

OCTOBER 1966

Adibasi

Vol. VIII

1966-67 NUMBER THREE

Editors

S. N. MISHRA

N. DAS

Published by

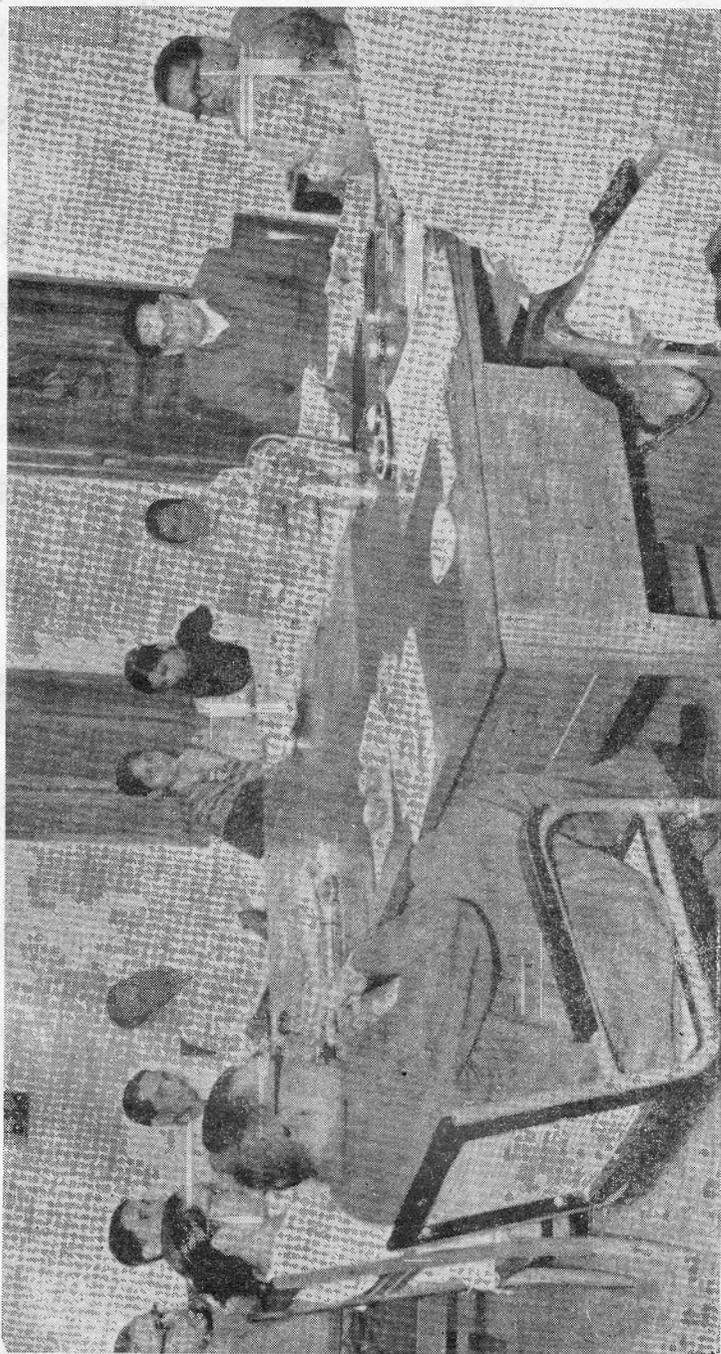
TRIBAL RESEARCH BUREAU

ORISSA

CONTENTS

		PAGE
1. Editorial ..		1-2
2. Missionary zeal (With special reference to Tribal Welfare).	G. N. Das	3-7
3. Economic aspects of Juang marriage ..	S. P. Rout	8-16
4. Modernity : The Nexus of Tribal Development.	V. K. Mathur	17-22
5. Shortfall of Tribal Sarpanches in the Grama Panchayats in the district of Mayurbhanj.	P. S. Das Patnaik	23-31
6. Some problems in Tribal Education in Orissa and their solution.	J. N. Mohanty	32-34
7. Sweepers and Scavengers in Bhubaneswar.	K. B. Debi	35-41
8. Pattern of attendance in meeting of a Grama Panchayat in Orissa.	H. Singh	42-45
9. Organization of caste among the Bauris of Bhubaneswar.	M. M. Mohapatra	46-53
10. Fishing Organization of Nohias of Puri Town.	G. N. Satapathy	54-62
11. A brief note on the practice of witchcraft among the Santhal of Mayurbhanj.	N. Das	63-67
12. Progress of Tribal Development in Orissa.	S. N. Mishra	68-73
13. A few words about us		74
14. Our Contributors		75-76





Tribal Research Bureau Advisory Board which met on 19-12-66 discussing tribal problems with the Research Staff of T. R. B.

From clockwise—

Shri R. P. Padhi, Development Commissioner, Shrimati Usha D. Mohapatra, Member, Shri P. S. Das Pattnaik, J. R. O.,
Shri S. P. Rout, R. O., Shri A. K. Mohanty, J. R. O., Shri G. N. Sathpathy, J. R. O., Shrimati K. Debi, J. R. O.,
Shrimati S. Kanango, J. R. O., Shrimati R. L. Mohanty, J. R. O., Shri N. Das, Assistant Director, Shri S. N. Mishra, I. A. S.,
Secretary, Shri T. Sanganna, Minister, T. & R. W.

ADIBASI

1966-67

VOLUME VIII

October Number Three

EDITORIAL

An All-India Inter-University Panchayati Raj Seminar under the auspices of the University Grants Commission was recently held in the Utkal University Campus at Bhubaneswar. Participants included Anthropologists, Economists, Sociologists and Psychologists from various Universities and other bodies. The Tribal Research Bureau was invited to participate in the seminar. The seminar was inaugurated by the Vice-Chancellor of Utkal University. The seminar discussed, orientation and approach to Community Development, Economic Development of rural sector, Rural and Tribal leadership and socio-cultural change through Community Development. Valuable discussions on the above topics were initiated through the contributions of the participants.

To us the most important topic was the role of traditional Panchayats in Community Development. It was reported by several participants that the statutory elected Panchayats introduced in backward tribal areas have come in conflict with the traditional

hereditary Panchayats among the tribes. The former have tried to provide a new leadership pattern to replace the old one. The new system has not yet caught imagination of the tribals. The statutory Panchayats have not been able to push forward development programme in tribal areas. This anachronism has therefore, been the topic for study by social scientists. In order to obviate this difficulty it was suggested that the Community Development programme should take into account the role of traditional panchayats in tribal areas. The 'Adibasi' hopes the Community Development administrators may benefit from these discussions, and try to implement some of the suggestions advanced in the seminar to make the community development programme a success.

The Tribal Research Bureau has studied the shortfall of Tribal Sarpanches in scheduled area in Mayurbhanj district. The findings revealed that educational and economic backwardness have produced a general inertia among the tribals. As a result of it they

do not feel interested in Panchayat elections. They are indifferent to major issues in public affairs. Land owners, money-lenders and other influential persons with whom they come in frequent contact in more than one ways exploit the situation and get elected as Sarpanches and Ward Members. In consequence the elected Panchayats are getting farther away from the socio-cultural matrix of the tribals.

The present issue of the Adibasi is coming after three months of the

previous issue. In the meantime our editor Shri G. N. Das has left the Department. The 'Adibasi' owes a debt to him for his valuable stewardship of the journal for nearly four years. Our last issue was widely appreciated by scholars, teachers and administrators. In spite of paucity of contributions we strive hard to publish the 'Adibasi' regularly. We request our readers to contribute to our journal which we will immensely value.



G. N. DAS

MISSIONARY ZEAL (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO TRIBAL WELFARE)

Some years ago, in the usual course of my service career, I found myself appointed in an administrative capacity in the big industrial organisation, the Rourkela Steel Plant. That was just after putting in a few years of service in the field of Tribal Welfare administration. A visitor from a neighbouring State to Rourkela met me and expressed his earnest desire to visit some of the tribal areas of Orissa in order to be able to see some tribal people. I was so impressed with his earnestness that I promised to help him, if necessary, by giving him my personal company to see some of the backward tribal areas and primitive and backward tribal communities. The visitor, a distinguished litterateur, remarked that he had heard of my association with tribal welfare work and in order to fulfil his desire had been advised by some friends to seek my advice. Before leaving he thanked me for the promised assistance which he desired to avail in the proper season, and remarked in a casual and good natured way that service was no doubt my profession, but my interest in the domain of human affairs was evidently my preoccupation—my *peshā* and my *nesha* as he put it.

2. Left alone, I pondered over his remarks. And I was reminded of the discussions that I often took part in where it was almost universally mentioned that our workers in the Government organisation employed on tribal welfare lacked the much needed missionary zeal. No doubt there are some bright examples of commendable work done by the missionaries in tribal areas in comparison to which the achievements of the Government employees pale into insignificance. The issues involved, however, need very careful consideration so that he may be able to see them in their proper perspective.

3. Firstly, the missionary worker has a mission—a pre-occupation. This may be a desire to emancipate the heathens, or to increase the bulk of the 'Flock'. It may be a yearning for the cure of the sick and care of the old and disabled. Whatever it may be, the preacher, or, the father is carefully picked up and trained for a period of years and the idea of service before self, is ingrained in him and he grows up to believing that his own emancipation lies in service rendered in these directions to the people put in his charge. Let us look at the

personnel engaged on tribal welfare under the Government organisation. They are selected on the mere consideration of their educational qualification and are put on the job straightaway. There is hardly any course of training either prior to their employment or thereafter. The objectives of tribal welfare programme undertaken by Government are blurred even at the very fountain head, and hardly anything thereof trickles down to the field level. The field worker on appointment is expected to plunge headlong into his work, for example, of getting a village road laid or a well constructed. He hardly ever realises whether the people for whom these projects are meant require and want them. He has, therefore, to perform his duties mechanically obsessed with the idea of achieving a good percentage of expenditure out of the funds meant for the work.

4. Secondly, almost universally the workers have to be found from other areas as qualified hands are hardly available in the tribal areas. They have no idea of the people they are required to serve, their language, likes and dislikes, manners and customs, aims and aspirations, and their felt needs. They can have communication with the tribal people only through interpreters who are generally their exploiters. On the other hand, the missionary worker, during the period of grounding is required to learn the language of the tribal people whom he is to serve. He is familiarised with the manners

and customs of the people, their likes and dislikes and felt needs by living close to them and sharing their weal and woe.

5. Thirdly, the area of operation of the field worker under the Government organisation is literally a vast one, sometimes, covering two or three Block areas comprising three to five hundred villages, and people of various clans, creeds and levels. He is required to attend to a variety of programme including education, social education, agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operation rural crafts and industries and so on. Not only due to immense physical extent of his area of operation, but the multiplicity of the programmes, he finds himself literally at sea.

As against that, the missionary 'Father' or preacher is expected to confine his attention usually to a small area of a few villages. He has carefully got himself prepared for the work by learning the language of the people and acquiring a first-hand knowledge of their likes and dislikes and customs and manners. He does not find himself in alien circumstances nor do the people look upon him as one such. Gradually he works his way up. He lays his hands on one or two of the felt needs of the people at a time. Usually the problem of ill health is the most serious one in the tribal areas. If the father has the help of a Doctor or a Dai on his staff, so much so good. If not, he tries to depend on his own knowledge and experience in the use of common medicines

for curing simple ailments. Success in this field not only establishes his reputation but also paves the way for other activities, and confirms the confidence of the people in him. He then starts a school, and a hostel where the boys can be put up. He takes care of their health, and studies and provides them with food and garments from the mission and other funds. He does not usually extend his efforts beyond this. Later, when his position has been well consolidated, he tries to handle other problems facing the tribals. Among them their economic problem is a serious one. He tries to establish a grain bank and bring credit facilities within easy reach of the people. By this time he has passed off as a member of the tribal society itself although he may have come from Canada or Calcutta. He knows his people and their problems individually, visits them frequently and tries to identify himself with their weal and woes. He is on the sure way of 'his word of love is word of law' with the people.

6. Fourthly, we have brought into being the Panchayati Raj, and pledged that all development programmes should be executed by the local bodies set up thereunder, viz, the Panchayat Samitis and the Grama Panchayats. In the tribal areas the representations of tribals on these bodies have been far from satisfactory. The tribals have their own traditional Panchayats which deal with their socio-economic problems. Their traditional leaders who control these affairs still hold

sway. It is seen that the statutory Panchayats have not evoked the same amount of interest in them and so the tribals have not come forward to seek representation on the statutory bodies in large number. The number of tribal Sarpanches and Panchayat Samiti Chairman is noticed to be hopelessly inadequate. Those few who are there find themselves in the position of mere henchmen in the organisation. They are unfamiliar with the procedures of these institutions and they hardly carry any weight. On the other hand, the others who have come in larger number, and who control the affairs of the Panchayati Raj in these backward areas are usually those who live on exploitation of the tribals. It will not be difficult to see why they will not be eager to do things in a manner which will safeguard or promote the interest of the tribals. Not only the execution, but formulation of schemes has been left in the hands of the Panchayati Raj. One should not be surprised to find that the welfare worker who has to work under these circumstances can achieve but precious little.

On the other hand, the missionary worker is usually allowed a substantial amount of discretion in the matter of laying down the details of the programme and of its execution. The broad principles are held before him and it is for him to deliver the goods which are measured in the end products for an assessment of his achievement. Not so with the welfare worker under the Government organisation. For him not

only the target is set but also the manner how he has to order his day-to-day affairs. Little wonder therefore that there is hardly any initiative to be noticed in him

7. Fifthly, it is a well-known fact that the life of every Indian including the tribals, is thoroughly permeated by religion. Even the modern educated, sophisticated Indian is not beyond the pale of its influence. In the case of the tribal, religion exerts an all powerful influence and controls his socio-economic practices and behaviour. It would be impossible to touch him without in some way or other coming in contact with his religious sentiments and customs. For the missionary worker religion is not a taboo, rather it is his strong point. Not so with the social worker under the Government organisation. He has nothing to do with their religious beliefs and practices. This places him at a disadvantage *vis-a-vis* the missionary worker. The latter can and does directly link his efforts with the religious practices of the tribals and bring about reform or conversion of the tribal according to his conviction. He is thus able to wield considerable influence over the tribal on all spheres of his life in a toal way.

8. Sixthly, the service conditions* of the social worker must confirm to the pattern laid down by Government for the vast body of its hierarchy. It will not be possible for the social worker to be given any special facilities

just because he is expected to take care of the human problems pertaining to a backward, illiterate poor and superstitious ridden community. For, are not there other workers, for instance, the overseer building roads and bridges in the same inaccessible area? How can the social worker be treated on a preferential footing?

As against that, with a much smaller jurisdiction and a limited number of problems to handle as we have already discussed, the missionary worker is usually provided with all possible amenities of life so that he does not feel that he is in exile and does not constantly nurse a yearning for escape from it. His training and up-bringing have developed in him some sense of plain living and the mission engaging him provides the minimum amenities invariably.

9. Lastly, the programmes of development undertaken are handled by a number of officers and workers under control of different departments and the Panchayati Raj bodies. Lack of co-ordination is a common phenomenon in the existing set up although efforts are no doubt constantly made to bring about co-ordination.

In the case of the missionary 'Father' the area of operation and varieties of activities being limited he himself assumes the role of co-ordinator and no serious problem of want of co-ordination faces him.

10. The foregoing account will go to show that there is basic difference in the organisation as well as in the objectives and prescribed *modus operandi* as between the missionary worker on the one hand and the Social or Extension Worker under the Government organisation on the other. It may not be fair to draw a parallel of these two; as a

matter of fact, the situation as analysed above would not be susceptible to such an attempt. And, before the required climate is fostered for the social or extension worker, it would be merely futile to bewail that the social worker is not as efficient as the missionary worker—that he lacks “missionary zeal”!

The hill Juang of Keonjhar are one of the backward tribes of Orissa. They inhabit the highlands of Keonjhar district with an altitude of 3,000' to 3,500'. They are mainly shifting cultivators, but practice wet cultivation according to availability of wet land. The Judge have their own language. Their cultural base has not been widened to incorporate alien traits to any great extent. Marriage no doubt is an expensive proposition for the Juang. It puts great economic strain on their meagre resources, never the less they manage to adjust to pay the bride-price and other ancillary expenses in marriage ceremony. In this background, the economic implications of Jung marriage are analysed.

Juang Marriage in Nut-Shell

A full description of Juang marriage ceremony cannot be given here due to its long and elaborate procedures. A brief and general note is given here for throwing light on the topic of this paper.

After a bride is chosen or kept in view the groom's parents express their thought to the village elders. The *Boita* (ritual head) tests omens in order to

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF JUANG MARRIAGE

forecast if the future marriage would be a successful one. He tests prosperity for four factors; for the health of the groom; for the health of the wife, for the health and happiness of the off springs of the prospective couple, and for the future harvests of the family by placing four piles of paddy. If the omen is found auspicious the groom's parents send *Kamandirias* (marriage brokes) to the girl's village. After the proposal is accepted by the bride's parents and her villagers a day is fixed for taking the bride. On the appointed day, the *Kamandiras* reach in the bride's village with a fixed amount of paddy called '*Subhadhan*' (lit, suspicious paddy) and bring the bride. Ladies and girls (and unmarried boys with *changu* also join the group in *Gatang Kania marriage*) accompany the bride and take her to the groom's village. In the next morning the bridal pair is given a sacred bath in turmeric water. Next day, the bride goes to the stream with the village women for a bath and returns home with potful of water on her head. Her path is obstructed by the men who stand as brother, father's father, or son's son (own or classificatory) to the groom. A fun dance is performed between these persons and the women who stand in the

groom's own or alternate generation (and joking relations to the groom and the bride). On this day the groom adorns the bride with beads and bangles and the bride gives a small share of her food to the groom. The villagers and the relatives of the groom pay visit and contribute paddy, husked rice, money, cloth, or goat, etc., towards the groom's bride-wealth. The bridal pair pays a ceremonial visit to the bride's village one or two days after their marriage. The groom's villagers accompany the bride and the groom carrying the articles of bride-wealth to be paid to the girl's villagers. After paying the bride-wealth the groom's villagers return to their village with the bride and the groom. The marrying partners do not start sleeping together soon after the marriage is over. The consummation of marriage takes place after three or four months and after a new house is built the bride and the groom start sleeping together.

Expenses in a Juang Marriage

In Juang marriages the bride's parents do not have to spend anything. They are gainers in the sense that their daughter is given away to the groom's parents for marriage in exchange of money, grains and clothes (as bride-wealth) and the marriage is performed in the groom's village. The expense of the bride's parents is so small and insignificant that it lays no strain on them and thus needs no

special discussion here. Hence the expense of the groom's family is described here.

The three major items of expense are—

- (i) Money, clothes, grains and chicken for bride-wealth (*Kania Mula*).
- (ii) Marriage articles like new clothes for the bride and the groom, beads and bangles for the bride and combs and ribbons for the ladies who are joking relations to the groom and who take part in the fun dance (*Kadanata*).
- (iii) Paddy, rice, grains, goats, pigs, liquor and chickens for feasts.

The cost of the first and the second categories remains constant in all forms of marriages starting from *Gatang Kania* (marriage by arrangement) and *Digar Kania* (marriage by capture) to *Surum Kania* (marriage by elopement). In widow marriage no formal bride-wealth is paid to the girl's parents ; only her husband's villagers are entertained with liquor. In *Daki Kania* (marriage of the separatee) only a token amount is paid to the girl's former husband in form of money or a cow as compensation. The following gives a list of the standard bride-wealth in a Juang marriage and the price of each item.

TABLE 1

Articles of bride-wealth for a Juang marriage

Name and kind of the thing (1)	Amount (2)	Formal recipients (3)	Approximate cost (4)
1. <i>Subha dhan</i> (paddy)	2 <i>Khandi</i> 5 <i>Pai</i>	For the village	.. Rs. 11.50 P
2. Dhangudi Bhendia Ajan Sasang (paddy)	4 <i>Khandi</i>	For boys and girls	.. Rs. 20
3. Dhangudi Bhendia Ajan Sasang (husked rice).	3 <i>Khandi</i>	For boys and girls	.. Rs. 30
4. <i>Mula Kunsar</i> (husked rice).	5 <i>Pai</i>	For the village	.. Rs. 2.50 P.
5. For <i>Gai Munda</i> (husked rice).	1 <i>Khandi</i>	In lieu of a cow	.. Rs. 10
6. Small bundles of husked rice.	20 Bundles		.. Rs. 0.50 P.
	1 Bundle	for bride's father	
	1 Bundle	for bride's mother	
	1 Bundle	for bride's mother's brother	
	1 Bundle	In lieu of a cow	
	4 Bundles	for <i>Kamandaki</i> (ritual specialists)	
	4 Bundles	for <i>Bauntaeki</i> (old men)	
	2 Bundles	for <i>Sumpuli Sankol</i> (bandhus)	
	1 Bundle	for the Sage	
	1 Bundle	for the Stickman	
		About four bundles for other villagers who obstruct the path of the groom's party.	
7. Clothes	5 Pieces	1 for bride's father 1 for bride's mother 1 for bride's brother 1 for bride's father's younger brother. 1 for the village (<i>Gaon Sari</i>)	.. Rs. 25
8. Chicken	1	For <i>Kamandirias</i>	.. Rs. 2
9. Liquor	2 bottles	For <i>Kamandirias</i>	.. Rs. 2



Juang lass Reaping and Singing

Name and kind of the thing (1)	Amount (2)	Formal recipients (3)	Approximate cost (4)
10. Cakes	..	For the villagers	.. Re. 1
11. Money	..	For bride's mother's brother	Re. 1
		In lieu of cow	Rs. 2
		For giving small changes with rice bundles.	Rs. 2
Total			.. Rs. 109.50 P.

All the people cannot pay the full amount of bride-wealth due to poor economic conditions. Persons who succeed in paying the full amount are greatly appreciated but relaxation is also made for the quantity of grains in case of an orphan, a widow's son, or an extremely poor person.

The cost for marriage articles does not generally exceed Rs. 20

and this expense remains constant in all types of marriages. The marriage articles include clothes for the bridal couple, beads and bangles for the bride, ribbons for the village ladies and salt, dal and spices purchased from the market. The following gives a list of various such items and their price.

TABLE 2
Marriage articles and their cost

Items (1)	Quantity (2)	For whom purchased (3)	Cost (4)
1. Cloth	.. 1	For the Groom	.. Rs. 4
2. Sari	.. 1	For the Bride	.. Rs. 5
3. Beads and bangles	..	For the Bride	.. Rs. 2.50 P.
4. Combs	.. 10 to 20	For the ladies of the groom's own or alternate generation who take part in the fun dance.	Made by Juangs.
5. Ribbons	..	For the ladies of the groom's own or alternate generation who take part in the fun dance.	Re 1
6. Salt, dal, oil, etc	..	For feasts	.. Rs. 5
Total			.. Rs. 17.50 P.

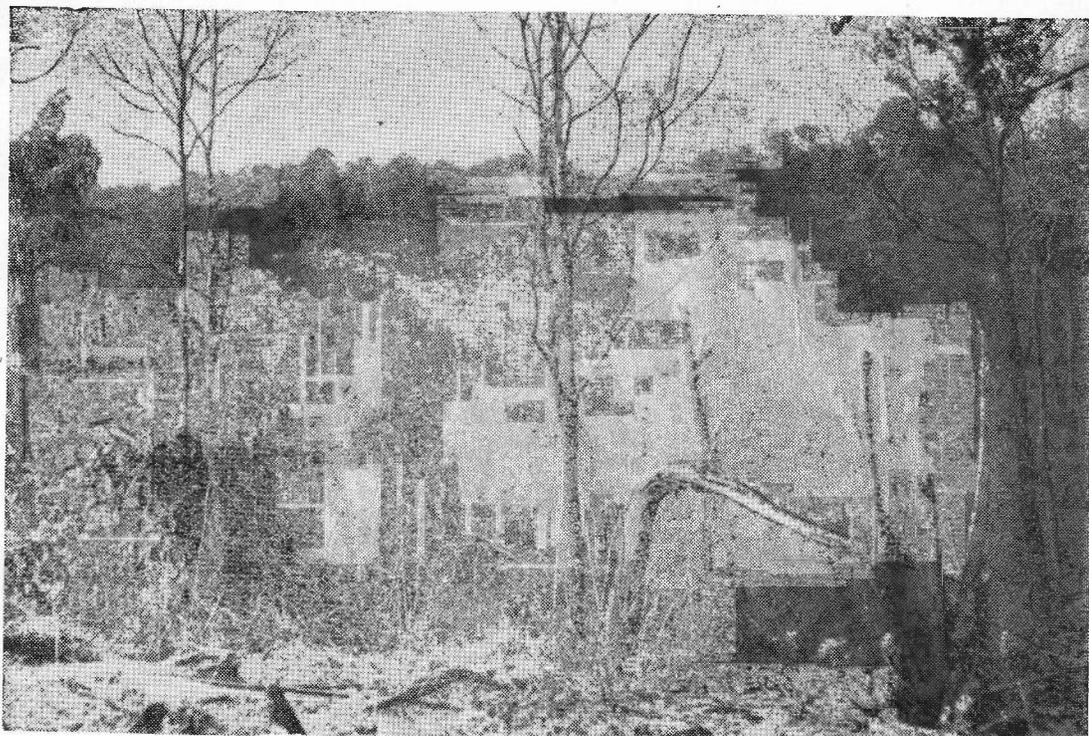
The third and the major item of expense in Juang marriage is for the feasts. The villagers of the groom and the bride look forward to marriage as a feasting and marring occasion. The bride's villagers get rice from the groom towards bride-wealth which is cooked and a feast is held. Besides, the groom has to give a number of feasts to his own villagers. The exact expense for

marriage feast cannot be ascertained as it varies with economic condition of the groom. A person standing on a strong economic footing naturally affords to spend more rice and goats on marriage, while a man living hand to mouth tries to minimise the expenses on feasts. A standard list, on the marriage feasts can however be prepared on the data collected on five Juang marriages.

TABLE 3

Items of Feast in Juang Marriage and the total cost

Item of things (1)	Amount (2)	The recipients (3)	Cost (4)
1. Husked rice	.. 5 <i>Pai</i>	To <i>Kamandirias</i> for their meals during negotiation.	Rs. 2.50 P.
2. Liquor	.. 2 bottles	To <i>Kamandirias</i>	.. Rs. 2
3. Husked rice	.. 10 <i>Pai</i>	To <i>Kamandirias</i> for feast, after marriage.	Rs. 5
4. Chicken	.. 1	To <i>Kamandirias</i> for feast, after marriage.	Rs. 2
5. Husked rice	.. 2 <i>Khandi</i>	For feeding the ladies and the girls of the bride village coming on marriage party.	Rs. 20
6. Dal	..	For feeding the ladies and the girls of the bride village, coming on marriage party.	Re. 1
7. Husked rice	.. 2 <i>Khandi</i>	To the major liniage people in particular but for all the villagers of the groom.	Rs. 20
8. Goat	.. 1	To the major liniage people in particular but for all the villagers of the groom.	Rs. 15
9. Paddy	.. 1 <i>Khandi</i>	For the ladies for fun dance ..	Rs. 5
10. Pig	.. 1	For the ladies for fun dance	Rs. 10



Shifting Cultivation in Juangpirh

Item of things (1)	Amount (2)	The recipients (3)	Cost (4)
11. Husked rice	2 <i>Khandi</i>	For the villagers who accompany the bridal pair with bride-wealth to the bride's village.	Rs. 20
12. Goat	.. 1	For the villagers who accompany the bridal pair with bride-wealth to the bride's village.	Rs. 10
13. Husked rice	.. 2 <i>Khandi</i>	In feeding the relatives who bring gifts of rice and other things for the groom.	Rs. 20
14. Goat	.. 1	In feeding the relatives who bring gifts of rice and other things for the groom.	Rs. 10
15. Husked rice	1 <i>Khandi</i>	The boys and girls for supplying firewood and leaf cups in marriage.	Rs. 10
16. Goat	1	Ditto	.. Rs. 10
17. Rice	5 <i>Pai</i>	.. For feeding the boys and the girls during the marriage for giving company to the bridal pair.	Rs. 2.50 P.
18. Husked rice	5 <i>Pai</i>	.. For distribution of small shares of cooled rice, on various occasions of marriage.	Rs. 2.50 P.
19. Liquor	To the old man of the village	Rs. 10
Total			.. Rs. 177.50 P

Summing up the three tables a short table is given below to show the overall expenses of marriage on various items—

TABLE 4

Summary Table showing main heads of expenses in Juang marriage

Item of things	Amount	Approximate cost
(i)	(2)	(3)
1. Paddy (<i>Bua</i>) ..	7 <i>Khandi</i> 5 <i>Pai</i>	Rs. 36.50 P.
2. Rice (<i>Runkup</i>) ..	15 <i>Khahdi</i> 10 <i>Pai</i>	Rs. 155
3. Clothes (<i>Kate</i>) ..	5 pieces	Rs. 34
4. Chicken (<i>Sankoe</i>) ..	2	Rs. 4
5. Goats and pigs ..	5	Rs. 55
6. Liquor	Rs. 12
7. Miscellaneous expenses	Rs. 8
Total ..		Rs. 304.50 P.

All these four tables reveal the following points of interest :—

(i) The approximate cost of a Juang marriage amounts to Rs. 305 approximately. Poor families minimise the expense to a certain extent by spending less money on feasts and by paying less amount of bride-wealth. The rich families, on the other hand may tend to spend more money on feasts and liquor for fame and prestige. However, the total expense fluctuates from Rs. 250 to Rs. 400.

(ii) The major expense of marriage is on feasts, i.e., Rs. 177.50 P. in comparison with the amount (Rs. 109.50 P.) paid

towards bride-wealth and the amount (Rs. 17.50 P.) spent for buying miscellaneous marriage articles.

(iii) Grains of paddy and rice are important items required for a Juang marriage. About half of the total expense is spent for buying paddy and rice. Out of total expenditure of Rs. 304.50 P. the amount spent on paddy and rice is found to be Rs. 191.50 P.

Conclusion

Marriage, though not so expensive an affair for the modern people lays much economic strain on the Juang who, in most cases run into debt for getting everything arranged for marriage. It is important to know how the various expenses of marriage are met with by Juangs. In this

connection it is necessary to discuss the various kinds of helps received from the relatives.

Offers of grains and money are always expected from the close kins and other relatives. From among the *Bandhus* the groom's sister's husband pays more than his mother's brother and father's sister's husband. Helps from the groom's own village include paddy, rice and money donations from the members of the groom's extended family, his minor lineage people and from other villagers. The last group helps token amount of money which is not very outstanding and the help of the first category people is noteworthy.

However, help from the relatives is always reciprocatory and reinforces the same nature of help from the recipient. In other words the donors always expect the same help from the recipients in future. Besides, all the persons who visit the groom's parents with gifts of price, paddy and goat, etc., are provided with hearty feasts. Goats or chickens are slaughtered for them and they are given meat-meals.

As stated in Table 2 the people of important age grades of the village are formally rewarded with rice and meat for feasting. The unmarried boys and girls are given cooked food during all the days of marriage for giving constant company to the bridal pair and for supplying wood and leaves for marriage. The ladies of the groom's own or alternate generations are given combs,

ribbons and a pig and paddy for participating in fun dance. Rice and goats are also given to the villagers and to the persons who go to the bride's village with bride-wealth after marriage.

The bride-wealth distribution in the girl's village on the other hand, is also interesting. In fact the girls in Juang society are treated more as the "property" of the village than the individual daughter of her parents, and the bride-wealth is likewise regarded as the possession of the village. Except the three pieces of clothes taken by the bride's father, mother, and younger brother all other items go outside the bride's family. One cloth given for the bride's father's younger brother is always given to her classificatory father's younger brother. Four *Khandi* of paddy and three *Khandi* of rice are formally offered in the name of the unmarried boys and girls of the bride's village towards the cost for their "turmeric and oil", but in fact the amount is used for making feast for all the villagers. Out of two *Khandi* and five *Pai* of *Subhadhan*, five *Pai* is taken by the man who measures the grains. The rest amount is distributed to all the families giving special shares to the bride's minor lineage families. Token amounts are also offered to the bride's mother's brother, to her village leaders and other important persons.

In spite of small helps received for bride-wealth from various sources the groom's parents cannot

depend primarily on these gifts in arranging the marriage. The management of the marriage is made by the villagers, but the economic responsibilities are always shouldered by the groom's parents. Getting ready for marriage requires prolonged habit of saving paddy, rice and other things. A Juang cannot afford to arrange all the things of a marriage worth Rs. 300 at once, and hence prior attempts are necessary.

When a Juang boy becomes two or three years old, careful parents start investing money on buying goats, pigs and chickens in his name. The goats, pigs and chickens multiply in course of fifteen to twenty years and earn a lot for the family.

This amount is hoarded or invested otherwise for the son's marriage. Likewise, when a Juang boy attains the age of ten his mother saves some husked rice from the daily meals of the family. When this amount increases it is given in loans for others and thus invested for further increase in the amount. This amount is known as *Bhendia Punji* (savings for an unmarried boy). When the boy grows up he tries to hoard money for his marriage by selling logs of wood

in the market and by cultivating special patches of jungle land exhorting extra labour.

The over-all expenses of marriage are borne by the parents. The labour hard and try to earn more from various sources. Working from dawn to dusk on *toilas* they struggle with the stones and pebbles for getting bumper yields. Living upon fruits, roots and wild tubers they cut down their daily meals and save the paddy, rice and other produces of harvest for the marriage. In spite of all possible efforts they are forced to run to the door of money-lenders for loans in case the full amount cannot be arranged.

Marriage by service as prevalent in some tribes is quite unknown to the Juang and hence no Juang can get rid of paying the bride-wealth by serving to his prospective father-in-law. The only device of being free from paying bride-wealth is to marry a widow. As marrying a widow tells upon the prestige of an unmarried young man such cases are extremely rare in Juang society. Hence, before searching for a life-companion, i. e., a marriage mate, a Juang must try to arrange the necessary requirements through extra efforts.



V. K. MATHUR

Preservation of tribal culture, is, in my view, the very negation of tribal development in India. Possibly, in the distant future, our countrywide schemes towards tribal welfare, may bear fruit and the much talked of tribal integration may seem an achieved reality. But then, even the utopian systems of social security, social insurance and social welfare schemes are likely to provide only an iota of the spark necessary for a sound tribal economy worth the name. No doubt, humanitarian and welfare motives will continue to steer our governments' tribal policy but in the wake of these measures there lingers the inherent danger of an 'over dose' of that sweetness which, no doubt, will enhance governmental statistics of tribal welfare but mar all chances of economic generation. While minimal tribal welfare schemes must continue, care is needed to ensure that the quantum of welfare does not exceed the optimum 'booster dose' required for economic development.

Presently, I will concern myself with only two ingredients of our approach to the tribal society and these, I believe, are consequential in retrospect and during the projected perspectives I

MODERNITY : THE NEXUS OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

propose to discuss the pros and cons of (i) Preservation of tribal culture and (ii) Role of modernity in tribal development. Incidental to this discussion are a crowded variety of factors which have shaped our tribal policy of yesterday, and I fear, are influencing the tomorrow.

Preservation of tribal culture

It is unnecessary for me to quote that body of anthropologists, so also, the administrators influenced by their keen desire to elicit social science opinions on tribal policy, who earnestly believe that our approach to tribal society should be extremely cautious without any serious derangement of the social structure and organisation of the tribals. They feel that any changes which do not synchronise with the established and traditional tribal culture are necessarily baneful and alien to the desired policy of a cautious approach. In more explicit terms it is argued that the tribals should be approached only with such schemes of development which would smoothly infiltrate into their culture without changing their dearly loved attitudes, colourful rituals, and possibly, witchcraft. Superficially, this approach is sound and in keeping with the

democratic traditions and constitutional freedom granted to each under the Constitution. Within the broad framework of these principles we continue to spend huge sums of money for the sake of tribal welfare and because majority of tribal population have so far remained neglected and deprived of fair chances of competition along with non-tribals. Whereas, sporadic bright spots of progressive tribals may have emerged as a result of government welfare measures, there is still an overwhelming preponderance of tribals facing stark poverty with little chances of an imminent economic leap forward. Reverting to our argument of a cautious approach we find that whenever the question of revitalising tribal development comes up for discussion, knowledgeable people recommend the same old prescriptions of the dire need to orient our workers to tribal culture, language, custom, dress and way of life. It is surmised that slow tribal development is mainly the outcome of our lack of understanding of the tribal people. Subsequently, it is presumed that if our workers are initiated into tribal ways and if our schemes suit the tribal life, we shall soon march towards a sustained process of tribal development. The pertinent question now is whether economic development amongst tribals is possible side by side with the preservation of the tribal culture. Theoretically, the proposition is competent and acceptable for a variety of reasons. It is based on certain fundamental principles and philosophy which

are closely akin to those of community development communities (also tribal) can develop their own capacity to deal with their problems; it is assumed that people want to and can change; people participate in giving direction to social change in their communities; people must learn to participate in democracy; slow and sustained changes towards development are better and longer lasting than sudden and fast changes; all changes should be brought about through persuasion and understanding in keeping with the traditions and customs of the people. Unfortunately, during implementation of programmes, the human situations do not turn out custom made and a series of complications, ideological clashes and emotional angularities develop. These, in turn, give rise to what we may call barriers to development or resistance to change, leading further, to a make-belief world where every one presumes that development is in the offing but the analyses reveals relapses, failures and frustration. At this juncture, it is opportune to clarify as to why I call our present day approach to tribal societies as one which is directed towards the preservation of tribal culture on one hand, demanding simultaneously a break-through for economic generation. Such an approach, as I will soon try to show is paradoxical, in essence, in the context of historical example for abroad and in view of the rather slow process of our tribal economic development after independence.

Firstly, I believe that economic development is not an isolated process and the causes for the lack of it need not only be traced in the scarcity of those obsolete factors of production to which economists round the world continued to cling till the recent past. Economic development comes with a gush of wind and will sweep away social and cultural foundations off their feet. It (economic development) can either originate from a political revolution (evidently we do not want it) or from a series of changes in the social lives and attitudes of the people. Either case necessarily means that economic development must coexist with a serious derangement in the cultural melee. Consequently, it is impossible to imagine that our tribal societies will reach a stage of economic development and at the same time preserve their colourful culture traits—even though these traits may not be in the accepted list of barriers to economic development. Another plausible reason which leads me to what I have said above is that it is futile to ask a tribal to adopt a productive innovation without tearing him away from all that complex of cultural traits which bound him together with a particular old way of production. The moment a cottage industry is introduced on scientific lines it also means a total corresponding change in the tribal's market-orientation, which, in turn, means a drastic change in the manner in which he was used to go about his routine of social and economic living. Examples from Africa would be in order. African states

are a typical example because nowhere else in the world more acute tribal development problems have yet been faced. Added to this, all the modern independent African states remained victims of white domination in somewhat a greater depth of social injustice than it was in India. Today, after the recent emergence of Basutoland, almost entire Black Africa is free except for the Rhodesian and South African pockets. Talking about the economic potentiality of new African states it is true that majority of them have large resources for exporting crops like cocoa, coffee, rubber and bananas. Economically, if the Africans are able to compete without political prejudice in the western markets, with their present day low population pressure, the average African can, probably, achieve at least the current Japanese *per capita* income figures. But recent happenings have shown that the international markets are heavily biased by political considerations and even after they have left most parts of Africa, the whites still try to pressurise rock-bottom prices for African cocoa and coffee. Inside Africa, one hears a different story. Political sociologists have studied decision making in important African states and they fear that in spite of all surface indicies of economic growth, tribal tradition, tribal religion and tribal rivalries still influence economic policies and decisions. The foregoing elaboration of African situation, I think, is an indication of what is likely to happen in case efforts towards economic growth are divorced from accompanying

changes in the social and political behaviour. Returning to our microscopic analysis of Indian tribal development it is necessary to ensure that our tribal welfare schemes do not hamper their and the governments' efforts towards a sustained economic growth.

Role of Modernity in Tribal Development.

A corollary to what has been discussed above is the role that modernism as contradistinguished from traditionalism can play as aid to overall tribal development. The twin terms 'modernism' and 'traditionalism' pose definitional problems, if not considered in their international western biased context. Whatever may be the methods and means chosen by individual underdeveloped nations of today for achieving economic growth it is doubtless that their ultimate objectives are analogous. A state of economic development and affluence connotes the same meaning whether we talk of it in the American, African, European or Asian background. The indices of economic development are universally accepted. The question that now remains is whether a combination of a sufficiently high stage of economic development and tradition is possible, is available in the world as an example or can be achieved by an underdeveloped country of today? To each of the above queries, I am afraid, my answer is a categorical 'No'. Traits of modernism are abundantly available only in the economically developed and affluent societies. The reasons are more historical than merely

logical. Strangely enough, history bears testimony to an age old western domination (domination by white races to be more correct) over the entire world; and in sequence to the domination came their economic affluence much earlier than any of the coloured people could achieve it. As a result, their glory, modes of working and behaviour patterns climbed the prestige ladder and came to be termed 'modern' 'occidental' and 'closed' societies. It is in this dichotomy that I venture to cluster together modernism with economic development and affluence. Logically now, the terms have become interdependent and speak of the contemporary anxiety of all underdeveloped countries to imitate western concepts, culture traits and value systems. Isolationism, which to a certain extent, could be practised till the late nineteenth century, has become a tale of the bye-gone days. The one course open to all underdeveloped countries is to walk the same road as has been traversed by the western countries and aspire for those starry heights of affluence which are the acceptable cults of the present. Modernism, therefore, has to be the prime-mover of economic development and vice versa.

The content and components of modernism are myriad and fan-out to engulf national and local development with the same influence and a unified intensity. Wherever, at the national, regional or local level, efforts are to be made in the direction of economic development the planners and the people cannot escape the presence of modernity—

Howsoever evil it may be in the eyes of the past generations, nationalists, lovers of tradition and cautious politicians. There are two diverse ways in which a society can achieve modernity and in between these two is the traditional-modern-continuum. The two ways are, (i) A purposeful and sudden departure from everything that reminds a society of a past that was not congenial for economic development, and (ii) To introduce economic development as and when the people appear to accept it and allow traditionalism to drift in its own way, often, even maintain some of its traits. It is difficult to choose totally either of these two ways—for the first one needs, at its outward extremity, a revolution of the type of Red Guards in China; and the second one, would, probably, require a serious neglect of planning. Nevertheless, experience in the field of tribal development in India, as in non-tribal rural areas, lends me to think that a course nearer the first way may have to be adopted. I am vehemently against any type of use of force or revolutionary thinking, at the same time, I favour a revolutionary departure from our present systems of education. The term education I use in the widest possible sense and obviously do not confine myself to the precincts of class room education. I wish to advocate 'education for and towards modernity'—both within and outside the class room. Even if our present adult population cannot be tackled to get this 'education for modernity' (though I would immensely like it to get

it) it would be, from my point of view, suicidal to deprive the children from getting exposed to this type of education. The content of this education, apart from a basic grounding of the three R's would include a scientific and pragmatic attitude towards the world in which we live in and beyond. I do not subscribe to the view that children of farmers should get an agricultural biased education. Not that agriculture as one of the subjects should not be included in the syllabus, but the students should be able to discern alternative professions and not necessarily resign themselves to their fathers' profession. This holds good in a slightly greater intensity for the tribal children. An educational system with a positive stance towards the building-up of a scientific attitude towards life is an education for modernity. And this system, mostly, is opposed to the one which dotes on traditional glory, evolves a system of ascriptive social statuses (contrary to achievement oriented statuses) and makes thinking static within age-old limits of social values. Education for modernity does not mean introduction of evils of an affluent society, which, nonetheless, may appear at a latter stage. But on the mere apprehension that these evils might follow we cannot discard the paramount advantages of an education for modernity. In the same strain of thought, I strongly reject the idea that education for modernity can be communicated either piece-meal or on a vehicle of traditional thought and action. In this context, for

example, the ideas of family planning and birth control cannot be effectively communicated through the use of traditional tribal art and folk-lore. In the event of such a communication the content of the idea is lost : for the receiver looks at the idea as a part of his existing culture and makes little effort for a departure from his existing behavioural patterns. Thus, that point of no return (to tradition) is never reached and the individual

oscillates between the past and the future without positive gains in term of development.

Probably, much more can be added to what has been discussed above in favour of modernity as the sole nexus of tribal development, but, I have only attempted to randomise a few of the dimensions which are momentarily crucial in the ambit of tribal economic development.

PRAVANGSHU SEKHAR DAS PATNAIK

SHORTFALL OF TRIBAL SARPANCHES IN THE GRAMA PANCHAYATS IN THE DISTRICT OF MAYURBHANJ

Article 40 of the Constitution of India in the chapter on the Directive Principles of State policy envisages the organization of Village Panchayats as the basic unit of Local Self-Government. It states as, "The State should take steps to organize Village Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government"

With this objective in forefront the emphasis was put on the organization of Village Panchayats in rural India after independence. To provide the growth of democratic administration from the root upward, the agency of Government at each level was to be made effective subject to the control and guidance by elected representatives of the people. Therefore the Balavantray Meheta Committee in 1957, recommended to take away more and more powers from the Centre and the States and to vest them with the local units of administration. It also recommended for three tier system of rural administration, namely, the Panchayats at the base (i.e., at village level), the Zilla Parishad at the top (i.e., at district level) and the Panchayat Samitis in the middle (i.e., at the block level). This system is

popularly known as the Panchayati Raj. The aim is democratic decentralization. It shifted the centre of gravity to the villages and brought a revolutionary change in the administrative set-up. It ensured popular participation and created local leadership. Village Panchayats send their elected representatives to the new statutory body known as the Panchayat Samiti in block level. The Community Development Programme, along with all departmental programmes of development in the block, are extended to this body.

It is a commonly established fact that the backward population in general and the tribal people in particular do not participate properly in the Panchayat activities all over the State. In areas, where the tribal people form absolute majority, there is acute shortfall of tribal ward members and Sarpanches. This may be either due to inherent feelings of inferiority complex or cultural non-advancement. Whatever may be the fact such shortfall of tribal Sarpanches is acute in the district of Mayurbhanj. Hence this study was taken up to assess the reasons of such shortfall in Mayurbhanj district.

According to 1961 Census, the total population of the district is 1,204,043 of which 729,764, i.e., about 65 per cent of the people are tribes. This entire district is a scheduled area. The percentage of literacy is about 7.1 per cent among the tribes. Despite of high percentage of tribal population and literacy, it is strangely marked that the tribal people are not becoming full participants or competing in the same footing as Ward Members or Sarpanches with other castes in the various panchayat elections.

The time for the study being short, it was not possible to take into account all the Panchayats. Selected units were studied from which this general picture could

be derived. A comprehensive statistic of all the Panchayat Samitis, Grama Panchayats under each Panchayat Samiti, total population and tribal population under each Panchayat, caste and tribe of each Sarpanch, total members of each Panchayat and total Scheduled Tribe members of each Panchayat were collected from the official source to know the maximum shortfall of Grama Panchayats in the district.

The analysis of the available statistics reveals that the district is having a total number of 160 Sarpanches of which 42 are tribals. Thus, 73.75 per cent of the Sarpanches are non-tribals. The detailed analysis of each subdivision is given below:—

Sl. No.	Subdivision	Total population	Total S. T. population	Percentage of S. T. population	Total No. of Panchayat members in the sub-division	Total No. of S. T. Panchayat members in the sub-division	Percentage of S. T. Panchayat members
1.	Sadar ..	488,088	264,562	54.2 per cent.	1,523	544	15.7 per cent.
2.	Bamanghati..	286,855	183,917	64.11 per cent.	565	477	84.42 per cent.
3.	Panchpir ..	220,845	142,228	64.40 per cent.	659	363	55.08 per cent.
4.	Kaptipada..	179,672	121,190	67.45 per cent.	513	291	56.72 per cent.

The comparative analysis of the four subdivisions shows that the shortfall of tribal members is more acute in the Sadar subdivision in spite of the fact that this subdivision is inhabited by

54.02 per cent of the tribal people. In other subdivisions, such as Bamanghati, Panchpir and Kaptipada the tribal members of the Panchayats are fairly proportional to the tribal population

and the shortfall is negligible. The Sadar subdivision has, therefore, been intensively studied to assess the reason of shortfall of tribal Sarpanches. Again two Grama Panchayats, viz, Rajabasa and Khanua are found to have the maximum shortfall in the Sadar subdivision. About 86 per cent of the total population of Rajabasa are tribals but the Sarpanch of this place is a non-tribal belonging to the 'Mahanto' (Kudmi) caste. Khanua in Badsahi Panchayat Samiti is inhabited by 82 per cent of tribal people, but the Sarpanch is a non-tribal belonging to Gouda (milkman) caste.

So in order to assess the reasons of shortfall of tribal Sarpanches five villages, such as Rajabasa, Mahaniganj, Chandua, Salbani and Madhabpur from Rajabasa Grama Panchayat and two villages such as Khanua and Mochiasahi from Khanua Grama Panchayat have been selected for field investigation. From each village ten families have been studied and the head of the families have been interviewed.

With this analysis it will not be out of place to discuss the economic and cultural background of the people. Out of seventy persons in the two Grama Panchayats only 7 persons possess 10 acres of land, 13 persons possess less than 10 acres and the rest, i.e., about 60 per cent of the people are either landless or share-croppers. Another observable fact of this area is that out of seventy persons fifty persons

possess only 'Dahi' land (land with wild growth of bushy forests).

In Dahi land millets and Bobai grass for manufacturing paper are grown. Cultivation of Dahi land needs greater efforts. In the wet land rice is grown. The yeild is poor as the land is mostly rain fed. There are also kitchen gardens in every household.

It may be noted that land is somewhat evenly distributed among the cultivating families of the area. In Rajabasa Grama Panchayat out of 50 persons in five villages only 9 persons are share-croppers. Three of them cultivate 3 acres to 5 acres of land. The rest cultivate one to two acres of land.

At Khanua Grama Panchayat out of 20 persons in two villages 9 persons are share-croppers and comparatively they till a large amount of land as share-croppers than the people of Rajabasa Grama Panchayat. It is because the present Sarpanch of this Grama Panchayat, is a local man of Khanua village and is regarded as the richest man of that area. Another man, the ex-Sarpanch of Khanua Grama Panchayat also resides in Mochiasahi, a contiguous village of Khanua. Though he is not as rich as the present Sarpanch of Khanua he has also leased out some of his lands for share-cropping. But since there is always tug-of-war between the ex-Sarpanch and the present Sarpanch, the latter does not lease land to persons belonging to former's group. As land is scarce this feud restricts the scope of share-cropping in the area.

The terms and conditions imposed by the local landowners are very hard. Anybody who wants to take one acre of land for share-cropping, is to deposit Rs. 80 as 'Sanjua' (Fees for the land) in advance or before he starts tilling the land. After the harvest, the yield is equally divided between the tenant and the landowner in utter disregard of Orissa Tenancy Rules. This situation makes wage-earning a more attractive profession than share-cropping. People prefer to cultivate their own land, however, small the size may be, and make up the deficit by working as labourers.

Wage earning

It is the main source of living for all. Out of 50 persons at Rajabasa Grama Panchayat, 45 persons go for wage-earning. Out of these 45 persons, 8 persons live on wage-earning for three months, 32 persons for 6 months and five persons for 9 months. The remaining five persons generally leave their village and go to the neighbouring areas like Dantan and Nekursini for wage-earning. Others confine themselves in their respective villages and attend to the call of the local people.

Inside the village they generally get 2 seers of paddy or Re. 0.87 paise as wage but Rs. 1.25 paise in the outside. At Khanua Grama Panchayat out of 20, 14 persons go for wage-earning. Of these 14 persons, 3, earn wage for three months, 8 for six months, 2

for 9 months and one person earn wage for the whole year.

Wage-earning makes the vast majority of the people dependent on their employers. This restricts the free exercises of their right of franchise.

Forest Collection

The area under forest in these Grama Panchayats is very small and is gradually being converted into cultivable lands. The main item of collection from the forest is mahua.

Goti or Baramasia (Annual) labourer

The system of Goti, as commonly understood is not prevalent in these areas. However the poorer section of the cultivators are sometimes appointed as "Barmasia" or annual labourers by the rich land owners. Only six persons in Rajabasa Grama Panchayat and three persons in Khanua Grama Panchayat are working as Baramasia. Each of them is paid 20 seers of paddy monthly and Rs. 60 annually.

Hence out of 70 labourers only 9 are appointed as Baramasia (annual labourer). This indicates that majority of the people prefer to work as daily labourer rather than annual labourer. Daily labour is considered more lucrative than annual labour. The youths of the present day generally prefer to be daily labourers.

Service

Out of fifty persons at Rajabasa Grama Panchayat, not a single soul is found to be serving in any private or Government institution. Almost all the people of this place are illiterate and lack capability of doing work in any institution. But at Khanua Grama Panchayat some of the Bhumijas are literate. Out of 20, only 3 persons are serving in the capacity of Secretary, Grama Panchayat Co-operative Society and teachers in the local Lower Primary School.

Crafts

The two Grama Panchayats are principally predominated by Santal and Bhumija. These tribes do not practise any craft for maintaining their livelihood. For domestic requirements plough, string-cots and untrimmed baskets, etc., are prepared by them. But there are no professional craftsmen as such.

Business

It is a minor source of living of the people. There are no whole-time business men in the Rajabasa Grama Panchayat. But a few people are occasional vegetable sellers. At Khanua Grama Panchayat out of 20, three persons are petty businessmen who sell clothes and kerosene oil, etc., in the nearby local markets at Dukura, Hatibandha, Bireswarpur and Pratapur.

The above facts give the impression that most of the people are poor. Though they are

agriculturists, their main source of income is wage earning. Their condition further deteriorates due to periodic shortage of food on account of the vagaries of nature.

Cultural background

Santal and Bhumija are in majority in Rajabasa and Khanua Grama Panchayats. In spite of the fact that Rajabasa and Khanua are situated six and ten miles ahead in the northern and western corner of the district headquarters, Baripada, the tribes of those places have not adopted urban culture to any great extent. So far as the social organization is concerned, the Santals are divided into various exogamous groups called Paris or Sibs. The main function of the Sib is to regulate marriage. Every Sib is divided into a number of Sub-Sibs called Khunt. The immediate family, headed by the father, is the smallest social unit of the Santal. It usually consists of husband, wife and children, though in many cases parents and married children continue to live together as a joint family. Their dwellings consist of one or more huts. Each dwelling has its cattle shed and pigsty. The huts are without any window. Their household furnitures are meagre. Hunting is done with bows, and arrows. Besides those, the chief weapons of offence and defence are pallet, bows, spears, battle axe and shields. The males put on small Dhoti, about 3 yards long and 30

inches broad. Women drape themselves with Sarees. They use few ornaments. Their economy is based mainly on agriculture. Collecting, hunting and fishing are subsidiary sources of living. Liquor is prepared mainly from boiled rice, known as 'Handia'. Liquor from Mahua flower is also brewed. They believe Thakur, the supreme being, is the giver of life, rain, crops and all other necessities. Besides Thakur, there are numerous Bongas or malevolent supernatural beings found everywhere.

The Bhumijas like Santals are divided into a number of exogamous groups called Kili. Marriage within the same kili is forbidden and considered incestuous. They are considered untouchables and do not get the service of the Hindu Brahmin, barber and washerman. They have totally forgotten their aboriginal language and have adopted Oriya as their mother-tongue.

Their houses with low walls are very small in size. There is no window in any house. As regards household articles they make a miserable show. Now they use sack or a mat made of wild date-palm as bed. Men wear napkins and occasionally long dhotis while women wear mill-made sarees. Although rice is their staple food, they hardly get square meals throughout the year. They eat fowl, goat, lamb, white-ant, mouse, termites. Rice-beer and Mahua-liquor are taken. They

celebrate festivals and marriage ceremonies with dance and music. They now observe several festivals of the neighbouring Hindus. Among the *Dasahara*, *Raja parba*, *Ghama Punai*, *Makara Sankranti* are important. Arranged marriage is the general rule. But marriage by capture and intrusion are also prevalent among them. The system of bride-price is wide spread among them.

Education

The two Grama Panchayats which have been studied intensively indicate that the people are mostly illiterate. Out of fifty persons at Rajabasa Grama Panchayat only 8, i.e., 16 per cent of the people are literate. Among those 8 persons, four of them have passed lower primary standard, two upper primary standard and two have passed M. E. standard. Out of twenty persons at Khanua Grama Panchayat, only seven, i.e., 35 per cent of the people are literates. Out of seven persons, three of them have passed lower primary standard, two upper primary standard, one, read up to class X and one has passed Amin training course. There is only one primary school in five villages of Rajabasa Grama Panchayat. The name of the school is Lewis Hamilton School, established in the year 1956. There was a M.E. School at Khanua. Recently the villagers have opened a proposed High School. In spite of the fact that these schools, are existing the parents being illiterate do not send their children to schools and engage them either in agriculture

or in domestic work. The children sometimes, go for wage-earning and bring one and half seers of paddy every day to their respective families. The deplorable economic standard and lack of incentive are the causes which debar the children from going to the schools. Due to mass-illiteracy the people do not take active interest in various elections. In order to be a Sarpanch one should have basic qualities, like capability of shouldering responsibility of running the administration of the entire Panchayat, ability to implement development schemes, ability to keep public contact and knowledge of rules and regulations.

Those who think themselves competent from above standards are interested in elections.

Knowledge of the Tribes about Public affairs

Due to lack of education tribals in the area do not take interest in public affairs. In spite of the fact that Rajabasa and Khanua are close to the district headquarters, Baripada the people have got limited knowledge about outside world. In reply to the questionnaire prepared to test the knowledge of the people on public affairs out of 20 persons at Khanua Grama Panchayat only 8 persons could answer something. Six persons could answer other questions excepting the name of the State Chief Minister and Prime Minister of India. Only two persons, one ex-Sarpanch of the Grama Panchayat and another, teacher of the proposed High School could answer all the questions. None at

Rajabasa could answer any. This shows that the people are least interested to know public affairs.

Economic relationship with the elected representatives

Jatindra Mohanto, Sarpanch of Rajabasa Grama Panchayat, is a man of Kashipal village situated 10 miles away from Rajabasa. Kashipal is also about 10 miles away from other village like Mohaniganj, Chandua, Salbani and Madhabpur. Since he is living far away he does not have any direct contact with the people of these villages. He rarely comes to these villages and only when necessity arises, the ward members go to him and discuss about the village affairs. Only five Ward Members come in direct contact with him by participating in a few common meetings.

On the other hand the villagers have direct contact with the elected Ward Members of their respective villages. The Ward Members of Mohaniganj and Chandua villages are better off than other ward Members. Out of fifty, 8 persons are employed as annual labourers, 5 share-cropper and 15 persons are casual wage earners during sowing and harvesting seasons with the Ward Members.

About forty persons out of fifty approach Ward Members for loans. This shows that quite a large percentage of the people are dependant on Ward Members. Excepting the two, the other Ward Members are not rich and hence they rarely help the villagers.

In Khanua Grama Panchayat the Ward Member of Mochiasahi village is better of than the Ward Member of Khanua village. Out of twenty persons, three are engaged as tillers in the former's field. The latter has employed one person only.

The Sarpanch of Khanua Grama Panchayat is a well-to-do man. His father was a Sardar. His grandfather was a Pradhan. The Sarpanch is a man of Khanua village. Hence, he is having direct contact with Khanua village and other neighbouring villages. Out of 20, 9 persons are engaged as share-croppers and 4 persons are employed as annual labourers by him. People approach him for borrowing money and paddy. Yet the Sarpanch is not esteemed high by the people. Therefore the villagers go to his father and borrow money. This shows that almost all the villagers are dependant on the Sarpanch and Ward Members of the Grama Panchayat. Economically they are not self-sufficient and depend very often on big landowners of the village and hence they do not venture to contest those persons.

Case Studies

The following account may show that elections are not fair in the area. This is another reason for the aversion of common people to those.

Baidhara Singh was the Sarpanch in Khanua Grama Panchayat. In the year 1961, when the election took place for the

Sarpanch, Baidhara Singh and Satyanarayan Giri become two contestants. Baidhara Singh was a tribal candidate and he was sure of his success. A week before the actual date of election, Singh came to know the activities of his opponent. He immediately started his campaign with a few of his reliable followers. It was believed by the supporters of Singh that the Ward Members who were once faithful to him were gained over by the opposite party through unfair means. The villagers were entertained with rice-beer and feast by Giri which could not be afforded by Singh.

In the year 1963, Sanatan Singh was contested by his nephew Gurva Singh for a Ward Member. Gurva voluntarily withdrew his nomination paper as he did not like to contest his uncle. In the meantime Satyanarayan Giri appeared in the scene and persuaded Gurva to contest. He did not like that Sanatan Singh to be a Ward Member. Being persuaded by Giri, Gurva resubmitted the nomination paper. On the election day Satyanarayan Giri came to the election booth and propagated in support of Gurva. In spite of this, Gurva was defeated.

These cases have created a feeling among many that such elections are not fair. Hence, they feel diffident to contest these elections.

One remarkable factor in the tribal village is that there is still solidarity. In most of the villages,

SHORTFALL OF TRIBAL SARPANCHES IN THE GRAMA PANCHAYATS, ETC.31

the Ward Members are tribals. When one contests in the election, he goes uncontested. Only when outsiders exert influence, contests take place.

Opinion of the tribals of fair elections

The tribals want that the elections must be free and fair. Before going to file nomination paper a formal meeting should be organized and all interested candidates should reveal their minds to contest in the election. Where several candidates are interested to contest the villagers should decide the suitability of the candidates. Ultimately the villagers must select the best candidate to contest in the election.

According to them, nothing should be done secretly to agitate one group against another.

They do not appreciate political parties to come to the arena in these elections.

Conclusion

This study reveals that illiteracy and poverty combined with ignorance do not interest the tribals to take keen interest in public affairs. The elections in Panchayati Raj institutions are not considered fair. They are taken as premises in which rich or influential persons alone should traverse. These have been responsible for 65 out of 70 persons to remain aloof from the elections.

JAGANNATH MOHANTY

Educational advancement of tribal children is, undoubtedly an important pre-requisite for the general welfare and upliftment of the country. Education promotes a better understanding and appreciation of the problems and relations affecting them. It enables them to adopt a modern and better way of living with their full participation in the national plans and programmes for economic, social, political and cultural progress that the nation as a whole is making. Amongst all the schemes for tribal welfare, tribal education should receive topmost priority. With this realisation, Article 46 of the Constitution under the Directive Principles of State Policy enjoins upon the Government both State and Central for promoting "with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes". In order to translate into actions the spirit of the Constitution, increased provisions have been specially made in successive plans for the educational development of the tribal people. But it is felt by all concerned that tribals have not been able to take full advantage of the opportunities for which educational progress

SOME PROBLEMS IN TRIBAL EDUCATION IN ORISSA AND THEIR SOLUTIONS

among them has not been possible up to our expectation.

The State and Central Governments provide assistance in form of free distribution of clothes, reading, writing material, stipends and scholarships. They are exempted from fees in Schools and Colleges. Orphanages, boarding houses, are also provided. There is reservation in various categories of posts for tribals. In spite of these they are still groping in darkness of age-old apathy and inertia towards education. The reasons for those deserve consideration. Some of them as diagnosed by the field officers, administrators and social workers are extreme poverty, superstition, indifferent attitude, superiority complex of non-tribals and so on. But these complaints of officers and workers are applicable to all welfare schemes. The most important hurdles in the direction of tribal education are (1) language difficulty, (2) want of right type of teachers. If suitable steps could be taken to eradicate those difficulties, considerable improvement in the spread of education among tribal population, could be achieved.

Mother-tongue plays a vital part in the life of individuals. It

has numerous emotional attachments and cultural heritage with the people. Due to its importance, this factor should be given due cognizance in the planning and execution of educational programmes. But owing to the following difficulties it is not so easy and practicable in case of tribals. Firstly, there are a large number of tribal languages or dialects. According to 1961 Census tribal population of Orissa is 4,223,757, which constitute nearly 25 per cent of the entire population of the State. In all 58 languages are in vogue throughout the State and 25 of them are tribal languages. Secondly, those languages have no script. Thirdly, the tribal languages are not equipped to provide technical, scientific and advanced education.

There vocabularies are poor and inadequate. Fourthly, imparting education in tribal languages would incur a huge expenditure, which the State can ill-afford. Fifthly, paucity of technical and administrative personnel would make such attempts impracticable.

However there is considerable thinking, that the tribal children should be imparted education in infant classes in their own dialects. This has not been possible due to the above handicaps. It is widely felt that on account of this drawback existing in primary education which is the gateway to all types of education, tribals are lagging behind in education.

Under these circumstances, Dhebar Commission have suggested the policy, that "A possible compromise seems to us to be that in the first two years, lessons, be imparted invariably in tribal dialect so as to make them understandable to the tribal children. We have found during our tour that the tribal children pick up their subjects much more easily when the subjects are taught even verbally in their own dialect". Since preparation and publication of text-books in such a large number of tribal dialects are difficult, the maximum that can be done in this line is bringing out primers in certain dialects, written in Oriya scripts. But they should be so prepared as to enable the tribal children to learn the Oriya language with ease and spontaneity. Though a good percentage of their words, idioms and phrases may be used and materials for texts should be adopted from their own environment and culture, Oriya words be used in the primers to make up the deficiency in their vocabularies. This will slowly introduce modern and scientific civilization and to facilitate a slow and steady switch over to Oriya medium of instruction.

Experience in compiling primers in tribal languages in association with the Tribal Research Bureau, Orissa, has shown that persons having technical know-how and proficiency in the dialects along with phonetic and philological knowledge in the same are few.

Hence the better method for approaching this crucial problem would be preparation of handi-

books in the tribal languages. These handbooks leased on the latest linguistic and phonetic principles are to be shaped in such a manner that they can be immensely helpful in using the Nationalized Text-books successfully and effectively by our teachers. There may be two kinds of guidebooks (i) for overcoming language difficulties and (ii) for making the attitude of teachers and field workers favourable and sympathetic towards tribal life and culture. Sometimes it is found that teachers, workers and officers maintain their supremacy over the tribals and show themselves as self-appointed benefactors. These do not help the situation. So in order to bring about and fostering clear understanding, friendly spirit, fellow-feeling and better appreciation of tribal culture among the field workers, suitable handbooks should be brought out for them by the Tribal & Rural Welfare Department without delay.

Teachers are pivotal and catalytic agents in the process of

transformation of tribals education. All our efforts for bringing about desirable changes in the present set up may go in vain if right type of teachers are not available and posted in the tribal areas. With the existing conditions it would be useful if after undergoing general training for teaching persons with favourable attitude towards tribal life and culture, are selected to learn tribal languages. They may be deployed in the schools in remote tribal areas. This orientation training should be organised as inductive courses for them before they enter into a new and different type of life. This will provide rudimentary knowledge of tribal dialects, customs, ethnography for sympathetic understanding and appreciation of tribal way of life and problems. The teachers should certainly be given incentives and facilities like special allowance, free residential quarters and other service incentives. These ideas may go a long way in promoting education in tribal areas.



KIRANBALA DEBI

Scavengers and Sweepers occupy the lowest position in the Indian caste system. Although they render most essential service to society yet their occupation is treated as defiling and unclean. Social reformers and political leaders have tried to improve their social and economic conditions for quite sometime. Mahatma Gandhi designating the untouchables as Harijans constantly preached to improve their lot.

Our Constitution no doubt provided without any ambiguity that "untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden". In post-independent India measures to improve the condition of the Scheduled Castes, particularly the Scavengers and Sweepers have been taken up by States with grants from the Central Government. Housing facilities and other amenities to those who are engaged in unclean profession have been given priority. Municipalities and Notified Area Councils engaging Sweepers and Scavengers have been asked to provide those facilities to them. A committee formed under the chairmanship of Professor M. R. Malkani gave various suggestions in this respect. The Commissioner for Scheduled

SWEEPERS AND SCAVENGER IN BHUBANESWAR

Castes and Scheduled Tribes in his annual reports has been watching over the progress of those schemes. In this context the Tribal Research Bureau investigated the living condition of the Scavengers and Sweepers working under Bhubaneswar Notified Area Council.

This Notified Area Council includes the New Capital of Bhubaneswar along with the temple town and other adjoining areas. The investigation was carried out mainly in Kedarpalli Sweepers' colony within Bapuji Nagar of the Capital. The Scavengers and Sweepers in Bodogada, Jharpada, Mangalsahi, Kapileswar and in Kharavala Nagar were also studied to provide a comparative picture. In these basties the Scavengers and Sweepers employed by the Notified Area Council are living along with those who are working in other Government offices as well as under private persons. In the following account the living condition of Scavengers and Sweepers in the context of the special amenities provided to them, is discussed.

In Bhubaneswar, the Notified Area Committee was first constituted with effect from the 1st

February 1948 under the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act, 1922, with an area of 6.76 square miles. Again it was reconstituted as a Notified Area Council with effect from the 1st October 1952 with an area of 10.17 square miles. In 1960 some more areas were included in the Notified Area Council, and at present the area of the Notified Area Council is 13.07 square miles comprising of 13 wards. There are 105 females and 140 males working as Scavengers and Sweepers under the Notified Area Council. Twelve Jamadars are employed to supervise their work and they are under the control of the Health Officer assisted by five Health Inspectors.

The Sweepers have been engaged in the following work. Road cleaning—46, Latrine, etc.—173, Drain—4, Burial grounds—4, Trenching grounds—4, Slaughter house—1, Cartmen—13. Thus the total number of employees working under Notified Area Council is 245.

In Kedarpalli, the Notified Area Council has constructed 50 quarters to accommodate 100 employees as husband and wife are both employed. Others are living in private premises in different villages as mentioned above. Some of them come from distant villages such as Patia, Sara Kantara, Baramunda, etc., which are not very far from Bhubaneswar. Government are anxious to improve their living conditions and accordingly nine quarters have recently been con-

structed by the Notified Area Council with grants from Tribal & Rural Welfare Department. The conservancy drivers, cleaners, Jamadars have been accommodated in these quarters.

Kedarpalli colony is situated towards the south-eastern part of the Unit I. It has a planned layout with quarters arranged in two parallel rows and another row connecting these two. In between two rows there is a rectangular space with a community house at the centre of the colony. There are two shrines for their duties.

Although this is constructed for 50 families, about 71 families are residing there. Some are adjusting in the same quarters. The others are living by building tiny huts inside or outside the quarters. The quarters are cemented having one room and one kitchen. The 'Scavenging Conditions Enquiry Committee, report suggests at page 133 that "one room tenements are not adequate. Scavengers have large families even taking an average of five members, per family, one room tenements are too small. From the point of view of moral hygiene every tenement must make provision for two living rooms. A kitchen, a bathroom, a flushout latrine or any other sanitary type septic tanks, etc., build up cupboard, a slightly raised platform for five place with a hood or chimney over it and possibly a hollow should be provided. Wherever possible, electricity must be provided. Water-supply is a bare necessity". In Kedarpalli

colony it is observed in a few cases that mother-in-law or mother or daughter-in-law remain in a kitchen which is too small to be used as bedroom. None of the households possesses a private latrine. Five common latrines have been constructed but they are out of order at the time of investigation. The surrounding fields are used for the purpose always. There are five water taps and one light post but their quarters are not electrified.

The employees of N. A. C., other offices and private institutions live together in the other Mehentra basties. In all the five villages 9 families possess pucca houses out of 68 families. In this respect they are in a better position but they have no water taps or well-ventilated rooms. Both *basties* and colonies have no latrine or electrified rooms.

Social background

It is needless to say that social background is a measure to know their social prestige in the society. Previously in India there was segregation in profession for different castes. As such Sweepers and Scavengers were occupying the lowest place in the hierarchical ladder of social status for their unclean profession. At the same time their poor living condition, economic depression, segregation in education were responsible for the lower status of the Sweepers and Scavengers. The abolition of untouchability along with rapid educational progress worn out the stamping ideas about them. The

lower the education, the lower is the position of the individual in the social status at present age. Right to opportunity would be meaningless unless every individual has equal facilities to equip himself. Education is an inevitable factor to raise the social prestige.

Educational standard of the villagers and the inmates of the colony is poor. Only 13 out of 622 total population have come up to M. E. Standard and two to H. E. Standard. 158 out of 622 are literate, the percentage being 25. Scavenging and Sweeping work do not require higher education. But children should be educated and some of them should be highly qualified. The Scavenging Conditions Enquiry Committee suggests in their report (vide page 136) that "the State Governments and local bodies should assume that children of Scavengers are provided easy admission in schools and hostels irrespective of their caste. Effort should be made to open primary schools near their *basties* where children of Scavengers and other communities may receive education". At Bhubaneswar, Kapileswar, Baragard, Jharpada, Primary Schools are close to the *basties*. There is an U. P. School at Bapujinagar adjacent to Kedar-palli. But the parents at Kedar-palli, Jharpada and Baragard are facing difficulties in sending their children to the schools. Schools begin from 10-30 A. M. and parents return from their duties at 2 P. M. They are failing to send their children to schools as the responsibility of guarding

younger children rests with the school-going children. So creches should be started in Kedarpalli colony where nuclear families are found in most of the cases, and a trained lady may be appointed to look after their children. In this respect State Social Welfare Advisory Board may help as it is the responsibility of that Board to open creches in those places where parents are working. The creches will help in different ways, firstly the mother can work without anxieties, secondly children will be free to read and thirdly the children can be properly trained to pick up hygienic values.

Social condition

Most of the Scavengers and Sweepers like nuclear family to safeguard their family happiness and economic security. Generally they have no other ostensible means besides their monthly income. In such cases it is obvious to prefer nuclear family.

Caste endogamy is prevalent among the Scavengers. There is no opportunity at the present moment for them for inter-caste marriage. Dowry system prevails among them. They are giving dowry such as wrist-watch, cycle and furniture according to the educational status of the bridegroom. Among lower castes people where girls are earning members their marriage is a loss to the family. But modern civilization has turned the outlook of the Scheduled Castes.

Divorce, desertion and remarriage are common among the

Scavengers. They live together so long as they have clear understanding.

Priests, barbers and washermen do not serve the Scavengers and Sweepers in their social performances such as marriage or death rites or for day to day life. But they have free access to laundry, saloon, hotels and shops.

Recreational facilities

The Scavenging Conditions Enquiry Committee Report provides in page 136 that "there should be established community centres where care of children is compared with training of some craft and adult education". Such community centre should also be used for cultural purposes and amusement, etc. It is needless to open adult education centre or craft centre as the women remain busy for doing services, household work, rearing child, etc. After hard work they have no time or energy to learn crafts but radio and playing materials should be supplied for their recreation. In Kedarpalli there is a community house, but the building is used as a school to give primary education to the children of the colony. In other villages there is no community centre.

The principal deity of the Scavengers and Sweepers is Goddess Mangala. In the months of Aswinya and Chaitra they worship their village Goddess. Performance of rituals is associated with Jatras or Palas. Sambar-

dasami is the most important religious ceremony as they believe that Sun God accepts food prepared by chandals, on that day. Though they are not prohibited to have free access to temples they are psychologically, obsessed to enter into temples.

Economic life

Social prestige is associated with amount of income as well as with the source of income. The Scavengers and Sweepers get a scanty amount of monthly income. Besides they occasionally earn by beating drums and disposing of dead animals. From our inquiry it is found that 66 families live within the income of 61 to 100 rupees monthly and next to this 46 families within 101 to 150 rupees. 14 families earn more than Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 and 11 families earn more than Rs. 200 and only seven families live within Rs. 60. The average family members of the Sweepers and Scavengers is 4 to 5. Thus it is found that they live on bare necessity of life. Drinking habits draw a major portion of their income.

Landed property, one of the important factors to judge their economic status, was taken for consideration. It is found that out of 146 families, 118 families have no landed property, nineteen families have 1-3 acres of land and eight families have 4 to 7 acres and one family has more than one acre. This shows that Scavengers are not in a fair state so far as landed property is concerned.

The detailed investigations in Kedarpalli colony was carried out to find out their indebtedness. Out of 71 families, 41 families have not incurred loan and for others the amount of loan varies between Rs. 100 to Rs. 200. There are a few cases of indebtedness ranging from Rs. 300 to Rs. 500. The purpose of incurring loan is mainly surmounted to their family maintenance, marriage and funeral ceremonies.

Facilities and amenities given by Notified Area Council as recommended by the Scavenging Conditions Enquiry Committee and those which the Scavengers are deprived of, are given below.

Scavengers who are entrusted in cleaning of service type latrines are provided with a three wheeled cart, one bucket, one broom and one scraper. So carrying night soil in tinsor baskets as waist loads has been stopped. Iron scraper with handle are used. The wheel cart is made of iron with three wheels with rubber tubes and a cover over it are provided for carrying night soil. Those who work in flushout latrines have got one broom and one bucket.

Generally Scavengers work six hours a day. Each Scavenger has to attend 100 flushout latrines or 40 to 50 service latrines. Each Sweeper cleans two furlongs of road daily.

Fifteen days casual leave are usually granted to the Sweepers and Scavengers. To female Sweepers one month maternity

leave is granted. The council has been moved for granting other leaves according to the provision of the Orissa Service Code.

Gratuity Scheme

The Scheme of gratuity on retirement as provided under the Orissa Municipal Rules, 1953, has been introduced among the Notified Area Council Sweepers and Scavengers. Those who retire from service get one month pay for each completed year of service.

Uniforms

During 1963, the male Sweepers have been supplied one half-pant and one half-shirt by Notified Area Council. During 1964-65 one shirt per each male Scavenger and Sweeper have been supplied. This year the Council has been moved to supply two pants and two shirts to each male Sweeper.

Roll call

The Scavengers are called twice for roll call as recommended by the committee.

Education

There are primary Schools near the *basties* and a primary school is going to be opened at Kedarpalli. There should be proper time adjustment between working hours of Scavengers and School hours.

The following facilities as suggested by the Scavenging Conditions Enquiry Committee has not yet been provided :—

Scavengers are allowed half-day off on Sundays instead of full holiday.

The Notified Area Council is giving only one shirt and the council has been moved to give two shirts and two pants to the

males. But women Scavengers are deprived of this facility. So they should be supplied with saries.

Arrangements for supply of soap at the place of work like, pail depots and dumping grounds has not been made.

Community centres for adult education and craft teaching as suggested by Scavenging Conditions Enquiry Committee may not be successful among the Scavengers, as they remain engaged for the whole day in Scavenging, Sweeping and doing household work. Since they remain busy throughout the day, recreational centres may be opened where they can rejuvenate their energy.

The Provident Fund Scheme has not been introduced for the Sweepers and Scavengers till now as they are employed on purely temporary basis and get wages at the end of the month. The Council has now decided to take them as regular employee, after which steps should be taken to provide provident fund facilities.

The creches have not yet been started for the children of working-mothers. Starting of creches mainly depend on the financial conditions of the Notified Area Council. State Social Welfare Advisory Board should give grants and guidance for this purpose.

The Scavengers and Sweepers who are living in Kedarpalli colony are immigrants from Cuttack, Berhampur, Puri, etc. Most of them do not go to their

native places as their homes are either broken or in dilapidated condition. Some workers are coming daily from distant villages like Barmunda, Patia, etc., some are staying in rented houses. In Kedarpalli colony 71 families are accommodated in 50 quarters. According to the Scavenging Conditions Enquiry Committee (Page 133) it would be advisable for the local bodies to construct houses for Scavengers and allot those on hire purchase basis. This would enable the Scavengers to get permanent residence. As regards other *basties* it is found that drinking water is the main

problem for the villagers. Facilities like sanitary latrines, street lights, drainage, and tap water need be provided. With these facilities their living condition could be improved. The picture may not be very different in other municipalities, and deserve equal attention.

Spread of education among them, enhancement of their economic standard and placing them in various capacities in different permanent jobs will definitely bring them to the limelight of prosperity.



HARJINDER SINGH

The central aim in introducing Panchayati Raj system of administration in our country was to place the developmental activities in the hands of elected representatives. The experiment can be successful if adequate participation of such leaders is forthcoming. It is often remarked that their participation is not to the desired extent in all the three tiers of Panchayati Raj, i.e., Panchayat, Block and District Level. One way to determine participation is to study the attendance in the meetings of these bodies. Such an analysis can provide some insight into the problem.

Objective and Scope

The present study is aimed at to have an analysis of meetings of a Grama Panchayat in Orissa. The specific objectives are—

- (i) Studying the social characteristics of Grama Panchayat members.
- (ii) Analysis of Grama Panchayat meetings.
- (iii) Determination of the extent to which statutory provisions are fulfilled in this respect.

PATTERN OF ATTENDANCE IN MEETINGS OF A GRAMA PANCHAYAT IN ORISSA

Technique

The present study covers the meetings of a Grama Panchayat in Orissa held during the period January, 1966 to June, 1966 (six months). The attendance record of Grama Panchayat has provided the base for this analysis. The information in regard to social characteristics of members has been obtained from Sarpanch and Panchayat Secretary.

Limitation

For want of adequate information available with Grama Panchayat, the study could not deal with the decision making process and contribution made by members in its meetings.

Background Information

The headquarters of Grama Panchayat under study is situated on National Highway from Calcutta to Madras. It has a Railway station on South-Eastern line, besides other public institutions like Police out-post, Electricity sub-station, etc.

The present area of operation of this Grama Panchayat covers six villages with a population of 6,226 having an area of 9 Sq. miles. It is divided into 16

PATTERN OF ATTENDANCE IN MEETINGS OF A GRAMA PANCHAYAT, ETC.

different wards and each ward is represented through an elected member. Among these sixteen Grama Panchayat members one represents Scheduled Tribe population. The present Panchayat with sixteen members was constituted on the 16th June 1958. This number includes a Sarpanch and a Naib-Sarpanch elected by Grama Panchayat members from among themselves.

Findings

(a) *Social characteristics*—So far as the social characteristics of all the 16 Grama Panchayat members are concerned, information was obtained in regard to Education, Age and Main occupation followed by them. This is given in a table as follows :—

TABLE I
Social characteristics of Grama Panchayat members
(N=16)

Serial No.	Social characteristics	Number
1	(a) <i>Education</i> —	
	(i) Illiterate	4
	(ii) Primary	3
	(iii) Middle	9
2	(b) <i>Age</i> —	
	(i) 25—35 years	7
	(ii) 36—45 years	9
3	(c) <i>Main occupation</i> —	
	(i) Cultivation	13
	(ii) Business	1
	(iii) Service	2

The above table shows that of 16 Grama Panchayat members, 4 are illiterate, whereas 3 and 9 of them have read up to Primary and Middle Standard. None of the members has High and above as

educational qualification. This shows that 75 per cent of the members are literate. Both Sarpanch and Naib-Sarpanch have read up to Middle Standard.

Further, the table indicates that only 7 members come from young age category of 25—35 years, whereas remaining 9 represent middle age-group of 36—45 years. None of the members is from advance age-group of 46 and above years. Both Sarpanch and Naib-Sarpanch represent middle age-group.

So far as their main occupation is concerned, it is seen that more than 75 per cent, i.e., 13 member;

follow cultivation as their main occupations only 1 is engaged in business, whereas 2 members have taken up service as main occupation. Both Sarpanch and Naib-Sarpanch are engaged in cultivation.

(b) *Attendance in Meetings*—
During the period under study six meetings have been held. The attendance at these meetings is indicated in a table as follows :—

TABLE 2

Attendance in Grama Panchayat meetings held during January 1966 to June 1966

(N=6)

Sl. No.	Grama Panchayat member	24th January 1966	24th February 1966	24th March 1966	24th April 1966	24th May 1966	29th June 1966	Total meetings attended
		(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)	
1	Sh. N. S. (Sarpanch)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
2	„ N. A. S. (Naib-Sarpanch)	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	4
3	„ C. B.	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	3
4	„ U. J.	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	4
5	„ N. S.	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	3
6	„ S. D. (Scheduled Tribe)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	5
7	„ M. A. R.	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	4
8	„ M. N.	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	4
9	„ G. P. R.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	5
10	„ T. P. R.	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	4
11	„ K. G.	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	2
12	„ G. G.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	4
13	„ K. S.	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	3
14	„ B. K. M.	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	5
15	„ M. B.	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	3
16	„ R. B.	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	5

The above table shows that of 16 members only 1 has attended all the six meetings held during the period under study. 4 of them attended five meetings each, whereas 6 members could attend four meetings each. Further, 4 and 1 attended three and two meetings respectively. The average attendance is 66.7 per cent. This shows that attendance at these meetings is satisfactory.

As provided in the Act, a Grama Panchayat is to hold a meeting after one month. The Grama Panchayat under study has fixed 24th date in this respect. The above table shows that this has been fulfilled except in case of one meeting (29th June 1966) which has been late by only five days.

Further, in order to have quorum in meetings of a Grama Panchayat, it is provided that $\frac{1}{3}$ of the total members are to be present for the transaction of any business. Table 2 shows that Grama Panchayat under study has not faced this problem as sufficient number of members were present in all the six meetings.

Also, provision is there that a member is subject to disqualification if he remains absent in meetings for more than three months. The above table indicates that there is one such

member (at Sl. No. 11) who has been continuously absent for four months. On enquiry it was observed that this provision has not been acted upon in this case.

Conclusions

Basing observations on this study following conclusions can be made :

The study shows that majority of Grama Panchayat members are literate and come from middle age-group of 36—45 years. More than 75 per cent of them are mainly engaged in cultivation.

It establishes that attendance pattern in Grama Panchayat meetings is satisfactory which is indicative of the interest on the part of members. Only one member could be found not very particular about meetings.

Meetings have been held according to the requirements except in one case when it was late only by five days.

There has been no problem of quorum in all the six meetings of Grama Panchayat.

Finally, the study goes to emphasise that the provision has not been acted upon in case of a member who remained absent for more than three months.

MANMOHAN MOHAPATRA

Introduction

Caste is a curious phenomenon. It is a Portuguese word (Casta), signifying breed, race or kind. Kaltekar, defines caste; as a "Social grouping having two characteristics (i) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born, (ii) the members are forbidden by an exorable sacred law to marry outside the group" (Quoted by Hutton 1963 : 48). The words "Caste" and "Sub-caste" are a misnomer and comparative in statement. The larger group is called "Caste", whereas the smaller as "Sub-caste". To a foreigner, the words "Varna" and "Caste" are confusing. "Varna" is a cultural ideology whereas "Caste" is a social grouping. All the castes have their respective Caste-Associations known as "Niyoga", "Jatiana Sabha" and Panchayat, ruled by either the traditional or by the non-traditional leaders, in accordance with the caste rules whether written or unwritten. Each caste has its traditional occupations. In modern contexts the traditional caste structure is changing rapidly and the caste rules are weakening day by day and the caste leaders are becoming powerless. "It no longer regulates occupation, status, and marriage in the same manner as it did say two or three generations ago" (Bose 1960:48).

ORGANIZATION OF CASTE AMONG THE BAURIS OF BHUBANESWAR

Purpose

The paper intends to discuss the Organization of Caste among the Bauris of Bhubaneswar, the State Capital of Orissa.

Materials for the present paper were collected mostly by interview and observations. Printed records and manuscript sources were also referred whenever available.

The Setting

Bhubaneswar, the present State Capital of Orissa was a small multi-caste village consisting mostly of the temple servants residing around the temple. There were also a few Bengalis living in the town either permanently or temporarily. "It was a village in Khurda subdivision, situated 18 miles south of Cuttack and 30 miles north of the Puri town. Popularly the name is used not only for Bhubaneswar, but also for the villages of Kapilprasad and a part of Bargad, the boundary running from the Rameswar temple on the north to the Kapileswar temple on the south and from the District Board bungalow on the west to the Brahmeswar temple" (O'Malley 1929: 265). The Bauris like the Hādis are also a category of temple servant (Sevaka). As a polluting caste the Bauris lived

separately away from the clean caste dwelling mostly at the out-skirts of the town. There were no roads connecting these wards with the clean caste wards. Separate wells and tanks (or separate banks of the tanks) were prescribed for the Bauris, by the clean castes. Agricultural labour, stone cutting and earth working were the traditional occupation of the caste. Besides these secular occupations they had certain duties in the Lingaraj temple complex. For example; "(i) to cut the first tree on the Saraswati puja day in new axes from the mango tope (Bada tota), (ii) to repair the road for the temple car (Ratha) on the car festival day, (iii) to serve as breaksman (Kharadāwāla) of the temple car....." (Mahapatra 1964-65 : ¶).

According to the Census taken in December 1964 and January 1965, the Bauris in 10 wards of Bhubaneswar number 662 among which 330 are males and 292 are females.

Traditional caste system and the Bauris.

The original caste system had four tiers, the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas or warriors, the Vaisyas a merchants and the Sudras. Their evolution is connected with various legends.

The Bauris did not belong to the three orders of the Caste hierarchy. They do not come under the fourth category of the traditional caste structure also. But the Sudra were divided into thirty-six sub-castes popularly called as the

"Chhatisā Pātāka" or the "Chhatisā Niyoga", and according to a local tradition, the thirty-six castes were required to perform different services in the ritual cycle of the Lingaraj complex. The "Chhatisā Niyoga" represented in the temple included higher castes like Brahmins and even Hadi sweepers. The Bauris, being a section of the temple servants come under this "Chhatisā Niyoga". If we believe this local tradition, the other seems to be contradictory. Hence, "Chhatisa Niyoga" and "Chhatisā Pātāka" who are represented in because, the Bauris are not included in the so-called "Chhatisā Pātāka" who are represented in the "Chhatisā Niyogā" of Lingaraj temple. Praharaj, in this connection says. "the Bauris do not belong to the fourfold division of the traditional caste system as they were uncivilised or Anaryas. Another source (Vasu ; 1931) mentions them as Buddhists. To illustrate :

"..... the Bauris were regarded as equal in rank with the Brahmins and that they observed the rites and followed observances of Buddhism until the time of King Prataprudra Dev of Orissa .. they were afterwards persecuted by his court" (Vasu : 1931 : 30).

To prove his statement Vasu quotes the Puranic text Siddhānta Dambaru by Balaram Das as follows :—

"Nirākāra dakshinaru bipra hua jāta Uttara angaru jāna Gopāl sambuta Badana antare Biswāmītra muni kahe Tāhānkaa angare Bauri jāta hoi Biswāmītra jyestha suta putra hua jāna, Se i ti Bauri Ananta Kandi nāma."

"From the right side of Nirākār sprang the Vipras into existence and from his mouth Viswāmītra and from this Viswāmītra the Bāuris came into being. From the right side of Nirākār also sprang in full bloom, the goddess Padmālaya who was married to Viswāmītra. The fruit of this union was a son namely Ananta Kāndi Bāuri. It is also said that Duli Bāuri and his descendants studied the vedas with the brahmins, who were regarded as his elder brother" (Vasu 1931: 17-8).

Several other stories are also told by the Bauris regarding the origin of the caste. Thurston mentions the following story quoting from Risley which runs as follows :

".....they were degraded for attempting to steal food from the banquet of gods; another profess to trace them back to a mythical ancestor named Bahaka Rishi (the bearer of burdens), and tells how while returning from a marriage procession they sold the palanquin they had been hired to carry, got drunk on the proceeds and assaulted their Guru (religious preceptor), who cursed them for the sacrilege, and condemned to rank them thence forward among the lowest castes of the community" (Thurston 1909 : 175).

The following origin story however was collected during the field research.

"Once, the Mahaprabhu appeared before the Raja at night in dream and told him to construct a temple for him in the town. (Present Bhubaneswar). Next morning, the King summoned his

courtiers and ordered them to arrange everything for the temple. When the temple was half done, a demon came and dismantled it. The king thus got very angry with the demon and appointed people to watch him. The demon thus troubled the Raja and the work was delayed. The Raja then prayed Mahaprabhu who told him in disguise that he would keep an eye over the demon. The Mahaprabhu waited personally at the Lion's Gate, for the southern and the northern doors. He created a dog and a man called Kalandi. At the dead of the night when the demon appeared, he was slain by Mahaprabhu. After the death of the demon, Kalandi immediately made a potters wheel and constructed an earthen jug. The skin of the demon was tied to the mouth of the jug. Thus, a drum was made known as "Ghumura". The Bauris are said to be the descendants of this Kalandi and they still play on this drum during marriage ceremonies."

This story mentioned above has no similarity or coincidence with the traditional Divine Theory of the origin of the Hindu caste system.

Another story from the Bauris of Bhubaneswar equally do not throw any light on the origin of the caste.

"Once, Vishnu summoned all the caste leaders to distribute food. The Bauri leader was late and met Vishnu beyond the appointed time. As no food was left he was given only a conch shell.

The Bauris blow this conch shell (Sankha) during the marriage and other auspicious occasions."

This story has also been mentioned by Vasu (1931: 18) and this corroborates with the story collected by the author.

"Of the three sons of Padmalaya, the eldest had once, a friendly meeting with Vishnu, who killed Sankhāsura (Demon Sankha) and gave him the Sankha" (Vasu 1931 : 18). (Bracketed mine).

Vasu (1931) in order to prove the Bauris as Budhists, says that the Sankha is actually the Budhistic Sangha.

Position in the Society :

The Bauris were considered as a polluting caste. In the social scale they occupy a place lower than the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Karanas, etc., but higher than the Hadis, Panas, Kandaras, Mochis and Dhobis, etc. It is interesting to note here that the Bauris do not accept *kutchha* food and even water from the Goldsmiths (Bania) the reason being that once a Goldsmith brought out a piece of gold from the nightsoil (Guha dhua Bania). According to Bauri informants the Banias, thus performed the duties of a Hadi. They also considered Dhobis, Rajputs and Telis low and do not accept *kutchha* food in their houses. The Dhobis do not clean the clothes of the Bauris. But according to a mutual agreement between the caste leaders Dhobis would clean only the *Patua* clothes of Bauris,

who in turn would play conch shell in the Dhobis' marriage. The Dhobis are considered low to the Bauris, as the former clean the menstrual clothes. But the Bauris can carry a Muslim in palanquines.

As untouchables, the Bauris were not permitted to enter into the house of the Brahmins. "They were permitted to enter into the outer courtyard of the houses of the higher castes and were served meals only on leaves" (Das 1966:18). In this locality the Bauris never touch the bell metal or aluminium vessels (excluding the cooking utensils) for the fear of pollution.

The Bauris consider themselves inferior to other high castes. They do not prefix "SRI" before their names. For example: On one occasion, the author had an opportunity to observe, when a group of Bauris signed a petition, one of them used "SRI" before his name. But some of the caste elders immediately protested.

Bauris, as a Caste :

As a separate caste, the Bauris have their own caste organisation. They have their own priests, barbers, and weavers among them. The traditional caste leaders (Beheras) act as the Caste barbers in ordinary days and in marriage and funeral ceremonies. The wife of the Behera also helps the bride in marriages. It is the Behera who washes the feet of the guests in the marriage feast and carries loads to the houses of the bride

and the groom. The Bauri Tanti (Weaver) supply clothes. They have their own musicians called "Ghumurā Bāuri" as the Hadis do not play on drums, etc., in the houses of the Bauris).

The Bauris of Puri district of which Bhubaneswar is a part, are divided into four endogamous groups each called a sub-caste (Upa-jāti).

(1) *Māhabhoi Bāuris*—The Bāuris of Bhubaneswar town call themselves as the "Mahābhois" or the Great Bhois. They also call them as the "Lion Place Bauris" (Singhasthān Bāuris) as they live in Bhubaneswar, the town of temples and shrines. They are the highest section. They are stone cutters and agricultural labourers. At present they are taking to other occupations.

(2) *Tanlā Bāuris*—The "Tanla" or the "Tanharā" Bauris are next to the "Mahābhois" in social position. They are found in the ex-states of the district such as Nayagarh, Ranpur, etc. They are the mat makers and agricultural labourers. Such type of Bauris are also found in Cuttack district (Misra et al 1963:62) and live mainly on rickshaw pulling.

(3) *Ghumura Bāuris*—They occupy the third position in the social hierarchy and are equal to the Hadis. They beat traditional drum "Ghumura" during marriages.

(4) *Bunā Bāuris*—The Bāuri weavers are called as such. They occupy the fourth and the lowest position in the social scale. They

supply clothes to the members of the community spun in their traditional looms.

Each of the sections mentioned above maintained their unity and distinctness. All the sections are endogamous. Inter-marriage and commensality were forbidden among them.

The Changing Scene

The Bauris of Bhubaneswar have undergone marked changes in their socio-economic and political life after the establishment of a new township for the State capital close to the traditional town. They are no longer considered untouchable by their neighbours and in many places are appointed as domestic servants. They have taken many new occupations. To illustrate :

"Two Bauri youths have opened tea stalls.....on the road side close to their wards. Three have been employed as Class IV servants of the State and Central Governments. Two Bauris are pulling rickshaws in the New Capital.....The Bauris of Huda, Bangala, Nageswar Sahi have started Band parties (Orchestral musicians) and are hired for marriage and sacred thread ceremonies of the clean caste people. Three Bauris work as masons in the New Capital under the building contractors... .." Mahapatra 1964-65 : 46)

The traditional Caste Structure has undergone changes under pressure of modernization and urbanization. At present when

the Bauris are asked their "Caste" (Jāti) they designate themselves as "Bhois" but not as "Bāuris" because they consider the term derogatory. Furthermore, in lists of the Scheduled Caste of Orissa, both the "Bauris" and "Bhois" are included. In the area under study the term "Bauri", is used as the caste name whereas the term "Bhoi" as the patronymic. They use several appellations such as : Bhoi, Behera, Das, Kandi, Raut, Hati, Bisoyi, Samal, etc. To further complicate the matter the Bauris of Bhubaneswar use the term Behera as their patronymic mostly as they consider the term honourific.

As mentioned earlier, the inter-caste and intra-caste relationships have changed. The Mahabhais have formed band parties which was a taboo in the past. In this connection, I was told at one place that, "marriage relations with Bhubaneswar Bauris from nearby villages is frowned upon". Relationship with Banias, Dhobis, Rajputs, etc. have changed. There is an instance in the town where a Brahmin has married a Bauri girl and the couple resides in a Bauri ward. They now use public restaurants, parks, hotels freely. But the Bhubaneswar Bauris are reluctant to enter any temple due to god fearing nature. Traditionally a Bauri was not given prepared betel by a Brahmin but were given betel leaves (Piper betel), arecanuts and spices separately if requested. But in 1966 the Bauris are given prepared betel both in Brahmin houses and by

Brahmin shop keepers. They use cups, plates, etc., in the local tea stalls including Brahmin tea stalls. A Bauri has opened a betel shop in old Bhubaneswar, who sells prepared betel to clean castes.

As the story goes :

"In 1940, five Bauris went to Khurda to attend the law court. When they went to a hotel for lunch, the hotel keeper knowing their identity refused them meals. The Bauris immediately protested and went to the Police station for necessary action. The Police Officer immediately sent a constable to the proprietor of the hotel. On enquiry the hotel keeper denied to have refused to serve meals. He asked a Hadi to serve meals to the Bauris. But the Bauris protested to such service by a Hadi and were trying to leave the hotel. They were stopped and were taken by the owner of the hotel to the police-station where they were fined by the Police Officer and were forced to take meals in the hotel served by the Hadi. When this news was communicated among the Bauri caste leaders, those five Bauris were fined and ostracised."

The Bauris now freely use the saloons and laundries in the new town. Traditional Caste Leaders are no longer cared for and the caste rules are disobeyed. They now share the Ganja pipe with the clean caste people at Trinath Mela temple, newly constructed near the Bauri wards. The traditional penalties imposed by caste-association do not bind

them. Inter and Intra caste relations have changed. The Bauris are no longer considered a polluting caste. The Bauri wards in 1966 are surrounded by big private and public buildings. Influx of population in the town mainly after the establishment of the State Capital has made this possible. The special provisions laid down in the National Constitution have accelerated the process of the transformations.

NOTES

1. This is a preliminary paper of a study in progress. Financial Assistance for this project has been granted by Dr. Cora Du Bois Zemmurray, Professor of Anthropology, Harvard University, USA, from a National Science Foundation (GS1014) Grant placed at her disposal. The author is grateful to Mr. H. P. Basu Mallik, M.A., Orissa Finance Service for many acts of his kindness.

2. See, Mahapatra, 1966

3. See Russel, R. V. 1916 Pg. 13.

4. Hindus are divided into four Varnas (Brahmin, Khatriya, Vaisya and Sudra) Further, the Sudras are divided into 36 categories each called a "Pāṭaka" (Section). According to tradition, Pāṭakas are those who sell their products in the Hātas or the village markets. They are

also called as the "Hātua Jāti" The 36 Patakas are:

Bhandāri, Gauda, Badhei, Kamār, Dhobā, Tanti, Potali, Baniā, Nāik, Tulābhina, Teli, Tāmbuli, Oda-Chasā, Golā, Kewta, Māli, Sundhi-Sankhāri, Pāṭara, Kharudā, Kansāri, Thatāri, Pathuriā, Vaisya Bania, Kācharā, Gudiā, Kumbhār, Chitrikāra, Daraji, Malhā, Rangani, Tambāri, Lunīā, Thodiā, Rasarā, Bunā etc.

5. Refer, Purnachandra Bhasakosa, Vol. V. Pg. 5466.

6. These drums are now found in villages such as Kuha Kantilo, Srirampur, etc., in Puri district near Bhubaneswar.

7. According to the Agreement the Dhobis would clean the Pātua clothes of the Bauris. During the Panā Sankranti festival, the Bauris arranged "Danda Yatra" in which selected Bauris impersonated by the ward deity danced, and they were considered sacred. Hence, the Dhobis cleaned their clothes. Their clothes are called as the Patua cloth.

8. The Bhubaneswar Bauris (not all) thatch houses if and when requested by others.

9. Buna Bauri or the Bauri Tantis are found in the twin village Sunderpada and Kapilaprasad, some two miles south-west of Bhubaneswar town.

REFERENCES CITED

1. Bose, N. K. 1960

Method in studying Changes in Caste System (Bulletin of the A. N. Sinha Institute of Social Sciences and Community Development, Bull. No. 1, February 1960).

2. Das, N. 1966-7 .. Mobility among the Scheduled Castes of Orissa
Adibasi, No. 1, 1966-7
Tribal Research Bureau, Government of Orissa
3. Hutton, J. 1963 .. Caste in India
Oxford University Press
4. Mahapatra, M. 1965-6 Changing Status of a Scheduled Caste Adibasi No. 1
1965-6.
Tribal Research Bureau, Government of Orissa
- 1966 Rise and Decline of a Co-operative Society in New
Capital, Bhubaneswar.

(Paper presented at the Inter-University Seminar on
Panchayati Raj, Co-operation & Community
Development, Organised by the Department of
Rural Economics and Sociology and Department of
Anthropology Utkal, University).
5. Mishra, Betal 1963, .. A study of Beggar Problem at Cuttack Utkal Univer-
sity, Bhubaneswar, Department of Rural Economics
& Sociology.
6. O' Malley, L. S. S. 1929 Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers

PURI

- Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar, Orissa
7. Praharaj, G. .. Purna Chandra Bhasakosa
8. Russel, R. V. 1916 .. The tribes and castes of the Central Provinces of India,
Vol. I, Macmillan & Company.
9. Thurston 1909 .. Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Government Press, Madras
10. Vasu, N. N. 1931 .. Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa
Published by the Author.
20. Kantapukur Lane, Bag Bazar, Calcutta.

GOPINATH SATPATHY

FISHING ORGANISATION OF NOLIAS OF PURI TOWN

(Nolias are a picturesque group of Telgu-speaking fishermen who inhabit coastal Orissa. Any visitors to Puri, Konark and Gopalpur is well acquainted with this group of fishermen. They eke out their livelihood mainly by sea-fishing by means of their indigenous boats and nets. An attempt has been made, in the present article, to present a picture of the fishing organisations of Nolias. The Pedala (big net) fishing groups, their members, the duties and privileges of such members and the system of distributing shares have been presented in detail in the following few pages.)

Nolias possess two types of boat known as (i) *Tepa* (Catamaran) and (ii) *Padua* (Musola boat). They use four types of net such as *Pedala*, *Ergala*, *Katlala* and *Marala*. The *Pedala* is a siene type of net. It takes a form of Parabola and covers an extensive area, when this net is stretched for fishing purposes. This is mostly used in winter season. The big boat known as *Musola* boat (*Padua*) is necessary for the use of such a net.

Their fishing ground, that is, the vast surf-ridden sea; their primitive boats, and huge nets combined together necessitate the

aid of more men in fishing expeditions. Further their subsistence economy does not allow them all to have all types of net and boat which are very costly. There are families with nets of their own, there are families without any. Both these groups become inter-dependent for earning a livelihood. The owners of the nets and boats require the help of many men to operate their boats while catching fish. The men without any fishing appliances of their own, on the other hand, desire to be absorbed with any one of the net owner's establishments to eke out their living.

Thus the fishing of Nolias is characterised by the co-operative activities of a number of persons working together with a net. The persons working together in a net for catching fish have the common interest to earn a livelihood. They are bound by a set of relationships with a definite organisation. They together thus constitute a group instead of mere aggregate of individuals.

These groups vary in their strength and in the nature of their organisations. Nets requiring less number of men for their operation, have fishing

groups very simple in nature. Big nets involving many men present a complex type of Organisation. The group organisation associated with a specific type of net called 'Pedala' is analysed here.

Pedala fishing group

The 'Big net' (Pedala) fishing requires a large boat (Mosula) because, it can only be used in big boat. The Mosula boat requires more than five men to operate. The big net is a siene and needs more hands to draw the same from the shore. Nolias always say "It is easy to catch fish with this net, if there are more men". In Pedala fishing, the services of many men, say fifteen in the minimum is an absolute need. Hence, it involves a complex organisation and a stable system of recruiting men as labourers to work with it. The system by which people are given employment in the organisation associated with the big net is known as Rayatwari system amongst them which is described below.

Rayatwari system of Nolia

The owner of the boat and the net is known as 'Behera'. The others of the group are workers. Some of the workers have attached themselves to a particular boat because of their close relationship with the owner of the boat. Majority of the workers are known as 'Rayats'. This has been borrowed from 'Rayatwari system' of land tenure.

The Rayatwari system (tenancy) of Nolia is based on the principle of contract. The contracting parties are the Behera (owner of the boat) and the individual worker known as Rayat. The considerations of such contract are an interest-free loan advanced to the Rayat by the Behera and a definite share from daily catch of fish. The term is one year from the date of borrowing to the end of the full moon day of Fagun, called 'Dolapurnima'.

The owner of the boat contacts several persons who will work as Rayat in his boat on yearly basis. The individual in his turn demands some amount of loan to meet the need of his household. The owner of the net mainly judges the worth of a man as a help in fishing activities and accordingly agrees to lend out money. A hard working sincere and able-bodied man is considered as good fisherman. The asset of an individual does not play an important role in lending out money to employ him as tenant. In case a man who is chosen to work as a Rayat demands an exorbitant amount of loan from the Behera, he takes into consideration his asset. Thereby he is furnished with a clue to recover the loan, in case, the individual does not keep the condition of his contract and fails to repay the loan. When both the contracting parties come to an agreement after the exchange of a few words, the owner advances loan to the individual in the presence of two or more elder men of the Community.

The two men stand as witness. The borrower is bound to work as worker in the net of the owner in the fishing season. Even if the amount of catch may not be attracting, he is liable to attend to the fishing expedition, if the fishing party goes to fish. If he fails to do so, he is said to violate the condition of the contract. He may be blamed for his failure, if such failures occur only once or twice. In case, such behaviour is frequent, the owner of the net cancels his contract with him and recovers loan with interest through the traditional administrative organisation (Panchayat) or through the court of law. On the completion of the contract period, accounts of advanced loan are straightened and the worker repays back the due in his favour. After his repayment, he is free to be absorbed elsewhere. In case of his failure to repay the amount at the end of the contract period, he is bound to remain as a worker for the next year without demanding any fresh loan. The worker gets a share of the catch. Sometimes, some amount of the share is adjusted towards the loan, so that by the end of the contract period, he is fully discharged of his debt. All these contracts are performed in good faith and orally, but sometimes written documents are also executed by the borrowers.

Period of contract

According to Nolia, the contract is valid for one year,

but, this period is not uniform in all cases. The contracts come into force ordinarily from the day one takes loan to the full moon day of the month of Fagun (March), when he clears off his debt. Usually the Nolia borrows money during the period extending from Dolpurnima (full moon day of Fagun) to the beginning of the month of Aswin (October), when he actually needs money. This is the period of scarcity and also the time when more money is required to spend on festivities, marriages, etc., which occur at this time. The months from Jaistha (June) to Bhadraba (September) are considered as the period of want as the yield from sea fishing by the small nets is very little. The important incidents of their life say marriage, worship of village diety, going to Simachalam, worshipping H a r c h a n d i, Ramchandi, etc., are observed during these days of want. Naturally, this is the time when money is borrowed by the needy people from the rich boat owners as advance towards their service which they would render in fishing season as workers. Thus, there is no fixed date for taking the loan but the payment or the date of clearance falls more or less round about 'Dolpurnima'. The reason of such fixed time in respect of clearance is obvious. The month of 'Fagun' is followed very soon by the period of scarcity which starts from the month of Jaistha to Aswin. Nolias try to clear off the debt and be independent before they are best with scarcity and want.

Data were collected of five big net organisations to infer the period of contract in respect of all the tenants. In all the cases account of outstanding dues were settled on 'Dolpurnima' which fell on the 17th March 1959. Of all the workers nearly 35, 40, 28, 46, 50 per cent workers of the big nets, namely, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and

5, respectively agreed to serve as workers for the year 1959-60. Their period of contract is for a full year extending from March to March. For the rest, the period of contract was not same, since they entered into contract in different months. The results are tabulated below :—

Sl. No. of Pedalas	Month of contract and number of persons							
	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	Rest
1	1	X	X	4	6	X	3	X
2	4	X	X	X	3	4	X	X
3	X	X	7	4	2	1	X	X
4	1	1	X	8	1	X	X	X
5	X	..	3	4	X	2	X	X

Anyway, the regular year of the Nolia starts from 'Dolpurnima' as is the case with agriculturists.

Members of the Pedala fishing group

In contrast to the organisation of the fishing groups in respect of other types of net, the 'Pedala fishing unit' is not solely dependent on kinship ties. Only a minority of the workers of the group are related to one another by some kinship ties. They owe no money as the rayats do. Usually, the relationship includes that of sons, elder and younger brothers, nephews, brothers-in-law, maternal nephews, sons-in-law, grandsons, etc. of the owner of the net and boat. In spite of the fact that there is no other obligation on the part of the Kin members to be attached to the

net of their Kin except the Kinship tie, they prefer to hang on and do not leave the owner in the period of poor fishing. Thus, they constitute a permanent unit in the Pedala fishing group. They sometimes render financial aid to the owner of the net for arranging workers and necessary equipments for the fishing expeditions.

The majority of the fishing group are workers who are recruited from the local Nolia settlements as well as from far off places in the South. Most of these workers change their group from year to year. The recruits from the South are contacted by net owners who visit them in their villages and are given advance loans. They come as soon as the fishing season sets in and stay at Puri for the whole period.

The sub-castes of Nolia such as Jalari, Vada Baliya, Palle have no social relationship among themselves. In their social and religious functions, the members of a family, of a lineage, of a housename, of a 'Birasi', of a Kin group, of a local settlement, of a particular sub-caste have their respective role. Accordingly, they take their part in the proper occasion. In the case of Pedala fishing group, individuals belonging to different social units and sub-castes are recruited. As inferred by interviewing individuals, they show preference to recruit workers from one's own family, then from lineage and then from Kin groups, if they happen to have no boats of their own. The Nolias belonging to local settlements constitute the most important part of each fishing unit. In addition to this fact, there appears a tendency on the part of individuals engaged in fish trade to recruit workers from the South instead of local people. The ground of such selection as is presented by them runs as follows:—

Anka Kamaya narrates :

“Our men of this place have become jalias (cheaters). The demand more loan. They are not sincere. I am busy in fish trade. So I cannot go to catch fish. I shall have to leave catching totally in their hands. So it is required to engage good rayats. Men of the South are very sincere, hardy, and true in their dealings. They demand loan but are satisfied with less

amount. Unless, they clear off the loan, they never stretch their hands for loan very often as is the case with local men. So I like to select them as my rayats. I have gone to Madras side to advance them loan and settle up the matter with them.”

Similar are the statements of the other owners having more men from South and hence need no repetition. Actually speaking, the people of the South appear to be hardy and sincere as they most strenuously try to get more fish every day. Apart from the permanent members of a group, women, children of about 12 to 14 years of age also render assistance and become temporary members to get some share of fish. All these members of the groups have definite role to play and as such enjoy definite benefits.

Duties and privileges of the Personnels of the Pedala work team

The work team of a Pedala boat consists of the owner of the boat and the workers employed by him on an annual contract basis to use his boat and net during fishing season. As has been said earlier the former is known as Behera and the latter are Rayats. One amongst the worker is chosen as the leader of the working group who is known as *Balla Vai* whereas, two others are chosen to repair net and *Kadama*, while they are in operation. Another man from the worker group is selected to fly *Kadama* and is known as *Kadama*

Udeba. To each work team a mediator known as *Dandiani* is attached. A particular *Dandiani* may be serving to more than one group. The job of a *Dandiani* is more or less equal that of a middleman who deals in fish to obtain his supply from the working group at wholesale rate. There is another man outside the group but is involved in the business enterprise of the working group. He is known as *Dalari* who operates as another kind of middleman for the group.

Behera—He is the owner and employer. In some cases he may not be the owner of the boat but only hirer. He supplies planks of wood, thread, ropes and other necessary materials used for repairing the boat and to make it ready for use. He keeps accounts of the expenses of rituals, income and expenditure and payments made to the workers, etc. He is also the sacerdotal head of all the rituals connected with fishing. He finds out men from his village and from outside who will work for him as workers. He selects the *Ball Vai* and entrusts him with the task of superintending the work team. He advances loan in cash to the workers according to their requirements and pays the wage to each of his workers. In his presence the fish caught each time of catching expedition is sold to the merchants.

Balla Vai—Next to *Behera* in authority is the *Balla Vai*. He has very important functions to do. At night he wakes up and goes to each of the workers house

and calls them to start for the expedition. He guides the party which way to go and when to go. He is the main boatman who guides the boat by handling the rudder. He prays to Goddess first when the net is laid down and invokes good luck for the party. He instructs the party when to return ashore and in case the *Behera* is absent the fish is sold in his presence. He calculates the wage of the workers who work under his direction and informs them about it.

Rayats—They are the workers of the party. But the *Balla Vai* is not the sole dictator of the group. In all matters of importance he counsels with the workers and acts accordingly. The main work which the rayats have to do is to help in preparing the boat, to row the boat in the sea, to spread the net, to bail out water which sips into the boat, to mend and dye the net and to carry and watch the boat, net and fish. They strictly abide by the instructions given by the *Balla Vai* of the group and sometimes in case of idleness and insubordination the authoritative force of the *Behera* is brought to bear upon them in order to work more effectively and in the more disciplined manner. The rayats make ropes, *Kadam*, *Katu* and the floats which are used in the boat. They wash the net, spread it on the beach, dry it in the sun and do repairing of the nets, if necessary. They also make new nets on extra remuneration paid to them by *Behera*. For no other job which they have to do in connection with fishing any extra

remuneration is paid to them. All the work mentioned above are considered as duty to be done by the rayats. Two of the rayats are selected to do repairing work connected with net and Kadama. They do these work in addition to their normal duties. These two rayats are selected by Balla Vai in consultation with Behera. Two other rayats are chosen at each time of catching fish to do the work of driving the fish towards the boat.

In every work team the quest for profit is the fundamental drive and this fact makes for certain attitudes more towards the commercial situation than towards any social action. The work team consists of group of people, some having kinship relationship with the owner of the boat and net and others are not related in any sense but have ties of obligation with the owner as

a money lender. In some cases the work team is composed of completely unrelated people some belonging to Puri and others from outside. The organisation of work team is based entirely on a system of cash rewards. The workers get their return by simple profit sharing, and the nature of the incentive which moves the team members to action is money, given as loan in advance and the wage packet at the end of each week. Besides cash rewards which are paid to the worker on a definite system as an incentive to work, the workers are drawn together to contribute their service by other incentives such as feast and drink on ritual occasions which are organised in the beginning of the fishing season. The system of payment to the workers who join in a fishing trip is given below in two illustrations.

Case I—The group consists of 17 men. The total valuation of the catch was Rs. 60. How was the sum spent and distributed among the participants is given below :—

Towards the cost of offerings to the Goddess.	..	Rs. 2-0-0
To rayats responsible for repairing Kadam Guda.	@ 0-2-0 each	Re. 0-4-0
The dues of Dandiani who gets at the rate of two pice per rupee.	..	Rs. 1-14-0
		<hr/> Rs. 4-2-0
Remaining amount	..	Rs. 60-0-0
		Rs. 4-2-0=
		Rs. 55-14-0
The share of Behera for his boat and net. (Usually 1/3)	(—)	Rs. 18-10-0
		<hr/> Rs. 37-4-0

The remaining sum of Rs. 37-4-0 was distributed to 18½ shares on the basis of the following manner.

The two net repairers and the Ballavai got 1½ each. This comes to 4½ shares. In this trip 17 people

Thus Balla Vai got	..	Rs. 3-0-0 each
Two net repairers got	..	Rs. 3-0-0 each
Fourteen Rayats got	..	Rs. 2-0-0 each

The rest Re. 0-4-0 was deposited with the Behera. This net amount will be added to the next days earning and the total will be distributed.

Case II—After a week of fishing, the party sat on 'Thursday'

joined (Rayats plus net repairers and Balla Vai). Hence the remaining 14 rayats got one share each. When the sum of Rs. 37-4-0 was divided into 18½ shares the sum fell in each share was as follows :—

to distribute the money. The record of income from daily catch was read by Behera and Balla Vai gave ditto to it. Total income of the week came about to Rs. 387 as detailed below :—

Thursday	..	Rs. 74
Wednesday	..	Rs. 45
Friday	..	Rs. 42
Saturday	..	No catch, so no sell
Sunday	..	Rs. 106
Monday	..	Rs. 21
Tuesday	..	Rs. 75
Wednesday	..	Rs. 24
		Rs. 387

Towards the cost of offerings to Goddess. @ 2/- per 100 Rs. 8-0-0

Two rayats responsible for repairing Kadam Guda. @ 0-2-0 each per day Rs. 1-12-0

The dues of Dandiani who gets at the rate of two paise per rupee. .. Rs. 12-1-6

Total .. Rs. 21-13-6

Total income .. Rs. 387-0-0

Net .. Rs. 355-2-6

The share of the Behera for his net and boat, $\frac{1}{3}$ of total remaining.	..	Rs. 118-0-0
		<hr/>
	Net	.. Rs. 136-12-4

There were altogether 19 men attending the fishing expedition for the seven days.

The net income is distributed in $20\frac{1}{2}$ shares.	Per each share, they take	Rs. 6-8-0
Two net repairs, $1\frac{1}{2}$ each	.. Rs. 9-12-0 each	Rs. 19-8-0
One Balla Vai $1\frac{1}{2}$ share	.. Rs. 9-12-0 each	Rs. 9-12-0
16 Rayats 1 share each	.. Rs. 6-8-0 each	Rs. 104-0-0
	Total	.. Rs. 133-4-0

The rest Rs. 3-8-4 was deposited with the Behera to be accounted for at the next distribution.

The unity and sincerity among the workers of a fishing group is remarkable. The working party is always conscious of their belonging to one team. Of course, the fishing groups in relation to other

type of nets are not so complex or intricate but they present some type of organisation, which will be dealt in detail in the subsequent articles.



NITYANANDA DAS

A BRIEF NOTE ON THE PRACTICE
OF WITCHCRAFT AMONG THE
SANTHAL OF MAYURBHANJ

The practice of witchcraft and witch hunt leading to dastardly murder of witches may look enigmatic in the modern world. Nevertheless those are definite issues in tribal society. Even the advanced Santhals, assimilated Bathudis and detribalised Kurmis believe in efficacy of witchcraft. All natural calamities to men, cattle and crops are attributed to evil doings of the witches. Witches are trained. At the completion of rigorous training witches acquire occult powers from malevolent spirits and gods (bongas). Endowed with those powers they reap vengeance on others, for some or no reason, motivated by mischief, or lust. Even a mother as a witch can 'suck' the progenies of her sons. An aunt may 'eat' the nephew, and a near relation or neighbour may be 'devoured' by a witch without the least hesitation. The occult powers are voluptuous in nature and once a witch sets herself against some one there is hardly any escape from death.

The medicine-men (Ojha) fail to cure ailments generated from witchcraft. Recourse is taken to consult the 'Sakha' the 'witch doctor'. When the calamities are widespread to affect the village

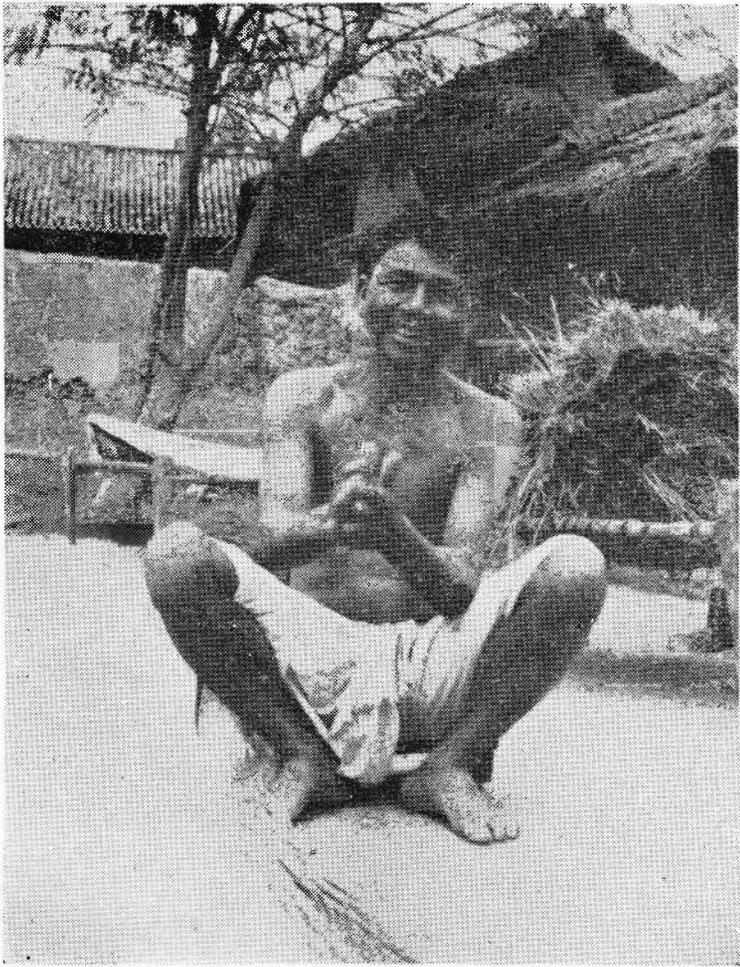
community at large, and the cause is suspected to be an outcome of witchcraft all able bodied men of the village proceed to consult the 'Sakha'. If the Sakha is from a neighbouring village he may name the witch or witches responsible for those calamities. If the Sakha is at a distance from the village, he may give a description of the witch or witches. Thereafter the witch hunt begins. Once a witch is named or described the tribal mind cannot reconcile to anything sort of extermination of the witch. The pronouncement of Sakha leads to uncontrollable frenzy and temporary insanity. The person worst affected or any other who is the most charged return to the village and murder the witch, at the earliest opportunity. After the murder the offender does not develop any guilty complex. This is an interesting trait of cultural conditioning of the mind. A normal human being who is reluctant even to hurt someone, otherwise docile, submissive, could commit man-slaughter and remains oblivious of after effects.

An interview with Chandu Majhi, alleged to have committed double murder of Puntis and

Jasmi (alleged witches) at Sagjodi, in Rairangpur Sub-Jail revealed that there is no abnormal reaction in the accused's mind. It is a different question as to his guilt to be ultimately proved in a court of law. From the point of anthropological analysis it is clear that Chandu Majhi and Duli Majhiani have no untoward reactions for the alleged acts. Moreover it is said that Chandu Majhi was sitting in a normal manner in the village after the murders till he was arrested by the Police and sent to jail custody. Similarly Duli completed the act which Chandu began by chopping off the head of the second witch. Sons of the deceased women do not show any serious dislocation in their normal lives. They visit Chandu's house, which in ordinary circumstances would have been avoided by an aggrieved person. The villagers also do not seem to have taken the double murders with any great seriousness. It is of course difficult to know with certainty whether all the villagers of Sagjodi, or Chandu alone consulted a witch doctor, Sakha, before identifying the two witches who were hunted down. This part of the preparation is kept a closely guarded secret. A short study cannot throw light on this. But from the opinion samples collected by the research workers in the area as well as in the adjoining areas from the tribals as well as non-tribals clearly convince one to believe that before the actual witch hunt a Sakha is consulted, who gives a description of the witch. The tribal students of Bissoi High School answered this

point in affirmative. Once a witch is identified, she is put to death at the earliest opportunity be she a mother, aunt, wife or a close relative. No doubt some past antagonism or altercation, family quarrel, etc., with the witch provide the background to prompt the action of the witch who reaps vengeance through the black magic against her adversary and his family.

In Sagjodi case Chandu's mother who was ill for nearly three weeks was visited by one of the deceased witches and it was believed that after each such visit the old woman's ailments were aggravated. After the death of the witches she was recovered. When Chandu's mother was visited in the village after a fortnight of murders she was able to move about though weak. It was known from the interview with the villagers that whatever may be the legal aspects of the two murders, the eradication of the witches have brought solace to the villagers in general and Chandu's mother in particular. The villagers were complaining for sometime that their grains were mysteriously disappearing from stacks. There were cattle casualties. No doubt the medical treatment given to the old woman at the instance of the Superintendent of Police, Baripada, and Sub-Inspector, Bissoi, improved her health. Yet all the villagers of Sagjodi were so much charged with the idea of evil doings of the witches that improvement of Chandu's mother is attributed more to the deaths of the witches. It seemed as if



Ojha (mediciner) proud of his profession

the villagers had some respite from maladies after the witch-hunt.

From the study in Bissoi and other areas it could be stated with certainty that there is firm belief in witchcraft among the tribals, which is shared by non-tribals also. It is equally paradoxical that although witchcraft is considered a menace to living beings and a witch is ruthlessly exterminated yet it is acquired by some, through rigorous training. Witches live in the villages and are tolerated up to certain extent. It is widely believed that a witch has a double life, the physical one which is identical to an ordinary human being and another a finer one, one which is invisible. The latter can leave the mortal existence anytime, preferably at the dead of the night to establish communion with evil spirits and witches. A witch may be sleeping with her husband and children, yet her finer self would be roaming about around burial grounds and other secluded places. This double life is the whole secret of witchcraft. If proficiency is attended by a witch in this direction training in witchcraft is complete.

One thing is equally certain that witchcraft is a secret trade and only a few choose to traverse in that weird path. Still fewer could attain success. It is widely believed that if anyone fails in completing the training or does not suck the life of a near relation after completion of training then she is doomed to be insane.

Date are not available, if males alike the females dabble in witchcraft, although it is believed that some do.

Another aspect which needs further study is the limit to which a witch is tolerated, and at what point such tolerance is exhausted. Then the entire village community treat witchcraft as repugnant to their existence. It becomes a crime in rem. Thereafter a Sakha or witch doctor is consulted and after obtaining clues from him a witch is exterminated. Thus it becomes really enigmatic that the witches are dealt so ruthlessly, yet there are witches among all the tribal communities who flourish like ordinary individuals, sharing in all aspects of material life of the community. The tragic end which an identified witch meets do not prove to be adequately deterrent to the cult of black magic.

It was told by experienced police officers who investigate cases of murders of witches, others who participate in trails etc., that even the highly educated persons in the area believe in witchcraft alike illiterate villagers. A welfare officer who is a tribal himself while suffering from typhoid first believed the disease to be an outcome of witchcraft, and confined to the treatment by medicine-man (Ojha), in spite of persuasion by fellow officers to consult a physician. After chlormycetin was administered he still doubted the efficacy of the drug in curing his disease. A

bright young student of the high school is reluctant to go to his home during vacations lest an evil eye befall him. A former leader does not venture to return alone to his home after night fall for fear of witches.

Anthropologists all over the world have studied the prevalence of witchcraft and sorcery among the tribes. They have analysed the cultural conditioning of tribals to the belief in witchcraft. It has been clearly shown from those studies that primitive mind is in perpetual dread for unknown. Vagaries of nature, diseases, pests and epidemics are attributed to wrath of the supernatural beings who control human destiny. There are a host of benevolent supernatural beings who bestow prosperity and happiness. There are equally malevolent ones who are apt to exploit human frailties to let loose a reign of terror. A witch or sorcerer develops power to have communion with those malevolent forces. With that he or she perpetrates anti-social activities. When a witch is exterminated all feel relieved. The civilised law of course treats such killings as murders only, whatever be the context. Motive is no ground for consideration under Indian Penal Code. A murder of a witch is therefore, considered the same as any other murder in the eye of law. Yet it is well known that a man accused of murdering witches, used to confess his guilt and was the least penitent of his action. Rather he felt elated that he had done something for the good of the community at large. If the tribal jurisprudence would be followed a person

accused of killing a witch would be treated as a hero just as a head hunter's trophies give him a social status and position in community.

However in modern times witchcraft and murder of a witch could not be tolerated. Only before a few centuries Britain had many scenes of public trials of witches. Witches used to be burnt alive. Romans, Greeks and Anglo Saxons firmly believed on the efficacy of witchcraft. Civilised men and women all over the world attribute many of their maladies to witchcraft which are further fortified by a large number of superstitions and omens. Hence, to consider the tribals to be witch ridden and believers in occult forces of black magic is negation of basic values of tribal life. Nevertheless the murders committed in Mayurbhanj lead to a feeling that such offences should be put to an end. Witch-hunts and cold blooded murders no doubt produce horror and inclemency. It surprises many that advanced Santhals who migrate to all parts of the country, and are in high position with large percentage of literacy among the tribals still continue to hold steadfastly to the belief in witchcraft.

Archer in his account of witchcraft among the Santhal in 'Man in India' Vol. XXVII, June 1947 has given several instances to show that this belief is extensive as well as firm in Santhal society. Some girls are seduced to the trade of witchcraft by elder witches and at the completion of training are to



An Ojha's son himself a victim of witchcraft

cook the liver of one of their family members to attain success. Further quoting from Bodding, Archer gives details of initiation profession and action of a witch, and her double role, one in existence with the mortals, and the other in parlance with the gods, Bongas. All writers on Santhal culture have equally described the role of witchcraft as a focal point in the culture of the tribe.

Witchcraft and sacrificing human beings to acquire potency and fertility is an age-old tradition in tribal society. No doubt due to dread of the forces of law number of human sacrifices or witch hunts have declined. Nevertheless sporadically those occurrences made the administration conscious of this trait of tribal life.

In mining and industrial belts due to hospital facilities and wider contacts with outsiders such murders are rare. Even in Badampahar mining area there are very few cases of witch hunt, in contrast to other parts of Rairangpur subdivision of Mayurbhanj district.

It may therefore be reckoned that knowledge of modern medicines and contacts with others diminish the dread for witches and efficacy of witchcraft. A complain which is frequently heard and having some truth in

it, is that the alopathic dispensaries are few in tribal areas. Treatment of diseases by doctors is a costly affair. Doctors exact a good deal from patients for administering drugs and injections. Free medicine is only in theory. Hence, except well-to-do persons others cannot resort to medical treatment. Therefore, the tribal medicine-man, (Ojha) continues to have his sway over the tribals. Ojha's failure to cure any ailment lead to consulting the witch doctor 'Sakha' and then to witch-hunt. Hence, it is time to consider and rethink that propaganda and publicity coupled with free and effective medical facilities will go a long way to eradicate the belief in efficacy of witchcraft and murdering witches. For that purpose the extension officers and other official and non-official agencies in the tribal areas can do a good deal. They can propagate the futility of witchcraft before modern medicine, etc. Health facilities may have to be extended to interior areas through mobile dispensaries and treatment should not be a costly and exacting affair. With those there is hope that such murders will decline soon and the tribal mind will be weaned away from the pernicious impact of witchcraft. The Ojhas and Sakha will have little business and thereafter the witches will also give up the lure of acquiring occult powers to generate evil consequences.

S. N. MISHRA

The Constitution enjoined on the Government to promote the educational and economic interests of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. The Constitution also provided many other safeguards in the interests of the weaker sections of the community and provided for reservation of seats for them in the Parliament and as well as in the State Legislatures. The reservation of seats was originally made for a period of 10 years as it was the hope of the Constitution Makers then that the weaker sections would attain a level of maturity within that period which would render further reservation unnecessary. In other words, it was expected that the States would project such schemes of development after the Constitution came into being that would transform the social and economic life of the tribes within a period of 10 years and enable them to march with the other advanced sections of people hand in hand on equal terms. The purpose of this article is to explain why this has not been found possible and why the weaker sections of the people are still far behind. The Constitution has since extended the period of reservation of seats for the Scheduled Tribes and

PROGRESS OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN ORISSA

Scheduled Castes in the Parliament and in the State Legislatures for a further period of 10 years but it is doubtful whether even during this extended period the millennium will be reached and the weaker sections of the people can do away with special attention of the Government.

The deficiency in performance of the objective can be attributed to various factors. In the pre-independence days the tribals were treated just as denizens of forests and no special programme was thought of for them. On the dawn of independence particularly under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi the Governments thought of drawing up special programmes for the uplift of Adibasis and started some work in that direction. The Constitution which came into force in January 1950 pushed up the objective much further and made it incumbent upon Governments to attain social and economic equalities. Though the intention was made clear, there were no organisation and suitable manpower at the time to take up the work in true spirit. Welfare work for the Adibasis requires special aptitude and special orientation of mind and it may be appreciated that aptitudes cannot be

formed overnight. The organisations which were set up by the Governments, after the independence took time to properly orient their own attitudes and to tune themselves to the special work that was entrusted to them. It can be said with some measure of certainty that even to-day there are no suitable personnel in required numbers to work for tribal welfare and there are still the conflicting pulls in political circles to snatch away as much of the resources possible for developments on parochial basis and the interests of the tribal sections are not always in the heart of those who could help to increase the tempo of their progress. Coming to the tribal people themselves it takes a lot of time to attune their own minds to the progress and to pull them out of the ruts in which they were moving. Many of the schemes which have been drawn up for the economic welfare of the Adibasis have failed to evoke willing response from them and are naturally languishing for want of popular support. The problem of economic development of the economically backward classes cannot be solved unless agriculture, cattle breeding, small scale industries, housing, etc., are all mobilised. To bring about this mobilisation the minds of the Adibasis should be lifted and this can be done only by education and training. The educational progress of the backward classes since the dawn of independence has been quite remarkable but due to many obvious factors large majority of the tribals still remain

uneducated. In our State the Ashram Schools and Sevashrams which have been started to educate tribal children provide enough scope for manual work. These institutions render facilities for learning tailoring, spinning, gardening, carpentry, etc. The Ashram Schools are of residential type and each of them provides for 120 boarders. These institutions are generally found full. There are at present 87 Ashram Schools in the State which educate 8,900 students. There are 1,191 Sevashrams which are Primary Schools. Some of these have been recently converted to residential type and at present there are 6 residential Sevashrams providing for 540 inmates. As has been observed above, the education has made very good progress but as the tribal population is large, the number of institutions so far provided cannot be said to be adequate.

No efficient pattern for social education has yet been evolved for very backward areas and consequently social aptitudes have not very much changed during these years. In spite of all the emphasis that has been put on agriculture, the Adibasis are not still up-to-date in agricultural practices and most of them eke out an existence by merely scraping the soil and sowing whatever can be grown in the monsoon months. The pattern of agricultural work in the Tribal Development Blocks is still on the line of the methods adopted in developed areas and no special notice is taken of the

tribal habits and the soil conditions of the tribal areas. Most of the Adibasis live in areas where the land is not flat. Even then much emphasis is being put by the block officials on Japanese method of cultivation of paddy and experiments on Tai-Chung variety. The officers are of course growing wiser by experience and are introducing special schemes for crops like maize, niger seeds, etc., but more comprehensive schemes are called for to spread the cultivation of these crops. The experience of the droughts of the past two years should make us wiser on this score and the Agricultural programme in tribal areas should relate more to crops like maize, jowar, bajra, and ragi than the crops like paddy and sugarcane. More efforts are also called for oil-seeds like mustard and niger where the soil is suitable for these crops. Bissamkatak and Juangpir areas are very good for mustard crop and the whole of Koraput district and large parts of Keonjhar, Phulbani and Sundergarh are very suitable for niger. Horticulture is another direction in which greater efforts are called for. To encourage planting fruit trees temptation by way of more liberal subsidies should be offered to the Adibasis. In supply of seeds, grafts and fertilisers work on conventional lines has not created much impact on the minds of the Adibasis and it is time that the previous experiments should be properly evaluated and work should start on reoriented lines.

To create an urge in the minds of the Adibasis for more vigorous

work on agriculture, their land problem also requires serious attention. As stated above, flat lands are not very much available in tribal areas and people have mostly to cultivate lands on the hill slopes or highly undulating lands. Work of generations has produced some terraced fields but due to the relentless exploitations, such lands are generally in the hands of the Sahukars who lend money to the tribals. Of course the State has promulgated a regulation called. "The Orissa Scheduled Areas Transfer of Immoveable Property (by Scheduled Tribes) Regulation, 1956" to prevent transfer of lands from Adibasis to non-Adibasis but in actual practice the law is not very much honoured and through various tricks the non-Adibasis still hold possession of the bulk of improved lands in the tribal areas. The normal revenue staff of the districts do not find it possible to prevent this type of exploitation as each case requires a lot of skill and initiative to unearth the trick and to effectively book the culprits. The work requires special staff both in the field and at supervisory level. The Tribal & Rural Welfare Department has recently appointed a staff of surveyors who detect such cases and report them for necessary action, but the magnitude of the problem requires a more elaborate organisation.

Forests play an important part in the economic life of the tribals. Not only the forest lands are often used for agriculture by the tribals but the forest materials collected by the tribals and the wages

earned by the labourers who work for forest contractors constitute the main source of income of the large many who have no land. The exploiters, as has been mentioned above, grab the best of the lands belonging to the Adibasis and they also appropriate the best part of the forest wealth by exploiting the innocent forest dwellers. The Adibasis due to their poverty and want are forced to accept whatever price the middlemen offer to them for the forest produce. The forest contractors similarly offer them low wages for extraction of timber and other allied work. An attempt has been made here and there to form Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies so that the tribals can improve their bargaining position through such Societies. It is, however, unfortunate that generally speaking these Societies have not worked well and have been mismanaged by the office-bearers. This has happened due to the lack of consciousness on the part of the Adibasis who are uneducated and who do not know to defend their rights. Attempts have been made at some other places to market the produce of the Adibasis through Co-operative Societies and there again the results have not been satisfactory for similar reasons. Such Co-operatives have been left to the management of mostly non-Adibasis as the local Adibasis have not been able to provide necessary leadership. Those in charge of management have been found lacking in business acumen and have been found inadequate to raise necessary finance and organise trade at a satisfactory level.

The Government have taken up the management of some sale and purchase schemes by departmental officers but for obvious reasons it is not possible to take up such business departmentally in a wider scale. In this way substantial leeway has to be made up in order to enable the Adibasis to reap the full benefits of the forest wealth. It is a paradox that the dwellers of the forests are often left at the mercy of outsiders even in the exploitation of forest wealth.

The forests cause misery to the forest-dwellers in another way. Though the Adibasis have lived in jungles for centuries, they have not learnt to discipline themselves to preserve the forest wealth and have on the contrary indulged in reckless acts of destruction in order to have an easy going life. The virgin soils of the forests have often tempted them to destroy even very valuable timbers for the doubtful benefit of getting a good crop of ragi or Kandula. They are unaware of the havoc caused by soil erosion. Their reckless destruction of forests and cultivation of even high slopes have often brought them into conflict with forest officials and in some areas the Adibasis are involved in perpetual litigation under forest laws. All that is possible under the existing resources has been done to wean them away from Podu cultivation but for lack of proper social education it has not been possible yet to touch even the fringe of the problem. In consequence the agricultural methods remain still very primitive.

Cattle breeding has not made much headway among the Adibasis. They have no tradition of keeping good cows or bullocks. The bullocks used by them for cultivation are only very poor specimen of bovine life. The stud bulls supplied here and there to improve cattle breeding have not been well cared for. On the other hand experience has shown that the Adibasis can take up pig keeping and goat keeping more enthusiastically and very encouraging results have been achieved in this direction in some parts of Sundergarh and Ganjam districts in recent years. Accordingly the Tribal & Rural Welfare Department have taken steps to make good bucks and also pedigree pigs available in large numbers to the T. D. Block areas, for multiplication of the stock. Like cow keeping, poultry keeping has also made little progress. Birds supplied for upgrading the local stocks have been utilised in cock-fighting and killed in that process. Due to unsatisfactory housing arrangements many of the cocks have also been eaten up by leopards or wild cats. No eagerness has been shown for deep litter system as it involves fairly heavy initial investment. Even if money is offered as loan for such investment, the scheme has not attracted the Adibasis. Due to all these reasons efforts are being concentrated now as far as possible in promoting goat breeding and pig breeding. Thanks to the State Veterinary Department, large number of Yorkshire pigs are now available for free distribution to the selected hosts in the tribal areas.

Cottage and Village Industries have not made much progress in tribal areas just as these have not created any impact even in advanced areas. The reasons are not only the shortage of local talents to manage the co-operatives and the general ineptitude of the available man-power to manage the co-operatives well, but the competition of comparatively cheaper consumer goods manufactured in towns is also responsible for the slow progress. The State Government has, however, succeeded in establishing some Panchayat Industries in the tribal areas and the efforts are being made to encourage oil Ghanies and an industry to deseed tamarind in some of the tribal areas where oilseeds and tamarind are profusely grown.

For improvement of health of Adibasis, fairly large sums have been provided in course of last 20 years for protected water-supply. It is, however, unfortunate that due to want of good executing agency, progress of many of the drinking water wells has been held up. Here again the lack of local leadership on the part of the Adibasis is responsible for inducting outsiders as executing agencies. Some of such agencies have been neither honest nor sincere and in result many of the projects are lying incomplete.

Apart from the general State policy of establishing one Primary Health Centre with both medical and public health facilities in each Block, the Tribal & Rural Welfare Department has sponsored establishment of mobile health units

and six-bedded hospitals in remote tribal areas. The mobile health unit by and large have done well but many of the six-bedded hospitals are still without doctors. No doctor is coming from the plain areas to work wholeheartedly in the tribal tracts. This has caused serious administrative problem in the Health Department. Indirectly this has discouraged the Tribal & Rural Welfare Department from starting new hospitals or dispensaries.

Communication difficulties in the tribal areas are well known. During recent years many new roads have been built up by various agencies, namely, Revenue Officials, Community Development staff, R. E. O. and the Works Department. The Community Development Organisation has laid down the policy of connecting all important villages with market centres and Block headquarters. By and large this policy has been implemented. It has, however, been beyond the resources of the Revenue Officials or the Community Development Organisation to improve communications to high hill-tops where some tribal communities like Bond Paraja or Dongria Kondhs live. Unfortunately the financial position has been found very tight due to emergency since 1962 and some

ambitious schemes to improve communications to these hill-tops are making only very slow progress.

From the above it will be clear that for reasons beyond the control of the Government the progress has not been so rapid as was originally contemplated by the Constitution Makers and it is also not very likely that the progress will catch up the standard prevailing in advanced areas in very near future. The obstacles are stupendous and the blame cannot be laid at the doors of any single agency. The slow progress is the heritage of the past several centuries and it is **only by** very sincere efforts of all concerned that the tempo of progress can be quicker. The most essential element will be the change of heart and new orientation of outlook on the part of those to whose luck the task of implementing the various schemes under the Five-Year Plans has fallen. These are the public servants of various ranks who have been working in different departments of Government. The task may in the beginning look bleak or uninspiring but when results are obtained by sincere and hard work, it will certainly provide enough thrill and gratification to one's soul.

A FEW WORDS ABOUT US

Managements

Shri Gananath Das, I. A. S., Director, Tribal & Rural Welfare-cum-Additional Secretary to Government left this Department on the 4th November 1966. Shri Das was the Editor of the journal 'Adibasi' for a pretty long time. He was taking keen interest in our activities. The officers and staff of Tribal Research Bureau gave a warm send off to Shri Das, consequent on his transfer. Shri S. N. Mishra, Secretary to Government, T. & R. W. Department-cum-Director, Tribal Research Bureau, has become the new Editor of the Adibasi.

Research work

The assignments given to the Tribal Research Bureau by the Tribal Research Bureau Advisory Board for a duration of 6 months both for Bhubaneswar and Phulbani wings have been completed by the staff of the Bureau in spite of various handicaps.

- (1) Study of Impact of Industrialisation in Sundargarh district has been intensively studied in 4 different industrial sectors.
- (2) Employment Potential Survey in Daitari Mines, Badbil and Talcher industrial complex.

- (3) Study of witchcraft among the Santals in Mayurbhanj district has been completed.

- (4) Compilation of Primer on Juang language has been completed.

Ethnographic studies

Ethnographic studies on Bathudi, Santal and Kharia have been completed for compilation of hand-books on those tribes. Assignments for such studies on Dongria and Kotia Kondha and Bonda Paraja entrusted to Phulbani centre are in progress.

Future programmes of the Tribal Research Bureau for next 6 months will be discussed in the Tribal Research Bureau Advisory Board which will be held on the 19th December 1966.

Appointments

Sarvasri Amiya Kumar Mohanty, Rajlaxmi Mohanty, Sipra Kanungo have joined as Junior Research Officers at Bhubaneswar and Shri Biswambar Satpathy and Shri Golak Behari Sahu have joined at Phulbani as Research Assistants. All of them are M. A. in Anthropology except Shri B. Satpathy who is M. A. in Sociology.



OUR CONTRIBUTORS

In this issues our contributors are—

- (1) Shri Gananath Das, I.A.S.,
Additional Secretary to
Government, Finance Department.

Till recently Shri Das was the Director, Tribal & Rural Welfare. He was also the Editor of the journal 'Adibasi'. He visited different foreign countries with an international scholarship to study the problems of backward classes and their welfare. Shri Das had been piloting the welfare programme of the State for nearly a decade.

- (2) Shri Gopinath Satapathy, B.A.
(Hons.), Junior Research
Officer, Tribal Research
Bureau, Bhubaneswar.

Shri Satapathy joined the Tribal Research Bureau as a Laboratory Assistant and is now promoted to the rank of Junior Research Officer. He has studied various tribes and castes.

- (3) Shri Harjinder Singh, M.A.

He is an Instructor in Rural Sociology and field studies in Orientation and Study Centre (Government of India), Kalyani (West Bengal).

Shri Singh passed M. A. in Sociology from Punjab University and won a gold medal.

- (4) Shri Jaganatha Mohanty
M.A., B. ED.

Shri Mohanty is a Lecturer in the State Institute of Education, Bhubaneswar, since 1966. He passed M.A. in Political Science in the year 1964 from the Utkal University. He is engaged now in study of various problems relating to educations.

- (5) Shrimati Kiranbala Debi, M.A.,
Junior Research Officer,
Tribal Research Bureau,
Bhubaneswar.

She passed M. A. in Anthropology from Utkal University in the year 1963. She joined Tribal Research Bureau in the year 1963 as a Junior Research Officer. She has worked among various tribes and castes.

- (6) Shri Manmohan Mohapatra,
M.A.

Shri Mohapatra passed his M. A. Examination in Anthropology from Utkal University in the year 1963. He, as a scholar is studying the Bauris in Bhubaneswar.

- (7) Shri Nityananda Das, M.A., B.Sc., LL.B., Assistant Director, Tribal Research Bureau, Bhubaneswar.

Shri Das is the permanent Assistant Director of the Bureau since 1956. For sometimes he was on deputation to Dandakaranya Project, Scheduled areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission (Dhebar Commission), and as Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Government of India, Madras. Shri Das has studied the various tribes and castes not only in this State but in other State also.

- (8) Shri Pravanshu Sekhar Das Pattanaik, Junior Research Officer, Tribal Research Bureau, Bhubaneswar.

Shri Das Pattnaik passed M.A. (Anthropology) from Ranchi University in the year 1961. He joined Tribal Research Bureau as a Junior Research Officer in the year 1964. Prior to that he joined as an Investigator in a scheme for village studies under the census organisation, Government of India. In the year 1962 he joined as a Compiler in the State Gazetteers under Revenue Department. He is a Junior Research Officer in Tribal Research Bureau and is engaged in various surveys and other studies among the tribes of the State.

- (9) Shri Siba Prasad Rout, M.A., Research Officer, Tribal Research Bureau, Bhubaneswar.

Shri Rout joined the Tribal Research Bureau as a Junior

Research Officer in the year 1962. Prior to that he was making exhaustive study among the hill Juangs of Keonjhar after getting his M. A. Degree from Utkal University in the year 1960. He is a pain-staking field worker.

- (10) Shri S. N. Mishra, M.A., I.A.S., Secretary to Government-cum-Director, Tribal Research Bureau and Director, Tribal & Rural Welfare.

Shri Mishra was a brilliant scholar, debator and writer during his student days. He was directly recruited as a Deputy Collector, during the British days and is now a Senior Officer in Indian Administrative Service. As the former Collector of the predominant tribal district of Koraput he has intimate knowledge of the tribes and their problems.

He is an Editor of the Adivasi.

- (11) Shri Vijaya Kumar Mathur, M.A., Vice-Principal, Tribal Orientation and Study Centre, Government of India, Bhubaneswar.

Shri Mathur got his M. A. Degree in Economics from Agra University in 1954. He joined the Planning Commission as a Research Officer and thereafter taught Sociology in D. A. V. College, Kanpur, from 1955—60. From 1960 to 1965 he was an Instructor in Rural Sociology in Orientation Training Centre near Lucknow. In 1965 Shri Mathur visited eleven countries of Europe under the auspicious of the Ford Foundation and Danish Foreign Affairs Ministry.