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Editor

G. N. DAS, I.A.S.

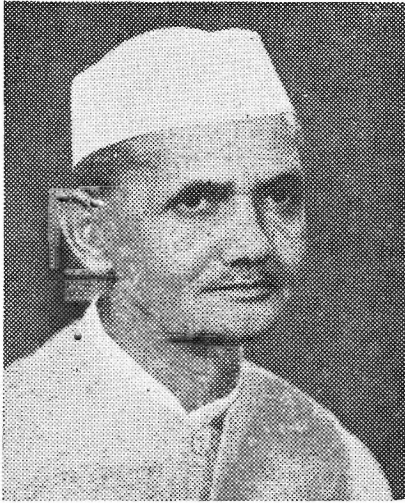
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Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri

Lal Bahadur who had signed the declaration only a few hours before was no more with us. He died of a heart attack on the Soviet soil at 1:20 A. M.

Many were stunned. It was hard to believe. The nation plunged to sorrow. Another great man of peace and negotiations not only of this country but of the world quietly passed away and left us to live in a smaller world. Only eighteen months he headed our country, and within this period we faced serious threats of war and aggression from across our borders and disruption from within. Lal Bahadur, a small man with a great heart, solid determination and resolve, stood like a rock amidst hazards, and led the nation amidst all its throes. He went to Tashkent to kindle new hopes among the mankind, and to give to the strife stricken world a new formula of peace.

Today he is no more with us. The eighteen months he headed the nation will remain as a glorious period of our history. We are left to emulate the ideals for which he lived and died. In this period of grief the "Adivasi" mourns the death of one of India's most illustrious sons and joins with all others of our country and abroad to convey our heartfelt sorrow to Shrimati Shastri and other members of the bereaved family.

Editors

CONTENTS

		PAGE
1. Editorial ..		1—4
2. The Birinda of the Lanjia Saoras ..	N. Das ..	5—12
3. ABO Blood Group of Lanjia Saoras ..	K. C. Tripathy ..	13—16
4. Applied Anthropology in Air Force ..	P. C. Swain ..	17—24
5. An Analysis of Community Leadership	Harjinder Singh ..	25—30
6. From Shifting Cultivator to Agriculturist the Pauri Bhuiyan in Transition.	L. K. Mohapatra ..	31—48
7. Stumbling—Blocks (with special refer- ence to tribal welfare).	G. N. Das ..	49—60
8. Brief Report on the important activities of the Tribal & Rural Welfare Depart- ment for the period ending October 1965.	61—63



ADIBASI

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NOVEMBER TWO

Editorial

DEFENCE-CUM-PRODUCTION ORIENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME OF BACKWARD CLASSES WELFARE.

The emergency situation created due to the Pakistani and Chinese aggression and its immediate as well as projected impact on Indian economy, pose a challenge to our planners and administrators to reorient the developmental programmes. This requires a good bit of rethinking and revaluation of hitherto accepted ideas and concepts. Such rethinking and revaluation are of supreme importance

in the sphere of social security and have a special relevance for its major programme—the welfare of Backward Classes.

2. Modern wars are total wars. Gone are the days when battles were fought by professional warriors and won by their traditional chivalry while the common man had only to play the role of a spectator. In a modern war

the skill and courage of the armed forces cannot be minimised, but the economic strength and technological equipment of the nation and the morale of the people as a whole are factors which are of as great consequence for victory or defeat. The reorientation of the welfare programme for Backward classes should be based on an appreciation of this situation. The people of India present a diversity which is unparalleled both in history and in the contemporary world. Contradictions based on linguistic, religious and ethnic differences coexist with each other in the Indian society. Therefore, the superstructure on which the morale of the people is to be built is National integration. In view of the present emergency it is absolutely necessary to make all out efforts for achieving National integration and foster a spirit of nationalism and feeling of belonging together among those who stand at the periphery of national consciousness. History has ample evidence to show that under conditions

of stress and strain national integration is snapped at the weakest link. The Backward classes, especially the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes constitute the weakest link in the chain of our national existence. The tribes have been aptly described as "people segregated from the main currents of national life, due to historic reasons". It is true that during the three five year plans some achievement has been registered for the material and social development of the tribal people, but it is true that a great deal yet remains to be done and though we have started the process of bringing the tribal people closer to us, the integration of the tribal society with the larger society of India is not yet an accomplished fact. The Scheduled Castes have also made some progress during the three plans, and no efforts have been spared to fight untouchability out of existence. This has been a programme of radical social reform and like all reformist movements, this has created

social maladjustments which initially accompany such movements. All these bring into focus the acute necessity of working out a thorough scheme of national integration on scientific lines among the Backward population of India.

Food production is a major component of modern war effort. In India, especially, where the consumption needs far outstrip the production efforts, food production is of supreme importance. The development plans for the welfare of Backward Classes should, therefore, be returned to meet the demands of food production

The Scheduled Castes are the traditional agriculturists of Indian villages. The tribal people have a native knack for producing food under adverse conditions. If the technological and human factors are properly tapped, there is no doubt that the development of the Backward Classes can be transferred into an effective programme of agricultural production. Thus without pruning the welfare of the

Backward Classes, the agricultural production of the country can be substantially increased. This would serve the twin needs of producing more food and making it available to the consumers who need it most and who always become the first victims of food shortage. The tribal people can prove to be excellent fighters. This is borne out by Indian history. Rajput chivalry was mainly based on the prowess of tribal chiefs and their followers. The tribal powers of south and border states have always thwarted the imperial advances of medieval Delhi. As a matter of fact Delhi has always succumbed to the warlike tribal hordes who gradually lost their native dash and courage under the impact of civilized luxury and in their turn were subdued by fresh tribal invasions. The native courage and fighting skill of tribal people should, therefore, be properly harnessed to meet the defence requirements of the country.

All these call for vigorous research activities. The

research programmes of the Tribal Research Institutes also require thorough reorientation. Research should be made more responsive to the defence and production needs of the nation. Research should henceforth be judged

by the actual contribution it makes towards increased production and research workers should be made progressively more responsible for extension and experimentation in the actual field.

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The Lanjia Saoras hereafter called Saora are the most backward section of the great Saora tribe who live in the Agency tracts of Ganjam district and in Pottasingi P. S. area of Koraput district in the State of Orissa. They habitate in the Eastern Ghats hill ranges varying from 3,000 -4,000 ft. Their population according to 1941 Census was estimated in Ganjam Agency 95,479 and in Koraput 52,518. In 1961 Census the population is 131,000. They are called by this name on account of the manner of putting on their loin-cloth with an end hanging like a tail from the waist. They are also called Maliah (Mal-hill), Jati Saora in different regions. The tribe has been described in the ancient literature as a component of the great Sabara stock who extended from Gujrat in the west to the coastal plains of modern Orissa in the coast. Cunningham has considered the Bhils also as Sabaras. In Sanskrit Sabara or Savara means a mountaineer barbarian or savage. In fact, the Aryans designated almost all the Jungle tribes as Sabaras.

The Saoras of Orissa owe their importance to a

legend which connects them with Lord Jagannath of Puri. It is said that the Sabara king Viswabasu was worshipping lord Jagannath in his mountain kingdom, an Oriya king could not succeed to persuade him to part with the deity to be installed in the temple at Puri. Then he sent secretly an emissary in disguise who succeeded in transferring the deity to Puri. Authenticity of this legend cannot be documented, but it has its impact on the social and religious life of the people and even today a section of the priests in Jagannath temple are considered to be of Sabara origin.

*Elwin has described the religion of the tribe magnificently in 'Religion of An Indian Tribe', which made them known all over the world. To the students of anthropology and religion, his book opens up a new chapter. Never before the religion of tribes has been studied in such detail. There is hardly any contemporary tribal community who have such elaborate religious organisation, beliefs and rites. Elwin is right in saying that without understanding the religion of the tribe one cannot understand

any other aspect of their life. There is hardly any other contemporary religion where there are so many super-natural beings all functioning, all important, all demanding their rights and exercising their influence over the living beings.

Nevertheless there is another very important aspect of Saora culture which puts the tribe on a unique position in ethnographical map of the world, the absence of "clan" or "sib" in their social structure. A clan or sib consists of blood relations of one side only who are joined into an exogamous unit. A common residence, mystic tie or descent from an animal or plant or material object were stated to be characteristics of a clan. Rivers defined a clan¹ "as an exogamous division of a tribe the members of which are tied together by a belief in common descent, common possession of a totem or habitation of a common territory. ²Lowie omitted totemism as an integral component of a clan due to its absence in many tribes of America, Africa and Asia. Besides, he dropped common territory as there are instances of a clan spreading over a large area.

3 In Notes and queries of Anthropology, a clan is defined "as a group of persons of both sexes, membership of which is determined by unilateral descent, actual or putative with ipso facto obligation of an exclusive kind".

A clan or Sib therefore has the principal function in regulating marriage, inheritance of property and other social, economic and political events like funeral, warfare exchange, barter, etc. In the history of anthropological thought there is special importance of clan or sib. Morgan and Tylor advocated that clan is the primary social organisation of all people while family evolved later. This view of Morgan was adopted by Engels who became one of the founders of Marxism. Hence there rose a controversy on this issue. From the researches among the contemporary backward people it was well established that some of the most primitive tribes like Onges of Andamans, and Bushmen, Hottentots of Africa, some Eskimo groups do not have clans but they have well organised families as the unit of social organisation.

1. Majumdar & Modan, Assia Publishing House 1956

2. Lowie Primitive Society.

3. Royal Anthropological Society.

In this respect the Lanjia Saoras of Ganjam and Koraput, who are certainly a real primitive tribe confined to a specific geographical habitat do not have exogamous clans or sibs and associated totemism.

They have families as the unit of social organisation, and Birindas are groups of extended families controlling marriage, inheritance and other social functions.

The Gamang of Potta when interviewed stated that Birinda consists of descendants from a common ancestor for 3 to 4 generations. From Sagado it was learnt that not all the descendants of a common ancestor are in one Birinda for all time to come. In course of time some separate and form another Birinda. Enquiries from Parlakimidi agencies showed that the Birinda structure is a loose union of families. In a Birinda there may be twenty to thirty families, or only 5 to 10 families. In Udayagiri agency where Hinduisation has been felt to a greater extent, Birinda is gradually transforming into Gotra, by adopting a Gotra name from Hindu society.

The function of Birinda is clear. Marriage within the Birinda is strictly prohibited. The members stand to each other as brothers and sisters.

"It is highly objectionable for a man to take a woman from the same Birinda" said the Gamang of Patilli. This not only offends living beings but dead too. It may so happen that the two neighbours in a village may belong to two different Birinda. Hence taking a girl from the neighbour's house for marriage is possible, while in different villages there may be members of one Birinda among which matrimony is not possible. The members do not associate any Guardian Angel with the Birinda, and rites connected with plants and animals is not there. Dead ancestors within living memory not supernatural beings are considered to be founders of the Birindas.

The Birinda brotherhood is called upon to participate in the birth and death rites. Not only as visitors but are expected to contribute for expenses which are of course reciprocated. Saora have a large number of funeral rites out of which first funeral Guar and the second funeral 'Karjya' are the most important*. These ceremonies are not only elaborate affairs but drain away a good part of Saora resources as one or more buffaloes are sacrificed. Birinda members have to donate some cash for the sacrificed buffaloes. Well-to do

*Elwin 1948.



A buffalo being sacrificed by the Lanjia Saoras in Guar ceremony

members may also contribute a full animal. All these payments are reciprocated by the receiver to the giver when similar occasion arises. In Liabo village at the Guar ceremony of Sirpini two buffaloes were supplied by his Birinda men of two different villages. One of those villages was of her brother's and the other of her sister's. With proper observance of these ceremonies the deads can only be admitted into the under worlds of ancestors and Gods.

When someone dies issueless the Birinda members inherit his properties. A panchayat of the Birinda brotherhood convened for

this purpose decides who of the members should inherit it. It becomes obligatory for the inheritor to perform the first funeral Guar ceremony for the deceased. It will be worth while to state that in Saora culture a great emphasis is laid on this ceremony. Without the performance of this ceremony there is no peace to the soul of the dead, as he cannot be admitted to under world. Such a soul not only becomes source of trouble to his family members but also may turn a menace to the general communal life. As such a soul cannot get a place among the ancestors of under world, has to move about between the land of living and



Sacrificed buffalo in Guar ceremony

dead, around human habitations and bring in epidemics, diseases, pests and maneating tigers.

Another important aspect is the woman retaining her father's Birinda after marriage. In different societies it is obligatory for a woman to change to the clan or Gotra of her husband. In a patriarchal society where inheritance is through the father we do not find any incidence of two clans or Gotras within one family. But the Saoras having patriarchy and patrilocal residence permit a woman to retain her parent's Birinda after marriage. After death the members of a woman's

Birinda may demand her dead body to be cremated in their village, not in the village of her husband. When it does not become feasible a portion of the ash after cremation is taken to their own cremation ground and ceremonially buried. This is the vital trait through which woman maintain their social position in the Saora Society. Her brothers and sisters belong to her Birinda, as also the children of her brothers, but not of the sisters. Her own children do not belong to her Birinda. Therefore her own children could be married to her brother's children. Cross cousin marriages are therefore common.

Another interesting institution in Saora Society is marriage of a step-son and a step-mother. Saoras marry several wives. It may so happen that at the time of death of the father, there may be very young junior wives. There may be grown up sons from senior wives. As those sons and the step-mothers belong to different Birinda one of the sons can keep as mistress one of the Young step-mothers on his father's death. Such a marriage is called 'Yavangkoi'. The spirit of the deceased father then admonishes them in dreams and threatens them to cause harm if a proper ceremony is not held. The son then buys a buffalo, two bangles and a new cloth. The buffalo is ceremonially sacrificed and offered to the spirit of deceased father. In the ceremony one of the older relations act as the dead father. After the ceremony the step-son and his step-mother are recognised as man and wife.

Birinda members are exogamous and observe strictly incest. It was gathered that there are sometimes violations of the incest taboo where somebody develops affairs with another member of opposite sex within a Birinda. On such occasions there is strong social disapproval and the offenders may have to leave their hearth and home. Often they use to run away to the

tea gardens in Assam and do not return to their village during their life time. But such instances are rare. At Manimgul one has kept his sister as mistress and they have issues. They are considered outcastes and do not have normal social intercourse with others.

In a small Saora village there may be members of one Birinda or sometimes two to three Birindas. In big villages there are several such Birindas. In Sagado there are nine Birindas among 110 families. In 100 families at Kalakote there are as many as eleven Birindas. While in Tabar Potta all the seven families belong to one Birinda, and they have members of their Birinda in Patta, another village in neighbourhood, from which they have all come to settle in the present site. In multi-birinda villages there is free mixing of unmarried boys and girls while in mono-birinda village absolute restrictions are perceptible, as all the inmates are agnatic kins. Hence in the former case quite a large number of marriages take place within the village.

Saora memory being short it is difficult to gather genealogy beyond three generations. Besides, I had no opportunity to make detail studies on this line in various regions of

Saora land. From the few geneologies collected at Sagado, Rijintal and Taraba it could be found that a Birinda divides and each unit becomes an independent unit with the increase in number of members. A too unwieldy growth could not observe all the obligations and restrictions. That is why it divides. Migration of a Birinda member to another settlement or village also affects the structure. After three generations (sometimes more or less) the migrants cut off social ties with their agnates, though they may refer them as "Sudh" and do not observe the regulations and obligations towards them, as own Birinda members like attending Guar and Karjya ceremonies with animal and grains. Marriage restrictions may still be followed except in exceptional cases when some one takes a mate in tea-gardens, or while working as a Goti (servant) in the family of the girl. Then it is argued that the Birinda has already been cut off and no penalty is fixed for the breach. This has happened in case of Parjon in Potta who interloped with a girl Japni from Tabar Patta, whose families were once upon a time members of one Birinda.

When a group of Saoras call at another village with a marriage proposal, may discuss

in detail all possible geneology of the members to stress out probabilities of their Birinda ties. If no such link can be established beyond three generations, then it is granted that there is either no tie or if any, exists, it can be ignored. This is a pragmatic approach to proceed with negotiations without unnecessarily hindering the same.

Birinda is a democratic force in Saora society. Its members are all equal in their rights and privileges. No doubt older members have some say but not to any great extent to impose any arbitrary decision on the youngsters. Birindas are knit around the general, social and political structure of a village. They all abide by the decision of the Gamang and Bhuiya in secular and religious affairs. It has no such function as the Kondh agnatic territorial clans have in claiming a particular Soil (area) as their own. In this aspect Saora Birinda is a loose union of members.

Saoras dread like the Hindus and few other tribes to die issueless. For them life after death in the other world is more important than life in this world. For entry into the underworld of deads, proper ceremonies (Guar and Karjya) have to be performed by the children and other kinsmen of the dead.

Birinda membership is a security against the contingency of one dying issueless. If one dies issueless the Birinda members can claim his properties of the deceased but simultaneously should perform the funeral ceremonies. Besides, Birinda also cuts down a good deal of disputes over inheritance of the properties of the deceased. If any one appreciate such properties without the complementary obligations, he draws the vengeance from the dead, and is sure to face calamity. Security in this world and in the underworld is thus achieved through the Birinda structure. It helps in curbing brideprice as well as dowry. As the woman retains her own Birinda after her marriage and the members of her Birinda have a right to claim her body after death and perform funeral rites she continues to be a part and parcel of the family to which she is born. She claims her personal possessions during

and after her marriage. Hence, there is lesser social necessity to pay a heavy bride price to get a girl and corresponding dowry to be paid to her during marriage.

From the above study it can then be revealed as to how a simpler society without clan or sib orients itself to discharge all the social functions and religious obligations. It has devised the Birinda structure which practically functions in all respects as a clan in controlling social and psychological frontiers, but simultaneously cuts down multiple restrictions, totemism leaving a free hand to the Saoras to plan their social events. In its various aspects a Birinda is a loose association of its members, but simultaneously fosters a strong bond among them. In fact, Birinda structure enables the Saoras to lead a less complicated life arranging their own houses according to necessity and demands.

K. C. TRIPATHY

**ABO BLOOD GROUP OF
LANJIA (TAILED) SAORA,
ORISSA.**

Serological studies in India, particularly of ABO blood groups have covered some important aboriginal populations. On the basis of the above studies it is possible to assess the ethnic position of tribal population. During the physical survey of Saora ABO blood group of 25 adult persons of Lanjia Saora could be typed from the village Savarpalli, three miles away from R. Udayagiri town in the district of Ganjam, Orissa.

Saora also called Savars form an important ingredient of the tribal population of Orissa. They are found in most of the districts of the State of Orissa, their main concentration being in Ganjam and Koraput districts. The Saora of costal region and western Orissa have adopted functional relationship with the Hindu societies and have no dialect of their own while Saoras living in high hills have a definite language. These two groups though imperfectly

mingle with each other in physical features, yet are distinguished from each other in their customs, practices, traditions and language. In 1941 Census, the total population of Saora was 316,362 of which 177,518 were recorded in Ganjam and Koraput districts. In 1961 census, the population counted separately gives 131,000 and 46,000 of Saora and Savars, respectively.

The present paper intends to study ABO blood group distribution among Saoras of R. Udayagiri in the district of Ganjam, Orissa. The Saoras referred here are known as Lambolanjia or Lanjia (tailed) due to their peculiar type of putting on their loin cloth hanging one end as a tail. As they occupy high hills they are also called as 'Malua'. Though this group is the most important of the Saoras and numerically the largest division, eight of which were recorded by

Elwin. Later field investigations revealed that many of these sections are the same only having different names in different regions. There are five sections among the Saoras, each of these is an endogamous group.

Material and Method—ABO blood sampling of 25 adult Lanjia Saoras were typed with great difficulty and slide method for the purpose was followed. Anti-A and Anti-B serum obtained from Haffekine institute, Bombay was utilized during the taste.

TABLE 1

Tribe	O	A	B	AB	Total
Lanjia Saora	7	10	5	3	25
Per cent	28.0	40.0	20.0	12.0	100

The blood group A (40 per cent) was found to be predominating. Distribution of O (28 per cent) group is the

next highest in percentage and B and AB are in still lesser percentage 20 per cent and 12 per cent, respectively.

TABLE 2

Distribution of ABO Blood group and their Gene frequencies

Tribe	No.	O	A	B	AB	p	q	r
Lanjia Saora	25	7	10	5	3			
Per cent	100	28.0	40.0	20.0	12.0	0.295	0.163	0.529

TABLE 3

Distribution of ABO Blood group among some Orissa Tribes (Blood type from male members)

Tribe	O	A	B	AB	Total
Juang	26	24	62	10	122
Gadaba	16	39	30	6	91
Khond	15	9	16	5	45
Sabar	17	19	25	12	74
Gond	12	5	6	2	25
Santal	2	2	8	2	14
Lanjia Saora (Present Study)	7	10	5	3	25

Figures on ABO blood group of Juang, Gadaba, Khond, Sabar, Gond, Santal are taken from the article 'Further studies on ABO blood

groups from Orissa' written by S. S. Sarkar. Percentage and gene frequencies have been worked out by the author.

TABLE 4

Distribution of p, q, r gene frequencies among the Orissa Tribes

Tribe	O	A	B	AB	Total	p	q	r	Author
Juang									
Number ..	26	24	62	10	122	..	..	..
Per cent ..	21.3	19.6	50.8	8.2	..	.055	.121	.147	Sarkar
Gadaba									
Number ..	16	39	30	6	91	..	..	..
Per cent ..	17.5	42.9	32.9	6.6	..	.070	.114	.132	Sarkar
Khond									
Number ..	15	9	16	5	45	..	..	..
Per cent ..	33.3	20.0	35.5	11.1	..	.043	.070	.181	Sarkar
Sabar									
Number ..	17	19	25	12	73	..	..	..
Per cent ..	23.2	26.0	34.2	16.4	..	.070	.087	.152	Sarkar
Gond									
Number ..	12	5	6	2	25	..	..	..
Per cent ..	48.0	20.0	24.0	8.0	..	.041	.045	.219	Sarkar
Santal									
Number ..	2	2	8	2	14	..	..	..
Per cent ..	14.2	14.3	57.1	14.3	..	.049	.147	.119	Sarkar
Lanjia Saora									
Number ..	7	10	5	3	25	..	..	..	Present Study.
Per cent ..	28.0	40.0	20.0	12.0	..	.295	.169	.529	K. C. Tripathy

Analysing the Table No. 2 p and r frequencies show the high doses of gene 0.295 and 0.529 respectively while q shows slight lower to both of them. Rightly speaking the three genes are distributed in the proportion such as p being double the q and r roughly four times more than q. Other tables have been given to study the mode of blood group distribution of Lanjia Saora and thereby tracing

the racial affinity of the tribe with the other Orissan tribes.

Comparative studies of blood group between Hill Saora (Lanjia) and the low land Saora (Sa-ara) will be made in future to trace their genetical relationship, whether these two groups of Saora tribes are same or they are different, owing to their geographical isolations.

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The problem

Once it so happened in an Air Force Station that the Station Warrant Officer found it difficult to get men for duties in different guard posts. The M. T. O.¹ could not get enough of M. T. Ds.² for the routine runs. The Equipment Officer found none of his men willing to work in the transit section and go to the railway station for despatching and receiving the consignment. The officer in charge of a squadren hanger complained that he had less men to get on with the daily maintenance work. The station workshop was found always without men. S. M. O.³ was found to say that his medical assistants were dull and had no knowledge of their trade. His second complaint was that sick report among the airmen was on increase and he did not get extra hands to cope up with the unexpected increase in work. Signal Officer's worry was the maximum. He could not get men for cabling important messages. The prior messages were laying for days together in the cabin without being touched. He could

hardly manage to put one operator at a time in the telephone exchange. Every night Orderly Surgeant had to go to the living in Barracks to catch some airman for guard duty as the airmen, detailed before, invariably reported sick at the eleventh hour and managed excuse some how or other. Orderly Officers and Orderly Surgeants were fed up of this state of affairs and noted in their reports more than once. Those, who were in the station before were found saying that the life in the station was far better than that of today. Airmen were happy and gay only a year before. Then why and how such state of affairs over took so disciplined a station? What were the factors that led the airmen to create such trouble unconsciously for the smooth running of the station?

The course of events

In a cool morning of December the Station Adjutant was talking to the Station Warrant Officer. The Adjutant remarked that there should be little warming up in the morning, because all men had gone lazy for their

1. Mechanical Transport officer
2. Mechanical Transport Driver
3. Senior Medical officer.

daily work. S. W. O. readily agreed and published in the Station Routine Orders that there would be parade every morning one hour before the actual working hour starts. After a week S. M. O. brought the complaint to the Senior Administrative Officer that the number of men reporting sick is going up due to the introduction of such parade every day and that too early in the morning. Without getting any favourable reply from the S. Ad. O⁴. he requested the Adjutant to stop parade every morning as it was difficult for him to manage his section with a skeletal staff and with the sudden rise in the number of sick parades. Adjutant was perturbed when he heard all these and stopped the morning parades but introduced evening Physical Training instead. In the beginning the attendance was quite satisfactory but later on it was found that the men had developed the habit of going to the Station Sick Quarters for evening treatment and thereby wanted to ward off the attendance in the P. T. Grounds. The Adjutant was not able to find the knot, where the cause of the poor attendance was so tightly tied.

Thereafter the Station Adjutant called a meeting of all the Section Commanders and discussed with them the

reason as to why men did not attend P. T². regularly. He emphasised the value and need of P. T. and games for the good health of the fighting forces. All the Section Commanders complained that men report sick and attend to the Station Sick Quarters three times in a day which mars a lot of time and the working hour per man goes so less as to three hours per day. The Chief Technical Officer came first with the complaint that the technicians working in the hanger go twice during the working hours for medicine and as the hanger was nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the S. S. Q. the men take a lot of time to go and come back to their duties. Again men are to go to the canteen for break which is again a mile off and by this way much man power is wasted. The working hours per such technicians come to nearly 3 hours a day which is too less.

Then came the Signal Officer with the complaints that whenever an airman was detailed for night duty he reports sick and somehow or other got excused from the duty and it became difficult to manage the routine work of the section. The Signal Officer requested that the Signal Section men be excused from the P. T. and Parades and other station duties. M. T. O. came forward and advocated that the routine runs

1. Senior Administrative Officer

2. physical training

were in the increase and he got trouble in detailing men for such duty. Whoever was detailed for duty to go to railway station immediately reported sick and it became difficult though not impossible to get men for that. In such case his staff should be excused from P. T. Parade and other station duties. S. E. O¹. also complained that there were lot of consignments coming to that station, his men were working even in the afternoon and those, who went to the railway station came back late in the afternoon and stayed without their lunch. Even then he was not in a position to give them a day's off due to the pressure of work. Men, who are detailed to go to the railway station report sick or bring forward such excuses that they are going without their lunch and just after coming back they are to attend P. T. whenever they go to the railway station. In these circumstances the equipment staff if asked to go for parade and perform the station duties the work in the section will be half-done. He requested the Adjutant to allow his boys to keep away from parade and station duties to enable him to stand with his section in a good stead.

S. M. O. himself remarked that his medical assistants have

developed the mania of reporting sick and asking for laboratory examination and referring to the specialists, which, in his opinion was not at all necessary. He also remarked that his section boys are hard pressed with the work as the number of sick reporters is increasing day by day. Catering Officer was there to remark that though he gets no trouble from his assistants, the cooks bother him maximum. Every cook volunteers for counter duty whereas none comes forward for cooking and whoever is asked to cook does so without putting heart and soul in the job as a result of which the Catering Assistant on duty finds it hard not to crack, when complaints pile up during meals time.

S. W. O. was to the last with the complain that men go along well till they are detailed for duty when they report sick at the eleventh hour and it leaves him with no time to find a substitute. All the section commanders found only difficulty. None was going smooth with his section.

Now the Adjutant was over head and ears with the complaints. He referred the matter to the S. Ad. O., who remarked that the state of affairs would be tightened up very soon. He insisted on having station parades twice

1. Senior Equipment Officer

a week and that too early in the morning one hour before working hour starts. The state of affairs, instead of improving went from bad to worse. More and more people started crowding the S. S. Q. and the work really suffered. The matter went up to Station Commander, who took it seriously and at once called a welfare meeting. In the meeting he asked the men to bring forward the difficulties that they are facing. Many men stood up one after another and complained which were registered by the S. Ad. O., the welfare officer and the S. W. O. according to the case. At the last the Station Commander remarked, "Look, here boys. I shall look into your complaints as soon as possible. But I won't appreciate a large number of people reporting sick every day. Service first and with due respect to these words you will be asked to work in the afternoon if you report sick in the morning. Alright, thank you."

Station Commander left the meeting and days passed on. Neither any thing was done from S. Ad. O's office on the subjects discussed in Station Commander's welfare

meeting nor the sick reporters refrained from their undesirable reporting sick.

Relevant Factors

In the mean time the S. Ad. O. was posted out. The new S. Ad. O., who, came to the Station was little more than a skeleton so to say and was heavily pigmented. He was slow moving, quiet and always reserve. Men could not expect any change for good from such a person.

After taking over the charge, he went through all the papers, notes and comments by different officers and at the last checked the proceedings of the Station Commander's welfare meeting. After this he enquired and discussed with some of the Section Commanders on some vital points. Thereafter he visited some sections and interviewed some of the airmen. After a fortnight he called all the section commanders to his office and in the meeting, suggested the following changes that were to take place immediately. His suggestions were many and varied. The few important ones are:

(1) M. T. Ds. and Equipment Assistants going to the railway

station should be supplied with early lunch and something like pickle, sweet or some sort of salad should be given to them as extra item in addition to the usual items of the day. The food should be supplied in a hot carrier.

(2) Meals for all duty personnel should be supplied in hot carrier and the Orderly Sergeant of the day is to see that the food is supplied in time.

(3) All night-duty personnel are to be supplied with tea twice, once at 11-30 P. M. and once at 4 A. M.

(4) The Officer-in-charge Canteen and super bar has to so arrange that a man from the super bar takes sufficient edibles to the hanger and another man takes similarly to the Station Workshop for sale to the technicians working there. He again advised the officer to get the super bar wall painted with yellow paint. He further advised that a man from the Station fruit shop should come to the Airmen's Mess with available fruits during meals time.

(5) All the guards are to be provided with conveyance from their residence to their place of duty and back by the orderly officer's vehicle. There should be a guard's rest room with cots fitted with mosquito net poles.

(6) The fireplace in the cook-house of the airmen's mess should be re-built immediately. In place of the existing fireplace there would be erected a smokeless fireplace and the chimney of that should be cleaned every month.

(7) The indoor game items available in Airmen's recreation room should be doubled as soon as possible. There should be a study room, where men can devote their time for serious studies. Station Cinema would have only two shows and there would be no show after 10-30 P.M.

(8) S. W. O. has to engage all the sweepers for the cleanliness of the station. Anti-mosquito and fly measures should be taken regularly. The Station Laundry has to give one wash per airman in a week and the washing should be satisfactory.

(9) He requested the M. E. S.¹ representatives to send his men regularly to the domestic area and repair the sanitary fittings whenever such need arises.

(10) He told at the last to the S. M. O. that if possible he (the S. M. O.) should so arrange that the S. S. Q² staff reporting sick are attended upon by the lady doctor.

(11) Parade is to continue once in a week and it would be only on Mondays. The parade would start half an hour before the working hours starts. P. T. and games would be conducted twice in a week, i.e., on Wednesdays and Fridays. Officer-in-charge, Sports, has to arrange matches between units, sections and with outside teams regularly on P. T. days. Gymnasium has to be well equipped for those who want to use it.

With these suggestions, he emphasised that the normal atmosphere would come back to the station and told all respective section commandres to bear in mind the suggestions put forth before them.

Next he contacted the M. E. S. representatives and discussed as to how soon the roads in the Camp area can be repaired. He then called on the Executive Engineer for roads and buildings and discussed with him about the repairing of the road from the Air Force Camp to the railway station and replacement of the traffic signal boards.

The S. Ad. O. not only advised the section commanders and consulted the M. E. S. and other civil authorities for working out of his plan but also visited different sections at different times to find how the plan is being executed. Whenever he found slight defect he rectified it then and there.

The Outcome

After a few days only the number of sick reporters went down suddenly. Now no M. T. D. or Equipment Assistant was found to report sick for fear of railway station duty. Technicians were engaged in their work in the hanger for full time except the half hour break. Workshop men seemed contented and worked whole-

1. Military Engineering Service

2. Station Sick Quarters

heartedly. There was not a single cook reporting sick for months. Singal section men were found to have put heart and soul in their work. Men, who were detailed for guard duty seldom visited S. S. Q. Med/Assts. were relaxed when the number of sick reporters went down. S. W. O. found it easy to get men for station duties. The number of men attending P. T. and parade was increasing from time to time and the turn out of airmen was quite satisfactory. A sign of happiness hovered over everybody's face.

The change was marked always and everywhere. The S. M. O. could not find out and why the number of sick reporters could go down so suddenly. M. T. O. had no complaints. Now C. T. O.¹ found enough of hands to manage his hangers quite satisfactorily.

Men were seen moving around the camp in groups of five or more after the dinner. The recreation room was always packed to its capacity. Some airmen were seen using the study room and all made it a habit to go to the reading

room to look at the daily newspapers and periodicals. Men became regular in using the reading room and the recreation room.

Analysis

In his endeavour to win over the men of the Air-Force Station, the sincerity and good will of the S. Ad. O. is remarkable. He dealt less in logic than in good-will. He found from his observations by visiting sections and interviewing the men concerned and participating in the duty of few of them. From his experiments of social medicines of the station he came to know the defects of administration, which led men to inefficiency and lack of interest for work among them. He quickly took steps to avoid such untoward events to take place and could save the station (Air-Force Station).

* * *

It seemed as if some miracle had overtaken the Air Force Station. Some wondered as to how the change had been possible. Everybody remarked that it was due to the new S. Ad. O. who has taken sc

1. Chief Technical Officer

much interest in improving the service conditions. But why such change was not possible before. The question lingered in every body's mind when it was discovered that the new S. Ad. O. was an Anthropologist and whatever change he introduced was due to his knowledge of applied Anthropology

in medicine and in industry. Anthropologists do real miracles in times of war and peace for people of all walks of life. Now the reader must be interested to know the definition of Anthropology. I can only say that Anthropology is the Science of "Man and his works".

HARJINDER SINGH

AN ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

One way of understanding the social structure of an Indian village is to study its leadership pattern. There are number of situations which give rise to different types of leadership in our villages. One of such types is community leadership consisting of persons who are leaders for the whole of the community. They assert their leadership positions in those

contexts where the village population acts as a whole. They make decisions, direct community activities and speak for the community. Thus they have very significant roles to play. There is, however, considerable lack of an adequate analysis of community leadership as recognised by the villagers and of the characteristics attributed to such leadership.

Problem and Method

This study was designed to obtain an overall picture of community leadership as recognised by a village community and also to ascertain the bases of such leadership. The broad objectives of this study were :

- (i) To identify community leaders on the bases of opinions sought from the villagers.
- (ii) To determine their popularity on the bases of choices received from members of different castes.
- (iii) To see whether this leadership is determined by caste.
- (iv) To analyse the different characteristics attributed to leaders.

For this study, a schedule was prepared for interviewing the respondents consisting of all the household heads. They were asked to name the leaders in activities such as organising village fair, observation of "Ikadshi"* , organising ceremonies in connection with removal of cattle diseases, organising village "Ikharas"† and the wrestling bouts, etc. Information was also sought with regard to special qualities possessed by them as noted by the respondents.

Results

The village M is of average size with a population of 662, located 6 miles from Chandigarh, capital of Punjab, towards west on all-weather metalled Chandigarh-Rupar road. It is 5½ miles from Kharar town, the headquarters of Development Block. The village consists of 88 households of 11 different caste groups. The castewise distribution of families is as follows :

Jat Sikh—30 families, Saini Sikh 23, Brahmin 4, Blacksmith 1, Carpenter 3, Barber 2, Water-carrier 1, Potter 2, Oil-presser 1, Shoe-makers 10 and Sweeper 11 families. Jat sikhs are prominent land-owners in this village. Saini Sikhs are next to them and they also own lands along with Jats. Shoemakers and sweepers constituting two different caste-groups occupy lowest portion on the social ladder in this village.

Identification

There arise some situations where almost the entire village population acts as a whole to achieve certain ends. There are always some persons who organise such activities and lead others towards the desired goal. The following table shows the responses given by the respondents in regard to such activities (mentioned earlier) for the village under study.

* Rest day for the cattle

† Village gatherings in connection with various cultural activities

TABLE I

Distribution of leaders according to their caste and number of choices received from members of different castes according to criterion of organising functions for the village as a whole.

N. 88

Sl. No.	Name of the leader	Caste	Choices received from										Total	
			Jat Sikh	Saini Sikh	Brahmin	Blacksmith	Carpenter	Barber	Water carrier	Potter	Oilpressor	Shoemaker		Sweeper
1	K. Singh	Jat	23	23	4	1	3	2	1	2	1	7	9	76
2	B. Singh	Jat	12	3	3	..	2	1	1	2	1	5	4	34
3	J. Singh	Jat	17	8	3	1	..	2	1	2	..	7	6	47
4	P. Singh	Jat	5	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	8
5	S—	Jat	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
6	S. Singh	Jat	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
7	W. Singh	Saini	1	11	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	16
8	S. Singh	Saini	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	13
9	S. A. Singh	Saini	5	9	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
10	G. Singh	Saini	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
11	M. Singh	Saini	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
12	H. Ram	Blacksmith.	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
13	S. Singh	Carpenter.	2	3	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	2	2	11
Total Choices			68	72	11	4	7	5	3	6	2	26	24	228

In all, 13 persons have been named as leaders. Out of them 6 belong to Jat caste, 5 to Saini caste and one each to Blacksmith and Carpenter caste groups. All of them are not equally influential as they carry different amount of choices from the respondents. So, the difference in choice shows the difference in recognition and effectiveness of the leader concerned. Out of these 13 persons, 4 get single choice each which in most cases is given by themselves or by others on personal considerations such as friendship, caste, kin, etc. One Jat and the Blacksmith get only 8 and 4 choices respectively. All these show that these six persons mentioned above are not real leaders in this situation. So, the remaining 7 may be recognised as leaders as they receive enough choices to be called as such. Three of them belong to Jat caste, 3 to Saini caste and the remaining one is from Carpenter caste. The greater number of choices are restricted to the Jat leaders as compared to the Saini leaders. The Carpenter gets least number of choices. Among the Jat

leaders, themselves all the three carry different choices. Thus, K. Singh, J. Singh and B. Singh get 75, 47 and 34 choices. This shows that K. Singh is most influential leader as compared to other two Jats, J. Singh and B. Singh. While the latter are more influential than the 3 Saini leaders, W. Singh S. Singh and S. a Singh who receive 16, 15 and 13 choices respectively. S. Singh carpenter receives the minimum of 11. With few exceptions, Jats and Sainis have mostly recognised leaders from their own caste. Brahmins restrict their choices to Jat and Saini leaders. Castes such as Barber, Potter, Water-carrier and Oil-pressor recognise only the Jat leaders. For other caste groups also the greater number of choices are restricted to Jat leaders.

Bases of leadership

The schedule also aimed at ascertaining the bases of leadership positions in the village. The responses given by the respondents show that these 7 persons who have been taken as leaders in this situation, have different bases of their recognition. A table in this respect is presented as under:

TABLE 2

Number of time different characteristics attributed to leaders (criterion of organising functions for the village as a whole)

Sl. No.	Name of the leader	Characteristics of leaders											
		Education	Organising capacity.	Honesty	Sparing time	Reputed family.	Effected outlook.	Old Age	Wealth	Military Service.	Popularity	Youngage	
1	K. Singh	..	70	55	60	51	..	..	..	..	59	37	24
2	J. Singh	..	..	37	30	20	40	2	33	..	..	25	..
3	B. Singh	..	..	22	30	17	32	..	..	..	..	23	..
4	W. Singh	..	14	10	12	10	..	..	..	..	..	10	..
5	S. Singh	..	6	12	11	7	..	7	..	..	10	10	..
6	S. a Singh	..	..	8	9	8	11	..	..	..	..	10	9
7	S. Singh (Carpenter)	..	..	9	7	10	..	..	9	11	..	5	..

The above table shows that the respondents have attributed different characteristics to their leaders. K. Singh is educated, good organiser, honest, young ex-military man, popular and he spares time. He received 70, 55, 60, 51, 59, 37 and 24 choices, respectively. J. Singh is a good organiser, honest, old and popular. He spares time, belongs to reputed family, and has effective outlook. The choices received by him in each case are 37, 30, 20, 40, 2, 23 and 25, respectively. The respondents have recognised

B. Singh because he is good organiser, honest, popular. He spares time and belongs to reputed family. He received 22, 30, 17, 32 and 23 choices, respectively. The bases of recognition of W. Singh are his education, organising capacity, honesty, free time and popularity. He received 14, 10, 12, 10 and 10 choices, respectively. S. Singh is educated, good organiser, honest. He spares time and has effective outlook. He got 6, 12, 11, 7, 7, 10 and 10 choices each case, respectively

S.a Singh is recognized as such because he is a good organiser, honest, popular and a young-man. He spares time, belongs to a reputed family. The choices received in each case are 8, 9, 8, 11, 10 and 9, respectively. The characteristics attributed to S. Singh (carpenter) are organising capacity, honesty, sparing time, old age, wealth and popularity. He received 9, 7, 10, 9, 11 and 5 choices, respectively.

Therefore, it can be noticed from this table that among others, the characteristics of organising capacity, honesty, sparing time and popularity are most commonly attributed to leaders in this situation.

Summary and conclusion

This study shows that community leadership is regulated by caste. Only some persons from higher caste groups act

as community leaders in the village and the lower caste members recognise them. Also there is a significant correlation between the position of the caste of a leader and his popularity as indicated by the number of choices given by the respondents coming from all the caste groups. There are, however, differences in the choices obtained by the leaders of the same caste.

It also shows that there are number of characteristics which are commonly attributed by the respondents to their leaders. Some of these characteristics are most essential for this type of leadership in the village. These are organising capacity, honesty, sparing time and popularity. But other characteristics such as education, reputed family, effective outlook, old age, young age and wealth are not so commonly attributed to the leaders of the Community.

Dr. L. K. MAHAPATRA

The Pauri Bhuiyan or Hill-Bhuiyan are found in contiguous hill ranges and intervening valleys over a wide area in Western Keonjhar, eastern Bonai, and in adjoining parts of Pallahara and Bamra ex-states. They are one of the major tribes of North Orissa, wellknown for their attachment to shifting cultivation.

The Pauri are considered as the most primitive, least acculturated section of the great Bhuiyan people found in the states of Orissa, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and elsewhere. In North Orissa there are Hinduized sections of the Bhuiyan known as Khandait Bhuiyan, Rautali Bhuiyan, Kanti Bhuiyan, etc. at various levels of Hinduization. However, all of these Bhuiyan are settled agriculturists and the only group still practising shifting cultivation till recently were the Desh Bhuiyan or Pauri Bhuiyan.

The Pauri Bhuiyan are, however, not undifferentiated at least on the techno-economic plane. Those who live in hill villages, on convenient flat terrain, have some terraces for rice cultivation, as at Tasra, where the author worked. In a

FROM SHIFTING CULTIVATOR TO AGRICULTURIST—THE PAURI-BHUIYAN IN TRANSITION

valley, or at the foot of the hills, a Pauri village might have been firmly rooted for a few generations, cutting terraces or irrigating its lands for wet cultivation. These were rather self-sponsored changes before the Government came in.

The Government of Orissa since the merger of the ex-States have exerted in all manner to stop shifting cultivation, brought a large area under reserved forests, and settled the shifting cultivator Pauri Bhuiyan and other neighbouring tribes, Bentkar, Cherenga (known also as Erenga) Kulha, and the Juang in Keonjhar in jungle clearings, in the valleys and plateaus. The slow, natural process of emulation of the neighbouring agriculturist castes was thus sought to be reinforced and extended on a large scale, yet urgently, into rather compulsory settlement in agriculturist colonies with all the incentives, assistance and facilities at the command of the Government.

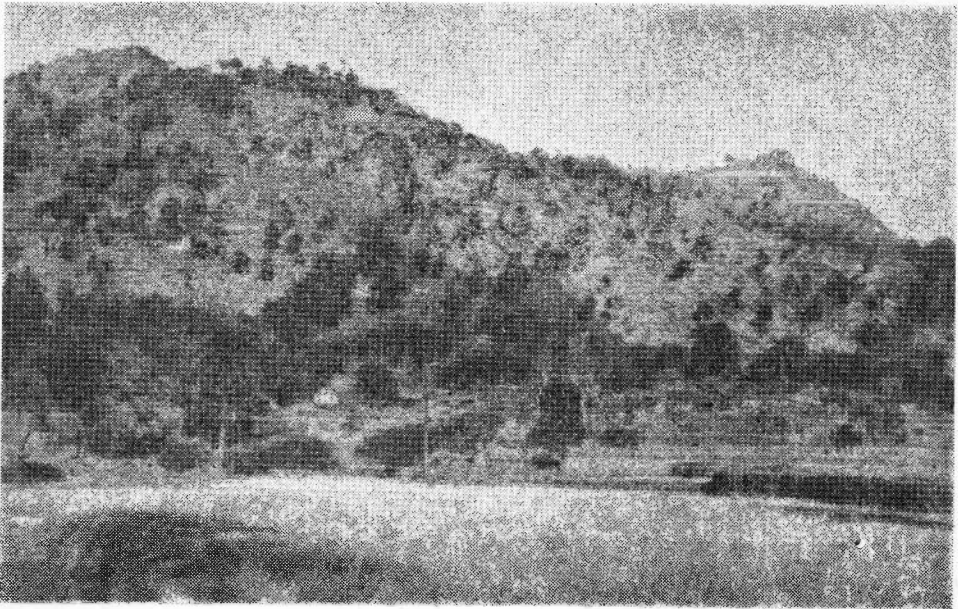
In order to portray this picture of transition from shifting cultivation to agriculture, we require consideration of the techno-economic changes and their

concomitant socio-cultural changes and problems at three levels—changes in the hill village, changes in the valley village settled for generations, and changes introduced or induced at the Government-sponsored agriculturist colonies. This author had made some extensive and intensive studies in 1953-54 under the auspices of the Tribal Research Bureau, Orissa, and in 1957 on his own, in south-eastern Bonai round Mahulpada.

In the Hill Village of Tasra

Techno-economic developments in the direction of agriculture in the hill village, Tasra in which the author concentrated, were

few but decisive. About 10 terraced plots of settled agriculture had been constructed in Tasra, owned individually almost exclusively by the "Matiali" or first settlers' section of the village population. The 'parja'² had equal rights to Swidden, jungle and other wastes, but were not always fortunate like the 'Matiali' people to occupy sizeable plots for kitchen garden or 'Maize-garden'. But a large number of men and women through their periodic dependence on day-labour in the valley villages had acquired a good amount of skill in transplanting paddy as in wet cultivation, and in ploughing as done in the plains. Their economy



Shifting Cultivation in Saora Land

had come to depend on the nearby markets for selling some cash crops and bartering or purchasing important consumer items like rice and cloth.

IN THE VALLEY VILLAGE OF DERULA

The data are mostly based on Derula, supplemented by information on Burhabhuin (south) which I had visited only once in 1954. Derula lies just on the left bank of the Kala (kola) river, about 5 kilometers north—north-east from Mahulpada. The main village has now 3 hamlets: Badbil, composed of colonists from Kunu hill village in the main, Manakhunta, similarly, of colonists from Kamalachua hill village, and Sagadia Sahi, composed of Munda, Kolha immigrants. The Pauri Bhuiyan colonists have come down voluntarily, at the earliest, 30 years ago.

Derula village is famous for its settled agriculture in low terraces, constructed since 3 generations or thereabouts, and for irrigation channels by damming up the Kala river at two places. This irrigation helps watering the seed-beds of late paddy for transplanting seedlings later on and to meet the threat of drought when the river may be rather full. There are at present three main types of land for use: swidden land free to all villagers and held

by the tenure of "corporate village ownership" as village common land and forests, and private ownership in terrace plots, and in the flat upland or 'gura' land. Swidden cultivation is done as in Tasra, and terrace plots yield only one crop, paddy. But in 'gura' cultivation both plots and crops are changed in rotation to grow 'Kulthi', pulses (leguminous) in the first year, paddy in the second year and sesamum oil-seed in the third year; then for 2 years a plot is kept fallow, followed by burning the bush before cultivating. Mustard and maize are grown as in the hills in gardens, which are now private property to all intents and purposes.

All 'Matiali' families have privately owned agricultural plots while almost all 'Parja' have to depend on swiddens as their main source of livelihood. In 1952 the present Headman's household reaped 1,200 Kilo paddy from agriculture and 400 Kilo from swidden thus making the contribution of swidden secondary, though substantial, especially in supplying vegetables, millets, oil-seeds, pulses and taro. Besides watching swiddens up the hillside makes the job of watching lowland agricultural fields easier, as otherwise the onslaught of the wild animals on lowland agriculture would be too much. Similar, halting function of swidden watching was also

referred to by peasants at Mahulpada. As to the question why the Pauri of Derula would not raise vegetables or other crops in the plots which could be irrigated come the problems of fencing and manuring. Moreover, my Bhuiyan informants asserted that all were not agreed on starting such cultivation. If only a few cultivate, others would be jealous and would surely work sorcery against food crop, as the few growers could not possibly satisfy the demands of so many relatives and neighbours. The Gour (milkman) family who lives in Derula and owns and holds on lease a good number of plots, blamed not so much the type of soil, as the Pauri did, but strangely, the black magic of the Bhuiyan. However, the Bhuiyan cited the relatively-no-better crop harvested by the Gour with all his ample cattle-dung manure as the sure proof of the unsuitability of the soil.

On the security of land and cattle one could get loans of paddy at 25 per cent interest (simple interest) from the Government paddy granary of 'Dhangola' at Kumudih. But as most did not have either land or cattle they could not take advantage of this blessed facility. However, private granaries in the valley charged 25 per cent or 50 per cent

compound interest and Derula men were never willing to pay 100 per cent compound interest unlike Tasra men. Derula men impressed me as quite aware of the opportunities about them and not slow in exploiting them.

Yet most of the land owners have leased out land at one time or the other on petty loans. In one case for Rs. 10.00 of loan some terrace plots were leased out for 10 years. In another, a "name-sake" ritual friend of Gour caste was cultivating a plot belonging to a Pauri, and by giving some bribe got his rights of ownership established during the next settlement operation. A Gond of Jagati village advanced Rs. 25.00 to a Bhuiyan for rights of cultivating a big terrace for only 5 years, but even after 10 years the land was not recovered in 1954. In such underhand processes some lands are already lost to the Derula Bhuiyan.

This alienation of land was however deliberate in case of certain other villages further north. In "Khesra" forests for use of the villagers at Patamund and Phuljhar the Pauri had made their swiddens for two years and then gave away the cleared land to Mundari immigrants for money, grains and goats for feasting the whole village. At Nagaria village, it was reported, Bhuiyan lands were cultivated by Mundari, Cherenga Kolha and Gond for

a nominal tax of Re. 1-00 per "plough" (land cultivated with a pair of cattle, a conventional measure). In Derula the Mundari Kolha were given the lands round an old site 'Sagada dih', where, the Pauri alleged, tigers took a heavy toll of the Bhuiyan whenever they lived there.

Alarmed at the spectre of land-alienation especially by the local Gour and Gond rather than by Munda immigrants, and understanding the value of literacy, especially in calculation of interest, execution of deeds and understanding the law, Derula men had approached me for getting a school for Derula through my recommendation. It might be that by having a school they wanted also to gain in prestige among other Pauri villages or to attract visiting officers who ordinarily ended their circuit at Mahulpada. But they were quite clear about their need to check this process of surreptitious land-alienation. The opening of "Gram Panchayat" at Mahulpada gave very handy opportunities for ventilating their grievances against the exploiters in this manner. On the other hand, the power of composing disputes arising out of land-rights shifted to "Grama Panchayat" from the Village Assembly, which became less effective in disputes between the Bhuiyan and even

lesser, in cases between a Pauri and Gond or Gour.

Living in the valley and having greater contacts with outsiders some villagers have worked in Calcutta and Assam, and some still go to Sarkunda and Ranta mines to work in the winter and early summer. A few caught and sold 'sari' talking-birds travelling upto Chaibasa in Singhbhum and even Midnapore district in West Bengal for about 3 generations, and one or two traded in iron axe-blades from Khajuri Khaman in Bamra.

As at Derula, similarly at another valley village Khadka in Pallahara, as also in Budhabhuin (south) in Bonai, almost all the agricultural plot are owned by 'Matiali' sections. As at Tasra, so at Rada in Pallahara, the few terraces made in the hill village also, belonged mostly to this dominant section. At Budhabhuin (south) in the narrow valley of a hill stream the difference in wealth was extreme. The 'Sardar' or regional Headman since 1945 (or slightly later) in this village had owned much of the well-constructed terraces and buffaloes (much more costly and productive than cows) and had himself made 10 terraces in his life-time. Similar concentration of wealth was evidenced at Derula in one Pauri house and in one of the Gour families.

Apart from a tendency to extremes of wealth in a valley

village there are some necessary modifications in the rituals. At Tasra those who have terraces, nonetheless make ceremonial sowing only in the swidden, while at Derula it was just the reverse. Before transplanting paddy seedlings the worship of 'Kadabali' is observed along with the Pauri ceremony of 'Asadhi Puja'. 'Dhan Nua' or "Eating First Paddy" is observed here slightly more elaborately than at Tasra, but much less elaborately than in other mixed villages, say Kumudhi. 'Bishri Usa' was introduced into Derula about

1925-26 as perhaps the first Pauri Bhuiyan village in Mahulpada region of Bonai. The householders celebrate two ceremonies of threshing ground, once for swidden paddy known as 'Gundamanda' and the other time for paddy from low land agriculture called 'Khala Puja', the latter being more elaborate. At the latter ceremony, 'Lachmi', the Hindu goddess of wealth, in popular cult, is worshipped with a sacrifice of white chicken and 'Baram', the tribal deity, with another chicken.



Preparing a Shifting Cultivation Field

As land has now permanent value through its permanent productivity in settled agriculture, it was just another step

from rights of "inheritable use" and "private rights" in scarce lands as at Tasra to completely private ownership in agri-

cultural land as in all settled villages. The lands for making gardens for maize and mustard have, however, not yet become private property, at least in law. The preferential share of the eldest son has, however, not been allowed to extend to inheriting one more plot of agricultural land at Derula. The brothers get equal shares in terraces, and I have no information if the eldest one gets preferential treatment in upland or 'gura' plots. However, the women are as usual disinherited from land.

The development and tendencies evident at Derula and a few other villages in the valley with settled agriculture should borne in mind for comprehending the changes that may lie in wait for Tasra villagers when they come down. But more obvious, binding, and imminent are the changes that have already occurred in some of the colonies started by the Government in the valley forests.

In the Government Colonies

In this I shall be often referring to my study of Guhalbandha colony which started in 1951-52 as an off-shoot from Tasra. But some data will also be added from other colonies as occasion arises. Much information on the evolving life in the colonies is given by N. Patnaik (1952, 1957) and most of his interpretations meet mine and my observations.

In 1949-50 the first colony was started with Pauri families from Tal and Upar Ginia, many of whom had some settled agriculture but still cutting swiddens. As Patnaik noted in 1950, some of them had "actually left their wives, and others, their sons and brothers to look after the Koman fields and orchards of banana, jack fruit and mango" (1952, p.23). At Guhalbandha only 11 families of Pauri from Tasra in 1951 and in 1952 some Cherenga Kolha and Pauri families from Rengali came to settle down. By 1957 a Bentkar family partrilineally related to Tasra 'Matiali' section had come from Burhabhuin (south), living somewhat away from the Pauri. Similarly, the few Cherenga Kolha families live in a separate ward of their own. Settlers from Tasra were given some paddy (9 kilo per individual) and one bullock already in 1950 before coming down. The paddy was meant to be seed but was readily consumed. Next year after taking divinatory precautions as to the suitability of the colony-site the families came down and were given about 20 kilo seed-paddy in April-May per family. The Bhuiyan Headman of Guhalbandha colony as in other colonies was presented a gun to keep away wild beasts, but it stood more as a symbol of prestige and allurements for the others still in the hills. After occupying the colony, house building and extensive shifting cultivation in

rotation of plots and crops as in Tasra, were the main activities. Those who had money and some surplus paddy made some lower land into agricultural terrace by raising embankments. Thus the Bhuiyan Headman of Guhalbandha with Rs. 200 saved and borrowed, and about 200 kilo paddy, engaged some Cherenga Kolha and Bhuiyan labourers and could make 2 terraces ready in one year. A somewhat well-to-do 'Paraja' from Tasra had invested, as reported, about Rs. 412.50P. and 1,400 kilo paddy between 1951 and 1954 for constructing embankments and terraces in Guhalbandha. This family owned 15 heads of cattle in 1954. As the Government had given one bullock per family and the virgin land required heavy and repeated ploughing, only those who had one or more heads of cattle of their own could hope to carve out some terraces while fully attending to shifting cultivation. When some bullocks from Talcher areas, not adapted to the cooler climate and less sturdy than the shorter Pauri cattle succumbed to diseases, and water facilities were worse than at Tasra (where Beljhari rivulet was a perennial source), disappointment and criticism ran high. But with more Government subsidy in grains and a little money and another bullock, by borrowing and saving surplus from extensive swiddens and gardens, the colonists were

on the way to meet the challenge of the new life.

Up to 1956 they could cut new swiddens, besides raising new crops like sesamum (tila) and 'kulthi' pulses along with paddy and 'gangei' millets in 'gura' or upland, maize, mustard, 'muga' pulses and turmeric in 'bakhuri' or maize garden, and tobacco and gourds in the kitchen garden. In 1957 many had used their third-year swiddens to cultivate 'biri' pulses and 'ruhma' beans, used in an important ritual called 'Nangakhia' (Eating First Fruits), as there was no forest to make new swiddens to raise these traditional crops. Similar reasons had driven colonists from Kunu and Kundla to cut swiddens in their ancestral hill villages, but they could not cultivate there on governmental pressure. This shows how attached the Pauri Bhuiyan indeed were to their shifting cultivation and not a little due to some magico-religious requirements. If they cannot grow certain early millets like 'kangu' and 'gundli' or the earliest hill maize ripening as early as mid-August to allay their privation, they can now fall back upon the earliest paddy ripening near about the same time on 'gura' land. 'Gura' land requires periodical fallowing for 2/3 years and the jungle is burnt into ashes before being put into use. The cattle-dung manure, formerly given only in the gardens, is now be

required in the gardens as well as in agricultural plots. As this dung is still the main manure used by the Bhuiyan colonists, one wonders how a family with only two heads of cattle could manage to meet the manuring needs. The natural way to the increase in cattle is somewhat blocked by the bias of Hindu officials against giving cows as draught cattle. The local shifting cultivators used cows and not only bullocks in swiddens, and later also in agriculture.

The Cherenga Kolha colonists in general depend on their own labour and governmental subsidies and have no reluctance like the Pauri Bhuiyan towards the inevitable heavy earthwork involved in reclaiming land for terraces. So they have fared better than those Pauri who had not much capital or cattle. But evidently they could not construct more terraces than those who had money and cattle. Moreover the poorer, both Pauri and Cherenga Kolha, most often could not occupy the lowest and wettest terraces, as they required greater outlay of labour and money for constructing high embankments. Some well-to-do men, much more among the Pauri than among the Cherenga Kolha, have been able to keep one and even 2 'halia' or "hired labourer for a year" and thereby occupy and utilise more land, and thus have grown richer and richer. The number of families

keeping such 'halia' has of course increased but rather slowly. Some of these greedy agriculturists must have to give up their not-so-good plots when distribution is made on basis of 5 acres (2 hectares) of wet land and 3 acres of upland (gura) per family. It is because of such unregulated land-grabbing and lack of more forests for shifting cultivation, that many Bhuiyan did not believe as early as 1954 the official assertion that there was still more a land for colonists in Daleisara forest clearing.

Thus we find the original Government intention to give equal amount of aid and to allot equal amount of land, and thus to give an equal start to each colonist family has been belied, simply because in conditions of wealth and skills they were not equal. The Cherenga Kolha were on the whole poorer but had better skills in agriculture besides being free from the sentiment against earthwork. We have already noted in Derula and Burhabhuin (south) as elsewhere that settled cultivation had created a class of have-nots in land not given to swiddens, and the concentration of wealth in a few hands was remarkable when compared to conditions in Tasra, where differences in holding wealth were never so extreme. Similarly, a few among the Cherenga Kolha, like the Headman of Barçhua village with settled agriculture had amassed

wealth in land, grains, cows, buffaloes, and pigs. By 1957 this process of concentration of wealth and of widening the economic rift between the poorer and the richer was not merely continued but also appears to have been accelerated in the colonies. While in the hills the basis of differentiation in wealth was based both on working hands and a few inherited economic opportunities, in the colony, it was primarily based on the accumulated wealth which a colonist brought with him. After the redistribution of lands this process may be checked but not reversed, as the Government policy is to extend equal (not equitable) opportunities for all families in the colonies. The process will be checked also because the hired labourers, either Pauri Bhuiyan or Cherenga Kolha will be getting lands on their own rights as colonists somewhere. It remains to be seen how far the present differences in wealth, no longer of territorial and political status as between 'Matiali' and 'Parja' sections in the hills, may be crystallized and ramified into other aspects of life to create something like social classes. But at present there are two economical classes in the colonies, obvious also to the colonists themselves.

We may now follow other developments one by one.

In the field of technology of agriculture a few skills, like ploughing *in the round* instead of *along the contour* and *downwards* as in the hills or thinning out of paddy and transplanting, had to be learnt. As many of the Pauri Bhuiyan colonists and all Cherenga Kolha had known them, it was not a great handicap. The real handicap, even in 1957, appeared to be the stumps of trees and the infinite number of small rocks that were to be seen everywhere in the reclaimed plots. The plough now lost its string arrangement with the yoke for coping with the intervening boulders as in the hill swiddens, and the pick or 'gardani' used in rocky places, inaccessible to the plough had little use in agriculture. The hoe is now used in the corners of the field where the plough does not reach.

In house-building, the tendency is to construct stronger houses with door-panels made of wooden planks instead of bamboo wickerwork as in the hills. This is consonant with more private property and larger stores to be securely locked. The Bachelors' Dormitory was the best and spacious building in Guhalbandha in marked contrast to its dilapidated condition in Tasra in 1957. The front verandah of houses tends to be wider. Only a few Pauri outside Guhalbandha have constructed roofs with 'khapra'

or country made tiles learnt from Cherenga Kolha neighbours.

In settlement pattern there has been the most significant change in having a linear pattern with houses on both sides of a wide and often straight street. The village deities have been already installed in a sacred grove. Villagers had begun planting jack fruit and mango trees right since their occupation. The streets are kept daily clean, though garbage might be scattered in the back yard of the houses. The colonies are inter-connected with roads.

Coming to other aspects of material culture, lighting arrangements seem to be universal with tin kerosene lamps and at least 8 hurricane lanterns in Guhalbandha colony, although away from the main road running between Mahulpada and Bonaigarh. Cloth umbrellas are owned by almost all households. In Guhalbandha the said well-to-do 'Parja' from Tasra even boasts of a pair of shoes. A few others like the Headman of Daleisara colony also wear shoes. Except a few older men all wear ready-made shirts and the cloth of men most often reaches beyond the knees. Soaps and 'bidi' or small leaf-cigarettes (purchased) in place of home-made 'kahali' leaf-cigars are coming into greater use.

The food has become less balanced than in the hills, because there is more rice, a little vegetables, but more pulses and much less meat or fish. After the swidden phase is over, not much millet will be available for beer, which will now be made more from rice and the men will grow more dependent on distilled liquor. Similarly, the varieties of vegetables grown in swidden will no longer be available and only a few households have papaya or banana. Hunting is rather infrequent and mostly restricted to the ceremonial hunting and is rarely successful. For fishing there is no big streams nearby. Vegetables and dried fish will have to be purchased. Collection of jungle fruits, leaves and tubers, flowers, and honey will be progressively more difficult as the jungle is shrinking away. However, it is an exaggeration to say "Tubers were available in abundance and they were, living on this food", without the qualification that tubers were the primary food in privation months only (Patnaik, 1957, p. 12). On the other hand, the observation, "Meals are cooked two times daily" in the colonies, which was not always possible in the hills, is correct. "No difficulty of water" in hill villages is not borne out by examples of Tasra and Hatisul; at Hatisul villagers had to descend a long way down in the summer for drinking water.

In the economic life there has been the net result of production of rice surplus, and a sharp decrease in quantity and variety of cash crops including sticklac. This has been partly compensated by recourse to day-labour and working at the mines at Barsuan in the winter and early summer. This dependence on wage labour has the tendency to increase, as the colonists require more and more money as their needs swell and as they get more leisure after the swidden-*cum*-reclamation phase is over. We have already seen at Tasra that lending paddy was not a dream and that there was some surplus of paddy, however insecure this surplus may be, supported as it was partly on supply of fruits, taro and yams. Also contrary to Patnaik's information (1957, p. 12) it was sometimes possible to hire annual labourers (*halia*) at Tasra. This was possible under two conditions: firstly, the household had some surplus the previous year to feed the extra hand, and secondly, this extra hand always produced more than he got by way of food and a pair or more of cloths. But in a colony he got food, a pair of cloths and paddy up to 100 Kilo. Even then this rate seems to be much less than what the same labourer would have got from a plainsman (non-Bhuiyan or non-Cherenga Kolha). The remuneration according to my information

in the plains consists of daily rations, a pair of cloths, and paddy from 300 to 400 Kilo. Judged from this rate, it looks as if it were exploitation in the colonies and in the hills. However, in the hills one household of average economic standing had taken one annual labourer for help in shifting cultivation while in other cases sometimes a young man earning half-wages only is spared for job. What is of great importance in the hills or even in the colonies is that the annual labourer is, as a rule, of the same ethnic group as the employer and in many ways socially connected with the latter and lives as a member of the household. The more thoroughly economic relations between a plainsman employer and an ethnically outsider '*halia*' is simply not possible in the hills, and to a large extent in the colonies. Another change in economic life may be the use of surplus rice as a cash-earning commodity, which was never possible in the hills. Already some dehusked rice has been sold to the officials at Daleisara. Further it looks as if a cowherd caste man, appointed by colonists to tend the cattle, is going to be a permanent village servant, unlike in the hills. Moreover, "reciprocal co-operative labour" or "*bajakama*" was used scarcely in the colony in the phase of shifting cultivation and has, it is alleged, stopped completely now. In its place

day-labour at the usual wages current in the plains is being taken to. It is probable that the attitude of reluctance towards day-labour and work at mines will change in the near future. Day-labour may become indifferent in prestige value as the avocation of the majority.

The womenfolk seem to be contributing less to the economy, as collecting has lost its importance, and also have much fewer opportunities to earn on their own here as contrasted with the hills. This means that they are going to be more dependent on their menfolk economically. As it is men who hold individual rights on land, lone widows have no longer a household of their own.

It is too early to discern changes in the socio-political life. Yet some trends are clear. In the beginning in colonies a family with more working hands was in an advantageous position to attend to shifting cultivation and land reclamation. In 1957 when records of land were going to be made and every family was to get a fixed quota of lands the married brothers and sons and even unmarried but grown up sons tried to set up their own households. Among them were some 'halia' or annual labourers. Thus in 1957 there were at least 20 young men married and unmarried, clamouring for land and of them only 4 had some

lands below their quota. As the opportunity for getting a fixed quota of private land comes only once at the time of settlement in the colony, and there is no shifting cultivation as a flexible source of livelihood, the tendency seems to be premature separation of dependent families or adults. Lone widows have to live with their daughters' husbands or other male relatives, instead of having their own households as at Tasra.

As all the colonists have come together to an unoccupied area, there are no 'Matiali' privileges in socio-political status. But the 'Matiali' section of the mother-village retains the posts of Headman and Priests as usual. Although 'Dihabandhani' ceremony (Village site Foundation day) is still observed, one of its main purposes, that is, admission of new 'Parja' and reassurance of loyalty of the old 'Parja' have lost their meaning. But the Pauri as a whole have gained some political power over the Cherenga Kolha and the few Bentkar colonists. The Pauri are in the majority, the whole scheme was mainly to bring them down and the visiting officers and permanent officials give more weight to the Pauri Bhuiyan in all affairs of colony life. The Cherenga Kolha are untouchable and of lower status. At Guhalbandha colony, where they live away

from the Bhuiyan, the domination of the latter is more obvious than in the exclusively Cherenga colonies with their own headman and priests. At Guhalbandha they are asked to contribute for 'Debi Usa' and perhaps many other festivities of the Pauri Bhuiyan in the name of the village, while the Pauri do not contribute anything in their rituals. This has been so for three reasons. Firstly, the Cherenga had come to settle one year or more later than the Bhuiyan of Tasra who all came in a group, thus becoming numerically the majority and dominant group, supplying the headman and the priests. Secondly, the Cherenga had always acknowledged the Bhuiyan as the lords of the land and themselves as their "Paraja" rather figuratively, so much so that in Mahulpada valley they won't collect thatchgrass before the Bhuiyan did, where the interests clashed. Thirdly, the Pauri Bhuiyan have always worshipped the village deities in the valley village of Jagati, Mahulpada, Barchua, Rengali and Kumudih, where formerly the Cherenga Kolha lived. I suspect the Pauri Bhuiyan of Daleisara colony have similar status of dominance over the Cherenga Kolha of Rata Khandi colony nearby. Incidentally, Patnaik has always referred to the Cherenga Kolha of the colonies as "Munda", as they speak a Mundari language (1957)

Patnaik has rightly pointed to the weakening position of the Headman and senior priests in the colonies (1957, P. 13). But he does not fully explain the situation when he says, "The causes of their ineffectiveness in the village are obviously due to contacts with outside people and the gradual breakdown of the village solidarity after wet cultivation has been introduced" (Ibid. p, 13). In the next sentence, he implies village solidarity is impaired, as in "Wet cultivation (agriculture) economic interdependence and constant (frequent) need for co-operation are not necessary as they are in the cultivation of 'biringa' (Kaman or shifting cultivation)." (Brackets enclose the terms preferred). Sharing cattle and implements and much co-operative labour are not necessary or possible in the colony as the governmental help and the insistent need for reclaiming land by each household for its private exploitation have made a household autonomous and acquisitive to that extent. On the other hand, the older pattern of celebrating village rituals and festivals, communal partnership groups for arranging them, collective hunting expeditions, however few, and the bachelors' dormitories on the colony basis and even having the institution of 'Priests Granary' or 'Dehuria Dhana' in Kunutola and Jhinkar Ghaira colonies (from Kunu and

Kundla hill-villages) show that the old village solidarity is still much preserved. However, the custom of joint cultivation of a swidden by the young men and maidens of a colony for their own common interests, as in hill villages, was preserved till forests were available to make swiddens. As the land was reduced into agricultural plots, privately owned, this automatically stopped. In this instance, the village or colony solidarity of the young persons suffered heavy economic and social deprivation due to conditions of agriculture. The threat to village solidarity came also from two other sources. Firstly, some colonies, Guhalbandha and Ekpadi, are composed of colonists from two or three or even more villages. Moreover, a few colonies like Guhalbandha may be composed of two or more tribes, Pauri, Cherenga and Bentkar. In this condition colonies present different physical composition from the old exclusive Pauri villages. When Pauri colonists from a hill village have stayed in an exclusive colony together they have preserved even 'Dehuria Dhana', pointing to the solidarity of, and surviving allegiance to, the 'Matiali' section of these villages. Secondly, unlike in a hill village, the colonists are not bound to pay allegiance to any definite section in the colony for the rights in land and other faci-

lities. All are given equal chances, theoretically of course, and all owe loyalty directly to the Government, represented by their big visiting officers. There is no solid dominant 'Matiali' section having first rights and no clustering of the 'Parja' round it, and hence the political component of the old village solidarity will be lacking. Where the fiction of this old, 'Matiali-Parja' relationship persists, because of a total transplantation of the village, in that case the village solidarity of the old type *appears* to hold on in the colony. Thus, both the decrease in old village solidarity and the weakening of the position of former Headman of a Pauri village, in fact the spokesman and leader of the 'Matiali' section, among the colonists, may be rather explained in terms of the altered political and economical status derived wholly from outside authority and outside traditional territory, and not merely in terms of settled agriculture and "contacts with outside people" as such. Fundamentally for this reason, reinforced by direct and daily contacts with the authority of government officials, visiting or stationed at Daleisara colony, the old village solidarity and the old position of the Headman and Priests in the colony will be impaired still more. That my interpretation of the dynamics of this change is basically sound is supported

by Patnaik's following observation in 1950, when shifting cultivation was in full swing at Daleisara colony. "The position of Naek (Headman) is already being lowered and his voice is becoming less and less effective in the management of village affairs. (1952", p. 24).

Coming to the ritual life, we find the colonists prone to observe the ceremonial sowing preferably in the low land (terrace) plots, as at Derula, and only if they do not have any, then in a 'gura' or upland plot, the last choice being the swidden. Thus agriculture (lowland or upland) has been given the highest ritual importance even when a swidden was there. At Tasra we have seen always this ceremony was observed in a swidden even when a man cultivated a terrace plot. At Tasra 'Makar' or the first day of solar Magh (January-February) was not celebrated in any way. But at Guhalbandha (and in other colonies) on this Hindu festival day-time work was stopped and the colony went out hunting.

For meeting the colonists' needs a Government shop stocks all sorts of things from clothes, utensils to luxury articles and maintains a free Dispensary with a Compounder. The patients at the dispensary are not only the Pauri Bhuiyan and other colonists but the officials stationed at places upto Mahulpada and the people of nearby villages. Even if no pro-

portion of the Pauri Bhuiyan patients is given I may accept Patnaik's assumption that the main body of the invariably high number of patients of digestive diseases came from the Pauri Bhuiyan population. But this Pauri population then is from among the colonists and only rarely from the hills as I know from my personal experiences as also from the Compounder. If the digestive patients be mainly from among the colonists, both Pauri and Cherenga Kolha, as is more probable, the reason seems to be not far. Patnaik has already noted that the colonists did not grow vegetables (1957, p.8). I was told at Derula that without shifting cultivation they might not have enough vegetables and this was confirmed from Tasra evidences. Without vegetables and fruits and with a rather exclusively rice diet it is quite possible that the colonists suffered from digestive troubles. That a change from shifting cultivation to settled low land or terrace cultivation is at the cost of growing vegetables is also evident from the Abor Hills, Assam, according to Dr. B S. Guha.

Lastly, not to leave a very important change in the field of education, it must be pointed out that colonization has opened the gate to literacy and a wider mental horizon for the younger generation. A Sevashram School of Lower Primary standard was established soon

after the starting of the Dalei-sara colony on the 24th January 1950. Another Sevashram School now extended to a higher standard, was opened on the 19th March 1952 at Dhokamunda. Mostly boys attend the schools. Children are spared reluctantly by parents for studies, more so in the case of girls. It appears not only that the Pauri Bhuiyan and the Cherenga Kolha are not convinced of the benefits of literacy and school education especially for the girls, but also that the economic demands of the family on the school-age children are as yet heavy.

Conclusion

The changes and trends outlined above were observed and inferred on data available till 1957 and it is necessary to find out how much of these have got crystallized, or been arrested and even replaced, through all these years.

Comprehensive analysis of changes attendant on change-over to agriculture can be undertaken only when natural history of some colonies, exclusively Pauri Bhuiyan and other composite one, is compiled.

This paper has been a preliminary attempt to trace the changes and trends of development by supplying a sketch of the natural history of Government-sponsored colonies for shifting cultivators.

Nonetheless, a few tentative conclusions given below on the process of change from shifting

cultivation to agriculture do emerge in our study. It was not our objective to single out the various causative factors in these changes, but rather to chart the course of associated changes in the socio-cultural-economic set up. For validation of these conclusions we may not only turn to older colonies in the area, but also to the newer ones. One of the latter is a colony started in 1959 by the villagers till sticking to shifting cultivation in Tasra hill village, a few miles away from Guhalbandha established in 1951-52 by a feeler group from Tasra. This author expects to study this colony in the near future.

1. In spite of initial reserve and suspicion of the Government intentions, the shifting cultivators have gradually accepted living in colonies. This has hastened the process of change-over to agriculture already taking roots in their self-sponsored attempts in the valley villages and even in the hill villages to a limited extent.

2. Whereas in their old villages, almost all of the agricultural plots were occupied by the 'Matiali' section, in Government colonies all irrespective of 'Matiali' or 'Paraja' status got equal shares in reclaimed land.

3. In the valley villages private property rights in agricultural land were first recognised and enforced by the state and in the Government colonies these were further extended, as all cultivable lands were privately owned. Co-operative

labour and other forms of co-operation lost their importance. Due to differential size of holding of land in the valley village as also in the early phase of settlement in the colonies, economic opportunities tended to be concentrated in a few families. Thus, a category of well-to-do farmers gradually emerged, which may form an incipient economic class, unknown in the hills.

5. In view of the Government's practice of allocating land to individual families, irrespective of their being nuclear or joint families, there has been a tendency for grown up sons to part from their parents much earlier than in the hills.

Lone widows can no longer maintain a household of their own, as in the hills, because land is owned only by male heads of families.

6. The authority of the Headman and Priests, as well as the village solidarity declined, primarily because the 'Matiali' section did not enjoy pre-eminent position as first settlers, land being granted now by the Government. Composite, heterogeneous colonies tended to go against village solidarity.

7. The Pauri Bhuiyan as a whole gained higher political status in the process of decision-making and in showing the benefits and facilities when compared with other tribes who came to settle down in the colonies.

8. The tendency of the Pauri Bhuiyan to consider themselves as a clean Hindu caste obtained further impetus in the valley and colonies, as in rituals, economic activities, dress, housing, education, etc., they could emulate higher castes in that area.

References and Notes.

- 1 and 2—'Matiali' are descendants of first settler' in a village, while 'Parajas are the immigrants incorporated in the village.

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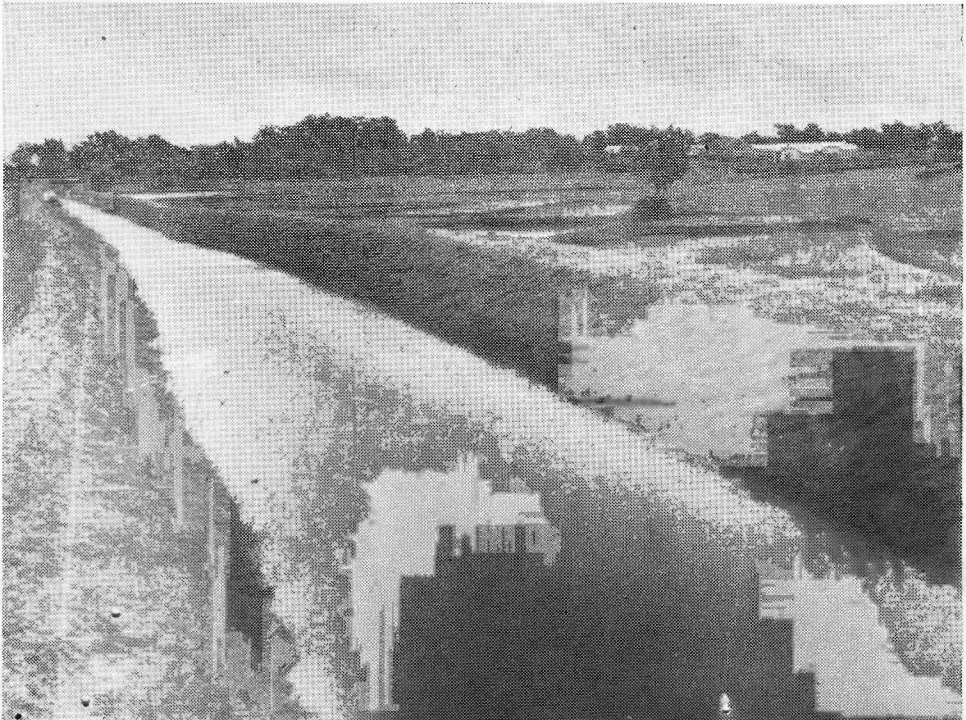
STUMBLING-BLOCKS

G. N. DAS

(With special reference to Tribal Welfare)

We have professed that community development movement would be a "means of involving the people in the process of development programmes". For, without the involvement of the people any programme of development would not only be fruitful but may even become meaningless for the people. The target is to cover the entire country under the community development movement by the end of the Third Plan period (1965-66) and in pursuance

thereof community development blocks have been or are being started in all parts of the country. In some States as in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, etc., there are large tracts inhabited by tribals and inconsideration of the comparative backwardness of these people and relative underdeveloped state of the regions intensified development programmes are planned for them which envisages a larger outlay, almost double that of the community development



'Kuradhi Canal' in Bonai Subdivision (Sundargarh District)

blocks and these blocks are called tribal development blocks to distinguish them from the community development blocks. Tribal development blocks have been or are proposed to be started in areas where the tribal concentration is 50 per cent or more in the total population. In the State of Orissa some 112 out of 307 blocks will be tribal development blocks which reflect the high percentage of tribals in the State's population.

2. The tribals generally are more backward educationally, economically and socially than the general population. In Orissa some of the tribal communities are extremely backward living in abject poverty, ignorance, and squalor. Some of them such as the Lanjia Sauras, Kotia and Dongria Kondhs are still leading a primitive life in isolated pockets of dense forests and inaccessible hills. They do not understand the regional language, Oriya, but have their own dialects which they use both at home and outside. They are shy and seclusive by nature. Such then are the people for whom the tribal development blocks are intended to carry out development programmes.

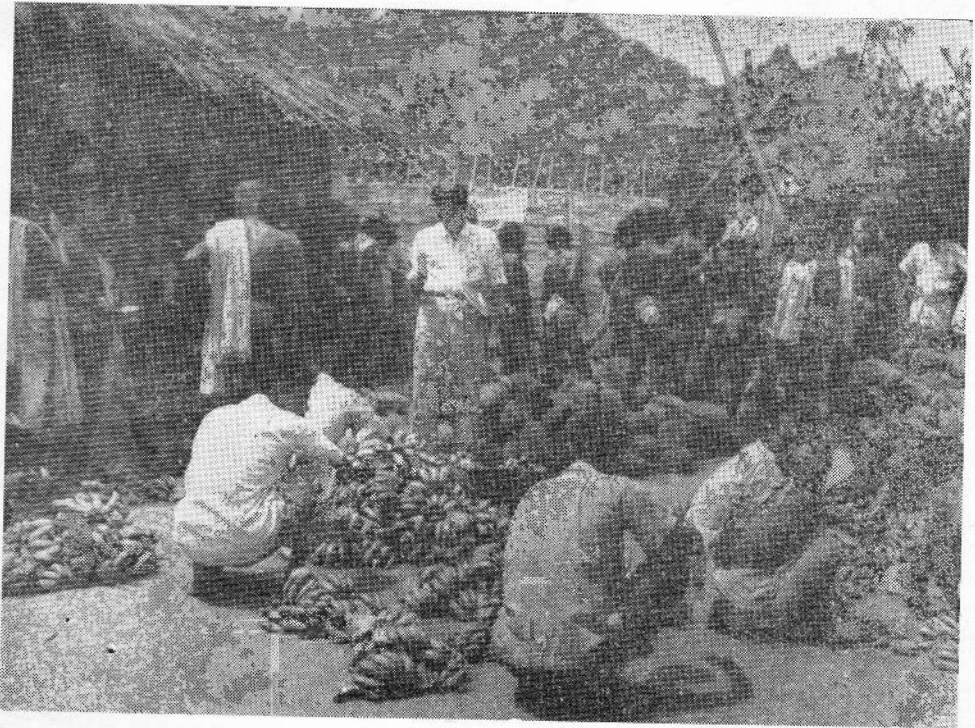
3. For introducing the tribal development block programme, in ordinary practice, a varying period of pre-inten-

sive or shadow phase and the intensive community development stage I phase precede the launching of the tribal development programme. The tribal development blocks being generally located in out of the way hilly areas, the bulk of the block personnel, even the village level workers, have for want of qualified local men, to be found from distant places and sent to the tribal development blocks. In the first place they are not willing to be posted in these areas and as such they try in all possible ways to avoid being sent there. If they are compelled to go, they start with a grievance which they nurse till they succeed to get out of the exile. Secondly, they go to work among and for the tribals without any idea about the traditions, the ways of life and the likes and dislikes of these people. They do not possess any knowledge of the tribal dialects, nor cherish any desire to acquire knowledge thereof, but manage to have intercourse with them through interpreters who are generally the non-tribals that live on exploiting the tribals. The dangers of such a process are too obvious to need explanation. Lastly, they bring with them ideas regarding development programmes which they have imbibed from their experience in the community development blocks in plain areas for comparatively advanced people. They are often found to be obsessed with the

belief that the schematic pattern is inviolable and that it would be sacrilege to deviate from the pattern.

4. Two to five, and at times more years roll by before the tribal development programme is superimposed on the community development pattern, and this comes in the shape of more funds under the same schematic pattern and more personnel. By this time the usual pattern has set itself indolently in, and the new arrivals in the block personnel are none different in their background and also reaction to their posting in the far off alien surroundings. They come

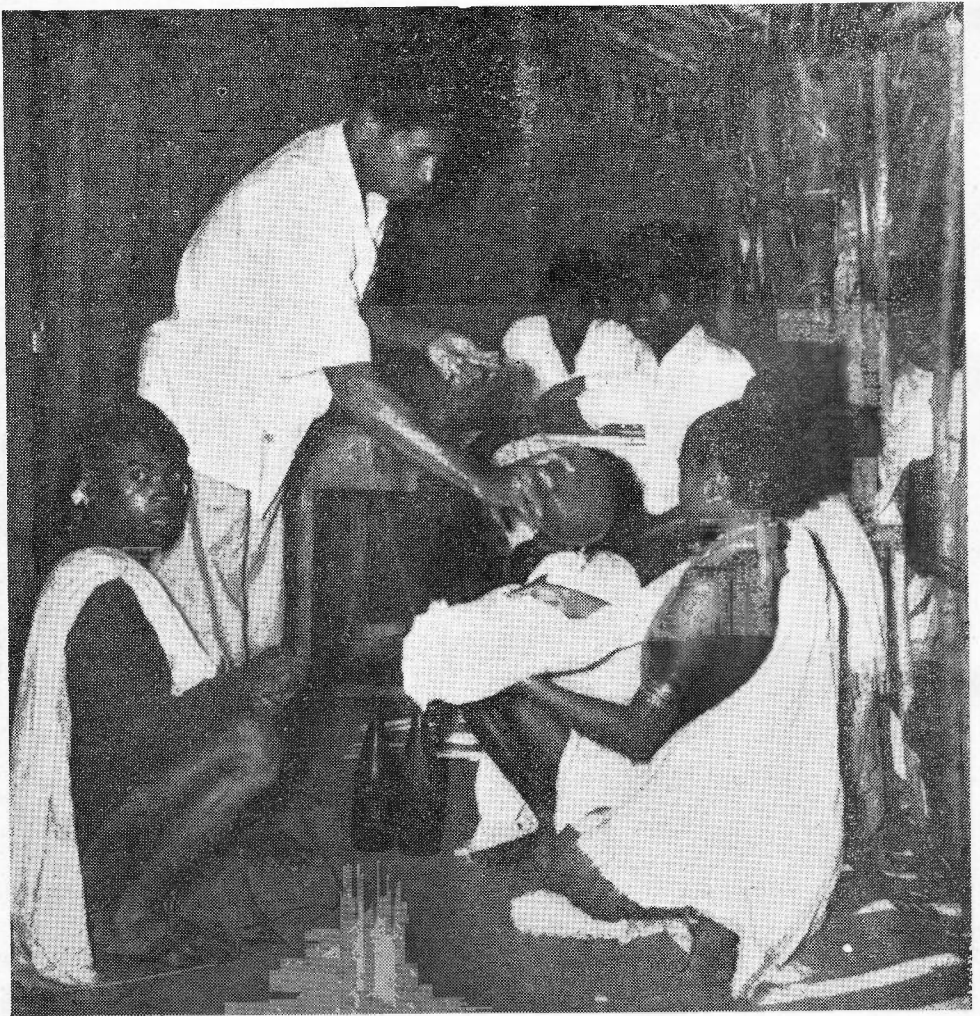
to their 'Block Colony', and together they have a community of their own speaking a language different from that of the people of the area, dressing themselves differently and having little or no idea about the people they have come to serve. No research and survey has been conducted to give them an idea of the people, their ways of life, manners and customs, their reactions to the programmes hithertofore executed, their wants and aspirations, their felt needs and so forth. The one impelling factor for their effort is to see that the funds under the schematic pattern are spent as quickly as possible to register a good percentage of utilisation.



Activities of the Purchase and Sale Unit (T. & R. W. Department) for Dongria and Kendhs in Koraput District.

5. The Panchayati Raj innovation has been ushered in and ward members and sarpanches have been thrown up in the process who are to associate themselves with, nay, control and run the Raj. The majority of these members are illiterate and ill informed about the innovation. They nod and mumble in the deliberations of

the newly formed panchayats overawed by the superior looking block personnel and the non-tribals who have brought them into being on the statutory bodies. It is easy for them to be wheedled into thinking that the schematic pattern is but inviolable sanctions brought to bear upon them by the mercy of the block personnel and



Fare Price Shop at Kurli on Nijamgiri (Dongria Kondh area) in Koraput District

the so called leaders. Their traditional panchayats continue to function in these areas, and in many cases these very members of the statutory panchayats are the guiding forces there, but with what a difference ? They understand the purpose of their traditional institutions and the ways of their working, whereas the very persons are nonentity in the other.

6. The staffing pattern in the tribal development blocks follows closely in the foot steps of the community development with the difference that some more extension officers are this time in the list. The block is not considered to have come into existence without all the staff in position. The poor, illclad and illiterate tribal is not only overawed by the presence of this large alien body, but verily confused by the variety of activities they want to start simultaneously, each in his own field. No wonder that he finds this too much for his simple and unsophisticated mind and feels baffled and helpless. He is unable to divide his mind between what he thinks to be his most urgent necessity, and the myriads of schemes unfolded to him as being necessary for implementation all together. The pitfall involved in a case of this kind has been inimitably stated by Smt. Indira Gandhi,

our Information and Broadcasting Minister in the Union Government. "Once a farmer loses faith in a programme, he does not look for reasons or excuses and it becomes very difficult to reach out to him again and to overcome his suspicions." To the tribal with an unsophisticated mind and conservative outlook this applies with greater force and in the case of the more backward and primitive of them its importance cannot be over-emphasised. A particular tribal community may not, for instance, be interested in cattle breeding and in fact there may be little scope for that in the area. If a scheme for upgrading of cattle population be introduced with as much vehemence and gusto as the Veterinary Extension Officer can command, it is not likely to evoke response from the people and in the end the poor performance may recoil on the people themselves in that they will be branded as apathetic, lazy and non-co-operative. While on the other hand, it may sprak off in the people the feeling of indifference to the block programme for say horticulture, in which not only there may be tremendous scope in the area, but great enthusiasm among the people. It will be another instance of the bad coin driving the good out of circulation. And not

merely that, it may lead to lowering the block personnel in the estimation of the people and vice versa. This will be fatal indeed to the entire programme.

7. The problem of the 'leaky vessel' is the supreme problem in tribal areas. Through the tribal development block programme resources are pumped in the hope that by direct and indirect means the tribal will be put well on the way to economic salvation. The tribal suffers untold exploitation at the hands of the unscrupulous exploiter, both non-tribal and tribal, who dupes him in a variety of ways. In his age-old superstition he will have to propitiate angry Gods and demons to escape their wrath. Sacrifices are needed to appease them. He grows oil-seeds, turmeric, orange, banana and fruits of various kinds. The cunning exploiter has watched for his dire needs and weaknesses like addiction to drink and advanced him small amounts of loan in return for which he can collect all these valuables for a mere sum. The land of the tribals cannot pass into others' hands without specific permission from appropriate authorities of Government but it passes all the same without any overt transaction, and the clearings made at great personal risk and toil on the part of the tribals fill the granaries of the exploiter from his unautho-

risied possession. The tribal collects forest produce ranging from honey to tamarind, but the clever trader brings to him some grains, spices, clothes, etc. and makes him part with these by way of barter in which the tribal is always the losing side. Nearly all the efforts made through the block programmes pass along these lines and leave the tribal with empty leaky vessel.

8. The tribal economy is forest-cum-agriculture economy. Lands recorded and unrecorded and the privileges enjoyed by the tribal in the forests comprise of nearly all his assets in addition to his physical abilities. The block programme, alas! has no concern with these vital matters. Naturally, but to the great disadvantage of the tribal, the Block Development Officer and his team of officials are not able to help him in these fields. The Block Development Officer can at best express his helplessness in the matter of lease of land in favour of the tribal and plenty more of it in the matter of unauthorised occupation of the tribal lands. In regard to forest matters the Block Development Officer's helplessness knows no bounds. These are none of his concern. Little wonder, therefore, that he knows pretty little about the land laws and the forest

laws and the rights and privileges of the tribals in these matters.

I am reminded at this stage of a small experience in a tribal village a few years ago. Many items of development programme had come through in this: village and I had been asked to see them. In course of discussion with the villagers I discovered that in spite of all this; they still nursed a sore feeling of grievance. Some of them, landless and poverty stricken people, had been making continuous effort to get a piece of jungle land for cultivation. Years had rolled by but they were still where they began, and they were hearing that the land would be given to a 'Sowcar' from another village. "We and our forefathers before us managed quite well without the well and the road" they said. I felt like the very ground under the block programme giving way.

9. We have for a long time been harping on the development workers being inspired by missionary zeal, and we

deplore the fact that they do not have it. From the preceding discussions it would be easy to see that in the block set-up it would be futile to look for this otherwise rare quality in the block personnel, rare exceptions apart. They simply do not have a mission. They have, the majority of them, passed from the hubbub of student life to the humdrum of family life. They never wanted to be sent to the tribal area away from their near and dear ones, but they had no other go. It is not their fault that they did not know the tribal language and their ways of life. Nobody told them about it nor guided them to acquire it while they lived among the tribals. It was less than an inessential for them. The essential objective placed before them was the percentage of expenditure out of the schematic provision. In short almost everything is lacking for the manifestation and growth of the much sought after missionary zeal.

10. Having said so much on the stumbling blocks, let me

record my humble suggestions for overcoming them at least in some measure if not wholly:—

(a) No time should be lost in conducting survey and research programmes in the tribal development and prospective tribal development blocks with the help of technically qualified persons to find out about the tribal communities living in the block area, their ways of life, wants and aspirations, likes and dislikes, and felt needs and reactions to programmes undertaken in the past. In the case of the prospective blocks this is more urgent, while in the old tribal development blocks evaluation and reaction study are necessary to avoid pitfalls. The survey work may be carried out by the tribal research institutes or tribal orientation study centres established in the States.

(b) The block personnel, particularly the B. D. O., S. E. O. and A. E. O. must be selected carefully. The anxiety to post all the officers according to the schematic pattern must be avoided. To start with the B. D. O., S. E. O. and A. E. O. only may be sent.

They should be required to acquire a working knowledge of the principal tribal languages of the area say within three months of their posting during which period this should be prescribed as one of the achievements to be shown. Officers who pass the prescribed test, should in addition to the usual cash reward earn an increment in salary.

Before or during the first year of their posting they may be required to undergo the tribal orientation training.

(c) The same pace should not be set for both community development and tribal development blocks. In other words, although the tribal development programme need not wait for a precursor of shadow or commu-

nity development stage I period, the increased outlay in the case of the tribal development block may be allowed say a coverage period of twelve in place of ten years. A slower initial pace may be allowed in the case of the tribal development block. Once the confidence of the tribal is gained, the leeway is more than likely to be made up.

(d) Multiplicity of programmes should be avoided as a rule. The B. D. O. with a S. E. O. and an A. E. O. will do to start with. They will not only have to educate to inform themselves but apprise the ward members and sarpanches in order to widen their awareness. The launching of the programme may be made in such a manner that it inspires the tribals from confidence to confidence and ever increasing self-reliance. The scope of the programme may be increased as rapidly as it can develop depending on the initial pace. It may not be necessary to have all the extension officers as a rule in each case. For instance where the

scope for starting industries is limited an extension officer, even for group of two blocks may not be necessary.

The cost on establishment need be minimised as far as possible and to start with temporary quarters may be provided to the first arrivals of the block personnel. These houses may follow as much as possible the local pattern particularly in wall painting, decoration, etc.

(e) Not only respect will have to be shown to the traditional institutions and sentiments of the tribals, but as much of it as possible shall be utilised for the conveyance of new ideas to the tribals. For instance, with suitable literature it should be possible to project through the traditional dance parties or village akhadas how the tribals are being exploited in various ways and how they can stem it by simple and easy means.

(f) The B. D. O. shall not be, as he at present is, a mere development officer. He should be a multipurpose man and shall be able to

give the much needed relief in Revenue and Forest matters. For this it should be possible to delegate some of the revenue and forest powers to him within the framework of the Revenue and Forest Laws under the overall control of the Collector.

- (g) It is held in some quarters that economic progress is the menace for the backward classes people. On this assumption it is said that implementation of schemes for the economic welfare of such people need only be given attention to. Experience has revealed that the problem of the leaky vessel continues even after successful implementation of economic schemes. The tribal people for whom such programmes are launched cannot enjoy the benefits thereof to an appreciable extent and they are not able to withstand the impact of exploiters at whose hands they continue to be dissipated in variety of ways as before.

It may be of interest to make mention here of an instance of Ceylon. Some years ago a comprehensive pro-

gramme of resettlement of a very backward tribe of that country, The Veddas, was taken up in central Ceylon and successfully executed according to the scheme. Virgin soil was reclaimed, irrigation facilities provided, and the beneficiaries were given neat little houses set in a half an acre homestead farm provided with fence for growing vegetables and fruits. Each family was given a small poultry unit to be run on the home farm. Agricultural implements, seeds and manure were given and all that the people were expected to do was to move their hands and legs and make the land yield the crop. This they did but it was seen that they were not able to withstand the parasites who followed them there and slowly but deftly led them into their snares. The Veddas relapsed into their lazy habits, passed their lands to them for cultivation and consequential grabbing of the lion's share in the yield. Luxury goods consumed their earnings and they found themselves in want again for necessaries of life

for which they were obliged to draw credit from the very same exploiters.

A critical study undertaken at the instance of UNESCO revealed that education and social education programme should have gone hand in hand with the economic programmes in order to enable the Veddas to stand on their legs without support. Isolated effort on economic development would not in the given circumstances meet the desired end.

On the other hand, it is seen in some cases that the tribals grow oil-seeds, turmeric fruits and vegetables and pulses of various types and collect minor forest produce like tamarind and honey with the sum total of which many of them would be able to maintain themselves only if they got a fair price for their produce. This they are not able to get. The cream of their toils finds its way into the hands of the wily exploiters. Legal and executive measures to prevent this can have effective result only if the tribals themselves

are made aware, and can themselves repulse the onslaughts of the exploiter. This can be achieved through a judicious programme of social education and education. Instances have been noticed where members of primitive communities have been able to throw over the bonds and trammels of primitiveness and succeeded in warding off exploiters almost overnight by magic as it were. The exploiter dare not approach the man who is aware and above complex and fright.

The Block programme should, therefore, emphasise its education and social education activities for the tribals and take them hand in hand with economic welfare programme.

(h) Marketing of the surplus of grains, oil-seeds, forest produce, etc., will have to be arranged under the Block programme and fair price shops started at convenient centres from where the scheduled tribe can purchase his essential requirements at a reasonable price.

(i) Guide lines should be suggested for formulation of programmes on proper lines. Efforts and resources should not be frittered away on unessentials, but concentrated on essentials according to a priority drawn up in consultation with the peoples' representatives.

(j) The need for drawing in the peoples' representatives, and helping and guiding them on right lines to be able to help themselves in the present set up cannot be over-emphasised. The traditional panchayats and the functions they discharge and

influence they wield over the tribals cannot be, lost sight of. If need be the existing laws may be amplified or modified to draw them in.

(k) Tribal Development Blocks should be allowed to pool their resources for area development and for embarking upon ventures on a wider compass. The schematic pattern should not stand in the way of joining hands for mutual benefit and for harnessing resources which individually they would not have the means to handle.

BRIEF REPORT ON THE IMPORTANT ACTIVITIES OF THE TRIBAL & RURAL WELFARE DEPARTMENT FOR THE PERIOD ENDING OCTOBER 1965

1. Education

(a) A committee namely, 'Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Hostels and Non-Official Organisations Advisory Board' has been formed to ensure prompt disposal of applications for grants to the Non-Official Organisations and Hostels. The term of the Board shall be for a period of one year and it shall ordinarily meet at least once in every six months. The first meeting of the Board was held on the 15th October 1965 with the Director, Tribal Welfare, in the Chair.

(b) For spread of Secondary Education among Scheduled Tribes the following Ashram Schools have been upgraded to High School standard in addition to seven established earlier:—

- (1) Dengula (Sundargarh district).
- (2) Matkambeda (Keonjhar district).
- (3) Chandikhol (Cuttack district).
- (4) Bisinihakari (Cuttack district).
- (5) Daringabadi (Phulbani district).
- (6) Bhojpur (Sambalpur district).

(7) Bijoypalli (Sambalpur district).

(8) Kujendri (Koraput district).

(c) During 1964-65, 1,455 students from different Ashram Schools appeared at the Middle School Certificate Examination and of them 976 students came out successful.

(d) During the quarters under report 319 Scheduled Tribe, 333 Scheduled Caste and 617 Other Backward Classes students were awarded Post-matric Scholarship for prosecuting their studies.

(e) *Comprehensive School*— It has been decided to locate the Comprehensive School at Gobindpally in Koraput district. The Ashram School at Govindapally will be developed into the Comprehensive School (Special Ashram School) to impart industrial and technical training, e. g., welding work of machine, black-smithy, etc., instead of present emphasis on rural crafts to provide suitable rehabilitation facilities to Scheduled Tribe families who would be displaced on account of the coming up of

Balimela Project and industrial complex. Accordingly, sanction has been accorded for construction of the buildings. One post of A. D. W. O. and R. W. I. too, have been created.

2. Meetings and conferences

(a) The Sixteenth Meeting of the Tribes Advisory Council was held on the 10th September with the Chief Minister in the Chair. The Council discussed various suggestions made by the members for the welfare of the Tribal population in the State.

(b) The District Welfare Officers Conference was held on the 3rd and 4th September 1965 with the Chief Minister in the Chair. Inaugurating the Conference, the Chief Minister stressed the importance of the role that the officers of the Tribal & Rural Welfare Department have to play in execution of Welfare Schemes in each district.

(c) The Fifth Meeting of the Evaluation Sub-Committee of the Tribal & Rural Welfare Department was held on the 2nd September with the Secretary in the Chair. Progress achieved in respect of various schemes and the ways and means to facilitate the execution of Schemes by removing the bottle-necks were discussed in the meeting.

(d) A meeting of the Post-matric Scholarship Board was held on the 14th October 1965 with the Secretary, Tribal & Rural Welfare Department in the Chair to consider the procedure to be followed for award of Post-matric Scholarships to fresh applicants most of whom belong to lower income groups. It was decided that in award of Post-matric Scholarships, those applicants whose parents annual income is within Rs. 500 are to be given first priority on the basis of marks obtained by them in the last examinations.

3. Purchase and Sale Fair Price Shop

The Purchase and Sale Fair Price Shops opened so far are functioning well and the tribals are getting habituated to these shops and the number of tribals coming to these shops to sell their produces is increasing. Vegetable seeds have been distributed in various places and Kondhs are also given a first-hand idea of growing vegetable plants.

4. Administrative set-up

The post of Deputy Director (Headquarters) which was kept in abeyance was filled up in the month of September 1965 with a view to assist the Director, Tribal & Rural Welfare, for better supervision and administration of the field work. Besides, to ensure smooth ex-

cution of welfare programme at the block level the post of Welfare Extension Officers were created at different blocks in the reorganised set up.

5. Collection of Statistics

The Statistical Section of the Tribal & Rural Welfare Department is manned by one Junior Statistician and two Statistical investigators. The post of the Junior Statistician is a gazetted one.

In course of administration and execution of Welfare Programmes various statistical information are needed which help in many way for better implementation of the present programmes and formulation of future programmes on a sound basis. The Statistical Section is entrusted with the task of collection, compilation and scrutinisation of these statistics. The section is also entrusted with the task of compiling the 'Half-yearly' progress report on Plan Schemes and the Annual Administration Report of the Tribal & Rural Welfare Department.