

ADIBASI

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

TO THE CONTRIBUTORS

Contributions based on Anthropology, Demography, Economics, Human Geography, Museology, Planning and Sociology with particular reference to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are invited. The articles should be type-written in double space on one side of half foolscap paper. Invariably two copies of the articles should be sent. The contributors should also not forget to send their 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.

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REHABILITATION OF DISPLACED TRIBALS— PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

N. Patnaik

According to the 1981 census the population of the Scheduled Tribes was 510.64 lakhs which comprised 7.76 per cent of the total population, that is 6,377.44 lakhs of India. Over 75 per cent of the Scheduled Tribes population are covered under the broad strategy of tribal sub-plan (Tribal sub-plan, pockets of tribal concentration and primitive tribal groups) which is in operation in 17 States and two Union Territories. The area under tribal sub-plan is characterised not only by large concentration of tribal communities but by rich mineral deposits and other resources like forests and wild life.

After independence a large number of projects has been taken up since the advent of First Five-Year Plan in such resource rich areas to tap mineral deposits for the establishment of industries; rivers and streams for irrigation purposes and for generation of power; forests for development of forest-based industries and the sylvan surrounding for creation of national parks, game sanctuaries and biosphere reserves. Many changes some being of very serious nature affecting the normal life of the tribal inhabitants have obviously taken place in the wake of such river valley development projects and as a result of mining and industrial projects.

The inevitable consequences of setting up of these projects have been the displacement of the tribal communities from their home land. Both the processes of acquisition of private lands and earmarking and assignment of Government and community lands have ousted the tribal people from their native place. More serious outcome of such evictions have been the impoverishment of the tribal people. Their economic life has been upset and their dependence on forests, the major source of

their livelihood has been severed. Thus the displaced tribals in many places have turned in to destitutes.

Displacement is a great crisis in life. It gives a death blow to the displaced persons. Except their native place the tribal people donot have any other worked. They live there face to face in intimate relationship with their kith and kin and draw nourishment together from the lands and forests around them. Their encesstral spirits who are part and pareial of their existence, their gods and goddesses who guard them against evil spirits and adverse supernatural forces, their cremation or burial grounds, the stone menhirs and dolmens which represent their ancestors—all things of their world are crushed to dusts under bulldozers and earth levellers. How to stand this loss. In some places the tribals have revolted leading to bloodshed, and in other places they have endured the suffering and passively have left the place.

The displaced tribals find it very difficult, sometimes impossible, for their adjustment outside their own habitat and eco-system. One thing they do not have their kin members beyond the area and its immediate hinterland from which they have been displaced. Therefore, the question of their adjustment among the kin groups is ruled out. Moreover they are accustomed to an isolated life in a settlement of their own with a great deal of autonomy and independence particularly in respect of economic life. Naturally they find adjustment extremely difficult in an alien settlement. The natural sylvan setting in which they live is the source of their joy and enjoyment and provide materials which enrich their arts and crafts, oral tradition and literature and serve as the arena for their dance and music—

the medicine of their very existence—in merriment against odds. Stripped off from such a setting the life becomes laden with sorrow, frustration and disappointment.

A few illustrations may be given to explain the situation. Bailadila, the zone of huge iron-ore deposits lies in the region inhabited by the Murias, a primitive tribal community of Bastar district. To exploit the rich deposits the National Mineral Development Corporation had its way through dense forests and got the area linked by road with the headquarters of the district and by railways with the port at Visakhapatnam. Several industrial activities followed in quick succession.

The area, which was for so long lay hidden in the thicket of sal, teak and other trees started resounding with the explosive and the hum of the drills and dumpers. A township of more than thousand quarters inhabited by thousands of immigrants and the staff of the Bailadila iron-ore mine had grown in this place with facilities of water-supply, community centre, market, schools, hospital and social service institutions. Bailadila which was an isolated landscape dotted with windbreaks and mudwalled and grass thatched huts of hunters and food gatherers turned into the largest mechanized iron-ore mine and a highly modernized township in Asia.

Similarly the steel plant at Rourkela in Sundergarh district which is another belt of tribal concentration is a massive industrial complex in which thousands of people who are mostly outsiders are employed in some capacity or other and live in the Plant's township which came up there displacing the indigenous primitive tribal communities. Rourkela has been one of Asia's most modern steel plant which produces annually 1.8 million tonnes of steel ingots with technical co-operation and credit from the Federal Republic of Germany. The transformation of Rourkela from the thick forests teeming with wild animals and occupied by a sparse and scattered hamlets of such primitive tribes as the Oraon, the Munda, the Kharia and the Bhumij to a modern township and steel plant is without doubt a symbolic of industrial development and economic prosperity of free India. But at the same time, it is a tale of woes and miseries of thousands of tribal people who have been ousted from their hearth and home. The same story has been repeated in the river valley development projects and other mining and industrial projects.

Briefly speaking consequent on these industrial and mining activities the tribal people are seized with mainly three problems:—First, they have had a sudden confrontation with the massive infiltration of new comers to their habitat which developed as a result fear complex in them that the outsiders would occupy their territory and exploit the resources over which they had so far unchallenged monopoly. Second, as the work progressed they were dispossessed of their villages and lands which the Government acquired for setting up the mining and industrial complex. Third, following from such situations the most serious thing which happened was the disruption of their entire living condition, disorganization of their society and culture and disintegration of their ethos and positive aspects of their good life. Wide spread demoralizing effects, provocative reactions and massianic and separatistic movement surfaced threatening to weaken the inter-ethnic unity and solidarity.

The policies regarding rehabilitation of displaced persons vary from State to State. The departments which are generally involved in this problem are Revenue, Irrigation, Forest and Mining each having its own guidelines in this matter. The State of Maharashtra has a law namely the Maharashtra Resettlement of Project Displaced Persons Act, 1976 which prescribed broad principles of allotment of land, etc. in the case of displacement. The law does not have any specific provision relating to tribals. However, in this State there is also a comprehensive organization for taking up formulation and execution of Rehabilitation projects for tribals. In Orissa, the Rehabilitation Advisory Committee have been formed with the Commissioner of the division wherein the projects is located as the Chairman.

A general review of these organizations and policies adopted by the various States shows that the problem of rehabilitation of displaced persons is looked upon merely as shifting the households from one locality to the other and distributing land and house sites among the displaced persons overlooking other factors peculiar to this problem. For example, among the tribals there are sections who are pastoral, hunters and food gatherers, shifting cultivators and forest product collectors and landless artisans. These sections of people do not qualify for any compensation under any existing law in the country. But they also suffer along with other categories of tribal communities who are entitled to compensation.

So far there has been no national policy on resettlement of displaced persons. Each Ministry takes care of the rehabilitation requirements as and when the occasion arises. It is necessary to have a national policy incorporating in it—(1) guidelines and principles covering all categories of displaced persons, (2) special provisions regarding rehabilitation and benefits to be extended under different types of projects and (3) special treatment to be given to the displaced tribals in each category of projects. Item 27 of the List III—'Concurrent List' of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution relates to "Relief and Rehabilitation of persons displaced from their original place of residence by reasons of setting up dominion of India and Pakistan". Rehabilitation of project displaced persons is not covered by any list.

In the fitness of things it is felt necessary that provisions may be made under this item for dealing with problems of rehabilitation of project displaced persons. In some projects, the cost of rehabilitation is not borne by the project and there is no policy decisions in this matter. It is necessary to consider whether the cost of rehabilitation should be charged on the project and a committee comprising representatives of the State Government and the project authorities be constituted to oversee implementation of rehabilitation.

The tribal communities show marked differences in their social organization and culture. Their habitat is different from place to place and therefore their adaptive strategies vary from one community to the other and from one eco-system to the other. It is necessary to have comprehensive studies of the social ecology of the tribes which are disturbed by the project of irrigation, mining, forestry and industry so that action plans can be formulated scientifically on the basis of data and needs of the people.

The Report of the Working Group on Development of Scheduled Tribes during Seventh Five-Year Plan (1985—90) brought out by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi has discussed this problem under a separate chapter "Rehabilitation of Displaced Tribals". Their recommendations are reproduced below:—

(a) General Policy:

- (1) "A policy for rehabilitation of project displaced persons at the national level may be formulated, prescribing the general

policy for rehabilitation and including in it special measures to be taken in the interest of scheduled tribes, as suggested in Para. 11 above. The special disability of the scheduled tribes mentioned in Para. 6 should be kept in view. The policy formulation should keep in view evaluation reports, reference Para. 8 above.

- (2) Among other things, the policy should enjoin that rehabilitation of displaced persons, particularly the tribals, should form an integral part of all industries, irrigation, power, mining and forest and wild life projects of a certain magnitude whether taken up in the Government, corporate, joint or private sectors.
- (3) Rehabilitation of project displaced persons may be added as a sub-item under item 27 of List III—'Concurrent List' under the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution, as suggested in Para. 11.
- (4) There should be a critical review of economic activities generated ancillary to major projects and extent of absorption of tribals in these projects. In any event, any project displacing tribals should give preference to scheduled tribes in the jobs under it and at least one member from each displaced family must be taken in, as far as possible. To facilitate this, all able-bodied male members of the displaced tribal families should be immediately put under roll of the project before the project work starts, to ascertain their willingness to work. Suitable training may be given to the willing persons to absorb them in the project and required training institutions may be set up for this purpose well in advance of the requirement of personnel.
- (5) In ancillary units which may be set-up to supply self-finished/finished goods to the main project, similar reservation of jobs for the displaced tribal families should be made applicable to all Government, corporate and joint sector units. Where a private unit is encouraged with assistance from Government, a stipulation of this effect should be made in an agreement to be signed by the party.

- (6) Supporting services like dairy, poultry, fishery, carpentry around the main project should be encouraged exclusively through tribal people/tribal co-operatives where the project site is in a tribal belt, both the project and the State Collaborating in organisation of co-operatives and training of individual tribals.
- (7) For setting up ancillary units which can serve as feeder and subsidiary to the main project, attempt should be made to establish them through tribals and provide necessary entrepreneurial training to them.
- (8) The cost of rehabilitation should form an integral part of the project and in all cases, must include costs required to train the tribals in the jobs and services mentioned above.
- (9) Group/Community rehabilitation should be the rule in case of the displaced tribals. In all such cases besides free house sites and concessional loan for building house (vide recommendations of housing) community facilities like drinking water-supply, schools, roads, etc., may be provided on the Dandakaranya Development Authority pattern evolved by the Ministry of Rehabilitation.
- (10) Where the tribals are already agriculturists, preference to settlement in agriculture should be given. In the case of landless persons, they should be settled in avocations thrown up by activities mentioned above.
- (11) Special note should be taken of food-gatherers, hunters, forest produce collectors, graziers, forest land cultivators, shifting cultivators and tribal artisans depending on forest raw materials. Tribal artisans and raw material processors may be suitably provided with avocations of their own line as far as possible.
- (12) The principle of allotting land to the affected tribal population in the benefited area i. e. in the aya cut of the irrigation projects must be clearly accepted and where necessary smaller irrigation projects including lift projects be taken up in new sites earmarked for the oustees for agricultural rehabilitation.

(b) Rehabilitation organisation :

- (1) The role and part played by Rehabilitation Advisory Committees set up already should be critically reviewed. It may be considered whether a Directorate of Rehabilitation on the lines of Maharashtra may be set up by State Governments as part of the permanent organisation. A State-level Rehabilitation committee under the chairmanship of the Chief Secretary—Development Commissioner of the State should be formed with the Director, Rehabilitation as its member-Secretary, to review programmes and progress or rehabilitation. Besides, a review committee at an intermediate level of co-ordination, namely, under the Divisional Commissioner or the Collector as may be appropriate, may also be formed.
 - (2) Keeping in view the lead-time for planning and implementing of the resettlement proposals and the time of the physical occupation of the land by the project for submergence under the project the resettlement officers should prepare draft schemes of resettlement for approval of the Director, Rehabilitation before execution.
 - (3) Funds for resettlement should be provided in the budget under a separate head to be operated by the Director, Rehabilitation, the relevant share of Rehabilitation in each project being counted towards cost of that project.
 - (4) At the project level a Rehabilitation Committee headed by the Chief of the project with the representative of Collector (s) and the Project Administrator (s) of the concerned I. T. D. Ps. should be formed.
- (c) Adequacy of compensation and Rehabilitation:-
- (1) The rates and form of compensation given to the tribals displaced in the wake of past development projects should be critically evaluated.
 - (2) Since open transaction in the tribal area are few on account of the protective legislation in force in the area, compensation in terms of

capitalised value of income should be resorted to in preference to the sale data method. All compensation amount should be deposited in favour of the concerned tribals in a pass book in the nearby post office or bank.

- (3) Emergency provision should not be applied under Land Acquisition Act, 1984, indiscriminately in tribal land.
 - (4) The Coal-bearing Areas (Acquisition and Development) Act, 1957 should be amended, if need be, to ensure adequate compensation and rehabilitation benefits to the tribals as suggested in Para. 10.
 - (5) The question of levy of a cess on salable products and visible benefits may be examined as suggested in paragraph 12, at least for projects involving displacement in the tribal areas:
- (d) Involvement of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

In all cases where displacement of tribals is involved, the concerned administrative ministries should keep the Ministry of Home Affairs in picture in all programme of rehabilitation. "In adequacy of all programmes of rehabilitation the Adequacy of proposals should be first cleared by the begins".

In the light of the above-mentioned background materials the points which appear to be relevant for discussions in the seminar are as follows:—

- (1) Listing of projects which have been or are likely to be executed in different States and the types of tribal communities who are already or are likely to be affected and displaced and the nature of problems faced by the tribal communities in each case.
- (2) Organizational patterns of rehabilitation projects including administrative set up and guidelines and policy decisions.
- (3) Review of the recommendations of the Ministry of Home Affairs.
- (4) To consider various parameters and components which would comprise the national policy on resettlement of displaced persons.

Issues for discussions

The broad issues which emerge for discussions are as follows:

1. Survey of villages affected by River Valley Development Projects and Mining and Industrial Development Projects and Forestry Programmes—

The survey is proposed to cover the following points:

- (a) Locational details of the villages and infrastructural facilities available in the villages.
- (b) Socio-political conditions of the villages.
- (c) Economic condition of the villagers
- (d) Leadership pattern and role of leadership and development.
- (e) Attitude and behaviour of various interest groups towards the problem of rehabilitation.

2. Rehabilitation Policies and Practices—

Broadly, this issue will cover the following points:

- (a) Listing and Review of existing rehabilitation policies and Land Acquisition Acts.
- (b) Rehabilitation practices covering such items as (a) Planning of villages, (b) Evaluation and transportation of oustees, (c) Land clearing and construction, (d) Payment of compensation for lands, houses, public buildings, places of worship, standing crops and trees, loss of income and employment to farm labourers, share croppers, cattle graziers, forest produce collectors, hunters and food gatherers, etc., (e) Economic activities, (f) Social and cultural considerations, (g) Institutional arrangements, (h) Administrative arrangements and rehabilitation authority and (i) Voluntary agencies.

3. Formulation of National Policy—

It is necessary to review the existing policies and formulate a National Policy on Rehabilitation taking into consideration the following items—

- (a) Defining 'rehabilitation', 'land owner', 'household', 'family', and other components relevant in the context of rehabilitation.
- (b) Provision of employment of affected persons in the project.
- (c) Administrative set up, Rehabilitation organisation and Authority.
- (d) Role of voluntary organization.

- (e) Protecting the interest of various groups
- (f) Updating of land records
- (g) Forest lands as cultivated by affected tribals and their rehabilitation in forest areas or in the vicinity of such areas.

It may be pointed out that the rehabilitation policy would be such as to view the problem of rehabilitation of displaced persons as a part of the efforts for the overall development of the weaker sections of society in the light of the Panchsila enunciated by our late Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and not as a part of mere land acquisition rule laid down by the Britishers.

THE CHANGING PATTERN OF SAORA LEADERSHIP

J. K. Baral
and
R. C. Sahu

Introduction

During British days tribal areas were mostly secluded. Except Christian missionaries and a few government officials hardly did any other outsiders enter the areas. However, after independence tribals began to be exposed to the forces of modernisation though in a slow and halting pace. This has led to some changes in tribal societies including the pattern of tribal leadership. Old age has lost its importance as a factor of leadership. Young and educated tribals are slowly creeping into power structures¹. Similarly a tribal imbued with "cosmopolitanism" is being preferred as a leader². In tribal communities leaders are generally selected through "consensus"³. So far this principle of consensus has not faced serious challenge. Factionalism is yet to seriously afflict the tribal society⁴. In tribal villages leadership is characterised by "polymorphism". However, if the village is either modernised and/or large on size, it is likely to be characterised by monomorphism⁵.

In the present paper we have tried to know if the changing pattern of tribal leadership mentioned above is also evident in the Saora society. Saoras one of the largest tribal groups of Orissa, live in Koraput and Ganjam districts. Our observations are based on our study of the Saoras of the Ganjam district only.

Traditional Vs. Modern Leaders

In the past the head of the Saora village called *Gomango* was the most important leader of the village. In managing the village affairs he was assisted by a committee of some persons—usually five—including the *Jani* the religious

head. The committee of elders was democratic in structure and it encouraged free discussion. But in cases of division within the committee the decision of the head prevailed. The *Jani*, apart from performing *puja* which invariably required offering sacrifices, was also consulted by the villagers on medical problems. For them he was the doctor who administered country medicines made of herbs to the patients.

The introduction of Panchayat Raj has seriously undermined the status and power of the village head. At present the important persons in Saora villages are the ward-members and Sarapanchs. While there is one Sarapanch for many Saora villages, at least each Saora village of an average size has a ward-member. The ward-member, being an elected leader, has emerged much more powerful than the traditional head. He is the link between the villagers and external authorities. Further, he plays an important role in distributing governmental benefits among the villagers. Moreover, being the most important vote bank of the village he has some leverage *vis-a-vis* the leaders of upper layers like M.L.A., Block Chairman and the Sarapanch. This linkage factor has made the ward-member influential at the cost of the village head.

Because of increased exposure of Saoras to the forces of modernisation like education and communication media there has taken place a significant change in the attitude and values of Saoras. Their blind beliefs are yet to disappear. But it is evident that they have been able to give up at least a few of these. Their attitudes towards authorities have similarly undergone some change. Some of them have either given up

drinking altogether or are taking less wine than they were drinking in the past. In fifties and sixties family planning was unheard of in the Saora society. However, with the passage of time, their suspicion and inhibition about it are slowly melting away. Almost in every Saora village today there are some men and women who have undergone family planning operation. They have come to believe that modern medicines are more efficacious than country medicines. In fact many of them have developed fondness for injection and tablets. This has greatly weakened the influence of the *Jani* as the village doctor. In fact, in course of interview, the *Jani* of Guar confessed that his *mantras* and medicines were no longer working and that he failed to cure last year the wife of Labanya Mandal, the ward-member of that village.

In the past age was an important variable of Saora leadership. The village leaders were invariably elderly persons whose voices carried weight. However, with the passage of time, age has lost much of its traditional importance in determining Saora leadership. Many Sarapanchs and Ward-members today are either young or middle-aged persons. Further, education and external exposure are increasingly becoming salient features of Saora leadership today. For example, Dandapani Nayak, the present Sarapanch of Tumba, served in the Navy for 15 years before he entered politics. Though a Saora he was elected uncontested. Apana Goudo, who was the Sarapanch of Tumba for nearly 20 years, did not dare contest him. His educational and naval background lent great strength to Dandapani's candidature for the post of Sarapanch. Similarly, Rusi Mala Bishoyee, the informal but effective leader of Banpur, is an educated, young Saora serving as a Peon in the office of the Tumba Development Agency.

Young and educated Saoras started entering local politics mostly during the last decade. But since long the post of M. L. A. has attracted young and educated members of the Saora community. All the Saora M. L. As. elected from Ramagiri Constituency since 1971 have been young and educated. Starting with Gorsango Sabar who has been elected thrice, other Saora M. L. As. like Chakradhara Paika and Haladhara Karjee are both educated and young. None of them, in his first attempt to become M. L. A., was more than 40. Two of them, (Paika and Karjee) have passed M. A. However, as a contrast to the post of M. L. A.

the post of Block Chairman has mostly been occupied by less educated and elderly Saoras. But, as more and more young and educated Saoras will be attracted towards politics, the hold of middle-aged and older Saoras on Blocks and Grama Panchayats will gradually decline. A common characteristic of Saora leaders at different levels is their relatively good economic background. Most of these M. L. A., Block Chairman and Sarapanchs are economically much better off than other members of the community. Good economic background, besides lending the leaders concerned prestige and influence is of much help to him at the time of election. This is in line with general trend of elite recruitment in our society.

Functions of leaders

Village elders including the village head continue to have a big say in the social, cultural and religious activities of the village, although in course of time, in these matters also the role of modern leaders is on increase. In the field of conflict-resolution, modern leaders are today much more influential than traditional leaders. The modern Saora leaders tend to accompany villagers if the latter have works with local authorities or in towns and cities. But they are yet to excel in this role. They lack necessary education, exposure and self-confidence. However, in course of time, their performance in this role will improve.

It is now difficult to find out sphere of village life which is free of the influence of modern leaders. At the beginning of the introduction of Panchayat Raj there was a clear-cut division of functions between traditional leaders and modern leaders. Day by day this compartmentalisation of functions is slowly giving into the overlapping of functions increasingly in favour of modern leaders.

Our study shows that Saora leadership is generally polymorphic. In other words, a Saora leader performs more than one function. However, in relatively more modernised villeges, Saora leaders are seen to be increasingly less polymorphic and moving towards monomorphism. It is rare, contrary to the assertion of B. Singh, that in such villeges Saora leaders have become monomorphic. The reality is that as a village moves on the modernisation path, there is a gradual decrease in the number of functions that Saora leaders had been performing since

long. But this decrease would stop some where, particularly in a backward society like Saoras' before they are confined to one function each. In other wards, even in modernised and large Saora villages, the leaders are seldom one-function men, though they are not performing as many functions as they used to do in the past.

Oligarchic Leadership

In Saora society leadership has been confined only to a few families which are usually inter-related by social bondage or some other tie. In many cases one who was the traditional leader changed over to the new leadership position or got one of his family members or close relations placed in that position. In many Saora villages both the traditional leader and new leader belong to the same family or to the same kin group. Another feature of modern leadership in Saora villages is that for years together the same man continues to stay in an elective post without any contest. Between 1967 and 1984 four Panchayat elections have been held and in the two Saora villages of Bodokurango of Tumba Grama Panchayat and Jaganathpur of Chandragiri Grama Panchayat the same persons have been elected unopposed. Chelligada, comparatively a big Saora village and located by the side of the National Highway, presents a good example of oligarchic leadership in the Saora society. From 1967 till today the Chelligada Grama Panchayat has had four Sarapanchs and all of them belong only to two families of the village. Chakradhara Paika, a member of one of these two families, was elected as M. L. A. for one term (1974 to 1977). He is M. A. in Political Science, and has a Law degree.

Besides political power, the members of the families of Saora leaders are better placed to gain other powers and benefits. They have better prospects in the job market, and they have slowly started entering business. The family of Gorsango Sabar who was a M. L. A. from Ramagiri Constituency for 3 terms between 1971 and 1984 is quite illustrative. Laxman Sabar, his elder brother, is a gazetted officer of the State Government while Petua Sabar, his younger brother, is a Contractor of the Gumma Block.

Internal Dikku

Before independence the Saoras were being exploited mostly by Pano Christians. This process continued for some years even after

independence. The implementation of developmental schemes in tribal areas created a new class of exploiters, comprising the officials of Block, Bank, Police and a few other government officers whose primary job is to help tribals in being developed. In recent years another group of exploiters has emerged on the scene. Ironically enough, they are Saoras themselves. Some Saora leaders have succeeded in enjoying a share of the spoils at the cost of their fellow members. A Saora leader may collect money from the members of his community by promising jobs and transfer and by distributing control dealership and tribal certificates. He may also join hands with clean caste leaders and officials of the area in exploiting Saoras. It has been alleged that Gorsango Sabar, an ex-M. L. A., was regularly collecting money from the local B. D. Os. and Engineers. But it is obvious that the latter were paying these amounts out of the developmental money at their disposal. Thus, in the real sense it was the money, meant for the development of Saoras, which found its way into the packets of the M. L. A.

However, in fairness to Saora leaders we may point out that misappropriating developmental fund is not their monopoly. It is an all India phenomenon and the persons involved belong to high castes as well as other castes including the depressed communities. Further, it is the higher level leaders, particularly the M. L. As. and Block Chairmen, who get a large share of such bad money and the number of the Saora M. L. As and Block Chairmen in Ganjam is very small (In the whole district there is only one Saora M. L. A. and 5 Saora Block Chairmen).

Outside Leaders

In the past the Saoras had little contact with the external world. It is the Panos living nearby who acted as mediators between them and outsiders. This pattern has, to a great extent, changed in the mean time. Many outsiders with different motivations and functions are now living in Saora areas. They include developmental functionaries like Block and Bank personnel, school teachers, doctors, contractors and the activists of voluntary agencies. Apart from delivering some immediate benefits to Saoras, they are helping, directly or indirectly in increasing their awareness, efficiency and participation. In the long run the latter benefits may prove to be much more productive than what they get in the form of money. Of these persons the school teachers stay closest to

Saoras. Because of day to day contact and physical proximity Saoras regard the school teacher as their main adviser on village matters as well as political and developmental issues. To a lesser extent, this is also true of other external actors whose success in terms of winning the confidence of Saoras significantly depends on their individual character and functioning style.

The external actors living in Saora areas have not been an unmixed blessing. Some of them have turned out to be exploiters of tribals. They try to earn wealth by taking advantage of the ignorance and illiteracy of tribals. In this respect, the worst offenders are the school teachers and Block officials. Many teachers draw salary for months without attending schools. The officials of Education Department whose job is to supervise these teachers close their eyes primarily because they have a share in the booty. A large part of the developmental money, thus, goes to the pockets of the elected leaders and officials of the Block and other related departments.

Ethnic Tension

If two Saora leaders, competing against each other happen to belong to two different sub-groups, their fight is likely to take ethnic character. The contest between Gorsango Sabar, the Congress candidate, and Chakradhara Paika, an opposition candidate, was of this type. The Lanjia Saora voters tended to vote for Gorsango Sabar who is a Lanjia Saora, and Suddha Saoras generally cast their votes for Chakradhara Paika who is a Suddha Saora⁷. As Lanjia Saoras are much more numerous than Suddha Saoras, Gorsango Sabar more than his opponent tried to exploit this ethnic factor. A similar trend was repeated in the last Assembly election, though with a difference. The non-Lanjia Saoras including Suddha Saoras, Bhimo Saoras and Jurei Saoras backed Haladhara⁸ Karjee who is a Jurei Saora. But unlike in the past Gorsango failed to get most of the votes of Lanjia Saoras. Kirtan Sabar, a Lanjia Saora, is the influential Chairman of Gumma Block. Being unhappy with the failure of Gorsango Sabar to sincerely work for his constituency Kirtan revolted against him and succeeded in persuading a large number of Saora voters to side with Haladhara Karjee. Thus, ethnicity is potentially an important factor of Saora leadership, but its potency would decline in some situations.

New Mood

For Legislative Assembly seats there is reservation for Harijans and Tribals. But for the post of Sarapanch and Panchayat Samiti Chairman there is no such reservation. In Ganjam district only one Assembly seat (Ramagiri) is reserved for tribals. As the local tribals happen to be Saoras, it is always a Saora who has been representing this constituency in the Assembly from the beginning. Many Saoras also live in other Assembly constituencies like Parlakhemundi, Mohana and Chikiti. But so far no Saora leader has ever dared to contest in the Assembly election in any of these three constituencies.

In the initial stage of the establishment of the Panchyati Raj in Orissa influential clean caste persons were nominated as Chairmen of some Panchayat Samities though most of the local people were Saoras. Even after these posts were contested the Saoras did not have courage to offer themselves as candidates. However, in course of time, the pattern has changed and some of these Panchayat Samities have today Saoras as Chairmen. An illuminating example of the assertiveness on the part of Saoras is Gumma Panchayat Samiti. From 1961 to 1984 Gumma Block had always a clean caste Chairman belonging to either the Bishoyee family of Gumma or the Bishoyee family of Gaiba (During British time the Bishoyees of Gumma and Gaiba were the local rulers). However, in 1984 Kirtan Sabar, who for a long time was the Sarapanch of Kolakote Panchayat of Gumma block, declared his candidature for the post of Block Chairman. He was so popular and so sure of winning that neither Gumma Bishoyee nor Gaiba Bishoyee had courage to contest him. This cleared the way for the unopposed victory of Kirtan Sabar. Today in four other Panchayat Samities of Parlakhemundi Sub-division Saoras are holding the posts of Chairmen. As said earlier in some Grampanchayats which for a long time had clean caste Sarapanchs, young and educated Saoras have been elected as Sarapanchs. A case in point is Dandapani Nayak, the Sarapanch of Tumba.

Conclusion

Saoras are changing. So is their leadership structure. The powers and Prestige of traditional leaders are on wane, while those of modern leaders are on increase, although it is not strictly a zero-sum game. In the new power structures

that have emerged at different levels after Independence, all of those located even in Saora areas are not fully controlled by Saoras. Many of these are dominated by clean caste people. It is only a few Saora elites like M. L. A. or a few Panchayat Samiti Chairmen who exercise some powers. Most of other modern Saora leaders at the Grama Panchayat and village levels have powers more in name than in practice. They are generally content with their official designation and marginal benefits. Their ignorance, poverty and long-existing fear for outsiders greatly inhibit them from asserting themselves. However, their diffidence would tend to be overcome by education, higher post and long tenure of office. While education enables a Saora leader to be familiar with rules and regulations, and to communicate himself better, long tenure gives him confidence to assert himself. A higher elective post provides a Saora leader with ample powers to assert himself *vis-a-vis* Government officials and clean caste leaders. Educated Saoras are slowly being attracted towards politics although their number, to date, is very small.

Except a few at the higher level of power structure, Saora leaders, in general, have very limited view of the world around them. They are familiar with the names of Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi. But they do not know any other name at the centre. They are ignorant of Biju Patnaik, an Ex-Chief Minister and Janaki Ballav Patnaik, the present Chief Minister of Orissa. They remember the name of their local M. L. A., although many of them have not seen or talked to him. One Naib-Sarapanch, Bhimo Saora by caste, said, "Rajiv Gandhi is the Chief Minister of Orissa". They have little idea about the political dynamics at different levels.

The Saora leaders are aware of the poverty and backwardness of Saoras. But development to them mostly means getting Government loan for buying bullocks and goats, to start small business or to reclaim land. They possess little knowledge of perspective, objectives and strategy of tribal development.

Though they are aware of large-scale pilferage of developmental funds by Government officials, they, in general, lack courage and articulation to protest against this. On the other hand, some of them have shown the tendency of themselves pocketing a part of this money in league with these officials. Having realised that in Indian democracy number matters in power-game, they have started challenging the traditional monopoly of clean caste leaders in local power structures. But they are yet to develop the required consciousness, motivation and courage to make serious efforts for the removal of poverty, ignorance and exploitation of Saoras.

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GENESIS OF LAND REFORMS IN ORISSA

G. Mohanty

We need food and production of food depends upon Land Management. The Land Management is the system of rights and obligations of holders of land. There is close connection between the features of the present land system and the efficiency of agricultural production. The latter cannot materially improve unless changes/references are made to the former.

We have to understand the land system/land tenure problem prevailing in Orissa before we come to know the land reforms movement.

Land is held as one of the three major systems:—

- (a) The permanently settled estate system
- (b) The temporarily settled estate system and.
- (c) The ryotwari system

Apart from these three major systems there are also number of minor systems. The total area under the latter system, however, is only a small proportion of the area under the farmers. The revenue was fixed in perpetuity under permanently settled estate system. But it is revisable under the other two systems. The unit that is the manner of settlement of revenue distinguishes ryotwari system from other.

Under the ryotwari system the revenue was fixed on individual pieces of land. The actual occupants having a permanent and heritable right of occupancy, became liable for its payment. Under the latter the estate was the unit and the holders of the estate were commonly called the proprietors. They might not be the actual occupant of the land but they became responsible for the payment of the land revenue. The actual occupants were not however all tenants at will.

Usually the occupant of the soil is entitled to remain in possession from generation to generation, provided he pays the customary dues either to the sovereign power or to the person recognised by that power as entitled to receive such payments. At the time of original settlements, therefore, a large proportion of the occupied lands in the majority of the estates was held by persons who had a permanent and heritable right to occupy and cultivate the land, subject to the payment of the customary rent. Many legislative measures have however, been passed during the last 100 years confirming and extending this right of occupancy. This has vested the permanent and heritable rights on many tenants.

For every piece of land, there is one occupancy right-holder. He is called a ryot under the ryotwari system, while under the other systems, he is sometimes described as a ryot and sometimes as a tenant. Fundamentally, their rights are the same i.e. they hold their lands on a permanent and heritable tenure. In general, they also possess unrestricted rights of transfer though this may vary in some cases.

The occupancy right holder under the ryotwari system pays land revenue to the Government while he under the two other systems pays rent to the proprietor of the estate. Both the payments are similar in character i.e. they are not determined on a purely contractual basis. Under the ryotwari system as well as the temporarily settled estate system, the amount of these payments is fixed at settlements carried out periodically by Government. The payments due on lands held under the permanently settled estate system are settled differently. The original basis of the level of rents under this system

was custom, modified partly by contract in the past and largely by legislation regulating the conditions under which rents may be altered.

In three coastal districts of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore we had the features of permanent settlement of Bengal and some other special tenures. They are proprietors of estates, directly responsible to the State for the revenue of the land they owned revenue free proprietors holding the Lands free owned of revenue in perpetuity, Sub-proprietors, tenure holders and Rayats, Chandandars, Zagir holders and under Rayats. In Puri district 2 classes of Laulraj or revenue free land were in the district. The first class included the land originally earmarked for the support of Brahmins, grants to medicants and other poor Hindu and Khusbush. The class consisted of mainly Debottar Land owned by temple, idol, monasatry. The most important of the revenue free proprietors were the Zagir Mahals of Malud and Parikud and the endowment of Jagannath Temple. There were Zagir holders namely carpenters, barbers, washerman, etc. There were number of Zagirs namely Grama Sevak Zagir, Sarbarakari zagir, Kumbhar zagir, Anugraha zagir, etc. In some places lands were given on Sanja basis.

The land revenue administration in Sambalpur district was of two Groups, namely Khalsa and Zamindari. The Khalsa indicates the land held directly from Government but does not include the land belonging to the zamindari and the reserve forests. There were five classes of proprietors in the Khalsa with varying degree of proprietary interests. They were the Gauntias, Malguzars, Bhogra Bhogis, Malik Makbuza and Brahmotar. The Zamindaris were service tenure held on payment of a small tribute called Takoli subject to the condition that the proprietors were bound to render military service when required. Thakedars had the right to collect rent for the Zamindars from the tenants, manage the village and enjoy the homefarm land of village. The Maufidars were either relations of the Zamindar or his former servant, who held land free of rent.

In Koraput district there was ryotwari system and mustajari system. Under the ryotwari system a Demand register is maintained for each village showing ryot's holding and the rent due from him. The Mustajari system is the Gaontiahi system. A Mustajar was an agent for collection of rent. He was remunerated by rent free land called 'Hetha Bhumi, or a percentage of collection.

In Dhenkanal State, there was no zamindari; the State, dealt directly with tenants. There were large number of tenure holders of Debottar, Brahmottar and Zagir.

There was also no zamindari in Phulbani State. Many whole villages were held under Debottar, Brahmottar, Khorakposak (maintenance), Jhutapan (spittle) and other grants. The Sarbarakars were collecting land revenue and were responsible for the revenue of the whole village.

In Balangir, there was Gauntia system. Gauntia tenures, Umrahs, Maufi tenures, Bhogras tenures, Pattidars and sub-pattidars. The Umrahs were middlemen between the State and Thicadars holding their tenures on a Kabuliyat for a particular period.

In Sundergarh district, there were zamindari, Kharposh (maintenance grants), Parganadar, Debottar, Brahmottar, Naukaran (service tenure), Head Ganjuani, Ganjhuan, Gaontiahi and Sikmi Gaontiahi. The village headman in the Munda area of Sundergarh were called Ganjhus. Their place was next in importance to Pargandars. The Ganjhus collected rents, paid them to the treasury and in lieu of it enjoyed Bhogra free land.

Similarly in Mayurbhanj district, Zamindari system prevailed. It was reported that Kharia Zamindars paid tribute to the Chief of Mayurbhanj in kind, in shape of honey, pulses, birds, etc. whereas the Bhuyan and Dharua zamindars paid small sum annually. Bhogra Zamindars were collecting rent of Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 from every village according to its size and the tax was called Duarbandi. The Paiks were engaged to make door to door collection.

In the pre-British era the Sarbarakars, Gaontias realised revenue from the tenants, paid half of the revenue as 'Peshakush' to the Ruling Chief, retaining the rest for themselves. Each maintained a small militia composed of Chuars and Khandaits who were called Paiks. The Paiks fought for the Chief during the war, but during the peace time they helped the Sarbarakars in collection of revenue. They enjoyed zagir lands in lieu of their service. The village headman was called Padhan and he owed his allegiance to the Sarbarakars.

After British take over the powers of Sarbarakars and their militia were curbed. They were replaced by Sardara in change of

each pragona or pir, and Paiks were discarded. Zagir lands enjoyed by them were resumed as Kothchas' land. Sardars collected rent, exercised some power of police including investigation of criminal cases in lieu of 10 to 15 per cent collection made from the Padhans.

Cash rents are common features and in many cases produce rent was paid, which is of two kinds. The commonest form is known as Dhulibag which implies equal division of the by-products as well as grain. The second form is known as Sanja (contract) under which a fixed quantity of produce is paid. Payment of half the produce or its commuted value practically leaves to the cultivator less than his bare subsistence requirements. This prompted the Government to restore better rights and privileges on the tenants to bring about land reform which is linked up with food production.

The Orissa Land Revenue and Land Tenure Committee was constituted in 1946 to recommend legislative and other measures making "the incidence of land revenue or rent, as the case may be, as far as possible, uniform, equitable and elastic" as the dues paid by the ryots in ryotwari areas and zamindari areas varied very widely.

The Committee held that land belongs to the Community which has always the right to regulate it in its own interest. The majority of the committee stood for total abolition of intermediary interests and a minority wanted its radical reform. The committee however feared that "any reforms of the land revenue and land tenure system would give rise to serious difficulties in the political and financial fields". The committee recommended that the State Government should have a Land Reforms Department under a Land Reforms Commissioner who will be responsible for the implementation of the scheme. A comprehensive Orissa Land Management and Local Government Bill should be prepared and passed to provide division of the State into new administrative areas to be known as Anchals. There will be an Anchal Shasan which will consist of an elected Sabha, called the Anchal Sabha and an Executive Officer to be called the Anchal Sarvadhikari. The Committee recommended that the State Government should take up interest in land and handing it over to the local authorities for cultivation by agriculturists without any intermediaries. This Anchal Sarvadhikari will work under the general control and supervision of the Provincial

Land Reforms Commissioner. The Province will be divided into suitable parts each consisting of one or more villages which will together yielding land revenue ranging from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 5,000. The object is to create suitable areas for revenue collection and for the election of G. Ps. in each such revenue unit. There will be one village officer for each such area and the Anchal Sarvadhikari will be responsible for making all arrangements for organising the G. P. and the Anchal Sabha, and also for making over all responsibilities of this new system of local Government. The constitution and proceedings of these Anchal Sabha will generally be on the lines of Central Provinces Local Self-Government Act of 1948 with certain variations to suit the local conditions. In the second stage of the reforms, the Anchal Sabha will begin to function as part of the Anchal Shasan. Then all the various local Self-Government Acts will be deemed to have been replaced except the Orissa G. P. Act 1948. The property of the local bodies will vest in the Anchal Shasan which will be allocated by the Land Reforms Commissioner. Thus, it is proposed to de-provincialise land revenue which means that in future it will be collected and expanded locally with the exception of an amount allocated to the State Government.

The Anchal Sabha will realise from the ryots Deshbhag or Deshkara in the place of Rajbhag/rent or land revenue which is now payable to Government or Zamindar. But this Deshbhag will not be the first charge on land and land will not be attached for arrears of rent. It will be assessed on the whole body of cultivators or ryots including dispossessed proprietors holding land as ryots, in a particular village and will be realised from them collectively through the G. P. In the case of persistent failure of a ryot to pay, the G. P. will be competent to take over the land under their Khas management and return it to the ryot after recovering arrear dues from the usufruct unless in the meantime the defaulter pays them off. The balance of the usufruct, after meeting the cost of production and management and the arrear dues, will be payable to the ryot. The G. P. will get a commission of 15 per cent of the Deshbhag of the village from the Anchal Shasan and will be bound to maintain the collection staff prescribed by the latter.

If the Anchal Sabha passes a resolution for the collection of Deshbhag in kind and the majority of gram sabha endorse the same meetings specially convened for the purpose, the deshbhag will be collected in kind in the whole of that Anchal at the rate of 1/6th of the gross produce of the principal food grains raised or capable of being raised on the lands. It will be collected in the principal foodgrains of the Anchal.

The tenant who has been protected against ejection from any land under the Orissa Tenants Protection Act, 1948 will be entitled to acquire the rights of the ryot in respect of that land on payment to ryot of a consideration not exceeding four times the value of the average annual gross produce of the land during the preceding ten years. If the protected tenant, does not exercise the above right within a period of 5 years from the commencement of the second stage of reforms he will not be entitled to exercise the right after that period.

The Committee suggested payment of Mallikana, i. e. compensation to be paid to the proprietors, tenure-holders and other person whose rights of possession and management of the estate were extinguished. They will be entitled to receive Mallikana to be paid annually and the perpetuity from the Anchal fund. Mallikana will be granted on such average income from 20 per cent incomes not exceeding Rs. 1,000 to 7½ per cent for incomes exceeding Rs. 5.00 lakhs. Inams and revenue free estates will get Mallikana in a different scale of 60 per cent incomes not exceeding Rs. 500, 50 per cent for incomes not exceeding Rs. 1,000 and 40 per cent for incomes exceeding Rs. 1,000—.

The committee also recommended prohibition of sub-letting of agricultural lands except in the case of widows, minors, idiots, lunatics, invalids or persons suffering from blindness, prisoners in jail or persons in the military, naval or air force of the country who have no member in their family to cultivate the lands on their behalf. But when it is possible to grow a second subsidiary crop, either the ryot, or failing him the G. P. can sub-let the land for not more than one season on a rent not exceeding twice the amount of deshbhag payable for that land.

Religious endowments and trusts can create and continue the present service tenures under

them to the extent considered necessary by the G. P. subject to the approval of the Anchal Sarvadhikari. The committee also recommended proposals for prevention of fragmentation of holdings. Steps have also been suggested to prevent the lands from lying fallow. If the ryot allows land to lie fallow for a continuous period of 2 years, except for reasons beyond his right control, therein would be extinguished and the G.P. will dispose the land subject to the rules of pre-emption, or in the alternative, arrange to get it cultivated by *bona fide* co-operative farming societies on terms considered reasonable by the G. P.

According to a sample survey, 79.2 per cent of the total cultivating families cultivate less than six acres and 45.9 per cent of the cultivating families cultivate less than 2 acres.

Shri N. K. Choudhury, was the Chairman of the above said committee. Soon after in 1950, the Orissa Estates Abolition Bill was submitted to the State Assembly, when he was the Chief Minister of Orissa and was referred to Select Committee. The bill after being passed by the Assembly, received the assent of the President in January, 1952. This act is modelled more or less on the lines of the report of the land revenue and land tenure committee. But the Mallikana scheme as suggested by the Committee do not find place in the Act. Under the Act, compensation to the dispossessed intermediaries will be in multiples of their net income and "may be paid in cash or in bonds of guaranteed face value at maturity within a period not exceeding 30 years as may be prescribed or partly in cash and partly in such bonds shall be either negotiable or not negotiable and shall carry interest at 2½ per cent per annum with effect from such date as the State Government may direct". Then the landlords started legal proceeding against acquisition of their estates and the work, had, therefore, to be held up. The Orissa Estates Abolition (Amendment) Bill, 1952 received the assent of the President in August, 1952 and the notifications were issued soon after. In December 1952, Jeypore Estate in Orissa with an area of 10,000 Sq. miles and an income of Rs. 27.00 lakhs one of the biggest zamindaries in Orissa, vested in the State. Simultaneously, notifications vesting the estates of Kotapad, Salimi and Pachipenta were also issued. All these four estates were put under one Anchal, the Koraput Anchal. The process of

acquisition in Orissa thus proceeded apace and the last of Orissa's big permanently settled estates, the Rajgi of Kanika with an area of 440 Sq. miles and an income of Rs. 5.00 lakhs vested in the State in November, 1953.

In September 1953, the Government of Orissa decided to create a 'Zamindari Abolition Fund'. The then Finance Minister informed State Assembly that Government collected Rs. 65,21,400 towards land revenue, forests, mines, ferries and excise dues for 1645 vested estates. Earlier the former Zamindars of these 1645 estates were paying Rs. 15,21,400 to the Government. This extra income of Rs. 50,00,000 thus derived from the management of these estates was transferred to the 'Zamindari Abolition Funds' to meet all the expenditure connected with the administration of the Zamindars taken

over and the payment of compensation to the excluded Zamindars.

The non-cooperative and obstructionist attitude of the Zamindars and absence of suitable administrative machinery for implementation of O. E. A. Act delayed the process. According to a report from Puri in December 1953, all Zamindars and other intermediaries of the district numbering about 850 vested with Government nearly a month back. But due to lack of sufficient staff in the District Office notices on half of the former estate holders could not be served. As a result the Anchal Sarvadhikaris could not proceed with the task of taking over charge of papers and documents. In any cases reports of indiscriminate felling of trees in these Zamindari areas are being heard. Tenants in mufassil could not know whether to pay bhag to Government or Zamindar.

PART II

In Part-I, I have discussed the problem of land tenure i. e., the legal or customary system under which the land is owned and the introduction of most revolutionary Act i. e., the Orissa Estate Abolition Act, 1951 in the post-independence era. The problems of land tenancy i. e. the system under which the land is actually cultivated and the way in which the produce is shared between the owner and the cultivator are to be discussed along with a brief discussion on the Estate Abolition Act.

The Orissa Estate Abolition Act, 1951 envisages abolition of all interests in between the State and the actual tiller of the soil in order to secure distribution of socio-economic benefits for all. Interests of service tenure holders who held land under the intermediaries have also simultaneously been abolished. The community service tenure in the Estates which were protected under section 8 (2) of the Orissa Estate Abolition Act whose abolition was not considered appropriate at the time of enactment of the Orissa Estate Abolition Act continued as such under the State Government and the Zagir holders were allowed to hold the land under the State Government subject to such terms and conditions as they were entitled to before the date of vesting. These zagirs were a legacy of

the past and most of them have outlived their utility. Government had abolished them by enactment of the Orissa Estate Abolition (Amendment) Act, 1986 which would enable the Zagir holders to obtain raiyati right on the land held by them.

The consequences of the Estate Abolition Act may be summarised as below—

1. Raiyats under the estates are brought directly under the State Government.
2. Personal service tenure holders are given raiyati right in the lands held by them before the abolition except in case of religious and charitable estates of public nature (trust estates) who are allowed to retain the personal service tenure holders under them as before.
3. Homestead lands and home farm lands in possession of ex-intermediaries on the date of abolition are settled with them in raiyati status on payment of fair and equitable rent. Besides they are paid compensation on a graduated scale as provided in the Act. Trusts of public nature, however, are allowed some additional benefits in view of their importance besides

being allowed retention of personal service tenures under them. Additional benefits allowed to them are—

(a) Settlement of tanks and waste lands which were used for religious purpose immediately before abolition of estates on recommendation by the Endowment Commissioner, Weekly Board or Collector.

(b) Settlement of buildings and land (not tenant ridden) as the Government may decide for efficient management of the trusts.

4. Temporary leases of large estates exceeding 33 acres in area are brought under the Government and are latter enabled to acquire permanent and heritable right on their land under the provisions of Orissa Land Reform Act, 1960 except these under the trust estates constituting temples, public and charitable institutions.

5. Temporary leases of small estates are allowed to continue as before under their erst-while land-holders. Such tenants and temporary leases are also enabled to acquire permanent and heritable right at par with their counterparts in the large estates under the provisions of O. L. R. Act.

In 1956, Government decided that whole-time Director of Land Reforms should be appointed to control the day to day administration of the vested estates to plan out vesting unvested estates and to take preliminary action, in respect of measures to be adopted for comprehensive land reforms, fixation of ceiling on land holdings, consolidation of holdings etc. A Directorate of Land Reforms was then, organised as a part of the Board of Revenue.

Powers of disposing of cases under Sections 6, 7, 8 of the Act had been delegated to Anchal Adhikaris so as to ensure their prompt disposal. Even though they finalised quite number of cases, many of them remained pending in appeal before the District Collectors.

The original Act provided that the vested estates would be managed by Anchal Sasans consisting of the Anchal Sabha and the Anchal Adhikari. The Anchal administration was not perfect. There was defects in the system. In the meantime, the Orissa Anchal Sasan Act, 1955 was passed. This Act clearly defined the powers, duties and functions of the Anchal Sasan, the Anchal Sabha and the Anchal Adhikari have envisaged that not only the

land revenue administration but also the local development administration should be given over to the Anchal Sasan. But the Government did not enforce the provisions of Anchal Sasan and accordingly the Act was amended.

Towards 1955, a number of Anchals were reorganised and only staff as were found suitable were retained in service. The scale of pay admissible to similar employees under the Government were then made available to them. For collection of rent and remaining in charge of the administration at village level, Naib-Tahasildars were appointed. In 1957, the Act was amended to provide that these Anchals should be managed as Government estates or Raiyatwari tracts. This brought about a significant change in the administration from the 15th November, 1957. With the introduction of the Khasmahal pattern of administration the responsibility for administration of these vested estates had to be reoriented and all the the Departments of Government had to be associated with it. The Anchal Adhikaris redesignated as Tahasildars thereafter remained responsible only for the revenue and general administration and then tahasils were reorganised to facilitate the administration.

In the year 1963 Chapter II-A was inserted in the Act with the intention to make special arrangements for efficient management of the public religious and charitable endowments. By insertion of Chapter-II-A, the trust estates were protected from vesting in Government.

Government as a matter of Policy decided to abolish land revenue from the 1st April 1967 so as to afford relief to the raiyats and tenants. Accordingly the Orissa Land Revenue (Abolition) Act, 1970 was enforced with effect from the 1st April 1967. The tenants under the trust estates were however not allowed such concession. Government felt it expedient to extend the benefit of abolition of land revenue as well as other concessions granted to the tenants under them from time to time to tenants under the trust estates. It was, therefore, decided to abolish all the trust estates under the direct control of Government. Accordingly, Chapter-II-A of the Orissa Estates Abolition Act, 1951 protecting the trust estates from the purview of vesting was repealed under the Orissa Estates Abolition (Amendment) Act, 1970. Subsequently the trust estates were vested in the Government in the year 1974.

Government have already recognised the ex-rulers, their kinsmen and dependants as raiyats in respects of the private lands held in their khas possession and in possession of temporary tenants under them with effect from the 6th June 1958 i. e. the date of commencement of O. P. L. R. (Assessment of Rent), Act, 1958 and they have also been exempted from payment of rent assessed on such lands for the period during which the land revenue was abolished in the State under section 3(1) of the Orissa Land Revenue (Abolition) Act, 1970 since they have already been recognised as raiyats.

Pre-vesting and post-vesting transfers of the private lands like Kharja and Kharposh lands made by the ex-rulers have been recognised by Government. Since the ex-ruler is recognised as a raiyat, his interest in his hand is heritable and transferable. The post vesting the pre-vesting transferees under them are also recognised and they are automatically eligible to get the rights of transfer and given the status of the raiyats in respect of such of the private lands which were in the khas possession and possession of temporary tenants of the ex-rulers.

ABOLITION OF VILLAGE OFFICERS

The village officers may be broadly divided in two categories namely (i) those charged with police duties and (ii) the others engaged in collection of rent. The second category of village officers were mainly found in the ex-State areas (merged territories).

Village police officers known as Choukidars have been abolished under the Orissa Officers of Village Police (Abolition) Act, 1964. Zagir lands held by the village police officers have been settled with them on raiyat basis. In cases where a village officers was discharging function of a village priest (like Jhankar, Kale, etc.) 50 per cent of the Zagir land was allowed to be held by him as zagir as before and the other 50 per cent resumed and settled with the holders or his successor-in-interest.

The village officers engaged in collection of rent may be categorise as under:—

- (a) Hereditary village officers,
- (b) Non-hereditary village officers, and
- (c) Village officers in unsurveyed 'agency' areas of Ganjam and Phulbani districts.

Hereditary village officers like Karjis and Karans existed only in the district of Ganjam and these were abolished under the Orissa

Hereditary Village Offices (Abolition) Act, 1962. The non-hereditary or near hereditary village officers like Gountias and Sarbarakars were abolished in the first stage through executive orders and later by enactment of the Orissa Merged Territories (Village Officers Abolition) Act, 1963. The village officers in the agency areas in the districts of Ganjam and Phulbani have been abolished under Ganjam and Boudh (Village Officers Abolition) Act, 1969. The provisions of this Act were similar to those of the Orissa Merged Territories (Village Officers Abolition) Act, 1963.

TENANCY REFORMS

Systematic efforts for protecting tenants interests were made with enactment of different laws at different times. Orissa was separated from Bengal and was formed a separate province along with Bihar and Orissa. The Orissa Tenancy Act, 1913 which contained the principles of Bengal Tenancy Act, 1835 were in force in Cuttack, Puri and Balasore districts. But Sambalpur District which was transferred to Orissa in 1905 from Central Provinces was governed by Central Provinces Land Revenue Act, 1881 and the Central Provinces Tenancy Act, 1893. In 1891, Angul with Khondamals was formed into a district and Angul district Regulation, 1894 was brought into force in the said area. The Angul Laws Regulation, 1913 repealed the regulation of 1894 and in force till 1936.

Orissa was made a separate State on 1st April 1936. Different Tenancy laws were in operation in different newly formed parts of Orissa State viz. Madras Estates Land Act, 1903 in Ganjam and Koraput districts and Balliguda Subdivision, Angul Laws Regulation, 1936 and Khondamals Laws Regulation 1936 in Angul and Kondhamals, Central Provinces Law Revenue Act, 1917 and Central Province Tenancy Act, 1920 in Sambalpur, 1917 and 1920 Acts in Nawapara Subdivision, Orissa Tenancy Act in Cuttack, Puri and Balasore districts. On the 1st January 1948, 25 princely States namely Athagarh, Athamallick, Bamra, Baramba, Boudh, Bonai, Daspalla, Dhenkanal, Gangpur, Hindol, Kalahandi, Keonjhar, Khandapara, Kharasuan, Narasinghpur, Nayagarh, Nilagiri Pallahara, Patna, Rai-akhhol, Ranpur, Sareikala, Sonapur, Telchar and Tigiria merged in Orissa. In May, 1948 Sareikala and Kharsuan were again transferred to Bihar and on the 1st January 1949 Mayurbhanj

was merged with Orissa. The new Orissa had about 32 laws and tenancy systems in force in its different parts.

Government of Orissa passed legislations for regulating the tenancy system in different spells. They are:—

(i) The Orissa Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1946 which confers occupancy right on non-occupancy ryots, under ryots, service-tenure holders, etc. in respect of their homestead lands.

(ii) The Orissa Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1947 under which Subdivision of holdings by metes and bounds becomes binding on the landlord to accept.

(iii) The Madras Estates Land (Orissa Second Amendment) Act, 1946 which conferred occupancy right on tenants in whole inam village (Inam estates).

(iv) The Madras Estates Land (Orissa Amendment) Act, 1947, which empowered Government to fix fair and equitable rent in the proprietary estates of South Orissa where rents were abnormally high.

(v) The Orissa Tenancy (Second Amendment) Act, 1947 which conferred occupancy right on Chandnaders in respect of their home stead lands.

(vi) The Orissa Communal, Forest and Private Lands (Prohibition of Alienation) Act, 1948, prevents landlords from alienating certain classes of lands on the eve of the abolition of zamindaries without the previous permission of the Collector. This has specially benefited the cultivating tenants on the private lands of the zamindars.

(vii) The Orissa Tenants Protection Act, 1948, gives temporary protection to under-tenants against eviction and fixes the rate of produce rent payable by them.

(viii) The Orissa Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1948, makes provision for reservation of adequate communal lands in a village.

(ix) The Orissa Tenants Protection (Amendment) Act, 1947 makes provision for division of hay and subsidiary crops between under-tenants and landlords.

(x) Orissa Acts 13 and 15 of 1953 were passed in the year 1953 to amend the Central Provinces Tenancy Laws prevalent in Sambalpur district. These Acts were further amended, as Acts 14 and 17 of 1956. Subsequently they were amended by Orissa Acts 14 and 15 of 1958 which bestowed all the rights with the

occupancy tenants of Sambalpur district which occupancy raiyats in other areas of the State had been enjoying for a long time.

(xi) The Orissa Tenants Relief Act was passed in the year 1955 which repealed the Orissa Tenant Protection Act, 1948. This Act intended to prevent large scale eviction on tenants from actual cultivation of land and conferred certain rights on them.

(xii) In order to ensure effective protection to the Scheduled Tribe of scheduled areas in the enjoyment of their land and other immovable property the Orissa Scheduled Areas transfer of immovable property (By Scheduled Tribe) Regulation 2 of 1956 was passed. This regulation repealed that provisions of the Agency tracts interest and land Transfer Act, 1917 that was applicable to Ganjam agency and to the district of Koraput which are scheduled areas. The regulation also applies to other scheduled areas namely Sundargarh, Mayurbhanj and Khondmals district. The regulation provides that transfer of immovable property by a member of Schedule Tribe shall be absolutely null and void unless made in favour of another member of a Schedule Tribe or with the previous consent in writing of the Collector or any other competent authority. No surrender or relinquishment of any holding or part thereof by any tenant belonging to a Scheduled Tribe in favour of his landlord is valid unless it has been approved by the Collector.

All these Acts enacted by Government of Orissa to bring about reformation in tenancy laws could not redress the grievances of the tillers of the soil. At the national level, guidelines were issued by the Planning Commission for introducing comprehensive land reforms and the Government of Orissa appointed a Committee on the 11th December 1957 to consider and suggest measures in conformity with the recommendations and observations given by the Planning Commission in their Second Five-Year Plan. On receipt of the recommendations of the Committee, the Orissa Tenants Land Reform Bill was placed before the legislation and the Land Reforms Act, 1960 was enacted. This legislation unified all the tenancy systems of the State which conferred raiyati rights on the tenants and fixed a ceiling limit on land to be held by a person/family. Thus this Act brought about a revolution in the policy of Land Management, which will be discussed in Part III.

TRAINING NEEDS OF TRIBAL WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE

B. N. Dash
B. K. Mohapatra
and
S. N. Das

Introduction

For survival on the earth both men and women used to grow crops. Participation of women in agriculture is as old as domestication of crop in the earth. Our present planning gives much attention for participation of women in agriculture and allied sectors. After a long period it has been felt that not only farmers but also farm women are equally concerned with field activities for substantial improvement of agriculture.

Women constitute half of the population in our country. Their contribution in Socio-economic development particularly in rural-cum-tribal sector is vital. Out of 30 million women work force, 20 million live in rural areas. No doubt their contribution towards economic growth of the society is quite substantial but their involvement in discharging domestic and economic activities hardly gets any due recognition. As per 1931 census 49.6 per cent women are working as agricultural labourers against 24.3 per cent of male. In view of their increasing share in population the national planning on agriculture can hardly ignore their importance.

Generally women are closely associated with kitchen garden, homesanitation, childcare, management of domestic animals and other social functions. Participation of women in field operation is conditioned by their social status, economic soundness, caste and educational attainment.

It is normally observed that women participation in agriculture increases with decrease in socio-economic status. The responsibility of women towards planning and execution of farm activities can not be ignored as they constitute integral part of the farming system.

It is necessary to improve the technical skills particularly who remain in rural-tribal areas. By improving their skills they can be able to earn their livelihood in a better way and create remunerative ventures.

In this context training is an important input for re-orienting the women folk at various levels of policies, programmes effective functioning and strengthening of technical skills for better employment. Training also provides a sense of purpose to promote extensive and broadbased development of initiative among the trainees. This generates self confidence and beliefs in the efficacy and self help.

An attempt has been made to find out the training needs of tribal farm women taking the following objectives in view.

Objectives

1. To ascertain the major areas in which tribal women need training in agriculture and allied sectors.

2. To find out relationship between personnel factors and training needs of tribal farm women.
3. Suggestions as developmental strategy to overcome the problem.

Pambha and Sundaraba are situated in Bhanjanagar and R. Udayagiri Blocks respectively. A multiple random sampling procedure was followed to select the blocks and villages. Respondents are selected at random and interviewed with the help of structured schedule.

Methodology

The study "Training needs of Tribal women in Agriculture" was conducted in two blocks of Ganjam districts. The two villages namely

The data collected were processed and analysed through simple statistical test to reveal the following results.

SELECTION OF SAMPLE

The selection of villages and respondents appear in Table-I

TABLE-I

Block	Name of the village	Total farm-families	No. of families selected	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1. Bhanjanagar ..	Rambha ..	150	60	40.00
2. R. Udayagiri ..	Sundaraba ..	60	30	50.00
Total	..	210	90	42.85

TABLE-II

Classification of respondents according to Landholding

Land size	Categories	Sample	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
No Land ..	Landless ..	33	36.66
0—2.5 ..	Marginal ..	48	53.33
2.5—5.0 ..	Small ..	9	10.00
Above 5.0 ..	Large ..	..	00.00
Total	..	90	100.00

The population was classified as per the criteria of the State Government, On the basis of landholdings 33.66 per cent of tribal women are landless, 53.33 per cent are marginal farmers and 10.00 per cent are small farmers and non of the tribal women comes under large farmers group.

TABLE III
Training Aspirations in Farm Operations

Operations (1)	L. L. (2)	M. F. (3)	S. F. (4)	Total (5)
Land preparation ..	4 (11.76)	25 (73.52)	5 (14.70)	34 (100.00)
Transplanting ..	16 (29.09)	35 (63.63)	4 (11.76)	55 (100.00)
Application of manures and fertilisers	3 (15.00)	15 (75.00)	2 (10.00)	20 (100.00)
Plant protection measures ..	2 (25.00)	4 (50.00)	2 (25.00)	8 (100.00)
Grain for storage purpose ..	26 (32.50)	46 (57.50)	8 (10.00)	80 (100.00)
Grain for seed purpose ..	16 (25.80)	40 (64.51)	6 (9.67)	62 (100.00)
Kitchen gardening ..	15 (37.50)	20 (50.00)	5 (12.50)	40 (100.00)
Percentage Mean average ..	25.23	62.02	13.37	100.00

(Figure in parenthesis indicate raw percentage)

N. B.: L. L. — Landless, M. F. —Marginal Farmer, S. F.—Small Farmer

Generally people preserve grains after due processing for consumption or marketing purpose. Table III reveals that tribal housewives are more interested for training in operation like grains for storage purpose, keeping grains for seed purposes, transplanting, kitchen gardening, land preparation, application of manures and fertilisers, and plant protection measures in order of merit. Out of three categories of tribal women M.F.W. expressed more interest for training in farm

operations followed by L. L. W. and S. F. W. It is interesting to note that more number of M. F. W. prefer to be involved in different farm activities for optimum yield with limited landholding while S. F. W. having more landholding are not interested for training in farm operations.

TABLE IV
Training needs in Animal Husbandry

Training areas (1)	L. L. (2)	M. F. (3)	S. F. (4)	Total (5)
Care of pregnant cows ..	10 (22.22)	32 (71.11)	3 (6.66)	45 (100.00)
Making of feed mixture ..	20 (36.36)	30 (54.54)	5 (9.04)	55 (100.00)
Preparation of Milk product ..	11 (23.40)	32 (68.08)	4 (8.51)	47 (100.00)
Care against disease ..	20 (34.48)	33 (56.89)	5 (8.62)	58 (100.00)
Goat rearing ..	11 (36.66)	15 (50.00)	4 (13.33)	30 (100.00)
Poultry management ..	20 (41.66)	28 (58.33)	..	48 (100.00)
Percentage—Mean average ..	32.46	59.82	7.70	100.00

(Figure in parenthesis indicates raw percentage)

N.B.—L.L.—Landless, M. F.—Marginal farmer., S. F.—Small farmer.

Table—IV reveals that maximum tribal women are interested for training in care against animal diseases, preparation of feed mixture, poultry management, preparation of milk product. Care of Pregnant cows and goat rearing in order of importance.

It is observed that more number of tribal women seek training in animal husbandry compared to L. L. W. and S. F. W. Another fact is realised that M. F. W. and L. L. W. seek more training in poultry management while S. F. W. did not show any interest for training in poultry management.

With regards to preparation of feed mixture M. F. W. and L. L. W. require more training in comparison to S. F. W.

On the whole M. F. W. show comparatively more inclination for training in animal husbandry followed by L. L. W. and S. F. W.

TABLE V
Training need in Home management

Training area (1)	L. L. (2)	M. F. (3)	S. F. (4)	Total (5)
Food preparation ..	20 (38.46)	26 (50.00)	6 (11.53)	52 (100.00)
Home sanitation ..	0 (00.00)	5 (41.66)	7 (58.33)	12 (100.00)
Child care ..	29 (43.93)	30 (44.45)	7 (10.60)	66 (100.00)
Prevention against diseases ..	25 (25.71)	26 (37.14)	9 (12.85)	70 (100.00)
Keeping account ..	0 (00.00)	2 (25.00)	6 (75.00)	8 (100.00)
Planned expenditure ..	2 (18.18)	3 (27.27)	6 (54.54)	11 (100.00)
Vegetable preservation ..	5 (38.88)	7 (38.88)	6 (33.33)	18 (100.00)
Tailoring ..	5 (55.55)	4 (44.44)	0 (00.00)	9 (100.00)
Mushroom cultivation ..	3 (27.27)	5 (45.45)	3 (27.27)	11 (100.00)
Percentage—Mean average ..	30.85	44.28	35.43	100.00

(Figure in parenthesis indicates raw percentage)

N. B.—L. L.—Landless, M. F.—Marginal farmer. S. F.—Small farmer

A look at Table V indicates that maximum housewives are interested for training in prevention against diseases, child care, food preparation, vegetable preservation, home sanitation, planned expenditure, tailoring and keeping account in order of merit.

Majority of the tribal housewives of L. L. W. and M. F. W. are interested for training on prevention against diseases, child care and food preparation while S. F. W. were more

interested for training in home sanitation keeping account followed by M. F. W. and none of L. L. W. preferred for such training. The housewives of S. F. W. did not show any response for training in tailoring while L. L. W. and M. F. W. are more interested to receive training in tailoring.

However it is concluded that with increasing the size of holding there is increase in preference for training in home management.

Collection, preservation and utilisation of forest produce and other miscellaneous materials.

Tribal women usually visit the forest for collection of fruits, tubers, siali leaf, lakh,

honey, mahula and other materials. They think that forest is their house for shelter, source for income and store house of food materials. In the present investigation an attempt has been made to identify their preference of training areas relating to forest based occupation.

TABLE VI

Training needs in preservation and utilisation of forest produce, and other miscellaneous materials

Training areas (1)	L. L. (2)	M. F. (3)	S. F. (4)	Total (5)
Preparation of plates and dishes in sialileaf	22 (55.00)	15 (37.50)	3 (7.50)	40 (100.00)
Preservation of fruits and tubers ..	10 (50.00)	8 (40.00)	2 (10.00)	20 (100.00)
Hillbroom cultivation ..	20 (66.66)	10 (33.33)	0 (00.00)	30 (100.00)
Sericulture ..	2 (15.38)	5 (38.46)	6 (46.15)	13 (100.00)
Apiculture ..	10 (40.00)	10 (40.00)	5 (20.00)	25 (100.00)
Miscellaneous activities ..	2 (50.00)	1 (25.00)	1 (25.00)	4 (100.00)
Percentage—Mean average ..	46.10	35.71	18.10	100.00

(Figures in parenthesis indicates raw percentage)

N. B.:—L. L.—Landless, M. F.—Marginal farmer, S. F.—Small farmer

The above Table VI indicates that the tribal housewives are more interested to be trained in preparation of plates and dishes in siali leaf, hillbroom cultivation, apiculture, preserving fruits and tubers, sericulture and other miscellaneous activities in order of importance.

But it is evident that women folk under L. L. and M. F. group are more inclined towards training in hillbroom cultivation against the S. F. group who are least interested. But it observed that maximum tribal women from S. F. group are interested for sericulture.

On the whole it is clear that with decrease in size of holdings there is increase in preference for training in utilisation and preservation of forest produce.

Personal Factors and Training needs

Assuming the effects of personal variables on the preference for training the factors like age, education, social participation were taken up into consideration.

Age is an important factor for preference of types of training for tribal folk. The respondents were grouped into 3 categories women up to 30 years of age under young, 31—50 years under middle and above 50 years under old group. According to the training areas listed below the respondents were asked to reply the information which appears in table below :

TABLE VII

Training area (1)	Age and preference for training						Total (8)	Per cent (9)
	Young		Middle		Old			
	No. (2)	Per cent (3)	No. (4)	Per cent (5)	No. (6)	Per cent (7)		
Agriculture ..	5	25.00	10	50.00	5	20.00	20	22.22
Animal husbandry ..	3	12.00	10	40.00	12	48.00	25	27.77
Home management ..	7	35.00	8	40.00	5	25.00	20	22.22
Preservation and utilisation of forest produce.	12	60.00	5	25.00	3	15.00	20	22.22
Tailoring ..	3	100.00	..	..	..	..	3	3.33
Fishery ..	1	50.00	1	50.00	..	..	2	2.22
Total ..	31	34.44	34	37.77	25	27.77	90	100.00

Table VII reveals that majority of the respondents (37.77 per cent) belonging to middle aged group followed by (34.44 per cent) young group and (27.77 per cent) old aged group.

It is also observed that maximum housewives under middle aged group are interested for training in animal husbandry, farm activities followed by home management, and preservation and utilisation of forest produce. Young tribal housewives are interested in preservation and utilisation of forest produce followed by home management, farm activities and animal husbandry in order of mentions. It is a interesting fact that young housewives are more interested in tailoring where as middle aged house wives and old aged house wives are not interested in tailoring. Old house wives are more inclined towards animal husbandry activities followed by home management as against fishery.

TABLE VIII

Training area (1)	Education and Training needs						Total (8)	Per cent (9)
	Illiterate		Primary		Middle			
	No. (2)	Per cent (3)	No. (4)	Per cent (5)	No. (6)	Per cent (7)		
Agriculture ..	5	25.00	15	75.00	..	0	20	22.22
Animal husbandry ..	12	48.00	13	52.00	..	0	25	27.77
Home management ..	5	25.00	14	70.00	1	1.11	20	22.22
Preservation and utilisation of forest produce.	13	65.00	7	35.00	..	0	20	22.22
Tailoring ..	10	33.33	2	66.66	..	0	3	3.33
Fishery ..	1	33.33	1	50.00	..	0	2	2.22
Total ..	37	41.11	52	57.77	1	1.11	90	100.00

Table VIII indicates that maximum tribal women (57.77 per cent) having primary education are seeking training in agriculture followed by home management and animal husbandry. Taking the illiteracy into account, it is observed that 41.11 per cent tribal housewives require training in preservation and utilisation of forest produce, animal husbandry and agriculture in order of importance. It is observed that only 1.11 per cent tribal women are interested for training in home management.

Suggestions as a strategy for Development

The occupational structure of tribal population has become an indication of their socio-economic impoverishment. To accelerate the women programme in general and tribal women programme in particular a suitable training strategy has to be developed to full till their training requirements. This needs an indepth survey of their socio-personal situations and constraint on the followings:—

- (a) Agriculture and allied sectors
- (b) Forest and environment
- (c) Infrastructural facilities for development
- (d) Employment opportunities in mining and manufacturing industries.
- (e) Characteristics of Rural Urban tribal population.

For the above areas location specific technology has to be provided and participation of the tribals in the same areas need to be ensured for improvement in their living condition.

Besides, the following points need to be considered to meet the aspiration of tribal women.

- * There should be evaluation of administrative functions under I. T. D. P.
- * For participation and awareness of tribal women regarding developmental programme the non-Government organisations like Rural Youth Club, Mahila Mandla/Samiti, Firm Science Club Voluntary Organisation, etc. should play a vital role in this regard.
- * Besides vocational institutions like adult education, non-formal education, Distance Education can make considerable contribution by catalysing involvement and active participation of the tribal women.
- * For transfer of technology in tribal area, programme like Krushi Vigyan Kendra, Lab. to lend programme, National Oilseed Development Programme, Tribal Area Research Programme, ON FARM RESEARCH PROGRAMME, are to be implemented in every tribal district. Technical skills and knowledge are to be disseminated through above programmes so that tribal women accept, understand and act upon them.
- * With the help of poverty alleviation programmes such as I. R. D. P., N. R. E. P., R. L. E. G. P., E. R. R. P. and T. R. Y. S.E. M.,

the women segments can be provided with durable community assets, income generating source and gainful employment opportunities to push them above poverty line.

- * Since training is an educational process various extension teaching methods such as personal contact, mass contact, group discussion, night meeting, slid show, film show, video show, charts, leaf lets, exhibition, photograph, method demonstration, result demonstration, field day can be used to draw their attention for their better learning.
- * Lady training officials in agriculture should be appointed for better training of tribal farm women in suitable living conditions.
- * Tribal women folk need to participate voluntarily in the above activities inspite of their social norm, restrictions and house hold work. The extension personnels of various organisation need to be very active and co-operative and work in harmony with the culture of the tribals for their socio-economic upliftment.

Summary and Conclusion

1. Majority of the tribal women need training in keeping grains for storage purpose, grains for seed purpose, transplanting and kitchen gardening.
2. Out of important animal husbandry practice majority of the tribal women seek training in care against diseases, making feed mixture, poultry management and preparation of milk product.
3. With regards to home management, maximum women folk are inclined towards training in prevention against disease, child care, food preparation and vegetable preservation.
4. Since they live in forest and associated with forest based occupations, women shared more interest to take training in location specific technology, i. e. on preparation of plates and dishes in sialleaf, hillbroom cultivation, Apiculture, preservation of fruits and tubers and sericulture in order of merit.
5. Regarding relationship between personal factors and training needs, 37.77 per cent tribal women belonging to middle aged-group 34.44 per cent young group and 27.77 per cent old aged group.

Tribal women under middle aged group are more interested in animal husbandry, farm activities, home management and fisheries in order of mentions. Young housewives are interested in preservation and utilisation of forest produce followed by home management, farm activities and animal husbandry.

6. So far education and training needs are taken into account. 41.11 per cent illiterate tribal women show interest for training in preservation and utilisation of forest produce. Animal Husbandry and Agriculture in order of preference. 57.77 per cent tribal housewives are interested for training in Agriculture followed by home management and Animal Husbandry.

Conclusion

The psychological makeup of tribal women is yet to be changed in order to enable them to think themselves equal to men. An approach to

tribal communities needs to know more about their change prones, nationality, dogmatism, fatalism, risk orientation, scientific orientation, achievement aspiration, decision making behaviour, economic motivation, etc. in order to prepare a sound and need based programme for them.

To bring the tribal women into agriculture lime light there is an urgent need to make them aware, arouse their interest, create desire their mind and prompt them to act upon technology. They need to be exposed to mass media sources and their aspirations need to be analysed separately through suitable organisation. The effort of change agent, professional competency of extension personals and effective linkage among various welfare organisations are the important determinants for their all round development.

EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS OF THE KONDHS OF KASHIPUR BLOCK OF ORISSA.

R. C. Sahoo

1. Introduction

India attained independence in the year 1947. The country was utterly poor at that time and majority of the Indians were living below the poverty line, without basic necessities of life such as food, clothing and shelter. Like any other nation, India thought of to modernise her nation and hence the Constitution of India in 1950 guaranteed all her citizens social, economic and political justice, freedom of thought and expression, equality of status and opportunity and fraternity. The Government of India wanted to achieve this through peaceful and non-coercive means of the various agencies for the allround development of the nation education has been accepted as one of the powerful means. Education along with other agencies has to make conglomerated and integrated efforts to bring about the needed changes. It means that the backward sections of our society (SC., ST. and other backward sections) must be provided with opportunity to develop critical thinking and self-determination to make them worth contributing to the process. That is why the Government of India has been making efforts through formal and non-formal ways to educate all sections of the Indian society.

There is a considerable segment of tribal population living in India who are at various stages of socio-economic development. Orissa is one of the States where tribals constitute a sizable proportion of its total population. The population of the Scheduled Tribes is 5.91 million and constitutes 22.48 per cent of the total population of the State. They are commonly known as 'Adivasi'. They have been

in a state of social, economic and educational backwardness since a very long time. The tribal population has suffered in the wake of planned economic development. It is unfortunate that the role of education in improving quality of life is lost sight of all levels in tribal areas. Education is considered irrelevant because it could not help them in improving their life situation, it become an easy obstruction because it came in the way of earning through family labour.

2. Need for and Importance of the Research

In the State of Orissa a few studies concentrated on the educational problems of the tribals but the 'Kondhs' who form the largest part of tribal population in the State (17.15 per cent of the total tribal population) remain neglected. This tribe is one of the most isolated tribes of the State as well as the country. They are educationally more backward than other tribes of the State. The percentage of literacy of this tribe is 7.97 and it is much less than the Scheduled Tribe literacy percentage of the State (13.96 per cent). The highest percentage of Kondhs are concentrated in the district of Koraput (37.37 per cent). According to 1981 census the tribal population in the said district is 55.22 per cent of the total population of the district. The block Kashipur has the highest concentration of Kondh population in the district*. Keeping the condition of the tribal population and the interest of the nation in view the investigator took a special interest in studying the educational problems of the Kondhs of Kashipur block (Koraput district) of Orissa.

*District Educational Profile, Koraput Directorate of Public Instruction, Orissa, Bhubaneswar, 1979, P. 46

3. Objectives

- (i) To study the educational problems of the Kondh children arising out of their socio-economic condition.
- (ii) To study the educational facilities provided by the Government (to the School as well as to the Kondh students).
- (iii) To find out the impact of medium of instruction and their own language on the educational attainment of Kondhs.
- (iv) (a) To find out the interest of Kondh parents in education in general and education of their children in particular.
(b) To find out the attitude of the Kondhs to girls' education.
- (v) To study the effectiveness of formal educational system in Kondh area.
(a) To study the suitability of the school timing and vacation period.
(b) To study the attitude of Kondh parents and children towards the behaviour of the teacher.
- (vi) To make suggestions and recommendations for improving education in the Kondh area.

4. Hypothesis

- (i) The socio-economic standard of the Kondhs does effect the educational attainment of their children.
- (ii) Educational facilities significantly affect the enrolment and drop out at the primary level of education.
- (iii) The regional language as the medium of instruction does affect the educational attainment of the Kondh children.
- (iv) Kondh parents have negative attitude towards education and education of their children.
- (v) Kondh parents have negative attitude towards girls' education.
- (vi) The present timing of the school does affect the educational attainment.

(vii) The present vacation period of the school does affect the interest of the Kondh parents.

(viii) The behaviour of the teachers does affect the Kondh parents' interest in their children's education.

5. Methodology

This is a socio-cultural study of the educational problems. For the purpose of collecting necessary data, the survey method was adopted.

Sample—The investigator followed the underlined procedure for the selection of the sample for this study. The total number of villages of the Block (Kashipur) is 370. Out of these 370 villages 271 villages are inhabited by more than 50 per cent of the Kondh population. * These 271 villages constitute the universe for the present study. Moreover three types of villages are found, i. e. (i) villages having schools of their own, (ii) villages having schooling facility within a radius of 1.5 Km., (iii) villages having no schooling facility at all. The average population of these 271 villages is 178. For the purpose of the present investigation the researcher selected four villages where the average population is near about 178. The above-mentioned three types of villages were the representative sample for this study. Due to lack of time and resources on the part of the investigator, four villages have been selected, i. e. two having schooling facilities of its own (Haridaspur and Sargiguda), one having school at 1.5 Km. distance (Ramguda) and one without schooling facilities at all (Musirpadar) for an intensive survey of all the families of the village.

Tools for investigation

(i) *Questionnaire*:—The investor developed three types of questionnaire, i. e. (a) for the parents which includes the details of information about the family, attitudes of the parents towards the educational system in general and education of their children in particular, (b) for the children who are attending the school, includes the information about the school timing, vacation period, teachers' attitude, aspiration for life, educational aspiration, interest in the medium of instruction, participation in extra curricular activities, etc., (c) for the school going-age

* District Educational Profile, Koraput, D. P. I., Orissa, Bhubaneswar, 1979, p. 46,

children, not attending the school, the questionnaire includes the reason for leaving the school, present occupation, interest in education, etc.

Discussion—The investigator discussed with the teachers, educational officers in the Block as well as at the district level, the administrators and officers of developmental agencies to know the educational administration and developmental works undertaken by the Government for the improvement of the Kondhs to solve their problems.

Observation—There are some factors i. e. home environment, school environment and the socio-cultural background of the Kondhs which could not be asked for and the investigator observed these directly in the field.

Official records—Relevant official records were studied to get information on educational development and administration in the district.

6. Data and its treatment

The data collected through the questionnaire, discussed and observation were tabulated and analysed separately. As the data are mostly qualitative in nature, analysis is made through percentages, proportions, etc. only, with a view to getting a quantitative picture of information obtained through the questionnaire.

Delimitation of the present research

The present investigation is delimited to the Kashipur block of Koraput district (Orissa) and Kondh were the target tribe of that Block. The school going age children delimited to the child within the age-group of 6—14 only.

FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS, SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY AND CONCLUSION

Findings

(i) It was found from the study that the socio-economic condition of the Kondhs in the sample is too bad (poor). 57.7 per cent of the families purely depend on cultivation as their occupation. But the land the families possess is on hill slopes. Another impediment is the non-availability of irrigation facilities. The land owners have to depend upon rain only. Another factor which should be taken into consideration is that the Kondhs' cultivation technology is too backward and as a result the output is usually less than the normal. 37.3 per cent families depend on daily labour (generally those who

have no land or less land). It appears that the contractors were exploiting labourers by paying much less than the minimum wages. Exploitation by the local traders is another factor which makes Kondh families to lead a miserable life. The Kondh economy needs the contribution of all the members of the family to the family income. After the age of 9 the child becomes an economic asset to the family because he/she can work at home, or in the family farm, or outside the family and assist in saving or adding to the family income directly or indirectly. The child is consequently withdraw from school long before he/she completes the primary stage.

So the hypothesis 'The socio-economic standard of the Kondhs do affect the educational attainment of their children' is accepted.

(ii) It was found from the study that there was nothing in the school (Haridaspur and Sargiguda) except the single room school building, even there was no chair for the teacher. There were not even minimum educational aids and materials. There was no facility except free supply of text books (no stipend and no uniform facility for the tribal primary children except to those in Ashram Schools). 71.7 per cent of the families reported that there was lack of schooling facility. It was found the number of children (who did not attend the school at all) in the village Musirpadar (where there is no schooling facility at all) was high 78.9 per cent. In the villages having schooling facilities like Haridaspur, it is 5.6 per cent, 4.5 per cent in Sargiguda and 23.3 per cent in Ramguda.

In enrolment also Musirpadar village had low percentage. But in Haridaspur, it was 52.1 per cent in Sargiguda 42.2 per cent and in Ramguda 33.9 per cent.

Hence the hypothesis 'Educational facilities significantly affect the enrolment and drop out at the primary level of education' is accepted.

(iii) From the study it was found out that 81 per cent of the Kondh parents have negative attitude towards the present medium of instruction (Oriya language). According to these families their children were unable to follow the medium of instruction and they were not willing to go to school because in the school the teacher speaks only the regional language and the text books are also in the regional language. They desire to have books in their own language. Only 19 per cent reported that their children should learn through

the regional language to be able to come in contact with the outside society. 76.3 per cent of the Kondh children also reported that they were unable to understand the present medium of instruction and 79.5 per cent children reported that it should be in their own language (Kuvi language).

So the hypothesis 'the regional language as the medium of instruction does effect the educational attainment of the Kondh children' is accepted.

(iv) It was found from the study that 74.6 per cent of the families were interested to give education to their children and according to them education of their children would bring in good returns and would provide them better life, but due to poor economic conditions they were unable to provide education to their children. Educational facilities are also not available in the villages. They are therefore helplessly withdrawing their children from schools.

So the hypothesis 'Kondh parents have negative attitude towards education and towards the education of their children' is rejected.

(v) It was found out from the study that the Kondhs' attitude to schooling of their daughters is negative where 68.4 per cent families refused to send their daughters to school. According to them the girls should learn the household work instead of getting education. After all they think that they will be housewives so there is no need of education to girls.

The hypothesis 'Kondh parents have negative attitude towards girls' education' is accepted.

(vi) It was found from the study that the Kondhs were satisfied with the present school timing. 73 per cent families were in favour of the school, according to them after school time children can help their parents. Only 22 per cent families and 24.1 per cent children were opposed to the present timing for to them it should be in the afternoon. 75.9 per cent children were in favour of the present timing of the school.

So the hypothesis 'the present timing of the school does effect the educational attainment' is rejected.

(vii) It was found from the study that the vacation period of the school is not convenient to Kondh children. 66 per cent families reported that the vacation period is not suitable to them, according to them instead of winter and rainy season. It is because children are badly needed by their parents during these days to do minor work to help them in the field for different agricultural work.

So the hypothesis 'the present vacation of the school does affect the interest of the Kondh parents' is accepted.

(viii) It was also found from the study that the behaviour of the teacher in the Kondh area is not favourable. 81 per cent families opined the teachers are not co-operative and did not take care of their children because they are Kondhs, they felt the teacher posed to be superior to them. 73.4 per cent children reported that the behaviour of the teacher is not favourable and conducive to their education.

So, the hypothesis 'the behaviour of the teacher does affect the education interest of Kondh parents and childrens' is accepted.

Recommendations

On the basis of the educational problems of the Kondhs identified in this study, some recommendations are made for improving the education in the Kondh area.

- (i) There should be adequate school facility for the Kondh villages (areas) at least up to primary level.
- (ii) Residential Ashram School facilities should be provided adequately with free boarding and lodging so that the socio-economic conditions will not affect their educational attainment.
- (iii) Residential accommodation should be made available to the teachers too. They should be given short orientation training in the life, culture and language of the Kondhs.
- (iv) As far as possible local educated people should be selected and given preference in teaching in primary schools after short-term pre-service training (if they are not trained as at present).
- (v) Teaching aids and materials should be provided adequately to schools.

- (vi) For teaching Kondh students, books will have to be written in their dialect as far as possible.
- (vii) The medium of instruction in the lower primary stage (Class I to Class III) should be in their own language instead of the present regional language at all stages.
- (viii) Teachers should be encouraged to increase enrolment by getting enough children admitted to the school.
- (ix) The present system of giving stipends only to the lower secondary stage students, should be changed. The same facility be extended to lower primary and upper primary stages.
- (x) Programmes to make Kondhs aware of the need for education and motivate them to send their children to schools should be introduced in the Kondh areas.
- (xi) Craft education should be introduced in the upper primary level to attract the Kondh children and prepare them for the world of work.

Suggestions for Further Research

- (i) The present research can be extended and taken up at the State level.
- (ii) Comparative study of the Kondh areas and non-Kondh areas regarding the educational problems of the Kondhs can be taken up.
- (iii) Comparative study of the educational problems of the Kondhs and non-Kondhs can be taken up.

- (iv) A study can be taken up to know educational problems of the Kondh students at the college or higher education level.
- (v) A study regarding the progress of Kondhs in Ashram Schools can also be taken up.

Conclusion—

Here, in this study, the problems of education of the Kondhs have been studied with various objectives and recommendations have been made to solve these problems. It is seen that the Kondhs by and large have been remained neglected even in the elementary education. They have been driven to the dark durgaoon of ignorance and they seem to have even forgotten that there is anything like light. Normal effects for educating them therefore proved futile. The illequipped schools did not attract Kondh children to these schools. The dire poverty of the Kondhs which requires participation of their children in their struggle for existence is a serious hindrance as the problems are mainly economic in nature. The Kondh students have to help their parents in economic and other walks of life, The parents do not want to send their children to school at the cost of economic benefit they derive from them. Hence the incidence of drop out is very high among them. The primary schools functioning in the Kondh area do not fulfil their real purpose to various factors. The Kondhs are not able to look beyond their limited horizon and accept new ideas and thoughts. In the present circumstances where Kondhs are technologically more backward, firmly bound down to their traditional ethos and norms and being greatly exploited, more opening of primary schools for the improvement of education will not mean much.

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