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Growth of population & occupational pattern among the Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes of Orissa—an analysis of inter census data, 1961—1971.

Kulamoni Mohapatra

The purpose of this paper is to offer a comparative analysis of the data on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of Orissa as obtained from the census of India. The data which have been utilised here for the purpose of analysis are :—

- (1) Distribution of population
- (2) Occupation
- (3) Instruction at different stages

It goes without saying that the analysis offered in this paper suffers from certain limitations. The utmost that can be obtained from this analysis would be just locating certain problems. None of the problems so located can be proved further within the scope of this paper and no explanations or reasons can be given on the points which logically and necessarily arise out of these problems. It is only hoped that the present paper would throw up some indications for further research.

The following table would give a comparative picture of the growth of population in India and Orissa during the inter-census period of 1961-71 :—

	Population (1971)	Percentage to total population	Rate of growth 1961—71 Percentage
Total population ..	21,19,34,827 (54,99,55945)	100 (100)	24.99 (24.52)
Scheduled Tribes ..	50,71,937 (3,80,15,162)	23.12 (6.95)	20.08 (26.16)
Scheduled Castes ..	33,10,854 (7,99,95,896)	15.09 (14.62)	19.79 (24.12)

(Figures within bracket stand for India)

It would be seen from the above table that the rate of growth of the general population is 24.99 per cent for Orissa and 24.52 per cent for India. This shows that the rate of growth of population is higher in Orissa compared to the growth of population in India as a whole. As against this trend of general population, the growth rate of the Scheduled Tribes for India is much higher being 26.16 per cent. It is noteworthy that the corresponding figure of 20.08 per cent for the Scheduled Tribes of Orissa is much lower compared to their growth rate for the whole country as well as for the total population of Orissa. The growth rate for the Scheduled Castes of Orissa is still lower on both the counts. These figures indicate that the Scheduled population in Orissa has increased at a much lower rate than the norm of growth for the whole country as well as for the general population of Orissa. With this general note on the population growth a more detailed analysis is offered below --

1. Distribution of Sch. population in the district of Orissa.

1.1. *Scheduled Castes (Table No. 1 & 1. A)*—The distribution of Scheduled Castes in the districts of Orissa, according to 1961 Census, shows that the heaviest numerical concentration of population was in the coastal districts of Cuttack, Ganjam, Balasore and Puri. The same is also the case according to the census of 1971. The ranking of the other districts showing the numerical concentration of the Scheduled Castes, according to the censuses of 1961 and 1971 are shown in **Chart I**.

CHART I

Name of the district	Rank on the basis of the numerical concentration of Scheduled Caste Population.	
	1961	1971
Sambalpur ..	Fifth	Fifth
Koraput ..	Ninth	Sixth
Dhenkanal ..	Eighth	Seventh
Bolangir ..	Seventh	Eighth
Kalahandi ..	Sixth	Ninth
Phulbani ..	Twelfth	Tenth
Keonjhar ..	Eleventh	Eleventh
Mayurbhanj ..	Tenth	Twelfth
Sundergarh ..	Thirteenth	Thirteenth

The above chart on the ranking of the districts of Orissa on the basis of the numerical concentration of the population of Scheduled Castes indicates that there has been a substantial change during the inter-census period of 1961—1971. Seven districts out of thirteen continue to hold the identical rankings in both the censuses, whereas considerable shifting is observed in case of the other 6 districts.

The ranking of the districts on the basis of the concentration of the population of Scheduled Castes undergoes a more significant alteration when the percentage of the Scheduled Castes to the total population of the district is taken into consideration. The chart-II shows the relative ranking of the districts on the basis of the numerical concentration and the percentage of Scheduled Castes population.

CHART II
Ranking of the Districts

Sl. No.	Name of the District	1961 Census		1971 Census	
		Scheduled Caste Total	Population Percentage	Scheduled Caste Total	Population Percentage
1.	Cuttack	.. First	Fifth	First	Eleventh
2.	Ganjam	.. Second	Seventh	Second	Sixth
3.	Balasore	.. Third	Third	Third	Second
4.	Puri	.. Fourth	Ninth	Fourth	Eighth
5.	Sambalpur	.. Fifth	Eighth	Fifth	Seventh
6.	Koraput	.. Ninth	Eleventh	Sixth	Ninth
7.	Dhenkanal	.. Eighth	Fourth	Seventh	Fourth
8.	Balangir	.. Seventh	Sixth	Eighth	Fifth
9.	Kalahandi	.. Sixth	Second	Ninth	Third
10.	Phulbani	.. Twelfth	First	Tenth	First
11.	Keonjhar	.. Eleventh	Tenth	Eleventh	Tenth
12.	Mayurbhanj	.. Tenth	Thirteenth	Twelfth	Thirteenth
13.	Sundargarh	.. Thirteenth	Twelfth	Thirteenth	Twelfth

From the above chart it would be seen that in the 1961 Census only in the district of Balasore a parity between the numerical concentration and the percentage of Scheduled Caste population has been indicated. In case of the other 12 districts the ranking, in accordance with the criteria of numerical concentration and percentage, indicates disparity. Similarly in the 1971 Census, Keonjhar is the only district where both the indices are on a par with each other whereas the other twelve districts indicate disparity. It is also seen that the ranking order of the districts on the basis of the percentage of Scheduled Caste population is slightly more stable than that based on numerical concentration of population.

1.2. Scheduled Tribes (Table No. 1 B & 1 C)—During the inter-census period of 1961—71, the rank order of the following districts as indicated by the numerical concentration of Scheduled Tribe population, has remained unchanged : Koraput—First, Mayurbhanj—Second, Sundergarh—Third, Sambalpur—Fourth, Keonjhar—Fifth, Kalahandi—Sixth, Ganjam—Ninth, Dhenkanal—Tenth, Balasore—Eleventh, Cuttack—Twelfth, Puri—Thirteenth. Disparity is observed only in the case of the remaining two districts. Bolangir, ranks seventh and eighth and Phulbani ranks eighth and the seventh in the censuses of 1961 and 1971, respectively. This order is altered when the percentage of Scheduled Tribes to the total population of district is taken into consideration. The Chart III shows the relative rank order of the districts on the basis of numerical concentration of Scheduled Tribe population and the percentage ratio of such population :—

CHART III

Ranking of the District

Sl. No.	Name of the District	1961 Census		1971 Census	
		Scheduled Tribe Total	Population Percentage	Scheduled Tribe Total	Population Percentage
1.	Koraput	First	First	First	Second
2.	Mayurbhanj	Second	Second	Second	First
3.	Sundergarh	Third	Third	Thrid	Third

Sl. No.	Name of the District	1961 Census		1971 Census	
		Scheduled Tribe Total	Population Percentage	Scheduled Tribe Total	Population Percentage
4.	Sambalpur ..	Fourth	Seventh	Fourth	Seventh
5.	Keonjhar ..	Fifth	Fourth	Fifth	Fourth
6.	Kalahandi ..	Sixth	Sixth	Sixth	Sixth
7.	Bolangir ..	Seventh	Eighth	Eighth	Eighth
8.	Phulbani ..	Eight	Fifth	Seventh	Fifth
9.	Ganjam ..	Ninth	Tenth	Ninth	Tenth
10.	Dhenkanal ..	Tenth	Ninth	Tenth	Ninth
11.	Balasure ..	Eleventh	Eleventh	Eleventh	Eleventh
12.	Cuttack ..	Twelfth	Thirteenth	Twelfth	Thirteenth
13.	Puri ..	Thirteenth	Twelfth	Thirteenth	Twelfth

It will be seen from the above chart that the ranking of the districts on the basis of the numerical concentration and the percentage of Scheduled Tribe population according to 1961 Census indicated parity only in the case of five districts and disparity in case of the remaining eight. The corresponding figures for 1971 are four and nine, respectively. It is noteworthy that this parity is not exhibited by the same districts in both the censuses. The districts of Sundergarh, Kalahandi and Balasure indicate a parity of ranking in both the censuses. Koraput (First) and Mayurbhanj (Second) indicate parity of ranking in 1961 census but disparity in 1971 census, when their former rank order are just reversed. Similarly, Bolangir indicates parity in 1971 census but disparity in 1961 census.

1.3. A comparison of tables 1, 1 A, 1 B and 1 C indicate that the distribution of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is not even over the districts. A comparative ranking

of the districts on the basis of the numerical concentration population of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes can be seen from the following Chart :—

CHART IV

Sl. No.	Name of the District	Comparative ranking of the district			
		1961		1971	
		Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribe	Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribe
1.	Sambalpur ..	Fifth	Fourth	Fifth	Fourth
2.	Sundergarh ..	Thirteenth	Third	Thirteenth	Third
3.	Keonjhar ..	Eleventh	Fifth	Eleventh	Fifth
4.	Mayurbhanj ..	Tenth	Second	Twelfth	Second
5.	Balasore ..	Third	Eleventh	Third	Eleventh
6.	Cuttack ..	First	Twelfth	First	Twelfth
7.	Dhenkanal ..	Eighth	Ninth	Seventh	Tenth
8.	Phulbani ..	Twelfth	Eighth	Tenth	Seventh
9.	Bolangir ..	Seventh	Seventh	Eighth	Eighth
10.	Kalahandi ..	Sixth	Sixth	Ninth	Sixth
11.	Koraput ..	Ninth	First	Sixth	First
12.	Ganjam ..	Second	Ninth	Second	Ninth
13.	Puri ..	Fourth	Thirteenth	Fourth	Thirteenth

In the 1961 census parity of ranking on the basis of the numerical concentration of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe population is only observed in case of two districts : Bolangir and Kalahandi. In 1971 census such parity is observable only in case of the district of Bolangir.

(On the basis of the percentage of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to the total population of the district disparity of ranking is still more significant. This can be observed from the Chart V.

CHART V

Sl. No.	Name of the District	Comparative ranking of the districts			
		1961		1971	
		Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribe	Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribe
1.	Sambalpur ..	Eighth	Sixth	Eighth	Seventh
2.	Sundergarh ..	Twelfth	Third	Twelfth	Third
3.	Keonjhar ..	Tenth	Fourth	Eleventh	Fourth
4.	Mayurbhanj ..	Thirteenth	Second	Thirteenth	First
5.	Balasore ..	Third	Eleventh	Second	Eleventh
6.	Cuttack ..	First	Thirteenth	Third	Thirteenth
7.	Dhenkanal ..	Fourth	Eighth	Fifth	Ninth
8.	Phulbani ..	First	Ninth	First	Fifth
9.	Bolangir ..	Sixth	Seventh	Sixth	Eighth
10.	Kalahandi ..	Second	Fifth	Fourth	Sixth
11.	Koraput ..	Eleventh	First	Tenth	Second
12.	Ganjam ..	Seventh	Tenth	Seventh	Tenth
13.	Puri ..	Ninth	Twelfth	Ninth	Twelfth

From the above chart it would be seen that parity of ranking is not observable in case of even one single district in either of the censuses.

14. The comparison between the district-wise distribution of population of the Scheduled Castes (Table Nos. 1, I-A, 1D and 1F) and their literacy also indicates disparity in the sense that the areas of highest Scheduled Caste concentration are not necessarily the areas with highest percentage of literacy among them. Disparity between the percentage of

literacy and population of the Scheduled Castes in the districts (in terms of concentration and population ratio) is very pronounced in the case of the districts of Sambalpur, Ganjam, Puri, Keonjhar, Sundergarh, Mayurbhanj, Dhenkanal, Phulbani, Bolangir, Kalahandi and Koraput. Complete parity of all the three indices is observable only in case of the district of Balasore. In case of the district of Puri parity is observable between of numerical concentration of population and percentage of literacy. In 1971 census gross disparity is observable in case of the districts of Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Kalahandi, Koraput and Phulbani. Such disparity is very much less in case of the districts of Cuttack, Balasore and Sambalpur. Partial parity is observable only in case of two districts. Percentage of literacy and percentage of Scheduled Caste have the same rank in the district of Cuttack. Similarly, the ranking of Puri is fourth on the criteria of literacy and total population.

The percentage of literacy among the general population and the Scheduled Caste, in the 1961 census, indicates complete parity in case of the districts of Koraput and Kalahandi which occupied 13th and 12th position, respectively, according to these two criteria. Disparity (in descending order) is observed in case of Keonjhar, Dhenkanal, Ganjam, Mayurbhanj, Puri, Sambalpur, Cuttack, Phulbani and Sundergarh. Near parity is observable in the districts of Balasore and Bolangir. In the census of 1971 the districts of Koraput and Phulbani indicate the parity of the two criteria, the ranking being 13th and 9th, respectively. Disparity (in descending order) is observed in case of the districts of Keonjhar, Dhenkanal, Mayurbhanj, Ganjam, Cuttack, Puri, Balasore and Sambalpur. Near parity is observed in case of the districts of Sundergarh, Kalahandi and Bolangir. This indicate that the areas with lowest percentage of general literacy are also the areas of the lowest percentage of Scheduled Caste literacy. But the vice-versa is not true. There are, however, exception to this in both the cases.

1.5. A similar comparison between the district-wise distribution of population of Scheduled Tribes (Table Nos. 1B, 1C) and literacy (Table Nos. 1E and 1G) also indicated disparity which shows that the areas of highest Scheduled Tribe concentration are not necessarily the areas of highest percentage of literacy among them. In the 1961 census the disparity was very pronounced in case of the districts of Koraput, Mayurbhanj, Sambalpur, Phulbani, Puri,

Dhenkanal, Kalahandi, Keonjhar and Cuttack. A narrow margin of disparity is observed in case of Bolangir, Ganjam and Balasore. Complete parity is observed in case of the only district of Sundergarh. The pattern remains almost the same in the 1971 census. Gross disparity is observed in the same districts with the only exception of Phulbani. The lesser category of disparity is observed in the districts of Bolangir, Ganjam, Sundergarh and Phulbani. The first two districts remaining constant in both the censuses. Complete parity is observed in Balasore instead of Sundergarh.

The distribution of literacy among the general population and the Scheduled Tribe population in both the censuses, indicates complete parity only in case of the Koraput district whose ranking is 13th and the lowest on the basis of both the criteria. Disparity is observed, in the following descending order in the 1961 census : Balasore, Phulbani, Sambalpur, Sundergarh, Puri, Cuttack, Ganjam, Mayurbhanj, Bolangir, Dhenkanal, Keonjhar and Kalahandi. Dhenkanal, Keonjhar and Kalahandi may be treated as cases of near parity. The order of similar ranking for 1971 census is : Cuttack and Balasore, Bolangir, Sundergarh and Phulbani and Ganjam, Sambalpur, Dhenkanal and Mayurbhanj, Puri and Keonjhar and Kalahandi. Puri, Keonjhar and Kalahandi may be treated as cases of near parity in 1971 census.

The analysis in the foregoing para does not indicate any clear cut pattern. In the 1961 census Puri, Cuttack and Sambalpur occupied in the first and the fourth, the third and the sixth and the fifth and the first ranks, respectively on the criteria of general literacy and Scheduled Tribe literacy, respectively. A similar ranking for some of the districts in 1971 census is Puri (second in general literacy and third in Scheduled Tribe literacy), Cuttack (first in general literacy and ninth in Scheduled Tribe literacy) and Sundergarh (sixth in general literacy and first in tribal literacy). It may therefore be concluded that in some districts there is parity between general and Scheduled Tribe literacy and in some others the general literacy is very high and the tribal literacy is low. In some other districts the tribal literacy is high whereas the general literacy is too low. This of course relates to the ranking of districts on the basis of the percentage of literacy. This is not a comparison between the actual percentage of literacy which in all cases is much higher for the general population than the Scheduled Tribe population.

2. Occupation of the Scheduled population

2.1. Occupation among the Scheduled Castes has been considered under eight heads in accordance with the census categorization. A comparison between the figures of the Census of 1961 and 1971 indicates the following:—

(Table No. 2)

2.1.1. *Cultivators*—In this category there is a population decrease of 164,928 and percentage decrease of 10.8. This indicates extensive abandonment of this category of occupation by the Scheduled Castes. It can be inferred that large scale eviction of the Scheduled Castes from their land occurred during this period. Another inference is that the practice of share cropping considerably dwindled due to the introduction of the land reforms measures.

2.1.2. *Agricultural Labourers*—This category indicates a population increase of 219178 and a percentage increase of 22.7. It is quite possible that the increase of this category has been achieved at the cost of the category of cultivation.

2.1.3. *Mining, Quarrying, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting, Plantation, Orchard and allied activities*—In this category there is a population increase of 8,414 and percentage increase of 7. This is a miscellaneous category. 9 occupations have been lumped together to constitute this category. The total population of this category is also very small. Population and percentage increase in this category is, therefore of little significance.

2.1.4. *Manufacturing, processing, services and Repairing*—This category has been further divided into two sub-categories namely (a) household industry and (b) other than household industry. In the first sub-category there is a population decrease of 69,773 but a percentage increase of 3.7. This disparity may be due to defective enumeration of the female workers under household work instead of household industry. In the second category there is a population increase of 13 001 and a percentage increase of 1.2. This is quite natural and indicates that the occupation of the Scheduled Castes is becoming varied.

2.1.5. *Construction*—In this category there is a population increase of 4,891 and a percentage increase of 0.4. This indicates the increasing participation of the Scheduled Castes in construction work.

2.1.6. *Trade and Commerce*—In this category there is a population increase of 1,692 and percentage increase of 0.2. This may show that trade and commerce are gaining popularity among the Scheduled Castes. This may give rise to the hypothesis that untouchability is becoming less rigid because trade and commerce activities entail transaction with other caste people. But before this hypothesis is accepted the relevant facts must be subjected to close scrutiny.

2.1.7. *Transport, Storage & Communication*—In this category there is a population increase of 14,646 and percentage increase of 1.3. This shows that transport and communication activities have increased in the rural areas, where the Scheduled Castes are mostly concentrated, and they have taken benefit of this.

2.1.8. *Other services*—In this category there is a population decrease of 142,515 and percentage decrease of 10.7. The population and percentage decrease in this category is not understandable. When such activities as construction, trade and commerce, transport, storage and communication etc., indicate both population and percentage increase, the category of other services would have given similar indication. However it may be inferred that for this category of occupation the Scheduled Castes have to face stiff competition from the higher caste people and as a result of this they have not taken the proportionate benefit of the expanding scope for employment under this category.

2.1.9. *Total Workers*—There has been a population decrease of 120,035 and percentage decrease of 9.8 in the total number of workers of all categories. Such decrease would appear to be indicative of acute economic distress. Actually it is not so. The anomaly has occurred because of the change of the concept of the worker in 1971 Census. In 1961 Census persons engaged in household work were enumerated as workers if they were engaged in some productive activity in addition to household work. In 1971 Census persons engaged in similar members have been treated as non-workers. As a result of this females have been excluded from the category of workers of a mass scale.

2.2. Occupation of Scheduled Tribes has also been considered under eight census heads.

(Table No. 2A)

2.2.1. *Cultivators*—In this category there is a population decrease of 475,103 and a percentage decrease of 10.2. This

is indicative of the fact that there is very large scale decrease of population in this occupational category. This gives rise to the inference that the tribal people have been evicted from their land on a large scale. The most cogent factor explaining this shortfall is the change of the connotation of "worker". Persons engaged in household work and working or helping in cultivation work have not been shown as workers in 1971 Census in contradiction to the 1961 Census.

2·2·2. *Agricultural Labourers*—In this category there is a gross increase of 153,270 and percentage increase of 14·7. The percentage increase indicated that workers from other categories have been attracted to pursue the occupation of agricultural labourer. It can be inferred that due to large scale eviction from land the cultivators have been reduced to the status of agricultural labourers.

2·2·2. *Mining etc.*—In this category there is a population increase of 18,078 and a percentage increase of 1·5. The increase in this category indicates the growth of mining activities in the tribal areas of Orissa.

2·2·4 *Manufacturing etc.*—Household industry is the first sub-category of this category. In this sub-category there is a population decrease of 48,280 and a percentage decrease of 1·9. In the second sub-category, "other than household industry" there is a population increase of 18,554 and a percentage increase of 1·1. The implications of such increase are the same as those for the corresponding category for the Scheduled Castes.

2·2·5. *Construction*—In this category there is a population increase of 3,189 and a percentage increase of 0·16. This indicates the increasing participation of the tribal people in construction work.

2·2·6. *Trade and Commerce*—In this category there is a population increase of 2,657 and a percentage increase of 0·3. This indicates the growth of trade and commerce among the tribal people but this growth rate is very small.

2·2·7. *Transport, storage and Communication*—In this category there is a population increase of 3,925 and percentage increase of 0·22. This shows that these vital economic activities have not made such headway among the tribal people.

2·2·8. *Other services*—In this category there is a population decrease of 146,079 and a percentage decrease of 5·8. This shortfall should be viewed very seriously. A lot of efforts have been made by the State and Central Governments to provide employment opportunities to the tribal people. These efforts do not seem to have produced adequate results as could be seen from the population and percentage shortfall in the category of other services.

2·2·9. *Total Workers*—The population decrease of total workers is 469,789 and the percentage decrease is 21·1. The reasons for this conspicuous shortfall are the same as those mentioned in the corresponding category for the Scheduled Caste.

2·3. The occupational pattern of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes in the census of 1961 and 1971 is the same, notwithstanding numerical differences. The only exception is in case of household industry which shows a population decrease and an increase in percentage in case of Scheduled Caste whereas in case of Scheduled Tribe there is population and percentage decrease.

In conclusion it can be stated that in the foregoing analysis, the problems are only located and broad indications have been given. It would require considerable research efforts to provide solutions to these problems.

TABLE No. 1

Distribution of Scheduled Castes in the districts of Orissa (1971)

Sl. No	Name of the district	Total population of the district	Population of Sch. Caste in the district	Percentage of Sch. Caste to total population of the district
1	Sambalpur ..	1,844,898	287,998	15.6
2	Sundergarh ..	1,030,758	82,692	8.0
3	Keonjhar ..	955,514	107,784	11.2
4	Mayurbhanj ..	1,434,200	103,713	7.2
5	Balasore ..	1,830,504	338,802	18.5
6	Cuttack ..	3,827,678	691,180	18.0
7	Dhenkanal ..	1,293,914	216,887	16.7
8	Phulbani ..	621,675	117,986	18.9
9	Bolangir ..	1,263,657	208,430	16.4
10	Kalahandi ..	1,163,869	199,151	17.1
11	Koraput ..	2,043,281	274,115	13.4
12	Ganjam ..	2,293,808	365,284	15.9
13	Puri ..	2,340,859	316,831	13.5
14	ORISSA ..	21,944,615	3,310,854	15.08

TABLE No. 1 A

Distribution of Scheduled Castes in the districts of Orissa (1961)

Sl. No	Name of the district	Total population of the district	Population of Sch. Caste in the district	Percentage of Sch. Caste to total population of the district
1	Sambalpur ..	1,508,686	244,985	16.2
2	Sundergarh ..	758,617	73,134	9.6
3	Keonjhar ..	743,315	102,942	13.8
4	Mayurbhanj ..	1,204,043	104,273	8.7
5	Balasore ..	1,415,923	266,754	18.8
6	Cuttack ..	3,060,320	547,922	17.9
7	Dhenkanal ..	1,028,935	187,156	18.2
8	Phulbani ..	514,427	99,399	19.3
9	Bolangir ..	1,068,686	187,422	16.6
10	Kalahandi ..	1,009,654	190,520	18.9
11	Koraput ..	1,498,271	186,438	12.4
12	Ganjam ..	1,872,530	308,298	16.5
13	Puri ..	1,865,439	264,615	14.2
14	ORISSA ..	17,548,846	2,763,858	15.74

TABLE No. 1 B

Distribution of Scheduled Tribes in the districts of Orissa (1971)

Sl. No	Name of the district	Total population of the district	Population of Sch. Tribe in the district	Percentage of Sch. Tribe to total population of the district
1	Sambalpur ..	1,844,898	519,046	28·1
2	Sundergarh ..	1,030,758	550,401	53·3
3	Keonjhar ..	355,514	448,675	46·9
4	Mayurbhanj ..	1,434,200	839,835	58·5
5	Balasore ..	1,830,504	129,192	7·0
6	Cuttack ..	3,827,678	110,746	2·8
7	Dhenkanal ..	1,293,914	166,998	12·9
8	Phulbani ..	621,675	250,605	40·3
9	Bolangir ..	1,263,657	249,131	19·7
10	Kalahandi ..	1,163,869	340,541	29·2
11	Koraput ..	2,043,281	1,151,231	56·3
12	Ganjam ..	2,293,808	228,945	9·9
13	Puri ..	2,340,859	86,591	3·6
14	ORISSA ..	21,944,615	5,071,937	23·1

TABLE No. 1 C

Distribution of Scheduled Tribes in the districts of Orissa 1961

Sl. No	Name of the district	Total population of the state	Population of Sch. Tribe in the district	Percentage of Sch. Tribe to total population of the district
1	Sambalpur ..	1,508,686	439,405	29.1
2	Sundergarh ..	758,617	440,910	58.1
3	Keonjhar ..	743,315	350,389	47.1
4	Mayurbhanj ..	1,204,043	729,764	60.6
5	Balasore ..	1,415,923	96,007	6.8
6	Cuttack ..	3,060,320	85,863	2.8
7	Dhenkanal ..	1,028,935	143,494	13.9
8	Phulbani ..	514,427	214,067	41.6
9	Bolangir ..	1,068,686	220,916	20.7
10	Kalahandi ..	1,009,654	335,134	33.2
11	Koraput ..	1,498,271	912,343	60.9
12	Ganjam ..	1,872,530	188,001	10.0
13	Puri ..	1,865,439	67,474	3.6
14	Orissa ..	17,548,846	4,223,757	24.07

TABLE NO. 1—D

Comparison of Literacy among the Scheduled Caste Population and General Population of Orissa (Districtwise)

Sl No.	Name of the district	General population	Literacy among general population	Per-centage	Sch. Caste popula-tion	Literacy among Sch. caste popula-tion	Per-centage
1	Sambalpur	1,508,686	345,972	22.93	244,985	35,611	14.5
2	Sundergarh	758,617	149,546	19.72	73,134	8,476	11.6
3	Keonjhar	743,315	131,258	17.65	102,942	15,948	15.5
4	Mayurbhanj	1,204,043	170,679	14.17	104,273	12,888	12.3
5	Balasore	1,415,923	417,527	29.18	266,754	37,024	13.9
6	Cuttack	3,06,320	912,551	29.18	547,922	67,701	12.3
7	Dhenkanal	1,028,935	241,332	23.45	187,156	22,681	12.1
8	Phulbani	514,427	91,015	17.69	99,399	12,365	12.4
9	Bolangir	1,068,686	155,906	14.58	187,422	13,930	7.4
10	Kalahandi	1,009,654	111,622	11.05	190,520	13,722	7.2
11	Koraput	1,498,271	124,440	8.30	186,438	12,215	6.5
12	Ganjam	1,872,530	399,213	21.31	308,298	31,340	10.2
13	Puri	1,865,439	550,184	29.49	264,615	35,770	13.5
	Orissa	17,548,846	3,801,245	21.66	2,763,858	3,196,71	11.6

TABLE NO. 1—E

Comparison of Literacy among the Scheduled Tribes Population and General Population of Orissa (Districtwise) 1961

Sl No	Name of the district	General population	Literacy among general population	Per-centage	Sch. Tribe population	Literacy among Sch. Tribe population	Per-centage	Re-marks
1	Sambalpur ..	1,508,686	345,972	22·93	439,405	55,344	12·5	
2	Sundargarh ..	758,617	149,546	19·72	440,910	45,008	10·2	
3	Keonjhar ..	743,315	131,258	17·65	350,389	20,949	5·9	
4	Mayurbhanj	1,204,043	170,679	14·17	229,764	51,834	7·1	
5	Balasore ..	1,415,923	417,527	29·48	96,007	5,471	5·6	
6	Cuttack ..	3,060,320	912,551	29·18	85,863	7,510	8·7	
7	Dhenkanal ..	1,028,935	241,332	23·45	143,484	14,548	10·1	
8	Phulbani ..	514,427	91,615	17·69	214,067	25,296	11·8	
9	Bolangir ..	1,068,686	155,806	14·58	220,916	18,363	8·3	
10	Kalahandi ..	1,009,654	111,622	11·05	335,134	19,263	5·7	
11	Koraput ..	1,498,271	124,440	8·30	912,343	28,959	3·1	
12	Ganjam ..	1,872,530	399,213	21·31	188,001	11,440	6·0	
13	Puri ..	1,865,439	550,184	29·49	67,474	6,921	10·2	
	Orissa ..	17,548,846	3,801,245	21·66	4,223,757	310,906	7·36	

TABLE NO. 1 F.

Comparison of literacy among the scheduled castes Population and general population of Orissa (district-wise)

1971

Sl. No.	Name of the district	General population	Literate among general population	Percentage	Schedule Caste population	Literate among the schedule Caste	Percentage	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	Balasore ..	1,830,504	617,105	33.71	338,802	69,536	20.52	
2	Bolangir ..	1,263,657	251,724	16.49	208,430	24,344	11.67	
3	Cuttack ..	3,827,678	1,394,399	36.42	691,180	124,757	18.04	
4	Dhenkanal ..	1,293,914	359,277	27.76	216,887	32,695	15.07	
5	Ganjam ..	2,293,808	560,104	24.4	365,284	44,939	12.30	
6	Keonjhar ..	955,514	203,081	21.25	107,784	20,620	19.13	
7	Koraput ..	2,043,281	216,251	13.41	274,115	25,225	9.20	
8	Kalahandi ..	1,163,869	161,223	17.11	199,151	18,963	9.52	
9	Mayurbhanj	1,434,200	258,887	18.05	103,713	17,867	17.22	
10	Phulbani ..	621,675	123,014	18.97	117,987	17,283	14.64	
11	Puri ..	2,340,859	827,327	35.34	316,831	57,001	17.99	
12	Sundargarh	1,030,758	272,801	26.46	82,692	14,803	17.90	
13	Sambalpur ..	1,844,898	500,256	27.11	287,998	48,734	16.92	
Total ..		21,944,615	5,74,5399	26.18	3,310,854	5,16,767	15.60	

Source —(i) Union primary Census Abstract—71, State Orissa

(ii) Census office (Provisional figures)

(iii) Final population Census of India—71.

TABLE NO. 1-G.

Comparison of literacy among the scheduled Tribes population and general population of Orissa (District wise)

Sl. No.	Name of the district	General population	Literate among general population	Percentage	Scheduled Tribe population	Literate among the scheduled Tribe population	Percentage	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	Balasore ..	1,830,504	617,105	33·71	129,192	9,091	7·03	
2	Bolangir ..	1,263,657	208,430	16·49	249,131	30,316	12·16	
3	Cuttack ..	3,827,678	1,394,399	36·42	110,746	8,712	7·86	
4	Dhenkanal ..	1,293,914	359,227	27·76	166,998	18,481	11·06	
5	Ganjam ..	2,293,808	560,104	24·4	228,945	15,560	6·79	
6	Keonjhar ..	955,514	203,081	21·25	448,675	45,106	10·05	
7	Koraput ..	2,043,281	274,115	13·41	1,151,231	37,391	3·24	
8	Kalahandi ..	1,163,869	199,151	17·11	340,541	26,343	7·73	
9	Mayurbhanj	1,434,200	258,887	18·05	839,835	80,931	9·63	
10	Phulbani ..	621,675	117,987	18·97	250,605	31,010	12·37	
11	Puri ..	2,340,859	827,327	35·34	86,591	11,956	13·80	
12	Sundargarh	1,030,758	272,801	26·46	550,401	88,292	16·04	
13	Sambalpur ..	1,844,898	500,256	27·11	519,046	77,027	14·84	
	Total ..	21,944,615	5,745,399	26·18	5,071,937	480,221	9·46	

SOURCE —(i) Union primary Census Abstract—71
State Orissa.

(ii) Census office (provisional figure)

(iii) Final population—Census of India—71.

Table No. 2

Occupations of Scheduled Castes in 1961 and 1971.

Sl. No.	Type of workers	Number of workers	Percentage to total workers	Number of workers	Percentage to total workers	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Cultivators ..	469,846	38.2	304,918	27.4	10.8% Decreased.
2.	Agricultural Labourers ..	327,347	26.5	546,525	49.2	22.7% Increased
3.	MiLing, Quarrying Live-stock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting, Plantations, Orchards & Allied Activities.	30,739	2.5	35,533	3.2	7% Increased
4.	Manufacturing Processing & Repairings					
	Household Industry	129,340	1.6 (10.5)	59,567	5.3	3.7% Increased
	Other than household industry.	4,031	0.3	17,032	1.53	1.2% Increased
5.	Construction ..	1,17	0.13	5,608	0.5	0.4% Increased
6.	Trade & Commerce ..	16,352	1.4	18,044	1.6	0.2% Increased
7.	Transport, Storage and Communications.	2,742	0.2	17,388	1.5	1.3% Increased
8.	Other Services ..	2,48,520	20.2	106,005	9.5	10.7% Increased
	Total Workers ..	1,230,639		1,110,640		There is a decrease of 119999 workers between 1961 and 1971.

SOURCE— (i) Census of Orissa 1971 (Provisional figure)

(ii) Census of India 1961.

Table No. 2
Occupations of Scheduled Tribes in 1961 and 1971.

Sl. No.	Type of workers	Number of workers	Percentage to total workers	Number of workers	Percentage to total workers	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Cultivators ..	1,400,667	62.8	925,564	52.6	10.2% Decreased
2.	Agricultural Labourers ..	495,706	22.2	648,976	36.9	14.7% Increased
3.	Mining, Quarrying, Livestock, Hunting, Plantations, Orchards and Allied Activities.	38,276	1.7	56,354	3.2	1.5% Increased
4.	Manufacturing Processing, servicing and Repairing. Household Industry	69,179	3.10	20,899	1.2	1.9% Decreased
	Other than household Industry.	2,985	0.13	21,539	1.2	1.1% Increased
5.	Construction ..	1,038	0.04	4,227	0.2	0.16% Increased
6.	Trade & Commerce ..	7,594	0.33	10,251	0.6	0.3% Increased
7.	Transport, storage and communications.	1,910	0.08	5,835	0.3	0.22% Increased.
8.	Other Services ..	213,576	9.6	67,497	3.8	5.8% Decreased
	Total Workers ..	2,230,931	100	1,761,142	100	There is a decrease of 469789 workers between 1961 and 1971.

SOURCES—(i) Census Office (Provisional Figure)

(ii) Census of India 1961.

Spread of Christianity among
the Scheduled Tribes of Orissa.
(Based on analysis of
Census, 1961).

Bhagirathi Choudhury

Intercensus growth of christian population in Orissa during the decade of 1951—61 is a matter of great importance in the study of spread and impact of christianity among the tribals. According to census 1961, the christian population in Orissa grew during this period by 41.68 per cent as against the general increase of 19.62 per cent in the general population. "The excessive growth", it is surmised, "resulted from conversion of non-christian to Christianity. The Scheduled Castes appear to have played a prominent role in this activity" *. No doubt this seems appropriate when one visits the districts like Ganjam, Koraput and Phulbani in particular, where a large number of the population belonging to different Scheduled Castes have adopted christianity as their new faith. It would have been possible to substantiate the above statement, if special tables on religion for Scheduled Castes were available from the census reports 1961. The low percentage of growth (i. e. 5.1 per cent) among the Scheduled Castes as against 19.82 per cent among the general population and 19.75 per cent among the tribal population in the State during the decade of 1951—61 may be partly due to large scale conversion among the Scheduled Castes. Such converted Scheduled Castemen were eliminated from the enumeration as Scheduled Castes during the Census 1961. This also seems correct in accordance with our common belief that within the fold of christianity the caste system is not recognised, as it is a deciding factor for status differentiation in Hinduism. So as soon as a member of any caste occupying the lower rung of the Hindu caste ladder.

* Census of India, Vol- XIII, Orissa, Part-VA
Tables on Sch. Castes and Sch. Tribes, 1961 p-19.

embraces christianity, he ceases to be a member of his previous caste and thus feel elevated in the society by embracing christianity. If this is the situation among the Scheduled Castes, now let us find out the extent of conversion among the Scheduled Tribes, about whom a table on religion is available.

Before going into the details about the spread of Christianity among the Scheduled Tribes it is worthwhile to note the distribution of christian population. Their population has increased from 0.97 per cent in 1951 to 1.15 per cent in 1961. Table 1 will show that the districts of Sundargarh (106,342), Koraput (31,155), Ganjam (17,516), Boudh-Khondmals (16,267) and Sambalpur (11,910) have got bigger quotas of christian population. Their percentage to the total population in their respective district are 14.02 in Sundargarh, 2.08 in Koraput, 3.16 in Boudh-Khondmals, 0.93 in Ganjam and 0.78 in Sambalpur. Similarly, the district of Sundargarh claims 52.35 per cent of the total christian population of the State. It is followed by Koraput district with 15.54 per cent, Ganjam district with 8.71 per cent, Boudh-Khondmals with 8.09 per cent and Sambalpur with 5.94 per cent. The remaining eight districts possess 9.37 per cent of the total christian population. From the above analysis *it is clear that Sundargarh, Koraput, Ganjam, Boudh-Khondmals and Sambalpur districts have been affected to a greater extent.*

Christian population among the Scheduled Tribes

Now coming to christian population among the Scheduled Tribes of the State it is interesting to note that "the percentage of Hindus of Scheduled Tribes is almost equal to that of the total population while the proportion of christian is comparatively higher than that of the total population". * Christian population among the Scheduled Tribes constitutes 2.46 per cent as against 1.15 per cent in the general population. The tribal people who have been recorded as Hindu, have registered 97.50 per cent as against 97.57 per cent in the general population. Table 2 will show that the tribal christians claim 51.79 per cent of the total christian population of the State. Numerically the district of Sundargarh possess the highest number of

* Ibid p, 15

tribals, i. e. 87, 159. It is then followed by Sambalpur with 5,598, Boudh-Khondmals with 4,976 and Ganjam with 3,693.

From the consideration of Christian tribals in relation to the christian population in the districts, Sundargarh with 81.96 per cent heads the list. Although Keonjhar district has a small number of Christian population, i. e., 802 the tribal christians numbering 396 constitute 49.37 per cent. In Sambalpur they claim 46.16 per cent, in Boudh-Khondmals 30.35 per cent, in Kalahandi (though numerically not significant) 22.97 in Mayurbhanj (also not numerically important, 22.64 per cent and in Ganjam 21.08 per cent, while in other districts their percentage is low.

The percentage of tribal christians to the total tribal population in different districts may be seen from the Table 2. In Sundargarh their percentage is 19.76, in Koraput 0.85, in Ganjam 1.91, in Boudh-Khondmals 2.32 and in Sambalpur 1.25. From the above analysis it may be concluded that the tribal christians have greater quota of the christian population found in Sundargarh, Kouraput, Boudh-Khondmals, Ganjam and Sambalpur.

Tribal groups untouched by the spread of christianity

Now it may be examined which tribal groups have adopted christianity as their new faith and to what extent. At the outset it may be mentioned that as many as twenty-eight out of sixty varieties of tribes returned during the Census, 1961 have remained untouched by the spread of christianity. These are Bagata (1,511), Baiga (43), Bathudi (104,542), Bhumia (50,294), Bhunjia (2,375), Birhor (273), Bonda Poroja (4,677), Chenchu (52), Dal (9,844), Desua Bhumij (248), Didayi (1,978), Kold (46,397), Kolah-kol-Laharas (792) Kuli including Malhars (344), Kotia (3,559), Kondadora (16,526), Lodha (2,376), Media (381), Mankidi (627), Mankirdia 169), Matia (5,711), Omanatya (14, 365), Parenga (6,861) and Sounti (44,409). From this it is clear that there are some numerically important and several primitive tribes have not adopted christianity as their new faith. The total population of these twenty-eight tribes comes to 333,366 and constitutes 7.8 per cent of the total population. The remaining 3,890,391 population belonging to forty-two tribes have got 104,125 christian population (i. e., 2.7 per cent).

Figures in brackets stand for population in 1961.

Tribes who have Christian population

The Table 3 will show the number and percentage of Christian population among the different tribes in the State. The Munda tribe with a Christian population of 32,739 occupies the numerically highest position. It is then followed by the Oraon tribe with a Christian population of 30,763, the Kharia with 18,986, the Kisan with 7,806 and the Khonds with 6,290. The Saora and Shabar have 4,149 Christians. Thus there are several numerically important tribes such as Bhuyan, Bhumij, Bhattada, Gond, Ho, Kolha, Koya, Mirdha, Mundari, Paroja, Pentia and Santal who have been very little affected by the spread of christianity.

In consideration of percentage of Christian population to their respective total population in the State, the Oraon tops the list. As much as 23.84 per cent of its total population of 129,061 are christians. It is followed by Kharia with 18.23 per cent, the Munda with 14.71 per cent and Kisan with 6.21 per cent. The christian population among Munda, Kisan, Oraon, Kharia, Khond, Saora and Shabar constitutes 96.72 per cent of the total christian population among the total tribal population of the state.

Distribution of christian tribals in different districts

The distribution of christian population belonging to Munda, Kisan, Oraon, Kharia, Khond, Saora and Shabar tribe in different districts may be analysed here in order to get an idea about which tribal groups have got christian population to what extent. As mentioned earlier christian tribals are dominant in Sundargarh, Koraput, Ganjam, Boudh, Khondmals and Sambalpur districts.

Christian population among the Munda tribe

Table 4 will show the distribution of Christian Mundas in different districts. Although they are generally found in large number in the district of Sundargarh, Sambalpur and Keonjhar, the converted Mundas are more numerous in Sundargarh district. Here they claim 28.05 per cent of their total population and 36.62 per cent of the total tribal christians. In Sambalpur and Keonjhar districts they have less number of Christian converts and in the rest of the districts their number is very negligible.

Christian population among the Oraon Tribe

From the Table 5 it may be seen that the Oraons are generally found in Sundargarh, Sambalpur and Keonjhar districts. In the former the christian converts constitute 25.62 per cent of their total population and in Sambalpur 11.68 per cent. The district of Keonjhar has a limited number of Christian Oraons who form 10.17 per cent of its total population in the district. The christian Oraons in Sundargarh constitute 33.54 per cent of the total tribal christians of the district. The corresponding figure for Sambalpur is 25.77 per cent.

Christian population among the Kisan Kharia Tribe

From the Table 6 it may be seen that the Kisans are mainly found in Sundargarh and Sambalpur districts, where the Christian Kisan are also seen in large number. In other districts the number of converted Kisan is only 5 out of a population of 8,508. In Sundargarh the converted Kisans constitute 14.59 per cent of their total population and 8.48 per cent of the tribal christians of the district. In Sambalpur, although the Christian Kisans constitute 0.61 per cent of their population, claims 7.39 per cent of the total tribal Christian population of the district.

Christian population among the Kharia Tribe

Table 7 will reveal that in Sundargarh district 31.35 per cent of the total population of 53,243 belonging to Kharia tribe are christians. They claim 19.15 per cent of the total tribal Christians in the district. In Sambalpur district also the Christian Kharias claim 11.89 per cent of its total population and 7.39 per cent of the total tribal christians in the district. In other district, there are only 15 christian Kharias in a population of 24,268.

Christian population among the Khond Tribe

It may be seen that the Christian Khonds are generally found in Boudh-Khondmals, Koraput and Kalahandi districts. In the former, they form 2.40 per cent of their total population and 96.48 per cent of the total tribal christians in the district. In Koraput the christian Khonds though constitute 0.40 per cent of their total population, claim 66.40 per cent of the total tribal Christians in the district. In Kalahandi their number is still less, but they constitute 66.37 per

cent of the total tribal christians in the district. In the remaining districts there are only 173 christians in a population of 201,590.

Christian population among the Saora Tribe

From the Table 9 it is clear that the christian Saora although small in number, claim 33.41 per cent and 25.17 per cent of the tribal christians in Ganjam and Koraput districts, respectively. In the remaining districts, their number is insignificant although the population of the tribe is very large.

Christian population among the Shabar Tribe

As will be seen from the Table 10, the Christian Shabars claim 6.76 per cent of its total population and 64.18 per cent of the total tribal christians in the district of Ganjam and 0.39 per cent of its total population and 4.18 per cent of the total tribal christian population in the district of Koraput. In rest of the districts there are only 2 Christian Shabar in a population of 141,114.

Conclusion

It may thus be concluded, on the basis of 1961 census data, that the tribal christians, as mentioned earlier, concentrate mainly in Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Ganjam, Koraput and Boudh-Khondmals. Secondly, christian converts belonging Munda, Oraon, Kisan, Kharia, Khond, Saora and Shabar constitute the absolute majority of the tribal converts. This is quite clear from the Table 11.

In Sundargarh christians belonging to Munda, Oraon, Kisan and Kharia tribes claim 97.79 per cent of the total tribal christians in the district. In Sambalpur district, they constitute 83.63 per cent. In Ganjam district christians belonging to Saora and Shabar tribes form 97.59 per cent of the total tribal christians. In Koraput christians belonging to Khond, Saora and Shabar claim 95.75 per cent and in Boudh Khondmals the Christian Khonds form 96.48 per cent of the total tribal christians.

TABLE 1

Districtwise distribution of Christian Population (1961)

District	Total population	Christian population	Percentage of Christian population to total population	Percentage of Christian population to the total christian population of the State	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
Sundargarh ..	758,617	106,342	14.02	52.35	
Koraput ..	1,009,656	31,155	2.08	15.54	
Ganjam ..	1,872,530	17,516	0.93	8.71	
Boudh-Kondhmals	514,427	16,267	3.16	8.71	
Sambalpur ..	1,508,686	11,910	0.78	5.94	
Bolangir ..	1,068,686	5,071	0.47	9.37	
Kalahandi	1,009,654	1,498	0.15		
Cuttack ..	3,060,320	4,562	0.15		
Puri ..	1,865,439	2,644	0.14		
Balasore ..	1,415,923	1,945	0.14		
Keonjhar ..	743,315	602	0.11		
Mayurbhanj ..	1,204,043	870	0.07		
Dhenkanal ..	1,028,935	455	0.04		
Total	1,754,886	201,017	1.15	100	

TABLE 2

Districtwise Distribution of Christian Tribals (1961)

District	Total S. T. population	Total S. T. Christian	Percentage of Christian S. T. to total S. T. population	Percentage of christian S. T. to total Christian population in the district	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
Sundargarh ..	440,710	87,159	19.79	81.96	
Koraput ..	192,343	1,646	0.85	5.29	
Ganjam ..	18,800	3,693	1.91	21.08	
Boudh-Khondmal	214,067	4,976	2.32	30.55	
Sambalpur ..	439,405	5,498	1.25	45.16	
Bolangir ..	220,405	212	0.09	4.18	
Kalahandi ..	335,134	328	0.09	22.97	
Cuttack ..	85,863	2	0.02	0.04	
Puri ..	67,474	4	0.01	0.15	
Balasore ..	96,007	2	0.02	0.10	
Keonjhar ..	350,389	396	0.11	49.37	
Mayurbhanj ..	729,764	196	0.03	22.64	
Dhenkanal ..	143,484	10	0.01	2.19	
Total ..	4,223,757	104,125	2.46	51.79	

TABLE 3

Christian population among different tribes of Orissa as per Census 1961

Sl. No.	Name of the Tribe	Population	Christian population in the tribe	Percentage of Christian population to the total population of the tribe	Percentage of Christian tribal of the State
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Kharia ..	96,691	18,986	19.63	18.23
2	Khond ..	818,847	6,290	0.70	6.06
3	Kisan ..	125,668	7,806	6.21	7.49
4	Munda ..	221,399	32,739	14.79	31.44
5	Oraon ..	129,061	30,763	23.84	29.54
6	Saora ..	311,614	1,708	0.55	1.64
7	Shabar ..	183,613	2,441	1.33	2.34
8	Banjara ..	3,678	124	3.37	
9	Bhottada ..	159,091	44	0.03	
10	Bhumij ..	116,181	48	0.04	
11	Binjhal ..	79,692	23	0.03	
12	Binjhia ..	2,230	3	0.13	
13	Bhuyan ..	156,878	256	0.16	
14	Dharua ..	7,210	13	0.13	
15	Gadaba ..	43,939	7	0.01	
16	Gondia ..	199	2	1.00	
17	Gond ..	445,705	867	0.19	

Sl. No.	Name of the Tribe	Population	Christian population in the tribe	Percentage of Christian population to the total population of the tribe	Percentage of Christian to total tribal Christian of the State
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
18	Ho ..	43,323	12	0.02	
19	Kharwar ..	717	7	0.97	3.28
20	Kolha ..	203,515	684	0.34	
21	Kora ..	7,189	2	0.02	
22	Korua ..	953	2	0.21	
23	Koya ..	55,284	24	0.04	
24	Kulis ..	1,609	157	9.75	
25	Mahali ..	7016	40	0.57	
26	Mirdha ..	26,660	15	0.06	
27	Mundari ..	17,688	272	1.54	
28	Paroja ..	159,866	11	0.01	
29	Pentia ..	9,656	10	0.10	
30	Rajuar ..	1,018	1	0.09	
31	Santal ..	41,181	103	0.25	
32	Tharua ..	310	3	2.34	
33	Unclassified ..	10,836	652	6.02	
Total ..		3,890,391	104,125		100

TABLE 4
Distribution of Christian Munda

Sl. No.	District	Total population	Christian population	Percentage of Christian population to total population	Percentage of Christian population to total tribal Christian	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Sundergarh ..	113,431	31,818	28.05	36.62	
2.	Sambalpur ..	35,665	419	1.38	9.00	
3.	Keonjhar ..	27,492	260	0.95	65.65	
4.	Mayurbhanj ..	4,727	59	1.25	30.10	
In other districts		40,084	5	Negligible		
Orissa ..		221,399	32,729	14.79	31.44	

TABLE 5
Distribution of Christian Oraon

Sl. No.	District	Total population	Christian population	Percentage of Christian population to total population	Percentage of Christian Oraons to total tribal Christian in the district	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Sundergarh ..	114,103	29,239	25.62	33.54	
2	Sambalpur ..	12,129	1,417	11.68	25.77	
3	Keonjhar ..	1,003	102	10.17	25.76	
In other districts		1,826	5	Negligible		
Orissa ..		129,061	30,763	23.71	29.54	

TABLE 6
Distribution of Christian Kisan

Sl. No.	District	Total population	Christian population	Percentage of christian population to total population	Percentage of christian tribal population	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Sundergarh ..	50,632	7,396	14.59	8.48	
2	Sambalpur ..	66,528	405	0.61	7.39	
3	In other districts	8,508	5	Negligible	..	
Orissa ..		125,668	7,806	6.24	7.49	

TABLE 7
Distribution of Christian Kharia

Sl. No.	District	Total population	Christian population	Percentage of Christian population to total population	Percentage of Christian tribal christian population	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Sundergarh ..	53,243	16,690	31.35	19.15	
2	Sambalpur ..	19,180	2,281	11.89	41.47	
	In other districts	24,268	15	Negligible	..	
Orissa ..		96,691	18,986	19.64	18.23	

TABLE 8
Distribution of Christian Khonds

Sl. No.	District	Total population	Christian population	Percentage of christian population to total population	Percentage of christian population to total tribal christian	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Boudh-Kondhmal	199,006	4,801	2.40	96.48	
2	Koraput	271,698	1,095	0.40	66.40	
3	Kalahandi ..	146,553	221	0.15	67.37	
4	In other districts	201,590	173	Negligible		
	Orissa ..	818,847	6,290	0.70	6.04	

TABLE 9
Distribution of Christian Saora

Sl. No.	District	Total population	Christian population	Percentage of christian population to total population	Percentage of christian population to total Tribal Christian	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Ganjam ..	96,128	1,234	1.28	33.41	
2	Koraput ..	36,329	415	1.14	25.17	
	Other districts ..	79,257	59	Negligible	..	
	Orissa ..	311,714	708	0.55	1.64	

TABLE 10
Distribution of Christian Shabar

Sl. No.	District	Total population	Christian population	Percentage of christian population to total population	Percentage of Christian Shabar to tribal christian	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Ganjam	34,916	2,370	6·76	64·18	
2	Koraput ..	17,583	69	0·39	4·18	
3	Other districts	141,114	2	Negligible	..	
Orissa		193,613	2,441	1·33	2·34	

TABLE 11

Percentage of Christian population among some tribes to total tribal christians in some district.

Sl. No.	Tribes	Sundergarh	Sambalpur	Ganjam	Koraput	Boudh-Khondmals	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Munda	36·62	9·00	..	..	..	..
2	Oraon ..	33·54	25·77	..	..	..	..
3	Kisan ..	8·48	7·39	..	..	..	..
4	Kharia ..	19·15	41·47	..	..	..	..
5	Khonds ..	..	..	..	66·40	96·48	..
6	Saora ..	..	..	33·41	25·17	..	..
7	Shabar ..	..	..	64·18	4·18	..	..
Total ..		97·79	83·63	97·59	95·75	96·48	..

Changing pattern of leadership in a Haryana village.

T. M. Dak

1. Introduction

There is a growing demand on the part of the extension workers engaged in bringing about changes to accelerate the speed of development. Any new change always takes place in the existing social system of a community. If the change is introduced without taking into consideration the social system, its values and traditions and leadership pattern, there are possibilities that the people will strongly resist such efforts. In our community programmes the emphasis has already been given on understanding the social system before introducing any change so that change may be least disruptive to the peoples' way of life. It is also recognised that the local leadership plays a significant role in diffusion and adoption of new ideas. The study of the social system and its leadership pattern, therefore, will be of great use in telling us as to how far people may be influenced with regard to the acceptances of new changes especially in the field of agriculture. Such a study may also serve as a guide in working with people as well as in predicting peoples' response to change.

The present study has been taken up keeping in view the above assumptions. While designing this study the following objectives were kept in view:—

- (i) To study the changing pattern of leadership in a village community and to find out as to what extent and in what form people are affiliated with different groups and factions.
- (ii) To study the factors influencing leadership pattern in the village, and.
- (iii) To study the implication of the type of social system and the leadership pattern on developmental programme.

II. Method of Study

The village Haripur has been purposively selected for the study. The persons who have been contacted for the purpose of the study were randomly selected. In addition to random selection a few key persons have also been purposely selected for interview. In all, 25 socio-metrically selected villagers and seven key persons have been interviewed for collecting data for the present study.

The interview method was considered as most appropriate for this study. The separate interview guides were prepared indicating the areas on which information was to be collected.

For the study of the leadership pattern and group affiliation the multistage interview technique has been adopted. At the first stage, respondents were interviewed randomly with a view to find out with whom they consult at the hours of need and help and at the second stage the persons who are being consulted were interviewed in their turn to ascertain as to whom they look for guidance and help. The data thus collected were analysed through sociometric techniques.

The records were available with the Panchayat, V. L. W. and the Patwari have also been used to corroborate the information collected.

The case method has also been adopted to corroborate the findings of the study of leadership pattern.

The village could have been studied from several points of views but keeping in view the limitations of time and personnel only a few aspects of the village life, i.e., social structure and leadership pattern have been taken into consideration as they were considered most important factors in decisions making regarding developmental programmes

III. Findings

Underlying Factors—The village Haripur can be considered typical one, in the sense that it is culturally, physically socially and linguistically much more close to the city and the urban centres around it than the isolated villages. It has its own pattern and mode of life which is to some extent unique. Villagers next door to each other differ considerably. It does not mean that there are no regional uniformities. The structure of the village is a complex due to the large size of its population and presence of all major caste groups.

A new dimension is also added to the complexity of the village social system as it is a nucleated village and close to the town in terms of distance as well as communicability.

Population—The village social system and leadership pattern in India has been largely determined by the caste system. The village Haripur is a mult caste village having a population of 1,272 with 195 families as shown in the following table:—

TABLE I

<i>Ritual status</i>	<i>Castes</i>	<i>No. of families</i>
Higher castes	(1) Brahmins	19
	(2) Banias	18
	(3) Roars	80
Intermediaries castes	(1) Kumahars	5
	(2) Jeemars	22
	(3) Barber	6
	(4) Blacksmith/Carpenters	2
	(5) Tailors & Chhimbe	3
Lower castes	(1) Dakots	4
	(2) Vyas	1
	(3) Chamars (Shoe makers)	18
	(4) Balmikis (Churah)	15
Refugee		2

Dominant Caste—The concept of dominant caste is relevant at this stage. The Roar caste is dominant as it is numerically strongest in the village and exercises preponderating influence on the economic and political life of the village, although ritually it is not the highest caste in terms of traditional system of ranking. However, it does not mean that caste of the lowest order can be a dominant as such cases have not been reported so far. The Roars are not only numerically preponderant, but enjoy the control of most of the cultivated land of the village, sources of irrigation and offices in the village institutions. Of the 98 land owning families, all the 80 families of the Roar are land owners. Brahmin comes next to it by virtue of thier number, wealth,

education and political power in the Panchayat, although Banias, Jeemars and Chamars are more or less equal in number.

Caste Panchayats—Caste Panchayats have been powerful organization in the village communities in the past and even today they exercise tremendous amount of social control over the members. These are commonly known as 'Bradri'. Usually each caste has its own 'Bradri', at the local or regional level and common code of conduct is always decided by it. At the village level, elders of the caste acts on behalf of the 'Bradri' if it is organised at the regional level and they give decisions on the matters concerning that caste. The Roar have their 'Bradri' organisation at Karnal. Any deviation from the existing norms of life is always condemned by these organisations particularly in sensitive matter such as marriage, intercaste relation, social distance and food patterns etc. Such control and conformity are now undergoing a change under the urban influence and the leaders of the community usually keep silence over certain issues such as taking of eggs, sending of girls to schools for higher education, etc.

Caste leadership and village Unity—Enough evidence can be produced to indicate the kind of ties that bind together the members of a traditional village community which was a body of people living in a restricted area, at some distance from other similar communities, with extremely poor roads and communication between them and the majority of whom were engaged in agricultural activities. People were all closely dependent upon each other and having least familiarity with the outside world. Under such social set up, the ties were strong enough and people were following traditional norms strictly. But the forces of urbanisation, cultural contacts, modern education: political uprising, etc., have made a concentrated efforts to snap these ties. Same is true in case of Haripur village.

The village Haripur is situated at a cycling distance from its nearest town and city. These places are visited by the people very frequently. It was observed that even for a cup of tea people come to nearby town to have it. Thus, they are exposed to the urban influence to a great extent. This factor has brought them more close to the political currents of the region. Besides it, nearly one hundred persons from about 80 families are employed outside the village. Nearly 80 boys are reading in the school outside the village. At times, people find themselves in a position to

escape from the traditional norms especially when they are but on their jobs. Probably, this is why the curiosity or temptation towards the outside agency is almost lost and the social ties have weakened considerably since the contact with the outside world has opened the doors of new relationship and friendship.

Even in a traditional community the existence of the institution of caste has always threatened the unity and solidarity of the village communities as the ties of the caste cut across the village boundary. The members of a caste living in the village have many sorts of relationship with their fellow castemen living in nearby villages while they observed several restrictions in matters of marriage and dining with the members of other castes. These ties based on caste cut across the village limits and are much more strong when communications are affective. It is, therefore, conceived that the caste solidarity is much stronger than the village unity especially where more than one caste live. Each of these castes has a distinctive traditions with strong social kinship and religious and economic ties with the same caste in the villages nearby.

However, it does not mean that membership of the same caste alone lessens the rivalry among them. It should also not be concluded that the members of two castes will always be in a state of tension and conflict. The analysis of cases of Chandan v/s Munshi Ram and Ramdiya v/s Chandan and Chatru supports the view. The ties cutting across the caste lines are as much important as the binding ties of caste. Different castes are found interdependent. Usually a family will not easily change its barber, carpenter, shoe maker or potter as this monopoly is not absolute as any inefficiency or non-payment may threaten these intercaste relations. The ties existing between castes of different ranks and social status seem to disappear following the developmental programmes and political trend particularly Panchayati Raj. Most of the benefits of these programmes have been derived by the higher ranking castes, especially well off, politically more conscious and numerically preponderant. The lower castes, majority of whom do not own land did not gain anything from the irrigation projects and agricultural schemes. Thus, the levelling effect of the developmental programmes has not been attained. Even village bodies, such as Panchayat, are being dominated by the higher caste members although one of the members or the lower caste is being co-opted compulsorily

This situation has cut the lowest castes adrift from the other villagers of the higher rank, wealth and political power on whom they were depending upon in case of dire need. A drastic change is taking place in the traditional relationships of these castes. Now the members of the lower or servicing castes tend to have no such support. They have started looking for new friendship circles beyond the limits of caste and the village besides doing some labour jobs and attending ceremonies and festivals of higher castes. At the present state of affairs, the situation of the village people seems to be unique. The members of a caste are seeking friendship outside their own caste following strong social political and other differences. The traditional relationship of castes of different ranks is also gradually disappearing. Neither the caste membership nor the interdependence of different castes are able to provide needed motivation for group solidarity. People are constantly in search of new relationships, new friends beyond the limit of caste and the village depending upon their provisional interests, economic or otherwise. Consequently, the process of the formation of cliques or factions seems to operate in the village community as evident from the cases of common wall and street drain.

Leadership and Factionalism—The question of leadership and pattern of influence at operational level has also been examined by socio-metric techniques. Multi stage interviews were conducted for finding out as to how people are affiliated to each other in the form of groups and cliques.

The analysis of the first and second choices has been presented in Table II.

TABLE II

Matrix Table showing choices received by village leaders in socio-agricultural field

Sl No.	Leaders	First choice	Second choice	Total
1	Shri Hans Raj	2	1	3
2	Shri Chatru	2	3	5
3	Shri Shatru	2	0	2

Sl. No.	Leaders	First choice	Second choice	Total
4	Shri Mam Raj	1	2	3
5	Shri Bakhtawar	2	4	6
6	Shri Puran	2	2	4
7	Shri Surta	0	1	1
8	Shri Banwari	1		1
9	Shri Risal Singh	0	0	0
10	Shri Antu	1	1	2
11	Shri Prahalad	1	1	2
12	Shri Maher Singh	..	2	2
13	Shri Shiv Ram	1	1	2
14	Shri Atra	0	0	0
15	Shri Harbhanjan	1	0	1
16	Shri Lal Singh	0	0	0
17	Shri Ramdiya	1	3	4
18	Shri Jagu	0	0	0
19	Shri Jitu	0	0	0
20	Shri Shiv Lal	1	1	2
21	Shri Munshi Ram	0	1	1
22	Shri Nathi Ram	1	0	1
23	Shri Chandan	3	1	4
24	Shri Sarda	0	1	1
25	Shri Suraj Bhan	2	0	2

The data of analysis regarding the frequency of choice for each individual and total number of times he was chosen, indicates clearly the relative influence exercised by

different persons in the village. It is evident from the above table that there is no single prominent leader in the village. The leadership is almost scattered in different individuals.

The table shows that Bakhtawar is the popular and influential leader in the group but he does not enjoy the monopoly as there are number of other individuals who hold more or less the same influence. Shri Chandan, Puran, Randiya, Chatru fall in this category. Shri Hans Raj, Main Raj and Antu come next to it who have received third highest choice.

Shri Risal Singh, Artu, Lal Singh, Jagu and Jita have emerged as isolates as they did not receive any preference although they give their choice to some other individuals.

The group alliances as emerged from the above data has been explained by the following sociogram :(see at the end of the paper).

The interaction of the individuals as shown in the sociogram, clearly indicates the existence of a few influential leaders, isolated individuals in the leadership struggle, and the patterns of group affiliations which are called cliques or factions.

It is evident from the sociogram that there exist three factions or cliques, the smallest one being linked up with the bigger faction. No. 5 is the most influential person in the bigger faction while Nos. 2 and 23 enjoy leadership position of equal strength in the other faction.

It is also interesting to note that influential leaders in both the major foctions give mutual choices to the member of their own faction. It implies that the factions have their deep roots in the past.

With a view to verify the existence of the factions in the village, two real cases have been analysed and they have also corroborated the information that existence of factions is a reality hindering development programmes in the village.

Case 1 :

Chandan Ram is one of the residents of village Haripur. His house is situated in the heart of the village on the back of the house of Shri Munshi Ram, the another resident of the village. Both of them are Rore by caste. They were having

good relations with each other. They have shared with each other in sorrow and in happiness of the life in the past as they were good neighbours.

At one stage of time Chandan Ram has decided to construct the pucca building. An idea came in his mind to build a common wall dividing his house from the Munshi Ram's area. With this idea he has approached Munshi Ram. With the settlement of the terms and conditions Munshi Ram agreed to it. The work has started and the wall has been constructed in common. Munshi Ram has also contributed in the construction of wall in terms of kind and labour for which no records are available, since it was going on mutual trust and confidence.

During the process of the construction house, Shri Chandan Ram was told to bring some earth to be used in the construction. For the sake of convenience he thought that the earth can be dug from Munshi Ram's compound, which was not in use. With this idea he started digging earth without consulting Sh. Munshi Ram. When Sh. Munshi Ram came to know about it, he bluntly refused him to use his area for this purpose. During a hot discussion over this issue some criminal assaults have been made by both sides on each other. The prominent persons of the village were divided into two group supporting each of these two fellows.

When house was just to complete Shri Chandan Ram wanted to take revenge from Munshi Ram and therefore the slope of the water was kept in the side of Shri Munshi Ram. With the backing of prominent village people Munshi Ram filed the case in the court where Chandan Ram won the case. As a result of this incident Shri Munshi Ram had to loose his partnership in the wall and he had to tolerate the slope of the water on his side. The village is also divided into two major groups showing their sympathy to each of these two fellows. Chandan Ram was always supported at every step by some of his caste fellows including Chatru, Antu, Puran, Shiv Ram, Jaggu etc. Shri Munshi Ram has received some sympathy from Ramdiya, Lal Singh, Mehar Singh, Harbhajan and some brahmins and Bania leaders including Nathi Ram, Ram Kishna, Krishna Datt, etc.

Case 2 :

Before panchayat came into existence there was no arrangement for construction of the roads, pavements and the drains in the village. Everything was going well on the

mutual consideration of different caste members. The heart of the village was occupied by higher caste people majority of which are Rores. The street on the southern side of the village passing from east to west was kutchra one. In the centre of the street there are some Rore families living nearby. Near the house of Ramdiya and Antu there are families of Chandan and Chatru and their kin fellows. During the rainy season they were all facing the difficulty of how to drain the rainy water collected near these houses. After some discussions it was decided in mutual trust that the Ramdiya and Antu should allow some space in their unused plot to drain out the rain water. Sh. Ramdiya and Antu have agreed to this common request.

After seven years of use the drain was gradually windened and has covered lot of space. This act has been brought into the notice of the concerned village people and the panchayat also since it was concerned with the village development work. With the combined efforts of the villagers, panchayat has agreed to spend some money to make it a pucca drain so that space is not unnecessarily wasted. Panchayat has spent Rs. 120 for the construction of the drain in the said plot. In the year 1961, Shri Ramdiya wanted to construct a house on the plot. With this idea he has made a request to the Panchayat that since the space is available in the street itself to make a pucca drain he may be allowed to construct his house on the plot and the drain may be dismantled. After giving full consideration, panchayat has taken a decision under the presidentship of Shri Mam Ran, one of the influential fellow belonging to the Rore community, that if a sum of Rs. 200 is paid by Shri Ramdiya and Antu, keeping in view the increased prices for the construction of the similar drain, they may be allowed to construct house on the said plot. This decision has been accepted and Rs. 200 was paid to the Panchayat. The work has started but when it has reached up to the house of Shri Chandan Ram and Chatru and other fellows, people under the influence of Shri Chandan Ram and Chatru resented the construction. As a result it had to be stopped. During this resistance, some criminal assaults were made on each other. As a result the work was suspended for one and a half years. The panchayat has seriously considered the matter and decided that a fine of Rs. 350 should be imposed on each of Chatru and Chandan. The situation became very serious and once again the prominent persons from the village have divided themselves into two groups supporting against each other.

The case was referred to the court against panchayat by Chatru and Chandan group in which panchayat has won it. Ultimately the drain has been constructed. This incident has helped in refreshing the memory of the people with regard to the case of Chandan versus Munshi Ram. The prominent villagers have also come in direct conflict with each other. Since Mam Raj was he Sarpanch of the panchayat at that time when decision was taken to impose a fine, he had to face the opposition of Shri Chandan Ram and Chatru group. Chandan Ram and Chatru have also expressed their willingness to pay Rs. 700 if the status quo is maintained with regard to the drain. But was not accepted.

Before the last panchayat election took place it was decided not to compromise with Chandan and Chatru group. This decision was supported by Shri Ramdiya, Lal Singh, Munshi Ram, Risal Singh, Banwari, Bakhtawar, Mehar Singh, Nathi Ram Lal Singh, Harbhajan, Shiv Lal and other fellow members.

After sometime of this incident when the new elections are at hand, Shri Man Raj, without informing other supporters, has compromised with Chandan Ram in the hope that they will support him in next panchayat election. This fact has been exposed. As a result, Shri Krishan Dutt, then one of the panches in the Panchayat, decided to contest the election of Sarpanch, with his influence he could get the support of Chatru, one of the kin-member of Chandan alongwith the old supporters including Shiv Lal who was a candidate for the office of the Sarpanch against Mam Raj in the elections held in 1960-61. As a result, in the election held in 1964 Shri Mam Raj lost the game.

The significance of the two incidents, described above, can be understood only through the sociogram explaining clearly the character of two major factions. These factions cut across the caste lines and came into existence on the basis of conflicting interests as a result the Rores, although preponderous in number, wealth and land holding, do not have their representation in proportion to their number in the village bodies like panchayat as evident from the Table 3.

Moreover these factions have their deep roots in their kinship and locality differences. In the panchayat elections held in 1960-61, leaders from both major factions including Mam Raj have approached Shiv Lal, a sincere, social and respectable fellow from Rore caste, with a request to contest the election of Sarpanch. With a great persuasion he

agreed to it. But at the last moment, Shri Mam Raj has filled his papers of nomination for the Office of Sarpanch following the request from some corners. First was the kinship consideration. Most of the Rores are Chauchan by their clan and kinship while only two families are from Mirdha group whom Shiv Lal belongs to. People have started criticising the decision that a Mirdha candidate will rule over the Chauhans if elected unanimously. A suggestion has been given to file nomination papers in favour of the influential Brahmin supported Shiv Lal, but he lost the game by a few votes.

Locality consideration has also received some attention in this election. Mam Raj belongs to a patti in the north of the village, where most of the Scheduled Castes are living while Shiv Lal is living in the Southern patti of the village. Most of the people living in the Northern patti have decided to favour a candidate belonging to their locality.

In the election held in the year 1963-64, Mam Raj was again a candidate for the office of the Sarpanch. This time Shiv Lal and his associates persuaded Krishan Dutt, a Brahmin, to file his papers for the office of the Sarpanch. With the support of Shiv Lal, Krishan Dutt won the election. One more instance supports this sort of alliances. There is a drinking water well owned by Mirdha group of families including Shiv Lal and Hans Raj near their Chopal. The rainy water also stagnates on the katcha road near this well. There is no way to drain out the water. Efforts were made to construct a katcha drain but the fields nearby are owned by Shiv Ram one of the prominent members of the opponent faction. Therefore, this thing could not be materilised.

These incidents clearly reveal that the process of clique formation with everchanging membership and affiliations based on vested interests is going on in which non-agriculturists and numerically less powerful groups are being approached for an alliance in order to increase the strength of one of the two factions of a caste numerically much more powerful than any of the other castes or their combination. These less powerful groups, particularly Brahmins, are aware of the value of their support to any of the factions and consequently they tend to be in much advantageous position. The increase in the strength of the non-agriculturist and numerically less powerful castes in the village bodies such as Panchayat indicates this trend.

Panchayat Leadership—In all four panchayat elections were held during last eighteen years. In the earlier two elections held under Punjab Panchayat Act, 1952, there existed no body now known as Gramsabha. Sarpanch was elected from amongst the panches for three years. But the Panchayat Act, 1960 has made a provision of Gramsabha comprising of all adult members of the village and Panchayat as its executive body. The Sarpanch was now no more at the mercy of the Panches alone. The chairman of the Gramsabha was to be directly elected by the people who also becomes Sarpanch of the Panchayat. Under this act of 1960, provisions of a woman member and a scheduled caste member have also been made. This act has also introduced functional sub-committees of the Panchayat. These committees have provided firstly horizontal dispersal of authority and secondly lot of other influential people who could not come into the Panchayat can have the possibility of playing the leadership roles on a functional basis. It is contemplated that the best cultivator may be coopted to the committee concerned with agricultural development. This has had repercussions on the leadership question in general. The factors of age, caste, occupations and economic status have played significant role in the emerging leadership pattern of the panchayat during its four elections. It is surprising to note that education did not play any role in panchayat leadership as shown in the following table.

TABLE III

Table showing factors influencing Panchayat Leadership in its four elections.

Factors	Position of members in Panchayat Elections held in—			
	1952-53	1955-56	1960-61	1963-64
I. Age groups :				
31—40	1	1	2	3
41—50	1	3	2	3
51—60	1	1	2	1
..	3	5	6	7

Factor	Position of members in Panchayat Elections held in—				
	1952-53	1955-56	1960-61	1963-64	
II. Literacy level :					
Literate	..	2	2	1	3
Illiterate	..	1	3	5	4
		3	5	6	7
III. Caste Group :					
Brahmins	..	1	1	2	2
Roars	...	2	3	3	3
Lower Castes.	...	0	1	1	2
	...	3	5	6	7
IV. Occupation :					
Agricultural	...	2	3	3	3
Non-Agricultural	...	1	2	3	4
	...	3	5	6	7
V. Economic Status :					
Upper	—	0	0	0	0
Middle	—	3	4	4	5
Lower	...	0	1	2	2
	...	3	5	6	7

The above table indicates that the strength of the younger generation has gradually increased in the successive panchayat elections, while the position of old persons has remained the same particularly when the strength of the panchayat in general has also increased from three to seven during 1952-53 and 1963-64 election. It implies that more young people are being elected to occupy leadership positions in the village bodies.

The relationship of the literacy level with the Panchayat leadership seems to be negligible. The table III clearly shows this striking developing in which strength of the illiterate members of the Panchayat has gradually increased from 1 in 1952-53 to 4 in 1963-64. It may lead to the conclusion that the value of the education has not yet been recognised.

Among social factors, caste has played significant role in the panchayat leadership. Brahmins have gained comparatively much more popularity in panchayat leadership since their strength has increased from 1 to 2 during 1952-53 and 1963-64. With the provision of reserved seats for the scheduled caste member and woman member, two scheduled caste persons have come forward to occupy leadership position in the panchayat body, while there were none in the earlier elections held in 1952-53. The position of the Roes has almost remained the same although they are in majority. Analysis of case records and sociometric studies of the leadership indicates that the faction is the major factor in their decline and rise of Brahmins in the leadership positions in the Panchayat Offices.

The analysis of the table-III also reveals that occupation also plays significant role in the panchayat leadership. Although main occupation of the village is agriculture, the strength of the non-agriculture members has increased four times during 1952-53 and 1963-64 elections. The position of the panchayat members having agriculture as the main occupation has remained almost the same. Factors such as cultural contact of the people, nearness to the town, urban employment and factionalism among agriculturists seem to have facilitated non-agriculturists to come forward to occupy leadership position in the panchayat.

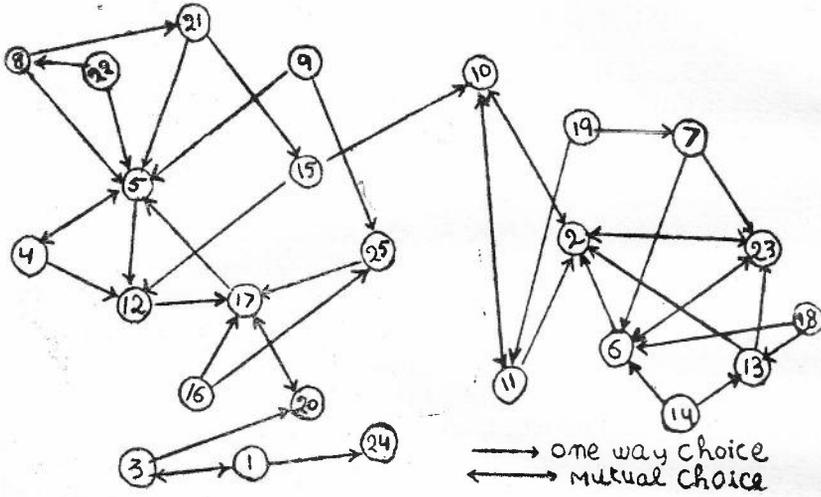
It is also a happy development that economically lower section of the population could be able to increase its representation on the panchayat offices which is evident from the ~~above table.~~

Conclusion—A foregoing analysis of the changing social system and leadership pattern of the village Haripur reveals that the community is constantly being pressurised by the forces of urbanisation, cultural contact, communication, industrialisation and education. Consequently, the people living in the village are experiencing greater degree of social, occupational and geographical mobility, which in turn, affecting intra-familial relations and family patterns; inter-caste and intra-caste relations; distribution of leadership and economic and occupational structure of the village. The number of the educated and literate people is gradually increasing; increasing number of people are seeking and getting urbanised jobs out of the village; unchallenged authority and solidarity of the caste are being questioned; the traditional balance between the level of caste and the level of occupation has been challenged with a view to bring economic prosperity; inter-caste relations are taking more and more economic turn replacing the traditional base; new groups with ever changing allignment and memberships are being formed cutting across the caste and village limits motivated by economic and political considerations and consequently the decision taken by one group in village matters is usually opposed by the other groups; outsiders presence no more creates interest and curiosity since hundreds of villagers are visiting the nearby towns daily in different frequency even for pretty things. This implies that people having intensive cultural and urban contact are easily susceptible to political alliances and factionalism.

It is surprising to note that the institutional leadership did not coincide with some of these changes as illiterates, landless persons and non-agriculturists and people from numerically less powerful groups are coming to occupy leadership positions comparatively in greater number.

Although the applicability of the findings of this study to the social structure and leadership pattern of other similar village communities cannot be predicted but one thing is certain that in the sphere of social relations significant change has been taking place in all the rural world as a result of new forces operating there. Where this will lead and to what extent they are desirable, are some of the questions which will be answered by intensive studies of other village communities to be taken up in the days ahead.

SOCIOGRAM



Consumption Pattern of Tribal Farmers in Nainital Tarai (U.P.)

J. P. Bhati,
T. V. Moorti
&
L. R. Singh

This paper is an attempt to explain the consumption pattern of Tharu tribals of Nainital Tarai. It is hoped this study will reveal the weaknesses of family budget and the items for which hard earned income is drained out and the items where there is a need for increasing expenditure and the items for which expenditure should be curtailed. This study also reveals that if there is an increase in the farm income, what proportion could be available for further investment.

Methodology

Forty farmers (18 small and 22 large) were selected from four Tharu villages of Khatima Block of Nainital Tarai representing 15 per cent of the total cultivating families. Data on sources of income and consumption expenditure were collected by personal survey method for the agricultural year 1970-71. To know the estimates of income elasticity and marginal propensity to consume, a consumption function of the Cobb-Douglas type ($C = aY^b$, where C is per farm annual consumption expenditure and Y is per farm annual disposable income) was also fitted to the basic data.

Results and Discussion

The per capita annual consumption expenditure for the tribal farmers is presented in Table 1. It can be seen from the table that the major item of expenditure is food which

* This paper is based on the thesis entitled, "A study of the socioeconomic aspects of tribal agriculture of Tarai (U. P.)" submitted to the G. B. Pant University of Agriculture and Technology, Pantnagar (1971) by the senior author in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Science in Agriculture (Agril, Econ.). The financial assistance received during the course of this study from Indian Council of Agricultural Research, New Delhi is ~~than~~ fully acknowledged.

TABLE 1

Per Capita Annual Consumption Expenditure on different items

Items	RUPEES			PERCENTAGES		
	Small	Large	All	Small	Large	All
Food —						
(a) Home produce	193.34	266.60	215.39	64.60	64.02	64.25
(b) Purchased ..	21.63	19.45	20.19	7.23	5.51	6.02
Clothing —	36.46	45.68	42.20	12.18	12.91	12.58
Household goods ...	5.75	6.67	6.36	1.92	1.84	1.90
Medicine ..	9.98	10.24	10.16	3.36	2.89	3.04
Education —	2.27	11.00	8.06	0.76	3.11	2.40
Travel ...	7.56	8.27	8.03	2.53	2.34	2.40
Recreation ..	9.53	14.94	13.12	3.18	4.22	3.91
Social ceremonies ...	9.38	6.30	7.34	3.13	2.78	2.20
Fuel and light —	3.33	4.89	4.36	1.11	1.38	1.30
Total ...	299.23	354.04	335.21	100.00	100.00	100.00

comprises of about 64 per cent of the total expenditure. Expenditure on clothing is the next important item of the family budget which comprises of about 13 per cent of the total expenditure. The proportion of expenditure on all other items is more or less the same. It can be further seen from the table that except on education there is no significant difference on the consumption pattern between small and large farmers. However, the large farmers spend about 3 per cent of their expenditure on the education of their children.

TABLE 2
Total net income and consumption expenditure (per farm)

Items		Small	Large	All
Farm total income	..	2,092	5,679	4,065
Off-farm income	..	..	336	185
Total income	...	2,092	6,015	4,250
Working farm expenditure	...	295	989	677
Total net income	..	1,797	5,026	3,573
Consumption expenditure	..	1,778	3,767	2,962
Proportion of consumption Exp. to total net income.	to	94.5%	62.6%	69.7%
C=1.742 Vo0.398* (S. E. O. 09588)		R ² =0.31 (MPC=0.41)		

Total farm income and the share of consumption expenditure is presented in table 2. As expected the small farmers spend a greater proportion of their income relative to large farmers. The consumption expenditure of small farmers is about 95 per cent of their total income as against only about 63 per cent in case of large farms. In absolute terms the income of large farms and also their consumption expenditure is significantly greater than that of small farmers.

Consumption Function

The equation indicates that the disposable income explains about one third of the total variation in consumption expenditure. In other words, there are some other factors which account for the major part of the variation in consumption expenditure. There is a need for further research to enquire into the other factors.

The regression co-efficient which is also the income elasticity of consumption expenditure is less than one. The

* Significant at 1% level

elasticity co-efficient suggests that a one per cent increase in the disposable income will increase the consumption by 0.39 per cent. The co-efficient is statistically significant at 1 per cent level of probability. Thus we may say that sensitivity of consumption to a change in disposable income is low. The low elasticity co-efficient may be attributed to the uncertainties associated with tribal agriculture. As the tribal farms are not sure of a guaranteed income at the end of the agricultural year the consumption is squeezed and is saved for rainy day. The marginal propensity to consume, which also gives indication about marginal propensity to save, is lower, contrary to the general belief that on traditional farms large proportion of additional income goes to consumption. Here the marginal propensity to save shows that increase by one rupee in income would result in Rs. 0.59 saving which could be made available for further investment in agriculture and would help in revolutionising the tribal agriculture, if these tribals are made aware of high returns to investment opportunities.

Conclusion

This may be concluded from the above results that there is no unusual waste in the consumption budget of Tharu Tribals of Nainital Tarai, although, due to poor preference for higher education for their children, expenditure on education is very low. Total consumption expenditure on average constitutes about 70 per cent of the total net income leaving about 30 per cent of the net income which could be invested in agriculture and/or outside agriculture at present level of consumption and income earned. Further, consumption function shows that an increase by one rupee in income would result in Rs. 0.59 saving. Thus, it may be suggested that there is need for ploughing back their savings into agriculture by making these tribals aware of the investment opportunities to modernize their agriculture.

THE ROLE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN THE SPREAD OF EDUCATION AMONG THE TRIBAL PEOPLE

N. K. AMBASHT

Most of the tribes in India had their own traditional system of education, which imparted education to the younger generation in the fields of folkways, mores, tradition, art, customs and social norms, totems and taboos and such other things. The method was informal and functioned through the organised institutions like Mosuo of the Abor, Zwalbuk of the Kuki, Morang of the Naga, Nokpanti of the Garo, Dhmkuria of the Oraon and Ghotul of the Gond, etc. These institutions provided education in as much as the young members were initiated into tribal life and groomed into effective and useful members of their society. The art of reading and writing was conspicuously absent from almost all the tribal societies. But, all the same these institutions were useful and effective organisations within the society.¹

The formal system of education came to the tribal belts largely with the coming of the Christian missionaries. These missions initiated the simple tribals into the art of reading and writing. This art came in handy in the spread of their faith as the Biblical scripture were distributed among those who gained the skills of reading and writing. Again the content of education were such that it answered the needs of Christian population and, as such, led to the gradual belief that education was meant for the Christians. Again, in these early days those who got education became pastors or teachers in mission schools. The educated tribal people pushed up the growth of christianity with greater zeal leading to more conversion.

*Dr Ambasht is Lecturer in the Tribal Education Unit, Department of Pre-Primary and Primary Education, NCERT., New Delhi-16

1. A detailed functional analysis of these institutions has been attempted in the Author's book "A Critical Study of Tribal Education" S. Chand and Co. New Delhi, 1970 pp, 34-42.

It must be admitted that education in the hands of these missionaries was one of the major tools for conversion. Though it did a great deal of service to the tribal people in particular and, India in general, because these simple people were educated even in inaccessible hilly and dense forest areas.

Speaking in particular about the Chhotanagpur Division of Bihar the Gossner Mission was the first organization to enter the area. In 1845 four German missionaries arrived at Ranchi. They were followed by the Anglican Society for the propagation of the Gospel (S. P. G.). The Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Church was the first organised institution to impart education upto primary level in the area. By 1952, G. E. L. Mission had started several classes and schools and concentrated itself in the southern part of the opposition of the parents. The landlords also were apprehensive and discouraged the missionaries. In the G. E. L. School at Ranchi, there were 80 boys and girls in the year 1950. During the 1857 freedom struggle the missionaries retired to Calcutta but returned by 1964. Besides the static number (80) of students at Ranchi, there were about 300 students in different schools of this mission. In 1868, two schools one at Jargo and one at Purulia were functioning.

The following table would give an idea of spread of education through G. E. L. Church.

Year	No. of pupils			No. of Schools			Remarks
	Total	Boys	Girls	Primary	Mid- dle	High	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1871-73	300	N.A.	N.A.	16	Nil	Nil	
1874	1,103	1,068	35	63	Nil	Nil	
1895	2,320	1,925	395	94	4	1	
1912	5,229	2,767	2,462	187	4	1	
1914	8,223	6,451	1,772	295	4	1	

Year	No. of pupils			No. of Schools			Remarks
	Total	Boys	Girls	Pri- mary	Mid- dle	High	
	1	2	3	4	5	6		7	8
1915*	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	260	6	1	*In 1915, the German Missions had to be repatriated and the management was vested in the Augleian Bishop of Chhotanagpur. In the year 1917 these schools which were closed in 1915 were revived. (a) 93 Primary School were handed-over to District Board.
1917	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	295	6	1	
1921	6,247	4,764	1,483	208	6	1	
1926	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	193	6	1	
1932	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	97	6	1	
1936	7,865	N.A.	N.A.	97	6	1	
1938-39	5,473**	3,850	1,623	160	6	1		**No. of students in high school is not included in this .85 out of 160 primary schools were managed by the District Board Ranchi.
1940	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	160	7	1	
1942	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	160	9	2	
1944	2,680	2,257	423	109	9	3	
1954	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	156	11	12	
1964	10,781	6,920	3,861	172	11	12	

The First world war brought a great set back to G. E. L. Mission, which only in 1919 after the conclusion of the war, became a Church and was granted autonomy.

In the early twenties parallel missions specially the S. P. G. took over several schools and hence the table shows decline in the number of schools. Some economic reasons also forced these institutions to close down.

The S. P. G. began its operation in 1869. In the year 1867 there was a split in G. E. L. mission and some of them came to S. P. G. The S. P. G run schools were of two types, day schools for children and evening schools for the adults. In 1869-70, 12 schools of this mission received small grants in aid from the Government. Another feature of this mission

was that they had 'Readers' who taught those who were willing to read but did not want to be admitted in a school. Only Christians could be appointed as teachers in the schools run by the mission. Non-Christians could be appointed temporarily but necessarily to be replaced by a Christian teacher as soon as one was available. These rules were observed because of the Church's directives of 1880. It was also proposed then that the future boarding schools would admit only Christians. As a result the number non-Christian students went down considerably in such schools, five years after the enforcement of these rules. In 1887 there were only 120 boys and 45 girls when the school buildings for the two sexes were separated. Stress was laid on preparing young tribals to take the jobs of pastors and as such normal classes were started. Theological teachings found a good place in the syllabus. Education alienated the child from their homes in as much as they grew a dislike for their old ways of life.

The Roman Catholic Mission has the largest number of followers among the tribals Christians of Chhotanagpur. In Chhotanagpur they came about the year 1862 but their impact was felt in 1885 in the form of religious conversion. They studied the land and revenue laws of the area and pleaded for the cause of the tribals in the courts of Ranchi. Thus they gained popularity with the common peasants whose interests often clashed with the non-tribal landlords. Slowly their influence became very strong and Ranchi was made a diocese. With the increase in the number of followers a large network of schools grew in the district of Ranchi.

In 1964 there were as many as 52,912 students in their primary and middle schools in the district of Ranchi alone as given in the table below :

Types of Schools	Number	Number of Students
Village Primary Schools ..	340	16,026
Central and village Upper Primary Schools	74	10,757
Boy's Middle Schools ..	52	18,161
Girls Middle Schools ..	27	7,968
Total ..	493	52,912

These schools had 1,343 teachers all of whom were tribal Christians and about 90 per cent of the students were tribals, of whom very insignificant number were unconverted.

Religion plays an important part in the educational programmes of the Missionaries. Education has been an important contribution of these people and its important cannot be over emphasized yet education for education sake was never their aim. Education was used as means to a particular end.

ABO Blood Group of the Khodhs of Daringibadi (Phulbani, Orissa).

Srisha Patel

On the basis of serological studies it is possible to assess the ethnic position of tribal populations of Orissa. For the present study ABO blood sampling of 60 adult individuals were typed with great difficulty. Slide method for the purpose was mainly followed. Anti-A and Anti-B serum obtained from Haffekine Institute, Bombay was utilised during the investigation.

TABLE I

Tribe	O	A	B	AB	Total
Kondhs	20	12	22	6	60
Percentages	33.3	20.0	36.6	10.0	99.99

The blood group B (36.6%) is found to be predominating.

Distribution of O Group (33.3%). A group (20.0%) and AB group (10.0%) come next in descending order.

TABLE 2

Distribution of Blood group and their Gene Frequencies

Tribe	No.	O	A	B	AB	P	q	r
Kondhs	60	20	12	22	6	..	..	..
Percentage	100	33.3	20.0	36.0	10.0	0.043	0.070	0.19

TABLE 3

Distribution of ABO Blood group among some Orissan Tribes

Tribe	(Male members)				
	O	A	B	AB	Total
Juang ..	26	24	62	10	122
Gadaba ..	16	39	30	6	91
Khond ..	15	9	16	5	45
Sabara ..	17	19	25	12	74
Saora ..	7	10	5	3	25
Gond ..	12	5	6	2	25
KONDHS (Present Study) ..	20	12	22	6	60

TABLE 4

Distribution of pqr Gene Frequencies Among the Orissan Tribes

Tribe ..	O	A	B	AB	Total	p	q	r	Author
JUANG									
Number	26	24	62	10	122	..	..	..
Percent ..	21.3	19.6	50.8	8.2	..	.055	.121	.147	(Sarkar)
Gadaba									
Number	16	39	30	6	91	..	..
Percent ..	17.5	42.9	32.9	6.6	..	.070	.114	.132	(Sarkar)
Khond									
Number	15	9	16	5	45	..	..	..
Percent ..	33.3	20.0	35.5	11.1	..	.043	.070	.181	(Sarkar)
Sabar									
Number	17	19	25	12	73	..	..	..
Percent	23.2	26.0	34.2	16.6	..	.070	.087	.152	(Sarkar)

Gond

Number	12	5	6	2	25	..	..	..
Percent ..	48.0	20.0	24.0	8.0	..	.041	.045	.219 (Sarkar)

Santal

Number	2	2	8	2	14	..	..	..
Percent ..	14.2	14.3	57.1	14.3	..	.049	.147	.119 (Sarkar)

Kondhs

Number	29	12	22	6	60	..	..	.. (Present study)
Percent ..	33.3	20.0	36.6	10.0	..	0.043	0.070	0.19 S(Patel)

Therefore it may be concluded that the Kondha bear racial affinity with the other Orissan tribes. Comparative studies of blood groups between the Hill Kondhs and the low land Kondhs will be made in future to trace their genetical relationship and to ascertain whether these two groups of the same stock or different.

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A Note on Celts from Koraput

R. P. Prusty

The New Stone Age vestiges of Orissa remained unreported since Acharya revealed the occurrence of celts in the year 1923-24 at Baidyapur in the district of Mayurbhanj. Later Acharya and Banarjee discovered two more sites of polished celts in the district of Mayurbhanj. Bose (1940), Sharma (1952) reported occurrence of celts from Kuliana, Thakurani and Sitabanjhi in the district of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar. Majumdar (1951-52) reported few more celts from Sundargarh. Mohapatra (1958-59) has reported celts from Jangra in the district of Sundargarh and Ramla in Keonjhar district. Recently in 1968-70 Tripathy of the Department of Anthropology, Utkal University has reported few more sites of celts from Padmapur and Bhubaneswar in the districts of Sambalpur and Puri. An admirable collection of celts has been made by the Orissa State Museum from different parts of Orissa including celts from Sarankul in Puri district. The Collection of celts are of the following typologies such as, Axe, Adze, Shouldered Adze, Chisel. On the basis of technology the celts may be classified into flaking or chipping, pecking grinding and polishing.

A brief survey by the writer in the district of Koraput in the month of March 1971 has brought in to light the occurrence of a celt side near a small village inhabited by the Jatapu tribe. The present paper deals with the study of those New Stone Age velics typo-technologically in order to draw an out line of the material existence, of the distant successors.

Tamingi (15-3-1971) 19°29' N. Lat. and 83°33' E. Long
The site is located at a short distance from the divisional town Gunupur. It is situated on the right bank of Bhagi Peda Gedda which is a tributary of the river Vamsadhars. The plants around the site include Mango, and sal trees.

The following table presents the typology of celts:—

TABLE I

Type	No.	Percentage
Trapezoidal ..	4	50.0
Rounded Butt ..	1	12.5
Elongated ..	1	12.5
Rectangular ..	2	25.0
..	8	100.0

On the basis of forms the celts may be classified into four types, such as (1) Trapezoidal, (2) Rounded Butt, (3) Rectangular, (4) Elongated. The trapezoidal type is further subdivided into two sub-types, such as median edge and curvilinear.

The medial cross sections of the celts reveal the following shapes such as; rectangular, planoconvex and ellipsoidal. Similarly the longitudinal sections of the celts are as follows; flat lenticular, ellipsoidal and sub-triangular. The medial sections of the trapezoidal type are of rectangular, planoconvex; ellipsoidal and flat lenticular. The longitudinal section are of sub-triangular, lenticular and ellipsoidal. The Medial sections of the rounded butt type reveal rectangular shape whereas the longitudinal section is of flat lenticular.

The medial section of the rectangular variety are of lenticular and sub-triangular. The medial section of the elongated type is of rectangular and the longitudinal section is approximately triangular.

The typological descriptions of the celts are presented below:—

Tmg I-5.7 x 3.5, x 2.1 cm: weight 0.63 gms. made of shale. The cutting edge is sharp and ground bifacially revealing lines of demarcation. The pole is narrow, straight and thin. Medial and longitudinal sections are rectangular and sub-triangular respectively. The celt is ground on the upper and under. Margins are slightly convex and show small flake scars.

Tmg. II—3.7 X 3.6 X 1.2 cm; 0.28 gms. made of Diorites. It reveals a trapezoidal form, tapering sides, straight and thin butt; straight, sharp and effective working edge. It is ground on both the faces retaining a couple of lines of demarcation at the working ded edge. Margins are bit convex. The longitudinal section is sub-triangular, medial section is rectangular.

Tmg. III—5.4 X 5.1 X 1.6 cm; weight 0.63 gms, made of Slate. Roughly trapezoidal form with a broad, asymmetrically convex on the upper surface and flat on the under surface retaining a few facets at both the laterals. Butt is thin, straight and narrow. The medial section is plano-convex, longitudinal section is flat lenticular.

Tmg. IV—4 X 4.5 X 4.9 X 1.3 cm; weight 0.70 gms. Made of fine grained sand stone. Trapezoidal form. Cutting edge is convex. Medial section is flat ellipsoidal

Longitudinal section is ellipsoidal. It is thick retaining iron rich layers all over the surface. It is worn, weathered and stained reddish.

Tmg. V—5.8 x 3.8 x 1.5 cm, weight 0.64 gms. Made of fine grained sand stone. Ground on both the faces retaining iron rich layers. Completely worn and weathered, deeply stained red. Cutting edge is a symmetrically convex. Pole is round. Medial section is rectangular. Longitudinal section is flat lenticular.

Tmg. VI—4.4 X 4.4 X 1.2 cm; weight 0.35 gms.

Rectangular form. Edge is bifacially ground. Few facts are revealed at both the sides. Cutting edge is very sharp and straight. The straightness is slightly rounded off at the corners. It has rectangular median and lenticular longitudinal sections.

Tmg VII—5.1 x 4.2 x 1.5cm, Weight 0.64 gms. Form is rectangular with straight sides; one diverging more than the other due to little broken anterior point. The cutting edge is bifacially ground retaining lines of demarcation. Small Flake scars are revealed on the sides. Longitudinal section is sub-triangular. Medical section is rectangular.

Tmg. VIII—7.7 X 3.6 X 1.8 cm; Weight 0.99 gms, made of Black basalt. Working edge has been broken by some natural agency. The celt is highly polished and glossy on the upper surface. Few flake scars are retained on the margins. Ventral face is convex and dorsal face is flat. Medial section is rectangular. Longitudinal section is approximately triangular.

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Demographic Note on a Chilka Village.

S. K. Ghosh Maulik

A. P. Mohanti

INTRODUCTION:

The village Alanda having two wards Alanda and Alanda-Patna, is situated under the jurisdiction of P. C. Parikud and P. S. Krushnaprasad in the district Puri, Orissa. The ward Alanda-patna lies on the north-east of the ward Alanda.

The village is situated in the heart of the Chilka lake and is communicated with the nearest railway station Balugaon, mostly by means of country boat. In the dry seasons only, bullock carts can be used in the neighbouring areas, but with the advent of rains the outskirts of the village becomes submerged in water and boat is the only means of conveyance.

The village is bound on the eastern and southern side by the lake Chilka. The portion of the lake on the eastern side is known as (locally) 'Kankra garh' (probably due to abundance of crab) and that on the southern side is known as amruta nidhi. On the eastern side a pool of Chilka water separates it from another village 'Tipipa'. The village Krushnaprasad stands on the north and the village 'Bado-malo' lies on western side. Both are separated by lake water from the village under present survey.

The two wards are conjoint. The Brahmans dwell in the Alanda proper and the Kaibartas occupy the other extremity i.e. the hamlet Alanda-patna. The Khandayat, Kumuti, Dhobi, Tanti and Badhei families occupy the rest of the places of the village.

Addresses .. 1. S. K. Ghosh Maulik, Department of Anthropology Vani Vihar
Ehubaneswar-4.
2. A. P. Mohanti, Mahatab Road, Cuttack-3.

ANALYSIS:

The village has seven castes, distributed into 129 households making the total population 679. Table 1 shows distribution of population sex-wise and caste-wise.

The Khandayats constitute the largest number of population, representing 39.4 per cent of the total population, with 53 households. The kaibartas claim the next majority being 32 per cent of the total population of the village. But they constitute only 27 households—almost half the household of the Khandyats. Then comes the Brahmans who constitute 18.1 per cent of the total population distributed in 28 households. The other castes Kumuti Badhei, Dhobi and Tanti combinedly represent only 9 per cent of the total population and thereby they can be termed as numerically minor castes of the village.

The Brahmans have on the average 4 persons, the Khandayats have 5 persons and the Kaibartas have 8 persons per house. Average number of individuals per house in the cases of the other castes are as follows: the Dhobi 3, the Kumuti 8, the Badhei 5 and the Tanti 6 persons. A more clear picture can be assessed from the distribution of the size of household (table 2). In total 11 categories of household have been made on the basis of numerical strength of its members. Maximum number of Brahman household is four membered whereas bimodal distribution is noticed in cases of the Khandyat and the Kaibarta. The crest of the castes i.e. Kumuti, Badhei, Dhobi and Tanti show almost uniform distribution.

The whole population of the village has been divided into three broad categories of age (table 3). The table will give an idea about the numerical strength of little children, young boys and girls and matured individuals in each caste. The individuals in the third category and some individuals of second age-category can only effectively help in earning and population growth.

The Brahman and the Khandayat have more individuals in age-group above 20 but the Kaibarta has equal number of individuals in the second and third age-groups (Table 3). The Kumuti, Badhei and Tanti all have more individuals in the last two categories. The tanti family has equal number of individuals in all three age-categories.

The whole population irrespective of castes practise child marriage. Table 4 gives a comparative statement of age at marriage of both men and women. It is noticed that marriageable age of the girls have come down at 9 in all the castes except Badhei and Tanti. Though at present there is no recorded incidence but it has been understood that they also follow the custom of early marriage. Most of the girls in the village were married within 14 years of age. Early marriage widens the span of reproductive life. This early marriage accounts for more number of children in the whole village.

Frequencies of married women living with their husbands have been enumerated (table 5). Three distinct age-categories have been made. It is noticed that quite a large portion of women in almost all the castes living with their husbands fall in the age group of 15-39 years. It is to be remembered that this is the optimum period of child bearing. It has already been noticed by different workers on population problem, that most of the women bear child within two or three years of marriage and at an age before thirty.

Table 6 shows number of living children per couple in all the castes under this present survey. Out of 20 Brahman couple 8 have child 3 have 2 children, 4 have 3 and 4 children whereas only 1 has 5 children, 2 children are noticed in highest number of Khandayat couple, closely followed by 1 children and then 4 children. But Kaibarta caste show mostly 3 and 4 children per couple. This high number of children in the Kaibarta caste justifies the high number of population in comparatively lesser number of household. This is also indicative of higher fertility performance of the said caste, compared to the others. But this will be rather premature to draw any definite conclusion towards such, as all the conceptions could not be enumerated.

LITERACY:

Due to lack of proper educational institution in this area the people are lagging behind in education. Only one primary school is in the village and only two Kaibarta boys have received education in the College. Rest of them have received primary and few of them secondary education. So only two categories are shown in the table 7(a), 7 (b) one group having primary education and the other group who has received education higher than primary. As very few of them has

gone beyond school level, separate category is not made in the table. Higher than primary education is limited only among the males. Primary education though almost distributed in both the sexes of all castes, still shows a greater frequency in the lower age-groups. Female education is remarkably low and among the married women in the present stage it is still lower.

DISCUSSION:

The traditional occupations of all the castes under present study is well known. The traditional caste-occupation of the Brahman is priesthood and learned activities, that of Khandayat is mainly cultivation in present days, that of Kaibarts is fishing, Kumuti is business, Bhadhei is carpentry, Dhobi is washing and Tanti is weaving. But in all castes deviation from the traditional occupation is noticed not only in this village, but in whole Orissa also. Land becomes source of income in most of the families yet they generally adopt some other occupation as subsidiary means of livelihood.

In the village under present survey, the Brahman mainly depend on agriculture as main occupation. Few Brahman families maintain priesthood and few others have adopted labour as subsidiary occupation. But they do not take up fishing. Khandayat families, besides their main occupation of agriculture, have taken up fishing and also labour work as a support of earning their livelihood.

The Kaibartas whose traditional occupation is fishing also do not solely depend on it. Some of them have adopted agriculture even as primary occupation and fishing as secondary means of livelihood. Fish catching can not be carried out in all seasons in full swing, so land becomes an essential asset to all those who can afford to maintain or own. The Kumuti, Badhei and Dhobi families have maintained their traditional occupations along with cultivation of land. The only Tanti family depend on it.

The sex ration of the Brahman is 1.15:1 (male: female), that of Khandayat is 1.12:1. Laonarta is 1:1.07, Dhobi is 1:1.57 Kumuti is 1:1, Badhei is 1.66:1 and Tanti is 1:1.

It is obvious that proportion of female is high in the whole population of the village and in two cases, mentioned above, the female proportion has equalled and in two cases even crossed the male strength.

A high incidence of fertility performance has been noticed in the occupational groups, where hard manual work is involved, by a number of workers. In the present series a low fertility performance is noticed in the Brahmans in contradistinction to the high performance of the Kaibartas.

The Brahman and the Khandayat depend on agriculture which is a settled occupation and is not involved with danger. A large number of children will only add some extra hardship to poverty stricken economy. The occupation of the Kaibarta is much more risk-laden and uncertain. Also necessity of more number of individuals in community fishing is felt. This may lead to desire of getting more children. Occupational implication on fertility performance can only be hypothetically assumed from the present analysis and leaves scope for further thorough investigation.

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TABLE 1

Number of household and sex-wise population per caste

Castes	Household	Individuals				Total
		Male	%	Female	%	
Brahman ..	28	66	53.66	57	46.34	123
Khandayat ..	53	142	52.98	126	47.02	26
Kaibarta ...	27	107	48.20	115	51.80	222
Dhobi ...	5	7	38.88	11	61.12	18
Kumuti ...	23	13	50.00	13	50.00	26
Badhei ..	3	10	62.50	6	37.50	16
Tanti ...	1	3	50.00	3	50.00	6
Total	120	348	51.25	331	48.75	679

TABLE 2.

Distribution of the size of household

Castes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	above
Brahman	3	2	4	8	3	5	3	1	0	0	0
Khandayat ...	6	3	5	11	8	9	2	3	2	1	3
Kaibarta ...	0	1	1	1	7	5	1	0	2	9	0
Kumuti	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Badhei	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Dhobi ...	0	1	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Tanti	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

TABLE—3
Frequency of individuals in three age-categories

Castes	Age — Categories						Total	
	0—4		5—19			20—		
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Brahman	15 (12.19)	5 (4.06)	21 (17.07)	19 (15.44)	30 (24.39)	33 (26.83)	66	37
Khandayat	27 (10.07)	31 (11.56)	62 (23.12)	39 (44.55)	53 (19.77)	56 (20.89)	142	126
Kaibarte ..	21 (9.42)	25 (11.33)	40 (18.10)	48 (21.62)	46 (20.72)	42 (18.91)	107	115
Kumuti ..	4 (15.30)	1 (3.70)	2 (7.60)	7 (26.90)	7 (26.90)	5 (19.20)	13	13
Badhei ..	4 (22.40)	0	3 (18.60)	1 (9.20)	3 (18.60)	5 (31.20)	10	6
Tanti	1 (16.66)	1 (16.66)	1 (16.66)	1 (16.66)	1 (16.66)	1 (16.66)	3	3
Dhobi ..	1 (5.55)	1 (5.55)	3 (16.66)	4 (22.20)	3 (16.66)	6 (33.30)	7	11

Figures in parentheses indicate percentage.

TABLE—4.
Age-categories and marriage.

Castes	5—9		10—14		15—20		20—above	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Brahman ..	0	13	1	22	12	8	14	1
Khandayat ..	0	3	2	40	20	29	35	0
Kaibarta ..	0	2	0	21	10	25	29	0
Kumuti ..	0	22	0	5	1	0	5	0
Badhei ..	0	0	0	4	1	1	2	0
Dhobi ..	0	1	0	3	1	2	1	0
Tanti	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0

TABLE 5

Frequency of married women (living with husband) in different age-groups.

Castes X X X*	10—14		15—39		40—	above
	n	%	n	%	n	E%
Brahman ..	2	3.50	20	35.08	1	1.75
Khandayat ..	7	5.55	47	37.30	5	3.90
Kaibarta ..	2	1.74	35	30.44	0	0
Kumuti ..	0	0	3	23.07	1	7.69
Badhei ..	0	0	3	50.00	1	16.66
Dhobi ..	0	0	2	18.18	0	0
Tanti ..	0	0	1	33.33	0	0

TABLE 6

Number of living children per married couple

No. of children	Brahman	Khandayat	Kaibar-ta	Kumuti	Badhei	Dhobi	Tanti
1	8	10	1	0	1	1	0
2	3	12	6	3	0	1	0
3	4	8	9	2	2	0	0
4	4	9	7	0	1	0	1
5	0	4	4	0	0	0	0
6	1	3	3	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

A Note on the Authors

Dr. K. Mohapatra is the Deputy Director of Tribal and Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute.

Shri B. Choudhury is a senior Research Officer in the Tribal and Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute.

Shri T. M. Dak is Lecturer in Rural Sociology, Extension Education Institute, Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Co-operation (Department of Agriculture), Government of India, Nilokheri.

Sarbasri J. P. Bhati, T. V. Moorthi and L. R. Singh are working in the Department of Agricultural Economics, College of Agriculture, G. V. Panth University of Agriculture and Technology, Panthnagar, district Nainital (U. P.).

Dr. N. K. Ambasht is lecturer in the Tribal Education Unit, Department of Pre-primary and Primary Education, National Council for Educational Research and Training, New Delhi-16.

Shri Srisha Patel, M. Sc., Lecturer in Anthropology, Khallikote College, Berhampur, district Ganjam, Orissa.

Shri R. P. Prusty, M. A., is working in the Anthropology Section of the Orissa State Museum.

Shri S. K. Ghosh Maulik is working in the Department of Anthropology, Vani Vihar, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.

Shri A. P. Mohanti is an Anthropologist residing at Mahatab Road, Cuttack.