

ADIVASI

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ADIVASI

Vol. XXXV

Nos. 1 & 2

June & December, 1995

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ADIVASI

It is published twice a year in June and December by the Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Research & Training Institute, C. R. P. F. Square, Unit-VIII, Bhubaneswar-751003. It includes articles and research findings in various Social Sciences, Development Strategies and other related matters emphasising the problems of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes communities. It also publishes Book Review as and when referred to.

FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Papers in various disciplines, like Anthropology, Sociology, Economics, Demography, Human Geography, Museology and Museum methods and Planning with special reference to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are invited. The papers should be type-written in double space on one side of paper. The contributors should submit 2 copies of each paper. They may send their brief bio-data. Each paper should contain one paragraph abstract/summary to be printed at the beginning of the paper. No remuneration is paid to the contributors. Only 25 off-prints of the paper published are supplied. Two copies of the books may be sent for the purpose of review. The bibliography/references cited should invariably follow the pattern as in current Anthropology, as follows :—

BASCOM, W. R. 1951 Yoruba food, Africa 21.

BOVILL, E. W. 1933. Caravans of the Old Sahara,
London : Oxford University Press.

DOGGETT, H. 1965. "The development of the cultivated sorghums",
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Editorial.....

The present volume contains seven papers on various themes and one Book review. Professor Behura's paper on 'Social Dimensions of Family in Rural India—An Analysis' is a very systematic documentation of the family in its social network in rural India. Besides the structure and function of the family, the socio-economic, socio-political and socio-religious aspects have been very clearly delineated. The paper is comprehensive, analytical and multidimensional in its approach.

Dr. Rath's paper on 'Rehabilitation of Tribals Displaced by Subarnarekha Irrigation Project in Mayurbhanj, Orissa' discusses elaborately the problems of displacement and rehabilitation and policy issues and implications connected with rehabilitation. After analysing the magnitude of the problem the author discusses the decisions taken in this regard. Further, the paper contains some significant recommendations which may help formulation of long-term policies for rehabilitation.

The paper on 'Saora riddles' by Shri Mahapatra reveals the cultural background and the social setting of riddles in one tribal society of Orissa. While attempting at a classification of riddles, the author depicts their relational aspects, such as natural phenomena, animal world, food and vegetable, human body, jokes and domestic life. In short, riddles provide clues to understand the mental images of an ethnic group.

The paper on 'Property and Inheritance among the Hill-Kharia of Similipal, Orissa : A study of Customs and Traditions' by Shri Mohanty analyses the concepts with reference to case studies. The data base of the paper is rich. Besides, the paper also depicts property rights of women in the Hill-Kharia society.

The paper on 'Mental Health and Academic Achievement of Monolingual and Bilingual Tribal Adolescents' by Dr. Panda et al is very analytical. The data have been analysed by statistical methods, such as 't' test and co-efficient of co-relation, 'r'.

Shri Mohanty and Shri Sahoo in their paper, 'Planning for Development of Primitive Tribes' meticulously discuss the approaches, strategies and operational aspects of development intervention for the primitive tribal groups with special reference to Orissa State. They also briefly discuss issues, like success and failure, poverty line crossing etc. and plead for micro level planning.

Shri Mallik in his paper, 'The Lanjia Saora : Aspects of Society, Culture and Development' depicts almost all aspects of socio-cultural nexus of the ethnic group. The author discusses briefly the developmental activities among the people.

We sincerely express our gratitude to all members of the Editorial Board for their painstaking efforts in bringing out this volume. We are grateful to the scholars who have contributed their papers to enrich the journal. We shall be happy if the esteemed readers will appreciate our endeavour and offer their valuable suggestions.

K. K. MOHANTI

Editor

Social Dimensions of Family in Rural India

An Analysis

N. K. Behura

Introducing India :

In the present paper an attempt is being made to present a sketch of the structure of family in contemporary Indian village communities. But there are several obvious limitations to this endeavour. India is a vast country that sprawls between the snowy heights of the mighty Himalayas and the breaking waves of the Indian Ocean. The land stretches on all sides encompassing the vast expanses of the fertile northern plains, the complex maze of the hills and valleys in the north-east; the wavy Eastern-Ghat hill range along the eastern coast; the picturesque verdant Western-Ghat hill range along the west coast, and the uneven plateau surface, the hoary hills, and the coconut and cashew bearing coastal plains on the south. The landscape is traversed by several majestic rivers, which help in the drainage of excess rain water into the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal, growth of vegetation and practice of agriculture along the valleys and deltas, help in the reduction of tropical heat and meet the usual water requirement of the people.

On the basis of topography, climate, social features, and vegetation, India can be divided into four major natural regions, such as (1) the Himalayan Mountain complex—an unbroken chain of lofty mountains that girdles the sub-continent uninterruptedly for thousands of kilometres walling it off from the rest of the trans-Himalayan Asia, (2) the Indus-Ganga-Brahmaputra fertile and populous plains area, (3) the Peninsular plateau, and (4) the Indian Islands. Geographers divide India into thirty-one Natural Regions. Besides, India is divided into a number of linguistic and cultural zones. From this the dimensions of physiographic, linguistic and ethno-cultural diversities in India are well imaginable.

The composition of the present day population of India is an outcome of a very long

process of peopling in the country. Groups of people with different ethno-cultural backgrounds have entered India at different points of time. Their immigration to, and settlement in India and subsequent movements within the country have led to the admixture of and intermingling between several ethno-cultural streams. Some of the socio-cultural groups found in India today are believed to have come from outside the country. Their subsequent movements within the country have taken place along the river valley routes leading to a continual process of redistribution of population and miscegenation.

India has several major river basins, which have been the main areas of attraction as they have been penetrated and colonised time and again. Those ethno-cultural groups evicted from these basins, after each fresh penetration by stronger groups, have moved into the relatively less accessible tracts like hilly and forest regions. These areas are not suitable for the practice of settled agriculture, and thus the simple communities, inhabiting them, depend on other less productive means of livelihood and have remained somewhat isolated.

The core of Indian civilization in a way owes its genesis to the Indus Valley Civilization, which flourished approximately 4,500 years ago. According to Anthropologists, Historians and Indologists this has determined the orthogenesis of Indian civilization. They too maintain that the incursion of the Aryans to Indian sub-continent took place around 1500 B.C., and around 1000 B.C., they moved to the Ganga valley. Parthians and Scythians entered the sub-continent thereafter. Between 450 A.D. and 500 A.D. the white Huns invaded India, and thereafter Zoroastrians, Parsees, Jews, Early Christians, Turks, Afghans, Turko-Mongolos, the British, the Dutch, the French the Portugese and others came to India during successive periods. Besides, Buddhism and Jainism, two famous world religions, evolved in India around Fifth Century B.C.

Today one finds various racial elements in Indian population, which includes Negritos, Proto-Australoids, Mongoloids, Mediterranean, Western Brachycephals and Nordics.

Indian population, though internally divided on the basis of ethnicity or religion or language, is unified nationally, emotionally, culturally and politically. It is difficult to provide an estimate of the total number of ethnoses and religions found in India. For instance, apart from the advanced and complex societies, there are 427 Scheduled Tribe Communities in India, and each has an ethno-cultural identity, although there are racial, cultural and linguistic affinities amongst them. There are few thousands caste and sub-caste groups and distinct religious groups. One can make a broad catalogue of major religions found in India, but it is difficult to enumerate all the minor religions, religious sects and sub-sects that are professed by various sections of Indian population. Anthropologists have termed the original faith of most of the simple communities (tribes) as Animism (spirit propitiation).

Ethnic, religious and linguistic divisions of Indian population do not coincide with one another. For instance, there are 187 spoken languages in India, but 23 languages together account for 97 per cent of the total population of the country. There are 427 Scheduled Tribe communities in the country and most of them have their own spoken languages/dialects. All the languages spoken by the people of India belong to four language families, namely, (1) Austro-Asiatic (Nishada), (2) Dravidian (Dravida), (3) Sino-Tibetan (Kirata), and (4) Indo-Aryan (Arya). Each language family includes several languages and dialects. However, broadly speaking the principal languages of India constitute the following major linguistic regions, such as, (1) Kashmiri, (2) Punjabi, (3) Hindi/Urdu, (4) Maithili/Bhojpuri/Magadhi, (5) Awadhi/Bagheli/Chattisgarhi, (6) Gujarati, (7) Marathi/Konkani, (8) Assamese, (9) Gorkhali, (10) Bengali, (11) Oriya, (12) Telgu, (13) Kannada, (14) Tamil and (15) Malayam.

However, Hindus constitute the major bulk of Indian population. Hindu society is based on *Varna* (colour) and *Jati* (caste) systems. The *Jati* or caste population is hierarchically graded into four *Varnas* or colour categories, such as, *Brahman*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaishya* and *Shudra*. Each in turn is divided into a number of *Jati* (caste) and *upajatis* (sub-castes). Besides these four

Savarna (ritually clean) category of *Jatis*, there are numerous *Asa-Varna* or *A-Varna* category of *jatis*. The total number of *jatis* (castes) and *Upajatis* (sub-castes) may turn to a few thousands. It is not possible to provide the exact number of castes and sub-castes as caste fusion and fission are continuous processes. Section and groups of people from among the simple communities (tribes), during the historic past, have been admitted as new *Jatis* or castes through the mobility process. Numerous studies on caste suggest that some of them have acquired *Kshatriya* status, whereas most others have remained within the *Shudra* fold.

Apart from the caste (Hindu) and tribal (Animist) population there are several non-Hindu religious groups in India such as Moslem, Christians of various denominations, Buddhists, Jainas, Zoroastrians, etc.

From the foregoing brief account it is evident that the great Indian society is internally divided into numerous separate units on the basis of ethnicity, religion, region, language, caste etc., yet they are structurally and functionally inter-dependent and integrated through multiple inter-actions as integral constituents of the Indian nation state. This is no oversimplification of the fact of Indian unity in diversity. Diversities emanated from the vast geographical spread of the country which provided a fertile base for the flowering of regional diversities in the Indian socio-economic milieu. Differentiation in the natural landscape has contributed to the emergence of different forms and patterns of man-nature relationship and interactions in different regions. This has been augmented by the immigration of waves of people into the sub-continent from the neighbouring countries and abroad over thousands of years. And finally regional identities were formed due to historical, cultural and political factors.

Plurality and diversity have formed the base of the underlying unity of the Indian national society which has grown from strength to strength over the years. The unifying factors are physiographic, historical, economic, cultural, administrative and political. For example, the monsoonal rhythm of seasons provides a strong element of uniformity in regulating the activities and lifestyle of the Indian masses. Multiple

horizontal, vertical and tangential economic, social, cultural, administrative and political ties have created inextricable bonds of unification, integration and harmony among various sections of the national society. The unity is conspicuously manifest in the day-to-day life of the people. During the recent decades electronic media has come up a long way to boost emotional and psychic unity among all sections of the Indian citizens. Constantly it reinforces the national unity by sensitising every citizen who comes under its scope.

Social dimensions of rural Indian family will be discussed against this back drop. Rural Indian family has been selected for analysis because 74.3 per cent of Indians live in nearly 7,00,00 villages. The villages are of various sizes and most of the villages have hamlets. Large number of villages are of medium and small size. There are big villages in the fertile plains. Villages are normally surrounded by agricultural land, pastures and fallows. The forms of the villages in India are of four types : (1) shapeless cluster or agglomerate with streets not forming an integral part of the settlement design, (2) linear cluster or assemblage with a regular open space or straight street provided between parallel rows of houses, (3) square or rectangular cluster or agglomerate with straight streets running parallel or at right angles to one another, and (4) villages formed of isolated homesteads.

A great majority of villages are agricultural which reflect the predominance of farming enterprises as sources of income and subsistence. The Brahman priest, artisan, vocational and ritual services castes as well as agricultural labourers did not undertake farming operation themselves, but they had a vital stake in the agricultural economy for their subsistence through *jajmani* system.

Indian villages are not complete discrete functional units as a large part of social interactions of some residents of one village link up with certain residents of another village. The horizontal unity of individual caste categories cuts across the village boundaries. Thus the social field of individual caste categories is spread over several villages situated in a proximal range.

The villages are considered as discrete social units from the viewpoint of ecology, economy and socio-political structure. As residents of a village, people or families relate in certain ways to their own village, *panchayat*, *panchayat samittee*, province and the nation.

Marriage : Prelude To Family Organization :

It is a universal necessity that men and women must unite and co-operate with each other to beget children in order to help human society to continue. They, as the highest evolved species in the universe, are aware of the fact that human children need adult care for several years, and this necessitates an enduring relationship between them. The durable relationship is established through the institution of marriage. Thus humans, as per the available information, are more interested in the social and cultural dimensions of marriage rather than in its biological function. "In almost all societies marriages is an institutionalized social relationship of crucial significance" (Beattie 1964 : 117). Yet it is difficult to find out a universal definition of marriage, because the associated rights and obligations grossly vary from society to society. *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* defines marriage as 'a union between a man and woman such that the children born to the woman are the recognized legitimate offspring of both parents'. It categorically refers to an important function of marriage in most societies, that is, it confers recognized social status on the offsprings with regard to inheritance of property and succession to ranks. "A marriage is an important social event in the career of an individual and in the development cycle of families and kin-groups".

The institution of marriage has been very different across societies, simple (tribal) and complex (caste) in rural India. A comparative study of the regulations, criteria and procedures governing selection of a spouse and marriage is indeed a complex problem. There are several variations in such matters between the simple (tribal) and complex (caste) societies. A couple of decades ago marriage was a transaction, now it is a kind of bargain between the related parties, particularly in the caste society.

Marriage involves certain customary principles, the bride and the groom as well as some of their designated kins. It is now a sort of bargain and the game is played between the concerned parties within the framework of prevailing customs, recognized social rules, both permissive and prohibitive. Thus marriage is a social game played within an accepted set of rules, customs, conventions and constraints.

Marriage Field :

Marriage though takes place between two persons, potentially it establishes relationship between two groups that are opposed to each other within the social structure of the same sub-tribe/tribe or sub-caste/caste. This draws our attention to an important distinction between the concepts of endogamy and exogamy, which every known society demonstrates. 'Endogamy' is the rule that requires a person to marry within a defined social group of which he is a member, and 'exogamy' is the rule which permits marriage of a person outside a specific social group of which he is a member, for example, in tribal societies descent groups (clans/sub-clans) are exogamous units and in caste society for a person his *sagotra* group constitutes the exogamous unit. Thus exogamous restrictions in traditional rural India are defined in terms of clan, totemic group, territorial group (like village community) *gotra* or *ṣapinda* clans and *sagotra* units are nationally widest kin-groups.

Selection of spouse in traditional rural Indian societies (both caste and tribe) depended on three factors, namely, (1) marriage field, (2) specific kinsmen empowered to participate in the selection process, and (3) recognized criteria of selection. In the Indian context of tradition—modern dichotomy, attainment of Independence by India (August 15, 1947) may be taken as the watershed in the study of the social history of the country.

During the pre-independence period the rules of incest, exogamy and endogamy were strictly adhered to, both in tribal and caste societies. These rules were operative within the limits of the social structure of one's own society. Any breach in these rules invariably met with imposition of prophylactic punishments,

which sometimes led to social ostracism. These norms though were common to all societies, the range of their application was culture specific. Apart from one's own society, marriage field included one's own social geography, that is, the proximal ethno-cultural region with a notional politico-juridical boundary or a natural sub-region.

During the pre-independence period rural and tribal interiors lacked minimum communication facility, and therefore, marriage alliances were seldom forged at distant places. Moreover, the general tendency was to have a bride from known village, people and family. In respect of tribal communities the average area distance of marital ties was limited to few kilometres, but in case of caste societies such distance was never more than 40 to 50 kms.

In tribal societies there is a clear-cut dichotomy between prohibitive categories of kin and permissive categories of kin for purposes of marriage, whereas in caste society the size of the prohibitive category of kin is determined on the basis of recognized degree of relationship, both generational and lateral. Among several tribal communities, which are based on unilineal descent system, marriage between certain kinds of relatives is obligatory. Marriage alliance between specific groups or categories of kin is referred to as 'prescriptive marriage' system, where affinity is determined by birth. Among many Dravidian tribal communities and South Indian caste groups bilateral cross-cousin marriage is permissive, but mother's brother's daughter is preferred over father's sister's daughter in order to ensure a better social relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law in the family. The structural implication of the practice of prescriptive marriage system is that it ensures an enduring relationship between two opposite descent groups.

Under the impact of modernization and rising levels of liberal education during the past few decades the number of prescriptive marriages has declined, particularly in respect of educated youth with salaried income.

In the traditional caste society, certain amount of violation of the rules of endogamy

was permissible, and that is how *anuloma* (hypergamous) and *pratiloma* (hypogamy) rules of marriage had been institutionalized. According to the principles of *anuloma* marriage a Brahman could marry a woman of the lower three varna (*Kshatriya*, *Vaisya* and *Sudra*). Namboodri Brahmans could marry Nayar women in Kerala. Likewise, a *Kshatriya* could have a wife from the two lower *varnas*, and a *vaisya* from *sudra varna*. When a man of lower *varna* married a woman of higher *varna* it was called *pratiloma* (hypergamous) marriage, this sort of union was always condemned. However, most marriages were *samaloma* (isogamous) which means people married within their respective endogamous social domains.

In spite of strict rules of endogamy and exogamy some people did violate the norms and were consequently punished even in the past. But now-a-days society does not pay serious attention to breaches in the rules of exogamy and endogamy. And not only that even cases of incest violation are simply ignored, if not tacitly approved.

Spouse Selection :

In India, societies by and large are patrilineal, patriarchal, patrilocal and patrinytic and thus in the past as well as now among the tradition-bound families, choice of spouse still rests with father, mother, mother's brother, father's sister's husband, father's brother, father's brother's wife, father's sister, mother's brother's wife, elder brother, elder brother's wife, elder sister, elder sister's husband and by such other elderly kinsmen. In tribal societies traditional clan elders, village headmen, priest and territorial leaders used to be involved in the process of mate selection, and this practice is still in vogue. This means that the party to mate selection in respect of tribal societies is both kin and community-based, whereas in the caste society it is only kin-based.

Now the situation has changed. Since past few decades, in several instances choice of mate is done by young men and women themselves, and approval of the parents of both is only a formal affair. Even in instances where traditional exogamous and endogamous norms of mate selection are infringed, the parents tolerate,

accommodate, and adjust with their children's overbearing and unreasonable designs against their wishes.

The role of middleman was crucial in mate selection, especially in the traditional caste society. The importance of the role of the middleman has increased in the present context of growing consumerism both in tribal and caste societies, particularly among the educated section. He mediates and moderates the bargain between the concerned parties. The bargain is about the quantum of dowry to be paid by the bride's parents to the groom's parents. The value of dowry though is determined through mutual bargain it has a correlation with groom's formal educational attainment, nature of salaried job, social position and monthly income.

Criteria of Spouse Selection and the Plague of Dowry :

Earlier more attention was being paid to one's good parentage, integrity, suave manners, sense of duty, skill, responsibility, altruism and sacrifice. Parents of the bride paid meticulous attention to the blemish-free record and character of the groom. On the other hand parents of a groom always looked for an accomplished bride from an appropriate family. Their minimum specification being that the bride must be healthy, handsome, sober and must prove to be adjustive. And attention was also paid to her supposed chastity and good moral character. Normally no material demand was put forth by the parents of a groom, because parents of a bride invariably gave an appreciable amount of gifts in shape of clothings, utensils, furniture, jewellery, cosmetics, food materials etc. Sometimes cattle, land, cash, orchards etc. were also given according to the ability of the parents of a bride. Demand of dowry always carried some social stigma and social disapprobation, and hence none pitched any demand publicly.

However, with the increase of modernization and rise of female education parents of educated girls searched for appropriate matches. Their number steadily increased and marriage market became competitive. Educated prospective brides now outnumber young men placed in high positions. This syndrome has got nothing to do with the gender ratio of the

craze of the parents of educated brides for young men in coveted government jobs is symptomatic of feudal temperament. India is still reeling under colonial atmosphere. Bidding for such grooms are becoming acute as more and more parents of brides come to think that their daughters will remain safe, secured and comfortable as money, authority, perks, prestige, privilege and immunities are inseparably linked up with such public jobs. Therefore, payment of dowry has become an important component of the marriage institution among the educated people.

Despite the enforcement of anti-dowry law (The Dowry Bill of 1960) by the Government, clandestine demand and payment of dowry have become a common phenomenon of the day. Parents of educated and well-placed unmarried young men vie with one another in bidding for highest possible amount of dowry. The situation has become so rabid that parents of most of the prospective grooms demand dowry in flagrant violation of the traditional norms and sense of decency of the society. Some of them, though are modest in demand at the time of marriage, try to extract dowry from the parents of the bride subsequently through subtle pressures, and failure on the part of her parents to comply with leads to commitment of all sorts of atrocities on the bride. The end result of this unhealthy process is ill-treatment, desertion, divorce or death of the bride.

Newspapers are replete with information about various atrocities committed on young married women. This gives rise to many other social problems. Gender discrimination was there in Indian society, but under the prevailing circumstances, attitude of the society towards the girl child has become blatantly discriminatory.

1991 census data indicate that the sex ratio in the country is imbalanced, and hence it is not favorable for the growth of a healthy social order. According to 1991 census data there are 929 females per 1,000 males, whereas in 1981 there were 934 females per 1,000 males, and thus during the past decade sex ratio has become more unfavourable. This might be partly due to the recent explosions in science and technology. With the recent developments in

medical science and technology, and the right to abortion having been legalised, discrimination against girl child has deepened. Since now it is possible to detect the sex of human embryo, several parents resort to medical termination of the pregnancy (MTP) if it is a female one. This is a dangerous social trend and will undoubtedly disrupt the gender ratio at a faster pace. The parents who resort to this nefarious course obviously foresee a gloomy future in nourishing a girl child, and in getting her settled in life through marriage.

Evils of Child Marriage :

Once upon a time child marriage was the rule of the Indian society. Since it was a retrograde institution, the Colonial Government had passed the Child Marriage Abolition Act in 1860 in order to eradicate it. But despite the enactment of several laws, child marriage is a common practice in many parts of the country.

Child marriage is a baneful custom, because a child of 5 to 6 years of age, whose life has barely begun, if married to someone, is not destined to experience freedom and joys of life, whereas her parents are happy to be relieved of the burden of a daughter so soon. It is common-place knowledge that girl children are discriminated against male children in several tradition-bound Indian families.

In more than one million cases out of the four million marriages held annually in India, the age of the bride is below the official age-limit of 18 years according to an estimate by the U.K. based Planned Parenthood Federation (Chatterjee, 1994 : 18). The phenomenon of child marriage is not only a problem of certain backward communities and areas of the country, but it is a problem of the whole nation. The average age of marriage for girls is less than 15 years in the country as against the legal stipulation of 18 years. Early marriage means longer reproductive cycle for a woman, and more number of pregnancies. Frequent pregnancies entail malnutrition, ill-health and susceptibility to diseases. The reasons of child marriage are both economic and cultural. The vicious cycle of poverty, ignorance, illiteracy and social unrest promotes child marriage.

Uneducated women with low socio-economic status generally bear more children. Such

women hardly enjoy being pregnant so often because of lack of proper food and rest. This situation promotes maternal morbidity. Every six minutes India loses a mother due to maternal morbidity. These recurrent maternities are thrust upon them amidst ill-health. They are not empowered socio-economically to protect themselves from the irresponsible and indifferent behaviors of their male partners. Many unmarried young women are either enticed or forced into the sex trap. Their plights and woes are limitless if they are deprived of family support.

These disruptive incidents run counter to a healthy social order. If the society becomes diseased, the quality of life of its members will fast deteriorate. The social values, norms and institutions which mankind had evolved meticulously and painstakingly over thousands of years can be destroyed within no time if the present trend of selfishness of the post-modern man is allowed to gain absolute control over vital and critical social affairs. For instance, the institution of monogamous marriage had evolved by mankind over thousands of years as the ideal corner-stone of human social edifice (Mchennan, 1865, Morgan, 1877, Westermarck, 1891).

Role of Bride-price and Prestations :

Earlier the institution of marriage represented a distinct socio-cultural domain, which defined its components (bride-price, dowry, middleman, prestations, etc) rights, duties, privileges and immunities centering around husband, wife, their offsprings and their respective kins in the society.

Bride-price/bride wealth, which has been fixed by convention and still being honoured among several tribal communities and backward caste groups in Indian society has an important social role. Now-a-days some marriages entail payment of bride-price and some others dowry. Where there is consideration of bride-price, it may be rendered either in goods, or in kind, or in services, resulting respectively in the ultimate payment of bride-price. Where no consideration is demanded, a marriage may be solemnized by an exchange of gifts of approximately equal

value between the families of the contracting parties (Murdock, 1949 : 20).

Bride-price and bride move in opposite directions and remain on opposite sides. The sum total of marital rights and the marriage prestations constitute a single fund of value apart from the set of rights in the bride's sexual and procreative capacities and domestic services. It is an instrument or means for legitimizing the status of children. For this reason, in bride-capture and elopement-marriages bride-price, though not paid before cohabitation between the couple, it is certainly paid when the first child is born to them. It is an institutionalized exchange which creates and maintains social relationship between two families (and groups). That way it contributes to mutual interdependence and social cohesion. It is a cementing factor in social relationship, especially in simple societies.

Marriage is followed by a systematic sequence of gifts and counter-gifts. Exchange of gifts, counter-gifts and services, channelled through affinal relationships, is backed up by social sanctions. Marriage exchanges promote social integration and therefore, goods and services are exchanged at regular intervals. Bride-price prevents conjugal separation. The customary requirement among several tribal communities is that if a married woman intends to desert/divorce her husband then her parents will have to return back the bride-price to her affines, and this is a difficult task.

Marriage and Social Parenthood :

Marriage ensures social parenthood, and mating does not. It involves an effective concern for child care and hence increased dependence on society. Steady increase of community control over the individual had forced him/her to accept marriage as an inevitable stage in human life cycle, which simultaneously led to the public denouncement of only mating relationship. On the other hand man's greater dependence on his culture pressed him to establish rules and regulations that defined the procedure and right to sexual relationship, procreation and upbringing of children to full grown members of the society. Marriage is an institution which leads to formation of

Family controls powerful emotional disturbances and disruptive actions which emanate along with sexual maturity. Sex engenders violent emotions. Thus through marriage sex is regulated and a strong foundation for group life and social solidarity is laid.

Family : The Corner-stone of Society :

Family is an association or group based on kinship relationship (affinal, descent and consanguine. Co-operation is basic to human nature and organization of groups. Family as a social group provides identity and support to its members. Family is an inseparable component of household, which is the basic building block of human societies. Within household economic production, consumption, child-rearing, enculturation, inheritance of property, succession to social positions, and provision of shelter are all organized and carried out. The core of the household, world over consists of some form of family, a group of relatives (consanguines and some affines) that stems from the parent child bond, and inevitable interdependence of men and women.

There is a close connection between marriage and family. Family may be structured in many different ways, but it provides for socially approved sexual relationship and economic co-operation between men and women and furnishes the necessary setting for child rearing.

Many different marriage and family patterns exist across societies and throughout history. The history of marriage institution shows that monogamous marriage is the most evolved type, which conspicuously outnumbers all other types. Families have been very different across societies. Among all types, the nuclear family certainly outnumbers the rest. As different types of families co-exist in all societies, it would be appropriate to speak of "families" instead of the "family".

Family and Household :

Men had evolved family out of necessity and experience. They had conceptualised family with two strong social bases, namely, affinity (between husband and wife) and descent (between parents and offsprings) because of absolute and indubitable dependence of human

offsprings on adult men and women for survival. The human family is a social group composed of a woman, her dependent children and at least one adult male joined through marriage (as in patrilineal societies) or blood relationship (as in Nayar matrilineal society).

Families as distinct bio-cultural and socio-economic units have taken many forms, and are undergoing constant modifications. Most of the humans are born in families and they live their whole lives in families. This means that family revolves around birth, life and death of a person. And every family, while being a conjugal one for some members, is also a natal one for some others. Therefore, it has dual nature. A nuclear family, which is a conjugal one for the married adult pair, is also simultaneously a natal family for their children. Family is a domestic social group, which consists of persons united by ties of marriage, consanguinity and constituting a single household. Its members interacting and communicating with each other in their respective social roles as husband and wife, mother and father, son and daughter, brother and sister and creating and maintaining a common family culture, contribute to the structure and functioning of the society. Household is the basic residential unit within which economic production, consumption, inheritance, child rearing and shelter are organized and carried out. In the vast majority of human societies, households consists of families, or else their core members constitute families, even though some members of the household may not be relatives of the family around which it is built.

Household consists of a set of people amongst whom there is a structured system of relationship and who live under one roof. There is a network or pattern of relationship (normative) between the persons, who interact with one another by virtue of their roles. Whereas family as a social group or association consists of a structured system of relationship. It is not concrete like a household. Its structure varies in space and time. For instance, a nuclear family may grow into an extended family, and the latter in course of time may result in a number of nuclear families in cyclic form. A nuclear family may totally disappear. One can

comprehend its structure, which has no correlation with space and time. However, families are distinguished from other social groups by their emotional, socio-cultural and legal intrinsic values.

Typologies, Structures and Functions :

Families can be classified in various ways; for example, (i) on the basis of marriage, (ii) on the basis of residence after marriage, (iii) on the basis of the principles of descent, (iv) on the basis of authority, (v) on the basis of inheritance of family names, and (vi) on the basis of structure. All the empirical varieties have different socio-cultural dimensions; but what is common to all of them is their centrality to society. All of them exhibit four critical relationships, namely, (i) between the spouses, (ii) between parents and children, (iii) between siblings and (iv) between primary and secondary (and tertiary) kins.

Before discussing the functions of the family as well as the critical interpersonal relationships within it, one has to make a catalogue of common family types. From the available literature it is evident that they are six in number, namely, (i) consanguine family, (ii) conjugal family, (iii) nuclear family, (iv) extended family (v) composite (conjugal-natal) family, and (vi) joint family. A *consanguine family* consists of related women, their brothers and the offsprings of the women (e.g Nayar *tarvard* of Kerala). A *conjugal family* consists of one man (or more) married to one woman (or more) and their offsprings. A *nuclear family* consists of a married couple and their unmarried children. It may be without children if they are not yet born. In nuclear family there are both sexual and descent relations. Thus it has broader and stronger social base. Descent may be direct (lineal) and shared. An *extended family* has more segments. In agrarian societies small nuclear families commonly constitute parts of larger extended families. This kind of family is in part conjugal and in part consanguine. It includes father, mother, brothers, unmarried sisters, uncles, aunts, their children and grandparents. All these people, some related by blood and some by marriage live and work

together. A *composite family* includes within its fold both conjugal and natal families. In societies where there may be more than one husband or wife in a family at the same time, the conjugal natal families are not independent units, but are rather segments of a composite conjugal-natal family. Thus a composite family consists of two or more conjugal-natal family segments. A *joint family* consists of a group of people related by ties of marriage and blood, who generally live under one roof, eat food cooked in one kitchen, hold property in common, undertake joint farming of land and participate in common family worships. This sort of family once dominated Indian village communities.

The following characteristics are common to all the six family types mentioned above. These are : (1) A family results out of some form of marriage; (2) Socially approved sexual relationship between the husband and the wife leads to procreation of children; (3) The system of nomenclature of the family domain accounts for its structure; (4) Common habitation among the members of the family promotes socio-cultural togetherness; (5) Economic co-operation and sharing of resources maintain unity and solidarity among the members, and (6) Upbringing of children and their socialization ensure continuity of the family line. Notwithstanding these, recent empirical evidences indicate that some families do not fully fulfil all these conditions.

Systemic Functions of Family :

Families are structurally and functionally varied across societies, yet they have some basic functions that are more or less common to all. Societies are systems and they are made up of interrelated and interdependent parts like an organism. Among all other parts of the society family is the basic one. If society is a larger organism, families within it are smaller social entities or wholes. The organismic approach though is fraught with limitations, yet it helps in understanding better the system sustaining functions. Functionally all the elements contribute to the existence of the whole. Likewise, most of the families continue to

sustain the society with their systemic functions.

As the basic building block of the society, family has several system sustaining functions. Marriage is the fountain-head of kinship, and family is the resultant basic societal unit created through it. The following functions of family seem to be common :—

- (1) Sexual activity within the society is controlled and regulated through marriage and family.
- (2) Special emotional, social and economic ties firmly girdle the relationship between the spouses.
- (3) It offers appropriate social milieu for the birth of human offsprings, and provides social paternity to them.
- (4) It provides for the care of children, and for their upbringing and socialization.
- (5) It provides social identity and status to its members.
- (6) It ensures economic and social security to its members.
- (7) Through exchange of goods and services it promotes a wider social network.
- (8) It contributes to the growth of kin-groups, social neighbourhoods and settlements.

Control and Regulation of sex :

The impetuous drive of sex may impel individuals into reckless activities without impunity. Such behaviour may imperil and disrupt the corporate nature of society and co-operative relationships upon which social life hinges. Sex is a powerful biological need of man, and hence it must be regulated.

No society can afford to permit indiscriminate and free competition over sexual relationships, because such a stance will generate violent disorder and free aggressions. Therefore, all societies bring sex under some sort of control and regulate it through cultural devices. Social control of sex has been a universal phenomenon. This is evident from the cultural universality of incest taboo.

Societies grant controlled permission to individuals through socially established norms. Everyone is allowed to have his/her sexual satisfaction through socially approved means. Societies also face the problem of reconciling the need of controlling sex with that of the impulsive sexual action of some individuals. In every society there are hyper-sexual individuals as there are sexual sublimates. There are individuals who are not content with their marital sexuality and seek extra-marital relations. In order to solve this problem all societies have devices like cultural taboos, social permissions, injunctions and punishments. However, all societies have provision for marital sexuality, where, within the family organization, a married couple overcomes the impulse by observing all social and cultural proprieties, nevertheless sexual aberrations are there in all societies where proprieties of cultural taboos are not observed, and such incidents are: incest, adultery, mismating, status unchastity, incontinence and fornication. Despite these, family is the best mechanism to control and regulate sex, the powerful disruptive force of human society and culture.

Emotional, Social and Economic Ties :

The family which a man and his wife build after their marriage is exclusively their own socio-cultural world. They remain together in all kinds of situations. Together they realise the fullness of human life. They express emotions towards one another in various ways. They share joys and sorrows, pleasure and pain, happiness and worries, gratifications and tribulations, affluence and poverty, plentitude and want in equal measure.

Family functions as a solid socio-economic unit. Both the spouses exercise joint control over family assets, resources and income, and share joint responsibility towards family liabilities. In most of the simple and traditional societies women do not inherit property, but despite this wives play a decisive role in family economy. Spouses co-operate with each other and assist each other in all sorts of situations. Jointly they manage the internal problems of the family and together they deal with other family segments, neighbours, kins and strangers. Thus the social base of the family constitute the core of human society.

Social Milieu for Birth of Human Offsprings :

Family provides appropriate social base for reproduction and nourishment of human offsprings. Family as a social group functions with well defined sets of interpersonal relationship among its members, such as between husband and wife, parents and children, and among siblings. The sets of reciprocally adjusted habitual responses are equally defined, which promote a fund of common good will and fellow-feeling. Members of a family are emotionally, socially and economically bound up and individually as well as jointly discharge their socio-cultural responsibilities towards one another. The clustered relationships within the family facilitate, directly and reciprocally, the birth of offsprings as well as pre-natal and post-natal care of mother and child.

The relationship between husband and wife in a nuclear family is socially consolidated by the sexual privilege which society accords to the couple for procreation of children. Child birth is not a random phenomenon. It is carried out as per social regulations within the family for the lineal continuity of family as well as to replenish the population in the society. Family is the social group which reconciles the need for control of sex with the opposing need of its expression, with culturally defined taboos and permissions, for ensuring the social process of child birth. A large measure of sexual freedom is granted by the society to spouses in a nuclear family. But husband and wife abide by sexual decency and social regulations, such as periodic restrictions and taboos so as to ensure a harmonious social order.

Family ensures social parenthood to the offsprings. After birth every person is socially identified with his/her parents, family and society. Social parenthood is very important for everyone. One's position in the social structure is first determined by his/her social parenthood. Parenthood is determined right from the time of conception of a woman. A mother needs a lot of care to deliver healthy children, and only a human family can ensure this. Maternity care is culture-specific in simple and traditional societies. Such care is only possible in family atmosphere. Provision of special diet, leisure, required pastime, health care and an

socio-cultural environment can be made in a family atmosphere.

Child Care and Socialization :

After birth, human offsprings require to be nursed, tended and reared to physical and social maturity by their parents and other kins. The burdens of reproduction and child care are strenuous and risky. Children are a source of strength, inspiration and security, and hence parents and other family members meticulously fulfill the obligations of child care. Parents have to make a lot of sacrifice so as to bring up the children within their available means.

An infant has to be fed at regular intervals, cleaned timely, dressed and fondled. Its toilet habits are regulated gradually. In the rearing of children the future interest of parents is involved. In traditional societies grown up children look after their old parents. Thus in child care self-interest of parents works as a motive. Parental natural love also works as a further motive for meticulous child care. Individual and social advantages thus operate in a variety of ways to reinforce the reproductive aspects of the parent-child relationships within the nuclear family.

The most fundamental of these relationships is the one that obtains between mother and child, which is grounded in the physiological facts of pregnancy and lactation. The father becomes involved in the care of the child only by sharing the tasks with mother. Older children frequently assume partial charge of their younger siblings. Grand parents, if present, also share the task joyfully. The entire family thus comes to participate in child care, and is socio-culturally unified through this sort of co-operation.

Enculturating and educating children to take their role in the full life of the society/community are the chief objectives in all societies. Cultures, while manifest through the behaviour of individuals, set appropriate patterns for persons. All cultures change through time, but they have an enduring continuity which supersedes the life span of human beings. Culture, with roots in individual behaviour, is super-individual. An individual derives his personality through the process of

enculturation, that is, learning appropriate modes of behaviour from his/her culture while growing up. Thus a child's personality is developed. A personality is the integrated system of behaviour, both learned and unlearned, which is characteristic of an individual, basically in the context of one's own culture.

The human infant, who comes into the world as a biological organism with animal needs, is gradually moulded into a social being. Every child learns to conform to the norms of the group. Parents and family remain as the primary agencies of socialization.

Provision of social Identity and Status :

Every society has a structure, which is a complicated but patterned network of social relationship by which statuses/roles are interconnected. In every society people occupy statuses and play roles thereof and eschew them whenever they become redundant in the context of their social structure. Every person has some sort of social identity (or identities) by virtue of which one interacts with his fellow-men. Social identity thus is the status or role norm. The domain of a social status consists of some prescribed norms which determine the nature of interaction in respect of that status. Every person occupies several statuses at any point of time and play the roles thereof. One interacts with another person by virtue of a single status at any point of time.

The source of social statuses/roles is the nuclear family. Birth determines certain statuses within the family of orientation, and while growing up one may acquire new statuses as per social necessity. One needs brief or knowledge about the duty and right of statuses. Social position or statuses have conceptual autonomies as specific social identities. A social identity, whether ascribed or achieved, has a body of rights, duties, privileges, powers, immunities and liabilities. The social base of all the social identities, which one is likely assume in his/her community/society, is one's own nuclear family (the family of orientation and procreation). In the social structure of one's own community/society one has to play roles by virtue of some social identities. In the family the growing child develops his first habits of

reciprocal behaviour, that is, his first interpersonal relationship on the basis of his identity.

Economic and Social Security :

Every family has some income generating assets, some source of livelihood or able adults to earn for the family. Every family needs economic resources, which are arranged by its adult members for management of the whole family. In a family, father or mother or both ensure food, clothing, shelter and other material requirements for the children, old members and the sick. Family groups compose effective economic units of production, consumption and exchange and function as solid economic units.

Whatever may be the nature of resource base, life in a family group rests on fellow-feeling, sympathy, sacrifice, tolerance and co-operation. Parents ensure comfort to their children often at tremendous sacrifice. All these values aim at ensuring the social cohesion of the family group. Members of a family undertake the tasks allotted to them on the basis of age-sex criteria for the successful functioning of the socio-economic unit. With the passage of time children become adult and take up the roles of the latter. However, usual economic activities are undertaken on the basis of age, sex, ascribed status and aptitude or special skill.

The economic security which family provides to its members is a system-maintaining phenomenon. In all societies children are dependent on parents or other adults for economic support, and when the adults become old and children become adult the trend of economic dependence is reversed. Family is the most ideal social group where each takes from the common resources as per his/her needs and contributes as per one's ability.

Like economic security, family provides social security to all its members. In traditional societies, such as Indian rural society, the care of the sick, disabled, mentally retarded, infirm and aged persons, is taken up by their respective family members, and without this their condition will become miserable. If they are left uncared for, the society will become pathological. Now-a-days some families shirk these social responsibilities under severe economic strain, which trend is growing and

societies do not come out fast with programmes of social security measures. The cause of social development will be severely jeopardized if they continue to neglect this aspect.

This problem has arisen as both husband and wife take up salaried jobs or some gainful employment so as to mitigate their economic problem, and simultaneously the extended family structure has dwindled. In families where both the father and mother leave the home and go to attend their respective professions, nourishment, socialization and security of their young children immensely suffer.

Promotes Wider Social Network :

In Indian rural society, village communities, caste groups, tribal groups, religious minorities and their kin groups are bound up by a fund of goodwill and fellow-feeling through the exchange of goods and services. Exchange of goods and services in Indian rural society has been institutionalised to promote social cohesion. Goods produced by people are consumed, exchanged and given as gifts on ceremonial and festive occasions, such as, birth, initiation, name giving, marriage and death to reinforce social solidarity. Individuals interact on such occasions as members of different families. On such and in such events, for interaction family identity is very crucial because family constitutes the basic societal unit for consociation.

Gift exchange at the level of family consolidates and widens the social circle of an individual and his family. Gift exchange and the system of presentations are investments for earning the goodwill, sympathy and co-operation from the recipients who belong to the social circle. Thus family promotes and maintains wider social groups in the interest of individuals.

Promotes Kin groups and Social Neighbourhoods :

Family is the source of various kin groups, that is, social groups based on kinship. An individual is first a member of a nuclear family, and through it one is related to extended

families, whether of patrilocal, matrilocal or avunculocal types. Unlike nuclear families they include tertiary kins and represent wider kin circles. In a nuclear family the kinship bonds which link the members to one another are partly affinal (as between husband and wife) and partly consanguineal (as between parents and children, and between siblings). Out of the nuclear family emerges the extended family, which, like the former, is also a residential kin group. And out of this grows the lineage, which is a consanguineal kin group. The members of such groups are predominantly bound by consanguineal ties. Affinal ties of course exist within such a group only incidentally (as between husband and wife) and indirectly (an in-marrying spouse of a consanguine). Operation of incest taboos make such groups exogamous, and therefore, brother and sister cannot remain as members of the same consanguineal group (lineage and sib). Like family, other kin groups, namely lineage, sib or clan are based on cultural principles. Lineage is not a residential kin group. It is regularly based on a rule of descent rather than of residence. Whereas clan is a compromise kin group which is based upon both a rule of residence and rule of descent. The problem of reconciliation arises only with unilocal residence and unilinear descent, effecting a compromise whereby some affinal relatives are included and some consanguineal kinsmen are excluded.

Neighbourhood is created by a group or cluster of families. Neighbourhood consists of the local group, which is called community. Nuclear family and the community, which constitute the neighbourhood, are universal. They are found everywhere. In certain European countries and North America nuclear families are getting depleted and single member families are gaining prominence. Spatial proximity unites neighbouring families into larger social groups functionally. Socio-cultural interaction bind the families into a neighbourhood. And neighbourhoods differ from one another on the basis of the style of life of people. Thus in the dynamism of kin groups and growth of neighbourhood the role of nuclear family is crucial.

The Changing Family Structure :

The forms and functions of family have undergone adaptive changes with changes in the technological and economic superstructure of society. Change from extended to nuclear and from nuclear to friendship family (where the man is not married to the woman) or temporary contractual family (where the conjugal relationship between a man and a woman is based on a contract for a stipulated period) is an example of structural change. In a nuclear family or an extended family or a joint family role structures and authority systems are well-entrenched in tradition. Families are economic, social, religious and cultural social entities. In India extended and joint families fostered sociological process that were conducive to the agrarian structure of the society. The recent trends of change in the family structure is not conducive to the growth of a healthy society.

The transition from joint to nuclear family is a process of disintegration of the older social order. Contemporary sociological literature views the process as one of alienation. Nuclear family became inevitable in the changing economic scenario of the post-Second World War period. Women activists hailed it as a liberation from lifelong submission and drudgery in an extended or joint family. This is a movement from collectivism to individualism in the context of acquisition of quality of life. Nuclear family to a large measure reduced a wife's self denial and servility. In the process of change from extended or joint family to a nuclear one, the prominence of man gave way to that of woman. In a nuclear family she plans the domestic chore and family budget and handles money. Nuclear family is a compact family of husband, wife and their children, which realises its aspirations within its means. But with the ratio of working women gradually increasing, the pressure on the housewife, both outside and inside the house becomes intolerable for her. Coupled with recalcitrant individualism this situation shatters the balance of family life. The conflict creates a hiatus between the husband and the wife. If there is a divorce and the children are young, then they are left with the mother. Now apart from discharging her role as mother she will have to

be the bread-winner. The child (or children) gets neglected, unloved and lonely. Its emotional needs and parental intimacy is thwarted. The father figure so vital to child's unbringing is missing. Therefore, socialization process becomes imbalanced.

In Europe, and particularly in America more than a third are born to single parent families. Large numbers of women have to rely on welfare funds to bring up their children. In order to overcome this crisis in the U. S. A. programmes for 'successful fatherhood' have been launched (Nair, 1994). However, much before the international attention to the problems of the family was drawn, the Indian Parliament had enacted a legislation to preserve this basic social group by facilitating the resolution of domestic disputes. The purpose of the Family Court Act, 1984 was to free this vital social group from the stresses and strains that it was being subjected to by various modern forces.

Sex without ethics should be discouraged, otherwise it will quickly push family to its doomsday. It is incumbent on the international community to promote sex with ethics and thereby promote a culture of responsible procreation. Family must be preserved in the interest of humankind. Society will not exist, if family is destroyed. Family cannot survive if a man and woman do not co-operate with each other in socially approved manner for the procreation, nourishment, care and socialization of children.

National Governments should delineate broad policies for the preservation of families. Without family none will remain social. Family, the basic societal unit, must be strengthened to strengthen national societies and the human fraternity. Family functions be allowed to remain culture-specific. The inroad of unethical global trends on to family function be prevented. The unethical post-modernism is a self-destructive phenomenon. We have to create family friendly societies by dampening the spirit of competitive consumerism and unethical sex.

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Rehabilitation of Tribals displaced by Subarnarekha Irrigation Project in Mayurbhanj, Orissa

Rajalaxmi Rath

The Subarnarekha river originates in the Chottanagpur Plateau and flows through the States of Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa before falling into the Bay of Bengal. This "goldenline" as its name indicates was identified for providing irrigation facilities for agricultural production and ensure economic development of a very backward area of the country. In the year 1978 the Government of India gave concurrence after a tripartite agreement among the three riverine States for the construction of the ambitious Subarnarekha Multipurpose Project (SMP). The total catchment area is 18,951 Sq. Kms. The break up of catchment area among the three States is assessed at 13,590 Sq. Kms. in Bihar, 3,201 Sq. Kms. in Orissa and 2,160 Sq. Kms. in West Bengal. After completion of the Project the share of water between Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal will be in the proportion of 32:12:1 respectively. To utilise the Orissa share of water, the Subarnarekha Irrigation Project (SIP) has been planned in Orissa to irrigate 0.9 lakh hectare of cultivable area primarily in the tribal dominated district of Mayurbhanj.

The Subarnarekha Irrigation Project (SIP) of Orissa covers three Command Area Reservoirs at Haladia, Jambhira and Baura all in the district of Mayurbhanj. Water to these reservoirs will be carried from Galudih Right Bank Canal (GRBC), located in the Singhbhum district of Bihar almost 56 Kms. upstream from the Orissa border. After this canal reaches the Bihar-Orissa border it is called the Subarnarekha Main Canal. This Main Canal together with its Branch Canals and distributaries and minors will feed the three command area reservoirs of Haldia, Jambhira and Baura to irrigate the respective command areas. The fourth reservoir located at Ichha in the Singhbhum district of

Bihar is part of the Ichha Project being constructed on river Khadkai, a tributary of Subarnarekha.

As part of the developmental planning in India construction of Multipurpose Dams was taken up in a big way soon after independence. It is estimated that by the year 1985 a sum of Rs.15,026 crores had already been spent on major and medium irrigation projects in the country. In a developing country like ours where millions live below the poverty line and seldom get enough food to eat, such irrigation projects provide a ray of hope. Better facilities of irrigation and power means better crops, which in turn means improvement in the food security for millions of people. According to the Central Water Commission benefits like hydroelectricity, irrigation, flood-control, industrial and municipal water-supply are not possible unless water is stored in reservoirs created by dams. Perhaps it was with the idea of inspiring the public with a vision of the future that our first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru referred to such projects as 'Temples of Humanity'. However, the most important problem to be looked into while embanking on these ambitious projects is the rehabilitation and resettlement of the persons uprooted due to such big projects. The Project Affected People (PAP) face many problems in the process of shifting from their ancestral houses and seldom agree to give up their immovable assets to the project authorities unless provided with adequate compensation in the form of land for agriculture, house site and compensation for rehabilitation.

The construction of such projects means acquiring vast tracts of land. Most of these projects in India are constructed in remote areas which are generally near the forests. These projects affect the tribal people who are original inhabitants of the forest areas. In the long run they may benefit from such Multipurpose Projects but the immediate loss of home and land is great and the experience is traumatic. They are uprooted from their natural surroundings and lose their traditional access to the forest resources. They are provided with an alien setting which leaves them totally shaken. This is the most unfortunate

consequence of such projects and calls for an indepth study with a view to identify the human problems and offer solutions for smooth execution of the projects.

Profile of the District :

Mayurbhanj is a backward district of Orissa where 58 per cent of the population are tribal people. The river Subarnarekha flows through the districts of Mayurbhanj and Balasore in north Orissa (Map attached in Annexure-I) and empties itself into the Bay of Bengal. With tremendous optimism the multi-crore World Bank Aided Subarnarekha Irrigation Project (SIP) was planned to harness the State's share of the river's water (1,409 Cu.M.) and irrigate a vast tract of nearly 1.10 lakh hectares of water-starved, tribal-dominated areas in Mayurbhanj and the Coastal areas of neighbouring Balasore district. The project in the survey affected several poor tribal families who live in the area marked for the construction of the reservoirs. In the near future they have to move out once water starts filling up in the reservoirs. As in similar projects in Western India like the Sardar Sarovar and the Tehri Dam in the Garhwals, the tribals had to struggle for survival. A study conducted by the Operations Research Group (ORG) at the behest of the Orissa Government to prepare an Action Plan for rehabilitation and resettlement of the oustees of the Subarnarekha Irrigation Project (SIP) in the construction of the Jambhira Reservoir gives us a clear picture of the socio-economic profile of the people affected by the construction work at one of the dam sites. The proportion of men and material that would be affected in the total construction can be gauged from the magnitude of loss in the case of the Jambhira Dam as given below :—

Table 1:1
Distribution of population of affected zone
(Jambhira Dam)

Sl. No.	Caste	Male	Female	Total
1	SC	126 (52.5)	114 (47.5)	240 (100.0)
2	ST	1739 (50.0)	1742 (50.0)	3481 (100.0)
3	OC	1564 (50.1)	1561 (49.9)	3125 (100.0)
	Total	3429 (50.1)	3417 (49.9)	6846 (100.0)

Source : Census of India, 1981

The tribal families outnumber the scheduled castes and general population as shown in the Table 1:1 above. A list of villages with the families affected under the Haladia Reservoir also endorses the above trend (Annexure-II), that the scheduled tribes population constitute the majority of the Project Affected People (PAP). A glance at Annexure-III A and B will endorse, the similar view as regards the families affected together with the type of loss under the Jambhira Reservoir.

Though almost all the tribes of Orissa are found in Mayurbhanj, the district is dominated by tribes like Santhal, Ho, Munda and the Bathudi tribes. Like any other tribe of India, the above tribes too live in close proximity with nature and mostly in and around forests. Tribal life and culture is so interwoven and integrated with forests that once uprooted from these habitats they are badly shaken. "They face a total social, economic and cultural crisis of identity, alienation, stability and order". The large scale displacement of people inhabiting the area and rehabilitation of these people sometimes results in maladjustment and social tension.

Although the unirrigated agricultural lands of Mayurbhanj and neighbouring Balasore district will be greatly benefitted due to irrigation and other facilities that the Subarnarekha Irrigation Project (SIP) promises to bring, yet, one cannot overlook the human problems that accompany the construction of a dam and flooding of the area. The most sensitive issue is therefore the uprooting of the tribal inhabitants of those areas and shattering their socio-economic and cultural base, in addition to disturbing various ecological conditions of the area like destruction of forests, loss of wildlife, problems of erosion, water-logging, salinity etc. The tribal people of Mayurbhanj who constitute majority of the displaced being illiterate and innocent are the worst hit. The trauma of being uprooted from their natural setting where they have lived for generations and then adjusting to an alien setting may have disastrous effects on the innocent tribal people. With the uprooting their composite cultural life undergoes unexpected changes as if their life is broken into a myriad of splinters and along with it shatters the innocent

and pure joys of their life. They are forced to sacrifice the warmth and security of their ancestral home for the sake of the development project. The project does hold promises of prosperity and progress for the area, but such development can take place only at the cost of the poor and hopeless tribal oustees who are destined to lose in the process of development.

Displacement of people due to such big or gigantic projects is inevitable. Therefore it becomes the duty of the Government and the project authorities to ensure that misery and sufferings caused to the displaced population is kept at the minimum level. This is necessary not only from the humanitarian point of view but also for the smooth execution and completion of the project. Adequate precaution must therefore be taken to understand the genuine problems of the displaced persons and to adjust and accommodate their needs to the extent desirable and possible. Experience has shown that the successful implementation of such projects depends to a large extent on the manner in which reconciliation has been affected between the divergent views of the concerned State Government, displaced persons and the project authorities.

The execution of the Subrnarekha Irrigation Project (SIP) involves careful planning and co-ordination of the three machineries of the Government of Orissa, the Government of India and the World Bank who are one of its major financiers. All three of them have formulated policies and have certain guidelines to ensure payment of adequate compensation for the loss suffered by the persons to be displaced. It is worth while to outline and examine the rehabilitation policies as proposed or practised by the various authorities.

The Rehabilitation Policy of the Government of Orissa regarding the Rengali Multipurpose Project, 1973 had most of the basic provisions of a good rehabilitation and resettlement policy. Later this policy was made applicable to all irrigation and power projects in the State. A major modification was made in 1983 after the introduction of the Forest Conservation Act, when alienation of forest lands for settlement purposes became difficult. This modification introduced the option of "Cash in lieu of land" if

if land was not available. Hence the Government did not have the responsibility of providing replacement land. Despite the existence of a reasonable policy since 1973; the Rengali Irrigation Project made a poor start with only 15% of the oustees being properly settled similarly 85 per cent of the 3,000 families affected by the Upper Kolab Project in the Koraput district of Orissa did not receive replacement land even though Government land was available; same is the case with the ongoing Upper Indravati Project in Kalahandi of Orissa, the dam's construction is now stalled due to a major accident in 1992.

The liberalised Rehabilitation Policy of the Government of Orissa, 1990, has few essential characteristics as regards the resettlement and rehabilitation due to construction of Irrigation Projects. They are as follows :—

- (a) Any one who retains less than 3 acres of land after acquisition for the reservoir will be entitled for agricultural land.
- (b) A son above 18 years whether married or unmarried will be treated as a separate family in matters of rehabilitation assistance. Physically and mentally retarded persons will be entitled for assistance irrespective of age.
- (c) Each displaced family will be provided with 0.10 acre of homestead land for settlement. An asbestos top house of floor area 300 to 400 Sq. feet, with 2 rooms, a kitchen and a bathroom in a rehabilitation colony.
- (d) Each person will get agricultural land depending on the area/land lost by the displaced person. Cash in lieu of land i.e. Rs.8,000.00 per acre for unirrigated land and Rs.16,000.00 per acre for irrigated land if Government is unable to give the land.
- (e) Rehabilitation work to start well in advance so that the oustees will already be accommodated in the new colony before the reservoir actually fills up.
- (f) The selection of the rehabilitation colony is also done with a lot of care so that 50 to 100 families of one sector/class are

accommodated and adjusted in one new colony with necessary amenities like approach road from nearby main road, internal link roads in colony, schools, public health centres, community centres, tanks, wells, tube-wells, places of worship, burial places, etc.

- (g) Compensation money will be deposited in the name of the awardee in any nationalised bank or post office where the oustees will as far as possible be shifted. Shifting will be done with Government vehicles. Rs.500.00 per month will be given to each family for one year in order to provide maintenance till adjustment in the new colony. 50 per cent of Government vacancies of unskilled posts in the project area will be filled up out of the displaced families.
- (h) During the execution certain components of the rehabilitation plan may be entrusted to reputed voluntary agencies.
- (i) The resolution will be given effect to from 1-6-1990. Displaced families, who have already been provided with rehabilitation assistance either in the shape of land or cash prior to 1-6-1990 will not be eligible to the assistance provided in the Resolution.

It is one thing for the guidelines to be formulated and another to ensure proper implementation. In order to ensure faithful implementation of the rehabilitation policy of the Government, it is imperative to ensure effective monitoring and supervision particularly at the Project level. Such supervision should be done with the active participation of the representatives of the people, who can bring the problems and sufferings of the oustees to the notice of the authorities. With this background an Advisory Committee has been formed for the district of Mayurbhanj under the Chairmanship of the Revenue Divisional Commissioner. The Chief Engineer of the SIP, Collector & District Magistrate of Mayurbhanj and the MP or MLA of the area. This Committee meets at regular intervals and in addition to reviewing the

progress of rehabilitation the Committee also sends recommendations to the State Government as necessary.

An organisation of the oustees has been formed under the banner of the "Subarnarekha Budianchal Suraksha Samiti" (Society for Protection of persons affected by Subarnarekha) in all four reservoir areas. The Samiti is very vociferous and has effectively stalled work by the contractors at the Jambhira site for quite some time protesting against inadequate compensation and indifferent implementation of the policy of rehabilitation. A memorandum submitted to the district authorities contains a charter of demands as follows :—

- (a) Compensation for land and property on the basis of replacement value.
- (b) Complete rehabilitation arrangements before filling of the reservoir and consequent flooding of villages.
- (c) New village sites with all basic facilities in consultation with affected persons.
- (d) A minimum of two hectares replacement land and 500 Sq. Mts. of homestead land.
- (e) Community/village, as social unit for resettlement.
- (f) Adequate measures to rehabilitate landless persons and artisans.
- (g) 75 per cent subsidy of the estimate for development of replacement land.
- (h) Rehabilitation grant and free transportation facilities.
- (i) Employment to one member of each oustee family.
- (j) Adjustment of the cost of replacement land from compensation on easy terms.

The above demands of the affected people have been raised repeatedly before the authorities. Non-fulfillment of their demands has forced the affected people to resort to demonstration, gheraos and other forms of agitation. Often such agitations have turned violent and led to police action. The construction works at various sites have come

to a standstill on several occasions. In fact the most basic demand of proper settlement at the new village site with basic facilities before actual flooding of the reservoir has been accepted by all including the authorities as the most genuine of all their demands.

A complete picture of the Subarnarekha Irrigation Project can be had if the details of the submergence, population affected and families displaced are outlined. A brief sketch is given in table 2:1.

Table 2-1
Submergence, Population affected and Families Displace Table-2

A. Area Submerged (ha)	Haldia	Jambhira	Baura	Ichha	Total
At FRL	640	2600	2525	2631	
At MWL	968	2928	2759		
B. No. of villages affected					
Fully	1	14	6	3	24
Partly	9	11	16	4	40
Irrigated Land	6	10	Nil	29	45
	16	35	22	36	109
C. Population Affected	1629	6672	5479	9653	23433
D. No. of families Affected					
ST	366	1163	1701	3152	6382
SC	41	133	126	116	416
General	208	1271	205	562	2246
	615	2567	2032	3830	9044
E. Families losing house and land					
ST	325	989	1701	686	3701
SC	41	129	126	56	352
General	166	1081	205	22	1474
	532	2199	2032	764	5527
F. No. of Families losing only agriculture land	83	368	..	3066	3517

Source : Socio-Economic Study for R+R Plan for SIP-ORG Study

The table shows that the magnitude and implications of displacement is huge and requires a very liberal outlook and a lenient policy on the part of the concerned authorities in order to make the construction smooth and displacement easy. Based on the demands of the oustees, past experiences of resettlement, and the World Bank recommendations in dealing with involuntary resettlement in India, and recommendations of the Committee of the Subarnarekha Irrigation Project the Government of Orissa formulated a modified policy for resettlement in the year 1990 for Subarnarekha Project oustees. The main objective was to take decision in order to provide certain benefits to the displaced persons in regard to Land Acquisition and Rehabilitation, which are the two basic preconditions to make any Resettlement and Rehabilitation Programme successful. The following important decisions were taken and they were improvements on all other policies discussed before. The decisions were taken as follows :—

- (i) Houses, coming on the bank of the canal should be acquired if the house is found unsuitable for living. Individual cases will be decided on merit.
- (ii) After acquisition, small fraction of land remaining with the tenant in a plot which is not fit for agricultural operation is also to be acquired. In this case also individual cases will be decided on merit.
- (iii) In canal area villages, families whose houses are coming under acquisition and their balance landed property is less than 3.00 acres should get rehabilitation facilities like those in the submerged villages. This is not covered by Rehabilitation Policy of Government of Orissa. However, it was decided that the views of Rehabilitation Committee can be intimated to Government in Irrigation and Power Department for consideration and decision.
- (iv) All the Land Acquisition payment should be done through Bank by issuing Pass Book.
- (v) Government in Industries Department may be moved for keeping some seats reserved in the Technical Training

- Institute Mayurbhanj for the training of the eligible displaced persons in different trades.
- (vi) After establishment of Rehabilitation Colonies, Government in Health Department may be moved for construction of dispensary/hospital in the colonies.
 - (vii) Government land is available in 6 villages for resettlement of displaced persons of Ichha dam. The sub-Collector, Bamanghaty should make a spot visit along with the Tahasildar of Bahalda, Zone Officer and concerned Assistant Engineer, Subarnarekha Irrigation Project and finalise the rehabilitation colonies for the displaced persons of Ichha dam. He should also take views of the displaced persons.
 - (viii) Depending on the availability of land, displaced families who are left with some agricultural land should be resettled in the same village or nearby village.
 - (ix) Displaced families who are becoming completely landless should be resettled in the nearby villages as per the availability of Government land.
 - (x) For rehabilitating the displaced persons of Jambhira and Haldia reservoirs, lands are available in 31 villages and 7 villages respectively. The Tahasildar, Baripada should find out the extent of Government land available in these villages for the purpose of rehabilitation. Thereafter lands under un-objectionable encroachments can be settled with the landless persons as per rule and balance land available for resettlement can be determined. This should be taken up on priority basis by the Tahasildar.
 - (xi) Eligible displaced families should be accommodated in different antipoverty and income generating schemes by respective Blocks.
 - (xii) Leaflets should be prepared and distributed among the displaced families, indicating the measures to be taken for their resettlement by the Chief Engineer.
 - (xiii) One Bikash Patrika should be given to one person in each displaced families which will contain all the details with the photograph of the displaced person.
 - (xiv) The public institutions and places of worship which are coming within the canal alignment should be reallocated by the project authorities.
 - (xv) Facilities for self-employment schemes should also be extended for the educated unemployment persons of the submersible areas.
 - (xiv) Fresh enumeration of displaced families as per the rehabilitation policy will be taken up.
 - (xvii) Department of the oustee families will be given employment in the vacant posts in the project, particularly in the Class-III and Class-IV levels, instead of bringing in outside candidates.

It is estimated that the construction of the four reservoirs involves the acquisition of 20 thousand acres of land and affects 5,000 families, the tribals being the majority among the families affected. The Table at Annexure-IV gives an insight into the progress of land acquisition, concerning the SIP as on 25-3-1992. By and large they are all however dependent on agriculture for their livelihood be they tribals or non-tribals. What is most essential is proper rehabilitation of the affected population, which can be only done with the help of a team of multidisciplinary experts, a social scientist, land consolidation specialist, land revenue specialist, irrigation planner, etc. By the year 1990 about 34 villages have been paid compensation involving a sum of 100 crores. But much has to be still done.

In spite of the fact that some precaution was taken at all levels to ensure proper compensation to the families, there were many a slip between the cup and the lip and it was the poor tribal oustees who suffered. All the major tribes of Orissa are found in Mayurbhanj but the tribes who are most affected due to the SIP are the Santhals, Ho, Bhuyan and Bathudis. Majority of them depend on agriculture and work on their own land. Some others work as farm labourers too. A small percentage is engaged in household industries such as Sabai

grass cultivation and rope making. Few of the tribal people rear goats, sheep and poultry, etc., but hardly in a commercial manner. Much of the transactions take place in the weekly hats or at the doorstep itself. A look at annexure V and VI gives an insight into the type of workers in the two sites of Jambhira and Haldia. It is almost the same picture in the Baura and Ichha Dam sites.

Whatever may be the extent of loss incurred and the compensation by way or rehabilitation given, there is no denying the fact that the tribal families are not aware of the actual loss. Stories of a green Mayurbhanj and better economic conditions of the people make them temporarily overlook the loss of land and home. Construction work of the reservoirs by clearing the site will be followed by the actual rush of water to the reservoir in due course at a much later time, but it is not realised by many affected people at present. During the course of the survey of the area, I had the occasion to talk to several tribal people both young and old about their understanding of the SIP and the extent of damage or gain likely to result. The innocent and expressionless look in their faces was enough to tell their woes of having resigned to fate. They are not aware that unless they are safely taken to a new resettlement colony with proper compensation they would be without home and hearth once the water was allowed to flow in the canals and collect in the reservoir, to be plugged and channelised for irrigation, electricity and flood control.

The data given in Annexure-III (A and B) give a clear picture of the Project Affected People by caste/tribe and the type of loss incurred in the Jambhira Reservoir Area. While moving round the Rangamatia area, a village which is partly affected due to the Project's Jambhira reservoir one gets the feeling voiced by the tribal people themselves. Sakura Ho, one of the oldest men of the village does not really know what to do with the compensation amount. He does not seem to be optimistic about getting another piece of land for himself so that he can settle there as land is both scarce and the prices have also soared high. To add to his misery he has also spent off a part of the amount without thinking of the future. It is but instinctive and

natural on the part of Sakura Ho, for how can a poor tribal control his urge to spend when some money comes to his way. Another old woman Paro Devi hardly knew what was happening or what would be her future. Hardly fifty years of age but looking about seventy years old due to mounting tension and uncertainty, she wept bitterly because she had heard that the water would submerge much of the forest area on which she and her family depended. Her's is not the only voice of a tribal woman. Scores of other tribal woman also fear that they would be orphaned without the forests.

While moving around the villages of Dhangrisul, Sirsa, Saraskana and other nearby villages, where large areas would be flooded by the SIP, one realised that the tribal families were overcome by a pall of gloom. Being illiterate, poor and far from the corridors of powers they were silently waiting for the day when they would pack up and go some new area and just be jumped there. The gloom was but natural for the greatest jolt to an oustee family is the loss of its economic base i.e. its land. Besides, home and land there may be likely loss in the employment opportunities also due to dislocation from the native place. Majority are used to Sabai cultivation and its processing besides working as wage labourers. The change in area due to the rehabilitation process may not be conducive to these types of employment opportunities available in the old place of habitation. This gives rise to a lot of fear and frustration in the minds of the simple, tribal people so used to their traditional economic activities.

The tribal people are intensely attached to the original abode where they supplement their household income by collecting firewood, minor forest produces, fishing and hunting, etc. Once again the fear that the new place may not have the scope for tribal community festivals, which normally take place in the forest surroundings is also present in the mind of the PAPs. Thus, besides causing serious economic deprivation, displacement also affect the very structure of the tribal society, which increases their alienation in the new settlements. As a group they have certain beliefs, myths and rituals which are so close to their life pattern within a social group

that upon displacement they are scattered and disintegrated depriving them of their base of joy and merry making. The tribal families are also less compatible with non-tribal families and find it difficult to adopt, adjust and integrate with them easily. The so-called forward castes/classes also do not socialise with the tribal people. The effort therefore has been to find place for the oustees in similar settings either in the same village or in a nearby village where they can settle in a group or cluster. Some tribal villagers in Rangamatia, Badamtia and Andharjoda area which fall under the fully affected zone were very sceptical and felt that the future holds only doom for them and their families. They complained that few among them could manage to get better compensation because they knew the local field officials, whereas others suffered. This sort of harassment of the weaker among them is also not ruled out and comes in the way of fair compensation.

In spite of the good intentions of the policy-makers to make the revised policy of the SIP as liberal as possible, it suffers from certain inherent limitations. As per the revised policy any male member above 18 years of age becomes automatically eligible for rehabilitation benefits but the female divorcee, spinster or widow is not given any benefit. One cannot overlook, the actual trauma such persons will face once they are removed from their original place of stay. Secondly, the extent of rehabilitation benefits to be given in case the entire agricultural land is submerged (but not house or place of stay) is not properly spelt out in the revised policy. A clear cut direction must be given in order to ensure fair play while implementing the policy, so that the affected tribal people have the least scope for resentment while giving up their hearth and home for a more noble cause. The new policy has fixed a cash compensation of Rs. 8,000 per acre and Rs.16,000 per acre for unirrigated and irrigated land respectively, which is quite low. Hence with escalating prices and unavailability of land in nearby areas better compensation amount may be fixed taking into consideration the prevailing market rate. The policy for providing a pucca, asbestos roofing house with

verandah is hardly acceptable to the rural, tribal people. They like to live in a group and definitely prefer a larger house with courtyard, etc. as they have been used to such comforts. A cash grant of reasonable amount can be therefore given to the oustee to allow him to build his own home instead of the government spending it. This arrangement would give more breathing space to the tribal people and they can build a comfortable home and also save them from the problem of red tapism in the functioning of the government machinery. Government procedure are not only slow but costly too. The maintenance allowance of Rs.500 for a period of one year as spelt out in the policy is too meagre an amount and the period of a year is too short to allow a tribal oustee to get acquainted in a new settlement. A more reasonable allowance keeping in view the inflation and an enhanced time period of at least three years can be agreed upon.

The revised rehabilitation policy also provides for reserving 50 per cent of the clerical and unskilled posts for the oustees. But the tribal oustees are not very qualified to take advantage of this provision. Literacy level is still very low. What is therefore required is lowering of the qualifying level, or to lower qualifications and skills or provide them training to meet the requisite qualifications. This can be best provided for by vocational training programmes. The role of the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) specially in planning, implementing and monitoring of rehabilitation and resettlement of the oustees may be made more pronounced. Due to their nature the NGOs come in close proximity with the tribal people and can effectively motivate the oustees in co-operating with the government machinery during evacuation. They can also effectively educate the evacuees especially the illiterate, innocent tribal evacuees on the different aspects of land acquisition, compensation and other intricate provisions of the policy related to R and R matters. The policy strangely remains silent on a very crucial aspect with regard to village woodlots, grazing land, burial grounds, recreation facilities and sacred places, etc. All these are important aspects of a tribal life and can hardly be neglected or overlooked.

The authority to implement the provisions has not been properly earmarked as in the case in Maharashtra, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh. Much success can be achieved if the officials concerned with the implementation are not so officious but in contrast are more sympathetic and concerned with the human issues. For if the human beings affected are not handled carefully they may impede the progress of the project. "If no proper planning is pre-designed for the resettlement, the affected villagers and family groups will get scattered to greater alien environments after facing discrimination and hostility". Much depends on the host of dedicated officials and the rapport and confidence they can generate among the oustees. Therefore for the sake of expediency some officers and lower staff ought to be specially selected for the difficult job of R and R as lot of care and concern is required in matters of land acquisition, payment of compensation, etc. Only few officers, have been earmarked from the SIP side, whose job is limited to assessing the value of immovable property other than land and providing the special infrastructure at the new site and the construction of houses to the allottees. More officers are required to properly implement the other provisions of the policy, especially from the humanitarian point of view. Another limitation is that the tribal society being much more neatly organised and cohesive and collective in functioning than the general society feel the pinch most, when the collective spirit and group cohesion vanishes and in the new setting the tribals lose a great heritage. They become refugees in their own area where there ancestors had lived for hundreds of years in close proximity with nature. The government machinery is most insensitive to this sensitive issue while planning the package for Rehabilitation and Resettlement.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The rehabilitation policy should be made as liberal and flexible as possible so that the people who give up their land do it willingly and without resistance.
2. Three possible ways by which the purchasing of land by the tribal oustees can be made easier are as follows :—

- (i) A leniency on the part of the government in the form of waiving or reducing the registration fee and stamp duties so that the land becomes cheaper.
 - (ii) The government may also "dereserve" suitable extent of "Jungle Kisam of land" so that the shortage of requisite extent of land may be met with towards compensation.
 - (iii) Private land can be considered for use in rehabilitation. This can be done through legal measures by using existing legislation on land consolidation, land-reforms and land ceiling. Another method is through market mechanisms by providing appropriate institutional and financial support to the PAP especially the poor tribal people to procure the land.
3. Another recommendation is that those displaced tribals can be provided with alternative strategy of non-land based schemes. This may be in the shape of cash in lieu of land. Suitable free training should be imparted to the oustee tribals to pursue other income-generating schemes like dairy, poultry, goat rearing, plantation of trees, cane and bamboo work, leaf-plate making, Sabai grass cultivation and rope making, etc. Some relevant and important trades like typing, cycle repairing, electronics and electrical repairing, auto-works, motor driving, laundry and other trades, etc. can be imparted so that the pressure on land is decreased and the tribal oustee can earn their livelihood in different ways.
 4. While planning the R and R package the government machinery should be most sensitive to the needs of the tribal people. People from the same social and ethnic background should be housed together in order to reduce the trauma. Efforts to make the new abode nearer the forests will be a boon for the forest-dwellers, who eke out a livelihood from the forest out of fuel, fodder, timber or minor forest produce.

5. Due to delays and deficiencies in the implementation, the World Bank has tightened its purse strings making things even more difficult. There should be proper co-ordination between the two governments of Bihar and Orissa so that the work is completed soon. Due to the improper implementation the project which was supposed to be completed by the turn of the century appears a far cry now. The estimated cost has skyrocketed from 300 crores in 1980 to more than 1000 crores now.
6. The project plan should be properly explained to the tribal people as they are not only poor but also mostly illiterate. They are not only to be informed but also consulted time and again so that they can explain their problems, which are so different from the problems of the general oustees.
7. The Project Affected Persons should also include in its purview widows, the landless, and the nomadic tribes.
8. All possible efforts should be made to completely settle the oustees before water starts filling the reservoirs.
9. Efforts should be made to give employment opportunities to as many tribal oustees as possible in the Irrigation Project itself or in other government offices of the district.
10. Voluntary Agencies or Non-governmental Organisations should be allowed a major role as they can understand the problems of the oustees and help them in many ways. They can also act as bridges between the oustees and the project authorities.
11. The provision of providing a pucca house may be reconsidered and the money given in instalments to the oustees who can build their own houses with proper courtyard, etc. in keeping with the style of their old houses, which have come under the submergence plan.
12. There is the need for a dedicated band of officers to execute the provisions of the policy honestly and efficiently.
13. Infrastructures like roads, schools, dispensary, etc. should be in operation when the oustees reach their new abode.
14. Provisions for advancing soft loans for agriculture and/or other trades should be made.
15. Universal increase in education and in facilities like stipend, free books, uniforms, as incentives can be given right from the day the project is conceived.
16. All efforts should be made to prevent exploitation of the tribals.
17. The weaker lot of tribals should not be allowed to be sidelined or harassed by the more vocal ones among them. It is the duty of the Government concerned with rehabilitation to give protection to all the oustees.
18. Maintenance allowance can be increased to Rs.1,000.00 per annum from Rs.500.00 per family from one year to a longer period of at least three years. This will give the displaced families enough time to be comfortable in their new environment.

One feels that with a little care and concern on the part of the government in implementing the rehabilitation policy in the latter and spirit so much hue and cry will not be raised by activists and oustees against the mega dams and the possible damages to the tribal people by them. Bhakra, Tehri, Rangali, Narmada Valley, Hirakud Projects—are all multipurpose dams and have had their share of laurels and brickbats. One has to take into view all the three important components like water management, environmental and ecological concerns and above all the social consequences.

Activists like Medha Patkar, Sundarlal Bahuguna and others are resorting to weapons like strikes, fasts and demonstrations. What one forgets is that neither the Narmada Bachao Andolan nor the PAPs of the project have ever suggested that dams should not be built. That is a fiction that is being sold. What they are suggesting is that the project should be redesigned to increase its reach and minimise the adverse impact. The mega dams have definitely lived up to their promise as the Green Revolution ushered in by the Bhakra Nangal Dam shows. Store water in big reservoirs are relief to farmers in drought situations and regular irrigation definitely brightens the prospects of a good crop. They also help in promoting fisheries, tourism, generate employment opportunities, etc. It definitely raises a number of complex social and environmental issues but his can be easily solved by carrying out a full fledged environmental impact study before going ahead with the construction of the dams. It is wrong to sacrifice bigger gains for such small losses. One such example is that if the logic of numbers is to be followed the example of the Narmada Valley Project can be cited. It provides drinking water to 1.73 crores people, saves 4 lakhs people from floods every year, provides irrigation to over 5.5 lakh people. Calculated the number of beneficiaries is much larger than those dislocated from their homes. Statistics has it that "In India, four people are affected for every hundred who benefit from dams". Despite any misgivings the World Bank's Independent Review has praised the long-term rehabilitation package offered by the Gujarat Government. Tribals who were earlier leading a hand to mouth existence, subsisting on roots for a part of the year, are now living in relative comfort in pucca houses with hand-pumps, biogas, lights, land, etc. to mention few of the comforts. The quality of life of the PAPs has improved. Let us wish this for the tribal oustees of the Subarnarekha Irrigation Project. Only time will tell.

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20. Social Action, 1983—Development for whom ? Depriving the Dispossessed Tribals—July-Sept.

ANNEXURE - I SUBERNAREKHA IRRIGATION PROJECT

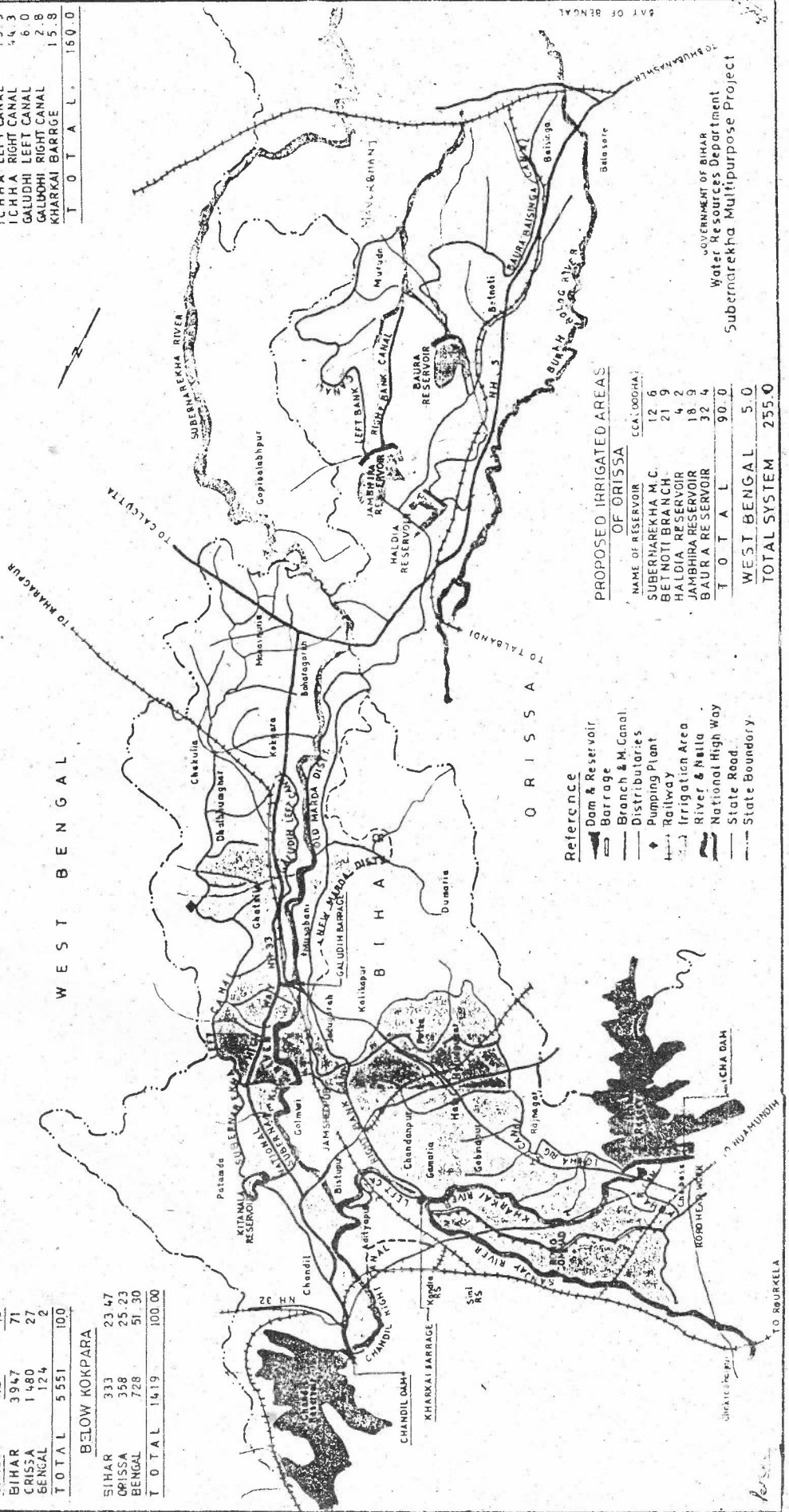
SHARE OF ESTIMATED 75%
DEPENDABLE YIELD AT KOKPARA
AS PER

STATE	M ³	%
BIHAR	3947	71
ORISSA	1480	27
BENGAL	124	2
TOTAL	5551	100

BELOW KOKPARA	M ³
BIHAR	2347
ORISSA	2523
BENGAL	9130
TOTAL	1419

STATE OF BIHAR
CCAL (DOOHA)

NAME OF CANAL	CCAL (DOOHA)
CHANDIL LEFT CANAL	53.3
CHANDIL RIGHT CANAL	12.1
IC H H A LEFT CANAL	15.9
IC H H A RIGHT CANAL	4.3
GALUDHI LEFT CANAL	6.0
GALUDHI RIGHT CANAL	7.8
TOTAL	150.0



- Reference**
- Dam & Reservoir
 - Barrage
 - Branch & M. Canal
 - Distributaries
 - ◆ Pumping Plant
 - Railway
 - Irrigation Area
 - River & Nalla
 - National High Way
 - State Road
 - State Boundary

**PROPOSED IRRIGATED AREAS
OF ORISSA**

NAME OF RESERVOIR	CCAL (DOOHA)
SUBERNAREKHA M.C.	12.6
BETNOTI BRANCH	21.9
HALODIA RESERVOIR	4.2
JAMBHIRA RESERVOIR	18.9
BAURA RESERVOIR	32.4
TOTAL	90.0

WEST BENGAL	5.0
TOTAL SYSTEM	235.0

GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR
Water Resources Department
Subernarekha Multipurpose Project

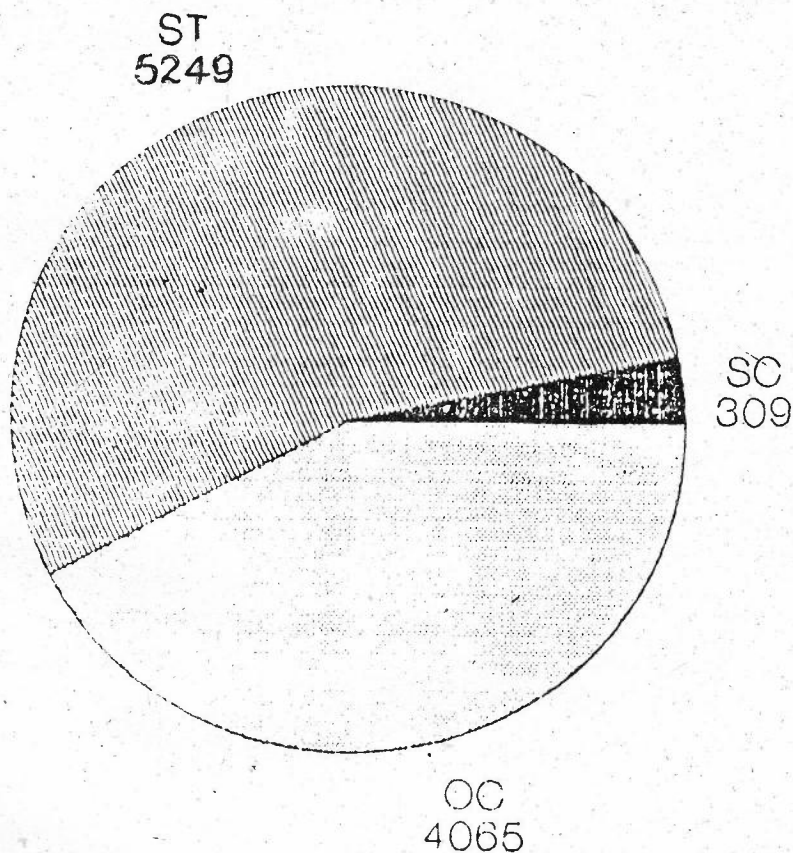
ANNEXURE-II

LIST OF VILLAGES WITH THE FAMILIES AFFECTED UNDER HALDIA RESERVOIR

Sl. No.	Name of the villages	Type of Submergence	Total No. of families to be displaced	Classification		
				ST	SC	General
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Rangibeda	Fully submerged	142	121	2	19
2.	Haldia	Partly submerged	20	20	..	..
3.	Balaramour	Ditto	11	11	..	..
4.	Mundakata	Ditto	10	10	..	..
5.	Ambapunja	Ditto	10	10	..	..
6.	Karkachia	Ditto	17	3	4	10
7.	Nodhabani	Ditto	21	7	11	3
8.	Dardara	Ditto	14	..	6	8
9.	Hatimada	Ditto	53	42	..	11
10.	Khairabani	Ditto	64	15	..	49
Total			362	239	23	100

DISTRIBUTION OF PAPs BY CASTE

Annexure-III (A)
Jambhira Reservoir



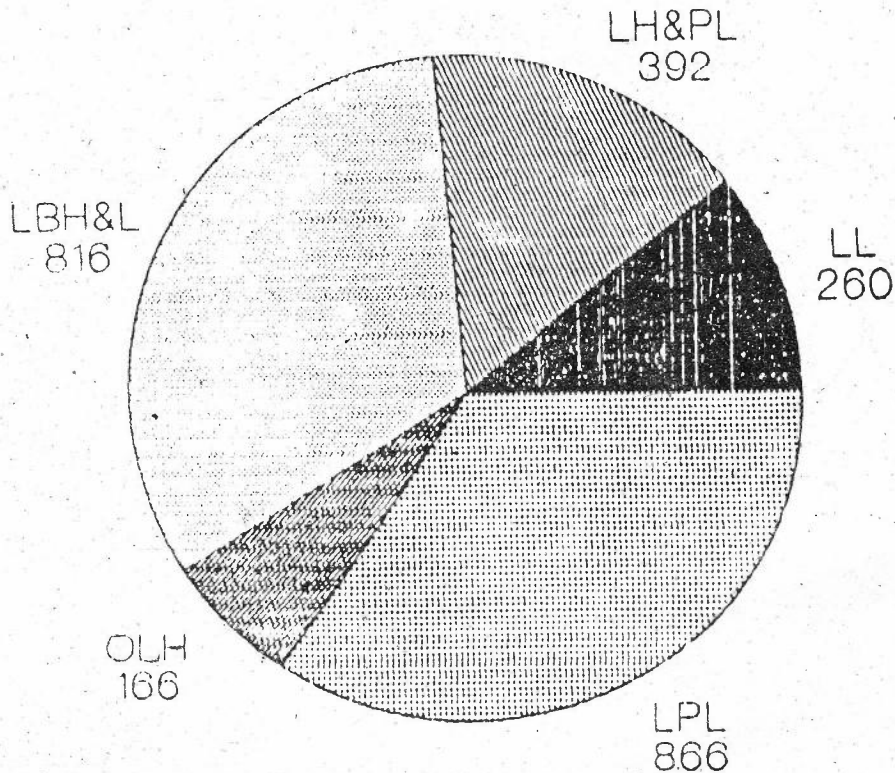
(Source: R+R Plan for Subarnarekha I.P.)

ORG Group

DISTRIBUTION OF PAPs BY TYPE OF LOSS

Annexure-III (B)

Jambhira Reservoir



LBH&L: Losing both house and land

LH&PL: Losing house and part of land

LL: Losing only land

OLH: Only losing house

LPL: Losing part of land

(Source: R+R Plan for Subarnarkeha I.P.)

ORG Group

ANNEXURE-IV

PROGRESS OF LAND ACQUISITION, CONCERN SUBARNAREKHA IRRIGATION PROJECT AS ON 25-5-1991

Year	No. of Cases Instituted	No. of Cases disposed off	Extent of Area Involved in the Disposed off cases (in Acres)
1	2	3	4
1986	5	2	5.06
1987	94	5	7.15
1988	40	33	419.19
1989	41	58	2574.03
1990	20	28	1885.30
1991	26	18	480.91
1992	1	6	738.26
Total	227	150	6110.00 Acres

PAYMENT OF COMPENSATION TO DISPLACED FAMILIES

Sl. No.	Name of Project	No. of Cases	No. of Villages	Area in Acres	Amount of Compensation in Rs.
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Main Canal	83	69	951.57	2,63,23,591
2.	Haldia	19	16	1043.88	2,04,71,384
3.	Jambhira	23	15	2813.83	5,55,03,908
4.	Ichha	10	10	1071.69	2,29,35,973
5.	Betnoti Branch Canal	15	15	229.64	0,53,02,460
Total		150	125	6110	13,05,37,316

Source : Subarnarekha Project Authority, Mayurbhanj

ANNEXURE-V (JAMBHIRA SITE) DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION By the type of worker

Sl. No.	Type	Male	Female	Total (%)
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Main workers	56.2	16.3	36.6
2.	Marginal workers	2.8	24.8	13.8
3.	Non-workers	41.0	58.9	49.0
Total		100.0 (3,429)	100.0 (3,417)	100.0 (6,846)

(Figures in parenthesis are the no. of persons)
Source : Census of India, 1981

TABLE-3.4 DISTRIBUTION OF MAIN WORKERS By the type of worker

Sl. No.	Occupation	Male	Female	Total (%)
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Cultivators	66.5	6.8	53.0
2.	Agricultural labour	16.7	57.9	26.0
3.	H. H. Industry	5.5	25.4	10.0
4.	Other worker	11.3	9.9	11.0
Total		100.0 (1,927)	100.0 (558)	100.0 (2,485)

(Figures in parenthesis are the no. of main workers)
Source : Census of India, 1981

Saora Riddles

Hrushikesh Mahapatra

It is very well known that riddle is very important for the study of life and culture. Like myth legend, and folktale, riddle is an important component of folklore. The composition of a riddle is made up two parts. One part is question and the other part is answer pertinent to the question. Usually in the question part a fact is concealed by means of either metaphor or a simile where as the answer part of the riddle reveals the secret. Because of this concealment riddle attains its unique beauty, significance and form. Riddle stimulates the inquisitiveness and intellectual curiosity in men. The cultural background of the riddle is very vast and varied.

Here is a study of the riddle that has been collected from Serango in Gajapati district (Parelakhemundi) a section of primitive hill Saoras of Orissa.

Saora riddles are closely related to their life. Scholars have divided the riddles in two groups one of culture and the other of utility. The division under culture involves folk riddles and literary riddles, those under utility are for explanations, jokes, celebrations and recreations.

SOCIAL SETTING OF THE SAORA RIDDLE :

(a) It seems that riddles may be asked through out the whole year. But mainly during autumn, inspired by the old people, boys and girls came together for questioning and answering riddles.

(b) The evening is the appropriate time for riddles. Sometimes they utilise working hours for questioning and answering riddles till they get bore, to break the monotony during work.

(c) Riddles are indulged in mainly by children or young people of both sex. Two individuals or two teams may ask riddles to each other. It is clear from the social setting of the Saora riddles that riddles are mainly considered as a form of entertainment and therefore are indulged in the evening and during the less busy month of the year i.e. autumn.

The Saora term for riddle in 'Digur' or 'Adigur'. The specialist in riddle is called as 'Digurmar. He/She is liked by the young Saora folk. It has been observed that saora girls are more prominent in riddle than the boys.

The riddles of Saoras has been classified as under.

1. Related to natural phenomena.
2. Related to animal World.
3. Related to food and vegetable World.
4. Related to human body.
5. Related to jokes.
6. Related to domestic life.

In the following paragraphs each of the above said groups are given.

1. RIDDLES RELATED TO NATURAL PHENOMENA :

- (a) Raja aon rupti adi Samabe, taglen Mangili gi gi li binden gitadi ? Tutuee.
(one can see the sons of the king but can never count them, what is it? Stars).
- (b) Tar tangana amangtin, Je tongan tikite ? Taagi.
(The white bullock is followed by the red bullock, what is it ? Fire).

2. RIDDLES RELATED TO THE ANIMAL WORLD :

- (a) Raja asi kiditang ? Yantan.
(King's Chain, what is it ? Black ants).
- (b) Yagi muyun Janang, bagu muyun janang achhuda, ab ga gaden daku, itin ate ? Gullu.
(The growth during three to four years is not reducing or increasing, what is it ? Snail).
- (c) Kunde amanara ra ra Malin dakutin ? Pander.
(it has buldging eyes, What is it ? Rabbit)
- (d) Bamnara ganurja game, tarbuja game, gablena gablesite ? Banum.
(It always stands the rain, cyclone and sun but never breaks, What is it ? — White ant—Moundi).
- (e) Edalin dakutin Kudun daglenji den yaptin ? Padur.

(The dry leaching wholes are concealed when filled with water, What is it ? —Crab whole in the field).

3. RIDDLES RELATED TO THE VEGETABLE WORLD AND THE FOOD :

- (a) Agur dangan jatan, yaga dangan lanka ? Alae

(The red pot below, the black pot above, what is it ? 'Valia' a type of oil nut).

- (b) Asudamar taramdin, asanamar ya ya ren dakutinji ? sarugae.

(An elderly man sorrouded by yougsters, what is it ? —Arum).

- (c) Mane gan ousalan tarang din ajelub, tarangdin ajangan alungan ajelun ? Bhada.

(Flesh below the outer skin, is the bone containing flesh, what is it ? Mango.

- (d) Laden atal tal li li site ? Sindi

(Lady's neckless bids are in bundles, what is it ?—Date palm).

- (e) Rajana abanda anti ja ah gae ? Pedida.

(Birds are unable to drink water from the king's pond, what is it ? Coconut Water).

- (f) Ranjana alantada butija galraptie ? Paidi.

(No one can drink water from the king's spring, what is it ?—Green Coconut Water).

- (g) Raja abaengu atentie ? Arresim.

(King's bringal without stalk, what is it ? an egg).

- (h) Dubula tongan endungte, Yaga tangan lulesite, itin ate ? Kan-lae.

The while bullock is sleeping, the black bullock is roaming, what is it ? Pumpkin).

- (i) Sabayindina sautikadabling dakutin ? Kintea.

(It stands always with the shaking sword, what is it ?—Banana leaf).

- (j) Atin barulingan sering, pudri ganamur lin lasoti nai ? Abagur.

(Who ascends from the hill top releasing smoke ?—Mahua flower).

- (k) Rajana akadip butin ablinge ruptite ? Kintea.

(Who can tell the name of the king's Sword ?—Banana leaf).

4. RIDDLES RELATED TO THE HUMAN BODY :

- (a) Lungar lingan tar piden tare site ? 'Jah'

(The white mashroom of the rainy season are dazzling within the cave, what is it ?—Teeth).

- (b) Aboe manra tabdang erete eraite ? Madd.

(It moves to and fro within the twinkle of an eye, what is it ?—An eye)

- (c) Bada gadubar abur aboi aruken ? Kuyu—Kuyu.

(The hill is full of ups and downs, what is it ? —Hair style)

5. RIDDLES RELATED TO THE JOKES :

- (a) Bamnara irebenden etigai soulagte ? Ungulu.

(Where ever a man goes another follows him, what is it ?—Shadow).

- (b) Rajana arta edele arabtibe ? Tangar

(King's yoaking rope cannot be turned, what is it ? Walking hill road).

- (c) Aboi bangu rungligan, atum tumle jilbinden Urubinden a bongay ? Kinsoal.

(Which Cannot be straight with the help of a bamboo Pipe ? Dog's tail).

- (d) Yung ladib, itin ate ? Bajlana.

(It is like Sun rays, what is it ? Spitting).

- (e) Yagi abban galji ajingan ? Ara.

(It has three heads and ten legs, what is it ? A ploughing man).

6. RIDDLES RELATED TO DOMESTIC LIFE :

- (a) Sodamar bintalenden engange, sanamar binta—lenden Yagte? Sannar.

(Bigger hunter parties miss the game, where as smaller parties gain it, what is it ?—Comb).

- (b) Gamlinbin gantin, unglin bin dugte ?
Sanag.
(It moves in to the room and also outside the room what is it ? —Door).
- (c) Kudana jaljal diasingen jaler dakutin ?
Janah.
(That cleans the house, court yard and back yard, what is it ?—Broom stick).
- (d) Kuda lingan gablena gablesite, tagija game, Mayuja game ? Donki.
(It rests on the fire place, without fire it is cool, when cooked it resists the heat, what is it ?—Pot earthen nor-metal).
- (e) Kadia tangan lasote, dubula tongan edaiate, itin ate ? Along.
(Replace the black bullock by white bullock, what is it ?—Straw).
- (f) Atagin tagin, upte ? Satua.
(It does not distinguish between hot and cold, what is it ?—Ladle).
- (g) Aerte anang aduloee, ayartinayen anong abe ? Daba.
(It goes with empty stomach and returns with full belly, what is it ? Carriage of water in the earthen pots).
- (g) Aboi nin aonal ling, yagi unji tangataji ? Taangding.
(Three/four persons are dancing on a point, what is it ? Rice pounder).
- (i) Asudamar gable site, asudamar endugte ? Tudu.
(Bigger ones are sitting idle while the smaller ones are roaming about, what is it ?—Small baskets).
- (j) Arsin ajang rujudang ajadang ? Randa.
(The monkey's bone is undulating, what is it ?—drying of paddy).
- (k) Antar jumte, antar asangten dangee yamle tangseng leni dakutin ? Gurudiar.
(It rolls round with a stick, feeds and clears the bowl, what is it ? an grinder).
- (l) Alungan aurnta jan gan daku, baeran ajelun daku ? Alsing.

(Bones are covered by flesh, what is it—thatch of a house (Kachha).

From the examples mentioned above it is clear that the riddles of Saoras reflect the different stages and conditions of life like a parody. Their use of riddles reveal a lot depth involved in their meanings. They are both thought stimulating and highly entertaining. When the Saoras thatch their house they replace the old straw by the new strad. It is indicated by the riddle, "Kadia tangan losote, Dubula tangan odaete."

For different fruits and foods, taking the shape size and colour they use riddles. During summer mango is an important food item of the Saoras. It is explained in the riddles, "Manegan ausalan tarandin din ajelub, tarong din ajangan alungan ajelin." The food 'egg' is explained in the riddle, "Raja abaengu antentie". The Saoras planted coconut in the hills. The riddles related to these plantations are also in vogue among them. It is explained in the riddles "Rajana abanda anti ja ah gae" and "Rajana alontoda buija galraptiie". Similarly different aspects of Saora life are explained in different riddles.

There is a conscious recognition of the fact that riddles act as a functional device for Social entertainment and as well they are considered as criteria of intellectual skill and quickness of wit. Like any other riddles Saora riddles also perform the educational function because of the nature of its very content.

It will be an understatement to say that riddles are basically recreational in their nature, on the contrary it evokes the loftiest of ideas in a Saora mind. To have a clear cut understanding of their life in their very context, proper cultivation and explanation of their riddles are necessary.

Reference :

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3. Thama Raj. Y—"Riddles reveal life activities (Article) in the journal of Folklore, August-1988 (Indian Publication).

Property and Inheritance Among the Hill-kharia of Similipal, Orissa : A Study of Customs and Traditions

S. C. Mohanty

Oxford dictionary defines property as 'possession' (s) or 'things owned'. In reality the term 'property' simply does not mean 'things' or 'possessions' only but the relationship between people and things. The concept of property assumes or set of things or possessions and social relationships in the socio-cultural nexus of every society that is universal in Character. According to Mac Iver, 'Property' is not wealth or possessions but the right to control, to exploit, to use or to enjoy wealth or possessions (1945). Hence to understand the concept of property in any society, it is not important only to know who owns what but who holds what kinds of rights or exercises command over things called 'property'. Since, these rights are different and applied at different levels under different circumstances, generalisations about who owns what may be misleading.

Further the 'things' or 'possessions' called 'property' does not mean tangible material objects only such as land, house, livestock etc., which are called 'corporeal property'. It also includes intangible and non-material possessions like song, music, art, literature, knowledge, skill, expertise and the like called 'incorporeal property' which cannot be divided like corporeal property but can be shared and inherited.

"In fact property is as heterogeneous as the societies within which it is found; among every people convention limits the opportunities which property affords; the law resting upon custom disbursts ownership between individuals and the community and morality restrains even the pleasure of a man to do as he will with his own" (Hamilton; 1933; 529). Since the concept and usage of property differ from one society to another, it has been established by several anthropological studies in tribal

societies in various parts of the world that, the tribal people not only have their specific connotation of property but also have a larger inventory of possessions than the modern man can conceptualise.

In essence, property is a conditional equity in the valuables of tribal community. It is a conceptual way in their folk system for linking the system of material culture with their social system. It is their society but not the individual, which specifies what is considered property. These are social in nature, for they may change over time.

In this paper an attempt has been made to look into the concept of property and the customs and traditions regulating the property and rules of inheritance among the Hill Kharia, a primitive tribal group of Similipal in Mayurbhanj district of Orissa. The Hill Kharia are a primitive and backward section of the Kharia tribe who earn their livelihood through a subsistence economy of hunting and food gathering. Currently they are in a transitional state, aspiring for a shift from the traditional subsistence economy to a settled agricultural economy. In this context it is significant to comprehend if at all they have realised the value of land as an important productive asset and an item of immovable property. The paper seeks to analyse the socio-structural and economic implications of property and the rules of inheritance from the view points of anthropological study of customs and traditions of the tribe in particular and the domain of customary law in general.

The Hill Kharia have developed their own concept of property and the customs and traditions regulating inheritance, transmissions, management and control of property as a part of their socio-economic system. Their inventory of possessions include a variety of objects. The territory which they inhabit; the beasts that move upon its wilderness; their domestic animals that graze upon it; the forest and its resources that they exploit to earn their livelihood; the dwelling huts they erect to live in; the clothes they wear; the weapons, implements and artefacts they use; the shrines,

Gods, deities and spirits they worship; and also their songs, music, dances, charms, verses, magic, medicine and many more items are their property.

Private and Public Property :

Their concept of 'Private' and 'Public' property is not very clear. Since the recent past they have come across certain state managed public utilities and infrastructures, like roads, wells, tube-wells, tanks, irrigation structures, Government buildings, schools, community centres, health centres, electrical installations, etc. They call these assets as "Sarkari" meaning 'belonging to Government' or 'Government Property'.

Private Property and Communal Property :

The notion of their 'Private property' is linked with 'communal property' in one way or other. As they were leading a semi-nomadic band life in the past, everything that is useful to them and specially the productive assets belonged to the community. The territory of land and forests that provided them with the means of subsistence were divided among the local groups. The local groups in turn was administering the management, distribution, redistribution and allocation of economic resources among the families within the groups. Now with the growth of population, competition from the immigrant non-Kharia tribal groups in their traditional territory, rapid depletion of forest resources and stringent forest laws, they have settled down in and around the Similipal forest region. In course of their transition between a hunting and food gathering economy and a productive agricultural economy, they are beginning to understand the importance of land and allied productive assets as items of private property and distinguish the private property from communal property in terms of "mine" and "ours".

Forest : A Communal Property :

The forest which they regard as their fostering mother as it nurtures them and provides all their needs, has been their communal property. Every one of them has right to exploit its resources freely without affecting the rights of others. But the items collected from the forest

from the forest by an individual becomes his/her personal property because he acquires them by his personal endeavour. Further the customary law of the Hill Kharia provides that every one of them should exploit as much resources as required to meet his consumption needs. No commercial exploitation by individuals for earning profit is allowed. The Hill Kharia believed that such selfish acts displease their Gods and deities and results in disastrous consequences. The following case study will explain this point.

Case Study (I) :

Ramjodi is a Hill Kharia settlement located in the interiors of Similipal forest. In that village the seat of village shrine (Salgram) lies in a sacred grove having tall trees. Once a villager felled a tall tree from that grove and sold the logs to an illegal timber trader to meet his needs. The villagers were angry on the man for this selfish, highhanded and unholy act. They were also afraid of the village deity who was supposed to be angry and punish the villagers. Before they took any corrective action by punishing the culprit and appeasing the angry God, harsh supernatural punishment came to the culprit. There was an outbreak of fire in the house of the culprit. Despite all the efforts of the villagers to put out the fire, the house was reduced to ashes.

Another customary law relating to exploitation of forest resources is that when a Kharia person detects a bee-hive, resin or any other produce on a tree inside the forest and he is not in a position to collect the produce at that time, he puts a mark on the trunk of the tree to establish his exclusive right to collect that produce later. If another person sees that mark later, he does not touch that produce respecting the right of the first person who has located it and put his mark. If the second person violates this custom by ignoring the mark and stealing the produce, then the first person tries to identify and locate the offender and lodges complaint against him before the traditional village panchayat. The panchayat hears such cases and punishes the culprit by realising a fine in cash and kinds and compensating the aggrieved party. A case study is presented below in this regard.

Case Study (II) :

J., a man of Budhigan once detected a bee-hive full of honey in a tree in the forest. He left after putting an identification mark on the trunk of the tree to come back the next day to collect the honey. After his departure two Kharia men of Kabatghai saw the honey. Ignoring the identification mark they collected the honey. As they were hungry and thirsty, they consumed the honey at the spot and sold the surplus to a local trader. J. came to the tree, the next day and was surprised to find the bee-hive gone. He enquired in the neighbouring villages and gathered some clues about the offenders. Then he went to Kabatghai and complained against the offenders before the village chief, *Dehury*. A village panchayat meeting was convened by the *Dehury* and the accused were summoned. They confessed that they had to steal the honey to quench their thirst and hunger. They were asked to tender apology and entertain the avenged party with food and liquor.

Now the forest is the state property. As aboriginal inhabitants of the territory, the Hill Kharia have been granted limited rights to exploit the forest resources only for the purpose of their own consumption but not for commercial purposes. Their age old freedom has been further squeezed with the Government notification declaring the Similipal forest as "National Park" and "Wildlife Sanctuary" and with execution of "Project Tiger" subsequently. The Hill-Kharia who claim themselves to be autochthones of Similipal find it hard to accept the fact that, their beloved forest which was theirs for centuries no longer belongs to them. Still they claim the forest as their exclusive property both private and communal, though now they can exercise limited usufructory rights.

Land : An item of Private Property :

Land, a most valuable item of immovable private property is yet to assume importance in the economy of Hill-Kharia. Their traditional forest based subsistence necessitates a semi-nomadic life within their forest habitat. But certain changes have taken place now affecting their traditional life style. Their population growth, depletion of forest and restrictive forest laws have forced them to settle down and seek alternative means of livelihood in the surrounding peasant economy predominated by many advanced tribal and non-tribal communities.

Since the community was self-sufficient and happy with their forest based subsistence in the past and attached little importance to acquire cultivable lands, now majority of the Hill-Kharia families living in the Similipal region are landless and very few of them are marginal farmers. Now when they are beginning to realise the importance of land and trying to enter into a settled agricultural economy, their scope appears to be limited. Over period of time, advanced peasant communities—both tribal and non-tribal such as Munda, Ho, Santal, Gond and Hindu castes have migrated into the area, cleared the forests and acquired the best variety of cultivable lands. Further whatever cultivable lands the Kharia possessed in the past have passed into the hands of these advanced communities through debt redemption, trickery and manipulation. Hence, the poor and landless Hill-Kharia have no other alternative but to serve the local landlords as agricultural labourers, bonded labourers or contractual labourers to earn a meagre wage in order to keep their body and soul together.

The following table presents comparative data on the present situation of possession of land holdings by Hill-Kharia households in the Similipal region which have been based upon three surveys conducted between 1981 and 1992.

Table I
Size of Land Holdings possessed by Hill-Kharia Households

Year of Survey	No. of village surveyed	Total No. of Households	Distribution of land possessing Households according to the size of land holding				Total	No. of Land-less household
			Up to 1 Ac.	1 Ac.— 2.5 Acs.	2.6 Ac.— 5 Acs.	Above 5 Acs.		
1981	20	314 (100)	59 (18.79)	3 (0.96)	..	..	62 (19.8)	252 (80.2)
1991	19	187 (100)	55 (29.41)	1 (0.54)	..	..	56 (29.95)	131 (70.05)
1992	2	62 (100)	20 (32.26)	2 (3.23)	3 (4.84)	1 (1.61)	26 (41.94)	36 (58.06)

(Percentages are given in brackets)

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The table reveals that only 19.8 per cent of the Hill Kharia Households were possessing land in 1981 which increased to 29.95 per cent in 1991. It further increased to 41.94 per cent in 1992. But this remarkable increase in 1992 can be attributed to allotment of house and the land adjoining the housesite below 0.5 Ac. to each landless Hill Kharia household in both the surveyed villages namely, Ramjodi and Matiagarh under development programmes implemented by the Micro Project, the Hill Kharia and Mankirdia Development Agency. Thus the number of landless households which constituted 80.2 per cent of the total households was reduced to 70.05 per cent in 1991 and 58.06 per cent in 1992. It is significant to note that among the land owning households the largest number i.e. 18.79 per cent in 1981, 29.41 per cent in 1991 and 32.26 per cent in 1992 come under the category of marginal farmers each of whom have landholdings within one acre. They are followed by small farmers having land 1 acre to 2.5 acres who accounted for 0.96 per cent in 1981, 0.54 per cent in 1991 and 3.23 per cent in 1992. There were no medium farmers (2.6 Acres to 5 Acres) in 1981 and 1991. In 1992 only 4.84 per cent of the households entered into this category. Similar trend is also noticed in case of medium farmers under 5.1 Acres to 10 Acres category. There was no household under this category in 1981 and 1991. Only one household belonging to Ramjodi appeared under this category in 1992. This clearly shows that possession of land holdings by the Hill Kharia of Similipal is quite negligible and marginal and the majority of them are landless. Though current economic and environmental pressures create a desire in a typical Hill Kharia to possess some cultivable lands like their prosperous neighbours, the situational constraints discussed above as well as their poverty and ignorance limits their scope for fulfillment of their desire. Therefore, the land is

yet to adorn the Hill Kharia economy like a feather in the cap.

INHERITANCE :

The customary rules of inheritance among the Hill Kharia reflects the total ideology of their society. Although both the sexes contributes more or less for acquisition and management of property, only the dominant male sex enjoys the monopoly of the right of inheritance and ownership of property. Being a patrilineal society, social position, rank, office and property are inherited/succeded along the line of patrilineage.

The pattern of inheritance and management of property is governed by customary rules of kinship and descent. The Hill Kharia family forms the basic corporate socio-economic unit to administer and perpetuate transmission of private property and other attributes across generations. It keeps property in tact while distributing rights among the members. It also deals with the practical problems of relationship between people and possession and maintains continuity of rights across generations.

The father or the patriarch is the head of the family as well as the sole owner of his family's properties. Only he can take decisions about management and transactions relating to his property. In actual practice a good patriarch consults his family while taking such decisions. On the other hand, an autocratic father who squanders away his properties at his will and pleasure instead of augmenting the economic assets and utilising them prudently for the welfare of his family is publicly criticised and his family members disregard him.

In the event of death, disability and prolonged absence of the household head his son, preferably, the eldest one or any other legitimate direct male heir assumes the responsibility of managing his family and its

assets. But the successor should have to be an adult person and he should be capable and willing. If the heir apparent is a minor or when the household head dies, remains absent or becomes disabled leaving minor children, his widow officiates as the head of the family and manages the family's assets till the son or male heir reaches his adulthood and becomes capable of assuming the responsibility. If there are no male heirs and there are only female children, then one of the girls is married to a man who is willing to stay with the girl's natal family as a son-in-law-in-house to look after the family. In case of an issueless man who has no direct male heirs in his family, his properties are inherited by his close agnatic kins—both lineal and lateral. Usually a major share in such cases is claimed by the kin who has maintained close ties with the concerned family and rendered timely service and assistance during the period of crises, like death, disease, accident, etc. occurring in the family. Especially the kin who arranges and pays for the mortuary rites of the dead person gets a larger share of the latter's property.

Order of Inheritance :

As per the customary norms of inheritance of private property which follow the lines of kinship and descent, the order of inheritance begins with primary agnatic kins and then covers secondary and tertiary kins as the case may be. In the first order are immediate lineal kins like, sons and grandsons. In absence of these first and second order kins, the right of inheritance passes to the third order comprising the cousin brother, his sons and grandsons. If there are many claimants and disputes arise the traditional village panchayat intervenes to appoint the heir successor. In absence of any claimant the properties of an issueless person are taken over and administered by the village community through the traditional village panchayat.

Property Rights of Women :

Theoretically, Hill Kharia women are not eligible to inherit property. But they enjoy residuary property rights to claim maintenance out of the properties of their fathers, brothers or husbands as the case may be, depending

upon their marital status and place of residence. A daughter or sister whether she is unmarried or married, a widow or a divorcee, is liable to be maintained in her father's or brother's family if she lives and works there. A married woman even if she is an widow, is liable to be maintained by her husband or deceased husband's agnatic kins who take over the properties as long as she continues to stay with the family and does not remarry or gets divorced or deserts to live elsewhere.

A Kharia woman may not inherit property but as stated earlier, a married women can manage her husband's properties in the event of death, disability and prolonged absence of her husband when the children especially the male heirs are minor. In this situation she officiates as the head of the family till the male heir becomes adult and capable of shouldering the responsibility of managing the family and its assets. If there are no direct male heirs the woman continues as the head of the family till her death, disability, divorce departure or remarriage to an outsider.

But while officiating as the family head she has no right to sell or otherwise dispose off the properties at her will and pleasure except for the purpose of meeting the exigencies of death, disease, marriage, bride-price, accidents, disputes, Debt redemption, etc. affecting the family or for the welfare of the family. Further she cannot take such decisions all by herself but is required to consult and obtain approval of her husband's agnatic kins and the village elders before doing anything in this regard.

Ordinarily, a Hill Kharia woman is not eligible to inherit her paternal property as only male heirs i.e. sons inherit father's properties. However as stated earlier, when there are no male heirs but only daughters, sisters or grand daughters available, one of the girls is married to a man who is willing to stay with the girl's natal family as a son-in-law in house (Ghar Jamai) after the marriage to look after the dependant old parents or grand parents of the girl and other family members and manage the properties of the family. After the death of the old parents, the girl inherits her parents' properties but not her husband. After her, her male children inherit her property. But the girl

can inherit her father's property provided she continues to stay at her father place after her marriage and does not shift elsewhere, say to her husband's place. In this context a case study is given below.

Case Study (III) :

P. Dehury son of late M. Dehury of Chiligan was an orphan boy. Both of his parents died when he was a little child. His maternal uncle late C. Dehury of Matigarh assumed the responsibility of maintaining him. When he grew up, he did not want to become a burden on his uncle who had a large family to support. So he went to his mother's sister's house at Baniabasa and lived there. There he married a Kharia girl who was the only child of her parents and lived at his father-in-law's house as a son-in-law-in-house (Ghar Jamai). After the death of his father-in-law, his wife inherited his father-in-law's property and he managed the property. Now P and his wife have become old. They are blessed with a son who is the heir apparent to inherit the property from her mother.

Partition of Property :

For division of private property among the sons or heirs, the Hill Kharia custom provides for equigeniture. All the male heirs are entitled to get an equal share of the property belonging to their father or predecessor. Even an adopted son can get a share.

In actual practice, grown up sons get married and set up separate residences during their father's lifetime. Though they are physically separated from their natal family, they jointly manage the natal family's productive assets, share the output among themselves according to their needs and do not usually claim formal partition of joint property as long as the father or patriarch is alive. Ordinarily formal partition of time property does not take place during the life of the patriarch.

A conscientious father may divide his property among his sons during his life-time to avoid conflicts and tensions. Sometimes he is compelled to do so under pressing circumstances arising out of the aggressive demands of arrogant sons after they get married and set up separate residences. In that case he

keeps a share for himself that is for his own maintenance. After his death, his share is again equally divided among his sons. If he does not keep a share for himself and distributes everything among his sons, then it becomes the obligation of his sons to maintain him and his wife. It is the duty of the sons to look after their old parents during their old age even though their father has no property for them to inherit. If the sons neglect their old parents they are publicly criticised.

Though married sons live separately, their emotional ties with their parents, unmarried brothers and sisters and other members of the natal family remain in tact. They maintain close links by looking after the good health and well-being of their natal family members. They assume the responsibility of guardianship and maintenance of their widow mother, minor children and other handicapped and dependant members of their natal family after fathers' death.

A Kharia father who has only one son, persuades the boy not to live separately after his marriage because old parents remain physically and emotionally dependant on him especially more so during their old age. After the death of his parents, the boy inherits all their properties including the paternal house.

More often it is noticed that, Kharia parents having more than one son become appendant on their youngest son who even after his marriage usually continues to stay with and support them at their old age unlike other elder sons who live separately after their marriage. For such special and indispensable services, the youngest son gets the paternal house and the personal belongings of his dead parents.

While inheriting the paternal property, the sons also inherit their fathers liabilities. It is their duty to attend to the liabilities jointly even though their father left no property for them to inherit. Failure to do so invokes public criticism. Daughters are not liable to discharge their fathers' liabilities as they do not inherit paternal property. But a widow who manages her deceased husband's property when her sons are minor, may be asked to repay her husband's debts.

CASE STUDY (IV) : (Partition of Property after Father's Death)

Late C. Dehury of Matiagarh had three acres of cultivable land which he had acquired by reclaiming some patches of forest land. He was the father of eight children—five sons and three daughters. When the children grew up, they worked in their father's field and assisted him to reclaim another two acres of forest land. In course of time, C. the patriarch grew old and died. At that time all of his three daughters were married off and two elder sons J and K were living separately after getting married. But they had not asked for partition of their paternal property during father's life time as they were managing somehow from external sources. Subsequently the three unmarried sons living with the widow mother got married and two elder ones, B and D lived separately. The youngest son, L continued to stay with his mother. In the mean time the mother also died. But formal partition of paternal property had not been made till the year 1992. Till then, the brothers were cultivating the lands jointly and sharing the produces according to their need and capacity. There was no quarrels and tensions among themselves in this regard.

Formal partition of paternal property among five sons took place during 1992. The paternal landed property measuring five acres, approximately has been divided into eight plots. By way of partition, the eldest brother J got one big plot, the next two brothers K and B got two small plots each, the next one D got one big plot and the youngest one L got the remaining two plots. The sharing of plots has been done on mutual basis. Last year they had cultivated the lands jointly and harvested twenty five quintals of paddy. Each of them had got a share of five quintals.

Besides the cultivable lands, the following items of property were there at the time of C's death.

Livestock—	Cow-1 head Goats-2 heads Poultry birds-2 Nos.
Trees-	Kusum-1 No. Drumstick-2 Nos.

Papaya-2 Nos.
Jackfruit-2 Nos.

Ornaments-	Gold nose-ring-1 No. Silver Necklace-1 No.
Utensils-	Brass and Bell-metal utensils-12 Nos.

The cow and the silver necklace belonging to the mother were sold to meet the expenses for father's funerary rites. The goats and poultry birds were also sacrificed for the death rites. The gold nose-ring was gifted to the youngest sister. The old mother who was staying with the youngest son L died a few years ago. L sold all the brass and bell utensils to spend for her death rites.

As regards the trees, one jackfruit tree was sold for Rs. 300 and the sale proceeds were equally shared among all the brothers. The second jackfruit tree became old. The brothers fell the tree and shared the logs to use as firewood. The papaya and drumstick trees grew old and died. When these trees were bearing fruits, all the brothers were sharing the produces among themselves.

CASE STUDY : (V) (Partition of Property during father's Lifetime) :

A is an old man of Ramjodi. Years ago his first wife died after giving birth to four sons and two daughters. A faced difficulties to manage his family and take care of his minor children. So as advised by his friends and relatives, he went for second marriage. He remarried R, a young widow of Kumudabadi who had two children—one son and one daughter from her deceased husband. A agreed to adopt the widow's two children. In course of time all the A's children grew up one after another, got married and lived separately.

'A' is an industrious man. During his lifetime he has acquired 21 plots of cultivable lands measuring 10 acres approximately. All his sons after their marriage and physical separation from the natal family were jointly cultivating A's cultivable lands and mutually sharing the produces among themselves according to their need while leaving a share for the maintenance of their old parents. Unfortunately there was some misunderstandings between A and his

sons. The four sons of A's first wife felt that their step-mother was influencing their father to give a larger share of property to her own son. Hence, they quarreled with 'A' to get an equal share of his property. At last A yielded to their demand and divided his landed property among all the sons after two years of his youngest adopted sons' marriage. Out of 21 plots all his five sons including the adopted son got three plots each. A being a selfmade and self dependant man did not want to become dependant on his sons during his old age. So he kept an equal share of property i.e., three plots of cultivable land for the maintenance of himself and his second wife. One plot of land was gifted to one of his son-in-law D' who has married to the youngest daughter of his first wife. D was an orphan boy who was brought up by his mother's sister in the village Ramjodi. So after his marriage with A's daughter he continued to live in Ramjodi, Considering his poor conditions A and his sons agreed to gift him a plot of cultivatable land. The remaining two plots were sold off by 'A' to a Gond peasant of Panposia to meet some urgent expenditures.

At the time of partition, A has some livestock such as a pair of bullocks, six goats and eleven poultry birds. He kept the bullocks with himself. All the five sons got one goat and two poultry birds each. The remaining one goat and one poultry bird came to A. The utensils and ornaments were not shared but remained with A and his wife. These items will be shared by the sons after the old couples death.

There are fruit bearing trees like jackfruit (6 Nos.) and tamarind (2 Nos.) which have not been distributed but kept as common property. A and his sons are sharing the fruits.

Now A and his second wife are living alone independently. Though they have grown old they are struggling hard to support themselves in stead of becoming a burden on their sons. The sons who live nearer to the old couple also help them at the time of need.

Disqualification for Inheritance :

There are certain circumstances under which a son heir does not get his due share of paternal property as discussed below.

1. When a man leaves his father's village and settles in another place. There cases arise out of adoption migration, long term private service, like bonded labour, regular institutional employment, becoming a Ghar Jamai (son-in-law-in-house) and the like. Since the man gets an alternative means of livelihood other than his paternal property, he gives up his right to get a share of his paternal property which is shared among his brothers who live in their father's village and depend on the paternal property for their sustenance. If the man comes back to his native place leaving his service later, his brothers or kinsmen who have shared the paternal property in his absence give him a part of it to enable him to settle down and earn his livelihood: Some case studies of this nature are reported below.

Case Study (VI) :

D of Kiajhari married T, the daughter of late N of Ramjodi. After his marriage he shifted to Ramjodi i.e. his wife's village at the insistence of his wife. His father-in-law and brother-in-law did not give him a share of their family property as he was not granted the status of a Ghar Jamai. On the other hand his own brothers living in Kiajhari did not give him a share of his paternal property, as he has shifted to his father-in-laws place instead of staying with them. Loosing his share of property on both the sides, poor N is now living in Ramjodi and earning his livelihood with difficulty by collecting and selling forest produces.

Case Study (VII) :

Years ago, B, a Kharia man came to settle down at Ramjodi. He had three sons named T, D and S. He reclaimed few patches of forest lands for cultivation with the help of his two elder sons T and D. At that time the youngest son S was working as a cattle-herder under a Gond landlord in another village. Since S could not help his father and brothers for reclamation and acquisition of the landed property, he did not claim any share when his brothers shared the property among themselves after B's death.

After the partition the second brother D shifted to his father-in-law's place leaving his share of property with his elder brother, T. After

fifteen years, D. returned to Ramjodi and retrieved his property from his elder brother.

2. When a Kharia marries a non-Kharia of opposite sex belonging to a lower social order violating the rule of tribal endogamy he is not entitled to inherit any property from his father or any other kin, because he is socially boycotted and disowned by his family and kin group. His parents and nearest kins perform prescribed purificatory rituals and pay the penalty imposed by the traditional village council so as to restore their social and ritual status. In the recent past this social sanction was being strictly enforced to preserve the purity and social identity of the community. Currently, there have been some relaxations. The socially boycotted offender can be readmitted into the society after breaking off his marital ties with the lower caste partner and then paying the prescribed penalty and undergoing the purificatory rituals. After his readmission, he is eligible to inherit property and regain his social status.

Case Study (VIII) :

B. The daughter of late G. of Ramjodi married a man of the same village and became a widow after a few years of her marriage. Then she remarried a married Kharia man of Chardiha who had a wife living. The first wife quarreled with her and at last drove her out of her house. Her new husband could not help her. She had no other place to go. She took shelter in the house of her married cousin sister in Kabatghai. There she developed intimacy with a man of Pano community and eloped with him. In the mean time her parents were no more and her three brothers had shifted their residence from Ramjodi to Jabuna. Owing to her marriage with a man of lower caste, the Kharia villagers of Jabuna demanded a penalty feast (*jati bhat*) from her brothers. They were readmitted in to the community after paying the penalty and undergoing purificatory rituals. They also disowned their sister and cut off all ties with her.

3. Insanity, disease, disability and any other kind of mental and physical handicaps are not taken as grounds for disqualification of an heir in respect of inheritance of property. Their share

of property is managed by their kins who take care of them.

Conclusion :

The Hill Kharia of Similipal are a pre-agricultural community. Being a primitive food-gathering community, they are custom-bound and tradition-oriented. Gone are the days when they were enjoying considerable freedom to live inside and exploit the forests of Similipal. In these days with their growth of population immigration of other advanced communities into their natural habitat, rapid deforestation and stringent forest laws, their traditional dependence on the forest based subsistence is declining day by day. But the change from hunting and foodgathering to settled agriculture is becoming difficult as majority of them are landless and the existing cultivable lands in the area are under the possession of other tribal and non-tribal communities. Thus land is yet to feature as a valuable item of private property in the economic life of the Hill Kharia.

As regards inheritance of property, it is governed by customs and traditions, that they have inherited from their forefathers. Though, property is transmitted along the male line of kinship and descent, women enjoy residuary rights of maintenance depending upon their marital status and place of residence.

Currently the forces of modernisation are knocking at their doors. Some new modern items, such as torch light, bicycle, transistor radio, tape recorder, wrist watch, cycle rickshaw, etc. have found their way into the Hill Kharia households. The Hill Kharia are showing a tendency to acquire these objects. There is also a growing interest to acquire cultivable lands, raise livestock and take up diversified modern economic pursuits in order to minimise their dependence on diminishing forest sources. Further the Hill Kharia of Similipal have been identified as a primitive and economically backward tribe. A primitive tribe development Micro-Project, named the Hill Kharia Development Agency is functioning at Jashipur since 1987 to look after their socio-economic development. The Agency is making attempts to bring them to an agricultural economy by developing waste lands wherever these

available and allotting the lands among landless Hill-Kharia families. Modernised agricultural practices and economic crops are also being introduced. It will take sometime for the Hill Kharia to realise the importance of land and agriculture and depend upon them for their sustenance. Then only perceptible changes will be seen in their concept and practices relating to private property.

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Mental Health and Academic Achievement of Monolingual and Bilingual Tribal Adolescents

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The language is the most important and unique characteristic form of human behavior. It widens the human activity to such an extent that there is hardly any activity which does not find its expression in terms of language. Not only it is a means of expressing emotional or mental concepts rather act as a prism which reflects the manifold shades of human knowledge and activity. It is largely by means of language that one generation passes on to the next its myths, laws, customs and beliefs and as a whole culture is transmitted very largely through language. But it is found out that where language is used in a begrudging fashion the result is negative.

Bi-lingualism is generally defined as the ability to use two languages in one of several ways i.e. demonstrated ability to engage in communication via more than one language or capable of using both the language according to the circumstances and capable of translating a text from one language to other. But in the first international conference on bilingual education by the International Bureau of Education it was concluded that education in a language other than the mother tongue spoke at home was detrimental to the development of both the intellect and the personality and had poor academic results. Now the notion has changed and findings of rather a different sort began to appear after the Second World War. The study of Mohanty and Das (1987), Mohanty (1989), Martorell (1991), Umbel et. al. (1992), Ricciardelli (1992), dash and Mishra (1992), Rodriguez (1992), and Deori (1993) pointed out that bilinguals are superior in their performance of cognitive, creative, mental health and academic tasks and better analytic and objective orientation to language than their monolingual

counterparts. But it is a matter of great regret that not a single research has been undertaken in Arunachal Pradesh to know the mental health and academic achievement of Monolingual and bi-lingual tribal adolescents,

Objectives :

The present study is undertaken with the following objectives :

1. To study the mental health of Monolingual and Bilingual tribal adolescents.
2. To study the academic achievement of Monolingual and Bilingual tribal adolescent.
3. To study the difference of mental health between Monolingual and Bilinguals in relation to its various dimensions.
4. To study the relationship between mental health and academic achievement of Monolingual and Bilingual tribal adolescents.
5. To study the relationship between the linguistic ability and mental health of Monolingual and Bilingual tribal adolescents.
6. To study the relationship between linguistic ability and academic achievement of Monolingual and Bilingual tribal adolescents.

Hypothesis :

1. There is no significant difference between the mean mental health scores of Monolingual and Bilingual tribal adolescents.
2. There is no significant difference between the mean academic achievement scores of Monolingual and Bilingual tribal adolescents.
3. There is no significant difference between the mean scores of different dimensions of mental health i.e. selfconcept, perception of self, perception of others, the concept of life, feelings of adjustment and perceptions of achievements of monolingual and bilingual tribal adolescents.

4. There is no significant relationship between mental health and academic achievement of mono-lingual tribal adolescents and bilingual tribal adolescents.
5. There is no significant relationship between the linguistic ability and mental health scores of monolingual tribal students and bilingual tribal adolescents.
6. There is no significant relationship between the linguistic ability and academic achievement of Monolingual tribal adolescents and Bilingual tribal students.

1. Mental Health Scale developed and standardised by Anand was used. The scale is having the accepted degree of reliability and validity.
2. Linguistic survey questionnaire was developed by the investigator (s).
3. Last annual academic achievement scores was taken from the school record.

In order to know who are Monolingual and Bilingual, the developed linguistic survey questionnaire was given to the sample students. On the basis of the scores of linguistic survey Quartile Deviation was calculated. The students whose scores were above the Q3 were considered as Bilingual and whose scores were below to Q1 were considered as Monolingual students. Finally for the investigation 25 monolingual and 25 bilingual students were worth retained and their mental health and academic achievement was analysed by applying the statistical techniques of correlation and 't' test.

Methodology :

Sample : Initially for the present investigation 150 male and female tribal adolescents were selected randomly from three different schools of Itanagar, Arunachal Pradesh. These students were belongs to a group of particular tribal communities and their age range was from 13 to 17 years.

Analysis and Interpretation :

Tools Used :

The tools used to collect the required data in the present investigation are the followings :

To find out the meaningful results the raw data was analysed by the help of statistical techniques and the results are presented in the following table respectively.

Table 1
Mental health and Academic Achievement of Monolingual and Bilingual tribal students.

Variables	Monolingual /		Bilingual		Pooled Standard Deviation	SED	't' value
	N	MN	N	MN			
1. Mental Health	25	120.52	25	137.96	21.50	6.08	2.868*
2. Aca Ach.	25	260.24	25	304.88	34.13	9.65	5.142*

* Significant at 0.01 level.

- I. The "t" value 2.868 of mental health in table 1, being significant indicates that there is significant difference between the mean score of mental health of Monolingual and bilingual tribal students. Thus it shows that the null hypothesis (No. 1) is being not accepted. Therefore, it can be concluded that the mental health of bilinguals are better than the monolinguals.
- II. The 't' value 5.142 for academic achievement is found to be highly significant at 0.01 level. Obviously the null hypothesis No. II is not accepted. Thus, it reveals that there is a significant difference between the mean academic achievement scores of monolingual and bilingual students or it can be concluded that bilinguals are academically superior to monolinguals.

Table 2

Mental Health Dimensions of Monolingual and Bilingual Adolescents

Sl. No.	Variables	Monolingual		Bilingual		SED	t Value
		N	MN	N	MN		
a.	Self Concept	25	18.52	25	24.2	1.47	3.87**
b.	Perception of self among others	25	28.56	25	34.48	2.16	2.74**
c.	Perception of others	25	23.92	25	20.48	1.72	2.00
d.	Concept of life	25	20.12	25	19.48	1.35	0.47
e.	Feelings of Adjustment	25	6.36	25	15.84	4.63	2.05*
f.	Perception of achievements	25	17.00	25	15.40	1.15	1.39

* Significant at 0.05 level

** Significant at 0.01 level

III. The "t" value of the Sl. No. a, b, and e of table 2 depict that there is significant difference exist between the mean scores of monolingual and bilinguals with regard to the various dimensions of mental health i. e. self concept (t=3.87), perception of self among others (t=2.74) and feelings of adjustment (t=2.05). Therefore, the respective null hypothesis are not being accepted. Rather it can be concluded that bilinguals have better in the above three dimensions of mental health than their counterparts.

IV. In the same sample 't' value of other three dimensions i. e. c, d and f depict that there is no significant difference between the mean scores of monolingual and bilingual students with regard to perception of others, concept of life and perception of achievement. Hence, null hypothesis is accepted and can be concluded that both the groups are not very much different from each other in relation to above said dimensions.

Table 3

Relationship of Mental Health and Academic Achievement, Linguistic Ability and Mental Health and Linguistic Ability and Academic Achievement of Mono and Bilingual Adolescents.

Group	Ist				IInd				IIIrd				Level of significance 0.05 0.01
	M.H.	V.S.	Aca.	Ach	LA.	V.S.	M.H.	LA.	V. S.	Aca.	Ach.		
	r.	PE.	6PE		r	PE	6PE	r	PE	6PE			
1. Monolingual	0.04	0.13	0.81		0.27	0.13	0.75-0.18	0.13	0.13	0.78	0.285	0.36	
2. Bilingual	0.21	0.13	0.78		0.33	0.12	0.72-0.42	0.11	0.11	0.66	...	...

V. From the above table it can be said that the co-efficient of correlation between mental health and academic achievement ($r=0.04$) of monolingual students is less than its probable error (PE=0.13). This shows that there is no significant relationship between mental health and academic achievement. Rather they are independent of each other and the null hypothesis No. IV is accepted.

VI. In the same table the co-efficient of correlation between mental health and academic achievement ($r=0.21$) of bilingual students is greater than the probable error (PE=0.13) but less than 6PE (0.78). This indicates the insignificant relationship of the above two variables and the null hypothesis No. IV is accepted.

- VII. The co-efficient of correlation between linguistic ability and mental health ($r=0.27$) of monolingual is greater than its probable error ($PE=0.13$) and less than $6PE$ (0.75). Hence, the relationship being not very significant allows the null hypothesis to be accepted.
- VIII. Similarly, the co-efficient of correlation between linguistic ability and mental health ($r=0.33$) of bilingual adolescents is greater than its PE (0.12) but less than $6PE$ (0.72). Though it indicates positive relationship yet it is not significant enough to be taken into consideration. Hence, the hypothesis is accepted.
- IX. When co-efficient of correlation between linguistic ability and academic achievement ($r=0.18$) of monolinguals was calculated it was found out that the obtained value of r is less than its probable error ($PE=0.13$). Hence, the hypothesis is accepted and can be concluded that both the variables are independent to each other.
- X. In the same table, the co-efficient of correlation between linguistic ability and academic achievement ($r=0.42$) of bilinguals is greater than its probable error ($PE=0.11$). This indicates a positive relationship between linguistic ability and academic achievement. but as the value is less than $6PE=$ (0.66) the relation is not much significant, hence hypothesis is accepted.

Conclusions :

Any findings as such has little meaning, until and unless its practical implications are sought for. Bilingualism being an indicator of better 'self' concept', better feelings of adjustment, and above all better mental health and academic achievement can successfully be used in educational institutions to avoid negative feelings of using multi-language in the Educational Institutions. Thus, it can be said that knowing different language means enhancing the mental horizon and help one to exchange the ideas of one culture with another. That flexibility in mind increases the functional

efficiency and thereby leading to greater mobility and better adjustment. Therefore, it is observed that those individuals who have the command of more than one language are always in advantageous position in the society and their overall achievement is satisfactory. Hence, it is suggested that more emphasis should be given on learning bilingualism/multilingualism in the adolescence period of life because it will act as a boost for enhancing one's own mind, developing divergent thinking and help her /him to become more reasonable rather than their monolingual counterparts.

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Planning for Development of Primitive Tribes

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The Fifth Five-Year Plan made a remarkable achievement in the field of tribal development by introducing Sub-plan approach strategy focusing on family-oriented developmental programmes and over all infrastructural development schemes for area development. In the Fifth Plan, Tribal Sub-plans were prepared for areas having more than 50 per cent of tribal concentration. It has been possible to cover about 65 per cent of the total tribal population in this programme. In India 155 Integrated Tribal Development Projects were grounded and particularly in Orissa 21 such I.T.D.As. started. During implementation of various programmes, there have been a number of serious constraints in this new effort. There were a number of ongoing schemes and programmes which very often were not the right answers to the problems of tribal areas. However, the continued attention to the problems at the Micro-level within the Integrated Tribal Development Projects has thrown up a wealth of data which has gone to support the general presumption about these areas in many cases, and in some cases indicated the necessity for shifting of perspective. So in the beginning of the Sixth Plan Period, it was felt necessary to consider the situation afresh in these areas well before the preparation of the Sixth Plan in a phased manner by the State and the Central Ministries. The proceedings of the conference of the Tribal Commissioners held in New Delhi, during 1977 spell out on approach to the Tribal Development in the Sixth Plan in order to bring about certain specific changes in the Strategy of Tribal Development. Broadly it was agreed that, while the efforts in the Sub-plan areas initiated in the Fifth Plan will need to be intensified and consolidated during the Sixth Plan. In view of the vast diversity of the socio-economic situation in the tribal areas, any formula/approach was considered to be unsuitable. Hence the general consensus was to view the problems of each area and these

problems have to be defined and appropriate answers will have to be found for them. In the social service sector, education and health services were considered to be the high priority programmes for building up the inner strength in the tribal communities, so that, they are able to stand the severe competition which is arising in these areas with the initiation of new process of change and development.

The Sixth Plan Period conceived the strategies and objectives for the tribal development which were defined as follows :—

- (a) The entire tribal population, whether living in the areas of tribal concentration or outside will be covered by suitable developmental programmes during the Sixth Plan period.
- (b) The gulf between the level of development in the tribal areas and the surrounding areas will be generally bridged by the end of the Sixth Plan and in the case of more backward tribal areas, in the course of another five years, i.e. by the end of the Seventh Plan period.
- (c) The tribal communities, out side the tribal areas will be helped to attain the general level of development in the area by the end of the Sixth Plan or latest by the end of the Seventh Plan, in the case of more deprived communities.

The socio-economic situation of the tribal communities varies considerably from one area to another. Therefore, it is not possible or desirable to have uniform prescription for all of them. The Constitution of India has already provided for adequate flexibility in legal procedure and administrative framework so that, the problems of each specific area can be attained effectively through suitable administrative action and developmental programmes. However, the broad approach to tribal development had to depend on the pattern of distribution of tribals in an area and the level of their economy. In tribal dominated areas, area approach with focus on the development of the tribal communities was thought to be suitable for dispersed tribals, community oriented programmes have to be

evolved and in the case of primitive tribal groups which are facing special problems, and are small in size, a very cautious individualised approach have to be adopted. Thus the problem of tribal communities as a whole, was thought to be tackled in terms of the following three categories, namely :—

- (a) Areas of tribal concentration.
- (b) Dispersed tribals in other areas.
- (c) Primitive tribal groups.

Leaving aside the first two categories, the development of primitive tribal communities was seriously thought of by the Ministry of Home Affairs which was at that time in charge of tribal welfare. The area of operation of an Integrated Tribal Development Agency was confined to a subdivision and the planning was formulated as a Macro-level unit whereas the development for the primitive tribes either inside the tribal sub-plan pocket or outside was termed as Micro-level planning for the development of primitive tribal communities. There are about 50 primitive groups in India which have been identified during the Fifth Plan Period. In view of their extreme critical situation both in social and economic spheres specific allocations were earmarked in which the States' participation was not insisted. On experimental basis, the Micro-planning for the Socio-economic Development of the primitive tribal groups were formulated after identifying certain primitive groups inhabiting in certain inaccessible pockets in the State of Orissa. The tribes of Orissa are at various stages of socio-economic development. At one extreme, are the groups which lead relatively a secluded and archaic mode of life, while at the other extreme there are groups which are indistinguishably from the general agricultural communities. The former group comprises earlier stages of economic pursuits, such as hunting foodgathering and shifting cultivation. The latter group comprises backward communities which are economically worse compared to the general population. Agricultural economy may be taken as watershed for distinguishing the communities belonging to the latter group. Hunting and food gathering forms pre-agricultural economy and shifting cultivation became an economic pursuit

which is prior to the stage of settled cultivation. A community which pursues pre-agricultural economic activities are considered as primitive groups. In comparison with the modern society, the primitive communities remain isolated from the modern way of life and the major pursuance by the primitive groups is hunting and food gathering which are considered to be the lowest stage of technology. Moreover shifting cultivation itself is a stage between hunting and food gathering and settled cultivation. Apart from the above criteria, other characteristics are also earmarked for the identification of primitive tribal groups. It is therefore recommended by the Planning Commission that, before taking up a programme for development of the primitive tribal groups, proper identification is necessary. The parameters for identifying primitive tribal groups are given below :—

- (i) The basis of tribal life centres round hunting and food gathering in a state of semi-nomadism.
- (ii) Besides, subsisting on hunting, fishing and forest collection, the primitive state of existence is marked by subsistence in simple form of agriculture, such as slash and burn type of cultivation.
- (iii) The primitive tribes have adopted crude type of traditional agricultural implements, like digging stick, axe, bill-hook, bow and arrow, etc.
- (iv) Among the hunting implements bow and arrows are the most important weapons for catching birds and small animals.
- (v) Fire is being produced by friction or by drill.
- (vi) Material belongings are very few and simple.
- (vii) They have got communalistic economic base.
- (viii) All sources of authority are vested in the village headman and all ritual functions are performed by the religious headman.
- (ix) Prevalance of traditional customary law.
- (x) Little economic diversification.

- (xi) Limited historical depth and susceptible to change after one or two generations.
- (xii) Belief in supernaturalism is very strong.
- (xiii) Confinement to an ecological niche of relative autonomy.
- (xiv) Leadership is polymorphic in character.

To summarise the characteristics of primitive groups by such qualities as distinctiveness, smallness, homogeneity, and all providing self sufficiencies but all these qualities with their remification are not found in full form in all primitive tribes. They are found in different degrees in different communities. To find out a community to what extent it is primitive depends upon to what degree the elements enumerated above are present in that community. Therefore, planning for different tribal communities depends upon the folk-peasant-urban continuum and determining their status as archaic tribe, tribe in transition and assimilated tribe.

The tribal demographic position in Orissa reveals that, it has high proportion of tribal population having a good number of primitive groups. So far, the Welfare Department as well as the Tribal Research Institute after a brief field survey, have identified the following tribal communities as primitive tribal groups :— (1) Bondo Paraja, (2) Lanjia Saora, (3) Saora, (4) Kharia, (5) Mankirdia, (6) Kutia Kondha, (7) Dongria Kondh, (8) Paudi Bhuyan, (9) Juang, (10) Lodha, (11) Didayi, (12) Birhor, (13) Chuktia Bhunjia.

Apart from these identified primitive groups mentioned above, there are a few other tribal groups who also qualify equally as primitive tribes. They are—(1) Godaba, (2) Kolha, (3) Koya, (4) Paraja. It is also seriously thought to bring these genuine primitive groups within the ambit of micro-level planning.

As per the criteria and characteristics of primitive tribal groups, micro-level planning for primitive tribes have been formulated and started from the year 1975-76 onwards. In developmental planning for primitive tribal groups, the socio-economic levels of different sub-groups and sub-regions need attention. It is in this context, the study team under the

Chairmanship of Shilu Ao and Dhebar Commission had expressed their views that, the tribes who are at the food gathering stage and occupied the lowest layer in the evolutionary sequence of development should be made the special concern of the State Government and brought immediately within the ambit of intensive developmental programme. Both the Commissions recommended that, State Governments should make an objective study of these weakest communities and on the basis of such study formulate separate schemes for their socio-economic development. In fact, at the time of review of tribal development programme on the eve of the Fifth Plan Period, it was admitted that, special programmes for the primitive tribal groups should be taken up on the basis of proper identification on the lines suggested by the Shilu Ao Team.

In accordance with the decision of the Government of India in the Ministry of Welfare, twelve such primitive tribal communities were identified and Project reports were prepared for development of each of these communities. These projects were termed as "Micro-Projects", since such Projects consist of a limited number of families (500 to 800) with the jurisdiction of two to three Gram Panchayats. The objectives of the Micro-Project is to tackle the problems of each and every individual household through various developmental programme to raise their economic status above the poverty line. For effective implementation of various programmes an autonomous body is felt necessary.

The Body is required to be registered under Society Registration Act, 1860. A Governing Body comprising both official and non-official members will be set up with the Collector and District Magistrate as the Chairman and Project Administrators, in case of Projects within the Jurisdiction of I. T. D. A. and Sub-Collectors in the non-I. T. D. A. areas as the Voice-Chairman. All the district level offices local members of Legislative Assembly, Member of Parliament and local tribal leaders belonging to the particular community will act as member of the Governing Body. The Special Officer who is the executive head of the Micro-Project assumes the Chair of Member-Secretary. Subsequently, for speedy implementation of various programmes the Department of Welfare,

Government of Orissa have rectified the Project Administrator as the Chairman of the Governing Body in place of Collector, as the Collector is pre-occupied with various activities in the districts including law and order situation.

The programmes of the Agency will be executed through its own staff and partly through the Block and other Agencies. The technical guidance of the respective departments will be availed for better and effective execution. The Governing Body is scheduled to sit quarterly and approve programmes along with financial budget.

Towards the end of the Fifth Plan Period, Micro-Projects were constituted to look after the development of identified primitive tribal groups exclusively. During the year 1977 the 1st Micro-Project under the name "Bondo Development Agency" was set up in the district of Koraput (now Malkangiri district) to cater to the development needs of the Bondos, one of the most primitive tribes in the country. In the following year i.e. in 1978, seven more Micro-Project were set up in different areas inhabited by identified primitive tribal groups. In the next year i.e. 1979, one more Micro-Project was added to the already existing eight such projects. Thus, altogether nine Micro-Projects were constituted during Fifth Plan Period. During the Sixth Plan Period, one more Micro-Project for the development of the Lanjia Saoras of Puttasingi area in the district of Koraput (now Rayagada) was set up in the year 1984 constituting total ten Micro-Projects. Subsequently, during the Seventh Plan Period five more Projects, three during the year 1986 and two during the year 1989 were constituted. Further, in the beginning of Eighth Plan Period (1993-94) one more Micro-Project, for the development of Pauri-Bhuniyas of Barkote area of the Deogarh district has started functioning. Thus the total number of existing Micro-Projects in the State has gone up to Sixteen and another Project for the development of Chuktia Bhunjia has been approved by the Ministry of Welfare, Government of India.

Of the sixteen Projects, thirteen Projects are located within the jurisdiction of Tribal Sub-Plan area and the rest four are situated outside the Tribal Sub-Plan area.

The existing sixteen Micro-Projects cover 516 villages with 13,270 beneficiary households. The total tribal population covered under these Projects is 57,343 of which there are 28,019 males and 29,324 females. The Kutia Kandha Development Agency, Belghar, Phulbani, has the largest number of villages i.e. 68 under its jurisdiction followed by Dongria Kandha Development Agency, Chatikona which covers 63 villages. The lowest number of villages i. e. 8 are found under the Lodha Development Agency, Morada, in the district of Mayurbhanj. Similarly on the basis of coverage of the beneficiary households, Kutia Kandha Development Agency, Belghar tops the list having 1,041 households and Hill-Kharia and Mankirdia Development Agency, Joshipur in the district of Mayurbhanj has the lowest number of beneficiary households i. e. 501. In term of population, Juang Development Agency, Gonasika, Keonjhar has the largest coverage i. e. 10,424 and the Lodha Development Agency, Morada, in the district of Mayurbhanj district has the lowest coverage i. e. 2,052.

During the course of execution of different developmental schemes both under infrastructural and family benefit schemes, evaluation studies were conducted by different agencies to assess the acceptability and utilisation of funds. All the evaluation reports reveal that, the Micro-Projects in the State have successfully overcome the bottle-necks of development and enable to bring a radical change in the Socio-economic life of primitive tribal groups. The information shows that, among all the Projects, the annual growth rate is the highest among the Pauri-Bhuniyas inhabiting the Project area of Jamardiha in the district of Angul being 2.80% and lowest among the Lanjia Saoras of Serang in Gajapati district whose growth rate is only 0.62 %. In all the Projects, the annual growth rate shows an increasing trend varying from 0.62 % to 2.80 %.

It is encouraging to note that, almost all Micro-Projects have achieved considerable good result in regard to literacy position after the execution of plans under education sector. The data reveal that, the percentage of literacy is the highest being 31.01 % in Pauri Bhuniya Development Agency, Jamardiha. Likewise in

Thumba Development Agency, the Saoras have made considerable progress in literacy due to execution of total literacy campaign taken up by the Project.

The figures relating to crossing of poverty line by the beneficiary households is available in respect of Seven Micro-Project shows that, in Dongria Kondha Development Agency, Chatikona, 42.92 % of the total households have so far been crossed the poverty line which is the highest. Many success stories in different sectoral programmes can be had from Micro-Projects. The cause lies because of the unique pattern of financial assistance to these Micro-Projects. All these programmes are executed both for individual benefit schemes and infrastructural development programmes. These are executed on 100 % subsidy basis. The amount is being channelised through State Government to the Micro-Projects under Special Central Assistance.

It is clear from the study of Micro-level planning that, the primitive tribal groups have gained enough confidence on the working of the Project and they have realised that, their life-style can be changed if they properly follow the guidelines of the project programmes. Once confidence of the tribal in himself and in his system is established there is no suspicion about the intention of the agents of change and a sound base can be laid for healthy and sustainable development.

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The Lanjia Saora : Aspects of Society, Culture and Development

Anadi Mallik

Introduction :

There are as many as 62 tribal communities in Orissa. The Saoras are one of them. They are known in various names, such as Savara, Sabara, Saora, Sora etc. They are subdivided in various groups. The sub-divisions are (1) Lamba Lanjia or Lanjia Saora, (2) Jadu, (3) Mane, (4) Raika, (5) Sarda, (6) Kindal, (7) Arsi, (8) Juari, (9) Kancher, (10) Kurumba, (11) Sudha, (12) jati, (13) Jora and (14) Kampo. The Lanjia Saoras are chiefly concentrated in Parlakhemundi subdivision of undivided Ganjam (Gajapati) district and Puttasingh area of undivided Koraput (Rayagada) district. They have been identified as one of the primitive tribal groups considering their habitat, technology, methods of getting food, low literacy rate, etc. Their language is called, the Sora. Linguistically they belong to South Munda branch of Austro-Asiatic sub-family of Austric family. They show their racial affinity with the Proto-Australoid group as per the available data.

Tracing back to *Puranas* and *Epics* one can find many references of this primitive group. In *Mahabharat* it is described as that Jara savar who mistook Lord Krishna for a deer and killed Him with his arrow. In many religious texts, they are described as *Kirat*, *Nisad* and *Pulinda*. The legend says that one called Biswavas, a Saora King, was the original worshiper of *Bhagaban* Vishnu in form of Lord Jagannath.

The clan organisation is totally absent in the Saora community. Instead of clan organisation they have their extended families called, *Birinda*, which consists of descendants from a common ancestor of four to five generations. Marriage is completely prohibited within a *Birinda* as its members are blood-related. A woman after her marriage does not change her *Birinda*. Even after her death the members of her *Birinda* may claim to perform her funeral ceremony.

Population :

As per 1981 Census the total population of Saora community in Orissa was 3,10,060 of which 1,82,344 were males and 1,87,716 were females.

Occupation :

The Lanjia Saoras practise wet cultivation in plain lands and terraced cultivation on hill lands. Besides that they also have slash and burn or swidden cultivation which is also known as shifting cultivation in hill-tops and hill slopes. They use swiddens for 2 to 3 years for cultivation. Then they leave it for 5 to 6 years and shift to other patches. Again after 5 to 6 years they return to the same piece of land for cultivation. They grow rice, pulses, oil-seeds, beans, minor millets and turmeric in the shifting cultivation patches. The rice is their staple food. They also depend on forest produce to eke out their livelihood. They collect *Mahua* flowers for preparation of liquor and *karanja* seeds for oil. The Saora terraced fields reveal their skill and workmanship.

Economic life :

The Lanjia Saoras have a very low economic status. As they live on hill-tops, hill slopes, valleys and terrains a little amount of cultivable land is available for agricultural purposes to support their economic life. They mostly depend on forest wealth. As a matter of fact, their life centres round the forest. They earn their livelihood through the collection of fire-wood, edible roots and tubers, leaves and creepers. In the past the collection of Tamarind, *karanja* seeds and broom-stick from the forest was their major economic activity but at present due to degradation of forests these produce is not available plentifully as before. So the life of Lanjia saoras seems to be very hazardous without getting much return from forest. On the other hand, excess drinking habit, performance of traditional festivals round the year and treatment of diseases through worship and sacrifice make them poor as these involve heavy expenditure. To meet these expenses they run to *Sahukars* and middle-men and borrow money which they could not repay. Thus, they suffer from chronic indebtedness and also are exploited by *Sahukars*. As mentioned earlier the shifting cultivation is the major source of their livelihood.

and a substantial portion of income comes from this source.

Social life :

The most common form of marriage among them is the arranged marriage. But marriages by capture and service are also prevalent among them. In an arranged marriage the parents and the elders of the groom take initiative in the matter. As marriage within the *Birinda* is forbidden they have to seek bride from other *Birindas*.

The Sororate and Levirate types of marriages are also prevalent among them. Polygyny is widely prevalent among them. The Saoras marry more than one wife. The polygyny is a sign of prestige and it enhances social status among them.

In their society, a Saora woman occupies a distinctive position in the family life. She performs household works, rears children, prepares food, collects fire-wood from the nearby forest etc. They also get equal prominence in their festivals and ceremonies. Being an economic asset of the family, the woman is highly respected and honoured in the family. Even, a Saora marriage can not be fixed without the consent of the girl.

The older people have exercise greater influence over the younger people. Through the socialization process, younger people acquire their knowledge through training and learning the methods of cultivation, social norms, behaviour and values. Both the boys and girls participate in village ceremonial functions and get equal share along with elders. Boys assist their parents while working in the fields, in climbing hill tops, in fetching water, in tending cattles, in ploughing fields, in skinning animals etc. whereas girls help their mothers in cooking, taking care of children, preparing beads, necklaces, plastering of walls and floors and the like.

Leadership pattern :

The Lanjia Saora society appears to be a stratified one. The Chief of the village is called the *Gamango*. The secular head controls the village administration. He is assisted by a set of traditional officials called the *Buyya*, the *Dal-*

Behera, the *Mandal*, the *Disari* and the *Barik*. The office of the both the leaders *Gamango* or *Buyya* is hereditary. The *Buyya* should have a sound knowledge of religious custom and practices. The *Disari*, in many villages acts as an astrologer and the *Barik* acts as a messenger. prior to the introduction of local-self Government, the village was an independent unit and the village Councils consisting of above officials were exercising enormous power over the village administration. But after the introduction of Panchayat Raj system, the traditional village Council went under several changes and its dominance, over village administration slowly diminished. At present, under the influences of the elected leaders, the traditional leaders are losing their importance.

Cultural life :

Dancing and singing are their pastime while smoking and drinking are their personal habit. The most interesting feature of their personality is that they can compose songs then and there on the dancing ground. A Lanjia saora is always in habit of carrying an axe on his shoulder while going somewhere. The other impressive features of this community is that during ceremonial dances, coloured clothes of cotton and silk are tied as turban by men. Women hold peacock-plumes in their hand while dancing. The traditional dress of the saora male members consists of long loin-cloth approximately six feet long and ten inches broad. It is tied around their waist passing between thighs to cover private parts of the body. The traditional cloth of a Saora woman is a waist cloth with gray borders and it hardly reaches the knee level in chilly weather they cover the upper parts of the body with another piece of cloth. The Saoras are well known for their wall paintings.

Religion and customs :

They perform several religious rites. Most of the rituals are of communal nature. During worship various animals, like pig, buffalo, fowls etc. are sacrificed before deities along with offering of liquor. They believe that any negligence or omission in religious practice causes harm to the family. They feel that without blessings of ancestral cults nothing can go rightly in this world. So they appease them with

sacrifice for benefit of the family, community, village and for better harvest of crops. They observe a good numbers of festivals. The important festivals are *Kurrualpar*, *jammalpur*, *Purred*, *jatrapur*, *lambapur* etc. It is seen that some Saoras have adopted Christianity as their religion. A close observation of village life in rural Orissa reveals borrowing of certain Saora cultural traits in the Hindu social system.

Developmental activities :

For all round development of Lanjia Saoras living around Puttasingh area of Gunupur Sub-division under Gunupur I.T.D.A. of Rayagada District, a Micro-Project has been functioning since 1984. The project area is consisting of 19 villages of Sagada Gram panchayat having 594 Lanjia Saora families. The Project headquarters is located at Puttasingh which is 7 kms. away from Sagada Gram Panchayat. The total population of the Project is 3544 of which 1826 are males and 1718 are females. There are 17 Adult Literacy Centres to impart education to these people. As many as 528 adults are taught in these centres. As per the available data of the Project it is found that the percentage of literacy among Lanjia Saoras is 33.86 per cent which was 5 per cent at the inception of the Project. In order to accelerate the development among them an amount of Rs. 1,04,66,487 have been spent right from the inception of the Project. As the Lanjia Saoras live in the inaccessible areas attention has been paid for the development of communication facilities in which an amount of Rs. 28,58,498 have been spent. Considering the availability of vast stretches of barren lands and uncultivable waste land next priority has

been given for horticultural plantation both in Government land and private land. Usufructuary rights over plantation have been given to them. An amount of Rs. 21,64,925 has been spent for development of horticultural plantation. Education as the key input of development has received a greater attention and as a result, the literacy standard of the Lanjia Saora has been raised from 5% to 34%. Development of soil conservation measures like cashew plantation, land development, stone wall terracing and land reclamation have been taken to arrest the soil erosion and an amount of Rs. 6,58,498 has been spent in this sector. In order to increase the standard of living of the target group and amount of Rs. 27,35,538 have utilised under Income Generating Schemes and an amount of Rs. 51,35,690 have been spent an supporting infrastructural development.

Apart from the above programmes, other programmes, like Agriculture (Rs. 1,80,736) Irrigation (Rs. 5,61,399), Rural electrification (Rs. 80,236), Health Care (Rs. 26,740), Cooperation (Rs. 722), Training and Publicity (Rs. 26,304), Drinking Water supply (Rs. 2,05,889) and construction of buildings (Rs. 3,66,643) have been implemented for the development.

In spite of all efforts, the achievements are not commensurate with the expected. As per the available data from the Micro-Project it is found that about 67 per cent of the families live below the poverty line. Sincere efforts are to continue to accelerate development among them.

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Book Review

Social Mobility and Caste Dynamics : THE KANSARI OF ORISSA

K. K. Mohanti

First published, 1993

Rawat publications Jaipur.

P. P. IX + 256, Price Rs. 175.

Glossary, Appendices, Bibliography and Index.

Caste mobility in the Indian society has been represented as a continuous process of struggle and many book on caste have revealed the phenomena with different style and substance but the book under review is unique in the sense that it contributes a great deal to the understanding of the concept 'social mobility' in the context of a functional artisan caste-group of non-ferrous metalsmiths, the Kansari of Orissa. It is quite a painstaking endeavour since the author has made the study at synchronic level, gathering data from 27 field locations wellknown for brass and bell-metal manufacturing and trade centres of Orissa, and the work is not worthy as the problems have been viewed and analysed with a holistic perspective.

In the book, the author has pointed out that Orissan craft-based communities have emerged mainly out of agriculture-based, need-based and prestige-economy-based environments and the Kansari fit into the last category. The community occupy the middle range of the caste hierarchical order and have been from the pre-independence period making incessant and perceptible attempts at social mobility by forging caste solidarity. The entire events of caste dynamics have been analysed depending heavily on theoretical concepts, viz. social solidarity, social hierarchy, social control, social identity, social stratification and social mobility, to which the author considers the six-pillard conceptual foundation on which the whole study rests.

The book however, has been conveniently divided into six well-written chapters, including an excellent summing up. The first chapter critically analyses the prevailing theoretical paradigms and models of social mobility and the emerging issues in reference to the studies made in Orissa, especially by Bailey (1957,

1960) Bose (1960), Patnaik (1960) and Behura (1978). The second chapter provides a rich ethnographic details of the community alongwith the products as well as the tools, equipment and appliances used for manufacturing brass, copper and bell-metal wares. The third chapter unfolds various aspects of the Kansari caste councils and examines the solidarity forging mechanisms together with the persistence of caste identity over time, bringing to the surface its socio-economic dimensions, whereas the following chapter highlights the forces of identity crisis and with intellectual process the author has made formidable attempt to discuss the necessity of redefining the Kansari identity in the changing scenario.

The most fascinating chapter is the fifth one since it deals with several parameters and indices like, occupational choice, occupational inheritance rate, inter-and-intra-generational occupation mobility, reference group behaviour, and cases of individual and group mobility including the educational attainment with a view to assessing both the ritual and secular trends of mobility. Finally, the author concludes that in the process, pressure group formation and viable politicisation immensely helped the community bring about individual positional change rather than structural change in the overall hierarchical caste order. The reviewer, however, finds that the materials in support of politicization seem to be inadequate or not analysed to the level of usual expectation.

Further, unlike other studies, the appendices of the book contain quite substantial information and valuable documentation of caste-groups, like the Kharuda, Sitala, Thentari and ghanara engaged in the similar occupations in Orissa and other States of India. Judging from the theoretical and empirical aspects, the book presents a well-researched material on caste dynamics and mobility and move particularly it would essentially serve the purpose of scholars and professionals who deal with craft-based community.

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