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1963-64 NUMBER TWO

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* We brought out the revival issue of "Adibasi" on the 15th August 1963, with high hopes and not without some fears. We hoped to make it the forum of research and welfare ; but, we were afraid that we may not be able to receive the sustained co-operation of workers in the fields of action and research and continue the journal regularly. The very fact that we have been able to bring out the second issue in scheduled time proves that our hopes were not dupes, and our fears were certainly liars.

In this issue we have received articles from workers and scholars in different fields. The topics discussed cover a wide range. It is significant that the journal has attracted the notice of scholars from abroad. We are thankful to the Information Branch of the

U. S. S. R. Consulate-General in Calcutta for an illuminating and erudite article by two eminent academicians. We hope to receive more such communications from abroad for our next issue.

Though we have every reason to be confident, we cannot afford to be complacent, for in spite of some achievement, much more remains to be done. We call upon our contributors, both actual and potential, to take note of the fact that though it might have been difficult to launch " Adibasi " upon its arduous course it is still more difficult to keep it on as a going concern. It will be possible to sustain the venture only with their continued support and interest which we solicit through these lines.



Those people, who have participated in the historically developed cultural process of the country, constitute what we call the Great Society of India, a term which is almost synonymous with Indian Nation. This society is connected with the world forces through a network of relationships—direct and indirect. Thus in order to understand the Indian society we must analyse the dual process of the world force which the country shares with other nations of the world, and the distinctive features which are unique to it.

However, there are groups of people in India who were segregated from the main currents of national life due to historical reasons. These groups of people are today termed as tribes and are distinguished by a social structure which is very different from ours. The characteristics of a tribal society are its primitive technology and consequently a primitive economy and a consolidated social structure, which unlike our own, regulates almost all aspects of their social and individual behavior. It gives an apparent notion of "arrested growth". It is true that the technology of the tribal people is extremely primitive compared to modern industrial technology and this is because an advanced industrial technology can only develop on a world plane, it is not possible in self-contained, small communities. But should it mean that the tribes have not continued to grow during centuries of their existence,

thus violating one of the fundamental laws of nature that "whatever lives must grow"? The question posed here is not at all new, as a matter of fact it is one of the oldest problems of Anthropology and other human sciences. It is a scientifically based proposition that though the technology of the tribal people remained primitive, their social mechanism continued to develop and achieve highly effective methods of social living, of resolving conflicts and fostering corporate life. Their distinctive cultural processes were geared towards deriving the maximum joy out of life. If we try to evaluate the achievements of a society, not by its material products but in terms of man himself, it may raise genuine doubts about the backwardness of the tribes and the advanced nature of our own society. It is a stupendous drawback of the modern civilization, of which our society is a component, that the mechanisms which are intended to serve man have become more important than man himself and threaten to obliterate him. This has not been the case with the tribal societies where human happiness is directly explored and never lost sight of.

It is necessary to focus attention on this aspect of tribal societies. It goes to the credit of the Anthropologists that abundant data have been collected on the society and culture of the tribes, but a greater task lies ahead of us. The

scientific data needs to be evaluatively assessed so that it can be used to improve human relations in our society. This may sound as a plea for our own development rather than that of the tribes. This is partially true. All our efforts to develop the tribal people are vitiated by a patronising attitude. This attitude should be radically altered and for this there should be widespread appreciation of the fact that the tribal societies can contribute substantially for our own development and that such contributions are essentially and urgently required by our society. This will give a new direction to tribal welfare and make it an integrated part of National Welfare.

What is said here should never be construed to mean that the tribal people are quite happy and can be happy without the material benefits and amenities of modern civilisation. They are certainly miserable without it, as only social organization is not sufficient to sustain the alround prosperity and happiness of a people. What is needed here is an integration between the material benefits and the social mechanism for their utilisation. In our enthusiasm to improve the tribal people ; or may be due to lack of it, we often destroy the best things of their society and culture. The destruction is all the more complete because what are best in tribal life are not tangible things. They are forms of human behaviour and patterns of social relationships, which, once destroyed leave no trace behind them. What is more distressing is the fact that this destruction is one-sided because it is not compensated by the improvement of material conditions of the tribal people. This is because man assimilates change through its social

mechanism. If this mechanism is destroyed, entire life is dislocated and no improvement becomes possible.

It even makes the very existence of a people hazardous.

I may here sound a note of caution. The searches for the essence of tribal life are very often carried to absurd ends, laying emphasis on the superficial and losing sight of the essential. The principle "means justifies ends" should always prevail. For example it is thought that items of dress, pieces of ornaments, utensils and implements are endowed with mysterious attributes. Everything that is tribal is idealised and glorified. This sort of mentality tries to keep the tribes isolated from the whole world and preserve them in primitive poverty. This perverted outlook on the tribes is sometimes wrongly attributed to the anthropologists, but no reputed anthropologist ever held such an opinion. It has been strongly condemned as an unscientific proposition but the idea has taken root among some administrators and planners. It should be strongly emphasized that radical changes should be introduced among the tribes. They require all the technological achievements available to modern civilization and the best is only good enough as these have been denied to them upto now.

Introduction of modern technology to improve the material condition of the tribal people, preservation and vitalization of the core of their society and culture, assimilation of their patterns of human relationship by our society : these are then our problems. And these are not disparate problems. They should be tackled as an integrated whole. To this task our scientists, planners and administrators should address themselves, in all seriousness.

Sociological basis of Leadership

Individualistic and Sociological Approach

It is a fundamental postulate of science that there is a latent unity behind the apparent differences of phenomena. Sociology gives expression to this law by categorizing cultural differences and formulating universally valid sociological laws. Here an attempt is made to explore the veracity of this law as applied to the sociological concept of leadership. The aim of this paper is to abstract a general frame of reference and to formulate its specific orientations responsive to concrete situations.

Toynbee in his study of history has described leaders as creative minorities. As he says, "All growth originates with creative individuals or small minorities of individuals and their task is two-fold: first the achievement of their inspiration or discovery, whatever it may be, and second by the conversion of the society, to which they belong, to this new way of life".

This statement is characteristic of the trait approach which has been superseded by the sociological concept

of leadership. Discussing this A. W. Gouldner says, "In the past the conditions which permitted an individual to become or remain a leader were often assumed to be qualities of the individual, the trait studies of leadership arose out of it". (Studies in Leadership). Elucidating it further Lindersmith and Strauss say as follows: "Leadership is commonly thought of in terms of leadership qualities. In taking over the common sense notion, social psychologists have been led to seek those traits of personality that are most usually associated with being a leader". (Social Psychology).

The trait approach proved wholly inadequate in the face of the developments of social sciences. The inadequacies can be enumerated as follows:

(a) Traits mentioned in a single list are not mutually exclusive. (b) Trait studies usually do not discriminate between traits facilitating ascent to leadership and those enabling it to be maintained. (c) Most of the studies raise questions concerning the organisation of behaviour. They are largely descriptive. Usually they do not ask how these traits develop and

how behaviour became organised. (d) It seems to be believed that the leader's personality can be or is described if all the traits by which it is composed are determined. Implicit is the notion that a personality is the sum of its component traits. This would seem, however, to ignore one of the fundamental properties of personality, its possession of organization.

Leadership and The Social Process

This trait approach was circumscribed by an undue emphasis on the explicit manifestation of some abstracted attributes to the complete neglect of the social process which produces it. Some of the implications of the proposition that leadership traits are universal and will not vary with the situation are: (1) The traits or personal qualities which made an individual a leader in one group should also be useful for leadership in other groups. (2) A man who is a leader in one group should tend to be a leader in others. But it should be remembered that the distribution of traits differs with age, education, occupation and sex.

Leaders tend to exhibit certain characteristics in common with the members of their group. Two of the obvious of these characteristics are interests and social background. Emphasis should be given on the intricate relations between the psychological aspects or traits (Skill, self-confidence, etc.) and the group aspects (respect, approval, etc.) and a correlation between generalized efficiency and specific situations (and *vice versa*).

Therefore leadership is not an inherent quality of individuals but

essentially a type of social relationship. The impact of the social process have been aptly described by Phelps in following words:

“Another subject frequently taken up in connection with intelligence is the relative contributions of the social classes to productive leadership. The number of leaders is used as an indirect index of the proportionate distribution of intelligence. S. S. Visher used who's who^d in America as a standard guide to leaders, and his results may be summarized in two statements. Professional men and businessmen produced more than a third of the American notables born about 1870, farmers nearly are fourth, skilled labourers a few, unskilled labourers almost none. Or expressed in terms of proportionate contributions relative to their numbers in the general population, the professional men have contributed more than twice as many notables born about 1870 as the businessmen, 20 times as many as the farmers, 45 times as many as the skilled labour class; and 1,340 times as many as unskilled labourers.”

Leader and the Group

The characteristics of leadership should, therefore, be sought in the leader-group relationship. There is a wide variety of definitions of the term “group” but for the sociologist the human social group has a special meaning. The group, for him constitutes an entity of two and more persons in mental-symbolic interaction. This entity of the unit of interacting personalities is formed when a common interest (or interests)

arises among a number of persons who identify themselves with this interest and are thus held together by a sense of belonging with one another because of it. A human social group, therefore, involves a number of persons with common interest and value, interacting with one another covertly or overtly, and giving rise to a sense of oneness and unity among themselves. Thus the group involves several attributes:—(1). Two or more persons, (2). Common and agreed upon interests and values, (3). A persistent and organised pattern of interaction first on an overt and definable plane, through an actual and observable process of affiliating, participating and acting together to fulfil these values, and secondly on a covert plane through personal identification, feeling of belonging, etc.

The human social group is different from a physical aggregate in that the latter consists merely of a collection of physical units in a given area. The animal herd is also distinguishable from the human social group in that animal interaction is primarily synoptic and sensory, whereas human interaction is symbolic.

Many attempts have been made to classify human social groups. The possible types are perhaps infinite. In recent years great weight and interest have been focussed upon the degree of formality or informality in organisation of the group as the basis for group classification.

It has been said earlier that group organisation consists of a system of inter-related functions, activities, and roles among the group members. When this system is embodied in a

set of official and explicit rules set down in constitutions, established precedents, charters of incorporation and directions, the group is formally organized. The instruments governing the interpersonal relationships of members are impersonal, formal, deliberate, rational and planned. A political party attracts persons primarily because of what the party stands for ideologically rather than because of any appeal the members may have for one another personally, as in the case of the intimate friendship circle, the clique, the buddy group in the army or the juvenile gang. These latter groups are illustrations of the informal group. They lack not only a formal and prescribed structure of pre-arranged positions and functions, but also deliberate, planned procedures for governing the relations of their members. Their relations tend to be informal, personal and face to face. In the informal group, there is characteristically greater loyalty to other members than to the norms of the group. In the formal group quite the reverse is true.

The organization of leadership in groups is to be discussed in the light of the above analysis. Talcott Parsons says about groups (which he calls association). "Then the association level of the organization of collectivities is reached, and to some degree short of this, it certainly involves an internal differentiation of roles with respect to functions of collectivity as a unit, as well as those of what may be called its *primary* division of labour. This differentiation is about the axis of 'responsibility' relative to the possibilities of "action in concert". Internally this may be

called a leadership role, when the special concern is with relations of the collectivity and its members outside itself, to other persons and collectivities, it may be called a representative role."

In terms of the discussion of division of labour it should be clear that, where there is a good deal of norm for differences of specification, relative to specialized "contributions", to a co-operative action-system, leadership rules are always diffuse. Responsibility in the present sense can never be confined to the efficient performance of a specialized function, but involves in some sense co-ordinating a variety of factors and contingencies in the interest of the collective goals. Like so many of the distinctions there is an important relativity about this one. But the focus on relational context as distinguished from technical goal is the essential criterion of a leadership.

Discussing the difference of leadership roles in formal and informal groups Parsons says, "This (the formalized sanctions) implies as noted, differentiation of roles relative to responsibility *vis-a-vis* the collectivity for maintenance of the integrity of a normative system. There are in turn, two main functions in such differentiated roles, namely, interpretation, which is important because of the frequent range of uncertainty as to just what role-obligations are and how generalised rules apply, and enforcement. Enforcement here should not be interpreted to mean only the application of negative sanctions in case of defiance, but special responsibility for the use of any and all sanctions, positive or negative. The difference

from the spontaneous informal case is that in that case sanctions are a matter of "private morality" whereas in the formal case they are a matter of specific role-obligation.

Most larger-scale social systems of course have important elements of both types of institutionalization. As noted, the fundamental groundwork tends to be informal, but the more complex and dynamic the social system, the more this tends to be supplemented by the differentiation of roles carrying collective responsibility, for which they have directly integrative functions in this sense."

Unorganized Groups and Leadership

After discussing leadership in connections with organized social groups one is tempted to deal with leadership in unorganized groups the best example of which is the crowd. Various devices may be deliberately employed by leaders to enhance crowd sentiment and focus its attention. The 'spell' of the effective crowd leader lies in the fact that he enlists on the side of the prevalent state of feeling the reasoning power which was previously resistant and critical of it. But he usually achieves this end by dulling or as it were, by "hypnotising" the reasoning ability itself. He persuades the crowd by arguments that addressed to individuals in isolation would fail to convince, as members of the crowd they are credulous of statements that in their normal social activities they would more cautiously scrutinize.

The Role of Leadership in the formation of Groups

"The mere recognition of an interest that can be promoted by organization is not sufficient to bring about

the formation of an association. For inertias, prejudices and problems of ways and means must be overcome, and here is where the role of leadership is most manifest. Usually the initiative, enthusiasm and energy of one or a small number of persons prepare the ground for organisation. The leaders, whether from sheer devotion to the cause or from a sense of advantage to themselves in the form of status or power or economic gain, usually, in fact from a combination of these motives, play up the desirability of organization and seek to establish attitudes in the potential members favourable to its formation. Often some precipitant, some crisis or unusual conjecture of events, stimulates the leaders themselves to action. It is not possible here to pursue the interesting theme of the social psychology of leadership but indicate rather the leaders' function with relation to the group interest. His tasks in the early stage are to create or intensify a consciousness of the need for the new organization, or, in other words, the awareness of the interest around which it is organized, to instill confidence in the promoters and thus in the efficiency of the organization they propose, and to harness this heightened sense of need to the practical necessities of financial or other co-operation on the part of the members. In order to organise an interest, it must first be presented as such, in detachment from other interests, and then, in its organized form, it must somehow be brought into harmony with the other interests of its members. The nature of the interest to be organised determines in part the task of leadership. Where the interest is essentially economic the task is different from what it is when

a recreational or educational or religious interest is in question. It is different where the interest is general or vague and where the interest has an intimate and limited appeal.

Leadership and the type of interest

The development of appropriate leadership is subject to difficulties which vary with the type of interest to be organised. Where like economic interests are the main consideration, as in the business corporation or the labour union, a strong competitive struggle for leadership is likely to take place, followed by a process of selection, tending on the whole towards the emergence of leaders with appropriate qualities. Here the chief danger is that the leader will give preference, in guiding the organization, to economic interests of his own that are not in harmony with the economic interests of the group as a whole. Where common interests are the object of organisation, other difficulties arise. The leader as leader has like interests. And these may prove too strong for his sincere service to the common cause. Another obstacle to effective leadership of organizations based upon common interests of the more idealistic type is that control tends not infrequently to fall into the hands of narrowminded enthusiasts who, because of their zeal, are most ready to undertake the onerous tasks of leadership while they are often least conscious of its problems. In the political sphere we see a significant example of how the heavy responsibilities and often the sacrifices leadership involves act as a deterrent to some qualified candidates and thus leave the field more free for those

who seek aggrandizement of power or personal gain. In all spheres of organization, socially beneficial leadership involves some reconciliation of like and common interest."

Authority and Leadership

A distinction must be drawn between authority and personal leadership. By authority it is meant here the right of control attached to office involving respect, the submission, or the reverence accorded to those who represent the office or are invested with its rights. Here we are not concerned with the authority of a group or of an impersonal principle or ideal or legal code, or rather with authority as it is vested in or focussed in a person, in his official capacity or field of knowledge or specialization. By leadership is meant the capacity to initiate and to evoke response that comes from a special type of social participation and role playing, apart from the office. These two types of controls are often combined in various degrees. Authority inheres in those who represent or embody the codes, or those who possess rank or status of any prestige derived from position or wealth, but it is always enhanced if qualities of leadership go along with the prerogatives of station or office. Not infrequently a forceful personal leader consolidates his power by attaining official position. But the two sources of power are themselves distinct. A policeman represents authority not leadership. A leader, on the other hand, may be an insurgent against the established order.

Types of Leaderships

Leadership in a Dictatorial Society

The dominant tendency in a dictatorial society is organised insecurity which succeeds unorganised insecurity. In such a society those who are leaders enjoy the possibility of raising hatred on one day and appeasing it on the next. Society becomes a structure where one presses a button and the expected reaction occurs. In the phase of the unorganised as compared with that of organised insecurity, quite a different psychology characterizes the individual. In the former phase the psychological reaction of the people was important, the psychology of masses governed everything. In the latter it seems as if the masses have abandoned their individual psychic life, at least as far as public affairs are concerned and are ready to turn into robots. It is as if the sociologist had only to deal with the peculiar psychology of the leaders.

"In the first phase of the unorganised insecurity these leaders play no very important role. So long as everything is fluid numerous petty leaders arise in place of the notabilities of the vanishing order; but their is only a transitory influence. After the first fermentation, however, a new differentiation into guiding and guided groups occurs. Spontaneous symbol integration can take place only in a small community; in mass societies after the first spontaneous reactions a more or less conscious control of these symbols and of the emotions connected with them is needed. This manipulation is performed by

people whose personal psychological constitution and aptitudes especially enable them to take the lead."

(Manheim—Man and Society)

Leadership in a Democratic Society

Leadership process in a democratic society is different from that in an autocratic one. Democracy is a way of group life in which persons who live it share in making decisions concerning common problems. Autocracy, on the other hand, is a way of group life in which the decisions are made for the group by one person. Democracy, therefore, provides for a maximum of interaction and consequent flexibility of its associational life; but autocracy minimizes interaction and makes sociation relatively inflexible.

In a democracy, group action is a result of the leadership process, but in an autocracy group action is a result of domination. Leadership, as has been pointed out, is the process by which a group takes action after interaction; this is a democratic process. Domination, on the other hand, is the process by which a person (dominator) limits interaction and forcibly controls the activities of the group in the direction of values or goals chosen by himself.

The Function of a Democratic Leader

The leader in a democratic group fosters free interaction among the members of a group; and group takes action in the direction of the goals set up in a particular situation by the decisions made and accepted by the leaders and followers in the process of interaction.

No doubt one of the first functions of the democratic leader is to help make clear to all the members of the group the meaning of the free interaction process and the fact that the standards of the control of the group may be set up by the group itself—not imposed by any one person. The leader also helps the group to see clearly the goals towards which it may direct its positive or negative attitudes and actions; thus verified attitudes may be attained.

"But the unified decision of a group to take an action or attitude is not easily obtained. First, the factors in the situation that limit or thwart normal interaction in the group (or the satisfaction of needs) must be understood; but the leader has more insight into the meaning of the factors and more acceptable suggestions to make as to goals to be set up than any other member. Ideally, leader and members of the group will participate in a maximum degree of interaction—forming a truly dynamic group.

More than this, all the while the leader must stimulate the development of a high degree of positive interpersonal attitudes and actions among the group-members for the differing suggestions of members are to contribute to the solution of common problems and not to create an opportunity for persons to dominate others, even in a small way. The differences in status that do arise, as they will eventually, are to be based upon generally recognised merit alone. Finally, democratic action under democratic leadership stimulates voluntary not forceful means of

attaining the goals set up." (J. S. Roucek—Social Control)

The democratic leader does not differ from authoritarian in the amount of power but in the nature of his role in the group structure. The democratic leader seeks to evoke the maximum involvement and the participation of every members in the group activities and in the determination of objectives. He seeks to spread responsibility rather than concentrate it. He seeks to encourage and reinforce interpersonal contact and relations throughout the group structure so as to strengthen it. He seeks to reduce intergroup tension and conflict. He seeks to avoid hierarchical group structure in which special privilege and status differentials predominate.

Traditional Leadership

In a broad sense tradition can be regarded as a regulating factor for all types of leadership. However radical a leader might be, he cannot fully isolate himself from his socio-cultural milieu. Traditional leadership however, should be understood in the specific sense of conformity to a particular pattern and resistance to change.

Traditional leadership develops when a society attains a high degree of stratification. It may be mentioned here that there are two wrong notions about stratification. Firstly that in a stratified society different strata are placed in an hierarchical order, and secondly that each strata is a self-contained unit which lacks interaction with other strata. Placing of different strata in a hierarchical

order is only a special case of stratification that is when the strata are placed vertically but there are also cases of horizontal stratification when the different stratified groups have parallel or complementary status. As to the second point, stratification is not lack of interaction between stratified groups, on the other hand it is one of the methods of achieving and regulating social interaction. This becomes possible only when there is a common value system. Thus stratification should be distinguished from social disorganization as being radically different from it.

Traditional leadership is dependent on two factors for its continuance as an enduring institution. Firstly, it must be capable of assimilating and integrating into the existing pattern the dynamic factors of the society which augment social change. In this case the content of leadership changes whereas the personnel remains intact. Secondly, the functions of leadership should, in the course of time, be ritualized. In this case the sanctions of leadership are not confined to the changing pattern of social functions and can endure change.

Traditional leadership can be judged in various levels of intensity. When leadership is based on familial succession as in the case of hereditary rulers it can be regarded as purely traditional. When, however, leadership is based on certain attributes as in the case of a political party, traditional leadership is very elastic. A great variety can be ranged between these two extremes.

Traditional leadership is effective when there is a social equilibrium

and can attain a high degree of efficiency in its own sphere. In abnormal situations it can sustain itself by turning dictatorial.

Revolutionary Leadership

Revolution is not of itself a change in the social system. It is but a change in leadership, on which depends the attainment, largely through trial and error, of the change in conditions.

The lay-man is inclined to believe that the presence of radical leaders makes for revolution. The fact is that radical leaders simply direct or attempt to direct movements or co-ordinate and attempt to co-ordinate a large number of riots. The radical is no more the cause of revolution than the rudder is the cause of the motion of a ship. Like the ship's rudder, the radical leader endeavours to direct the surging mass.

Although political riots are generated by malfunctioning of a social system, they are invariably directed toward the destruction of persons or classes of persons, who serve as a symbol of the causes of discontent. Revolting masses do not relate their discontent to the social system itself but the people who represent that system—police, army, aristocracy, etc. The rioting is, therefore, directed towards a destruction of a symbol of the social system rather than toward reformation of that system. Only when conditions have become so intolerable that revolt follows revolt in disorderly succession does radical leadership representing a new philosophy of political and economic life become significant. Then and only then may it grasp leadership and

direct revolt toward something more fundamental than a change in the personnel of political and economic leadership.

Once one has escaped from the rather main idea that radical leaders make revolt and thus revolution, it becomes evident that it is the failure of reactionary leadership to adjust to changing conditions that results eventually in the overthrow of such leadership. The part played in revolutions, not by persons who rise to temporary leadership under riot circumstances, but by radical leaders—men trained in some doctrine of social reconstruction—is indicated by what may happen when no such leadership is available. In such cases leadership succeeds by appealing to traditional hatreds and aims at victimization which does not remain confined to the opponents of the revolution. Leaders themselves are also victimized and are replaced in rapid succession.

Charismatic Type of Leadership

Undoubtedly the most spectacular type of social movement, if only because most clearly defined, is that which centres around a person or a symbol of a person, such as his grave. The ideology which may have been devised by that person or may have evolved spontaneously, imputes to that person extraordinary powers that are new and unique. A primitive magic man, a contemporary priest, a physician, etc., all have extraordinary powers, but their powers are defined by the cultural milieu in which they operate and are limited by that definition. The extraordinary powers imputed to an individual by an ideology of this sort, on the other hand, are not

sanctioned by the culture. In terms of the culture, they are powers previously unknown, or at the most, known only in the distant past. Such powers are usually described as supernatural or spiritual and are technically known as "charismatic".

The charismatic powers imputed by the ideology may pertain to some limited field, as do these of a "miracle man" who heals body ills, or they may be all-inclusive. Thus a person who is caught up in some new faith cure involving a healer necessarily rejects the established medical practitioners and their techniques, for the faith cure is a contradiction of the established medical practices and violates all prior understanding of the nature of body ills. Likewise the person who joins a new political movement that centres about some political unknown is thereby denying the value of the traditional political system, its offices, and the persons occupying such offices.

In some instances an individual who has become a charismatic leader has had the charismatic powers thrust upon him. Usually, however, the individual who has become a charismatic leader has himself devised the doctrine that attributes to him charismatic powers and has himself promoted that doctrine, at least in the initial phases of his rise to leadership. Some charismatic leaders have undoubtedly been charlatans, who found in this particular means the easiest way to wealth and prestige. On the whole, however, most of the successful charismatic leaders seem to have believed in themselves.

The authority of a charismatic leader approaches the absolute in that area

of life to which his charisma pertains. His ability to affect the society at large is limited to what his loyal followers can accomplish.

A leadership that depends solely on charismata is always short lived. When, however, a charismatic leader uses his powers to establish an organization or to take control of an established organization, he may thereby obtain sufficient non-charismatic power to perpetuate the illusion that he has charismata.

Industrial Leadership

Leadership in an industrial society is determined by three factors: by the position a person holds in an organization, by personal skill and by the functions of the individual.

Persons in certain higher positions in an organization are sometimes considered to display leadership by virtue of the very nature of the position they hold. Frequently a supervisor is considered to be the leader merely because he has the job title of supervisor. However, persons placed in higher positions in a formal organization may show none of the behaviour or characteristics associated with leadership, hence position alone cannot be considered the criterion of leadership—the determining factor is the use to which the position is put.

Individuals who possess skills that are superior to those of their fellows may be considered to be leaders in an industrial society. The quality may be certain knowledge and skills required for the group activities. Because of his experience, an "old hand" among a group of workers may be considered a leader. He, more than others, is able to deal with difficult

and unusual problems, he has greater skill in adjusting and operating machines, and he has a more thorough understanding of the factors involved in any situation that arises. The particular pattern of personality characteristics that an individual possesses may result in others considering him to be a leader. Because of his calmness during action, a foreman may be an exemplar for his group and therefore be thought of as evidencing leadership. However, it may be argued that persons of superior qualities are not necessarily leaders since there may be no deliberate attempt on their part to influence the behaviour of others. Furthermore, even if there is such an intent the behaviour displayed may not be termed leadership. For example, the 'old hand' who shows another worker how to do something is merely aiding or instructing him rather than leading him.

In connection with his activities bearing directly upon the setting and achieving of organizational goals perhaps the most obvious function of the leader is that of executive. In his role as executive he is responsible for seeing that the appropriate activities of the organization are carried out. A foreman assigns tasks to workers and sees that these tasks are properly executed.

Another function performed by the leader is policy making. He may either establish organizational goals and objectives himself, or he may participate with his superiors or subordinates in establishing them. Thus the president of a company, perhaps in collaboration with the board of directors or with his staff, determines the nature of the

commodities or services with which the company will be concerned.

A final function, planning, is intermediate between the determination of policies and their execution. In this connection the leader makes decisions concerning the ways and means by which organizational goals can be achieved. A foreman not only assigns tasks to his subordinates but he may also plan work schedules and devise operational procedures.

The second group of functions performed by the industrial leader is connected with the operations of his organization. Six functions can be differentiated in this category. First, the leader is an expert in the principal activities of the organization. The second function in this general category is as external group representative to deal with outside individuals or groups. The third function of the leader is as a surrogate for individual responsibility. The leader relieves other members of the group of certain responsibilities, and they in turn place their trust in his decisions. A fourth function of the leader is as controller of internal relationship within the organization. Fifthly, the leader functions as administrator of rewards and punishments. Finally, the leader acts as an arbitrator and mediator, seeking to maintain harmony among the members of the organization. (Ghiseli and Brown).

Leadership in an industrial society operates both in face-to-face and distant contact situations. The multi-group membership of the individuals and the differing or even conflicting interest of the groups tends to balance

one leadership against another. For example, the leadership of the Union President and the factory manager hold each other in balance. When the balance is disturbed and other factors do not counterweigh it, social disorganization sets in.

Rural Leadership

The community nature of rural society, as compared to the atomistic nature of the industrial, determines the nature of rural leadership. The rural Society like the industrial has groups with different and conflicting interests but the differences are structured into the community in such a manner as to produce an integrated pattern.

Rural leadership is not specific but composite in nature. Thus the rural leader is called upon to perform a variety of functions which in an industrial society would be entrusted to a number of specialists. For example, a Village Level Worker is expected to give medical and legal advice, to see to the needs of agriculture and education, to patronize village industries and handicraft, to inform about political and administrative affairs and so on.

Contrasted with industrial, rural leadership functions only in face-to-face situation, though distant contact influence is not absent in rural life. The influence of a religious savant or a political representative is not confined within the group of his personal acquaintance, it extends to a wide range of impersonal relationships. But they do not attain the status of leadership in real sense of the term.

The factors determining rural leadership cannot be deduced from the immediacy of the functions and social relationships. It develops diachronically and achieves a degree of ritualization which commensurates with the specific nature of its process of development.

Social stratification in the rural community is not a symptom of disorganization or decay, but the means of adjustment with the contending social forces. The caste system of the Indian rural community is the most appropriate example. The caste system has been described as the oldest social insurance institution of the world monotonizing all the aspects of life yet giving security to all of them. Leadership in the Indian rural community is based on caste structure and had been highly effective in the past. But the functional aspect of the caste system has become so obsolete that even the maximum degree of ritualization has not been able to shield caste leadership from the onslaught of the challenge of the time. So we find two distinct processes at work. On the one hand there is the attempt on the part of secular leadership to prove effective and on the other the effort of the caste leadership to integrate into its structure the functions of the secular.

The rural people always show a marked preference for educational and administrative fields, whereas the urban people tend towards the technical field.

N. KONARD & N. IVANOV

AN ANCIENT PEOPLE RE-ENTERS HISTORY

In 1908 Mongolian shepherds led the famous explorer of Central Asia, P. Kozlov, to the ruins of an old city buried under the sand which they called Kharakhoto the Black City, or the Dead City. Once upon a time it was the capital of the Tangut State, which had arisen at the end of the 9th century. And in the 13th century it fell under the blows of Jenghiz Khan. As a result of the incursion of the Mongols, the country was laid waste, part of the population perished and the rest was taken prisoner. The wars that subsequently more than once passed through the territory of what had been the Tangut Kingdom destroyed also the little that had still remained, and the sands latter advanced from the desert put and end to everything.

Excavating one of the mounds, Kozlov discovered in an immured sepulchre a whole library of books printed by the xylographic method and manuscripts in an unknown language. Everything that the explorer could take with him at the time he brought to St. Petersburg and handed them over to the Asian Museum of the Academy of Sciences for preservation. In 1931 these treasures passed over to the newly-organised Institute of Oriental Studies (now the Institute of Asian Peoples).

As soon as scientists began to acquaint themselves with the texts it became clear that the writings contained in these materials were that of the Tanguts. Already way back at the end of the 19th century expert orientalists.

of China, France, the United States and other countries had studied the inscription on the gates of a Chinese city, the text of which was repeated six times in different writings, including the Tangut. Subsequently an additional number of xylographs printed in the hieroglyphs of this system of writing was found in China. But due to their small number it was impossible to unravel the Tangut script and restore the language or at least to read the existing materials. Therefore, it went no further than the determination of several dozen hieroglyphs and the first hypothetical conclusions about the language.

By now this mysterious language has been deciphered. Moreover, the language for which this script had been invented was disclosed. This was done by the Soviet savant Nikolai Nevsky. The results of his discoveries were published in 1960 by the Eastern Literature Publishing House in the two-volume book *Tangut Philology*. This work has now been put up for the 1962 Lenin Prize.

It is true that Nevsky's discoveries became known to specialists already 25 years ago, when his works on the Tanguts, their state, writing and language appeared in the press for the first time. Orientalists also knew about the unpublished Tangut-Russian hieroglyphic dictionary compiled at the time by Nevsky. It contained explanations of more than 5,000 hieroglyphs and how to read them in Tangut. It is to be regretted that this colossal work has come off the press only about two years ago.

The researcher of Tangut writing had to deal simultaneously with two

unknowns: both the writing and the language. At that, because of the absence of any live carriers of the language the path to its revelation lay only through written material that had reached us from the depths of the centuries. And the deciphering of the writing in its turn depends on the knowledge of the language. The difficulties were multiplied also by the fact that the script itself contained no hidden keys for the understanding of it—neither showing the meaning of the characters nor defining how these characters should be read. Therefore it can be boldly asserted that the deciphering of the Tangut script turned into one of the most difficult problems that ever faced the researchers of written languages.

Kozlov's finds, which made up a very rich collection of Tangut books and manuscripts, helped Nevsky successfully solve this riddle. Its inventory list contains more than 8,000 units, which in volume exceeds many times all the Tangut material of the diverse book repositories of the world taken all together. This collection is completely unique also in its composition. It contains Buddhist compositions, texts of legislative acts, history and artistic works, and compilations of an encyclopedic character. Besides, much literature translated from the Chinese and Tibetan languages and finally, which is especially important for a researcher, a Tangut-Chinese dictionary and Tangut phonetic charts are represented there.

We learned all this, thanks to the research of Nevsky, who painstakingly step by step, solved the riddles of the ancient writing. He had to bind together into a single whole all the

elements of philological and linguistic research. The deciphering of several characters, for instance, could shed light on the character of a given work, and the surmise of what text the savant was dealing with made it possible to open the curtain on the meaning of the hieroglyphs themselves, and the revelation of any Chinese, Tibetan or Sanskrit proper name, depicted in Tangut characters, helped read them.

Of course, only a researcher knowing the Chinese and Tibetan languages, from which the Tangut translations had been made, and not in their modern form but in the state in which they existed 8—10 centuries ago, could cope with such intricate work. Besides, it was necessary to know Buddhist and Chinese literature of the most diverse content so well as to be able to comprehend, by a single deciphered piece of Tangut text, from which work—Chinese, Tibetan or Sanskrit—has the translation been made. In short, it was necessary to master to perfection the entire complex of philological knowledge. Precisely because Nevsky possessed all this knowledge, he was able to accomplish a job that places him in the same row with the great discoverers of ancient writing.

What does Nevsky's work give to science? Until now we knew about the Tanguts only through Chinese sources. Now the possibility has arisen for studying the history and culture of the Tanguts through their own books. This means that it is possible to restore the history of a lost people.

Though the Tanguts lived right next to a country of ancient civilisation—China, the Tanguts, who

entered the arena of history only in the 9th century A.D., did not borrow a written language from their great neighbour; but invented their own, deeply original script. Taking over from the Chinese the art of book printing from wooden boards, the Tanguts developed this work on a broad scale. They put out some works in such number, which even today we would call mass editions. To evaluate this fact in the right perspective, it must be recalled that book printing in Europe appeared only in the 15th century. Nevsky discovered a whole code of laws among the Tangut xylographs. The European peoples had at the time merely small compilations of decisions and rules. Finally, the Tanguts had their own works of fiction, including poetry, several examples of which Nevsky was able to decipher and translate. These translations are also to be found in the book *Tangut Philology*.

These discoveries by Nevsky are a striking testimony to the fact that all peoples, including small ones, substantially recent nomads, can successfully march along the road of culture and progress. And not only march, but also to attain the peaks in their cultural development. At the same time the fate of the Tanguts is one more warning to the peoples against wars, which cause such tremendous losses to mankind and its great achievements.

Now the Leningrad branch of the Institute of Asian peoples has prepared for press a partial list of the documents of the Soviet Tangut fund. It must be bitterly regretted, however, that Nevsky's unexpected break from his labours and the death that followed did not give the remarkable Soviet

savant to continue himself the work which had been started so successfully. But now we already have young scientists who have been attracted by the problem of Tangut memorials.

They will unquestionably conclude the researches which are so important for science.

(*Pravda*, April 3. In full)

G. N. DAS

SOME ASPECTS OF TRIBAL EDUCATION

Among the tribals the level of literacy is very low. In Orissa where the percentage of tribal population is the highest in the total population, i. e., 24.06 per cent, the percentage of literacy is as low as barely 2 among males and not even 1 per cent among the females.

There can, therefore, be no two opinions regarding the spread of education among the tribals. As a matter of fact increased attention has been paid to this of late, by the State Government. The question is what should be its form and content.

At an informal discussion a friend once remarked, "The tribals have a low level of intelligence. Are they going to respond adequately to the efforts made at educating them? Look at the huge amount spent and can you tell how many of them have graduated or even matriculated in all these years?"

Another friend, an enthusiast in tribal welfare work, quickly retorted saying that the tribals had no tradition in the formal type of education that we are trying to impart them now. It has taken us, the non-tribals, over a century to attain whatever progress we have achieved so far in that type of education which again we are thinking seriously of modifying and even discarding. What is this education but, swallowing a lot of unrelated information and vomiting them at the examinations to secure a passport to serfdom? The tribal children received

this in the age-old "Sabhaghar." They learnt them by actual practice. We now impose upon them the formal type of education to learn by rote a few disjointed facts of alien history or some figures. What if the tribal is allowed to draw up the curriculum? He will perhaps include archery, forestry, building houses, agriculture and so on. I would like to know how our children would fare in such a set-up?

That may be the other extreme view on the subject. It is, however, an admitted fact that the tribals have to be brought into the main stream of the national life and that at the earliest possible point of time in the interest of national integration. We have to have in view the importance of following a uniform pattern against that context. Our children and tribal children should grow up together as common citizens of India. They must not feel that they are different.

As a matter of fact they are not different. Social Scientists are agreed that tribal children stand on par with non-tribals in intelligence. The theory of an intellectually superior or inferior race has been long exploded. Tribal boys and girls are noticed to be coming up steadily in the schools imparting general education. In simple crafts involving skill and endurance they are found to excel the non-tribal children. In games like hockey, in music and dance their performance has been as outstanding as that of the non-tribals.

What we have, therefore, to ensure is that the tribal children get ample opportunity to receive education so that they develop into their full stature and take their rightful place along with others as the future citizens of India. In the wake of independence, opportunities of various kinds are opening up before us in an ever increasing way. The tribal children have to be well equipped in order to take full advantage of these opportunities.

There are certain impediments in the way. Firstly, the tribals have not yet realised the importance of education. They consider that their children should engage themselves in fruitful pursuits rather than waste their time in the schools. This is a matter for very serious consideration. The tribal is in a very low economic level. His children have to supplement the meagre family resources at a very early age or take care of the younger children while the parents are away collecting roots and fruits and fuel. The tribal parents have, therefore, to be made to take interest in the education of their children. Night schools for adult males and females should be run in large numbers. This can be entrusted to the village teacher. The programme should not be mere insipid literacy campaign, but ought to include interesting pictorial literature on tribal arts and crafts, the flora and fauna of the area, simple stories of their beliefs and convictions and also their dance and festivals. By the process of self-involvement the tribal parents would soon like their children to be educated. They will realise that by being educated they will be able to resist the exploitation that they suffer at the hands of the petty traders, the Shahucars and the host of others.

Secondly, some of the tribals have their own dialects. Their children understand better through their mother tongues. So, teachers should as far as practicable be selected from the qualified tribal persons of these communities. They should be trained if not already trained. If outsiders have to be selected, they should acquire a good working knowledge of the tribal dialect in order to be in a position to explain to the children correctly.

Thirdly, the tribals attach considerable importance to their social and religious ceremonies. Further more, in harvesting and other agricultural operations the children, particularly the higher age-groups, will have to render seasonal service to help the parents either in the field or at home in their absence. The working hours and holidays to be observed in the school have to take this into account. The working hours will have to follow the convenience of the tribals and may have to be changed from season to season and not that the set pattern followed elsewhere blindly adopted for the schools in tribal areas. Similarly, the holidays should be on the basis of their festivals and not according to the departmental blue print.

Fourthly, the tribal is a few degrees more sentimental than the average Indian. He holds his tribal organisations, customs and manners in high esteem and with a sense of pride. It has been noticed that tribal boys and their parents have been genuinely hurt by the thoughtless but unwarranted remarks of unscrupulous and undiscerning teachers concerning their customs and manners or festivals and ways of life. There is, therefore, great need of selecting suitable teachers for the tribal schools. They should not

only be trained as teachers, but should have aptitude for serving the tribals and respect for their way of life and customs and manners. They should be well informed on these matters and try to show proper respect for the tribal ways of life and all that is good therein. By tactful expression of this sentiment he would help not only the tribals to have respect and love for him but also help them to be self-reliant, to have confidence in themselves.

The tribals have their own sense of values; they have their distinctive pattern of life art and music. By the contacts that they have been having with the outside world, they are imbibing new ideas and technologies. But this has been a rather tardy process. The tribals have, by and large, been conservative in their outlook and have, therefore, been able to preserve their character and sense of values to a great extent. It has been held that in the effort to educate them, to improve their economic standard, and active endeavour should be made to preserve their good points which are worthy of preservation; such as honesty, truthfulness, straightforwardness, discipline, value and so on. In preparing the special text-books for the primary standard these aspects may be suitably emphasized so that the tribal students continue to attach due value to them.

On the other hand, in the matter of technological change, the tribals are still at a rather rudimentary standard of development. They have little or no knowledge regarding the modern scientific developments and production. Information on these matters should be projected in a suitable manner in these text-books in order to enable the tribal children to imbibe correct ideas on them.

The tribals, except those who by the process of gradual assimilation have mingled with the general population, are still living in comparative isolation. Instances of such isolation in spite of close proximity have been reported frequently. It is said that due to conservatism, a tribal community which lived for centuries across the road had not accepted any change as a result of contact with the members of another tribe. The tribals are a virile people in spite of or perhaps due to the very fact that they have to live a hard life. They are brave and have a considerable measure of patience and endurance. As they are living in isolation, the sense of national integration is comparatively weak. The tribals should make a strong and efficient link in the chain of the Indian Nation. The sense of national integration has to be suitably infused in them. This should be done through the text-books not only for the tribal children but for the adults who have to be covered by the programme of night schools. It can be suitably put across that along with other Indian communities the tribals should endeavour to build a new India.

The tribals, who have been conservative in their outlook, have continued their age-old agricultural practices and have not readily accepted change in this and other spheres. It has been noticed that new agricultural methods and implements, and introduction of technological change in cottage crafts have not found favour with the tribals. While, as we have learnt from lessons of Social Sciences, new methods and techniques should be carefully and judiciously introduced in a backward community, the effort

should be made to make the tribal mind more receptive and amenable to change for the better. This can be achieved by introducing suitable text in the primers for tribal children, by bringing home to them that agricultural operations and technological methods depend on scientific factors and that the investigation into these factors and adoption of methods which have been found to be profitable by practice in other areas may have to be considered, and adopted when found equally useful by experimentation and practice. This would mould the way to growth of a receptive as well as a creative mind.

There has been some thinking on the pattern of education to be evolved for the Indian children. It has been felt by some of the leading educationists of the country that there is urgent need to modify the present system not only in the pattern but in the content as well. It has been indicated by some that at the primary and the middle standards education should be work oriented. The students, while learning theory should practice with their hands in the same manner as they would participate in games. This has been the way the tribal children have received their education which may be loosely described as a process of learning through lessons of life. If ultimately such a system of vocation oriented education is adopted as the system, best suited for the Indian student, it would be almost readily acceptable by the tribal students. If the nation accepts that a science oriented form of education has to be accepted as the pattern, there is no reason to apprehend that the tribal student would be found wanting or that it would not suit his native genius and skill.

Tribals live in small villages or hamlets, often separated by hills and forests infested with wild animals or cut across by hill streams which swell up with strong torrents during the rains. Village schools will have, therefore, to remain content for the time being with small number of students. Schools will have to be started in adequate number to cater to the needs of small tribal villages of this kind. Insistence should not be made on the teacher-pupil ratio. After communication facilities improve, it would be possible to reduce the number of such schools to some extent.

Effort should be made to provide for midday meals in the village schools for tribal students. The menu should be according to the preference of the tribals. The blue print items need not be insisted upon in all cases. It should, however, be possible to instruct the students in food values in course of the midday meals. For this the teachers should equip themselves adequately.

The tribal likes to keep the living hut and premises neat and loves to display his artistic skill on the walls of his house. The blue print plan of school houses need not be insisted upon for tribal areas. On the other hand, the school house may follow the local tribal pattern. This will provide a congenial atmosphere and the students and their parents would like to keep it in proper trim.

The tribal loves fruit trees. The school should invariably try to develop an orchard. The boys and girls may grow their own fruit trees. They will simultaneously learn to grow them and propagate improved fruit growing at home.

HARISH CHANDRA DAS

THE SEA-FISHERMEN OF NORTH BALASORE AND THEIR WAY OF FISHING

The fishermen community, which I have studied, inhabits the coastal area of North Balasore, stretching from the mouth of the river Subarnarekha to the eastern border of Midnapore district. This area is bounded by the vast sea in the south, river Subarnarekha in the west, casuarina groves of Midnapore shore in the east and the vast sandy wastes with ditches at intervals in the north. The high and continuous sand-dunes, stretching on the shore protects this area from sea water. A metalled road from Contai to Digha (Digha, a health resort of West Bengal) and a fair-weather road from Batgan to Rankotha connects the fishermen community in the east and the west respectively. Before the construction of these two roads trade in fish was mainly confined to the neighbouring inland villages, bi-weekly and weekly markets. These two roads and the Department of Fisheries of the Government of West Bengal established recently at Digha facilitate the despatch of fish to distant towns like Contai, Kharagpur and Calcutta.

The fishermen community consists of five castes, viz., Kaivarta, Gokha,

Kandra, Khadal and Bhumij. According to 1951 census they number 2,671, which total is made up of Kaivarta—505, Gokha—418, Bhumij—711, Khadal—517, Kandra—520.

The following are the 10 villages located in this area, viz., Udayapur, Sabajipur, Gambharia, Padmapur, Kanyanagari, Krushnanagara, Narayanmohantypadia, Rankotha, Chaudabadia and Kirtonia. These villages are found at a distance of about 2 furlongs from the sea-shore. The continuous ridge of sand-dunes is running parallel to the coast and in between the sand-dunes and the villages are found the paddy fields of the fishermen. Now the paddy fields are being covered by the wind-blown sand. To protect this community from the wind-blown sand, the Government of Orissa is planting casuarina plants on the shore.

Sea-fishing is the major occupation of the fishermen of North Balasore. The most costly items in fishermen's equipment are boats and nets. Practically major operation of fishing is done with boats which are of local production. The total number of boats owned by the fishermen

is 127, almost all of which are small in size with the loading capacity varying from 40 to 70 maunds.

Types of nets used by them are as follows :—(i) Stick net (*Kathi Jala*), (ii) *Sarini net*, (iii) *Bacha net*, (iv) *Dhai net*, (v) *Bhida net*, (vi) *Bedha net*, (vii) *Baranda net*, (viii) Salt net, (ix) lift net (*Utha Jala*).

(i) *Stick net*—This is a very simple and common net used by the fishermen. It is 50 yds. long, 2 yds. broad with quarter-inch mesh, and is operated at waist-deep water by two persons only. It catches very small fish and small shrimps. This type of net is in use throughout the year.

(ii) *Sarini net*—This is a net of 180 yds. long and 8 yds. broad with half inch mesh, made from cotton thread. At intervals of one yard floats are tied on one long side of the net. This net is used from one boat. It catches big fish like *Karua*, *Kantua*, *Bhekta*, and also varieties of shrimps.

Fishing with *Sarini net* is very common in this community and it is used throughout the year. In monsoon and in bad weather major type of fishing is done with this net only. One boat and 16 to 20 men are necessary to handle this net. Half of the group stands in waist-deep water holding the one end of the net and the other half of the group gets upon the boat and slowly casts the net as they proceed. When the whole net is cast the boat casts anchor and men getting down from the boat hold the other end of the net. While the net is being drawn on both the sides it is formed into a semi-circle.

The net is dragged slowly and carefully. When the whole net is dragged fish are stored in the baskets. To work once with the net it takes 2 to 2½ hours. A good catch may be as high as 50 maunds and the poor one may be 5 seers.

(iii) *Bacha net*—It is 30 yds. long, 8 yds. broad with 2 inches mesh on the edges. The size of the mesh is reduced towards the middle where it is half inch only. It is made either of cotton thread or of sunn-hemp ropes. This type of net is operated both in the sea and in the river Subarnarekha. It is set in ebb-tide in a semi-circle with a number of bamboo sticks which keep the net tight to the ground when it is under water. In high-tide fish entangle in meshes and in the next ebb-tide these are stored by the fishermen. The operation of this net requires 2 to 3 men.

(iv) *Dhai net*—It is circular in shape with a small purse in the middle to store the fish. The meshes are so small that all sorts of fish can be caught with this net. It can be operated by two persons only in rivers and ponds also.

(v) *Baranda net*—It is 150 yds. long and 15 yds. broad with 5 inches mesh and is made of sunn-hemp ropes. It is set in the deep sea. The lower end of the net is tied firmly to the bamboo sticks which pierce into the ground to save it from being washed away when the tide is high. This net is meant for catching very big fish like *Salmam* and *Bhekta*.

(vi) *Bedha net*—Fishing with this net requires a great deal of co-operation. Several fishermen jointly

set the net in sea which covers an area of about 15,000 sq. yds. In the ebb-tide the net is set tight with the bamboo sticks making a rectangular area. Three sides of this area are covered with the net keeping the side to shore open. When water recedes in the ebb-tide, the fishermen catch fish from the covered area with cast net, stick net, etc. Only one net is operated in this area jointly by the villagers of Kirtania, Rankotha, and Chaudabadia.

(vii) *Salt net*—It is 100 yds. long and 15 yds. broad with a half-inch mesh. It is operated from the boat in winter season only. It catches small fish like *Sila*, *Patia*, etc. A group of fishermen consisting of 12 to 15 persons go in a boat to the deep sea in the morning and come back in the next morning with loaded boat of fish. This net is operated at night only as the shoal of fish is found clearly at night.

(viii) *Lift net*—It is almost a square in size. It is made of cotton thread. Five boats are necessary to operate this net. The fish taken are *Hilsa*, *Karua*, *Bhekta*, *Baula* (flat-fish), etc. There are only two lift nets in this fishing community.

The lift net fishing involves a complicated procedure. This type of fishing was introduced to this community in 1959 by the Department of Fisheries established at Digha (Midnapore district). Different sections of the net are owned by different people. This is a large net roughly square in size with a slight sag in the centre. This net is composed of seven sections of different mesh with the smallest in the centre. When it is in

use the sections are joined by coarse ropes. Out of five boats needed to work the net one carries the net and takes it into the deep sea and holds one corner when the net is cast and hauled. Three other boats hold the other corners. The fifth is the boat from which the expert and organiser of the group watches the shoals of fish. The boats leave before dawn and arrive at the place where the probability of fish is indicated by the leader of the group. The fishing expert from the bow of the boat finds out where the shoals are and carefully listens to the noise. By the volume of noise he can find out whether the shoal is large or small and what kind of fish are there in it. When it is located the work begins. The net is cast, the boat of the leader paddles cautiously into the centre of the net and directs other boats. If the catch is of considerable size one boat acts as the carrier of fish to the shore. 30 to 40 men are necessary to operate this net.

(ix) *Bhida net*—Fishing with this net is also complicated. It is meant for catching *Hilsa*, flat-fish (*bawl*), etc. *Hilsa* are found at a considerable distance from the shore. Sometimes the fishermen cover five to ten miles off the shore. Two boats and 16 men are necessary to handle this net. They go before dawn and return in the evening. When the crew find a shoal they cast the net from both the boats and make a semi-circle. The net is cast just in front of the shoal, the shoal of fish enters into the circle. In the meantime other corners are joined, so that the fish cannot go outside. The fishermen then beat the water with long bamboo

sticks and the fish are entangled into the mesh. Sometimes the shoal is so large that it takes away the net. The crew in order to save their lives leave the net.

As I have said there are nine major types of fishing practised by the fishermen. In four of them nets are used from boats. All forms of fishing are subject to seasonal variation and some of them are possible only

for a short period of the year. The peak fishing season lasts from November to February. During this season all sorts of nets are in use. The economic effect of the monsoon is most marked. In monsoon except *Sarini*, *Dhai* and stick nets fishing with other types of nets are totally stopped. This period cuts off major portion of income of the fishermen. Since saving is insufficient it leads to borrowing in cash or kind.

SIBA PRASAD ROUT

FUNCTIONS OF JUANG DORMITORY IN KEONJHAR DISTRICT

Introduction—My previous article on “Dormitory Organization of the Juang of Keonjhar” deals with such aspects like the age-grade structure of the male and female population, factors determining admission into the dormitory, rites for becoming formal members of the dormitory, roles and responsibilities of these members and rewards and privileges enjoyed by each age-group. This paper describes the functional aspect of the dormitory. Here I have discussed about the organized group activities of the dormitory members. Organized behaviour as manifested in communal and group endeavour is a special feature in the tribal societies and is in full swing in the dormitory life of the Juangs. It is interesting and important to observe how such group activities are organised and how these are translated into action. Cooperation of the group members and their common interests find full expression in two situations, i.e., dancing visits exchanged between *Bandhu* boys and girls, and their common economic pursuits like cultivating common patches of forest land, working as hired labour parties for wages, collecting oil-seeds from the jungle, etc.

Dancing Expeditions—In Juang *Pirh* most of the Juang villages are uni-clan villages. Marriages are strictly forbidden in one’s own village and in villages which are related as *Kutumb*. Marriages are only performed between *Bandhu* villages. All these rules also apply to the dancing organization of the boys and the girls. Dancing visits are exchanged only between *Bandhu* villages. If the *Kangerki* (unmarried boys) develop special love and liking for the *Selanki* (unmarried girls) of a particular village they make gifts of fried rice, ribbon for buns, combs, etc., to the girls and invite them to pay a visit to their village. In order to convey their eagerness for *changu* dance the boys might tie the gifts in a piece of cloth and leave the cloth with the girls telling them to return the cloth on their trip to the boys’ village. Sometimes, they also appeal for the girls’ consent in a joking manner by saying—“if you do not come to our village, then let your own brothers marry you”. While making gifts the boys’ party and the girls’ party try to flatter each other. The boys identify themselves as “the sons of untouchables” and address the girls

as "the daughters of kings". The girls also answer in the similar manner describing themselves as inferior to the boys. The girls distribute the gifts of their *Bandhu Kangerki* among themselves and give a small share to the *Kangerki* of their own village. When the boys distribute the gifts of their *Bandhu* girls they also give a small share to their village girls.

Before making a dancing trip the *Selanki* collect rice or paddy from their houses and prepare cakes to take for the *Bandhu Kangerki*. They also take tobacco and liquor with the cakes as gifts and reach the boys' village with some widows and old ladies of the village. They take shelter in anybody's house but generally the house of a close relative is preferred. The girls call the *Bandhu* boys to this place and ask about their health and happiness. The boys always give funny replies to attract the girls—saying that "some of them were sick", "some had broken their legs on their way back home from the forest", "some could not walk for crushing their feet with an axe while chopping firewood", etc. The boys also ask about the health of the girls and the girls reply in the usual funny manner. The girls give cakes, tobacco and other gifts they brought for the boys and say jokingly that the boys might not like the things brought by the "untouchable" girls.

During their stay in the boys' village the girls and the party are fed by the *Kangerki* and by the village elders. Both the villagers and the *Kangerki* equally share the burden of feeding the girls' party. The *Kangerki* provide rice, dal, etc., for the girls' meals from their common

fund, if they have any stock, otherwise they collect such things from their own houses or bring in loans from rich families. The villagers also collect their shares in similar fashion.

Food is cooked by the villagers on the plaza outside the *Majang* at night and inside the *Majang* under shade during the day. It is sent to the girls in leaf cups, prepared by the *Selanki* of the boys' village.

Changu dance goes on night and day, but it is more free at night. At night the village elders retire from the *Majang* and go to sleep in their own houses. A strong competitive spirit develops between the boys' and the girls' parties and each party tries to defeat the other. The boys try to beat *changu* overnight and make the girls to dance. They beat *changu* in alternate groups. The girls also split up into two groups and dance intermittently. If the girls try to flee away from the dancing ground to sleep the boys drag them and force them to dance. Likewise, the girls do not let the boys fall asleep and try to keep them alert by pouring water on them. It is really painful for the boys to get themselves drenched by the girls in cold wintry nights.

During the dance both parties try to display fun to each other. The girls kick and step on the foot of the boys while dancing. They also throw black dyes, mud water and turmeric water at the boys and the boys throw the same things back at the girls. Juang girls never sing in *changu* dance. The boys get full scope to display their joke towards the *Bandhu Selanki* during *changu* beat, and the girls cannot reply to it except by

kicking, pulling *changu* from their hands and throwing ash and water at them. The singing competition between the boys and the girls takes place when each party sings and answers to each other on their way back home from market places fairs, or while working together in the field. Each party sings in chorus to the other and both exchange joking answers through singing. They sing so sweetly and work so smoothly that they forget to go back home and eat their noon meals.

At the dead of the night when all the villagers fall asleep the boys take the girls to a secluded place for massaging. The girls are coaxed and are approached to go for massaging. The boys tell the girls, "Let us go to the forest to collect tooth twigs (this is a figurative expression of massaging)". The girls reply jokingly, "We have never learnt how to search for tooth twigs". The boys say, "Come, we will teach you". On certain occasions the *Selanki* of the boys' village insist the *Bandhu Selanki* to massage their 'brothers' (meaning their own clan *Kangerki*). The boys get themselves massaged in a group seating close to each other or may pair off with one girl each to different places, but in no case they sit wide apart from each other. While getting massaged a boy may fondle the breasts of the girl but the joking behaviour does not lead to actual sexual indulgence.

On the parting day the girls are entertained with a meat meal. A goat, a pig, or a sheep is slaughtered for them and shares of cooked rice and meat curry are given to the girls both for their meals and for carrying one share with them to eat on their

way home. They are also given *rasi*, *saru*, *mandia*, maiza, jack fruits, and other seasonal crops. The boys go up to certain distance to see the girls off. On the way the girls massage the boys and the boys decorate their buns with wild flowers.

Common Economic Pursuits—The formal members of the dormitory, i.e., the unmarried boys and the girls, have to present gifts to their *Bandhu* partners. Besides, they have to provide food for their *Bandhu* friends on the occasion of the latter's visit on dancing expeditions. Such being the collective responsibilities of all the members of the dormitory, they all work collectively to enrich their common stock of paddy and other things for meeting such expenses. Thus the boys and the girls cut one or two patches of forest every year and raise various crops like paddy and *rasi*. In the months of June and July the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* collect *bangrur* (oil-seeds) from the jungle. *Rasi* and *bangrur* are either sold for money or exchanged for paddy and rice. Money is used for buying gifts for *Bandhu* friends; and rice, dal, etc., are used for feeding them.

The *Kangerki* and *Selanki* also go to work as hired labour parties. They cut trees for others, weed their fields, help them in harvesting crops and bring wages which are used for common purposes.

Functions of the Majang—The *Majang* institution of the Juang affords manifold functions for people of all age classes. The *Majang* has its social, economic, political and magico-religious uses for the Juang. Some of these uses are described here.

1. The *Majang* affords sleeping accommodation for the unmarried youth, for the widowers and for the guests and relatives. Outsiders coming to anybody's house become personal guests of the person concerned and are fed by the latter. Those coming to the village become the guests of the village and it becomes the duty of the villagers to feed them. Wherever they eat, the guests and outsiders always sleep in the *Majang* at night.

2. *Majang* is the common meeting ground where the village elders gather for sometime after the day's toil to gossip and relax before retiring to sleep. They talk and amuse sitting around the sacred fire of the *Majang* which is kept lighted day and night. Similarly early in the morning, before the cock crows and before the sun appears in the distant horizon the Juangs leave their bed. The women-folk go to fetch water, husk paddy and do other domestic work, whereas the men come to the *Majang* to meet with each other, to talk and get warm by the *Majang* fire.

Important matters affecting the village life are also discussed in the *Majang* before any decision is carried out. For example, matters like the selection of days for village rituals, decision for changing the village site, selection for traditional offices of the village, giving away brides to the *Bandhus* in marriage or proposal for bringing a bride from another village, etc., are first discussed in the *Majang* and all members are free to express their opinions.

3. The educative role the *Majang* plays in forming the life of the Juang youth is very significant. Each married

Juang couple has one house to sleep and as soon as their children are grown up they are sent to the *Majang* to sleep and are thus kept away from witnessing the sexual act of their parents. After becoming members of the *Majang* and after associating with its senior members they are trained to direct their energies for successful adjustment with other people in social, economic, religious and other aspects of life. The process of socialisation also progresses through the senior-junior relationship of the *Majang* members. The junior members of the *Majang* run errands and lag for the senior members, and are taught how to obey their superiors.

While sleeping together the *Kangreki* learn various *changu* rhythms and new songs from each other and from the older persons (widowers) sleeping in the *Majang*. The *Sanakangerki* practice *changu* by joining in the groups of the *Kangerki* when the latter beat *changu*. The folk-tales and myths of the tribal origin are also learnt while sleeping in the *Majang*.

4. Life in the *Majang* affords an effective economic organisation for the Juang youth. The *Kangerki* and *Selanki* cultivate one or two patches of *toila* land every year and the yield is stored for common use. The boys cut down trees, plough the field, sow seed and harvest the crops; while the *Selanki* help in hoeing, burning the dried trees and branches, debushing, weeding and cutting the harvest.

5. *Majang* serves as a court-house of the village where the quarrels and conflicts are mitigated. The villagers gather around the *Majang* fire and

discuss about the quarrels and other important issues to bring out compromise. In case of major offences the culprit is fined and has to pay rice, goat and money for liquor to the village elders. Otherwise, he might be asked to give one or two rupees for liquor. The liquor is poured by the village elders to consummate the quarrels and conflicts.

Both the intra and inter-village quarrels involving the Juang exclusively or both the Juang and non-Juang are also settled in the *Majang* in this manner.

6. *Majang* acts as a storehouse or "Grain-golla" of the village, where paddy and other crops are kept stored by the villagers for the guests and relatives. After harvest two to five *pai* of paddy is collected from each family of the village and is stored in the *Majang* for feeding the outsiders. The boys and girls also store their stock of paddy and other grains in the *Majang*.

7. *Majang* is a sacred institution. The drums and *changus* are hung on the *Majang* walls and the god and the goddess for *changus* and drums (known as *Bhima Badama* and *Kanchuni*, respectively) are believed to reside inside the *Majang*. For this the girls are directed to plaster the *Majang* frequently. Before going out to perform any ritual the *Nagam* (village priest) and other ritual officers first come to the *Majang*. On the occasion of *Amba Nua* the *Kangerki* worship *changus* and drums invoking *Bhima Badama* and *Kanchuni*. Many other rituals are also performed inside the *Majang* or in front of it, i.e., on the plaza. The distribution of

seed for first sowing is made in the *Majang* where the *Nagam* distributes paddy to each family for first sowing.

8. The genuine artistic talents of the Juang find expression in the construction of their *Majang*. *Majang* may be called the museum of Juang art and decoration. Its pillars and beams are carved with drawings of birds, beasts and graphic human figures. Moreover, the *Majang* walls are decorated with paintings on the *Amba Nua* ritual day.

9. *Majang* may be used as the kitchen on feasting occasions. Meal are cooked for the visitors inside the *Majang* in day time and near the plaza at night. On every ritual day the *Kamandaki* cook their food with the offered materials inside the *Majang*.

10. The last but not the least function of the *Majang* is of recreational nature. It provides fun and pleasure to the boys and the girls who are tired after the day's toil and want to enjoy the sweetness of life by beating *changu* and joining dancing. At times, they find it so enjoyable that they keep dancing and beating *changu* going on over days and nights.

Modern changes in the Majang organisation—The important functions of the *Majang* institution are breaking down and are gradually vanishing out due to the contact of the tribals with the non-tribal people. So it is important to notice the effects of the modern culture on the *Majang* organisation and the subsequent changes brought about. Juangs of the plains villages come in contact with the caste Hindus more closely than the

Juang living on hills. As such they have developed a feeling of hatred towards the *changu* dance. In some villages, the youths have *Ramlila* parties. They are taught dance and songs by an Oriya teacher and exhibit their performances in the neighbouring villages for collecting money and grains.

Another form of hatred is developed towards their traditional dress and ornaments. Some literate Juangs feel that their ladies and girls should not wear beads and bangles of the traditional variety. They should on the other hand, wear light ornaments, use hair tonics and soaps, and should wear fine and long *saries* which should be washed frequently with soap.

Absence of organized labour and communal economic pursuits on co-operative basis in plains village is really shocking. The members of the dormitory are hardly associating themselves with the affairs of the *Majang*. They prefer to mind their own business than taking pains for communal efforts. As such they do not cultivate patches of forest land of their own for a common harvest or go to work in a labour party to earn wages in cash or kind which could be used for meeting the expenses relating to the dormitory organisation.

For such reasons it is now necessary for the anthropologists to study the youth organisation of various tribes, so that steps may be taken to preserve the good points of such an institution.

BHAGIRATHI CHOUDHURY

**TRADITIONAL METHODS OF
TREATMENT OF DISEASES
AMONG THE JUANGS
OF DHENKANAL**

Every society has personnel who specialise in the treatment of diseases and dedicate their lives to the practice of medicine. But the system of doing it, may differ from society to society. Among the most primitive tribes of Orissa, there is the belief that disease is caused by hostile spirits, the ghosts of the dead or due to the violation of some taboo. Thus diseases are believed to be spiritually caused and should therefore be treated spiritually according to a recognised system of diagnosis and cure. They have their own doctors, well versed with the traditional knowledge of treatment. Much of their time and resources are directed towards attainment and maintenance of the spiritual power. The Juangs, as will be shown in the following few pages, are a typical example of this.

The Juangs having a numerical strength of 20,000 (according to the estimation of 1951 Census), constitute an important tribe in Orissa so far as

the primitive characteristics of their culture are concerned. Linguistically they belong to the Mundari branch of the Austric group. They are mostly confined to the adjoining hilly areas of Dhenkanal and Keonjhar districts. The area in which the Juangs of Dhenkanal live is comparatively more open and more developed in communication because of its greater accessibility than the area inhabited by the Juangs of Keonjhar. In Dhenkanal they live side by side with other clean castes such as Brahmin, Chasa, Oilman, Milkman, Keut and Hinduized tribes like Sabar and Kondh. They are more in contact with the outsiders than those living in Keonjhar, as a result of which their culture has undergone changes considerably. Hence the Dhenkanal Juangs, about whom this paper is written, are less primitive than those living in Keonjhar.

This paper dealing with the indigenous treatments of diseases, is based on

a study undertaken in the village Sansailo of Dhenkanal district. It is a multicasite village with the predominance of the Juang population. It is situated at a distance of seven miles south-west of Dhenkanalgarh, where the headquarters of the district are located.

Causes of the Diseases—In the realm of treating physical ills the Juangs are still living in the age of magic with its practitioners and the agents. In their belief system, causes of the diseases and premature deaths are attributed mainly to malevolent deities,

evil spirits, ghosts and malice of sorcerers. The Juangs have a pantheon of their own which consists of two high gods, benevolent in nature and a number of demi-gods with specific functions presiding over field, forest and village and innumerable spirits residing in the tree and sky. But this is not all. Their unseen world is still further populated by named and unnamed ghosts of the dead. A table given below shows the diseases brought by different agents:—

Name of the deities	Place of residence	Disease caused by the deities
Bhuiyas, i. e. Malevolent deities.	Agricultural field	The owner of the field may cut his finger while reaping, may suffer from headache and fever. Whenever a person is found alone they attack with diseases. If properly not propitiated, bring death finally.
Mangala	Cholera, smallpox and cattle diseases.
Fulchain and Kalpurusa	Bring sterility to women
Burhidei Thakurani, i. e., Chief village deity.	Forest	Vomiting, headache and death, if proper offering is not made at once.
Bankimundi Thakurani and Basindiani.	At the foot of the Bankimundi hill.	Attack men and cattle by sending wild animal.

Name of the deities	Place of residence	Disease caused by the deities
Bana Durga (Deity of the forest).	Forest	.. Diarrhoea
Bhutas and Dahani ¹ , i.e., ghost.	Burial ground	.. Fever, headache, vomiting, etc.
Chua Khai ²	.. Forest	.. Brings death to children
Pitasuni ³	.. Forest	.. Brings trouble to pregnant women.
Baghua devata ⁴	.. Forest	.. Fever, headache and blood vomiting.

There are also malicious magicians among them. By their magical performances they also cause various kinds of troubles, such as stomach trouble, fever and trouble in the normal course of urination and defecation with the persons towards whom the magical actions are aimed.

Diagnosis of the Diseases :

Before proper treatment is undertaken, correct diagnosis of the disease is essential. Whenever a shaman is called upon to attend a patient, his first duty is to diagnose the source of the trouble or disease and to prescribe appropriate treatment to cure the ailment. For the diagnosis, what is known as *Chaulkhoja*

or *Chhanakhoja* (Examining the rice or examining the reeds) ; any male relative of the patient brings a handful of rice and two reeds of wild grass which the patient is made to touch. The shaman first enquires about the symptoms of the diseases and also the places which the patient had visited last. Then he takes the rice and reeds. He places two balls of rice on the ground and cuts the reeds at a length of fifteen digits. In the name of a spirit he chants the appropriate spell and then measures the reeds. If the reeds exceed the previous measurement, the spirit in whose name the magical spell was chanted, is said to be the cause of the disease.

¹. This group of spirits owes its origin from those who die of cholera, smallpox or mechanization of evil spirit.

². Owes its origin from women who dies in child-birth.

³. Spirit of the dead pregnant woman

⁴. Spirit of the person killed by tiger

If it does not exceed, he takes the name of another spirit and chants his mantras. Like this he goes till he finds out the source of the trouble and prescribes the appropriate treatment for the patient.

Treatment:

The indigenous methods of treatment of the diseases among the Juangs can be broadly divided into two categories, namely (1) magical cure and (2) medicinal cure. If a mischievous spirit or agent is found to be responsible for the disease or trouble, the magical treatment is first applied. When it fails, treatment by medicinal herbs is made. The magical treatment is conducted by the shaman (*Gunia*) or the priest (*Dehuri*) in the following ways:—

(a) *Treatment by Magico-Religious rites*

In cases of diseases caused by the evil spirit or malevolent deity, the shaman performs the exorcism by conducting a worship. The offending spirit concerned is invoked, sometimes forced and confined in an altar of rice-flour and charcoal dust through spells. Then the shaman offers blood from his own arm, thigh and tongue and sacrifices a fowl or a goat. The spirit thus propitiated, is taken away from the altar and is conducted to its own place of habitation by singing the spells in which the spirit is rebuked.

In cases of epidemics like smallpox, cholera or cattle diseases a priest from the Sabar community is invited to perform *Majana* and *Jantal* ceremonies for eradication of the disease. The priest performs a *Puja* to *Burhidei*

Thakurani (the chief village deity) and *Mangala* (the goddess of epidemics). When he goes into trance being possessed by the village deity, the village elders request him to save them from the epidemic. He asks for sacrifice of animal. At once several fowls and a he-goat are killed and the priest drinks the blood of the goat.

To avoid sterility of a woman, which is believed to be caused by the evil influence of the *Kalpurusa* or *Fulchain*, the family has to celebrate a worship to goddess *Mangala*. The *Sabar* priest who is a specialist in this regard is invited to conduct the ceremony on a Tuesday. After performing a *Puja* and sacrificing a fowl the priest, being visited by the goddess, enquires about the purpose of invoking her. The husband of the barren woman asks why his wife is unable to beget children. The priest in trance tells him that the *Kalpurusa* or *Fulchain* who has entered into her body is responsible for this. On being requested to drive this spirit away the priest loudly calls the *Kalpurusa* or *Fulchain* as the case may be. The barren woman becoming the vehicle of the *Kalpurusa* or *Fulchain* comes to the priest, who asks her to go away. When she repeatedly refuses to go away the priest with a stick beats her till she agrees to leave for the place of habitation. The priest conducts her to the place which she names, makes her stand against the tree and nails a lock of her hair with it. When the ill-tempered spirit leaves her body, she falls down on the ground. She is then brought back to her home and now she becomes capable of conceiving. At present this ceremony is very rarely

observed. They prefer like others clean castes of the locality to make vows near the goddess Mangala on the occasion of annual festival in Chait (March-April) in the neighbouring villages. They promise to sacrifice a he-goat in future if blessed with child.

(b) *Treatment by Magical spell and enchanted objects*

Diseases caused by the injurious magic of the sorcerers, stomach trouble caused by the evil eye, labour difficulty at the time of delivery and eye-diseases can be cured by administering enchanted objects such as salt in case of stomach trouble, water for easy delivery and dust or mustard in case of fever (caused by sorcery). The shaman breathes the incantation into the object, some of which are given to eat, some to drink and some other to smear on the body of the patient. By mere chanting of spells and blowing with the mouth some diseases can be cured, e. g., when there are scratches on the tongue, a shaman sings the magical spell and blows into the tongue.

Besides, the shamans and the sorcerers can also bring the lovers together, whether previously disappointed or not, by their love magic. If love-charms, which consists of enchanted objects such as turmeric, oil, dust, betel-nut, water, etc. (to be enchanted by different spells) are administered to a person, he or she is sure to fall madly in love.

(c) *Treatment by Magical Herbs*

Other means of warding off some diseases is the herbal medicine with magical power, when brought at a particular time of a particular day

after making oblations properly to the plant by the shaman. A few examples are cited below:—

(i) As a remedy for a parturient woman, who is lacking lactation, the shaman brings seven leaves of *Gopikana* plant on a Saturday evening after worshipping it with *arua* rice and milk. These leaves are kept under the bed of the mother and the baby to assist lactation.

(ii) A Banyan tree and Tulasi plant are worshipped and seven leaves from each of these trees are obtained. To this is added seven black-peppers and these are powdered. When a woman who has been made abnormal by sorcery, is given this powder to eat, she returns to her previous mental condition.

The shaman acting as a fashionable chemist in the community can prescribe for the preparation of medicines possessing curative and restorative power, if collected at a definite time. For example, a man is asked to collect some leaves of a parasite growing on a *Sahada* tree on a Saturday. If he eats those leaves, his strength would be accumulated. A leech is brought from the pond on a Sunday and is burnt into ashes. The ashes are painted on the scratches and cuts on the body for healing. A nest of the *Kumbhatua* bird is brought on a Saturday and is burnt into ashes on a Sunday to prepare a paste with ghee. This is marked on the forehead to become influential in the society.

A shaman also possesses preventive or defensive magical knowledge to protect against the accidental harm by the supernaturals or by the evil

magic. The preventive measures consist of wearing the charms and amulets prepared and sold by the shamans. Certain vegetable roots, animal bone or part of animal's body are worn as amulets to prevent evil eye and the evil attention of the mischievous spirits. To cite a few examples, (a) a Juang is asked to bring a root (spreading towards the east corner) of a plantain tree and to wear it in a casket with *arua* rice and milk to avoid evil eye and evil spirit; (b) no Bhuiya or Bauti (malevolent deities) will be able to visit a person with diseases, if he or she

has worn a piece of bone of a kite; (c) to avoid the danger from scorpion-bite, a person has to wear the head of the scorpion.

Thus, in their belief system diseases are regarded as the work of the gods, ghosts and sorcerers; and they should be treated by spiritual means alone. But in practice they use medicine and go to hospital only after the first series of treatments, through the shaman is over. Slowly they are losing their faith in the supernatural treatment in certain cases.

MANAMOHAN MAHAPATRA

MARRIAGE AMONG THE SA-A-RAS OF JOKALANDI

Village Baramunda is situated to the west of the New Capital, Bhubaneswar, Orissa. Jokalandi or Joganadi is the Sa-a-ra ward about a furlong to the west of Baramunda. This Sa-a-ra ward is named after a small river "Joga", which was flowing nearby in the past. This Sa-a-ra ward is separated from the Baramunda village by the Grand Trunk Road which runs from Cuttack to Khurda. The Sa-a-ras of Jokalandi are a section of the large Saora tribe of Orissa. Thirty-six families comprising 143 people (male, female and children) live in this ward. At home they speak Oriya with an inflexion which is supposed to have been influenced by their aboriginal tongue, but outside they speak Oriya like the other caste people. Their traditional occupation is wood-cutting and selling it in the nearby village. The Sa-a-ras of the nearby villages (Baramunda, Siripir and Nuapalli)

where the investigation was carried out by the author are called in different terms by their caste neighbours, such as Sahara, Sa-a-ra and Kabari. Besides their traditional business they work as labourers in the paddy fields of the nearby villages. Five Sa-a-ra women and 7 girls work as day labourers for the building contractors, in the New Capital. In rainy season they grow brinjals in the *taila* lands on the Bharathapur forest which is about a mile north-west of the village. Two Sa-a-ra youth of Jokalandi are serving under the Government of Orissa, one as a gardner and the other as a watchman. Besides, seven women and girls are working as labourers in the horticultural section of the State agricultural farm which is close to the ward.

Here in this article I shall discuss the forms and procedures of the

marriage prevalent among the Sa-a-ras of Jokalandi.

Marriage, according to the Sa-a-ras of this village, is a ritual union recognised by the *Nahaka* and *Behera* of the village who are considered to be the religious and secular leaders respectively.

No man or woman is found to be unmarried unless he or she is deformed, blind, suffering from incurable chronic diseases or is mentally deficient. Generally the age of marriage for boys is from 17 to 20 years and for girls 13 to 15 years.

Types of Marriage

"Marriage by arrangement" is the regular type of marriage among the Jokalandi Sa-a-ras. "Marriage by choice" is now prevalent among them probably due to the impact of New Capital and other modern influences. Generally, the latter type of marriage is not sanctioned by the religious and secular leaders. During the field study there was such a case in Jokalandi.

Laws regulating the Marriage

Village and totem exogamy, is practised as all the villagers are considered to be agnates. Breach of this rule is severely dealt with. Marriage within the totemic group is prohibited for they trace their descent from the same ancestor. A young widower is at liberty to remarry. An old widower is also permitted to do so, if a suitable widow is found for him. This second marriage is known as "*Dutia*". A widow is at liberty to marry again only after the divorce is duly sanctioned

by the *Nahaka* and *Behera* in consultation with the village elders.

Procedures of the Marriage

The following is the sequence of procedure observed in the regular type of marriage, e.g.:—

1. Bride-seeing (*Kanya Dekha*)
2. Relation (*Kunia*)
3. Negotiation (*Nirbandha*)
4. Marriage (*Bahaghara*)

The selection of the bride is done by the parents or by the brothers if the parents are dead. Before the bride-selection the groom's parents are informed about the bride by a middleman, who is known as the "Goodman" or "*Bhalaloka*". Among them the bride's parents never offer the proposal as this would bring their daughter into ill repute. Generally the parents of the bride come to know about the groom through a relative or kinsman of the groom's village and this person becomes the middleman in the proposal. Before the bride-seeing or *Kanya Dekha* the middleman informs the parents of the both the parties. On the appointed day the groom's relatives, generally the father with his brother-in-law or one of his relatives from his village visits the bride's village to see the bride. When they reach the bride's house they are received cordially by her fathers (father and father's brothers) and brothers. The guests are then offered tobacco after which the groom's father with the relatives go to see the bride. After seeing the bride the groom's father pays

Rs. 1 or Rs. 2 in the hands of the girl, but never gives his consent at once.

After returning to their own village the groom's father consults all his relatives, then only he gives his consent to the middleman who in turn informs the bride's parents. A date is then fixed for the second stage *Kunia* (relative) by the bride's parents. Accordingly it is also informed to the groom's father by the middleman. On the appointed day the groom's parents go to the bride's house with sweets, new cloth and about two rupees on cash to pay the proposed daughter-in-law. It is noteworthy that the Sa-a-ra barber carries the presents to the bride's house. [A Sa-a-ra man acts as barber to all the Sa-a-ras in all their rituals. He is paid in cash and kind by his *Jajamans* (clients). This service is not hereditary. In case of death or disease another family may be selected for the purpose. But in this village the present barber's family has been working for the last 50 years.] After a few days the bride's father with his relatives visits the groom's house to see their son-in-law. When they reach the groom's house they are given tobacco by the farmer's father. The bride's father then sees the groom and pays him about Rs. 2. From this day onwards both the parties are sure of the marriage.

Nirbandha (Negotiation) does not take place until the bride is mature. Till maturity the groom's parents send gifts to the bride's house on the festivals like "*Dutia osa*", "*Bada osa*", "*Kumar purnami*", etc. The gifts generally consist of sweets, new cloths, cosmetics, etc. The barber takes these to the bride's house.

Soon after the girl becomes mature a date is fixed by the parents of the parties. On the appointed day the groom's father arranges a gift of about thirty rupees from his own purse. No kin member or relative contributes to this gift. The following materials which include the gift are carried to the bride's village, for the negotiation, where it is held. The materials presented for this purpose are—

1. One and half a seer of sweets
 2. Two new *sarees* (One for the bride and the other for the bride's mother).
 3. A new *dhiti* for the bride's father
 4. *Usuma* (Boiled) rice, worth Rs. 10
 5. Vegetables (Callacasia, brinjal, potato, etc.) worth Rs. 3.
 6. A silver leg ornament (*Bala*) worth Rs. 4.
 7. A hand ornament (*Magara*) worth Rs. 5.
 8. Cosmetics (Scented oil, vermilion, toilet soap, etc.) worth Rs. 2.
 9. *Mahaprasada* (Holy offerings) from Lingaraj temple.) worth Re. 1.
 10. Arecanut—one
- Rice and vegetables, etc., are taken with the groom's party because if the bride's parents are poor they can provide meals for all the guests present. The negotiation is attended by the father, father's brother, maternal uncle (mother's brother), the *Nahaka* and *Behera*.

These gifts are carried by the Sa-a-ra barber to the bride's village, the guests are then taken to the common house (*Bhagabat Ghar*) where they are given tiffin and tobacco, etc., by the bride's father. The bride's maternal uncle and the *Nahaka* and the *Behera* of the bride's village are then invited to celebrate the ceremony. The same persons from the groom's village are also invited by the groom's father.

In the courtyard of the bride's house before the father's and the mother's brothers, the *Nahakas* and *Beheras* of both the parties break the holy offering (*Mahaprasada*). An arecanut is also kept on the holy offering while breaking it. The ritual procedure is known as the "*Gua Maharda Bhanga*" (breaking of the arecanut and holy offering). A bride-price is then paid to the bride's father which is known as the "*kanyasuna-tanka*" (lit. Bride-gold-money), which varies from two annas to two rupees. After the negotiation it is said that half of the marriage is finished. It is a rule that neither the bride nor the groom can marry anywhere except on the proposed place where the negotiation is over.

Generally the marriage is arranged very soon after the negotiation. Before the marriage an auspicious day is settled by the groom's father in consultation with a clean caste astrologer (*Abadhana*). For his services the astrologer is paid 8 annas in cash and a *sidha* (uncooked meal) consisting of half a seer of *usuna* rice and vegetables. He is given the *sidha* as he will not take the meal in their houses as they are considered to be untouchables.

The marriage proper continues for three days of which the actual marriage ceremony is observed, namely, The *Mangan* (Day before the marriage), The *Bahaghara* (Marriage proper), The *Chauthi* (4th day).

On the day before the marriage (*Mangan*) in the groom's village a group of married women accompanied by a band of musicians go early in the morning to their ward deity "*Mangalka*" with a new cloth for the bride. The shaman priest of the deity known as the "*Kalisi*", bathes the deity and offers fruits, etc., given by the groom's party. The *Kalisi* then touches the new ornaments and clothes to the deity. A ghee lamp is then lighted near the deity. The groom also accompanies the party and goes to the ward deity. At night a feast is given to the ward women by the groom's house.

On the next day the marriage proper is observed. Arrangements are made in the groom's village for the procession of the bridegroom. That night a feast is served to the villagers after which the procession starts to the bride's house. The groom sits in a bullock cart. His father, maternal uncle and other villagers follow the cart accompanied by the *Nahaka* and *Behera* of their village. The barber also accompanies the procession.

When the procession reaches the bride's village the party is welcomed by the bride's relatives and her father or fathers. The procession then goes to the common house (*Bhagabat Ghar*) of the village. In the common house the groom's father hands over

the ornaments and new clothes for the bride, after a few words of greetings.

A few hours later the groom is invited to the altar (*Vedi*), where the marriage is held. At first the bride and the groom are taken to the platform after which the *Nahaka* and *Behera* of both the villages are invited to the platform. The Sa-a-ra priest known as "*Guru*", then ties the ceremonial knot (*Hataganthi*), saying "*Sarba Mangal Jagannath*" ("Oh Jagannath, let all be well"). In the absence of the Sa-a-ra priest (*Guru*) the *Nahakas* and the *Beheras* of both the parties tie the ceremonial knot (*Hataganthi*). A feast is then served to all the guests and villagers of the bride.

In the next morning arrangements are made by the bride's parents to send their daughter to her father-in-law's house with her husband. Before they start they are taken to her father-in-law's house with her husband. Before they start they are taken to the south-east corner (*Isana*) of the house where the new couples play with cowrie shells. This ritual procedure is known as "*Jua*" or gambling. The reason for this is unknown. After the play is over the female relatives of the bride present the couples brass-metal pots, plates, silver ornaments, cow, money, etc. Now-a-days wrist watches and bicycles are also presented to the couples. Two such cases were referred to me during the field investigation by my informants. The couple is then sent to the groom's house in two separate bullock carts. The bride's maternal uncle,

brother and an old lady or a young boy or girl accompany the bride.

When the procession reaches the groom's house seven married women of the ward start a ceremonial worship (*Bandapana*) of the couple after which they are taken inside the house.

The next night the couple meet together and the marriage is consummated for which no ceremony is necessary.

On the seventh day the bride goes to her father's house at the request of her father where she remains for about a month. She does not return to her husband's house unless a request is sent to her parents by the groom's parents.

Before concluding this article let me discuss about the bride-price which is prevalent among them and is paid at the time of negotiation. This is paid to the bride's father as a compensation for the loss of a woman's services in his family by the groom's father. My informant told me that since the girls are considered to be gold (*suna*), some money (*tanka*) is paid to purchase this gold. So the bride-price is known as "*Kanya-suna-tanka*" (lit. Bride-gold-money).

The bride's father or guardian will neither drink nor eat in the former's house if the bride-price is not accepted by him. Now this bride-price is not esteemed among the Sa-a-ras of Joganadi. If one keeps the bride-price he will be criticised by his fellow villagers for "selling" his daughter. So, now-a-days, the bride-price

is accepted and returned to the groom's father after the marriage is over. In analysing the marriage of the Sa-a-ras, it is found that many

elements of the caste neighbours are found in their marriage. It is presumed that the Sa-a-ras of these villages have accepted these in due course.

SATYANAND PANDA

**STRUCTURAL UNITY
OF A FISHING VILLAGE IN
COASTAL ORISSA**

I

Introductory

That the Indian village constitutes a kind of structural entity has been debated from various view-points by the social anthropologists since more than two decades or so. I propose to describe briefly in this paper the internal structure of a fishing village. The topic discussed here emphasises on the socio-political exclusiveness of the village life. I shall devote my attention to discussing the following questions: what happens when a revenue village recorded in the Government office for administrative purposes consists of more than one sociological village? Is it true to consider a village as a structural unity for study? What needs to be the unit of study in rural India, whether a revenue and/or administrative village?

An Administrative Village

The revenue village Gopiakud has an area of 386½ acres of land, and a population of 2,714. Perhaps the whole area in this revenue unit has been so named as Gopiakud after the name of one of the eight sociological

villages lumped as one for administrative purpose. Generally speaking the term 'village' or 'mouza' is prefixed to the name of such total acreage of land recorded in the settlement map. In each settlement map the limits of habitation area are also fixed because the special amount of revenue is charged for the house sites. The residential areas in this revenue unit bear the same name Gopiakud in Government records. But as a matter of fact there are eight village communities each of which has its own local name and Gopiakud is just one such village. In certain contexts, particularly regarding land-holdings in revenue accounts, and for most administrative purposes we shall have to speak of Gopiakud as a whole because distinction between proper Gopiakud and the other seven village communities is of little consequence for the purpose of this paper.

All these villages lie about two and a half miles east of Kujang (also known as Anantapur), former official seat of the ex-Zamindar, and now the headquarters of the Tahasil. Anantapur is about 48 miles from the

east of Cuttack, and is about 9 miles west of Paradip, the proposed port area of the State Government. A *Kacha* road named *Sagar*, starts from Kujang and goes up to Sandhakud

near sea-shore. This road runs by the side of the village of Gopiakud.

The population and caste-groups of each villages is given below:—

Names of the villages	Caste Groups	Population
1. Gopiakud	Chasa	142
	Barika	14
	Khandayat	3
		159
2. Uasadhia	Brahmana	21
	Gudia	13
	Khandayat	17
	Bania	11
	Thatari	33
	Teli	27
	Nahak	3
	125	
3. Chandali Sahi	Kandara	85
4. Sashana	Brahmana	23
	Barika	5
	Tanti	5
	Khandayat	14
	47	
5. Bedapat	Keuta (Siuli)	18
	Kamara	23
	Badhei	24
	Pradhana	11
	Khandayat	21
	Tanti	18
	Barika	5
	Kandara	6
Bauri	17	
	143	

Name of the villages	Caste Groups	Population
6. Taladanda	Keuta (Siuli)	581
	Keuta (Niari)	38
	Gudia	5
	Kandara	19
	Kandi	12
		655
7. Gothadia	Keuta (Siuli)	651
	Keuta (Niari)	52
	Dhoba	20
		723
8. Barhia	Keuta (Siuli)	815
	Keuta (Niari)	76
	Teli	21
	Barika	7
	Gudia	19
	Kandara	39
		777

All these eight villages are located within a contiguous area which covers about one mile. Each village maintains its own autonomy. The villages, like Bedapat, Sashana, Chandali Sahi are of recent growth and the rest five villages are of long standing. The three fishing villages, namely, Taladanda, Gothadia and Barhia are altogether called Kaliapat. The houses of Kaliapat are clustered together within a small area, and form, more or less, a compact block that appears as a big village. Despite the lack of physical separation, each village is itself an independent unit. Each is of great importance as a village

in which the interplay of some of the basic socio-political exclusiveness can be observed.

There is little documentary evidence for the reconstruction of the history of Kaliapat. Perhaps in some historical past these three villages of Kaliapat functioned as a single sociological unit. This seems apparent partly because of the compactness of the houses in the three villages within a small area, and partly because of the peculiar symbolic identification of all three groups "as men of Kaliapat". For example, when any person, especially of the Keuta caste,

goes out of any one of these three villages of Kaliapat—Taladanda, Gothadia and Barhia, he identifies himself as a man of Kaliapat. This fact reflects the generic relationships among them.

Generally, the fishermen of Kujang and people of Kaliapat in particular, are traditionally famous for their caste-unity, ferocity and collective fishing. Sometimes, leading personalities of Kaliapat interfere with the affairs of other castes of surrounding villages with regard to family-quarrels, litigations, inter-village disputes, etc. Persons belonging to high castes of the locality seek their intervention while they run cases in the law courts of the State. Nobody disapproves of their decisions and dares to flout their authority. Now-a-days inhabitants of the local area are not completely free from the apprehensions of their high-handedness under the present administration and of introduction of the Panchayati Raj.

II

Taladanda

In the discussion that follows I shall concentrate my attention on Taladanda alone as it forms an independent unit in a number of notable ways. The residents of Taladanda follow a different style of living even though, physically, Taladanda is inseparable from the rest of the two part-villages of Kaliapat. The villagers of it are praised in their caste assembly (Solabhai Sava—16 brethren's council) for their peace-loving nature. Till very recent times there were no factional groupings, and litigations in this village compared

to that of Gothadia and Barhia. People of Taladanda speak of their honesty, submissiveness and modesty in contrast to harsh, whimsical and insolent behaviour of the neighbouring Keuta villages. According to them, people of the other two part-villages of Kaliapat are wicked, and they interfere into the problems of other caste villages. The villagers of Taladanda often remark "We mind our own business and never try to do any sort of mischief as done by them".

The paddy fields surround the village on three sides, and on the fourth, that is, the eastern side, the houses of Taladanda abut on those of the next village, namely, Gothadia. Though the villagers are quite conscious of their identity as a social group there is no physical demarcation between their area and those of the neighbouring villages.

Out of the total population of Taladanda, 581 belong to Siuli sub-caste of the Keuta. Niari, the other endogamous sub-caste of the Keutas has a strength of only thirty-eight. They are subordinate to the Siuli group in all village affairs. The caste groups of the Kandara, Kandi and Gudia number thirty-six. The Kandaras and the Kandis are untouchables (Harijans). They have only menial roles in the village. The Gudia family came to reside in this village a year ago, and built a house of their own in the village site. The Gudias are not full-fledged members of this village as they do not pay any contributions to the village fund. Taladanda may be called a uni-caste village as the majority of the villagers are Keutas. This village does not have other caste

groups found in most of the villages in this area. Hence, this might be called a Keuta village though it does not mean that the village is exclusively inhabited by the Keutas. This village is not only a discrete cluster of huts occupied by a group of Kinsmen of the Keutas who recognize their own entity against some other similar groups, but also as a unit in a larger field of Keuta caste organisation. It is the smallest corporate group of a political kind with a feeling of solidarity. There are several duties and obligations which entitle a person to full membership to the village community. When a man comes from some other village, and resides in Taladanda, he is required to pay Rs. 5 to the village fund to be accepted as a villager. This is done formally at a meeting when all the villagers assemble occasionally to discuss some affairs of the village. In fact, informal acceptance of a person's membership in the village gets established earlier than this formal procedure during his prolonged stay of some months or a year. What needs to be emphasised in the context of membership in the village is that a villager is expected to participate in collective fishing, to subscribe to the village fund when necessary, and to conform to the prevalent customs of the village. The inclusion or exclusion of a person in the village group depends on whether or not he has a membership role in the village.

There is a village Panchayat or a Council of elders, the members of which are called Mamalatkars. They decide minor disputes between the residents, family quarrels and partition of joint families. But in cases of major disputes and conflicts a meeting

is called by the Mamalatkars, and all the adult members (Bhai) attend the meeting. Everyone is expected to participate in the discussion, and give their individual opinions over the issue. This village Council is armed with powerful sanctions, ranging from fines to the boycott of the offender. The man who is boycotted by the village meeting, loses access to the village pond and the barber, the washerman and the priest do not serve him. He is not permitted to go for fishing with the fellow villagers.

Traditionally, four functionaries are distinguished for the prescribed roles in the social organization of the village. They are called as Mangual, Dangua, Valabhai and Bada Behera. These posts are somewhat hereditary. A suitable person is selected from the village when anyone of them dies without leaving an heir or proves himself a failure in the post. The Mangual presides at the religious functions on behalf of the villagers; he is assigned the duty of helping the priest performing 'Puja' before the village deity on the days of festivities. The Dangua summons the adult members of the village at the direction of the Mamalatkars whenever they are required to assemble either to settle up village matters or to start for fishing. The Bada Behera and the Vala Bhai are both helping hands to decide minor quarrels and occasional misunderstanding between family members. Besides, there is one village accountant called Kageji. He has to maintain all the accounts of the village fund pertaining to income raised through joint fishing, and detailed records of expenditure on village festivities, etc. It is an

important portfolio, and usually this work is entrusted to an able man who knows writing.

The next striking fact about the village organization is what is commonly called 'Bhai'. When a boy comes of age say, about 14, and is capable of handling the nets, and can assist the joint-fishing organised by the village, his 'Mundibika' is performed. The parents of the boy prepare the cakes and *Ukhuda* (made out of fried paddy and molasses), and distribute them among the villagers when they usually congregate at some riverside for fishing. From that day onwards, the boy is proclaimed as *Bhai*. He is allowed to fishing with villagers, and holds a legitimate position in the socio-political life of the village.

The village deity is worshipped daily by a brahman priest of Sashana. He is paid annually from the village fund. He performs all sorts of rituals for various families. No villager can ask any other priest to perform his ceremonial function. In case he does so, the matter is referred to the village meeting by the priest. The Barber, a resident of the village Duadia, located about a quarter mile away, renders his services to the villagers except to untouchables. The Washerman resides in a temporary shed at the extreme western corner of the village. His natal village is Parianka, situated at a distance of two miles from Taladanda. Previously, both of them were paid some fixed shares of income from the joint village-fishing. But, at present, they get their dues from the individual households on yearly basis. Nobody in

the village can change the Barber and the Washerman even if they fail to serve regularly. If some one does not pay dues of the Barber and the Washerman the matter is decided in the village meeting. As the Barber and Washerman are employees of the village as a whole the payment of their perquisites is also the concern of the whole village.

The village has its own separate fishing organisation. All adult member (*Vai*) go in a body for fishing during the winter months. When there is a good catch, they contribute a substantial amount to the village fund. The village festivals and theatrical performances are financed from this fund. When the epidemics of cholera, and smallpox break out, some amount is spent from the village fund on the rituals for propitiating goddesses to ward-off the diseases from the village boundary.

It is customary in the village to render help to a widow left with a male child. She has to supply the required number of nets, and gets some shares from the income of joint fishing activity of the village. She continues to get this kind of help till her son becomes able enough to catch the fish with the villagers.

When anybody in the village adopts a son, he or she shall have to feed the villagers. On the occasion of the marriage of any boy, the villagers are entertained to a feast. A few years back, the custom of giving feast has been changed, and a payment of 30 rupees is made to the village fund as an alternative to a feast. When a person intends to feed the villagers on any occasion, he is supplied with

the quantity of fish needed for the feast by the villagers.

From among the families owning cattle, three members [men, women, boys or girls are told off daily to be incharge of the cattle. In this way every family gets its turn of looking after the cattle, especially during agricultural season. This arrangement called Gaipali functions satisfactorily.

III

The Administrative and Sociological Villages

In the foregoing descriptions, I have produced enough evidence to indicate the kind of ties that bind together the families of a fishing village. The system of Panchayat, the ratification of each council decision, the importance of ostracism as a penal sanction, the compulsory attendance of all adult males at some village meetings, these altogether indicate the intense group-loyalty and strong sense of village identity. Co-residence and a multitude of incidents within the village breed a kind of patriotism which gives rise to a definable structural entity. Apart from the definitional connotations of such facts of a village structure, it has got some practical bearings in context of the Governmental planning. At times, a sociological village loses all benefits from the Government as it has no representation in a statutory Panchayat. Because the elections to the Panchayat takes place on population basis, and two or more villages may be grouped together for the same. When the members of a dominant caste outnumber all other castes with a overwhelming majority within a local area and/or an administrative village, they

become spokesmen in the Panchayat. They wield political power and try to get sanction of a tank or a well, and such other welfare grants for their own people or for their own villages.

The term 'village' is probably the most troublesome, lacking in the unanimity of meaning. The village in India is not merely a territorial concept that has been emphasised. What is reckoned for all administrative purposes as a village, may or may not be the same as what we have in mind when we speak of a village. A village may mean a cluster of houses whose inhabitants are regarded, by themselves, as well as by others, as a distinctive social unit with its identity marked by a local name. The part-village or 'Pada' stands as a warning for which one cannot trust a priori conclusions concerning what is, and is not a part of the administrative village. As may be expected Governmental action has not always kept pace with the local developments, and sometimes even eight villages (as in the present case) are treated in Government records as a single unit. Hence, the administrative unit may cut across the sociological units. The topic discussed here is not merely of local interest but manifests itself, to a greater or lesser extent, in other regions of India. Prof. Srinivas remarks "The administrative and social villages are not always identical even in areas with nucleated settlements. An administrative village occasionally includes more than one social village while a social village is more rarely divided into more than one administrative village" (Srinivas 1960—1375). While discussing the concept of dominant caste in Rampura he categorically states that the village Kera consists of

three distinct nucleated settlements, one of which is Kera proper, the other two, which have distinct names, are called Dakhale Gramgalu or "Satellite Villages". But these two are one with Kera though these are three separate villages from socio-religious stand-points. A small village is tacked into a nearby larger one for reasons of administrative economy. (Srinivas 1959 : 10) Andre Beteille's description of village Sripuram throws an interesting light on its structural unity. The village Sripuram is grouped for revenue purpose along with another village Melur which is being separated from Sripuram by a distance of one mile. Again a number of households which physically form a part of Sripuram, are for revenue purposes, associated with another unit which is located at a distance of two miles even though these households are physically, economically and socially inseparable from the structure of Sripuram (Beteille 1962, 141).

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UMACHARAN MOHANTY

CHANGE IN THE LEADERSHIP PATTERN IN KISAN SOCIETY

The vitality and strength of a tribe depends largely on the type of leaders it produces within its social structure. The efficiency of leaders not only depends on enforcing the traditional rules but they should also have capacity to adjust and mould their followers in changed circumstances. In the present paper an attempt has been made to show the leadership pattern of the Kisan society ; how it emerges at different levels of the social organisation and the recent changes that have occurred in the leadership pattern.

The leaders are the most important persons in the Kisan society. Though the members of the tribe have spread far and wide, chiefly in the districts of Sundargārh and Sambalpur, and now live as agriculturists and labourers in the multi-caste and multi-tribal villages, they still maintain some

amount of solidarity and exclusiveness amongst themselves. They try jealously to confine all matters relating to their social customs and practices within the tribe.

The Kisan political structure is always democratic in spirit and the Kisan leaders are mostly informal in nature. But having been ruled long by the feudal chiefs and coming in contact with other caste Hindus they have organised their social structure on caste principles. The two important formal leaders within the tribe are the *Bariha* and *Panigiri*. The post of *Panigiri* is not very important as he just officiates in the ritual of readmitting the ex-communicated persons into the tribe and formally presides over the mass-meeting held every year at the time of throwing effigies or bones in the so-called *Ganga ghat*. But in old days the *Bariha* was

very powerful with large amount of authority and discretion. Up to recent past he was considered as the Raja of the tribe and was a dictator to some extent within the democratic frame-work of Kisan social structure. The institution has been destroyed at present partly under the pressure of modern forces and partly through the instrumentality of informal Kisan leaders. Enquiry about the role of *Bariha* is now just of historical interest, nevertheless, it is helpful to throw light on the functions of leaders in the tribe in the past. We may, therefore, discuss the role and function of *Bariha* in detail.

The Bariha in the Kisan Society

The *Barihas* were selected by the people. But after being selected once, the post become hereditary. Usually Rajas gave their formal approval to particular *Barihas* by issuing copper plates and delegated some authority to try cases purely relating to his caste affairs. At times the Rajas also selected a particular person as *Bariha* within his territory, considering his efficiency and influence over his tribes men. Within a particular jurisdiction the *Bariha* adjudicated all social cases.

The chief function of the *Bariha* was to regulate the irregular sex-relations within the tribe. Lot of complications were arising within the tribe on account of various forms of marriage such as *Dhuku-Dhukeila* (marriage by intrusion), *Udulia* (marriage by elopement), *Ghicha* (marriage by capture) or marriage through *Goti* service. Even in

case of arranged form of marriage at times after betrothal, marriage took place with some other person which was leading to dissensions and disputes. The *Kisans* were tolerant towards irregular premarital sex-relations. But in the past, pregnant unmarried girls were deposited (*Sapara*) under the guardianship of the *Bariha*. He tried such cases and traced the offenders. If there was no illegality in marriage the *Bariha* forced the concerned person to marry the pregnant woman. In some occasions he took her to his house. Either before or after the birth of the child the *Bariha* arranged her marriage. He collected expenses called compensation (*Haraja*) from the bridegroom, out of which he gave some portion to the community. If a *Ghara-juwin* was driven out or if somebody violated the promise after betrothal, the *Bariha* imposed fines as punishment. In case of adultery the *Bariha*, at times, ordered the brother of the offended girl to capture and marry the sister of the offender. Thus *Ghicha* form of marriage was in force through the instrumentality of the *Bariha*.

In his limited way the *Bariha* used to maintain the regal paraphernalia. He appointed a peon, called *Gamucha Buha* in Sundargarh, who accompanied him whenever he used to go to some place to try any case. Some *Barihas* of Bamanda had their assistant, called *Dandasena*, who removed all articles from the house of an *Ajatia*, the outcasted person.

When a person used to submit his prayer before the *Bariha* with

a request to adjudicate, the *Bariha* was sending a stick to the defendants village with certain scratches indicating the number of days after which he would visit the village to try the particular case. The stick with necessary information was sent to the prominent *Kisan* of the village. It was just like a notice to the entire village. In those days *Bariha-Badi* (stick) was an object of great terror. The *Bariha* could fine anybody and so the entire village had to pay respect to him. In serious offences he would demand a goat from the village, which is called *Godadhua Buka*, as a presentation for the trouble of his visiting the village. He could also summon anybody to appear before him just by sending his peon to him.

Remuneration of the Bariha

Unlike other voluntary offices within the tribe, the post of *Bariha* was not completely free from monetary gain. The *Raja* of the locality conferred him the power to try social cases and to collect fines from the offenders out of which he used to, take the lion's share. Besides through traditional custom they were allowed to appropriate the bride-price of widows and divorced women within the respective jurisdictions. Once a girl was married away, no further the father could demand any bride-price. In case of marriage of a widow the bridegroom was to give a cloth to the bride and was to pay Rs. 5 to the *Bariha*. But regarding divorced woman, there was no fixed rule. The *Bariha* used to hear the complaints of the aggrieved husband or the wife and was effecting the

dissolution of the marriage tie. He was arranging the marriage of the divorced woman and was fixing the bride-price at a very high rate to his own advantage. He was also collecting fines in case of irregular forms of marriage such as *Dhuku-Dhukeila*, *Udulia* or in case of pregnancy caused by illicit sex-relation. The entire bride-price collected at the time of marriage of a divorced woman was being appropriated by the *Bariha*. Thus the women were to some extent marriageable commodities in the hands of the *Batiha* in old days.

The *Bariha* could collect a large amount of money through the collections of fines, compensations and bride-price. But he was not appropriating the entire amount. He used to give a small fraction to the parents of the girl when he received bride-price and had to pay some amount to the community, i.e., to the village elders who were helping him in trying the cases. He was also giving some share to his *Gamucha Buha* (peon) for his services of accompanying him and summoning the concerned persons.

Thus the post was created in the beginning to guard the interests of the tribe to provide a machinery for the enforcement of tribal customary law through their own leaders and to protect it from the administration of the alien rulers. But in course of time the *Barihas* became self-centred and mercenary in their motives. Receiving the support of feudal chiefs they became free from the control of the common people. Of course the *Bariha* could not be fully arbitrary or autocratic as he had to decide

cases with the help of the village elders of the Kisan community of the particular village. But once he became powerful through tradition and Raja's authority, he began to create his own supporters. In each village he was selecting a prominent person who was obedient to him and through whose help he could give effect to his decisions. In deciding cases the *Bariha* used to take their assistance. A share of the fines or other collections, which was to be distributed among the community members was given to such elder or elders. Thus the leader in the village level were partially influenced and demoralised through the institution of *Bariha*.

The institution of *Bariha* became an agency of exploitation in course of time. The evils of feudal system and corrupt practices of the state officials contaminated the tribal official *Bariha* and he tried to extract money from simple tribals. His leadership lacked the dynamism which was necessary in changed circumstances and he continued to enforce the old practices of the tribe while the country was undergoing tremendous change. With the spread of education, development of consciousness through national movement and with the decrease of Raja's autonomy and power, the *Bariha* became very unpopular. Finally the establishment of law-courts and introduction of modern law even in remote corners of the country was a death knell to the institution of *Bariha* and now from all areas the post of *Barihas* have been abolished. Nearly twenty-five years ago the *Barihas* in different areas started losing their importance

and after the independence and merger of states the institution became defunct in all areas. Now, I was reported, only a few *Barihas* are existing in the lower Bamanda area but they have substantially lost their power and importance in society.

Abolition of *Barihas* is an epoch making incident in the political life of the Kisans. It shows the vitality of the tribal organisation to dispel the harmful elements however powerful, these may be. The informal leaders in different areas drove away the *Bariha* from his authority. It is interesting to hear the opinion of these informal leaders who were direct agents to throw away the *Bariha* from his office.

The villagers of Pinda Pathar in Sambalpur narrated before me :

The *Bariha* had previously the duty to punish the offenders. But later he found it as a source of income. He admitted pregnant girls, who had illicit relations with the Gandas and Ghasis, into our society. So we decided to live as Mundadalia (leaderless communal life). We instituted a case against him in the court of Govindpur and removed him from his office.

The people of Kapond in Bonai narrated before me :

We abolished *Bariha* as he tried to exploit his fellow-men by inflicting heavy fines. Therefore people did not prefer to consult him in case of difficulty. Each tried to do things

according to his own sweet will. Thus gradually his power declined. In this situation clever villagers exploited others and gained money. Finally we cut off all relations with the *Bariha*.

In certain instances the *Bariha's* actions were challenged in the law courts by their opponents. The following is an instance how Negi *Bariha* of Gudhiali was driven out of his post :—

Once on a certain point there was dispute between the Nagra *Bariha* and Negi *Bariha* of Gudhiali regarding the validity of the marriage of a divorced woman who had undergone *Bandeiba* ceremony under the authority of Negi. In protracted legal suit when Negi saw the possibility of being punished, he identified his assistant Jogi as the *Bariha* of the community. Jogi was fined Rs. 100 which he paid with difficulty by making loan. After this Jogi became the *Bariha* of the area but gradually the post lost its old glamour.

While the *Bariha* was losing importance the informal leaders started caste assemblies in the modern lines. These leaders of the caste assemblies with a puritan zeal tried to purge their community from all evils and revolted against the rule of the traditional leader *Bariha*. They placed importance on the '*Panchupalli*' organisation, the traditional Panchayat system and tried to select members in different areas to try such social cases which were

decided by the *Barihas* in old days. Thus at present the absence of *Bariha* does not create any vacuum as the *Panchupalli* organisation is discharging the duties that were performed by the *Barihas* in the past.

To understand the emergence of these new leaders who organise the caste meeting it is necessary to understand the leadership pattern of the Kisan society. At present after the abolition of *Bariha* there is no formal leader of any importance. No doubt there are formal officials as *Panigiri* within the tribe but such formal officials are just the office bearers while the real power, prestige and decision making and organising communal affairs rest with informal leaders. Here we may see how at different levels leadership is created in the Kisan society before describing the present caste meetings.

Leaders in the Village Level

For all practical purposes local group is the most important social unit in the Kisan society. The local group may be a village or a ward within the village which consists of a number of Kisan families. As pure Kisan villages are very few in number, the local group generally implies the Kisan ward. In the local group an informal council of elders is the real authority. The functions of the council of elders is to administer justice, organise the communal rites and festivals and to co-operate in other social functions. The prominent person within the group is called *Sian* or headman but he neither exercises any special power nor holds any hereditary or life-long

office. He is just a common man though he enjoys some amount of prestige in the eye of others. In some villages there are more than one *Sian*, each enjoying almost equal status. Thus the *Sian* is an informal leader who gets the recognition by common consent. If the Gountia of the village is a Kisan, usually he becomes the *Sian* of the local group but such persons are very few in number. Generally the land-owning wealthy cultivator of the village who can argue well becomes the *Sian*, provided he takes interest in the communal affairs of his village. As kinship ties are more important in the village level, a person, belonging to the clan of the majority, naturally becomes the *Siar* of the village as he can very easily influence his kin members.

Except prestige the *Sian* gets no other advantages through his office. The only remuneration for council of elders is received in the form of feast as in major cases of serious offences punishment is given to arrange a communal feast which is called '*Jati Bhoji Danda*'. Except compensation to the aggrieved party, the Kisan leaders do not impose fines in terms of money lest it may corrupt the village elders.

Factions within the Village

Sociologically considered every local group is not a single unit. The Kisan villages are multi-clan in nature and sometimes mild competition is seen within the important clan groups. Besides, for various other reasons, there may arise dispute within the village. Generally, too big Kisan

villages cannot perform their social duties efficiently. In case of marriage, death or such other rites it is customary that all the villagers should join in the common feast. But in bigger villages it is not convenient to maintain this solidarity. In such occasions the local group becomes divided into a number of factions called *Bad* in the local language. Now *Bad* is the important self-contained autonomous social unit within the village. In all social rituals members of Bandhu clans take an important role as their very presence is indispensable. So in the formation of *Bad* groups the leaders see that the Bandhu clans are well represented in the *Bad* organisation. Thus *Bad* organisation is a safety valve which counteracts the friction amongst the leaders in the village.

At the level of Cluster of Villages

The important disputes which are not finalised in the *Bad* level are discussed in the village level and if no satisfactory decision is arrived at that stage important *Sians* of five or six villages are invited to adjudicate the issue. Thus in the village level there may be a number of leaders, depending on the number of *Bads* within the village, but some prominent person is considered as the representative of the entire village. Such prominent villagers are invited by the aggrieved party to decide particular issues. This inter-village organisation is called *Panchupalli* though it is a loose and evolving organisation. Important land-owning cultivator, Gountia or some educated person who has acquaintance with the law courts and present day rules and regulations, becomes the

important leader in the *Panchupalli* meeting. Generally, such influential man who enjoys higher status in the locality, is recognised as the *Sian* of the *Panchupalli* organisation. This body acts as a court of appeal.

The members who join the *Panchupalli* meeting to adjudicate cases get no remuneration. If they visit the village of the complainant, they are treated respectfully and *Bhang* (powdered tobacco), *Kahali* (tobacco leaves rolled as cigars in Sal leave) and liquor are offered to them. Sometimes they are also given meals if they come from distant places.

In the level of Clan or Sub-clan

The Kisans retain some amount of solidarity in the clan level or sub-clan level through the functions of *Bansa Puja* and *Bansa Khoja*. *Bansa Puja* is held annually or once in two or three years, when the representatives of the clan or sub-clan members of each village gather at a particular place. They worship the *Bansa* ancestors and other deities and pray for the expansion of the *Bansa* and for the protection of *Bansa* members from diseases. In some sub-clans such regular worship (*Bansa Puja*) is not held but in twelve or twenty years they hold a general meeting called *Bansa Khoja* when the members of the clan or sub-clan trace their genealogies and get themselves acquainted with the clan members who might have resided at distant places. In case of *Bansa Puja* there is a formal official called *Kalo* who officiates as priest in the clan worship but organisation of such meetings are executed by the informal leaders of the clan.

In recent years educated Kisans seem to show great interest towards these clan meetings in the form of *Bansa Puja* or *Bansa Khoja*. In old days such meeting was discussing about the members of the group, specially regarding their migration, marriage, etc. Some sub-clans maintain the birth and death registers regarding their group members. Such meeting also acts as arbitrator in family disputes and imposes punishment who violates caste rules. But now the educated people are discussing how to bring new reforms into the community. Some clan meetings are advancing loans from the clan funds to the needy members. They also now put more emphasis on the need of education and discuss about the evil effects of drinking, dance, etc. New ideas are also being disseminated through this organisation. In the *Bansa* meeting of the Topo clan which was held during my field work (on the 29th April 1962) a Kisan Sarpanch of Sambalpur district explained about the newly introduced Panchayat, Blocks, etc., and tried to rouse the political consciousness amongst them.

Conclusion

The purpose of describing these organisations is to show how at different levels of social organisation in the Kisan tribe, informal leaders are created out of the common people, who get scope to exercise their leadership amongst the tribes men. Once such leaders are created they begin to think in terms of tribal upliftment specially to raise their status in the caste-hierarchy of their locality. They have been also powerfully influenced by the

caste meetings of their neighbouring people. During last thirty years three caste meetings (The Kisan Jati Mahasava) have been organised in Bonai, Bamanda and Gangpur on the modern lines. In a subsequent

article I shall discuss how the Kisan leaders have successfully organised the caste meetings in these different areas and how they are trying to give vent to their aspiration through these caste meetings.

The Didayi are a small primitive hill tribe of the district of Koraput inhabiting the 4,000 feet plateau of the Eastern Ghat range. The plateau is a continuation of the habitat of the Bonda, who are frequently referred to as notorious by the local people due to their atrocious attitude. The Didayi number 18,000 approximately. At present they do not live in a compact geographical area and migration has taken place in the plains lying at the foot of the plateau on both sides. Comparatively more frequent migration has been in the direction of the valley on the eastern side of the plateau as the tract is more secluded from the general stream of population of the district. As a result of this they can be said to be divided into two groups, i.e., the hill and the plain Didayi. It is interesting to note that the people living on the hill-tops have almost lost social ties with the plains people who, to a considerable extent, have been influenced by the Telugu speaking people living close to them. The hill people have retained, to greater extent, the primitiveness which can be observed from their habit, dress and other activities.

The Didayi speak a dialect closely akin to the language spoken by the Gadaba and Bonda; hence it belongs to the Mundari group. The plains people have incorporated many Telugu words into their language due to contact. The hill people are comparatively dirty with regard to their dress, habits, and mostly keep long locks of hair known as '*Gunagbo*'. The plains people have done away with this practice and are comparatively better off with regard to their dress habits.

The Villages

There is a sharp contrast between the type of villages of the two divisions of Didayi. The hill villages are limited and their number hardly exceeds ten. The plain villages on both sides approximately are twenty in number. Approach to the villages is extremely difficult as the 4,000' plateau stands as a huge barrier. There is absolutely no road to reach these villages. The only easily accessible village is Orangi lying at a distance of three miles East of Kudumuluguma Panchayat headquarters situated on the main road from Jeypore to Balimela. From Orangi one has to climb the Kondakamberu range

of the Eastern Ghat mountains to reach the hill villages. A steep descent from the plateau makes one to reach the plain villages of Didayis and Kandhas on both the banks of river Machhkund amid dense forests. There are other round about approaches to the plain Didyai villages to avoid the steep ghat.

The houses in hill as well as plain villages lie scattered all over and no regular street is found. The houses are built in an individualistic manner and the villagers do not share a common roof like Kandhas. The one characteristic which is marked in the hill villages is that it is inhabited by members of a single clan and in an exogamous unit. In a plain village this is not strictly the rule. They have accommodated people from other castes and tribes keeping their identity by separate hamlets.

The Didyai houses constitute two rooms, a front verandah (*Pleda*) and a small open space before house. The entire thing is fenced all-around and is called *turrah*. There are no back-doors or windows. One entrance is used for both the rooms. The bigger one at the entrance is known as *Mannah Duan* and the small one is called *Dhan Duan* and is used as store-house for *rugi*, *suan* and other crops. The bigger one is used for a sleeping and cooking. The earthen platform, attached to oven (*Nukturson*), is in one of the corners and is used for keeping pots. It is known as *Batur*.

The Clan

The Didyai kinship system is based on two distinct exogamous clans known as *Ghia* and *Nta*. *Ghia Sig*,

Gudia, *Majhi*, *Muduli*, *Surma* and *Sisa* constitute the *Ghia* clan and *Nta*, *Mleh*, *Gushuwa*, *Golpeda*, *Patasi* and *Kswa* constitute the *Nta* clan. The groups of each clan are exogamous and can have marriage relations only with any of the groups of the next clan. The clans have their respective totems. *Malabu-Bais* or '*Nag*' is the totem of the *Nta* clan and *Nku-Bais* or tiger is the totem of *Ghia* clan.

Marriage System

As the Didyai kinship system is based on two exogamous clans, mother's sister's children and father's brother's children are considered to be brothers and sisters. Preference is given to father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter who are called *Marraseboi*. Generally, three forms of marriage are prevalent in the Didyai society. They are *Bihay* or marriage by negotiation, *Gube* or marriage by capture and *Posiamundi* in which the girl forcibly enters the groom's house and enters into sexual-relations with him. On the event of negotiation marriage the groom's father goes to the bride's father to ask for his consent. The groom is called upon to the bride's house. It is interesting to note that the decision depends upon the girl's willingness to marry the man. When the girl gives consent her father asks the groom's father to come to his house in each month for one year. This custom is known as *Tosopangla*. The groom's father visits bride's father's house bringing with him one *man* of rice, *salap* wine and sometimes a cock. February to April is the season for

marriage (*Magh, Phagun and Chait*) and Tuesday and Wednesday are considered to be the two auspicious days for marriage. After completing his term of visiting the bride's father's house, the groom's father asks for performing the marriage ceremony. The son's father gives one goat, ten *mans* of rice, one pot of *salap* wine, cash of rupees twenty and a cock to the bride's father. The bride's father then gives a feast to his villagers and asks the son's father to take away the girl after payment of bride-price, called in their language as *Gneng*. This constitutes a cow, one metal plate, one arrow, three plates of rice, one new cloth and one small chicken seated over a cock. After receiving this the bride's father says to the groom's father that he is finally giving his daughter for his son. Then the girl goes to the groom's village accompanied by the *tosore* or the guests of the grooms' villages. After reaching the groom's village the groom and bride are brought together and the priest puts a *Hdasing* (chicken) on the hands of the couple which is allowed to eat rice. Then its neck is wrung and the blood is mixed with rice which is thrown over the couple. After this, turmeric water ('*Siandia-kigbike*') is thrown over the couple from above the grooms' roof by his younger brother, and dancing and drinking take place till evening. The couple is not allowed to have sex relation for eight days from the day of the marriage.

Economy.—The hill Didayi practise shifting cultivation whereas the plain people have adopted to settled agriculture. Both the groups cultivate *ragi* and *suan* extensively which is

their staple food. There is, however, exception for few villages like *Konangi* and *Orangi* lying on the plains with greater avenue for wet land cultivation. These villages cultivate paddy as their major crop.

The monthly cycle of economic activities of the hill Didayis is given below:—

Magh, Phagun—'Guebar' or virgin forests are cleared by felling trees.

Chait, Baisakh—The dried logs are burnt. Bamboos are fetched from the jungle and fencing of the houses are made.

Landi—Houses are thatched with *Piri*, a type of jungle grass which grows on *Birla* or tree less hill-tops which are abandoned for few years after shifting cultivation is practised over it. The *suan* fields are dug for broadcast of *suan*.

Asadh—Seeds of *suan* are broadcast, the stumps and other undergrowths of *Guebar* or virgin forests are cleared for broadcast of *ragi* and other seeds.

Bondapo—Seeds of *ragi*, maize, millet, *Jhudung* (bean), chilli, *jada* (oil-seeds), cucumber and *biri* (*Romia*) are broadcast on the patch of cleared forest.

Aosa—Vegetable plants like tomato, brinjal and chillies are planted.

Dashera—Weeds are cleared from *suan* and *ragi* fields.

Diwali, Pand, Pus—*Suan* and *ragi* are harvested, husked and stored.

The Didayis of the plains do not have sufficient virgin forest for practising

shifting cultivation, hence they depend on paddy and ragi. They grow cash crops like *alsi* more extensively than the hill Didayi. The hill and plain Didayis both collect a variety of roots and fruits throughout the year to supplement their food economy.

The Didayis are voraciously addicted to juice of *salap* tree which is available in abundance in the forests. The wine is available almost throughout the year and is depended upon as one of the major sources of their food economy. Liquor prepared from ragi and *mahul* are also in use among them. It may be concluded that the hill Didayi live on subsistence level having no scope for wet land cultivation and can be said to be still on collectional stage where the plain Didayi are economically better off having scope for wet land cultivation as well as for raising various types of cash crops like oil-seeds and pulses.

The process of shifting cultivation as practised by the hill Didayi is that a virgin forest is cleared by felling the trees in the months of *Magh* and *Phagun* (February-March). They are allowed to dry up for a month after which fire is set. During May and June the stumps and other undergrowths are cleared for broadcast of seeds. The

first stage of the forest is called *Guebar*. After one harvest the same field is called *Sasambar* where only small variety of *suan* is cultivated. After the second harvest the same plot becomes *Birla* for three to four years when no cultivation is made over it. After three years it becomes again *Guebar* and shifting cultivation is practised. The process continues till that patch of land is finally used for cultivation of small variety of *suan*, maize and vegetables.

The plain Didayi have undergone immense change when one looks to the hill Didayi's way of life. It is interesting to note that a section of the plain Didayi in the village of Ramguda which is going to be submerged due to Balimela Dam say that they are *Matia Paroja* and not Didayi, though they retain their own language and relations with other Didayis. It appears that they want to merge themselves with the major bulk of the population around them losing their link with their fellow-men. It is to be regretted that no comprehensive data about these people's life is available from any source. A detailed study should be taken up to know the present state of affairs of this small tribe.

**IMPORTANT ACTIVITIES OF THE TRIBAL AND RURAL WELFARE
DEPARTMENT DURING THE QUARTER ENDING
THE 30TH SEPTEMBER 1963**

1. *Administrative*—Certain changes were effected at the district level. The District Panchayat and Tribal Welfare Officer, Koraput, was transferred to the district of Mayurbhanj and the Assistant Director (Liaison), Umerkote, took over as District Panchayat and Tribal Welfare Officer, Koraput. The post of Assistant Director (Liaison), Umerkote, which was in the scale of Rs. 370—780 was temporarily downgraded to the scale of Rs. 260—540 and was allowed to be held by one of the Gazetted Assistant District Panchayat and Tribal Welfare Officer.

Two Subdivisional Gazetted Assistant District Panchayat and Tribal Welfare Officers were deputed for training to the National Institute of Community Development, Rajpur, Dehradun, for a period of six weeks, with effect from the 8th July 1963. One post of Assistant Director, Tribal and Rural Welfare (Headquarters), was created, with effect from the 31st July 1963 to assist the Director, Tribal and Rural Welfare in the supervision of welfare institutions and field-work.

2. *Educational and Cultural Advancement*—(a) To reduce the multiplicity of crafts and to give more emphasis on general education in Ashram Schools it was decided to abolish the weaving and carpentry sections from selected Ashram Schools.

(b) Since the responsibility of primary education has been entrusted to Zilla Parishad it has been decided that the funds for distribution of reading and writing materials will be placed at their disposal from the next financial year.

(c) With a view to associate eminent Anthropologists and Social Workers both official and non-official in the work of the Tribal Research Bureau and to obtain necessary advice from them, Government have been pleased to constitute an Advisory Board with the Chief Minister as Chairman and Minister, Tribal and Rural Welfare, as Vice-Chairman and the Director, Tribal and Rural Welfare, as Member-Secretary. Two Administrative Officers of Tribal and Rural Welfare Department, two Anthropologists and two eminent Social Workers are the other members of the Board.

3. *Economic Uplift*—(a) In view of the increased cost of building materials and wage rates, Government have decided to increase the ceiling of construction cost of graingola building to Rs. 7,100 in respect of the types for which previously a sum of Rs. 5,200 was sanctioned by the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department.

(b) To undertake survey of land for resettlement of the tribals displaced by MIG factory and township in Sunabeda of the Koraput district, Government in the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department have created one post of Sub-Deputy Collector, two posts of non-gazetted Tahasildars and some clerical staff. A sum

of Rs. 47,150 has been sanctioned for payment of stipends to the tribal youths undergoing training in different trades and for providing accommodation to the trainees in Sunabeda.

4. *Miscellaneous*—(a) There is an evil custom among the Kondh Society of Koraput and Phulbani that if a woman is killed by tiger her husband is excommunicated with the entire family and so also if the husband is killed or wounded the other members of the family are excommunicated. To remedy the stigma the family in such a case is required to incur heavy expenditure.

Similarly in case of Kisan tribe performance of a ceremony is required as in case of Kondh for bringing back the family to society but at a lesser cost.

To put an end to these evil customs the Home (P. R.) Department have been requested to make special efforts to propagate among the Kondhs and Kisans. Instructions have been issued to the field-officers of this Department to persuade the Adibasis for putting an end to these practices.

(b) The eleventh meeting of the Tribes Advisory Council was held on the 30th August 1963 in the Secretariat Conference Room with the Chief Minister in the Chair. Among other things the Council made the following important recommendations to the Government for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes in general.

- (i) Legal provisions on the lines of the Madhya Pradesh Scheduled Tribes Debt Relief Regulations, 1962 to save the Adibasis from the clutches of unscrupulous money-lenders.
- (ii) Revision of the present reservation of vacancies in services for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes on the basis of increased population of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes according 1961 Census.
- (iii) Complete abolition of Gothi System
- (iv) Control of Akhanda Paridhi practised by the Scheduled Tribes at the time of Chaitra Sankranti in some of the districts.
- (v) Reservation of 10 per cent seats for caste Hindu students in the special hostels for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes with similar facilities to Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in general hostels.

(c) A meeting of the State Harijan Welfare Advisory Board was held on the 21st September 1963 with the Chief Minister in the Chair. The Board made recommendations on the following important subjects :—

- (i) Principle for giving legal aid
- (ii) Extending facilities to Scheduled Castes for their settlement in Dandakaranya Project.
- (iii) Enhancement of the rate of stipends for Scheduled Castes girl students
- (iv) Lease of service tenure lands in the name of Gondas in Koraput district

- (v) Grant of licence to Harijans as is given to Muslims in Koraput district for carrying on leather business.
- (vi) Grant of waste land to Adibasis and Harijans free of Salami
- (vii) Financial assistance to Taragaon Co-operative Society
- (viii) Compulsory sale of homestead lands
- (ix) Reservation of seats for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in Sainik School.
- (x) Study of history and genetics of different Scheduled Caste communities
- (xi) Organisation of Weavers' Co-operatives for Scheduled Castes
- (xii) Settlement of Government land in favour of Scheduled Caste people

(d) The second working group meeting on long-term plan for the welfare of Backward Classes was held on the 20th September 1963 with Additional Development Commissioner in the Chair.

The working group observed that the aim and object of drawing up the Long-term plans should be that the most backward 'A' category tribes of the communities should be helped not only to take full advantage of T. D. and C. D. Blocks Programmes but special measures will be adopted to bring them up to the level of general population by the end of 1975. To do so their present level of development will have to be assessed *vis-a-vis* the level of the general population. The gap existing between the two indifferent fields will have to be crystalised in the different field of education, health and sanitation, economic development, etc.

Some of the general decisions taken by the working group are establishment of Chatsalis in the tribal village having population of 50—200, starting of comprehensive schools in backward areas and in Koraput district in particular, technical education with the basic crafts like carpentry, smithy, massonry, etc., from the Middle to the Secondary Standard, Soil Conservation Measures in tribal pockets where soil erosion has taken place on a large scale, resettlement programme for 'A' category tribes, etc.