

14TH NOVEMBER 1964

# Adibasi

1964-65 NUMBER TWO

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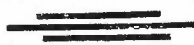
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## THE TENTATIVE LONG-TERM PLAN FOR THE WELFARE OF BACKWARD CLASSES IN 4TH FIVE-YEAR PLAN IN ORISSA

The stupendous task before the Government of Orissa is to bring its backward communities at par with the general population of the State in matters of education, economic upliftment health and sanitation, etc. According to 1961 Census, Orissa has got a total population of 17,548,846 out of which population of the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Castes comes to 4,223,757 and 2,763,858, respectively. The population of the Scheduled Tribes alone works out to 24.07 per cent of the total population, which next to Naga Lands, is of the highest order among the States of India. The population of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes taken together comes to 6,987,615 which works out to 39.80 per cent of the total population.

There are 62 tribes some of whom are in the lowest stage of socio-economic and educational development. Recently the tribes of the State have been categorised according to economic gradations. But of the 62 tribes some tribes like the Hillbondas, Lanjiasaurs, Kutia Konds, Hilljuangs, etc., occupying different areas of the State area in a state of extreme backwardness and they represent the most backward 'A' category tribes. Their population comes to more than 2½ lakhs. The other tribes are either in a stage of transition or already assimilated with the general community.

But on the whole the economic condition of all the tribes, more or less, is at a marginal stage. In view of the vast population of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and their economic and educational backwardness the State Government are confronted with serious problems for social and economic advancement of these backward communities.

In the past efforts had been made to improve the condition of the vast mass of backward population. Owing to various causes, the chief among which was the financial limitations, progress has been rather tardy. In the meantime particularly in tribal areas some phenomenal changes have taken place. Heavy industries and multipurpose projects have been and are being located in tribal areas. This has disturbed and displaced the tribal life and its economy. The Rourkela Steel Plant, Hirakud Dam, the Aero-Engine Factory, Balimela Dam, the Tikerpadda Project are only a few of the Major Projects undertaken in tribal areas in the State. In Koraput district vast tribal areas have been reclaimed for the settlement of East Bengal Refugees under the Dandakaranya Project. All this have had far reaching effects on the life and psychology of tribals who are living under age exploitation, on bare subsistence economy. It has, therefore, been necessary to look at

the tribal problems in the above context. It is felt that comprehensive programmes much wider than what has been attempted in the past are necessary for the 4th Plan period. The 3rd Plan outlay was of the order of Rs. 841.67 lakhs only. In view of the Central Working Group of backward classes' indication of the probable outlay of Rs. 250.275 crores for the 4th Plan period, the working group on long-term plan for backward classes in the State considered that the pace of development in the different sectors of improvement, viz., education, economic uplift, health and sanitation, etc., need be accelerated with adequate funds both under the State and the Central Sectors. The Working Group considered that in the tribal areas where large scale industries and projects are being established, it is necessary to train up the tribal youths to acquire technical skill in large numbers. The aspirations of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for higher education have to be fulfilled. The percentage of literacy amongst the Scheduled Tribes is still low being only 7 per cent and that of Scheduled Castes 11 per cent against 26 per cent of literacy of the general population of the State. Efforts are required to prevent exploitation by eliminating middlemen and by starting purchase and sale centres and consumer stores. Adequate credit facilities are required to be provided to enable the Adivasis and the Harijans to take to improved agriculture and horticulture. Small and medium units of agricultural processing industries are required to be started to help the Adivasis to get full benefit of minor and major forest produces so as to enable them to improve their standard of living to a reasonably comparable extent. Large number of forest marketing and labour contract co-operative societies are required to be organized. Tribal areas are opening up and tribals who lived so long in seclusion are fast coming in touch with the other communities. It is, therefore, necessary to help the

tribals to take full advantage of the growing economy and also to keep them as contented as possible.

With a view to achieving these objectives the Working Group considered that adequate provisions for the 4th Plan should be made for the backward classes. The schemewise recommendations are stated below:—

## STATE SECTOR

### SCHEDULED TRIBES

#### *Education*

*Ashram Schools*—Eighty-three Ashram Schools are to be opened by the end of Third Plan. About 8,000 boys and girls are reading in these institutions. As this type of institution has become popular among the tribals it is felt necessary to open more Ashram Schools. So 25 Ashram Schools are proposed to be opened during 4th Plan period for which a sum of Rs. 120 lakhs is required.

*Pre-matric Stipends*—Government of India have expressed their views that the rate of stipend should be such that it would cover not only the maintenance charges but also cost of School uniforms and educational equipments. This objectives can be achieved by providing more funds for stipends. It is, therefore, proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs for giving stipends and reading and writing materials to about 100,000 students during the Fourth Plan period.

*Hostels*—As per the indication of the Government of India, every Middle and High Schools in tribal areas should be provided with hostels. 27 Special Adibasi Hostels, 66 M. E. School Hostels, 2 Non-communal Hostels were opened both in the State and Central Sectors by the end of 2nd Plan. During the 3rd Plan period 135 Hostels will be provided to M. E. and H. E. Schools. It is proposed to provide 200 more Hostels to M. E. and High Schools and Colleges where necessary at a cost of Rs. 40 lakhs.

*Teachers' quarters*—For want of residential accommodation in the M. E. and Primary Schools including Sevashrams, the teachers working in tribal areas do not serve for longer periods and often unwilling to go to tribal areas. So, necessary provision was made for providing quarters for the teachers in the Primary Schools. During the 3rd Plan it would be possible to provide 336 teachers' quarters at a cost of Rs. 12.49 lakhs. The number of quarters is very small against the requirement. It is, therefore, proposed to provide 1,000 quarters for M. E. School teachers and 1,500 quarters for Primary School teachers including Sevaks at a cost of Rs. 125 lakhs during the 4th Plan period.

*Aid to private schools*—Since the number of Ashram Schools and Sevashrams are limited and a few thousand Scheduled Tribe students are admitted in these institutions, private efforts are to be encouraged for opening more institutions in the tribal areas. For opening educational institutions by private bodies in tribal areas, the local tribal people are to bear a part of the expenditure since full grant is not given by the Education Department. Tribal & Rural Welfare Department have made provision to meet the people's contribution. During the 3rd Plan no progress has been made so far as the Government of India approved the scheme recently. A sum of Rs. 2 lakhs is expected to be spent by the end of the 3rd Plan. During the 4th Plan 50 High Schools, 100 M. E. Schools and 750 Primary Schools are proposed to be given financial aid for which a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs has been estimated. The rate is Rs. 10,000 for High School, Rs. 5,000 for M. E. School and Rs. 3,000 for Primary School.

*Midday meals*—This programme will be limited to the students of most backward tribal areas. The present practice is that Sevashrams of non-Block areas are to be provided with midday meals and that too in selected Sevashrams during the 4th Plan period

a co-ordinated programme with the C. D. & P. R. (C. D.) Department will be taken up and the funds of Tribal & Rural Welfare Department will be spent in the most backward tribal areas. During the 3rd Plan 230 midday meal centres are being opened annually and a sum of Rs. 7.88 lakhs is anticipated to be utilised by the end of the 3rd Plan. During the 4th Plan 200 centres are proposed to be opened annually at the rate of Re. 0.12 P. per meal. A sum of Rs. 750, 1 per centre will be required in a year. For 1,000 centres a sum of Rs. 7.50 lakhs has been estimated.

*Training Centres*—There are at present 2 Training Centres and 2 Talim Kendras where teachers of Ashram Schools and Sevashrams are being trained, respectively. One Talim Kendra for training women teachers is being opened during the 3rd Plan period. This is only for Primary School teachers. During the 4th Plan period one more Training Centre is proposed to be opened for training Ashram School teachers at a cost of Rs. 3 lakhs.

*Chatsalis*—Many tribal villages do not have sufficient number of children to justify for opening L. P. Schools, nor they are able to go crossing jungles, hills and mountains to nearby village where Primary Schools or Sevashrams have been established. So, it has now been contemplated to open one Chatsali in such villages where at least 20 boys and girls would be available to read in classes I and II. It has been expected that in the villages of 50—200 population the minimum number of students would be available. 30 Chatsalis have been opened during 1963-64 and 250 more will be opened during the remaining period. During the 4th Plan this type of institution will be opened in the most backward tribal areas. 250 Chatsalis is proposed to be opened at a cost of Rs. 2.50 lakhs.

*Residential Primary Schools*—There are 6 Residential Primary Schools

and it is found that for expanding Primary Education among the most backward tribes Residential Primary Schools are the best. It is proposed to open 100 such schools during the 4th Plan at a cost of Rs. 50 lakhs for each school at least a sum of Rs. 25,000 would be required for buildings and a sum of Rs. 25,000 for the staff, boarding charges of students and other contingent expenditure.

*Upgraded Sevashrams*—There are at present 125 Upgraded Sevashrams against the 1,185 Sevashrams. The ratio comes to 1:10 which is to be brought at least to ratio of 1:5 for more coverage of Upper Primary education of Scheduled Tribes. So, it is proposed to upgrade 100 Sevashrams to U. P. standard during the 4th Plan period at a cost of Rs. 2.50 lakhs.

*Conversion of Ashram Schools into High Schools*—Tribal students who are accustomed to Ashram School education often find it difficult to read in the High Schools. The care they are receiving for their health, food, clothing and education in the Ashram School is lacking considerably in the general High School. So, it is proposed to convert a few Ashram Schools into High Schools with residential accommodation and in lieu of stipend that they may ordinarily get, the students would be given food, clothing, etc. There are at present 83 Ashram Schools and 25 more are proposed for the 4th Plan. 25 per cent of it may be converted into High Schools. Sunabeda Ashram School is being converted into High School during 1964-65. So, it is proposed to convert 20 Ashram Schools into High Schools during the 4th Plan period at a cost of Rs. 10 lakhs.

*Providing Classes VIII and IX in the existing Ashram Schools*—Tribal students after passing class VII from

Ashram Schools get admission into High Schools of their respective locality and a selected few are brought to New Capital. It is found that a larger percentage discontinue for their studies from High Schools and go back home, thus resulting in wastage. In the wake of industrialisation in the State a sum of technical personnel and artisans are required with lesser qualification say class IX or X. In order to provide scope for employment to the Scheduled Tribe boys it is proposed to open classes VIII and IX in the existing Ashram Schools. During the 4th Plan 30 Ashram Schools will be provided with classes VIII and IX for this purpose and a sum of Rs. 7.50 lakhs would be required for additional staff, students and providing additional accommodation, etc.

*Nursery Schools*—It is an accepted policy that before a student reads 3 Rs his mind should be trained to receive the education that will be given to him in his fifth year. Some bad habits crept up in the children, prior to coming to School have to be rectified. This requires special treatment of the children. Nursery (Pre-Primary) Schools are, therefore, thought as a remedy to develop the mind of the children. It is proposed to open 10 Nursery Schools as an experimental basis in the tribal areas for which a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs would be necessary during the 4th Plan period. For each school a sum of Rs. 30,000 is estimated.

#### *Economic Uplift*

*Jhum Control and Resettlement of shifting cultivators*—The programme of Jhum Control and Resettlement of shifting cultivators has been taken up during 3rd Plan period at a total cost of Rs. 11.00 lakhs. The amount is mainly utilised in continuing water shed management units for control of shifting cultivation and prevention of podu cultivation.

In 3rd Plan adequate funds are not available to take up comprehensive soil conservation measures on an extensive scale in the shifting cultivation regions. Due to limited Plan provision three Soil Conservation Demonstration-cum-Nursery Farms to demonstrate soil conservation measures relating to hill agriculture has been started. In these farms experiments on grass, fruit trees and other crops are being undertaken and suitable cases are demonstrated to the local people.

The resettlement programme and Tangaya method of cultivation will be correlated and it has been estimated that 30,000 families could be settled in suitable forest blocks where bench terracing would be introduced and the economy will be horticulture and forest based economy.

It has been roughly estimated that Rs. 50·00 lakhs would be required during 4th Plan period for implementation of this programme. Extensive Soil Conservation measure will be taken up in the resettlement areas.

*Resettlement of 'A' category tribes*—The tribal communities in Orissa should be classified under three broad categories such as (a) Most primitive, (b) Tribes in transition, and (c) Semi-aculturated or acculturated tribes in regard to their economic and social backwardness. According to the recent decision of Government the most primitive tribes are to be given special attention. The population of these most backward tribes is of the order of about 2 lakhs.

To bring them on par with the advanced sections of the population a scheme of Resettlement of 'A' category tribes has been taken up in the 3rd Plan period. The scheme aims at giving education to their children in a boarding type school and special attention is to be given to agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, cottage industries and other allied programmes. Good dwelling houses and drinking

water facilities are to be provided. It has been assessed that to deal with 1,000 population (200 families) living in a very backward area a sum of Rs. 10·00 lakhs at the rate of Rs. 5,000 for each family is necessary.

In the 3rd Plan programme a sum of Rs. 10·00 lakhs has been provided to establish one unit for the all-round development of 1,000 population belonging to 'A' category tribes. In order to cover up the entire programme for the benefit of 2 lakhs of 'A' category tribes, a total sum of Rs. 20 crores would be required phased for a number of years.

Since it is necessary to approach the problem in a systematic manner it is proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 200·00 lakhs in the 4th Plan for 20 units for resettlement of 'A' category tribes.

*Subsidies for Cottage Industries*—The 3rd Plan financial achievement is Rs. 5·00 lakhs. It is proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs for expenditure during the 4th Plan period for giving grants and subsidies to trained craftsmen belonging to Scheduled Tribe for establishing themselves in crafts like tailoring, weaving, smithy, carpentry, etc.

*Industrial Training of Scheduled Tribes*—The 3rd Plan financial achievement is Rs. 0·24 lakh. A sum of Rs. 10·00 lakhs has been proposed for payment of stipends to Scheduled Tribe students reading in different industrial schools of the State during the 4th Plan. Nearly 4,000 Scheduled Tribe students are coming out successful annually in the M. E. Examinations. Out of them about 2,000 students will be available for technical training provided they are given adequate incentives, i.e., adequate stipend and accommodation, etc.

*Lac Cultivation*—Cultivation of lac has considerable scope in tribal areas. The broad plants on which lac is cultivated are in the process of disappearing by deforestation that is taking place. These plants are sought

to be propagated in lands which are not suitable for cultivation. Considerable economic benefit will accrue to the tribal families out of this programme. The 3rd Plan financial achievement is Rs. 0.60 lakh. A provision of Rs. 1.50 lakhs is proposed for 4th Plan for intensive programme.

*Tassar Rearing*—Rs. 1.50 lakhs has also been proposed for tassar rearing in the 4th Plan.

*Poultry Rearing*—The 3rd Plan financial achievement is Rs. 8 lakhs. A provision of Rs. 15.00 lakhs has been proposed in the 4th Plan for opening 1 special unit, 50 deep-litter systems in Ashram Schools, economic units for 150 families, maintenance of 5 (100 layer units) with breeding facilities, one truck with necessary staff for supply of poultry feeds to the tribal units, capital for running a feed mixing centre for supply of pre-mixed feed to the tribal unit and for the development of the poultry unit at headquarters. It has been estimated that about Rs. 6.00 lakhs for one special poultry unit and Rs. 4.00 lakhs for introducing deep-litter system in 50 Ashram Schools and Rs. 5 lakhs for 5 units of hundred layer unit, one truck and feed mixing centre will be utilised during 4th Plan period.

*Piggery and Goat Breeding*—The programme for development of piggeries has been undertaken during 3rd Plan period. Under this programme 1 piggery farm has been established. The 3rd Plan financial achievement is Rs. 6.46 lakhs. During 4th Plan period it is proposed to distribute 5,000 pedigree stock to 5,000 families at Rs. 100 each for which a sum of Rs. 5.00 lakhs is proposed.

*Pisciculture*—During 2nd Plan period 5 Pisciculture Centres were opened in the tribal areas at a cost of Rs. 1.54 lakhs. Under 3rd Plan one composite fish seed centre, 4 small fish seed centres and introduction of pisciculture in 20 Ashram Schools have been contemplated. To get the Scheme

more popular it is proposed to establish 20 Pisciculture Centres in Ashram Schools and 20 centres in tribal areas during 4th Plan period at a cost of Rs. 3.00 lakhs.

*Graingolas*—During 2nd Plan period 831 graingolas have been organised in tribal areas. 250 more golas would be opened by the end of 3rd Plan period. The objective is to provide one graingola to each of the Grama Panchayats in tribal areas. By the end of 3rd Plan there will be in all 1,081 golas. The target fixed by the T. & R. W. Department for providing graingolas in Grama Panchayats of tribal areas has already been achieved and as such no further provision for opening new golas is necessary. But in view of high cost of materials for construction of buildings it is necessary to provide funds for completion of golas. And for proper working of the graingolas supply of paddy on credit to the tribal would be essentially required. It is proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs for this purpose during the 4th Plan period.

*Technical Training Institute*—So far only one Industrial Training Institute at Takatpur has been established to impart training to Scheduled Tribes in different trades. But with the rapid growth of industrialisation in the State the demand for more technical hands is rising day-by-day. To meet the growing demands immediately steps are being taken to move Government of India for establishing 4 I. T. Is. during 3rd Plan period. Even these I.T. Is. will not sufficiently cater to the needs of the Industrial establishments like Steel Plant at Rourkela, MIG factory at Sunabeda, Ferro-manganese Plant at Keonjhar and Balimela Project at Koraput coming up in tribal areas. It has been estimated that about 4,250 students belonging to Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes will be available for undergoing technical training annually. The intake of students in the existing I. T. Is. of both T. & R.W. Department and Industries Department is not more than 350. So to attract more students



for the technical training it is necessary to open at least 2 I.T.Is. with a capacity of 750 seats during Fourth Plan and the existing I.T.Is. at Takatpur will be expanded for admitting 750 students as against 260 at present for which Rs. 90.00 lakhs would be necessary.

*Award of Prizes to tribal villages*—In order to create enthusiasm among the tribals for co-operating in the development programme and to take full advantage of those programmes it has been decided to award prizes to the tribal villages. A Committee to be set up will select the best villages for award of prizes. A sum of Rs. 7.50 lakhs for awarding prizes to 15 villages is proposed for Fourth Plan.

*Rural Communication*—A sum of Rs. 85.00 lakhs during Fourth Plan period would be necessary for construction of 750 miles of all-weather murrum roads and 30 culverts as the areas inhabited by most backward tribes are still inaccessible and require communication facilities as quickly as possible.

*Small-Scale Industries*—This is proposed to be taken up in the extremely backward areas in addition to the normal activities. In selected areas it is proposed to start units of small-scale industries. 5 such units at the rate of Rs. 50,000 each are proposed to be started in the Fourth Plan on the pattern of Panchayat Industries.

*Development of Orchards in the Ashram Schools and in tribal settlements*—At present there are 83 Ashram Schools including 18 Kanyashrams functioning in the State. Each Ashram School has sufficient lands but they are not being properly utilised. It is proposed to plant mango, orange, guava trees, etc., in the Ashram Schools by acquiring more lands wherever necessary. In tribal settlements similar scheme will also be taken up. Orchards in an area of 30 acres is proposed to be taken up. There is no provision specifically for this during 3rd Plan. In the Fourth Plan period it

is proposed to take up 75 orchards in Ashram School and in tribal settlements at Rs. 50,000 each.

*Supply of seeds, bullocks and implements to Scheduled Tribe Agriculturists*—As it has been decided by Government of India to give more stress on agriculture it is necessary to improve agricultural production in tribal areas by way of supplying improved seeds, bullocks and implements. It is, therefore, proposed to give subsidy to 1,000 families at Rs. 500 each for which Rs. 5.00 lakhs for Fourth Plan is necessary.

*Establishment of Demonstration Farm*—To lay more stress on agricultural programme and to adopt improved method of agriculture it is proposed to establish demonstration farms in tribal areas. To start with, it is necessary to establish 5 such farms in Fourth Plan for which Rs. 5.00 lakhs has been suggested. These farms will go a long way in introducing new crops and new strains for which there is scope in tribal areas. The scheme will be executed through Director of Agriculture with the funds of T. & R. W. Department. This is a new venture.

*Minor Irrigation*—The programme of Minor Irrigation in tribal areas needs specific attention of the State Government as agriculture without irrigation in these areas will not be feasible. 75 M.I. Projects are proposed to be started with a cost of Rs. 60.00 lakhs during Fourth Plan period.

#### *Health, Housing and other Schemes*

*Drinking water-supply*—The problem of drinking water-supply in the tribal areas is as acute as it was before. So far no appreciable progress has been made owing to many difficulties. By the end of Second Plan about 4,469 wells have been sunk and during the Third Plan period another 1,345 wells are expected to be dug in the tribal areas. This is only about 25 per cent of the total requirement of the tribal areas. During a discussion with the Chariman of the Drinking Water-Supply Board,

he advised for providing piped water-supply and giving preference to difficult and scarcity areas. The present programme of piped water-supply is for covering villages with 2,000 or more population. There are about 68 villages in the most backward and tribal areas. It has been estimated that about Rs. 1.30 lakhs would be required for such a project in tribal areas. As the water-supply programme is more urgent in view of the health and sanitation of the tribals at least 30 villages may be included in the 4th Plan for which a sum of 39.00 lakhs would be required. Besides in other areas wells, tanks, etc., may also be provided. It is proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 90 lakhs for sinking 4,500 wells.

*Anti-Leprosy Campaign*—Like Yaws Leprosy is also widespread among the tribals. So far no special steps have been taken for treatment of these patients for which a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs has been proposed during 4th Plan.

*Treatment of V. D.*—As this disease is commonly prevalent among the tribals, continued effort is necessary to give proper treatment. This scheme may be continued during the 4th and 5th Plan periods. A sum of Rs. 1 lakh is proposed for each Plan period. About 85,000 persons would be treated during each Plan period.

*Mobile Health Units*—The scheme was contemplated to provide medical facilities in every village in tribal areas where such facilities are wanting. By the end of the 3rd Plan, 14 units would be working. But for want of medical staff the units are lying unoperated for a long time. However, 10 units are proposed for the 4th Plan. The cost of organising one unit with necessary staff equipment and vehicle is estimated at about Rs. 50,000. Taking into account the annual recurring expenditure during the Plan period, a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs is suggested.

*Allopathic Dispensary*—By the end of Second Plan only 11 allopathic dispensaries could be opened. No provision

could be made for opening dispensaries during Third Plan period as the general health programme expected to meet the demands of tribal areas. But it was not possible in the general health programme. So it is necessary that some provision should be made in the Backward classes sector for opening dispensaries in tribal areas. During the Fourth Plan it is proposed to open 20 Allopathic dispensaries for which a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs would be necessary.

*Six-bedded hospitals*—By the end of Second Plan 20 hospitals were opened. There is no programme in the Third Plan for opening six-bedded hospitals. However, as some pressing demands come for opening a few hospitals, a proposal has been made to Government of India to open six-bedded hospitals during the last two years of Third Plan. Since there is great demand at last 20 six-bedded hospitals may be opened during the Fourth Plan for which a sum of Rs. 28 lakhs has been estimated.

*Ayurvedic Dispensary*—11 Ayurvedic dispensaries were opened by the end of Second Plan. As in the case of Allopathic dispensary no provision could be made for Ayurvedic dispensary during the Plan. As Allopathic doctors and medical technicians, pharmacists etc., are not available in adequate numbers opening of Ayurvedic dispensaries in the tribal areas would meet with the demand for medical treatment to a great extent. It is proposed to open 20 Ayurvedic dispensaries during the Fourth Plan for which a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs would be required.

*Housing facilities*—It has been indicated by the Government of India in their interim report on Fourth Plan that housing problem of the tribals is not as acute as that of the Scheduled Castes. So high priority should be given to scheme like rehabilitistic of shifting cultivators or re-settlement of those displaced by development projects. Even here, Government assistance may be in the form of supply of building

materials and some cash assistance, leaving the tribals to build their houses according to their own choice and taste. The instructions may be followed for providing housing facility to the Scheduled Tribes. During the 4th Plan it is proposed to take up 1,000 houses each costing about Rs. 1,200.

*Aid to non-Official Organisation*—For quicker development of social and cultural activities in the country the role of voluntary organisation is undeniable. In order to encourage non-official organisation financial assistance need be given. During the 3rd Plan period about 25 organisations have been given financial assistance for doing welfare work in the tribal areas. And the likely expenditure would be about Rs. 5.40 lakhs by the end of 3rd Plan. Since the same non-official organisations are working it is proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs during the 4th Plan period.

*Legal aid to Adibasis*—Sum of Rs. 1 lakh has been proposed for the 4th Plan to give legal aid to Scheduled Tribes to fight out cases of land ejection, etc.

*Progress-cum-Co-ordination cell and field staff*—Under this head provision for additional staff required to be posted in the field for supervisory work, technical staff like engineering personnel and clerical staff, etc., in the district level and at headquarters will be provided. Moreover, no adequate provision for quarters has been made for the field staff, like A.D.W.Os., Welfare Inspectors and developmental officers like district level, residential accommodation will have to be provided. It is proposed to make a provision of Rs. 25 lakhs during the 4th Plan for additional staff and quarters out of which a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs would be spent for providing quarters and the rest for staff.

*Cultural Organisation among the tribals*—Since the tribal art, culture, dance and music are in a decaying stage it is proposed to revive them by special measures. As a first step in the direction some open air theatres in the tribal

areas will be opened in the pattern of open air theatres provided in rural areas by the Government of India.

The theatre will be in the form of a raised platform of 30' × 40' with an oval or semi-circular shape. Pendants, green room with fire-proof roof will be constructed at backside of the theatre. Musical instruments, indigenous light reflectors, screen, back drop, etc., furniture, radio, library book, games articles, etc., will also be supplied. It is estimated that a sum of Rs. 30,000 would be necessary for organising one open air theatre. To start with theatres will be opened in the districts of Koraput, Phulbani, Bolangir, Sambalpur, Mayurbhanj, Kalahandi and Sundargarh. A sum of Rs. 2.50 lakhs has been proposed for the 4th Plan.

It has also been contemplated to take up research work for the development and preservation of tribal music, dance, etc.

*Special Publicity Unit*—Owing to heavy concentration of more backward 'A' category Scheduled Tribes in Koraput district, a large number of special schemes are being taken up which will be further intensified during the Fourth Five-Year Plan period.

It has been felt necessary to provide a Special Publicity Unit for apprising the Adibasi of the special schemes and for securing their co-operation in the execution thereof. It is proposed to set up this unit during the Third Five-Year Plan period for which Government of India have already been approached. A provision of Rs. 1 lakh has been retained for the remaining years of the Third Five-Year Plan. This scheme will continue to operate during the Fourth Plan.

#### SCHEDULED CASTES

##### *Education*

*Pre-matric stipends*—It has been indicated in the interim report of Fourth Plan that the rate of stipend should be such as to cover the maintenance

cost, school uniform and educational equipment. The number of stipends and lump grants should have to be increased. Besides, reading and writing materials also be given to the Scheduled Caste students of Primary Schools in each year of the plan period. For both these programmes a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs has been proposed during the Fourth Plan. About 109,000 students would be benefited.

*Hostels*—By the end of Second Plan 42 hostels were allotted to different educational institutions. During the Third Plan period 160 hostels would have been provided to M. E. Schools and High Schools, in the districts of Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, Sambalpur and Ganjam where a large number of Scheduled Caste students are reading. It is proposed to open 125 hostels during the Fourth Plan for which a sum of Rs. 25 lakhs has been provided.

*Ashram Schools*—Scheduled Caste students are more advanced than the Scheduled Tribe students. So no specific provision is made for opening boys' schools for Scheduled Castes. But for girl students some special consideration is necessary. For Scheduled Tribe girls about 18 Ashram Schools have been opened so far. So it is proposed to open at least 2 Kanyashrams for Scheduled Caste girls during the Fourth Plan at a cost of Rs. 5 lakhs. The Central Advisory Board for Harijan welfare have strongly recommended for opening Ashram Schools for Harijan students.

*Residential Primary Schools in Municipalities and N. A. C.s for sweepers' children*—The problems of sweepers have drawn the attention of both Government of India and the State Government and for the improvement of their living conditions various measures are being taken. For educating their children in special environments it is proposed to open at least 3 residential Primary Schools in the existing pattern of residential school for Scheduled Tribes for which a sum of Rs. 7.50 lakhs would be required during the Fourth Plan period.

## ECONOMIC UPLIFT

*Subsidies to Scheduled Caste agriculturists for permanent improvement of land*—Most of the Scheduled Caste people do not have their own land. Government have, therefore, been giving waste and fallow land to these people for taking up agriculture seeds, bullocks, and agricultural implements are being provided to Scheduled Castes. During Third Plan it is expected Rs. 3.35 lakhs will be spent.

To encourage the Scheduled Castes in the practice of agriculture it has been proposed to provide Rs. 10.00 lakhs for the Fourth Plan.

*Cottage Industries*—The scheme aims at giving subsidies to trained craftsman belonging to Scheduled Castes for establishing themselves in crafts like tailoring, weaving, smithy, carpentry, etc. A sum of Rs. 5.00 lakhs for the Fourth Plan and Rs. 5.00 lakhs for the Fifth Plan has been proposed under this programme.

*Weavers' Co-operatives*—The weavers belonging to Scheduled Castes are not thriving in their trades and any loan or subsidy given to them directly may not be safe. It is therefore contemplated to bring them into co-operative fold by organising collective weavers' society. A number of weavers will work together under this scheme. A sum of Rs. 3.00 lakhs is proposed for Fourth Plan for organising 10 societies.

*Industrial Training*—Rs. 5.00 lakhs has been proposed for the Fourth Plan for giving stipends to about 1,000 students reading in different industrial institutions.

## *Health, Housing and others*

*Drinking Water-Supply*—By the end of Second Plan 923 wells could be provided to the Scheduled Caste population. The anticipated target for Third Plan is 833 wells. Since the Scheduled Caste population is dispersed among the general population facilities for drinking water-supply have to be provided in such places where majority

of the inhabitant are Scheduled Castes. Instructions have been issued to Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samitis for locating wells. As no specific data are available to assess the requirement of drinking water facilities for Scheduled Castes it is proposed to dig 1,000 wells during the Fourth Plan at a cost of Rs. 20 lakhs.

*Housing*—During the Third Plan housing facilities was extended to the sweepers and scavengers engaged by the local bodies. But during the Second Plan 3,383 units of houses were constructed for the Scheduled Castes. This facility may be extended to Scheduled Castes during the Fourth Plan period. Provision for housing for sweepers and scavengers would be made in the Central Sector. It is proposed to construct 1,000 units of houses during the Fourth Plan at a cost of Rs. 12 lakhs at Rs. 1,200 for each house.

*House sites*—In the state sector this scheme has been introduced during 1964-65. Many of the Scheduled Castes do not have their own land for building houses. So this facility has been extended. One Scheduled Caste family can be given maximum assistance up to Rs. 500 for purchase of land. It is proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs during the Fourth Plan for 1,000 families.

*Legal aid to Harijans*—Though the scheme has been in operation since Second Plan no appreciable result has been achieved so far perhaps because of want of adequate publicity and proper way of making out cases for being eligible to this grant. Now adequate attention is being paid to enable the people to avail themselves of the opportunity. A sum of Rs. 1 lakh is proposed for the Fourth Plan.

*Grant-in-aid to non-official organisations*—In order to encourage the non-official organisations to work for the benefit of Scheduled Castes Governmental assistance is also necessary. The D. C. L. which is doing a good deal of work need be given

adequate financial assistance. Government of India have instructed not to make separate provision for D. C. L. So for all these non-official organisations a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs has been provided for the Fourth Plan. During this period these institutions may try to be self-supporting.

## CENTRAL SECTOR

### SCHEDULED TRIBES

#### *Education*

*Girls' Hostels*—During the Third Plan the proposal for girls' hostel were initiated by the Government of India. During the Third Plan period 5 girls' hostels would be opened at a cost of Rs. 3.75 lakhs. During the Fourth Plan 16 more hostels will be opened which may be located in the district and subdivisional headquarters where Girls' High Schools and M. E. Schools are opened. A sum of Rs. 75,000 has been estimated for a hostel. For opening 16 hostels a sum of Rs. 12 lakhs would be necessary during the Fourth Plan period.

*Post-matric Scholarship*—The award of Post-matric Scholarship has enabled Scheduled Tribe students to prosecute their studies. The scheme has been appreciated in many circles. Government of India have also suggested for continuance of the programme. By the end of Third Plan a sum of Rs. 8.92 lakhs would have been spent benefiting 1,618 students. The average annual expenditure would be nearly Rs. 2 lakhs. During the Fourth Plan a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs is proposed for awarding scholarships to about 2,000 students.

*Residential Sevashrams for Girls*—During the Second Plan 6 Residential Sevashrams were opened for boy students, funds for which were provided in the Central Sector. Some more Residential Sevashrams are being opened during the year 1964-65 in the State Sector. A few such Residential Primary Schools for Scheduled Tribe girl students need be opened to afford

educational facilities to those who do not want to be far away from their villages. It is proposed to open 10 Residential Primary Schools during the Fourth Plan at a cost of Rs. 5 lakhs.

#### *Economic Uplift*

*Tribal Development Blocks*—During the 2nd Plan 4 Special Multipurpose Blocks were opened. Each S. M. P. Block had a schematic budget of Rs. 27 lakhs, Rs. 12 lakhs from the C. D. Ministry and Rs. 15 lakhs from the Home Ministry. During the 3rd Plan period these 4 S. M. P. Blocks were allowed to continue as Stage II T. D. Blocks, 62 new T. D. Blocks were approved to be opened. T. D. Blocks continue for 5 years in Stage I and another 5 years in Stage II. C. D. Ministry give Rs. 12 lakhs and Home Ministry Rs. 10 lakhs during Stage I period, in Stage II period a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs each is given by both the Ministries. On the basis of the number of T. D. Blocks sanctioned during the 3rd Plan a sum of Rs. 481 lakhs would be necessary for 62 T. D. Blocks during the 4th Plan period to be continued as Stage I and Stage II Blocks. 45 more T. D. Blocks will be opened on the basis of 1961 Census population for which a sum of 224 lakhs is estimated. Besides, *ad hoc* grant at Rs. 2,000 for every 1,000 Scheduled Tribe population in non-T. D. Blocks will also be given by the Government of India. 162 C. D. Blocks will qualify for *ad hoc* grant and a sum of Rs. 31.18 lakhs would be necessary. Thus in all a sum of Rs. 746.18 lakhs would be necessary for T. D. Blocks during the 4th Plan period.

*Service Co-operatives (Purpose and Sale Units)*—A number of service co-operatives are necessary to be opened during the 4th Plan for giving easy credit facilities to the Scheduled Tribe people and for purchasing their produces. These schemes will help a lot in checking the undue advantages taken by the Sahukars and other middlemen. A sum of Rs. 75 lakhs is proposed for the 4th Plan.

*Forest Co-operatives, etc.*—Forest Co-operative Societies help the tribal people in building and strengthening their forest economy. 25 Forest Co-operatives opened during the 2nd Plan are running smoothly in spite of odds and difficulties faced from the contractors. During the 3rd Plan period 56 societies would be opened. As the forest area in the State is vast and there is ample scope to take full advantage of the forest wealth it is proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs for establishing 180 societies at the rate of Rs. 40,000 each (working capital Rs. 30,000 and building and staff subsidy Rs. 10,000) during the 4th Plan. Some supervisory and administrative staff will be necessary for the smooth working of the scheme.

*Soil Conservation*—Due to the precarious method of podu or shifting cultivation by the Scheduled Tribes in the hill slopes, the climatic conditions affected the soil resulting in soil erosion and forming of great fissures in hilly areas. A very little effort has so far been made to check the soil erosion. During the 2nd Plan only a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs could be provided in the T. & R. W. programme for soil conservation measure. During the 3rd Plan the provision has been spent for maintaining the schemes of 2nd Plan. It is, therefore, considered necessary to provide adequate funds during the 4th Plan. A number of 'A' category tribal families will be resettled in suitable forest Blocks and other places and the soil conservation measures will be an important one. A sum of Rs. 150 lakhs is proposed for the 4th Plan. As it was a Central Sector Scheme during 2nd Plan and has its great importance on tribal economy the scheme has been proposed to be included in the Central Sector.

#### *Health, Housing and others*

*Research and Training*—The note of the central working group giving some guidance for research by the Tribal Research Institutes has been accepted for the drawing up programme for

**T. R. B.** For want of adequate staff in the T. R. B. research work on the tribal problems has not progressed much. The T. R. B. has been reorganised now and a Deputy Director (R) has been sanctioned. For the training of the welfare workers and other staff to work in the T. D. Blocks and in other Blocks in tribal areas, necessary staff have been provided in the Panchayat Extension Officers' Training Centre at Berhampur. These two wings will be strengthened with adequate staff during the 4th Plan for which a sum of Rs. 7 lakhs has been proposed.

*Survey and Evaluation*—For proper planning and taking administrative measure and formulation of policies, the result of survey and evaluation is of immense help. So far no systematic work has been done in this respect. During the 4th Plan survey and evaluation of T. D. Blocks and other welfare programme will, be taken up for which a number of technical staff would be necessary. Vehicles, equipments, etc., are also necessary. It is proposed to make a provision of Rs. 15 lakhs during the 4th Plan period.

#### SCHEDULED CASTES

##### *Education*

*Girls' Hostels*—For the Scheduled Caste girl students 3 hostels would be opened in the 3rd Plan. During the 4th Plan 10 more hostels are proposed at a cost of Rs. 7·80 lakhs.

*Post-matric Scholarship*—By the end of 3rd Plan a sum of Rs. 10·53 lakhs would have been utilised for awarding Post-matric Scholarships to 1,842 students. As the number of students are likely to increase a sum of Rs. 4 lakhs may be required annually, during the 4th Plan period for about 6,000 students a year. So a sum of Rs. 20 lakhs has been proposed for the 4th Plan.

##### *Other Schemes*

*Improvement of the working conditions of Sweepers and Scavengers*—A programme was drawn up to eradicate

the practice of carrying night soil as head-load. For this purpose funds were provided in the 3rd Plan for supply of wheel barrows to the sweepers and scavengers to carry night soil. It was contemplated to completely stop the practice by the end of 3rd Plan. But owing to so many difficulties the objective will not be achieved during the 3rd Plan. It is proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs for the purpose during the 4th Plan.

*Subsidy for housing of Sweepers and house sites*—Owing to this provision during the 3rd Plan many of the sweepers and scavengers employed by the local bodies have been benefitted. The local bodies were also relieved to a great extent from the problem of providing houses to the sweeper employees. Since the funds provided in the 3rd Plan for this purpose was not enough to cater to the requirement of the local bodies more funds have to be provided during the 4th Plan. A sum of Rs. 25 lakhs has been proposed for 1,000 houses and 100 house sites.

*Service Co-operatives for Sweepers, Fishermen, etc.*—The special working group on co-operation for backward classes have recommended for organising co-operatives for Sweepers, scavengers, fishermen, etc. It is proposed to organise 50 co-operatives during the 4th Plan period. A sum of Rs. 20,000 may be given as subsidy towards working capital, management, etc., through the Registrar, Co-operative Societies. A sum of Rs. 10 lakhs is proposed for the 4th Plan on the above basis for 50 co-operatives.

#### DENOTIFIED TRIBES

##### *Education :*

*Pre-matric Stipends*—During the 3rd Plan period a sum of Rs. 35,000 would be spent for giving stipend and lump-grant to the denotified students. The number of denotified tribes in the State is very small and some are included in the Scheduled Tribe list. During the 4th Plan it is proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 6,000 for awarding stipend and lump-grant and reading, writing materials.

*Post-matric Scholarship*—Government of India in their interim report in 4th Plan have indicated for giving Post-matric Scholarship to the denotified tribes. Due to very limited population the number of post-matric students may be very much limited. As such a small provision of Rs. 50,000 has been proposed for the 4th Plan for awarding scholarship to 15 students.

*Residential Schools*—During the 3rd Plan 3 residential schools would be established for the denotified tribes including one for girls. As the number of students would be small 2 more schools are proposed for 4th Plan at a cost of Rs. 5 lakhs.

*Other Schemes*

*Colonisation (Housing)*—During the 3rd Plan about 300 unit of houses would be provided to the denotified tribes at a cost of Rs. 3 lakhs. It is proposed to provide 375 more units of houses during the 4th Plan period at a cost of Rs. 4.50 lakhs. Each unit of house will cost about Rs. 1,200.

*Subsidies for Agriculture and Industrial Aid*—A sum of Rs. 1.50 lakhs would have been spent by the end of 3rd Plan for giving aid to about 300 persons. During the 4th Plan a sum of Rs. 2.50 lakhs may be provided for giving agricultural and industrial aid to about 500 persons.

*Sinking of Wells*—Eighty wells would have been sunk for the denotified tribes at the end of 3rd Plan at a cost of

Rs. 1.20 lakhs. Since these people are living in the district of Koraput mostly sinking of wells will cost more in that area due to hilly tracts and difficult terrain. A sum of Rs. 3 lakhs is proposed for the 4th Plan for sinking about 150 wells.

*Service Co-operatives for Denotified Tribes*—The special working group on co-operation for backward classes have recommended for organising co-operatives which has been generally accepted by the Government. It is proposed to organise 10 co-operatives during the 4th Plan. Each co-operatives may be given a subsidy of Rs. 20,000 towards working capital, management, etc., through the Registrar, Co-operative Societies so that the latter will have control and supervision on these co-operatives. A sum of Rs. 2 lakhs would therefore be necessary during 4th Plan.

In short the working group of backward classes for Orissa has recommended for the 4th Plan an outlay of Rs. 15.51 crores under the State Sector as against Rs. 4.63 crores during the Third Plan and Rs. 11.81 crores under Central Sector as against Rs. 3.79 crores for the 3rd Plan. In other words the 4th Plan total proposals of the working group are of the order of Rs. 27.32 crores under both the State and Central Sectors as against the Third Plan outlay of Rs. 8.42 crores as shown in the following table:—

Category	Third Plan Outlay	Proposed outlay for 4th Plan
	STATE SECTOR	
	Rs. in lakhs	Rs. in lakhs
Scheduled Tribes ..	313.00	1,368.00
Scheduled Castes ..	150.00	183.50
	<hr/> 463.00	<hr/> 1,551.50
	CENTRAL SECTOR	
Scheduled Tribes ..	343.63	1,090.19
Scheduled Castes ..	32.25	72.50
Deontified Tribes ..	9.70	18.10
	<hr/> 378.67	<hr/> 1,180.78
Grand Total ..	841.67 or 8.42 crores	27,32.28 or 27.32 crores



TOYAKA SANGANNA

## PROBLEMS OF DEFINITION

The problem of defining the term 'tribe' has been taken up afresh and experts from the fields of research and administration are applying their minds to ascribe new contents to the term. It may appear somewhat surprising, that when three plans have been worked out successfully and the country is getting ready to launch the Fourth Plan, and when the development of the tribal people had been a significant feature of all the plans, we should still be worrying about problems of definition. There is, however, nothing wrong about the problem of definition coming up at any stage of research and action. No definition of any term, which has empirical reference to human phenomena can be treated as final. A definition undergoes changes in the light of fresh data acquired through further research. This should be especially so in case of the term 'tribe'. When we began to formulate plans for the development of the 'tribal people, we had to start with an *ad hoc* definition of the term based on such information which was available at that time. After fifteen years of planning and research, unknown facts about tribal life and culture have been brought under focus. This certainly necessitates redefinition of concepts. It is, therefore, imperative upon our planners, administrators and research workers to take up the problem with all seriousness.

While taking up the problem one is confronted with a multiplicity of definitions. Many of these definitions have

even conflicting meaning. This certainly complicates our problem. This should not however, be taken as specific to the problem of defining the term 'tribe'. In the field of social sciences, the problem of defining any social group, gives rise to many complications. Even terms like 'family', 'community', 'village', etc., which have universal application, have not yet been suitably defined so as to be acceptable to various schools of thought. The task before us, therefore, is to compare and analyse the different definitions and to make efforts to arrive at a synthesis. Such synthesis may not be achieved all at once, it may not even be possible in near future, but the attempt should be continued.

When attempting to define the term 'tribe', it is necessary to decide about the modes of procedure. It has been the practice of certain social scientists to start with certain existing terms and conceptual models. They go on analysing these terms and examining their relevance to different groups of people. Ultimately it results in focusing attention more on the terms rather than the people. In my opinion it should be the other way about. We must accept, *a priori*, that certain groups of people do exist, who are marked by comparative isolation, have customs, beliefs and practices which differ from the majority of the people and, above all, the planning and execution of whose development pose problems different from others when social and cultural factors are

taken into consideration. Speaking in other words we should start with a simple cognitive recognition of certain groups of people and our attempts at definition should be geared towards abstracting the essential characteristics which are common to all. This method would be more fruitful than admitting certain groups as tribes and rejecting others, on the basis of certain existing definitions. This procedure may not be a substitute for tackling the problem at a more subtle theoretical level by anthropologists and sociologists working in academic spheres. They may carry on their research to achieve theoretical clarity about the concept. The method suggested here is an operational one, meant to be effective in an action frame of reference.

To tackle the problem of definition in an action frame of reference we may have to encounter certain problems. These problems need to be tackled and resolved. I shall enumerate some of these problems and seek to analyse them in the light of our experience in administration and research.

It is argued by a section of anthropologists that the tribes have no claim to be considered as social organizational entities. This is because they constitute along with castes and clans, the various strata of the Indian society. Here at least there is some recognition of the tribes. However, it is surprising that, though reluctant to accord social organizational status to such a clearly recognizable group as 'tribe', they nevertheless do not hesitate to accept the more amorphous term 'Indian society' as a precise entity. Apart from this, I fail to understand, on what grounds the tribes can be treated as forming a stratum in the Indian society in the sense the castes and clans are. If it is based on those universal, cultural and social criteria, which characterize all human societies, than I may be excused if I assert that it violates the basic principle of anthropological analysis. The differential status of a society is determined

not on the basis of abstracted universal characteristics but on the organization of specific activities. If we fail to recognize the distinctive features of such organization among the primitive tribes, we would be denying empirical facts. The economy of the Kutia Kandh, the religion of the Lanjia Saora, the territorial clan organization of the Dongria Kandh are some of the typical instances of the organization of activities in various spheres, which make these tribes distinct from others. Apart from these primitive tribes there are others who have been subjected to centuries of intimate culture contact and yet maintain some of the essential characteristics of tribal culture. The Gonds of Bolangir and Sambalpur in Orissa have a culture-oriented feeling of antagonism towards Brahmins. They have also a culture-oriented feeling of oneness with the Bhuyan and Kandh. All these are in keeping with the legendary history of the tribe. The Kisans of Sambalpur and Sundergarh districts of Orissa maintain their distinctive language and social customs, which are not to be found among their neighbours. A section of Santals living in the Mayurbhanj district of Orissa and the Chotanagpur sbudivision of Bihar have even gone a step ahead. They are taking the help of modern methods of research to establish their complete non-identity with the Indian society. Thus the cementing factor of modern education has helped the process of contra-culturation. Instances can be multiplied indefinitely from various regions of India. If all these factors do not establish the distinctive status of tribal society in India, it is doubtful whether social and cultural differences can at all be treated as a possible area of study. It is true that tribes who come into contact with other non-tribal people sometimes lose some or all of their distinctive social features but it is curious to put forward this as an argument to prove that from the point of view of social organization tribe is a non-entity in India. When a particular group is depicted as a tribe

it does not mean that it would remain a tribe in perpetuity. All social groups are susceptible to change and yet they are distinguishable as groups I don't understand why should one grudge this inevitable fact in case of tribes.

Another argument which challenges the status of tribe as a social entity is that as an entity it is not scientifically measurable. This argument is based on an inadequate understanding of the scientific measurability of social groups. The boundaries of a society are not comparable to clear-cut lines on one side of which a society abruptly comes to an end and on the other side another society begins with equal abruptness. Social boundaries are only comparable to different shades of colour gradually fading into one another. While defining 'tribe', we need not, however, be so much concerned about borders. Our main concern should be with the core of their culture and society.

Scientific measurability can be achieved in respect of term 'tribe' if our research is oriented towards locating those factors which form the core of tribal society and culture. A guidance in this respect can be given by the classical definition according to which a tribe is "A group of people, inhabiting a contiguous territory, speaking a common dialect, practising the same customs, beliefs and practices and forming a socially self-sufficient unit". When I say that this definition can give us guidance, I never mean that it is adequate and precise. What I mean is that this definition can provide us with a suitable starting point. I am fully conscious about the inadequacy of the definition firstly because the social characteristics, contained in it admit of degrees. A further reason for considering this definition as inadequate is that its contents have yet to be enriched by the latest developments in the science of anthropology and by modern techniques of research. Cognizance should be taken of such areas of study as culture-personality, social

structure, social and cultural dynamics, cultural linguistics and human ecology. Researches in these areas should be conducted under an integrated programme.

Stray references are sometimes quoted from ancient texts to prove that the sphere of social-integration contained the tribal people in ancient India. If one examines some of these quotations and the manner of their presentation, one cannot but be convinced that the arguments advanced on their authority are more in the nature of manipulations than logical conclusions. These stray references never objectively prove that there was any actual integration of the tribal society with the Hindu society. Even if we keep aside contextual considerations and confine our attention to the texts themselves, we can never ascertain that the codifiers of social law in Ancient India were ever conscious about the problem of integration of tribal people with their society. On the contrary there is enough evidence to show that they were haunted by a fear of contamination and rudiments of a feeling of racial superiority based on a belief that the tribal people belong to an altogether different species are traceable in their thought process. This position becomes clear when, instead of treating the term 'tribe' in abstract, we make reference to concrete groups of people.

The same theme is carried over to apply to modern conditions when it is pointed out that some sections of tribal people have regular contact with certain caste-groups and in some cases they have even developed symbiotic relationships. In addition to this, conscious and well-organized movements, which have Hindu values as their goals, have also been launched among the tribal people under the initiative of tribal leaders themselves. As I have pointed out elsewhere all these go to show that changes are taking place among the tribal people and these changes point out that tribes do exist as social entities and

whether these changes can obliterate their separate social existence, can be ascertained by studying the direction of these changes. This raises a point which is more complicated than mere physical isolation. Physical isolation can be eliminated by improving communication. But the type of isolation which develops as a result of a conscious in-group feeling coupled with an antagonistic feeling towards others poses a serious problem for the administrators and research workers. Contact with outsiders deepens this type of isolation instead of breaking it. It is true that certain tribal groups adopt the dress and customs of other people when they come into contact with them. But adaptation of stray traits does not break up the social entity of the group.

On the other hand, there is abundant evidence to indicate that these are used as tools against social assimilation. This problem and its analysis should provide the basis for defining the tribes as a separate social entity.

Lastly, I may point out that in attacking the problems of definition our aim should be to develop clarity of concepts rather than to achieve a cryptic formula. If we can develop precise concepts on the fundamental aspects of tribal culture we will have achieved our objective. A definition can follow from it but may not be fully expressive of all the essentials and because of that it may be sometimes misleading if the concepts on which it is founded are lost sight of.



G. N. DAS

### CULTURE CONTACT AND SOCIAL ENGINEERING

The caption of this paper is somewhat high sounding, and grandiose, but I propose to deal with certain common phenomena that a worker in tribal welfare is likely to come across. In an informal discussion a friend once expressed surprise that tribals of two different communities lived in a village in hamlets separated by only the narrow village common. For ages they lived there following a common avocation of hill cultivation and collection of fruits, roots and tubers from the forests nearby. Both communities were equally poverty stricken leading an existence of deplorably subhuman level, steeped in ignorance, and age old superstition. What was surprising is that although living as though across the street for generations, they followed their own different patterns of living which manifested in their food, dress and social habits and customs. Their children mingled with one another at play and youth like pursuits, they attended the same market to obtain their *spare* needs in salt and oil and trinkets of a piece of cloth, and spoke to the plainmen in the latter's language in the same broken accent. But, at home each pursued his own distinctive pattern not only in matters of religions or social customs which are more deep rooted but also in their food habits, dress and ornaments, their dialects and ordinary day-to-day habits and manners. It would appear as though they were living in two separately walled cities without any avenues of contact with each other while in fact they are in close

proximity and contact day in and day out. No doubt where religion acts as a hiatus against close intermixture, as in the case of Hindus and Muslims for instance, neighbourliness may not have much impact on matters like dress and food habits. In this case, of the two tribal communities in question living in close quarters of each other, one was Santal and the other Oram. In the language of the anthropologist the Santal is of Australoid stock, while the other the Oram is of Dravidian stock. The traditions of each differs from the other. Their religions, and social practices and customs differ having stemmed from different origins. Apparently, therefore, there should be no room for surprise to find the members of these two communities pursuing their own lines of living habits, customs and manners in spite of the fact that their children might be playing together and attending the same school, their contact with the common plainman traders and creditors. What, however was intriguing my friend is that while the two communities living in close proximity had no contribution to make to the pattern of life and culture of each other, both seemed to be competing with each other in adopting traits of almost an alien and in any case a totally dissimilar culture. My friend went on to illustrate his point. When the Block Development Programme was introduced in the area, a number of officers from the plains and with cultures dissimilar from that of the

tribal communities came to execute the Block programmes. The tribals came in contact with them and got an opportunity to be acquainted with their customs and manners. My friend had the opportunity of visiting this area occasionally. On one such occasion he heard one of the Block officials complain before the District Officer, who happened to be on tour there, that he and other officers had a hard time for want of rice. They had sometime to go without food. The Collector advised him to depend more on the local cereal 'Ragi' which is grown abundantly in the area and is well known all around for its quality. He extolled the food values of Ragi adding that costly food preparations like "Ovaltine", "Vinomalt", etc., have a 'Ragi' base. He promised to try to send more rice supply to the place, but advised him (the Block official) to set an example. The latter, however did not appear convinced and lodged a mild protest saying that 'Ragi' is the food of the poor and would not be acceptable in his home. The school teacher from the plains had also talked in the same vein before. The tribals who had already started feeling ashamed about their principal food being 'Ragi' now had no doubt about it. The days of 'Ragi' were getting fast numbered. It was fast losing its pride of place in the tribal deitery. The tribal now felt shy and ashamed of his food habits as being indignified and unfit for a cultured people. Even tribal women were seen to speak in hushed under tones if they were forced to say that they had a meal of 'Ragi' preparations. The pride of place for Ragi was gone. My friend wondered how the tribal communities were taken by magic, as it were, to accept the Hindu food habit of rice eating in preference to 'Ragi'.

Similar surprise has been expressed where as an outcome to contact the backward communities have over night adopted the dress habits of aliens and have not grieved to discard their colourful skirts and head gears for the flat and stereotyped short and shirt. Although it took some more time with

the women, they were also yielding to the mill made sarees in preference to their age old 'Kapta' on which they themselves carve in myriad colours scenes of hunting, and wild life of the jungles with which they are familiar replicas of flowers and creepers, fishes and reptiles and so on. The contrast is quite apparent even to a casual observer. But the tribal women did not want to lag behind. Her 'Kapta' may be more artistic and colourful in design, but it was not trailing below the ankles as the sarees of the 'gentle women folk' of the plains did, it was not as fine in texture and did not wash as white. It was "hampen homespan" at its best. No body noticed that in the process of change the home crafts of plying the spinning wheel and the loom were dying out. The boys perhaps looked some what smarter in the short and shirt and the little girls in the newly acquired frock. It was not, however, possible for them to have anything better than very cheap and sometimes old and discarded stuff. The crafty and willy trader brought that kind of garment to the markets. He also brought discarded garments for youths and elderly persons, sometimes warm coats and jerseys. Not to speak of the queer look these garments imported to the neolites the discarded ones brought with them germs of unknown diseases whose germs were left in them by their farmer owners. The cheap garments of the children would not stand rough use, and exposure to wind and rain to which they were accustomed and so were reduced to tatters in no time.

My friend also noticed another very interesting transmission. Tribals men, women, young and old were seen to be using tobacco (Gurakhu) as tooth paste. They are no doubt fond of tobacco which they like to smoke. Some also prepare a kind of powder with lime and relish to put it in their mouth where they retain it as long as possible. Some of them spit vehemently while holding the tobacco powder under their tongues. The use of

tobacco in the form of a paste for cleaning the teeth was restricted to the plainsmen and more particularly to townsmen. When such persons went to the tribal areas whether as block personnel or in pursuit of trade and commerce the tribals came in their contact and it took them not long at all to adopt this habit. They switched on to tobacco tooth paste from tobacco smoking or tobacco powder almost over night. Tribals of all ages were seen to be using the paste almost at all times of the day, even during the working hours when they would snatch a minute to stand by and use it in little groups or individually. My friend took the trouble of finding out why the tribals chose to use the tobacco tooth paste in preference to tobacco smoking or tobacco powder. The tribals would say that the paste was much better and that my friend was asking such a question merely in jest although he knew everything. Some unsuspecting youth would however say that the tooth paste was not only new and sweeter to taste, but more dignified, and so it had been favoured by the "baboo". That is why it has been preferred by them.

What my friend in course of his work among the backward tribal people saw were outcome to culture contact between two cultures. One of the cultures, that of the tribals in this case, was a primitive one and economically weak. The other was borne by not only an economically stronger people but in this case the subjects had access to administrative power to their credit. In a certain set of circumstances, the economically stronger culture is likely to sweep the other, the economically weaker culture, as it were, off its feet. What my friend was astonished to notice may well have been manifestations of such a process in the culture contact of two different peoples. While the plainsmen probably found nothing worth consideration in the pattern of living of the poor tribals, the latter thought that the habits and customs of the plainsmen they came in contact

were the dignified pattern to follow, and their own pattern was not worth anything; it was a third rater!

Ordinarily there may be no harm in adoption of new customs and manners, dress or food habits acquired from culture contacts, but when such an acquisition involves a decrying of one's native habits and customs it is fraught with serious dangers. The tribals in this case not only thought that their games or their music were inferior stuff, their food of 'Ragi' poor and indignified, but the contagion was more deep rooted and wide spread. The tribals were found to have considered their entire life pattern, their cultures as inferior and indignified. They were inheritors of a second or third rate culture. They themselves were second or third rate, mediocre people. For otherwise why should they have been so poor, so outlandish and boorish. They are a people deserving of every one's pity. This was indeed pathetic. If we analyse what had happened in this case we would come to notice that there was no attempt on the part of the block personnel in question or the contractors, traders and others from the plains to engineer the process of culture contact that was taking place in course of the new happening. Perhaps the block personnel could so conduct themselves as to cause the least dislocation and consequent dispair in the lives of the tribals. They could be made to remember how in the olden days the aryan conquerors did when thrown together with the backward 'Sabaras', they adopted their Gods and deities into their own pantheon and gave them not a mean place in the hierarchy. Lord Jagannath the Sabara deity, was treated with the highest esteem and that regard continues till to-day. Lord Rama, in course of his wanderings through the Dandakaranya and later made friends with the tribal chiefs of the jungles. The pages of the Ramayana are replated with instances of such friendship. In other words, a conscious effort was made in the past to integrate, to synthesis

the Aryan and the Tribal cultures in which there was a two way process of give and take that enriched both the cultures, and what is more important both the people considered themselves as architects of the emerging culture as a result of the fusion. Both continued to give their respective contributions as equal partners. Let us consider the picture that the present holds in this field. We are very familiar with the complaint that is often made of the indifference of the backward tribal people, their lack of enthusiasm towards programmes of welfare that under the block or other auspices are being executed for their welfare. We often meet with the lament of the block personnel, social workers and others connected with the execution of these programmes or the difficulty they have to face in making any such programmes in the tribal areas successful for want of understanding and active participation by the tribals. The common answer most probably would be that the tribal should be made to understand and appreciate the nature and content of the programmes of development. No doubt this is a fundamental matter and its importance has to be understood by all social workers engaged in this kind of work. But an equally important side it too often lost sight of and that is the import of personal contact. The manner in which the social worker conducts

himself in his day-to-day even trivial contacts with the tribal is of as great importance as the understanding of the tribal culture, the aspirations and aptitudes of the tribal people, their felt needs and so on. The social worker has to carefully engineer his conduct in the sphere of his work, he has to be sincere and has to impress that he is believing sincerely in the programme of work he is engaged upon for execution. He should practise some or all of the precepts that he preaches for the tribals to follow. In short he ought to have ideas about social engineering and practise them correctly and well.

It would also be well worth remembering in this context an old sanskrit verse which sums as following:—

“ आलापत् सहभोजनात्  
शयनात् छात्रशंसर्गात्  
प्रविशन्ति च पापानि  
पूष्यञ्चैव तथा विशेष् ”

In the process of culture contact every one of us has to be careful to see that as far as practicable the absorption of the undesirable traits of each other is avoided and the two-way traffic that should be established deals in the more desirable aspects of life enriching both and bequeathing to the posterity something better than what each had.



### Introduction

The Gonds of Orissa according to the 1961 census number above 3 lakhs. They are widely dispersed over the districts of Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Kalahandi and the northern portion of Koraput district.

There is a wide range of cultural difference among the Gonds. Those inhabiting the districts of Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir and northern portion of Kalahandi speak Oriya and have been doing so since time immemorial. They have been integrated into the Hindu social structure and enjoy the status of a cultivator-cum-warrior caste. In spite of this formal integration there is a strong in-group feeling among them and a sense of psychological maladjustment is perceptible in all their social dealings. This characteristic justifies their inclusion in the list of the Scheduled Tribes.

The second group of Gonds inhabit the southern portion of Kalahandi district and the northern portion of the Koraput district. These people maintain their distinctive tribal language and culture. They speak Gond, which is a Dravidian language widely used by the tribals of Central India. At present they have nothing in common with the other group of Gonds excepting the name. An analysis of the Kinship structure of the both the groups, however, shows evidence of historic connection.

The present paper is based on data from the first group.

### Purpose of the paper

The purpose of the paper is to equip the field workers with a set of instructions to deal with the Gonds in the course of doing welfare work among them. This paper intends to specify categories of doers and doings for the field worker. The paper is divided into two parts. The first part concerns the general dealings of the field worker with the tribe. The second part discusses the mode of his dealings in connection with.

#### PART I

##### *General Dealings*

1. *Approaching the Tribe*—(a) The field worker should remember that he is not approaching an isolated and primitive tribe, but dealing with one group of people who have been accustomed to a high status in the society for centuries and who are very proud of their martial and feudal tradition. They should not be given the impression that they are being given special treatment because of their backwardness. Rather they should be told that they had been suffering from injustice and now in recognition of their heroic qualities, they are being accorded special privileges.

(b) The field worker should not let the people think that any scheme is being imposed upon them. The Gonds do not like to be told that anybody understands their problems better than them. The field worker should be so manipulative as to evoke suggestions from them.

(c) The tradition of the Gonds should be borne in mind to understand the leadership pattern among them. The field worker should know that it is very important to locate proper leaders among a people who are allergic to all types of authority except that determined by their own culture. Among the Gonds the elderly people and the big land owners and the ex-Gauntias (ex-Zamindars) have great prestige. The field worker should rely on these people for leadership. Gradually as the welfare projects would attain success and consequently prestige the attitude of the people might undergo a change and it might become possible to bring about a new crop of leaders.

2. *The conduct of the field worker among the Gonds*—(a) The field worker should not ask the people to do such menial work for him as carrying his luggage, cooking for him and washing his plates and drawing water for him, etc. The Gonds feel insulted if they are asked to do domestic work for anybody even for payment of money. The field worker should carry very little luggage with him and should manage his own work. It is certain that if he can make himself popular friendly help would be forthcoming and he might get service in abundance which he could not have got for payment.

(b) There is a general impression that there are no sexual morality among the tribal people. This impression is both false and harmful. It is certain that the sexual behaviour of certain tribal strongly differs from ours but they have their rules which are rigid for them especially where outsiders are concerned. Among the Gonds even such exotic sexual behaviour is absent. Their sexual behaviour rules of marriage and attitude towards women do not differ from ours rather they are more rigidly observed due to their martial and feudal tradition. The field worker should be exceptionally cautious about his behaviour towards Gond women. He should

not, however, shun, acquaintance with them. If he can mix with the elderly women and win their affection he can get himself all the more readily accepted by the people.

(c) There are certain tribes who are very much enticed by payment of money or the promise of such payment. This is not the case with the Gonds. They, on the other hand, look down upon these who want to do things by payment of money. The field worker can be successful if he can exhibit a fund of sympathy for them and show an aptitude to understand their problems and troubles. The field worker should try to know the troubles of the individuals and should try to tackle them even if they do not come under his strict officials jurisdiction. He may carry a chest of patent medicines and try to administer them when he comes across common ailments. He should try to avoid administering medicine in serious cases and should arrange proper medical treatment for them.

3. *Certain general postulates which the field worker should bear in mind regarding welfare work among the Gonds*—(a) The field worker should try to keep himself in the background as far as possible and push into prominence those who have capacity for leadership.

For example while organizing a meeting he should not become the President nor the Chief Spokesman. He should have prior discussions with the people in private and should so arrange that the proper person can become the President and the right things shall be talked about.

(b) The field worker should not try to introduce more than one scheme at a time in a village. His principle should be one scheme in one village. It would, however, be convenient for him if he introduces the same scheme in a number of contiguous villages.

(c) The field worker should always remember that no problem is important and no scheme is necessary unless the people think them to be so. He should not be guided by his own notion of importance and necessity. His first effort, therefore, should be to locate the felt needs of the people so that their maximum co-operation can be guaranteed.

(d) The Gonds are very reluctant to travel any distance outside their villages to receive any assistance or technical advice. The field worker should, therefore, make efforts to see that such assistance reaches the Gond in his own village.

(e) The field worker should remember that the main aim of a welfare scheme is to develop the people economically and socially. Its aim is not to introduce change for the sake of change. It is never intended that the different habits, customs, beliefs and practices of different people should be eradicated and that there should be regimentation. On the other hand, it should be the aim of the field worker to preserve that distinctness of the people which is not harmful and which does not inhabit the process of integration with the National life.

In order to be acceptable, no scheme should give the impression of making a sharp departure from accepted ways of life. On the other hand it is necessary to maintain the form while changing the content. For example, while introducing a housing scheme to pattern of Gond house may be retained and within this pattern arrangements for ventilation, sanitation and durability can be made.

## PART II

### *Instructions regarding specific projects*

(1) *Colonisation Scheme*—The Colonisation Scheme is meant for those primitive tribes who live in remote hill areas under very difficult

conditions and who practise shifting cultivation. The Gonds do not come under this category. They live in plain areas along with other rural people and practise stable cultivation. The field worker should not, therefore, try to introduce colonisation among them.

(2) *Multipurpose Co-operative Societies*—Apart from agriculture the Gond has practically no other employment. He does not ordinarily work as a day labourer as he thinks such work to be derogatory. The field worker, therefore, should try to introduce cottage industries and handicrafts among them through multipurpose co-operative societies which should supply the capital and arrange for production and sale.

Here it should be borne in mind that there are certain handicrafts such as basket-weaving which are considered derogatory by the Gonds. Such work should not be undertaken by the multipurpose co-operative societies.

(3) *Grain-gollas*—Gond indebtedness is an acute problem. This indebtedness is due mainly because of the fact that the people are compelled to part with their produce at the peak of the harvesting season when the price is at the lowest. They are again compelled to buy or borrow at a time when the price is at its highest.

To eradicate this the introduction of grain-gollas is a dire necessity. If organised properly they can be very effective. But the organisation of grain-gollas comes into conflict with the interest of the money-lenders who generally belong to the Agharia or Sundhi class and to whom people owe more than one allegiance. The credit offered by grain-gollas is limited and its availability is delayed by the bureaucratic process. Besides, it lacks the personal and intimate touch which the money-lender offers.

The field worker should, therefore, try to introduce this scheme in a humble manner and should not try

to compete with the money-lenders at the first instance. He should try to expand its scope gradually. He should make efforts to ensure the availability of credit in time.

(4) *Forest Co-operative Societies*—

The Gonds, though reluctant to work as day labourers elsewhere, do not object to work for contractors in the forest as this type of work fascinates them and provides a substitute for their favourable past-time-hunting. They are always exploited by these contractors.

The introduction of forest co-operative societies can be very effective among the Gonds and the field worker should attach due importance to them. The contractors are mostly outsiders and are also quite unpopular and as such no resistance need be expected of them.

The field worker should remember that the Gonds regard the forest as their own property and are very much agitated about the forest rules. Introduction of forest co-operative societies may give them the impression that they can do with the forest as they like. The field worker should guard against this from the beginning because once they take liberty with the forest it would be very difficult to check the process.

(5) *Poultry Rearing*—Meat is the favourite food of the Gonds for which they mainly relied upon hunting in the forest. The scope of hunting has been very drastically curtailed at present and meat is very scarce. Poultry rearing, therefore, has an immense scope among them.

The field worker should remember that it is not possible for the Gond to bestow that amount of care, labour and expense which the rearing of such breeds like the Leghorn and the Rhodes Islands require. Therefore, he should always insist on country birds.

(6) *Cottage Industries*—The Gonds live in an area which is rich in such jungle products as cane, lac, etc.

Cottage industries to organise their production and to bring about finished products has a good scope among them.

The Gonds are in the habit of showing enthusiasm for a scheme at the initial stage but due to their indulgence in excessive drinking and their general reluctance for work they drop half way. The field worker should, therefore, introduce a small number of these schemes and give his constant attention to them for a number of years.

(7) *Training-cum-Production Centres and Poly-Technic Institutes*—The duty of the field worker regarding these schemes is to induce the people to send their children for training in these institutes; while working among the Gonds the field worker has to rely on the prosperous landowners as they are the people who have capacity for leadership. Naturally he would expect these people to send their children to these institutes. But this section among the Gonds are always reluctant to do so as they expect their children to remain in the village and inherit.

It is, therefore, necessary for the field worker to approach the poorer section in this respect. The landless people would be more willing to send their children for such training.

(8) *Pisciculture*—In almost every Gond village a sizeable tank is to be found and these can be utilised for pisciculture. But here the field worker may evince a certain difficulty. These tanks are generally the property of the ex-Gauntias and the development of pisciculture can benefit only a very limited number of people.

The field worker should, therefore, try his best, though he should not always insist on it, to get these tanks handed over to the Fisheries Department or to some co-operative society.

(9) *Rearing of Bees*—This is a scheme whose capital requirements are negligible and which can enrich the

otherwise deficient Gond diet. Generally the people do not take this scheme seriously.

The Gonds can be induced to adopt bee-rearing, if the field worker can successfully maintain a hive in a village by his own efforts. He can make the people test the honey in order to induce them.

The poorer section of the people are to be much benefited by this scheme but ironically enough they show no aptitude for this. The field worker, therefore, has to rely upon the well-to-do people for the success of this scheme. After it comes into practice other sections of people would gradually adopt it.

(10) *Housing Scheme*—Providing well planned and ventilated houses to the Gonds is one of the urgent problems which the field worker is called upon to shoulder; this problem has been made more acute due to imposition of restriction on procurement of jungle products for house construction.

The Gond houses are clumsy and ill-ventilated. They should be provided with well-ventilated and roomy houses. The field worker should, however see that the traditional pattern is maintained as far as practicable. Further, efforts should be made to locate the new houses at old sites.

(11) *Minor Irrigation Projects*—The planning and execution of irrigation projects are done by the Engineers but the field worker can help a lot in this. He can calculate the number of people who would be benefited by such projects. He can explain to the people about the project and communicate their needs to the appropriate authorities.

It is found that, with their intimate knowledge of the area, the Gonds are often able to tell about a source of water and can give other useful information. The Engineer working under Sarva Seva Sangha in Koraput has found such information to his benefit. It is the duty of the field worker to elicit such information from the people.

(12) *Supply of Guns*—Guns are supplied by the Government to protect the tribal people from the wild animals. The Gond being an intolerant people with a martial tradition may sometimes use the guns against their human opponents. The field worker should see that the guns are supplied only to those villages where there is no factionalism and to those people who have no crime to their credit and who are free from drunkenness.

(13) *Social Welfare Centres*—Social Welfare Centres are established for the benefit of women. To induce Gond women to take the benefit of these centres, the field worker should procure the services of female workers. He may also, if he can induce the elderly women of a village to initiate the work.

It has been found that usually these centres adopt a set pattern of work regardless of the needs of the women of the area. The field worker should first of all assess the needs of the women of the village where the centre is to be located and then he should try to make the centre the focus of such activities as would cater to those needs.

(14) *Rural Welfare Centres*—It is often found that the benefits of a Rural Welfare Centre is taken only by the village where it is established. The field worker should see that the other villages also derive benefit from it. He should also arrange for the welfare guide to go to other villages to import such technical knowledge as would be felt necessary.

(15) *Education*—The Gonds, who think themselves to be superior to others, are sometimes reluctant to send their children to Ashram Schools where they are to eat and stay with others. The field workers should induce them by saying that, if they do not send their children to schools others would march past by them and they would be left behind. If a sense of competition is announced they would not be reluctant.

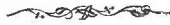
Children are often sent to the Ashram Schools because they are given free boarding and lodging. In very few cases the importance of training received in the school is realised. When the children return after the completion of their education come to be of no use.

It is after the schooling is completed that the real work of the field worker begins. He should always keep contact with them and try to interest them in the various welfare activities, described here. He should also try

to induce them to go for higher training and keep them informed and interested about the scope of employment.

### CONCLUSION

In conclusion it can be said that the best guides for any field worker are always his common sense and experience to which he should always refer to tackle any problem. The points laid down here are only guides to his conduct and should not be taken up as rigid precepts.



U. N. PATTANAİK

Balliguda Taluk is a compact area of about 800 sq. miles in the Boudh-Phulbani district. It touches Koraput district and Ganjam scheduled areas on the south, Kalahandi on the west, Bolangir and Boudh on the north and Khondmals and G. Udayagiri on the east. The Tel, the Khadug, the Boda, the Sapua are the major streams flowing through this area. The area is very rich in sal although it is not of the best species. Sisu, Piasal, etc., valuable timbers just grow wild. The flora and fauna are interesting and abundant. The majority of the population is Kondh and he is of the pure stock. Meriah sacrifices were being indulged in by the population as late as the thirties of the last century. The population was of a wild stock and a contingent of the Ganjam hill police used to be stationed at Balliguda. Reservation of forests in the area was undertaken in the twenties of this century. There was no exploitation and extraction to any appreciable extent. The virgin forests continued to be unmolested and the land remained mostly a habitat of wild animals with herds of wild elephants roaming about. The population is sparse and the people (Adibasi) live in sublime indifference of what is going on in the world around them. Schools are fairly numerous but the school-masters are themselves truants in most cases. The Adibasi finds no charm or use in education. His children are just domestic or field hands and by their going to school, he would have to think of supplementary field hands to assist him and domestic hands to assist the housewife in collecting the edible roots in winter, the green eatable leaves in summer, the mohua and mango in summer and the bamboo shoots during rains. Most important is fetching of water which invariably lies at not less than a furlong from the village. Paddy has to be

## REMINISCENCES OF AN ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER IN THE KANDH HILLS

thrashed, mango kernal and tamarind seeds have to be pounded and treated. Who is to attend to all these, if the girls and boys go out for education? The system of education is outlandish. For children of nature the drab four walls of a school under a teacher who either does not know the language or knows it indifferently, is most unwelcome, if not repulsive. The lessons taught are far above the I. Q. of an Adibasi child. The subject-matter is of no interest to the child. He would follow it with interest, if the lessons and teachings had some relations with the conditions in the hills. Wild animals, birds, trees would be within easy reach of a child there. Stories from Ramayana topics or words in vogue in the Plains area, are foreign. The songs taught do not have anything common with the Adibasi child. The counting numerals, arithmetics, etc., need be taught by the direct nature's method. The child, if compelled or coaxed, goes to school, reads for a few years and leaves it to forget immediately all that had been taught. The child relapses straight into nature which had always been calling him in silent tones, even when the teacher was teaching. He gives up or rather throws to the winds all the teachings. What is the good of this method of teaching, of the curriculum adopted, of the subject-matters taught, if it does not succeed in rousing the interest of the taught?

The model curriculum should be one according to the present principles of basic education. The Adibasi should be taught numbers with trees with models, arithmetic should be taught with illustration from the animal kingdom. Moral lessons should be taught with reference to the animal kingdom and the Adibasi themselves living in the area. Rama, son of Dasaratha, Shivaji the great Maharatta, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, the

Mahamahopadhyay and the other great men of the world will not rouse any interest in the Adibasis, stories of the railway of the steam engine and the like which we see in the text-books would be far beyond the I. Q. of the Adibasi children and should not be taken to them. Play and past-times should be invented, basing on the Adibasi life and land so that the children could follow them quickly. Arts and handicrafts taught should not aim at making the Adibasis expert carpenters or finished tailors. Weaving which the Adibasis understand would be a better substitute. Pottery which is in the hands of a few could be usefully taught. Smithy and brass and silver works would provide better employment. Manufacture of glass beads in spite of the cost of transport of raw materials would provide very lucrative employment.

If the development of Adibasi areas is seriously contemplated, the method as well as the subject taught should undergo a drastic change, the Adibasi child should know his cult first before he is made to improve upon it. Our object should never be to give him the education which will qualify him to the degree class ultimately. It should not also be to give him immediately an idea of the modern world. He is in the infancy of what we call civilisation and we should give him a change to get up into childhood before we can hope that he will be able to understand, digest and assimilate what is taught to him.

Many would call this a retrograde step. It would indeed appear to anyone who does not know the working of the mind of the Adibasi child. The play of child psychology with reference to learning an outlandish cult and civilisation are hard to be beaten into an infantile Adibasi mind. The Adibasi should first know what he possesses before he can understand what he can attain. This is a request to all orthodox educationalists to ponder over the problem.

Now coming to the shortcomings that are in the personnel who are

usually in charge of education in the scheduled areas, one has to make very painful and embarrassing observations. Apologies are due to the very few honest, sincere and dutiful teachers and educational officers who in spite of the heavy odds against them, are carrying on all the work of spreading education through the system in force. Their number is very small and if they have been discharging their duties it is for the love of the labour.

The teachers in the Adibasi areas are recruited from the adjacent Plains areas, down the hills and from among the Oriya settlers within the hills. The former class is generally composed of young men who failing to find employment in the Plains area, seek their fortune in the hills in the Education Department as Primary School teachers. They come to the hills alone. Few of them take pains to learn the tribal language and all of them look down upon the Adibasi with contempt as unclean and uneducated boor. They carry their superiority complex to such an extent that they cannot even sit with an Adibasi even if it is absolutely necessary. No day passes without the teacher telling a boy or two that they are beasts and born to animals. The boys are called Kondh Sala or Saora Sala more than once a day. Such abuse brings about similar contempt towards the Plains teacher, if not hatred. The teacher has his family or lands down the hills and he is compelled to go often to see to their condition. Once he is at home, it is difficult for him to return quickly. He is posted with the tour programme of Inspecting Officers and takes a long time to make up his mind to go back to his post in the hills. He freely utilises the services of the children in carrying his things when he returns from the nearest shopping centre. The children collect his fuel and sometimes fetch his water. There are other bad practices resorted to by some teachers and it is desirable to pass them over. After a service of 10 to 12 years, the teacher begins



to take some materialistic interest in the area. He is called to the Village Panchayats, takes part in village politics, till on reaching the peak of importance, he attracts the notice of the Inspecting Officers and is transferred.

The second type is again divisible into two classes—the Adivasi teacher including the Pano and the teacher from among the Oriya settlers. Both these classes in general terms are not men of any great intelligence. They are men with low degree of imagination and understanding. In many cases they repeat the lessons without fully understanding the principles. Even though they could make the lessons interesting to the Adivasi child, they never try to do it. In olden days, this class of teachers was making sincere attempts to discharge its duties. Their absence from the schools was less frequent, of shorter duration and because of their localities, they found it more convenient to stay at the schools. Of late with the penetration of political parties, etc., this class is now more important in the eyes of the foreigners and the teachers are gradually losing interest in the schools. There is a tendency among them to work into the good graces of the persons referred to above. There is also less disciplinary control over them because of their usefulness to persons and parties. The schools managed by this class are showing signs of deterioration.

There is a sharp difference between the Oriya settler and the Adivasi and Pano teacher. The Adivasi teacher is more dull but good natured. He is sometimes over-sensitive about his own importance as an Adivasi teacher. This sense of importance is not, however, manifested in any superiority complex and is, therefore, tolerated on all hands. It is treated as a harmless and pardonable failing.

Then comes the Pano teacher. He is generally a non-resident and closes his school oftener than the Oriya settler or the Adivasi teacher. He, however, is so intelligent and cal-

culating that he is rarely caught in his absence. He teaches what is in the syllabus and nothing more. He realises that he is working for his bread and bread alone and is purely formal. Almost all these teachers know the Adivasi language and the Adivasi but they never try to improve him. They are vain and suffer from a superiority complex as they know full well that they are more intelligent than the Adivasi. They look down the Adivasi and Oriya children with contempt but on account of their superior intelligence manage to remain unexposed. Very often they dabble in trade not unsuccessfully. They work themselves into the confidence of the Adivasi and wherever there is any litigation, they are bound to have a direct or indirect hand in it.

It is this class which can be utilised successfully in giving the Adivasi the proper education. The Pano teacher understands the psychology of the Adivasi and his language. He can follow the change if introduced and he alone can make himself perfectly understood. It is persons of this class who can help in drawing up a syllabus and curriculum for the Adivasi child. It has, however, to be kept in mind that he needs close and strict supervision. He is by nature a shirker and if the best out of him is required, he should be kept under control. Being intelligent he chafes at strict control and so the control has to be fitful and elastic. Another point about him is that his guidance should be cautiously taken. His superiority complex and his contempt for the Adivasi sometimes makes him vindictive and cruel.

It would only be proper to close this note with a few words about the Inspecting Officer. They are all officers capable and competent. They come to the hills to do their duty thoroughly. They always start in right earnest but as time passes on, the monotony of the place, the long and lonely distances, the frequent attacks of malaria damp their spirits. The inconvenience of undertaking tours with

only one Peon, the lack of other amenities, the thoroughly inadequate agency allowance are factors which would depress anyone. In spite of these drawbacks the Inspecting Officers have been carrying on bravely. It is time that their condition attracts Government notice.

### Marriage among the Kuvi Kondhs

The Kuvi Kondhs have customs which are different from those observed by their brethren further North. The Kuvi Kondhs have three forms of marriage, the first when cupid is the negotiator, the second where the parents bring about the match and lastly the primitive type of kidnapping. The Kuvi Kondhs almost follow the Oriyas. The marriage negotiation starts with some villagers including the brother or uncle of the groom going to the village where they have heard that there is an eligible girl. This news is brought by the people visiting a market or by the relatives who belong to the bride's village. The group goes to the village and thrusts an arrow iron end first into the roof of the bride's house just about the entrance. They depart hurriedly. If the bride's people do not favour the match and see the groom's people thrusting the arrow they would very likely assault them. It is for this reason that they leave in a hurry instead of waiting to see the effect. The group comes in silence and departs in silence.

This custom seems to be a remnant of the primitive way of winning a bride by sheer prowess and fight. The arrow is practically the only weapon which the Kondh knows and his proficiency in its use secures him food, saves him from wild animals and secures him a place in society and in the tribe. The arrow or rather the arrow of the family to which the groom belongs is in question and not the individual.

On the third day the party again goes to the village to see what has been done to the arrow. The party goes silently and sits on the verandah of the bride for a while and then returns.

The superiority of the male is thus maintained. He makes overtures but does not pursue them. He does not make himself appear anxious about winning the girl but rather the behaviour is to suggest that he is available and so suitable that the first move should come from the bride's side.

The bride's people see their coming, see them while sitting but there is no exchange of greetings or words between them. If, however, the bride's people do not approve of the match, they throw away the arrow towards the groom's party while it is leaving saying "We don't give our girl". Sometimes the girl throws away the arrow herself. This is not taken as a final refusal because the match makers argue—"Where will the girl go if her parents give her to us?" If the parents of the girl throw the arrow, the match is finally given up.

If the arrow is not pulled out, the party returns again on the third day. The members sit on the verandah. There is no talk and the party returns after a while. If the arrow is not pulled out, even then, it is taken for granted that the proposed match is accepted.

The next year in the month of Magh, the groom's party goes to the house of the bride. They sit on the verandah and the talks start. The bride's people raise the question of the marriage Mamool. This Mamool or bride price is decided as in so many Khenda. The usual Khendu or lot is cattle three heads, big bell-metal plates two, bell-metal dishes six (Kansa), one he-buffaloe and one heifer. This is the Khendu in the case of affluent persons. If the groom's family is poor, the Khenda is reduced in volume and it is composed of cattle three heads, bell-metal thali one, bell-metal Kansa four, bullock one and heifer one. In either case, the three heads of cattle are for the marriage feast. The former is known as Doso Khenda and the latter as Attu Khenda.

When the parties come to an agreement about the Khenda, the

agreement is conformed by a literal about of drink. After this the groom's party returns home the same evening.

In the month of Magh following or in Falgun before Purnima, the Khenda is taken to the bride's house. If the Khenda cannot be delivered by these days, time is taken till Jyestha or Ashadha following.

After the Khenda is delivered, the bride's people go within a week of this day on a visit. As is usual with the Adivasi, they carry with them rice and vegetables. They are welcomed warmly and stay at the groom's house for four or five days eating and drinking and joining their hosts in their daily work. The party consists of men and women but the bride is not in the party. They leave after some days the groom's party returns the visit. They carry the usual rice and vegetables and stay there as long as they are pressed to. The arrow is then returned to the groom's people and the date of marriage is fixed. There is a feast at the bride's house and the relatives of the parties are invited. The feast is of one meal only and there is plenty of Solap juice to drink. The relatives of the groom do not, on this occasion, bring with them the usual rice and vegetables. After this feast two men of the bride's party come to the place of the groom and give the final date of marriage and return after a drink.

The marriage feast is big affair. The menu is rice, dal, ambila and the beef curry is optional. The bride and her people about 20 to 40 in number come. No music plays. There is no Chamundia or shade made near the house. The girl is delivered at the house of the groom. The bride's people join the feast and they leave after the feast. The bride is left with two young girls of her village. These two young girls leave the next day.

The bride does not speak to anyone for three or four days. Her husband sleeps at another's house for a fortnight or a month. During this period, the husband and wife do not talk with each other but contrive to meet clandestinely

near the brook or in the hills or after work. After a sufficient number of such meetings the man builds a house for himself and the couple sleeps in this house during the nights. They continue messing with the family. Most unostentatiously they use the new house more frequently continuing the appearances of living in the old family house. A child is born and usually quarrels start. The man and women with their child go finally to live in their house.

A girl is not prohibited from making love to a young man even in the presence of her parents. The parents just do not care what the young people do. If there is sexual intercourse and the girl gets into the family way, she is questioned about the seducer. The seducer is then forced at a caste panchayat to take the girl after giving two heads of cattle as compensation. This form in marriage is not considered as an honourable form. The Kondh girls avoid stranger and intrigues with non-Kondhs is rare.

#### Trial by Ordeal in the Khond Hills

Disputes are common over the ownership of Sago Palm trees. These trees are planted by individuals and even though they take about forty years to mature their original planter is often alive to drink the juice from the tree. The interval between the planting and the maturity of the tree is so long that unusually there are rival claims to the ownership. The contesting parties invite the elders of the village near the tree and the claimant touches the tree or the leaves in its unopened state and very solemnly utters the following words "If my ancestor planted this, the wine will overflow; otherwise, it will dry up". The next morning the elders and the contestants go to verify and if the juice has not stopped flowing the issue is decided in favour of the claimant. If the juice has not collected in the pot overnight, it is decided that the claim was a false one.

There is nothing of an ordeal in this and the working of the subconscious mind with all the fervour and sincerity

of a simple but honest Adivasi probably calls forth the soul force behind it and this causes the flow of the juice or brings about its cessation. There are several instances quoted of the Adivasis supernatural powers in the manifestation of his will power. Even today it is a current theory that a Khond is able to transform himself into a tiger or a python according to his will. This I shall deal with later because for the present I am dealing with disputes and their adjudication.

There are no instances of trial by battle although there are quarrels between individuals which end in murder. The only form of trial by ordeal is the "SEERU MOONJA". Here the two contestants go to particular tanks or deep spots in the bed of streams. One such place is Jargi Bhatta (in Barakhama Mutha). Another is at Udu—Bolangir. A third is at Dodkingia (Rusangia Mutha). Yet another is near G. Udayagiri. At each of these places the people believe there are powerful deities or spirits which assist actively in bringing the right to the light.

The contesting parties go with the village elders to the spot, offer Puja with raw rice and cow's milk. The offerings are given to Darma Penu (Dharma) to Sapondara and Vacendara (Moon and Sun) Jagjapunja, and Kuk-urpunja (two groups of stars) as well as two other groups of such stars known as Asha Gadae and Mdehagadae. After these offerings the local names of the high hills nearby are also uttered. The remnants of the puja offering is given to the contesting parties. The Pujari who does the Puja cuts two trees either sal or bamboo and takes them to the water. In the water they are planted two cubits apart and are held by the two contestants. The Pujari stands between the contestants.

The Panchayatdars then ask the contestant 'Are you bent on the Proman'. The contestants then reply 'Yes'. The Pujari then asks them to dive into water. They go into the water and the Pujari pours some milk on

their heads saying 'Let the innocent dive long and the guilty come up quick'. The popular belief is that the milk poured by the Pujari over the heads of the contestants finds a way, through the intervention of the deities into the nose and ears of the guilty and he is forced by unseen powers to rise up after a short interval. The innocent remains so long after the guilty comes up that the Pujari has to lift him up practically. Thus the supernatural powers of the Pujari are believed to have invoked the assistance of God in deciding which of the contestants is in the wrong.

The village head or the feudal head presides over such function and he gives a written certificate that the successful contestant is not guilty. The official who presides thus is paid Rs. 5 and this payment is known as 'Sarada Pati' meaning pig for the Praman. The Panchayatdars who witness the trial are paid Rs. 5 and the amount is spent over a feast at which Panchayatsdars of both the parties join. The description of the money paid to the village or feudal head indicates that originally such heads were Adivasis and were a prizing a pig more than money. The fact that Panchayatdars of both the sides join at the feast indicates that even though they are partisans at the time of Praman, they carry no personal animosity and abide by the decision as one with the divine aid.

The secret of the Praman seems to be quite simple. The man who is quiet and has no faith in his own cause is in a way mesmerised. When the Pujari drops milk on his head his subconscious mind is so much impressed that he is unconsciously lifted up. It is this influence of the subconscious that makes him feel as if the milk enters his nose and ears. In their unsophisticated simplicity and sincerity and with their belief that the Gods would intervene directly the contesting Khonds surrender themselves to the influences of the subconscious entirely. The result is simple and is easily explained by modern psychology

The next trial by ordeal which was in vogue till about thirty years back was the Grope Saradae as it is called the place of this ordeal was at Pusangia in Balliguda Taluk and the patro of Pusangia who worships the Patkhanda of the Khonds was presing at this ceremony. People from all over Balliguda Taluk used to come for this trial by ordeal to obtain decrees over disputes. About 30 years back there was a Deputy Tahasildar by name Shri Apparao who got this mode of trial prohibited.

There is even now a very big sal tree at Pusangia which is believed to be the abode of the Deity Loha Penu. The contesting parties would come to the Patro and offer before him that they would go through the Sarada or Praman. The complaint or challenger gets one egg and about half a seer of raw rice. These are offered to the Loha Penu. The Khond who is the subordinate worshipper of Loha Penu fetches water from the stream nearby. A fire place is prepared and fire is lighted. He gets a small quantity of a black cows dung and adds it to the water. The water boils, both parties are standing close to the pot. They throw a few grains of raw rice into the boiling water calling upon Dharma Penu to witness the contest and to adjudicate. The innocent man's rice goes down into the boiling water while the rice thrown by the wrong doer causes the boiling water to rise up. After this the man who denies and throws the challenge would dip his hand up to his elbow in the boiling water. The hand is, however, immediately pulled up. The challenger then dips his hand in a similar manner. After this all the people there leave the place. The hands of the contestants are examined the next day by the Patro in presence of the Panchayats. The innocent man's hand is normal while the other man has blisters on his hand. This decides the issue and both parties accept the divine judgement.

The blisters would disappear in two days and the hand would be all right within a week.

Kakalabaki is a place near G. Udayagiri about 100 yards from the G. Udayagiri Farm. In the bed of a Nala there are huge sheet rocks, there are some small shrubs nearby and there is a deep place in the bed of the Nala about four feet deep. It is so this that the Khonds of low intelligence quotient go for a Praman (Seeru Moonju). It is believed that underneath the stones live two huge lizards each 8 feet long with a dazzling precious stone on their heads. They are reported to be having large fans and protruding tongues and that whoever sees the creatures does not live for more than a week thereafter.

It is in the supposed presence of these Sraska Penu or Serpent Gods that the divine ordeal is undertaken in the manner described above.

#### KUINGA

The Kondh calls himself "Kuentenu"—I am a Kui. When he speaks this in his own language he speaks this in an unconsciously superior manner. There is no tinge of humility in it and nothing to denote any inferiority complex. When asked in Oriya he calls himself 'Kondho Loko' and there is a sign of humility and a note of inferiority complex in it. The reason is not far too seek and is very simple.

The word 'Kondh' is not of recent origin. It seems to have been brought into use since a long time. It is also not attached to any locality. Baudh, Phulbani, Daspalla, Kalahandi, Bolangir, Rairakhole, Athmallik, Nayagarh, Ganjam and Koraput have varying kondh population and every where the kondh is known as a Kondh. There are two sub-tribes among them whose dialects are different. Even with this difference between them the two are known to the outside world as Kondhs. Thus the name given to the race by the Oriya neighbours has a longer origin than we imagine. The word Kondh or Kondho is descriptive of the race because no other genesis can be attributed to it. It may mean that they were given this name because they live upon Kondh. This cannot be connected because when a man comes out

of his domain he does not carry his Konda nor does he refuse to eat better food which is available outside. Kondo Mulo is not grown widely in the area and the Kondh is not fond of it. So the root cannot lie there. It is true that edible roots form his staple food for three months in the year. But even this is not his only dish nor is it cooked singly by itself. The Kondh has been raising and eating rice, a variety of millets, a number of vegetables and no one is, therefore, justified that the race is known as Kondh because it lives on Konda or roots or tuborous roots.

If we stretch our imagination a bit we will discover that five to six centuries ago the Oriya language was a slightly archaic nature. Kondoro meaning mountain caves and cliffs was used by all the poets and in all descriptions of nature we find the words Giri Kondoro. Commonly used 'kondoro' is, therefore, a word which was in frequent use. Because the habitat of the Kondhs has always been the hills or rather beyond the hills, they might have been described as kondoro loko, which in course of time to Kondo Loko. Now in Oriya the ending and beginning consonants are heavy. So Kondo Loko seems to have been adopted in place of Kondo Loko. In course of time also the second word was considered as unnecessary and dropped out.

In Telugu there are two ways of describing the Kondho—one is Kodulu and the other was Koya Vallu. Kodulu is the plural and singular is kodu. Kodu seems to be an adaptation for the Oriya Kond or Kondh. This does not appear to have been adopted in toto because Kanda (କାନ୍ଦା) in Telugu means a root and confusion arose when it was to denote a Kondh. It was given a lighter sound and was adopted as Kodu.

The next word Koya is easier to explain. It is just the word in Kui or Kuvi slightly adopted. The plural Kuvi is Kuvianga and quickly pronounced it reads Kuvniyanga. This abbreviated word has come to be used as Koya. These two ways of

explaining the root of the word Kond seem to be the only possible explanations. Now let us come to the reason why the Kondh calls himself Kuenju.

Kui in the Kondh language means upper high. The Kondhs have been having their habitat only in the hills, which along the eastern Ghats lie at a height of not less than 1,000 feet, above sea level. From their mountain fastnesses the race used to look down into the plains below and it was not difficult for them to realise that they were people high up. Thus they called themselves as the people high up or as the highlanders. Even in their hills, the Kondhs never live in depressions. They select mountain tops or small open spaces at the foot of the mountains.

The Kondha calls himself a Kui and one would notice a tone of pride and arrogance when he would see so described himself which tone is not assumed when he calls himself Kondh Loko in Oriya. On the former occasion he is self-conscious as one of the race to which the land belonged as the original man in the land. The Kondha in Phulbani, Boudh, etc., call themselves Zamindar or Zamindars. The head of a village or of a Mutha is known as Malik. The surname of the Kondhs of original Malik's family is Malik and every Kondh in Athara and Baro Mutha is a Malik. Thus this affords ample evidence to come to the conclusion that the Kondh is the original owner of land and being such he is justified in saying with pride that he is a Kondh.

When he speaks in Oriya, he is subconsciously reminded of his lost possessions, of his hospitality to the Oriyas, of their treachery and subsequent hostility and his present condition. These grievances have got ingrained in his system and have taken possession of his subconscious mind. When he describes himself in Oriya all the subconscious impressions are recalled and his tone is suggestive of an inferiority complex.

N. K. BEHURA

**NATURE OF AUTHORITY  
STRUCTURE AND JUDICIAL  
MACHINERY OF THE  
CHETTIARKUSAVAN AND  
PALLAN OF VILLUPURAM**

\*Here are two cases of similar nature, the one occurred among the Chettiarkusavans of Ayurgram village and the other happened in Kannamangalam village among the Pallans. Both the villages are within the Villupuram taluk of South Arcot district.

**Case No. 1, Chettiarkusavan caste,  
April 1951.**

Sidduamma, the elder daughter of Swamsiva, conceived as a result of her illegal intimacy with Chandran,

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a Vellala youth of the same village. (The Vellalas are higher than the Chettiarkusavans in the regional caste ranking.) The incident created an obstreperous turmoil among the members of the potter caste group. When the matter was revealed, Swamsiva was away from home. He was working as an industrial worker at Madurai.

One day during the month of April 1951, Laxamma, the mother of the girl intuitively came to know of her daughter's insidious disgrace due to the latter's resulting insipidity. However, she corroborated the affair from

Siddamma, and out of chagrin she rigorously pummelled the daughter indoors. But this incident offered a clue to the neighbours to confirm their own surmises about Siddamma, and consequently they started concocting and spreading corrosive rumours against her. Now Laxamma found herself in a helpless predicament, she immediately rushed to Aban, their *kul-taleyavar* (Aban was her husband's collateral cousin) to apprise him of the disconcerting news. He in turn sent a man to Swamsiva to bring him to the village immediately. Next day, of course, Swamsiva came down to the village, he became utterly downcast and despondent when he learnt of his daughter's moral turpitude. However, Aban induced him to build up courage to meet the situation, since desperation was no solution for the issue. Both of them first met their *gotram-taleyavar* living in Parikkal (Parikkal is about fifteen miles away from Ayurgram on the northern side) and discussed with him about the matter. From there all of them went to Ayyandur to inform their caste-headman of the incident.

On the request of Swamsiva and Aban, Natarajan, the caste-headman came to the former's village secretly to meet Chandra and to try for a settlement of the issue.

Mean while, Chandran had fled from his home in order to evade the fresh effects of the issue. Natarajan, Aban and Swamsiva met Kesavan, Chandran's father and told him of his son's sinister activity. But he did not concede to the allegations against his son and in turn he abused Natarajan and Aban. However, the matter was postponed till Chandran's arrival in the village.

By now the incident got much publicised and some of the potter castemen became agog with sneering excitement. As a result Natarajan could not remain reticent over the

issue. He convened a meeting of the caste council at Ayyandur to discuss Siddamma's episode. He also specially invited Aban to the council meeting. In the meeting some of the members outrightly opined and asserted that Swamsiva should expel his defiled daughter forthwith from his family and all his lineage members would remain polluted until Siddamma's death-rite is performed. Swamsiva prostrated before the members of the council sobbingly for mercy. And Aban appealed to the council to consider the matter more patiently and from a subjective point of view. Some of the members emphatically refused to explore any means for an alternative settlement of the matter. Aban entreatingly said to the members, in case, either they expelled the defaulting girl from the caste fold or not, the blasphemy would not be obliterated from the caste in either case, so it would be humane on the part of the council to help her in any way, although she had disgraced herself as well as all the caste-brethren being driven by the most disruptive of all human passions. Karunanithi, the *mapilachetty gotram-taleyavur* retorted at this saying that the castemen would get rid of the ignominy by simply expelling Siddamma from the caste fold. However, Natarajan the headman and some other members of the council supported Aban. Eventually the council deferred the decision of Siddamma's case for a period of fifteen days; it also nominated the headman, the deputy headman and Aban to take up the issue with Chandra meanwhile with the view to pressing the latter to marry Siddamma. And, further it declared that Swamsiva's family would remain polluted until a final decision is taken in the matter.

The Headman, the Deputy Headman and Aban, as decided by the caste council, met Kesavan, Chandran's father time and again, but their meeting did not produce any result. However, Chandran came back to his home



meanwhile. And the matter was vigorously pursued again with Chandran, but the latter remained resolute and firm in defying the charge against him. He said that the sinister charge against him was malicious and deliberate, and in case the charge was proved, he was prepared to accept its consequences. Now the Headman and the Deputy Headman found themselves in a quandary, because they could not prove the charge against Chandran. Anyway, they did not drop the matter there; they further asked Chandran to swear his innocence in the name of their tutelary god Aiyyanar. Chandran did not agree to swear; his audacity and arrogance remained at the apex. In order to subside the altercation his father (Kesavan) said if the derogatory publicity against his son was completely dropped, he would pay a sum of rupees one hundred on humanitarian ground to Swamsiva for his daughter's delivery expenses, Natarajan did not accept Kesavan's proposal then and there, however, he informed the latter that he would consult his castemen on the issue first and then let him (Kesavan) know about their decision.

After a couple of days Natarajan convened a meeting of the caste council so as to report to it the results of his discussions with Chandran. He also informed the council about Kesavan's offer of money to Swamsiva. The council reviewed the case thoroughly including the possibility of handing over it to the police. Finally the possibility of handing over the case to police was ruled out as there was no evidence against Chandran. The council now concluded to outcaste Siddamma from the caste-group and also decided to ask Kesavan for rupees two hundred instead of rupees one hundred in order to pay the same amount to Swamsiva.

Natarajan went to Kesavan and asked him to pay rupees two hundred instead of one hundred, and the latter paid the amount accordingly. The

same day the council was convened for a short-while at Ayyandur to hand over the amount to Swamsiva and to dispose of Siddamma's case finally. Without much deliberation the council unanimously decided to pay rupees one hundred to Swamsiva out of the total amount of rupees two hundred and the rest amount of rupees fifty was decided to be credited to the caste fund in order to retrieve the caste prestige that had been eclipsed in this matter. Natarajan pronounced the judgement of the council saying that it was unfortunate that such dismal and sordid affairs should occur within the caste group, further he added that as per the decision of the *Panchayatikuttam* Swamsiva was required to expel his defiled daughter (Siddamma) from his home immediately and should perform her death-rite thereon severing all sorts of connections with her. Natarajan thrust the amount into Swamsiva's hands, but the latter was very much distressed in privation. The council dispersed thereafter granting three days time to Swamsiva to accomplish all that it wanted.

The time granted to Swamsiva quietly passed away, but he could not fulfil the decisions of the caste council. In order to mitigate his distress and plight Swamsiva abandoned the village in the third night leaving all his immovable property in Aban's care. Next day Aban conveyed to the *gotram-taleyavar* and the *Periyavar* respectively about Swamsiva's departure from the village. The same day, the Periyavar convened another meeting of the *Panchayatikuttam* to discuss the situation that had arisen on Swamsiva's departure. It took a serious exception to the deceitful attitude of Swamsiva and consequently it warned all men of the caste-group to sever all sorts of relationship with Swamsiva thenceforth.

Swamsiva stayed with his family at Madurai, and managed to marry off his daughter to a weaver.

In the year 1957, Swamsiva came to his village to take possession of

his ancestral home and two perform the marriage of his second daughter. By this time his case had already been relegated to the obligation by his *Kul Saho tharangal*; but when he returned back to the village so as to live among his *Kul Saho-tharangal*, the last issue revived *perse*.

Some older members of the caste-group became agog with excitement and created a sort of commotion within the group for inflicting proper vengeance on Swamsiva.

At the first instance, the *gotram-taleyavar* asked Swamsiva not to enter into their hamlet, and further he added that in case the latter chose to enter forcefully, he would be harassed. This posed initially a problem for Swamsiva to reoccupy his home. From this, he realised the magnitude of his foreboding troubles; hence he quickly agreed to abide by the strictures of the *Panchayatikuttam*, which were standing against him. And in fact, he performed the obsequies of his daughter Siddamma first, next he underwent, along with his family members, through the expiator rite for readmission into the caste fold and finally paid a fine of rupees fifty to the *Panchayatikuttam* for his refractory attitude in defying its decisions so long.

#### Case history No. 2 November 1955 Pallan Caste

Periamma, a Pallan girl of Kannamangalam village developed illegal intimacy with Chezhan, a Paraiyan youth. (The Paraiyans are considered inferior than the Pallans in the regional caste ranking, the former are drummers and the latter are agricultural labourers.)

Scandals spread out among the Pallan womenfolk of the village regarding Periamma's intimate association with Chezhan. On enquiry her parents detected that the vituperative

rumour against her was a fact. One day she slipped away from her home and tried to elope with Chezhan, when she came to know that some punishments were imminent for her. But she could not succeed in her secret attempt due to Chezhan's recalcitrance. She was caught and brought back home by some of her near kinsmen. On this event she was taken into task by her parents; but no scolding or torture could mould her attitude. In spite of all the reviling treatment she remained stubborn and impertinent, and impudently peaded to marry Chezhan.

Chankaran, her father consulted Govindan and Rajan, his *Kultaleyavar* and *gotram taleyavar* respectively in the matter. Both of them tried their utmost to dissuade Periamma from her unscrupulous stand, which was derogatory for her parents and prejudicial to the prestige of the caste group. Both of them on their failure referred the matter to Narshiman, the caste headman. Narshiman came to Chandran's house and talked to Periamma. He found her as adamant on her stand as before. And after that he held that when the girl was so much infatuated with Chezhan, she should not be held within the caste fold under coercion. Any way he convened the meeting of the caste council to adjudicate the matter. The council decided that the girl would never be allowed to go with a low caste boy. Further, it nominated the Headman and two other members of the council to take up the issue with the caste council of Chezhan (Paraiyan caste council) at Kumarmangalam and see the matter to the end by exerting pressure on Chezhan.

Kannayan, the Paraiyan was contacted accordingly. He brought Chezhan and his father to Narshiman's house for settlement of the issue. At Narshiman's house Govindan, Rajan and other leaders of the Pallan caste group had collected to meet and discuss the issue with Kannayan secretly. Three

on being questioned Chezhan candidly admitted that his intimacy with Periamma resulted at the latter's meticulous initiative, and however, he was willing to marry her. Goindan got enraged at Chezhan's assertive statement and slapped the latter all of a sudden. It created a tension between both the parties. Kannayan threatened to withdraw from the discussion along with Chezhan and his father. Narshiman tried to subside Kannayan's excitement lest the situation would become aggravated. He entreated Kannayan not to give vent to trivial bickerings at a time when the relationship of both their caste groups were endangered. He further added that if the present issue concerning both the caste groups was not settled peacefully, dire consequences would ensue from it in form of vengeance. He asked again Kannayan in order not to deteriorate their relationship that the latter must firstly prevent Chezhan from his hazardous venture and secondly must not give any publicity to the matter. Other members of the Pallan caste did not remain satisfied with these two conditions of Narshiman, the further wanted Chezhan swear in the name of god in the presence of Periamma to sever all connections with the latter for ever. Kannayan complied with the conditions of the Pallans and Chezhan did swear in Periamma's presence accordingly.

The matter did not end here, because the Pallans demanded some retributive fines from Chezhan for his having polluted their girl. A sum of rupees fifty was mutually agreed upon to be paid by Chezhan to the Pallans; a week's time was granted to the former for the payment of the fine and Kannayan stood surety for it.

The imposed fine was realised within the stipulated period; a sum of rupees forty was paid to Chankar to spend for the expiatory rite of Periamma, and the rest amount of rupees ten was credited to the caste fund. The

expiatory rite, viz., *aat-pujepunaskaram* or goat krite (this rite is performed in favour of a defaulting woman of the caste under reference, who is implicated with the change of a gross breach of the caste norm and thus polluted, with a view to purifying her from the sin, and, moreover, deterring her from further recourse to the same) of Periamma commenced three days later. It was conducted at the backyard of Chankar at midnight so as to conceal the matter from other castes.

Periamma went through the ordeal of the rite by swearing in the name of god as well as her family ancestors that she would not again debase and stigmatise herself. She swore seven times, taking a dip in the nearby tank after each recital and at a different ghat each time. After each bath she skipped over the flame of the ember spread over the inhumed carcass of the slaughtered goat. At the end of the rite members of the caste council were entertained to a simple feast by Chankar.

After about a month Periamma was married to Shamugham, a widower. The marriage was agreed upon by both the parties at the initiative of their caste council. Shamugham received *varadakshina* or dowry from the girl's father instead of paying the latter *vadhu-sulkam* or bride-price, the usual practice.

Periamma mothered a female child after about six months of her marriage with Shamugham, but they were divorced from each other after enjoying a conjugal life for about two years. Thereafter, Periamma again married Nilokantan of her caste, and the latter accepted as step-child the baby born to the former in her previous wedlock.

*Discussion*—Both the foregoing cases are of the same nature as they refer to inter-caste pre-marital sex-liaison. But there is a perceptible difference in them, inasmuch as in the one case

the girl's caste ranks lower in position in the social order than that of her paramour, and the second case is just the converse.

\* In the former case, Chandran's flirtation with Sidduamma was purely on a level of lascivious passion; the former, however, had no intention to marry the latter. Because their marriage would have been a case of hypogamy, it would surely have precipitated a social crisis for Chandran. In order to obviate social odium and castigation he outrightly refuted the allegation against him regarding his involvement with Sidduamma when he was approached. And his father's altruism to pay for Sidduamma's delivery expenses purely on 'humanitarian pretext was a motivated gesture. All that he wanted was to preclude the publicity of the incident, which otherwise would have besmirched his prestige considerably.

The unusual interest the potter caste council took in negotiating with Chandran for redressing Sidduamma's privation was only due to ties of self-interest, as well as of propinquity. Had not Aban, an uncle of Sidduamma, pressed upon the council to do some thing to help her, surely it would not have taken up the matter with Chandran. But one thing is significant to note here that the council did not excuse the defaulting girl when its representatives failed in their bid to thrust her upon Chandran, it rightly inflicted the required punishment upon her vindicating thereon its purpose of existence.

Swamisiva at the first instance could not adjust sentimentally with the decision of the caste council. His filial love for Sidduamma constrained him from taking council's desired actions against her in spite of the latter's stupendous folly. Consequently, he abandoned the village enblock, and managed to marry off Sidduamma barring his kindred completely. But he could not remain

away forever from his kinsfolk; his attachment for his ancestral home and his gregarious impulse brought him back among his kinsfolk. This time he had to comply submissively with the directive of the caste council so as to reintegrate his family in and to restore his status in his caste group. His return into the caste group back may have another bearing too: he was unsophisticated and poor, and had he been otherwise, obviously he would have remained away from his caste group.

In the second case, the girl was defiant and adamant to marry her paramour of a lower caste in spite of bitter scoldings and persistent torture by her parents. On the other hand, the boy was rather eager to accept her as his wife, because their marriage would have been a case of hypogamy, and thus his position in his caste group would never have been affected.

The submissive response of the boy's caste to that of the girl's caste in dissuading the boy to estrange from the girl as per the wished of her caste men amply proves the fact that a caste holds in regard to other castes which are higher to it in the social order. The Kadans could have very well fluted the demands of the Pallans; but in fact, they did not go to district the culturally conditioned relationship that existed in between them. And any shift in their relationship would have been detrimental for the Kadans, firstly because they were numerically inferior as compared to Pallans over that area, and secondly they would not have been able to recruit the moral support of other castes.

However, it is obvious from the former case that the way the Chettiar-kusavans ex-communicated Sidduamma from their caste group was a sheer act of immaculate and inordinate intolerance. They outcasted her because her sin was commensurable with that kind of punishment from the point of view of their religious

dogmas and sanctions, but obviously not as a guarantee against the prevention of further incidence of such cases within the caste group and for instance, if they go on ex-communicating such fallen members of the group consistently, it may so happen that size of the group may be reduced. But the recurrence of such cases are very rare.

The Pallans unlike the Kusavans, were more accommodative and tolerant. They did not allow Periamma to get into the Kadan castefold, although the latter were lower in caste ranking. For salvation from sin, they forced her to perform the religious expiatory rite and in order to make her abstain from further recourse to similar acts they inflicted upon her the odious deterrant rite. Of course, secretly they carried all the activities so as to prevent the matter from the knowledge of other castes. Perhaps, its publicity would have under-

mined their caste prestige than it was otherwise.

*Conclusion*—Now it may be posited as to why the Chettiarkusavans in contrast to the Pallans are intolerant and foster a boa constrictor's policy of squeezing out the non-conforming members from the caste group and thus annihilating completely any undesirable attempt to upset the caste norm? This may be due to the fact that they are within the fold of Hinduism and are in the proximity of Brahmanic tradition; they have imbibed its dogmas and sanctions. And the Pallans since being beyond the peel of Hinduism it seems that they have not imbibed the Brahmanic dogmas to that extent. And this is the difference that largely contributed for the differential behaviour of both the caste groups under similar cases. The attitude of the Pallans is eclectic, whereas the attitude of the Chettiarkusavans is more prone to and conditioned by religion.

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U. MOHANTY

## KISAN CASTE-ASSEMBLY IN SUNDARGARH

In this paper an attempt has been made to present the proceedings of a 'Jati Sava' (Caste-meeting) of the Kisan tribe which was observed by the writer during his field work in the Sundargarh district of North Orissa in the year 1962. The chief purpose of presenting the proceeding is to show how the new Kisan leaders are trying to bring reforms and social movement in their society through the mechanism of caste meetings. (In my analysis the present caste meeting is compared with the traditional annual Kisan gathering described later on. Finally I have suggested how such caste meeting can be utilised in welfare work and in bringing social change in tradition oriented tribal culture.)

The Kisans have spread over an extensive area through the slow process of migration either in search of land or for labour. They are good earth workers, and are generally very industrious, with a passion for agriculture. They live in multi-caste and multi-tribal villages and have remarkably adapted themselves to the local culture of the regions where they have settled. The social status of the Kisans is very

low. They are considered as low untouchables and no caste Hindu accepts water from them. On the contrary they strictly refrain from accepting cooked food from the hands of others and in the past they never touched food from the hands of even Brahmins who enjoyed the highest position in the esteem of feudal chiefs and others. Thus in spite of their residence in caste Hindu villages and close contact with outsiders they remained somewhat segregated and could retain some particular features of their traditional culture namely a distinct language, their interesting dance and music, peculiar rituals and usages.

In multi-caste Hindu villages the Kisans had almost accepted their low status and neither challenged nor revolted against their degrading position. But during the last thirty years, with the spread of education, modernisation and other social movements to abolish untouchability a new consciousness arose amongst the Kisan leaders of Sundargarh and as a consequence of this they have organised the caste assembly called the 'Kisan Jati Mahasava' after the pattern of the caste

assemblies of neighbouring castes such as the Agharias, the Telis and the Kaibartas, etc. Though the 'Kisan Jati Mahasava' is organised after the traditional caste assembly of Hindu society it is a new institution so far the Kisans are concerned. The Kisans derived much of their inspiration during anti-British and national movement. But the attainment of national independence and the merger of fudal kingdom with the former British Indian State of Orissa fired their imagination and raised their level of aspiration. They organized and reinforced their caste assembly with redoubled energy and tried to push forward their community by abolishing superstitious beliefs and eradicating their traditional practices which they consider degrading. The proceedings of the meeting given here would indicate how the new leaders of the Kisans are eager to go ahead and improve the social, educational and economic condition of their fellow men.

#### **The Jurisdiction of the caste meeting**

The present 'Kisan Jati Mahasava' has not covered all the Kisan areas so far, though the organisers have that lofty aspiration in view. The present Sava first started in the feudal state of Gangpur specially in the police-station of Badgaon some thirty years ago under the leadership of Jenga Kisan of Kurebega. This meeting roughly covers the whole of Gangpur state though Kisans of Panposh and Rourkela area rarely join in it. Besides, some portions of upper Bamanda and Jaipur estate (Zamidary) of Sambalpur district are also covered by the present

Jati Sava. In Banai and Bamanda they have respective separate organisations while in other parts of Sambalpur proper (Khas) no such caste organisation has evolved so far.

#### *Mode of Invitation :*

The Kisan Jati Mahasava does not hold its meetings regularly. Sometimes the meetings have been held at intervals of three to four years, or at times these have been held annually. Before summoning a meeting the organisers consult the leading persons of the community and send messages to each village. They have no formal office-bearers either paid or honorary. So the most important persons take the responsibility of summoning the meeting. The meeting described in this paper was held in the village Birtula in 1962.

In the Birtula meeting there was some speciality. Previously the notice which was circulated was drafted in Oriya and was hand written. Sometimes messengers were engaged to visit the different Kisan villages. This year's notice was in Kisan language but the script was Oriya. The notice was cyclostyled in large numbers and one such notice was sent to each Kisan village lying within the police-stations of Rajgangpur and Badgaon in Sundargarh district. Most of the notices were distributed in the local weekly market but the organisers also personally visited some of the villages to circulate the notice. The notice was addressed to all Kisan members over the signature of important Kisans. It was stipulated in the notice that annas three and three pawa of rice would be collected for each



delegate and the amount thus collected from each village should be deposited with Jarka Majhi of Birtula. The meeting was fixed to be held on the 1st May 1962 at 9 A.M.

#### *Description of the Meeting :*

The meeting was held in a mango grove almost at the entrance of the village. Some tarpaulins had been hung as a canopy to protect the audience from the sun. The ground was covered with mats and hay. A table, two chairs and two benches were placed for the President and distinguished persons. Some flower garlands were kept for important persons and delegates. A big water vessel with glasses was kept at a corner for drinking. At a little distance under a mango tree, youths of the village were engaged in cooking for the participants.

The meeting could not be started exactly at 9 o'clock in the morning on account of poor attendance. By that time only a hundred persons had joined the meeting while other delegates were gradually pouring into the meeting. Before the start of the meeting the delegates were asked to finish their bath and take their meals cooked by the village youths. The expense was met by donations raised from participant villages which sent their delegates.

By the time the meeting commenced, nearly six hundred people representing roughly one hundred villages, had gathered in the meeting ground. A few women of the village were seated on the front row of the meeting. Important delegates including women were garlanded before the commencement of the meeting. The President, two Joint

Secretaries and a Treasurer were selected and the new President occupied the chair.

The meeting started in a calm atmosphere with the recital of vedic hymns by the delegate of Gudhiali, a Pracharak (Preacher) of the Arya Samaj serving under the Veda Vyasa Centre in Sundargarh.

In this plenary session nearly fifteen persons delivered their speeches in their own mother-tongue, the Kisan language. All the speakers attacked some evil practices of the tribe and suggested how they can advance by educating their children. Before giving the summary of their speeches a few explanatory notes may be given on the following terms:

#### *Nadu Jatra :*

It is a sort of inter-village dance meeting which is held in the spring and winter seasons. It is a festival of youths. During the cycle of such Nadu Jatra batches of unmarried and married young men and women go round from village to village and dance throughout the night in a particular village. As the festival is celebrated each night in a village, the entire cycle of the Jatra takes weeks for completion. It is reported that much of sexual laxity takes place during such dancing festivities. Therefore the Kisan leaders are very keen in abolishing this Nadu Jatra.

#### *Gallon wine :*

In Sundargarh area the liquor contractors have been permitted to establish their outpost distilleries. But in order to get more profit they illegally open small liquor shops in almost all tribal villages by bribing the village

elders or by donating lavishly for the development work of the village. The Kisans complain that the presence of liquor shops close to their villages lures them to habitual drinking. These temporary illegal centres which are supplied with liquor through porters of the contractor are called gallon shop and the liquor is called gallon liquor.

#### *Summary of the Speeches*

On the above two topics almost all speakers gave their comments. First after the recital of Vedic hymns, the Kisan Pracharak (Age 40) began his speech plainly in a low voice. He pointed out that the Kisan society is considered low on account of the continuance of the evil practices such as *Nadu* "Our women lose their chastity on account of this corrupt practice" he said. "It is not truly a Kisan custom. We learnt it from Kols and Kharias when we came in contact with them. Thus we lost our old heritage and were degraded to the present low social-status". He also spoke a few words about Christianity how they should not be lured by the Christian missioneries and change their religion.

The delegate of Phulbari, a land-owning cultivator (Age 55) who had been a Congress member but later contested the general election on the Jharkhand party ticket, delivered his speech in an emphatic and loud voice. His main attack was against drinking. He scolded his tribesmen for their addiction to liquor and severely criticised the Government for their excise policy. Elaborating further he said "Gallon liquor is the root of all evils. It tempts poor people to drinking. The Government should immediately abolish all the gallon shop which are illegal and unauthorised". Decrying

the illiteracy and corrupt practices of *Nadu Yatra* of the Kisans he pointed to the better condition of life of the non-Adivasis "See" he said, 'how non-Adivasis get good posts. earn handsome pay in the factory of Rourkela. Why is none of the Adivasis holding such high posts? We are uneducated drunkards, so we fail to prosper in our life. We should try to improve our condition by competing with non-Adivasis".

The delegate of Telighana (Age 50) a man of strong common sense, with good honour and calm disposition emphasised the need of education and appealed to all parents to take interest in the education of their children. The delegate of Pindapathar, a sophisticated young student of the Sundargarh College (Age 18), explained the need of higher education. As he could not speak fluently in Kisan language his Oriya speech created some commotion in the meeting. So he tried his best to convey his ideas in Kisan language. "It is high time that more Kisans should go for higher education while everybody should learn at least the three rupees. He pointed out that Kisan students reading in Sambalpur and Sundargarh Colleges would hardly exceed a dozen in all. He suggested that a separate fund should be created by the Jati Sabha and Kisan students should be given stipends out of it as a further incentive specially when Government stipends are not very regular in the beginning of the session. Finally he explained how drinking habit pauperises the Kisans and deprives them from all sense of responsibility.

The Sarpanch and Gountia of San-Phiring Bahal, an enthusiastic young man (Age 30) in his emotional speech

asked "Why should we hold such meetings and pass each time high sounding resolutions without examining how far these have been put to actual practice?" "Empty resolutions would not take us far" he said, "so long as they are not strictly enforced".

The delegate of Tenterporsh (Age 36) besides reiterating the utility of education and evil effect of gallon liquor, emphasised the need of restricting the movement of Kisan women. "Women are like Laxmi", he said, "on whom depend the prestige of a people. Our women go to markets, work in factories and mines and thus come in contact with various people who take advantage of the free movement of our women. As such we should take care of our women-folk and should not allow them to go out freely wherever they like".

The delegate of Kantaimura, a young Ashram School Teacher, (Age 27), in an impressive speech asked audience not to just hear something in the meeting and do the contrary at home. He explained how a person who sincerely tries to translate the reformatory proposals into action is severely criticised and out casted in the village. Explaining how the institution of *Nadu* corrupts young girls and gives free licence to young men, he enquired "Why girls go to dance in the *Nadu*? Why our girls are entangled in fornication?" Exploring the reasons for such events he answered "It is because the parents do not take care of their daughters. They do not give their girls in marriage early. No doubt they perform the betrothal ceremony quite early or in time. But the girls are not given away in marriage at appropriate time. The bridegroom's

people come each year, request the bride's father to give his daughter in marriage but he turns a deaf ear to their entreaties. The girl in our society earns and the parents like to enjoy the fruits of her labour. With the postponement of her marriage she is forced to satisfy her sexual urge in illicit ways. Finally when the girl is married away she is completely substanceless like the skinned milk out of which butter has been taken away." (Loud laughter).

The newly elected Joint Secretary, the Chief Organiser of that year's meeting, a young high school teacher (Age 27) emphasised mainly on the need of educating women. Deprecating the present low status of Kisan women who work as labourers and fall an easy pray to immoralities he stressed the need of educating them. "Our women should be educated. They should come forward and join in open meeting where they can discuss their own problems. Every individual should try to educate his daughter or daughter-in-law. He attacked vehemently the Kisan belief system regarding *Bhuta* (Ghost), *Bharua* (oracle) and *Mati* (witch-doctor) and appealed to all to give up such blind faith and judge everything rationally. He narrated how they were trying to get Government grant for construction of a building for the Kisan Jati Sabha".

The meeting continued till evening. Besides the above speakers two primary school teachers, a factory worker and two land owning cultivators gave their speeches almost in the same line. Finally the President, a reputed political worker, who worked in Praja Mandal during pre-independence days, explained in his short speech how people should try to understand things correctly and adopt right things in

spite of hinderances. To illustrate this point he explained, "We know that gallon liquor shops *are illegal* and *Government* should *abolish* these *drastically*. But in case *Government* do not take strong steps these illegal shops would collapse automatically *the moment we stop drinking there*". He emphasised that the use of liquor in *our* socio-religious rituals should be *abolished* altogether. Thus ended the first session.

### *The Second Sitting*

The next sitting which started in the afternoon and continued throughout the entire evening discussed mainly the marriage regulation. Of course no voting was taken to arrive at any decision yet everybody was allowed to participate in the discussions which was very informal. The upper age-limit within which a girl should be given away in marriage, the amount of bride-price for a newly married girl, widowed women and a divorced woman, the social status of offsprings of a Kisan father having a spouse of either higher or lower caste; the punishment for a Kisan woman who elopes away with another and such other problems

regarding marriage were discussed. The Secretary took the charge of drafting the regulations on the basis of those discussions.

The meeting continued late in the night. Finally there was the mass dinner in which only rice and Dal were served. The people of nearby villages returned to their own villages while the people of distant villages slept under the mango grove either on cots or on mats spread over the ground.

On the next day (the 2nd May 1962) morning the meeting continued as usual though majority of the audience had returned to their respective villages. In the morning session there was further discussion on caste rules and regulations. In the meeting two complaints were filed. In one case a woman who had been betrothed to the complainant's son, had married elsewhere through the form of marriage by intrusion (Dhuku) and the complainant had prayed for compensation from the bride's father. But as the members of the other party were not present the trial of the case was postponed for spot enquiry. Finally, the meeting was over at about eleven O'clock.

B. CHOUDHURY

NOTES ON THE RANAS OF  
KORAPUT

The Ranas (also known as Rana Paika) are an Oriya speaking caste found mostly around Korput town and Nandpur area of Koraput district. According to their tradition "Seven brothers, their ancestors, came long ago to Nandpur, then the capital of the Jeypore country, and took military service under the Raja there. Rana means 'battle' and Paiko 'Sepoy' and some of the caste still serve as arms-bearing retainers under the Maharaja"<sup>1</sup>. Whatever may be the story of their migration, the Ranas are a section of the great Paika caste found in large number in Koraput.

*Subdivision*

Other endogamous sections of the caste are (a) Barhatika Paika, (b) Putia or Dhulia Paika, (c) Katia or Kutia Paika. Among these sections, the Barhatika Paikas occupy the highest position in the social hierarchy. But the Ranas do not agree to connect

themselves either with the Barhatika Paikas or Putia Paikas, from whom the former do not accept food. On the other hand, they not only take food in the hands of Kutia Paika but also have marital relationship. The Ranas do not accept food from any other caste or tribe except Brahmin. But the Barhatika Paikas go far beyond this and do not take food even in the hands of Brahmins. Moreover when they pay visit to their relative's families including that of a married daughter they do not take food from their kitchen, but cook their own food in new earthen pot or metal pot. The Ranas and Kutias have the same status next to Barhatika Paika. The Putia Paikas, who were once beef-eaters in the past, occupy the lowest rung of the social ladder. Both the Barhatika and the Rana Paikas wear sacred thread and style themselves as Kshatriya. At present these sections behave like distinct castes rather than as the sections of the main Paika caste.

*The Clan —*

The Rana society has got nine exogamous clans. Each clan is again

sub-divided into several sub-clans. The names of the clans and sub-clans are given below:—

Clan.	Meaning	Sub-clans <sup>2</sup>
1. Khila	Tiger	Duru, Masti, Matam, Majhi, Malik, Mukhi Pardhani and Podal.
2. Khara	Sun	Badam, Dalpati, Domsuni, Dumka, Darli, Eringal, Khada, Kichae, Kanteri, Khurdi, Majhi, Patar, Pujari, Pardhani, Sagri.
3. Hantal	Snake	Pali and Diari
4. Khinbudi or Kinbudi	Bear	Machria and Majhi
5. Bardi	Goat	Dalpati, Pujari, Tamli, Tangul.
6. Gunta	Fish	Machh, Majhi, Pardhani
7. Sukri	Cow	Naenda (Nauria)
8. Pangi	Kite	Sengarbi
9. Golari	Monkey	

The names of clans and sometimes that of sub-clans are used as surname by the respective clan-members or sub-clan members. Clans bearing the similar names are also found among the Putia Paika, Kutia Paika, Barhatika Paika and Dom.

The Ranas are primarily cultivators, but landless families work as labourers. They produce rice, maize, *suan*, *mandia*, *kandula*, etc., mainly. They also grow various types of vegetables. Forest products are also collected and fishing is resorted to at times. In their spare times they work for wage.

*Marriage*

Ranas are endogamous and marriage with a Kutia Paika only is tolerated. Marriage among them is primarily

governed by the rule of clan exogamy. The sub-clans are not significant from the point of marriage. Cross-cousin marriage ( a boy marrying mother's brother's daughter) is preferred and the mother's brother and wife's father are described by the same kinship term (i. e., *Mamu* or *Mama*). Monogamy is the common practice, although there is no restriction for polygynous marriage. Widow remarriage is socially approved. In this case the payment of bride-price known as *jhola* is not required to be made. There is provision for both wife and husband to demand for divorce on various grounds, e.g., incompatibility of temperament, absence of any issue, unfaithfulness and laziness on the part of the wife. To affect a divorce, the

2. The number of sub-clans is not exhaustive

sanction of the caste council consisting of the influential caste-members of both the villages (of the husband and the wife) should be obtained and the declaration is to be made before the caste-council. When a person wants to divorce his wife on a reasonable ground, he is required to pay Rs. 10.00 as compensation to the girl's family and in case of divorce demanded by the wife, her parents have to return the bride-price paid during the marriage. Children, if any, stay with the father after divorce.

There is provision for child marriage but it occurs very rarely. Common age at marriage is between 19 to 22 years for boys and 16 to 18 years in case of girls. The boys and girls have freedom in the selection of spouses. Even in case of arranged marriage, the consent of the girl and the boy concerned is obtained. When girl has been captured for marriage, the willingness of the girl is to be sought in the presence of the influential caste-members of the village. If she does not give her consent, she is allowed to go back to her parents. Dancing expedition on the occasions of marriages and important festivals provide scope for pre-marital familiarity.

The Rana society has provided various ways of acquiring mates for marriage. The present practice is confined to following ways:—

(a) *Haribol*—Ceremonial marriage of marriage by negotiation.

(b) *Udliā*—Marriage by elopement

(c) *Jhinka-Uira*—Marriage by capture.

(d) *Paisa-mundi*—Marriage by intrusion.

(e) *Gharjuan*—Marriage by service

All the above types of marriage are also found among the Putia Paika, Kutia Paika, Gadba and Poroja.

In the *Haribol* type of marriage the bride is selected by the boy's parents with the help of *raibadias* (go-betweens) who pay several visits to the bride's family till the end of binding ceremony. The bride price known as *Jhola* or *Pani* which is fixed in a joint meeting of both the parties generally consists of Rs. 50. to Rs. 150 in cash. If it is paid in kind, it consists of 150 kg. of rice, seven pieces of cloths and Rs. 6 in cash. The marriage takes place in the boy's village. The binding ritual of the marriage consists of joining the hands of the bride and the groom by the *Dissari* (Priest) near the temporary altar constructed for the purpose. The occasion is marked by dancing, singing and drinking by the persons present on the occasion. As it is the most elaborate and expensive type of marriage, the poor Ranas prefer other types prescribed by their society.

In case of *Udliā* type of marriage, the lovers when foresee any obstacle in their marriage either from their parents' side or from any other source, run away to some other village, preferably to a distance place where his or her relatives live. After staying there for more than three days, they come back to the house of the boy when their parents are pacified. After that they can live as wife and husband. Later on the kinsmen of the girl come to demand the bride-price. The occasion is celebrated with a feast to the guests and the caste-members of the village.

The *Jhinkawtra* type of marriage, otherwise known as marriage by capture is very common among the Ranas. It involves both ceremonial and physical capture of girl for marriage. Very often capture takes place at the request of the boy or girl's parents to evade the exorbitant expenditure involved in the regular marriage. When both the boy and the girl give their consent and the parents agree to the proposal, the date and the probable place for capture are fixed. On the appointed day the boy accompanied by his village friends goes to carry away the girl who will be sent to that place under some pretext. The bride is expected to lament and to cry for help. On hearing a few persons come to resist and sometimes mock fighting takes place. On arrival at the boy's house, the girl is covered with a new saree as the binding rite to legalize the marriage. The girl's parents accompanied by the influential villagers come to demand the bride-price. After fixing the amount of bride-price, the guests are entertained in a feast.

Sometimes a girl is captured without the previous consent of the girl and her parents. In this case the capture of girl by a boy with the help of his friends takes place at the time inter-village dancing on the occasions of festival and marriage. When the parents of the girl come to know the incident, they along with the villagers come to the boy's village and demand the release of the girl who is kept hidden in the house of some other family. The girl's party abuse and threaten the boy's family and ask the girl to come out. If the girl is unwilling, she forcibly comes out and surrenders herself. The boy's parents

at the first instance try to pacify the girl's party by feeding them with festive meals. If the girl is willing, she is asked three times to give her consent. Then the bride-price is fixed. If the girl is willing but the parents do not give their consent, the girl is covered with a new saree as the final step to complete the marriage. The occasion is celebrated with feasting, drinking, dancing and singing.

When a married woman runs away with another person or is being captured by another a compensation known as *sogartha* is demanded by the previous husband.

In the *Paisamundi* type of marriage a girl goes and enters into the house of the boy whom she loves but does not get his response. If the boy and his family do not like the idea, she is not allowed to stay with them. The villagers and the parents of the girl are immediately informed about the incidence with a request to induce the girl to return back to her house. The girl is thus forced to go back. Sometimes she is to face the critical test of her decision. When the boy's family find her obstinate in her decision, she is allowed to stay. After three days, the boy and girl are treated as husband and wife. The girl's parents do not claim bride-price but are entertained in a feast.

The marriage by service is known as *Gharjuan*. This type of marriage is preferred by the boy of a poor Rana who cannot afford to pay the bride-price. Under such circumstance a humble Rana has to serve in the family of his prospective father-in-law for three years. During this period he remains as a family member.



When the stipulated period is over, he marries the girl at the expense of the girl's family. After marriage the couple may return to boy's village or may stay, if they so desire in the girl's village by establishing a separate house. Sometimes a well-to-do father-in-law provides them with land and capital for cultivation. In such case they settle down there.

### *Religious Practices*

Religious festivals observed by the Ranas are very few in number. In the month of *Asarha* (June-July) the festival of *Asarha gundicha* is celebrated collectively in the village. Collection of subscription is made to purchase a she-goat and to meet the expenses of the worship. A wooden car of *simili* tree is constructed. At the outskirts of the village, a shed of twigs and leaves is built for the ceremony. The village priest known as *Pujari* drags the car to the outskirts of the village and performs the puja. The goat is sacrificed, and festive meals are prepared and taken. On the *ammavasya* day of *Asarha* (June-July) they perform the ceremony of *Bandapana* and plant *Kendu*, *Bhalia*, *Chatrenga* branches in the paddy fields. Those who can afford, will sacrifice a fowl or offer a cocoanut in the paddy fields for a bumper crop. In the month of *Bhadrava* (August-September) the ceremony of first eating of new rice is celebrated. When the up-land rice is ready for harvest an auspicious day is fixed. On that particular day, each family husk new rice in the closed room. The eldest members of a *Banso* (lineage) whose wife is alive, offers food prepared from the new rice to the names of the ancestors. On this occasion festive

meals prepared from new rice are taken. In the month of *Kartika* (October-November) when the up-land rice is harvested, they perform the *Diwali parab*. All the families of the lineage perform the *pitru sradha* collectively in the house of the eldest member of the lineage. While uttering the names of their dead ancestors head of each family places hillocks of new rice. Next day morning a woman of the lineage will fetch water without the knowledge of others to cook food. The cows and bullocks are fed with the cooked rice. The occasion is celebrated by drinking wine or rice-beer and festive meals.

The *Pus Parab* is observed on the full-moon day of the month of *Pus* (December-January). There is mock-stealing of articles by the village youths. A goat is purchased collectively by the villagers and sacrificed in the village shrine. The whole night is spent in singing *kindri* song and dancing *dhemsa* dance.

The most important festival is the *Chait parab* in the month of *Chait* (March-April) when the ceremonial hunting of the year takes place. All families excluding the Christians and Muslims observed it collectively. Preparation of foodgrains is started one week before the festival. A meeting of the village elders is conveyed and collection of subscription to meet the expenses of the ceremony is made. At the auspicious moment declared by the *Dissari* a small quantity of seeds is carried by each family to the village shrine. The *Pujari* (village priest) will perform the worship and sacrifice a he-goat to village deities. Then the seeds are distributed among the families.

Next morning, all the capable male members of the village will go for hunting to be led by the person, who is selected by the *Dissari*. On return from the forest the *Pujari* worships the village deities. At the outskirts of the village, the party roast the animals killed on that day and eat. On the following day, they will deposit their weapons under a tree at the outskirts of the village and a mock-hunting takes place in the village. Next day the villagers go for actual hunting. Capable persons who do not join the hunting party are fined one rupee each by the village Panchayat and women will throw cowdung at them. A worship with an egg is performed for

Bana Durga (Forest deity) for success in hunting and then they proceed to the forest.

On their return from a successful hunt, women of the village go to welcome them with garlands of flower. The animals killed on the day are carried to the place of village Thakurani. The *Pujari* performs a puja and meat of the animals are distributed among the hunters. Hunting will continue till they kill an animal.

During these days the villagers both men and women take liquor and continue to sing and dance till late in the night.



### The Bhuinyas

The Bhuinyas are one of the few tribes whose different branches represent various stages of cultural evolution from the more or less primitive culture of Hill Bhuinyas to the thoroughly Hinduised plains Bhuinyas. Some of the Zamindar plains Bhuinya families claim to have Rajput or Kshyatriya descent. The Bhuinyas have an extensive distribution of varying numerical strength over a number of States like Bengal, Bihar, Assam, Chhotnagpur and Orissa, etc.

In Orissa they are found chiefly in two different stages of cultural development, i.e., the most primitive Hill or Pauri Bhuinyas of Keonjhar, Bonai and Pallahara, on one hand and more advanced plains Bhuinyas of Bamra and Gangapur, on the other.

The name "*Bhuinya*" seems to have been derived from the Sanskrit term "*Bhumi*" meaning land. Hence the Bhuinyas designate themselves either as the autochthones of the land or as the owners of land. They have a legend to support their association with the land which depicts how the Bhuinyas took one of the jars presented to them by *Dharam Devta* at the time of the creation of Earth and opening the jar they found that it was full of earth. So they treated earth to be their wealth and called themselves Bhuinyas. They thus developed such strong ties with

the land that it was considered to be most sacred and was revered more than the mother. The severe oath taken in serious trials by the Bhuinyas is by touching the earth only. It is believed that if one takes false oath by holding soil in his hand he soon dies and becomes a part of the soil.

Judging from their racial and cultural activities the Bhuinyas are included in the 'Kol' group by Mr. Stirling, Russel, Hutton, and Grierson. In Orissa, the Bhuinyas numbers 156,878 in number with their different sections of varying names. In Sundargarh, the Pauri Bhuinyas are aware of at least seven such sections of the Bhuinya tribe. In order of their social hierarchy such sections are known as Rajkuli Bhuinya, Saunti Bhuinya, Rautali Bhuinya, Kanti Bhuinya, Mal Bhuinya, Pauri Bhuinya and Bathduli Bhuinya. It is very difficult to estimate the features distinguishing such sections but non-acceptance of cooked food and the prohibition of marital relations between the sections are the two important features distinguishing the various sections of the tribe. The last section, namely Bathudi Bhuinya are considered to be a separate tribe and the rest of the population may be broadly categorized as plains Bhuinyas and Pauri Bhuinyas. Socially, economically and culturally the latter lead a backward life least affected by the Hindu culture of the plains people and their name designate that they dwell on the hills, Pahar.

*Population and Distribution*  
The Bhuinyas membering 156,878  
according to 1961 Census are

distributed over the various districts as  
follows:—

Table showing the distribution of Bhuinya population in Orissa—

Serial No.	Name of the district	Bhuinya population		
		Male	Female	Total
1	Keonjhar	26,478	26,208	52,686
2	Sundargarh	22,664	22,504	45,168
3	Mayurbhanj	14,966	14,650	29,616
4	Sambalpur	10,339	10,256	20,595
5	Dhenkanal	1,065	1,680	3,465
6	Kalahandi	1,063	1,045	2,108
7	Balasore	551	615	1,166
8	Cuttack	536	450	986
9	Koraput	187	177	364
10	Puri	176	171	347
11	Bolangir	110	49	159
12	Phulbani	20	18	38
	Total	79,055	77,823	156,878

The Bhuinyas have lost their own language at present and speak a form of Oriya, which has peculiar pronunciation.

#### The Article

The present article describes the methods of hunting among the Pauri Bhuinyas of Kuira, Sundargarh district.

The article aims at analysing the importance of hunting in the socio-economic life of the Bhuinyas and in bringing forth the change of traditional traits associated with hunting. The article is based on the data collected by interviewing the Pauri Bhuinyas of Kuira and by witnessing a hunting ceremony in Jaldih.

*Hunting*

Bows and arrows constitute the only hunting implements of the Bhuinyas. Whenever a Pauri goes out he takes a bow and a bunch of arrows with him just for safety in the jungle. On his way amidst thick forest, he may meet some prey and may kill it, but this may not be strictly viewed as hunting. Besides, on some off day a Bhuinyas may occasionally go in search of a hunt all by himself, but this phenomenon is so rare that individual hunting is given least attention in Bhuinya society.

The communal hunting expeditions reveal interesting features of Bhuinya social, economic and religious life. *Akhani Paridhi*, the annual hunting festival, marks the first day of hunting for the Bhuinyas. It is held on the third day of the moon in the month of *Chait* (*Akshya Tirtia*).

The preceding evening, the *Naek* (village Head man) meets the villagers in the *Darbar* (dormitory house) and informs them that they are to start on *Akhani Paridhi* on the following day. The men who wish to join in hunting observe continence and sleep away from their wives on the fore-night. Early in the morning all assemble in the *Darbar* armed with their bows and arrows and with drums and sticks to drive out the games. The hunters bring seven bows, seven arrows, two chickens and offering materials like *Akata* (husked paddy) and turmeric powder to the *Naek*. The *Naek* worships the *Dharam Devta* (Sun God) *Basuki* (Earth Goddess) *Gaisiri* (Village deity) and *Boram* at the outskirts of the village and slaughters two chickens in their honour. He sprinkles the blood on the bows and arrows and prays "Today we are celebrating the *Akhani Paridhi* let the hunters meet all sorts of games on their way and let them be able to shoot down all". He also burns some incense and tobacco to please the forest and hill spirits (*Baghias* and *Bauti*) to ensure

success in hunting. The offered chickens are burnt and the person joining the hunting party are given little of such meat to eat before they start on hunting.

The only method adopted by the Bhuinyas in communal hunting is beating at the bushes and driving the animals. After reaching in the jungle the party splits off into two groups. The daring and fearless persons having hunting reputation in the past are selected as *Ghatias*. They sit on key places through which the animals are expected to pass and hide themselves behind the trees. The rest of the party beat at the bushes, shout at the peak of their voice, throw stones and make peculiar noises to drive the animal towards the *Ghatias*. As soon as the game runs near by the *Ghatias* they shoot it down by their bows and arrows. As soon as the game is bagged the *Dihuri* (the village priest), or any elderly man (in the absence of the *Dihuri*) takes some of the blood and offers to the *Dharam Devata*, *Basuki*, *Gaisiri*, *Baram*, *Bautis* and *Baghias* and pray— "There we are offering the first blood of the slain animal. May we attain success in hunting in future". The man whose arrow kills the animal also takes some blood from the game and offers to his family ancestors praying for success in future hunting.

After the animal is slain all go to the *Naek's* house with the game. They are greeted by the ladies who wash the feet of the hunters with turmeric water, anoint their forehead and chins with turmeric powder and kiss them.

The meat is cut down into pieces except the head of the animal, one loin, and hind quarter. One of the boys comes down secretly from a corner and imitates the gait of the slain animal. He is beaten by the leg of the animal on his back and is given the leg portion to fry and eat. Before the meat is distributed, some meat, the brain and hearts of the game are fried on ember and offered to the deities on

*Jambu* leaves. Such offering is made thrice, i.e., on behalf of the persons who participated in the hunt, on behalf of the hunter whose arrow killed the animal and on behalf of the *Barabhai* (Villagers).

The two hind quarters of the game are presented to the *Naek* as *Akhani Bheti* (presentation of the hunt) and one of the loins is offered to the hunter. The rest of the meat is equally divided into two shares. One share is equally distributed between all the members who joined in the hunting party and the other share is equally distributed between all the families of the village.

The *Naek*, in return, rewards the hunter with a cloth of ten cubits if a *Sambar*, or pig of a deer is shot, and a *Gamcha* (napkin) for a *Kutar* (barking deer). In lieu of cloth he may give twelve annas for the long cloth, and four annas for the napkin. Besides, he offers a basketful of rice cakes to the members of the party both in successful and unsuccessful hunting.

The ceremonial hunting is observed for three consecutive days, i.e., the first day being the *Naek's* day, the second for the *Dihuri* and the final day for the *Barabhai* (villagers). The similar procedures are followed on all the day except that the *Naek* presents the party with a basketful of rice cakes on the first day to carry with them to the forest and the village ladies offer *mandia* cakes and rice cakes on the third day, i.e., the day observed for the villagers.

#### Conclusion

A study of the hunting practices of the Pauri Bhuinya and the associated rites and rituals throws much light on the various aspects of their life and culture. It tends to unfold the belief system of the people on the one hand and throws light on varying obligation between the members of different units of their social organization. The specific points of interest can briefly be stated in the following:—

(1) Hunting is more a religious observance than a quest of food for the Bhuinyas. The Bhuinyas lead a

lonely life on the hills surrounded by countless forest and hill spirits. To be safeguarded by these spirits, it is essential to please them at least once a year by the sacrifices and offerings. Hence, the Bhuinyas observe the ceremonial hunting of *Akhani Paridhi* to avert the ill-will of the spirits and to please them by hunting some animals and offering their blood.

For a successful hunting ritual the Bhuinyas observe a series of taboos to maintain purity and sanctity. The persons whose wives are during their menstruation cycle are neither allowed to join in the hunting party, nor do they come to watch the ritual performed at the outskirts of the village to ensure success in hunting. On the previous night of the *Akhani Paridhi* day, the persons desirous of joining in the hunting party observe strict continence and sleep in a separate bed from their wives. Just before starting for hunting the persons should not see the face of the menstruating ladies, which may spoil the chance of success in hunting.

The *Naek* also observes continence on the previous night so as to enable himself to perform the ritual for the success in the hunting in the next morning. He offers chickens, husked rice and turmeric powder to the deities and bribes the spirits by burning incense and tobacco for a successful hunt.

(2) The various rites and rituals associated with hunting reflect on the belief system of the Pauri Bhuinyas. Segregation of women from the hunting rituals is based on the idea that the presence of menstruating ladies will evert the spirits and the deities and may result in unsuccessful hunting. Hence every precaution is taken to avoid the ladies during the hunting expedition. Women, being the weaker sex, cannot very well practically go for hunting, but more particularly the fact that they suffer from periodical pollution debars the ir privilege to be associated in hunting.

The Bhuinyas believe in the causal relation between successful hunting and bumper harvest. According to them successful hunting during *Akhani Paridhi* indicates a rich harvest in the current year, and this belief keeps them alert to safeguard all the evils obstructing success in hunting.

(3) To ensure successful hunting the Pauris believe in and perform sympathetic rites. The two chickens sacrificed by the *Naek* just before the party starts on hunting is believed to contain the spiritual power of the gods and godlings to whom these are offered and if the members of the party eat a bit of such meat they soon possess such power and may thus be able to slay any game they meet.

The blood of the chickens, after sacrifice is also believed to carry such power and hence the *Naek* sprinkles it on seven bows and arrows just to help for the success in hunting.

The arrow which kills the animal is brought out from the body of the prey and is never washed in water. The bloodstained arrow-head is let to dry out. By doing so it is believed that the arrow would always kill more games in future and would remain bloodstained for ever.

After the game is killed and before the meat is distributed one of the members of the hunting party acts like the slain animal and imitates its gait. Crawling down he comes from a corner and passes by before the hunters. One of the members of the hunting party takes a leg of the game and hits the imitator back with it. This signifies that in future hunting no game can escape the look of the hunter and the hunters would be able to kill all the animals they meet.

• Before the meat shares are distributed, the brain, hearts and some meat is roasted on ember and shares are offered to the spirits and the deities for whose favour they had a

success in hunting. The meat thus offered is considered sacred and is believed to carry the "power". The husbands of the menstruating ladies are not allowed to eat such meat. If any outsider eats such meat the real hunting power is believed to be transmitted to his body and the villagers may not have the good luck to have more success in hunting.

(4) Hunting is a perfect occasion where one can notice the interplay of various relations. Hunting is purely a communal affair, which involves co-operation of all the villagers. Each village has to hunt within its boundary demarcated from the time of the Raja. Since successful hunting indicates rich harvest, it becomes the duty of all the villagers to try heart and soul to make the hunting expedition a success. Generally each family deputed one or more of its male members to participate in the hunting, and it is the responsibility of the village ladies to collect *mandia* and paddy from all the houses and prepare cakes for the party on the third day of the *Akhani Paridhi*.

Distribution of meat is made keeping in view the social and political life of the village. The hunter must get an extra share for his ability to kill the prey, but *Naek*, the head of the village, gets two hind quarters by dint of his status and authority in the village. The *Dihuri* is not given any special portion of meat, but is always given an extra amount for holding an office in the village. All the families get shares of meat whether anyone participated in the hunting or not.

Getting extra meat, on part of the *Naek* is more of prestige value because the cost he has to bear for returning the gift of cloth and cakes to the hunters is much more than the actual cost of the meat he gets. It may also be noted that the *Naek* does not eat all the meat he gets as a special share. This meat is divided into three shares.

The *Naek* distributes one share between the families of his closer lineage group and gives the final share to rest of the families of the village. The hunter also distributes some meat from his special share between the families of his closer lineage group.

#### *Recent changes in hunting practices*

In course of time the Bhuinyas are getting more modern in their outlook and are dropping out their traditional custom associated with hunting. Some of the Bhuinyas have managed to acquire guns and are hunting games on their own sweet will. Hunting is gradually becoming more individualistic in nature. The man having a gun may give little meat to his villagers but he sells the major portion of the game and gets money for it.

Another marked change is noticed in the attitude of the Pauries for hunting. In the old days jungle was thick and the games were plenty all around. Hence, the chances of success in hunting was far greater than in the present days when most of the jungles around the Bhuinya country

are frequently cut down for shifting cultivation and the wild animals are rapidly decreasing in number. These difficulties, however, have least affected the age old belief system of the people, and they still observe the hunting ceremony with all its detail. Posts of new leaders have been created in the village, but the new leaders are never given special shares of meat in hunting. The *Naek* continues to enforce his traditional status in the village and get the hind quarters of the slain animal as usual. The amount of reward the *Naek* used to give to the hunter has, however, been increased. Since the price of the cloth which costed twelve annas in the good old days has now been increased to two to three rupees, the *Naek* now offers two rupees in lieu of the cloth instead of the twelve annas he used to pay in the past. The hunting customs and practices of the Pauri Bhuinyas, as described in this article, however, does not apply to the life of the plains Bhuinyas and may be different from the Pauri Bhuinyas of Bhuinyapirh of Keonjhar, Dhenkanal and Mayurbhanj districts, but the general trend may be almost identical.