic aspects. The bride price is known as 'Jhola or Jhola Taka'. The bride price or 'Jhola Taka' is given by the groom's parents to parents of the girl. If any problem arises after marriage which compels for dissolution of marriage without having fault of wife then husband cannot get back paid bride price.

The bride price is not fixed. It depends on capability of bride-groom. It is fixed by mutual understanding of two sides. According to them traditionally they had to pay minimum three Mana of rice (Five, seven or nine Mana of rice) with an amount in cash as a bride price. Now-a-days it is paid in cash in the most cases. The old customs still perpetuates with little change. Further, for bride they

take saree, blouse, bangle, ornaments, vermilion, Kajal etc. Recently modern cosmetics like powder, snow etc. have been added with this customary gift. The parents of the girl also receive saree and short dhoti.

On the negotiation day bride price is settled. This is known as 'magni'. On the 'magni' day the bridegroom's party go with two bottles of country liquor to the house of bride. They are welcomed by the bride's parents. They treat the guests with bidi or picca (smoke). After discussion if both the parties agree, a feast is arranged for the groom's party. For either party, they have to meet various expenses while going through marriage formalities and process. But comparatively, in a marriage, bridegroom's side has to bear heavy economic burden.

Besides the above in the marriage, both the parties get various customary gifts such as clothes, utensils, ornaments, cosmetics, etc. They also give gift in cash.

Especially for the arrangement of feasts, both the sides spend lot of money. On the negotiation or 'magni' day and on the marriage day or before feast are held in the bride's house for entertaining their guests. In the house of bridegroom atleast two feasts are arranged on the marriage occasion.. The non-vegetarian dish like mutton and liquor are the most important items in the feast. For rendering necessary help and assistance close relations come in advance and heavy expenses are incurred on this score and it leads to indebtedness.

Marriage ceremony :

The marriage by negotiation is considered most prestigious in their society. As discussed earlier other ways of acquiring mates are also found among them due to various reasons. When both the parties visit each other's house and finalise marriage through negotiation the 'magni' is held on a fixed day. They take with them two bottles of liquor on the occasion. The 'magni' is most important as the engagement is completed and bride price is fixed. On this occasion a small feast is arranged with non-vegetarian dishes for the guests. After the feast, the boy's side leave for their village. They inform parents of the girl later on deciding the marriage date. Further they take with them sweet cakes, beaten rice, local cosmetics, bangle for the bride and well to do families take a piece of saree.

The bride-price is fixed between the two parties. If it is not settled, caste council interferes in this affair. As at village level there is no caste council of this community, the elder experienced and established persons deal all types of cases of the caste. So also they deal with problems arising out of marriage negotiations. Thus their decision also plays important role in settling disputes. After 'magni' marriage date is fixed by the boy's parents and it is informed to girl's parents. Usually Tuesday, Wednesday or Friday are considered as auspicious days. They perform marriages on these days in the months of Phagun and Chait. They also consult Brahmin or Panjikar for deciding auspicious days. In practice it is confined to well-to-do and established families. Sometimes they also consult tribal priests called Disari. However, consultation with Brahmin, Panjikar or Disari is very limited.

In their society a marriage function requires two to three days. If the villages of both the parties are within the easy reach the 'Konia Dakra' and marriage is held on the same day. In case of distant places more time is necessary. Guests arrive 1-2 days before the marriage date to render necessary assistance and help. The house is cleanly washed and walls are decorated.

The next step is 'konia dakra' and payment of bride-price. Both male, female participate in this marital procession and on the way they sing and dance. They have jokes with the bridegroom. After reaching the bride's house, the party is welcomed warmly. The feet of bridegroom is washed by turmeric mixed with water. All the gift articles are handed over to the parents of the bride. Where relatives and friends are present keeping ancestral spirits as witness. As it is important as their customary, bride-price, some amount in cash is also given with it. The bride-price in cash also is handed over to the parents. Both the bride and bridegroom pay their respect to all elders present. After this all the guests take liquor and eat in this arranged feast. The guests are provided with bidi and picca for smoking as a matter of courtesy.

After the marriage ceremony is over, the bride, bridegroom and his relations go back to their own village. On the way they make amusements by singing and dancing. The well-to-do families arrange music party during marriage. On the way back the bridegroom's movement is obstructed and the bridegroom has to give some money in order to allow them to proceed.

Both the bride and bridegroom bath separately in turmeric water. Then they wear new cloths. Friends help bride in her make up. After moving three times round the nuptial altar they sit on a mat and marriage rituals are performed thereafter. The Brahman Priest does not render ritual services during their marriage. A sacrificial fire (homa) is in the altar before the bride and bridegroom. They use seven varieties of wood in the home. After completion of 'homa' they tie together left hand of groom and right hand of bride. This is known as "China Pindha". The relations present then sprinkle turmeric mixed with rice over the couple and bless them. The guests give presentations to the bride and groom which is known as "Tika Pindha". After Tika Pindha, the couple leave the altar, enter into the house and offer prayer to the ancestral cult. The last ceremony is bathing together in a pond or river. The bride and bridegroom are taken to a pond or river. On the bank cakes, flower etc. are offered to various deities. The bridegroom sits on the mat. The bride sits on his side. Both are given turmeric powder to apply on each others body. Then the bride has to sit on the lap of the bridegroom. In this position others apply mud on the body of the couple, then they push them into the water. After bath they return back home. Then the guests and relations return to their respective villages on the same day.

On the ninth day of marriage the couple visit the house of wife's parents. There they stay for some days. The wife may stay in her mother's house for a longer period.

Divorce :

The divorce/dissolution of marriage is practised in their society when necessary arises. The males usually take initiative in divorce. The main grounds on which divorce is allowed are marital infidelity, incompatibility, unfaithfulness, quarrelsome mentality, mental disorder, sickness, practice of black magic, heavy drinking etc. But barrenness of the wife is not a valid reason for divorce as the husband can get another wife although the first wife lives with him. If the divorce occurs having young children, they go with the mother. The other children who are three to four years old live with their father.

Death .

The Aduria Doms know that death is inevitable for all living beings. To them, the natural death comes when a person becomes old. At the old age a man cannot function properly, as a result various diseases and weakness develop in him and the soul departs from the body and death occurs. According to their belief the soul never dies, only the body disappears from this world. They also strongly believe in the philosophy of rebirth. It is also noteworthy that when a person dies untimely or accidentally the soul moves here and there for long time. It suffers a lot and cannot get place to stay till the completion of natural death period.

The death is regarded as most pathetic event in their society. When a person dies the news spreads among near and dear ones. The mourning continues for 10 days which is known as 'Chhut' (pollution) period. The 'Chhut' period for young children is limited to three/ five days. They also do not give much emphasis to observe rituals for death of young child. After essential formalities they simply offer food in the name of the young child which continues three to five days.

After hearing the sad news, relatives and neighbours come to render necessary help. They make necessary arrangement for cremation. Immediately after death of a person, the corpse is brought out and laid in the mat spread on the verandah.

The corpse is bathed with turmeric water. They also apply turmeric paste on the dead body. After bathing the corpse is covered with a new white *dhoti* or *saree* (in case of female). If the corpse is widow a vermilion point is not put on the forehead. Then the corpse is laid on the cot. Sometimes they use bamboo splits for preparing pyre to carry the dead body to the burial ground. After laying the dead body on cot they bind two toes with rope or straw and it is covered with white *khadi* or *dhoti*. In the most cases they use new clothes for covering the dead body. The corpse is taken to burial ground in the cot which is carried by four persons in their shoulders. Usually, son, brother and other relatives take the corpse to burial ground. A group of people also accompany them. In front of the procession a person throws *jiya* (parched rice) with five/ten paise

coins on the way. According to them it is done to divert the evil spirits so that for performing last rites they will face no problem. The corpse is brought out from the cot and laid in the pit in the sleeping posture. The son or brother (or their close kins) put some salt, *jiya* in the pit. If there is no son, the formalities can be performed by brother/close kins. The eldest son performs necessary rituals. Then the son moves thrice around the corpse laying in the pit and after completing each round, he puts some earth in the pit. Thereafter all members especially belong to same *bansa* put handful of earth. Then they completely cover the pit with earth and return home after taking bath in nearby pond or river. They wash all the clothes worn by them. All the family members, people belonging to same *bansa* and some neighbours take bath. For a woman if her husband dies she is taken to a pond or river by other women. There she puts off her bangls (*Kacha*) from her hands. She is declared as widow. After bath she is brought back home.

After death of a person for first three days they do not cook food. Practically the first day goes without cooking and taking any food by grief stricken family members. But they are supplied with food by neighbours and kins. On the third day, the food is cooked at home by their relatives. This food consists of rice, dal and dry fish or neem leaves mixed with other vegetables. This is called 'Pita khia' (eating bitter food). The neem and dry fish are bitter by taste. After cooking they offer the food in "Bhitar Ghar" in the name of ancestor. Then everybody in the family eats food.

On the tenth day 'dasha' or purificatory ceremony is observed. The sons of the deceased are shaved by own caste barber. He is given remuneration for this service. Friends and relatives are invited to attend the ceremony. In the feast, non-vegetarian items are also prepared. After preparation of food first they offer it in the name of the deceased. Then everybody starts eating. On that day the house is washed and cleaned. The old earthenware pots and vessels are thrown away and new ones are used. Usually after ten days they are purified. Close kins and relatives also give financial help to the bereaved family.

Religions, Believes and Practices :

The Aduria Doms like their neighbours, especially Doms or Oriya Doms have their own religions, believes and practices. For the sustenance of life material possession of a man is not the end. Thus since time immemorial certain believes have evolved and they practise in day to day life for overall betterment. They know that this world does not only have human beings but have other organisms, creatures and the objects of nature. Further they believe that those are supernatural powers and invisible elements who play important role in shaping their life. Prosperity or adversity of human beings always depends on such supernatural elements, such as Gods, deities, ghosts, witches, ancestors, totems, etc. In order to appease them they have evolved their own system of believes and practices. In their society both magical and religious believes are prevalent. For deriving their blessings one has to pray or offer worship to Gods and supernatural powers. On the other hand, to control the spirits or superior powers they follow magical approach. Their religion helps them to relieve from tensions and to prosper.

Usually it is found that they follow Hindu religious traditions in the day to day life. They have been influenced by the religious believes and practices of their neighbouring tribal people.

Religious Pantheon :

They worship various Gods, Goddesses, Supernatural powers etc., which belong to the Hindu religion. They practise polytheism. Further their believes and religious practices contain primitive ideas of animism which lead them to nature worship and of various natural objects. These Gods and Goddesses are known to them as Devta, Deva, or Devi, Bhagaban etc. They believe in the existence of the Sun God who is known as the Dharam Devata. According to Thurston, their chief God-probably an ancestral spirit is called Kaluga. According to Aduria Dom there is no such chief deities in their religious pantheon.

Their traditional supreme deity is the Sun but they consider the supreme God as Vishnu or Bhagaban as the Creator, Survivor and Destroyer of everything in the Universe. He is above all powers and Gods who has thousands of names.

Belief in Hindu Trinity:

They believe in the supreme God, the Vishnu. In order to discharge various duties such as the creation, survival and destruction the Vishnu represents himself as "Trinath, or three Supreme Deities such as the Brahma (Creator), Vishnu (Surviver) and Maheswar (Destroyer). According to them the supreme God, Vishnu or Paramo-swar is one and the same.

The Adurias are considered untouchables which had kept them away from entering sacred places. They have *darshan* of various Gods remaining outside the religious premises and send their offerings through priests which are accepted. They attend a number of religious festivals which are observed in the area. The Aduria Doms believe that the creator of the universe is Lord Brahma, who is never given ordinarily any worship.

Lord Vishnu is worshipped in various incarnations such as Ramachandra, Krishna, Jagannath etc. They believe that by uttering or worshipping the name of Lord Vishnu or Narayan or name of various incarnations of Gods they get their blessings. Thus they worship and observe religious ceremonies, in the name of various Gods in different occasions. The festivals, such as Janmastami, birth day of Lord Krishna, Ratha Yatra, Car-Festival of Lord Jagannath, Rama Nabami in respect of Lord Ramachandra and, etc., are performed in the area.

Lord Maheswar or Shiva or Mahadev is also worshipped by Adurias. In respect of Lord Shiva they celebrate Shivaratri in which festival some of them observe fasting. Specially women go to temples for *darshan* of Shiva on Monday in the month of Kartika. However, the stigma of untouchability, even today never gives them the scope to enter into religious premises, usually they see or make *darshan* standing outside religious premises.

Like higher caste Hindus they also strongly believe in the Shakti cult. For doing any work or existing in the world Shakti (Power) is most essential. Everybody gets this power from the blessings of Mother Goddess Durga. She is also known as Adishakti. Goddess Durga showed

her unlimited Shakti by killing most powerful demon Mahisasur, consequently she is also addressed as Mahisamardini. But basically Goddess Durga is an incarnation of Goddess Parvati, consort of Lord Shiva. Thus she is also known to them as Parvati, Gouri and in various other names. However, Mother Durga is worshipped in the month of Aswina on the Dasami day. The Mother Laxmi, consort of Vishnu is believed as wealth Goddess. The Mother Saraswati is worshipped as the Goddess of learning. Further they believe in the supernatural powers of Graha and Nakshatra whose right position and favour may bring good days for a person on the contrary their bad influence may cause harm. For knowing this they often consult Panjika or Brahmin for necessary advice. They also worship the sun and the moon. The Sun God (Bela Devta or Dharam Devta) is most important to them. The next main deity is moon (Jahna). They make promise by witness to Sun God as Dharam Sakhi with a view to have good health and prosper life they worship the Sun. They also equally honour the moon to get peace and tranquillity. To please these two heavenly bodies they worship on the day of Magha Purnima (on the full moon day of January-February).

Other Deities :

There are a number of other deities whom they also worship. These deities prevent them from attack of other evil spirits and protect them.

In Boriguma there is a deity known as Bhoira Mata or Bhoirabi Mata who receives great honour from Aduria Dom. In the month of Chaita a festival is held in that place, where Adurias go to have *darshan* of the deity. They believe that she fulfils their wishes. The Goddess Maa Mai whose temple is in the study village is worshipped on every Tuesday and Saturday in a week. Whenever a person suffers from illness, offers prayers to this deity for early recovery. They sacrifice goat, hen, pigeon, duck while offering the *puja*. The miracle of the deity Maa Mai is not confined to this village. People come to see (for Darshan) the deity from different villages of the area.

The Dongrani or Donger Devta, the forest deity is also worshipped. This forest deity is probably borrowed from the tribals. This deity stays almost one Km. away from main village. While going to the forest for collection and hunting the Dongrani is worshipped by the tribals. But now-a-days people of different communities worship the forest deity.

The Hanuman, *bhakta* or devotee of Lord Ramachandra, a legendary hero is also worshipped by the Adurias. He is worshipped in small temple. By worshipping, Hanuman, they consider, it is equal to worship of Lord Ramachandra as is principal devotee and mostly liked by Lord Ramachandra.

The Christianity is not popular among the Aduria Doms. A limited number of persons have adopted Christianity in the area. Some Adurias show inclination towards the Mahima or Alekh Dharma than the Christianity. Those who have adopted Mahima Dharma are scattered in the area. In this context they respect saint and preacher of this religious sects of Bhima Bhoi.

Village Deities

In every village, there are a number of village deities who look after the welfare of all villagers including Adurias. They are regarded as guardians of the village. Their jurisdiction is confined to the village. They believe that these deities are within their reach and their prayer can immediately be listened to. Thus at the time of need, trouble and natural calamity and they need blessings of their deities and they are highly regarded.

The traditional religious formalities are carried on by tribals (especially Bhotra) in the area. In some villages people belonging to Mali caste also perform their duty. The priest is known as Pujari or Sira in the area. This is a traditional and hereditary post, thus there is no remuneration for this service.

The Brahman priest worships in the temple of Gods and Goddesses. The main deity of the village is called Thakurani or Thakurani Maa. The Thakurani is female deity and also known as Grama Devi. She is worshipped in all the functions. The Dharani is also equally worshipped by them. There are other deities like Bhandaruni, Kalinki, Budha Bhai, Sulsadak, Patarani of the village.

According to them Bhandaruni is the gate keeper of the village. She never allows evil spirits to enter the village. Thus she is worshipped by the villagers by sacrificing pig in which Adurias participate. By giving offerings to Patarani people get blessings. The deity Sulsadak punishes the enemy of the village.

It is found that in the most of the villages of the area people have constructed shrines or temples for Grama Devi. In some villages even the main deity remains in the open space surrounded by trees and stones. But in other villages there are no huts, shrines or temples for deities. There are some specific places in every village having bushes, trees, stones or without having any such things they worship in the name of concerned deity. They offer prayers to all the village deities on the occasions of Nuakhia, Chait Parab and Boulani Parab. The deities like Sata Bhauni, Budhithakurani, Duaramundia, Toluguni, Bhima, etc., are also worshipped. The names of household deities are not usually exposed or expressed publicly.

They also believe that spirits and ancestral spirits like Duma, Merachu, Rao and Khadia stay at home. If all these spirits are not worshipped during festive occasions, their family members may suffer from various diseases. The ancestral spirits live in houses. These deities stay in the main room of Bhitar Ghar.

Animism :

The religious ideas of Aduria Doms are connected with belief in animism.

The Aduria Doms like their neighbours especially Hindus, have accepted the phenomenon of having religious values with certain plants and trees which are used in socio-religious functions. Some of these trees and plants also have both religious and medicinal value. They believe that the trees or plants which are used for medicinal purpose, have some extraordinary power. Thus some invisible and spiritual powers are manifested in these trees or plants.

However, trees like Am or mango (*Mangifera Indica*), Mahul (*Bassia latifolia*) and Jamb are used in marriage functions. They decorate the nuptial altar with mango leaves tied up in rope. The Mahul wood is used as pillars of altar and the branches of the Jamb are put above the four pillars covering the altar. They consider that these are auspicious, and they use it in the marriage. In addition, the mango leaves are also kept in the Kumbha (earthenware pot full of water). They believe that, spirit and Gods stay in the Bada (Banyan) and Ustha trees. The Supreme Triangular or Trinath Mahapur lives in

the "Bada Trees". Thus they are scared to use these trees for fuel purpose. Even they do not pass stool under these trees. The Tulsi plant is also considered auspicious. But they do not plant the same in their courtyard, probably their lower social status has deprived them of touching or worshipping the Tulsi plant directly.

The leaves, fruits and flowers of some trees have religious importance and are offered while worshipping various Gods and Goddesses. Mainly, Bel (Aoyl marmebas) leaves and Champa flowers are offered to lord Shiva with other fruits. They believe that these are liked very much by God Shiva. The Mondar flower and Krushna Chudda flowers are liked by Goddess, namely, Durga, Bhairabi Ma, Kalinka and other Devis. The paste of sandalwood is also used in performing religious rites.

Various parts of the Barkoli, Harida, Bahada, Anla trees are used for medicinal purposes. According to them 'Molango' or 'Mango', Jackfruit, Bamboo, Tamarind, Mahua trees have magical power, which can be very helpful for driving away evil days of a person and exercising evil spirits. They say that Molang is shaped like a ball and comes out from any part of trees. But it is very difficult to get and it should be collected by calculating proper time so that it may be effective.

The lima (Melia Indica) which is universally accepted as valuable tree is also most important for Adurias. It is needed in performing some magico-religious functions, especially to exercise evil spirits who cause harm while impersonating in human body. All parts of *lima* tree is very useful for various diseases, like skin diseases, smallpox etc. It is earlier mentioned that *lima* leaves are necessary in performing death rites. After 3 days of death, the family members take leaves of this tree mixing in food, which is known as *pita khia*. Like trees and plants, some animals are treated as significant in their society. The Aduria Doms are divided into several exogamous groups *bansa* or *barags* which are named after animals, like *nag* (cobra), *bagh* (Tiger), Kachhim (Tortoise), Kukur (Dog), Bhainsa (he-buffalo) and Basara (Monkey), etc. These totemic animals are given reverence by their respective *bansa* members and they are not injured or killed.

It is obvious from the study that, they are kind towards animals and some of them are also worshipped. At first their *banshas* are named after several animals and some animals have religious significance. They derive benefits from animals.

In the month of Kartika they feed cooked rice, curry, etc. to cow and ox and they eat left over foods. It indicates that these animals have special place among Adurias. No doubt as per Hindu religious practices and customs, cow is worshipped as 'Gomata'. Turturing or killing and eating flesh of cow or ox is sinful as per Hindu believes. Some of them abstain from eating beef. They have reliased that one of the main reasons of untouchability is due to beef eating. According to them they do not kill cow or ox, but the Doms or Odia Dombs kill them which the Adurias eat. They also honour the bull who is regarded as Bahana of Lord Siva.

As per legends and myths connected to Hindu religion, various animals are regarded as associates carrier (Bahana) or fond of different Gods and Goddesses.

Besides the above, the Hanuman, the pithecoid god and devotee of Lord Rama is also revered by the Adurias. The Lord Ganesh having face of elephant is owner of abundant knowledge, brings respect to animal world. Lord Vishnu taking different avatar or incarnation such as Baraha or Bharia (boar) Mina (fish) and Kachhapa (Tortoise) have shown miracles to this world. The Adhurias also keep animals and birds such as, dog, cat, parrot, maina, peacock etc. as pet.

Animals and birds, like donkey, cat, pig, owl, eagle, vulture, crow are considered most unlucky symbols. On the other hand, animals and birds like bull, rabbit, peacock, maina, parrot, dove, white eagle, dove (Sankhachilla) are regarded as lucky.

Fetishism

The Aduria Doms believe that, supernatural power also exists in inanimate objects. They worship them in the shape of idols which are made of wood, stone, clay, metals. etc. No doubt the idols and images represent gods, goddesses and other deities who have their respective power.

In the Hindu religion the worship of stone is common. In the study villages various deities are made of stone. The Aduria Doms also worship them. The stone or wood without having any particular shape is also worshipped by them.

They believe that these stones contain supernatural powers and for that, there is prescription for worship.

Various implements made of iron and wood are considered as sacred on specific occasions and they form a part of the ingredient of worship.

Luck and Omen :

They know that whatever is written on the fate will never change. It occurs in right time. Thus everybody gets experience whatever is there in their fate (Bhagya). The Adurias believe in luck and omen. They have consultations with local astrologers from time to time regarding the influence of fortune, good and bad star effects etc. They consider Phagun and Chaita are most favourable months. The days like Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday are considered as lucky. Numbers like 1,3,5,7,11, are regarded as auspicious.

As the Aduria Dom believe in fortune, so also omens play most important role in their daily life. These omens are bad or good. While going on journey if they face or meet certain objects or symbols as per their belief they get the indication of good or bad.

Inauspicious omen :

On journey for important works seeing empty vessel or pot, potters carrying pots, women going to fetch water.

(a) Seeing the cat

(b) A jackal passing from right to left on the way

(c) A Dhoba (washerman) carrying uncleared clothes, widow, barren women, a witch, etc.

(d) An ass, owl, kite, pig, ram, vultures, snake, etc.

Further the house lizard is also considered as unsacred when a lizard falls on or touches a person he has to take bath or sprinkle water over head for purification.

There are number of inauspicious omens which indicate a bad day if a person sees them immediately after leaving the bed. Seeing face of a barren woman, a widow, an ill natured woman and animals like cat, ass and ram are considered unlucky.

They also believe that, when right eye of man or left eye of woman twinkles it is considered as good omen, on the other hand twinkling of reverse eyes of male and female are bad omen.

Auspicious omen :

1. A woman coming from opposite side with pitcher full of water.
2. Mating of snakes (cobra)
3. Male and female pigeons or doves dancing
4. Two maina birds sitting on the branch of a tree
5. A mongoose (Neula) passing on any side
6. A washerman carrying bundle of cleaned clothes
7. Seeing bull, elephant, peacock, cow with calf, wild goose, flying over them.

Occultism

The Aduria Dom believes that there is spiritual power in certain animate and inanimate objects, and even in various parts of the body of living organisms.

Especially, children and pregnant woman are easily afflicted by these powers. During child birth, pregnancy and menstruation they have to take various precautions to get rid of the evil spirits.

The most important and dangerous occult power is 'dursti' or 'nazar' (evil eye). The Aduria Doms believe that some persons are born with occult power (evil) in their eyes. They possess a power which usually, destroy any thing or pose danger for living beings.

They believe that, a witch, a barren woman, evil looking person etc., possess evil powers in their eyes. Good and beautiful things are the victim of this occult power. Ugly and odd things do not get any effect. If evil eye effect falls on the wound of a person or diseased person it increases and consequently persons have to suffer for a longer period.

They take various steps to protect themselves from these evil eyes. The children and pregnant woman, women in menstruation period, stay away from evil eyes. But it is always not possible. Thus another preventive measure is to drive away or divert the attention of evil eyes from the objects. A black spot is put on the cheek, forehead, neck of the children. They also put a black thread around the neck. The pregnant woman wears thread comprising of herbal medicines around the arm. They also fully cover the belly.

Besides above number of devices, viz., beads, jewels, amulets, stones herbs, tatoo marks, etc. are used by them to prevent the evil eyes. There are certain other objects, like claws, teeth and whiskers of a tiger, metal, charcoal, broomsticks, resin, etc. which have powers to ward off evil eyes.

FESTIVALS AND RITUALS

The Aduria Doms observe a number of festivals which bring immense joy for them. Number of festivals are observed for their well-being. Some festivals are held in the village and some important festivals are held in the specific places in the area in which they participate. They worship various Gods and Goddesses of Hindu religious pantheon.

They visit various areas where religious festivals are held to witness and offer prayers to various deities. The festivals such as, Ratha Yatra (Car Festival) Phagun Jatra, Dasara, Siva Ratri, Ganesh Puja, Bali Yatra are held in Nawarangpur, Jeypore, Koraput, Boriguma, Gupteswar, Papadahandi and in other places. They visit those places on festive occasions and derive pleasure.

Ratha Jatra

The Ratha Jatra (Car Festival) for Lord Jagannath is held in the month of Ashadha (June-July) in the various parts of Orissa. It is also held in the important places of Koraput district. In order to have Darshan of Lord Jagannath they go to various places, such as Koraput, Jeypore and Nawarangpur. It is most important festival of the caste Hindus. Some of them had visited Puri on this occasion. They take part in pulling the Ratha (wooden car) in which the wooden idols of Lord Jagannath, Lord Balabhadra and Goddess Subhadra are kept.

They also offer 'Bhoga' to these deities. The Ratha is kept in Gundichaghara. The festival is observed for nine days. In the meanwhile people visit every day for Darshan, on the return journey (Bahuda Jatra) they have Darshan of Lords.

Dasara

The Dasara or Dashahara is held in the month of Aswina (Sept.-Oct.) to worship the Goddess Durga. The Aduria Doms observe this festival on the tenth day of the fortnight of Aswina, it is observed for a week.

The Dasara is also observed by all in a organised way. It is celebrated with pump and ceremony in important localities such as Kotpad, Nowrangpur, Jeypore, Umarkote etc. This festival is held in the honour of Kanaka Durga (Golden Durga) in Jeypore and her temple is situated within the palace of the erstwhile Raja. This festival lasts for sixteen days and a series of ceremonies are held throughout the

period. Animals, like the goats and the sheep are offered as sacrifice. Curiously enough the flowers which adorn those animals are described as 'Meriah Puspa' as a reminiscent of human sacrifice. On the sixteenth day buffaloes were also sacrificed.

Sivaratri:

It is one of the most important festivals of the caste Hindus. In the month of Phagun (Feb.-March) on the 14th day of the dark fortnight it is observed in the various important places of Koraput district. The Sivaratri held at places like Jeypore, Papadahandi, Nawarangpur is visited by them. The Gupteswar is the most important religious place. For the entertainment of the people local dance (Nata) is organised. This continues for three to five days.

Phaguna Jatra:

The Phaguna Jatra or Dola Punei is held in the month of Phalguna or Phaguna (Feb.-March) in the honour of Radha and Krishna. This function lasts for three to five days in the area. The Phaguna Jatra is held in Nawarangpur, Jeypore, Kotpad and in other places of area. Number of local dances are staged in which puranic stories are played. The Adurias get the opportunity to have Darshan of Radha-Krishna. They offer their prayer to these deities. They also witness and enjoy various dances.

The next day of the fullmoon night is celebrated as Holi in the area. Now-a-days the Adurias also observe the colourful festival of Holi.

Diali Parab:

As per the Hindu calendar Diali or Diwali is observed during the month of Kartika (October-November) on the Amavasya. It is observed to worship the Goddess Kali and ancestral spirits. The Adurias observe it in different manner. They worship cow and ox. They offer food to these animals. The left over food is distributed and eaten by all the family members. They believe that these animals help them throughout the year. The indebtedness to cow and ox can be repaid only by taking their left over food. They also enjoy it arranging feasts and drink. On this day the cattle herder or who takes care of them throughout the year is presented with new clothes, paddy and some amount in cash.

Nuakhia:

In the area Nuakhia or eating of new rice is one of the important festivals. It is held in the month of Boodh or Bhadraba (August-September) on Dasami or Panchami. On this day in the morning women after taking bath collect new paddy from land in the Kudu Patra (leaf) plate. Then they dry it in the new earthen vessels. Then they separate husk from the paddy. As new rice is not sufficient they mix it with Chuda (pressed rice), molasses. Then they mix it in the rice flour. Out of that flour they prepare 'Pitha (cakes) boiling it in new earthen ware pot. The flours or rice mixed in the molasses make paste & are kept in Kudu patra, 'leaf plate', giving cover on two sides. They put it in the boiling pot to make cakes. First they offer it to the deities and ancestral spirits. The offering is also included coconut, banana, various flowers and incense. Poultry birds are also sacrificed. All family members share food of new rice. They also enjoy taking Mahul mod or liquor.

Push Parab or Punei:

This is a festival of enjoyment and merry making. It is held in the month of Push (December-January) for two days. As per the Hindu calendar, this day of festival, is known as Makara Sankranti. However it is also known to them as the Charaka nat or Nach or kind of dance. In this festival the lower caste people visit different villages from door to door with music and dance. While dancing they collect cakes, rice, from every household. After collection is over they distribute it among themselves. They also arrange feasts out of this collection.

Chait Parab:

Originally, it is a tribal festival which is observed in the Koraput district. It is also observed by the people living in this area. During this festival, people do not have agricultural work. For entertainment and merry making they observe this festival. In this festival they go for annual hunting. The people sing and dance in groups. The duration of festival is varies from place to place in the area.

However, the Aduria Doms also observe the Chait Parab. They take new mango in this month, on or before fullmoon day. They take new mango especially on Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday. Further all people irrespective of their caste and communities worship village deity, Thakurani. They sacrifice poultry birds and goats etc. in the Chait festival. The Adurias after offering new mangoes to deities and ancestral spirit eat the Bhoga. It is never given to outsiders and persons belonging to other castes.

Umash Mas

The Savan or Sravana Mas (July-August) is known as Umash Mas. In this month they worship paddy plants and other deities. As a result the crop is not affected by any disease. In the worship they sacrifice fowl in the paddy land. On this occasion they erect a kind of stage known as Dheubadani with branch of Kendu tree. They believe that, it would produce bumper crop.

Magh Punei

This festival is held in the Magha Mas (Jan-Feb.) on the fullmoon day. They also call it as Dharm Devata Puja as the Sun God is regarded as Dharma. However, both the Sun and the Moon are worshipped in this ceremony. Early in the morning after bath they go to any open field where they worship and offer prayer to their Gods. They sacrifice red fowl for the sun and white fowl for the moon. Their belief is, this worship keeps away all diseases from them.

The Aduria Dom participate in these festivals or enjoy it while others perform these festivals. The festivals such as Kartik Punei, Laxmi puja, Thakurani (village deity) Parab, Bhairava Jatra (at Borigumma) are observed in the area. Especially the Adurias perform Boulani Jatra in the month of Chaitra and they worship village deities. It is also known as Ghanta Jatra. Ghanta means a vessel made of earth which is a special attraction in this festival. It is observed individually and collectively. In the Chait Mas (March-April) the Ghanta Jatra or Parab is held. The Ghant (pot) is decorated with different colour mango leaves and flowers putting some rice inside it. The person who bear the pot (Ghanta) on head after bath, remains in fasting for that day, with music party they wander every street. In the last stage they leave this 'Ghanta' near the shrine of village deity.

The Machha Nuakhia (new fish eating) is also important for them. It is observed in the Ashad and Umash. There is no fixed day for it. During this period on Tuesday, Wednesday or Friday they eat new fish. After baking the fish mixing with oil, turmeric and salt they offer it to household deities and ancestral spirits. Then they take the fish with rice and dal.

The important festivals which are observed by the people living in the area are given here below :—

TABLE SHOWING IMPORTANT FESTIVALS

Name of the month			Day of the festival	Name of the festival
English	Oriya	Local		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1. Jan.-Feb.	Magha	Magh	On full moon day	Magh Punei
2. Feb.-Mar.	Phalgun	Phagun	14th day of dark fort-night.	Sivaratri Phagun Punei on full moon day or Phagun Jatra.
3. Mar.-April	Chaitra	Chait ..	Starts before two to three days before full moon day.	Chait parab
4. April-May	Baishakh	Baisak ..	..	Amnuakhia
5. June-July	Ashadha	Ashad ..	From the 2nd day to the 8th day of the 2nd fortnight.	Rathajatra
			Any Tuesday, Wednesday or Friday of the month.	Machha Nuakhia

TABLE SHOWING THE DEITIES WORSHIPPED

Deity worshipped		Purpose of worship	Remarks
(6)		(7)	(8)
Sun & Moon	..	For keeping health in good condition especially of children.	
Siva	..	For fulfilment of wishes.	
Radha-Krishna	..	For living happily ..	
Village deities	..	..	It is held on Tuesday Wednesday or Thursday or on full moon-day adjust according to the full moon-day. They observed one/three days.
Home deities and ancestors.		For eating new mango.	
Lord Jagannath	..	..
Home deities	..	For eating new fish..	

Name of the month			Day of the festival	Name of the festival
English	Oriya	Local		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
6. July-Aug.	Srabana	Amushmas	on the dark night.	Dhona Gachha Puja
7. Aug.-Sept.	Bhadra	bodh ..	..	..
8. Sept.-Oct.	Ashwin	Dasaramas	tenth day of the bright fortnight.	Dasara
9. Oct.-Nov.	Kartik ..	Kartika..	Fourth day of dark fortnight.	Diali
10. Dec.-Jan.	Pausa ..	Pusmas..	On makar Sankranti.	Pusparab

Deity worshipped	Purpose of worship	Remarks
(6)	(7)	(8)
Paddy plant and deities	For good crop ..	..
Home & village deities	For eating new rice..	..
Maa Durga ..	..	..
Cow and ancestral spirits.	In respect of cow and ox.	..
Worship household deities.	For collecting rice, sweet cakes from the houses of different villages.	..

CHAPTER-VI

POLITICAL LIFE

For smooth management, maintenance and control, every human society has developed its own socio-political mechanism. People living in the study area have their traditional socio-political organisation. The socio-political organisation at village level is a strong unit in which all the villagers are members irrespective of castes and communities. Besides, every caste or community has their own socio-political organization in the village as well as in other villages to look into various internal and external affairs of respective caste groups.

In brief, the territory comprising the modern district of Koraput with its hills in penetrable fastness was a part of the ancient Atavika land referred to in the special Rock edicts of Ashok. From these edicts it is known that, the Atavika people were a great source of strength of Kalinga in the third century B. C. However, before beginning of British rule in Koraput it was ruled by number of Rajas of different dynasty at different times. Thus it was a princely states.

It was occupied by British in the year 1774 and attached to Raja of Vizianagram and later on in 1794, Jeypore was recognised as a district estate granting a Sanad in favour of Jeypore Raja fixing the parkash. Further permanent settlement of the Jeypore Zamindari was made by the British and its head quarter was shifted from Jeypore to Koraput. In 1936 when the district of Koraput came into being, a number of changes was found necessary.

During British rule various steps were taken for administration maintaining law and order and for collecting revenues. In the process lot of changes took place as a result geographically and for administration limitation and delimitation of present Koraput occurred time and again before coming to existing present Koraput.

Before Independence of our country, the administrative system which was prevalent during British rule was not completely new. They have recognised the ancient feudal system in different ways. As they appointed Rajas as the agent or authority of estates of Jamindars. There were different official at various level to discharge various duties. It would be clear from the following discussion that even in British rule feudal system was survived.

The village level administration was almost same in the British period which they had adopted from the feudal system. The Koraput district was divided into three parts such as, Jeypore estate, Kotpad pragana and Panchipeto estate which were under different Zamindars.

The feudal chiefs were recognised by the British authority and granted them rights over estates of land and revenue administration. The feudal chiefs had to pay prefixed (pesilkash) tributes and required service to the ruler in return to please them. They were also discharging various other functions connected to judicial, executive, maintaining law and order, construction and repair work for public utility and organising fairs, festivals and ceremonies.

Further the Jeypur estate was divided for the purpose of administration into two parts with headquarters at Jeypur and Rayagada with an Assistant Dewan in charge of each. It was also sub-divided into Revenue Thanas placed in charge of Amins known as "Nigaman". There were revenue Inspectors under the Amins. In the area various land revenue systems were implemented prior to the abolition of the Jeypur Zamindari, the Jerayati lands in the estate were administered partly on Rayatwari system and partly on a village rent system called 'Mustayeri'. In the Rayatwari system the rayats or tenants were in better position than those in Mustayeri villages. The Rayats paid their rents either to the Amins or to one of the villagers appointed by the estate as the Revenue Naik.

The Mustayeri system, it seems, has almost the same origin as the Gauntia system of tenure in Sambalpur and there are also similar system in some other districts of Orissa. In theory, the Mustayeri is elected by the rayats but in practice, the office is usually hereditary, being held by the Naik or headman of the village. Both the cash and kind accepted as land-rent. However, the Inamdars were not paid land tax or sist as they had got it as gift for their service. The 'Inams' in the district were of three kinds namely gift or Dana, Mokhara, and service. So to say, to look into the village affairs in the village establishment there were Headman or Naik and certain other minials called Bariks, Challans or Gondos, and they were paid out of the profits accrued from the cultivation of certain lands set apart in each village for them. These were called Naik's land. Rents were collected and deposited in a strong room in each thana office.

But no fixed or uniform principle was followed in this district in the matter of assessment of rent payable by the Rayats to the Zamindar, Inamdar or the Muthadar. In most of the villages the Mustajari system of rent collection was in vogue. The Mustayer is an agent of the land lord or Inamdar for collection of rent. He was in the position of a headman, but his right and responsibilities were not defined by any law. The remaining areas were known as rayatwaris areas where the landlord was directly collecting rent from the rayats through paid officials.

After abolition of the estate on 29th December, 1952 under abolition of the Orissa Estates Abolition Act, the Mustajari system has been abolished except in the Bonda hill area and rent is now collected by Government directly from the rayats. Due to irrational way of assessment the rate of rent varies from village to village. Rent in kind or in cash, was prevailing in Nowrangpur and Jeypore areas. The rent in kind generally consists of paddy, straw and thatching grass, in a few cases it also includes ghee, guda, and goat. This further irrationalises the rent.

The cultivated lands of the district were broadly classified into three classes, namely (1) paddy, (ii) Dongar and (iii) Attal (alluvial soil or the side of rivers) which further subdivided into three sub-classes namely I, II, & III. The rent in the Nowrangpur, Kotpad, Boriguma was vary from Rs. 3. 50 to Rs. 1.37 paise in paddy lands, Rs. 1.13 to 0.37 paise in Dongar lands, Attal and basi lands also fixed as per paddy lands in different sub-classes.

In the village administrative system there were officials such as Naik, challan, Barik, Ganda etc. These posts were hereditary. These officers were given rent, free cultivable lands called Jagiri or Inams in the royatwari and mustajari land revenue system. Jagiri or inams were granted to these officials and others for getting necessary service from them. But Jamindary system has been abolished after independence. Thus the feudal system ceased to function. These chiefs and office bearers have been compansated by granting permanent and transferable occupancy rights over Jagiri and inam lands.

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The Naik, the village head

The head of the village was called the Naik. He was in the charge of collection of land revenue of the village. For his services he received remuneration as some land on lease or a part of the land revenue collected by them.

According to the Aduria Dom the Naik was also known as Bhoktabhagi which means he enjoys the power and privilege in the village. The Naik, head of the village was a hereditary post which existed probably long before feudal rule. However for the convenience of feudal rulers the village administration system was recognised. During British rule, Naiks were acting as agents of Jamindars at the village level who collected land revenue and tax etc. There were various types of land holding system i. e. Rayatawari, Mustajhari and Inamdari which were under the village head. The Naik collects and deposits the revenue at the revenue office.

Thana Office of the Amin or Nigaman

The Naik, was given with Heta Bhumi or land for his services. Instead of it, being a influential person, he was also in possession of abundant variety of land in the village. He also took possession of sist (Land revenue) in case he was not received Heta Bhumi. He received all the privileges and facilities in the village. His tenants also gave various services at different times without receiving any remuneration. He could force the tenants to work in his house. During British period, the last date of payment of various dues and land revenue, was 31st of March. Thus for payment of this dues he was collecting earlier on instalment basis. The arrear dues were collected with interest.

Besides in the charge of land and revenue administration of the village the Naik was entrusted with various other duties and responsibilities. He collects various other fees from the fairs, festivals, events like marriage, divorce etc. He is also in charge of collecting forest, local 'parvo-parvani' dues from the tenants. The rent, taxes and various dues which were collected varies from village to village.

In the village construction and repair work such as roads, buildings tanks, schools, religious institutions were also carried on under the supervision of the Naik. The tenants of the village were bound to give required services as per the direction of the Naik without taking wages. This type of service is locally known as 'bethj khatiba'.

The visiting officials were received and attended by the Naik. Arrangements for accommodation, food and conveyance were done by him. At the times of urgency he also accompanies officials. He had to attend the court of feudal chiefs with various gifts collected from tenants.

The Naik was in complete charge of internal administration of the village. Being the head of the village he had number of responsibilities and power to discharge socio-religious administrative, legislative and judicial duties. Further as the head of the village he was presiding over the meeting of the village council and taking decision of various disputes, quarrels and offences occurred in the village.

At the village level there were Barik, challan and Gondo or Ganda to help and assist the Naik in various matters. Usually the post of Barik and Ganda were held by the Aduria Doms or people from other so called lower caste groups. The post of challan in most cases were from the touchable caste groups. These posts were by nature hereditary.

Especially the challan who belonged to touchable caste groups was making necessary arrangements for accommodation of visiting officials. The Gandas and Barik were carrying messages from village village and person to person. They also announced by beating drums for circulation of message to the people for various purposes. Traditionally they get annually or on festive occasion their remuneration from the villagers in kind such as paddy, rice, food etc.

He used to take advice of the village council while taking important decisions. In practice considering the position of Naik nobody would object his decisions. Further various socio-religious functions repair and construction works were initiated and arranged by him in the village. He was also in the charge of maintaining law and order in the village. All these responsibilities and functions were led him to absolute power. Consequently, he was exploiting poor people and landless tenants for his benefits. Nobody could dare to say word against him in the past.

However after abolition of Jamidary, the traditional village level administration was decreased, with the introduction of Panchayat Raj The significance of the hereditary post of Naik was also reduced. At present service of the Barik, Challan and Ganda are also not required.

In this context it is significant to note as to how the village was articulating as a socio-political unit. In a village, people belonging to different caste, groups were living together keeping in contact their identities. The Aduria Doms are part and parcel of the village communities. It is significant to note the articulation of the Aduria Dom in the village as a whole.

Village Council:

There is a traditional village council for control and management of various activities and affairs of a village. As each village is a political unit so the villagers irrespective of their caste or community are part and parcel of its council. The representatives are elderly influential persons of the different caste and communities. Even after the introduction of the Panchayat Raj at the village level, the traditional institutions have started adopting to the changing situations.

The village council is known as Gram Sabha or Panchayat. It is also known as baren in the area. The meeting which is held for deciding various matters is regarded as baren. However now-a-days most often they use the term Panchayat or Grama Sabha.

The jurisdiction of Village Council is wide as it exercises power in the various spheres of the village. It solves minor cases of disputes and offences. Festivals, ceremonies, rituals and fairs are organised and contribution to the fund for various occasions are fixed and collected from every family by the Council. During natural calamities, it takes preventive measures. So to say, it organises communal worship, and makes necessary arrangements to save from the immediate danger. For the interest of the village, it initiates or takes construction and repair works like maintenance of religious places, roads, and repair of wells, ponds, canals, etc. Thus the Council is endowed with power to plan and finalise through discussions to implement the programmes.

People belong to a village are the member of the Village Council. Everybody meets together in the Panchayat meeting on the various occasions. It is a moral duty but it is not compulsory to attend a meeting, it depends on the interest of a member. But practically some also remain away from these activities due to control of the Council by a few influential people belong to higher castes. They think that the presence in the Panchayat is not desirable, as every step and decision are of influential persons.

Usually cases like inter-personal, inter-caste, inter-groups disputes, conflicts connected with various issues in social life are dealt with the panchayat. It also decides cases like partition of family property among brothers, breach of taboos, irregular marriages and other offences like theft, cheating etc. Besides, that, it looks into the offences, such as adultery, rape, illegal marital affairs, etc. These cases are decided and punishment is awarded to offenders as per the decision of the Council.

However, after abolition of Zamindary system the statutory Panchayat Raj have taken over to provide self rule in the rural area. Thus the then village headman, Naik and assistant Bariks, Challan are required no more by the people. Now-a-days Sarapanch and Ward Members deal with all the matters in the village level.

Caste Organisation and Caste Council

In every village there are traditional organisations of respective caste groups. The Caste Panchayat have their leaders to look into various affairs of the caste. In general the leader is known as Mukhia or Bodo Lok. Such caste organisation extend beyond the village boundary. The Aduria Dom have their caste organisation which includes a number of villages.

The Aduria Doms have own Caste Council which is known as Jati Panchayat or Jatisabha. It is also sometimes known as (barren basiba) sit together for taking decision or getting justice. The Jati Panchayat is not confined to village, it extends to a number of villages.

As situation demands the Caste Panchayat is convened at any time. The Caste Council meeting may be requisitioned as per the request of the persons who require the same. It is already mentioned that members have the right to express their views, and opinion regarding the matter. After examination and cross-examination of the deposition of parties and after taking of the elderly views, the judgement is finalised. The duties of the Panchayat is to settle the dispute, to fix penalties or to exonerate the guilt as per the merit of the case.

Regional Caste Organisation and Sethia

The regional Caste Organisation is a larger socio-political unit than the Caste Council operating at the local level consisting of limited number of villages. The Aduria Doms have their own Caste Council in the village level.

It is revealed from the present study that a regional caste organisation consists of 12 villages. But practically it is not limited to 12 villages but more. They tell that, territory comes under the head of the regional Caste Council as Mutha or Khanda. The village Kusumi comes under the Taragan Mutha or Khanda where the Sethia lives. Thus it is clear that there are several Muthas in the area. Sometimes the Mutha is also called as Desh or Raija.

Every Mutha or Desh was headed by a traditional leader, known as Sethia who is also known as Naik. His main duty and responsibility were to look into various internal affairs of the community. As a caste leader, he also sometimes lead the representative of the caste while facing external affairs. In case of quarrels, disputes, etc. he can go beyond the jurisdiction of the Jati Sabha or Caste Council of the region. The Panigiri or Behera who is below the rank of Sethia assists in various functions. All the posts are hereditary and they do not take any fixed remuneration for their service. On some occasions Gamuchha or Panchi (clothes) is presented to Sethia including rice and paddy. The Behera and Panigiri also get some share of it.

The Sethia could have visited to any village whenever he likes. He was warmly welcomed and people get happy with him. He is also invited by the people on various occasions for solution of various problems and disputes of the Aduria Doms. At the time of necessity, the Sethia and Panigiri or Behera are informed with incident. The Sethia may visit to the village immediately or give a time for his visit. Prior to his visit, he could also send any person or his assistant to study the situation. The duty of the Panigiri or Behera is to make necessary arrangements for Jati Sabha. Further he also arranges, and performs some religious duties whenever required.

There were certain cases which affected the status and prestige of Aduria Doms and they were referred to the Jati Sabha or Caste Council. The cases like, getting a slap with footwear, establishing marital alliance with lower caste, suffering from incurable diseases, illicit pregnancy and eating food from lower castes are put up for trial in the Caste Council.

One important case was the quarrel between two persons as they used footwear to beat each other. The footwears are known to them as 'Pandhoi or Juta'. These are made of damaged rubber tyre or leather

which they purchase in the weekly market or nearby towns. They consider footwears as most inferior object. According to them this is the main reason for which they do not take footwear into the house. They keep it on the verandah. Thus a person who is beaten with footwear by opponent is considered as out casted. One has to go through customary purificatory rituals to get back his caste status in the presence of the caste leader Sethia. When such incident happened the person who is slapped or beaten with Pandhoi is considered as out casted. The matter was circulated very fast. With the help of village Caste Council, they invite Sethia and Panigiri. The Jati Sabha was held in the village which was presided over by the Sethia leaders of different villages who attend the meeting. In three leaf plates rice (Arua Chaul), flowers, molases and resin are offered to deities like Dharamdevta (Sun-God), home deities and ancestral spirits. Then the Mahaprasad offered to deities is given to both the parties which they eat. Then the degraded person is get back his caste status. The Sethia and Panigiri are presented with Gamuchha or towel and some rupees as customary formalities. In the meanwhile food preparation is going on for the feast. Non-vegetarian and Mohul mod is must for entertaining the people. The degraded person can not participate in food preparation work. However, after above mentioned rituals, he becomes a member of the society. The cooked food are also offered to various deities. The Sethia and clients of two parties set together in the feast and take food.

The next important cases which the Adurias take seriously are killing cow, illicit pregnancy, illicit sexual relationship, establishing marital alliance with lower caste, incurable diseases, customs and traditions of the caste, etc. The Aduria Dom do not engage in butchering cattle. The social offenders are penalised and disobedience lead to imposition of various social restrictions including ex-communication. In the same manner violating customary laws and tradition by a person is punishable. But a person who suffers from incurable disease or unrecoverable wound caused by tiger is punished severely. This is initiated by the village Caste Council and presided and decided by the Sethia.

CHAPTER—VII

IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENTAL PROGRAMMES

Out of the 93 Scheduled Castes of Orissa five are identified as denotified communities and other seven come under nomadic and semi-nomadic communities. During the post independence period on the basis of their felt needs development schemes are implemented from time to time.

The Aduria and Oriya Doms of Koraput district were criminal in the past. They were included in the list of denotified communities of Orissa. Their total population in the district is 1,59,441 (about 31,388 households). Their traditional occupation is weaving. They weave cloth for the tribal people. Some of them are also extensively engaged in petty trade, money lending and liquor vending. The schemes like weaving, small business, goat rearing, piggery, poultry and basket making have been recommended for their economic upliftment. As the family level, need based income generating schemes, such as rickshaw pulling, cycle repairing, basketry, goatery and poultry have been contemplated to give boost for additional income generation in order to enable them to cross the poverty line.

Since these sections or scheduled caste communities are considered as the poorest in the economic ladder, they are considered as vulnerable groups and allocation of funds is specially earmarked in the budget for their economic development.

In the Integrated Tribal Development Agencies special drive is being taken to support them with innumerable economic viable schemes through various financial institutions and Commercial Banks. At the Block level the Welfare Extension Officers have been assigned to identify such vulnerable Schedule Caste families inhabiting in their jurisdiction and recommend for different schemes booking the loan applications through Commercial Banks and forward the same to the Integrated Tribal Development Agencies for releasing subsidy amount in respect of sponsoring financing institutions. It has been categorically instructed by the Harijan and Tribal Welfare Development that, allotment specifically earmarked under Scheduled Caste vulnerable groups would, in no circumstances, be diverted to other sectors.

Under the above guidelines allotment under Income Generating Schemes (IGS) both for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes vulnerable groups were released by the Administrative Department and

Implementation has been made by the concerned ITDAs. During collection of data from ITDA Office, it was ascertained that the annual target under Income Generating Scheme in respect of the Scheduled Tribes has been fixed at 2,000 families per year. In respect of Scheduled Caste vulnerable groups, no target was fixed as the allotment exceeds the families due to lack of proper identification and providing suitable schemes under I. G. S. to Scheduled Caste vulnerable groups. As the community is comparatively more conscious about the outside world, they hesitate to avail loan component in any scheme, lest they should be dragged to the court of law for recovery. Moreover, they being cunning in nature, misutilise the loan amount and become defaulters. In spite of all these caste characters, most of the Aduria Doms are below the poverty line. They have neither agricultural land nor any alternative avenue for their economic pursuit.

The following table indicates the position of targets and achievements under Income Generating Schemes both for Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste (V. Group) during the year 1989-90 in Nowrangpur ITDA.

Sl. No.	Name of the Block	Target		
		Scheduled Tribe	Scheduled Caste V. G.	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Nowrangpur ..	200	No target	200
2	Papadahandi ..	200	Ditto	200
3	Tentulikhunti ..	200	Ditto	200
4	Kosagumuda ..	200	Ditto	200
5	Dabugaon ..	200	Ditto	200
6	Umarkote ..	200	Ditto	200
7	Raighar ..	200	Ditto	200
8	Chandahandi ..	200	Ditto	200
9	Nandahandi ..	200	Ditto	200
10	Bharigaon ..	200	Ditto	200
	Total ..	2,000	Nil	2,000

Sl. No.	Name of the Block	Achievement			
		Scheduled Tribe No.	Amount	Scheduled Caste No.	Amount
(1)	(2)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1	Nowrangpur ..	145	2,12,488	91	69,008
2	Papadahandi ..	214	3,48,101	29	24,500
3	Tentulikhunti ..	285	3,34,197	7	4,400
4	Kosagumuda ..	177	1,97,607	17	15,866
5	Dabugaon ..	172	1,45,945	3	2,250
6	Umarkote ..	296	3,18,285	27	20,754
7	Raighar ..	176	2,91,902	4	6,000
8	Chandahandi ..	149	1,42,358	16	17,899
9	Nandahandi ..	99	80,806	29	15,761
10	Bharigaon ..	136	1,36,761	40	33,804
Total ..		1,849	22,00,444	263	2,10,242

Sl. No.	Name of the Block		Total	
			No.	Amount
(1)	(2)		(10)	(11)
1	Nowrangpur	..	236	2,81,496
2	Papadahandi	..	243	3,72,601
3	Tentulikhunti	..	292	3,38,597
4	Kosagumuda	..	194	2,13,467
5	Dabugaon	..	175	1,48,195
6	Umarkote	..	323	3,39,039
7	Raighar	..	180	2,97,902
8	Chandahandi	..	165	1,60,257
9	Nandahandi	..	128	96,567
10	Bharigaon	..	176	1,70,565
Total		..	2,112	24,18,686

During the financial year, 1990-91 Government in H. & T. W. Department had communicated target of 2,000 S. T. beneficiaries under Income Generating Schemes for Nowrangpur I.T.D.A.. Against the target 43 S. T. and 30 S. C. (VG) beneficiaries have been covered under I. G. S. till July, 1991 spending an amount of Rs. 1,39,717.

There are about 31,388 Scheduled Caste, vulnerable caste households belonging to Aduria or Oriya Doms in the State. In the study area, there are approximately 9,000 households live in different villages spread over in 10 Blocks of Nowrangpur district. It is noteworthy to indicate that, the financial assistance extended to these households is quite negligible in comparison with their counter part, i.e., Scheduled Tribe. Much attention is needed by the special projectmt cover more households under variou ncome Generation Programmes in order to bring them above the povety line.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUDING SUGGESTIONS

The Constitution of India has accepted the following elements of backwardness among the Scheduled Caste people :—

1. Illiteracy and lack of education
2. Poverty
3. Exploitation of labour
4. Non-representation in services, and
5. Untouchability

The Constitution has recognised that, it is necessary to take special steps to help socially, educationally and economically backward classes to make use of opportunities provided. Article 17 of the Constitution abolished untouchability. As a result of this, the Harijans enjoy the same legal rights as any other citizen. Adult franchise has given them political power. Equality before law was assured. Still, it is a fact that, the great problem is removal of social disabilities. These are not automatically removed even with the promulgation of law. However, there has been a great change in the position of Harijans with the spread of education among them and with the consciousness of their right according to the Constitution. Although they are concentrated in the major part of the country, they are neglected and left to their fate. Those who remained backward through centuries can not just forego their sense of inferiority.

Harijans, despite their education and a measure of economic advancement are unable to improve their status by their own efforts. Most of them in spite of more than two decades of Government efforts to improve their economic and social position, remain desperately poor. Semi-illiterate or illiterate, subject to discrimination and economic exploitation and with no realistic prospect for improvement of their condition. Realising the significance of education and occupation as mechanisms of status determination and power, the central Government as well as the State Government diverted both money and efforts to strengthen the programme of education and occupational upliftment of the Harijans. Special provisions were made to provide them opportunities to enter into occupations with higher status and prestige.

It is a fact that in a developing society like India particularly for the weaker sections, like Scheduled Castes, education and occupations are the major sectors which can effectively work as mechanism for re-distribution of power and prestige. This may make them feel to assimilate in the main stream of national culture. Education is an important symbol of status and prestige and provide basic skill for entering to higher profession. Similarly, occupation is an important aspect of men's life. The nature and type of occupation determines the life style. Members of Scheduled Caste community, had been following polluting and degrading occupation. They were attributed the lowest position in caste Hindu social hierarchy because of their nature of occupation which was considered demeaning and low.

It is therefore thought necessary to perpetuate an integrated action plan within a time frame to—

- (a) Establish residential primary schools exclusively for Scheduled Caste students with proper incentive to parents.
- (b) Primary education needs to be compulsory so that, enrolment could be viable to run a residential school and thereby the drop out rate is minimised.
- (c) Apart from financial assistance to the head of the household for economic upliftment, sufficient incentives need be given to spare their children for education.
- (d) All Scheduled caste families should be provided with homestead land with record of right and financial aid under integrated housing scheme to construct their own houses.
- (e) Since the Aduria Doms are traditionally small businessman they should be provided with financial assistances through commercial banks with subsidy for petty trade in the local hats and neighbouring villages.
- (f) Wherever they are found to be weavers they should be assisted for improvement of their traditional occupation of weaving.

Over and above, the coverage of Scheduled Caste families under Integrated Rural Development Programme and Integrated Tribal Development Agencies, various family benefiting income generating scheme are being implemented through Orissa Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Financial Co-operative Corporation. The I. T. D. norm is followed in implementation of the schemes keeping in view the traditional occupation of the Scheduled Caste. The subsidy is also available out of special central assistance, through D. R. D. A., I. T. D. A. Commercial Banks and O. S. C. F. C. etc.

It is pertinent to contemplate schemes at the household level basing on the felt needs and traditional occupations to bring a quick upliftment in their economic life.

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