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This is a quarterly journal dealing with articles and research findings in various social sciences, developmental strategies and other co-related matters emphasising the problems of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It also publishes reviews of books pertaining to the aforementioned subjects.

TO THE CONTRIBUTORS

Contributions based on Anthropology, Demography, Economics, Human Geography, Museology, Planning and Sociology with particular reference to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are invited. The articles should be type-written in double space on one side of half foolscap paper. Invariably two copies of the articles should be sent. The contributors should also not forget to send their biodata in a separate sheet along with the article and its brief synopsis. No remuneration is paid to the contributors. Only twenty-five off-prints of the articles are supplied. Two copies of the books should be sent for purpose of review.

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EDITORIAL

The approaches for tribal welfare and development in our country during the post-independence period and strategies for implementation have undergone the processes of transformation over the year. The renewed efforts in this regard are in consonance with the philosophy behind tribal situation—the shift from isolation to assimilation and then to integration with the mainstream of national culture without destroying their cultural identities. The nation's resolution for development of tribal communities had its humble beginning during the first Five-year Plan period. The Fifth Plan is a landmark in the history of tribal development because of the evolution of area approach through Tribal Sub-plan (TSP) strategy which ensured a definite development intervention and flow of benefits from multisectoral programmes. This period marks the shift from welfare-orientation to development-orientation with the change from "growth-centred economic development" to "economic development and social change" and then to "human resources development". This period also witnessed the emergence of MADA Programme for dispersed tribal groups and introduction of Micro Projects for Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs).

As economic development and social development are complementary concepts, in addition to economic/material well-being enhancement of quality of life was stressed vis-à-vis the enrichment of quality of environment. Further attention was paid for the minimisation of social inequality, for the promotion of social justice to those who are deprived of their entitlements and for the reduction of exploitation of any kind. It is not that nothing has been achieved so far through tribal development intervention. But it is an admitted fact that our achievements fall below the level of our aspirations in spite of massive national efforts. There is still need for rethinking in our total approach towards tribal welfare and development in view of our experiences which are replete with stories of success and failures.

During this period Government of India put special emphasis on the development of Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs). The weakest and most vulnerable ones were identified on the basis of three principal criteria, such as pre-agricultural level of technology, low level of literacy and stagnant or diminishing population. Till the end of 1977-80 as many as 52 communities were identified in various parts of the country. Each community has its unique socio-structural arrangement, aspirations, life style and culture. The Union Government provides Special Central Assistance (SCA) for implementation of development programmes.

In Orissa State 12 (PTGs) have been identified till now and for their development 16 Micro Projects are functioning, the oldest being the Bonda Development Agency (BDA), 1977-78 and the latest one is the Paudi Bhuiyan Development Agency (PBDA), Rugudakudar, Barkote in Sambalpur district, 1993-94. The PTGs in Orissa State are the *Juang, Saora, Lanja Saora, Kutia Kondh, Dongria Kondh, Hill Kharia, Mankidia, Birhor, Lodha, Paudi Bhuiya, Bonda* and *Didayi*. Our institute is currently preparing the action plan for the development of PTGs for the Eighth Plan period.

The paper on pattern of land holding among the major tribes of the TSP area in Orissa although based on Universal Bench Mark Survey (1978-80) data appears to be informative in the absence of such up to date data. The paper has the potentiality for comparison when second leg survey is attempted in future as approximately one and a half decade is over. The paper authored by S. C. Mohanty on the Kutia Kondh women unravels their position in society which is based on an anthropological analysis and further, he has highlighted the problem of ownership and inheritance of property as per their traditions and customs. M. R. Acharya in his paper has chosen a theme which is very significant. He has analysed the process of socialisation of Kondh children through games. The paper has a bearing on the pre-school education especially in tribal context. Chitrasen Pasayat has made a commendable attempt in observing the Nuakhai Festival and its role in tribe-caste integration and in recognising it as a cohesive force for the promotion of social solidarity.

Besides these papers, the volume contains a book review.

K. K. MOHANTI
Editor

Pattern of Land Holding among Major Tribes Of the Tribal Sub-plan Area in Orissa

(Based on Universal Bench-Mark Survey, 1978—80)

K. K. Mohanti
B. Choudhury
S. C. Biswal

Introduction

The facts concerning the peasantisation of tribes of Orissa require deep historico-sociological investigation for appropriate conceptualisation. There is need for collection of information on agro-ecological pattern, agrarian social structure, inelastic land resource *vis-a-vis* population pressure, land-man ratio, land holding and land tenure pattern, the phenomenon of landlessness and the like. However, in the contextual framework of Orissan tribal scene, we may mark relative homogeneity, endogamy, egalitarianism, intense group solidarity, encysted entity, inward-looking and limited world view, although changes have been noticed during the post-independence period. The subsistence economy still prevails in these societies preserving elements of its uniqueness simultaneously with the inroad of modern agricultural practices. The process is also strengthened through development interventions, which are multi-directional, poly-contextual and multi-dimensional. Various measures in this regard taken up include the survey and settlement operations in the remote and relatively isolated and inaccessible tracts, grant of record of rights to the tillers, land grants to landless, recognition of usufructuary rights, rehabilitation of swidden cultivators, land reclamation and land development measures, renovation of agricultural mode of production, etc., with a view to assuring enriched quality of life. In this context, a probe into the land holding pattern among the major tribes of Orissa would indicate their production consumption nexus and their emerging socio-economic status. The present paper seeks to make an humble attempt, using the Universal Bench-Mark Survey (UBMS) data (1978—80) of T.H.R.T.I. to focus the trend (although collected little more than a decade back), as comprehensive and up to date data in the desired line are lacking.

It has been envisaged in the Report of the Working Group on Development and Welfare of Scheduled Tribes during Eighth Five-Year Plan (1990—95) issued by the Ministry of Welfare, Government of India (November 1, 1989) that there is need to improve the agricultural productivity of Scheduled Tribes which has already been emphasized by the working group during the Seventh Plan period. It has been stated that the agricultural backwardness coupled with low productivity was linked up with outward migration of Tribal workers from Tribal Sub-plan (TSP) areas. Their estimate shows that the number of operational holdings of Scheduled Tribes in 11 TSP States has increased from 68.54 lakhs in 1980-81 to 76.37 lakhs in 1985-86 and the average size of holdings has experienced a downward trend, i. e., from 2.44 hectares in 1980-81 to 2.25 hectares in 1985-86 and this indicates marginalisation in the land holdings of Scheduled Tribes.

Basing on the population figures of 1981 Census, there were 15 numerically preponderant major tribes in Orissa each having a population above one lakh. They are the Kondh (989,342), Gond (602,749), Santal (530,776), Saora, Savar (370,061), Munda (338,937), Shabar, Lodha (329,207), Kolha (326,520), Paroja (267,183), Bhattada (2,47,709), Kisan (2,27,990), Oraon (215,336), Bhuiyan (207,792), Bhumij (157,614), Bathudi (147,967) and the Kharia (144,174). The distribution of these tribes at the district level given in Table 1 shows that the Kondh, the Saora, the Paroja and the Bhattada have main concentration in Koraput, Phulbani, Ganjam and Kalahandi districts in the Southern and South-Western region, while the Santal, the Bathudi, the Bhumij, the Munda and the Kolha are

largely found in Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Balasore districts in the Northern region. The Kisan, the Oraon and the Bhuiyan are found mainly in Sundargarh, Sambalpur and Keonjhar districts. The Kharias are come across in Northern and Western districts while the Gond and the Shabar in almost all districts of the State.

The data on the possession of land by the tribal households have been collected during the Universal Bench-Mark Survey in 1978 covering all households of the Tribal Sub-plan Area consisting of 118 development Blocks grouped under 21 Integrated Tribal Development Agencies spread over 9 districts of the State. The survey has revealed that out of 731,403 tribal households 167,094 (22.84 %) households have no land, 295,987 (40.46 %) households have land within 2.5 acres. Out of the remaining 267,900 households only 47 households have not stated the amount of land they hold and the rest 267,853 households fall to the five different land sizes ranging from 2.6 acres to above 25 acres in varying proportions such as, 156,871 (21.44 %) households falling to the land size 2.6 to 5.0 acres, 47,885 (6.54%) households to 5.1 to 7.5 acres, 42,903 (5.86%) households to 7.6 to 12.5 acres, 17,419 (2.38 %) households to 12.6 to 25 acres and 2,775 (0.37%) households to above 25.0 acres.

Analysis of data on possession of land by major tribal groups has been done to find out the extent of landlessness and the pattern of land holding among the land owning households of 15 major tribal communities. Regarding authenticity and accuracy of data one has to take the following facts into account : —

(a) Data on possession of land and other items included in the survey were collected through the Primary School Teachers after undergoing an orientation training in the method of data collection. They were required to collect data on land ownership on the basis of record of right (R. O. R.) wherever issued to the owner of the land and from other official sources, like the V. L. Ws., R. I. or Panchayat Officers where Survey and Settlement operation was not conducted. As the coverage was huge it was not always possible to check the data for its accuracy by the supervisory staff of the institute.

(b) A household owning or having traditional right to cultivate any extent of land (excluding the swiddens) even measuring less than one acre has been treated as a land-owning household.

Landlessness

The landlessness among the major tribes is indicated by the number of landless households and its percentage to the total households. Table 2 shows the number and percentage of landless and land-owning households. On the whole, 22.68 per cent of the total households among them are landless. Among these tribes the Shabar or Lodha having 37.54 per cent of its households as landless tops the list and the Santals with 10.24 per cent occupy the lowest position. Of the remaining communities, the Khond (30.49 per cent), the Saora (31.11 per cent), the Munda (25.32 per cent), the Paroja (36.65 per cent), the Bhumij (25.18 per cent), and the Kharia (25.97 per cent) are above the average (22.68 per cent) for all communities and the remaining tribes, viz., the Gond (17.72 per cent) the Kolha (17.77 per cent), Kisan (16.00 per cent), the Oraon (10.44 per cent), the Bhuiyan (15.82 per cent), and the Bathudi (13.35 per cent) below it. Major tribes having main concentration in Southern Orissa have higher quota of landless households.

Land Owners

The households having possession of land whatever quantity it may be, on the basis of ROR or traditional right, have been treated as land owners. These households have been classified on the basis of different size of land holding. Those households having land up to 2.5 acres have been termed as Marginal Farmers and those having within the range of 2.5 to 5.0 acres as Small Farmers. Those having more than 5 acres are called Big Farmers. The Big Farmers are further sub-divided into four sub-categories, viz., Sub-category I having land between 5 to 7.5 acres, Sub-category II having between 7.5 to 12.5 acres, Sub-category III having 12.5 to 25 acres and Sub-category IV having 25 acres and above.

Marginal Farmers

Those households possessing land up to 2.5 acres have been termed as Marginal Farmers for the present analysis. Table 3 shows that 53.47 per cent of the land owning households come under the category "Marginal Farmers" among the major tribes.

The Table reveals that Bhumij and Shabar or Lodha constitute the highest percentage of Marginal Farmers amongst the major tribal communities, under review, having 73.30 per cent and 73.13 per cent respectively. In other words, their level of marginality is almost the same. Similarly, the Bathudi and the Kolha come under next level of land ownership, forming 69.64 per cent and 66.25 per cent respectively. The Kolha, Bhuiyan, the Santal and the Khond come next within the percentage range of 53 to 58 and the Kolha occupies the highest position, i.e., 58.81 per cent whereas the Khond is at the lowest position i.e. 53.59 per cent. The next percentage range which varies from 44.54 per cent to 49.78 per cent includes six communities, such as the Bhattada, the Kisan, Kharia, Munda, Munda Lohara, Paroja and the Gond. The Bhattada record the highest percentage (49.78 per cent) among them while the Gond the lowest percentage, i.e., (44.54 per cent).

From the Table, it also appears that the lowest percentage of Marginal Farmers amongst the major tribal communities in the sample is accounted for by the 'Oraon' constituting 30.10 per cent as against the highest percentage recorded among the Bhumij, i.e., 73.30 per cent.

Small Farmers

Among the Small Farmers (those possessing land up to 2.5 acres) the 'Oraon' constitute the highest percentage, i.e., 33.40 per cent whereas the Shabar or Lodha form the lowest group with 17.80 per cent. The Gond, Kisan and the Bhattada are almost at par with each other as regard their land ownership. They claim 31.23 per cent and 31.36 per cent respectively variance. The Paroja and the Santal come nearer to them with 29.53 per cent and 29.30 per cent respectively. Similarly the Kharia and the Munda or Munda Lohara are almost within one range, i.e., 28.90 per cent and 28.81 per cent respectively. Further, four communities, namely the Khond, Kolha, Bhuiya and the Bathudi come under the percentage range of 23.62 per cent and 27.44 per cent with slight differences in land ownership. Among these four communities the Khonda or Kond or Kondha has the highest percentage, i.e., 27.44 per cent. The lowest percentage is shared by the Bathudi, i.e., 23.62 per cent. The Kolha and the Bhuiyan occupy almost similar position with 28.44 per cent and 28.03 per cent, respectively. The Saora is the singular community forming 20.09 per cent and thereafter comes the Bhumij with 18.64 per cent under this category.

The group representing the lowest percentage is held by the Shabar or Lodha with 17.80 per cent.

Big Farmers: Sub-category I

As regards 'Big Farmers' the position of those coming within the ownership of land ranging between 5.1 and 7.5 acres is discussed in the present analysis, as Sub-category I. Table 5 reveals that the Oraon farmers among their claim the highest percentage, the Bhumij group of cultivators the lowest percentage, i.e., 3.71 per cent. Next group is represented by the Munda or Munda Lohara who form only 11.07 per cent. Then the two communities, Kharia and Gond fall within the range of 10.75 per cent and 10.86 per cent, respectively. The Kisan is a singular community to bear a percentage of 9.96 per cent. The Paroja, Bhuiya and the Bhattada are almost in the same range, i.e., 8.79, 8.31 and 8.01 per cent in their respective order. The percentage for the Khond, Santal and the Kolha comes to 7.90, 7.81 and 7.36, respectively. In so far as the Bathudi and the Saora are concerned the land ownership in this sub-category comes to 5.19 per cent and 5.03 per cent, respectively. The next community with lesser land extent is represented by the Shabar or Lodha with 4.85 per cent. The Bhumij occupies the lowest position claiming 3.71 per cent only.

Big Farmers: Sub-category II

Households possessing land varying from 7.6 to 12.5 acres have been grouped under this sub-category. Table 6 shows the number and percentage of households and the extent of land possessed by different tribal groups. It is seen that the Oraon with 13.89 per cent is at the top and the Shabar or Lodha with 3.33 per cent at the bottom of the tribal communities. The Oraons are followed by the Paroja with 9.40 per cent and then by the Munda, Munda-Lohara with 9.22 per cent, the Gond with 8.90 per cent and the Kharia with 8.86 per cent. In addition to these Kisan with 7.72 per cent, the Bhuiyan with 7.46 per cent and the Bhattada with 7.50 per cent have higher percentage than that of the tribal communities taken together (7.26 per cent). Besides the Shabar or Lodha, the Khond (7.18 per cent), the Santal (6.54 per cent), the Kolha (6.17 per cent), the Bathudi (3.95 per cent), the Bhumij (3.40 per cent) and the Saora (3.58 per cent) occupy very low position.

Big Farmers : Sub-category III

The position of the Big Farmers Sub-category III, owning land ranging from 12.6 to 25 acres is reflected in Table No. 7.

Among all these tribal communities the Oraon have got the highest percentage, i.e. 6.53 and the Shabar or Lodha as low as 0.74 per cent, at the bottom closely followed by the Bhumij with 0.78 per cent and the Bathudi with 0.94 per cent. Of the remaining tribal groups, the Kissan (2.49 per cent), the Kolha (1.95 per cent), the Santal (1.65 per cent) and the Saora (1.41 per cent) fall below the percentage (2.88 per cent) for all communities and the Gond (3.37 per cent), Khond (3.26 per cent) and the Kharia (3.94 per cent) are above it.

Big Farmers sub-Category-IV

Table 8 shows the position of different tribal communities among Big Farmers Sub-Category-IV who possess land above 25 acres. Among them, the Paroja with 1.15 per cent of its households possessing above 25 acres is at the top and the Bathudi having 0.05 per cent occupies the lowest position. The remaining 13 tribal communities record less than one per cent.

The overall position of all these tribals communities taken together is indicated below:

ABSTRACT

Categories of Land Holding	Percentage of Households
(a) Landless Households	22.68%
(b) Land Owners	
(i) Marginal Farmers : Up to 2.5 acres	53.47%
(ii) Small Farmers ; From 2.6 to 5 acres	27.65%
(iii) Big Farmers—	
Sub-Category-I ; 5.1 to 7.5 acres	8.28%
(iv) Sub-Category-II : 7.6 to 12.5 acres	7.26%
(v) Sub-Category-III : 12.6 to 25 acres	2.88%
(vi) Sub-Category-IV : 25 acres and above	0.46%
Total	100.00%

More than one-fifth of the total households are landless while half of the land owning households are Marginal Farmers and more than one-fourth are Small Farmers. The proportion of Big Farmers under Sub-Categories III and IV is very insignificant.

Size of land Holding Among Major Tribes

Tribe wise percentage of households belonging to different categories of Farmers is presented in Table 9. Position of different tribal groups on the basis of size of land holding shows that the Khond who are the most significant tribe for its population and wide distribution in all districts of the State has 30.49 per cent of its household returned as landless, 53.59 per cent of its land owning households possess land within 2.5 acres and 27.44 per cent

within the range of 2.5 to 5 acres. Then after the percentage of land owning households drops down in the subsequent categories and ends with 0.63 per cent in case of the Big Farmer Sub-Category IV. Similar is the position more or less among the Saora, the Bhumij, the Kharia, the Santal, the Kolha, the Bhattada, the Kisan, the Bhuiya, the Bathudi and the Shabar, The Gond which is the second largest group among the tribes in the State show better position with regard to possession of land. The percentage of landless household is only 17.72. Among the land owning households the Marginal Farmers claim 44.54 per cent and Small Farmers 31.86 per cent. The Big Farmers Sub-Categories I and II have comparatively higher quota. Similar is the position more or less among the Munda, the Oraon and the Paroja.

ABSTRACT

Category of land Owning Household	Number and percentage to total land Owning household	Percentage of Land owned to total land	Average size of land per land owning household (in acre)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1. Marginal Farmer ..	267,368 (53.47)	20.15	1.36
2. Small Farmer ..	138,286 (27.65)	28.72	3.76
3. Big Farmer —			
(a) Sub-Category-I ..	41,417 (8.28)	14.39	6.30
(b) Sub-Category-II ..	36,305 (7.26)	19.11	9.55
(c) Sub-Category-III ..	14,398 (2.88)	13.21	16.65
(d) Sub-Category-IV ..	2,294 (0.46)	4.42	34.98

An abstract given above will show the percentage of different categories of land owning households and the percentage of the extent of land owned and average size of land holding. Apart from the landless households claiming one-fifth of the total households, the Marginal

Farmers and Small Farmers consisting 81.12 per cent of the land owning households possess only approximately half of the total land. Thus, landlessness and possession of uneconomic small land holding among the tribal communities in tribal Sub-plan area will not be congenial for agricultural pursuit.

TABLE 1

Districtwise population distribution of numerically major tribes during 1981 Census

Sl. No.	Name of the major tribe	Total population	Sambalpur	Sundergarh	Keonjhar	Mayurbhanj
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1	Khond, Kond, Kondh ..	989,342	330,693	2,184	1,214	197
2	Gond ..	602,749	117,648	39,977	59,134	21,757
3	Santal ..	530,776	141	7,282	41,194	403,423
4	Saora, Savar, Saura, Sahara	370,060	107,697	1,388	7,929	2,903
5	Munda, Munda-Lohara ..	338,935	60,618	149,418	35,628	25,646
6	Shabar or Lodha ..	329,209	4,682	828	14,540	8,135
7	Kolha ..	326,523	3,168	3,790	124,473	143,726
8	Paroja ..	267,184	34	62	17	11
9	Bhottada or Dhottada ..	247,709	19	18	72	13
10	Kisan ..	227,992	115,007	95,951	3,802	52
11	Oraon ..	215,337	28,670	177,826	3,720	2,949
12	Bhuiya, Bhuiyan ..	207,793	26,025	67,523	64,273	41,580
13	Bhumij ..	157,613	124	6,235	10,103	94,213
14	Bathudi ..	147,970	19	79	53,988	82,480
15	Kharia or Kharian ..	144,178	31,091	89,297	903	14,985

Sl. No.	Name of the major tribe	Balasore	Cuttack	Dhenkanal	Phulbani	Balangir
(1)	(2)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
1	Khond, Kond, Kondha ..	197	5,805	26,501	251,633	71,386
2	Gond ..	81	588	26,663	13,159	83,623
3	Santal ..	59,466	9,745	5,474	19	38
4	Saora, Savar, Saura, Sahara	1,622	22,019	20,298	3,363	46,587
5	Munda, Munda-Lohara ..	6,600	26,705	17,486	424	4,250
6	Shabar or Lodha ..	3,334	47,473	33,983	180	9,681
7	Kolha ..	23,827	14,231	10,115	235	1,634
8	Paroja ..	47	55	23	46	8
9	Bhottada or Dhottada ..	3	5	17	33	..
10	Kisan ..	9	139	11,602	3	45
11	Oraon ..	965	289	412	31	48
12	Bhuiya, Bhuiyan ..	1,290	444	4,721	38	115
13	Bhumij ..	36,530	5,658	3,796	18	8
14	Bathudi ..	19,418	684	31	13	1
15	Kharia or Kharian ..	488	818	2,974	861	627

Sl. No.	Name of the major tribe		Kalahandi	Koraput	Ganjam	Puri
(1)	(2)		(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
1	Khond, Kond, Kondha	...	129,749	369,231	63,848	36,704
2	Gond	..	151,582	88,571	348	718
3	Santal	..	33	1,944	138	1,878
4	Saora, Savar, Saura, Sahara	..	5,695	45,940	69,201	35,410
5	Munda, Munda-Lohara	..	4,978	4,610	126	2,446
6	Shabar or Lodha	...	49,901	29,972	112,622	13,678
7	Kolha	...	457	275	13	579
8	Paroja	..	19,451	247,305	82	43
9	Bhottada or Dhottada	..	13,573	233,916	1	39
10	Kisan	..	101	136	47	98
11	Oraon	..	50	177	27	171
12	Bhuiya, Bhuiyan	..	356	378	238	812
13	Bhumij	..	8	462	173	285
14	Bathudi	..	20	33	6	198
15	Kharia or Kharian	...	730	258	11	1,125

TABLE—2

Number and percentage of Landless and land owning households among the Major Tribes Inhabiting Tribal Sub-Plan Area of Orissa

Si. No.	Tribes	No. and percentage of Landless households	Number and percentage of Land owning households	Total households
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Khond, Kond, Kondha	.. 44,454 (30.49)	101,349 (69.51)	145,803 100%
2	Gond, Gondo	.. 7,317 (17.72)	33,981 (82.28)	41,298 100%
3	Santal	.. 8,296 (10.24)	72,710 (89.76)	81,006 100%
4	Saora, Savar, Saura, Sahara	.. 14,126 (31.11)	31,277 (68.89)	45,403 100%
5	Munda, Munda Lohara	.. 7,730 (25.32)	22,794 (74.68)	30,524 100%
6	Shabar, Lodha	.. 1,550 (37.54)	2,579 (62.46)	4,129 100%
7	Kolha	.. 9,340 (17.77)	43,222 (82.23)	52,562 100%
8	Paroja	.. 18,523 (36.65)	32,021 (63.35)	50,544 100%
9	Bhottada, Dhotada	.. 8,938 (20.55)	34,566 (79.45)	43,504 100%
10	Kisan	.. 3,886 (16.00)	20,406 (84.00)	24,292 100%
11	Oraon	.. 2,757 (10.44)	23,648 (89.56)	26,405 100%
12	Bhuiya, Bhuiyan	.. 5,270 (15.82)	28,037 (84.18)	33,307 100%
13	Bhumij	.. 6,321 (25.18)	18,781 (74.82)	25,102 100%
14	Bathudi	.. 3,121 (13.35)	20,265 (86.65)	23,386 100%
15	Kharia, Kharian	.. 5,602 (25.97)	14,432 (74.03)	19,494 100%
	Total	.. 146,691 (22.68)	500,068 (77.32)	646,759 100%

TABLE 3

Showing number of households, area and average area per land owing household within 2.5 acres

Sl. No.	Tribes	Number and percentage of households owing land up to 2.5 acres	Area possessed (in Ac.)	Average area per land owing households
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Khond, Kond, Kondha	54,318 (53.59)	77,229.5 (20.24)	1.42
2	Gond, Gondo	15,135 (44.54)	22,708.0 (16.07)	1.50
3	Santal	39,877 (54.84)	56,638.1 (23.82)	1.42
4	Saora, Savar, Saura, Sahara	21,780 (69.64)	26,927.1 (33.35)	1.23
5	Munda, Munda Lohara	10,681 (46.86)	14,668.1 (15.95)	1.37
6	Shabar, Lodha	1,886 (73.13)	2,509.4 (40.26)	1.33
7	Kolha	25,417 (58.81)	32,476.4 (23.82)	1.27
8	Paroja	14,589 (45.56)	21,088.7 (14.11)	1.44
9	Bhottada, Dhottada	17,208 (49.78)	26,131.3 (19.58)	1.51
10	Kisan	9,821 (48.13)	13,777.1 (18.18)	1.40
11	Oraon	7,118 (30.10)	11,068.5 (8.58)	1.55
12	Bhuiya, Bhuiyan	15,556 (55.48)	19,318.8 (19.57)	1.24
13	Bhumija	13,766 (73.30)	15,950.5 (37.54)	1.15
14	Bathudi	13,425 (66.25)	16,769.2 (32.33)	1.24
15	Kharia, Kharian	6,791 (47.06)	8,449.5 (14.53)	1.24
Total		2,67,368 (53.47)	3,65,710.2 (20.15)	1.36

TABLE 4

Showing the number and percentage of households, area and average area per land owing household within the range of 2.5 acres and 5.0 Ac.

Sl. No.	Tribes	Number and percentage of households owing land 2.5 to 5.0 acres	Area possessed (in Ac.)	Average area per land-owing household
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Khond, Kond, Kondha	27,815 (27.44)	1,05,348.6 (27.61)	3.78
2	Gond, Gondo	10,828 (31.86)	41,571.9 (29.42)	3.83
3	Santal	21,304 (29.30)	78,787.5 (33.14)	3.69
4	Saora, Savar, Saura, Sahara	6,283 (20.09)	23,087.8 (28.60)	3.67
5	Munda, Munda, Lohara	6,567 (28.81)	24,591.9 (26.74)	3.74
6	Shabar, Lodha	459 (17.80)	1,680.9 (26.97)	3.66
7	Kolha	10,997 (25.44)	40,897.8 (30.00)	3.71
8	Paroja	9,456 (29.53)	37,575.1 (25.13)	3.97
9	Bhottada, Dhottada	10,794 (31.23)	41,471.7 (31.07)	3.84
10	Kisan	6,410 (31.41)	23,974.7 (31.64)	3.74
11	Oraon	7,898 (33.40)	30,330.3 (23.50)	3.84
12	Bhuiya, Bhuiyan	7,017 (25.03)	25,963.8 (26.30)	3.70
13	Bhumija	3,500 (18.64)	12,352.2 (29.07)	3.52
14	Bathudi	4,787 (23.62)	17,696.5 (34.12)	3.69
15	Kharia, Kharian	4,171 (28.90)	15,581.2 (27.27)	3.80
	Total	1,38,286 (27.65)	5,21,181.9 (28.72)	3.76

TABLE 5

Showing the number and percentage of Households, Area and Average Area per Land owning Households within the Range of 5.1 to 7.5 Acres

Sl. No.	Tribes	Number and percentage of Households owning land 5.1 to 7.5 Acres	Area possessed (in Ac.)	Average area per land owning Households
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Khond, Kond, Kondha ..	8,004 (7.90)	50,456.0 (13.23)	6.30
2	Gond, Gondo ..	3,691 (10.86)	23,581.3 (16.69)	6.38
3	Santal ..	5,461 (7.51)	34,796.5 (14.64)	6.37
4	Saora, Savar, Saura, Sahara ..	1,573 (5.03)	9,829.8 (12.17)	6.24
5	Munda, Munda Lohara ..	2,523 (11.07)	15,636.1 (17.00)	6.19
6	Shabar-Lodha ..	125 (4.85)	774.0 (12.42)	6.19
7	Kolha ..	3,183 (7.36)	19,793.8 (14.52)	6.21
8	Paroja ..	2,813 (8.79)	17,982.8 (12.03)	6.39
9	Bhottada, Dhottada ..	2,769 (8.01)	17,736.1 (13.29)	6.40
10	Kisan ..	2,033 (9.96)	12,717.8 (16.78)	6.25
11	Oraon ..	3,611 (15.27)	22,667.9 (17.56)	6.27
12	Bhuiya, Bhuiyan ..	2,330 (8.31)	14,498.4 (14.69)	6.22
13	Bhumija ..	697 (3.71)	4,350.5 (10.24)	6.24
14	Bathudi ..	1,052 (5.19)	6,604.4 (12.73)	6.27
15	Kharia or Kharian ..	1,552 (10.75)	9,695.9 (16.68)	6.24
	Total	41,417 (8.28)	2,61,121.3 (14.39)	6.30

TABLE 6

Showing Number and Percentage of Households, Area and Average Area per Land-owning Households within the range of 7.6 to 12.5 Acres.

Sl. No.	Tribes	Number and percentage of Households owning land 7.6 to 12.5 Acres	Area possessed (In Ac.)	Average area per land owning Households
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Khond, Kond, Kondha	7,280 (7.18)	70,127.0 (18.38)	9.63
2	Gond, Gondo	3,024 (8.90)	29,177.8 (20.65)	9.64
3	Santal	4,752 (6.54)	44,168.5 (18.58)	9.29
4	Saora, Savar, Saura, Sahara	1,121 (3.58)	10,682.9 (13.23)	9.52
5	Munda, Munda, Lohara	2,102 (9.22)	20,181.1 (21.95)	9.60
6	Shabar-Lodha	86 (3.33)	806.0 (12.93)	9.37
7	Kolha	2,666 (6.17)	25,359.9 (18.60)	9.51
8	Paroja	3,011 (9.40)	29,329.0 (19.62)	9.74
9	Bhottada, Dhottada	2,593 (7.50)	25,129.6 (18.83)	9.69
10	Kisan	1,576 (7.72)	15,020.0 (19.82)	9.53
11	Oraon	3,285 (13.89)	31,730.4 (24.59)	9.65
12	Bhuiya, Bhuiyan	2,091 (7.46)	19,741.1 (19.99)	9.44
13	Bhumija	639 (3.40)	5,819.2 (13.69)	9.10
14	Bathudi	801 (3.95)	7,410.8 (14.29)	9.25
15	Kharia, Kharian	1,278 (8.86)	12,160.9 (20.92)	9.51
	Total	36,305 (7.26)	3,46,844.2 (19.11)	9.55

TABLE 7

Showing Number and Percentage of Households, Area and Average area per land owning households within the range of 12.6 to 25.0 Acres

Sl. No.	Tribes	Number and Percentage of Households owning Land 12.6 to 25.0 Acres	Area possessed (in acre)	Average area for land-owning household
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Khond, Kond, Kondha	32,299 (3.26)	55,401.6 (14.52)	16.79
2	Gond, Gondo	1,144 (3.37)	19,073.4 (13.50)	16.67
3	Santal	1,198 (1.65)	19,520.1 (8.21)	16.29
4	Saara, Savar, Saura, Sahara	441 (1.41)	7,398.2 (9.16)	16.77
5	Munda, Munda Lohara	813 (3.57)	13,894.3 (14.57)	16.47
6	Shabar, Lodha	19 (0.74)	899.4 (5.44)	17.86
7	Kolha	843 (1.95)	18,881.9 (10.18)	16.46
8	Paroja	1,785 (5.57)	30,664.2 (20.51)	17.17
9	Bhottada, Dhottada	1,023 (2.96)	16,927.6 (12.68)	16.54
10	Kisan	507 (2.49)	8,300.8 (10.95)	16.37
11	Oraon	1,545 (6.53)	26,052.1 (20.19)	16.86
12	Bhuiya, Bhuiyan	875 (3.12)	13,669.1 (13.84)	15.62
13	Bhumija	147 (0.78)	2,460.8 (5.79)	16.74
14	Bathudi	190 (0.94)	3,071.1 (5.92)	16.16
15	Kharia, Kharian	569 (3.94)	9,618.9 (16.55)	16.90
	Total	14,398 (2.88)	2,39,773.5 (13.21)	16.65

TABLE 8

Showing Number and Percentage of Households, Area and Average Area per Land-owning Households above 25 Acres

Sl. No.	Tribes	Number and percentage of households owning land 25 acres & above	Area possessed (in Ac.)	Average area per land-owning households
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Khond, Kond, Kondha	633 (0.63)	22,985.1 (6.02)	36.31
2	Gond, Gondo	159 (0.47)	5,191.3 (3.67)	32.64
3	Santal	118 (0.16)	3,825.4 (1.61)	32.41
4	Saora, Savar, Saura, Sahara	78 (0.25)	2,814.7 (3.49)	36.08
5	Munda, Munda Lohara	108 (0.47)	3,488.7 (3.79)	32.30
6	Shabar, Lodha	4 (0.15)	123.5 (1.98)	30.87
7	Kolha	117 (0.27)	3,918.3 (2.88)	33.48
8	Paroja	367 (1.15)	12,863.0 (8.60)	35.04
9	Bhottada, Dhottada	179 (0.52)	6,072.4 (4.55)	33.92
10	Kisan	59 (0.29)	1,994.7 (2.63)	28.90
11	Oraon	191 (0.81)	7,206.7 (5.58)	37.73
12	Bhuiya, Bhuiyan	168 (0.60)	5,542.8 (5.61)	32.99
13	Bhumija	32 (0.17)	1,560.9 (3.67)	48.77
14	Bathudi	10 (0.05)	318.5 (0.61)	31.85
15	Kharia, Kharian	71 (0.49)	2,357.7 (4.05)	33.20
	Total	2,294 (0.46)	80,263.7 (4.42)	34.98

TABLE 9
Tribewise Percentage of Households Belonging to Different Categories of Farmers

Sl. No.	Tribes	Percentage of landless households	Percentage of land-owning households					
			Marginal Farmers (Up to 2.5 acres)	Small Farmers (2.6 to 5.0 acres)	Big Farmers I Subcategory (5.1 to 7.5 acres)	Big Farmers II Subcategory (7.6—12.5 acres)	Big Farmers Sub-category III (12.5 to 25 acres)	Big Farmers Sub-category IV (25 acres and above)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1	Khond, Kond, Kondha	30.49	53.59	27.44	7.90	7.18	3.26	0.63
2	Gond, Gondo	17.72	44.54	31.86	10.36	8.90	3.37	0.47
3	Santal	10.24	54.84	29.30	7.51	6.54	1.65	0.1
4	Saura, Savar, Saura, Sahara	31.11	69.64	20.09	5.03	3.58	1.41	0.25
5	Munda, Munda Lohara	25.32	46.86	28.81	11.07	9.22	3.57	0.47
6	Shabar, Lodha	37.54	73.13	17.80	4.85	3.33	0.74	0.15
7	Kolha	17.77	58.81	25.44	7.36	6.17	1.95	0.27
8	Paroja	36.65	45.56	29.53	8.79	9.40	5.57	1.15
9	Bhottada, Dhottada	20.55	49.78	31.23	8.01	7.50	2.96	0.52
10	Kisan	16.00	48.13	31.41	9.96	7.72	2.49	0.29
11	Oraon	10.44	30.10	33.40	15.27	13.89	6.53	0.81
12	Bhuiya, Bhuiyan	15.82	55.48	25.03	8.31	7.46	3.12	0.60
13	Bhumija	25.18	73.30	18.64	3.71	3.40	0.78	0.17
14	Bathudi	13.35	66.25	23.62	5.19	3.95	0.94	0.05
15	Kharla, Kharlan	25.97	47.06	28.90	10.75	8.86	3.90	0.49
Total		22.68	53.47	27.65	8.28	7.26	2.88	0.46

Social Position and Property Rights of Kutia Kondh Women

S. C. Mohanty

In these days, there is a growing demand to grant equal rights to women in the male-dominated patriarchal societies all over the world. The former President of India, Mr. Fakiruddin Ali Ahmed in his message for the International Women's Year in 1975 has emphasized the need to improve the conditions of vast majority of women of weaker sections living in urban slums, rural and tribal areas. Articles 14 and 15 of the Indian Constitution has provided for equality of women before law. This has given rise to a host of protective legislations for safeguarding women against various forms of oppression, exploitation and dowry harassments, provisions of equal wages, grant of equal property rights, etc. A number of women's voluntary organisations in various parts of the country have been fighting for the cause of women.

Feministic movements for liberation and equality of women against ageold sexual discrimination have started and gathered momentum in this country following the international trends and an awakening has been made. But this movement has remained more or less parochial and confined among the educated and conscious women of middle class and upper class while the vast majority of disadvantaged women living in the rural and tribal areas have been least benefited by this.

All these Constitutional provisions, protective laws, voluntary agencies, concessions, reservations, trends and movements have not yet reached these disadvantaged women, especially those living in the tribal societies who struggle hard to eke out a precarious subsistence. However, despite their socio-economic disadvantages and deprivations, these poor, half-clad and impoverished tribal women enjoy a relatively better position in their society than their sisters living in the modern and advanced societies,

The tribal societies in India though by and large patriarchal in nature, covertly and overtly understand, recognise and honour the multidimensional, invaluable and indispensable role of their industrious women in all aspects of their life and culture, and therefore regard them with dignity and equality. So, rarely we find the unfortunate and barbarous cases of bride-burning, female foeticide and infanticide or any other kind of atrocities on women in tribal societies.

This article is about the position of women and their property rights in the Kutia Kondh society. The Kutia Kondh are a primitive section of the great Kondh tribe of Orissa. They inhabit a wild, rugged and mountainous high land country lying in the common border of Phulbani (Belghar area), Kalahandi (Lanjigarh area), and Rayagada (Chandragiri area) districts of Southern Orissa. They are a Dravidian tribe and speak a Dravidian dialect called, "Kui". Most of them are illiterate and their level of literacy barely exceeds ten per cent. Their traditional subsistence is derived primarily from hunting, food gathering and shifting cultivation.

In the male dominated Kutia Kondh society, the women on one hand are not permitted to inherit property but on the other hand are treated as living assets, say, feathers in the crowns of their parents; brothers, and husbands for their significant contribution for the sustenance of their families and society at large. The social prestige and value of Kutia women are derived from the fact that they are hardworking, industrious, men's life partners, home makers, child bearers and rearers. They also bring pride and prestige to their parents, kinsmen and villagers when their prospective husbands parents and kinsman come to beg for their hands before their parents offering gifts of liquor and food and negotiate the bride-price, to finalise the marriage. The boys side always

tries to please and entertain the girl's side to obtain their consent. In this one sided bargain, the balance heavily tilts towards the girl's side which holds an upper hand to dictate terms to the opposite party. The girl's side tries to extract as much as possible from the boy's side as a compensation for parting with a valuable asset of their family and village.

More women in the Kutia family means more swidden plots under cultivating possession of the family, larger production, larger forest production, higher earnings from various sources and better economic prosperity. Therefore the Kutia society can not afford to treat women as second class citizens. They are taken as equal partners of men and enjoy greater freedom in matters of selecting their mates and of their work and mobility. The consent of the Kutia woman is a necessary precondition for finalising her matrimony.

The boy's family is required to pay the bride-price (Jula) to the girl's guardians to acquire her as their bride as well as a working hand. This price is very high as compared to the Kutia economic standards. Hence, the boy and his family members can not afford to ill-treat or displease the bride, lest, she may desert her husband and return to her parents or relatives or she may elope with not someone whom she likes and that will not only cause disgrace to her husband's family but also a great economic loss.

The institution of levirate (younger brother's marriage with his deceased elder brother's widow) and sororate (marriage with wife's younger sister) prevalent in their society speaks in favour of the social and economic value of Kutia women. The marriage of a man with his deceased elder brother's widow saves him from the heavy economic burden of bride-price that he has to pay for acquiring a fresh bride. Further no bride-price is paid for marrying the widow as the woman had already been acquired by his deceased brother on payment of the bride-price. Thus a woman once acquired as a bride becomes the property of her husband's family until her death, divorce or remarriage. Moreover by marrying the widow the younger brother also inherits the properties of his deceased brother.

Sororate is permitted under similar considerations. A man can marry his deceased wife's younger sister if the girl is willing. In this case the bride-price is reasonably relaxed as the widowers in-laws have already been paid the price at the time of his first marriage in their family. The Kutias say that the claim of an widower to marry his wife's younger sister and the relaxation of bride-price is quite justified in view of the economic loss suffered by him for his wife's death. The widower's in-laws usually do not object to provide him their another girl because he has already paid the bride-price once and it is their obligation to provide him a substitute.

Kutia women can not inherit immoveable properties. But they are entitled to take over the management of their deceased father's or husband's family and property establishments as long as they continue to live with the respective families. It depends upon their marital status and place of residence. As daughters, sister whether unmarried, widow, divorced or handicapped, they have the right to be maintained in their family of orientation. As wives, daughters-in-laws and mother, they are liable to be maintained in their family of procreation, even if, they are widows, barren, old, sick and invalid. Their right to claim maintenance is forfeited when they leave their father's family or husband's family by their marriage, remarriage, elopement with a lover, divorce, as the case may be.

When a widow remarries outside her ex-husband's family and lineage and a married woman remarries an outsider by deserting her husband or eloping with her lover, her husband's kinsmen demand a penalty from her new husband. This penalty is claimed as a compensation towards the loss of the woman who is a valuable working hand and an earning member whom they have acquired after paying the bride-price to her parents and kinsmen. They sometimes resort to violence to collect the penalty from the man if he does not entertain their claim. Often the remarriage or elopement takes place or the woman becomes pregnant by committing adultery while staying with her parents or guardians. In those cases her parents or guardians are held responsible by her husband's kinsmen against the loss or damage of their asset i.e., the woman and they become liable to pay the compensation to the

latter. There are several incidents in which the husband's kinsmen have attacked the house and properties of the wife's parents to take revenge and recover their losses. In case of illegal pregnancy, the husband's kinsmen hold the option either to accept or refuse to accept the woman. If they refuse to accept her, they demand a hefty penalty that is more than two times of the bride-price they had paid to acquire her and also a penalty feast called "Mahat". "Mahat" means social prestige and in actual practice it is demanded for restoration of the social prestige of the aggrieved kin group and the villagers.

Theoretically, a Kutia woman may not inherit paternal or her husband's properties, but, by virtue of her right to claim maintenance from her husband's or paternal properties depending upon her place of residence and marital status, she enjoys some residuary possessory rights over the properties. A widow officiates as the head of the household, assumes the guardianship of her minor children and manages the family establishment and the properties of her deceased husband till her eldest son becomes major to take over the management from her. A girl who is the only child of her parents can claim a share from her parents' properties even after her marriage if, she and her husband continue to stay with her parents.

There are some scope for Kutia women to possess their husbands' property individually in polygynous households. The Kutia society permits polygyny. A Kutia man can marry more than one woman if he has adequate means to support them. Though monogamy is the common practice, polygyny is not rare. In polygynous families, the cowives because of their feminine jealousy and quarrels with each other sometimes stay in separate huts. Usually the eldest wife called, "Badli" stays with the husband and the younger wife called "Sanli" lives in a different hut. It is customary for the Sanli to obey and respect the Badli. They may share common Kitchen or have separate kitchens as they may like. In their separate establishments they are allotted with separate swidden plots, fruit bearing trees, livestock from which they derive their livelihood to maintain themselves along with their children. If there are not enough swidden plots of their husband to be shared among them, they work jointly in the field and share the produces. Besides that, the wage they earn the minor forest produces they collect by their personal endeavour and their earnings

from all other external sources becomes their personal property. These personal properties are managed by them till the time of their death, divorce and remarriage and subsequently inherited by their respective children. She automatically forfeits her possessory rights in the event of her divorce, remarriage and elopement with a lover. The income she derives from her productive assets are her own. She may contribute a part of her income to her husband at the time of need. The paternal house, wet and dry lands, and the kitchen garden of the husband are not divided among the cowives. These are jointly managed and the income constitute the common fund of the family that is managed by the husband himself to meet all the common expenses for livelihood including those for rituals, ceremonies, food, health care, education, repayment of debts, etc.

Though Kutia men are legitimate owners of property, it is their women who hold the purse strings of their respective families and infact administer the productive assets from behind the curtain. Their active participation in all kinds of economic activities and their significant contribution to the family income give them a leverage to play a decisive role in managing the family affairs. The Kutia economic system has a mode of production in which their women play an important role that tends to be found in tandem with a system of granting females access to the major means production. It is their culture that determines their sexual roles and positions.

The following facts about the extent work participation of the tribal women of Orissa corroborate the importance of Kutia women. In Orissa, the tribal women "work 16.5 hours of days. After finishing the household activities they rush to the forest or to the field for 6-8 hours on a back breaking job. In tribal households where the (land) holding is more than 5 acres, the women work in the field and participate up to 65 per cent and where the holding is 1 to 5 acres the participation of women is 88 Per cent. The daughter (in the age group of 15-25) and the house wife who is the owner of the house, work up to 77 per cent and 88 per cent respectively, in joint family the daughter-in-law goes to field (75 per cent) to work but their mother-in-laws go to field to work (62 per cent). Others generally look after the children or go to forest to collect kendu leaves or siali leaves and other minor forest produce" (Acharya; 1992).

In addition to holding the strings of the family purse, Kutia women build up their personal funds out of the produces of the land, tree, livestock, kitchen garden, forest collection, wage earning and the gifts and compliments they receive from their friends and relatives which they spend mostly for purchasing clothes, fancy objects, cosmetics, ornaments for themselves and their children and also for taking care of their children. Sometimes the male members of their families, i. e., their fathers, brothers and husbands take loan from them at the time of need.

Kutia women can inherit certain kinds immovable properties. Daughters and daughter-in-laws inherit the clothings, ornaments, utensils and other household assets from their mothers, grand mothers and mother-in-laws. Of course such inheritance cannot be claimed as a matter of right but it is a traditional practice. The Kutia girl at the time of her marriage gets some gifts from her parents and relatives such as; gold and silver ornaments, cosmetics, clothings and utensils, etc. These gift items become her property which she can use or dispose off in any manner or share it with any one as she may like.

Despite all these, Kutia women suffer from certain social disabilities, discriminations and deprivations. Though a Kutia woman is free to choose her own mate, she must choose a man belonging to her own tribe but not belonging to her own clan. In other words, she must observe the existing customs and traditions in this regard. If she marries a man of lower caste, say, a man of 'Dom' community she is socially ostracised by her family, kinsmen and community which renders her disqualified to exercise her right to claim any maintenance from her father's or husband's properties in future. She is never readmitted into her community.

Then there are certain taboos and restrictions to curb the freedom of Kutia women. They must not do the works like ploughing, climbing the roof of the house, climbing trees, carrying a corpse, conducting rituals and animal sacrifices, sitting on a cot before her superiors, jumping over the logs lying in front of house, taking part in hunting, etc. However, these disabilities does not affect the relative status and importance of Kutia women significantly.

Kutia women are economically self-dependent. They are not dependent on the male folk of their sustenance. Rather the opposite is true. They can live without the help of man, but, man can not think of life without them. They depend on their male kins only when they become old, sick and invalid. They have achieved this status not by their beauty and charm but by their economic independence and their indispensable roles in all spheres of social, economic and religious life.

This situation supports the views of Easter Boserup (1970) that, women's economic independence on man implies an inferior status as it is seen in caste—Hindu society and Muslim society. This kind of economic determinism assumes a univariable status structure with economic relationships being the determining factor. Undoubtedly, the Kutia women's access to and even more important, control of resources is one of the major variables favouring their prestige ranking. Boserup further said that under conditions of shifting cultivation in areas with sparse cultivation, women perform most of the work. With greater density of population and settled agriculture men do more work than women. Where land is irrigated and intensively cultivated both the sexes share the hard work. Women belonging to the first and the last categories of economy enjoy a higher status than those of the second category. Kutia women certainly come under the first category.

The central issue here is the right of Kutia women to the important means production such as, land and forest. It is seen that they have greater access to these resources in their subsistence economy. It is a necessary precondition not only to social and ecological stability but also to their social mobility. In their society full-fledged patriarchy i. e., control of women both within and outside the home, has not yet been consolidated. It is primarily because of the forest based subsistence and women's control over income from this activity. Among this primitive community, a gender based division of labour, particular within the household does not denote patriarchy. Women enjoy considerable autonomy; violence against them is rare. While control of land and its produce is heavily biased in favour of the male, there are residual rights for women and the transition process that favours the greater exclusion of women gives rise to patriarchy in other societies.

In conclusion it is worth mentioning here that, it is a difficult task to evaluate objectively woman's position in any particular primitive society or primitive societies in general. In studies made so far, the status of women in the primitive societies have been misunderstood, misinterpreted and underestimated. According to Lowie (1921). "The conditions involved in the relations of men and women are many sided and it is dangerous to overweight one particular phase of them." For example the payment of bride-price being interpreted as a sale of bride is not a correct interpretation of social facts.

"The most authoritative accounts of primitive peoples of most recent years have tended to emphasize the influence of women. their ability to hold their own, the esteem in which they are held and their important roles in the social life." (Evans-Pritchard; 1965). In this respect, Kutia women are not chattels. They suffer from lesser number of feminine disabilities than the neighbouring Hindu women. Altogether their position is far from being unfavourable. They enjoy good deal of freedom.

Evans-Pritchard (1965) also held, "The primitive woman has no choice, and, given the duties that go with marriage, is therefore seldom able to take much part in public life. But if she can be regarded as being at a disadvantage in this respect from our point of view, she does not regard herself as being at a disadvantage, and she does not envy her menfolk what we describe as their privileges. She does not desire in this respect, things to be other than they are; and it would greatly puzzle her if she knew that in our society many women are unmarried and childless" This is also true for Kutia women who do not consider themselves underprivileged as compared to their men and they do not fight for social equality and they do not want to be like men. This situation corroborates the observations of Lowie (1991) that; "Neither superstitious sentiments nor man's physical superiority have produced a greater debarment of primitive women, that she is generally well treated and able to influence masculine decisions regardless of all theory as to her inferiority or imputity; that is precisely among some of the rudest people that she enjoys practical equality with her male."

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Games *Vis-a-Vis* Socialization :

A Case Study Among Kondh Children

M. Acharya
R. P. Mohanty

The main criteria usually adopted to distinguish play from non-ludic activities shows clearly that play is not a Behaviour *Per se*, or one particular type of activity among others. If this be so, play would be 'disinterested' or as J. M. Baldwin says, "autotelic". It is determined by a certain orientation of the behaviour, or by a general 'Pole' of the activity, each particular action being characterised by its greater or less proximity to the pole and by the kind of equilibrium between the polarised tendencies.

The anthropological study on education has challenged the traditional ideas regarding education, opened new avenues in the realm of psychological investigation, resulted in the refinement of cross-cultural studies to understand the educational pattern and motivation of any primitive society. Margaret Mead was the pioneer in this field, whose work attracted a number of psychologists and anthropologists to words the subject. The researcher's emphasis lies on the fact that the child borns with a clean slate of mind and is moulded by its culture to fit into its society Properly through the process of enculturation. M. J. Herskovits is of the opinion that it is a process whose function is to bring individual behaviour into line with the specific requirements of a culture.

"Play and pretence are a vital need for childhood, for which opportunity should be provided if the child is to be happy and healthy, quite independently of any further utility in these activities" as Bertrand Russell sees it. Besides, it has got educational value which creates new aptitudes in children and the imitation and pretence practiced by children cultivate power significance and the learning of things they have to do in their practical life. This is also observed in the case of the Kondh children of Mundapara in Phulbani district, Orissa.

The various games played by the children of the Kondh society cannot be considered as mere play of games; but it is a source of learning apart from being a source of pleasure. By playing the the games with the play-mates they build themselves for their future life. They from some ideas about their social life, such as rituals and the work they have to perform in their matured life.

Most of games are played on the village streets. It is investigated that the following games are played by the Kondh children of Mundapara village.

Bal Danbi Dambi Kahinam, (Grinding of dust), is one type of game played by very small children on the village road. They gather some quantity of dust at one place and by means a stick (pahuruni) grind it. Generally girls in the age group 8—12 years are seen playing this game.

Bal Maker, Is a game played very intelligently by the children of both sexes. They collect some amount of dust from a place on the street and hide a small broken pot called (Maker by the Kandhs) inside this. They ask others to find out the piece of earthen pot. He or she is considered to be very much intelligent who could find the Maker out of the dust.

Podhasi Kodi Karugena Kahenam, is a play in which small boys and girls make animals like buffaloes, bullocks, etc., in Jack leaves. Sometimes two children make two animals and make them fight with each other.

Sometimes they make buffaloes with jack leaves, the legs and horns being made of straw. They make the plough in straw and a rope in shiali skin. They tie the animals in the plough by means of rope and go out for ploughing the field by pulling the rope on the street. The boys of four to eight years are seen playing this game.

Poshasi Karugena Bijagena Onga Menjina— is a play in which at one place of village street the boys make Dharani (their Earth goddess) by putting in erect position, a piece of wood. A buffalo made out of shiali fruit is tied upon that Dharani by means of shiali skin. Small musical instruments Changu made out of goat's skin, is played by all the children. They sacrifice the animal made of shiali fruit by means of a potshred or knife and offer its juice as blood before the goddess. After it they pretend as if cooking and eating fish curry. The boys of seven to twelve years are seen playing this game. It is played just as the Kondh people used to perform in Kedu puja.

Mudi Sisi Kahinam— (to hide the ring) is a game played by both boys and girls. One boy or girl is to hide the ring in one of his or her hands and other children are asked in which it is hidden. The boys or girls who can tell it correctly are considered to be very clever.

- One Fish asks .. "Ni Medka Pati" or "What type of fish you have got" ?
- Person Answers .. "Palu Madka" or "Palu fish"
- Fish .. "Ene Akadai Baga Giti" ? or "In which leaf you have distributed the share" ?
- Person .. "Titerakani Baga Giti" or "In sal leaves"
- Fish .. "Beba Ambari Siti" or "Whom have you offered the first share ?
- Person .. "Patarenji iti" or "to the Patra"
- Fish .. "Ete Rabaga Ambari Siti" ? or "Whom have you offered the next share" ?
- Person .. "Ma Mani Siti" or "to my maternal uncle"
- Fish .. "Ate Ase Baga Mane" ? or "Whom do you give the share left" ?
- Person .. "Age Mane Gule Aju Baga Gina" or "We all will take the share left".

Mahari kaha— (Playing the game NATU), is common among the children of four to eighteen years. Natu is made of wood at the bottom of which an iron pin is fixed. A rope is rounded tightly around the Natu and it is thrown off so that it rotates on the ground. Sometimes, there is a competition among the boys. They throw the Natus at one place and watch whose Natu moves for a longer time. Sometime the player is praised highly if he can stop another's moving Natu by the stroke of his own Natu.

Todko gigi Kahinam— is a type of game played by the children of both the sexes. Some children sit in one place representing jackfruits; one child represents the thief and

Oda Kati Kati Kahinam— is a game played very often by the children of both sexes. They draw a square on the street and five or six children stand on it holding one another's waist inside the lines, representing goats. Outside the lines stands one child representing a human being. Children representing goats move inside the lines and the child representing the human being move outside it waiting for getting a chance to catch one of the goats.

There is also another type of game played by both boys and girls. A big square on the street is drawn on which all the children except one, stand representing different types of fishes. One boy or girl stands on the central place of the square. His or her eyes are tied upon by means of a piece of cloth. All the children representing fishes move and the child representing the human being moves to catch one of the fishes. When he or she catches one of them he or she is asked some questions which he or she should answer in the following manner:—

another the guard in the fruit garden. The thief comes and takes away one jackfruit. The guard runs after to catch him. if he cannot catch, then he is considered as an inefficient guard.

Sedi Danju Kahinam— (to play the game of marriage), is a game played by both boys and girls. One boy represents the bridegroom, one girl the bride and others as the relations of both the bride and the bridegroom. The system of Ganthi (the feast and the marriage) is shown by them in playing. This type of arranged marriage system is called senden sedi by the Kondhs.

Shagada Tani Kakons Khenam, is a game which means to play, making of bullock carts. The boy children play this in the village by means of some iron nails. One sits on the cart and others pull it on the street. It is played by the children of ten to fifteen years old.

Kojuni Kole Kahinam, is the game played by boys and girls in which children sit in a circle representing guards and at the centre sit one boy or girl representing a chicken. Another boy acting as a wolf, tries to take away the chicken from the centre. If the guards are intelligent, wolf cannot take it away.

Besides these games there are games like Bahu Chori, Cuchi, Dandu, Dadu, etc., which are played by the Kondh children. These games are also played by other sections of the people. Hence, their discussion may be overlooked.

Toys : By analysing the games it is found that the Kondhs do not provide toys to the children except Natu and Changu. The toys of the children are mainly the implements or things used in their society. These are winnowing fans, jackfruits, Pahuruni (husking stick), fruits, etc.

Significance of the Games :

Most of the games played by the Kondh children cannot be ignored, because these have got social significance. These games are the ideological aspects of their social life and culture.

The girl children winnowing out dust by means of small winnowing fans, grinding dust in Pahurani (husking stick), etc., show that from very childhood they are trained to perform these household duties which will be helpful in their future life.

The various animals found in tribal areas are also represented in their games and this gives them an idea about these animals from very childhood.

Ploughing the field, pulling small bullock carts, etc. give some idea about agricultural operations to the children.

In actual life the chicken, goats, etc., are important animals which are sacrificed in various rituals. These are sometimes stolen away by the thief or eaten away by the wolf. So these harmful men or animals should be guarded. They learn this from their childhood through play.

The marriage system *Senden Sedi*, the ritual *Kedu Jatra*, the process of sacrificing animals before Gods and Goddesses all are internalised from their childhood through play.

"Bal Maker" and "Mudi Sisi Kahinam" games are thought provoking and as such these are helpful for the children to a great extent for cultivating intelligence.

The game "Medka Kahinam" taught the offering of share of food to different relatives with different propositions. In some rituals the *Patra* is offered the first share and then comes the maternal uncle's share following by the share of others. The children from an early age also understand the importance of *Patra* and maternal uncle in their society. From a very childhood they perform all the works in the play ground which they have to observe in their future adult life.

Conclusion :

The following conclusions can be made out of the discussions made above with regard to the games played by the Kondh children: —

- (i) The game materials used are all locally available and hardly any material brought from outside.
- (ii) To seek pleasure is not the only initiation of these games. Their prime objective is to train these children for their future avocations.
- (iii) Through these games the children become intimately acquainted with their socio-cultural fabric and learn how to play suitable roles in upholding their age old traditions in their day to day life.
- (iv) Some of the games also provoke cultivation of intelligence.
- (v) These games, by offering them an opportunity of playing the roles of adults, help them to find their own identity within the ambit of their socio-cultural surroundings.

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Tribes—Cast Integration in Orissa :

A Study of Nuakhai Festival

C. Pasayat:

Sanskritization, Aryanization and Hinduization are widely introduced and developed by the scholars to study cultural change among tribals in India. Such literature suffers from a bias because it describes social and cultural change necessarily through the Brahminical models. It means that tribals have emulated some customs of the Brahmins and discards some of their own. Contrary to this, caste-Hindus have also been influenced by the tribals in different parts of the country throughout the history. Sanskritic elements have however, received more attention in empirical studies. So, neither Sanskritization nor tribalization exclusively is found to be helpful in explaining and understanding a cultural item. There is every possibility of tribal and Hindu elements co-existing in a given cultural item such as festival. The co-existence may be due to Sanskritization and *vice versa*.

Our hypothesis here is that the process of Sanskritization is intimately linked with the process of tribalization i. e., transformation of a tribal festival into a Hindu one and thereby its admission into the larger Hindu society. It means that there is fusion of two processes of Sanskritization and tribalization. Although caste-Hindus adopt the tribal ritual, they do not see it as a case of desanskritization or tribalization and thereby decrease in their status. Rather, they see it as Sanskritization by putting sanskritic elements into the process of transformation. Thus, they call it as the enhancement of status of tribal festival. Our endeavour is to study the transformation of a tribal festival into a Hindu one. It may be surmised here that the admission of a tribal festival into a 'regional Hindu world' may come about without any drastic change in the core elements of the tribal festival. In order to examine this formulation, in this paper we will analyse the Nuakhai festival of Sambalpur.

Agriculture, as it is generally all over India, is the main source of livelihood of a majority of the population of Orissa. The major chunk of the Oriya population derives its main income from agriculture. The great majority of tribal population are cultivators or farm servants and labourers. The important tribes of Orissa like Saura, Gond, Binjal, Mirdha, Bhumia, Kond etc. are now settled agriculturists. The Nuakhai is an agricultural festival of both tribals and caste-Hindus. Though, the festival is observed all over Orissa, it has a major influence on the life and culture of the tribal dominated western part of Orissa. A visit to this region in the month of Bhadraba (August—September) makes one aware of the ensuing thrust of Nuakhi festival. The literary meaning of this festival is eating of new rice ceremony. It is the day of rejoicing and merry-making for the people as agriculture is their main occupation. Since paddy is the staple food of the people, the rice crops sustain their hope and determine their fate. So, a non-agriculturist is also that much concerned about this ritual as a cultivator is.

The significance and utility of 'Anna' or rice in daily life of Oriya is obvious. The Hindu sacred texts also identify paddy as a synonym of life itself.

Anna Brahmeti Hyajanat

Annadeva Khalwimani Bhutani Jayante

Annena Jatani Jibanti

Annam Prayantyabhisam Bishantiti

(The other name of Anna is Brahma. Brahma, is Iswara, i.e. God. So, Anna is Iswar or God. Each life is born out of Anna. It is the source of energy. After death Jiva or anything having a life, transforms into Anna for others. So, the significance of Anna is realised in every stage

of life. Thus, it is the source of life, happiness and a part of soul.)

Ahamanna Mahamanna Mahamannam
Ahamannado Ahamannado Ahamannado
Ahamanna Manna Madantama Drwi

(God says that He is Anna. I am the only receiver of this Anna. Whoever takes Anna, I accept that.)

In view of the above quotations, it may be said that it is the economy that determines the cultural life of people. The economy of Orissa is based on agriculture. It is the fruit of the toil round the year that fulfills the needs of the community at large. Consequently, it is a matter of great joy for the peasants and farmers admiring the fruits of their efforts. The celebration of Nuakhai by the tribals may therefore, be viewed as a tribalised version of a Hindu notion of 'Anna' or paddy.

The new rice of the harvest is regarded as sacred. It is strictly a taboo for any one to eat the new cereal until ceremonial rituals are performed for the reigning deity. The deity is true master or mistress of their lands, according to the common people. As a token of reverence and veneration to the reigning deity, the newly grown rice is first offered to him or her; then the 'prasad' made from the new rice is taken by the people before they eat their new rice. People believe that the ceremonial rituals are an acknowledgement of the deity's lordship over the land and the crop. In other words, it may be said that Nuakhai is a ritual after which the newly harvested rice gets the status of consumable item.

Nuakhai is one of the most important annual social and religious festivals of western Orissa. It greatly influences the life and culture of this area. Earlier, there was no fixed day for the celebration of this festival. The festival was held sometimes during the bright fortnight of the month of Bhadrava. It was the time when the newly grown kharif paddy started ripening. Every year, the day and time of the observance was decided astrologically by Hindu priests. In Sambalpur Brahmin priests sat together at the Brahmapura Jagannath temple and calculated the time. Notably, observances of the day and time were not common throughout Western Orissa. Tithi (date) was calculated in the name of Pataneswari in Patnagarh and Balangir, Surewari in Sonapur, Manikeswari in Bhawani

Patna and so on. So, a common day of observance was hardly found in all the places.

In some cases, the time of celebration was fixed in the name of the local zamindar or gauntia of the village, once the day was fixed in the name of the reigning deity of that area. It shows how efforts were made in the past to localise the Nuakhai ritual. It also reflects the traditional nature of a village society in western Orissa, and the role and dominance of the local head-men of the villages over the people. According to the local source, such feudal hangover still exists in some villages of western Orissa.

The incorporation of Hindu idea of astrology in the reckoning tithi or an auspicious day or time may be viewed as a later development. Most probably, when the caste-Hindus started migrating then the local tribes adopted the idea of astrological calculation of tithi for the Nuakhai festival. Similarly, when caste-Hindus adopted Nuakhai from the tribes, they had to put some sanskritik elements so as to make it acceptable to caste-Hindus. However, there was an attempt made during 1960 to fix up a common tithi for this festival all over the western Orissa. Later on, the attempt was not workable. Once again, an attempt was made in 1991 and Bhadrava Sukla Paksha Panchami tithi was fixed for Nuakhai festival. Since then, the festival has been celebrated on that day for which the Government of Orissa has declared one official holiday also.

Nuakhai is celebrated both at community as well as domestic levels. The ritual is offered first at the temple of the reigning deity of the area or to the village deity. Then, they worship in their respective home and offer rituals to the domestic deity along with Laxmi, the deity of the Great Hindu Tradition.

Nuakhai has a rich and glorious tradition of its own that has been observed more or less by all the major tribes in central and eastern India, of course, with a slight difference in their nomenclature. The instance can be given of *Jeth Nawakai* among the Dudh Kharia and Pahari Kharia, *Nawakhani* among the Oraon and Birjia (Singh, 1982:24,74), *Jom Nawa* among the Munda (Singh, 1982:74) and Birjia, *Janther* or *Baiher-Horo Nawai* by the Santhal (Singh, 1982:74), *Gondli Nawakhani* by Christian tribals of Ranchi district, *Nawa* by the Birjia, *Nawa Jom* by the Birhor (Singh, 1982:75), *Dhan Nawakhani* by Korwa (Singh, 1982:27) and so on.

Russel and Hiralal (1975:326) have mentioned about the *Nawakhani* festival of the Paraja, a small tribe found in the Bastar region and Orissa. Gautam (1977) has also mentioned about the new corn offering and eating rice of Santhals in Santhal Pargana which they call *Jom Nawa*. Das Gupta (1978) has noted the *Nawa* ceremony of the Birjia, a section of the Asura tribe of Chhctanagpur. Bhaduri (1944:149-50) gives a short note on the celebration of this festival known as *Kawajom* among the Munda. Chatterjee (1984:48) has identified this festival of Tripura known as *Mikatal* where *Mi* stands for paddy and *Katal* refers to new. It is celebrated in the month of Aswina (September-October). In Bengal and in the coastal districts of Orissa, this festival is called *nabanna* by caste-Hindus. Nonetheless, the main objective of this festival is to get social sanction to a new crop, and also to invoke the deities to bless the land with abundant crops.

The Nuakhai can be studied through the concept of 'spread' given by Srinivas (1952). The wide prevalence and popularity of the Nuakhai ritual among the caste-Hindus other than tribals of Orissa, however, indicate that it is sanskritised. The mode of its observance and the numerical dominance of the tribal people in the past in Orissa and western Orissa in particular support the argument that Nuakhai was basically a tribal festival and that the caste-Hindus gradually incorporated it in their fold when they came in wider contact with the aboriginals of western Orissa. The fact of a fixed time of observance decided astrologically by Hindu Pundits also indicates strong influence of Hindu ideas in later phase to give it a sanskritic colour and image, when the festival is celebrated in a mass scale in western Orissa. It is perhaps, essential for them that a tribal ritual could have got a place in the Hindu religious culture in Orissa.

It is commonly said that originally the Hindus were celebrating the Nuakhai or Nuakhia festival. Over long period of interaction between tribals and non-tribals in Orissa, the tribals borrowed this trait from caste-Hindus. Be that as it may, one point is clear that it is the tribes other than the common Oriyas who are celebrating, at present this festival. Secondly, as it is the case with all aboriginal tribes, there was no fixed point of time for celebration till 1991. Thirdly, it appears that the word 'Nuakhai' has a lot of similarities with the tribal names given for the same festival outside Orissa, as discussed earlier. Very likely, Sambalpuri name 'Nuakhai' has been

borrowed from the tribal names of the same ritual and given a regional content. Fourthly, during Nuakhai day people celebrate their dinner at night with non-vegetarian food. Eating of non-vegetarian food during the celebration of a Hindu religious festival is generally not permissible. There is a local saying that if a person does not eat meat on that day, he/she will be born as a 'baka, i. e., swan in the next life. Significantly, people irrespective of their caste back-ground eat meat on this day. Although, it is ethically undesirable on the part of a Brahmin to have non-vegetarian food, he does not mind to accept it on this day. In these days, of course, meat-eating has become a general phenomenon among the people of all castes.

The basic idea behind Nuakhai—Performance of ritual ceremonies before eating new paddy, which is derived from a Hindu tradition—was easily absorbed by the tribals because they were also settled agriculturists. It seems that the tribals started celebrating the new rice eating ceremony as usual in different names when they became settled agriculturists. This idea of ceremonial eating of new paddy was applied in other areas also. For instance, in the *Gundikhai* festival held on the full moon day of the month of Phagun, i. e., Phalguna (February-March), the people of western Orissa do not eat mango before offering it ritually to the deity. In sum, efforts are made to tribalise celebrations of a number of rituals and festivals which might have been non-tribals in their origin and essence.

On the occasion of Nuakhai ritual, caste-Hindus worship Laxmi along with their family deity. It is the household dimension of this festival. An important characteristic and similarity of this ritual is the 'mother worship'. Nuakhai festival is not confined to any particular ethnic group or community in western Orissa. It is, above all, a mass festival in terms of its collective nature and the sincere involvement of tribals and caste-Hindus in western Orissa, whereas outside this region it is not a mass based festival and is confined in any places largely to the family and group only. Nevertheless, it is a festival which brings friendship, equality, help, co-operation and envisages the age old tradition of this region. It helps to renew the social bonds and thus strengthen the social solidarity. In other words, 'Nuakhai' is a cohesive force between peoples which bound them to unite together. Hence, it is symbol of friendship, love and affection, which give foundation and fosters to lead a peaceful life.

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BOOK REVIEW

SACHINDRA NARAYAN (ED.)

Jharkhand Movement:

Origin and Evolution

Inter-India Publications, D-17, Raja Garden

New Delhi-110015

1992, 208pp, A List of Books on Bihar (Bihar Unveiled),

The Tribal World Explored (Book List)

(Tribal Studies of India Series; T 157)

ISBN 81-210-0290-7 (Price Rs. 250/-)

Besides the preface and Introduction, the book under review contains two sections, one in Hindi and the other in English. There are 8 articles written in Hindi and 11 in English by various authors. The introduction written by the editor highlights the conceptual frame of the Jharkhand movement and the Diku-the economically better off non-tribals who "are engaged in the exploitation of the tribals", although not relevant in the present context. Further, the editor is of the opinion that there is heterogeneity in cultures of different groups and he hints that the 'movement is yet to touch the tribals very deeply'.

The Hindi section of the book contains the articles of eminent personalities whose voice matters in this movement. The paper contributed by Shri Sibū Soren, Member of Parliament and the President of the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (S), advocates for the formation of Jharkhand State, so that there will be reduction of exploitation on tribal people. The paper by Shri Suraj Mandal, Member of Parliament and Vice-President of J. M. M. (S) pleads for a separate Jharkhand State which would solve the problems involved. While giving a sketch of the Jharkhand movement, Padmashree Bhagabat Murmu speaks for over-all development of the people in the area. The reality of the movement has been portrayed by Shri Anand Madhab, Shri Vipendra's article on the movement hints on the realities of the issue, the urgency of precautionary measures and pleads for non-violence. Shri S.K. Moitra looks Jharkhand movement in the context of the tradition and culture of the Chhotnagpur tribes. Shri B. K. Sinha in his article examines whether there is the necessity of the solution of the problems of tribal Bihar or the Jharkhand State formation. The article contributed by the Central Working Committee of the Jharkhand Chamber of Commerce and Industries states the Jharkhand Problems and their solution.

The English Section of the book starts with the article on 'A Note on the Administration of Scheduled Areas' by H. E. P. Venkat Subbaiah, the ex-Governor of Bihar and it states the the Constitutional frame and a Model Regulation for Administration of Scheduled areas under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution which is extremely instructive. In the article captioned as 'Origin and Evolution of Jharkhand Movement' Shri Ramashish Roy states, "what we need, today is National identity not" sons of the soil" identity in his concluding remarks after discussing briefly the movement. Shri A. K. Jha's paper gives an outline of the Jharkhand Politics of Bihar. Shri Nil Ratan analyses Jharkhand movement in the context of social movements in a wider prospective. Smt. Shefali Roy makes a Critical analysis of the problem and states, "let us try and find a Jharkhand solution not a separate Jharkhand State". Describing the Jharkhand movement, Shri D. D. Guru speaks on the need for giving emphasis on educational and socio-economic development of the region. Shri R. N. Mishra describing the Jharkhand movement in Orissa investigates into "the ethnic and social bases of the Projected sub-nationalism of the people.....". The paper on Forest Andolan in Singhbhum by Shri Mathew Areeparampil is the longest one and discusses elaborately the Cruy of problems concerning forest vis-a-vis tribes, The paper on Jharkhand movement at the Cross Road by Shri Naval Kishore advocates for a separate State for an overall development of the region. Shri Rajaram Singh in his paper asks as to why there is Jharkhand movement in West Bengal and states that the creation of Jharkhand State is justified.

The edited volume incorporating the reality of the problem conceived by a host of eminent scholars, social scientists and activists will be of immense help to research scholars in future.

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(Editor)

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