

ADIBASI

Vol. XXVI No. 4
December, 1986

The Journal of the Tribal &
Harijan Research-cum-Training
Institute, Bhubaneswar

N. Patnaik

Herbal Medicines of Dongrias

Ch. P. K. Mohapatra

Legal aid Scheme—An evaluation

Adhikari Srikanta Dash

Learning and Motivation

B. Mohanty

Shifting Cultivation in Orissa : with a case
study among the Juang.

N. K. Behura

Constraints in Tribal Culture for formal
education.

Manoranjan Acharya

System of exchange among Koyas

Dr. U. N. Patnaik

Position of Women in Kondh Society

R. C. Sethi

Attitude of tribals towards life and their
emerging needs.

ADIBASI

Vol. XXVI

No. 4

December, 1986

Editorial Board :

Dr. N. PATNAIK, Editor

Dr. B. D. SHARMA, Member, Dr. SITAKANT MAHAPATRA, Member

Prof. IQBAL NARAYAN, Member, Dr. SURAJIT C. SINHA, Member

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

		Page No.
Herbal Medicines of Dongrias ..	Dr. N. Patnaik, F. Bara and A. Mall	1
Legal Aid Scheme—An evaluation ..	Ch. P. K. Mohapatra ..	5
Learning and Motivation ..	Adhikari Srikanta Dash ..	10
Shifting Cultivation in Orissa : with a case study among the Juang.	B. B. Mohanty ..	17
Constraints in Tribal Culture for Formal Education.	N. K. Behura ..	27
System of Exchange among Koyas ..	Manoranjan Acharya ..	33
Position of Women in Kondh Society ..	Dr. U. N. Patnaik ..	40
Attitude of tribals towards life and their emerging needs.	R. C. Sethi ..	42

Published by the Tribal & Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute
Government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar-751003

ADIBASI

is published four times a year in March, June, September and December by the Tribal & Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute, Unit-VIII, Bhubaneswar-751003.

Vol. XXVI, No. 4, December, 1986

ABOUT THE JOURNAL

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

TO THE CONTRIBUTORS

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

RATE OF SUBSCRIPTION

Annual subscription of the journal

Inland Rs. 16.00

Foreign Rs. 20.00

The rates are subject to revision.

BACK ISSUES

Back issues are available for sale. The journal is also supplied on exchange basis.

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

The authors are solely responsible for the presentation and the manner of writing of their articles. The opinions expressed in the articles are also of the authors and not of the Editor or the Editorial Board.

All correspondences about the journal should be addressed to the Editor, "Adibasi", Tribal & Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute, Unit-VIII, Bhubaneswar-751003.

Herbal Medicines of Dongrias

N. Patnaik
F. Bara
A. Mall

Tribal concept of disease and treatment, life and death is as varied as their culture. Accordingly, the tribal society is guided by traditionally laid down customs. Every member of the society is expected to conform to these customs and traditions. The fate of individual and the community at large, depends on their relationship with unseen forces which intervene human affairs. If men offend them, the mystical power punishes them by sickness, death or other natural calamities.

The Dongrias believe that diseases are caused by evil spirits. They become angry and do harm if one has not propitiated them properly. Thus, to a Dongria mind, the real enemies of human health and prosperity are the Gods and the evilspirits. The usual theory of disease in the Dongria society is that it is caused by the breach of some taboo or by the anger of hostile spirits and ghosts of the dead. Sickness is the routine punishment for every lapse and crime done by them. Accordingly, they have taboos and prayers. Invoking the blessings of Gods and propitiating the evil spirits are necessary to have a smooth and healthy life. The Jani or the village priest in addition to his religious functions act as mediator between the people and the mystical power. He prays and worships offering sacrificial animal, alcoholic drink and blood of sacrificial animals. By these he tries to maintain a good relationship between the people on the one hand and the mystical power people on the other, which intervene human affairs. Thus magico-religious treatment of diseases caused by supernatural and human agencies are resorted to by the Dongrias.

Traditional Method of Diagnosis

When illness continues for a long period the Dongrias consult a 'Beju' or 'Bejuni' who performs the ritual, a process of diagnosis named as 'Puchuna'. The 'Beju' or 'Bejuni' who calls puchuna passes into a state of trance, calls all the Gods, spells automatic flow of mantras and is enlightened by the one, responsible for causing the illness and the kind of animal that must be sacrificed. He puts the puchuma rice (arua rice specially prepared by the Bejuni for the particular family) on a Wincrowing fan kept for the purpose. He examines the rice, utters mantras and the affected person is made to touch it while names of different Gods and deities are called. Then, finally he tells the cause of the disease and specific vow to be made. Puchuna is sometimes called for twice or more if the disease is not cured for a long period.

'Lodang' is a puja offered to the specific deity after a person is cured from a disease. The vowed sacrifice is offered for the cured person. The Beju or Bejuni again performs all the rituals. Arua rice, Bel leaves, vermilion, Wincrowing fan, Mandar leaves, fire pot, oil light and promised sacrificial animal are required for 'Lodang'. In most of the cases the sacrificial animal is a hen. The cured person sits near the Beju throughout the Puja. He holds the animal and make it eat a few grains of the ritual rice from his palm. The puja takes two to three hours time. On the following morning the sacrificial animal is taken to the hill stream. After some ritual rites the animal is killed and the blood is offered to the specific God or deity.

Besides the supernatural causes, the Dongrias also believe in natural causes of some common diseases like fever, cold, cough, headache, stomach pain, toothache, cut, burn, snake and insect bite, etc. yet their emphasis on the supernatural puts a low threshold on the awareness of disease and pain, encouraging them to tolerate and accept. They do not care much for the common diseases unless it becomes very severe inflicting acute pain to the affected person. The herbal medicines used by the Dongrias for the treatment of some of their diseases are given below.

Fever (Jvara)

Dongria term for fever is 'Nomberi' which is recognised by the general symptoms of rise in the normal body temperature and pulse beat.

Fever is the most common disease from which the Dongrias suffer frequently. They believe in two types of fever namely 'Nomberi' and 'Dadi' or 'Pali nomberi'. The medicine man is the only person who is supposed to collect the medicinal plants, and prepare medicine out of them. He is specially equipped with the knowledge of diseases and medicines required. The medicines are not preserved as they believe that fresh collected plants are more effective than dried ones.

The leaves of Saptā (B-Nyctanthes arbor-tristis), Gadapunga Bhuinirabo. (Md. Plant Agathotes) Plant and root of 'Pitakerandi' are pounded together to extract juice. This juice is heated to make luke-warm. About half a cup of this juice is orally administered daily in an empty stomach early in the morning till the fever is cured. 'Chagrikoda' root is also grinded and anointed on the whole body which acts as a substitute medicine for fever.

Cold (Thanda)

The Dongria term for cold is 'Losom'. It is recognised by the symptoms of heavy flow of watery cough like substance from nose, giddiness and feeling of restlessness and cold sensation accompanied by aching of the limbs.

Continued and severe cases of cold compel the Dongrias to use medicine. The skins of Tarlu seeds and root of 'Ketkaya' plant is mixed and made paste. The paste is then diluted in water and 2 to 3 spoons of this diluted water is orally administered twice a day till cure.

The bark of Drumstick (B-Moringa pterygosperma) tree is gratted and boiled with water. The steam of this boiling

water is inhaled for some time and then the cooled water is filtered to be orally administered.

Cough (Kasa)

The Dongria term for cough is 'Tanha'. It is recognised by cough, cold and irritation in the throat. Whenever it continues for longer period and becomes acute, they use different kinds of herbal medicines.

The juice of 'Mania' bark and Ginger is pounded together and the juice is squeezed on a small dish. About 2 to 3 spoonful of this juice is orally administered daily once for 3 to 4 days.

About 2 spoonful of juice extracted from Mania and Keta (B-Feronia elephantum) bark and the root of Ranisilaha (Pipoli creeper) is orally administered to the patient for 4 to 5 days. In some cases half burnt Ginger is chewed by them. Mixed juice from Holy basil (B-Ocimum sanctum) leaf, Ginger (B-Zingiber officinale) and Honey also act as a medicine for cough. Harida (B-Terminalia chebulia) fruit is boiled and made luke-warm and then about half a cup of this water is orally administered to the patient suffering from cough.

Headache

The Dongria term for headache is 'Kapada-bisa'. They use some herbal medicines in case of repeated occurrence of severe headache.

The root of 'Chapi' creeper is pounded and rubbed on the forehead. The juice of Begunia (B-Vitex negunda) leaves if anointed on the forehead heals headache. Bichhuati stinging nettle (B-Tragia involucrata) seeds are also applied as a substitute medicine, but it gives a burning sensation for sometime.

Jhada

The Dongrias use only one medicine for Hinjupata (Dysentery) and Baheniturkey (frequent loose and watery motion), Raw curry plantain with its peel is burnt, peeled and given to the patient.

Blood dysentery is called as 'Netripota'. Tadi-hiru and Kumunditadihiu, (two different types of plantain roots) are pounded and the juice is squeezed and mixed together. About half a cup of the juice is orally administered daily to the patient in an empty stomach till cure.

Petaphampa is named as 'Pungawainga' by the Dongrias. About half a cup juice of 'Kurei' and 'Mango' (B-Mangifera indica) bark is orally administered for one or two times.

Vomiting

The Dongrias believe that vomiting is caused by the possession of an 'evil spirit, indigestion, stomach trouble, poison intake, excessive drinking and morning sickness.

When vomiting is caused by possession of an evil spirit 'Blowing and whiffing' is resorted to. This is their traditional method of treatment and a Beju or Bejuni is summoned for the purpose.

Vomiting when caused by indigestion salt water is given to the patient. Lemon juice is mixed with it whenever available.

When vomiting is caused by stomach trouble 'Kunduri' (Kalanchoe Pinnata) leaf juice is orally administered.

If a person is orally poisoned the Dongrias resort to immediate vomiting. For this purpose they pound the root of 'Gadgadi', squeeze the juice and orally administer it to the affected person.

Excessive drunk person also needs immediate vomiting, old tamarind (B-Tamarindus Indica), preserved for to 3 years is kneaded with water and the liquid is orally administered. Thick 'Gur' water also helps vomiting and consequently sets at ease.

Vomiting caused due to morning sickness requires no treatment in the Dongria society.

Stomach Pain

It is called 'Patobish' by the Dongrias. The roots of Patalgaruda (cogeneria vulgaris) Giripoycu and Kumundihiru is pounded, the juice is squeezed and heated to luke warm. About half a cup of this mixture is orally administered daily in an empty stomach till the patient is cured.

Ear Pain and Ear Infection

The extracted juice of Salap (B-Caryota Urens) root is heated to luke warm and put in the ear. Heated Arkh (B-Calotropis Procera) leaves are pounded and the juice is squeezed in the infected ear of the patient.

Eye Pain and Eye Infection

Warm turmeric water is made cold, lemon juice is mixed with it and applied on the eye. Only lemon juice is also applied by the Dongrias to avoid all kinds of eye diseases. Onion is also applied to irradiate eye infection.

Mouth Infection (Infants)

Powdered kosula rice (arua) is made paste with alatilata root juice. This paste is rubbed inside the mouth of the child.

Toothache

Seeds of Bhejibaigono (B-Solanum kanthocarpum) mixed with castor oil is put on a hot iron dish and the smoke is inhaled by the patient. They also apply Arkh latex on the affected teeth. Dimbiri latex is also applied as a substitute for this.

Sore of Wound (Gha)

Cocoonut coir is burnt and the ash is made paste with cocoonut oil. This paste is anointed upon the sore which heals it slowly.

Sprain

The Dongrias apply lukewarm turmeric paste fried with castor oil for 3 to 4 times a day. The heated paste Bisalyakarani (B-Tridax Procumbens) sprain.

Fracture

Tender part of 'Hadasikula' creeper 'Mara-sureli' bush and 'Black gram' are grinded to paste and applied evenly on the fractured portion, 'Marilating & which is prepared with bamboo twigs and rope is plastered upon it.

Cuts

Frequent incidents of minor and major accidental cuts are reported in Dongira villages which results in heavy bleeding. To stop bleeding and to heal such wounds they use different creepers as herbal medicines.

The roots of old 'Lahatalichi and 'Kranibada' creepers are grinded and pasted upon the cut. This stops bleeding immediately and also lessens the pain. For healing the wound the Dongrias anoint the juice of kirpilata (Bisalyakarani) and Giriludadinga leaves. Some times dried leaves of Kirpilata and Giriludadinga are powdered and applied on the cut. The powdered leaves of 'Lahatalichi' creeper is also applied in the same way. Warm turmeric paste also is applied on the injury which give quick relief.

Insomania

For sleeplessness 'Lazadading (B-Mimosa pudica) juice is orally administered. They also

believe that if a part of the creeper is kept on the bed it induces sleep.

Pilehi (Pleha)

The juice of parasitic plant grown upon a Dimbiri (*Ficus glomerata*) tree cures pilehi.

Jaundice

The Dongrias believe that 7 mantra salt if chewed then the patient is cured. Besides this they use the juice of 'Mundemera' bark. The juice from Kaincha (*B-Abrus Precatorius*) root is another substitute for this disease.

Leprosy

It is quite unfamiliar disease to the Dongrias. Very recently a few cases of this disease have come to the notice. 'Bhramaramari' tree, a rare availability is only recognised and found by the medicine man who uses its roots for the medicinal purpose. This tree is found in the dense forest upon the rocky place.

Snake-bite

Turmeric (*B-Curuma longa*) and Patalgaruda (*M-cogenaria vulgaris*) roots grinded to paste and anointed upon the spot of bite. The extracted juice from the same is also orally administered. 'Gada (*B-Pterospermum heyneanum*) root, is one effective substitute for snake-bite. The extracted juice from the root is orally administered and at the same time a piece of the root is also inhaled by the person.

Scorpion and Insectbite

Salt and Turmeric (*B-curuma longa*) paste is anointed over the stinzed spot. For other insect-bites the affected portion is given a heat fomentation.

Bleeding from Nose

Dry cowdung is burnt and its smoke is inhaled by the patient.

Paralysis

Root of 'Dombadohendalaha' and 'Penuhepari' (*B-Asparagus race mosus*) and 'Penupapeni' is pounded and the juice is orally administered.

Menstrual cycle

Among the Dongria girls puberty comes only after the age of 16 to 18 years. Usually their menstrual flow continues for 4 to 7 days. Irregularities in this cycle is not considered a disease. Whenever there is excess discharge or the flow continues for more than normal period they consult a medicine man who gives some herbal medicines to check it. The juice extracted from the roots of 'Dinjinipuyou' 'Dindnihiru', 'Peaka-pongadaki' (*B-Rauwolfia Serpentina*), is administered orally which helps to cure such disease.

Menopause

Menopause occurs within the age of 45 to 50 years. Those who desire earlier menopause consult a medicine man. Equal quantity of 'Karkati' (*B-Momordica disica*), 'Dinjinipuyou', 'Dindnihiru' and 'Penka-pongadaki' roots are pounded and the extracted juice is orally administered to the woman who desires earlier menopause.

Medicine to induce complete barrenness

The Dongrias believe that if seven Kaincha (*B-Abrus Precatorius*) seeds are cut by a woman, she never conceives after that 'Bonobeto' (*B-Calamus tenuis*) is an effective herbal medicine used by the Dongrias. This root is pounded and the juice is squeezed for the medicine. Oral administration of about half a cup of this juice induces complete barrenness.

Delivery

Oral administration of Mutha (*cyperus rotundus*) root juice helps quick delivery.

3 years old 'Castor' (*Recinus communis*) bark, 'Bitter gourd' (*Kalara*) and 'Bajramuli' roots are pounded to extract juice. This mixture is orally administered which helps quick falling of placenta. Long preserved 'Padma' (*B-Nymphaea lotus*) red and mixed with wheat flour also acts as a substitute medicine.

With the introduction of allopathic medicines the importance of some herbal medicines are decreasing slowly. Now some of the Dongrias also go to the hospital at Bissam-Cuttack for allopathic medicines.

Legal Aid Scheme—An Evaluation

Ch. P. K. Mohapatra

Introduction

The present article is based on a field study conducted in four districts, such as Koraput, Phulbani, Sundargarh and Balangir during the last part of the year 1971. The findings revealed many interesting facts which helps in understanding the lacunae and other shortcoming of the scheme that need be plugged in order to make the scheme a success. The findings are more relevant in context of the magnitude of the problem and the stringent principles that are being followed to intensify the effort to render legal assistance to the weaker sections of our society.

With the passing of Central Untouchable (Offences) Act, 1955 and the Orissa Scheduled Areas Transfer of Immovable Properties Regulations, 1956 an effective avenue was opened to help the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe communities which served as a measure of check to the grabbing of land of these people by non-scheduled communities. To make the legal measures a success it was necessary that these Scheduled Communities should come

forward and fight out their cases to arrest this type of illegal transfer of land and safeguard their own interest. But the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people being poor and illiterate were not able to fight out such cases in the law courts. Thus, the scheme of giving legal aid by way of financial help was formulated by Government of Orissa and annual grants were placed at the disposal of the collectors for payment to the pleaders who represented these suffering communities in the law courts from 1956-57 for Scheduled Castes and from 1959-60 for Scheduled Tribes.

Aims of Evaluating the Scheme

In spite of the fact that adequate steps were taken to safeguard the interests of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe communities by stopping the illegal grabbing of land for which they suffered since ages it was observed that the scheme exerted very little impact on these communities as the response to avail the benefit according from the scheme was very poor. The following table from official sources corroborates to this.

Sl. No.	Name of the district	1969-70			1970-71			Address
		Total No. of persons benefited	Total Scheduled Tribe	Total Scheduled Caste	Total No. of persons benefited	Total Scheduled Tribe	Total Scheduled Caste	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1	Balasore ..	91	14	77	..	..	..	..
2	Phulbani ..	25	20	5	38	38	..	..
3	Cuttack ..	47	..	47	88	..	88	..
4	Ganjam ..	30	20	10	20	14	6	..
5	Dhenkanal ..	26	..	26	5	..	5	..
6	Puri ..	50	..	50	20	..	20	..
7	Koraput ..	75	75	..	149	149	..	..
8	Sundargarh ..	14	14	..	63	63	..	..
9	Sambalpur ..	1	..	1	3	..	3	..

It may not be assumed that illegal transfer of land occurs on such a negligible scale as above, rather as will be seen from the following pages the incidence of illegal transfer is rampant in districts which are inhabited by very backward tribes. In other districts the incidents, although occurs on a large scale, hardly come to lime-light to attract the attention of Government authorities.

In view of these it was felt necessary to evaluate the scheme and thereby find out the main bottlenecks in not making the scheme a success and suggest measures to benefit the scheduled communities on a wider scale. The criteria for the success of the legal aid scheme :

The scheme of legal aid depends on certain preconditions and factors that have a bearing upon making the scheme practically successful.

They are :

- (1) Criteria of high incidence of *bona fide* land ejection cases occurring among the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe communities.
- (2) Full awareness about the legal provisions like Regulation 11/56 and the Orissa Land Reforms Code, 1965 on the part of the Scheduled communities.
- (3) Knowledge about the legal aid scheme formulated by Government to render financial help to these communities.
- (4) Early detection and follow up action for illegal transfer cases by field officers working for tribal welfare.
- (5) Proper selection of panel pleaders representing these communities to fight out cases in the interest of these communities and adequate and timely payment of their remuneration.
- (6) Speedy disposal of cases of these type by the trying magistrates.
- (7) Restoration of the disputed land to the Scheduled Caste/Tribe party after the case is over.

These are certain criteria which may be held to make the scheme of legal aid successful.

Limitations of the report

Evaluation of the scheme was confined to four districts, namely Koraput, Phulbani, Sundargarh and Balangir. In first three districts which form part of the Scheduled area of the State the legal measure of Regulation 11/56 has since been in force to deal with the problem of illegal transfer of land between Scheduled Tribes and other communities. In case of the fourth one, the Orissa Land Reforms Code, 1965 is referred to for dealing with this problem.

Due to dearth of personnel the study of the problem was limited to collection of case histories who received legal aid during the years 1969-70 and 1970-71. Four Subdivisions in each of the above districts were covered. For controlled observation case histories which did not apply for legal aid in spite of the fact that they fought their cases at their own cost were also collected. Two separate schedules relating to the criteria of success of legal aid scheme were prepared and the response to these were recorded.

Apart from the collection of data on the schedules, Government officials at district and subdivisional level were interviewed and records were verified to examine the producers adopted for sanction of funds and selection of panel pleader. As sufficient case histories could not be collected analysis of the data tended to be a qualitative one. Nevertheless, the findings present some illuminating facts regarding the operational aspect of the scheme.

The Extent of the problem of illegal transfer of land.

The total number of cases relating to illegal transfer of land have been collected from official sources from the four districts covered during field work. The table below gives a picture of the same for the year 1970 and 1971 calendar years.

Sl. No.	Name of the district	Total number of cases instituted during 1970-71 calendar year	Total number of cases disposed during those years	Total number of cases pending
1	Koraput	14,746	8,597	6,149
2	Phulbani	2,162	948	1,244
	Sundargarh	506	492	263
4	Balangir (Excluding Titlagarh subdivision)	56	(Information not available)	

From the above table it may be seen that a very large number of cases were detected and instituted in the district of Koraput which is inhabited by very backward tribes like Paroja, Gadaba, Kandha, Bonda and Didayi. The district of Phulbani registers the next higher incidence of such cases whereas in Sundargarh it is much less and in Balangir the incidence is negligible.

In the district of Koraput the cases coming under the Orissa Land Reforms Code, 1965 have not been given which would augment the total number of cases. In case of Balangir which happens not to be a scheduled district O. L. R. 65 cases constitute such a negligible number.

In the district of Phulbani more number of cases might be detected. Due to factors like lack of communication to subdivisional headquarters from the interior areas cases do not come to lime light. It was reported that only after efforts were made by Field Officers of T. & R. W. Department during the year 1970 these cases which have been detected came to light and were instituted. In spite of the fact that the district of Sundargarh comes under the scheduled area of the State it registers much lesser number of such cases. The causes of this may be found out in the following pages.

Awareness about the legislative measures

In order that the Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste communities avail the benefit of legislative measures it is imperative that they should be fully aware about them. Among 25 cases histories collected from Koraput, Phulbani and Sundargarh districts it is found that except in 3 cases of Sundargarh district rest were fully ignorant about the legislative measures.

The subjects who filed regulation II/56 cases were not even aware till the time of filling the case. Most of the subjects were compelled to file such cases because most valuable of their possessions were grabbed by the nontribals which would have made them to starve.

The discrepancy between Koraput and Phulbani on one hand and Sundargarh on the other hand may be accounted for by the fact that general literacy position of Sundargarh district is much higher than Koraput and Phulbani district. These three districts constitute the major portion of States, scheduled areas where the total popula-

tion of scheduled tribe and scheduled caste communities constitute more than 60% of the general population. Hence the general literacy position of these districts has a significant bearing upon the literacy position of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. According to 1971 census literacy rate of district of Koraput, Phulbani and Sundargarh are 10.57, 19.67 and 26.28 respectively. The district of Sundargarh constitute a potential industrial belt of this State of Orissa. Hence the Sch. Caste and Sch. Tribe communities of Sundargarh are not as backward as that of the district of Koraput and Phulbani. They are fairly in know of the legislative measures intended to safeguard their interests.

Knowledge about the Legal Aid scheme

While interviewing the subjects regarding their knowledge about legal aid two kinds of responses were recorded. Those who fought their cases under Regulation II/56 expressed utter ignorance about the scheme of Legal Aid. Those who were involved in cases other than regulation II/56 i. e. 107 and 145 Cr. P. C. expressed that they knew about the scheme from their pleaders and applied for getting the aid. It may, therefore, be deduced that the nature of the cases which the subjects fought had a bearing on the subject of knowledge about legal aid scheme. The role of the pleaders is then vital in understanding the problem as to why subjects involved in regulation II/56 cases were utterly ignorant about the legal aid scheme while those involved in other more complicated cases were aware of it.

The subjects, in order to fight out their cases fully depend upon their pleaders whom they not only pay the requisite fees but also revere them. The pleaders know the fate of such cases which always go in favour of their clients. Hence after each of such cases confidence of their clients is gained resulting in a double gain of money and confidence. In case of other complicated cases like 144 Cr. P. C. and 107 Cr. P. C. the fate of such cases are not known. The period of trial is also longer than that of regulation II/56 cases. The pleaders engaged in such cases direct their clients to apply for such legal aid and the client follow. This is evident from the fact that those who applied for legal Aid were always involved in cases other than regulation II/56. This fact was found common to all the Scheduled areas visited during the field work i. e. districts of Koraput, Phulbani and Sundargarh.

Apart from the fact delineated above, there appears to be very little awareness about the scheme among the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe population living far away from the subdivisional headquarters. This is, however, true in case of the scheduled areas only.

Selection of Panel pleader and their remuneration.

A reference may be made here to the rules regulating the grant of financial aid to Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in legal proceedings. Rule 3 says.....He shall next secure the orders of the D. M. or the Subdivisional Officer, as the cases may be, admitting the application and selecting a pleader from a panel of pleaders previously approved by the District Magistrate and communicate the orders to the party and also the pleaders". Rule says..... "Young pleaders of morked ability and enthusiasm willing to work on these terms should alone be selected". In all the four districts it was observed that the above rules have been observed in their breach. Steps for selecting panel pleaders have either been not taken or wherever taken the decision has not materialised.

In some cases the pleaders have not responded to a request of being appointed as panel pleader. In another cases the panel pleader happens to be a man of around 50 years of age having the status of a rich man who might not care much for his fees prescribed by Government. Selection of such a panel pleader is apt to defeat the purpose implied in rule 4. The very low rate of fees for the pleaders prescribed by Government and untimely payment to the pleaders have contributed more to the cause of ill response on the part of lawyers to work as panel pleaders. It was gathered during interview that a minimum of one and half year to 2 years elapsed between the date of instituting the case and the receipt of legal aid. During the period of trial which lasted from one year to 3 years in almost all the cases recorded, the pleaders collected their usual fees from these Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe clients which varied from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,500.00. Those who received legal aid in fact received no redress from the financial aid because the amount of legal aid did not exceed Rs. 100.00 in any case and sometimes it constituted one-tenth of what actually they spent in the case. In all the cases recorded the amount of legal aid varied from Rs. 30.00 to Rs. 100.00 which never covers even half of the expenses actually incurred by the Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste communities.

Mode of sanction and disbursement of legal aid

After scrutinising the official papers relating to the sanction of legal aid it was found that the entire process was replete with loopholes resulting in untimely payment and thereby compel the pleaders to extract their fees from their Scheduled Tribe/Caste clients and keeping these clients as far as possible from the knowledge about the scheme of legal aid. The process is as follows. An application is submitted to the D. W. O. or the Subdivisional Officer. The A.D.W.O. then makes an enquiry. Then the name, is recommended to the D. W. O. The D. W. O. then sends the case for sanction to the Government. After the sanction is made at Government level the same is communicated to the District office. The district office then communicates the sanction to the Subdivisional Officer who draws and disburses the amount. The entire process makes way for delay at every stage. It was found even at the stage of preliminary enquiry by the A. D. W. O. to ascertain whether the applicant has actually filed a genuine case, months after months passed between the date of application and his field enquiry. Hence there is no grainsaying that similar delay at every stage of the process of sanction did occur.

In some cases it was found that although sanction was made the money could not be disbursed owing to the fact that Government orders were not clear as to whether the money is to be paid to the pleader or to the party. Clear instructions of Government could have averted this complication.

Disposal of Cases and restoration of land

It was recorded that the trial of land dispute cases were hardly disposed of in a short time. In many cases the trial continued for two to three years which the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people described as hard times. They said that it was difficult on their part to attend to the dates in time owing to their ignorance about court procedures and discipline. In few cases it was observed that restoration of land are not made by the Revenue Officials immediately after the dispute was over. Hence these scheduled communities were not benefited although they won the cases.

Summary findings

1. A high incidence of land ejection cases is found more in the scheduled areas of Koraput and Phulbani. This is much less in Sundargarh district.

2. In the non-scheduled areas like Balangir such cases are insignificant.

3. Awareness about the legislative measure like Regulation II/56 and OLR Act, 1965 is almost completely lacking among the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe areas of Koraput and Phulbani whereas in Sundargarh these people are fairly aware.

4. The scheduled communities in general of the scheduled area are absolutely ignorant about the legal aid scheme until and unless they are involved in land dispute cases under section 107, 144 and 145 Cr. P. C. etc.

5. Those fighting cases under Regulation II/56 are kept completely in dark about the legal aid scheme by their pleaders for their own interest.

6. Selection of panel pleader who is expected to represent the scheduled communities has never materialised and those who have been selected occasionally do not conform to the standard implied in the rules i.e. young and energetic lawyers with enthusiasm to work.

7. The pleaders at Subdivisional level do not come forward to include themselves in the panel of pleaders for representing the land ejection cases of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe people because of the very low amount of fees prescribed by Government. Usually they receive much more than that of the fees prescribed by Government.

8. Ultimately, payment and delay in sanction of legal aid compel the pleaders to collect their fees directly from their client on contract basis.

9. The period of trial of land ejection cases is prolonged for years and as a result of which the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe people face immense difficulties.

10. In some cases restoration of the disputed land is not made to the scheduled caste/tribe contestant soon after they win the case.

Suggestions

1. Serious attempt to detect land ejection cases particularly in the scheduled areas of the State may be made by the Field Officer's.

2. Serious attempt to detect land ejection against the interest of wealthier class people belonging to various castes and occupation of that area. Steps may be taken to see that the officers do not fall victim to various types of conspiracy against them by such people.

3. The procedure for sanction of legal aid has to be radically changed in order to make the scheme more effective. Funds may be placed at the subdivisional level to make it convenient to sanction as and when necessary. This will benefit the scheduled communities who are involved in cases and the pleaders who may pursue the cases with interest.

4. Selection of panel pleader is vital to the success of the scheme. Hence, young pleaders who have just stepped to the profession with enthusiasm to fight for such cases may only be selected.

5. In order that the benefit of the scheme should reach the scheduled communities living in the most interior part of this state propaganda on a very wide scale is necessary. The Extension Officers and the V. L. Ws can carry this right up to each of the village of the respective Blocks.

6. The period of trial should not exceed six months in such cases so that the tribals and scheduled caste people do not fall victim to exploitation by greedy pleaders and other types of officials.

7. Restoration of the land may be made to the scheduled caste/tribe contestants because such land happen to be their only and the best source of livelihood.

—X—

Learning and Motivation

Adhikari Srikanta Dash

I. Defining Education and Schooling

Let us make a distinction between education and schooling. Education is a continuous, life-long socialization process; beginning at birth and ending only at death. Through education an individual learns his way of life, adapts to his socio-cultural ecological environment, and achieves his life's personal and social goals. Schooling refers to a restricted aspect of education. Schooling restricts education to those processes of teaching and learning carried on at specific times, in particular places outside the home, for a definite period of life, and by persons specially trained or prepared for the task. More than 50 per cent of Indians and more than 65 per cent of the people of Orissa are illiterate—they have not gone to school. But it does not mean that they have no education or they have not learned anything.

Schooling is a 'man-made' context of learning where the heterogeneous learning from life is turned into a pattern of homogeneous learning that mirrors life. It would be more appropriate to say that schooling is a 'mind-made' context rather than a 'man-made' context of learning since educational reality is verbal and symbolic. Schooling represents reality in the medium of symbols. The basic purpose of education is that the pupil in the school should learn to know. Education expects a student to produce valid knowledge of a certain expected standard and the criterion of valid knowledge is decided by 'educational reality' tests.

The structure of a given society or culture determines and decides the structure and contents of its schooling. The hierarchical struc-

ture of schooling, the process of evaluation of outcome, the content and structure of the curriculum, the policies of selection and promotion, and all other things that are being included or excluded from the school learning are a part of the structural components of a society. Thus the structure of a society ultimately decides what is to be taught and how it should be taught to its members.

Learning from life is undoubtedly basic and very meaningful. No one questions about it. "Action—purpose—reason, is a totality and a life by itself" Learning from schooling, however, is not exactly meaningful in the same way as learning from life. It can be made meaningful, but there can also be a contextual separation between the act of learning and the reason or purpose of doing it.

II. Basic Principles of Learning

In order to promote the learning process, it is useful to keep in mind the following basic principles of learning.

- (1) Learning is an active process. The child learns by doing. A child learns that things go into a container by putting them in.
- (2) Learning proceeds from simple to complex. A child learns to take things apart (because it's simpler) before he learns to put them together.
- (3) Learning is enhanced by maturational readiness. Learning the alphabet for a 3-year old may take a full year; but for a 6-year old it is just a matter of weeks.

(4) Learning is enhanced by meaningful practice. When a child is learning to feed himself with a spoon, he needs many opportunities to handle the spoon and should be guided repeatedly.

(5) Organization promotes retention and application of learning. It is easier for a child to dress himself if his clothes are always in the same place, in the same order, and the same sequence of action is followed each time.

(6) Positive consequences increase the likelihood that a behaviour will be repeated. If a child wants to get his parent's attention by showing a temper tantrum and the parents rush and respond promptly, he is likely to do it again.

(7) Negative or neutral consequences decrease the likelihood that a behaviour will be repeated. If a child makes speech sounds but is repeatedly ignored, his language development will be delayed and he may gradually stop talking.

(8) Imitation of others' behaviour promotes learning. This sort of observational learning during early childhood is a very common phenomenon. If a child observes a playmate putting a wooden block into a cup, he is likely to do the same without verbal instruction.

(9) Concrete rewards and physical punishment are not absolutely necessary for learning. A positive approach aims at using some verbal and non-verbal (gestural) reinforcers effectively. Verbal reinforcers may take the form of: a small talk, suggestions and advice, challenges, personal comments about child's appearance or performance, praise and approval, questions and requests, directions, expression of affection, a little smile or small joke suited to the child's level. Non-verbal forms of reinforcement include looking towards the child, a facial gesture like smiling or winking, establishing eye contact, standing near the child, making physical contact (touching the child), assisting the child in difficult tasks, laughing with and listening to the child.

III. How is the Child Equipped to Learn

Learning is a natural part of life. Every normal baby comes into this world with all the equipment he needs to learn. Without a teacher

or a school-book, the infant begins learning from the moment he is born. If he is given the freedom to find out about his world and the encouragement to do so, he will continue to learn for the rest of his life. If learning stops along the way, it is because the adults around the child have allowed his natural learning urge to suffocate. Here is how a child is equipped to learn:—

(a) Senses—Every normal child is equipped with senses that tell him about the world around him. He sees, hears, tastes, feels, and smells, and by doing so, learns what the objects and people around him are like.

(b) Muscles—An infant rarely lies still unless he is sleeping. It is almost impossible to restrain a two-year old who is always climbing or running in the opposite direction. This is how the very young child learns what his muscles can do for him. During the first two years, most learning is sensori-motor by nature.

(c) Curiosity—This is the push to learn. Human beings are born with an overwhelming drive to find out about their world. When curiosity is given freedom to operate and leads to satisfying experiences, it will grow with the child and keep him learning all his life.

(d) Language—Language goes hand-in-hand with curiosity. As a child discovers things for himself, he wants to describe them, talk about them, ask questions about them. He wants a name for each object he handles. He wants to be able to tell other people what he does, how he feels, what he thinks.

(e) Organizing ability—The baby looks, listens, sucks, tastes, smells, and feels the things around him. He combines all this hard-earned experiences and produces a pattern in his mind which he can use in thinking. These patterns become maps of the world the baby knows. Each child develops his own patterns of behaviour and his own map of his environment. No matter how old a person is, when he stops developing new maps of his experiences, he stops learning.

IV. Setting the Stage for Learning

Every child has the following basic requirements for his self-guided learning:—

(1) Good health, proper nutrition, adequate medical care, and plenty of affection;

- (2) An enriched, stimulating home and outside environment in which he can move about freely and safely;
- (3) Plenty of time to explore, discover, and organize information gleaned from his excursions ;
- (4) Motivating materials to encourage active involvement in the learning process and to help him understand his environment;
- (5) Freedom from anxiety, tension, or boredom;
- (6) Flexible scheduling of his daily routine;
- (7) Success in a hurry;
- (8) Plenty of time and opportunities for self-absorbed, socializing, and imaginative play;
- (9) Respect, acceptance, and approval for what he is and what he does;
- (10) Responsible adults to direct and challenge him to do his best;
- (11) Plenty of free choice to allow him to give form and substance to his capabilities and practice in decision making;
- (12) Help in determining the limits of his own behaviour, building on privileges;
- (13) A place he can call his own—secret places into which he can curl to have a solitary moment for thinking and planning.

V. How does a Child Learn ?

All children have some natural methods of learning. Left to themselves, they will learn in the following ways:—

- (1) By exploring their environment with all their senses;
- (2) By trial and error or learning by doing and profiting by the mistakes;
- (3) Through pain and pleasure or externally imposed rewards and punishment;
- (4) By imitation or observational learning;
- (5) By participation or joining in the action;
- (6) By communication through words, gestures, and symbols;

VI. What are the Cornerstones of Learning ?

1. Ability to observe and discover;
2. Ability to compare
3. Ability to organize
4. Ability to anticipate results or consequences
5. Ability to solve problems
7. Ability to make plans
8. Ability to choose
9. Ability to think-looking at as many facts as he knows about a subject, asking questions, choosing the best course of action in finding answers, and reaching a decision.
10. Ability to adapt, adjust, accommodate, and cope.
11. Ability to create

VII. What Does a Child Need to Learn ?

1. To trust the world
2. Knowing his own body—its care and complications.
3. Knowing familiar objects in his environment.
4. Knowing the people around him
5. Knowing about time
6. Knowing how to conquer fear and having realistic fears.
7. Knowing how to handle anger
8. Knowing how to cope with failures and frustrations.
9. Accepting responsibility
10. Knowing how to achieve personal growth—satisfaction with self and deriving pleasure from one's own efforts and achievements.

VIII. Learning Must be Real

Every year thousands of children are dropping out of our schools because they are failing or bored or they find that school-learning has little value for them or they fail to see how school plays an important role in their lives or they lose interest. Many of them remain failures the rest of their lives—unable to find or hold jobs, to accept responsibilities, to live satisfying lives.

To a little child, or an older child or a college student, learning must be real, learning must be personally meaningful and satisfying. The following are the essentials to make the learning real.

- (1) A rich environment
- (2) Learning about the world
- (3) Learning about space
- (4) Learning about people
- (5) Learning about the way around
- (6) Learning about things we measure
- (7) Learning about numbers
- (8) Learning about time
- (9) Learning about days and seasons
- (10) Learning about everyday skills
- (11) Learning about common symbols
- (12) Learning to be resourceful

IX. Learning must be Meaningful, i.e., Building on Children's Lives.

1. Learning must begin and grow at home,
2. Parents are the child's first, foremost and the best teachers,
3. Children must understand family relationships, routines and events,
4. Children must know about holidays, birthdays, functions and ceremonies.

X. Learning must be Rewarding

The tragedy of most of our school dropouts and most of the children who later fail in school is that they are born with the same abilities as the children who succeed. A natural curiosity drives all children to poke here and peer there in an effort to learn all they can. All normal babies come into the world with senses to tell them about the people and objects around them and brains to sort out and use this knowledge. If learning stops as the child grows, it is usually because the adults around the child have snuffed out his natural drive to learn and have allowed his natural learning urge to suffocate. A

healthy child wants to learn and will learn if the conditions around him are right for learning. Learning must be real, it must be rewarding, it must be related to the child's own world and it must be meaningful and self-satisfying. What is needed is the following :

- (1) Pride of accomplishment—a smile, an approving nod, a few words of praise are usually enough to make a child try hard and complete the task.
- (2) Curiosity must be satisfied—parents and teachers must put a child's natural curiosity to work, not only by helping him find answers to his questions, but by leading him into new areas of discovery.
- (3) Repetition makes a good experience better—it is important to repeat activities that give pleasure to children. Repetition not only reinforces learning, but it can be soothing as well.
- (4) Feeling of being accepted by the peers and teachers is a very powerful reward and builds children's self confidence.
- (5) Negative reinforces should be avoided as far as possible—punishment creates barriers in communication, spanking creates hatred, spanking also makes a child resentful, angry name-calling may damage a child's self-esteem, spanking can have long range negative impacts.
- (6) Change behaviour through positive reinforcement—avoid punishment.

XI. How can Parents and Teachers help Children's Learning Process ?

1. By providing a safe, secure, stimulating atmosphere for learning.
2. By gaining confidence of the child
3. By loving the child for what he is and what he does.
4. By talking and listening to the child patiently.
5. By helping a child to control and regulate his own behaviour.
6. By becoming a good example or an imitable "model".

XII. Learning Problems of the Disadvantaged Children.

Disadvantage is a psychological condition arising out of socio-environmental factors. A child may be disadvantaged (a) economically, (b) materially, (c) socially, (d) culturally, (e) educationally, (f) intellectually or (g) affectionally (emotion & motivation). Almost all of our ST., SC, rural poor and urban slum children are disadvantaged in one or more of the above aspects. The "disadvantage syndrome" consists of the following problems : (1) Poverty, (2) High infant and child mortality, (3) Widespread malnutrition (PEM.), (4) Frequent and large number of pregnancies and depleted maternal health, (5) large households, (6) poor health status of mothers and children and inadequate health care knowledge and facilities, (7) Unsatisfactory sanitation and water-supply, (8) Rapid population growth, (9) High adult illiteracy, (10) Low school enrollment, higher rates of failure, underachievement and dropout, (11) Lack of educational opportunities and equalities, (12) socio-economic inequality and widespread income-disparity, (13) Cultural taboos and development-arresting customs. (14) Political instability, (15) Lack of social justice, suppression of socio-economic equity and degradation of moral values, (16) Administrative incapacity and delay and (17) Widespread corruption. This "disadvantaged syndrome" can be applied to a group of people, to a state, or to a country as a whole.

Given the above state of affairs in our country, we can state here some of the most visible problems with our education system.

- (1) A widely held view is that disadvantaged children are unresponsive to schooling, i. e., they show poor academic achievement, fail and dropout. As a result, many thought, that these children are at fault. It was as if the purpose of children is to make the schools run or become more effective ; rather than the purpose of schooling being to facilitate the development of children. This mistake compelled us to force the majority of the disadvantaged children to adapt, adjust and accommodate to the schools at any cost.
- (2) The present system of education in India has not only failed to develop the basic

academic skills in children, but also is inculcating self-understanding and work-attitudes required for adapting to the society.

- (3) There seems to be no meaningful relationship between what the children are being asked to learn in the school and what they will do when they would come out of the education system. (Does not it show that the Tribal and other disadvantaged parents are more realistic in perceiving the uselessness of today's education system that is prevalent in India ?)
- (4) The present system of education typically meets the educational needs of that minority of students (the children of the elite) who would go to the college or university and completely neglects the needs of the majority of students (particularly the disadvantaged) who will never go beyond High School.
- (5) Very insufficient attention has been given to encouraging the development of skills through learning opportunities outside the classroom or the school environment. Thus, there seems to be no continuity between the learning at home and learning at school.
- (6) The general public, and particularly the rural and the tribal people have not been given any chance in the formulation of educational policy or in the development of school curricula.
- (7) The schools have failed in accomplishing their roles as the custodian of the young. The children have very little choice but to go to school and they very often resent it. At a time when their energies are at their highest, schools restrain them in narrow boundaries of time, space and information.
- (8) There is growing tendency among the teachers to spend less and less time with their students outside the classrooms (even inside the classrooms also). Teachers' self-imposed isolation means that they know their students less well, understand them very little. This creates greater communication-gaps and increasing problems of discipline and control.

- (9) There is very little formal as well as informal communication between the parents and the teachers, also. As a result, neither the home nor the school has as much control or influence on the children as it should normally have.
- (10) The Indian school and college curricula put a heavy emphasis on rote learning. Active learning or student's full involvement in the learning process has received a very low priority.
- (11) Pre-school education, which is extremely vital for the disadvantaged children in order to prepare them for the primary schools, is in a state of total chaos; with no national or state-level policy or guidelines. As a result, nursery schools are being treated as downward extensions of primary schools where heavy emphasis is laid on reading, writing, arithmetic, and home-tasks.
- (12) The schools have been asked to take increasing responsibility for the "total education" of children—a responsibility shared in the past with parents, family, community, and local agencies. The schools do not seem to be carrying out this responsibility and it is quite obvious that they have very little time or resources on hand to do so.

XIII. An Alternative Approach to Learning and Teaching.

Those who have gone through the document "National Policy on Education : 1986" and its previous blue-print "Challenge of Education : A Policy Perspective: 1985"; must have developed some genuine hopes as well as some serious doubts about what we need to achieve and what is contained in these two documents. I invite them to consider the following alternatives and search for such alternatives in the above documents.

(1) *Who is involved in the learning process (Rules) ?* Current practices give the impression as if the whole purpose of education is "teachers teaching" rather than "children learning". Even primary schools are so much preoccupied with the obsession of 'completing the courses' that they do not bother whether the majority of students are learning anything or not. An B. Ed. certificate is so rigidly required to become a teacher that no one even bothers by what means that certificate has been acquired.

The alternative reform requires that the emphasis should be on "children learning". Certification requirement should be abolished rigid role distinctions should be blurred, course-completion requirements should be relaxed. Parents, teachers, administrators, scientists, writers, community members, and even students from the same class (peer-teaching) or higher classes—any one who likes to teach, has something to teach and feels competent to teach—should be allowed to teach.

(2) *What is learned (Curriculum) ?* The current practice is the state or board or university prescribed curricula, knowledge divided into narrow fragmented areas, and emphasis is exclusively on cognitive leaning (i. e. imparting the information or "training the brain").

The alternative reform requires a wide variation in educational substance dictated largely by students' interests and developmental levels. It may include subjects currently taught in the school, but must encompass many other subjects and cross-disciplinary areas. Equal emphasis should be given to cognitive, affective, social, and vocational learning.

(3) *Why should it be learned (Motivation)?* The current practice rests purely on extrinsic motivation, i. e., to pass the examination in a good class and to get a certificate to fulfill the requirements and complete the courses.

The alternative reform requires intrinsic motivation, i. e., learning because of interest or need to learn, to learn a skill or to acquire knowledge that is personally useful and satisfying, socially necessary.

(4) *How it is learned (Method of Learning) ?* In the current practice, emphasis is on passive learning—reading and writing the teacher—assigned tasks and listening to lectures. There is very little scope for pupil—participation, group discussion, and audio-visual presentation or work-based learning.

The alternative reform requires heavy emphasis on active learning, i. e., learning by doing and experiencing through all the senses. The methods of learning should vary with corresponding variations in curricula.

(5) *Where should learning take place (Location of Learning) ?* The current practice confines all learning activities mostly inside the classroom. Though some practicals are there, they are very infrequent and dull.

The alternative reform requires wide variations in location of learning—private homes, farms, forests, markets, sea shore, factories, business organizations, government offices and libraries—any where there is a scope or chance to learn. Classroom-learning should be an exception rather than a meticulous practice.

(6) *When should learning take place (Time of Learning)?* The current practice is that instruction is typically confined to school hours, which are again segmented into short-duration periods.

The alternative reform requires that learning can take place anytime, anywhere; naturally and spontaneously, depending upon the nature of learning task and the interest of the students. Frequent scheduling and time segmentation are neither necessary nor helpful.

(7) *Who controls the learning situation (Authority)?* The current practice is that learning and teaching are absolutely and rigidly teacher-controlled.

The alternative reform requires that learning should be child-centred and child-controlled—authority should be vested in students and curriculum should be mutually decided by the teachers and students. More emphasis should be given to students' choice rather than school-determined or teacher directed learning.

(8) *How should be the effect of learning tested (Evaluation of Learning)?* The current practice is purely formal written examinations and very little practical demonstration.

The alternative reform requires that the method of evaluation of learning should be skill—performance—criterion, and competence based, rather than being based on rote learning and recall only.

(9) *Who chooses the school and is responsible for Learning (Accountability)?* The current practice allows little choice for children. There is no scope for accountability by anyone. Very often the student is blamed.

The alternative reform requires that the student chooses the school and the subjects in consultation with parents and teachers. Accountability should be fixed on the teacher, the student, and the parents.

(10) *What should be the nature of student-teacher interaction (Relationship)?* The current practice is that the teacher-student relationship

is extremely formal and roles are prescribed and pre-specified. The teacher prescribes the course, teaches, tests, and evaluates the achievement of the student.

The alternative reform requires that both teacher and student collaborate in formulating the courses and learning objectives as well as methods of teaching-learning and evaluation. Joint evaluations of achievement should be allowed. The teacher-student relationships should become more informal and less role-prescribed.

XIV. Concluding Comments

Education and development of disadvantaged children (particularly, the S.T., S.C., rural poor and urban slum) is a very complex and crucial problem confronting us almost 40 years after independence. During the past four decades our success stories are very discouraging to provide us appreciable outcomes.

Learning and intellectual development of a disadvantaged child CANNOT be achieved without taking into consideration his health and nutritional status, his parental and family background, his social and cultural milieu and moreover, his emotional and motivational strengths. It requires a multi-dimensional approach and a multi-disciplinary effort. In this context I present here a personal experience briefly.

I had an unique opportunity of working in Tanzania (East Africa) from October, 1983 to September, 1984; as a Senior Lecturer in Psychology, Department of Behavioural Sciences, Faculty of Medicine, University of Dares Salaam. After independence in 1961, Tanzania became a socialistic country. Certain disciplines were thought as "Colonial-biased". So, at the University level these subjects were not taught. Psychology and Anthropology are two such subjects. However, in the Faculty of Medicine, our Department of Behavioural Science encompassed six subjects with medical orientations and relevance. These are: Psychology, Anthropology, Sociology, Economics, Business Administration, and Health Education. We worked together—as a single team.

I ask this question to my learned audience now: For the education and development of the disadvantaged people in India; what is preventing us, that is, the fellow-researchers of these sister-disciplines to reach out, unite, and form a multi-disciplinary team?

Shifting Cultivation in Orissa

with a case study among the Juang

B. B. Mohanty

SECTION ONE

Shifting cultivation is considered to be the most ancient system of agriculture, dating back to the lower Neolithic period. Conklin (1975 P.I) defines shifting cultivation, in short, as any agricultural system in which fields are cleared by firing and are cropped discontinuously. Shifting cultivation is also known as "field-forest rotation" (Pelzer, quoted by Conklin, 1954), or "Slash and burn agriculture as always involving the impermanent agricultural use of plots produced by the cutting hack and burning off of vegetative cover" (Conklin, *ibid*)

Shifting cultivation is practised with some variations, throughout the tropical and sub-tropical regions of the world. It is a stage in the evolution of agricultural technique and preceeds plough cultivation. In the opinion of Elwin shifting cultivation is a cultural stage in human progress. It can be assumed that almost all the races in some stage or other had resorted to this means of raising crops. Now, wherever topographic, climatic and socio-economic forces have not favoured technological progress in agriculture, shifting cultivation or patch agriculture persists.

The primitive cultivators of different countries call it in different names. It is known as "farming" among the primitive folk of West Africa, and as "Sortage" in the French and Belgian Ardennes. It goes by the name of "Koholo" among the natives of South-East Soloman Islands. The Vedda of Ceylon call it

"Chena" and the Burmese hill tribes as 'Taungya'. In India shifting cultivation is extensively practised by the tribals of 9 States. The tribes such as the Naga, the Sema Naga, the Lakher, the Mikir belonging to North-Eastern states practise shifting cultivation extensively where it goes under the most popular name of jhum. In Madhya Pradesh shifting cultivation is carried on over wide areas by the tribals. Among the important tribes associated with this system of cultivation are; Korkus in Betul, Melghat and the Jajira of Chhindwara and Hoshangabad Baigas in Mandla and Balaghat, Northern Drug and Bilaspur, Kamars of South Raipur, Korwas in Bilaspur and the Maria in the Chanda. Among the Baiga it is known as "Bewar". In Southern states the Reddis of Hyderabad, the Talugs of Paloncha and Yellandu in Warangal district, Kolams and Naikpods of Asifabad, Rajura and Utnur Talugs of Adilabad district practise shifting cultivation. Besides, the Koya of Gadavari valley and the Savara who chiefly inhabit the Salur, Parvatipur and Palkonda taluga of Vizagapatam district raise crops on Podu system. The Paraja who live by the side of the Bagata in the Vizagapatam hills and plains have both shifting cultivation and permanent rice field. The Dombo, an untouchable caste found in the Vizagapatam agency are mainly cultivators but they do Podu. On the Nilgiris plateau Kurichiyas and other agricultural tribes carry on shifting cultivation, known as Punam cultivation in Waypaad. Among the tribes following Punam are Mulla Kurumbas, Karimpolaus, Kadars, Jen Kurumbas and Kurumbar.

Shifting Cultivation in Orissa :

The tribes of Orissa practise shifting cultivation extensively since time immemorial and there are as many as 9 tribes namely the Koya, the Paroja, the Gadaba, the Bonda, the Didayi, the Kondh, the Saora, the Juang and the Bhuiyan who eke out their subsistence chiefly through shifting cultivation. It is known as *Ekon*, *Guda*, *Nala* among the Juang of Keonjhar hills. The Bhuiyan of Bonai Subdivision of Sundargarh district and Bhuiyan Pirh of Keonjhar

district call it as *Kaman*, *Biringa* and *Guda*. Among the Saora of Ganjam and Koraput districts it goes by the name *Bagada* or *Sarban*. The Dongria Kondh of Niyamgiri hills of Rayagada subdivision call it as *Haru* and as *Rama* by the Desia Kondh of Rairakhol and Bamra subdivisions. It is known as *livang* or *Kunda Chasa* among the Bonda and as *Lankapadseenad* among the Koya of Koraput district. The district-wise distribution of tribes who practise shifting cultivation is given below.

TABLE I
District-wise distribution of tribes practising shifting cultivation

Sl. No.	Name of the district	Name of the tribe	Total population (1971 Census),	Approximate number practising shifting cultivation	Percentage of Col. 5 to Col. 4
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1	Koraput	Bonda	5,334	5,000	93.73
		Didayi	2,164	2,000	92.42
		Koya	58,912	57,000	96.75
		Kondh	3,25,144	2,32,000	71.35
		Gadaba	46,237	9,000	19.46
		Saora	28,359	20,000	70.52
2	Ganjam	Saora	1,19,262	79,000	66.24
3	Sundargarh	Pauri Bhuiyan	58,822	15,000	25.50
4	Keonjhar	Pauri Bhuiyan	55,995	17,000	30.35
		Juang	12,372	11,000	88.91
5	Phulbani	Kondh	2,23,322	1,95,000	87.31
6	Kalahandi	Kondh	1,14,644	33,000	28.78
7	Sambalpur	Kondh	25,612	12,002	46.86
8	Dhenkanal	Bhuiyan and Juang	15,885	4,410	27.76
	Total	All tribes	10,92,064	6,91,412	63.31

Broadly speaking, every 14th among the tribals in the State is a shifting cultivator. This emphasises not only the acuteness of the problem but also the extent to which it is resorted. In Koraput district as many as 6 tribes practise shifting cultivation and of these 6 tribes almost all the persons belonging to the Bonda, Didayi and Koya communities depend fully on swidden cultivation. Of the rest three tribes about 70 per cent each of the Kondh and the Saora still resort to shifting cultivation as against 19 per cent of the Gadaba. In the district of Ganjam the Saora are the sole shifting cultivators like the Kondh of Kalahandi, Sambalpur and Pauri Bhuiyan of Sundargarh. In the district of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal the Juang and the Bhuiyan practise shifting cultivation, their percentage being 40.95 in Keonjhar and 27.76 in Dhenkanal districts. Variations in climate, soil and other geo-physical characteristics from region to region in the State is responsible in the slight variation in the techniques of shifting cultivation adopted by the tribes inhabiting these regions. For example, the Bhuiyan and the Juang of Northern Orissa practise ploughing in the swidden as the hill slope is very gentle and contains more earth whereas the Saora and the Kondh of Southern Orissa till the soil by means of a hoe as the hill slope is very stii and rugged and very poor in earth content. The techniques of shifting cultivation in Orissa evolves through 7 stages of operation such as selection of sites, tree felling, and bush cleaning, firing, hoeing or ploughing sowing and dibbling, watching and finally harvesting. A hoe culturist of Southern Orissa owns the swidden plots individually to which he has the right to sell and mortgage, whereas in Northern Orissa the land is communally owned. Here, the decision of the community as a whole direct the operations like selection of site, selection of seed, choosing the time of sowing and harvesting. After the site is selected clearing and tree felling starts during the months from January to March. The tribes of Orissa generally cut the trees high above the ground leaving stumps about 1 to 2 feet high. These stumps may also sprout at the second cutting. While cutting trees some important species are left out which supply flowers, fruits, leaves, etc. Also the Bhuiyan and the Juang of Northern Orissa do not damage some big trees which lie on the border line of the swiddens for identifying the boundary of the plot. This practice is not followed among the Saora, and the Kondh of Southern Orissa. Unlike the

tribes of Southern Orissa, the Juang and the Bhuiyan of Bonai and Keonjhar keep some trees standing in the swidden but they are either girdled or severely burnt at the base, so that they die during the course of the year resulting in a 'Ghost forests' of dead trees. These trees are used to serve as bean-stalk. The women are forbidden to take part in the jungle clearing among the Juang and the Bhuiyan whereas there is no such restriction imposed with this work among the Saora and other tribes of Southern Orissa.

When the cut material has become sufficiently dry, generally in the middle or end of the April, the tribes set fire to it. The Juang and the Bhuiyan of Keonjhar use the sacred fire from the village dormitory to ignite the swidden unlike the Saora, the Kondh and other tribal groups of Southern Orissa who use only a match stick or lighted twig for this purpose. The tribes of Northern Orissa leave the ashes in sites but their counterparts in Southern Orissa spread these ashes evenly on the swidden.

All the tribal communities of the state prepare the soil bed by means of hoe or mattock. But the gentle hill slopes of Keonjhar facilitates ploughing and the tribes resort to it. Wherever ploughing is not possible they use a hoe for digging the soil. Mixed crops of hill paddy, other cereals, minor millets and pulses are grown in shifting cultivation. Besides a few varieties of vegetables are also planted in swidden by the Juang and the Bhuiyan of Keonjhar district. The Saora of Ganjam district cultivate turmeric in the swidden. Weeding is done when the crops attain knee high and when the crops start riping the people watch these spending nights in the field-huts, from the depredation of wild animals. The crops are then harvested in succession and generally it continues till the end of January. The harvested crops are threshed in the threshing floor already prepared in the swiddens.

A patch of land is cultivated for one to three years after which it is abandoned till the trees are sufficiently grown up to admit a second felling. This process continues until the soil is exhausted and the parent rock materials exposed and no further growth is possible except probably some thorny bushes and shrubs. The recuperative cycle is of longer duration varying from 10 to 12 years in Northern Orissa whereas it is 4 to 6 years in Southern Orissa. This shortening of recuperative cycle in Koraput and

Kalahandi district has resulted in low yield of crops, rapid denudation, severe soil degradation and erosion. Today in many parts of Koraput, specifically on the Malkangiri subdivision where the incidence of cultivation is too severe, hills completely barren with exposed parent rock materials are noticed.

'Primitive agriculture' as described by Clark Wissler "is a co-operative effort in which the community as a whole participates". It has promoted culture not merely by providing food to the primitive but is also responsible for closely knitting and discipline humanity itself by bringing individuals together for observing rituals and ceremonies connected with agricultural operation. Among the Orissan tribes the ritualistic aspects of axe culture exist among the Juang and the Bhuiyan of Keonjhar, among the Kutia Kondh of Phulbani, among the Dongria Kondh of Niyamgiri hills and to certain extent among the Koya of Koraput district. But the shifting cultivation practised by the Lanjia Saora of Ganjam district and the Gadaba, the Bonda, the Paroja of Koraput district has no religious or mythological significance.

Area under shifting cultivation

The problem of shifting cultivation is, perhaps most acute in Orissa than any other States in the Country. Although at present an accurate data on the areas under shifting cultivation is not available, yet some rough estimates have been made. Before 1936 when the new State of Orissa was formed, this was not a matter of much concern to the administration for the only locality where it was practised was in the Kandhamals and the tribes involved were the Kondh, the Savara of Ganjam and Koraput districts. At that time the Koya, the Bonda and the Paroja were not included. The tracts inhabited by the Bhuiyan, the Juang and the Kandh in Keonjhar, Pallahara, Bonai, Bamara, Rairakhol and Kalahandi were included in the State in 1948. Thus the tract affected by Podu cultivation was only 300 sq. miles in extent prior to 1936 whereas it became nearly 12,000 sq. miles in 1948. The population of tribes engaged in this type of cultivation was about 10 lakhs. In the pre-plan periods, attempts were made to make an estimate of the area under shifting cultivation in the State. Dr. H. F. Mooney who had worked as Forest Advisor to Ex-States and subsequently as conservator of Forests, Orissa had an experience of Orissa forests for about 25

years. He estimated that about 12,770 sq. miles or about one fifth of the total land surface in the State is affected by shifting cultivation and nearly one million tribal people depend upon this method of raising crops for their living. The table below shows the areas affected by shifting cultivation in various districts of Orissa as estimated by Dr. H. F. Mooney.

TABLE 2

Area under shifting cultivation as estimated by Dr. H. F. Mooney

Sl. No.	Name of the district	Area in sq. miles	Dependant tribes
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Keonjhar	460	Bhuiyan Juang
2	Sundergarh	300	Bhuiyan Erenga Kolha
3	Dhenkanal	100	Bhuiyan
4	Sambalpur	410	Bhuiyan Kandh
5	Kalahandi	2,000	Munda Kutia Kamara Bhunja
6	Ganjam	4,530	Kandh Saara Jatapu
7	Koraput	5,000	Kandh Savara Jatapu Paroja Gadaba Koya Others
Total		12,770 Sq. miles	
		8,17,280 acres	

A comparative statement relating to areas under shifting cultivation of different States and Union territories given below shows that the incidence of shifting cultivation and the population affected is maximum in Orissa as compared with other States.

TABLE 3

Area affected by shifting cultivation in different States of the Indian Union

Name of the State/ Territories	Number of tribal communities practicing shifting cultivation	Number of households	Total tribal population	Total land utilised for shifting cultivation (in acres)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Assam ..	9	1,94,000	9,70,000	5,12,000
Orissa ..	20	2,00,000	10,00,000	4,00,000
Bihar ..	5	23,000	1,15,000	400
Manipur ..	3	36,000	1,83,000	54,000
Tripura ..	10	19,100	95,500	1,16,900

Source—Shifting Cultivation in India, 1958, I. C. A. R., P. 4-5

A comparison of the figures quoted by I. C. A. R. and Dr. Mooney shows that there is discrepancy to the extent one is about double the other.

The Institute of Francis, Pondicherry, India have prepared the vegetation maps of India from which fairly accurate information regarding the extent of land under shifting cultivation can be found out. The Tribal and Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute, Government of Orissa took up these exercises by measuring the patches shown in the map under shifting cultivation in

different vegetational zones and found out that the area under shifting cultivation to be about 2579333.534 hectares or 25793.335 sq. kms. Thus, about 17 per cent of the total geographical area of the State is affected by shifting cultivation. The coverage under shifting cultivation as stated here includes not only the swidden plots but also immediate adjacent areas which are seriously affected by the practice of shifting cultivation. The hectareage under shifting cultivation in different vegetational zones is given in Table 4.

TABLE 4

Areas under shifting cultivation in different vegetational zones

Sl. No.	Vegetational zones	Area in hectares
(1)	(2)	(3)
1	Moist vegetation type SHOREA—TERMINALIA—ADINA—Series	13,67,517.937
2	Moist vegetation type SHOREA—SYZYGIUM—OPERCULATUM—Series	5,21,741.561
3	Dry vegetation type SHOREA—BUCHANANIA—CLEISTANTHUS—Series	2,65,377.482
4	Dry vegetation type TERMINALIA—ANDGEISSOS—CLEISTANTHUS—Series.	33,536.308
5	Moist vegetation type TOONA—GARUGA—Series	83,840.770
6	Dry vegetation type TECTONA—TERMINALIA—Series	2,77,319.476
	Total	25,79,333.534

Source—Tribal & Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute

The land under shifting cultivation within the sub-plan area is 2,22,705.028 hectares or 22,227.05 sq. kms. which means that about 32 per cent of the sub-plan area of the State is covered under shifting cultivation. More than 90% of this coverage is in the sub-plan area of Southern Orissa and less than 10% in the corresponding area of Northern Orissa.

Shifting cultivation is present in 7 out of 13 districts of Orissa. About 50% of total area under shifting cultivation is found in Koraput district only. The district-wise distribution of land under shifting cultivation is given below.

TABLE 5
Land under shifting cultivation in different districts of the State
(Sub-plan area)

Sl. No.	District	Area in Sq. Kms.
(1)	(2)	(3)
1	Koraput	10,973.17 (49.36)
2	Phulbani	5,658.94 (25.51)
3	Kalahandi	1,076.82 (4.84)
4	Ganjam	2,354.00 (10.59)
5	Sambalpur	12.89 (0.06)
6	Keonjhar	1,296.31 (5.83)
7	Sundargarh	844.86 (3.81)
	Total	22,226.99

According to the report on Erosion Assessment of Orissa (Form Erts-1, satellite Imagery, 1975) prepared by State Soil Conservation Organization, Directorate of Agriculture, Government of Orissa, the area which is subjected to very severe erosion as a result of shifting cultivation is estimated at 3,269,120 hectares or 8,172,800 acres or 12,770 sq. miles. Since this area includes hill slopes, pediment slopes, and rock outcrops, the actual land under shifting cultivation may be less. But lacking accurate data it is difficult to say correctly how much land is presently under active shifting cultivation.

Area under shifting cultivation in Keonjhar district.

The State Soil Conservation Department of Government of Orissa has assessed the area under shifting cultivation by manual interpretation of ERTS-1 (Land sat-II) B. & W. imagery in the scale of 1,250,000 of MSS 5. The area which are included for analysis consists of hills devoid of forest vegetation due to shifting cultivation. In addition artificial straight regular parcelling without vegetation in a hilly blocks are also included as it confirms the assumption that the destruction of vegetation has been done with biotic interference for shifting cultivation. The area under shifting cultivation thus determined comes to 35,999.50 hectares in the Keonjhar district.

SECTION TWO

A case study of shifting cultivation

This case study is related to the shifting cultivation as practised by Kalandi Juang of Kadali-badi village of Bansapal Block of Keonjhar district. In the year 1981, Kalandi Juang carried on shifting cultivation on three hills; that is, Uncha diha, Telchua & Kukurchua. The distance of these hills from his village and acreage under cultivation is furnished in Table I.

TABLE 1
Distance of the hills and area of swiddens

Sl. No.	Name of the hill	Location of the plots	No. of plots	Year of cultivation	Approx. Acreage	Distance of the hills from the village in Kms.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1	Unchadiha	Hill top to bottom	1	1st	0.50	1
2	Telchua	Hill top to bottom	1	2nd	1.00	3
3	Kukur chua	Hill top to bottom	1	2nd	0.50	2

He took up shifting cultivation in three hills, the Uncha diha hill was under first year of cultivation after a lapse of 7 years and the other two hills under second year of cultivation. The crops grown in different swidden plots and the quantity of seeds sown and the yield of each crops is given in table 2.

TABLE 2

Crops grown in Unchadiha hill with the quantity of seeds sown and yield

Sl. No.	Name of the crops	Quantity of seeds sown in Kg./ No.	Yield in Kg./No.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Rasi	6	50
2	Boita	20 Nos.	..
3	Tumba	20 Nos.	10

TABLE 3

Crops grown in Telchua hill with the quantity of seeds sown and yield

Sl. No.	Name of the crops	Quantity of seeds sown in Kg.	Yield in Kg.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Paddy	30	80
2	Ragi	0.5	40
3	Harada	1	5
4	Rooma (Pulse)	0.5	4
5	Kangu	0.5	10
6	Jali	0.5	20
7	Kathia	0.2	8

TABLE 4

Crops grown in Kukurchua hill with the quantity of seeds sown and yield

Sl. No.	Name of the crops	Quantity of seeds sown in Kg./No.	Yield in Kg./No.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Paddy	25	100
2	Ragi	0.5	30
3	Gangei	0.5	20
4	Harada	1	5
5	Kakudi	20 Nos.	60 Nos.
6	Rooma	0.1	5
7	Kangu	0.1	8

Kalandi Juang said that in the first year they only grow Rasi in the swidden since the plot under first year is not suitable for paddy cultivation. The explanation given for this is that in first year of cultivation weeds come up in a large scale and cause harm to paddy plants. It is very difficult to check the growth of weeds in the first year. Therefore, in the second year they take up paddy cultivation extensively along with other cereals, minor millets and pulses. In case of some swiddens in the third year an indigenous variety of cereal called Jali is grown. The patch of swidden is then abandoned for recuperation. Kalandi Juang told that they select the swiddens in such a way that in every year they should have the opportunity of growing all types of crops. This means that in every year they clear a patch for first year cultivation along with two or more plots for second year cultivation.

Economics of shifting cultivation

Kalandi Juang is of the opinion that the activities relating to swidden cultivation is very arduous in nature and as such either one has to employ casual labourers or work round the clock along with all the family members. The family members of Kalandi Juang consists of his wife and two sons. His youngest son is now reading in class IV in the Asrama school located at Gonasika.

Kalandi cleared a patch in Uncha diha hill for first year Rasi cultivation where he and his son worked for 30 days for cutting big trees. Then, both of them worked for about 90 days for clearing bushes and the site. Thereafter he took about 15 days for sowing seeds and about 10 days for the preparation of threshing floor and harvesting of Rasi.

In Telchua hill, after the first year harvest the wife of Kalandi took about 30 days for debushing and clearing of site. Thereafter Kalandi ploughed the field twice which took about 15 days. For weeding, Kalandi, his wife and his son worked for about one and half months and for harvesting these three persons took 15 days time.

In Kukurchua hill the wife of Kalandi took about 15 days for bush clearing. Then Kalandi worked for about 7 days for ploughing and sowing seeds. In weeding operation the wife of

Kalandi worked for 20 days. Finally the entire family harvested the crops within 12 days time Table 5 gives the money value of the labour put to shifting cultivation by the family members of Kalandi Juang. As per the local wage rate an adult male or female gets Rs. 4 per day and a child gets Rs. 2.50 per days besides some food.

TABLE 5
Money value of the labour input

Items of work (1)	No. of mandays engaged (2)	Money value (in Rs.) (3)
Tree felling, Forest clearing ..	60 } 30 } 15 }	105 } 420
Ploughing, hoeing and sowing ..	180 } 15 } 15 } 7 }	217 } 868
Weeding ..	135 } 20 }	155 } 620
Harvesting ..	10 } 45 } 36 }	91 } 364
Total ..	568	2,272

The price of different types of seeds sown by Kalandi Juang in shifting cultivation is given below in Table 6.

TABLE 6
Money value of seeds grown in shifting cultivation

Sl. No. (1)	Type of seed (2)	Quantity grown in Kg./Nos. (3)	Money value in Rs. (4)
1	Paddy	55	35
2	Rasi	6	12
3	Mandia	1	1
4	Harada	2	4
5	Rooma	0.4	0.70
6	Kangu	0.6	1.20
7	Jali	0.5	0.50
8	Kathia	0.3	0.50
9	Gangei	0.5	0.50
10	Boita Alu	20 nos.	..
11	Tunka	20 nos.	..
	Total	..	Rs. 55.40

The expenditure on shifting cultivation, thus comes to (Rs. 2,272 + Rs. 55.40) Rs. 2,327.40. The money value of different crops produced in shifting cultivation is given in table 7.

TABLE 7
Money value of the crops grown in shifting cultivation

Sl. No. (1)	Crops (2)	Quantity of yield in Kg. in Rs. (3)	Harvest price per Kg. in Rs. (4)	Money value in Rs. (5)
1	Paddy	180	1	180
2	Rasi	50	2	100
3	Mandia	70	1	70
4	Harada	10	2	20
5	Rooma	9	2	18
6	Kangu	18	2	36
7	Jali	20	1	20
8	Kathia	8	2	16
9	Gangei	20	1	20
10	Boita Alu	..	..	..
11	Tunka	10 nos.	..	..
	Total	..	..	480

From the above table it is seen that the money value of the yield of different crops grown in shifting cultivation is only Rs. 420 which is very less. To get this income Kalandi Juang invested Rs. 2,327.40, thus incurring a loss of Rs. 1,847.40. This proves the fact that now a days shifting cultivation is not profitable. But Kalandi Juang, who argued otherwise, said that the labour component which accounts for 97 per cent of the total investment should not be included in the expenditure side as he did not employ any outside labourer. However, he agreed that the turn out from shifting cultivation these days is not that good as it was in the past.

Kalandi Juang possesses three small plots of wet land roughly about Ac. 0.25 Dec.

In these plots only paddy is cultivated once in a year. He cultivated high yielding paddy in two plots and local paddy in the third plot. Kalandi said that he took seven days for ploughing seed bed and sowing seeds. Then, after the seedlings were raised he took up ploughing which took nearly eight days. For transplantation of seedlings four persons worked for two days. In this work he employed one labourer to assist them. He said that he did not take up weeding in the paddy field. After the crops ripen he along with his wife and son worked for ten days for harvesting and threshing the crop. The money value of the amount of labour which was put for growing paddy is given in the following table.

TABLE 8
Money value of the labour input in wet cultivation

Items of work (1)	Number of man days (2)	Money value in Rs. (3)
Preparation of seed bed and raising of seedlings ..	7	28
Ploughing ..	8	32
Transplantation ..	10	40
Harvesting and Threshing ..	10	40
	35	140

The quantity and the price of seeds used for paddy cultivation is given below:

TABLE 9
Money value of the amount of seeds grown

Variety (1)	Quantity used in Kg. (2)	Money value in Rs. (3)
Highyielding ..	5	5
Local ..	5	5
	10	10

The expenditure on wet cultivation thus comes to (Rs. 140+Rs. 10) Rs. 150. The yield of different varieties of paddy is given below:

TABLE 10
Yield of paddy grown in wet cultivation

Variety	Yield in Kg.	Money value in Rs.
High yielding ..	200	200
Local ..	50	50
Total ..	250	250

In order to draw any conclusion it is necessary to compare the shifting cultivation with wet cultivation. Table 11 gives the comparison on certain items.

TABLE 11
Shifting Cultivation Vrs. Wet Cultivation

Items of comparison (1)	Shifting cultivation (2)	Wet cultivation (3)
Amount of seed required per acre ..	30	20
Amount of labour required per acre ..	1,136	280
Yield per acre ..	240	500

The above table which is self explanatory clearly reveals that in Shifting cultivation the requirement of seed and labour per acre is much high in comparison to what is required for the same amount of land in Wet cultivation. But the yield per acre in Shifting cultivation is much less than that of the Wet cultivation. Here, in Shifting cultivation Kalandi has to invest labour 4 times more than what he invested in Wet cultivation to get an income which is just half of the amount he got in Wet cultivation.

REFERENCES

1. Elwin, Verrier, 1948 .. Notes on Juang, Man in India, Vol. XXVIII, Ranchi.
2. Nag D. S., 1958 .. Tribal Economy
3. Patnaik, N., 1977 .. Shifting Cultivation in Orissa, THRTI., Bhubaneswar, Adibasi, Vol. XVI, No. 4.
4. Tripathy, D. P., 1958 .. Shifting Cultivation in Orissa, Orissa Government Press, Cuttack.
5. 1940 .. Report of the Partially Excluded Areas Enquiry Committee, Orissa, Orissa Government Press, Cuttack.

Constraints in Tribal Culture for Formal Education

N. K. Behura

During the past few decades social sciences, namely, Anthropology, Sociology, Psychology and Linguistics have devoted considerable attention to understanding the education of the weaker sections in contemporary India from different view points. Sociology, Psychology and Linguistics have concentrated on sociological, psychological and linguistic problems respectively which affect education in one way or the other. However, Anthropology, the holistic social science, has endeavoured to bring to fore the ensemble of socio-cultural facts that impinge on and impede formal education among ethnic minorities. Notwithstanding official ideologies it is undoubtedly doubtful if due attention has been paid to the socio-cultural facts while designing the system of education for the young children among the ethnic minorities.

Schools run by Education and Harijan and Tribal Welfare Department for tribal children impart education and evaluate the fresh tribal educates in no special manner and assign them different standards. From this it is evident that educations and educational bureaucrats tend to view these processes of educational selection and allocation as rational and do not heed the socio-cultural and historical facts, although it is common place knowledge that variety of overt and covert facts such as ethnic background, socio-cultural self-image, techno-economic standards and parental education are powerful determinants of educational attainment.

India, a developing country, is wedded to secular, democratic and socialistic principles,

and is committed to providing wide spread educational opportunities to all its citizens since the enforcement of the Constitution of free India, that is, since 26th January 1950. In recognition of the significance of education for rapid social transformation, the founding fathers of Indian Constitution have made provision for the education of the citizens of India under Articles—29,30,45 and 46. Under the Directive Principles of State Policy, the Article 45 states:

The State shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years.

And with regard to the education of the Scheduled Tribes the Article 46 states:

The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of weaker sections of the people and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

'Education' being a State subject the onus of educational development rests on the States. The State Governments indeed have been laying special emphasis on the provision of free and universal education for all tribal children up to the age of fourteen years during the various Five-Years Plans. Despite these endeavours actual achievement in the educational

front of tribal children is not very encouraging. For instance, in Orissa literacy among Scheduled Tribes is 9.5 per cent, whereas the percentage of literacy of the State is 26.18 as against the percentage of 29.46 in the country. And among the tribals as the case with non-tribals the rate of literacy is higher for males than for the females. The literacy rate of the tribal women is a mere 2.6 per cent as against 13.9 per cent among the general population in Orissa as per 1971 census.

India is a multilingual, Multi-ethnic and multi-cultural country. A total of 1,652 mother-tongues had been listed by 1961 Census of India. This is in any case a bewildering number. However, one cannot deny the existence of a little over 400 languages with innumerable dialects, sociolects, registers and styles; and they are divided between four language families.

In India there are ten major script systems and a number of minor ones. All these have contributed to the perpetuation of linguistic/cultural identities. Language as the vehicle of culture is very crucial for education.

India has a hierarchical Society. Knowledge and education has remained as the preserve and prerogative for the linguistic majorities excepting linguistic minorities who were apostates. A microscopic agglomerate of Indians, who were the link between the British rulers and the native subjects, became the beneficiaries of formal education and enjoyed high social position and wealth consequent to it.

Lack of access to formal education has left a large majority of people in India illiterate. Nearly seventy per cent of people in India are illiterate. The governing elites consider themselves as the repository of ideals and values, and expect others to emulate them. They, however, fail to recognize the existence of different cultural ethos in a complex society like India. They regard all those who lack education and are traditional as some what deficient. This idea has, by and large, percolated into the economic and educational planning processes. Consequently, this deficit model has become the major stumbling-block for progress. For instance, by rejecting the language and culture of the tribal student as inferior, the present system creates a low self-image in him, which nip 8th in bud his interest and geist.

While discussing the educational problems of tribal children it is imperative to understand in nutshell the structure of tribal societies and the nature of tribal cultures. In India there is a perplexing variety of 427 Scheduled tribes; out of which there are 62 in Orissa. They generally inhabit in forests, hills, plateaus and naturally isolated regions; and hence are variously designated as Vanya Jati (forest caste), Vanvasi (forest inhabitants), Girijana (hill people), Adimjati (primitive castes), Janjati (Folk communities), Adivasi (Original settlers) and several such other nomenclatures which signify either their ecological-economic or historical cultural characteristics.

According to the 1971 Census, the total strength of the tribal communities comes to approximately 38 million which constitutes 6.94 per cent of the total Indian Population. These tribal communities live in ecologically marginal areas and are of different race, language, economy and levels of socio-cultural integration. Considering the general features of their eco-system, traditional economy, supernatural beliefs and practices and impact of modernization, the tribes of India may be classified into several categories, namely (1) Hunter-gatherers, (2) Shifting-cultivators and horticulturists, (3) Plain land cultivators, (4) Primitive artisans, (5) Cattle-headers, and (6) Industrial-urban workers. Each category of tribes has a distinct style of life which could best be understood in the historical and ecological contexts. Historical and ecological contexts indeed help in understanding the culture in right perspective. Knowledge of tribal culture is indispensable for preparation of effective economic and educational development plans for the tribal communities as these are drawn up by non-tribals. Development plans prepared in disregard of cultural matrices are likely to flounder.

Culture of a community has got to be studied so as to find out growth-negative and growth-positive elements in it; and particularly, with regard to educational development such an exercise is not only necessary but also unavoidable. The system of education which is operative in India is by and large a western model, specifically a British one. The British had introduced their system of education in India with a view to creating an elite class in Indian society who would assist and interpret

the British administration. This system of education has no doubt been modified from time to time since independence, but the core structure still persists. Most of the castes and some of the tribal communities have succeeded in articulating with the prevailing system of education, and their performance are not unsatisfactory; but the achievement of most other tribal communities, by and large, is inadequate.

In this context it is imperative to discuss those features of tribal cultures that are repugnant to and those others that are compatible with the on-going system of formal education. There are certain constraints in tribal culture which render difficult spreading in formal education among the tribes. Tribal eco-systems or habitats constitute a major constraint that prevents generation of any zeal for formal education. Analysis of a culture always begins with the examination of the physical environment or habitat which has shaped it. Culture is invariably shaped and reshaped by its specific physical world, that is, the eco-system. Tribal eco-systems or habitats are mostly forest and hilly areas as well as plateaus and naturally isolated regions. Geophysically tribal habitats have certain distinguishing characteristics. Each tribal habitat is picturesque being abound with which the culture of the natives is intimately associated. The dense vegetational cover around the settlement consisting of deciduous and evergreen plants and creepers regularly yield fruits, nuts, tubers, juice, timber, fuel, flex, fodder, greens, leaves, medicines, resin, lac, shells, beads, seeds, fibres and a variety of other materials. For the tribal the forest is the perennial source of food, drink, shelter, pleasure, pastime and sport. In other words the forest is rich in all the materials that man needs for survival. The vast verdant expanse of forest, its pristine glory, the roars, howls and growl of carnivours, schemes, snarls and wheezes of herbivours, chirps and songs of birds, rumblings of the wind and clutter of the streams not only constantly break the monotony of the forest entice but also fascinate the tribal perpetually.

The glamour of tribal habitat is so strong that the tribal child right from infancy remains submerged and inebriated in the splendour and vehemence of its richness and scenic beauty. Very quickly he becomes an inextricable part of his habitat through apprehension of the sleepy hillocks, undulating plateaus, rolling ridges, girdled by chains of tortuous streams and rivulets and the medley of flora and fauna in the labyrinth of the forest. The tribal child,

living with his parents in the village, is gradually exposed to the total environment around, and his knowledge of the habitat steadily increases as he develops an intimate relationship with it.

As compared to the home atmosphere the scene and composition of the school are very much different from each other. When the tribal child comes to school he finds himself in an altogether different world. He is periodically separated from the company of his usual peers, and on the contrary, asked to adjust to the discipline of the school. He disdains the sudden curtailment of his freedom. In addition to this, the village school teacher who is most often a non-tribal, and even if he is a tribal, he belongs to a different tribe, and unable to speak the language of the tribal child; and the latter is generally a monolingual. The home culture of the tribal child and the school culture run almost parallel to each other, and hardly there is any meeting point between them. Therefore, the tribal child becomes nonplus and initially loses normal composure in the school atmosphere.

It takes one to the second constraint, that is the tribal language with regard to formal education. Culture and language are inseparable. Language is a part, product and vehicle of culture. A child's informal education and the process of enculturation are accomplished through its mother-tongue. Hence, a child's cognitive system is in perfect correlation with its language system, and, as such, its receptivity is higher when he is taught in its mother tongue. Culture and language, both facilitate communication, and also function as barriers in the context of inter-culture and inter-language if they are structurally different from those of the natives. Each language constitutes a distinct system with a unique configuration of its phonological, morphological, semantic, syntactic and symbolic sub-systems. And although, a language does not restrict the thought pattern of its speakers to the structure of the language, it certainly shapes their conceptualization of all sorts of phenomena, both natural and socio-cultural.

The difference between the home language and the school language is a major barrier for young tribal educants. If the language, the tribal child brings to the class room, is derided and stigmatised and no academic-strategy is adopted for

forgiving the pre-primary and primary students due competence in the school language students, then they are bound to develop an inferiority complex and low self-image.

Tribes of India belong to four language families, namely, (a) Indo-European, (b) Tibeto-Chinese, (c) Austro-Asiatic, and (d) Dravidian. Typologically each language family is distinct from others. Languages belonging to a language family are generalogically related and therefore communication between them is somewhat easy, but not between languages of different language families; for instance, if a pre-primary or primary educant's home language belongs to Dravidian language family and the school language belongs to the Indo-European, then the problem of communication and comprehension for the child is unsurmountable. It is, therefore, appropriate to introduce a bilingual transfer model in order to overcome this problem. This is an academic strategy likely to serve the educational purpose of minority children better, whose home language is different from that of the school language or whose language for learning is different from their language in use. The transfer model aims at a smooth transfer to the school language by the end of the primary stage. It assumes that the linguistic wealth of the child must be fully used in the class-room in the interest of better education. It envisages a time-bound gradual transfer to the school language from the linguistic wealth of the native children.

The next constraint is the tribal economy, which in most cases is below subsistence level one. It invariably consists of a variety of activities as the income from any particular source is utterly inadequate for anything. Tribal economic pursuits are mere struggles for survival, in which all members of the family are engaged. Although it is free from greed, hoarding chicanery, manipulation and clandestine dealings, it is always subject to rampant external exploitation. External vested interests siphon out most of the produces of the tribals. The tribal, relatively still is innocent and honest, and is prompted in all his actions by a rationalistic conception of self-interest, and achieving his aims directly and with the minimum of effort. He works being prompted by motives of a highly complex, social and traditional nature and aims which are certainly directed towards the satisfaction of present wants or to the direct achievement of utilitarian purposes.

Forest is the treasurer-house and important source of tribal livelihood. Forest produces supplement the meagre income of the tribal from his main economic pursuit, i.e., agriculture, shifting cultivation or any other. In their economic activities tribals depend mostly on their own labour. In the past there were no employers and employed in tribal societies. Tribals considered it derogatory to work on payment, and therefore, no hired-labour was available in tribal societies. Now, of course, things have changed, in addition to co-operative and exchange-labour, hired-labour is available. But whatever it may be, in tribal societies everyone continues to participate directly or indirectly in economic activities of the family, men and women are equal partners in work.

Small children in tribal societies do not remain idle. They assist their parents in a variety of ways. They take care of younger brothers and sisters in the absence of parents; tend the domesticated animals and birds, and remain useful to parents as apprentices. As such, they are not spare for schooling. Their absence at home brings additional problems to their parents. Thus their poor economic condition and the nature of their subsistence economy function as deterrents for the spread of formal education among them.

The next factor that hinders the growth of formal education among the tribes is laxity of sex. This apart, what is more important is the exposure to sex-life relatively early in age. Chastity has different meanings in different cultures, its meaning is culture-specific, and hence it has no universal standards. At an incredibly early age tribal children get initiated into sexual life. The young ones often innocent looking plays of childhood, which are erotic and not innocuous as they appear. In most cases, as the children grew up, they live in some sort of free-love through their dormitory life, which sometimes develop into more permanent attachments, one of which ends up in marriage. Before this is reached, unmarried boys and girls are openly supposed to be quite free to do what they like, and there are even ceremonial arrangements by which the girls of a village repair in a body to another place; there they range themselves for inspection and each is chosen by a local boy belonging to a different descent group, with whom she spends a night.

Every time a girl favours her lover, some small gift has to be given immediately. This is

the case in normal intrigues, going on frequently between unmarried boys and girls belonging to different descent groups, and in more ceremonial cases of indulgence some special gifts are to be given. This keeps the mind of the young boys engaged, who either prepare a gift wasting time and energy or buy the same from a nearby weekly market.

Sex is a powerful drive, which culture contains and channalises. Channalisation of sex in tribal societies is different from those of the peasant and urban societies. In tribal societies the general orientation is that as vim, vigour and vitality are short-lived, one must have his/her share of sex, and to have sex is only human. What the tribal societies expect is that one must follow the prescribed rules while indulging in sex.

The next factor which impedes the spread of formal education is the world view of the tribals. World-view accounts for an individual's psyche and his attitude towards his natural, social and supernatural world in time and space. Indeed this determines his attitude to work, leisure, health, sickness, economic development, attainment of formal education and rest of the things of life.

Culture shapes the personality traits of its bearers, and a particular culture shapes these as per its specific ethos or spirits. This has been amply demonstrated by psychological Anthropologists and by Max Weber in his book the "Protestant Ethic and the spirit of Capitalism". Thus an individual's attitude to his physical, social and supernatural world is shaped by his culture. World view determines the tribal's concept of good life and happy life, which can be analysed either as conducive or antithetical to secularism, modernization, attainment of formal education and a host of other things.

Good-life involves ethical domain and value-judgements, and hence is normative; whereas happy life is more value-free but not normless it is merely not loaded with ethical preoccupations.

For the tribal disease, sickness and death are natural phenomena and there is no full proof protection against these. All these are controlled by non-human or supernatural forces. However, inspite of these impending unavoidable hazards life is meant for enjoyment. He be-

lieves that when he is born as a man he has a natural right to live and has socially permissible freedom to enjoy life. Happiness consists in being free to enjoy one self without restrictions of time-frame or work-routine. It does not mean that the tribal is not amenable to time-frame; certainly he is, but he resents rigid time-schedule and considers it as an anathema. For him youthful vigour is short-lived and non-repetitive, and therefore life must be enjoyed to the fullest extent so long youthful vigour is there. And as such he remains fully committed to the philosophy of happy life so long vim, vigour and vitality continue to energize him for all the erotic, mirthful and adventurous activities. Normally one develops this sort of orientation at the pre-adolescnet stage of life, which is the proper time for schooling.

As the youthful vigour declines with the dissipation of physical energy, one necessarily turns away from 'happy-life' and streers towards "good life", which is more closely integrated to the moral order of the society. Love for fun, frolic and freedom from social responsibility steadily fades away. In the later half of life, the tribal fully conforms to the belief pattern that he must life in peace and harmony with his physical environment, social milieu and the supernatural world.

From the foregoing discussion is must not be construed that the tribal cultures embody only growth-negative values. There are indeed growth-positive, or atleast, growth-neutral values. No culture is negatively oriented towards development or modernization. What is necessary for the development planners and executives is the appropriate orientation to grasp and comprehend objectively the ethos or genius of the target culture, to which development plans must be attuned.

Tribes in the past, though were non-literate, certainly possessed their own systems of informal education. The dimensions of informal education emphasized community involvement and acquisition of competence as effective members of society. Even today, the core of informal education consists of instructions on World-view, more specifically it is the body of knowledge relating to values and subsistence techniques. The techniques of instructions are informal, that is, parents and elders impart knowledge to children on various aspects in face to face relationship. The techniques are more practical rather than the oretical, and well adopted to suit the typical

needs of the society. In other words informal education is designed to make the child ready for the world which he has to face. And this cannot be said to be true of the formal education, which emphasizes conceptualization rather than acquisition of agricultural and other techniques in practical situations.

Tribals are not mentally deficient; they are capable of picking up complex knowledge, but their pace of assimilation may be slower as their cognitive level is relatively lower for historical reasons. Formal education lays emphasis on discontinuities in traditional cultures hence it is problematic. It aims to turn the young tribal or peasant educant into a clerk or something of that sort. It is time to rethink about the function of formal education. It should be more pragmatic and realistic. Its aim should be to

make the educated ones more self-reliant rather than salaried job-hunters.

The syllabi of pre-primary and primary education of tribals should be different from those of the non-tribals, and while designing it due importance must be given to their rational processes and logical thinking operative in tribal mind. At this stage the medium of instruction need be the mother-tongue of tribals, which may be substituted by the regional and national language through a process of gradualism. The system of education which is to be imparted to tribal children should articulate with their natural intelligence. Therefore, it is necessary that the curricula of education includes a part of tribal culture. This, of course, necessitates knowledge of tribal cultures; without which development planning is likely to result in failure.

REFERENCES

- | | | |
|---------------------|------|--|
| Mahapatra, L. K. | 1967 | "Curriculum Methods and Text in Tribal Education in India" (Report on the National Seminar on Tribal Education in India), NCERT, New Delhi. |
| Mahapatra, S. | 1980 | "Economic Development and the concept of 'good' and 'happy life' a view from the Santal world" (Seminar papers on Development Aspects of Tribal Areas), Bhubaneswar. |
| Mathias, T. A. | 1978 | 'Christian Educational Effort in India', in 'The Social Context of Education, ed. A. B. Shah, New Delhi, Allied Publishers. |
| Shah, A. B. (ed.) | 1978 | The Social Context of Education. (Essays in honour of J. P. Naik) New Delhi Allied Publishers. |
| Shah, G. and Others | 1985 | Tribal Education in Gujrat Delhi: Ajanta Publications. |

System of Exchange among Koyas

Manoranjan Acharya

Exchange in modern economic usage implies a mutual and voluntary transfer of property including services and a fundamental equivalence in the things exchanged, an equality in value which rests upon economic rationality and developed market institutions. In a sense, exchange is the central concept of economic science, whether of theoretical or empirical type, in so far as the exchange economy is the characteristic form of economic organisation in the modern capitalistic world.

The modern economic organisation, however, is not an exchange economy pure and simple. It is not based upon actual exchange of goods and services by their producers, directly or through the medium of money, which has been the characteristic of an earlier and different stages of economic development.

The existing economic system, which may be regarded as an outgrowth of the exchange economy, is more accurately describable as an enterprise economy. Production in the responsible sense, is now typically carried on by an abstract entity, the business unit or enterprise which is functionally distinct from the natural persons or persons composing it. Individuals and families get their livelihood through two fold mechanism of buying and selling which is not pure and simple property exchange; because the role of money in it is so important that it can't be replaced by barter, as should be possible in the case of true exchange. But the above mentioned facts never fit in the context of those who are known as simple societies. At the beginning of the economic society, the commodities exchanged must have been relatively essential things, objects of adornment and materials of a not indispensable sort for a primitive

group dependent upon other groups for prime necessities. Trade was, under these conditions, an exchange of surpluses, a phrase which must be categorically avoided in application to the latter times when goods were produced expressly for exchange and exchange became a part of production. Under advanced conditions exchange is an incident of specialization and its significance lies in increasing the productiveness of labour and other resources.

The purpose of this article is to highlight the system of exchange prevalent amongst Koyas, a primitive tribe inhabiting the interior pocket of the district of Koraput in the State of Orissa by unfolding its various forms and their socio-economic ramifications both in their traditional and modern contexts. An indepth study has also been made to highlight doggedness with which the system has stuck to the apron-string of traditionality even during the present times of all-pervasive money economy.

The exchange relationship associated with Koyas takes place within the community. All Koyas are cultivators or more specifically shifting cultivators. Yet some are expert in some other skills like carpentry, smelting of iron, witchcraft, sorcery, etc. There are also Permas (Priest), Pedas (Head-man), Wades (Medicine man) and the like. In the course of rendering services to the people, they also get some payment from the beneficiaries. Thus, all are mutually dependent upon one another though not fully, but partially. In course of my field study, I came to know from my Koya informants Bhimsen Sodi and others that the exchange system was in vogue in their society from time immemorial. In their language they call it 'MARSANAD'. Their primary need in

the exchange system mainly concentrates on salt. They have also got other consumptive needs like chilly, turmeric and kerosene oil, etc. The women-folk need bead necklaces of different types and also bangles, which are not locally available and as such, are to be procured from others. Even in respect of the locally available goods also one is not self-sufficient. He has to depend on his brother Koyas for procuring the same. So they have to depend upon this exchange system to get their requirements fulfilled to some extent. This is how and why the exchange system has come into being and is still surviving.

The exchanges are done through the medium of money, rice, paddy and also through other agricultural and forest products like mustard seeds, blackgram, maize, millet, mohul, etc.

Labour exchange also takes place in (i) thatching, (ii) sowing and (iii) harvesting of different agricultural products.

In the matter of house construction, thatching the roof and reaping the paddy fields, if the family members are not capable of doing the work, then the family takes the help of other members of the village. First of all the family head would request the kin members and in case of their refusal for such assistance he would seek the help of other members of the village. He will have to give meals (chakur) to those men and in the evening liquor (landa) to drink. If the household has got sufficient quantity of paddy or rice to afford, then he can also pay them in terms of paddy or rice. Usually no money is paid for their labour, though money payment is at present practised amongst a few affluent Koyas only.

Also I have found in one case of Tatiguda where one Rama Madhi has employed quite a sizeable number of his Co-villagers in a bunding work. The length of that bund (embankment) is 10 metres, breadth $3\frac{1}{2}$ metres length and height $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres.

Internal Trade :

It is prevalent among the Koyas in the village exclusively and it even extends upto other castes within or outside the village. At present, the Bengali stationery traders are found moving from one village to the other by foot for this business purpose. Both men and women traders

carry with them articles like dried fish, ribbon, comb, soaps, tobacco, container, mirror, turmeric powder, chilly, etc. with them. They supply these articles to the tribals on the basis of money payment in some cases and in yet some other cases, the traditional barter system is taken resort to. The itinerant traders have got with them one container which is made out of bamboo spikes known as 'Khaja'. They receive in exchange black gram, mustard, paddy, etc. for the articles supplied. The exchange amount varies according to the quality and quantity of articles.

Exchange of Seeds :

If a Koya cultivator needs a particular variety of seed suitable for his field, which is not with him and is with some other person belonging to his caste or to some other caste, he gets that seed from him by exchanging either paddy or seeds at the rate of exchange prevalent amongst them.

Exchange of Land :

Exchange of land is not there in pen and paper. On the other hand, it is done by mutual understanding only and by verbal bilateral agreement between the land-owner and the other party. If any household fails to cultivate the land due to some personal difficulties, the party consulted and contracted sows seeds in the field and after harvesting, he takes three-fourths of the total produce and gives one-fourth to the land-owner as his share.

In the village Sikapalli, one Madkani Muya was found to have borrowed Rs. 100 from the money-lender Podiyami Bhima by mortgaging his land. But there was no written agreement between these two. The land had been placed completely at the disposal of that money-lender and also there were no terms and conditions and interest on the loan. The owner got back his land after three years on payment of the principal money.

External Trade :

The Koyas usually go to market in the nearby town to sell their surplus products like *Suan Kandul*, tamarind, paddy, rice, mustard, blackgram, red gram, garden produced vegetables and the like. Sometimes they get money by selling these commodities in the market and at times they barter their articles to get their household requirements like oil, kerosene, salt,

paper, cheap clothes, bead necklaces and glass bangles, etc. Thus, the barter system, through the external trade, covers the whole gamut of their daily requirements.

Pure Barter :

Nowhere excepting one case in Potteru market, where I came across the case of a pure barter, I did not find the type anywhere else in the whole area under my study. In all these cases the articles sent for barter were found to be valued in terms of money and are then transacted. I found one old man coming with some cucumber (2 big and 3 small) to sell it in the Potteru market to get 'gourd' which was necessary for giving a gift in connection

2. mana paddy

1. mana Muga (Popil)

1. mana Mahul (ehk)

1. mana paddy

1. mana millet

1. mana Tola (gaara)

1. mana mustard (Tarsa)

1. podi muga

2. manas blackgram

1. mana maize

1. mana rice

1. mana bajara

1. mana rice

There are also exchange rates of livestock which are as below:—

1 Ox—2 Calves : 1 Ox—4 Goats : 1 Goat=2 Hens.

Many itinerant traders frequent the Koya villages. The Koyas fulfil their basic needs and including those for luxuries through these traders. These traders bring with them comb, chilly, dried fish, small mirrors, ribbons, bangles, soaps etc. They also carry with them one container which is made out of bamboo is locally known as 'Khaja'. By means of this measuring device they take paddy, rice etc. from the Koyas and give their articles of basic needs and luxuries. The cost of these articles would be within 25 paisa to

with the marriage ceremony of his sister-in-law. He met a woman of Budli who had brought three gourds to sell in the market. Both of them came to know about their mutual necessities after an informal chat and finally, they agreed on the barter and its terms. One of the gourds of the woman was valued at Rs. 0.75 which she bartered with the old man for the entire cucumber stock which was also valued equivalently outside the market. In the village level also they exchange their own commodities for other commodities which they need. In the village level exchange they mostly prefer barter exchange rather than exchange through the medium of money. The barter rates of different agricultural products as practised amongst them are as below:—

1. mana rice (Nuka)

1. mana Blackgram (pesi)

1. mana salt

2. mana janhia

2. mana salt

2. manas salt

4. manas salt

1. podi mustard

1. mana rice

1. mana salat

3. manas tamarind (John)

8. mana salt

4. manas endjohna

50 paisa. But in exchange of these articles they usually take more amount of paddy or any other commodities and this is due to the sheer ignorance of these innocent tribal people and their lack of knowledge about measurement. This has been an exploitive trading practice perpetrated on the innocent Koyas over the years and is found to be still continuing.

I saw an old woman buying a soap for bathing purpose. An idea had somehow struck her that by washing the face with the soap, she would regain her eye-sight. So, she never bothered for the amount taken by itinerant trader to get the soap in a small cake form, the cost of which was hardly 25 paisa or so.

Superstitious belief has thus been another factor responsible for their exploitation by unscrupulous traders.

Exchange of utensils

Their villages are also some times visited by the traders of aluminium utensils. They exchange paddy or rice for buying these utensils of domestic utility. They exchange their old and worn out utensils for buying the new ones. Since they are completely ignorant of the metric measurement and since they only know their traditional measurement of 'Mana' and 'Podi', they are usually cheated by the traders in these transactions.

Exchange of Handicrafts

The Koyas also exchange their hand-made articles with their co-villagers and also with traders. At times they also sell these to strangers. Their hand-made articles are mainly 'mats, sal leaf dana' etc. They also exchange these with potters visiting their villages in procuring earthen cooking vessels and pots of daily use.

Money Barter

When there is a barter system based on money, we call it money barter. At present this form of barter is prevalent to some extent among the Koya people. This type of money barter takes place both amongst themselves as also with outsiders in the market and even among the people of different castes and tribes. This is the influence of the market economy where different goods are bought and sold and the prices of the commodities are fixed by the sellers in terms of money. Due to constant interaction with these people the Koyas have developed a sophistication in their barter system by making it more and more oriented. In the villages they have started selling vegetables and other necessities of daily use through the money barter system.

If somebody dies then in the cremation ground nearly 10 manas of paddy are to be scattered around the deceased. More quantity of paddy is scattered in case of the death of a richman to show off his affluency. If a Koya has no capacity to scatter paddy, he has to borrow it from others and if the lenders are his kinsmen, he is not supposed to repay it back. If, on the other hand, they are not his kinsmen, he will have to repay back the paddy either in cash

or kind. Also he can repay his debt by giving other articles of the same value. In the funeral ceremony the village members other than his own kinsman help according to their might. Whatever one's financial condition, the scattering of paddy around a dead body is a must for him.

Birth Ceremony

In the birth ceremony of a child the head of the household has to give a feast to the women who happen to be present in the laying-in room and some elderly persons like pedas, ward members, wades, have helped in the child-birth.

If some elderly person wants to perpetuate his memory after his death by giving his name to the new-born child, he can do so in exchange of some goods like paddy, money, landed property, etc. in favour of that child. In the process, he perpetuates his memory in the next generation.

Nuakhia Festival (Kadta Pandu)

All the households are required to give one 'Dana' of rice to the village headman (Peda) for his services. One day before the Kadta festival the village Peda calls all the people of the village and give them advice to live like brothers in the village by avoiding all factions. This invocation of the village headman for the spirit of co-operation and unity is rewarded by the villagers in giving him one 'Danapui' of rice each.

Dashera Festival (Wakli)

In this festival they usually give lands (liquor), rice, hen to their respective 'Wades'. This is the festival of the Wades. People of the village come to their Wades house for eating the prasad after the Puja.

Gift Barter

Gift exchange is a term of barter used for gift only when people expect certain goods in return in lieu of their gifts others, which may be either immediately or in the long run. These return-gifts may also be diverted to others at the option of the original donors. But this differs from the system of deferred payment in the sense that in this type of transaction there is no stipulation of time limit for repayment and the donors cannot, as a matter of right, claim repayment. There lies the subtle difference between pure lending as practised by the *koyas*

in the form of gift barter and the system of deferred payment, as the term is ordinarily understood.

If some guests come to the Koya family and he does not have sufficient food-stuff and drinks to provide them, he first of all approaches his kin-members. If he gets the requirements from them, he need not have the obligation to repay the commodities as the guests coming to his house are the guests of his kin-members also.

If on the other hand, he gets the requirements from other households, then he has to give back at the rate of one-half of the quantities borrowed by way of repayment. Again, if he gets his requirement from a Bengali family or from other castes, then the repayment rate becomes double the quantity borrowed. Thus, the repayment rates appear to be quite heavy in both the cases.

After harvesting season, each household has to give 2 manas of their produced articles in the form of either paddy or rice or blackgram or mustard, etc. to the Peda (Village Headman) which are kept at his disposal for common benefits. From out of this stock, village development works are done and at times Government officials like Revenue Inspectors, police and forest officials are also fed. Relief is also given to the people affected by natural calamities like fire, cyclone, etc. from this common fund.

Daily or occasional or ceremonial exchange of rice or curry and even cooked meat among the consanguineal and neighbourly relations takes place for strengthening their bonds of relationship which maintains the kinship structure rigidly and cohesively. But they do not give anything in non-eatable form like rice, blackgram, etc. Without being asked for they do not take back small amounts given to their neighbours. When the amount is more, then it is taken back with interest. If they are in shortage of money, they first go to seek the help from their own kin-members. If they do not get their requirements from their kin-members or from their villages or from their tribal brethren, they go to money lenders to borrow money. They take no interest from the members who belong to their kin-group. On the other hand, they charge interest from other tribals who are not their kin-members.

When a man borrows something in kind from others, then ordinarily in the next year the quantum of repayment is doubled. This means

that the rate of interest is 100 per cent per annum which is quite heavy. But there are some exceptions to this. Suppose a man has borrowed something either from his own kin-member or from the other villagers for discharging the function of a marriage or death ceremony. In that case he is not required to pay the double amount; because no interest is charged for this purpose.

Gift Exchange :

Gift is a form of social communication. This communication takes an intermediary position between persons on the one hand and symbols on the other. The exchange of goods and services has to be understood in sociological context but not in true economic sense.

According to Herskovits a gift is almost a venture, a hopeful speculation. To make return equal in value to initials, gift is sufficient to avoid disgrace. It is a network of obligations. He again hold the view that gift exchanges are definitely valuable as a stimulus to work and for the need to which they give rise for co-operative effort.

Malinowski has divided gifts into a number of types. They are as below:

- (1) Pure gifts
- (2) Customary payments without strict equivalence.
- (3) Payment for services rendered
- (4) Gifts returned in economically equivalent form.
- (5) Exchange of material goods against privileges, titles and non-material possessions.
- (6) Ceremonial barter with deferred payment
- (7) Trade pure and simple.

Again, according to him gift-giving of this type is viewed not in relation to the absolute value or desirability of the article itself but entirely in relation for the prestige of the donor. Although such giving is also reciprocal but there is no reciprocity of value.

Pure Gift :

By this term we understand an act in which an individual gives an object or renders a service without expecting or getting any return. Pure gift constitutes different forms in society as illustrated below :

Gift to God

(i) This is a paradox of economic behaviour of the people who hold God to be Almighty and the Life-giver. 111-fed different gods and goddesses for their blessings. This gift to god varies in nature and form in different occasions. For example, in the Dasahara festival (wakli) each household has to offer one fistful of rice and a hen and also at times eggs to their village deity (Hundi) which is situated adjacent to the village periphery.

(ii) *Offering at the time of Puja or festive occasions*—Most of the festive or ceremonial occasions are ear-marked by killing and making sacrifice of a hen or a goat or a pig. Moreover they use fine sundried rice, milk, banana, wine, molasses, flowers for the decoration of the alter meant for the offerings. The offerings are made at four levels, (1) Individual level, (2) Family level, (3) Community level and (4) Village level.

Gifts Associated with Marriage

Relatives both affinal and consanguineal come and participate in the marriage ceremonials and bring with them some gifts according to their capacity, but the capacity is not always independent of ones free will; it depends on society in an accepted manner. A person may be incapable of giving anything, but he has to borrow, beg or steal in order to satisfy the men concerned, thereby he keeps up his social prestige.

The items of gift constitute goat, hen, bullock, rice, salt, oil, vegetable, clothes, wine and some money. Most of these are eatables and are consumed in that ceremony.

In a marriage ceremony in the "MATAKAL" (Betrothal Ceremony) the groom's party usually gives two bottles of 'Mohul wine', on the 'Bodikal' (Marriage day) the groom's father gives one pot of Mohul wine, two pots of Landa (Country Liquor) and mana of rice. After marriage the son-in-law has to give one calf as 'Poyawata' to the mother in-law and one bullock as 'Mamasama' to the uncle-in-law.

Gifts Among Ritual Friends of Different Communities.

The Koya people have got ritual friendship with the people of other castes and tribes. In the village Tatiguda a Koya Bata wade has got ritual friendship with a Bengali itinerant trader.

On the ceremonial occasions he gives cooked food to his ritual friend and the latter takes food in a Koya-House without hesitation. During the marriage of his daughter, the Bengali trader Niren Dey has given two manas of rice and a hen to his Koya ritual friend.

Gifts Associated with Death Ceremony

During death ceremony gifts are given in the same form excepting cows and bullocks. But the gifts here are of lesser amounts than those in the marriage ceremony. All the relatives send or bring with them one piece of cloth each to the deceased persons' house.

Gifts in Fishing & Hunting

Just after Bija Pandu (Chitra Parva) they go in for the hunting expedition. Hunting goes on just after Bija Pandu (Chitra Parva) they go in expedition is distributed among all the villagers irrespective of the fact whether they have actually participated in the hunting expedition or not. They also give one more share to the Pada (Head-Man and 'Wade, (Medicine man) in consideration of their social status and prestige.

Conclusion

The following conclusion can be made from the study.

- (1) Though the barter system of goods amongst the Koyas themselves helps them to some extent in meeting their daily requirements, it exposes them to gross economic exploitation when the transaction is made with outsiders operating as unscrupulous traders. The Koyas are cheated in weights and measures in these transactions.
- (2) The metric system introduced throughout the country in the early sixties has hardly any impact on the Koyas who continue to trade with their traditional weights and measures like mana, podi etc.

(3) There appears to be lack of supervision of the officers and staff of the Weights and Measures Organisation of the State Government, as a result of which the traditional weights and measures still dominates the Koya Markets these days when our country is preparing for making a leap-forward to the 21st century. Adequate education should be given to them about the metric system of weights and measures. Both the Weights and Measures Department and the Harijan and Tribal Welfare Department should work in a Coordinated manner to achieve this end.

(4) Many of the exchanges are superstition-based. The Koya is yet to develop a rational and scientific outlook towards things. Spread of education amongst them would help them in developing this outlook.

(5) There is a very good point in the Koyas restricting these exchanges mostly

amongst the kin-members which has helped them to develop a social cohesiveness and solidarity amongst themselves.

(6) Mutual dependence for their requirements has been responsible for maintaining the village unity and individual contribution to the village common fund has helped a great deal in taking up village development activities, giving relief to the needy etc. This is in sharp contrast to the so-called civilized villages which are now-a-days divided into various factions where personal good has primacy over the common good.

(7) Sometimes they become preys to the avaricious doings of money-landers. This has been so due to lack of adequate rural credit facility. Government should open up adequate institutional credit outlets in the villages to meet their credit requirements.

Position of Women in Kondh Society

Dr. U. N. Patnaik

Service is the art of Ruling

The position of women in Kondh Society is unique. She controls the whole house in a very peculiar manner. She has full control over her husband and she obtains full obedience from the other members of the house. We shall see how she has come to maintain this position in the house and we have to trace this from her early childhood. As a child of 3 years she starts her work for the family as a baby sitter. She keeps her younger brother and sister all day long either playing with the baby or carrying the baby in a piece of cloth slung from the neck down. As the baby grows older and begins to play by itself the girl reduces its duty of baby sitting and joins her mother in household work. She carries water from the spring in a small vessel along with her mother. She sweeps the house and keeps it clean. She runs after her mother when the latter goes to the springs either to wash the utensils or clothes. In her small way she helps the mother in washing the family clothes and utensils. As she grows older she along with other children of her age goes out to pick mangoes, mohua flowers, etc. She goes along with her mother to dig edible roots and to collect edible leaves, flowers, etc. As she grows older she dehusks paddy, plasters the doors and veranda of the house. She feeds the pet animals, etc., of the house and keeps the piggery and the resting place of the fowls neat and clean. Till after ten years she does all the household duties along with her mother. Thereafter, she does all the things herself. From after the tenth year she gets little bit more of freedom from household duties. She joins the girls of her age and spends the night in the spinster dormitory with girls of her own

age or older girls. She comes back from the dormitory in the morning and does all the household duties which she was doing previously with her mother. She along with other girls of her age go about merrymaking. They go to the market and make purchase of finery. She goes to the festivals nearby (jatra). She does all these things by herself from the training in the earlier days which she had from her mother. From the age of 15 onwards she gets more and more freedom of movement in the spare time. When she grows to full womanhood she in a way controls her mother and behaves like a small master in the house. She washes the family cloths, boiling them in near the spring in caustic soda, beating the cloth on a slab of stone, drying and getting them home. She cleans the family utensils themselves and she keeps the house clean. She is a great relief to the mother and relieves her of the routine duties in the house. Now she cooks the food for the family herself and serves the food for the members of the family three times a day. Thus, by the time she attains womanhood she does all the things in the house herself but in her own wilful way.

After marriage she goes to live with her husband. There she keeps the house herself and by the training she has had from her mother she runs the house in a masterly manner. She controls her husband and the children also. By her service to the family she is a full master of the house and obtains from her husband sullen obedience and controls him in every way.

In her own house she cooks food herself and serves it. She does all the duties which she was doing in her parent house as a grown up girl.

Now as a housewife she is able to on account of her service control her husband. She joins the men at the Panchayat. She is able to make purchase at the market and sell small quantities of jungle produce at the market. Whenever heavy articles like ginger, turmeric, etc., are sold at the house by the husband she fixes the price and watches the measurement properly. She makes all weekly purchase at the market and sells at the market things she can carry. She fixes the bride price of her daughter and controls the marriage ceremony herself. She has a

hand in the sale or mortgage of the land and in the latter case she fixes the rate of interest. The family jewellery of gold and silver is always in her charge. Thus she holds a paramount position in the family and that is because she serves the family in every possible manner. There is no question of love or affection in her towards the members of the family. It's strict discipline and obedience that gives her position in the family. Ruling is due to service and because of her service to the family she is able to rule the house.



Attitude of Tribals towards life and their emerging needs.

Shri R. C. Sethi

In the cultural history and religious movements of Orissa the tribal's contribution is recorded hilariously. Biswabasu, the Sabar worshipper of Lord Jagannath, is the first provoker of Jagannath culture and Bhima Bhoi, the preacher of Mahima Dharma and others have played vital roles in the freedom movement of Orissa and India in various contexts and successfully helped the country in getting her freedom. Now it is high time to reassess them for various national purposes.

A critical approach to the tribal personality reveals that they are :—

- (a) culturally deprived,
- (b) educationally deprived
- (c) facing cultural conflicts and
- (d) economically backward

Because of the above said reasons they face problems of stability and change from the view point of inter-personal relationship and new social dynamics. Their typical inherited characteristics are thoroughly crystallised and the investigators of formal urban education culture visualise that it is difficult to liquidate the frozen tribal problems. When we approach the tribals it is marked that other things being equal (physical and biological factors) their social code of conduct and ethics are altogether different from those of ours. Their socially desirable values and acceptable principles have caused problems before the so called civilised world. Because they are not susceptible to change and they want to remain committed to the tribal way of life, their needs and aspirations are typical by nature.

Sometimes they do not share the national objectives of Indian democracy, keep themselves far away from the sense of social justice,

democratic values and national integration are averse to many things of the modern world. They are not interested in participating in the activity of social change and are not modern in their outlook. Of course, they believe in character building, human values, art, artistic experience and expression and aesthetics in their own way. They have antagonistic feelings towards the growing trends of science and technology. They identify themselves with the nature—the mother-earth—that gives everything to them for life and has stored everything for them. So they must be true to her. They consider everything around them as a gift of mother-earth. They believe that what she would wish would happen and no one can obstruct her and therefore they must surrender. They accept life and its manifold forms as they appear to them and take life as a game. They are guided by such principles as would bring pleasure. They suffer but do not get frustrated easily as we do. They try to reason out the sorrow and seek solutions courageously by successfully encountering the harder realities of life. Like idealists they do not avoid the catastrophe. They welcome life alongwith its possible plus-minus dimensions. Being children of nature, they recline in her wild lap, sing the song of her glory and enjoy life frolicsomenly with happiness and rejoicement in all seasons and at all times—day and night. The bountiful and serene Nature prompts them, tempts them and moulds them to enjoy their life to the fullest extent with more happiness than sorrow.

The tribals are peace loving, smooth going, simple living and simple thinking people but sometime depending upon the nature of treatment they get from others they become violent. Since they are being prevented from using the natural resources for their purpose, economically they have become weak and the modern social

dynamics have made them mobile in search of Job food and they are compelled to leave their native places. By this, they move away from their way of life, feel alienated from their culture and sometimes suffer from a sense of lost origin.

The tribals need be moulded to be useful to the modern/civilised world and they should share the responsibility of national reconstruction by contributing their best to the mainstream of national life, economic development, progress and prosperity in general.

What the emerging Indian society needs is a peaceful social change in a grand scale and its internal transformation and that is equally applicable to the tribal societies. Education, being the instrument of social change and modernisation, plays a vital role in this context. But the tribals have not been benefited much by education. Illiteracy is still high among them.

A change in their attitude and outlook is needed since they live in ignorance with blind faiths and beliefs. Sometimes they give undue importance to matters of little concern. Only education can change such rigid attitude of theirs and make them flexible mentally, socially and culturally to actively and fruitfully participate in the programmes aiming at their multi-faceted development to make their life happier and worth living.

But what is generally noticed is that education for tribals has caused negative development. Some so called educated people have interfered with their social systems and have exploited them causing emergence of a negative attitude in them for formal education and urban culture. Tribal culture which is still un-adulterated needs preservation as a sample of primitive culture from the view point of anthropological studies.

The tribals feel helpless in free India and suffer from a sense of loss of self identity. Formal urban education is being imposed on them without considering their attitude towards life and their needs and aspirations to which they strongly react and at any moment it can erupt in the form of a revolution claiming retention of their special culture as is marked from the movement for Jharkhand, Special Nagaland and Khalistan. A careful and conscious analysis would indicate that there is nothing but class to class and culture to culture conflict. They must have touch of their way of life which is dearer to them.

Even if they are settled in the heart of cities under modern environments they do not cease searching for the mountains, streams, forest resources, birds, animals and natural environments. The sense of belongingness they have developed with hylvan culture is very much compassion based. They are true to it and excess of light of the town civilisation has caused blindness in them. Because they are enlightened with the game of hide and seek, shade and light, song and music, dance, tune of flute in their own culture, they are becharmed with its major factors. But the present condition grows discontentment among them. Therefore, welfare of tribals is to be taken up with a new vision, human magnitude and missionary zeal.

When social conditions of tribals are taken into account, a monumental design of the tribal culture is located by the anthropologists. Existence of the tribal society is based upon the principles of :—

- (a) man is anthropocentric,
- (b) existence precedes essence,
- (c) a culture based on least materialism.
- (d) earning more than the minimum requirement is a sin.
- (e) work is workship,
- (f) regards for other member of the society,
- (g) sex is an activity of composed will and interest to maintain the clan and not activity of perversion,
- (h) clarity in feeding and expression,
- (i) guided by the principles of joy,
- (j) art is to be reviewed in life or life is an art and he who knows the art of living enjoys life more meaningfully and the dream can be actualised and transtated into action,
- (k) the anthropologists locate that the tribals follow their social principles more religiously and are most loyal to their culture, ideologies, emotional bent of mind and at the cost of their lives they maintain these characteristics. They are the valid products and their culture has played a significant role in shaping and reshaping the tribal personality (The Constitution of India demands that tribals need be instructed to play a vital role to keep up the

democracy and to participate actively in the programmes of national development without providing them the spirit to work with catholicity of outlook, reason based attitude and functional remedies).

The tribals, who are full in spirit and life, sometimes celebrate occasions with pomp and ceremony by borrowing from the money-lenders without realising that they are sucked, exploited and netted with the complex system of bonded labour and their fundamental rights are withdrawn from them in a democratic country like India. So we need analyse their position in the society and should develop instruments to get a clear picture of them to suggest some measures to eradicate the feeling of alienation existing in them and rescue them from poverty.

The tribals are basically peace loving and want to mould the environment around them to suit their needs by utilising the resources available to them in their community. But there is an imbalance in thinking between the Government and the tribals, because the tribals utilise the forest and natural resources for their own purpose, whereas Government want to preserve these in the greater interest of the country for betterment of the economy, study of natural and environmental sciences and checking soil erosion and flood. Thus, the tribals are being debarred from using the natural and forest resources and a primitive culture is heading towards extinction which is a matter of grave concern. Mobility among the tribals is high. For their livelihood they are working in factories and under contractors. The tribal women are being victimised in various forms and the tribal minor children constitute a majority of the child labourers in India.

Though there are a number of constitutional provisions for safeguarding the interests of the tribals, in reality they are suffering. As new forest laws have been formulated and are in force, the tribals are becoming economically weak and helpless. Because their way of life was thoroughly governed by the forest resources as the forest was providing them with food materials like crops, meat, fruits, roots, leaves, etc., house building materials such as logs, bamboos, grass, etc. and they were collecting and selling honey, resin, sandal wood, lac, firewood etc., for meeting their other expenses, herbs for

medical purposes, skin of various animals and their horns and ivory, etc., for other use. Further, banning of shifting cultivation and enforcement of Forest Act and Wild Life Welfare Act by the Government is paradoxically life sentence for the tribals and therefore they are virtually unstable. So the conditional withdrawal operates at the levels of

- (a) Sharing the spirit of nationalism and belongingness,
- (b) achieving national objectives and contribution in the personal/citizen capacity,
- (c) co-operation in the modern social systems (social, cultural as they do not welcome science and technology),
- (d) changed environments are becoming sceptical over the happenings.

The emerging democratic India is preparing herself in the lines of socialism and secularism and interested in providing equality of opportunity for those who are in need and more justifiably the tribals are falling under it. Their manifold problems of existence like food, clothing, shelter, medical facilities, health and sanitation, free and compulsory education as envisaged by the Indian Constitution, drinking water transport and communication, etc., need new attention of the Government under humanising conditions. However, it is not to be discussed rather than to be felt. A humanitarian approach justifies that:—

- (a) they must be immediately released from poverty,
- (b) their culture, language, rights and rituals must be encouraged and preserved,
- (c) sympathetic treatment must be given to them so that they will—
 - (i) actively participate in the democratic activities.
 - (ii) co-operate in the programmes of national development as valid citizens and worthy social members.

To conclude, free and unbiased people of missionary zeal whose thinking contains essential ideas, basic suggestions and main recommendations must be involved in the programmes of tribal development.