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*The Journal of the Tribal &
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Vol. XXXII

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ADIBASI

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ABOUT THE JOURNAL

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 bio-data 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 special issue of the Adibasi, the quarterly journal of the Institute is being published to commemorate the 40th year of its existence. The Institute, which was set up in the year 1952 had the name, Tribal Research Bureau (TRB). With the merger of the Tribal Orientation Training Institute (TOTI) in 1967 it has been renamed as Tribal & Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute (THRTI) in 1972. The name itself is suggestive of the new roles and expanded horizons of activities of the Institute. The Institute currently under the administrative control of the Tribal Welfare Department, Government of Orissa, is committed to the studies pertaining to the Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste communities of the State. The principal areas of activity of the Institute are research, planning, training and evaluation. Besides these activities, there are other units, such as, Museum of Tribal Artifacts, Crafts and Art objects, a Data Bank and Statistical Cell and a Library. Five tribal huts, replica of their originals attract a large number of visitors from our country and abroad. The Institute which has grown out of administrative and academic necessity plays an essential role as an advisory body for the development administration concerned with the welfare and development of the S. T. and S. C. groups. Anyone engaged in research on the above communities cannot ignore the source materials collected and preserved in the Institute through the consistent and persistent efforts of its research personnel. The quarterly journal Adibasi first published as Tribal Research Journal in 1955, is one of the oldest of its kind in our country. The scholars from various disciplines have been contributing to enrich the contents of its volumes. The Special Issue contains contributions by Scholars within and outside the Institute.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to the esteemed members of the Editorial Board without whose unstinted co-operation it would not have been possible to bring out volumes including the Present Issue. I express my gratitude to the distinguished Scholars for their valuable contribution. We are deeply indebted to the former Editorial Boards and Contributors. Last but not the least, I profusely thank the Orissa Government Press for their sincere endeavour in printing the journal.

EDITOR

PART I

THE JUANG ORIGIN MYTH

Dr. K. Mohanti

Introduction:

The paper seeks to analyse the Juang origin myth, a document of self-definition of social identity. Their origin myth documented by the erstwhile ethnographers, scholars and institutions, e.g. Verrier Elwin (1948), Behura (1980 & 1992) and the Academy of Tribal Dialects and Culture (1991) was taken into account and Behura (1980)'s text was chosen for re-interpretation as it appears to be consistent, contextual and appropriate for structural analysis, following the seminal intellectual thrust of Levi-Strauss (1969).

At the outset, We may choose a working definition of myth which is extremely essential for a meaningful academic exercise and to uncover the underlying meaning embedded in the myth which may widen the range of our understanding the Juang in the Pan-Human context. The working definition is a descriptive one and, as stated below, is meant for explicit expression of its connotation:

Myth is a fictive narration, a part of ethos, ideology and world view of a people, a product of human creative talents, a temporal continuum, a clue to explore significant dimensions of human mind, a mirror to reflect the images of man in endless varieties with dialectics/contradistinctions and a nexus containing dilemmas in sets of imagery which are homologous to reality (mine).

Credit goes to Claude Levi-Strauss (1955) for his intellectual thrust in structural analysis of myth in general and the oedipal myth in particular in order to explore the savage mind. The pragmatic approach to theory and methodology was an added dimension by Edmund Leach during 1960s. Claus who has applied Levi-Strauss's formula $[F(a) : F(b) \subseteq F(b) : F(y)]$

in analysing the Television serial—"Star Trek" states, "...the formula, briefly states that, the principal characters or imagery of a myth always stand in an initial relationship of opposition to one another." (1982:418). Claus has applied the formula which reads as follows : $A_f : B_f :: B_f : Y-1$. As myths

represent the present, past and future their temporal setting leads us to think that myths are timeless. Another significant characteristic feature of myth as comprehended by Claus is, "it is apparently reassuring to see that our present values have withstood time to confront the as yet unknown world of the future" (*ibid* : 420). The minimal meaningful unit of a myth was first identified as 'mytheme' by Levi-Strauss and it is analogous to 'sememe' which is a decipherable unit of meaning in a speech. Levi-Straussian model and the methodology suggest at the initial stage for the identification of mythemes and their arrangement in groups, and analysis follows thereafter.

The cultural milieu of each society includes mythological traditions and Levi-Straussian mythologies, although passed through bewilderment and skepticism initially, received acceptance of neo-structuralist for cryptic and symbolic significance leading to intellectualist/circumstantialist school of thought.

Levi-Straussian analysis of myth suggests two structures of relations—horizontal and vertical and exhibits dialectical relationship to society. Further, in the words of E. R. Leach (1970), "Levi-Strauss has argued that when we are considering the universalist aspect of primitive mythology we shall repeatedly discover that the hidden message as concerned with the resolution of unwelcome contradictions..... The repetitions and preverifications of mythology so fog the issue that irresolvable logical inconsistencies are lost sight of even when they are logically expressed" (quoted in Cole (ed) 1982: 424).

According to Levi-Strauss myth includes the constituent units or meaningful units called, mythemes or "gross constituent units" that exist in the sentence level (1963: 210—212). Further, the technique of analysis and interpretation suggested by him requires breaking down the story into the shortest possible sentences, writing each on an index card.

The myth could also be treated as an orchestra score in onilinear series, eg., 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 1, 2, 5, 7, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8 and it could be arranged putting all the 1's or 2's together as follows:

1	2		4		7	8
	2	3	4		6	8
1			4	5	7	8
1	2			5	7	
		3	4	5	6	8

"By systematically using this kind of structural analysis it becomes possible to organise all the known variants of a myth into a set forming a kind of permutation group, the two variants placed at the far ends being in a symmetrical, though inverted, relationship to each other" (Op cit, 1963 : 223).

".....the synchronic-diachronic structure of the myth permits us to organize it into diachronic sequences (the rows in our table) which should be read synchronically (the columns). Thus, a myth exhibits a "slated" structure, which comes to the surface, so to speak, through the process of repetition. Myth is an intermediary entity between a statistical aggregate of molecules and the molecular structure itself" (Op cit. 1963 : 229).

In Haviland's consideration, "myth is basically religious, in that its subject matter is the ultimates of human existence: where we and the things in our world came from why we are here, and where we are going". Further, according to him, myth is a part of the world view of a people, depicts orderly universe and orderly behaviour, unknown is simplified and explained in terms of the known. myth-making is a type of human creativity and the study of myth is scientific (1975 : 337-338).

Myths are miniature encyclopaedias with repository of images of man and his society and culture.

We would concentrate our attention to the analysis of the Juang origin myth which seeks to rationalize man's place in the universe and brings to surface the self-definition of their social identity. And in the contextual framework of development intervention or induced change it is apt to comprehend social identity, defined

and redefined from time to time, so that the socio-structural dimension of development and the people-centred approach are not lost sight of.

The Juang :

The Juangs constitute a unique primitive tribal community which is found in Orissa State and not in any other States or Union Territories of our country. They are chiefly concentrated in the districts of Keonjhar (Thaniya Section) and Dhenkanal (Bhagudiya Section). Gonasika (21°30'N lat. and 85°37'E long.) is said to be the principal seat of the tribe. The Gonasika area consists of sedentary landscape with hills, hills slopes, ridges and valleys and includes both erosional and depositional phases. currently, the vegetative cover also varies in the area and ranges from barren to thin forest cover, although in the recent past there were forests everywhere in the splendid hills. The area is dendritically drained due to hilly terrain and geologically it is a part of the northern extension of the Deccan plateau. The area enjoys sub-tropical monsoonic climate. The river Baitarani which originates from the hills situated near the village, Gonasika, from a spot appearing like nostrils of a cow, is the important river of the area¹. While documenting the ethnohistory of the tribe it is pertinent to note that the erstwhile ethnographers, like E. A. Samuells (1856), Dalton (1872), Risley (1891), Hunter (1877), N. K. Bose (1929) and 1971), O. Malley (1941) and Elwin (1948) have recorded very significant aspects of their society and culture (Cf. Elwin, (1948). Their earlier leaf-dress was responsible in identifying them with the nomenclature, PUTTOOAS, as per Samuells' accounts. They were not paying rent to Raja, but were working as bearers of personal effects of Raja and rendering assistance at the time of hunting excursions. Dalton's discourse, among several aspects, speaks of their primitiveness and semi-nomadism. Dalton further shows their interaction and interrelationship with the Bhuiyan, a neighbouring tribal community. Risley states that they were beyond the pale of Hinduism. Elwin had given a vivid description of significant aspects of their society and culture. They speak a language which can be classified under the Munda (Austic) sub-family within Austro-Asiatic language family

1. The physiographic and ecological characteristic features of the area have been compiled from Survey of the Directorate of Soil Conservation and earlier ethnographic accounts.

They have patrilineal and totemistic septs/clans (bok) which have two broad divisions, viz. Kutumb/Bhai septs (non-inter marrying/consanguineal and Bandhu septs (inter-marrying/affinal). Their traditional secular and sacerdotal chiefs are the Aradhan and Nagam/Boita, respectively. The Juang theological pantheon shows polytheism and includes the Dharam Deota/Mahapurub and Dharti Mata/Basuki. The Rushi (benefactor) and Rushain (benefactress) are considered as the deified tribal heroes (Elwin, 1948) and their are deities presiding over village/hill/river/forest in addition to the beliefs and rituals connected with ancestral cult. There is negation of the queer practice of witchcraft and sorcery which is usually the case with various tribal communities.

Text of the Origin Myth:

"In the remotest past the Matipruthivi or Mother Earth was very unsteady and there were no humans on it. All the deities implored the Dharam Deota or Supreme God to bring the Earth to a steady state so that living on it would become possible. Dharam Deota decreed that it would be possible if Earth is steeped in the blood of the Rishi's first son. Having come to know this episode, Rishi armed the son with bow and arrow for his security. But, once, while he was engaged in an amorous sport in the forest, keeping off his bow and arrow on the branch of a tree, he was attacked by a tiger, and instantly died. And immediately after his death all the deities rushed to the spot and without the knowledge of Rushi and Rushain, they took away the dead body and started swinging it vigorously round and round until blood oozed out from it profusely, which they sprinkled all over the Earth. As a result, the Earth became steady, and from the palms and feet of Rishi's son hills and valleys emerged. Rivers and streams flowed from his nostrils and eyes, respectively, and forest grew from his hairs. Thus, the earth became suitable for habitation. Rushi had eleven other sons and twelve daughters, and from them Juangs were born and lived on the Earth" (Behura, 1980: 64-65).

Mythemes:

1. Mother earth (Matipruthivi/Basuki mata) was unsteady.
2. No human being on earth, except Rushi and Rushain who lived near Gonasika.

3. Sun God, The supreme deity (Dharam Deota) was appealed by other Gods to make the earth steady.
4. Sun God decreed that it would be possible by sprinkling blood of Rushi's first son.
5. Rushi armed his son with bow and arrow for his security.
6. Rushi's son engaged in amorous sport and kept off his bow and arrow on a tree branch.
7. Rushi's son was killed by a tiger.
8. All Gods rushed to the spot and swung the dead body.
9. Blood was sprinkled on the earth all over.
10. Mother earth became steady.
11. Earth became suitable for human habitation.
12. From head hair grew trees and leaves
13. From palms and feet of Rushi's son emerged hills and valleys.
14. From nostrils and eyes flowed rivers and streams.
15. Rushi and Rushain had eleven more sons and twelve daughters.
16. From them the Juangs were born and lived on the earth.

Analysis:

The Juang origin myth connected with the origin of the Universe is a cosmogonic one, linking/delinking the Earth and the Sun. The mother earth is resourceful, sustainer, nourisher, fertile and productive and the Sun is the creator and the source of energy and both combined for the emergence of life. The transformation from unsteady to steady shows an ambitious and progressive thinking process and the reasoning of myth-maker and myth-transmitters who carry forward the message from generation to generation. The propitiation and appeasement through human sacrificial blood is the highest form of devotion and sacrifice offered to the Sun God. The blood of Rushi's first son is again pollution free and sustantiates the purest form of sacrifice

or the unsteady earth to become steady and suitable for the sustenance of life-floral and faunal. The myth consists of four columns with two pairs of opposite elements i. e., between I and III and II and IV, which may be stated as follows—
















Column I Earthly
II Loss

III Celestial

IV Gain

Therefore, the structural relationship in the myth is meaningfully represented in the following formula

$$A_{ix} : B_{ix} : B_{ix} : Y_a - 1.$$

I Afx		II Bfx		III Bfy		IV Ya- I	
Mother earth (Matipruthivi/ Basuki Mata) was unsteady.						Mother earth became steady.	
		No human being on earth, except Rushi and Rushain who lived near Gonasika.		Sun God, The supreme deity (Dharm Deota) was appealed by other gods to make the earth steady.		Earth became suitable for human habitation.	
				Sun God decreed that it would be possible by sprinkling blood of Rushi's first son.			
		Rushi armed his son with bow and arrow for his security.				From head hair grew trees and leaves.	
		Rushi's son engaged in amorous sport and kept off his bow and arrow on a tree branch.				From palms and feet of Rushi's son emerged hills and valleys.	
		Rushi's son was killed by a tiger.				From nostrils and eyes flowed rivers and streams.	
		All gods rushed to the spot and swung the dead body.				Rushi and Rushain had eleven more sons and twelve daughters.	
		Blood was sprinkled on the earth all over.				From them the Jungs were born and lived on the earth.	

GLOSSARY

English Terms

Juang equivalent Terms

Arrow

Kakag

Blood

iñam

Bow

Kokomb

Daughter

Koñcelan

Earth

Purtibi

Eye

omor

Hair

junṭa

Head

bokob

Leaves

olag

Feet

ijiḡ

Hill

paaṭo

Man

muṇuso

Nostril

moṭejkaṇa

River

nudi

Son

Konon

Sun God

belo/dorom kailoḡ

Tree

sumusiḡ

Tiger

kilag

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Concept of Panchamahabhuta and Santal Oral Tradition and Healing Practices

Nityananda Patnaik

PART I

The paper has three parts, in the first part the concept of Panchamahabhuta (five Elements) has been discussed, in the second part the concept of Five Elements have been traced in some Santal textual sources and Oral tradition and in the third part some examples of Five Elements as applied to the healing practices have been given.

Concept of Panchamahabhuta

In a funeral hymn mentioned in Rg. Veda (1500 B. C.) it is stated that with the dissolution of the body the eyes go to the sun, the breath to the wind and the soul to the heaven or to the water according to the deeds of the departed. This pre-existent Vedic idea of transmigration of the essential elements of the human body to sun, wind, heaven or water probably influenced the later Aryans to conceive the idea on the reverse order, that is, the human body is composed of the four natural elements namely, Fire, Wind, Earth and Water which ultimately return to the nature after death. These elements when disturbed and become imbalanced cause illness in the body. These ideas are not only stressed in the Vedas but also in the Avesta of Iranians in relation to human health and disease. From these evidences it can be said that this idea might have come from an earlier belief of the common Indo-Iranian stock.

As pointed out earlier it has been mentioned in the Rg. Veda that Asvins were the custodian of wholesome herbs which preserve the well-being of three humours of the body (RV. 1.7.4. 12). The same source has reference to Tridosha which enter into the composition of the human body (RV. 1.3.4.6.). Later Atharva Veda recorded Five elements (Panchamahabhuta) of the body namely, Earth (Kheti), Water (Jala), Fire (Pabaka or Agni) Space (Gagana or Akasha) and Air (Samira or Vayu). There is

mention that diseases were related to water, air and fire and to desiccation or drying. A similar concept of the five elements is also found in Upanishadas (AU. 111.5.3). Thus the idea about the Five elements of the body and their disorders causing illness developed in ancient India between 1500 B. C. to 800 B. C.

Tulsidas in the Ramayan which he composed has said,

‘Kheti, Jal, Pabak, Gagan, Samira
Panchatatwa Te Rachita Sarira’.

(The body is made up of Five Elements namely Earth, Water, Fire, Ether and Air)

While dealing with Panchsangi (Five benevolent) and Panch Kusangi (Five malevolent) associates, Kabir has further explained the qualities of the Five elements in the following manner. The text in Hindi is translated into English.

“All worldly objects are made up of the Five Elements

(Earth, Air, Water, Fire and Sky).

The attributive elements of Earth is Smell and that which holds Smell is Ghrendriya
(Sense of Smell)

That element which Water holds is fluid or serum which is under the control of Rasanendriya
(Sense of Serum),

Brightness or heat emanates from Fire and it is controlled by chakhyurendriya
(Sense of Vision-Eye)

The attributive factor of Air is Touch which is under the control of Sense of Touch.

The Sky is the source of Sound which is controlled by Srotendriya.
(Sense of Hearing)

PART II

Panchamahabhuta and santal literature and Oral Tradition

The Five elements with which the human body is constituted have gone into the creation of life not only of mankind but of the whole of animal kingdom. The Santal culture is very rich in folktales and folklores. The writers like Mildred Archer, W. G. Archer, P. O. Bodding, C. H. Bompas, A. Campbell, K. P. Chattopadhyay and many others have collected numerous folktales which deal with the genesis and migration of the Santals, their culture and customs, social sanctions, values and standards. The Horkoren Mare Hapramko Reak Katha written by R. Kisku Rapaz gives an elaboration of the creation of the world and the living beings. How the Five Elements have gone into the creation of the world and living organisms have been mentioned in his Work.

According to the legends and folktales the man was created in the east. In the beginning there was only water and soil under water and, of course, air above water. The sun was rising in the east and giving heat and light. To begin with the Thakur Jiu created the aquatic animals such as the crab, alligator, crocodile, tortoise, earthworm and lobster and many others. Then He created man in dual form out of earth. But a horse descended on water from the Sun and destroyed the human forms.

At this the Thakur Jiu got worried and decided not to repeat his efforts for the creation of man but to give his attention for the creation of birds. He did so and called the birds. He created HANS & HANSIL. He made them out of His own flesh of the chest and breathed air into them which gave life to them.

As soon as they got life they fluttered and then flew away. Finding no place to alight they perched on the hands of the Thakur Jiu. Then the same horse of the Sun "Sin Sadam" came down again to drink water from the sea. While drinking some water formed into foam which floated on the surface of the water. Thakur Jiu asked the birds to perch on the foams and float about in the sea. There was no food for the birds and when they were hungry they asked the Thakur Jiu to give them some food.

Thakur Jiu had no food, but He made an attempt to produce food. For this He needed soil from the bottom of the sea. He asked the aquatic animals one by one if any one of them could bring some soil from the bottom of the sea to the surface. Every one of them tried but of no avail. Finally the earth-worm was successful in transporting the soil up to the surface. What he did was this.

He asked the tortoise to stand still at one place on water. Then the earthworm came down up to the sub-soil with his tail end on the back of the tortoise. He began to eat the soil with his mouth and allowed it to pass through its body and purged on the tortoise. The earthworm continued the process for days together until sufficient soil was transported and deposited above to make the earth.

The floating foams gathered round the earth. Thakur Jiu started planting trees on the earth. The trees which came up first were Sirom (Andropogon Kuricatus with which broom sticks are made), Asan (Terminalia Tomentosa), Sal (Shorea Robusta), and Mohua (Bassia Latifolia), with these trees grasses grew all over the surface and the earth became strong enough to hold thick vegetation which came up subsequently.

The earth in the beginning was uneven and the higher places became mountains which separated the land surface from the sea water. The birds "HANS HANSIL" came flying and perched on the bushes of Sirom, where they built their nest to lay eggs. When they hatched the eggs they found two human beings coming out of the eggs. One of them was a male and the other a female. The birds were in a fix and did not know where to keep them. They flew to the Thakur Jiu and reported the birth of these two creatures and sought his help how to maintain them.

Hearing this the Thakur Jiu came down and saw these two beings and blew life into them by which they became very lively. He advised the birds to soak the cotton which he gave with the juice of what they ate and squeeze it in their mouths. They did so and thus the children grew up. When their children were sufficiently grown up they flew away carrying their children on their back to a place called Hiliri and Pihiri where they all lived together for a long time. After sometime the parent birds left their children for good and the Santal tradition is silent about what happened to them afterwards.

The folktale shows how the human body came into being out of earth, water, warmth (light and fire) sky (ether) and air.

The idea about Panchamahabhuta extant among the Santals can be collected from the local folk sayings and literatures. A few such sayings which convey some ideas about the Panchamahabhuta similar to those mentioned in the funeral hymn derived from Rg. Veda is as follows :

- 1) Hasa Halam Hasara Milaua
(The earth-made body will mix with earth).
- 2) Haya Jiwan Hayare Milaua
(The air laden life merges in air).
- 3) Nan Halam Da Sengel Lagida
(This body is for the fire).

The Santali literature is very rich. No cataloguing and compilation of these literatures has yet been made exhaustively. These literatures are in Hindi, Oriya, Bengali and Roman script. Some of them are also in O. L Chiki. Most of the literatures are printed but sufficient copies are not available. Many publications are out of print and no attempt is made for reprinting such valuable publications. Of the two sources which mention about the Five elements in the most abstract manner, Hital is one which is a published work of late Pandit Raghunath Murmu, Inventor of OL Chiki script and the other, a manuscript by late Ram Dayal Majhi.

Pandit Raghunath Murmu's book HITAL gives an account of the Five elements. The stanzas from 15 to 21 are quoted below. This booklet is written in OL Chiki script.

15. Maranburu Kate Mid tha Etemte An En
Jahirain Kate Mid Tha Kenya Tem An En.

(It may be so that you as Maranburu turned left it may be so that you as jahirain turned right.)

16. Serma talare an thatam tarak Janpam En
Hudur ate Bilit Barandu Gursu Achur En.

(The force of these rotations met at the mid sky. As a result the whirl pool was born with thundrous sound).

17. Achur Achur Bilid Barandu Khanak

Am An En

Sin Bonga Ar Epil Engel Chand Dhartika.
(As a result a new world was born and Sun, Stars, Moon, were also born).

18. Serma Marsal Enada Aanga Sirij En
Ana Barandu Rege Atha Jatak thab En

(They took their respective places in the path of that rotation.

The sky was lighted with the birth of sun).

19. Elan thale thatam Sin bonga Rem Am Kad
Taa thale thatam Dharati taan rem

Am Kad

(You generated fire in the sun and you cooled the earth).

20. Dharati Chetan Sin Yinda Hulan Achur En
Taya Khan Haya, Hasa Dhiri tha Kam

Benao En

(There came day and night thereafter on the earth and therefore air, soil, stone and water were created).

21. Dharati Chetan Jiyi Sirij An Adam An

Ked

Hansa Hansaii Jiyi Dukin Barandu

Anaga En

(Out of these elements came up life with wealth and happiness which the living beings (Hansa and Hansuli) enjoyed on Earth).

These stanzas show that the human body has grown out of the Five Elements which when balanced and in harmony with one another bestow well-being on the mankind and other living organisms.

There appeared a saintly person, known as Dayal Baba at Basipitha in Udala subdivision. His real name was Ram Dayal Majhi, a Santal and he died at the age of 120 years as the people say, His grand daughter's husband Shri Sida Hembram of Beguniadiha of Udala subdivision as got a manuscript of Dayal

Baba and the extracts given below regarding Halma Galahan (constitution of the Body) are from this manuscript.

1. Ata Serma Haya Situn
2. Jarage Japud San Salam Anan
3. Serma Daletem Ajam
4. Taker Dalete Halam Am Ana
5. Haya Daletam Urum
6. Hayad Chapu Gun Anan
7. Situn Sengel Marsal Anan
8. Manmi Halmare Med Anan
9. Med Deletem Yenyel Kana
10. Jarege japud Tha Kana
11. Anatege Alam Rasa Anan
12. Helem Jaj Jharam Urun (Ma)
13. Rasa Alam Urum Gun Ana
14. Ata Da Aan Kana
15. (Tha) Dhare Dhiri Gata Aman Akan
16. Ana Dege Manmiya Mun Akan
17. Ji Gun Dale Mena Akan

The literary translation of the above mentioned stanzas is given below. Further studies are required for the analysis and explanations of these abstract ideas.

1. Earth, Sky (Ether), Air and Brightness (Fire).
2. Unceasing rain-all such creations appealing to mind and soothing to body.
3. Space (Heaven) enables us to hear
4. Space creates resounding which helps in hearing.
5. Air or wind gives you feeling and realization of things.

6. Air is endowed with the quality of touch.
7. Fire emits light
8. Man has eyes
9. Eye sight enables you to see
10. Rain gives water
11. The watery substance in tongue is due to rain.
12. Therefore the tongue can taste sweet, sour, hot (chilli).
13. The watery substance of the tongue has the attributes of taste.
14. The Earth on which living organisms sustain life by air, water, warmth, light (fire), ether and earth is a wonderful place.
15. There is soil (earth), stone and vegetation all round and they help life to grow healthy and contented.
- 16 & 17. The man has nose which has given him smelling sense and the air all around helps this sense to function.

There are many such other sources some in the printed form and some in the form of manuscripts and some in memory of Santals who had personal contact with saintly persons, reformers, thinkers and writers. It is an urgent need to locate these sources and materials and retrieve them and prepare an annotated and classified bibliography on the subject of Five elements,

At the sametime biographic accounts of such saints and thinkers should be collected so that the sources and conditions which impinged upon them to get inspiration and orientation towards a philosophical life can be made known to us. Further, more knowledge can be gained about how the human body (Microcosm) is fitted harmoniously with the world (Macrocosm) both being subject to the Rule of Sphere and how disease is caused as a result of disharmony between the human body and universe in which the Five elements play an important role

PART III

Use of elements in healing practices among the Santals

Water

Water is an essential ingredient used in the preparation of medicine. The water from different sources has different properties and qualities and therefore, their effects are different. A few examples will make it clear.

The solution prepared out of stale water of huka (Basi Huka Pani) and lupung arag rehet, dar and sakam (roots, branches and leaves of young plant of Bahada) (terminalia Baberica) is used for the healing of the sores (Garang ghao).

The medicine prepared out of the roots of pomegranate, white sandal and stale rice water is used in the case of lizard bite.

The water collected from a boat is a remedy for stopping unconscious urination in bed. Another remedy for this malady is the solution of water mixed with soil where the patient has urinated.

The water collected from a Sal tree (Shorea robusta) is a cure for burning urine.

A drink of fresh milk mixed with water will cure the complaints of burning urine or pain at the time of urination due to excessive heat.

The water contained in a snail is used to cure eye trouble.

The boiled water mixed with other ingredients is given to parturient mothers for increasing milk yield.

A preparation of goat's milk mixed with honey and water collected from a place having alluvial soil is used as a curative for fever, vomiting, any headache. Some alluvial soil which is used by the potters to make pottery is mixed in water and kept for sometime for the soil to settle down. The clean water which stands above is used for this purpose.

The water of a tank which has no leakage or any outlet for the water to flow out is administered with rape seed and the roots of *Achyranthes Aspera* (BUDHI-DATRAM) ground together to the pregnant woman to prevent abortion.

The dews have certain medicinal and properties, it is collected early morning from a grass field by passing a clean piece of cloth over the grasses

squeezing the soaked cloth into a container. Similar properties are believed to be present in hail-water. Hail stones are collected and kept in a bottle for future use. Even through the hail stones melt the supposed quality remains in the hail-water.

The water kept in an earthen jar previous day has certain special properties to cure headache and bleeding from the nose. Only inhaling such water and putting a few drops of such water in the nostrils and taking it out work effectively and the headache and bleeding stops.

Soil

Different soils have different medicinal properties.

The soil created by earthworm (Jiamati) and the earth used by the stinging flies (Biridi) for making their abode (Biridi basa) are mixed in water and after the soil has settled down the clean water standing above is decanted and given to the patient having excessive thirst. This water brings down the thirst to a normal condition.

In the preceding section it has been stated how the water of the alluvial soil is used as a remedy for various ailments. Similarly the soil from different sources is used to cure urinary trouble and mums.

Fire

In connection with Santal medicine there are also various household remedies in which the elements of heat or fire and blowing of air are used. Tobak is one such remedy. By this method the painful or inflamed spot marked with ashes is pricked with a Red hot needle or the point of a sickle to give relief to the patient. Sekao which is a kind of fomentation is used to give relief to the patient having pain or swelling in some part of the body. The Ojha or medicine man before applying any complicated methods of treatment blows air through his mouth from head to feet of the patient to blow away the evil influence of the Bongas and the witches.

Sunshine is the best remedy for many bodily ailments. The medicine applied for TAN is effective only when the patient has sufficiently bathed in the sunshine.

This is only a brief account of the use of elements in healing practices. More such uses of elements under different conditions are in vogue among the Santals.

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TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT—

A CRITICAL REVIEW

N. K. Behura

Scheduled Tribes constitute 7.8 per cent of the total population of the country. They are said to be the earliest inhabitants of the country and have distinctive culture due to ethno-historical reasons. Most of them inhabit forest and hilly areas, and thus forest revolves inextricably around their life and culture. They treat the forests as their ancestral abode and perennial treasure house. Relative physical isolation from the mainstream for generations has made them develop and nurture their distinctive style of life depending on their ecosystem. The relative physical isolation of the tribals has contributed to the high incidence of illiteracy, techno-economic stagnation and consequential poverty amongst them. The more is the degree of isolation more is the techno-economic backwardness.

Tribal societies are distinguished from those of the non-tribals as the former are more homogeneous, kin based and community oriented. They have their distinctive language and culture. However, tribal societies have not remained static over the years and with the passage of time, some changes have occurred in the culture of the tribal communities for various reasons. Nevertheless, they differ considerably from one another with regard to primitivism and modernity. Diversity amongst them is also reflected in their life style due to their peculiar geographical locations and concentration in hilly and forest areas. They continue to veer around their age-old occupational categories, excepting those who have changed their occupation due to modernization and/or migration to urban and industrial areas in search of livelihood. There are 74 primitive tribal communities who are still at the food-gathering, hunting and shifting cultivation stage. Rest others are depending upon either settled agriculture or pastoralism or artisanry. However, the economy of the tribal communities, by and large, is undifferentiated because a majority of them depend on several economic pursuits to

overcome the stark problem of survival. In recent decades large numbers of landless tribe families have moved to nearby mining, industrial and urban areas for earning their livelihood. Now they are living in varied socio-economic situations. In the context of present development scenario they seem to be progressing at varied pace, and thus continue to differ from one another significantly.

From the point of view of socio-economic development and quality of life tribal communities can be classified into four categories. The first category comprises those tribes who are isolated in hills, forests and such inaccessible areas, and live by food-gathering, hunting and practice of shifting cultivation. Such tribes are found in pockets in the Andaman Islands as well as in the hilly and forest areas of the mainland. Populationwise they are of varying size and are at different techno-economic levels. Their contact with the outside world is minimal and in a few cases nil, for example, the Jarwa and the Sentinelese in the Andamans are still isolated. The second category consists of the major chunk of tribes of the country who are relatively large in size, practise settled agriculture and are in contact with the encysting peasant communities. Techno-economically they are close to the peasant communities, Santal, Munda, Ho, Oraon, Bhuiyan, Bhumij, Gond, etc., come under this category, who inhabit the vast tribal belt stretching across Eastern, Central and Peninsular India. The third category represents tribes who are economically, educationally and politically advanced. Some tribes of North-Eastern India, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat come under this category. The Naga, Mizo, Khasi, Goro, Meena, Bhil, Negi, Raj Gond etc. are some of the tribes who are sufficiently ahead of others. The fourth category has emerged during the post-Independence period with the establishment of major industries, opening up of mines, construction of

multi-purpose dams in areas of tribal concentration. Tribals under this category constitute the unskilled and semi-skilled migrant industrial, mining and construction labour.

Constitutional Safeguards

For the welfare and development of the tribal communities the nation is committed. Certain special provisions and safeguards have been provided in the constitution of the country in this regard and thus a new line of development administration has been made operative. Article 46 of the Constitution states that the State shall promote, with special care, the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections among the Indian population and in particular, of the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. Article 342 of the Constitution empowers the President of India to specify the community or communities to be designated as the Scheduled Tribe for the purposes of the Constitution. Article 244 of the Constitution provides for the administration of "Scheduled Areas" in accordance with the Fifth Schedule and Sixth Schedule, Articles 330, 332 and 334 provide for reservation of seats for the Scheduled Tribes in the House of People (Parliament) and State Legislatures. And Article 335 provides for reservation of jobs in various services under the Government and public sector undertakings.

Approaches to Development

Notwithstanding the policy of the Colonial Government, after Independence national leaders demonstrated a deep concern for the welfare of the tribals. There are four approaches which have either been suggested or followed at different times. The first and earliest one is the policy of isolation, the second one is the policy of assimilation, the third one is the policy of revivalism and revitalization and the fourth one which is in operation is the policy of integration and development. The last approach is the best because it aims at the development of the tribals along with their integration with the national mainstream. Through this policy special attention is being paid to primitive tribal groups, individual tribal families, and to sectoral as well as integrated development.

This policy of tribal development had been spelt out by the first Prime Minister of the country Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as follows : "We cannot allow matters to drift in the tribal areas or

just not take interest in them..... A the same time we should avoid over-administering the areas and in particular, sending too many outsiders into their territory. It is between the two extreme positions we have to function" (Elwin Committee Report, 1960 : 13). Further he opined that a team of their own people need be trained and groomed to undertake the responsibility of administration and development. His view point was that the results of development should not be judged by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of life that evolved.

Programmes and Development

The country commenced planned development for all sections of the population soon after Independence. Tribal communities were brought into the development process of the nation. The programme of Community Development was launched in the First Five-Year Plan and by the end of Second Five-Year Plan the whole country was covered under the Community Development Scheme. This programme was extended onto the tribal areas, but the task in the tribal areas was insurmountable. The areas were hilly, undulating, forest-clad and lacked communication facility. Habitations were often sparse and scattered and lacked infrastructure facilities, and thus needed special treatment. Thus in order to supplement the Community Development Programme, 43 special multi-purpose tribal development projects were established in 1954. The Community Development approach was multi-sectoral and lacked penetrative thrust and proved to be a failure as far as tribals were concerned. As a result, a model of Tribal Development Block was evolved. The norms for the constitution of T. D. Block comprised an area of 150 to 200 Sq. Miles and a population of 25,000. It did not prove to be an effective instrument of tribal development mainly because the administrative and protective aspects of tribal life remained largely unattended. However, by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan 500 such Blocks had emerged, covering 40 per cent of the total tribal population in the country.

In the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1969—74), during 1970-71 a special programme for the development of selected tribal areas was initiated. It was an additive programme with focus on specific target groups/areas in Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh. Six Pilot

Tribal Development Agencies, were set up, each being registered under the Registration of Societies Act, 1860. The TDA strategy was of partial success as these agencies confined their activities to the development of agriculture, horticulture, minor irrigation, land, promotion of animal husbandry, control of shifting cultivation and construction of arterial roads. The agencies subsidised 50 to 75 per cent of the capital requirement of each programme and the rest was met by the tribal beneficiaries through loans from institutional sources. Poor tribals failed to derive benefits from the programmes as they were unable to pay their own share.

On the eve of Fifth Five-Year Plan a comprehensive view of tribal problems was taken up by formulating a Sub-plan strategy for tribal areas. The main objectives were socio-economic development and protection, against exploitation of the tribals, particularly the weak and the vulnerable ones.

The instrument of Tribal Sub-Plan was developed on the basis of the concentration of Scheduled Tribe population in specific areas. This enabled concerned State Governments to formulate modalities for quantifying funds from identifiable programmes and for tailoring funds to the needs to the tribal people and areas. Sixteen (now seventeen) Tribal Sub-Plans were formulated covering 63 per cent of the Tribal population in the country in 17 States and 2 Union Territories. The Tribal Sub-Plan areas were divided into 191 Integrated Tribal Development Projects/Agencies for operational purposes. In these areas concentration of tribal population is 50 per cent or more.

In respect of the areas where the tribal population was of lower concentration this norm was relaxed with a view to covering a reasonable proportion of tribal population. Thus minimum Scheduled Tribe population threshold of about 20,000 was adopted in delineating Tribal Sub-Plan Areas in Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Assam. In the case of Tamil Nadu and Kerala the population norms were further reduced to the Scheduled Tribe population of about 10,000. In West Bengal and Tripura, groups of villages with more than 50 per cent concentration Scheduled Tribe population were included under the Sub-Plan strategy. In Uttar Pradesh and Karnataka, where the Scheduled Tribe population is dispersed and small, family based approach was adopted. The Sub-Plan

approach aimed at the reduction of the gap between the levels of development of tribal and non-tribal areas and improving the quality of life of the tribals by alleviating them from object indigence.

The funds for the Sub-Plan areas flow from the general State plan outlays, from Central Ministries and Departments and various financial institutions. Besides, Special Central Assistance is given in the form of Block grant. For family oriented schemes, subsidy component is paid from the State Government Funds, and the loan component is provided by Financial Institutions.

During the Sixth Five-Year Plan Modified Area Development Approach was introduced to cover smaller areas of tribal concentration having 10,000 population or less, out of which not less than 50 per cent should be tribal. Special Projects for primitive tribal communities were also commenced. By the end of the Seventh Five-Year Plan there were already 268 MADA pockets, covering 15,080 villages and 45.82 lakhs population in 9 States; 74 cluster pockets covering 1,219 villages and 3.36 lakh population in 7 States. There were 74 Special Projects for primitive tribal groups in 15 States/Union Territories.

During the Eighth Five-Year Plan the Sub-Plan strategy will continue. But programmes will have to be devised keeping in view the priority order of the needs of the tribals. The TSP strategy though has yielded positive results, yet they do not commensurate with the amount of investment made. The TSP approach is interpreted as an area approach, and, therefore, a heavy emphasis is laid on the development of infrastructure without corresponding emphasis on the economic, educational and social development of the Scheduled Tribes.

The strategy for tribal development has been refined during the successive Plan periods and from the Fifth Five-Year Plan the Sub-Plan strategy together with its ITDA/ITDP instrument has been the major agency for implementation of tribal development programmes in terms of comprehensive coverage of tribal population. And from the Sixth Five-Year Plan onwards MADA and cluster pocket strategies for development of tribals outside the Sub-Plan area and dispersed tribal groups are in operation. Likewise, Special Micro Projects for primitive tribal groups is in operation and 74 such groups have been identified.

Development Impact

The facts as regards the impact of development on various categories of tribals have been highlighted by studies conducted in several parts of tribal areas as well as by different Committees appointed by Government of India. The success or failure of tribal development programmes can be adjudged from the quality of life of the tribal people.

Elwin Committee (1960) stressed the participation and involvement of the tribals in the implementation of the development programmes. It recommended enactment of legislations to curb the exploitation of tribals by private money-lenders and make provision of adequate Government sources of credit for the tribals. It also suggested measures to redeem tribals from chronic loans, and discharge tribal bonded labourers from bonded labour contracts. Dhebar Committee (1963) Report stated that the protective measures were sporadic and inadequate to ameliorate complex tribal problems. It felt that the process of development in the tribal areas was slow because of meagre financial investment. It recommended to take advantage of the traditional tribal councils for successful implementation of development programmes. Shily Ao Committee felt that the TD Blocks were inadequate to cater to the requirements of tribal development. It pointed out that the general sector schemes implemented in tribal areas failed to benefit tribals effectively. Further, it noted that the benefits of the development schemes mostly accrued to the more advanced among the tribals, because these did not percolate beyond the strong upper crust of the tribal communities. Both the Committees noted abject indigence, high incidence of indebtedness, chronic land alienation, educational backwardness, rampant exploitation and inadequacy of the communication system as the major problems of tribals.

The tribals are facing insurmountable problems because of the erosion of their traditional rights on forest and forest land. In the name of development they are evicted from their forest habitat. The growth of communication facilities has created opportunities for some non-tribals to grab the meagre assets of the tribals. Exposure of backward tribals to exogenous forces has impoverished them. They, particularly the vulnerable ones are withering under the irresistible aggressive thrust of neo-colonial modern forces.

Tribal societies are kin based, segmentary and homogeneous. They encourage common values, norms and mutual co-operation, and foster a strong sense of collectivism. Amongst them natural resources are owned by the community, Tribal traditions and institutions are all community oriented. But the process of development promotes individualism amongst them. Now they are exposed to a culture which values individualism and promotes competition. Being unable to cope up with the culture of self and rising aspirations tribal communities dwindle away and disintegrate by falling easy prey to land alienation, loss of assets and consequential exploitation. Land alienation is taking place because of the lacunae in the existing legislation. Sometimes non-tribal men marry tribal women with an ulterior motive to grab tribal land and house site.

Tribal's homeostatic personality system, collective social system and homogeneous cultural system are being twisted in the present process of development, because development planning does not take into consideration the tribal value system and ideological system. Many development schemes flop as they run counter to the value system of the beneficiaries. Sudden and unplanned exposure of the primitive and weak tribals to the individualistic urban and industrial cultures and capitalistic market economy does not lead to their development, rather it leads to their gradual disintegration and degradation.

Their traditions, customs, norms and values cherished for generations, fade away under the impact of modernism. Norms and values are bound to change slowly with the passage of time as the personality, social and cultural systems are dynamic entities. Functionally they are both promotive and regulative. Therefore, when the existing norms and values get eroded without being replaced by better ones, there will be anomie and alienation, which are social pathological symptoms.

Tribal development efforts do not seem to be resting on firm commitment and dedication. Often funds earmarked for the development of tribals are diverted for the benefit of non-tribals. Several studies have pointed out that only 10 to 15 per cent of the allotted funds are actually spent for the benefit of the tribals. Migrant and uprooted tribals do not come within the purview of any specific development package. They are forced to earn their living in urban and indu-

tribal areas as unskilled labour. Minimum wages are not paid to them, and thus lead a life of deprivation and destitution.

Educated tribals foster a feeling that the State social policy in tribal areas is more anti-tribal as the poor tribals are exposed to open exploitation and penury. In several areas tribals are in the midst of an identity crisis. Hence the rise of socio-political movements in tribal belts, in several tribal pockets, the tribals are being outnumbered by non-tribals and steadily losing their resource base. Their apprehension is that slowly they will lose their language, culture and identity.

Serene tribal societies are in the midst of several stresses and strains, and their dependence on external sources for survival is increasing. The tendency towards consumerism is fast growing among the exposed tribals, and the demonstration effects have been enticing them to emulate the style of life of the non-tribals, elites. This attitude prompts them to spend their income on such goods that carry status symbols.

Migrant and ousted tribals do not come within the purview of any special development scheme. They earn their living in urban and industrial areas as unskilled labour. Minimum wages are not paid to them by the labour contractors. Whereas they develop a propensity to spend their meagre income on a variety of consumer goods. The widening gap between their ever rising expectations and income levels make them more and more frustrated.

Socio-economic development is a device to improve the quality of life of the tribals en masse and bring them into the National Mainstream, when malnutrition, disease, squalor and exploitation are multiplying in tribal areas, quality

of life of the tribals is bound to deteriorate. All the tribals are unable to grab the fruits of development, as their level of absorption ability is much lower than the average standard. Quality of life depends on the availability as well as access to basic necessities of life, such as food, drinking water, clothing, housing, health care services and basic or primary education. Attributed and *per capita* quantity of these necessities depend on: (i) command over resources, (ii) development of human resources, and (iii) the level of modern technological know-how. Both the quality and the *per capita* quantity of these necessities in tribal areas is very low, and thus the general quality of life of a majority of the tribals is abysmally low.

Todaro has conceptualized "development" as "the sustained elevation" of an entire society and social system toward a "better" or "more human" life (1985:85). He has emphasized the noble concept of "good life" as the perpetual goal of humankind. He has outlined three objectives of development: (i) the ability to provide the basic necessities of life; (ii) to be a person with self-esteem, and (iii) freedom from servitude, i.e. to be able to choose. A majority of the tribals are far away from the above mentioned facets of development.

The issue in tribal development is to ensure and restore the command over their resources which the tribal communities have lost. The nature of socio-economic transformation be left to them to decide. The present development process must aim at eliminating deprivation and restoring dignity and self-confidence in the tribal. Development need not be merely economic, it must be social and psychological too. However, it should not create a sense of dependence amongst them.

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Problems of Tribal Economy in Orissa

Baidyanath Misra

Quite a lot of work has been done in regard to sociological studies of tribal people. Tribal culture and tradition are quite different from modern industrial life. Most of the sociologists of industrial countries have therefore taken considerable interest in studying an old culture with great enthusiasm and excitement and Indian elites have joined with them with pleasure and pecuniary advantage. But the pursuit of such research studies along with the appreciation of tribal culture, life and social custom has somehow contributed to the maintenance of a separate entity of tribal life and prevented any large scale effort for the assimilation of tribals with other neighbouring communities. Tribals have served as museum pieces for historical studies.

But since they are human beings, we have to create conditions not only for their survival, but also for the improvement of their economic status. The characteristics of tribal economy can be summarised as follows:—

(1) The tribal people mostly depend on two kinds of occupations, shifting cultivation and the exploitation of forest products. Shifting cultivation is most uneconomic in character: It is not only subsistence agriculture where hardly any investment is made for the improvement of productivity of land and therefore yield of land is awfully low, which is hardly sufficient to meet the basic requirements of life, it is also self destructive in character: it destroys the fertility of the soil and what is worse, it destroys the forest products on which the tribal people depend for their subsistence. There has been hardly any change in the technology of such primitive occupations. Consequently the tribal people are outside the fringe of modern civilisation.

(2) The tribal economy is not only unorganised, it also non-monetised. In case of India probably 65 to 70 per cent of the economy is unorganised whereas the non-monetary sector will come to about 30 to 35 per cent. Since the tribal people are concentrated in a few regions, and non-monetised sector has become more or less synonymous with the tribal sector. The non-monetised economy has given rise to all kinds

of exploitations; they cannot get a good price for the forest products that they sell in the markets, they are cheated in weights and measures and further, they are not actuated by monetary incentives to produce more so as to get the benefits of economic motivation. Monetary economy, in spite of all its evils, helps in promoting economic incentives and generalising purchasing power with a view to making a smooth transition from a primitive economy to modern economy. This has not happened in tribal areas.

(3) Exploitation is rampant in the tribal areas. The tribal people require credit mostly for consumption and ritual purposes. Since they do not have any durable productive enterprises, they have to fall on the money lenders for meeting their financial requirements during the loan period. Their productive loan is limited as they do not have either scientific agriculture or industrial enterprises requiring heavy capital or other inputs for investment. Their agriculture is just a way of life. Most of the tribal communities are ridden with a number of rituals which require substantial amount of family budget to be spent for purchasing liquor or goats and buffaloes for sacrifice. If a Bonda commits any crime in the community he can be accepted by the community provided he can throw a party consisting of liquor or meat of goat or buffalo. Marriage, death or other religious ceremonies are also observed in several tribal communities with quite a great deal of pomp and ceremony, with liquor, meat etc. All these depress the economy of tribal communities. It is said that Panas and Domas who belong to scheduled castes generally play the role of money lenders charging high rate of interest. They live in the tribal villages and form a part of the tribal life and exploit them to the fullest extent. The Dhebar Commission Report (The Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribe Commission) makes reference to the magnitude of the debt and the exorbitant rate of interest prevailing in the tribal areas. All these debilitate the tribal life.

Shoubray

(4) Tribal people are scattered in small villages. The average size of a tribal village in the interior inaccessible areas comes to hardly 20 to 25 households in some cases, in constitutes 3 or 4 households. Due to lack of development of communication or transport facilities, these people have remained almost excommunicated from the other plain people. Lack of contact with the other so-called civilised people and absence of basic minimum facilities of life have made them terribly exclusive and primitive in their outlook. They have almost no aspirations to look forward for a better life which is considered to be a *sine qua non* of economic progress. It is true that the Government has taken a number of programmes to improve their economic life. But in spite of all these programmes, the tribals not only continue to remain poor, they also drag down the economic advance of the State.

In the context of such backwardness, what can be done to improve the economic lot of the tribal people. At the outset, we want to affirm that we do not want to keep the tribal people as separate entities. They have to be integrated and assimilated with others. They must enjoy the fruits of modern civilisation. No culture is exclusive, nor should it be made exclusive. The proposal to develop a separate pattern of economic development to maintain the integrity of tribal culture is not only undesirable, but harmful. The tribals have to be residents of Orissa and citizen of India. If there can be any cultural heritage, it should be Indian heritage. They have to be a part and parcel of this heritage. We therefore, suggest a board pattern of development, keeping in mind the circumstances in which they live, the environment in which they work, and the resources and the skill that they possess. If we implant a sophisticated model of development, the absorbing capacity will be negligible leading again to exploitation of tribals by non tribals. We therefore, give a few conventional proposals for improving the tribal life and increasing the economic well being of the tribal people. These are some general proposals which can be streamlined on the basis of a detailed study of inventory resources of different regions.

First of all we have to consider the tribal agriculture. For a long time, agriculture will be the main source of livelihood for tribal people. But the units of their land ownership are extremely small. However, the tribal people

have a co-operative bent of mind. Gramdan movement has been successful in tribal areas only because they have not been exploit by the possession of private property. Private property generates greed and selfishness and creates anti-social attitude. Since ownership rights of land among tribals are awefully insecure and alienation of land is common, tribal people are hardly attached to their property rights. This is the proper time when co-operatives can be organised among the tribals for deriving economies of large scale production. Since many of them live in uneven and rocky areas, it will not be possible to provide irrigation everywhere. But whenever tribal people live in plain areas, and there is scope for improvement of irrigation facility, irrigation should be provided to improve cropping pattern with modern inputs for increasing agricultural productivity and providing continuous employment opportunities. There should be demarcation of areas in different tribal regions with ground water survey for determining how much of irrigation facility can be provided. This should be done on a priority basis, since irrigation is the foundation of modern agriculture,

But, where irrigation is not possible, dry land agriculture has to be developed on scientific lines, The I. C. A. R. and Agriculture Universities have already evolved some dry land technology These have to be applied in tribal areas. If rains are quite heavy, but confined to a few months catchment areas have to be built up for water harvest. The uneven lands are to be terraced with a view to preventing soil erosion and applying modern inputs for increased production. What is however, required is to make a detailed study of each region so as to prepare comprehensive plans, regionwise, in regard to soil conservation, water harvesting, cropping pattern and input requirement for agricultural development.

In agricultural development, horticulture has to assume tremendous importance. These are the regions where fruit crops are grown in abundance. But these crops grow widely and the tribals do not derive any benefit from these crops due to lack of marketing facility and preservation. Middlemen have been found exploiting them in several possible ways. It is understood that in many parts though fruits of the trees are auctioned before they are ripe for small amounts of money, the tribals are called upon to watch the fruits till they are ripe without any financial benefit, Dishonest middlemen exploit the honesty of the tribal people for securing

exorbitant profits. If some fruit processing industries are located in these regions and fruit trees are nurtured on scientific lines, there will be a big dent on economic life of the tribal people.

But only crop husbandry will not change the tribal economy. Many of these tribal areas are not suitable for commercial crops. Some of the food crops that can be grown are minor millets which cannot bring a fair return to the cultivator. Dairy farming, goatery and poultry can be conveniently taken up in these areas. In view of the nearness to the forest areas, there will be no difficulty for feed or fodder. In other words, mixed farming is an essential aspect of economic development in tribal areas.

But all the tribal people cannot be resettled in agriculture. There are many landless labourers who cannot be provided with land. Some landless labourers can be resettled in land wherever available. But unless some surplus people are diverted from agriculture and settled in non farm occupations, tribal economy cannot prosper. There is plenty of scope for starting small scale industries in these regions on the basis of forest products and fruits. Only the technology has to be simple so that the tribal people can operate them efficiently and effectively.

For the development of agriculture and industries, five things are necessary. First, there should be suitable credit organisation to provide loan at a cheap rate and prevent exploitation. Second, a marketing machinery with credit link should be started so that the tribals can get a fair return for their produce. Third, there should be lease of land and settlement of colonies where modern farming can be done on irrigated land. Here both consolidation of holdings and co-operativisation have to be taken up to prevent alienation of land to secure economies of large scale production. Fourth, improvement in organisation is necessary for effectively carrying out these programmes.

These organisations should be managed by dedicated voluntary organisation with the participation of tribal people. Finally, an integrated area development approach has to be initiated so that all aspects of development in a particular areas are taken up with a view to bringing about an all-round development of the region in question. *It has been said that tribal people require, food, fodder, fuel, fruit and fair return.* This can be done only when there is a concerted effort to achieve simultaneously all these in a particular region. An area approach has therefore greater relevance than a schematic programme analysis. But the entire programme of development has to be done on the basis of resource inventory of each region so that the development pattern does not suffer from an unbalance between supply of inputs and demand for inputs.

Finally, we want to emphasise one more aspect for modernising tribal economy. It has been said by Gunnar Myrdal that economic development depends on two factors, attitudinal change and institutional change. We have already made suggestions for institutional improvement. But no institution can work unless people are interested to make them work. If we have to prevent the isolation of the tribal people and make them an integral part of the economic process of the country, we have to create an awareness in them regarding their rights and duties, their responsibilities and involvements and the changing pattern which is envisaged for them and the work they have to do in bringing about such changes. All these can be done provided they are sufficiently educated, both literally and functionally as to understand the problems and challenges and to take up the management of the developmental programme with vigour and enthusiasm. A conscious and willing tribal community can change tribal life and prevent exploitation much more quickly, than an ignorant and unwilling community. Productive education is therefore, a vital link in the process of development.

Rationale for a Policy of "Reservation within Reservations" :

A Case study of Bihar

Rajalaxmi Rath

Castes are the building blocks of the Hindu social system. The traditional society in India is based on a hierarchy of castes, each with hereditary occupational specialisation. This social order has continued for over three millennia primarily due to the sanction of religion. The Scheduled Castes or the Harijans, as they were called by Gandhijee were considered to be outside the pale of the Hindu "Varna" system. For ages these castes were regarded as polluting even by touch and sight and therefore were considered as untouchables. They also lived a life of social ostracization and economic deprivation. The scheduled Tribes formed another deprived section, with low economic status, outside the mainstream of society. The onslaught of the Aryans drove them to remote and inaccessible terrains of the country where they lived for centuries in dire poverty. These two sections of society have some common characteristics in respect of social disabilities due to long years of exploitation, deprivation and social segregation.

S. Cs. and S. Ts. of Bihar

The social structure in Bihar is characterised by high degree of rigidity and very low social mobility. Although untouchability has been abolished by law, the Scheduled Castes still suffer from social disabilities imposed by the upper castes. The society is still basically feudal and exploitative. The phenomena of bonded labour, atrocities on weaker sections, social segregation and orthodox practices are still prevalent. The condition of the Scheduled Tribes concentrated mainly in the Chotangpur Plateau and Santhal Parganas is not very different.

According to the 1981 Census, the Scheduled Caste population of Bihar is 101.42 lacs, which accounts for 14.5% of the State's total population. 92% of the Scheduled Castes in Bihar live in rural areas, which is higher than the All-India

figure of 84%. Nearly 73% toil as agricultural labourers compared to the All-India figure of 48% only. In Bihar they are unable to get employment round the year at reasonable wage levels. Most of them manage to get seasonal and low paid employment. Very few of them own land as small and marginal farmers.

In Bihar 23 castes have been declared as Scheduled Castes. The dominating among these castes are the Chamar, Dusadh, Pasi and Dhobi. The others, like the Mushar, Dom, Mehtar, Rajwar, Bauri, Turi, Ghasi, etc., are still at the bottom of social and economic development. The four dominant Scheduled Castes happen to be in constant contact with upper castes due to the nature of their traditional occupation. They have been able to transform themselves socially to a great extent due to this proximity. They are also economically better off and socially more developed. They are inclined to provide education to their children too. Those who have formal education are provided with white collar employment and therefore enjoy a better status and better earnings than manual labourers.

With a population of 58.11 lacs (1981 Census), Bihar has the third largest Scheduled Tribe population in the country after Madhya Pradesh (119.87 lacs) and Orissa (59.15 lacs). There are 30 different tribes in Bihar; main among them being the Santhal, Oraon, Munda and the Ho. The Santhals accounting for 18 lakh population are concentrated in the Santhal Parganas and neighbouring districts. The Oraons with a population of about 8 lakhs are found mostly in the districts of Ranchi and Palamau. The Mundas have an approximate population of seven lakhs and most of them inhabit Ranchi and Singhbhum districts. The Hos are confined to the Singhbhum district with a population of about 5 lakhs. These four main tribes constitute about 80% of the tribal population of Bihar. There are nine primitive tribes identified in Bihar

viz., Birhor, Hill-Kharia, Mal Paharia, Sauria, Bauria, Birjia, Korwa, Binjhia, Asur and Sabar and their population is approximately 1.68 lakhs. These tribes still live in the primitive socio-economic conditions.

The areas inhabited by the tribal people have generally difficult terrains containing hills and forests. These areas are sparsely populated, and marked by low levels of literacy, lack of infrastructure for development and a relatively high degree of poverty and unemployment. All the thirty different tribes have distinct cultures and differ widely *inter se* in the level of socio-economic development. A few tribal communities still practise shifting cultivation but the majority of the tribal people live in villages and own very little land. As most of the land is hilly it is difficult for them to produce any surplus. Some tribes earn their livelihood by activities like, rope-making, basket-making and weaving. Basically they lead a life of social segregation and economic deprivation.

The policy of reservation is a constitutional safeguard to ameliorate the socio-economic conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, mitigate the miseries of centuries and assimilate them into the mainstream of national life. It would be worthwhile to find out the impact, which the policy has made on the lives of the beneficiaries and their communities.

Rationale of Reservation

The Constitution of India provides for equality of status for all the citizens. At the same time it recognises the need to make special provisions in favour of the socially backward groups with the objective of bringing them to a level comparable to other communities. Attempt has been made to devise a constitutional framework in which reasonable protective discrimination is provided for in favour of the backward groups of people.

It is a recognised fact that individuals differ in respect of their merits and capabilities. If there are historical factors, like prolonged deprivation, segregation and other social disabilities, then the differences among the individual members tend to get accentuated. In such a situation the meritarian principle, which recognises only the merit of the individuals in the competitive process will lead to more distortions in our social set up unless corrective measures are provided for. On the other hand, the compensatory principle accepts the fact that

some communities suffer from disabilities, or hardships and their special needs must be taken into account in order to bring about meaningful social integration. These communities have to be provided with adequate compensation to remove their backwardness so that a new social order may usher in. At the time enough precaution has to be taken not only to determine the quantum of such compensation but also to select the groups to be protected and benefited by such special provisions.

The various constitutional guarantees, which strive to give preferential treatment to these communities, aim at compensating for the injustice inflicted upon them, but at the same time these are discriminatory in nature, since these measures deprive those communities who are developed. This policy has been termed as "compensatory discrimination" by Marc Gallanter (1984). There is also an underlying implication that such deliberate policy of discrimination will cease when preferential treatment leads to correction of the age-old distortions in society.

The scheme of compensatory discrimination as envisaged in the constitution consists of a wide array of statutory and directive provisions in favour of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The provisions relate to reservation of seats in legislatures, reservation in academic institutions and reservation in public services.

According to Marc Gallanter the provision of reservation in Government employment is the "paradigm" case of the Indian policy of compensatory discrimination. It is the "core" of the Government policy for bringing about greater social integration. "Government in India is regarded, not as just another employer, but one that affords a degree of security, prestige and authority not obtainable elsewhere." (M. G. : 1984 : 84)

Reservation in public services leads to redistribution of positions, power, prestige and remuneration in favour of the reserved castes and tribes. The percentage of increase in representation in services though small is substantial. The presence of large number of members from the depressed communities ensures a more responsive and sympathetic administration in their favour. At the same time members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes holding high offices provide source of inspiration for other members to emulate. Marc Gallanter

states, "Reservation in Government jobs stimulates the educational and other accomplishments necessary to utilise them." (1984 : 106)

The major objective of reservation is to bring about integration of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes with the general society and to make them more acceptable in the social milieu. Reservation also provides incentive to the Harijans and Adivasis to enter Government jobs, but there is a general impression that efficiency in Government offices have fallen due to reservation of posts. Marc Gallanter argues that it is unfair to regard reserved candidates as inefficient straightaway. He feels that certain degree of lowering of performance is likely due to lack of self-confidence in the minds of candidates belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in such an environment as exists in the office, which lower their morale due to rejection, non-co-operation by upper-castes officers, fear for career prospects and unsympathetic attitudes of senior officers.

Scope of the Study

With the backdrop as stated, a study was undertaken to find out the impact of the policy of reservation in bringing about social transformation in Bihar. The State of Bihar was found suitable, and a study of this kind emerged due to various reasons. With a sizeable population of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, years of underdevelopment, extreme backwardness, semi-feudal socio-economic conditions and social tension on grounds of caste and community, social life in Bihar presents unique features for study of social change. The methodology of the study was to obtain the views of a cross-section of beneficiaries of reservation on a set of vital questions. The questionnaire was devised to cover a wide range of issues concerning the beneficiary himself, his parentage, family, attitude of his neighbours, colleagues and the general public. His opinion was also taken on vital issues concerning the time-frame of reservation, effect of reservation on different castes and tribes, and need for improvement, if any, on the policy framework.

A total number of 200 respondents was taken up for the study. They were selected at three levels in their service career, namely those who had just entered service, those who were at the fag-end of their career, and those who have spent some years in service. The respondents were chosen from Class-I, Class-II and Class-III

categories of service both in Government and semi-Government organisations including the public sector undertakings. The selection of respondents was made as wide as possible by taking respondents not only from the Secretariat of the State Government and other headquarters of public sector organisations but also from the district and field level offices all over the State. The respondents were selected through simple random sampling technique so that the information could be varied and heterogenous. The respondents belonged to different departments and services so that views of a wide cross-section of people were collected. This approach was adopted in order to arrive at broad conclusions on the impact of the policy of reservations as well as on the future perspective of the policy.

Constitutional Provisions

The Indian Constitution contains several Articles relating to the provisions of reservation. The preamble resolves to secure justice, social, economic and political to all citizens and proclaims as one of its aims the promotion among them of fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and unity of the nation. Article 14 made 'Equality' a Fundamental Right. "The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India." But the principle of "Equality" is a double-edged weapon as it places the strong and the handicapped on the same footing in the race of life. To treat unequals as equals is to perpetuate inequality. The humanness of a society is determined by the degree of protection it provides to its handicapped and less gifted members. It was in view of this that our constitution-makers made special provisions in Article 15 (4), Article 16 (4) and 46 for the weaker sections especially the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Article 15 states, "The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them". Clause (4) of Article 15 which was added by the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951 says, "Nothing in this Article or in clause (2) of Article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes." Article 46 states that "The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the

weaker sections of the people, and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation." Article 16 (4), Article 320 and Article 335 pointedly deal with reservation in public services. Article 16 gives equal opportunity to all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State without discriminating on grounds of race, caste, sex, descent, etc. Clause (4) of Article 16 specifically states, "Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward classes of citizens which in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State". Article 320 makes it the duty of Union and State Public Services Commissions to conduct examinations for appointment to the services in the Union and States but clause (4) of Article 320 specifies that it shall not be required for the Public Service Commission to be consulted as respects the manner in which any provision referred to in clause (4) of Article 16 may be made as respects the manner in which effect may be given to the provisions of Article 335. Under Article 335, "The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistent with the maintenance of efficiency of administration, in the making of appointments to service and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State".

As per the constitutional provisions contained in the Articles 16 (4), 320 (4) and 335 the Government of Bihar introduced reservation for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on the basis of the percentage of population of these categories according to the Census report. On the basis of the 1951 Census, the State Government by an order in 1955, introduced reservation of 12½ per cent of the vacancies in favour of the Scheduled Castes and 10 per cent for Scheduled Tribes. Again the percentage was fixed at 14 per cent and 10 per cent respectively (according to the 1961 Census). On the basis of the 1971 Census the percentage of Scheduled Tribes to the total population was found to be 8.75 per cent, yet reservation was maintained at 10 per cent as before and reservation for Scheduled Castes at 14%. Since then the percentage of reservation for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes continue at 14% and 10% respectively (compilation of guidelines for the

welfare and protection of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other sections: 1979 : 71) for appointments made directly at the State level. But the percentage for appointments at the divisional and the district levels was kept at different levels since the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe population is different in different districts.

Since the objective of preferential treatment to the backward classes is to reduce the social and economic disparities between the disadvantaged groups vis-a-vis upper classes, it is worthwhile studying the visible and quantifiable advantages accruing to the beneficiaries as a consequence of this policy. It is necessary to identify the parameters by which we can measure the impact of reservation on their life-style both before and after they have got the benefits.

One of the basic objectives of reservation is to end social inequalities and discrimination against the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It is presumed that Government service would allow these communities to share the power and prestige of Government and thereby they would improve their status in society so that these communities may be gradually assimilated into the mainstream of national life. The survey reveals that 86% of the respondent service-holders are accepted by their neighbours and are not discriminated against by their subordinates and colleagues in office. About 53% felt that they were treated as usurpers by their upper-caste colleagues. These studies reveal that the policy has in practice received partial success. It is observed that acceptance and integration is more pronounced in the place of posting, especially in towns where the caste barrier is fast diminishing but it is not so in the ancestral villages where caste feelings persist.

The Elite among S.Cs. and S.Ts.

In society there are two classes of people— a class that rules and a class that is ruled. The ruling class is always in the minority and is capable of ruling the majority by virtue of their superior quality. The eminent sociologist, Pareto calls the higher stratum the "elite", who rules the lower stratum of population, the "non-elite". According to Mosca "the elite does not simply rule by force and fraud, but represents the interests and purposes of important and influential groups in the society" (Bottomore T. B. 1964 : 11). Elaborating further, Mosca observes that the elite is connected with society

through a sub-elite, which is a much larger group comprising the new middle class of civil servants, managers, white-collar workers, scientists, engineers and intellectuals. This group not only supplies recruits to the ruling elite but also provides strength and vitality to the Government and society. Mosca observes that, "the stability of any political organisation depends on the level of morality, intelligence and activity that this second stratum has attained" (Bottomore T. B. 1964: 11). The makers of the Indian Constitution in their wisdom did realise this important aspect of the ruling elite and endeavoured to ensure a broad base to the sub-elite. The provision of reservation of posts in Government services is a conscious and determined effort on their part to introduce considerable number of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes into the ruling class.

Throughout the course of history the circulation of elites takes place in two forms. Firstly the circulation takes place among the different categories of the governing elite itself. The second process, which is more important for our present study is regarding circulation between the ruling elite and the rest of the population. This process takes place either by individuals from the lower stratum forming new elite groups, which then struggle for power with the existing elite groups. The system of reservation in favour of the depressed classes in India is nothing but a process of State intervention in a constitutional manner to introduce new elite groups from these classes into the existing ruling elite. One of the most important groups, which constitutes the ruling elite of the country is that of the bureaucracy, particularly the higher Government officials. The white-collar members of the Government enjoy a high degree of power and prestige. The constitutional provisions of reservation have provided for planned entry of the members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes into the bureaucracy which used to be the preserve of the aristocracy and the upper-castes in the earlier period. It is expected that entry into the portals of power would not only remove the stigma attached to the caste or tribe but also enable them to acquire upward social mobility due to the possession of power and prestige.

It is worth while to discuss here the various models of social mobility discussed by R. A. Schermerhorn. (Cohesion and Conflict in Modern India edit: Pg. 46). He begins with the model

of Sanskritization as propounded by M. N. Srinivas for the first time in 1956. In this process a lower caste attempts to adopt the behaviour and life-style of high castes in order to claim upper caste status in the hierarchy of Hindu Society. Such social mobility is attempted by the group rather than the individual member of the Scheduled Caste. Schermerhorn is of the opinion that such programme has dim chances of success. On the other hand, in the process of Westernization the community adopts Western elements in dress, habits, manners and customs, such mobility through Westernization generally happens due to the modern educational system and urbanization. It is a form of individual rather than group mobility. Further, Schermerhorn has adopted the concepts of "contest mobility" and "sponsored mobility" as introduced by Ralph Turner (1960) into the Indian context. In the process of contest mobility a group furthers its interests and improves its position by winning political competition like contesting in elections. The group does so either by organising its own political party or by setting up a vote bank within another political party. In sponsored mobility the group does not organise on its own, here another influential political party approaches the group and selects a number of candidates from it and thereby tries to win more seats for the party. In contest mobility the candidate plays a highly active role and faces competition, whereas in sponsored mobility it is the party which is responsible to win a seat for him. The Social Mobility for Scheduled Tribes is somewhat different in the sense that they attempt for upward mobility through Hinduisation instead of Sanskritization. Since the Scheduled Tribes are completely outside the Hindu caste system they cannot be accepted through Sanskritization into the Hindu fold therefore they attempt a transition from tribe to caste in the first phase. In the second phase, they attempt for upward mobility in the Hindu Society.

Time frame of Reservation

More than four decades have elapsed but the objectives of the policy is yet to be achieved. legislations have extended the time period number of times, and the Government have pronounced repeatedly that they will remain committed to the continuance of reservation for the Harijans and the Tribal people. What do the beneficiaries feel about the time-frame? The survey reveals that 64 per cent opted for the continuance

of this policy for more than two decades and if possible even more. 30.5 per cent wanted the policy to continue for only twenty more years, whereas a small number (3.5 per cent) wanted the policy to continue for ten years only. One respondent in the class II service and belonging to a dominant Scheduled Caste had this to say, "It should continue till it reaches one and every family among the rural poor". Another respondent gives vent to the opinion, "Reservation should continue till the people of our community can walk, talk and sit at par with the upper caste Hindus."

As many as 98 per cent of the job-holders felt that the policy of reserving some quota of jobs should continue, though they differed on the point whether, only job can bring about social change. 74 per cent felt that job is most vital, whereas 26 per cent felt that other measures, like improving the economic conditions, free education, free clothes, land to plough etc., are also important. Among the other measures 91 per cent opted for financial assistance to their communities and 85 per cent wanted educational measures to be given more importance. The value of the spread of awareness among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was stressed upon by the respondents. 74 per cent stressed for attitudinal changes whereby these communities should be given respect and importance by the society. A Scheduled Caste Class II Officer belonging to the Chamar Community said, "We do not want anything to be done for us. We want first of all the attitude of the upper caste Hindus to change. They should not look down upon us, they should respect us". 39.5 per cent felt that they should be given access to political power to decide vital policies concerning upliftment of their castes and communities. One section of the respondents (13.5 per cent) was highly critical of the very approach and policy of the State towards solution of the basic problems of the deprived and underprivileged classes. They strongly objected to the concept of providing a few incentives and opportunities to the depressed classes with a view to bring about their development. They are radical and vociferous in their assertions that these measures are only palliatives and do not promise a convincing and permanent solution of the basic problems of society. They wanted reforms to be introduced in the economic and social life of the country so as to change the basic structure

of their social life and the social set up. Some of them were believers of a Marxist solution through the process of revolution; some wanted property to be nationalised so that a classless and casteless society be formed.

The Government by notification enhanced the time period by ten years four times and the provisions are still in operational form. But nowhere in the Constitution did the constitutional makers hint at the number of generations per family to whom the facility should be allowed. 56 per cent felt that one generation per family was not enough, hence they advocated for at least two generations per family. 7.5 per cent opined for reservation for one generation only. 34.5 per cent for more than two generations, whereas only a small fraction of 2 per cent did not advocate for any reservation. Some respondents felt that the benefit of reservation could not reach the interior tribes and some Scheduled Castes, like the Dom, Mushar, Mehtar, Turi etc. due to lack of proper information and Government initiative.

Reservation within Reservation:

A very interesting outcome of the survey is evident in the fact that 76.5 per cent of the respondents felt that there were some more deserving categories of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who should be given the benefit of "reservation within reservation" by the Government by which they should be allowed more relaxations than the élites among them. R. M. R. a Scheduled Caste Officer belonging to the Chamar Community said, "Yes, Dom, Mushar, Mehtar plus a few minor tribes should get more facilities and preferences above us. If necessary the Constitution should be amended to fit in these special provisions". Some felt that the qualifying marks should be lowered in their cases and they should not be forced to go through the Employment Exchange and should be given easier access to jobs. A lady beneficiary, S. N. also belonging to the Scheduled Tribe voiced the same opinion, "Scheduled Tribes, like Asurs, Birhors, Paharias, Majhis, Binjhis and few backward Scheduled Castes deserve a fairer chance than their better-off counterparts as far as getting a job is concerned". D. N. D. a Scheduled Caste Officer belonging to the Chamar Caste had a novel idea, "Some jobs should be specifically kept aside for them". R. B. P. a dominant caste (Dusadh) officer said, "There are two groups

of Scheduled Castes among us—the 'less untouchables' like the Chamar, Dhobi, Pasi and Dusadh and the 'more untouchables' like Dom, Mehtar, Mushar, Dhangar etc, and the latter have hardly got any attention. These groups certainly deserve more preferences compared to us". Only 23.5% felt that as regards the facility of reservation they were all one and no one should get more preferences.

Finally, the survey revealed that only 19.5% wanted caste to be the only criterion for getting the benefits of reservation. They argued that they had been the deprived lot for ages and were also socially, educationally and economically backward, hence they wanted 'caste' to be the only criterion. 17 per cent felt that the economic status of a person should be considered irrespective of his caste in getting the benefits of this policy. D. N. a Scheduled Caste Officer, and a Chamar by caste in the Class III service said, "It is better to consider the economic status of a person rather than his caste, for if caste does not come into picture one will not face harassment or be made to feel small just because of one's caste. All castes would qualify under this criteria whether they are Brahmins or Sudras". 61.5 per cent argued that both caste and economic condition of a person should be considered. They felt that by this way it would be easier to delete most of those Scheduled Castes who have already got the benefits of reservation in job.

The above case study based upon responses of two hundred beneficiaries of reservation belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes brings out significant findings. As already pointed out the respondents were selected through random sampling technique from different districts all over the state of Bihar, as well as the State Capital Patna. They belonged to different services and different age-groups. A particular respondent was chosen only because he belonged to the reserved category and not because of his particular caste or tribe. Although the survey was limited, yet the caste and tribe-wise break up of the beneficiaries indicates certain trends in the implementation of the policy. The following two tables

illustrate the caste and tribe-wise distribution of the respondents:—

TABLE 1

Caste-wise break up of Respondents (S.C.)

Name of Caste	No. of respondents	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)
1. Dusadh ..	45	37.3
2. Chamar ..	30	25.0
3. Pasi ..	23	19.3
4. Dhobi ..	16	13.4
5. Dom ..	02	1.7
6. Ghasi ..	02	1.7
7. Turi ..	01	0.8
8. Mushar ..	01	0.8
Total ..	120	100.0

TABLE 2

Tribe-wise break up of Respondents (S.T.)

Name of Caste	No. of respondents	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)
1. Oraon ..	35	43.8
2. Santhal ..	13	16.2
3. Munda ..	12	15.0
4. Ho ..	11	13.8
5. Kharwar ..	05	6.2
6. Khond ..	01	1.3
7. Kharia ..	03	3.7
Total ..	80	100.0

The above trend of the distribution of the respondents indicates that some dominant castes and tribes have benefited most from the State policy of reservation. Among the Scheduled Castes the Dusadh, Chamar, Pasi and Dhobi have accounted for nearly 95 per cent of the respondents, whereas only about 5 per cent of the service holders belonged to the castes, like Ghasi, Turi, Dom, Mushar, Similarly, among the Scheduled Tribe service holders the

Oraon, Santhal and Munda are most common whereas, very few service holders belong to the Kharia, Kharwar, Khond or other more backward tribes.

The above analysis confirms the general criticism that the affluent sections the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have cornered the lion's share of the reserved government vacancies. This is true in respect of the programmes of economic development and educational facilities also. The betteroff sections among the underprivileged groups have taken maximum advantage of the schemes for their development. As a result, representation of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes *inter se* has become disproportionate. It is time for all concerned to think afresh and review the policy of reservation in respect of the distribution of the benefits of the policy among the different castes and groups.

The Constitution of India provides for certain special guarantees and safeguards in favour of the Scheduled castes and the Scheduled Tribes. These constitutional provisions go against the principle of equality and are discriminatory in nature yet these were embodied in the constitution for the fulfilment of certain social objectives. The most important objective of the policy of reservation was to bring an end to the age-old disadvantages imposed on these economically weaker groups for various historical reasons. Secondly, the policy was aimed at providing participation to all sections of society in the governance of the country. Thirdly, the policy was designed to introduce educated members from the Scheduled Castes and Tribes into the ruling elite of the country so that they could protect the interest of their castes and tribes who have been neglected so far. Fourthly, a time-frame was prescribed in the policy originally, so that members from almost all the deprived sections could find representation in the services up to a reasonable level after which the policy could have been discontinued. Last, but not the least, the policy was meant to provide employment to different groups of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes so as to improve their social and economic condition.

However, the results of the implementation of the policy of reservation reveal that much of the hopes and aspirations of the deprived classes remain yet to be fulfilled. Of course, it cannot be denied that reservation has made some headway. In fact, the policy has not only given employment

to many candidates belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, but has also ensured certain amount of respectability to these job-holders, which was hitherto denied to their fore-fathers. Moreover, due to the policy of reservation we do find persons from these communities participating in the process of policy making and the governance of the country due to their position in the bureaucracy. Yet it is equally true that these benefits have remained confined to the more affluent sections of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes.

The economic status of different groups of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes *inter se* show marked variation. Even the social disability suffered by the different castes and tribes varies from group to group. Some castes/tribes are better off than others. The condition of certain Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is not only low but also alarming needing attention even today. They are at the very bottom layer of the entire social structure and have suffered silently and almost unknowingly from generation to generation. Similarly the social ostracization and segregation suffered by some of the Harijans and Tribal Communities is worse than others. Even the degree of untouchability attached to different Scheduled Castes in the past was different. In the past the society regarded some Scheduled Castes as more untouchable than others. After ages of such atrocities the most unfortunate among them have come to occupy the bottom rung of the social ladder. Individuals from these most backward groups can hardly compete with the affluent sections of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, what to speak of the general candidates from the upper-castes; In this background it is imperative to compare the representation of various Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes *inter se* in public services in order to bring about structural changes in the policy of reservation so as to fulfil the constitutional provisions in a more effective and meaningful way; otherwise the very purpose of reservation will be defeated.

Reduction of social inequality is the *sine qua non* of a stable social order. It has been the ideal behind the philosophy of the Constitution to usher in an egalitarian society in which all sections of the people live with honour and dignity. Needless to say, the principle of 'compensatory discrimination' does involve a certain amount of social cost in the sense that the privileged classes of society are deprived

with a view to give benefit to the underprivileged groups. But it would be most unfortunate and undesirable if by this deliberate State Policy of compensatory discrimination certain distortions are introduced or even accentuated by the defective structuring of the policy. In other words, it is certainly not the objective of the policy to increase the social inequalities among the different groups of the deprived classes *inter se*. If certain skewness or distortions are noticed in the process of implementation of the policy, then structural change in the policy framework has to be introduced in the larger interests of society.

We began with the theory that the meritarian principle lays emphasis on the merit of the individual and does not consider the individual shortcomings and disabilities caused by various social and historical factors. We also regarded the approach of free market competition for recruitment to public services as both undesirable and inadequate in view of the social inequalities. Therefore we accepted the compensatory principle so as to favour the weak and disabled groups in the matter of selection to the public services. After over four decades of implementation of the policy of reservation we find that the benefits of the policy have not percolated to all sections of the deprived groups. Infact, some groups have remained almost totally outside the precincts of bureaucracy. It erroneous to consider all the Scheduled Castes and Tribes as one group at par with one another. We have remained content with giving the same consideration and weightage to all the castes and tribes equally. As a result, it is ironical that the adverse effects of the free market system of recruitment have crept into the social order among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In other words, the more disabled among them find themselves in the most unenviable position of being discriminated against and left out in qualifying for the reserved public services as against their more fortunate brethren from the better off sections of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

This brings us to the crux of the problem. Time has come when we should reserve certain quotas of public services exclusively for the more backward among the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. This may be done by earmarking certain percentage of posts for these groups out of the reserved vacancies to be filled in

by members of these groups only. Such quotas of "reservation within reservation" can be determined on the basis of population of these most backward groups. Such modification in the structure of the reservation policy will be fairer and more equitable to all concerned. However, such structural change in the policy cannot be viewed in isolation, but must form part of a bigger package of measures to ensure a fair deal to the most backward groups of our society. These measures must include economic and educational development of these castes/tribes. Needless to say that increasing the educational level of these groups is a basic pre-requisite for their induction into the bureaucracy. At present enrolment of their children in schools, colleges and technical institutions is very low and almost nil for some castes/tribes. It may be necessary to reserve even some seats on a selective basis in educational institutions for their children. It is also necessary to provide for financial assistance to individuals belonging to these most backward groups on priority basis for their economic development so that the standard of living may rise and they can participate more effectively and contribute more meaningfully to society.

It is a recognised fact that employment potential in the public services has its own limitations and cannot be stretched too far. Rather, there is a tendency to curtail or freeze the number of posts in the government and other public organisations. As such, it is going to be increasingly difficult for candidates to enter into public services. The competition for entry into public service is sure to become tougher. Therefore, while formulating the framework of the reservation policy, one must bear in mind the social costs involved in reserving certain posts for some to the exclusion of some other sections of society. The fairness and justification for reserving the posts must be weighed adequately and all care must be taken to ensure that reservation becomes just and fair.

Since the number of reserved posts is limited and number of candidates from reserved categories are many, the best possible utilisation and allotment must be ensured. The most deserving must get higher priority in the process of allotment of quotas among the various reserved groups. Time has come when the most backward groups must be given greater

priority and weightage than the more advanced groups. In view of this there is a strong case to introduce the income criteria into the framework of the reservation policy. Thereby, candidates whose family income is above a certain income slab must be excluded. Even candidates whose parent (s) pay income tax should be excluded. It is pertinent to consider exclusion of the second generation from the benefits of reservation. In other words the children of a beneficiary, who has entered service through reservation must be excluded. Some of these measures may appear harsh and unpopular to begin with but are perfectly justified in order to extend the benefits to the most underprivileged sections of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. These measures coupled with educational and economic development of these most backward groups will ensure more proportional representation to them. With these modifications, the reservation policy will be fairer and more equitable.

To sum up, the reservation policy as originally designed regarded all the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as one group deserving similar treatment. Once certain posts were reserved all candidates belonging to these castes/tribes were called upon to compete against each

other on their merit. As a result the more affluent sections among them cornered most of the reserved vacancies. The case-study undertaken in the State of Bihar also confirmed the same scenario. The most backward groups among them have virtually remained unrepresented in the bureaucracy. Hence, there is a need to introduce changes in the framework of reservation. There is a need to reserve certain quotas of reserved posts in favour of the most backward among them. Thereby, they will not be forced to compete with candidates from more advanced groups among the Scheduled Castes and Tribes., but will face restricted competition with candidates of similar background. Introduction of economic criteria, restricting the benefits of reservation to only one generation, and selective economic and educational development of these most backward groups should also be considered as a comprehensive package. These structural changes in the policy of reservation will go a long way in making the constitutional guarantees and safeguards, of reservation more meaningful and effective. Until and unless, all sections of society are represented in the governance of the country the promise of building up an egalitarian social order will remain a far cry.

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Socio-Political Network of a Harijan Leader— Case study from Orissa

P. K. Mishra

With the grant of constitutional safeguards for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, new avenues and opportunities are available for politicisation of these communities almost since independence. It resulted in transforming several members of them to a position of political leaders at national, regional and local levels and many have emerged as potential candidates for elections within the framework of the political system. But relevant information and studies relating to political participation of Harijan candidates for conceptualising their communication channels, patterns of interaction and the political development are apparently inadequate compared to the leaders belonging to higher castes. Studies have also shown that each community has its own system of ideas about the strategy to acquire power and the ramification of interpersonal links in a distinctively patterned ways. It no doubt requires a meticulous micro-level analysis. Therefore, the present paper is an attempt to empirically examine as to what extent and in which ways a Harijan candidate interacts with the larger society during election and how he activates and motivates the network of relationship to his advantage. That apart, the paper carries enormous importance for the question it raises and the approach it adopts.

The Sample

Among all the districts of Orissa, Cuttack has the highest number of Assembly and Parliamentary Constituencies, and the most significant feature is that the district has the highest number of constituencies reserved for Scheduled Castes. There are two reserved Parliamentary Constituencies, viz, Jajpur and Jagatsingpur and five for the Assembly—Jajpur, Binjharpur, Patamundai, Salapur and Jagatsingpur. Jajpur constituency has been selected for the study for having certain typical features with regard to the socio-political networks of its Harijan Leaders.

The Approach

For this study social network approach has been employed as the primary analytic tool, because it has been currently followed by most social scientists for its methodological sophistication and precision. Eisenstadt (1961 : 209) advocates that "It is perhaps only the concept of network that to some extent provides a potentially new analytical tool. It clearly describes and points out the existence of some differential interaction between different people who are not organised in corporate groups and it may help in the analysis of the relation of different persons, acting in such a network, to different types of social roles and institutional framework". So far more than a hundred reputed scholars have shown keen interest in the utility and implications of this approach in their studies covering diverse aspects of socio-cultural interactions, but Barnes, the pioneer of this approach, offers a conclusive view that "the concept is useful in describing and analysing political process, social classes, the relationship of a market to its hinterland, the provision of services and the circulation of goods and information in unstructured social environments, the maintenance of values and norms by gossip, structural differences between tribal, rural and urban societies and so on" (1969b:52).

The concept of social network emerged out of the earlier structural studies, particularly after world War-II by the distinguished scholars like Barnes (1954) and Blau (1956:35), who were concerned with the revamping of their theoretical frameworks in order to accommodate the dynamic but less structured interactions operating in complex societies. Thereafter, a host of scholars capturing the view-points offered a varieties of network theories and models which aimed at highlighting the domains of politics, kinship formal groups, economics, ethnic categories and so on. These studies

suggest that network analysis provides the investigator with path ways into the heart of social systems (Whitten and Wolfe 1973:719) and also offer adequate explanations in support of group structural theories with improved notion of dyadic, patron client and brokerage contracts (Poster, 1961, 1963, 1969, Wolfe, 1966).

It must be made very clear that social network connotes a series of relationships that are ramified throughout the social contexts. And network analysis is basically the product of a general ethnographic concern to identify the forms and features of social relationships that normally take place between two individuals, groups and between them. But the subject matter of network analysis is not confined to individual behaviour *per se*, nor even the dyadic link *per se* (Whitten and Wolfe, 1973).

Schemes of Network

Barnes' analysis of network enables one to distinguish different kinds of social fields that could be presented in the form of ego-centred social sets, using the mathematical concepts from graph theory (1969 a, b). The idea of Bott was different for she emphasized on close-knit networks of conjugal role behaviour (1955—1957). Later Southall (1961: 29-30), Wolfe (1966: 2), Epstein (1962) and Boissevain (1968) in their independent exercises on network analysis, succinctly evolved three important zones of relationships which are qualitatively different, and they are classified as Intimate, Effective and Extended networks (Boissevain, 1968: 546-547).

Boissevain further demonstrates the methodological values of network analysis for it is capable of explaining the process of formation and the function of quasi-groups (Nadle 1951, Dehrendorf 1959, Bottomore 1962, Pospisil 1964, and Mayer 1966). All the quasi-groups in a continuum of social forms by nature are short-run and nonperpetuating cluster, which may be represented as follows :—

Individual	Quasi-Group	Corporate-Group
	Action-Set	

Mayer, however, adds another dimension to the study of quasi-group through the concept of 'action-set', during the study of political process in Dewas, Madhya Pradesh. He finds that action-sets are more or less bounded, but denies its existence as a group. The necessity of this approach for him was to characterize as less structured social situation which creates

difficulty in identifying areas of social relations in terms of groups particularly in complex society. Hence, network and action-set approaches form an effective situational analysis to carry out studies in a typical socio-political contexts. Therefore, the present study following the approaches of Boissevain (1968) and Mayer (1966), has been conducted in the Jajpur constituency of Orissa in order to seek a typical model of network centred on a Harijan Leader.

The Harijan Leader

Earlier Jajpur was a double member constituency for which one representative from Harijan communities and another from general castes were being selected. But in 1962, this was split up and Binjharpur was made into a Scheduled Caste constituency. The Harijan leader who has been elected from these constituencies and has served the people for several decades is SD, whose political career and participation through phases of politicisation would be meaningful essentially in reconstructing network relationships for the purpose of analysis.

SD came to the limelight when he actively participated in a Harijan movement after meeting Gandhiji at Jajpur in 1934. He was motivated to adopt the path of Gandhiji, but became highly emotional in regard to social reform after the receipt of a letter from Takkar Bapa, who earnestly wanted that SD should do something for his own community. He attended Bar Ashrama of Gopabandhu Choudhury for training in 1938, the year he passed matriculation. In 1940, for the first time he was arrested at Binjharpur for a period of ten days for individually launching a Satyagraha. It earned him a place in the highest Congress Circle.

In response to the arrest of Gandhiji on 8th August, 1942 at Bombay, SD courted arrest again on 11th August, by mobilizing the masses to hoist the Congress flag at the sub-divisional office, Jajpur. A few days before his arrest, he contested for the bye-election for the first pre-independent Assembly from Salepur reserved constituency as it remained vacant due to the death of another Harijan Leader. It was the Congress party which nominated him and campaigned for him. The election result was declared on the 22nd August, while he was in jail. Despite his success in the election, he had to remain imprisoned till 1945. In 1946, SD was elected for the second link Assembly

from Jajpur reserved constituency which was then a double member constituency. One of his notable achievements during that period was the entry of Harijans into Biraja Temple, Jajpur and Baruneswar Temple at Binjharpur in 1947. It was followed just two months later by the historic entry of Harijans into the temple of Lord Jagannath, Puri.

SD again won as a Congress candidate from Jajpur reserved constituency in the first General Election and became a Deputy Minister (1952—57) and was later elevated to a Cabinet Minister (1967—71) as a Jana Congress candidate in the Orissa Government. SD, however lost the fifth (1971) and the sixth (1974) General Election from Jajpur constituency in which he contested on a Congress ticket. Like many of the Congress candidates, SD, switched his loyalties to the Janata Party and fought the elections of 1977 again from Binjharpur, the adjoining constituency of Jajpur, as a Janata candidate after much persuasion from the Janata Party leader and Deputy Prime Minister, Jagajivan Ram. Though SD, won, he could not make any headway. From Baliana reserved constituency of Puri district SD, was defeated successively in the elections of 1980 and 1985 as a Janata candidate.

Election Campaign

With approval of the party almost a month before the polling SD convened an unofficial meeting at Jajpur in the presence of the Block Chairman and some of his Sarapanch friends and followers. The meeting was designed to chalk out plans for covering some important villages of all the grama panchayats under the Block area on priority basis, and to choose three to four influential and thrustworthy persons from each of those villages who could effectively canvass in their area, even in the absence of the candidate. These persons who were essentially the party Loka (party men or party brokers) were selected on *ad hoc* basis to build up an elaborate personal as well as transactional network with the electorates. They used to act as key campaigners alongwith five to six young and energetic party workers in the respective areas. The party workers were allowed to meet the party workers either at the latter's residence which functioned as temporary party office for election or at the Block committee office Jajpur (Dasarathpur) in connection with the campaigning.

It is obvious that not all party brokers and workers are equally committed dedicated. Some of them very often indulge in anti-party campaigning after swallowing their share of money from the party. To check this trend, the party usually appoints, 'Supervisors' who have the power even to oust the party saboteurs from campaigning. This is the way the party candidate builds-stable and viable action every set through the party protagonists apart from his own personal network. Thus, the dual action-set, one through the party and the other through kinsmen, friends and others paved an elaborate path in the campaigning process.

Specific Issues

During the investigation, It was noted that the tactics, technique and approach of SD, adopted to combat the election of 1974, which was novel in his opinion, did not impress the people of the area and they said that there was nothing new as compared to his earlier elections. SD started that he covered the important parts of the constituency thrice.

To understand the socio-political network of SD, it is pertinent to examine the ego-centred linkages of the informant established at individual, group and organisational levels. The analysis of some of the organised activities of the informant for the 1974 election suggests that the following important channels or the primary links were activated in order of priority.

1. Freedom Fighter—
 - (a) Traditional Caste Leaders;
 - (b) Traditional Village Leaders;
2. Kins and Caste men—
3. Influential persons—
 - (a) Advocates
 - (b) Sarapanchs
 - (c) Teachers
4. Party Office—
 - (a) Party Executive Members
 - (b) Party Brokers
 - (c) Party Workers
 - (d) Party Supervisors
5. Organisations—
 - (a) Depressed Classes League
 - (b) Juba Kendras
 - (c) Mahila Samitis
6. Government Machinery
7. Voluntary and Cultural Organisations
8. Specific Pockets
9. Savarna Leaders

1. *Freedom Fighters*—The people of Jajpur in particular had played a significant role during the freedom movement motivated by the inspiration from Gandhiji. Dedicated people from all communities voluntarily participated to make the movement successful without care for their family heritage, caste prejudices and discriminations and even for their Government services. These groups of people who followed and preached the ideals of Gandhiji to free the country from the Britishers were popularly called Freedom Fighters.

It has been discussed earlier that SD began his political career as an ardent Freedom fighter and was known in the constituency as a social reformer too among the Harijans. A host of freedom fighters remained all along as his admirers. According to SD, these Freedom Fighters have still considerable influence, if not power, in the village affairs. They still enjoy a wide social access which helped in establishing an elaborate and effective linkages with the traditional caste, village leaders and each such link was capable of creating and sustaining further potential networks with the indeterminate electorates.

During the electoral campaign, SD had set eight of these Freedom Fighters within the block area into action and they were given the highest anchorage. The contact of a Freedom Fighter generally spread from one village to another, mostly through the caste/village leaders in addition to his own personal contacts. In most cases the freedom fighters met these leaders at their respective homes to seek their support in favour of SD. The strategy usually adopted by them were to spend nights with those leaders and dine together in order to pose to have an emotional attachment particularly with the Harijans. As religion still plays an important role in the village life, after such sharing of foods, which is normally forbidden by the caste Hindus, these Harijan leaders were asked to swear with Mahaprasad (sacred food of the temple of Lord Jagannath) to vote for SD in the election. Because of their God-fearing nature, these oath takers hardly tended to be disloyal.

The caste leaders as well as village leaders who were intimately known to the freedom fighters fought enthusiastically in the beginning in favour of SD to prove their own credentials in the community. They claimed during the campaign that SD was an ideal Harijan candidate who could work for the *Savarna*-Harijan solidarity.

However, most of the caste leaders as it was ascertained from the interview, deserted SD and switched over to the opposition when lured by money.

2. *Kinsmen and Castemen*—SD was not only known in the area as a member of the esteemed priest-family of a Harijan community, but also as a leader of the entire Harijan communities. His extended family in rural villages still maintains traditional ties with the Harijan *Jajmans* (clients) of various villages. Most of his caste members and kinsmen want to maintain a cordial relationship with SD to get necessary help in case of need. In fact, during the field study, some did acknowledge SD's ability and his liberal help in educating their children.

It is apparent that strong emotional ties continue to bind the castemen in general and the kinsmen in particular, but it is not always true. Some kinsmen viewed SD as an alien belonging to a different world in respect of values and style of life. Even then SD tried to maintain relationship with most of his castemen as well as his consanguineal, affinal and fictive kins in particular for political reasons.

3. *Influential persons*—It is often said that people of Jajpur are not only very cunning but also litigant. This is perhaps due to their long exposure to the outside world and their long associations with various urbanites. Due to frequent involvement in quarrels, the persons who possess necessary knowledge in law and court affair command ambivalent respect from general mass. Apart from the advocates, the Sarpanches and teachers, the village touts play important roles in guiding and mobilising common people in taking recourse to law courts for seeking redressal of grievances or for taking revenge against their adversaries. Some of these men (names withheld) are very influential and actively participate in politics so as to derive personal benefits. As such, they build their own networks or channels from grassroots level to subdivisional level. Being active in politics, SD has cultivated relationship with some of these persons and has often used their network of relations for his advantage during the election.

These advocates, some rural and peri urban, are encircled by small professional groups like the *Moharirs*, *Peskars* (presenting clerk) and client brokers. All of them indeed serve the role of brokers to the advocates in their relative

capacities. Further, the Sarpanches and the Primary School Teachers being somewhat educated often act as the contact men to the advocates. Being known as the petty money lenders and saviours in the locality, they traditionally exert considerable influence over the poor and the needy.

The maintenance of viable network by the influential persons is necessarily a situational requirement as they are highly vigilant and keen to keep track of the events taking place in and around the village. In the fitness of things, the Sarpanches and the School Teachers act as the 'main gatekeepers' in the village networks.

During the interview S.D. said that as these influential persons had a deeper understanding of the problems of the area and the nature of the people, he wanted to activate this action-set in the electoral politics.

4. *Party Office*—With the division of the Orissa Congress into the Congress and Jana Congress, the Congress hegemony began to weaken in the sixties, and finally dwindled in the face of a Janata onslaught. The party executives of the Congress played a crucial role in reinforcing the network linkages in consultation with the top leaders of the party. As they used to visit the district and the State headquarters frequently to meet party bosses, the local businessmen, essential controlled commodity dealers, etc., wanted to create a contact-base through them with the party bosses. Despite the Executives, the roles of brokers, supervisors and field workers of the party established the network at the grassroot level with the electorates.

Nevertheless, S. D. faced daunting organisational obstacles due to the division of the Congress members, who switched over to the Janata on the eve of the election. Further the organisational set up of the Congress party was finalised hastily and thereby the linkage mechanism in the lower network structure was destabilized. Thus, though S.D. had to make enough bargaining with the important stage level party leaders for obtaining a ticket, he could not derive any substantial advantage from the party because of the dis-memberment of the whole organisational structure.

5. *Organisations*—S.D. was associated with a number of non-political organisations one of which is the Odissa Dalita Jati Sangha (Orissa Depressed Classes League). Since its

establishment at Bhubaneswar, the State capital, in 1953, S.D. has been occupying the position of President. It has district level organisations to carry out its programme of ameliorating the condition of Harijans in the State. As President his duties in the organisation are to publish journals and books for creating *socio* political awareness among the Harijans, to arbitrate in the matter of unsettled disputes of the Harijans, and to take steps for the removal of untouchability with the help of the district level organisations. The district organisations are supported by the following personnels, viz, a President, a Secretary, a Supervisor and several field workers.

Because of his dominating position in the organisation S.D. has utilised the services of the organisers to mobilise the Harijan electorates in his favour. These Harijan field-workers assisted in the campaign as they were very popular among the Harijans of the locality for their dedicated service. To build an elaborate network these field workers resorted to the door-to-door campaigning.

Village youths, though they themselves seldom vote play an important role in canvassing the voters. In some villages there are rural youth-oriented organisations known as Yuba Kendras for males and Mahila Samitis for females. The Yuba Kendras generally consists of energetic educated youngsters of the village community. The co-ordinators of such organisation were lured by offers of substantial donations to the development activities of their Kendras along with the promise of employment. Very often, the Social Education Organisers (S.E.D.) of the Block were covertly involved to influence the youths. The approach was the same in case of the *Mahila Samitis* too.

6. *Government Machinery*—To influence the voters of the constituency, S.D. wanted to take the help of the Government machinery through contacts he had built during his tenure as Minister. For him, the public servants, particularly of the Block, Police, Revenue and Education (School Inspectors and Headmasters) departments played crucial roles in building viable network as they distribute benefits to the people. Especially the V. L. W., S. E. O. and Overseer of the Block office have easy access to their beneficiaries.

The public servants extended help and co-operation during the election to derive benefits in future, while seeking transfer, posting and

for avoiding official harrassments, As a practice, they mediated through the local M. L. A. who actually sorted out the issues in their favour through necessary contacts.

7. Voluntary and Cultural Organisations— Normally most of the voluntary and cultural organisations do not get openly involved in the political activities. Many political leaders surreptitiously use the key persons of such organisations owing to the fact that they can be effective agents to proliferate campaigning network through their popularity, particularly among the worker sections, women, youth and village masses. It has been found out through careful interview with the village elites that some of the key persons of the village-based cultural groups, like the *Jatra parties*, *Kirtan Mandalis*, *Pala performers*, and youth clubs, play an active role in establishing viable action-sets during elections.

8. Specific pockets—Every leaders has some blind followers and committed workers, irrespective of their caste, creed, age and status. These supporters very much influence the electoral results. As observed, S.D. has a strong hold over some panchayats in which a sizeable number of his blind supporters inhabit and they mostly belong to the Muslim, Harijan and Khandayat communities. These group build up action-sets independent of each other for S.D.

9. Savarna leaders—In a scheduled caste reserved constituency savarna leaders play a decisive role in the electoral politics. The dominant caste leaders, particularly of the Savarna category have their respective clienteles, over which they have command, are used to support a particular candidate. The clientele generally includes most of their kinsmen, who have effective connections with several savarna and Harijan voters of the constituency. Therefore, all the Harijan candidates establish rapport with such savarna leaders not merely to elicit their votes but also to activate their elaborate networks. It was an advantage for S. D, who could forge emotional attachment with most of the savarna leaders of the constituency as the latter happened to be favourites of some of the noted freedom fighters, who rubbed shoulders with S.D. during the National movement.

Besides these viable action sets which S. D. utilised, many other networks operated in the extended zone to capture votes. But for the sake of analysis, the study is confined to nine important types of action sets made by the Harijan leader.

Analysis:

The network of action sets generated during the process of election campaign has been represented in the figure 1 to concretise the phenomena. S.Ds.' action sets in the intimate zone (A) suggests that the actors have been prominent enough to set of action sets and supervise all the operations taking place at the effective (B) and extended (C) zones, even when the leader could not reach out to the periphery, or at the grassroot levels where the voters were to be rallied in favour of the candidate. There are, according to the leader five numbers of action sets, i. e. 5,6,7,8, and 9 operating in the extended zone and two each in intimate (1&2) and effective (3&4) zones. The action sets in A and B zones are linked to the leader with strong bonds, indicated by a deep line, while the ego may be an Individual, or a group, or an organisation-of each action set is again fened in by several action groups* forming intimate, effective and extended zones of smaller circles. It thus renders a higher degree of objectivity than just putting the action groups together.

The linkages between the action groups and the ego are either indicated by a moderate bond (single line) or weak bond (dotted line) for conceptualising the varying intensity of relationship. The composition of the action sets is detailed in table 1 to have a comprehensive understanding of the electoral action sets of the leader. The action group (1, 2) and (3, 4) involved in the intimate and effective zones were so active or socially so prominent as to supervise and reinforce all other action sets in the extended zone that these action sets spread their influence to enfold the electors at the grassroots level. This certainly showed a phenomenal pressure in ensuring better operation as ramifications increased. We have the fact that the action sets in the extended zone came to operate through the set groups of 5,6,7,8, and 9 who were aptly familiar with the strategy of manipulating public opinion in favour of the leader. The action sets in the extended zone proved to be effective because the leader had established permanent links with the key persons at the grassroot level. But in most cases it is observed that the leaders often managed to forge some temporary and weak links mediated through ordinary action and action groups. The overall picture of the electoral campaign as it has been shown clearly points out that strategy of the Harijan leader bears the method of sophistication in the technique of

mass mobilisation which could be almost comparable with those of the important savarana candidates.

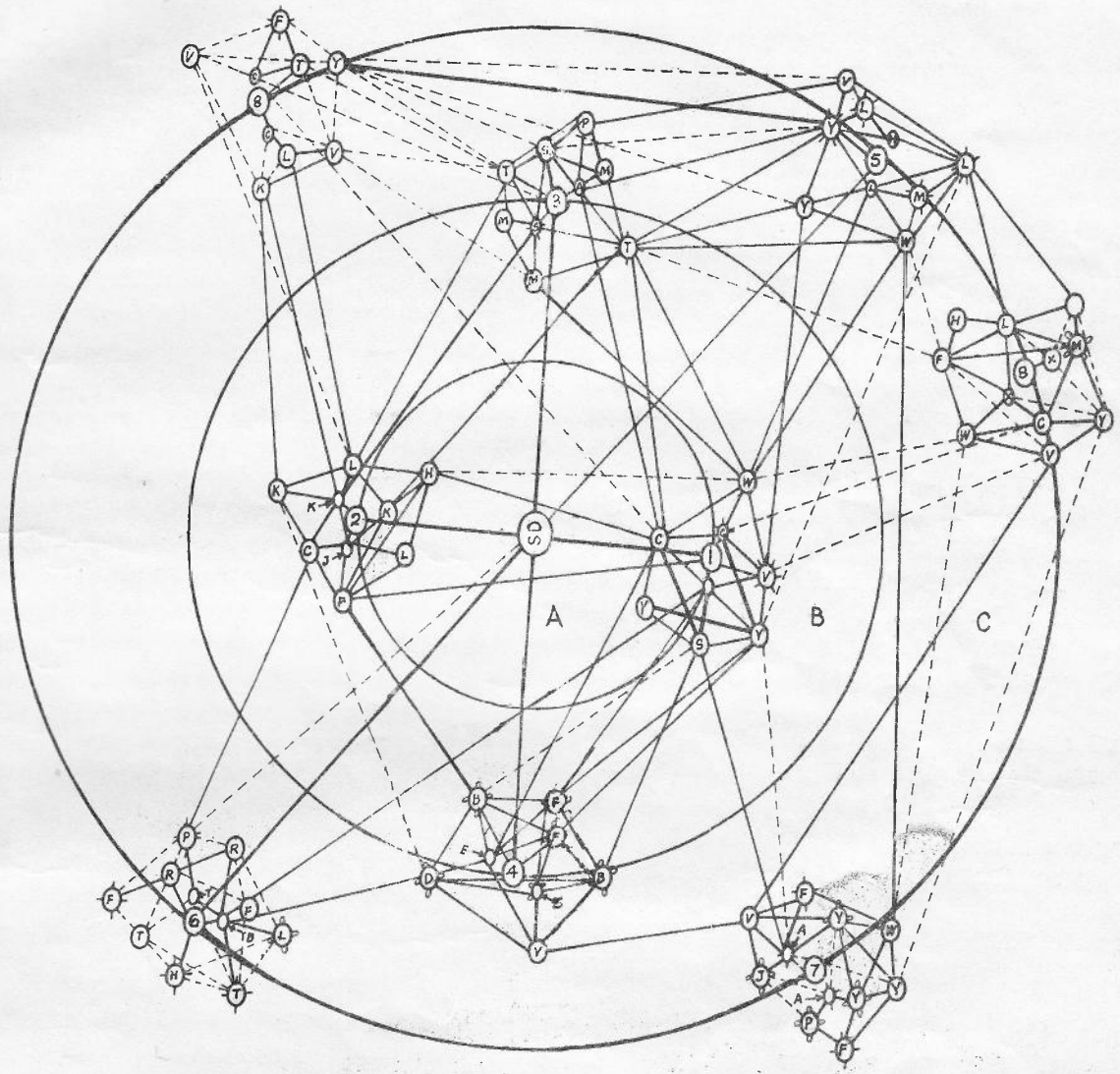
Brief Resume:

The foregoing discussion shows that it had developed a pattern of relationship (or network) designed specifically to achieve his goals. His political participation in a network of contacts and associations was radically different from his kin based rural social environment. It is obser-

ved that SDs' links with various agents were predominantly interpersonal and the agents obviously had contacts with different jatis and the kin groups across village boundaries. Moreover the political contacts were established both on horizontal and vertical dimensions. This form of social network clearly suggests that the Harijan leaders have got their liberation from the caste ridden life in the community and their elevation to a position of prestige and power in tune with the provisions of the constitution.

*After placing the symbols of action-groups the lines of the circles have been erased to bring neatness of the meshes

Fig. 1 - A DIAGRAMATIC REPRESENTATION OF S.D.'s ACTION-SET.



KEY:

- A. Intimate Zone.
- B. Effective "
- C. Extended "

- Moderate Bond.
- - - - Weak "
- Strong "

TABLE No. 1
Action-sets of SKD

Zones. (1)	Action-sets (2)	Intimate (3)	Effective (4)	Extended (5)
Intimate	(1) Freedom-fighter.	Traditional caste leader (C)	Caste Leader (C)	Village youth (Y) Shop keepers (S)
	..	Traditional village leader (V).	Villagers (V)	Women (W)
Effective	(2) Kins and caste men.	Primary Kins (K)	Caste leaders (C)	Secondary Kins (K)
		Jajmans (J)	Harijan leaders (L)	Harijans (H) Influential family (F)
	(3) Influential persons.	Advocates (A)	Moharirs (M)	Peskars (P)
		Sarpanchs (S)	Teachers (T) Client Brokers (b) Touts (T)	Neighbours (N) Poor & Needy Villegers (V)
Extended	(4) Party Office	Executives (E) Supervisors (S)	Field workers (F)	Party Brokers (B) Influential families (F) Businessmen (B) Control commodity dealers (D)
		* (5) ODJS	Harijan leaders (L)	Block level Harijan leaders (L) Yubak Kendras (Y) Mahila Kendras (M)	Harijan leaders (L) Youths (Y) Women (W) Villagers (V)
	(6) Government machinery.	Block offices (B) Teachers (T)	Revenue Inspector (R) Teachers (T) Influential family (F)	Loanees (L) Teachers (T) Farmers (F) Police (P) Health worker (H)
	(7) Voluntary and cultural organisation.	Agents of cultural troupe. (A)	Youth club (Y)	Youth (Y)
			Kirtan Mandali (K) Jatraparty (J) Pala-gayaks (P)	Farmers (F) Villagers (V) Women (W)
	(8) Specific pockets.	Committed supporters. (X)	Blind Followers : Caste leader (C)	Villagers (V)
			Harijan leader (L) Muslim leaders (M)	Farmers (F) Harijans (H) Muslims (M) Women (W)
	(9) Savarna leaders	Teachers (T) Traditional caste leaders.	Youths (Y) Harijan leaders (L)	Villagers (V) Kinsmen (K)
				Farmers (F) Harijans (H)

*ODJS—Orissa Dalita Jati Sangha (Orissa Depressed Classes League)

Impact of Infant & Child Mortality on Adoption of Family Planning Methods

A. B. Ota

In Orissa, since the Infant and Child survival is less than most other parts of the country, people hesitate to accept Family Planning methods. There are no systematic studies on Infant and Child mortality in Orissa and its impact on adoption of Family Planning methods. The weaker sections of Orissa State constitute 22.21% for Scheduled Tribes and 16.20% for Scheduled Castes, thus accounting for about 2/5th of the total population. By various estimates 70 to 80 per cent of our population fall below the poverty line. Therefore, the problem of the Infant and Child mortality in Orissa will have to be diagnosed and solved urgently so that the married couples will be encouraged to adopt F. P. methods. For this one backward Grama Panchayat in Sukinda Block (Dudhujori Grama Panchayat in Cuttack district, Orissa) which had more than 10 per cent of the total population in each sector (S. T., S. C. and General Caste) was selected for the present study with the following objectives, so that, a contrastive study can be made possible. Under Dudhujori Grama Panchayat, there are seven villages comprising of 1307 house-holds in total. For the present study, house to house data collection is made and the total number of house-holds existing in all these 7 villages under Dudhujori Grama Panchayat are covered and hence no sampling method is followed:

The general objectives of the study is to find out the impact of Infant and Child Mortality on adoption of Family Planning Methods among couples.

Hypotheses

Based on the review of literature, one key hypothesis and seven working hypotheses are generated for empirical verification in the present study, They are :

Key Hypothesis—I. M. R. and C. M. R. are the highest and adoption of F. P. Methods is the least in case of Scheduled Tribe couples the

rates are relatively low and F. P. adoption is comparatively more among Scheduled Caste couples, whereas the I. M. R. and C. M. R. are the lowest and adoption of F. P. methods is the highest among couples belonging to General Caste Category.

Working Hypotheses—In order to test the above key hypothesis, the following seven working hypotheses have been taken for detailed examination and analysis.

- (i) Shorter the Birth Interval, higher is the incidence of Infant and Child death and lower is the adoption of F. P. Methods.
- (ii) Lower the house-hold income, higher is the Infant and Child mortality and lower is the adoption of F. P. devices.
- (iii) Lower the educational level of the mother, higher is the incidence of Infant mortality and child mortality and lower is the adoption of F. P. methods among couples.
- (iv) Infant mortality and child mortality is very high among couples who are either not aware of the F. P. methods or have no knowledge of the methods, and adoption of F. P. methods in case of such couples is also very low; whereas I. M. and C. M. is comparatively low among couples who are either aware or have knowledge of F. P. methods and adoption of F. P. methods is also relatively high among such spouses.
- (v) Adoption of F. P. methods is low among couples with Infant/Child mortality experience having less number of living children; and adoption of F. P. methods is higher among couples without having Infant/Child mortality but with greater number of living children.

(vi) F. P. Methods are adopted by couples less frequently, when the mother of the child is too young (below 20 years) or too old (above 40 years) and when such couples (where the wife is below 20 years or above 40 years) have experienced Infant/Child mortality, whereas, F. P. methods are adopted more frequently among couples, when the wife (mother of the child) is in the age group 20—39 years, and the couples have not experienced any Infant/child mortality.

(vii) Couples having immunised Infants/Children have lower Infant/Child mortality, and such couples have adopted F. P. Methods in higher percentage than the couples having non-immunised infants/Children alongwith higher Infant/Child mortality.

It has been argued time and again that prevalence of high Infant and Child Mortality discourages the couples from using Family Planning methods because of lack of child insurance or less survival chances of the Infant and child. Various studies have revealed that Infant and Child Mortality have a tremendous impact on adoption of F. P. methods among couples. In the present study, Age of the mother at the birth of the child, number of living children per couple, educational level of the mother, house-hold income, birth interval between two children, immunisation status of the Infants and Children, and awareness and knowledge of F. P. methods are the various factors taken for examination, which are expected to have got strong correlation with Infant and Child mortality, which in turn might have influenced adoption of F. P. methods. However since the area of study is composed of S. T., S. C. and General Caste population, a comparative analysis has been attempted at every level of the study.

The following table gives us a clear picture about the bearing of Infant mortality and child mortality on adoption of Family Planning methods among the Scheduled Tribe, Scheduled Caste and General Caste couples in the present study.

TABLE No. 1.1.1
(Infant mortality rate and child mortality rate by percentage of couples using F. P. methods among S. T., S. C. and General Caste couples)

TABLE No. 1.1.1

(Infant mortality rate and child mortality rate by percentage of couples using F. P. methods among S. T., S. C. and General Caste couples)

Category of People	Infant mortality rate	Children mortality rate	% of couples ever using Family Planning methods
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
S. T.	227.76	37.66	07.60
S. C.	225.39	34.33	08.40
General Caste	146.39	23.33	21.00
Total Population	185.71	31.77	12.33

It is observed from the above table that among Scheduled Tribe category people, I. M. R. (227.76 and C. M. R. (37.66) are the highest and the percentage of couples ever using Family Planning methods is the lowest (07.60) per cent. Likewise, I. M. R. (225.39) and C. M. R. (34.33) are relatively less and the percentage of couples ever using Family Planning methods is slightly more (8.40) per cent among the Scheduled Caste people. But, in case of General Caste category, I. M. R. (146.39) and C. M. R. (23.33) are the lowest and the percentage of couples ever using Family Planning methods (21 per cent) is the highest when compared to the S. T. and S. C. category.

TABLE No. 1.1.2

(F. P. practice of couples by Experience of Infant and Child loss among S. T., S. C. and G. C. population)

Category of people (1)	Couple having experience of Infant/Child loss		Couples without having experience of Infant/Child loss	
	% of couple with Infant/child loss (2)	% of couple ever using F. P. methods (3)	% of couples without Infant/Child Loss (4)	% of couples ever using F. P. methods (5)
S. T. ..	31.63	03.79	68.36	09.35
S. C. ..	30.07	04.66	69.92	10.00
General Caste ..	18.23	06.12	81.76	24.93
Total Population ..	25.46	05.01	74.53	15.34

Table 1.1.2. further states that, among Scheduled Tribes category, 31.63 per cent couples have experienced either Infant or Child death and 3.79 per cent have ever used F. P. methods from amongst couples experiencing Infant or Child loss, whereas 68.3 per cent couples have not experienced either Infant or Child loss and 9.35 per cent of such couples have adopted some F. P. methods or the other. In case of Scheduled Caste category, 30.07 per cent couples have experienced Infant or Child loss as against 69.92 per cent who have no experience of Infant or Child loss, and 4.66 per cent couples have ever used F. P. methods from amongst couples experiencing Child or Infant loss as against 10 per cent couples from among those not experiencing Infant or Child loss. But, when the general caste category of people are taken into consideration, it is observed that only 18.23 per cent couples have experienced Infant or Child loss and the percentage of F. P. adoptors constitute 6.12 per cent couples as against 24.93 per cent couples who have adopted F. P. methods from amongst couples not experiencing any Infant or Child loss.

Thus, it appears from the above analysis that IMR and CMR are highest among Scheduled Tribes couples and F. P. adoption is the least; among Scheduled Caste couples, I. M. R. & C. M. R. are slightly less and F. P. adoption is slightly more; and among the General Caste couples, I. M. R. and C. M. R. are the lowest and adoption of F. P. methods is the highest. In other words, Infant mortality and Child mortality have got a very strong bearing on the

acceptance of birth control devices in the present study among all categories of population. To be more precise, "higher the Infant and Child mortality rates lower is the adoption of F. P. methods, and lower the Infant and Child mortality rates higher is the adoption of F. P. devices" is the pattern observed in the present study.

However, to know in details about the impact of Infant and Child mortality on adoption of Family Planning methods, the following seven co-relates have been examined:

- (i) Impact of Infant and Child mortality on Family Planning practice by birth interval.
- (ii) By House-hold Income
- (iii) By mother's Educational level
- (iv) By awareness and knowledge of the F. P. methods
- (v) By number of living children
- (vi) By age of mother at birth of the child
- (vii) By Immunisation status of the child

1.1. Impact of infant and Child mortality on F.P. Adoption by birth interval.

It has been revealed from the present study that the spacing between birth of two children is very less among Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste mothers for which the Infant-Child mortality is correspondingly very high, whereas, in case of mothers belonging to General Caste category as the spacing between the birth of two children is relatively more, the Infant and Child mortality is also low. In other words, "lower

the birth interval higher is the Infant and Child mortality and higher the birth interval lower is the Infant and Child mortality" is the trend in the present study.

But to what extent Infant and Child mortality has affected the adoption of F. P. practice *vis-a-vis* Birth interval has been examined from the data presented in the table given below.

TABLE No. 1.1.3

(Impact of Infant & Child mortality on F.P. practice by Birth interval among S. T., S.C. and General Caste couples)

Birth out-comes	Sch. Tribe		Sch. Caste		General Caste		Total Population	
	Mean Birth Interval (in month)	Percentage of couples adopting F. P. methods	Mean Birth interval (in months)	Percentage of couples adopting F. P. methods	Mean Birth Interval (in months)	Percentage of couples adopting F. P. methods	Mean Birth interval (in months)	Percentage of couples adopting F. P. methods
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Infant/Child Died	20.23	03.79	23.44	04.66	24.67	06.12	26.23	05.01
Infant/Child Survived	24.23	09.35	26.44	10.00	33.33	24.93	30.17	15.34
Total ..	17.23	17.60	19.05	08.40	20.38	21.00	28.60	12.33

The above Table 1.1.3. reveals that, among S. T. couples, mean birth interval between two children is 20.23 months where Infant or child death has occurred and the percentage of couples adopting F.P. practice in such category is 3.79 per cent, whereas mean birth interval is 24.23 months in case of couples who have no experience of infant or child loss and in this category 9.35 per cent couples have adopted F.P. methods. Likewise, in case of Scheduled Caste category, the average birth interval is 23.44 months and 4.66 per cent couples adopt F. P. methods from among couples who have experienced Infant or child death, while the birth interval is 26.44 months and 10 per cent practised F. P. methods among couples without infant or child mortality experience. On the otherhand, when the General Caste category people are taken into consideration average birth interval is 24.67 months and the F. P. adoption is 6.12 per cent among couples with Infant or Child Mortality experience as against 33.33 months mean birth interval and

24.93 per cent F. P. adoption among couples without infant or child death.

From the above discussion and analysis of the facts, It appears that, where average birth interval has been less the incidence of Infant and Child mortality is more which has prompted the spouses to go in for a baby early and discouraged them from practising birth control devices; whereas, incidence of Infant and Child death has been less where average duration of birth interval is recorded to be more, which has possibly encouraged the couples to go in for adoption of Family Planning devices. Thus, lower birth interval has triggered the Infant and Child mortality and has lowered down the adoption of F. P. devices and higher birth interval has lowered down the Infant and Child mortality and increased the percentage of F. P. adoption among couples in the present study. As such, birth interval has played a very crucial role in determining the Infant and Child death as well as adoption of family planning devices.

**1.2. Influence of Infant and Child mortality
On adoption of family planning methods
by House-hold income.**

Infant & Child mortality incidence is the highest and adoption of Family Planning devices is the least, whereas Infant and Child mortality incidence decreases and Family Planning methods are practised in higher percentage among the couples in the higher income house-holds.

It has also been found out in the present study that in the lower income house-holds,

TABLE No. 1.1.4

Impact of Infant and Child Mortality on F. P. practice by House-hold income

Income of the House-hold per annum in Rs.	Couples experiencing Infant/Child death				Couples not Experiencing Infant/Child death			
	Per cent of couples ever using F. P. methods				Per cent of couples ever using F. P. methods			
	S. T.	S. C.	General Caste	Total Population	S. T.	S. C.	General Caste	Total population
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
UP TO-2000 ..	0.33	0.57	02.50	01.67	04.70	05.43	16.66	05.82
2000—3000 ..	1.54	1.66	04.28	02.81	05.68	06.66	19.78	07.24
3000—4000 ...	3.66	4.25	05.81	05.19	09.00	09.34	21.42	12.41
4000—5000 ..	4.52	5.00	07.13	05.45	11.68	12.00	24.50	16.92
5000+ ..	8.50	7.66	09.58	08.14	17.64	20.00	27.67	25.69
Total ..	3.70	4.66	6.12	05.01	09.35	10.00	24.93	15.34

As shown in table No. 1.1.4, in case of S. T. couples experiencing Infant/Child death, only 0.33% have practised F. P. methods in the annual house-hold income category up to 2,000 rupees, whereas in the same income category 0.57% couples have adopted F.P. methods among S. C. category. But in case of General Caste category, 2.5 per cent couples have practised F. P. methods in the same income category among couples experiencing infant and Child loss. It has been found out from the given table (1.1.4.) that among couples not experiencing Infant or Child loss, F. P. adoption is high. In the same income category (up to 2,000 rupees per annum), 4.70 per cent, 5.43 per cent and 16.66 per cent couples have adopted F. P. methods in case of S. T., S. C. and general Caste category respectively without experiencing Infant/Child loss. Further, it is also seen that percentage of couples adopting F. P. methods increase among all categories of population and in both the types of couples, experiencing and not-experiencing Infant or Child loss, with the

increase of House-hold income. It is observed that in the house-holds having annual income of 5,000 rupees and above, and where couples have experienced Infant or Child loss, 06.50 per cent, 07.66 per cent and 09.58 per cent couples belonging to S. T., S. C. and General Caste category respectively have adopted F. P. Methods whereas in the same income range where couples have not experienced Infant or Child loss, the F. P. adopted are higher in percentage and in such cases, 17.64 per cent 20 per cent and 27.67 per cent couples have used F. P. methods among S. T., S. C. and General Castes groups respectively.

From the above discussion, it is revealed that lower house-hold income increase the Infant and Child death which discourages the couples from accepting F. P. methods and higher house-hold income decreases the Infant and Child death, which encourages the couples for adopting F. P. methods. But, since higher concentration of house-holds are found in

lower income group in case of S. T. and S. C. categories (when the total population of S. T., S. C. & G. C. are taken.), I. M. R. and C. M. R. has been more and correspondingly F. P. adoption is very low; while in case of General Caste categories higher concentration of households are in higher income group and hence Infant and Child mortality has been less here and percentage of F. P. adoptions are also correspondingly high. The mechanism behind low percentage of couples adopting F. P. methods among couples experiencing Infant and Child loss in the present study is lack of "Child Insurance".

1.3. Impact of Infant and Child mortality on adoption of F. P. methods by mother's Educational level.

The level of female education, especially of the mother has been shown to be of particular importance for the level and trends of Infant and Child mortality. It has been revealed from the present study, that in all categories of population (S. T., S. C. & G. C.) I. M. R. and C. M. R. is relatively high among children and infants born to the mother who are illiterate:

relatively low where mothers are literate but educated below primary level, and the I. M. R. & C. M. R. is the least among Infants and Children whose mothers are educated upto Primary level and above. Like Wise, it has been also observed in the present study, that in all categories of population, (S. T., S. C. and General Caste) percentage of couples ever using F. P. methods is the least among couples where the mother of the child is illiterate, the adoption is slightly more when the mother is educated below primary level and the adoption of Family Planning method is the highest among couples where the mother of the child is educated up to Primary level and above. Thus, as stated above, Educational level of the mother has influenced the Infant and Child mortality and adoption of Family Planning methods as well in all categories of population in the present study. However the following table can give a clear picture as to what extent and how Infant and Child mortality influences the adoption of F.P. methods among couples taking mother's educational level into consideration.

TABLE No. 1.1.5.

(Impact of Infant and Child Mortality on Adoption of F. P. Methods by Mother's Educational Level)

Educational Level of the mother	Couples Experiencing Infant/ Child Death				Couples not experiencing of Infant/ Child Death			
	%of couples ever using F. P. Methods				%of couples ever using F. P. Methods			
	S. T.	S. C.	G. C.	Total	S. T.	S.C.	G. C.	Total
Illiterate	01.25	01.17	02.45	02.06	05.16	5.19	17.85	11.53
Below Primary	02.45	03.25	04.66	03.67	07.00	07.95	18.85	14.35
Primary and Above	04.66	05.45	07.95	06.06	11.53	12.12	33.33	21.67
Total	03.79	04.66	06.12	05.01	09.35	10.00	24.93	15.34

From the table No. 1.1.5. it is seen that couples who have experienced Infant or Child loss and where wives are illiterate, 01.25%, 01.17% and 02.53% of such couples belonging to S.T., S.C. and General Caste category respectively have ever adopted Family Planning methods; whereas in case of couples experiencing Infant Child death and among the wives (mother of the child) are educated below primary level, 02.45%, 03.25% and 04.66% couples in case of S. T., S. C. and

General Caste category respectively have adopted F. P. methods, but where educational level is primary and above, in such cases 04.66%, 05.45% and 07.95% couples of S. T., S. C. and General Caste category respectively have ever practised F. P. methods. On the other hand, when the couple without any experience of Infant or child deaths are taken into account, F. P. adoption is also the least (among S.T., 5.16%, S.C. 5.19% and G.C. 17.85%) among such couples where wives

(mother of the children) are illiterate, slightly more among S. T. 07%, S. C. 07.95% and G. C. 18.85% couples are F. P. adoptions) among couples where wives are educated below primary level and the F. P. adoption is the highest (among S. T. 11.53% S. C.—12.12% and G.C.33.33% couples are F.P. adoptions) among couples where the wives (mother of the children) are educated upto Primary level and above.

It is observed from the above analysis that, lower educational level of the mother is associated with higher incidence of I. M. R. and C. M.R. and lower percentage of F. P. adoption among couples and higher educational level is associated with lower incidence of I.M.R, and C.M.R, and higher percentage of F. P. adoption among couples. But it is further observed that although educational level of the mother has affected the percentage of adoption of F. P. methods among couples with Infant/Child loss and couples

without Infant/Child loss, yet the percentage of F. P. adoption is higher amongst couples without Child/Infant loss than couples with experience of Child/Infant loss, in all categories (S. T., S. C. and G. C.) of population in the present study.

1.4. Impact of infant mortality on adoption of F. P. methods by awareness and knowledge of the devices

It has been discussed in the previous chapters that awareness of Family Planning methods is less among Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste spouses (52.20% in case of S, T, and 47.40% in case of S. C.) and comparatively more (78% in case of General Caste) among the General Caste spouses. Similarly, it has also been found out that knowledge of F. P. methods is further low among S. T, and S. C. spouses (17.24% of S. T. and 19.83% of S. C. spouses) as compared to the General Caste spouses (30.51%).

TABLE No, 1.1.6
Impact of Infant and Child mortality on adoption of F. P. methods by awareness and knowledge of the methods

Category of Population	Couples experiencing Infant/Child death			Couples not experiencing Infant/Child death		
	Percentage of F. P. practice among couples			Percentage of F. P. practice among couples		
	Neither aware nor have the knowledge of F. P. method	Aware of F. P. method	Knowledge of F. P. method	Neither aware nor have the knowledge of F. P. method	Aware of F. P. method	Knowledge of F. P. method
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
S. T. ..	0.67	8.46	46.66	1.11	19.08	73.33
S. C. ..	0.98	10.00	50.00	1.49	24.54	70.96
General Caste ..	2.51	15.42	46.09	4.93	34.65	89.74
Total ..	1.16	11.87	52.77	2.52	27.53	82.01

The Table No. 1.1.6 shows that, among Couples who have experienced Infant or Child loss, percentage of adoption of F. P. methods is 8.46% in case of S. T., 10% in case of S. C. and 15.42% in case of General Caste couples (among couples who are aware of the F. P. methods), whereas, 46.66% S. T., 50% S. C. and 56.09% General Caste couples have ever practised F. P.

methods from among couples who have got knowledge of the methods. But in case of couples who are neither aware nor have the knowledge of the methods percentage of adoption is substantially low (among S. T. 0.67%, S. C. 0.98% and General Caste 2.53% couples have ever practised F. P. methods).

On the other hand, when the couples without experience of Infant or Child death are considered, it is observed that, 19.08%, 24.54%, and 34.65% couples of S. T., S. C. and General category respectively have ever practised F. P. methods from among couples who are aware of it. Similarly 73.33% S. T., 70.96% and 89.74% General Caste couples from among couples having knowledge of F. P. methods have adopted one method or the other, whereas couples without having awareness and knowledge of F. P. methods have practised the methods in very low percentage (among S. T. 1.11%, S. C. 1.49% and General Caste 4.93% couples).

From the above discussion, it is revealed that, although F. P. methods are practised in comparatively higher percentage among couples without Infant/Child loss than couples with experience of Infant/Child loss in all the three types

(couples aware of the methods, couples having knowledge of the methods and couples without having awareness and knowledge of the methods) among S. T., S. C. as well as General Caste category, yet awareness and knowledge of the F. P. devices play a very important role in adoption of the methods, because couples who have awareness and knowledge have practised the methods in an appreciable percentage as against a very low percentage of F. P. practice among those couples who lack both awareness and knowledge.

1.5. Impact of Infant and child mortality on adoption of F. P. methods by number of living children per couple.

An attempt has been made hereto find out the impact of Infant/Child loss on adoption of F. P. methods taking number of living children per couple into account.

TABLE No. 1.1.7
Impact of Infant and Child mortality on F. P. practice by number of living children per couple

Number of living children per couples (1)	Couples with experience of Infant or Child ever dead % of couples ever practised F. P. method				Couples with Infant or Child never dead % of couples ever practised F. P. method			
	S. T.	S. C.	G. C.	Total	S. T.	S. C.	G. C.	Total
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
0	7.69	3.03	2.85	3.22	17.50	8.49
1	..	2.63	2.70	8.69	4.08	4.76	3.34	21.31
2	..	2.94	5.12	12.12	6.60	6.06	6.77	22.85
3	..	4.87	4.54	16.36	9.28	9.45	12.30	28.35
4	..	6.07	7.89	16.21	10.16	15.78	14.70	29.16
5+	..	7.89	10.00	19.23	11.70	22.72	18.18	29.62
Total	..	03.79	04.66	06.12	05.01	09.35	10.00	24.93

From the above, it is observed that couples who have experienced Infant or Child loss have adopted Family Planning in very low percentage having less number of children per couple. On the otherhand, couples without any experience of Infant or Child loss have also

adopted F. P. methods in lower percentage among couples having less number of children as against higher percentage of adoption when the number of children are more. But in all categories of population (S. T., S. C. & G. C.) couples without experience of Infant or Child

loss adopted F. P. methods in higher percentage than the couples with experience of Infant or Child loss irrespective of the number of children a couple has although percentage of F. P. adoption is the least when the number of living children per couple is the lowest and F. P. adoption is higher when the number of living children per couple is more. The mechanism behind lower percentage of adoption of F. P. methods among couples with Infant/Child loss experience having less number of children as against higher percentage of F. P. adoption among couples without having Infant/Child loss but with more number of children is possibly due to the lack of "child insurance" or lack of child survival among the couples in the present area of study.

1.6 Impact of Infant and Child mortality on adoption of F. P. Methods by age of the mother.

In the present study it has been evidenced that the risk of dying during infancy and childhood (0—5 years) is higher for the Infants and Children born to either very young (below 20 years 0 age) or very old (40 years and above) women than to those in the Prime Child bearing ages (20—39 years) among all categories of population, although S. T. & S. C. mothers have

experienced more incidence of Infant/Child loss than G. C. who have experienced less Infant/Child loss. Likewise, it has also been observed in the Project study, that Family Planning adoption is the minimum among couples where the wife's age is 19 or below. It increase with the increase of the wife's age and records the highest percentage of adoption when the wife's age group is 20—39, and then F. P. adoption drastically drops down among spouses when the wife's age exceeds 40 years. This particular pattern holds good for all the categories of population (S. T., S. C. and G. C.) in the present area of study, although adoption of F. P. method is the least in case of S. T., slightly more in case of S. C. and is the highest among General Caste couples. Thus, when a correlation is made, it is observed that when the wife's (mothers) age is below 19 years and above 40 years, Infant and Child mortality is very high and F. P. adoption is very less and when the mother's age is between 20 years and 39 years I. M. R. and C. M. R. is comparatively low and adoption of F. P. method is also comparatively high among all categories of population in the present study.

However, the following table shows the impact of Infant/Child loss on adoption of F. P. methods taking age of the mother into consideration—

TABLE No. 1.1.8
Impact of Infant and Child mortality on adoption of F. P. Methods by age of the mothers

Age of the mother (in years)	Couples with Infant/Child death % of couples ever practised F.P. methods				Couples without Infant/Child death % of couples ever practised F. P. methods			
	S. T.	S. C.	G. C.	Total	S. T.	S. C.	G. C.	Total
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Up to 19	...	..	02.00	0.67	..	..	10.00	2.89
20—29	02.07	02.34	03.23	02.11	05.50	08.53	23.15	13.61
30—39	06.64	08.12	11.10	09.71	17.34	17.47	32.74	22.92
40+	02.57	2.92	04.58	03.27	05.33	05.47	23.33	10.57
Total	03.79	04.66	06.12	05.01	09.25	10.00	24.93	15.34

The above table (Table No. 1·1·8) shows that couples with Infant/Child mortality experience have never practised F. P. methods in case of S. T. & S. C. and in 09% cases among General Castes couples, when the mother's age is 19 and below; whereas when the mother's age is between 20—29, 02·07% S. T., 02·34% S. C. and 03·23% of General Caste couples are found to have adopted F. P. methods. But, when the mother's age is between 30—39, 06·64% S. T., 08·12% S. C. and 11·10% General Caste couples have ever practised F. P. methods, while adoption of F. P. methods is 02·57%, 02·92%, 04·58% in case of S. T., S. C. and General Caste couples respectively, when the mother's age is 40 years and above.

On the other hand, when the couples without any experience of Infant or Child loss are taken into consideration, it is also found the S. T. & S. C. couples have never practised F. P. methods, whereas 10% of General Caste couples have ever practised F. P. methods when the mother's age is 19 years or below; but when the mother's age is between 20—29 years, 05·50%, 08·53% and 23·15% couples have adopted F. P. methods in case of S. T., S. C. and General Caste couples respectively. Likewise when the age of the mother is between 20—29 years, 17·34%, 17·47% and 32·74% couples of S. T., S. C. and General Caste category respectively have adopted F. P. methods; whereas, 5·33% S. T., 5·47% S. C. and 23·33% General Caste couples have ever practised F. P. methods when the mother's age is 40 years and above.

From the above discussion, it is revealed that F. P. methods have been adopted by couples in lesser percentage when the mother of the child is too young or too old and when the couples have experienced Infant or Child loss; whereas F. P. methods have been adopted in greater percentage among couples when the wife (mother of the child) is in the age group 20—39 years (Prime child bearing age) and the couples have not experienced Infant or Child loss.

1·7. Impact of Infant and Child Mortality on adoption of F. P. methods by Immunisation Status of the Infants and Children.

Immunisation is considered as the world's greatest public health tool. Post natal preventive child—care, particularly, immunisation of the infants and children can reduce the risk of death appreciably during infancy and early childhood (up to 5 years of age) (Jain 1985, pp-5). It has been found out from the present study, that immunisation status is very low for the S. T. and S. C. and is relatively high in case of General Caste category Infants and Children. Further it is also evident that immunisation status has got a positive bearing in lowering I. M. R. and C. M. R. in all the three categories (S.T., S.C. & G.C.) as revealed from the low I. M. R. and C. M. R. in case of immunised babies and high I. M. R. and C. M. R. in case of non-immunised babies.

But, to what extent Infant and Child mortality has influenced the couples for adopting F. P. methods because of immunisation status of the babies has been shown in the table given below—

TABLE No. 1·1·9
Impact of Infant and Child mortality on F. P. adoption by Immunisation Status of the Infants and Children

Immunisation status of the Infant/Child	Couples with experience of Infant/Child loss				Couples without experience of Infant/Child loss			
	% of couples ever practised F. P. methods				% of couples ever practised F. P. methods			
	S. T.	S. C.	G. C.	Total	S. T.	S. C.	G. C.	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Immunised	05·75	06·53	09·93	07·84	13·30	14·14	37·50	21·75
Non-Immunised	1·12	1·25	2·24	01·67	7·07	7·84	16·66	10·56
Total	03·79	04·66	06·12	05·01	09·35	10·00	24·93	15·34

As shown in Table 1.1.9. couples experiencing Infant Child loss and having immunised babies have adopted F. P. methods relatively in higher percentage (05.75% S. T., 06.53% S. C. and 09.52% G. C. couples) than the couples whose babies have not been immunised. On the otherhand, in case of couples without Infant/Child loss and having immunised Infant/Children have ever practised F. P. methods in greater percentage (13.30% S. T., 14.14% S. C. and 37.50% G. C. couples) as against lower percentage of adoption of F. P. methods (7.07% S. T., 7.84% S. C. and 16.66% G. C. couples) among couples whose children are not immunised and who have not experienced Infant/Child loss. Thus, it is revealed from the above analysis that couples having immunised Infants/Children have lower Infant/Child mortality, and consequently such couples have adopted F. P. methods in higher percentage, than the couples having non-immunised Infants or Children.

The mechanism behind this, is that, the Infants and Children are susceptible to infection and as such the babies who are not immunised suffer from infectious diseases which increases the Infant/Child mortality and parents (couples) of such children do not adopt F. P. methods because of lack of child insurance. On the other hand, Infant/Children who are immunised do not normally suffer from infectious diseases and as such die in less number for which I. M. R. and C. M. R. is very less which encourage the couples for adopting F. P. methods more because of higher chances of child survival.

Conclusion:

The foregoing discussion and analysis of facts reveal that, Infant and Child mortality has a tremendous influence on adoption of Family Planning methods in the present area of study among all categories of population. I have been observed that, age of the mother, number of living children per couple, educational level of the mother, House-hold income, birth interval between children, immunisation status of the Infants Children and awareness and knowledge of F. P. methods are the various factors which have got positive bearing in determining Infant and Child mortality, which in turn have influenced adoption of F.P. methods among couples. Further, it has been found out from the study that among Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste couples, infant mortality rate and child mortality rate are very high and because of lack of child survival or lack of child insurance, the couples have

adopted F. P. methods in very less percentages, whereas, in case of General Caste couples, Infant and Child mortality is comparatively low and because of better child survival the couples have been encouraged towards birth control devices for which adoption of F. P. methods has been more.

Recommendations:

In terms of practical steps, there is an urgent need therefore, to launch an intensive efforts to raise child survival in a very backward area like this (present area of study) where high Infant and Child mortality and low acceptance of Family Planning methods exist. It should, therefore, be possible to make a significant dent in high Infant/Child mortality and increase in practice of F. P. methods primarily through the following actions, which can be taken up immediately:—

- (i) Postponement of marriages should be made for girls till 20 years of age thereby delaying the first births which will significantly reduce foetal, infant and child mortality and enhance adoption of F. P. methods.
- (ii) The couples should be explained in the bad effects of less spacing between two children and should be advised to keep at least 36 months interval between birth of 2 children for raising Infant/Child survival.
- (iii) The cultural bias resulting in son preference and daughter neglect must be made clear to the spouses, so that, Infants and Children of both sexes will get equal care, nourishment and treatment which will decline I. M. R. and C. M. R. substantially.
- (iv) Expectant mother's should be immunised during pregnancy, so that maternal mortality can be checked; which will automatically put a dent in I. M. R. and C. M. R.
- (v) Since the nutritional status of a child at birth is greatly influenced by the nutritional status of the mother during pregnancy, it is essential to give due importance for improving nutritional status of pregnant women among rural poor (S. T., S. C. and General Caste People), so that their children are not affected nutritionally at birth.

The health aid agencies should come forward to recommend appropriate inexpensive balanced diets for infants and children. Recipes for weaning diet based on inexpensive local foods suitable for, Infants and children should also be promoted. So, the mothers and the expectant mothers should be given nutrition educational programme in order to help them to derive maximum nutritional benefits from inexpensive resources within their reach.

(vi) Medical Dispensary should be set up in the Grama Panchayat for rendering health care facilities for the mother and the child with a view to reducing Infant and Child mortality. Detection of pregnancy cases, its follow up and provision of care should be done on a priority basis. The masses should be educated to utilize the health care facilities available in this area and the mothers should be motivated to conduct their deliveries in the dispensary (to be instituted) to the extent possible.

(vii) Acute respiratory infection is a major threat to Infant and Child life in this region. The control of acute respiratory infections should accord high priority in the national programmes.

(viii) Maternity Centres may be established on a preferential basis in all the seven

villages of the Grama Panchayat under study to prevent tetanus and other delivery problems.

(ix) Maternal and Child health care methods and it's good effects should be imparted to the married women through Adult Education Programme regularly by setting up Adult Education Centres in every village.

(x) One of the most neglected aspects in the economy of the people in the study area is education. Illiteracy rates are significantly high. Therefore at least one functional literacy centre should be opened in this area with a view to make all adults, men and women functionally literate.

(xi) At least one Lady Health Visitor should be appointed for each village to make the married women aware and to have a good knowledge about the usability of the birth control devices, so that they will be motivated to adopt Family Planning methods.

(xii) Public Relation Department should be asked to show short timid Video Films involving different Birth Control devices at regular interval to the villagers to educate them about Family Planning Programme.

If the above recommended actions will be enforced in the study area, it is expected that Infant and Child mortality rates can be reduced appreciably as a result of which (increased changes of Infant/Child survival) the married couples will be more encouraged to adopt Family Planning methods.

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PART II

The Juang Kinship Organisation

T. H. R. T. I.

I. INTRODUCTION

Kinship occupies pivotal position in the discipline of Social Anthropology. The web of kinship embodies two kinds of relationship by blood (Consanguinity) and by marriage (Affinity). In different communities various types of kinship systems exist dependent upon culturally recognised social pattern. It gives recognition for membership to a new born for social interaction. In all human societies kinship has significance in different dimensions and degree. By and large, kinship is one of the important facets of social structure. It is a universally occurring social phenomenon in which individual and groups are interwoven intricately. In multifarious spheres and situations kinship plays vital role in economic, social, political and religious life. It regulates the inter-personal relationship and sexual unions among the kin members through institutionalised patterns for group interactions. Since last hundred years special emphasis has been given on kinship studies in Social Anthropology. Now a days the theoretically and methodologically this study has evolved scientific analysis. Comparative studies of kinship have evoked quantified and analytical approach. Models of various types have been adopted for further clarification in the studies connected with social structure.

The study of kinship organisation of the Juangs is a part of assignment of the kinship and non-kinship organisation of the tribe recommended by the Advisory Board of T.H.R.T.I. The study of kinship organisation has been taken up with the following objectives: —

Objectives

1. To understand the social structure of the Juangs. Each clan/village (as village social boundary and clan social boundary were one and the same in the past) recognised a number of BANDHU (affines) clan/villages (inter-marrying group) and also a number of KUTUMBA (Con-

sanguines) clans/villages (Non-inter-marriage groups). Each clan is an exogamous unit and a referent group and recognises a number of BANDHU/KUTUMBA clans for social interaction. To find out the importance of the clan organisation and how it plays an inevitable role in regulating social and economic life of the Juangs.

2. To know how the principles of descent are determined through kinship system.

3. To know how the kinship organisation of the Juangs plays vital role to determine rules of succession and inheritance.

4. To know types of kinship and kinship terminologies which are considered major aspects of behavioural system. Further it makes clear about the role, position, status of persons in the Juang kinship network.

5. To acquire knowledge on kinship behaviour and usages considered to the important social practices which determine the roles and functions of persons in the Juang society. Specifically roles of different kinsmen in the community are to be ascertained through observation of life-crisis rituals connected with child birth name giving, pubescent, marriage and death.

6. The study of kinship organisation will throw light on the Juang culture which can guide us to know the co-operation among them in several socio-economic activities, like the allotment of shifting cultivation patches and ascertaining actual records of right of possession over a forest area related to kinship organisation. Further, selection of beneficiary for core programmes for development such as construction of rehabilitation colony and to sort out various socio-economic problems of the people are some of the functional aspects of the kinship organisation. This study also help to find out suitable

remedial measures to some urgent problems connected with divorce, widow marriage, remarriage, settlement or resolution of inter-clan and intra-village disputes. On the basis the findings of the study testing of the following hypotheses have been attempted.

Hypotheses

1. There is existence of segmentary social divisions among the Juangs regulate marriage, inheritance of property and other multifarious socio-cultural interactions.
2. Villages have changed from uniclinal to multiclinal units and this has impact on socio-economic aspects of their culture.
3. Kinship organisation among the Juangs is more or less stable.
4. Cultural phenomenon is historical among the Juangs. The existing behavioural pattern is influenced by persons interacting within the social organisation. The terminological classification is not only a sort of linguistic nomenclature but also aims to distinguish and designate types of relation for expected pattern of behaviour. General rule of the kinship nomenclature is distinctive by differentiations of sex, age and generation group.
5. Descent rules refer to social allocation of members for certain social purposes and also transmission of property right. The Juangs are a patriarchal and patrilocal community.
6. Kinship organisation among the Juang still plays a decisive role in context of planned development efforts.

Methods of study

At the outset, a lot of relevant information were collected from various secondary source materials. All the information gathered from secondary sources were subsequently verified in the field. All the data connected with kinship organisation and related topics were gathered from field for which 5 out of villages in the Juang Development Agency area, have been studied in details. Apart from interview methods, genealogical method, caste study method, observation method and sampling method were

employed during field investigation. Finally all the primary as well as secondary data have been processed and analysed and on the basis of this the report has been drafted. The five villages under study are situated in the Banspal and Telkoi blocks of Keonjhar district. All the information connected with genealogical tables and kinship terminologies have been collected from villages, Guptaganga, Kadalibadi and Talabaruda belong to Banspal and Madhusudanpur and Banspal villages belong to Telkoi block. Juangs of various age, sex, socio-economic status were interviewed. According to the necessity, group interviews were also conducted to verify and cross-check relevant and meaningful data. The study has been taken up in two different phases. The sample villages were chosen keeping in view the broad objectives and coverage of data from all angles.

Kinship study and its significance

The study of kinship organisation of any community is very much significant in social anthropology because the entire social system hinges on it. It is the pivot of all aspects of human society and group life. Kinship has been conceived by different communities in their respective ways. By and large kinship can be established by birth, marriage and adoption. It is a sort of biological tie, marital bond, tie by descent, objective tie and tie by consanguinity. It exists in human consciousness for approved socio-cultural interaction. In social anthropological field, kinship is an institution and can be broadly applied to relationships by affinity and consanguinity. Kinship is understood as the way of getting an entry point into the social network. Study of kinship is to enquire about the structural system of behaviour in relationships in which different people are biologically and sociologically related to one another and bound with each other by complex inter-locking and ramifying ties.

Paul Bohanan in his book 'Social Anthropology' has defined 'Kinship' as 'Every culture provides a set of concepts or images for viewing the situations of reproduction, care for the young and the passage from generation to generation. Anthropology has summed all these up as 'Kinship' (1963:54).

John Beattie in his book 'Other Cultures' defined, "Kinship has to do with relationships by blood, or consanguinity; affinity with relationships brought about by marriage" (1966:93). Murdock has defined kinship system as: "A kinship system, however is not a social group nor does it ever correspond to an organised aggregation of individuals. It is merely as the name implies, a structured system of relationship in which individuals are bound one to another by complex inter-locking and ramifying ties." In his book 'Social Structure' (1949) Murdock has elaborated cross cultural study of family and kinship organisation in about 250 communities of the world.

R. H. Lowie in 'Social Organisation' defines, "Kinship is conveniently applied to relationship by affinity as well as by consanguinity a procedure all the more possible because many societies require marriage with a blood relative. Again kinship is a variable institution in most simple societies for in Births' opt phrase it is the rod on which one leans throughout life, 'the regulator of behaviour in innumerable situations" (1948:59).

If the ideas highlighted by several anthropologists are analysed it transpires that all the kinship relationships comprise one link or a series of links either for descent or sexual union. Adoption and other forms of quasi kinship are substitutes for the biological relationship. The kinship study are not confined to biology rather it has more link with social, cultural, behavioural and linguistic referents. Kinship is an institution based on descent and marriage.

Voluminous works have been done on kinship in social/cultural anthropology. Whatever primitive or advance community it may be but kinship system exists in each community in one form or the other. Its significance role and network differ from one community to the other in varied degree. The traditions of anthropological training have emphasised the study of kinship system because it is the core social aspect and gives insight of the culture and social system. The scientific study of kinship started about a century ago. At the outset, emphasis was laid on the critical formulations and to understand its indepth. In the beginning social scientists concentrated on terminology, marriage and affinity.

L. H. Morgan is the pioneer who started the scientific study of kinship. Although subsequently several attempts have been made to discredit Morgan as the founder of kinship studies still then his vivid and original mind cannot be overlooked at any rate. Morgan emphasised on terminology while studying 'Iroquois' and 'Ojibwa Indians'. The overwhelming result of his endeavour was, System of consanguinity and affinity in the human family, was published in the year 1871. This was monumental achievement than in the field of kinship organisation. According to some anthropologists and contemporary researchers Morgan made a methodological error; assumptions about the correlation of kinship terminology with behaviour and groups. He did not associate his terminologies with ideal or actual behaviour in social roles but with social groups. According to Morgan some terms are descriptive and others are classificatory. The former terms include father, mother, son, daughter, husband, wife, brother and sister. The classificatory system on the otherhand, is that in which several types of kinsmen by descriptive criteria are lumped into single terminological categories. English term 'uncle' is such as one because of it categorises mother's brother, father's brother, mother's sister's husband and father's sister's husband. It was not that type of grouping which Morgan has referred. His classificatory means terminological union of some or all of the collateral kins with the lineal kins. The basic mistake was that every kinship term had as its equivalent term not a mode of behaviour but a recognised institutional entity in an analytical image. In spite of all these Morgan's books were followed for about sixty years. His interest in kinship was historical one. The resulting evolutionary development of social institutions and cultural stages presented in "Ancient Society" (1877) created controversy which long obscured Morgan's contribution as kinship study.

A. L. Kroeber and W. H. R. Rivers developed interest on kinship terminology and social organisation during early part of this century. After Morgan, Kroeber in his 'Classificatory systems of relationships' (1909) analysed kinship terminologies in terms of eight psychological principles. Kroeber emphasised that terms of relationship reflect psychology rather than sociology and are determined primarily by language. W. H. R. Rivers developed the "genealogical method" for collection of actual

data on various aspects of social organisation" (1914). He suggested that kinship terminologies are determined by social conditions and particularly by forms of marriage and can be utilised to reconstruct the recent history of social institutions. Kroeber commented the views of W. H. R. Rivers on the ground that the classification of terminology system is invalid because they are in fact not a system and terminologies in many cases do not reflect social institutions for that they are psychological in nature and origin. But the usefulness of the genealogical method was very much influential in making use of statistical statements. Rivers was able to show the exact relationship between spoken norms and actual behaviour in many spheres of activity, particularly in kin based behaviour.

R. H. Lowie is the American ethnologist who contributed to kinship study on basis of the previous studies made by Kroeber and Rivers. He modernised concepts on kinship study retaining Morgan's main mode of classification. He set up four gross categories. Basing on the terms for kinsmen in the immediate ascending generation from 'ego' he established generation system in which ego's father, his father's brother and his mother's brother are known by the same term. He found out 'lineal' type of kinship terminology out of Kroeber's distinction between lineal and collateral types. Lowie brought bifurcation between the collateral kinsman and bifurcate collateral. The other type of bifurcating terminology was added much later by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown with the idea of the unity of the siblings are not distinguished from one another. Maintaining the distinction between the sex of the relatives standing between the 'ego' and referent and distinguishing between lineal and collateral overridden by the principle of equivalence of siblings, Lowie called, 'bifurcate merging' type of terminology.

Malinowski was also an eminent figure in the study of kinship organisation. His book 'The family among Australian Aborigines' (1913) and his work on the Trobrianders emphasised the importance of the family as the initial situation for the development of kinship. According to Malinowski kinship rests on the family and begins within the family. The clan is non-productive, non-sexual and non-parental group, and it is never the primary source and basis of kinship. He defined 'Kinship is a matter of flesh and blood the result of sexual passion and maternal affection, of long intimate daily life

and of a host of personal intimate interests'. He emphasised on functional purposes, like what kinship really means to the natives; how terminologies of kinship are used and what they express. He wished to see clearly the relations between family, clan and tribe. He has traced kinship ties in communal character of human relations. He showed significance of sociological factor in a matrilineal society that did not recognise the genetic factor. He is rather more concerned with the functions in fulfilling individual needs.

A. R. Radcliffe-Brown is the key figure whose contribution in the study of kinship deserves special attention. He developed kinship system comprising terminology, pattern of social behaviour and to him kinship is an integral part of the larger social structure. In investigating a kinship system he concentrated upon to of its aspects, the usages governing the relationship between kin and the terms used in addressing kins and referring to them. The kinship terminology had certain priority both in logic and with respect to method. This was because the actual social relation between a person and his relative, as defined by rights and duties or socially approved attitudes and modes of behaviour then to a greater or lesser extent fixed by the category to which the relative belongs. Radcliffe-Brown had gone into depth of classificatory system of kinship terminology. To him, every classificatory system operated with some combination of three basic principles, like brothers and sisters, lineage group, and generation. These three principles influenced to generate various systems of kinship terminology and the kinship system is to understand social relationships and the analysis of joking relationships comes under these principles. Members of different groups is the relationship of alliance or consociation between individuals or groups which is classified into four types; based on inter-marriage, exchange of goods and services, blood brotherhood or similar institution and those which were in the form of joking relationship. He discussed the general type of behaviour associated with kinship classifying into two sets of behaving groups; familiarity and joking and the other is avoidance. In his 'African system of kinship and marriage' (1950) he dealt with general comparative and theoretical study of kinship organisation as an arrangement which enables the persons to co-operate with one another in an orderly social life. According to Radcliffe-Brown, marriage is

the rearrangement of social structure. His major contributions are father-right, mother-right, cognatic system and double lineage system, each of which has a number of varieties.

Apart from the above contributors in the field of kinship study some other important authors are Raymond Firth, Warners, Evans-Pritchard, Fortes, Sol Tax, Hallowell, Fred Eggan, Spöchr and many others.

Recently scholars have attempted in different direction to study kinship both theoretical and from methodological points of view. Models developed by renowned authors, as discussed earlier, are verified, cross checked and compared from several angle. Levi-Straus, the structuralist has presented his own views in his book 'Structural Anthropology', (1958). His mechanical model and statistical model discuss on empirical reality of social relation. Among others who have contributed to the study of kinship recently are Homans, Schneider Needham, Leech, Dumont, and several others. Goodenough, Lounsbury and Buchler have followed Kroeber's concept and emphasized to study kinship terminologies in details. Goodenough's componential analysis is the recent trend to study and acquire knowledge on kinship organisation through kinship terminology. In this method rules are formulated by which semantic domains are logico-empirically set up.

The above exposure has provided a base to understand, collect relevant data, and analyse different related factors to undertake the study of kinship organisation among the Juangs of Keonjhar district, particularly in five study villages. Major thrust has been given on genealogical table, inter-personal relationship, inheritance of property, descent rule, family and lineage, kinship terminologies, division of the tribe into groups such as village, clan and functions of individual members in life-cycle for holistic understanding of the kinship organisation of the Juangs.

II. CULTURAL PROFILE

The Juang is one of the primitive tribes only found in Orissa State. It is a Mundari speaking group. According to their dialect Juang means "Man". They are proud of their rich cultural heritage and social identity. Juangs tell that their original homeland is 'Juang Pirh' of Keonjhar and relate stories to confirm their origin. Some of them, in due course, for certain socio-cultural reasons had migrated to Pallahara area of

Dhenkanal district. The Juangs of the Keonjhar district are known as "Thaniya" which means original settlers and in Pallahara area of the Dhenkanal district they are called, "Bhagudia" means those have fled away. But in both the dist. Juangs depend on forest in different degrees. They mostly depend on slash and burn type of shifting cultivation for their survival. Their total number estimated in Census 1961, 1971 and 1981 as 21890, 24384 and 30876 respectively. The dormitory house of the Juang fairly known as Mandaghar (Majang in Juang district) is a very significant traditional institution. Other ethnic groups, like the Gauda, Teli, Khandayat and Pano are living close to the Juangs. But the symbiotic relationship between the Gauda and Juang deserve special mention. In some places other tribal communities, such as Bhuinyas, Bathudis and Gonds also live as neighbours of the Juang. Due to several socio-cultural similarities, it is believed that once upon a time the Bhuinyas and the Juangs were two brothers,

The Juang villages are located mostly on the hill slopes and valleys. A Juang village is a territorial unit and may consist of hamlets. Long ago all the villages were uniclans but due to several reasons they have transformed into multiclan ones. Each village has its own social boundary and traditional council.

The settlement pattern of the study villages dispersed. In some villages houses are situated around the "Mandaghar". In front of the "Mandaghar", "Gramsiri" the village deity is enshrined. Juangs change their village site either due to unnatural deaths and dangers or when forest resources are exhausted and further survival is difficult. They mostly prefer a place which is habitable, forest and stream are located nearby. The village priest "Nagam" the secular head "Pradhan" and other influential villagers play major role for shifting the village and its related matters.

The Juang follow their traditional pattern and architectural design for house construction. Their single room habitat is used as bedroom, drawing room, store room, kitchen room as well as place for goats and chickens. It is rectangular in size and wooden platforms are erected inside for storing various items. Only husband and wife with children below 10 years live inside the house. The cowshed and pigsty are constructed a little apart. The walls are made of mud or wooden logs are erected vertically over which mud is plastered. A verandah

In front of the room is used for several purposes. The roof is made of bamboo and thatched with locally available grass. They do not keep windows. The door is very narrow having shutter either made of wooden planks or bamboo splits. Just in front of the door inside the house mortar is placed for husking paddy and small millets. A platform is raised opposite to the kitchen where household materials are kept. More than one platform may be raised which depends on the availability of space and necessity of the house owner.

The items included in the material culture of the Juang are very limited. Inside a house one can notice a few earthenware pots, gourd containers, baskets made of leaves and bamboo splits, leaf made umbrella and cap, palm-leaf mats etc. Some other materials, like wooden pillow, broomstick, winnowing fan, pestle, digging stick, hoe, bow and arrow, axe, knife, plough, leveller, yoke and straw made bins are certain age-old traditional items. Apart from all these aluminium plates, lantern and trunks are also found in a Juang house.

With regard to their dress, Juang were known as 'Patuas' means who puts on leaf made dress. But now a days they use clothes available in the nearby weekly market. Even to-day they manage with scanty clothes. However, the females are very much fond of ornaments. Their jewellery consists of bangles, anklets, armlets, ear, nose and toe rings, waist girdle, bead necklace. They use coin and bead necklace. Now a days only the women use the traditional jewellery items. The young girls have abandoned using much jewellery. The girls decorate their body with tattoo marks. They also decorate their hair style with beautiful combs very often presented by their sweet-hearts. Among some personal belongings, mention may be made of tobacco containers and firemaking tools. They also keep some percussion musical instruments. Very useful traps, cages and fishing nets are kept hung from the roof of the verandah.

The daily routine of the Juang is very systematic and regular. They get up very early in the morning. The female members keep themselves busy in cooking and household works but the males warm themselves in winter in the Mandaghar fire. All the family members may go to the field after breakfast. They may go with food items so that all over the day they can work after lunch in the field. By the

evening they come back home. The females again get busy in cooking and male members go to the 'Mandaghar' for spending their leisure hours in gossiping and warming their body. During the non-agricultural period male members go for hunting and females visit forests for gathering roots "fruits" tubers and green leaves. From the jungle they collect honey, eggs of wild chicken and peacocks, mushrooms and varieties of fruits. They also collect 'Siali' leaf, fibre and fuel wood from the jungle.

There is no elaborate division of labour among the Juangs. The males and females do many of the works jointly in the field. Females do all works connected to hearth whereas males do works of ploughing and thatching the house. All the works need more physical strength are done by the males where as females perform all that need concentration and longer duration. The boys help their fathers and girls to their mothers in their respective works. The old men and women are also found busy in one way or other in day to day minor works. Specially they watch the houses when all are out and take care of the children.

In the recent past, the Juangs were food gatherers and nomads. But in due course they preferred settled life and practised slash and burn type of cultivation and subsequently gained knowledge of wet land cultivation. They have four types of lands; 'Taila' (land for shifting cultivation), 'Guda' (plains dry land), 'Badi' (Kitchen garden) and 'Bila' (irrigated wet land for paddy cultivation). They grow niger (a type of oil seed) and ragi in 'Taila' land. These lands are communally owned. The 'Taila' lands are distributed annually among the household heads of the village for cultivation.

The second type of land 'Guda' land are also owned by all the villagers in community level. According to the necessity plots are allotted to the villagers for cultivation.

The third type of land that is 'Badi' (Kitchen garden) is situated adjacent to house and owned on family level. They grow maize, tobacco and various vegetables there. The fourth category of land which is very precious for them is 'Bila' land. They grow paddy every year once in the 'Bila' land. Now a days some of them are sowing high yielding seeds and raising paddy twice a year.

PART II

Among all 'Taila' cultivation or slash and burn type of rotation cultivation is the most usual one. It starts from selection of site and distribution among the villagers followed by clearing of forest, firing the dry twigs, hoeing, sowing, weeding, watching the crop, harvesting and consumption. From the month of February-March up to December-January Juangs are busy in one way or other in the 'Taila' land. They raise various types of grains, pulses, oilseeds and vegetables in 'Taila'.

Even to-day people depend on forest produces and hunting games whatever meagre it may be. In the lean period forest supports the Juangs for their basic subsistence the Juangs go for communal hunting in summer. They are very much fond of fish. To them fishing is a pastime rather than a regular economic pursuit. They domesticate animals and birds, like goat, cows, pig and poultry. They sell their surplus in the nearby weekly markets as well as co-operative shops established in their area. The Juangs are not in favour of wage earning. A few male members now-a-days go to work for the contractors. But mutual exchange of labour between the Juangs and rendering free service for their tribesmen are yet in vogue. Some Juangs are working in Keonjhar mines and very few are engaged in government and semi-government services.

On basis of the above discussion, it may be concluded that the Juangs struggle very hard for survival. Even to-day they depend on shifting cultivation and food gathering for subsistence. The extent of wet land is insufficient, hence most of them are deprived of this variety of land. Modern method of cultivation and provision of economic assistance are yet awaited. The money lenders and wine venders still create several unavoidable circumstances for the Juang people. Expensive festive occasions and ritualistic observances make them indebted. Whatever they earn a portion of it goes to others. Some Juangs borrow from money lenders and give major part of their harvest towards repayment of the principal and interest. Even after several attempts no substantial result could be achieved so far for their sustainable economic uplift.

The surroundings of the Juang villages are found very dirty. The water they use from the stream is very often contaminated. The same

water source is used for human and animal purposes. The Juangs keep themselves neat and clean but their scanty clothes are always dirty. They eat rice and ragi gruel. They also take non-vegetarian meals in all festive occasions. The diet of the Juangs is neither regular nor standardised. The quantity and quality of food depend on its availability. They live on jackfruits and mangoes for months together as those are available abundantly in their areas. Juangs take their meals thrice a day but in the lean period they take twice. They eat food by frying, boiling, baking and roasting. They drink liquor prepared out of Mahua flower, maize, 'small millets, and fruits. They drink 'sageopalm juice and date-palm today. By observing them one can easily form an idea that they are absolutely in need of nutritive diets and vitamins.

Malaria, diarrhoea, scabiges and fever are some of the regular diseases prevalent among the Juangs. They mostly take the help of the herbal medicineman-cum-diviner to cure their diseases. Necessary ritualistic observances and sacrifices are offered to the spirits which are believed as the main cause of all these happenings. When a man suffers from a chronic disease it is believed to be the evil act of witch or malevolent spirit.

The Juangs believe in supernatural beings and are controlled and guided by them. Their spirits are both malevolent and benevolent in nature. To keep them appeased they offer sacrifices and ritualistic observances to the spirits at regular intervals. The 'Dharmadeota' (Sun God) is regarded as the supreme deity among the Juangs. Next comes the 'Basumati-mata' (Earth-goddess). They are the creators and protectors of the people. Among from these the 'Gramsiri' is enshrined and symbolically represented by an wooden post and stones near the 'Mandaghar'. Whenever village site is changed the 'Gramsiri' must be shifted to the new settlement. Apart from all these, there are several other spirits who take shelter inside the house, in the grove, at the stream, inside the forest and many other specific places. They believe in ancestral spirits and ghosts. The ancestral spirits are appeased in all important occasions. The magico-religious head is known as 'Nagam' the post of which is hereditary. The 'Pradhan' who is the secular head also participates in several magico-religious functions. 'Naik', 'Dangua' and 'Adhikari' are some other associated ritual functionaries. The Juangs

celebrate a lot of feasts and festivals which are associated with hunting, food-gathering, eating of new food crops and the first fruits of the season. The agricultural operation and life-cycle rituals of the Juangs are also directly and indirectly linked with magico-religious practices. However, most of the rituals require sacrificial animal or bird, liquor, rice, vermilion, turmeric powder, wicks, molasses, sundried rice, leaf cups and plates etc. The women are not allowed to eat sacrificial food and attend ritualistic functions. Magical practices are mostly used for the benefit of others whereas the sorcerers always take revenge against their enemies. The Juangs are also observing some Hindu festivals and worshipping lord 'Siva'. They also celebrate 'Rajaparba' and 'Laxmi Puja'. But to a large extent they stick to their traditional magico-religious rites.

The Juanga have their effective traditional political council. The 'Pradhan' is the formal headman of the council the post of which is not hereditary and any well-informed and senior man can be selected by the villagers. The 'Nagam' also play an important role in the traditional political council. As regards secular issues the 'Pradhan' is expected to offer the final decision. As per the necessity he convenes the meeting. He enjoys special status and prestige in the community. The 'Dangua' acts as the assistant to the 'Pradhan'. He functions as a messenger. He carries message and summons the villagers. Apart from all these some elderly people also take part in Judicial matters and give decisions which are taken into account.

The fins collected from culprits is communally spent in feasting and drinking. Certain conflicts connected with two or more villages may be decided by calling Inter-Juang Council. In this case the 'Sardar' who is secular head of some nearby villages are invited and participate in deciding such cases. Each 'Sardar' is the head of a 'Subpirh'. It may be mentioned that the Juang 'Pirh' is divided into 6 sub-Pirhs. The Sardars were appointed by the ruling chief of Keonjhar district. They decide cases which could not be decided at the village level. Due to introduction of modern political system particularly the Panchayatiraj system, the traditional council has been weakened. In each Juang village, a ward member may be found who is also a key person in the traditional council.

But the ward members play major role in matters connected with various development programmes. Because of their frequent contact with the outsiders and Government Officials they are becoming more and more conscious and aware. In several villages the traditional leaders and the ward members are not pulling on well. However, the traditional political council has still retained its functions in connection with secular matters.

The life course of the Juangs is full of joys and sorrows, ups and downs, and adjustment and differences. Juangs mainly marry to procreate and elevate socio-economic status. After marriage a Juang woman expects conception Juangs like children as many as possible either male or female. Now-a-day they prefer male child because he is to perpetuate the family life. After being confirmed that a woman is pregnant, she has to observe several taboos. In the delivery process a traditional midwife performs all the functions of a trained nurse. In case of difficult delivery services of herbal medicineman-cum-diviner may be needed. Birth pollution continues up to six days during which all the lineage men follow certain social restrictions. The name-giving ceremony takes place after the pollution period is over. It may be extended up to three and four months. The parents offer sacrifice and arrange drinks for the community people on this occasion. Usually they keep the name of paternal grand father provided the child is male. In case of the female child paternal grand mother's name is preferred. The mother usually cooks on this occasion for everybody.

In the process of socialisation mother plays an important role. However, father and other family members also contribute a lot in this regard. One can find that parents are performing a lot of ritualistic observances for one reason or the other. But ultimate goal is to keep the child healthy and happy and to keep him in the good book of the unseen power. During the late childhood they associate themselves with the youth dormitory friends and other members. The youth dormitory as an important part of social organisation helps in developing the personality of the male youths. The girls are inclined towards their friends during this period. Both boys and girls learn how to live and adjust in the community as per others expectation and social norms and values. During leisure period they learn more about dance and songs also gain knowledge in agricultural works and household

activities. They marry usually at the age of 15 to 18 years in case of girls and 20 to 23 years in case of the boys. At times husband and wife are of equal age-group. The Juangs are guided by certain rules and regulations. Like any other tribal people the Juangs also demand bride price its norms differ from one region to the other. Among different types of marriage mention may be made of marriage by arrangement, marriage by capture, marriage by mutual consent and widow or widower marriage. A girl after her marriage may stay with her father along with the husband. Divorce cases are very few. Usually the wives are divorced as that happens in worst case. Normally the husband and wife relationship is cordial and they lead happy life in all spheres. In the old age, they are usually looked after by their sons. According to the Juangs death is inevitable. In case of the natural deaths the dead body is cremated whereas buried if someone died unnaturally. After two days of death the purificatory ceremony is observed. The lineage members undergo the process of pollution. They believe in rebirth and the existence of ghost and sprits. The ancestral spirits are appeased regularly in all important occasions.

The most important and dynamic institution is their 'Majang' in Juang and locally well known as 'Mandaghar'. In some places they call it as 'Darbar' also. This bachelors dormitory is the main traditional educational institution around which the life and culture of the people revolve round. In shape, size and dimension the dormitory house is comparatively bigger than the normal Juang house. It has walls on three sides and open in front with an elevated verandah. Close to this house the village 'Gramsiri' is enshrined and an open space is left at one side for the community dance. The walls, pillars and beams of the house are decorated with various designs and carvings. Inside the house single membraned drums, leaf umbrella, date palm mats, straw bins, earthen pots, grounds, etc. are kept in different places. Fire is left burning throughout the year and ritual axe is kept with due care. This dormitory serves several functions. It is a training centre, a court house, rest house for visitors and Government officials a store room and sleeping place for unmarried youths. The rules and regulations of the dormitory are seriously followed by its members. During the month of February-March, on occasion of the mango eating festival, new members are given admission. Anybody who violates the rules and

regulations of dormitory is excommunicated or fined according to the type of case. Throughout the year one may find the dormitory is never kept vacant. The entire life and culture of the Juangs revolves round the 'Mandaghar' or 'Majang'. This institution can give indepth idea about the life and culture of the people and help in execution of development programmes successfully. The art and craft, dance and music and enjoyment and merry-making deserve special mention. They are traditionally trained in engraving and designing wooden and bamboo objects. The Juang youths make excellent comb which they present to their sweet-hearts. They beautifully decorate their tobacco containers and traditional lighters. During the dance and music they follow traditional rules and regulations. The intimacy developed during dance may end with marriage.

The Juangs are very sober and simple people. They are not quite free before the outsiders. They behave very politely and quite shy in nature. They believe in broad kinship range and in cohesion in community life. They love their area, people and respect the unseen power. They enjoy the life in group and share each others' sorrows and sufferings. They are proud of their culture and several practices. They want development and change if suited and fitted to their socio-cultural norms and aesthetic values.

III. KIN CATEGORIES

Kin categories are determined on the basis of the terminological and behavioural pattern. The major groupings of kins can be categorised under different functional norms and socio-cultural interactions between groups. The Juang kin category means the groupings or types of kinsmen found in the society. Such categorization of kin members among the Juangs is confined to normal day-to-day interaction under socio-cultural norms and values. Keeping in view all these above consideration, the Juang kin categories can be grouped under (a) Bandhu groups and Kutumba groups, (b) Male groups and female groups and (c) Alternate generation under a dichotomy of broad behavioural dissimilarities.

As mentioned above, in the context of each set of oppositions the Juangs regulate their socio-cultural life. The most significant grouping that is counted for several purposes to sustain the group life and keep up socio-

cultural values is the Bandhu or Kutumba. Again on the basis of the sex i. e. male or female also regulate their marital relations and allow or prevent several types of behaviours as per the social control. Further, considering the Bandhu and Kutumba as well as male and female two sets of divisions can be on basis of alternate generations. It divides the local descent group and the whole village, in case of uniclans village, into two divisions.

Kutumba group:

The villages are usually inhabited by the members of a single clan who were related to each other as Kutumba or consanguised. Of course now-a-days by and large, the villages have become multi-clan ones. But marriage among the members of the same clan or so to say in the same village cannot be possible because of their idea of consanguinity. All the Juang natal members of their village or local descent group are expected to be related to each other as affins. But it is found among the Juangs that other clan groups are regarded as Kutumba groups for a particular clan and among such clans even if other than their local descent group marriage cannot be possible. Each such clan is regarded by them as fraternal clans. Among the fraternal clans marriage rules are strictly followed as in case of the own clan members. While ascertaining the possible reasons the Juangs tell that each clan is having some Kutumba clan which has developed due to some reasons. Very old and knowledgeable Juangs tell that members of two or more clans recognize their origin from two uterine brothers bearing the names of those two clans and with the passage of time both of them have developed a clan of their own and marriage between these two groups cannot be possible because of their same origin. Hence, among the Juangs one can find almost each clan is having its one or more fraternal clans and they become Kutumba to each other.

Sometimes one of the married couples due to some reason or other is dead and further marriage could not take place because of the past experience. Cases are there to substantiate that the unexpected lunatic behaviour of the couple did not allow their respective groups for further marriage interaction. In such cases the members of both the clan or local descent group consider it as inauspicious or dangerous for both the groups. There are exceptions when it is found that either of the group members

suffer from diseases and it is repeated when marriage interaction takes place between the bride and groom belonging to those two clans. Further, bandhu relation is cut off and they consider each other as the members of the fraternal group. A few other reasons are there when a particular group traces an imaginary line with another clan and hypothetically considers the two clans have the same origin. By and large, the breaking of their Bandhu relation due to some unexpected causes or superstitious beliefs somehow develop Kutumba relation between two clans. There are a lot of case-studies on the above basis when two clan have become fraternal to each other and among the Juangs once two clan groups recognize each other as fraternal clan means it is never expected to be broken at any cost and due to these factors marital relations between the members of the fraternal clans are not socially sanctioned or culturally approved. Except marital taboos pre-marital or post marital relations are considered incestuous and seriously viewed by the traditional tribal council. If anybody breaches rules prescribed since generations has to pay heavy fine and sometimes ostracised from the community. But it is clear from the explanations given in the preceding paragraphs that Kutumba relations may grow out of bandhu relations in exceptional cases and in due course it is accepted.

Bandhu Groups:

Bandhu groups are rather complementary to the Kutumba group. Bandhu local descent groups are those with whom marital relations can be established. The Juangs consider persons others than their own or Kutumba clan as bandhu clan. Therefore, the bandhu members are non-agnatic relations. Marital relationship can only be possible among the bandhu clans but the pre-marital and post-marital sexual relations with the members of a bandu clans cannot be considered as incestuous, but the post-marital sexual relation is illegal and immoral. However, it may lead to marital alliance. But there are restrictions under certain generation, range of relation which may lead to social maladjustment and seek punishment as per the customary law.

The Bandhu and Kutumba categorizations have several implications in socio-cultural sphere of the Juang society. It is a common saying that in no case the Juang can leave his Kutumba members and in no situation he can manage and

retain his future without bandhu members. The role played both Kutumba and bandhu members in death and birth rituals are equally vital. The married daughter's death rituals is observed both by her parents and parent-in-laws's groups. For instance, if a married daughter dies in her in-law's house her own parents are invited for purificatory ceremony when she dies in her father's house her husband's family members are expected to observe the pollution with due formality and as per social norms.

Males and females:

Among the kin categories, dichotomy of males and females in various activities is marked. The very distinction is clearly revealed in the beginning. It is more acute and prominent when they become sexually conscious and join their respective sex groups. The unmarried boys usually sleep in a separate dormitory at night. The girls also sleep in their respective dormitory. In different socio-economic activities they show the dichotomy in several ways. For instance while inside the village or within village boundary even when they go to attend the weekly market or nearby town they stick to their sex groups. While going to work site, in the field or forest or spending leisurely hours they usually stick to their sex-groups.

It is apt to note among the Juangs that in patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence, the Juang male agnatic members are known as Kutumba. But the females when get married join their respective husband's clan. This dichotomy serves as a mechanism to prevent incest. However, they come nearer in several functions but for references they are marked differently.

The members of alternate generation in the local descent groups among the Juangs can be grouped into 2 broad divisions which are expected to prescribe various type of socio-cultural behaviours. Within each division, the members of ascending generation tend to maintain their appropriate attitude and behaviour with the descending generation. A special type of joking relation exists among the members of the same division whereas members of the opposite division are prohibited for the purpose. In this case they pay due regards or out of respect or affection avoid each other as per their position in the kinship net work. For example, the members of sons generation or age

group usually respect or avoid father's generation group as per their status, position and sex. It is also reflected in different ways as per situation and social approval. The behaviour with consanguineal members outside ones local descent group is followed on the basis of the members of the corresponding divisions. In the affinal local descent group the members of broad divisions are considered with respect of ones own generation. It is usual practice among the Juangs to retain names of grand father and grand mother for the male and female child, respectively. The classificatory kinship terms are referred to the members of alternate generation. This terms categorised the behavioural pattern among the members of different groups. The same terms are never referred to the persons of alternate generation. For instance ego addresses 'aji' to his elder sister and she belongs to his own generation and such terms is never be addressed to any member of the alternate generation by the same person. One can also refer to his elder brother's wife who is a member of Bandhu descent group as 'Kuli'. The members of his alternate ascending generation such as father's sister and mother's brother's sisters are also addressed so as 'sasu' and 'atiraen', respectively. One's mother's father, father's father, father's father's father's brother, mother's mother's brothers are addressed by the term 'aja'. Thus within the same alternate generation group a number of persons are categorised as 'aja'. The wives of those members of 'aja' category are categorised as 'na'. Similarly, the elder brothers are called as 'ka' and the wives of such 'ka' are addressed as 'kuli'. The younger brothers are addressed as 'bjkj' and younger sisters are under the category as 'bjkjae'. In the first alternate descending generation the grand sons are termed as 'bjkjlap' and grand daughters as 'bjkjsea'. When one addresses his own elder sister as 'aji' he addresses his own wife's elder sister as 'ajikar' the addresses his own wife's elder sister as 'wijikar' and in alternate descending generation wife's father's father's sister, father's mother's elder sister and father's father's sister's husband's elder sister in the same generation that of one's wife's elder sister, sister's husband's elder sister are also categorised under 'ajikar' group. One can refer one's own wife's younger sister as 'salirae' and under the same category all persons who are wife's younger sister, sister's husband's younger sister are 'salirae' category. The pattern of behaviour with 'ajikar' group of a little respect

type for such they are not treated potential spouses. But there is social sanction for joking with members of 'salarae' group which indicate the existence of sororate in the Juang community. The members of 'kimidae' category are ones younger brother's wife generation and son's son's wife in the alternate descending generation who are avoided by the members of 'baukar' category and for this they are not treated as potential spouses. Among the Juangs it is common to listen that father's or 'ba' division and opposite to this son's division. In other form the mother's or wife's group and the daughters group daughters or 'kincelan' group. They addressed father's elder brother as 'atir' and under this category members like father's elder brother, mother's elder sister's husband as they are father's generation and in the same group father's father and mother's father's father of the alternate ascending generation are included. The member of 'atir' category known as 'atirae'. Similarly, son's wife and daughter's husband's sister are categorised as buirae under one's father's alternate generation group. Mother's brother, father's sister's husband are included in the same category 'mamu'. The brother of the 'buirae' category are termed as 'aram'. In this way it can be concluded that for the Ego a particular category is confined to the members of the opposite division which distinguishes two opposite division and regulated their behaviours in the specified manner. Therefore, according to their kin category behavioural pattern is followed in the consanguineal and affinal local descent group.

The Juangs reveal their pattern of behaviour among the kin members which highlight the dichotomy of alternate generation. It is more clear while one observed the behavior of different kin category in the "Kadalata" dance. Among the members of the same division as well as between the members of opposite division a type of behavioural inter-action takes place particularly in the marriage ceremony. Particularly on the first day after the marriage ritual "Kadalata" or fun dance takes place in from the groom's house. The members of alternate generation combiningly dance in group which is followed by the members of the opposite division because members of both the divisions can not dance together. It is very seriously obeyed and observed that the members of son's generation and his alternate generation can not witness the dance of the members of his father's

generation and members of his father's alternate generation. Even within the division members joking or respect type of behaviour are observed according to the age, sex and generation of the members. Therefore, in that occasion son's generation people completed the dance then the people of father's generation start. In this dance both the bride and the groom participate and while dancing in this division members the newly married bride comes to know the members of different rank and status with whom she can play jokes for avoid out of respect as per the approval of the social norms. On the occasion she comes to know who are the husband's brothers, grand parents and also knows how each of they would be behaved. In this way the newly married bride established herself in the local descent group and imbibes different pattern of behaviour which she has to obey in course of her new life. She is not allowed to witness the dance of the father-in-law's alternate division rather knows those group members with whom she can have respect or avoidance type of behaviour. The main objective is to make her acquainted with the local descent group. It is to mention that the members of the groom's local descent group or the consanguineal descent local group join the dance. the male members of the groom's alternate generation beat Changu drums and they are formed as son's groups. The women dance who are generally wives of respective male members and termed as wife's group. First of all the groom's division members start dancing and when they fully satisfied and feel tired take rest and father's group members start dancing. While dancing they play jokes by throwing muds, turmeric water, ashes etc. In the consanguineal local descent group all unmarried and married males of the local descent group and unmarried females either the daughters of sisters belonging to the 'Kutumb'. All the married females and marrying spouses coming from different local descent groups are in the opposite division. In case of the Bandhu local descent group of a Bandhu village all the unmarried or married males are recognised as Bandhu and the unmarried females are also Bandhus as sisters or daughters in the Bandhu local descent group. The married females or in marrying spouses of the Bandhu local descent group may be Bandhu if they have married out from another Bandhu village or may be kutumba. If they have gone from one's sown local decent group, or from any other Kutumba local descent group.

The above analysis highlights that the Juang kin category or grouping of kinsmen on the basis of their terminological and behavioural dissimilarities are based on consanguinity or affinity, sex and generation. On basis of different interactions and actions categorisation of groups and further dictomy of the males and females and regulation of relation etc., are activated.

(IV. KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY)

L. H. Morgan, in his book, "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family" (1871) has mentioned that terminologies are systems of consanguinity and affinity, concurring to a people's recognition of their genealogical relationships in an organised way.

According to A. R. Radcliffe-Brown kinship terms are like Signposts' to interpersonal conduct or etiquette, with implications of appropriate reciprocal rights, duties, privileges and obligations.

Both the ideas are based on sociological theories. One refers to genealogical model and the other expresses the pattern of inter-personal relations.

With reference to kinship among the Juangs, their terminologies are used for social recognition and express the genealogical picture both consanguineal and affinal. Kinship terms are linguistic tag which are having biological as well as cultural significance. It has some link with one's age, sex and marital status.

All the 192 terminologies collected among the Juangs are classified and analysed. In the light of function and structural pattern the Juang Kinship is egocentric system and bifurcated collateral type. R. H. Lowie has defined principles (1) Sex-the male Kinsmen (2) Generation (3) lineal collateral distinction (4) the collateral on the basis of the sex of the relative who stands between them and the ego. All these are found in the terminologies of the Juangs. Among the Juangs separate terms are used for the father's brother and for mother's brother. They recognise and introduce kinsman by kinship terminology. Kinship terms show its uniqueness in different lines and generations. The relationship is traced by kinship terminologies. Each member, in the basic kinship structure is terminologically recognised. Apart from the analysis on the basis of generation they also cover all types of consanguineal and

affinal relationship. They have been broadly divided into different lines and types of application. For classification G. P. Murdock's approach has been considered quite applicable. Here they are technically classified in three different ways by their (i) mode of use. (ii) linguistic structure and (iii) range of application. Mode of use means the Juangs employ terms as direct address or indirect reference. According to Murdock, a term of address is one, used in speaking to a relative, "it is a part of the linguistic behaviour characteristic of the particular interpersonal relationship". A term of reference is one used to designate a relative while speaking about him to a third person. It is thus not a part of the relationship itself but a word denoting a person who occupies a particular status. With a few exceptions, it is found in many cases terms of address and terms of reference are the same.

In case of son the terms of reference is 'Kan n' but its term of reference is 'landa'. The term of reference for daughter is 'K ncelan' but addressed as 'landi' so also term of reference for brother's son and daughter are 'Utarnel' and 'K nceladae' but their terms of address are 'Kanda' and 'Kandi' respectively. Some other exceptions in Kinship terms of the Juangs may be mentioned that husband and wife never used any term for addressing each other only they utter 'Eh' or 'E'. Another noteworthy phenomenon that reference terms are pre fixed by 'i' in 'ing' or 'en' except a few terms.

In the terminologies of the Juangs a number of classificatory terms are there. With reference to Murdock's explanation a Classificatory term can be applied to more than two categories. These are defined by generation, sex, and genealogical connections. Their kinship terms represent two or more categories of persons in same classificatory terms perpetuating generation, sex and genealogical connection. All the classificatory consanguines in the local descent group are related to an ego though alternate generations. All the classificatory consanguines, belong to alternate generations come under the egos' broad division group. Similarly father's board group range is reflected through his alternative generation. One kinship term denotes to classificatory kinsmen of the same sex. The generation and sex principles are maintained systematically for kinship terminology. From the Juang the Juang kinship terminologies, it is evident that

JUANG KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Sl. No. (1)	Kinship Terms (2)	Terms of Reference (3)	Terms of Address (4)	Remarks. (5)
1	F	baa	ba	
2	M	baĩ	bai	
3	eB	ka	ka	
4	yB	b)k)	b)k)	
5	eZ	ajij	aji	
6	yZ	b)kraeiĩ	b)k)rae	
7	S	kan)n	landa	
8	D	k)ñcelan	landi	
9	H	sau	ehe	
10	W	kutum	eja	
11	F.F.	aja	aja	
12	F.M.	naan	na	
13	F.eB.	atiraeĩ	atir	
14	F.yB.	dadiĩ	dadi	
15	F.eZ.	sasuiĩ	sasu	
16	F.yG.	sasuiĩ	sasu	
17	M.F.	ajaj	aja	
18	M.M.	naan	na	
19	M.eB.	mamuiĩ	mamu	
20	M.yB.	mamuiĩ	mamu	
21	M.eZ.	atiraeĩ	atirae	
22	M.yZ	sanbuiĩ	sanbui	
23	eB.W.	k)vi	kuli	
24	yB.W.	kimidaeĩ	baĩ	
25	eZ.H.	bauĩ	bau	
26	yZ.H.	sangiĩ	saj	
27	B.S.	utraeiĩ	kanda	
28	B.D.	k)nc)l)n daeĩ	kandi	
		or		
		atichidaeĩ	kandi	
29	Z.S.	g)b)l)ekā	g b l ekan	
30	Z.D.	g)b)l)esendaĩ	g)b)le sendae	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
31	W.eB.	Inib)ĩ	inib	
32	W.yB.	sanjĩ	saj)	
33	W.eZ.	ajikari	ajikar	
34	W.yZ.	saliraeĩ	salirae	
35	H.eB.	baukari	bankar	
36	H.yB.	b)k)ger	b)k)ger	
37	H.eZ.	ajikari	ajikar	
38	H.yZ.	kuliraesen	kuliraesen	
39	S.S.	b)k)lap	b)k)lap	
40	S.D.	baksen	baksen	
41	D.S.	b)k)lap	b)k)lap	
42	D.D.	b)k)sen	b)k)sen	
43	S.W.	buiraeĩ	burae	
44	D.H.	aram	aram	
45	W.F.	kuikare	kuikar	
46	W.M.	mami	mami	
47	H.F.	kuikare	kuikar	
48	H.M.	mami	mami	
49	F.F.F.	atirae	atir	
50	P.P.M.	atirae	atirae	
51	F.M.P.	atiran	atir	
52	P.M.M.	atiraeĩ	atirae	
53	P.P.eB.	ajaẽ	aja	
54	F.F.yB.	ajaẽ	aja	
55	P.M.eB.	ajaẽ	aja	
56	P.M.yB.	ajaẽ	aja	
57	F.F.eZ.	aji	aji	
58	F.F.yZ.	aji	aji	
59	P.M.eZ.	naan	na	
60	P.M.yZ.	naan	na	
61	M.M.M.	atiraeĩ	atirae	
62	M.M.F.	atirai	atir	
63	M.F.M.	atiraeĩ	atirae	
64	M.F.F.	atirai	atir	
65	M.F.eB.	ajai	aja	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
66	M.F.yB.	ajaĩ	aja	
67	M.M.eB.	ajaĩ	aja	
68	M.M.yB.	ajaĩ	aja	
69	M.F.ez.	naan	na	
70	M.F.yZ.	naan	na	
71	M.M.eZ.	naan	na	
72	M.M.yZ.	naan	na	
73	eB.W.eB.	sajiĩ	saj	
74	eB.W.yB.	iniboĩ	inib	
75	yB.W.eB.	sajiĩ	saj	
76	yB.W.yB.	iniboĩ	inib	
77	eB.W.eZ.	ajikaikiĩ	ajikar	
78	eB.W.yZ.	saliraeĩ	salirae	
79	yB.W.eZ.	saliraeĩ	salirae	
80	yB.W.yZ.	saliraeĩ	salirae	
81	eB.W.M.	mamiĩ	mami	
82	yB.W.M.	mamiĩ	mami	
83	eB.W.F.	kuikar	kuikar	
84	yB.W.F.	kuikar	kuikar	
85	ez.H.F.	kuikar	kuikar	
86	yZ.H.P.	kuikar	kuikar	
87	ez.H.M.	mamiĩ	mami	
88	yz.H.M.	mamiĩ	mami	
89	ez.H.eB.	bauĩ	bau	
90	yZ.H.yB.	bau, sajiĩ	bau, saj	<i>bau, saj</i>
91	Yz.H.eB.	sajiĩ	saj	
92	yZ.H.yB.	sajiĩ	saj	
93	ez.H.eZ.	ajikare	ajikar	
94	ez.H.yZ.	s)jate	s)jat)	
95	yZ.H.eZ.	s)jate	s)jat)	
96	yZ.H.yZ.	s)jate	s)jat)	
97	Z.S.S.	b)k)lap	b)k)lap	
98	Z.S.D.	b)k)sẽ	b)k)sẽ	
99	Z.S.W.	buiraeĩ	buiraeĩ	
100	Z.D.H.	aramĩj	aram	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
101	Z.D.S.	b)k)lag	b)k)lap	
102	Z.D.D.	baksen	bakseñ	
103	B.S.S.	b)k)lap	b)k)lap	
104	B.S.D.	bakse	bakse	
105	B.S.W.	bairaiki	baiki	
106	B.D.M.	araminj	aram	
107	B.D.S.	b)k)lap	b)k)lap	
108	B.D.D.	bakse	bakse	
109	M.eZ.H.	atinij	atir	
110	M.yZ.H.	dadij	dadi	
111	M.Z.yS.(e)	ka	ka	
112	M.Z.Y.S.(y)	b)k)	b)k)	
113	M.Z.D.(e)	ajij	aji	
114	M.Z.D.(y)	b)k)raei	bakarae	
115	M.eB.W.	sasui	sasu	
116	M.yB.W.	sasui	sasu	
117	M.B.S.	ka, b)k)	ka, b)k)	
118	M.B.D.	aji, b)k)raei	aji, b)k)rae	
119	F.eZ.H.	mamui	mamu	
120	F.yZ.H.	mamui	mamu	
121	F.Z.S.	ka, b)k)	ka, b)k)	
122	F.Z.D.	aji, b)k)raei	ajibakarae	
123	F.eB.W.	atiraei	atirae	
124	F.yB.W.	sanbui	sanbui	
125	F.eB.S.	ka, b)k)a	ka, b)k)	
126	F.yB.S.	ka, b)k)i	ka, b)k)i	
127	F.eB.D.	aji, b)k)raei	ajib)k)rae	
128	F.yB.D.	b)k)raei	b)k)rae	
129	W.F.M.	naan	na	
130	W.F.F.	ajaei	aja	
131	W.M.M.	naan	nae	
132	W.F.eB.	kuikar	kuikar	
133	W.F.eZ.	mami	mami	
134	W.F.yZ.	mami	mami	
135	W.M.eB.	kuikar	kuikar	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
136	W.M.yB.	kuikar	kuikar	
137	W.em.Z.	mami	mami	
138	W.eB.W.	sasui	sasu	
139	W.yB.W.	sasui	sasu	
140	W.B.S.	uturaei	uturae	
141	W.B.D.	k)nc)l)daj	k)nc)l)daj	
142	w.ez.H.	buitar	buitar	
143	W.yZ.H.	buitar	buitar	
144	W.Z.S.	atirkanda	ka	
145	W.Z.D.	k)ncl)daj	k)nc)l)daj	
146	H.F.F.	ajai	aja	
147	H.F.M.	naan	na	
148	W.M.yZ.	mami	mami	
149	H.M.F.	ajai	aja	
150	H.M.M.	naan	na	
151	H.F.eB.	kubakuikar	kuikar	
152	H.F.yB.	sankuikar	kuinkar	
153	H.F.eZ.	aji	aji	
154	H.F.yZ.	naan	na	
155	H.M.eB.	kuikar	kuikar	
156	H.M.yE.	kuikar	kuikar	
157	H.M.eZ.	naan	na	
158	H.H.yZ.	mami	mami	
159	H.eB.W.	aji	aji	
160	H.yB.W.	bak)raei	bak)rae	
161	H.B.S.	uturaei	uturae	
162	H.B.D.	k)nc)l)daj	k)nc)l)daj	
163	H.eZ.H.	bau	bau	
164	H.yZ.H.	aramget	aram	
165	H.Z.S.	banaja	banaja	
166	H.Z.D.	baninji	baninji	
167	S.S.B.	b)k)lap	b)k)lap	
168	S.S.D.	b)ksen	b)ksen	
169	S.W.F.	s)mudi	s)mudi	
170	S.W.M.	tiuraei	tiurae	
171	S.W.eB.	saj	aram	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
172	S.W.yB.	inibo	aram	
173	S.W.eZ	buiraeĩ	buirae	
174	S.W.yZ.	buiraeĩ	buirae	
175	S.D.D.	aticindaẽ	aticindae	
176	S.D.S.	atikanij	atikanij	
177	S.S.W.	kimindaẽ	kimindae	
178	S.D.H.	sanj)	saj)	
179	D.D.D.	aticindaẽ	aticindae	
180	D.D.S.	atik)nij	atik)nij	
181	D.S.D.	aticindaẽ	aticindae	
182	D.H.F.	s)mudij	s)mudij	
183	D.H.M.	tiuraei	tiurae	
184	D.H.eB.	aram	aram	
185	D.H.yB.	aram	aram	
186	D.H.eZ.	buiraeĩ	buirae	
187	D.H.yZ.	buiraeĩ	buirae	
188	D.S.S.	atikanij	atikan	
189	D.W.W.	kimindaj	kimindae	
190	D.D.H.	saj	saj	

Kinship Terminologies in the elementary family

Sl. No. (1)	Kinship Terms (2)	Term of reference (3)	Term of Address (4)	Remarks (5)
1	Father	F	baa	ba
2	Mother	M	bai	bai
3	Son	S	kanan	landa
4	Daughter	D	k)ncelan	landi
5	Elder brother	eB	ka	ka
6	Younger brother	yB	b)k)	b)k)
7	Elder sister	eZ	ajij	aji
8	Younger sister	yZ	b)k)rai	b)k)rae
9	Husband	H	sau	eh
10	Wife	W	kutum	eh

Kinship Terminologies connected with Father

Sl. No. (1)	Kniship Terms (2)	Term of reference (3)	Term of Address (4)	Remarks (5)
1	F	baa	ba	
2	F.F.	aja	aja	
3	F.M.	naan	na	
4	F.eB.	atirae	atir	
5	F.yB.	dadi	dadi	
6	F.eZ	sasui	sasu	
7	F.yZ	sasui	sasu	
8	F.F.F.	atiran	atir	
9	F.F.M.	atiraei	atirae	
10	F.M.F.	atiraei	atir	
11	F.M.M.	atiraei	atir	
12	F.F.eB.	ajae	aja	
13	F.F.yB.	ajae	aja	
14	F.M.eB.	ajae	aja	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
15	F.M.yB.	ajae	aja	
16	F.F.eZ.	aji	aji	
17	F.F.yZ.	aji	aji	
18	F.M.eZ.	naan	na	
19	F.M.yZ.	naan	na	
20	F.eZ.H.	mamui	mamu	
21	F.yZ.H.	mamui	mamu	
22	F.Z.S.	ka, b)k)	ka, b)k)	
23	F.Z.D.	aji	aji	
24	F.e By.W.	b)k)raei	b)k)rae	
25	F.Y.B.W.	atiraei	atirae	
26	F.eB.S.	sanbui	sanbui	
27	F.Y.B.S.	ka,b)k)	ka,b)k)	
28	F.yB.S.	ka,b)k)i)	ka,b)k)	
	F.eI.B.D.	aji	aji	
		b)k)raei	b)k)rae	
29	F.Y.B.D.	b)k)raei	b)k)rae	

Kinship Terminologies connected with Mother

Sl. No. (1)	Kinship Terms (2)	Term of Reference (3)	Term of Address (4)	Remarks (5)
1	M	bai	bai	
2	M.F.	ajaj	aja	
3	M.N.	naan	na	
4	M.eB.	mamui	mamu	
5	M.yB.	mamui	mamu	
6	M.eZ.	atiraei	atirae	
7	M.yZ.	sanbui	sanbui	
8	M.M.M.	atiraei	atirae	
9	M.M.F.	atirai	atir	
10	M.F.M.	atiraei	atirae	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
11	M.F.F.	atirai	atir	
12	M.F.eB.	ajai	aja	
13	M.F.yB.	ajai	aja	
14	M.M.eB.	ajai	aja	
15	M.M.yB.	ajai	aja	
16	M.F.eZ.	naan	na	
17	M.F.yZ.	naan	na	
18	M.M.eZ.	naan	na	
19	M.M.yZ.	naan	na	
20	M.eZ.H.	atij	atir	
21	M.Y.Z.H.	dadij	dadi	
22	M.Z.eS.	ka	ka	
23	M.Z.yS.	b)k)	b)k)	
24	M.Z.eD.	ajij	aji	
25	M.Z.yD.	b)k)raei	bakarae	
26	M.eB.W.	sasui	sasu	
27	M.yB.W.	sasui	sasu	
28	M.B.S.	ka,b)k)	ka,b)k)	
29	M.B.D.	ajij,b)k)raei	aji,b)k)rae	

Kinship Terminology connected with Son

Sl. No.	Kinship Terms	Terms of Reference	Terms of Address	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	S.	kan)n	landa	
2	S.S.	b)k)lap	b)k)lap	
3	S.D.	bakase	baksen	
4	S.W.	buiraei	buirae	
5	S.S.B.	b)k)lap	b)k)lap	
6	S.S.D.	b)kse	b)kse	
7	S.W.F.	s)mudi	samudi	
8	S.W.M.	tiuraei	tiurae	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
9	S.W.eB.	saj)	aram	
10	S.W.yB.	inibo	aram	
11	S.W.eZ.	buiraei	buirae	
12	S.W.yZ.	buiraei	buirae	
13	S.D.D.	aticindaē	aticindaē	
14	S.D.S.	atikanij	atikanij	
15	S.S.W.	kimindaē	kimindaē	
16	S.D.H.	saj)	sanj)	

Kinship Terminologies connected with Daughter

Sl. No.	Kinship Terms	Terms of Reference	Terms of Address	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	D.	k)ncelan	landi	
2	D.S.	b)k)lap	b)k)lap	
3	D.D.	b)k)se	b)k)sen	
4	D.H.	aram	aram	
5	D.D.D.	aticindaē	aticindaē	
6	D.D:S.	atik)nij	atik)nij	
7	D.S.D.	aticindaē	aticindaē	
8	D.H.F.	s)mudij	s)mudij	
9	D.H.M.	tiuraei	tiurae	
10	D.H.eB.	aram	aram	
11	D.H.yB.	aram	aram	
12	D.H.eZ.	buiraei	buirae	
13	D.H.yZ.	buiraei	buirae	
14	D.S.S.	atikanij	atikan	
15	D.W.W.	kimindaē	kimindaē	
16	D.D.H.	saj)	saj)	

Kinship Terminologies connected with Brother

Sl. No.	Kinship Terms	Term of Reference	Term of Address	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	eB.	ka	ka	
2	yB.	b)k)	b)k)	
3	eB.W.	kuli	kuli	
4	yB.W.	kimidaē	bai	
5	B.S.	utraei	kanda	
6	B.D.	k)nc)l)ndaē or atichidaē	kandi	
7	eB.W.eB.	saj	saj	
8	eB.W.yB.	iniboi	inib)	
9	eB.W.eZ.	ajikainki	ajikar	
10	eB.W.yZ.	saliraei	salirae	
11	yB.W.eZ.	saliraei	salirae	
12	yB.W.yZ.	saliraei	salirae	
13	eB.W.M.	mami	mami	
14	yB.W.M.	mami	mami	
15	eB.W.F.	kuikar	kuikar	
16	yB.W.F.	kuikar	kuikar	
17	B.S.S.	b)k)lap	b)k)lap	
18	B.S.D.	baksen	baksen	
19	B.S.W.	buiraiiki	baiki	
20	B.D.H.	araminj	aram	
21	B.D.S.	b)k)lap	b)k)lap	
22	B.D.D.	baksen	baksen	

Kinship Terminologies connected with Sister

Sl. No.	Kinship Terms	Terms of Reference	Terms of Address	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	eZ.	ajig	aji	
2	yZ.	b)kraei	b)krae	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
3	eZ.H.	bau ^h	bau	
4	yZ.H.	saji ^h	sagg)	
5	Z.S.	g)b)leka ^h	g)b)lekan	
6	Z.D.	g)b)lesenda ^h	g)b)lesendae	
7	eZ.H.F.	kuikar	kuikar	
8	yZ.H.F.	kuikar	kuikar	
9	eZ.H.M.	mami ^h	mami	
10	yZ.H.M.	mami ^h	mami	
11	eZ.H.eB.	bau ^h	bau	
12	eZ.H.yB.	bau saj)	bau, saj)	
13	yZ.H.eB.	saj)	saj)	
14	yZ.H.yB.	saj)	saj)	
15	eZ.H.eZ.	ajikar	ajikar	
16	eZ.H.yZ.	s)jat)	s)jat)	
17	yZ.H.eZ.	s)jat)	s)jat)	
18	yZ.H.yZ.	s)jat)	s)jat)	
19	Z.S.S.	b)k)lap	b)k)lap	
20	Z.S.D.	b)k)sen	b)k)sen	
21	Z.S.W.	buirae ^h	buirae	
22	Z.D.H.	araminj	aram	
23	Z.D.S.	b)k)lap	b)k)lap	
24	Z.D.D.	baksen	baksen	

Kinship Terminologies connected with Husband

Sl. No.	Kinship Terms	Terms of Reference	Terms of Address	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	H.	sau	ehe	
2	H.eB.	baukari ^h	baukar	
3	H.yB.	b)k)ger	b)k)ger	
4	H.eZ.	ajikari ^h	ajikar	
5	H.yZ.	kuliraese ^h	kuliraese	
6	H.F.	kuikare ^h	kuikar	
7	H.M.	mami ^h	mami	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
8	H.F.F.	ajai	aja	
9	H.F.M.	naa	na	
10	H.M.F.	ajai	aja	
11	H.M.M.	naan	na	
12	H.F.eB.	kubakuikar	kuikar	
13	H.M.eB.	kuikar	kuikar	
14	H.M.yB.	kuikar	kuikar	
15	H.M.eZ.	naan	na	
16	H.M.yZ.	mami	mami	
17	H.eB.W.	aji	aji	
18	H.yB.W.	bakraei	bakrae	
19	H.B.S.	uturarei	uturae	
20	H.B.D.	k)nc)l)daj	k)nc)ladagg	
21	H.eZ.H.	bau	bau	
22	H.yZ.H.	aramjet	aram	
23	H.Z.S.	bananja	bananja	
24	H.Z.D.	baninji	baninji	

Kinship Terminologies connected with Wife

Sl. No.	Kinship Terms	Terms of Reference	Terms of Address	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	W.	kutum	eja	
2	W.O.eB	inib)i	inib)	
3	W.yB.	saj)i	saj)i	
4	W.eZ.	ajikar	ajikar	
5	W.yZ.	saliraei	salirae	
6	W.F.M.	naan	na	
7	W.F.F.	ajaei	aja	
8	W.M.M.	naan	naa	
9	W.M.F.	ajaei	aja	
10	W.F.eB.	kuikar	kuikar	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
11	W.F.yB.	kuikar	kuikar	
12	W.F.eZ.	mami	mami	
13	W.F.yZ.	mami	mami	
14	W.M.eB.	kuikar	kuikar	
15	W.M.yB.	kuikar	kuikar	
16	W.eM.Z.	mami	mami	
17	W.eB.W.	sasui	sasu	
18	W.yB.W.	sasu	sasu	
19	W.B.S.	uturæi	uturæ	
20	W.B.D.	k)nc)l)daj	k)nc)ladaj	
21	W.eZ.H.	buitar	buitar	
22	W.yZ.H.	buitar	buitar	
23	W.Z.S.	atirk)nda	ka	
24	W.Z.D.	k)nc)l)dang	k)nc)l)dang	
25	W.M.yZ.	mai	mami	

CLASSIFICATORY KINSHIP TERMS

On basis of the range of application, the kinship terms can be divided into two types denotative and classificatory. According to G. P. Murdock a denotative term is one which applied only to relatives in a single kinship category as defined by generation, sex and geneo-logical connections.

According to G. P. Murdock, classificatory term is one which is applied to two or more kins categories as there are defined by generation, sex and geneo-logical connections. It designates different denotives terms in a given linguistic recognition. A lot of classificatory terms are found among the Juangs. Perpetuating generation, sex and geneo-logical connection different kin categories are recognised by the same term

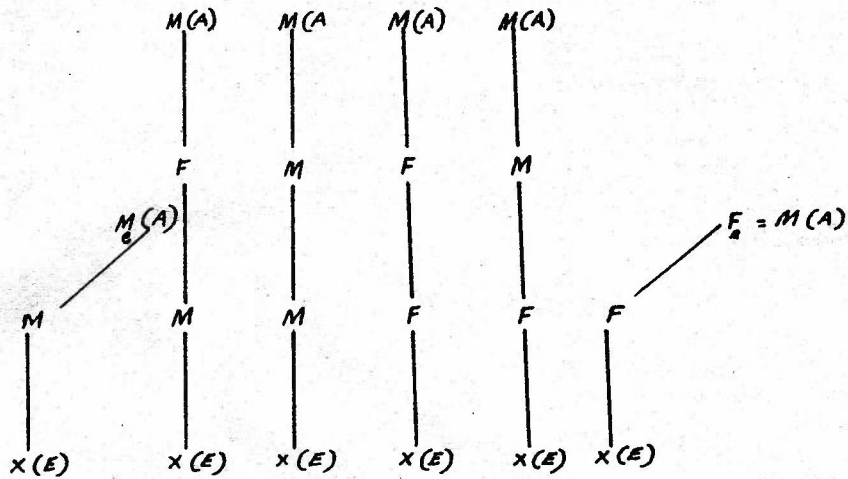
known as classificatory term. All the classificatory consanguineals for an individual in the local descent group are related to him through alternate generation. If one belongs to the generation of even number then all his classificatory consanguines will belong to alternate even number generations. All the classificatory relatives belong to one's alternate generation group. For recognition of classificatory terms generation has its own significance. Role of sex is equally important because kinship terms denote to classificatory kinsmen of the same sex. As per the generation principle, classificatory terms may denote all persons of one such group of either odd number or even number generation. The following classificatory terms and kinship terms mentioned against these critically reveal the explanation made above.

CLASSIFICATORY KIN TERMS

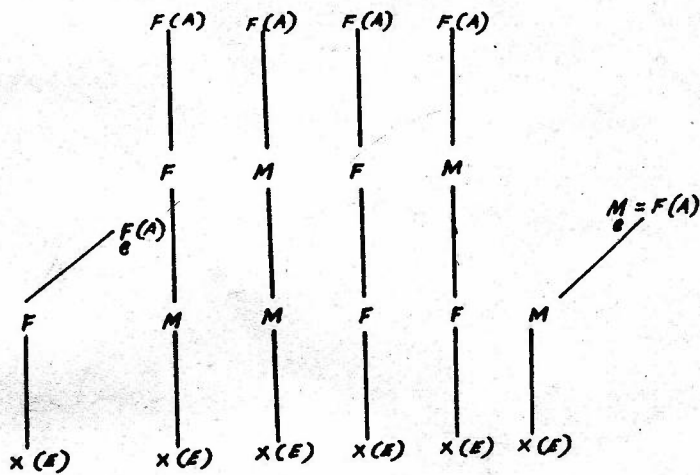
Sl. No.	Native term	Sex	Designation	Denotata
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Atir	Male	Uncle	F. eB., F. M. F., M. M. F., M. F. F., M. eZ. H.
2	atirae	Female	Aunt	M. eZ., F. F. M., F. M. M., M. M. M., M.F.M., F.eB.W.
3	dadi	Male	Uncle	F. yB., M. yZ. H.
4	aja	Male	Grand father	F. F., M. F., F. F. yB., F. F. eB., F. M. yB., M.F.eB.
5	b)k)lap	Male	Grand son	S. S., D. S., B. S. S., B. D. S.
6	Ka	Male	Brother	eB, M. Z. S. (e), F.B.S.(e), M.B.S.(e)
7	b)k)	Male	Brother	yB., F. Z. S(y), M. Z. S(y), M. B. S(y)
8	b)k)sen	Female	Grand daughter	S. D., D. D., Z. D. D., B. S. D., B. D. D.
9	aji	Female	Sister	ez, F. F. eZ., F. F. yZ, M. Z., M. Z. D(e), M. B. D., F. Z. D., F. eB. D., F. yB. D., H. F. eZ., H. eB. W.
10	mamu	Male	Uncle	M. yB, M. eB., F. eZ. H., F. yZ. H.
11	kuitar	Male	Father-in-law	W. F., H. F., eB. W. F., yB. W. F. yZ. H. F., W.M.eB., W. M. yB., W. F. eB., W. F. yB. H. F. eB., H. F. yB. H. M. eB., H. M. yB.
12	aram	Male	Son-in-law	D. H., S. W. eB., S. W. yB., D. H. eB., D. H. yB.
13	iniboi	Male	Brother-in-law	yB. W. yB., eB. W. yB.
14	bau	Male	Brother-in law	eZ. H., H. eZ. H.

Sl. No.	Native term of reference	Sex	Designation	Denotata
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
15	Sag)	Male	Brother-in-law	yZ.h., W. yB., eB. W. eB., yB. W. eB., yZ. H. yB., yZ. H. eB., S. D. H., D. D. H.
16	buikar	Male	Brother-in-law	W. eZ. H., W. yZ. H.
17	Samudi	Male	Brother	S. W. F., D. H. F.
18	Sasu	Female	Aunt	F. yZ., F. eZ., M. eB. W., M. yB. W., W. yB. W., W. eB. W.
19	aticidae	Female	Grand-daughter	D. S. D., D. D. D.
20	k)nc)l)da	Female	Niece	W. B. D., H. B. D., W. S. D., W. eZ. D.
21	sanbui	Female	Aunt	M. yZ., F. yB. W.
22	mami	Female	Mother-in-law	H. M., eB., yB. W. M., eZ. H. M., yZ. H. M., W. F. yZ., W. M. eZ., W. M. yZ., H. M. yZ.
23	buirae	Female	Daughter-in-law	S. W., Z. S. W., S. W. eZ., D. H. eZ., D. H. yZ.
24	ajikar	Female	Sister-in-law	W. eZ., H. eZ., eB. W. eZ., eZ. H. eZ.
25	kimindae	Female	Grand-daughter-in-law	S. D. W., D. S. W.
26	salirae	Female	Sister-in-law	W. yZ., eB. W. yZ., yB. W. yZ., yB. W. eZ.
27	tiurae	Female	Sister	S. W. M., D. H. M.
28	na	Female	Sister	F.M., M. M., F. M. eZ., F. M. yZ., M. F. eZ., F. M. yZ., M. M. eZ., M. M. yZ., W. F. M., W. M. M., H. F. M., H. M. M., H. F. yZ., H. M. eZ.

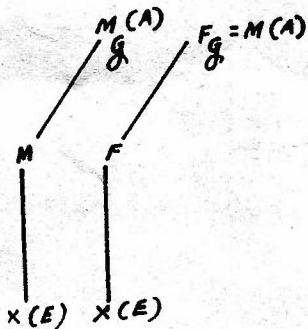
1- ATIR (M) : PATERNAL UNCLE .



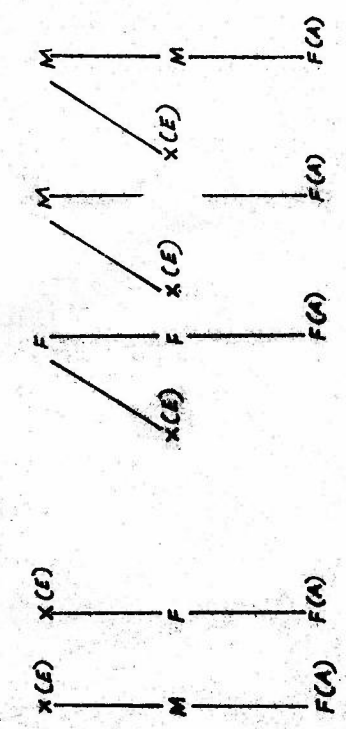
2- ATIRAE (F) : AUNT.



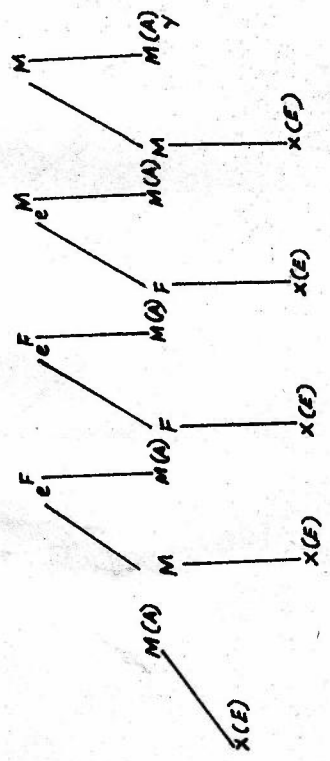
3- DADI (M) : PATERNAL UNCLE AND MATERNAL UNCLE.



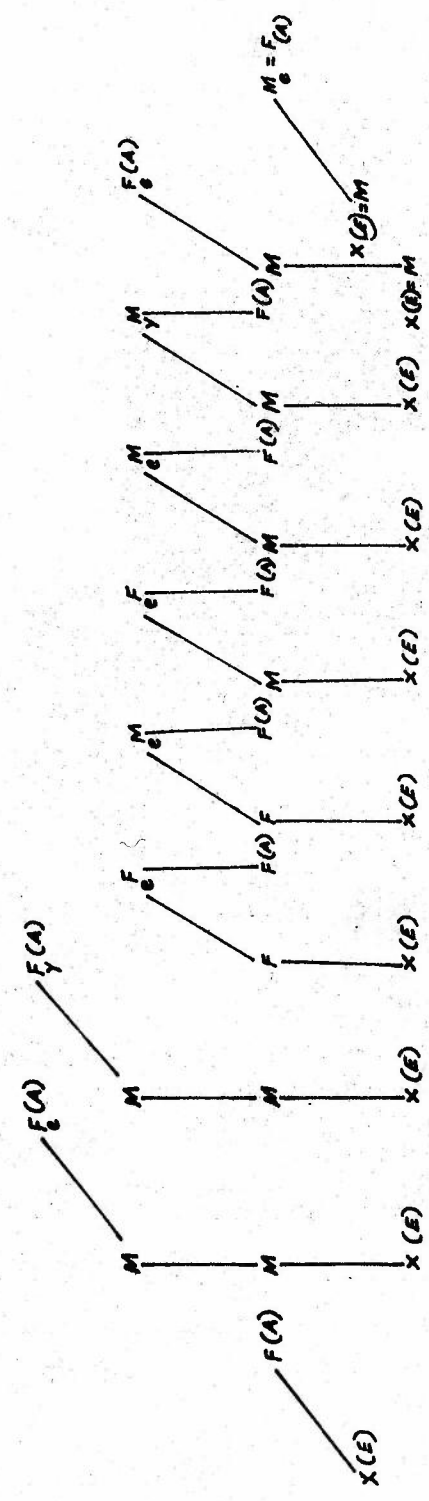
8 - BJK SEN (F) : GRAND DAUGHTER.



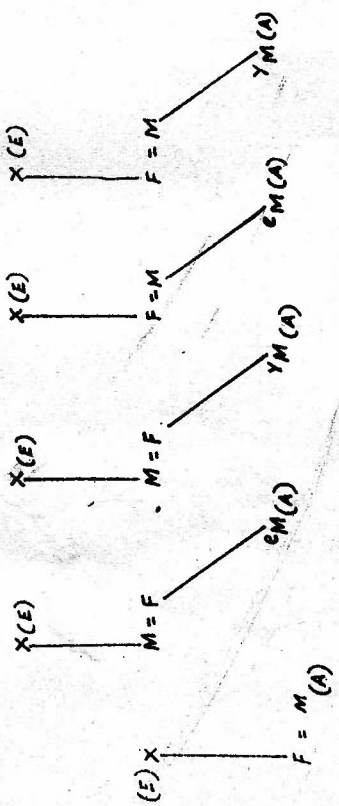
7 - BJK (M) : BROTHER.



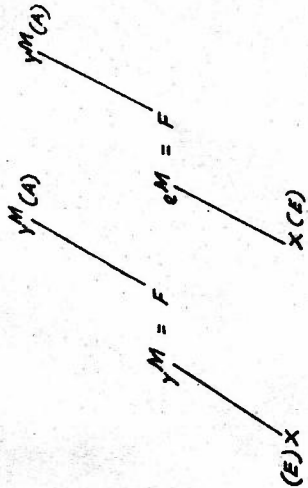
9 - AJI (F) : SISTER.



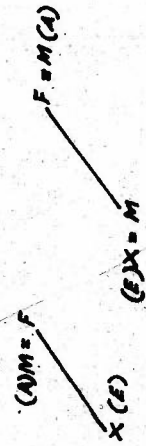
12 - AKAM (M) : SON-IN-LAW.



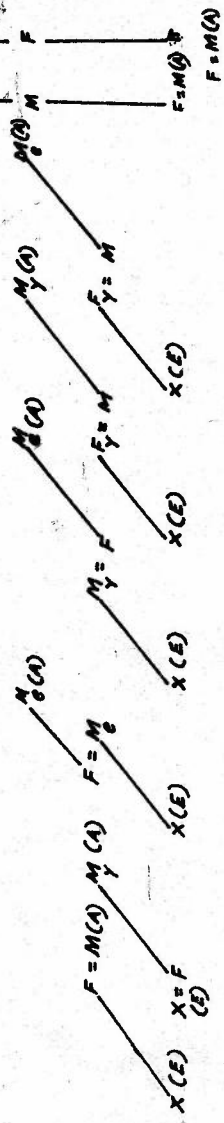
13 - INIBOL (M) : BROTHER-IN-LAW.



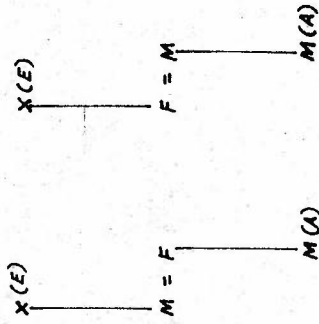
14 - BAUC (M) : BROTHER-IN-LAW.



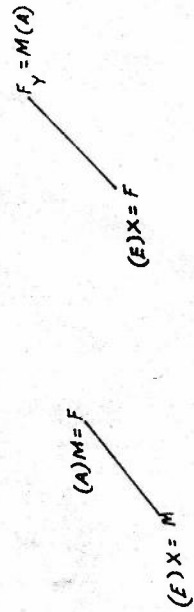
15 - SAJD (M) : BROTHER-IN-LAW.



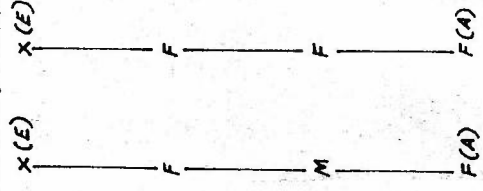
17 - SĀMŪT (M) : { SON-IN-LAW'S FATHER
 DAUGHTER-IN-LAW'S FATHER



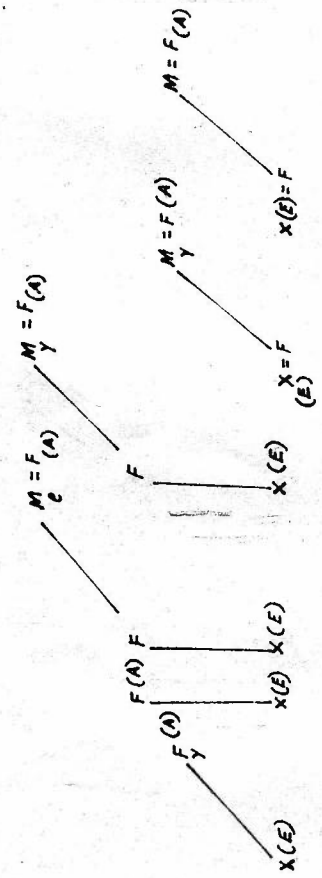
16 - BŪIKAR -(M) : BROTHER-IN-LAW.



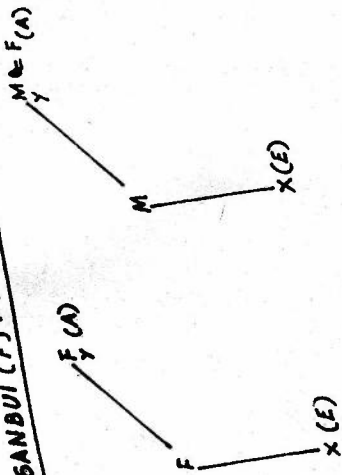
19 - ATĪCĪDAE (F) : GRAND-DAUGHTER



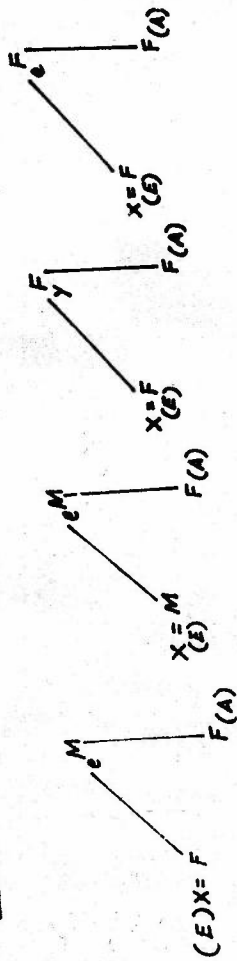
18 - SASU (F) : AUNT.



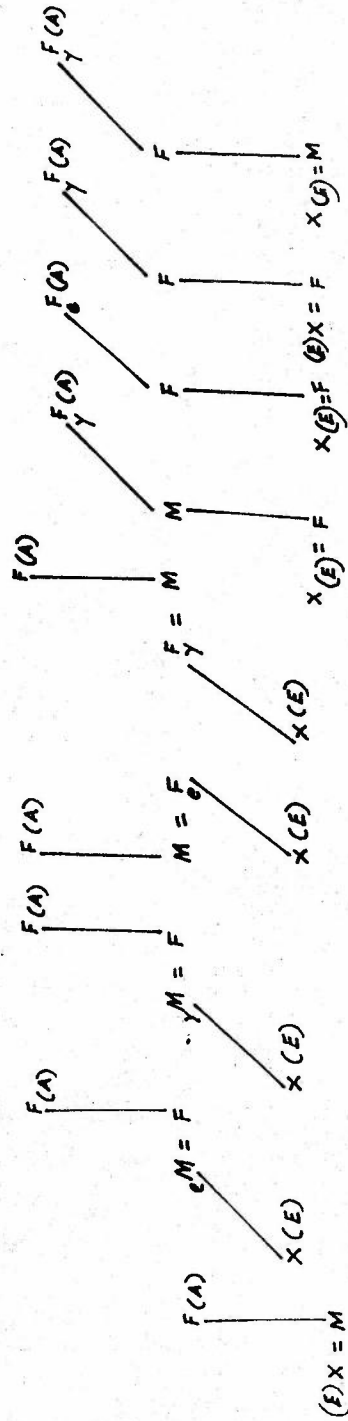
21 - SANBUI (F) : AUNT.



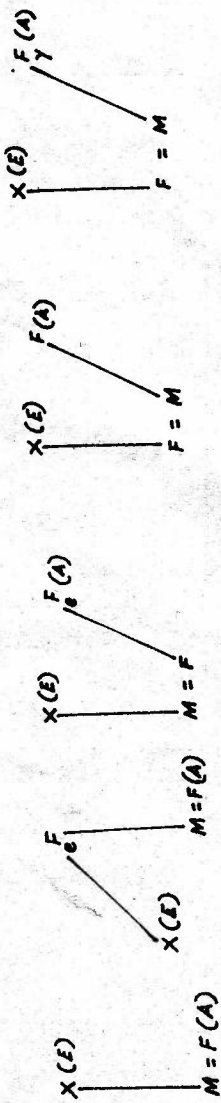
20 - KANCOLLDAJ (F) : NIECE.



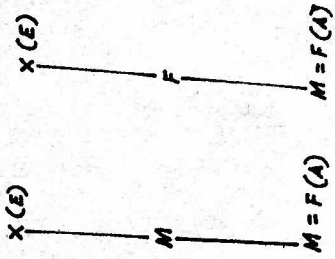
22 - MAMI (F) : MOTHER-IN-LAW.



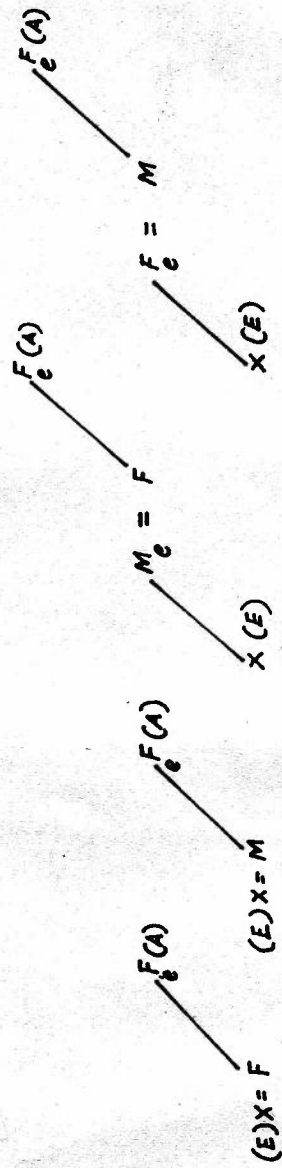
23 - BUIRAE (F) : DAUGHTER - IN - LAW .



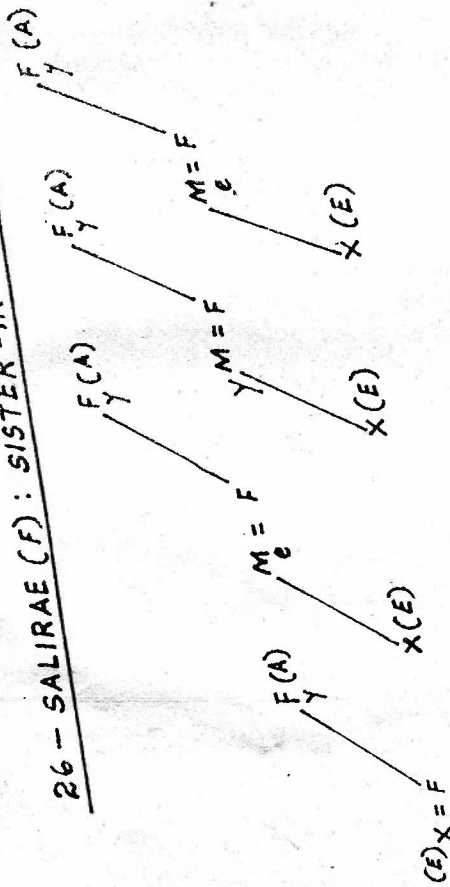
24 - KIMINDAE (F) : GRAND - DAUGHTER - IN - LAW .



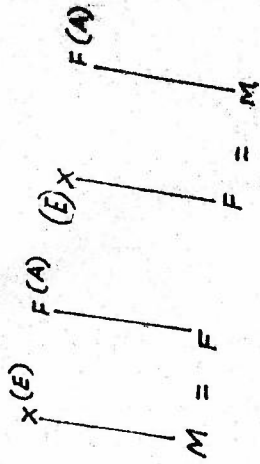
25 - AJIKAR (F) : SISTER - IN - LAW .



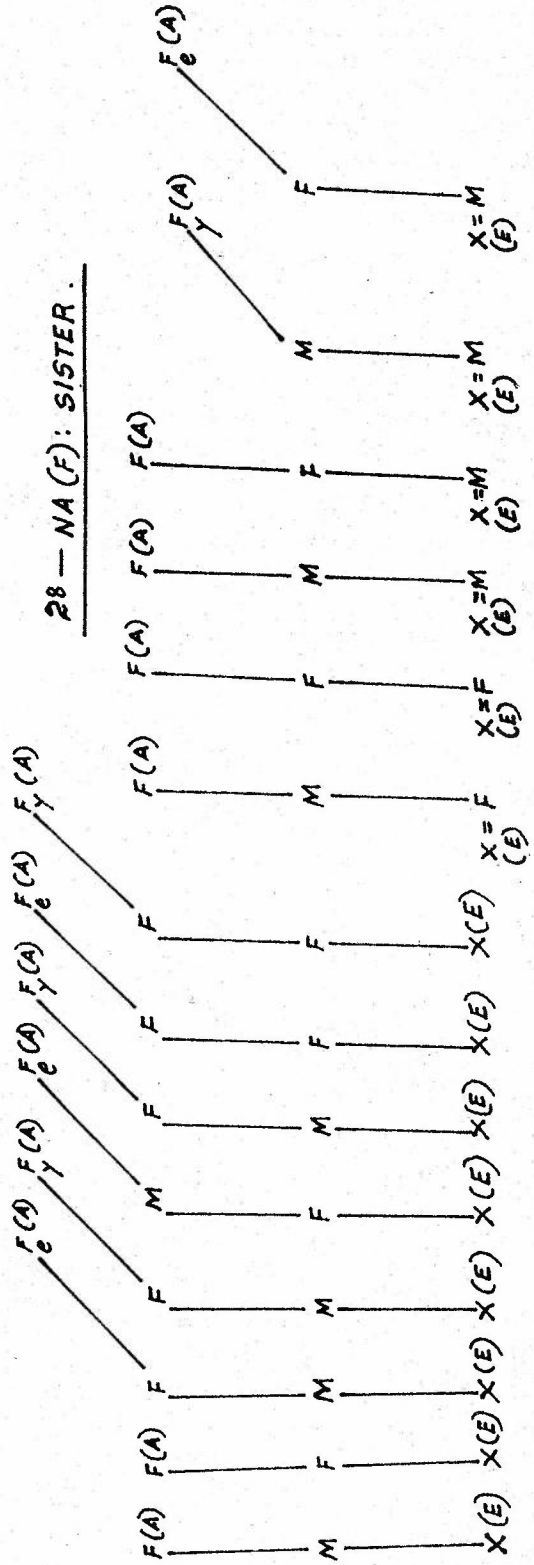
26 - SALIRAE (F) : SISTER - IN - LAW.



27 - TUIRAE (F) : SISTER.



28 - NA (F) : SISTER.



Goodenough

COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS OF JUANG KINSHIP TERMS

Componential analysis is an analytic tool that defines a set of terms that contrast with one another in terms of set of intersecting features. In this the principles of grouping in kin-types of two or more conceptual dimensions each of whose component is signified. The relationship among the kin terms and structural principles of the terminological system are defined and explained in terms of symbolic notation set of combination the components.

For the componential analysis of the Juang kinship terminology models adopted by Goodenough (1964) has been followed. "The analysis of kinship terminologies has traditionally operated only with the genealogical denotata to the social and linguistic contexts in which kin terms are used" (Tyler, 1969: 487). Apart from genealogical tables there are components of kinship terms which give us clue to comprehend many important semantic dimension. The Paradigm is a semantic structure of a set of linguistic forms where features components are arranged on the basis of their similarities and differences. The features in the semantic context are attributes values. A term belonging to a paradigm can be defined componentially in terms of its co-ordinates in the Paradigm. The features as mentioned above are the necessary condition which an object or concept must fulfill in order to be a denotation of the term which includes these features.

Among the Juangs like many other tribal communities, a kinship term denotes one or more of the specific relationships that can be conceived to obtain between individuals. It designates the class of such relationship as may be denoted by it. It signifies the criteria that differentiate the designated class from all relationship that cannot properly be denoted by the term.

In the analysis of different components of various kinship terminology two polar positions Ego and Alter have been reckoned and viewed. There are kins through whom the link between the Ego and Alter is maintained they are referred to as Mediators. All the individual kin types which a term refers to are its denotata and the clans of such kin-types is its designation. All the possible denotata of a term constitute a class or set and there are discriminating criteria which differentiate. The set as a unit from the sets of possible denotata of other kinship terms (Goodenough, 1964; 223).

In the componential analysis of the Juang kinship terminologies altogether eleven sets comprising thirty-four kinship terms have been explained with designation and denotata. The sets of kinship terminologies have been represented in diagrams according to their connotation. The genealogical space is composed of a claim of connections between two persons as Ego and Alter either consanguineal or of final.

Considering the consanguinity and affinity the discriminant variables have been arranged in a table following fifteen columns as per the analysis made by Goodenough.

COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS OF KINSHIP TERMS

Set	Sl. No.	Juang Kinship terms	Designation	Denotata
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A	1	KA	.. Elder brother	.. eB, F. B. S., M. Z. S.
	2	B) K)	.. Younger brother	.. yB. F. B. S., M. Z. S.
	3	AJl	.. Elder Sister	.. eZ. F. F. eZ. F. Z. D. F. eB. D., H. F. eZ, H. eBW
	4	B K) RAE	.. Younger Sister	.. yZ. F. F. yZ. F. Z. D. H. F. yZ, H. yB. W.
B	5	KA.	.. Mothers Brother's son (General kinship term).	M. B. S., F. Z. S.
	6	B) K)	.. Mother's Brother's son (Elder to wife but younger to ego).	M. B. S., F. Z. S.

Set	Sl. No.	Juang kinship terms	Designation	Denotata
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	7	KA	.. Mother's Brother's son (Elder to wife and also ego.)	M. B. S., F. Z. S.
	8	B(K)	.. Mother's Brother's son (Younger to both ego and wife).	M. B. S., F. Z. S.
	9	KULI	.. Elder Brother's wife	.. E. B. W.
C	10	KIMIDAE	.. Younger Brother's wife	.. yB. W., S. S. W., D. S. W.
	11	AJIKARI	.. Husband's Elder Sister Wife's Elder Sister	.. H. eZ. .. W. eZ., eB. W., eZ. eZ.H. eZ.
	12	KULIRAESEN	.. Husband's Younger Sister/wife's younger sister.	H. Y. Z., W. Y. Z. eB. W. yZ. eZ. H. yZ. yZ. H., yZ. eZ.
	13	BAA	.. Father	.. F. M. H.
	14	BAI	.. Mother	.. M. F. W.
D	15	KAN) N	.. Son	.. S. B. S., Z. S. W. Z. S.
	16	K) NCELAN	.. Daughter	.. D. B. D. Z. D. W. Z. D.
E	17	MAMUI	.. Mother's Brother	.. M. eB. M. yB. F. eZ. H., F. yZ. H.
	18	SASUI	.. Father's Sister	.. F. yZ. F. eZ. M. eB. W. M. yB. W. W. yB. W., W. eB. W.
F.	19	SANBUI	.. Mother's younger sister	.. M. yZ. F. yB. W.
	20	ATIRAEI	.. Mother's helder sister	.. M. eZ. F. F. M., F. M. M., M. M. M. M, F. M. F. eB, W
	21	DADI	.. Father's younger brother	.. F. yB. M. yZ. H.
	22	ATIRAI	.. Father's elder Brother	.. F. eB. F. M. F. F. F. M. M. F., M. F. F. M. eZ. H.
	23	G) B) LEKAI	.. Sister's son	.. A. S.
G.	24	G) B) LESENDAL	.. Sister's daugh	.. Z. D.
	25	UTURAEI	.. Wife's brother's son	.. W. B. S.,
	26	K) NC)L) DANJ	.. Wife's brothers daughter	.. W. B. D.
	27	AJA	.. Father's Father	.. F. F. F. F. yB F. F. eB. W. F. F. W. M. F.,
H.	28	NA	.. Father's mother	.. F. M, F. M. eZ., F. M. Y. H. F. M., H. M. M. H. F. yZ. M. F. eB. H. M. eZ.
I.	29	AJA	.. Mother's father	.. M. F. yB., M. M. eB. M. M. yB.
	30	NA	.. Mother's mother	.. M. M, M, M. eZ, M. M. yZ., W. F, M. W, M. M.
J.	31	ATIK)NIJ)	.. Son's daughter's son	.. S. Z. S.,
	32	ATICINDAE	.. Sen's daughter's daughter	.. S. D. D.
K.	33	KUTUM	.. Wife	.. W.
	34	SAU	.. Husband	.. H.

THE DISCRIMINANT VARIABLES

Column—1	..	Consanguinity of relationship between ego & alter
1—1	..	Relationship consanguineal
1—1	..	Relationship not consanguineal
Column—2	..	Number of consanguineal chains between ego & alter
2—1	..	One consanguineal chain
2—2	..	Two consanguineal chains
Column—3	..	Number of affinal ties between ego and alter
3—1	..	One affinal tie
3—2	..	Two affinal ties
Column—4	..	Presence of affinal link in junior generation
4—1	..	Affinal tie absent in junior generation
4—2	..	Affinal tie present in junior generation
Column—5	..	Classeness of relationship between ego and alter on linear or lateral axis
5—1	..	Closest possible degree of linear or collateral removal
5—2	..	Not closest possible group
Column—6	..	Structural euiralence of kin type denoted to closest possible consanguineal kin type
6—1	..	Structurally euiralent
6—2	..	Not structurally euiralent
Column—7	..	Similarity of generation as between ego and alter
7—1	..	Same generation
7—2	..	Different generation
Column—8	..	Number of generation between ego and alter
8—1	..	One generation difference
8—2	..	Two generation difference
8—3	..	Three generation difference
Column—9	..	Seniority of alters generation in relation to egos
9—1	..	Alter's generations Senior
9—2	..	Alter's generations Junior
Column—10	..	Similarity of sex of the senior kinsman and connecting parents of the junior kinsman without regard to which is ego.
Column—10	..	Similarity of sex of the senior kinsman and connecting parents of the junior kinsman, without regard to which is ego.
10—1	..	Sex of senior kinsman and junior parents the same
10—2	..	Sex of senior kinsman and juniors parents different
Column—11—	..	Sex of the alter
11—1	..	Alter male
11—2	..	Alter female
Column—12	..	Similarity of sex of ego and alter
12—1	..	Sex of ego and alter the same
12—2	..	Sex of ego and alter different
Column—13	..	Exclusiveness of female sex in relationship
13—1	..	Sex of ego and alter not exclusively female
13—2	..	Sex of ego and alter exclusively female
Column—14	..	Sex of the senior party to the relationship whether ego or alrer
14—1	..	Sex of the senior party male
14—2	..	Sex of the senior party female
Column—15	..	Age of senior party compared with age of connecting parents of the junior party.
15—1	..	Senior party is older than junior's parents
15—2	..	Senior party is younger than juniors parents

PARADIGMA SHOWING JUANG KINSHIP TERMS

Set	Sl. No.	Juang kinship terms	Col. 1	Col. 2	Col. 3	Col. 4	Col. 5	Col. 6	Col. 7	Col. 8	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	
A	1	2 KA	..	1:1	2:1	3:2	..	5:1	..	7:1	..
	2	B) K)	..	1:1	2:1	3:2	..	5:1	..	7:1	..
	3	AJI	..	1:1	2:1	3:2	..	5:1	..	7:1	..
	4	B)K)RAE	..	1:1	2:1	3:2	..	5:1	..	7:1	..
	5	KA	..	1:2	..	3:1	..	5:2	..	7:1	..
B	6	B)K)	..	1:2	..	3:1	..	5:2	..	7:1	..
	7	KA	..	1:2	..	3:1	..	5:2	..	7:1	..
	8	B) K)	..	1:2	..	3:1	..	5:2	..	7:1	..
C	9	KULI	..	1:2	..	3:1	..	5:2	..	7:1	..
	10	KIMIDAEN	..	1:2	..	3:1	..	5:2	..	7:1	..
	11	AJIKARI	..	1:2	..	3:1	..	5:2	..	7:1	..
	12	KULIRAESEN	..	1:2	..	3:1	..	5:2	..	7:1	..
D	13	BAA	..	1:1	2:1	..	..	5:1	..	7:2	8:1
	14	BAI	..	1:1	2:1	..	..	5:1	..	7:2	8:1
	15	KAN) N	..	1:1	2:1(2)	..	..	5:1	..	7:2	8:1
	16	K) NCELAN	..	1:1	2:1(2)	..	..	5:1	..	7:2	8:1
E	17	MAMUI	..	1:2	..	3:1	..	5:1	..	7:2	8:1
	18	SASUI	..	1:2	..	3:1	..	5:1	..	7:2	8:1
F	19	SANBUI	..	1:1	2:2	..	..	5:2	..	7:2	8:1
	20	ATIRAEI	..	1:1	2:2	..	..	5:2	..	7:2	8:1
	21	DADI	..	1:1	2:2	..	..	5:2	..	7:2	8:1
	22	ATIRAI	..	1:1	2:2	..	..	5:2	..	7:2	8:1
G	23	G) B)LEKI	..	1:2	..	3:1	..	5:2	..	7:2	8:1
	24	G) B)LESENDI	..	1:2	..	3:1	..	5:2	..	7:2	8:1
	25	UTURAEI	..	1:2	..	3:1	..	5:1	..	7:2	8:1
	26	K) NC) L) DANJ	..	1:2	..	3:1	..	5:1	..	7:2	8:1
H	27	AJA	..	1:1	2:2	..	..	5:2	..	7:2	8:2
	28	NA	..	1:1	2:2	3:1	..	5:2	..	7:2	8:2
	29	AJA	..	1:1	2:2	3:1	..	5:2	..	7:2	8:2
	30	NA	..	1:1	2:2	3:1	..	5:2	..	7:2	8:2
J	31	AT(K) NEJ	..	1:2	..	..	..	5:2	..	7:2	8:3
	32	ATICINDAE	..	1:2	..	..	..	5:2	..	7:2	8:3
K	33	KUTUM	..	1:2	..	3:1	..	5:1	..	7:1	..
	34	SAU	..	1:2	..	3:1	..	5:1	..	7:1	..

PARADIGMA SHOWING JUANG KINSHIP TERMS—*Concl'd.*

Set	Sl. No.	Juang kinship terms	Col. 9	Col. 10	Col. 11	Col. 12	Col. 13	Col. 14	Col. 15	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	
1	2	KA	..	10:1	11:1	12:1	13:1	14:1	..	
	2	B) K)	..	..	11:1	12:1	13:1	..	..
	A	3	AJI	..	10:2	11:2	12:1	13:1	14:1	..
	4	B) K)RAE	..	..	..	11:2	12:1	13:1	..	..
	5	KA	..	..	10:1	11:1	12:1	13:1	14:1	..
B	6	B) K)	..	..	..	11:1	12:1	13:1	..	..
	7	KA	..	..	10:1	11:1	12:1	13:1	14:1	..
	8	B) K)	..	..	..	11:1	12:1	13:1	..	..
C	9	KULI	..	..	10:2	11:2	12:1	13:1	14:2	..
	10	KIMIDAEN	..	..	..	11:2	12:2	13:1	..	..
	11	AJIKARI	..	..	10:2	11:2	12:2	13:2	14:2	..
	12	KULIRAESEN	..	..	..	11:2	12:2	13:1	..	..
D	13	BAA	..	9:1	..	11:1	12:1	13:1	14:1	..
	14	BAI	..	9:1	..	11:2	12:2	13:1	14:2	..
	15	KAN) N	..	9:2	..	11:1	12:1	13:1	..	..
	16	K) NCELAN	..	9:2	..	11:2	12:2	13:1	..	..
E	17	MAMUI	..	9:1	..	11:1	12:1	13:1	14:1	..
	18	SASUI	..	9:1	..	11:2	12:2	13:1	14:2	..
F	19	SANBUI	..	9:1	..	11:2	12:2	13:2	14:2	..
	20	ATIRAEI	..	9:1	..	11:2	12:2	13:2	14:2	..
	21	DADI	..	9:1	..	11:1	12:1	13:1	14:1	..
	22	ATIRAI	..	9:1	..	11:1	12:1	13:1	14:1	..
	23	G) B)LEKI	..	9:2	..	11:1	12:1	13:1	..	..
24	G) B) LESENDAL	..	9:2	..	11:2	12:2	13:1	..	..
25	UTURAEI	..	9:2	..	11:1	12:1	13:1	..	..
26	K) NC) L) DANJ	..	9:2	..	11:2	12:2	13:2	..	..
H	27	AJA	..	9:1	..	11:1	12:1	13:1	14:1	..
	28	NA	..	9:1	..	11:2	12:2	13:1	14:2	..
	29	AJA	..	9:1	..	11:1	12:1	13:1	14:1	..
	30	NA	..	9:1	..	11:2	12:2	13:2	14:2	..
J	31	ATIK) NIJ	..	9:1	..	11:2	12:2	13:1	..	..
	32	ATICINDAE	..	9:1	..	11:2	12:2	13:1	..	..
K	33	KUTUM	..	..	..	11:2	12:2	13:1	..	..
	34	SAU	..	..	..	11:1	12:1	13:1	..	..

ABBREVIATION

E Ego

A Alter

X Either male or female

M Male

F Female

-- Consanguineal collateral relation

1-Line of descent (consanguineal)

=- Marital Link (affinal)

X-X-One chain of consanguineal links and no affinalties

X=X-One affinal tie and no consanguineal chain

X=X-One affinal tie and consanguineal chain

X-X=X-X Two consanguineal chains and one

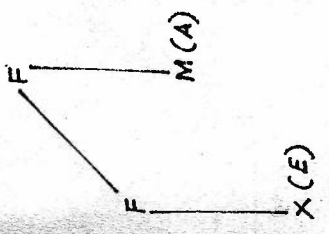
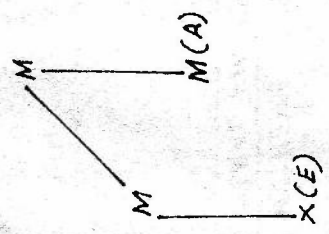
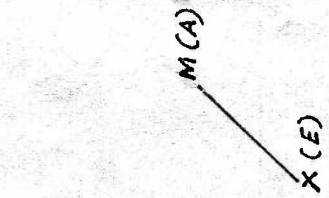
X=X-X=X-Two affinal ties and one consanguineal chain

y Younger

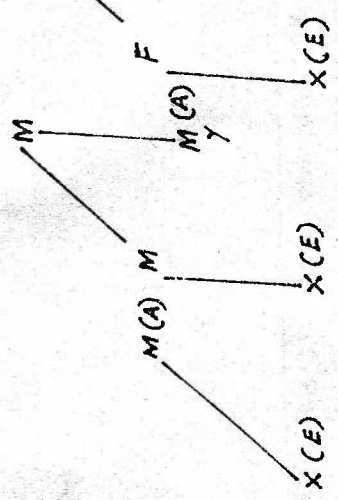
E Elder

SET-A.

KA(M) : ELDER BROTHER.

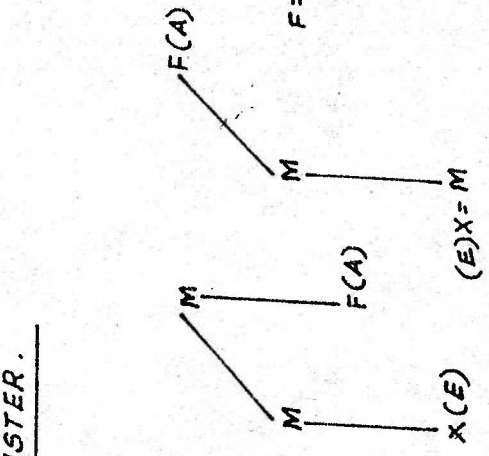
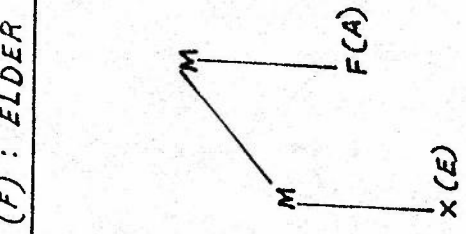
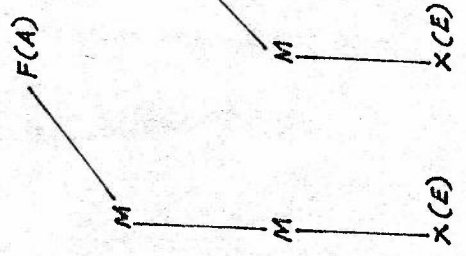
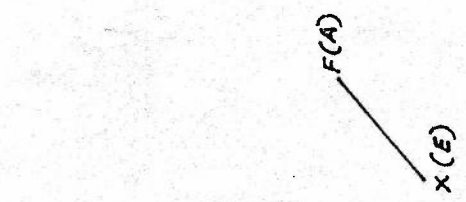


SET-A. BDKD(M) : YOUNGER BROTHER.

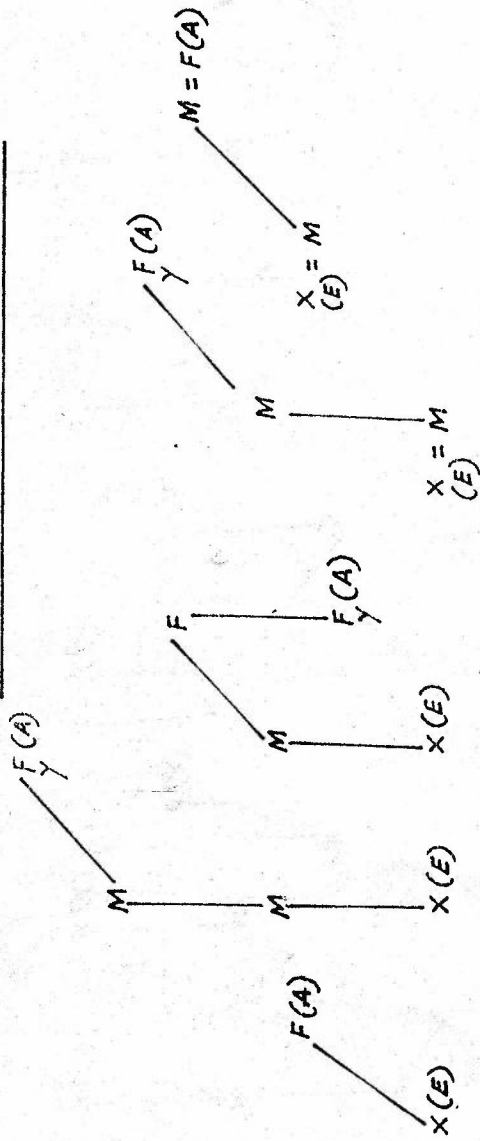


SET-A

AJI (F) : ELDER SISTER.

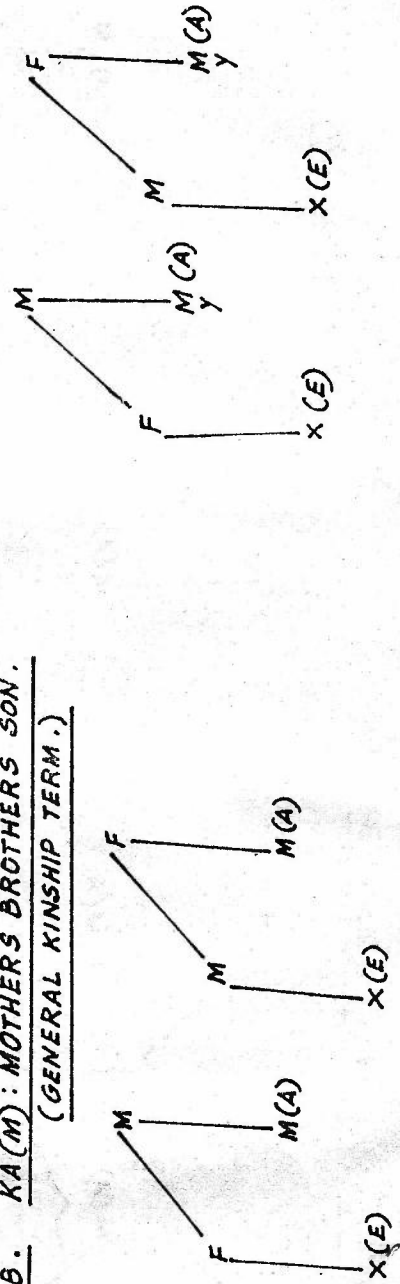


SET-A. BDKDRAE (F) YOUNGER SISTER.



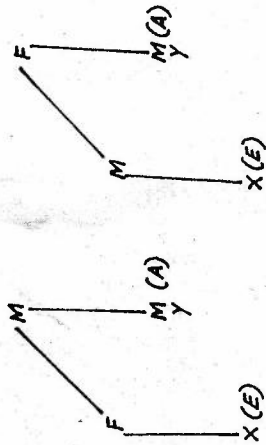
SET-B. BDKD(M) MOTHER'S BROTHER'S SON.
(ELDER TO WIFE BUT YOUNGER TO EGO.)

SET-B. KA(M) : MOTHER'S BROTHER'S SON.
(GENERAL KINSHIP TERM.)



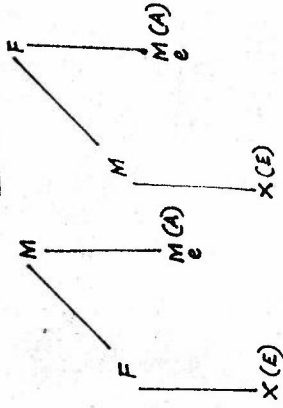
SET-B. BDKJM : MOTHER'S BROTHER'S SON.

(YOUNGER TO EGO AND HIS WIFE.)

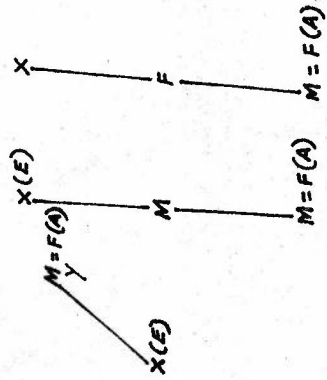


SET-B. KA: MOTHER'S BROTHER'S SON.

(ELDER TO EGO AND HIS WIFE.)

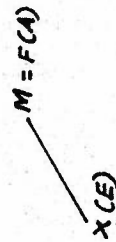


SET-C. KIMIDAEN (F):
YOUNGER BROTHER'S WIFE.

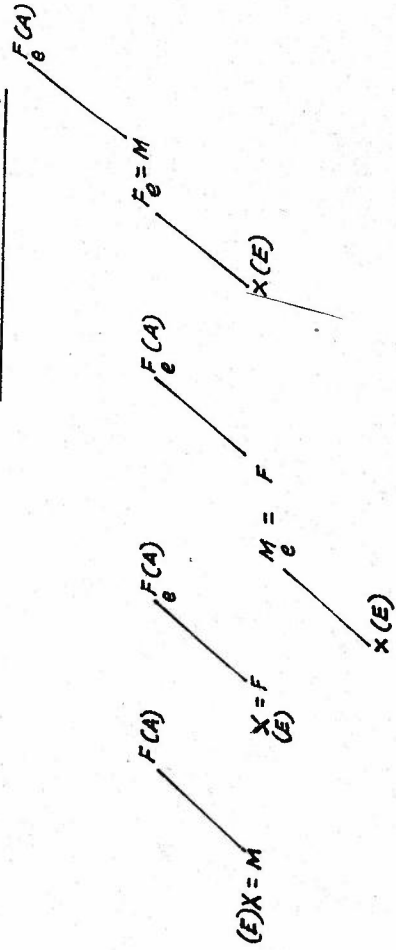


SET-C. KULLI.

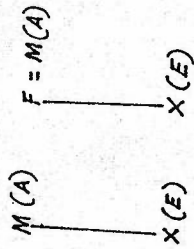
ELDER BROTHER'S WIFE



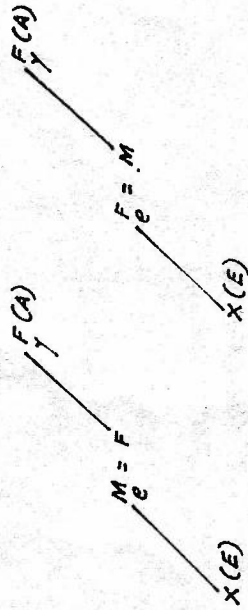
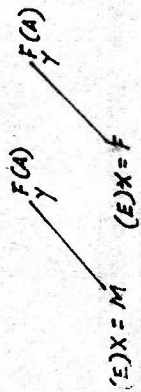
SET-C. AUJKART (F):
HUSBAND'S ELDER SISTER.
WIFE'S ELDER SISTER.



SET-D : BAA (M) : FATHER.

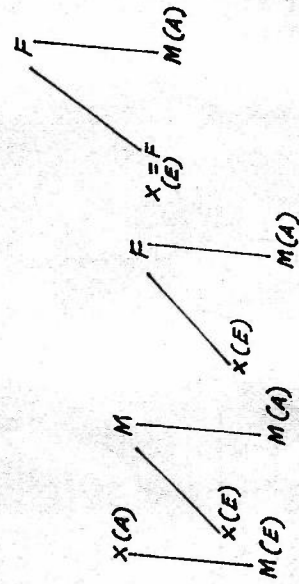
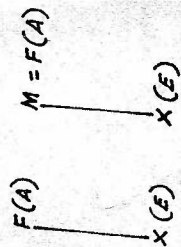


SET-C . KULIRAESEN (F) : HUSBAND'S YOUNGER SISTER .
WIFE'S YOUNGER SISTER .

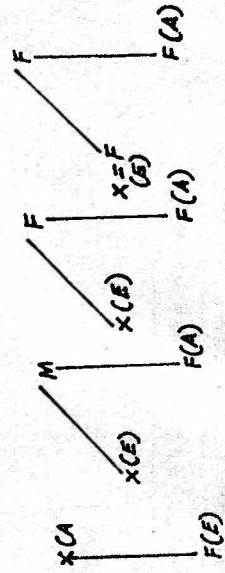


SET-D : KANON (M) : SON .

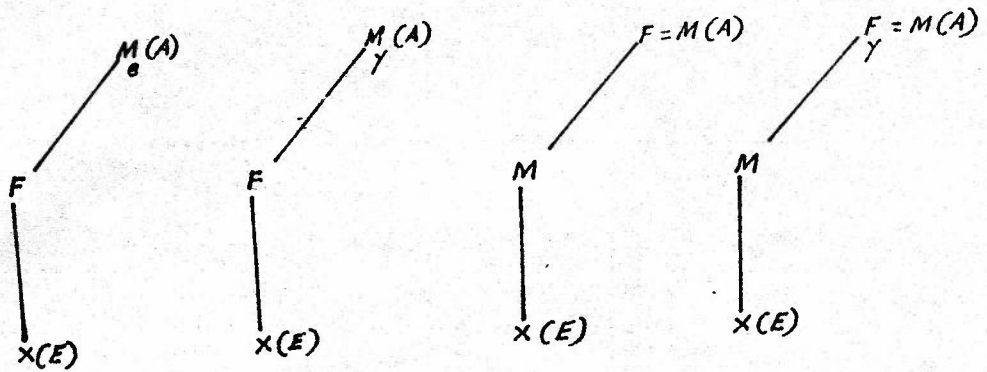
SET-D : BAI (F) : MOTHER .



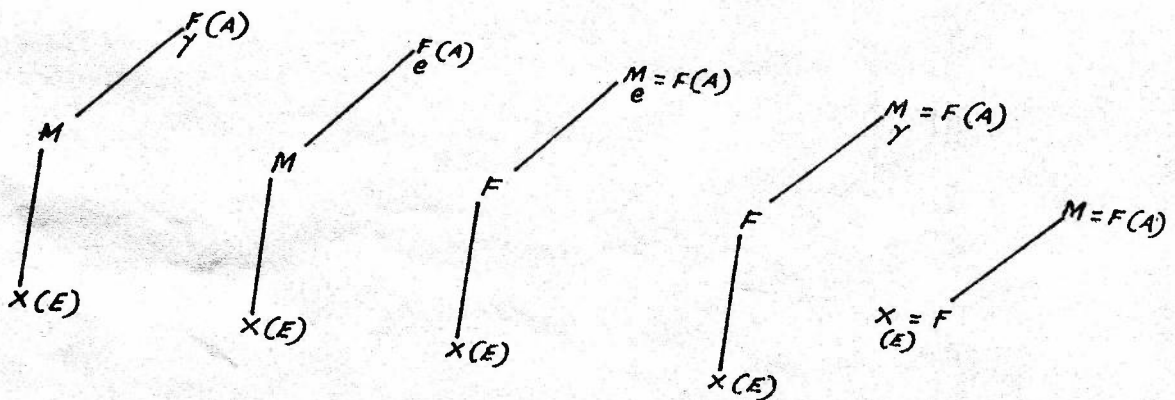
SET-D : KANCELAN (F) : DAUGHTER .



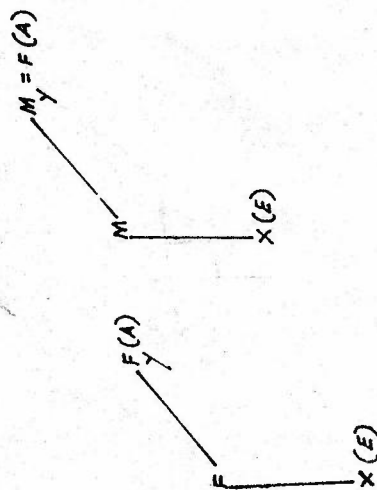
SET-E: MAMŪĪ (M) : MOTHER'S BROTHER.



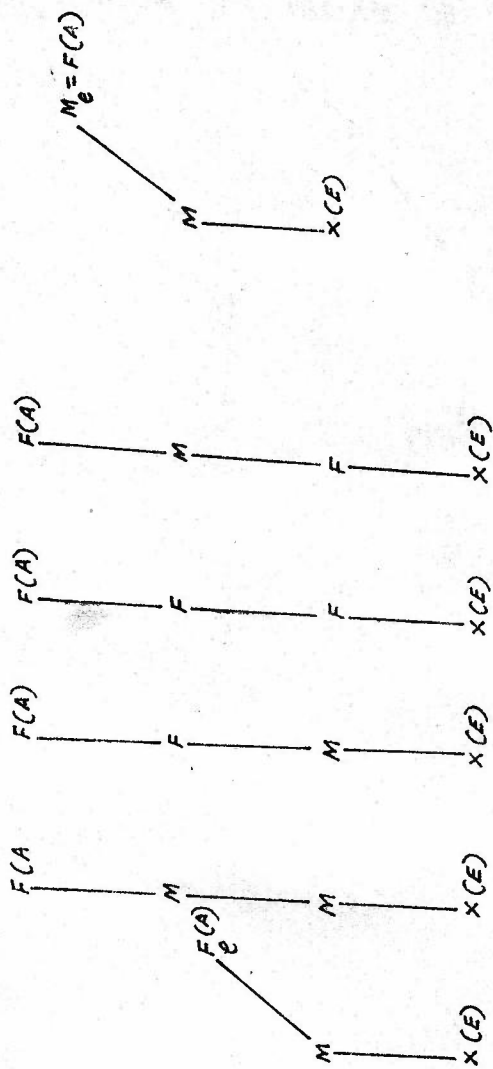
SET-E: SASŪĪ (F) : FATHER'S SISTER.



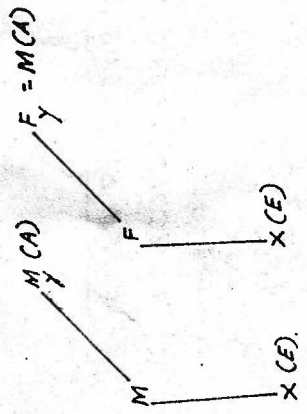
SET-F: SANBŪI-(F): MOTHER'S YOUNGER SISTER.



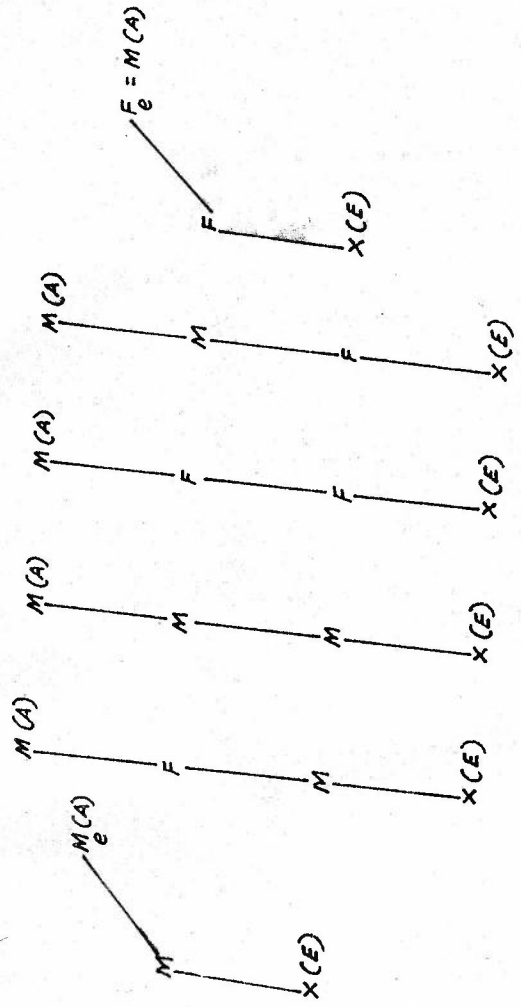
SET-F: ATIRAEŪ-(F): MOTHER'S ELDER SISTER.



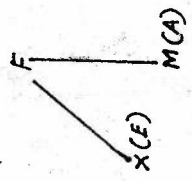
SET-F : DADI(M): FATHER'S YOUNGER BROTHER.



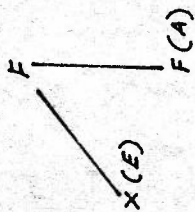
SET-F : ATIRAI(M): FATHER'S ELDER BROTHER.



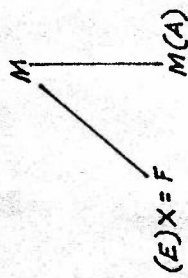
SET-G: GDBOLEKAI(M): SISTERS SON.



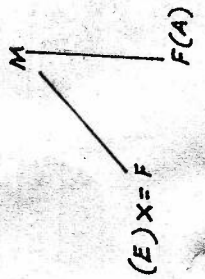
SET-G.
GJBDLESENDĀI : (F) SISTER'S DAUGHTER.



SET-G.
UTURAEĪ : (M)
WIFE'S BROTHER'S SON.

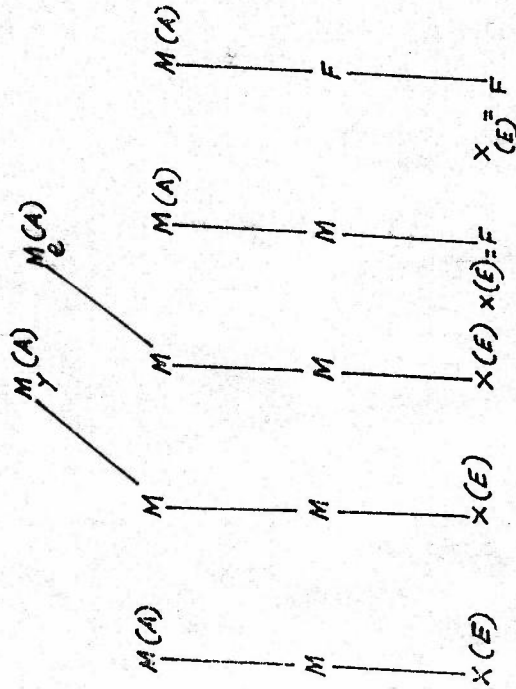


SET-G.
KŅŅCĻDĀNĶ : (F)
WIFE'S BROTHER'S DAUGHTER.

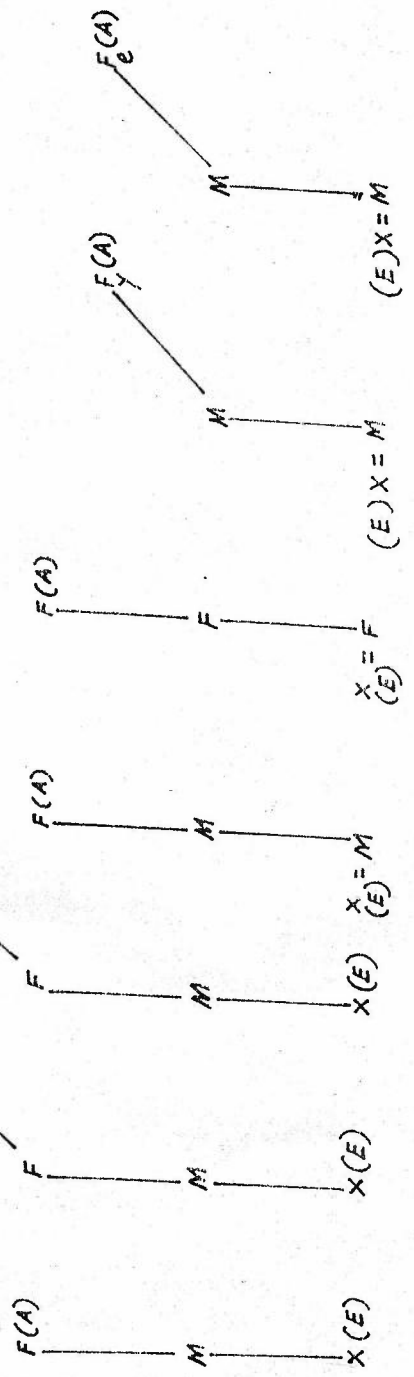


SET-H . AJA : (M)

FATHER'S FATHER.



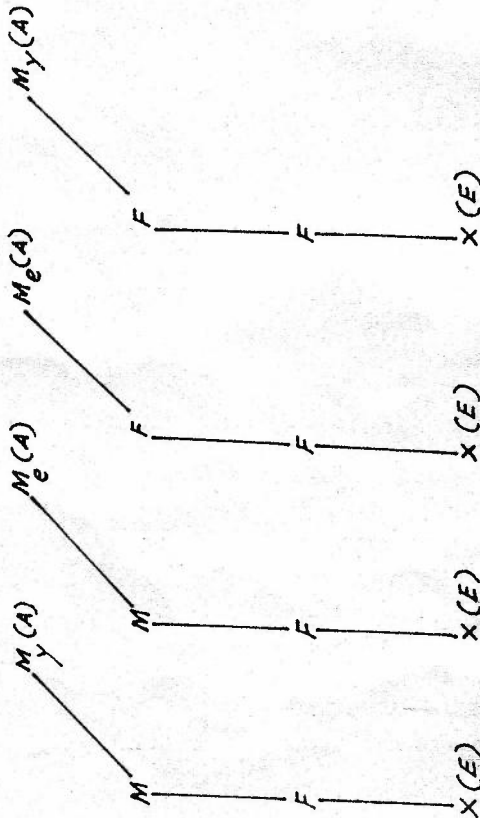
SET-H: NA:(F) - MOTHER'S MOTHER.



SET - J ATIKONIJ: (M) SON'S DAUGHTERS
SON



SET - I AJA: (M) - MOTHER'S FATHER



SET-K KUTUM: (F) WIFE.

X = F(A)
(E)

SET-K SAU (M): HUSBAND.

X = M(A)
(E)



SET-J
ATICINDAË (F):
SON'S DAUGHTER'S
DAUGHTER.

V. KINSHIP USAGES

The interpersonal relationship between kin-groups and forms of behaviour existing among them are revealed through specific studies. All types of behaviours specified through norms of the society. Expression of behaviour varies from one society to other. Certain behaviours, like joking, avoidance respect and familiarity are noteworthy among them.

The joking relationship is prevalent in almost all the societies. According to A. R. Radcliffe-Brown "joking relationship is a relation between two persons in which one is by custom permitted and in some instances required, to tease or make fun of the other, who in turn is required to take no offence" (Structure and Function in Primitive Society: 1952). He explains that in the case of one type, the relation is symmetrical; each of the two persons tease or make fun of other. In the other variety, the relation is asymmetrical. In some instances the joking or teasing is only verbal, in other it includes horse play etc. Thus, the joking relationship is a peculiar combination of friendliness and antagonism. There is presence of hostility and real friendliness. In other sense it is one of the permitted ways of disrespect.

Among the Juangs the joking relationship between certain kin groups highlights the structure and functional pattern of the society. The joking relationship between grand-parents and grand-children are of special mention. Joking with sister-in-law that is wife's younger sister, elder brother's wife, husband's younger brother and brother's wife's younger sister etc. are also prevalent. The members of alternate generations have always joking relationship in some reciprocal and symmetrical manner. The Juangs very rarely joke with the children of their own sons. Joking action has its own pattern in mode of operation according to one's age, sex and position. The degree, type, objective and social approval of jokes vary from one individual to the other in different social rank. Joking relationship between Male-Male, Female-Female and Male-Female differ from each other. Sometimes respect and joke, affection and joke, and friendliness and joke are witnessed among the Juangs in different form and degree. Again it is related to words and actions. One may verbally speak but the other may show by action. The boys and girls of similar descent group belonging to "Bandhu" and "Kutumb" group may behave with warm jokings as there is possibility of marriage among

themselves. The teasing between them may lead to sexual intimacy. Sometimes joking between one's father and mother-in-law or mother and father-in-law may be seen. Joking relationship exists between members of various groups and rank in different degree of behaviour (Table showing degree of joking should be added here. Among the Juangs avoidance relationship between certain kin groups helps understanding the customary practice for retention of social harmony. Avoidance means prohibit or avoid some people in certain behavioural pattern. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown has defined it as "ritual prohibitions" basing on two fundamental principles or concepts using the terms 'ritual status' and 'ritual value'. He is of the opinion that "a ritual prohibition is a rule of behaviour which is associated with a belief that an infraction will result in an undesirable change, in the "ritual status" of the person who fail to keep the rule". "Anything a person, a material, a thing, a place, a word or a name an occasion, or event which is the object of ritual avoidance or taboo can be said to have ritual value". (A. R. Radcliffe-Brown) The main objective of avoidance relationship among the Juang is to prevent incest or immoral sexual relationship between kins of opposite sex groups. Avoidance relation like joking relation as discussed previously vary in different degree. The avoidance relation with younger brothers, wife's elder sister, younger sister's husband, son's wife, and wife's mother are of special mention. Apart from that between grown up brother and sister, father and matured daughter may be noted. The strict avoidance rules are marked with respect to physical touch, touching one's bed, dress and personal articles, seeking the face, going in the same route, sitting in the same place, eating in the same group etc.

Extreme avoidance relation is marked between the elder brother and younger brother's wife. Both of them should not talk, touch, and see each other. They are strictly prohibited to sit, eat and gossip together. Even going to the same place, touching each others cloth, personal belongings etc. are not allowed. In practice it is seen that the above restrictions are not that strictly followed after some years of marriage or when younger brother's wife gives birth to children. In other avoidance relationship the restrictions are not so many. Only a few prohibitions, as the case may be, are carried out. Table showing degree of avoidance should be added here.

There are relations with whom neither joking nor avoidance relation can be established. The social distance and behaviours are maintained in those cases either by way of respect or affection as the case may be. The seniors are respected and younger's are treated with affection. The mutual behaviour is brought into action with the greater aim of establishing social harmony. Among the Juangs some relations neither use the term of reference nor term of address while calling some kinsman. "Tylor" coined a Greek derivative for

it known as "Teknomy". This practice of not uttering somebody's name or terms of address and reference is out of respect or to dignify one's social status. A Juang woman never call for the husband by above three methods but address as 'Eh' or in the name of her elder child. Like this many other kinsmen such as father-in-law of a woman, daughter-in-law of a man, elder brothers wife etc. are not called for by their original name but in the name of his or her eldest child. In general also people are introduced to the outsiders by there kinsmen in that pattern.

TABLE SHOWING DEGREE OF JOKING

Sl. No.	Categories of relationship with reference to Ego Male or Female	Degree of Joking			
		Mild joking with familiarity through exchange of words	Familiarity with Physical touch	Familiarity with exchange of obscene words	Extreme familiarity even involved in sex
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1	F.F., M.F., F.M., M.M., F. F. F., F.F.M., F.F.B.	X	—	—	—
2	e.B.W., W.B.W.	X	X	X	—
3	W.Y.Z., Z.H.Z., B.W.Y.Z.	X	X	X	X
4	S.S., D.S., S.D. D.D.	X	X	X	—
5	ez.H., H.y.z., H.y.B.	X	X	X	—
6	S.W. M., D. H. M., S. W. F., D. H. F.	X	—	—	—
7	H.F.F., H.M.M.	X	—	—	—

N. B.—Prohibition—X
No Prohibition —

TABLE SHOWING DEGREE OF AVOIDANCE

Sl. No.	Categories of relationship	Degree of usages with taboos on							
		Utterance of fopt name	Physical Touch	Touching of dresses	Touching of bed	Touching of personal effects	Detour	Moving together	Touching of food refuse
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1	W—HeB.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2	W—F.	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3	W—M.B.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
4	H—W. ez.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
5	W—F. B.	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6	W—M. BeS.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
7	W—F. Z. eS.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
8	W—F. B.	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9	W—F. B. eS.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
10	W—F. Z. H.	X	X	X	X	—	X	—	—

N. B:—Prohibition—X
No Prohibition—

VI. FUNCTIONS OF KINSHIP

The Juangs are having a very strong social organisation and kinship plays vital role in their social structure. Each kin member has his own function in the kinship net work which is patterned as per their social tradition, rules, norms and values. There are three principal functions of the kinship: (i) Descent, (ii) Inheritance, and (iii) Succession. The kin members are guided by the above norms which are culturally standardised and specified. Rules of descent among the Juangs is based on certain broad principles of rights and obligations in the context of economic, social, political and religious transaction. The Juangs are a local descent group comprising the members of the single clan. The succession to office is only in the male line. The rules of succession and inheritance of property are followed by the agnates of succeeding generation. There are some hereditary succession exclusively transmitted to the descendants. Not only rules of descent and inheritance of property but also several other rules connected to inheritance of status and position are transmitted to descendates. Along with three major functions of kinship mentioned above other direct and indirect role of kinship in the family, lineage, clan and tribe has been discussed in brief in the proceeding pages. The Juangs are based basically on interpersonal relationship and individual's role is quite significant in kinship net work. It has been reflected in course of discussion and analysis. Functions of kinship in the life cycle and social fabric of the Juangs have been elaborated to reveal and conceive kinship as the core culture of the Juang people.

Descent :

The Juangs have types of segmentary social groupings on the basis of kinship ties. The consanguineal and affineal types of kin groups have two types of significant groupings among the Juangs. The consanguineal kins are related by blood and the affineal kins are related by marriage. The affineal kins among the Juangs are known as the '*Bandhus*' whereas the consanguineal kins are the '*Kutumbs*'. All the lineal and collateral kins who are related by blood constitute consanguineal group. From the above explanation it is clear that a family as the smallest social unit comprises both affineal and consanguineal relations.

The Juangs are characterised by patrilineal descent, means a person is interlinked with a group of relations who are related to him through

males in a linear fashion. In this line either in ascending or descending order a person deserves assistance, services and shares. The interaction with the members of the mother's line is comparatively less significant. All the members of unilineal kin groups follow rule of exogamy. Sexual relation between such groups are strictly prohibited. By birth a Juang enters into his father's lineage and clan. In case of a boy he always belongs to his father's descent group even marriage. But a girl changes to enter her husband's local descent group. In case of hereditary posts, the eldest son, due to patrilineal descent rules inherits the ascribed status. By this rule has one right over the property of his father but the girls are not given any share. When a Juang has no male child the property is enjoyed by one of his male affines. Seldom the son-in-law is adopted to enjoy the property.

Under the descent rules, members of small unilineal descent group function as separate organisation. Family, either nuclear or extended comes under this category known as, minimal lineage. The clan which comprises a number of lineages, regarded as maximal lineage. From the previous practice of uniclan habitat it may be ascertained that a Juang village is ideally a local descent group meaning thereby that the villagers who belong to the same clan are descendants of the same ancestor. It includes all the males, unmarried girls and wife of all the married men of the concerned clan. Because of migration of the Juangs, villages are inhabited by multiclans at present. Therefore some '*Bandhu*' or affine local descent groups live with the '*Kutumb*' or consanguine local descent groups. Although marriage of boys and girls of these two groups can be possible but usually not preferred. Again in the maximal lineage group the minimal lineage groups follow their own purity and pollution, when some one dies, only the lineagemen of the deceased one, follow the pollution rule. But all the people of the local descent group help and participate in one way or other. A member from other clan group is not denied usually for his permanent settlement in a village. But has to take permission from the village council and prove his worth by his behaviour and hard work. In due course he is accepted in the normal local descent group.

With regards to the position of woman in the local descent group she retains her identification by her father's lineage of origin. Her illicit relationship with her husband's brother is not considered

incastatus. Till her husband is alive she exercises all power and function in religious and socio-cultural activities of her husband's lineage and clan. After her death, purificatory rituals are done by the husband's lineage members. Lineage as a corporate group performs several functions. Lineage members help and support each other in several socio-economic activities. In agricultural operations while constructing new houses and in emergent construction, situations lineage members are very much co-operative. Apart from all these, in several disputes lineagemen give support in all respect. The feeling of oneness and intimacy that prevails among the lineagemen deserves special mention. Role of brother in the death function of any married woman is unavailible. He purifies all the descent groups of the deceased husband just after cremation is over. The corpse of a woman either before marriage or after manies cannot be carried by her father. The restrictions observed during life time of a married woman are also enforced in connection with carrying her corpse. In the name giving ceremony role of father's sister cannot be ignored. The coherence between the lineage members among the Juangas is revealed in several spheres of activities.

Succession :

Succession to any traditional post, if prevailed can only be possible in the male descent line. Since the Juangs are a patrilineal community the rule of inheritance is through male line that is, father to son and so on. The eldest son is given priority to inherit all positions of his father. Particularly the post of "Sardar" which is succeeded, is taken over by the eldest son. With regards to inheritance of property all the male members means sons of a person inherit it. The eldest son may get lion share but all others equally distributed among themselves. If somebody has no son, then one of his close paternal parallel cousins may be adopted who should enjoy all the property. In worst case when some body has no colateral agate he may keep with him one of the son-in-laws with due approval of the clans and other close lineage people. There are cases where son-in-laws do not able to adjust mentally and hence go back to their lineagemen. In that case property may be enjoyed by other lineagemen or clansmen. Somebody having no issue may adopt a male child from his lineage. The original parents are approached and the matter is discussed in the traditional political council and given social approval. The child adopted is being shifted from his own father's

house to the adoptee's home. The child is to succeed all the property and position and behave and act like own son. But in practice the adopted child in future does not get actual status in the community though as per rules the child adopted is included in the succession list and his children will inherit the same in due course.

Next to lineage group clan locally known as B > K or Khili in the Juang is the larger kin group. The head of all the families believe that they are the descendants of the same ancestor. Clan among the Juanes consists of several lineages and an unilineal descent group. Two or more clans also trace their relation from the same ancestor among the Juangs and all such clans trace their fraternal relationship and known as "Bhaiali Khili". All the clans men adhere a particular totemic object which may be a fruit or a flower, or a tree, or fungus etc. The clan members observe some taboos in connection with their totemic object. Clan names are inherited in the male line. A female before marriage comes under her father's clan but after marriage, is included in the clan group of her husband. A male member is always succeeded by a suffix 'B > K. means brother. A female member may be referred through her father's clan by femine suffix such as 'Rae' or 'Dae' means sister. The striking feature of the Juang is prevalence of fraternal clan organisation. It is ascertained from the Juangs that due to some mythical conception two or some more clans trace their relationship as brothers. It might have happended that two clan groups in a particular time stopped extending any marriage tie and after some generations conceived each other as members of fraternal clans. All the clansmen or 'Kutumb' members follow very strictly the practice of clan exogamy. The same rule is extended to the fraternal clan groups. Breaking of this taboo is seriously viewed and the nature of punishment both physical and mental varies from one place to another. The fine charged for the purpose is heavy, purificatory observances are quite lengthy, expensive and painstaking.

The members other than one's own and fraternal clans are known as marring-clans or 'Banchus'. They are locally known as "Bandhu Khilis". Premarital relationship between the boys and girls of "Bandhu" clan groups is regarded as illegal but not inccatuous. Traditionally members of uni-clan were residing in

a particular village but now a days members of "Bandhu" clans also reside in the same village. In spite of this, all members of village abide by the rules of the village and bind together as one local descent group. Members of multi-clans in a village form a corporate group and accomplish socio-economic, magico-religious and other socio-cultural functions. Though the lineage members follow pollution rules connected with birth and death but in case a cow is killed or face natural death while being tethered, it is seriously viewed and all the clans men undergo pollution followed by necessary rituals now. This might be due to impact of Hindu religion. By and large, it can be said that clan organisation plays a vital role in regulating socio-economic life of the Juangs.

Apart from the consanguineal, affinal and clan relatives, there are some residential kins due to common residence. Their nomenclature is such and it comprises consanguines, affines and other relations. Among the Juangs consanguineal and affinal relations particularly father and his children and his wife reside together. Marriage brings together a male and female for a common residence between them for fulfilment of economic, social and religious functions and to mitigate basic needs like food, shelter and sex. Residence rule envisages a common residence of some members consaguinally and affinally related to each other. Marriage is the major criterion which is the basis to form residence rule. Husband and wife remain together with their children in one shed. After marriage girls go to their husband's house for residence. Hence, the rule of residence among the Juangs is patrilocal. A newly marriage couple construct a new house near groom's parents house and shift thereafter sometimes. The period of going to the neolocal house depends upon the time they take to complete the house. During this period, the newly married couple occupy the house and the father of the groom sleeps in the dormitory along with the groom. Only the newly married bride, her mother-in-law and other young girls and children sleep in the old house till the new house is completed. The couple enter the new house in an auspicious occasion preferably on Friday. For this a series of magico-religious observances are observed and a feast is shared by lineagemen, clans men, local descent groups and some affines also. After entrance in the new house the couple are given social approval to lead a legal life of

husband and wife in true sense of the term. The common residence, among the Juangs brings together the husband, wife and their children as a basic unit for maintenance of economic, social and religious life.

Family as the smallest social unit plays key role in the Juang community. As an association it corresponds to the institution of marriage. It is also characterised by common residence, economic co-operation and reproduction.

All the members of a Juang family are linked with each other by common residence and close kinship ties. A new is formed when a newly married husband and wife are given socio-cultural recognition and approval. Each married couple takes shelter in a separate hut. Sometimes more than one married brother may share same hearth or eat together but they reside separately. By and large nuclear families are most common in the Juang community. Only, some well-to-do families are found to be living in extended families under the same roof. According to the Juangs it is consider to be a sign of prosperity having better socio-economic status. In early days they were residing mostly in the extended and joint families because there was need of joint-in-put of labour. But gradually due to economic transformation and independent oriented economy nuclear families took its emergence. Other factors like dissention between brothers and their wives, indolence among some working members, migration and self-styled individualisation are also responsible for fragmentation of joint or extended families.

The inter personal relationship among members of a nuclear family is based on reciprocal co-operation, loyalty to each other, family solidarity, mutual affection, regards to socio-cultural norms and observing standardies values. The most important and significant is husband-wife relationship. Their love and affection towards each other, division of labour, specific function in socio-cultural activities, rights over property, joint efforts to bring up children etc. are worth mentioning. At the same time quarrel and conflict between spouses, divorce and misunderstanding between them due to several factors are also note worthy. However, their mutual understanding, co-operation and co-ordination in every aspect of their day to day life deserve special attention.

Relationship between parents and children is based on divine love and affection since the Juangs are a patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal community, father and sons hold key position. In most of the socio-economic activities they play major roles. Father imparts informal training to his sons for their psychic development. The entire socialization process of the sons depends upon father's informal teaching. The sons also extend co-operation when their father gets old. The sons inherit fathers post and property. They respect their father as per traditional norms and values. A Juang father rarely scolds his sons rather give admonitions as and when required. In the late childhood a son sleeps in the dormitory and after marriage shifts neo-local residence though pays allegiance to the members of natal family. They help each other and develop love and affection among themselves. The relation between a mother and a son is very close and full of mutual love and affection. In the early childhood socialisation, she plays very important roles. She undertakes lot of pain, stress and strain in bringing up the children. The son helps his mother in all respects and takes special care during her old age. In economic sphere, the mother shoulders more responsibility than the father. The father and daughter relationship is comparatively less prominent. The father supports the daughter in all respects and takes care till she is married. It is noticed that the daughters when grow up maintain distance but develop regards for father. Even after marriage, the daughters extend co-operation when called for by the father. A daughter is very much close and friendly to her mother. She is more attached to her mother and works under her care and guidance till she is married. Most of the domestic charges are accomplished both by the daughter and the mother. Both of them jointly work in the agricultural operation. A daughter expresses her feelings, sentiments, choice, private affairs, etc., freely to her mother. The relationship between siblings is very friendly though mother elder siblings are respected. Even after marriage they extend co-operation as and when required. Elder brothers support the younger brothers and also exercise power over them. The younger brothers pay respect and obey their elder brothers. The eldest brother gets a major share when property is divided. But he takes special care till the younger brother is married. The practice of levirate is prevalent among the Juang. Hence, after death of the

elder brother, his younger brothers can marry elder brothers has wife. Like brothers, sisters are also very close to each other. Even after marriage, such tempo is retained by visiting each others house. Though daughters are not entitled to share paternal property, their parents proper care and feed them with suaptuous gift when they are married. After parents are dead, the eldest son takes care of the sisters and shoulders the responsibility in giving them in marriage, if not married. At the same time, he maintains a balance in ending gifts to his sister house during feasts and festivals. Though brothers and sisters are very close in their childhood develop a sense of distance when they grow up. As per the rule of succession and inheritance of property the brothers are expected to support their married sisters. Brothers get special gifts from their sister's husband's side.

The grand parents and grand children maintain joking relationship with each other but within the social norms. Because they belong to alternate generation and under same division of kinship interaction. Parents-in-laws and daughter-in-laws maintain avoidance relationship. It is socially prohibited to utter the names of their parent-in-laws by their daughter-in-laws. The daughter-in-laws are very close to their mother-in-laws. Relation with husband's elder brother is of avoidance type. But one can crack joke with one's husbands younger brother. In case of sister-in-laws, a man has to avoid if elder than his wife but jokes with wife's younger sister. But with all relatives they behave each other with the aim to keep social harmony and happiness.

Juangs live in family. It is the smallest social unit which performs various biological, psychological, economic, social, religious and many other functions. Mostly families are nuclear type among the Juangs. In the process of socialisation a child learns manners, behaviours, etiquettes, ethos, ideology, etc. The family plays an important role with regards to economic life. The division of labour, co-operation and co-ordination in economic affairs are some of the striking features of the Juang family.

By and large monogamous families are very common in the Juang community. There are very few polygenous families. The second wife is brought only in convinance with the first wife specially when the pressure of agricultural

work is heavy or due to more domestic works or when the first wife proves herself to be barren. In any case, the first wife always plays dominating role and quarrel between co-wives is a rare occasion. If any quarrel or conflict arises due to some reason, the matter is subsided by the husband.

In the social structure of the Juangs, different kins play different role. They belong to certain social groups and interact between them within the prescribed regulations. But the social solidarity and cohesive force between the groups is the basic character of the social groups of the Juang kinship. Family, marriage and kinship are interlinked in several sphere among the Juangs. Family and kinship are complementary concepts and marriage is regulated through kinship. Marriage gives social recognition to man and woman in the kinship network. It is also a social arrangement by which the position and status of a child is determined.

Among the Juangs marriage and kinship are socio-culturally structured by the kin members for several functions like economic, co-operation, residential pattern, sexual sanction and social activities. The role of kinship is quite significant with regards to the marriage institution of the Juangs. They are an endogamous tribal community and by marriage they develop kin relation within two social groups, viz., Kutumbas and Bandhus. This is the interaction between two groups of kinsmen; one belongs to the bride and the other to the groom. Marriage assures some sort of stability, support and safety. The Juangs follow clan exogamy and two related groups show reciprocal obligations. Marriage is practised with the Bandhu or affine groups. Mostly marriage relation is preferred within the clans having marital link. One can marry one's wife's younger sister or deceased elder brother's wife. Apart from this rule of potential spouses they maintain tradition of prohibited spouses that is one cannot think of any marriage relation with deceased younger brother's wife or wife's elder sister when her husband expires. Following the above regulations the Juangs select their spouses from the Bandhu groups or marrying clans. A Juang groom is not free to select his spouse. This job is accomplished by the Kutumb kin members. But mostly it depends on the type of marriage. For instance the negotiated marriages are regarded as regular process in

which father's uterine brother takes initiative along with other members of the local descent groups. In case of the widow or widower's marriage senior people of the clan and local descent members play vital role. But in the marriage by kidnaping or capture, role of local descent groups is very important. Apart from this first marriage and second marriage are also prevalent. Either in process of negotiation or for acquiring bride, neither the groom nor his father plays any role. Practically some of the close lineagemen and local descent group members play vital role in taking initiative and finalising the matter. In no circumstance a marriage can be materialised without the knowledge and active participation of the kinmembers as mentioned above. Whatever type of marriage it may be, role of kinsmen cannot be ignored.

Among the Juangs kinsmen play different roles in the marriage ceremony. To them a marriage ceremony is quite enjoyable and occasion of get-together. The parents take attempt non-formally to chose a bride for their marriageable son. Keeping some one in view father or the groom calls for a meeting of the villagers or local descent group. The lineage people are informed prior to the meeting. The villagers in normal process take necessary initiative to proceed ahead. If needed the lineagemen particularly the close consanguines as well as affines come forward to support economic assistance. They not only play role of middlemen role but play vital roles in selection of bride, own arranging marriage by giving economic assistance. Specially, actions played and behavioural role of the Kutumb and Bandhu members in several situations not only fascinate but also socio-culturally relevant. It is rather an alliance between two broader kin groups than between two spouses. In the marriage ceremony the Kutumb and Bandhu members of both the groups participate. All the relations from either side are involved in several activities to make the occasion a grand success. Since the marriage rituals are performed in the groom's house, the descent group members try to achieve the best. Because several kin members of the bride come to groom's village to participate in the function. The marriage dance between the kin members of the groom and kin members of the bride is not only enjoyable but it also highlights kinship regulations and functional aspects of the community. The headman of the local descent group offers drinks to the ancestral spirits of

the groom through magico-religious performances. The female members of the local descent group also help in many ways in the whole celebration. They guide and advise the bride to make her conjugal life a success. The consanguineal and affinal kins particularly mother's brother, father's sister's husband, sister's husband and some others come with special gifts to attend the occasion. According to the degree of intimacy the gifts vary. For instance mother's brother of the groom is expected to give a goat along with paddy or rice. Father's brothers also help economically. So also other kins give chicken, rice, and other economic assistance according to the necessity. It is associated with kinship ties and social obligations. In the ceremonial feast every member of the descent group help in one way or the other. They all take care of the guests when arrived in the village on occasion of marriage. In the marriage dance known as "Kadalata" the dancing groups clearly show the broad kinship division and usages of kinship categories. It is the occasion in which all the local descent groups dance following the strict social rule of dichotomy. On the first day, after the marriage, this dance takes place in which members of all odd number generations and even number generations dance separately. No group of these two broad divisions would witness the dance of other group. Along with dance, joking, teasing and anointing of mud also take place. By this social harmony is regulated avoiding conflict and tension among the kin members. From these group dances, existence of respectful relationship and obedience among the Juangs are clearly revealed. It ensures prevalence of morality and prevents incest. It is all with the aim to establish and retain social harmony and oneness feeling among the Juangs. In the ceremonial feast the groom's local descent groups men feed bride's local descent people and other guests to their heart's content. As social obligation the groom's party members give a feast to the local descent people latter on. The bride price, in form of cash and kind, given by the groom's party is enjoyed by the members of the local descent groups of the bride. The clothes given for the bride's father, mother, eldest maternal uncle and eldest paternal uncle are having socio-cultural significance. Divorce in Juang community is a rare phenomenon. But there are a few cases of divorce. These are due to quarreling nature, loose character, bareness, and bad manners. After being divorced a woman is expected to come back to her father's home. Her father's local

descent group may stand by to arbitrate the case. In case the matter is not finalised, they try to arrange her marriage somewhere else.

The Juangs follow incest taboo through kinship organisation. Incest is sexual relationship between forbidden close kins. Among the Juangs they strictly follow this within the clan members. The prohibitions connected to sexual relationship is nothing but a safeguard against the illegal sexual relation between two individuals. They have framed certain rules and regulations for marriage relations which are strictly followed with negligible exceptions. Sexual relationship with some affines may not be incestuous but illegal. The marriage rules in the kinship organisation of the Juangs check incestuous motivations.

Marriage rules and other associated behaviours of different individuals are mostly shaped in a particular pattern in which the kin members interact with each other. It not only regulates the mode of behaviour but also compels different kin members to fulfil their obligations. The binding force between groups and existence of unity and broad kinship range principles are possible due to marriage rules and its mode of operation. There are preferential clans for marriage and marriage takes place within the ring.

In normal social life kinship plays a vital role in the Juang social structure. An individual acquires a fixed place by birth and marriage. He is related to other kin members in different degree and mode of behaviour. He belongs to lineage, clan, village and tribe. He is attached to his paternal kin members, maternal kin members and kin members of his wife. A Juang, either a male or a female is related to different kin members far or near. His social life is regulated in an approved socio-cultural norms within the framework of social organisation. All sorts of social, economic, religious, political and other needs are being satisfied in a regulated manner keeping in view the kinship network.

Village as a corporate group satisfies several needs of its members. Each Juang village has its own territorial boundary beyond which they never go for any economic purposes. Even though multi-clan villages are emerging in the Juang area, the people of local descent groups do not find any difficulty for smooth management of various socio-economic, socio-political and other functions. Any one deviates the village rules may be fined or excommunicated if it is

erpeated. The main occupation for earning livelihood of the Juangs is shifting cultivation which is not only associated with village or descent group members but also extended up to affinal and other relations starting from selection of site for shifting cultivation up to harvesting and consumption of the crops by different kin member. / Local descent group is the owner of the land. Each member of the group gets his share for cultivation and they jointly perform several economic pursuits within the framework of socialities. All the members of the local descent group decide to rehabilitate the migrants. In group they decide and act accordingly. Each Juang is responsible for others feels obliged to the descent group for some reason or other. All the annual festivals celebrated by the Juangs are scientific and realistic. If a single member of the descent group commit any mistake all the members of that group are expected to suffer in one way or the other.

With regard to economic assistance, an economically unsound kin member may be helped by both affines and consanguines particularly for marriage of his son or while performing death rituals of a family member. Apart from all these, the invited kins whether consanguineal or affinal bring with them some gifts such as rice, liquor, goat, chicken, etc.

A lot of festivals and feasts are celebrated by the Juangs throughout the year. The kin groups participate each others' function and enjoy in group. According to the Juangs any ceremony or celebration cannot be thought of without kin members. For instance, in a birth ceremony or in mortuary, the pollution is observed by the lineage members. Role of maternal uncle or father's sister are very significant. So also in a death ritual one's maternal uncle's father sister, sister's husband and one's wife's brother plays important socio-cultural role. Specially in death purificatory function all the lineage members-matricilateral kins and relations from father's side participate. Many of the close relations assist economically to perform the function. The local descent group members also play some vital role in management of various activities in the function.

In several social functions the role of kin members and local descent groups is noteworthy. They not only contribute equally but get themselves involved actively to make the function successful. They may invite their close affinal and patri-matrilateral distant kins. Specially in

festivals like, Nuakhia, Pausa Purnima, Gamha Purnima and some other festivals they either go to some relations house or invite them which indicates close affinity between two minimal lineage groups.

In addition kinship has contain role to play in the social control of the Juangs. Some rules and regulations are being followed by the local descent groups. They live in conformity to these cultural codes. These codes are inherited or learnt in due course of their socialisation. Special training methods about social mores, norms, pattern of behaviour and all these together establish the social control.

VII. INTERPRETATION OF GENEALOGICAL TABLES

It has already been discussed that genealogical tables have been collected from all the five study villages. All the Juang members, families and lineages have been covered for collection of all possible information. According to J. A. Barnes genealogy is an "Account of once descent from an ancestor by enumeration of the intermediate persons". Barron defines "Genealogy is the study of family origins and history and the compilation of pedigrees and lists of ancestors". Forte defined it "As the chart by which any particular person presents himself as the idescendant of a specified ancestor. But the main contributor in the field of genealogical method is W. R. H. River. He developed this method to collect accurate information on various aspects of social organisations returned to Morgans' basic idea as a result of his studies on Malenesian Society. Genealogy is an analytical tool used by the researchers of social sciences particularly for study of kinship organisation. It is an important part of the field work analysis. This method is quite useful and essential to study the primitive communities to trace back several generations. It helps in tracing collaterals and guide for developing specific functional relationship. Relevant information can be ascertained from the genealogical table for regulation of marriage, inheritance of property and succession to social positions. Individual links, different social interaction and certain established norms are highlighted in a genealogical table.

It has been used as the stock-in-grade for the Juang social structure. Emphasis has been laid to collect data on genetic as well as socially recognised kinship, social demography and the construction of the statistical model. The socio-














ultural value of genealogy has been expressed in Juang community for group actions. In the genealogical tables, collected from four villages the names, age, sex, clan, marital status, marriage distance, and relationship link have been indicated. As per theoretical implications and methods each genealogical chart can be analysed by inter-relationship between individuals from several angles. The interpersonal relationship of different kin members is regulated according to their respective generation. The whole Juang community on basis of marital relation can be divided into two broad groups "Kutumb" groups and "Bandhu" groups". The genealogical tables also reveal the inter-personal relationship of different kin groups and regulations of respective generations. From the chart it is clear that they have established marital relations with Bandhu clans except those of fraternal clans. The marriage field is quite wide and community members prefer to get spouses

from distinct villages, which reveals a form of regularity. In few cases they have also got married in the same village. It is interesting to note that majority of a lineage members prefer a particular clan members for marriage link. Similar rules are followed when they give marry their daughters also. The Juangs being partilineal, patrilocal and patri-archal community, they stick to the rules followed from the patrinal side. The network of marriage link shows inter-relation between members of different villages and zones of social interaction.

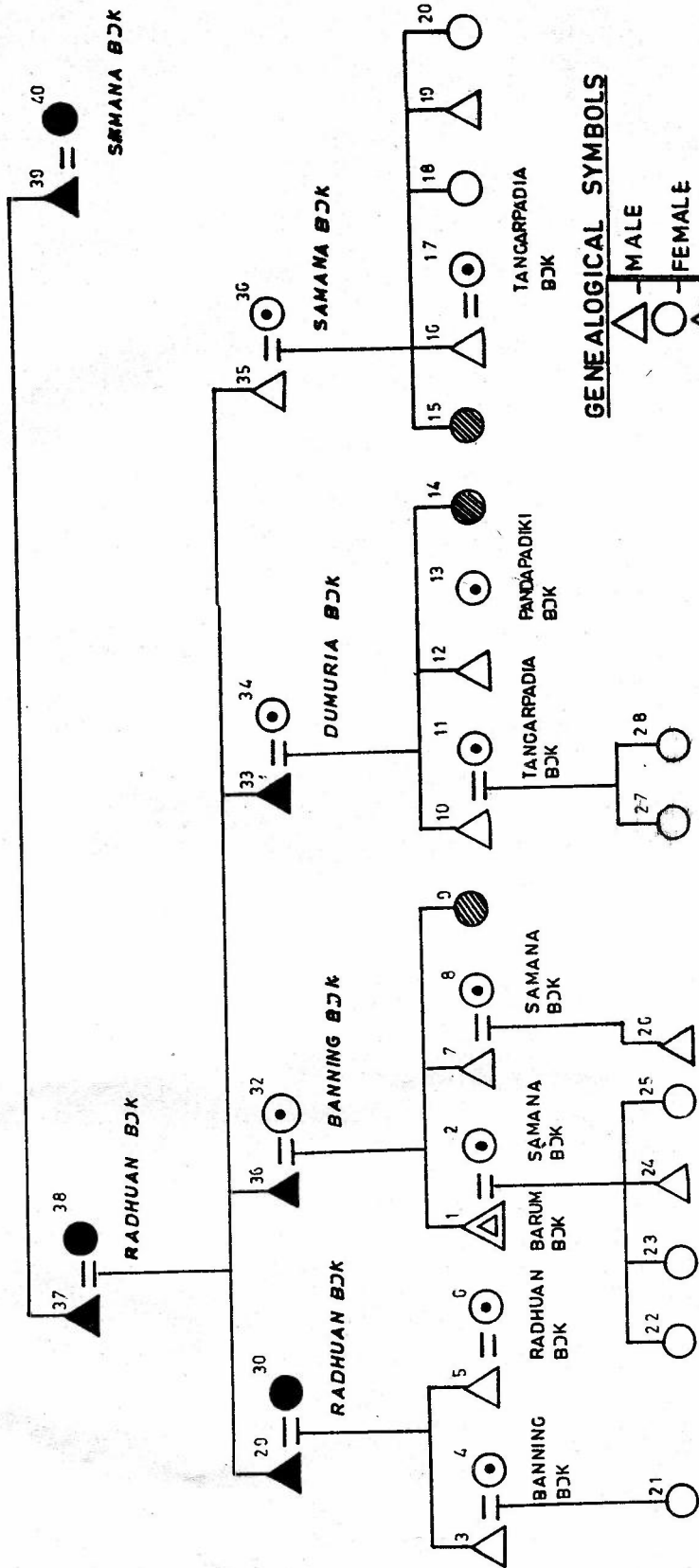
Out of the genealogical tables collected from different five villages and clan groups only five have been presented. The genealogical tables highlight the marriage ring and position of an individual in the community. The marital link social distance, descent and resident rule and some other socio-cultural practices have been explained in social network.

(The report on the Juang Kinship Organisation was prepared by Dr. A. C. Sahoo, Officer on Special Duty on the basis of data collected by him and Shri K. B. Patra, the then Research Assistant and Shri R. N. Purohit, Primary Investigator. The report was edited by Professor K. K. Mohanti, Director of this Institute under whose guidance this work was taken up.)

GENEALOGY LEGEND

Male	.. 
Female	- 
Male Ego	.. 
Female Ego	- 
Male dead	- 
Female dead	.. 
Left paternal Family after marriage	..
Joined Patrilineage after marriage	.. 
Son-in-law in house	.. 
Marital link	.. 
Consanguineal collateral	.. 
Lineal line of descent	- 
Left Patrilineage	.. 
Unknown sex	.. 

GENEALOGY NO. 1



GENEALOGICAL SYMBOLS

- MALE
- FEMALE
- MALE EGO
- FEMALE EGO
- MALE DEAD
- FEMALE DEAD
- JOINED PATRILINEAGE
- LEFT PATRILINEAGE
- MARRIAGE
- COLLATERAL
- LINEAL
- UNKNOWN
- SON IN LAW HOUSE

APPROXIMATE DISTANCE FROM EGO'S VILLAGE

CLANS	VILLAGE	APPROXIMATE DISTANCE FROM EGO'S VILLAGE
SAMANA	BUDHICCHAR	8
BANNING	ALANCA	40
RADHYAN	RADHEAN	10
TANGARPADIA	TANGARPADA	4
PANDAPADA	PANDAPADA	11
DUMURIA	NALAPANGA	44

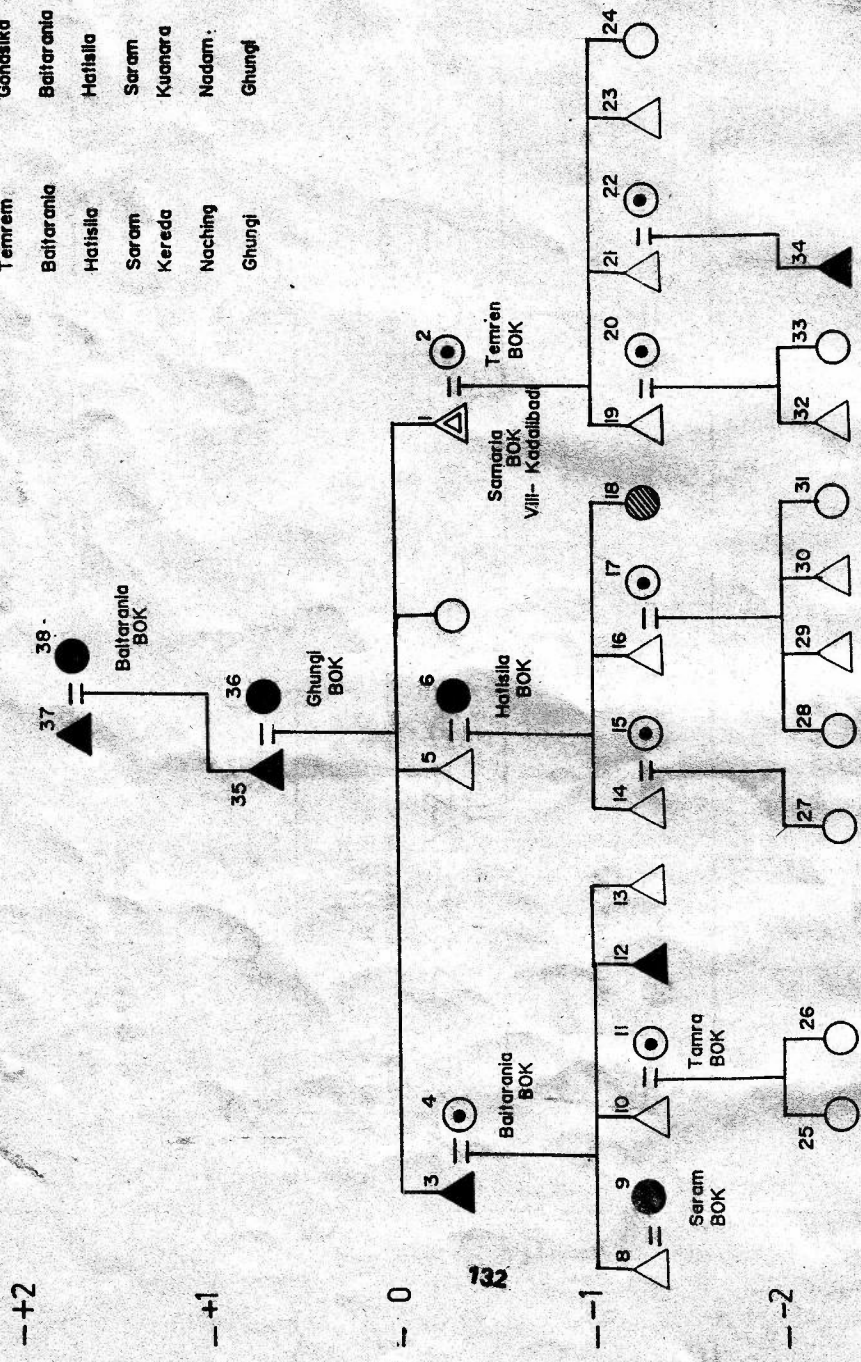
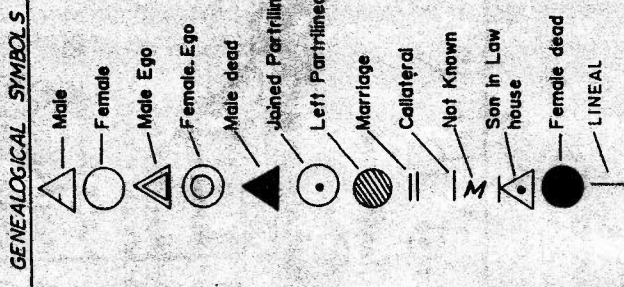
"BARUM BJK IS HAVING MARITAL LINK WITH"

by JPR

GENEALOGY NO-2

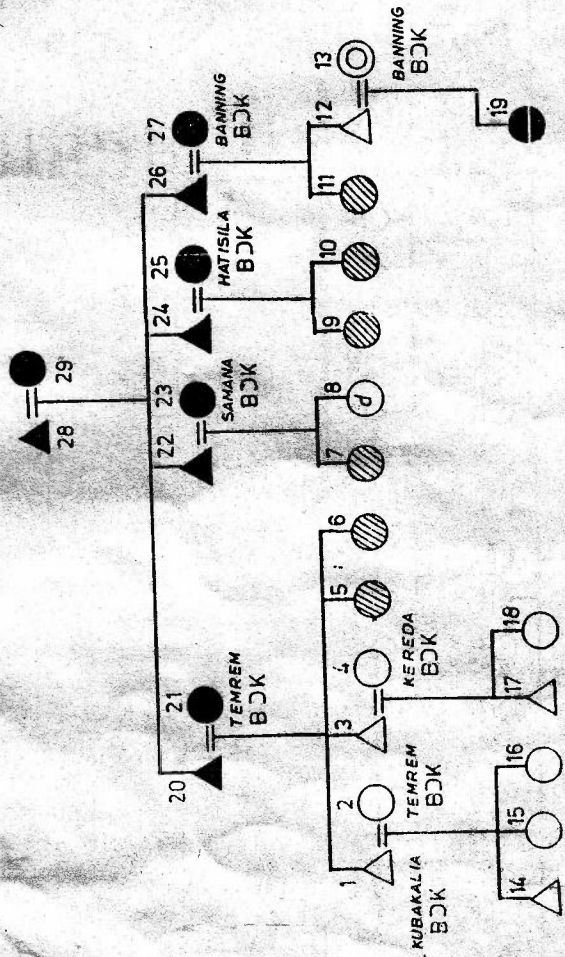
Sarama BOK is having link with the

Clans	Village	Approximate Distance from the eggs village in Kms.
Temrem	Gonolika	- 6
Baitarania	Baitarania	- 2
Hafisila	Hafisila	- 2
Saram	Saram	- 8
Kuonara	Kuonara	- 16
Nadarn	Nadarn	- 18
Ghungi	Ghungi	- 15



by JPR

GENEALOGY No 3.



KUBAKALIA BJK IS HAVING
MARITAL LINK WITH THE

CLANS	VILLAGE
TENREM	GONASIKA
KERADA	KUANARA
BANNING	BALLI
HATISILA	HATISILA
SAMANA	KAMDARA
BARIN	TALABARUDA

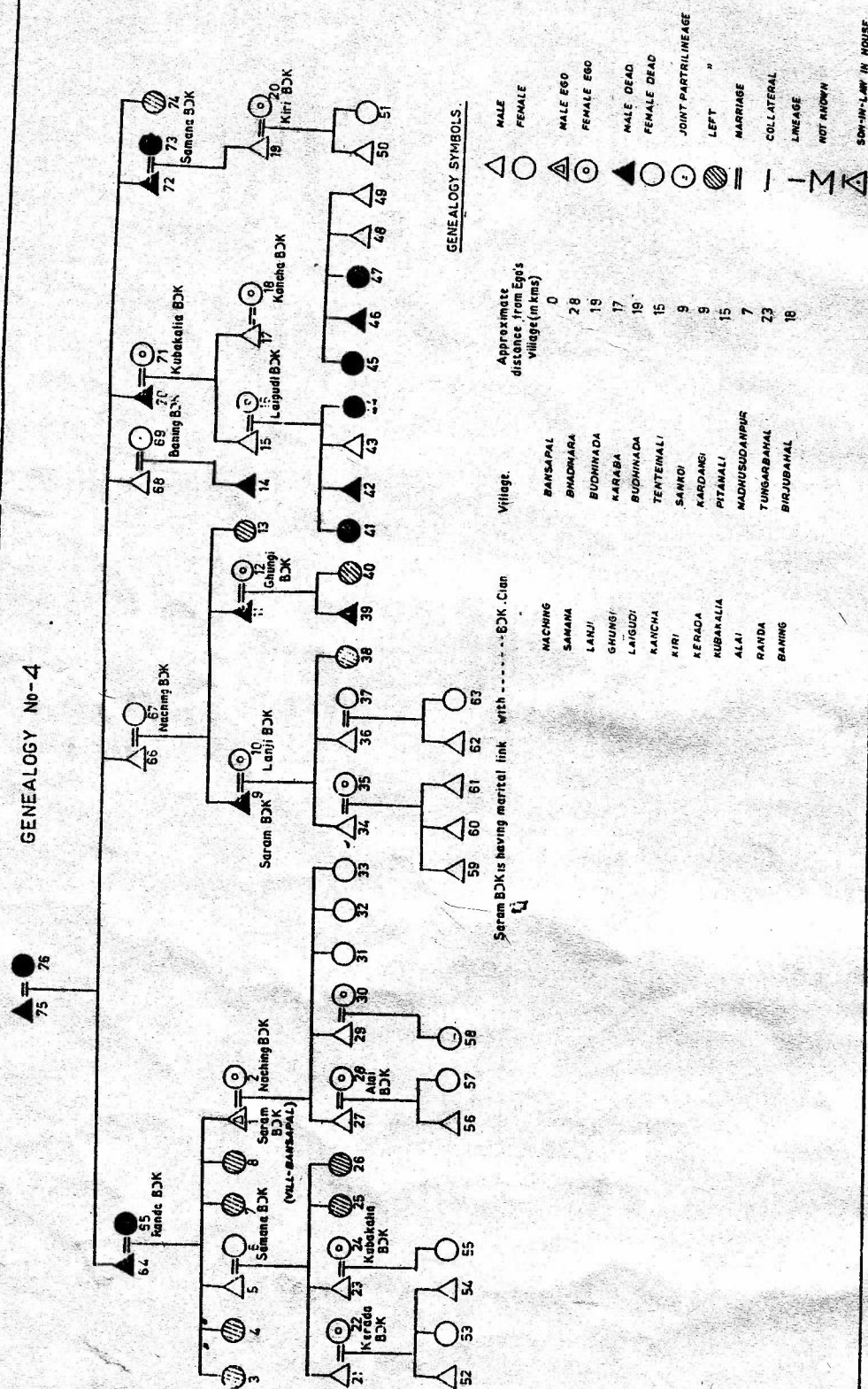
Approximate distance
in kms. from Ego's
village.

6
13
19
8
10
0

GENEALOGICAL SYMBOLS

- △ Male
- Female
- △ Male Ego.
- Female Ego.
- ▲ Male dead.
- Female dead.
- ◐ Joined patrilineage.
- ◑ Left patrilineage.
- ≡ Marriage.
- ♂ dissolution of marriage -
- Divorce.
- Separation.
- Collateral.
- Lineal.
- Not known.
- △ Son in-law-in house.

GENEALOGY No-4



GENEALOGY SYMBOLS.

- △ MALE
- FEMALE
- △ MALE EGO
- FEMALE EGO
- ▲ MALE DEAD
- FEMALE DEAD
- JOINT PARTILINEAGE
- LEFT "
- MARRIAGE
- COLLATERAL LINEAGE
- NOT KNOWN
- SCH-IN-LAW IN HOUSE

Approximate distance from Ego's village (m/kms)

Village.

0	BANSAPAL
28	BHOMWARA
19	BUDHIRADA
17	KARABA
19	BUDHIRADA
15	TENTEMALI
9	SARNDI
9	KARDANGI
15	PITAMALI
7	NADHUSUDANPIH
23	TUNGBARBAHAL
18	BIRJUBAHAL

MACHING
SARANA
LANJI
GHUNGI
LAIGUDI
RANCHA
KIRI
KERADA
KUBAKALIA
ALAI
RAWDA
BAHING

Sarame BJK is having marital link with BJK. Cian

APPENDIX I

List of the clans among the Juangs

1. Barum	...	B) K	22. Ramadek	...	B) K
2. Baning	..	B) K	23. Kerada	..	B) K
3. Naching	..	B) K	24. Banei	..	B) K
4. Samanar	..	B) K	25. Kiri	...	B) K
5. Kanasa	..	B) K	26. Dadak	..	B) K
6. Dumuria	...	B) K	27. Temrem	..	B) K
7. Kubakafia	..	B) K	28. Kunderi	..	B) K
8. Tangarpadia	..	B) K	29. Himutanga	..	B) K
9. Ghungi	..	B) K	30. Boitarania	..	B) K
10. Alai	..	B) K	31. Manding	..	B) K
11. Jumatar	..	B) K	32. Duarsenia	..	B) K
12. Ramasanga	...	B) K	33. Randa	..	B) K
13. Sarang	..	B) K	34. Gandu	..	B) K
14. Jamtenga	..	B) K	35. Lanji	..	B) K
15. Kundi	..	B) K	36. Hatisila	..	B) K
16. Radua	...	B) K	37. Ghungi	..	B) K
17. Leung	..	B) K	38. Kodipasa	..	B) K
18. Dala	..	B) K	39. Boka	..	B) K
19. Saing	..	B) K	40. Leumba	...	B) K
20. Sakai	..	B) K	41. Kalai	..	B) K
21. Kancha	...	B) K	42. Raidia	..	B) K
			43. Barungta	..	B) K

APPENDIX II

ALLIANCES OF CLANS

Sl. No. (1)	Name of the clan (2)	(Bandhu) Affinal/clans (3)
		Village Talabarnda
1.	Barum B) K	... Saram Temerem Samana Hatisila Kubakalia Ramada Baning Naching Tangarpada Radhuan Gangi Kansa Baninga
2.	Tangarpadia B) K	.. Kubakalia Kansa Nachinga Barum Boitania

(1)

(2)

(3)

Village Madhusudanpur (Gundurijeda)

1 Alai B) K

.. Marital link with the clan

- .. Koro
- Kiro
- Sain
- Randa
- Temerem
- Dala
- Tangarpadia
- Karada

2 Samana B) K

.. Marital link with the clan

- .. Barum
- Ghungi
- Saram
- Dala
- Gandu

3 Naching B) K

.. Marital link with the clan

- .. Saram
- Tangarpadia
- Randa
- Kubakalia
- Dala

4 Saram B) K

.. Links with

- .. Randa
- Nachinga
- Ballinga
- Kubakalia
- Samana
- Kerada
- Lanjia
- Ghung
- Laigudi
- Kancha
- Barum
- Alai
- Dala

5 Baning B) K

.. Marital links with the clan

- .. Kiri
- Saram
- Nachinga
- Lanji
- Ramada
- Ramasanga
- Kubakalia

APPENDIX III
PROPINQUITY OF BANDHU VILLAGE

Village: Guptaganga
(BARUM B (K))

Sl. No.	Name of the Bandhu Village	Bandhu Clans	Approximate distance in kms. from reference village
1	Budhighar	.. Samana	8
2	Rarnan	.. Radhuan	9
3	Kansa	.. Kansa	35
4	Nadan	.. Naching	12
5	Radhuan	.. Radhuan	10
6	Gonasika	.. Baning	2
7	Dumusia	.. Dumusia	..
8	Tangarpada	.. Tangarpadia	4
9	Phulbadi	.. Samana	9
10	Hlanga	.. Samana, Baning	40
11	Saratapada	.. Samana, Tangarpadia	20
12	Panasanasa	.. Kulakalia, Kiri	12
13	Chaupai	.. Chaupadia	9
14	Budhakhaman	.. Naching	24
15	Pandapada	.. Pandapadaki, Temerem	11
16	Nalapanga	.. Dumuria	22
17	Ball	.. Baning	13
18	Samagiri	.. Samana	25
19	Kanjipani	.. Leum	15
20	Landamu	.. Tangarpadia	20
21	Kandhei	.. Kandhei	19
22	Baragada	.. Naching	17
23	Panasia	.. Naching	50
24	Turamipani	.. Ghungi	7
25	Hatisila	.. Hatisila	9
26	Kamatana	.. Naching	55
27	Kanthamara	.. Naching	30
28	Baldiha	.. Baldia	25
29	Jantar	.. Gungi	6
30	Lula	.. Samana	150
31	Khuntabandhu	.. Khuntabandhia	10
32	Bayakamtan	.. Saman	15
33	Ballinada	.. Naching	10
34	Kadalibadi	.. Samana	4
35	Kodipose	.. Kansa	30
36	Dhanurjayapur	.. Dumnria	25
37	Barhadefata	.. Kerada	20
38	Bahali	.. Baning	25
GHUNGI B K			
1	Guptaganga	.. Barum	0
2	Kodiposa	.. Kansa	30
3	Gaimunda	.. Barum	35
4	Nadam	.. Naching	12

Sl. No.	Name of the Bandhu village	Clan	Approximate distance in Km. from Kadalibadi
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

VILLAGE KADALIBADI

SAMANA B) K

1	Dumuria	Dumuria	5
2	Raidia	Barum	3
3	Balli	Baning	9
4	Mamalaposi	Barum	15
5	Mamalaposi	Barum	8
6	Hatisla	Hatisila	2
7	Gonasika	Temerem	6
8	Boiterani	Boitarnia	2
9	Saria	Saram	8
10	Kuanra	Kerada	16
11	Nadam	Naching	18
12	Ghungi	Ghungi	15
13	Turanipani	Ghungi	9
14	Karaba	Ghungi	120
15	Bayakamtana	Saram	9
15	Jhumukaposi	Temerem	9
17	Kantaposi	Saran	20
18	Khajuribani	Naching	40
19	Manipur	Baning	24
20	Bamalaposi	Talpadia	30
21	Baraguda	Naching	4
22	Landanu	Naching	15
23	Kantapada	Naching	20
24	Marguda	Naching	90

VILLAGE MADHUSUDANPUR

SAMANA B) K

1	Madhusudanpur	Saram	0
2	Raidia	Barum	25
3	Guptaganga	Barum	30
4	Jantasi	Barum	36
5	Kardangi	Dala	15
6	Dharapada	Baning	97
7	Dhankrajapur	Gandu	4
8	Tungurbahal	Ghungi	17
9	Tangiri	Dala	25
10	Tenteinali	Naching	15

Sl. No.	Name of the Bandhu village	Clan	Approximate distance in Kms. from Madhusudanpur
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

VILLAGE: MADHUSUDANPUR

1	Temera	.. Randa	19
2	Kuntala	.. Tengarpada Dal	20
3	Banspal	.. Saram	7
4	Panasi	.. Kubakalia	7
5	Sarashaposi	.. Kerada	12
6	Khajuria	.. Tangarpadia	4
7	Aigula	.. Samana	16
8	Tumgurubahal	.. Randa	7
9	Podanga	.. Kubakala	17
10	Kaliapani	.. Kerala	8

MADHUSUDANPUR

1	Telko	.. Randa	2
2	Madhusudanpur	.. Baning, Botanik	0
3	Banspal	.. Baning, Alai, Nuching Semark	7
4	Sambal	.. Kiri	15
5	Aigula	.. Bening, Mundari	12
6	Karamangi	.. Gandu	20
7	Knanara	.. Ramada	19
8	Khajuria	.. Baning, Naching	16
9	Sarashposi	.. Kerada	4
10	Kanjipani	.. Lemn (Himuntanga)	18
11	Pattanali	.. Kubakalia	..
12	Kosada	.. Samana	33
13	Kurumuli	.. N. K.	17
14	Kumlandu	.. Naching	10
15	Tenteinali	.. Kancha	15
16	Dhanurjayapur	.. Gandu	6
17	Tungrubahal	.. Sain, Randa	17
18	Pitanali	.. Ramada	10
19	Raipal	.. Ramada	25
20	Kumundu	.. Naching	17
21	Andhari	.. Samana	30
22	Sambal	.. Kiri	15
23	Jangisa	.. Kiri	45
24	Gudatali	.. Kiri	15
25	Krushnapur	.. Ramada	15

Sl. No.	Name of the Bandhu village	Clan	Approximate distance in Kms. from Banspal
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

VILLAGE : BANSPAL

1	Raipal	.. Kiri	15
2	Panasanasa	.. Kubakatia	17
3	Tungurbahal	.. Ramada	25
4	Aiguda	.. Saram	12
5	Tenteinali	.. Naching	20
6	Khajuria	.. Samana, Naching	16
7	Sambal	.. Kiri	20
8	Karamang	... Gandu	20
9	Kuntala	.. Lanji, Ramada	25
10	Kaliapani	.. Kerada	8
11	Burubura	.. Kiri	24
12	Pitanali	... Ramasang	15
13	Banspal	.. Saram, Kiri, Naching	0

VILLAGE : BANSPAL

SARAM B) K

1	Banspal	.. Naching, Alai, Sain	0
2	Khajuria	.. Samana, Naching	11
3	Barhadebata	.. Samana	12
4	Panasanasa	.. Kubakalia	12
5	Temera	.. Naching	19
6	Bhudhinada	.. Lanjia, Laigudi	18
7	Tenteinali	.. Ghungi, Kancha, Naching	15
8	Alang	.. Naching	28
9	Bhadimara	.. Kiri, Samana	9
10	Karadang	... Kerada	15
11	Pitanali	... Kubakalia, Barum	15
12	Budhamba	.. Kerada	40
13	Kaliapani	.. Kerada	11
14	Panasi	... Naching	125
15	Kuladangi	.. Samana	35
16	Tigiria	.. Naching	25
17	Tungurubahal	.. Randa	23
18	Samlal	.. Baning, Kiri	20
19	Bhadinara	.. Samana	14
20	Madha	.. Leum	17
21	Binjubhal	.. Baning	18
22	Saruqli	.. Sain	23

Sl. No.	Name of the Bandhu village	Name of the Clan	Approximate distance in Kms. from Banspal
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
23	Karata	.. Ghungi	17
24	Raipal	... Kiri	15
25	Aigula	... Samana	7
26	Madhusudanpur	.. Alai, Samana	7
27	Kuntala	... Sain	20
28	Kumundu	.. Boitania	..
29	Kanjipani	.. Leum	16
30	Kadamuli	... Kumudu	25
31	Beranamunda	.. Kiri	..
32	Sarashaposi	... Kerada	11
33	Andhari	... Samana	23
34	Janghira	.. Kiri	20
35	Kumuda	... Boitania	15
36	Tangiri	.. Kancha	..
37	Bamaraposi	.. Randa	18
38	Kurumnli	.. Randa	18
39	Saria	.. Tangarpadia	17
40	Burubura	... Kiri	20
41	Tenera	... Naching	23
42	Balabhadrapur	.. Baning	16
43	Jamara	.. Kiri	23

VILLAGE: BANSPAL

DUARSENIA B)K

1	Khajuria	.. Naching	16
2	Banspal	... Saram	0
3	Kuntala	.. Tangarpadia	25
4	Jamara	.. Saram	23
5	Pitanali	... Barum	15
6	Kumundu	.. Boitania	15

VILLAGE: BANSPAL, ALAI B)K

1	Kuntala	... Dala, Tangarpadia	25
2	Nuagaon	... Saram	22
3	Beralamunda	.. Sain	22
4	Banspal	.. Saram	0
5	Raipal	.. Renda	15
6	Jarada	... Saram	4

Sl. No.	Name of the Bandhu villages	Clan	Approximate distance in Kms. From Banspal
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
7	Jungurubahal	.. Randa	20
8	Binjubahal	.. Randa	18
9	Barahadebta	.. Kerada	16
10	Jantari	.. Barum	35
11	Telkoi	.. Temerem	5
12	Uigula	.. Saram	9
13	Tangiri	.. Dala	25
14	Tenteinali	.. Dala	20
15	Samlal	.. Kiri	20
16	Saruali	.. Sain	23
VILLAGE: BANSPAL, SAMANA B)K			
1	Saruami	.. Saram	23
2	Khajuria	.. Saram	16
3	Sambal	.. Kiri	20
4	Banspal	.. Saram	0
5	Kesada	.. Ramada	50
6	Kuntala	.. Tangarpadia	25
VILLAGE: BANSPAL, NACHING B)K			
1	Tungurbahal	.. Randa	25
2	Podanga	.. Kubakalia	17
3	Kaliapani	.. Kerada	8
4	Banspal	.. Saram, Baram	0
5	Khajuria	.. Tangarpadia	16
6	Kuntala	.. Baming	25
7	Kakudiam	.. Temerem	25
8	Raipal	.. Kiri	15
9	Kirtanpur	.. Baming	35
VILLAGE: BANSPAL, TANGARPADIA B)K			
1	Tungarbahal	.. Sain	24
2	Kuntala	.. Dala	25
3	Kaliapani	.. Kerada	8
4	Petlanali	.. Barum	15
5	Banspal	.. Alai	0
6	Saruali	.. Sain	23

VILLAGE TALABARUDA, BARUM B)K

Sl. No.	Name of the Bandhu village	Clan	Approximate distance in Kms. from Talabaruda
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Raruan	Raruam	20
2	Jantasi	Ghungi	2
3	Bhagamunda	Boitania	8
4	Panasanasa	Kutakalia	8
5	Kansa	Kansa	28
6	Nadam	Naching	12
7	Phulbadi	Samana	15
8	Balli	Baning, Khabakalia	19
9	Pandapada	Temerem	21
10	Budhakhaman		
11	Tangarpada	Tangarpadia	10
12	Bhadimasa	Ghungi	25
13	Kansa	Kansa	28
14	Talabaruda	Kubakalia	0
15	Khajuria	Naching	10
16	Madhusudanpur		35
17	Dangaria		

VILLAGE TALABARUDA, TANIGARPADIA B)K

1	Nadam	Naching	12
2	Pandapada	Temerem	21
3	Raidia		5
4	Budhakhaman		21
5	Raruan	Karuan	20
6	Khajuria	Samana	25
7	Jantaji	Gangi	2
8	Tangarpada	Barum, Radhuan	10

VILLAGE TALABARUDA, KUBAKALIA B)K

1	Gonasika	Temerea	6
2	Kuansa	Kerada	13
3	Champey	Sain	8
4	Thakurdihi		
5	Kamadara	Samana	10
6	Guptaganga	Barum	5
7	Balhi	Baning	19
8	Panasi		
9	Hatisila	Hatasila	20

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The Juang Non-Kinship Organisation

T. H. R. T. I.

ABSTRACT

Kinship is conveniently applied to relationship by affinity as well as by consanguinity. It is universal and fundamental in nature. These kinship groups fulfil some of their social requirements. But there are certain other needs beyond the generalised needs which need to be fulfilled by the non-kinship groups in the forms of association and sodalities. These groups are very much temporary and dismantle at the non-existence of these associations and sodalities. Though temporary, these groups contribute much in collaboration with kinship groups to bring development in their society. Their participation and involvement bring radical changes in the society. Both kinship and non-kinship organisation are complementary rather than contradistinctionary. There cannot be water tight compartment between the two sets of organisations.

However, two villages—Guptaganga, and inaccessible pocket in Gonasika G. P. of Banspal Block and Madhusudanpur, a more urbanized pocket in Telkoi G. P. of Telkoi Block were selected in the district of Keonjhar to ascertain existence, functioning and roles played by different such non-kinship organisations.

Majang, the youth darmitory is a social institution found in almost all the Juang villages where unmarried boys and girls are members. This is a non-kinship organization.

Shifting lands encompassing village boundary are distributed on a democratic principle by the village Nagam (Priest). All families irrespective of major and minor clans are given land as per cultivating capacity but not on the basis of kinship affiliation. Participation in the communal hunting is purely optional and voluntary and there is no compulsion or monopoly based on kinship grouping. Similarly the distribution of game is made rationally overriding kinship consideration. No special care is taken to rear the cattle. But it become the responsibility of the villagers to graze the cattle. For that, groupings are made and two persons from each group, take the responsibility on rotation. While selecting persons from each group, no kinship affiliation is taken into consideration. It is customary among the Juangs to appoint his neighbours as labourers on hire. This communal working party comprises persons from all clans but not from the major or original clan only. This shows that non-kinship groupings play vital role in the economy of the village.

In social interaction, non-kinship organizatione also play vital roles. For Example; short-cut footpath, connecting one village to another is constructed or repaired by a team of adult members who represent from different clans. Similarly, in Thenga-Paka system that is, while watching the village, during busy season of harvest, a person, irrespective of any clan is assigned to watch and ward the village and entertain any guest or official visiting the village.

In religious sphere also, to break the monotony, the Juangs irrespective of clan, sex and of different age-grades participate in performing various rituals, feasts and festivals. Not only that but Kamandokis (Ritual specialists) of various clans in a village undertake special rites to appease spirits and deities to avert ill-will of them. The feeling of oneness prevails which unites them all to save the village from privation and depredation. Further, in selection of mates and for dancing, young boys and girls of different Bandhu villages of different clans meet in the village dormitory and exchange gifts. It becomes collective responsibility of all the members of the dormitory to work collectively irrespective of clans to enrich their common stock of paddy and other things for meeting such expenses. These collective responsibilities are based on a wider perspective of non-kinship organization instead of kinship principles.

In sphere of political organization, the village elders (Bara Bhaini) though take lead, every elder irrespective of any clan affiliation has full freedom to express his opinion freely. Even in pih organization, the delegates, invited from all villages of pih have equal voice in the council. These councils whether at the village or inter-village or pih level are based on non-kinship affiliation rather than on kinship principles.

Other than these traditional institutions, certain modern organizations like, Panchayat system, Mahila Samiti and Kirtan party have cropped up in study villages where participation of the villagers are based purely on non-kinship principles. In multi-clan villages, which are very common, non-kinship groups are being formed to bring vital socio-economic changes in the society.

People who genetically or biologically and through marriage are related to one another are 'kinsmen'. People who are kinsmen are always aware of the net of relationship those exist among them. The biological relationships merely serve as a starting point for the development of sociological conceptions of kinship. Kinship is conveniently applied to relationship by affinity as well as by consanguinity, kinship is pivotal to the maintenance of social relationship. Thus, kinship can be defined as a study of the cultural interpretations of social relationships, social categories, and social groups that are

formed among the people who stand in biological or quasi-biological relationships or chains of relationships to one another. It is a group made up of roles marked by kinship terms, in which the relationship consists of behaviour shaped by the moral values associated with kinship relationships. These kinship groups in a primitive society fulfil all the social needs and form the core social organizations of their society.

Though kinship groups are universal and fundamental in nature, they cannot always fulfil some of the social requirements. Kinship is not always an adequate sanction to control behaviour. Therefore, non-kinship groups are formed by the people in a more specialized social forms than the generalized kinship groups. This we may call association. Lowie has introduced another term called; 'Sodality'. An association is a group of people who are united for a purpose. They have the material culture and the technical knowledge to carry out the purpose. They have a charter, which assures them that the purpose is worth carrying out whereas a sodality is a religious brotherhood and membership is based on training and initiation. These associations arise in response to certain needs, whether sentimental, social, economic or religious and are inevitably affected by coexisting institutions and folkways. However, these sodalities are formed as per general human needs in particular social environment and are exceedingly irregular.

The present study was undertaken as per the prescription of the T. H. R. T. I. Advisory Board. As such, the study was taken up in two villages-Guptaganga, an inaccessible and remote village in Gonasika Grama Panchayat of Banspal Block and at Madhusudanpur, a village with more urban contact in Talkio Grama Panchayat of Telkoi Block in the district of Keonjhar to assess the functioning of various non-kinship organizations and their roles in the developmental process of their society.

Objective of the study

The character of the social organization is determined by recruitment. When recruitment is made on the sole criterion of heredity then the organization is called a kinship organization. In pre-literate primitive communities where communal oriented life style is dominant and a high degree of mutual tie and reciprocity governs, the socio-economic life, that is, based on the

principle of sink and swim together, the kinship organization undoubtedly acts as the pivot and binding force. At the same time we know that the kith and kin of a man cannot pull him through all crises of his life and meet all his needs in these simple societies. So they have developed certain organizations and institutions in collaboration with the kinship organization to look after other aspects of human survival in which the recruitment or membership is not based on the kinship consideration. We can call these organizations as non-kinship organizations. Paul Bohannan in his book 'social Anthropology' (pages 146, 147) writes that; "kinship groups are limited in their scope, for all that they are fundamental and ubiquitous and that they form the core social organization of all known human societies. There are, obviously, non-kinship groups to be found in most societies. Non-kinship groups have all but swamped the kinship groups. Anthropology—and indeed, sociology—has not been signally successful in dealing with these more specialized non-kinship groups, and it is instructive to enquire into some of the reasons for lack of progress at the same time that we examine the nature of the group themselves".

In these days when the socio-economic development of these down-trodden, backward tribal communities has become a major obsession with the post-independent welfare State, and it is well understood that no development programme can deliver the goods without people's participation, a thorough study of both the kinship and non-kinship organizations shall be instrumental in channelising the development inputs to the target communities.

However, the Juangs are considered a primitive and backward tribal community. The Government is making all efforts for their overall socio-economic development through implementation of various programmes. In this context, an analysis of the role played by both traditional and non-kinship organization for the maintenance and continuance of their society would help in associating these groups in the implementation of their socio-economic development programmes.

Scope of the Study :—

The study of non-kinship groups in Juang society is significant because though kinship groups fulfil the basic needs of the human beings they are simple, universal, non-specialized and their scope is limited. Therefore, the formation

of non-kinship groups necessarily creating more specialized social forms than the generalized kinship groups. Non-kinship groups are associations in the tribal societies which are more or less specialized. Kinship and non-kinship groups lie in their purposes and principles of organization. The distinction can be made on the basis of comparison of their 'charter' or purpose and the mode of recruitment of member.

Kinship organization plays an indispensable role of regulating sex and marriage for the purpose of reproduction for the continuance of the family as well as the community. The membership of a kin group is automatically acquired by birth, marriage and adoption. On the other hand, the non-kinship associations are formed for different specific purposes for maintaining orderly social life in the village. The membership of such associations are considered on the criteria of sex, age, social rank and other qualifications. However, such associations or institutions do recur with considerable frequency in the Juang society.

The Juangs, one of the preliterate tribes of Orissa are mostly settled in the districts of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal. As per 1981 census, their total number is 30,876. The Juang settlements are smaller in size having 10 to 20 households in each village. The inhabitants who live in Keonjhar are called Thanyas or original settlers, but who migrated and lived in the plains of Dhenkanal are called Bhagudias or 'groups fled away'. In spite of their different socio-cultural activities, they exhibit lot of cultural similarities.

Study of non-kinship organization of the Juang community is very significant, because it enquires into the unstructured system of behaviour in relationships in which different people are biologically and socio-logically related to one another and are bound with each other by complex inter-locking and ramifying ties. This exposure can provide a base for understanding and analysing non-kinship system of the Juang to achieve the desired goal of continuing social system. The study of the non-kinship organization may give us insight into the Juang culture which can guide us to know the co-operation among them in the following socio-economic activities.

(1) Youth Organization

The dormitory known as the Majang is situated in a fairly big and rectangular-shaped house which is constructed at the centre of each Juang

village to serve the purpose for the unmarried boys (Kangerki) and girls (Selanki) to sleep at night, in groups. It is almost like a club house adorned with indigenous musical instruments and alighted with smouldering logs day and night tended by the boys. Mats of date-palm-leaves and wooden pillows are found being stacked in a corner of the room used as bedstead of the boys at night. Shri Siba Prasad Rout in his "Hand-book of the Juang" (page 59) has stated that "The dormitory house of the Juang is called Majang. The Majang is usually bigger in size than the ordinary houses and is situated at the centre of the village. It is constructed by the unmarried boys called, kangerki who sleep here at night. The unmarried girls called selanki plaster it in every two or three days.

Generally the dormitory is the organisation of the unmarried youths and one ceases to be its member after his/her marriage. The term kanger is a general term to mean the unmarried boys of marriageable age. But to be considered as formal member of the dormitory, that is, to be a full-fledged kanger, a boy should under go an initiation ceremony on Amba Nua (first mango eating ceremony) day.

The life of a Juang is based on a ninefold age-grade classification. The discrepancy between the biological and social age groups is bridged up within the framework of youth organisation. However, this youth dormitory has multi-dimensional functions of social, economic, religious, judicial and educative importance not only for the members but also for the entire village community. It is indeed an institution, that is central to the way of life of the Juang community.

Admission into the dormitory :

The recruitment of members into the single dormitory is not based on kinship affiliations. As a rule, all bachelors and spinsters including widows and widowers can become members of the dormitory provided they are formally admitted through appropriate rite-de-passage. In the past when a Juang village was homogenous and uni-clan, the members, that is, unmarried boys and girls were can brothers and sisters. But now-a-days due to migration, the Juang villages have become multi-clan including both Bandhu and Kutumb clans. There is no restriction for the boys and girls belonging to different clans to become the members of youth

dormitory. So, as we see, any Juang boy or girl, irrespective of his or her clan affiliation can become a member of the dormitory provided he or she is an inhabitant of the village. Thus, the membership of the dormitory is determined by one's habitation in the village community and the Juang community. The membership of a particular clan or the numerically dominant clan of the village does not stand on the way of any boy or girl of a different or minor clan for getting admitted into the dormitory. In the sense the Majang is structurally and functionally a non-kinship youth organisation.

There are a lot of roles and responsibilities thrust on the kangerki and selanki who are members of youth dormitory as briefed below:—

- (a) Routine repair and maintenance of the dormitory house (Majang) and its assets such as tambourine (Changu), drums, mats etc.
- (b) Organizing and serving communal feasts on various social and ritual occasions.
- (c) Collection of contributions from the families for communal feasts and ceremonies.
- (d) Attending the guests, visiting officers while staying in the village dormitory.
- (e) Entertaining kangerki and Solanki of Bandhu villages who visit the village.
- (f) Getting hire of communal working party by the Tundahar (Man incharge of dormitory) and other village leaders.
- (g) Bringing fire wood to the house of the groom or bride on occasion of marriage.
- (h) Bringing fire-wood for the majang-fire
 - (i) Cultivating commonly the patch of Toila land allotted to kangerki and selanki and management of the common fund derived from the produces.
 - (j) Rendering free service for cultivation of Toila, house thatching and other works for the village leaders.
- (k) Installation and worship of the village deity (Gramasri) when there is no village priest, Nagam or when the priest is unable to perform his ritual functions.

- (f) Supplying leaf-cups and plates, grinding of spices, preparation of cakes, husking paddy, sacrificing animals before the deities etc. On feasts and festivals and for the guests and visitors.

It is understood from the above that the members of the youth dormitory play vital roles in the conduct of communal life of the village. No communal affair can be conducted without the participation of the kangeria and Selanki.

In organising above activities all members of the dormitory irrespective of their clan affiliation play an equal role to accomplish the task assigned to them. The major clan of the village may have larger members in the dormitory but they work together, shoulder to shoulder with their comrades belonging to other clan members. There is no grouping monopoly or special privileges enjoyed by the members of any particular kin group in the management and operation of the activities of the dormitory. In this respect all members belonging to different clans of the same village stand on an equal footing.

Economic Activities :

(a) *Distribution of Toila land*: The Juangs are mainly shifting cultivators. They were originally food gatherers, when there was abundant forest. In course of time due to population pressure and incoming of non-Juang families, the Juangs learnt the method of plough cultivation and adopted it at the foot-hills of their podu land.

The Toila Chasa or shifting cultivation is named after podu land which is owned by the village and distributed to individual family heads for cultivation. Thus, cultivating right is transferred from the village to the individuals for a period of two, three or four years. This is ritually distributed by the Nagam (priest) and Ardhan (secular head) to the villagers in front of the mang on the last day of Pushpunei. The principle taken into consideration is very much democratic, that is, land is distributed according to the need of the family and capacity to till the land. That is, each family is given as much Toila land as it can cultivate. Thus, Toila land is distributed to all members irrespective of major and minor clans but no partiality is made by giving a greater chunk to the members of the major clan of the village. That is, the system of distributions of Toila land does

not function on the basis of kinship affiliation but on secular and economic consideration. All the members irrespective of clan affiliation stand on equal footing.

(b) *Hunting* : Hunting is a communal concern among the Juangs. It is not a regular pursuit now-a-days due to large scale depletion of forest, scarcity of game animals and restrictions imposed by the Forest Department against hunting. So hunting is casually or ritually taken up in memory of the past tradition. In the closing day of Amba-Nua festival in the month of February-March, the villagers make a hunting expedition. The male members who opt to participate in this expedition are required to deposit their bows and arrows in the majang to the village priest.

After games are killed, the distribution of meat is made in a most democratic and rational manner. The hunter who had actually shot the animal is at first rewarded with his bonus share called, the hunter's share of meat from the breast portion and the hind quarters of the animal. Rest of the meat is equally divided into two shares. The first share is equally divided among all the participants of the hunting party including the hunter himself. The remaining share is equally distributed among all the families of the village including those of the hunters and the participants. Thus, the hunter gets the lion share comprising, the hunter's share, the participant's share and his family share. The participants get two shares, that is, the participant's share and the family share. The remaining non-participating families get only one share.

Thus, it is evident that, participation in the hunting party is purely optional and voluntary and there is no compulsion or monopoly based on kinship grouping. Similarly the distribution of meat of the animal is made rationally over-riding kinship consideration. So in this context it can be said that the organisation of hunting activities is based on non-kinship principles.

(c) *Grazing of cattle* : Though animal husbandry is not extensively practised by the Juangs, still they rear cows and buffaloes for ploughing goats, sheep and pigs for diet on feast and festivals and may be slaughtered for ritual purposes. Chicken is also sacrificed for ritual purposes. Of all animals the cows are considered to be sacred and revered and worshipped on the occasion of Gamha ritual.

The animals reared are neither given any fodder nor any special care is taken for their maintenance. The only thing is that, care is taken to graze the cattle. The cattle graze in the common grazing ground of the village. No persons are appointed on payment of remuneration for the purpose, but a person from each family is engaged for the purpose on rotation basis. If the village is fairly big, i. e. at least having 40 families, then all the families are divided into two halves and two persons from each group take charge of grazing cattle on rotation. While selecting persons from each group, no kinship affiliation is taken into consideration, but purely on the basis of non-kinship groupings. This shows that non-kinship groupings play vital role in the economy of the village.

(d) Communal Labour : Co-operation : It is customary among the Juang to engage co-villagers as labourer for various activities such as weeding/harvesting or constructing a new house on the basis of labour exchange on co-operation. Sometimes, the services of the villagers are requisitioned by another village. No individual payment is made in this type of deal, instead, the labourers are fed luncheon food and given a lumpsum amount which is deposited in the dormitory fund and utilized in a feast of the village shared by all the families of the village.

This communal working party comprises persons from all clans but not only from major or original clan of the village. Hence, the question of any clan affiliation or kinship affiliation does not arise in this regard.

Social Activities :

(a) Repair and maintenance of the path-ways connecting neighbouring villages : To facilitate inter-village communication, short-cut foot-paths connecting villages are repaired. An adult male member from each family of a village is selected to join the team to construct or repair the path-way connecting a number of villages. These persons offer their free labour till the path-way is completely constructed or repaired. When the path-way is completed, the workers make night-halt in the dormitory of that village where they are sumptuously entertained with non-vegeterian food and mahua drink. In the next year, the host villagers reciprocate in the same way by giving their free labour in constructing or repairing path-ways. In this reciprocal behaviour members of all clans in the village co-operate by taking active part.

(b) Thenga Paka (Watch and ward) : The Juangs are mainly agriculturists. Different agricultural pursuits keep them engaged throughout the year especially during harvest of various crops. These pre-occupations cannot make all the villagers alert to watch the village or attend to the visitors or officials coming to the village. But it is customary for the Juang to accomplish both the duties so that the village may not earn bad name in keeping up external ties.

Under the circumstances, a person from each family irrespective of clan is selected to discharge both the duties. The secular headman (Ardhan) officially announces the name and thereby, handover a staff (Badi) to him from the village dormitory, who is to watch the village at night and attend to the guests or visitors to the village in the day. It is binding for all the families in the village to do the duty without being paid. Persons for discharging this duty are not selected from uni-clan or major clan of the village. This is organized mainly on the principle of non-kinship Principle.

Religious Activities :

The Juangs have their own religious beliefs and practices. The monotony of whole life is frequently broken by feasts and festivities and by rites and rituals of various kinds. They observe various festivals like, Push-Punei, Amba-Nna, Tirtia, Raja, Asadi etc. with much rhyme and rythm where persons, irrespective of clam and sex and of different age-grades participate.

Further, in view of averting ill-will of malevolent spirits and wrath of supernatural powers, the ritual specialists called kamandaki of various clans in a village undertake special rites to appease the spirits and deities. The feeling of oneness prevails which unites them all to save the village from privation and deprivation.

Villages dominated with uni-clan were the common feature in Juang Pirh. But now most of the villages are of multi-clans in the changed situation. Though villages are of multi-clans, marriages are strictly forbidden in one's own village and in villages which are related to kutumbagnates). Marriages are performed between Bandhu villages. All these rules also apply to the dancing organization of the boys and girls. Dancing visits are exchanged between Bandhu villages. In these visits, boys and girls of different clans participate. exchange gifts and dance for the whole night.

However, the members of the dormitory, that is, the unmarried boys and the girls, have to present gifts to their Bandhu partners. Besides, they have to provide food for their friends on the occasion of the latter's visit on dancing expeditions. Such being the collective responsibility of all the members of the dormitory, they all work collectively irrespective of clans to enrich their common stock of paddy and other things for meeting such expenses. This collective responsibility is based on a wider perspective of non-kinship organization in stead of kinship principles.

Political Activities :

In Juang Pih, each village is a political unit having its own set of officers. These village officers or leaders are mainly three in number, two of whom are traditional leaders and one is a new office created by the Government called, member after the establishment of the Community Development block in various sectors of the district. Each village has one Ward Member to work as its representative in the Panchayat.

The Juangs are very much democratic and therefore, the real authority of the village is vested not with the defacto leaders, but with the village elders called, Bara Bhaiki. The village elders first discuss over an issue before it is finalised. In such discussion, every elder, irrespective of any clan affiliation has full freedom to express his opinion freely. Unless the issue is unanimously agreed to, no decision is arrived at.

Certain matters like, dispute on land boundary between two villages, dispute about divorce, etc. are discussed in inter-village council. Village elders from two villages have equal voice in the council.

Even while discussing matters like incest, pre-marital pregnancy, witchcraft of serious type etc. in the council of Pih organization, the delegates

invited from all villages of a Pih have equal voice in the council. These councils whether at the village or inter-village or Pih level are based on non-kinship affiliation than on kinship principles.

Modern Organization :

Other than these traditional institutions, certain modern organization like; Mahila Samiti and Kiran Party have emerged in the study villages where participations of the villagers are based purely on non-kinship principles. Traditional institutions are gradually breaking down and some of the important features of these organizations are gradually vanishing due to the contact of the tribals with the non-tribal people. For example, the Juangs are gradually developing a feeling of hatred towards Changu dance, instead, they prefer to sing Oriya songs by appointing Oriya teachers. 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. They are now reluctant to go to work in a labour party to earn wages.

Multi-clans, that have emerged in each village of the Juang society have become more forceful. Kinship organization plays its important role only at the family level and binds its members to the limited extent of Bandhu and Kutumb villages. Though kinship groups are fundamental, they are limited in their scope. Breaking these limitations, non-kinship groups are formed in the Juang society to bring vital socio-economic changes in the society. These non-kinship organizations are potential groups or sodalities formed as per social, economic, religious and political needs of the society. By making co-operation a reality beyond the narrow confines of the blood tie the Juangs pave the way, in principle at least, for a wider integration.

The report on the Juang Non-Kinship organisation was prepared by Shri P. S. Daspatnaik, Deputy Director on the basis of data collected by Shri K. B. Patra, the then Research Assistant and Shri D. G. Mallick, Junior Investigator. The report was edited by Professor K. K. Mohanti, Director of this institute under whose guidance this work was taken up.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

1. Professor, K. K. Mohanti .. Director, Tribal and Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute, Bhubaneswar-751003.
2. Dr. Nityananda Patnaik .. Nageswar Tangi. Plot No. 1243, Bhubaneswar
3. Professor, N. K. Behura .. Professor and Head, Department of Anthropology, Utkal University, Vani Vihar, Bhubaneswar.
4. Dr. Baidyanath Mishra .. Honorary Fellow Nabakrushna Choudhury Centre for Development Studies, Chandrasekharpur, Bhubaneswar-751013.
5. Dr. Rajalaxmi Rath .. U. G. C., Research Scientist 'A' P. G. Department of Political Science, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar.
6. Dr. P. K. Mishra .. Reader in Social Anthropology, Nabakrushna Choudhury Centre for Development Studies, Orissa, Bhubaneswar-751013.
7. Dr. A. B. Ota .. Lecturer in Anthropology, B. J. B College, Bhubaneswar-751014.