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## **Contents**

		Page
Political Organization and Social Control among the Adis of Arunachal Pradesh.	N. Patnaik ..	1—29
The Problems of Empirical Research ..	Abdul Wahid Ansari ..	30—34
Economic condition of a Tribal village in Ranchi district (Bihar).	F. M. Pradhan ..	35—48
A study of modernisation levels among the Scheduled Tribes of North Orissa Tribal Region.	K. C. Satpathy & S. K. Mishra ..	49—55
Health & Genetic Problems of Kutia Kondhs of Burlubaru village, Phulbani district (Orissa).	Almas Ali ..	56—62

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# ADIBASI

## INSTRUCTION TO AUTHORS

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*Editors :*

SHRI K. S. CHANDRASEKHERAN

Dr. N. PATNAIK

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# **Political Organisation and Social Control among the Adis of Arunachal Pradesh**

**N. Patnaik**

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Arunachal Pradesh is inhabited by the Indo-Mongoloid tribes who show many differences and similarities in their cultural aspects and social customs. Some tribes are quiet, gentle and friendly like the Monpas of Kameng district, some others are highly organized and industrious like Apa Tani of Subansion district and still others are turbulent and warlike people like the Idu group of Mishmi tribe of Lohit division.

The most important and numerous tribe living in Siang district is called Adi or hill-man. From the earliest times until very recently the people of Siang division have been known as Abor, a rather derogatory word meaning 'unruly' or 'disobedient'. As a result of changes which have come over the Abors in recent years transforming them into a friendly, co-operative, progressive community the Abors, themselves had suggested, and the administration had accepted, that they should be called Adis. The Adis have always been a proud, independent people, resentful of interference, and suspicious of strangers.

The Adis include a large number of tribal groups who are fundamentally the same everywhere in language and culture with minor regional variations. They are divided into two groups the Minyangs which cover Padams, Pasis, Panggis, Shimongs, Boris, Ashings and Tangamsand the Gallangs which cover Ramos, Bokars and Pailibos.

The present paper is related to the Minyangs and the Gallangs of Along Subdivision of Siang district.

This paper presents the structure and organization of tribal council called Kebang among the Minyang and Gallang of Along Subdivision of Siang district. Study of tribal councils is of great importance from many points of view. Firstly, it shows the system of Government, Totalitarian or democratic operative in the community in question. Secondly, it provides data on council members and rules of their recruitment. Thirdly, it reveals the nature of cases which are referred to the council, mode of making decisions and the customary laws by which quarrels are adjudicated, disputes settled, grievances redressed and social control enforced.

Keeping these aspects in view the paper has been divided into three sections... (1) Early accounts of Kebang organization, (2) Contemporary structure and organization of Kebang, (3) Customary Law's and (4) Case studies. A brief account high-lighting moral values, ethical standards and behavioural patterns as derived from the analysis of the cases is provided as a concluding section at the end of the paper.

The field work among the Minyang and Gallang was carried out in 1972-73 and the paper is the outcome of this work.

**Account of Explorer Wilcox—(1825 A. D.)**

Explorer Wilcox visited the Adi Country in 1825, and what he had described about the Kebang is quoted below: "The hail of audience and debate is where the Kabang meets. Every one has an equal vote, but some few, either through their superior wealth, hereditary esteem, or real ability exert a very strong influence on the rest and can readily sway them to any measure. This power, however is kept in check by the extreme jealousy of the Raj and vigilant watchfulness to preserve their democratic rights. The chief summons the people to a meeting with a series of shrill whops and a long speech in an exalted voice, while he never ceases beating his right foot on the ground".

**Account of Father Krick —1853 A. D.**

Father Krick has given an account of the Abor character as he saw it in 1853—what he had written is quoted below. "The Padam is very active, jolly, a lover of freedom and independence, generous, noble-hearted, plain-spoken, more honest than the average oriental, not over moderate in eating and drinking".

What he had described about the meeting of a Kebang at Membo in 1853 is quoted below: "There were six chiefs, gorgeously attired, who sat down in a circle, right in the centre of a spacious hall. Speeches were made and the members cast their votes: the leading men withdrew to deliberate over their decision".

Each village, said Father Krick, "is self-governing and independent. It has its own administration, both legislative and executive. Women have no share in the Government, they cannot even set foot in the council-room".

He further added "Every male, reaching the age of reason, is by right active member of any assembly. Each commune is ruled by five or six chiefs elected for life by the people; they control all affairs of greater importance. If any of them dies, his son, if capable, succeeds to his office; else, he remains a common citizen, and another election supplies the vacancy".

Describing about the customary practices concerning law and Government he had said, "Laws are framed by the people, sanctioned by the council, and promulgated by the President. Every decision is supposed to come from the people, the Chiefs have no right but to approve and enforce it. Hence, the people propose, the council sanctions, and the President promulgates".

The working of the council was described by father Krick in the following words: "Every evening, all the men gather in the spacious Council-room ("Dere" or "Moshup") to discuss the topics of the day, which means: (1) to inform one another of what has been seen or heard; (2) to discuss the political questions put forth by one of the Chiefs; (3) to settle what village will do on the next day, for it is understood that no one is free to dispose of his time as he thinks fit, his daily work is cut out, discussed and officially decreed by the majority of the Council, Hence, every evening, between 10 and 11 O'clock, boys are sent about the village shouting at the top of their voices: "Tomorrow, tiger hunt! Tomorrow, fishing! Tomorrow, field-labour! Tomorrow, genna (holiday)".

How people obeyed the decisions of Kebang as described by father Krick is reproduced below. "The injunctions are obeyed to the letter, for this people is as law-abiding and respectful to the powers that be, as it is proud of its liberty. To call a Padam a slave is an insult that would make this proud mountaineer gnash his teeth".

Other features of the council which he had stated are quoted below: "The Council-house is also used for extraordinary gatherings convoked to deal with a sudden emergency, such as my arrival; sometimes, especially on rainy days, it is turned into a rendezvous of gossip and handiwork. Everybody takes his tools and passes the time as pleasantly and as usefully as he can".

Originally, the Adi Kebang was largely dominated by the priests and Shamans, and derived its authority from supernatural sanctions that they were able to invoke. It



was firmly rooted in Custom and tradition and had wide authority over every aspect of Adi life.

During the British days it was to some extent transformed. Official Gams were appointed, one for every clan in a village. They were not paid anything, but were given red coats and being recognized by Government, gained a certain amount of authority. Their appointment changed the Kebang to some extent, for they naturally became members and caused that authority of the priests to decline. They introduced an official element that had previously been absent. In spite of these changes the Adi Kebang still remains a very informal body which can be attended by any person of influence. It is, in fact, essentially a court of the people "Where the people propose, the Council sanctions and the President promulgates".

Even before Independence, a more elaborate institution known as the "Bango" was introduced under official inspiration. The "Bango" represents a number of villages and is attended by at least one leading Gam from each-village. Its main function is settlement of inter-village disputes. It is rather more fully organized than the village Kebang, for it has a "Secretary" and it maintains funds.

A much larger unit, which might be almost described as "Adi-Parliament", for all Adi groups, has come into being. It is called the "Bogum Bokang" which can be attended by the leading men of all Adi groups in Siang, deals with inter-village disputes, and also takes up important questions of development.

The Kebangs of various orders are now as active as before in settling matters, such as when and where to clear the forests and fenclose the fields, sow the seed, when to go on hunting and fishing expeditions, when and in what manner festivals will be performed and sacrifice offered. They continue to exercise judicial powers by adjudicating inter-personal, and inter-village disputes, breaches of customary laws and criminal

offences and awarding punishments and maintaining law and order, peace and good Government in their respective areas of jurisdiction.

In addition, the Kebangs, as an essential item of duties, formulate developmental projects and implement them in their respective areas with the help of the people.

The Chief difference between the old and modern Kebangs is that the latter do not have at present the same social or supernatural authority as before. They have become more sophisticated and official in the sense that minutes of every Kebang meeting are kept and resolutions are typed out in English and forwarded to the Administration".

#### **Policy of administration towards Kebang.**

Throughout the NEFA (now called Arunachal Pradesh) the tribal councils work within the general frame work of the Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation of 1945, which recognises their importance and authority and gives them powers. They are given opportunity to prove themselves worthy and show that they can use their powers wisely and according to the challenges of the modern times.

The Regulation of 1945 provides that criminal justice shall be administered by the Political Officers and Assistant Political Officers (at present these posts are known as Deputy Commissioner, Additional Deputy Commissioner or extra Assistant Commissioner) and the village authorities, who are recognized as competent administrators of the law. It gives power to the local tribal councils to try a number of criminal offences such as theft, simple hurt and house trespass and to impose fines on those who are found guilty and also to award payment in compensation to the extent of injury sustained. The councils also have civil powers and can try all suits without limit of value in which both the parties are indigenous to the tract.

## POLITICAL . . .

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The regulation provides for appeals in appropriate cases and lays down that the Political Officer (Deputy Commissioner) shall be guided by the spirit, but shall not be bound by the letter, of the Code of Civil Procedure.

**An important section lays down that no Pleader shall be allowed to appear in any case before Village Authorities.**

This regulation does in fact give the tribal councils very wide powers of punishing offenders and granting compensation according to their customary law. Under the provision of the regulation all kinds of offences (except those committed against the State) were included in the judicial jurisdiction of the local councils for arbitration and disposal. This provision is extended to the non-tribesman who are involved in disputes with offences against the tribal people. If for example, an official is accused of adultery with a tribal woman, he may have to appear before the village council and abide by its decision, irrespective of any departmental action that may subsequently be taken against him. Where a tribesman is accused by non-tribesman, their cases will be heard by the village councils, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the divisional headquarters. In this case if such problem happens in divisional headquarters or in its neighbourhood then the case is to be heard by Political Officer (Deputy Commissioner).

The 1945 regulation has already relaxed the rigour with which certain cases are dealt with. In fact, the heavy punishment of former days have already almost entirely disappeared. For example, the punishments awarded to a girl for her acts of immorality are clipping her hairs, stripping her naked and giving her a good beating. Under the present situation the latter two items of punishments are abandoned. People at their own record can claim compensation according to their discretion which in practice is adjusted to the wealth and position of the accused.

The policy of administration, is to accept the present status of the councils and to further strengthen it by giving intensive

administrative support. In places where the local council is weak, the policy of administration is to encourage the people how to develop it and make it more effective.

Great care, however, is being taken not to over-administer the tribal councils and force them conform to attain judicial procedures, moral codes and social control. In order to provide training to the council members and also to impress on the people the administration's concern for law and order, an officer on behalf of the administration should be present in the Kejang at the time of trial of heinous crimes only to help and not to control the proceedings or resolutions.

The 1945 Regulation lays down that 'the proceedings of the village authority need not be recorded in writing' but that the administration may require the proceedings to be reported in any way which appears suitable. The decisions are now-a-days reported to the nearest local official, who records them if he is satisfied that the compensation demanded is just. The nearest official is to approve the decision of the village council on behalf of the administration. If he is not satisfied, he demits the case to the council for further consideration, and if he is even then dissatisfied he is to send it to the Political Officer for a final review of the decision.

Under the regulation the Political Officers have wide criminal and civil powers, though in civil cases they are required 'in every case in which both parties are indigenous to the agency, to endeavour to persuade them to submit to arbitration' by the village council. In practice, therefore, the main task of the Political Officers (Deputy Commissioners) are to settle the cases where the parties liable have refused to pay the compensation imposed on them by the councils.

In the sphere of development the role which the councils play are considered indispensable by the administration. For these reasons the people naturally take great interest in the developmental projects sponsored by the councils, and with the greater invigoration and growing effectiveness of the local



councils under the patronage of the administrative machinery. People in general will have a strong sense of self confidence and a feeling that they are masters of their own destiny and can solve their own problems by means of self-help.

### **Kebang Organization among the Gallong and Minyong.**

In Gallong and Minyong tribal society there is a political and judicial organization which is primarily concerned with the enforcement of social controls, and allsided development of villages. This tribal organization goes by the term KEBANG which is a three tier system—1. DOLU KEBANG, 2. BANGO KEBANG, and 3. BOGU BOKAN KEBANG. A short description of the structure and organization of each of these units is given below.

#### **Dolu Kebang**

Dolu Kebang is the smallest political units working at the village level. It comprises of minimum three members who are called Kebang Abu, who are aged and experienced and well versed with customary laws. The local administrative authorities designate them as Gam. There is a head or chief among them who is called Head Gam. The most experienced aged and knowledgeable person among the Gams is selected as the Head Gam. The Gams including the Head Gam wield by virtue of their both ascribed and achieved statuses and leadership characters, unquestionable authority and influence over their co-villagers and it is for this reason that the Minyong and Gallong villages function as corporate units.

Dolu Kebang is a body with authority to adjudicate quarrels, settle disputes, redress grievances of the victims of violence, and punish offenders against tribal custom. In addition to authority there are conventions by means of which Dolu Kebang ensure proper conduct and safety of co-villagers. The disputes which are referred to the Dolu Kebang are related to marriage, adultery, assault, property, livestock, theft, and quarrel. Every meeting of Dolu Kebang which is

convened to adjudicate cases of above-mentioned categories hears the stand-point of both parties and tends to elucidate, reiterate and interpret the provisions of relevant customary laws and recall the previous cases capable of serving as precedents and finally given the decision which is obeyed by the parties concerned.

In addition to the judicial matters and customary laws the village Gams look to the welfare and developmental aspects of the village. They are responsible for building and repairing school building with the help of the fellow villagers. They are at liberty to check attendance of students and impose fine on those who dropout. They exercise similar supervision and control over the teachers and report to the educational authorities against those who neglect in teaching and attending school timely and regularly.

Other welfare activities which fall on their shoulder are construction and repair of roads and bridges. The Gams appoint persons who are selected from among the villagers to supervise developmental activities. The tenure of appointment is ordinarily for a period of two years. No payment is made for the service rendered by supervisors. But such honorary services are considered virtuous and people feel obliged to regard them as village leaders.

The Gams arrange worship of village deities which involves sacrifice of animals and performance of magico-religious rites. At this sacrifice the deities who act as the guardian of the village are invoked to ward off calamities and epidemic diseases and protect the crops from the depridation of the animals. When the time for abandoning old jhum fields and selecting the new ones comes the Gams take the initiative in this matter. It is the duty of the Gams to select the new jhum fields, and start jhumming there. Thereafter their co-villagers follow suit.

According to the convention and customary usage every adult person of the village is recognized as a non-official member of the

## POLITICAL . . .

Dolu Kebang. Both men and women above 15 years of age are eligible to attend Kebang meeting. Generally, women do not attend Kebang meeting unless the cases in which they are involved come up for discussion. But in the case of men their attendance in every Kebang meeting is regular and compulsory. Any one present in the meeting may speak and no one is allowed to use harsh words while putting forward his arguments and points of view. When some one is speaking he is rarely interrupted and a skilled orator goes on speaking without pause for a long time.

When a person has done some wrong to another person of the village the latter lodges a complaint against the former in the Kebang and appeals to the chief and other Gams of the Kebang to arbitrate the cases and award him justice. On receipt of the complaint the chief makes it known to the elders of the villages and summons to the complainant and defendant to the Kebang on a date fixed by the Gams. On the appointed day the people assemble at the Kebang Hall. Generally, the Kebang meeting is held either in the morning or in the evening. Minor cases take only a few hours or a day to settle. But it is not unusual for a debate concerning cases of complicated nature to last for several days or months together. In such cases several sittings of the Kebang are arranged to hear the versions of the parties, the opinion of the co-villagers and examine the witnesses and take note of evidences from different sources. Once arguments of the parties and all persons concerned have been heard and interpreted and examined the Kebang Abus arrive at their decision and make it public at the final session of the Kebang. The composition and working of the Kebang can best be demonstrated by concrete example based on a few case studies which I investigated some years back. Though conditions might have been different now under the present administrative arrangements, I have presented the cases in the ethnographic present.

Pakam is a Gallong village situated at a distance of 5 Kms. from Along. In this

village there are four Gams namely Horsi Loy, Harba Loyi, Kyir Lomi and Kuya Kamduk. Besides these Gams there are two village leaders Kemto Loyi and Jumsen Kamduk and— one village Panchayat member Meba Loyi. The village leaders and the Panchayat member are included in the Kebang as members.

The Gams are selected not by majority vote but by general consensus of opinion of the existing Gams and influential people of the village. Women have no role to play in the selection of Gams. After choosing a person for the post of Gam the existing village Gams inform it to the Deputy Commissioner, the local administrative chief stationed at Along. On getting this information the Deputy Commissioner fixes a day on which to confer the title Gam on the proposed incumbent by presenting to him the Red Coat, the insignia of official recognition as village Gam. No service tenure is fixed for the post of Gam. A person can continue in this post till his death provided he is free from all vices and does not commit any crime by which his prestige and position is at stake and his reputation is tarnished.

Pakam comprises three chans—Loyi, Kamduk and Lomi. As Loyi clan is numerically larger than the Kamduk and Lomi two Gams are selected from the major clan and one from each of the minor clans. Each Gam represent his clan in the Kebang and whenever any inter-clan dispute arises he helps to settle it in unison with his colleagues of other clans.

The head Gam of Pakam is Horsi Loyi who is selected to this post by unanimous decision of the Gams of the Kebang and influential people of the village. Horsi Loyi is an elderly person having good command over customary laws and vast experience in settling disputes and Kebang administration.

The post of village leader is not traditional. It has originated with the introduction of Panchayati Raj System in Arunachal Pradesh. The Kebang Abus and the Panchayat members



of the village select the village leaders and recommend their name to the Deputy Commissioner for official recognition. Generally, persons of younger age-group with active habits fairly good acquaintance with Kebang meetings are eligible for the post of village leaders. There is no tenure fixed to the post. A person can work as village leader throughout his life. Those village leaders who are endowed with above average intelligence and merit are promoted to the post of village Gam.

The duties of the village leaders are to inform the date on which Kebang sessions are held and attend such sessions and help the Gams and Panchayat member at the time of arbitration of cases by offering their opinions and versions. They function mainly as assistants to Kebang Abus and village Panchayat members and act according to their instructions.

#### **Bango Kebang**

The next higher tier of political unit is Bango Kebang which consists of a group of contiguous Dolu Kebangs. The number of Dolu Kebangs which make a Bango Kebang varies from one case to the other. The Dolu Kebangs which are adjacent to one another and do not have any physical barriers like hills, rivers, etc., form a Bango Kebang. The Abus or Gams of the Dolu Kebangs which constitute a Bango Kebang function as its members and therefore are called Bango Abus. In Pasighat area there are as many as thirteen Bangos and the number of constituent Dolu Kebangs varies from one Bango to the other.

The meeting of Bango Kebang is held in some suitable place located within the Bango area. A new house called Bango Ekum is built at this place for the sitting of the Bango Kebang. The Bango Abus assemble at the Bango Ekum on appointed days to discuss inter village problems, and developmental schemes such as construction of roads and bridges and to dispose off inter-village disputes and quarrels. The Bango Kebang takes up all types of cases except murder cases adjudication and

trial. The murder cases and some other cases which the Bango Kebang fails to decide are referred to the local administrative chief for trial and action.

#### **Bogum Bokang Kebang**

Bogum Bokang Kebang is the apex political unit among the Gallong and Minyong of the Siang division. It comprises many Bangos. The chief and the members of the Bogum Bokang Kebang are selected from among the Bango chiefs and Bango Abus. The qualifying characteristics of the chief of Bogum Bokang Kebang mainly are honesty, leadership, intelligences, politeness and command over customary laws and tribal justice, experience in conducting Kebang meetings and deciding cases.

The types of cases which come under Bogum Bokang Kebang's jurisdiction for trial and action are inter-village and inter-Bango boundary disputes, inter-village quarrels over land under shifting cultivation and other types of cultivation. Murder cases are also referred to it, for trial. Many developmental projects such as construction and repair of roads and bridges, and educational institutions are taken up by the supreme Kebang for implementation in the area of its jurisdiction.

#### **Customary Laws among the Gallong and the Minyong.**

The Gallong and Minyong tribal groups have no script of their own and therefore their customary laws are unwritten and are only memory. For this reason there may be variations and flexibility from one area to the other in customary laws. Nevertheless the basic tenets which govern the laws are the same every where throughout the territory. Some of the customary laws of the Gallong and Minyong (padam, pasi) are mentioned below.

#### **Customary laws concerning social aspects**

Divorce, is very common among the Gallong and the Minyong. It takes place due to the following causes:—

- (a) Either spouse falling in love with other person,

## POLITICAL....

- (b) Barrenness of the wife,
- (c) Remarriage of the husband,
- (d) Illbehaviour of wife with her parent-in-law,
- (e) Adultery committed by either of the couple,
- (f) Illegal sex-relationship of any one of the couple with other person.

If divorce occurs with the willingness of both parties, no fine is imposed on any party. But the matter is referred to the village *Kebang* which charges from each party a fee, *wrogni* (charge for a *Kebang* sitting) which varies from Rs. 5 to Rs. 25. In such a case the girl's father will have to return the bride-price to the girl's husband.

If a Gallong woman divorces her husband and comes back to her parent's home, and in that case if she is proved guilty by the *Kebang*, her husband gets back the bride-price from his father-in-law along with an extra cow and nithum as *pagdum* (fine) and the Gams of the village *Kebang* are paid Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 by the parents of the divorced woman.

If the divorced woman remarries the *Kebang* imposes fine on her second husband which is double the amount of the bride-price given by the first husband. This amount is paid to the first husband. The Gams of the *Kebang* are also paid Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 by the second husband. Among the *Minyong* for such cases the woman's party has to give a fine of Rs. 500.

Among the Gallong and the *Minyong* premarital sexual relationship with a girl is not considered crime and no fine is imposed on the man. Among the *Minyong* if the girl become pregnant, the case comes to the *Kebang*. In this case if the girl has given birth to a male child, the man is compelled to marry her. If in such a case a female child is born, the man is not obliged to marry her. This female child is brought up by the girl's parents and receives her title from them. But among the Gallong

the usage is some what different. Among them if the man refuses to marry the girl he has to pay a fine in the minimum of Rs. 150. The female child born to her is brought up by her parents and when the child grows up she adopts the clan the name of her mothers' parents. In case of a male child he is brought up by the illegal father. The illegitimate children are not looked down upon in the *Minyong* and Gallong societies.

In the case of adultery with a woman, the husband of this woman lodges a complaint in his village *Kebang*. He may either divorce his wife or demand *yopoth* (fine for adultery) from the adulterer. Among the *Minyong* the *yopoth* varies from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,500 depending on the economic condition of the adulterer, whereas among the Gallong it varies from Rs. 150 to Rs. 1,500. If both the woman and the man who have committed adultery are proved equally guilty, the *Kebang* imposes a fine of Rs. 30 on the former and Rs. 150 on the latter. This fine collected from the adulterer and adulteress are paid to the Gams of their village *Kebang*.

If a couple continues to quarrel with each other and dislike each other the *Kebang* intervenes between the couple and tries to settle the dispute. If the Gams fail in their attempt they try to separate them and arrange their divorce without imposing any fine on either party and without asking the wife's parents to return the bride-price to the husband. Among the Gallong if separation takes place the bride-price has to be returned to the husband by the wife's parents.

Rape is a serious offence and the *Kebang* imposes a fine of Rs. 800 or more on the accused person.

Among the *Minyong* and the Gallong a man can marry his wife's sister or may have sexual relationship with her. A man is allowed to marry his father's sister's daughter or he may marry daughter of his mother's brother or daughter of mother's sister. Any sexual relationship with the



father's brother's daughter is looked down upon in their society. Among the Minyong the accused person has to pay a fine of Rs. 100 to the Kebang and he has to observe a ritual in which a mithun is sacrificed and all the clan members are invited to, take meat, apong (beer) and rice. If both the man and the woman are proved guilty, fine is imposed on both of them and this fine is deposited in the Kebang fund for use in the communal functions. Among the Gallong in such cases the accused man has to pay a fine which varies from Rs. 250 to Rs. 1,000 along with urogoni of Rs. 50 and sometimes a mithun. The accused woman also give *urogoni* of Rs. 50 to the Kebang. Urogoni is just like court fee charged by the Kebang for its sitting on both parties. This fee is higher in the case of the sexual offences than other offences. The Urogoni and fine up to Rs. 100 are distributed among the Gams. If the amount exceeds Rs. 100 it is deposited in the Kebang fund to be utilized in communal functions.

Polygamy is practised among the Gallong and the Minyong. A man may marry for the second time with or without the consent of his first wife. But in such cases the first wife may divorce her husband who is entitled to get back the bride-price.

Disputes between the cowives are settled by the Kebang and there is no question of punishment or payment of fine in such cases,

As indicated above payment of bride-price is in vogue among the Gallong and the Minyong. If the bride-groom does not pay it dispute arises between groom's party and bride's party. But such disputes are not referred to the village Kebang because any non-payment of bride-price means loss of face and prestige on the part of the husband. It is also a matter of shame on the part of the bride not to get the bride price. In such a situation the parents try to bring their daughter back home and do not let her go back to her husband's house unless and until the bride-price is paid.

### Costomary Laws concerning property

When any dispute concerning land takes place between two villagers, either of them may lodge a complaint in the Kebang for a peaceful settlement of the dispute. The head Gam fixes a day to conduct an inquiry. On the appointed day every house-hold head and elderly persons of the village go to the spot and try to find out the stone line or the row of Taku or Jack-fruit trees which were planted along the boundary line by the forefathers of the persons concerned and delineate the disputed lands.

Every Gallong and Minyong village has forests swiddens and cultivated lands within its village boundary. Inter-village boundaries are demarcated by taku or jack fruit trees grown on the boundary line and also by natural objects such as hill, hill stream, water channel and any famliar block of stone. Any body can acquire land for cultivation within the village boundary by clearing the village forest.

Each house hold has also its own forest within the village boundary. If a person cuts trees in a forest which belongs to some one else the owner of the forest does not mind it if the wood is cut is for home consumption and not for sale. If it is proved that it is for sale the owner of the forest reports the matter to the Kebang. If the case is proved that the wood which was cut was for sale the Kebang imposed a very heavy fine on the wood cutter. Generally the fine imposed is double the amount of the price of the wood. According to the customary laws no one is allowed to cut trees either for sale or for own consumption in the forests not belonging to his village. Any breach of this law results in inter-village conflict and necessitates arbitration jointly by the Kebang of both villages.

As pointed out above every village has natural boundaries demarcated by hill streams, hills and trees and every inter-village boundary has its own name. The people concerned recognize their inter village boundaries and donot trespass any time for any thing. The cases of tress-

## POLITICAL . . . .

passing are referred to the Kebangs of both villages. The Gams and the elders of both villages assemble on a particular day fixed for this purpose at a convenient place on the boundary line and settle the case. The person who is proved guilty is fined a pig or a cow or in more serious cases a mithum. If the property which is illegally used belongs to the community the fine so imposed upon the trespasser is utilized in common by the village to which the property belongs. If the property belongs to an individual the fine is shared by the Gams and the person to whom the property belongs.

Few years ago, land was disposed of only by barter system. But things have changed now and people are now selling their land mostly for money. When some one is in trouble or is ill, he sells his land in exchange of money or pig or cattle or *aram* (traditional metal pot). Generally, a member of his clan purchases his land and no sale-deed is executed, for this purpose, only verbal agreement is sufficient for transferring ownership from the seller to the buyer.

A person may cultivate a piece of Jhum land belonging to another person of his own village or neighbouring village on a contract basis for a period of two years on payment of a pig worth Rs. 50 to the land owner. This system is called *Rigiak*. After the contract period is over the land reverts to the owner. Any breach of the conditions stipulated in the contract is referred to the Kebang for arbitration.

The Jhum lands are not surveyed and settled and therefore the acreage of each piece of land under Jhumming and its valuation are not available in any record. But there are indigenous methods by which the extent of land under Jhumming plot by plot can be ascertained and valuation of each Jhum land determined. One of the methods of measuring land is seed rate and the value of the land is determined in terms of pigs and cows. For example, if a piece of land requires one eggins (a local measure) of paddy seeds its value will be one pig worth Rs. 50/-. If another

piece of land needs four eggins of seeds its cost will be one cow worth Rs. 200/- The value of wet land is higher than that of the Jhum lands. The cost of land varies from village to village depending upon quality of land and demand for land.

Landed property is partitioned among the sons after the death of their father. According to the customary laws the youngest son is entitled to get more than half of his father's property and the remaining portion is distributed equally among other brothers. Sometimes the co-partitioners do not divide the land among themselves. They cultivate the lands jointly and divide the produce among themselves equally. Daughters have no right to inheritance of their paternal property. They are entitled to maintenance only and after they are married they leave their parental house and settle down in the residence of their husbands. A widow may return to her father's house and in this case she is given some land to cultivate, for her maintenance. But she does not have any possessory right over her parental land.

Ordinarily a widow does not want to come back to her father's house because she does not get good reception at her parent's place. The reason for this is that the Gallong and Minyong believe that the misfortune which has been responsible for making her widow may befall on her brothers' wives by her physical contact with them. Under such circumstances she tries to get herself remarried as quickly as possible. In Gallong and Minyong societies a widow gets a second husband easily because in the second marriage the man does not have to pay any bride-price.

Disputes regarding partition of parental house among the sons are very rare, because it is very easy to build new houses. Materials needed for construction of houses are readily available in the habitat and the villagers help in building each other's houses. Any dispute over movable property among co-sharers such as ornaments, livestock,

etc, is not generally referred to the Kebang for settlement. These matters are always settled by clan members.

All disputes concerning land are referred to the Kebang for arbitration. In case the Gams fail to arrive at any decision they refer it to Nyibo traditional priest, of the village. The priest performs certain magico-religious rites and invokes the supernatural power to help him in this matter. As the people in general believe strongly in supernaturalism they abide unflinchingly by the decisions of the priest. The magico-religious practices which are resorted to in complicated land disputes are called Roksin and it is by these practices the priest is able to say who is the owner of the disputed land and who is not.

Not only the complainant and the defendant but also the Gams of the Kebang take the findings of the priest as final and abide by it. The person who is declared as the owner of the disputed property pays a fee of Rs. 50 to the Kebang and Rs. 4/- to the priest. The person who is defeated in the case has also to pay a fee of Rs. 5/- to the Kebang. These fees collected from the parties who are involved in land disputes are charged at a higher rate by the Bongo Kebang and the Bogum Bokan Kebang. The fine imposed on the accused party goes up to Rs. 1,200/- in the complicated cases which necessitate several sessions and sittings of the Kebang for arbitration.

Many hill streams and rivers are flowing in the Gallong and Minyong country. Every village has right over water of that portion of the river and hill stream which flow in its boundary. Again the portion of the river which falls to a village is divided among the households. Each household builds a hut close to its portion of the river and uses water and catches fish from this portion. No trespassing either by any co-villager or by any outsider is allowed. Cases of trespassing are referred to the Kebang and the trespassers are liable to pay compensation which varies from Rs. 250 to Rs. 500 to the owner and a fine of Rs. 50 with *Urogoni* of Rs. 10 payable to the Kebang.

Cases of theft and stealing agricultural produce are uncommon in the Gallong and Minyong villages. In case such cases occur the matter is reported to the Kebang. The guilty person is charged compensation and fine at rates which depend upon the nature and quantity of stolen produce.

Some cases of stealing paddy occur in the months of April and May when crops are destroyed by natural calamities and by the attack of insects and depredation of wild animals. If any one steals paddy from other's granary called *Nahu* by Gallong and *Kumsum* by Minyong the Kebang imposes a fine of Rs. 100 to Rs. 500 compensation of a mithun and *Urogoni* of Rs. 10. Mithun is given to the owner of the granary and the fine and *Urogoni* to the Gams of the Kebang. Stealing standing crop is a less serious offence than stealing paddy from granary. In the former case the amount of fine and compensation charged on the accused is less. In this case compensation amounts to 1/2 Mithun or a cow or Rs. 150 the fine varies from Rs. 50—Rs. 100 and *Urogoni* of Rs. 10. If any person is unable to pay the compensation and the fine his clan members come forward to help him by contributing something to him for the payment of the penalties.

Other things which are generally stolen from the field are fruits, maize, potatoes, millet, arum, cucumber, etc. Any theft of orange, jackfruit, banana, etc, is also not uncommon. Taku leaves are also stolen from the forest. In such cases the Kebang imposes a fine of Rs. 25/- and *Urogoni* of Rs. 5/-. If any clan member steals these things, no fine is imposed.

If any person steals a hen from any house he has to pay a fine of Rs. 25 and *Urogoni* of Rs. 5.

The person who steals any movable property from any house has to pay double the amount of the cost of the object stolen along with *Urogoni*.

## POLITICAL . . . .

If any body steals cow or mithun, he has to give two similar cows or mithuns payable as compensation to the person whose cattle were stolen and a fine Rs. 50 and *Urogoni* of Rs. 10 payable to the Kebang.

Cases of any neglect in repayment or non-payment of debts either in cash or in kind are rare in the Gallong and Minyong societies. If anybody fails to clear the debt the matter is referred to the Kebang where upon the Gams ask the debtor to clear the borrowed cash or kind, to the creditor on a particular date and charge *Urogoni* of Rs. 10 payable to the Kebang. If any body borrows paddy from a co-villager and does not pay back in time the sender lodges a complaint against the borrower in the Kebang. If the case is proved true the Kebang asks the borrower to return the paddy or pay in cash at the rate of Rs. 10 per *Eggin* of paddy to the lender along with Rs. 5 as *Urogoni* payable to the Kebang.

### Community works and customary laws

In every Gallong and Minyong village certain community works are performed by all the villagers together for their own benefit. Every villager has to contribute his labour as allotted to him by the Kebang. Some of the important community works are as follows:

- (a) Fencing of the cultivated lands and the village. Every year in the months of February, March and April village Kebang sits with all the villager and assigns work of fencing to the villagers. Fencing of the cultivated land is required for protecting the crops from the pigs, cattle and mithuns.
- (b) Construction and repairing of dwelling houses.
- (c) Clearing of forest land
- (d) Construction of indigenous water channels.
- (e) Construction and repair of the village roads and bridges.
- (f) Communal hunting festivals
- (g) Communal religious festivals

For all such communal activities the Kebang meeting is called and all the adult male members of the village are informed to participate in the work. If any one does not take part in these works, the Kebang imposes a fine of Rs. 4 on that person.

There are a few occasions when all the persons of a village observe taboo for some days. Some of these occasions are listed below.

- (a) When a death occurs in the village people observe taboo and stop doing any work on that day.
- (b) If a villager is bitten by snake or attacked by any wild animal the villagers do not do any out-door work that day.
- (c) If any murder case takes place in the village the villagers observe taboo for three days and do not do any field work these days.
- (d) To keep the epidemic diseases in check all people observe taboo. The Kebang summons all people to a meeting and asks them to observe taboo for some days and perform necessary rituals so that the epidemic diseases causing death of people, and animals, do not break out in the village. The days on which the rituals are observed, the day preceding the ritual and the day following the rituals are observed taboo and on these days no active field work is performed. All people are prohibited to do any agricultural work or any other work in the village and to go out of the village area on the days when taboo is observed. If any one breaks the taboo he is fined Rs. 4 or more by the Kebang.

### Assult and Insult and customary Laws

Now-a-days murder cases are very rare among the Gallong and the Minyong. But a; the time of quarreling if any person raises *Dao* to cut the other person, he is considered



as guilty and fined Rs. 200 by the Kebang. Beating a person at the time of quarrelling is not uncommon among them. In such cases the Kebang imposes fine according to the gravity of the case.

If an elderly person is insulted by any younger person for no fault of his the latter is fined heavily by the Kebang. Customarily the accused person is asked to prepare *Apong* and meat, curry and request all the elderly people of the village to partake the same. Moreover he has also to beg apology and express regret for his misbehaviour.

### Case Study 1

*Petitioner* .. Shri Kardak Kamnyi of walk village.

*Respondent* .. Shri Boken Ette. Political Assistant Along.

*History*—The two clans "Nasong" and "Kamnying" took an "Eso" (Mithun) from late Nyiki Ette of Bene village by force and killed it. Late Nyiki Etti got the "KOMSONG" and "KODAR" portions of a river and a plot of land called "Kamnyi-perang" from these two clans as compensation for the mithun slaughtered by them. This was settled by the Kebang at that time. Thereafter Late Nyiki Ette authorised Late Marsing Essi, Late Mardo Essi and late Kare, Essi to catch fish and use water from these portions of the river. This was of course a very old event. It happened during the British time. Since then, a couple of generations has passed and now Shri Kardak Kamnyi had brought a suit against Shri Boken Ette Political Assistant Along for the portions of river mentioned earlier. The petitioner challenge that these portions of the river belonged to him and it was not true that his forefathers had given these portions of the river to the forefathers of Boken Ette.

Accordingly all the Political Interpreters, Gams and leaders held a Kebang on 19th September 1970 in Along

In the Kebang the petitioner Shri Kardak Kamnyi said that if Shri Boken Ette could

furnish any witness, then he would withdraw his claim over the portions of the river. The Kebang asked Mr. Boken Ette to produce witness in his favour. In the Kebang held after seven days of the previous Kebang Shri Boken Ette produced the following persons as witness who are as follows:

1. Shri Minde Ette, Spl. grade Political Interpreter (P.I.) Along.
2. Shri Horduk Ette } Villages of Kucing
3. Shri Goi Ette } village.
4. Shri Kige Essi, .. Villager, Essi village
5. Shri Kare Ette, .. Gam, Bene village

*Decision*—Finding the above witness, a Kebang was held for the third time on the 6th October 1970 at Along and in that Kebang it was decided that Shri Boken Ette is the legal owner of the portions of the river. In all 21 persons consisting of Gams, Leaders including 3 political interpreters were present in Kebang and passed the decision to Deputy Commissioner for approval.

Kebang was presided over by Shri Digong Tatok, Political Jamadar Grade-I, Along.

*Approval*—"I have gone through the above Kebang proceedings and accept the decision of the Kebang."

Dated, Along.

The 18th January 1971.

### Case Study 2

*Complainant* .. Shri Geba Ado, Pakam village.

*Respondent* .. Shri Dukjum Ette, Darkang village.

§

Shri Meka Ette, Gam, Darkang village.

*History*—Shri Geba Ado of Pakam village had bought a plot of land just near the Assam Rifle camp at a cost of Rs. 200 only from Shri Meka Ette, Head Gam, Darkang

POLITICAL . . .

village. As Shri Geba Ado reclaimed the land developed irrigation channels and made it arable.

He planted fruit plants all round the land

Later one Shri Dukjum Ette of Darkang village objected to it and challenged the right of the Geba Ado to this land, and forcibly started cultivating it. This led to a series of quarrelling between Dukjum Ette and Geba Ado. Finding no other alternative Geba Ado lodged a complaint against Kukjum in the Kebang at Pang.

A Kebang was held at Along under the Chairmanship of Shri Tapang Taki, Head Political Interpreter. Both the parties were summoned and Dukjum Ette was asked to give explanation for his deed. While explaining the situation. Dukjum Ette severely attacked Meka Ette (who was absent in the Kebang) disclosing that the plot which was sold by Meka Ette to Geba Ado did not belong to Meka Ette. Rather it belonged to him. Moreover he questioned the Kebang whether Meka Ette has the right to sell other's land ?

The members of the Kebang find it difficult to arrive at any decision in absence of Meka Ette. Therefore Meka Ette was summoned and was asked to present in the Kebang meeting on the Scheduled date.

In the Kebang, Meka Ette admitted the charge made by Dukjum Ette.

*Decision*—(1) Shri Dukjum Ette was asked by the Kebang to reimburse the amount as follows :—

	Rs.
*Expenditure incurred for developing the land.	400
Cost of the plot	200
Total	600

\* (1) This include the cost of the fruit trees planted by Geba Ado. The above sum of Rs. 600 was to be paid by Dukjum Ette to Geba Ado.

(2) Shri Meka Ette was asked to give a plot of land of the same size to Shri Dukjum Ette against the amount paid by Dukjum Ette which was to be paid by Meka Ette to Geba Ado. This amount relates to Rs. 200 the cost of the land, which Meka Ette took from Geba Ado. As Meka Ette expressed his inability to pay Rs. 200 to Geba Ado, Dukjum Ette agreed to pay the amount on condition that Meka Ette should give him a plot equivalent of the money paid by him. The Kebang granted the agreement.

Further the Kebang passed order to complete all transactions within 10 days. Accordingly all the transactions were completed within the period prescribed by Kebang.

The decision of the Kebang was approved by the Deputy Commissioner, Along.

*Members of Kebang*

The following members constituted the Kebang to settle the case.

1. Shri Tapang Taki . . . H. P. I. (Head Political Interpreter).
2. Minde Ette . . . P. I.
3. Tado Amo . . . P. I.
4. Bojor Gamlin . . . P. I.
5. Hengo Ette . . . P. I.
6. Marsok Essi . . . P. I.
7. Bebin Ado. } Gams and
8. Rato Ado } Gams and

Many other Gams and leaders of different villages were present in the Kebang.

**Case Study 3**

- |                   |    |             |
|-------------------|----|-------------|
| <i>Petitioner</i> | .. | Tomin Kango |
|                   |    | &           |
|                   |    | Kimar Kato  |
| <i>Respondent</i> | .. | Gumde Kato  |



the Deputy Commissioner. He also reported that Gumde Kato had obstructed him to cultivate his land and had forcibly harvested the standing crop from his land. The Kebang summoned Tamin Kango and Gumde Kato and the place fixed for the adjudication of the case was the office of circle officer of Liromooa circle. The circle officer Shri R. C. Chaudhury presided and the Kebang was attended by all the Gams and many villagers of Ngomukh village and adjacent villages.

Gumde Kato was asked why he encroached upon Tamin Kango's land and harvested the paddy forcibly. In reply Gumde Kato stated that he had some confusion regarding the boundary of Tamin's plot. But in the cross examination the Gams who were present in the Kebang proved that Gumde Kato was telling lie because the boundary was clearly marked by Deputy Commissioner himself during his field inspection in the presence of the villagers and officers. Regarding the harvesting of paddy, Gumde kato admitted that he had done it. His elder brother Gumli Kato, at that moment exposed that two of their friends namely Nyamar Kato and Keyi Komar instigated them to disregard and disobey the previous judgement passed by the Deputy Commissioner. These two persons denied the charges at first, but kept silent later on and admitted their guilt. From these circumstances it was proved that Gumde Kato deliberately disobeyed the previous judgement passed by the Deputy Commission and unnecessarily harassed Tamin Kango by encroaching upon his land. The Kebang after examining the case passed the following judgement which was approved by the circle officer. The judgement was accepted by the persons involved in the case.

*Judgement*—(1) Gumde Kato was fined Rs. 500. He was also asked to pay 50 to Tamin Kango for harvesting the paddy forcibly.

(2) Nyamar Kato and Keyi Komar were fined Rs. 100 each for instigating and misleading the Gumde Kato to disregard the previous decision.

Gumda Kato agreed to abide by the Kebang judgement and promised not to disturb Tomin Kango in his cultivation in future. He, however, prayed that he should be given 10 days time upto 25th November 1970 enabling him to arrange the amount of time and the Kebang allowed the time. The Kebang directed the offenders to deposit the fine with Shri H. Gohain, Headmaster of Kambang M. E. School within the specified time with instructions issued to the headmaster to credit it to the Government fund which is meant for developmental pruposes. The offenders paid the fine in time.

**Case-Study 5**

*Complainant* : Yorje Komi } of the Rego village  
*Respondent* : Tatum Komi }

*Brief history* : Yorje Komi a gam of Rego village lodged a complaint in the Kebang that one Tatum Komi of his village had inflicted fatal injury on his milking Domu (cow) as a result of which the cow and the calf died. The Kebang met on the appointed day and adjudicated the case and asked Tatum Komi to pay a fine of Rs. 2,600 to Yorje Komi. Tatum did not obey the decision of the Kebang sat in judgement upon the request of the complainant. This time the Anchalik Panchayat Members Political Interpreters, Gams and many villagers attended the Kebang. The judgement passed by the Kebang was that Tatum Komi was to pay a fine of Rs. 1,100 and one Mithun. Yorji Komi agreed to the decision and accordingly the fine money was given to him. The Mithun (costing Rs. 2500) which was given by the offender was left in the charge of Yorje Komi. But unfortunately the Mithun died within 10 days. Yorji Komi brought a false allegation against Tatum Komi saying that handing over and taking over of the Mithun did not really take place. Taking this plea Yorje Komi asked Tatum Komi and his son to hand over to him the Mithun as per the decision of the Kebang. Tatum Komi paid no heed to it. Being angry Yorje Komi inflicted injury on Tatum Komi and absconded from the village



to be free from the warrant of arrest. After some days however Yorje Komi came out of his exile and surrendered himself before the Deputy Commissioner and was thereafter kept under the custody of CRP.

After a few days the matter was brought up for discussion. both Yorje Komi and Tatum Komi wanted that the case should be taken up by the Kebang for trial. Yorge Komi was released from the CRP custody to attend the kebang.

*Judgement*—The decision given by the Kebang is as follows:

- (1) Tatum Komi should pay Rs. 500 to Yorje Komi for cheating Yorje Komi by giving him a diseased Mithun.
- (2) Yorje Komi should pay Rs. 200 to Tatum Komi as a penalty for assaulting him.
- (3) Both Yorje Komi and Tatum Komi should not do any harm to each other and live peacefully. If they violate the Kebang order they will be fined Rs. 1,500 each.
- (4) The Anchalik Panchayat Member should foster good relationship between Tatum Komi and Yorje Komi.
- (5) Lastly, both Yorje Komi and Tatum Komi are required to execute bonds as per Indian Criminal Procedure Code (C. R. P. C.) in the presence of Administration Officer, Extra Assistant Commissioner or Circle Officer.

*Kebang Body*—The Kebang comprised the following members.

1. Exang Komi .. Anshulik Panchayat Member, Rego Anchal.
2. Tateng Koji .. Anshulik Panchayat Member, Rapum Anchal.
3. Norsang Ongey .. Grade I, Pol. Interpreter-Mechuka

4. Lingdung Pyur .. Gr. III, Pol. Interpreter; Mechuka

5. Gams of Rego village.

6. Gams of adjacent villages.

The above decision was approved by E. A. C., Mechuka.

#### Case Study 6

*Complainants*—Villagers of Damda village }  
*Respondents*—Villagers of Dossing village } Of Gallong Tribe.

*Informant* Tator Darang  
 Political Interpreter (P. I.)

*Age* 45 Years.

*Placed* }  
*Collection* } Political Interpreter's Kebang, Along.

*History*—There was a long-standing boundary dispute between Danda villager and Dossing villageers. The villagers of Dossing alleged that the villagers of Damda occupied some of their plain lands by force and did not agree to settle the matter, refused to attend the Kebang which was convened for this purpose. The villagers of Dossing reported the matter to P. I. Kebang, Along. The P. I. found out that the matter had not been referred to the Bango Kebang. Since it is an inter village dispute the P. I. Kebang, Along suggested to hold the Bango Kebang first.

Accordingly the Banga act in Judgement and some of the P. Is were deputed to assist the Bangs in deciding the case. The villagers of Danda did not turn up to the Kebang and therefore the Kebang was adjourned and a few days later it was held in the Dossing village. Both the parties were present and the Kebang heard the case from both of them and tried for an amicable settlement but failed in their attempt.

## POLITICAL . . .

One day the villagers of Dossing raided the Damda village and caused large scale damage to the crops implements and huts. On getting the information one V. L. W. O., Myong, by name made a spot inquiry on the 19th June 1966 and his report is reproduced below.

### REPORT

#### *Part I*

The property damaged by the villagers of Dossing on the 14th June 1966 is categorized below.

1. Minor Irrigation channel of 108 long constructed by the Damda village at Bane hamlet near Abung-Korang (Name of the site)
2. Mixed crops of paddy, maize, millet and vegetables in the jhum fields of 1,40,000 sq. ft. in extent of Taksing Tapak.
3. Mixed crops of paddy, maize, and millet in the Jhumming of 1 acre of Tabang Takuk.
4. The contour bunds of 140 ft. long of terraced fields belonging to Tayak Takuk.
5. Mixed crops grown in Jhum fields of 3/4 acre by Tabong Tali, Tame Tali and Tagum sitang.
6. The contour, bunds 390 ft. long of terraced fields belonging to Tanging Tamut and Tabong Tali.
7. Crops grown in jhum fields of 1 1/4 acre by Tasho Tapak and Tapen choroh.
8. The contour bunds, 499 in extent of terraced fields of Tanyong Tali and Tasho Tapak.
9. Seed beds of Taguny Tapak 7947 Sq ft. belonging to Takak Tald, Tamer Tabi, Tatong Tapak, and Talung Tai.

#### *Part II*

Agricultural implements, fruit plants, huts, destroyed by the Dossing villagers:

1. Hut of Takong Tapak was burnt

2. Following implements of Tabond Takuk:

Spade	..	3 Nos.
Axe	..	1 No.

3. Hut of Takak Tayak was burnt with the following implements:

Spade	..	1 No.
Axe	..	1 No.
Dao	..	1 No. with other household articles.

4. House of Tabo Tali was burnt with implements and Fruit plants such as—

Oranga	..	5 trees
Jackfruit	..	1 tree
Banana and	..	5 plants
Bamboo	..	8 plants

5. Following implement of Taging Tamut

Plough	..	1 set.
Spade	..	8 Nos.
Axe	..	2 Nos.
Dao	..	8 Nos.

6. Hut of Tanyong Tali was burnt with implements.

7. Hut of Tasho Tapak was burnt

8. Some fruit trees of Taham Tali was damaged.

Some other villagers suffered minor losses The V. L. W. forwarded the report to the administration on the 19th June 1966.

After this incident the Kebang was held in P. I. Kebang, Along several times with all P. I. S., Gams of both the villages and other villages and other influential person The head political interpreter and political Assistant Visited both the villages but the case remained unsettled. The villagers of Dossing alleged that the report submitted by the V. L. W. regarding the damage was full of exaggeration and served no purpose.

The Deputy Commissioner accompanied by Agricultural officer and political Assistant visited the disputed spot and tried for a settlement but of no avail. (The dispute remained unsettled till the year 1972 when the field work was carried out in Along area.)

### Case Study 7

*Petitioner* .. Tapany Taki, Political Interpreter

*Respondent* .. During Jerang, Salesman

*Informant* .. Tapany Taki, Head P. I.

*Age* .. 45 Years

*Place* .. P. I. Kebang Along

*Source* .. Kebang Record File

*History*—During Jerang, Salesman of Dubin Jerang sold fire match boxes to Tapang Taki, P. I. at the rate of two annas each. In other shops at Along the cost of 5 match boxes was 8 annas. Tapang Taki reported the matter in P. I. Kebang. Accordingly During Jerang was summoned by the P. I. Kebang. During Jerang appeared before the Kebang but when the hearing was going on he left the Kebang without obtaining permission from the Members of the Kebang. According to the rules of the Kebang parties involved in cases are not allowed to leave Kebang at the time of hearing of their cases without permission from the Kebang on the motion.

*Decision*—The Kebang members fined During Jarong Rs. 100 and directs him to deposit the money in P. I. Kebang within 10 days. He was fined for violating the rules of Kebang. In the judgement During Jerang was warned not to sell things at high price.

During Jarang paid the fine to P. I. Kebang within stipulated period and the amount was deposited in the administration to be utilized for developmental purposes.

### Case Study 8

*Petitioner* .. Gomar Kamduk of Kugi village

*Respondent* .. Kipu Kamduk of Bagra village

*History*—Gomar Kamduk of Kugi village purchased one mithun from Kipu Kamduk of Bagra village. After paying the price of the mithun Gomar Kamduk expected that Kipu Kamduk would give him the mithun. But Kipu Kamduk refused to give him the Mithun. As a result a quarrel started between them.

Gomar Kamduk lodged a complain against Kipu in Kamduk, P. I. Kebang at Along. Kipu Kamduk was summoned to the Kebang, and the village-Gams of both the villages were also summoned to the Kebang to offer their views in this matter and help the political interpreter in deciding the case.

In the Kebang, Gomar Kamduk blamed Kipu Kamduk for cheating him and appealed to the Kebang authority to ask Kipu Kamduk to give him the mithun as he had already paid for it.

Kipu Kamduk was then asked by the Kebang why he had not given the mithun. Kipu Kamduk could not show any reason and just tried to avoid the issue by saying this and that. The gams of both the village and P. I. were thus convinced that the allegation was true.

The Kebang was held on the following day again to settle the issue. All members who were present in the Kebang on the previous day were also present on the next day, including the Gams of both the villages and the persons involved in the case.

After hearing both the parties and examining he case carefully the Kebang gave the following decision.

*Judgement*—(1) Kipu Kamduk was directed to hand over the mithun to Gomar Kamduk immediately and if he does not nct do, he would be fined severely.

This decision of the Kebang was approved by the political officer of Siang District. Along 1963.

In obedience to this decision Kipu Kamduk gave the Mithun to Gomar Kamduk within seven days.

## POLITICAL . . .

### Case Study 9

*Petitioner*—Tabang Tatok, Pang Keng village

*Respondent*—Taring Muize, Pang Keng village

*History*—Tabang Tatok and Taring Minze had their jhum fields in one place. The fields were adjacent to each other. Tabang and Taring had left their fields fallow to recuperate. Due to thick growth of forest it was not possible to demarcate one field from the other. Tabang claimed a portion of land belonging to Taring as his and Taring claimed a portion of land belonging to Tabang as his. As a result dispute arose between them and both lodged complaint against each other in their village Kebang.

In the Kebang meeting it was proposed that the Gams would go to the spot and demarcate the boundary. On the appointed day the village Gams accompanied by the village elders went to the spot and after a careful survey demarcated the boundary. Both the parties agreed to accept the boundary which was demarcated by the Gams. Both of them paid urgoni of Rs. 10 which was shared by Gams of the village and the dispute was amicably settled. Some days later Taring surveyed his area minutely and thought the lands had not been demarcated correctly. He defied the decisions of the Kebang and encroached upon a portion of Tabang's land. Tabang complained the matter to the Gams who in time informed to P. I., Kebang, Along and told him to come one day to their village to settle the dispute. From P. I. Kebang one P. I. named Bojar Gamlin was sent to help the Gams in the matter.

*Decision*—The village Kebang met on the appointed day and decided that ROKSIN (examination by chicken's heart) would be performed to draw the real boundary line.

The village-Nyibo (priest) performed the Roksins in the presence of Gams and Bojar Gamlin, P.I. on the disputed jhum fields and after the ritual was over he could identify the boundary line and the Gams asked to follow it strictly failing which

they would be fined Rs. 150 each. Besides urgoni fee of Rs. 10 which each party paid to the Kebang both the parties paid Rs. 2 to the priest and Rs. 6 towards the cost of three chickens which were used in Roksins.

After every thing was over the proceedings of the Kebang meeting were recorded in the Kebang Book and both the parties signed it.

### Case Study 10

*Petitioner*—Smti. Yayir Bole

*Respondent*—Shri Puya Gamlin

*Informant*—Shri Okong Tayeng,  
Political Interpreter.

*History* — Okong Tayeng informed that on dated the 3rd March 1962 Smti. Yayir Bole, a tagin slave woman came to Base Superintendent of Liromoba and sought his help to make her free from slavery. She stated that she was purchased from north-west side of Siang district which is a Tagin area and she belonged to Tagin tribe. Her age was nearly 30 years, and she was serving as a slave under Puya Gamlin of Haldipur village for more than ten years. Now she came to know that Government is taking steps to abolish slavery and free the slaves of this area. Therefore she requested the base-Superintendent to throw her off the yoke.

The Base Superintendent call Puya Gamlin and asked him to release the woman. Further he informed Puya Gamlin that there was provision in the administration for reimbursement of the amount which he had paid to the slave for her services. But Puya Gamlin refused to accept any money from the Government. He stated that he was ready to release the woman provided he would get the "arem" (traditional brass-dish) and one Mithun and some 'Tadoks' (Leads) from her relatives who were living in Daporjo. The Base Superintendent found it difficult to carry on negotiation any further and therefore forwarded the



case to the political officer, Along who in turn forwards it to the P.I. Kebang, Along to sit in judgement over this matter.

The Kebang examined the case thoroughly and argued the matter pro and con and cross examined the persons involved and arrived at the following decision

*Decision*—(1) Puya Gamlin is ready to accept Smti. Yayir Bole as his "NIKU-NYAME" (term for a slave accepted as wife) and will keep her in his house in Haldipur village.

(2) In future, however, if she wishes to divorce Puya Gamlin, she will have to give him "Nyamdum" (compressing one Arem, one Mithun and Tadox beads).

(3) If Puya Gamlin wants to divorce Smti. Yayir Bole on his own accord he will not be provided with "Nyamdum".

(4) From this date onward the Adi society will accept them as a married couple and treat them as such without any social stigma.

Both the parties expressed in the presence of the members that they would abide by decisions. Then Puya Gamlin arranged a tea party after which the Kebang called it a day.

The decision of the Kebang was approved by the political officer, Along.

#### Case Study 11

*Petitioner*—Shri Domer Doker- Gensi village

*Respondent*—Shri Ngoi Tai, Gam-Gensi village

*Informant*—Shri Tator Darang

Political Interpreter, Along

Age—45 Yrs.

*History* :—Sri Tator Darang, P.I. informed that Ngoi Tai had borrowed a sum of Rs.200/- from Domer Doker of his village and promised him to pay back the loan in three or four months. Nine months passed and Ngoi Tai did not pay the loan. Domer

Doker requested him several times to clear the loan but Ngoi Tai turned a deaf ear to him. Over this issue Domer Doker picked up quarrel with Ngoi Tai who flatly refused to pay the amount and asked Domer Doker to do whatever he could. Finding no way out Domer Doker referred the matter to the "Dolu Kebang" and appealed to get legal redress. On receipt of the complaint the Kebang sat in judgement and summoned both the parties and tried the case. The matter was so complex that there was no ground to ask Ngoi Tai to pay back the loan. The Kebang sat many a time over the matter and could not arrive at any decision. In the meantime Ngoi Tai went away secretly and kept himself hidden somewhere. Under these circumstances the Gams and others of the Kebang advised Doker to approach the P.I., Kebang, Along for taking up the case. He did so and thereafter the Head P.I. sent a "Parwana" to Gensi village in the name of Ngoi Tai asking him to appear at the P.I. Kebang on the appointed day. The P.I. Kebang, Along sat on the stipulated day and the Gams, leaders and panchayat members attended it to adjudicate the case. The parties also appeared in time at the Kebang. Domer Doker was asked to put forward his grievances first and thereafter Ngoi Tai was asked to react to what Domer Doker had said. Ngoi Tai kept silence for some time and then admitted his guilt.

*Decision*—After long discussion which continued for two days the Kebang unanimously gave the following decisions :—

- (1) Shri Ngoi Tai shall repay the loan of Rs. 200 in full to Shri Domer Doker within 7 days.
- (2) Sri Ngoi Tai is fined Rs. 150 for his intentional delay in paying the loan and for his misbehaviour. From this amount Domer Doker will get Rs. 50/- and the remaining amount of Rs. 100 will be deposited in the P.I. Kebang.
- (3) Both of the parties shall not quarrel with each other and will live peacefully.

## POLITICAL . . .

- (4) Sri Ngoi Tai is warned particularly that if he would disobey the Kebang decision he will be fined severely.

The decision was approved by the Deputy Commissioner, Along.

*N. B.*—The amount of Rs. 100 which was realised by the P.I. Kebang from Ngoi Tai was given to the Headmaster of Gensi school to utilize it on repairs of the School building.

All the transaction were completed within 7 days as per the decisions of the Kebang.

### Case Study 12

*Petitioner* : Tagum Doke, Paimoti village

*Respondent* : Tabi Kena, Kena village.

*Informant* : Hengo Ette.

Political Interpreter Along

Age : 40 yrs.

*History*—Shri Hengo Ette, P. I. informed that one day Tabi Kena of Kena village went to Paimoti village and stayed in the house of Tagum Doke who was a contractor. On that day Tagum Doke got the payment of a bill of Rs. 500/—which he kept in a wooden box. Tabi Kena saw where Tagum Doke had kept the money. Tabi Kena stayed in the house of Tagum Doke over night and left his house every morning next day. In the noon when the labourers came to take their wages, Tagum Doke opened the box in which he kept the money and found that the money was not there. He was perplexed and suspected that Tabi Kena had stolen the money. He ran to Tabix's village and asked Tabi to return the money. Tabi Kena rebuked him and expressed violently that his allegations were baseless. At this Tagum Doke got upset and reported the matter to the Gams of Kena Kebang who did not take any initiative in this matter. Tagum Doke became angry and took resort in the P. I. Kebang at Along. Upon the

receipt of the case P. I. summoned Tabi Kena to appear before the Kebang on the next day. Tabi Kena appeared before the Kebang and denied to have stolen the money. But when the members decided to handover Tabi Kena to the CRP he admitted the guilt.

*Decision*—All the P. Is. present in the Kebang passed the following judgement.

(1) Sri Tabi Kena is ordered to refund the amount (Rs. 500/—) tomorrow to Shri Tagum Doke in P. I. Kebang, Along in front of all P. Is.

(2) For his misdeed is ordered to pay the following amount to Shri Tagum Doke :—

			Rs.
(a) Esso (Mithun)	1 No. Equivalent	Price.	600
(b) Sobin (Goat)	1 No. Equivalent	Price.	30
(c) Cow	1 No. Equivalent	Price.	100
(d) Endi cloth	1 Piece Equivalent	Price.	20

750

(3) Shri Tabi Kena is ordered to pay Rs. 80 to the President "Sirit Bango" which will be deposited in the fund maintained by the "Bango" for developmental purposes.

All the transactions mentioned under items (2) and (3) should be finished within the next 10 days.

Shri Tabi Kena complied with the order of the Kebang in stipulated time.

### Case Study 13

*Petitioner* : Germuk Tai

*Respondent* : Poli Tai

*Informant* : .. Shri Dageya Loy

Political Interpreter

Age : 35 yrs.

Shri Dageya Loyi, P. I. informed that the case was tried in the village-Kebang at Tatamori village and the decision was communicated to P. I. Kebang, Along *History*: Shri Dogeya Loyi said that Poli Tai was the brother of Germuk Tai and both of them lived in the Tatamoni village. Once Poli Tai had stolen a necklace made of 'Tadok' bead which cost Rs. 800/—. After some days Germuk Tai found the necklace missing and kept the news secret and watched the situation. Once there was a meeting in the village and Poli Tai went there wearing the same necklace, Germuk Tai saw it and caught Poli Tai and informed the matter to the Gams who held the meeting instantly. In the Kebang, Poli Tai's father stated that the necklace did not belong to his son (Poli Tai). The villagers supported Poli Tai's father in this matter.

*Decision*—The Kebang then passed the following decision.

(1) Shri Poli Tai is directed to return the necklace to Shri Germuk Tai;

(2) Poli Tai shall pay the penalty as detailed below to Germak Tai within seven days.

(a) One Mithun . . . Equivalent cost Rs. 1,000

(b) One Dasi (traditional brass-plate). Equivalent cost Rs. 150

(c) One Boar (adult). Equivalent cost Rs. 175

Total Equivalent Price : Rs. 1,325

(3) In addition to the penalty Poli Tai shall pay a fine of Rs. 100/—to the Kebang which would be deposited in the 'Bango' fund.

All the transaction were complied with by the offender within the stipulated time.

#### Case Study 14

*Informant* : . . . Shri Tator Durang  
Political Interpreter.

Shri Tamor Mindo was the Dak-Runne<sup>r</sup> of Liromoba-Basar Area. Smti Yalung Joppif

was an old woman who hailed from In-Inkiyong (215 Km from Along). She came to this area to sell traditional bead necklaces brought from the far north (probably from the Tibetans or Bhotiyas). One day when she was going to Bame village (Liromoba circle) to sell some necklaces she met Tamor Mindo on the way. Tamor Mindo stopped her and started chitchating with her for a long time and offered her some country cigars. Then suddenly he attacked her and attempted to murder by pressing her neck. The old lady became senseless and fell down. Then Tamor Mindo held all the necklaces were with her, left her in the jungle and went away.

After some time she came to senses and went to Bame village and told everything to the villagers. The villagers knew her well because she used to visit the area often to sell her necklaces. The villagers took pity on her and took her to the P. I. Kebang, Along and lodged a complaint on her behalf to the Kebang.

On hearing the case a meeting of the Kebang was held to adjudicate the case. The Kebang summoned Tamor Mundo but he did not attend, and hid himself in some secret place. A search was made to find him out and finally he was caught at Likabali and produced before the Kebang.

*Decision*—The decisions passed by the Kebang are as follows : Shri Mindo shall pay Rs. 300/—for the missing necklace and he should return other necklaces to the old woman in front of the members of the Kebang on the following day.

(2) Shri Mindo fined Rs. 1,500/—for his misdeeds and should pay the fine within seven days to the Kebang. After receipt of the amount if will be deposited in the Bango fund to be utilized in developmental programmes as and when required.

#### Political culture and our task ahead

The present strategy of tribal development is essentially chartex of social, economic and religious rights. It is the embodiment of the spirit of reverence and a gospel of friendliness and equality. In other words, it may be

## POLITICAL . . .

summarised as being a policy of both Central and State Governments which in the first place approaches tribal life and culture with respect and the tribesmen with an affection which rules out any possibility of superiority. The present policy provides ample scope for bringing the best things of modern life to the tribes in such a way that these will not destroy the traditional way of life, but will activate and develop all that is good in it.

Some years back late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru emphasized in his speeches that "the Government should help the tribal people to grow according to their own genius and tradition". Another time he pointed out, "We are not to interfere with their way of life but to help them live it; we are not to impose our ways on them, but rather to discover their ways and help them to grow. There is no point in making them a second-rate copy of ourselves".

Addressing to the tribes Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said, "wherever you live, you should live in your own way and you should decide yourself how you would like to live". Of all the places in India Arunachal Pradesh has been the pioneer in trying and testing the dictum of Pandit Nehru with success. The best example where the philosophy of Pandit Nehru has been put to test is the tribal council (Kebang organization) of the Adis which has not only been preserved but also enlarged under the patronage of the Arunachal administration. To strengthen the tribal system of self-Government and to preserve the tribal justice and jurisprudence has been the motto of Arunachal administration.

The most highly developed and effective of all the tribal councils is the Adi Kebang of which the Minyong and Gallang Kebangs are off shoots. "The hall of audience and debate" where the Kebang meets in an important institution in every Adi village. The Gams including the head Gam who are officially recognized as the members of the Kebang have each an equal vote and are free to offer their views on matters which are referred to the council for arbitration. Every adult

male of the village is entitled to attend the Kebang and take part in the discussion which are held there.

The Gams and the village elders adjudicate the cases and the head Gam promulgates the decisions on their behalf. The Kebang enjoys judicial powers, sits in judgement and tries cases of all kinds and awards suitable punishments to the offenders. The decisions are taken on the basis of customary laws. If such laws are inadequate, the Kebang members and village elders frame new laws in the light of the tribal customs and habits. These laws are sanctioned by the Kebang and promulgated by the head Gam. Every decision is supposed to come from the people and the head Gam has to approve and enforce it. Briefly speaking Adi society works along a democratic pattern in the sense that the people propose, the council sanctions and the chief of the council promulgates.

The Kebang meets every evening and all the people gather there to inform one another what has happened in the village, to discuss the pending cases and take up new cases, and to settle what the villagers will do on the next day. In any Adi village no one is free to dispose of his time as he thinks fit; the next day's work of each and every person is discussed in the Kebang and officially approved by the members of the council and elders of the village.

The decision of the Kebang is final and people obey these decisions to the letter. Besides settling litigations and disputes the Kebang decides when and where to clear the forests for shifting cultivation, when to sow seeds, and when to go on hunting expeditions. Similarly the date on which a ritual is to be observed is settled by the Kebang.

Implementation of various developmental schemes such as construction and repair of roads, schools and other public institutions in the village is also the work of the Kebang. The Gams have power to inspect schools, punish the students if they drop out without any sufficient reason and report to the local administrative officers against those teachers who neglect their duties.



In complicated cases the KeBang takes the help of the village priest who finds out the real solution to the problem by invoking supernatural powers. Whatever may be the case a political interpreter of the local administrative structure remains present in the KeBang at the time of arbitration and helps the chief in keeping the minutes of the meeting. In all cases the decisions are referred to the Deputy Commissioner or local administrative chief for a nominal approval. In such cases where the parties are not satisfied with the decisions of the KeBang, the Deputy Commissioner tries first to make the parties to abide by the decisions of the KeBang. If he fails in his attempts he refers the case to the KeBang again for a review. In no case does the officer impose his points of view and cause the authority of the KeBang to decline.

The council which is higher than the village KeBang is known as Bango. It was introduced and organized in Arunachal Pradesh under the inspiration of the local administration. Bango is nothing but a confederacy of a number of village KeBangs. The head Gams and influential Gams are its members. One of the important functions of the Bango is to settle inter-village disputes and execute various developmental projects.

The next higher and more elaborate people's court is Bogum Bokang which can be described as Adi Parliament. The Adi leaders and leading gams and public of all the Adi groups attend this apex institution and settle inter-village disputes and take up important issues concerning development of the Adi country. Unlike the village KeBang which remains a very informal body and under the sway of the seers, shamans and priests to some extent the Bango and Bogum Bokang are more official and sophisticated. The political interpreters and other official representatives who attend these councils help the authorities to keep minutes of the meetings and record the proceedings and get them typed out in English and forwarded to the administrative chief of the area. These induced official elements give out

only a modern outlook to the tribal council but also foster a kind of renaissance of tribal life and culture unparalleled in the rest of the tribal world of our country.

Quite similar at least in functions to the Adi KeBang is the Sindibor among the Bondas, Sabha among the Khonds and the Saoras, Mandagahar or Darbar (dormitory club) among the Juangs and the Bhuinyas of Highland Orissa. The Munda speaking tribal groups such as the Mundas and the Hos of Northern Orissa have not only well-established political organization in every village but also have political confederacies such as parha organization and centralized political authority.

Among the Bondas the Sindibor occupies an important place in their socio-political and religious life. It is used as a club where the elders gather to pass judgements on tribal offenders against social customs and usages, plan the programmes of rituals and festivals, and settle the distribution of portfolios to village officials. The stone platform of the Sindibor is used as a convenient place for work.

During the fecundity festival known as Susu-gige when seed is consecrated, the Bondas in every village appoint or re-appoint their village officials. This is done every year. The elders gather at the sindibor and discuss whether the existing staff would continue or whether new staff would be appointed. Naiko (secular headman) Sisa (religious headman), and Bariko (Dom. messenger) constitute the village officials. These posts are always held by men. The person who is proposed to be the Naiko of the village is asked to sit on Sindibor. The oldest man of the village who is held with great esteem puts a mark of rice on his fore head and pronounces that he is appointed as the Naiko of the village. Then he narrates the duties which he has to do for the village. Some of the works which the Naiko has to do are that he should attend the officers during their visit to the village. He should inform the villagers what

## POLITICAL . . .

he heard from outsiders. If anyone kills another's fowl or goat and eats it, if anyone beats another or murders him, it is his duty to report the matter to the Government. In the same way but less elaborately the village priest and the messenger are appointed.

The Mandaghar among the Juangs is the largest hut in the village. Unmarried young men sleep there at night and keep their changu (tambaurine) hanging on deer-horns fixed in the walls. In front of the Mandaghar dormitory is a small open space where dances take place almost every evening after day's work.

The elders of the village spend a large part of their time in the dormitory, or in the open space in front, either working on their basketry, or gossiping or smoking. Matters of common concern such as division of land for shifting cultivation, affairs connected with marriage or religious observances and breach of social taboos are discussed here.

Every Juang village is under the authority of a hereditary chief known as padhan, while there is also a hereditary priest called Buita. In small villages the padhan sometimes combines in his person the functions of Buita and *vice versa* in large ones the priest is assisted by a number of office-bearers. The village chief and priest have many social and ritual duties to perform. The padhan has to collect dues and taxes on behalf of the authorities and forward them to the capital. Whenever any officer visits his village, it is his duty to make arrangements for his camp and see to his supplies. He plays an important part in the village tribunal when it deals with such offences as adultery, pre-marital sexual relation, or sexual association with a member of any non-tribal community.

The duties of Buita are to worship the ancestors and village deities, to purify mourners at a funeral, to sanctify and solemnize marital union between the bride and groom, and to readmit the excommunicated back to tribal society.

There is another ritual functionary known as Dihuri in most of the Juang villages. His chief works are to perform the worship of village gods, to decide the dates for felling trees in the clearings, for firing the clearings, for sowing and reaping. He leads the villagers out on hunting excursions. With the Buita and Dihuri the village Padhan distributes land among the villagers for shifting cultivation and adjudicates cases relating to any breach of customary laws and punishes the offenders.

Buita and Padhan should never attend any funeral ceremony. When they themselves die, their bodies are carried out by unmarried boys and the pyre must be lit from fire from the Mandaghar Darbar Hall. For ordinary people, these paraphernalia are not observed; any one can carry out the corpse and there is no special rule about fire.

The Juang country known as Juangpirh in Keonjhar district is divided into six sub-pirhs with a number of villages included in each of them. They are (1) Kathuapirh, (2) Sathakhandipirh, (3) Jharkhandipirh (4) Hundapirh, (5) Renmapirh and (6) Charigapirh. The chief of a Pirh is called Sardar whose post is hereditary. All the Padhans of the villages which come under a Pirh owe allegiance to their Pirh Sardar who is the court of appeal for intra and inter-village disputes.

The Saoras have in each village a secular headman called Gamang who is a man of high prestige. Equally importance is the village priest who is known as Buyya. The offices of secular and religious headmen are hereditary and the rule of primo-geniture regulates succession. In addition to these offices there are astrologer (Disari), Shaman sorcerer) and Barika (messenger).

Allotment of land on the hill-slopes among the villagers for shifting cultivation is made in a common village meeting attended by all the adult male members. Annual cycle of festivals and dates and time of holding them are unanimously decided in the village meetings. Cases relating

to the partition of property, sale and mortgage of land, divorce, adultery and other social matters are decided in the village meeting. Over every village meeting the village Gamang has to preside, initiate discussions and make public the unanimously arrived at decisions.

The Kondhs are most numerous in Orissa. They have a well established council called 'Sabha' in every village. The council meets almost every evening and carries on discussions regarding matters concerning the village. All the functionaries of the village such as, Jani (secular-cum-religious headman) Bismajhi (Assistant to Jani), Lamba (priest incharge of Kedu festival), Pujhari (Assistant to Lamba), Barika (Dom messenger) and Dissari (Shaman) and household heads have to attend the village council to deliberate over problems pertaining to the village. The village Jani presides over the council and in his absence Bismajhi officiates as the headman and leads the discussions in the council. The village functionaries including the village elders decide all kinds of inter-village disputes and punish the offenders against tribal customs and usages. They also organise communal feasts and arrange ritual performances on festive occasions.

Upon receipt of the complaint it is the duty of the headman to convene the village council and invite the household heads and village functionaries to discuss the matter at the council. Discussions take place in a free atmosphere without any inhibition. The parties involved in the cases are given sufficient chance to put forward their grievances to the council and a proper hearing is given to the parties. Generally the villagers abide by the decisions of the council. If any party is dissatisfied with the decisions given by the council he is at liberty to refer the matter to Mutta council for hearing.

The entire Niyamgiri hills of Koraput district which is the home of the Dongria Kondhs is divided into a number of Muttas each comprising a cluster of villages. Each Mutta which is locally known as Farti has

a headman called Mandal who is responsible for deciding inter-village disputes and maintaining law and order within the area of his jurisdiction.

The instances of Political organizations and tribal councils which are drawn from various tribal societies show that all decisions whether political or social are arrived at not by majority vote but by consensus. Real political democracy is at work in tribal villages. But with the introduction of Panchayati Raj system of local self Government and as a result of the impact of the elective system of modern political apparatus, on the life of the tribal people there has been considerable changes in the traditional political organizations of the tribal communities. In many places modern political forces and manipulative politics have weakened the tribal political structure and have disintegrated tribal justice and jurisprudence, customary laws and value system. Unlike the situations in Arunachal Pradesh where the tribal culture has been preserved and enriched under the patronage of the local administration the conditions prevailing in Orissa and other parts of the country present a dismal picture. The personnel incharge of tribal development have lost sight of the tribal cultural parameter and institute enthusiastically of course, several measures on tribal welfare with utter disregard for what is good in tribal societies.

It is too obvious to labour on this point. One thing which is inexplicable is that where the tribal councils are still effective as the best political institutions and run along democratic principles and serve well to preserve and foster social harmony, face-to-face relationship and the fine qualities of tribal societies what is the point in superimposing an alien political structure like statutory gram panchayat which the tribes at present do not understand and do not feel it as theirs. In our well-meant efforts to improve them by extending and sometimes imposing with an air of superiority our administration and developmental strategies we have over-shoot the mark and done grievous injury instead.

## POLITICAL . . .

There is a fascinating problem of exceeding complexity before us. It is our desire that the tribes of our country should learn, be educated and develop but not at the cost of some of their fine customs and traditions. The tribal people attract us greatly for some of their fine qualities and deserve our very special care so that they develop and progress with the development and prosperity of our great country.

It is not a question of opening so many schools, laying some many miles of road, reclaiming so many hectares of land and spending so many lakhs of rupees on programmes of tribal development. Of course these infrastructures are needed for the development of the tribal areas but that is rather a dead ways of looking at things.

The task of greatest importance which lies before us is not merely to put up schools, dispensaries, Co-operative Societies, etc., but to grasp the inner working of the tribal mind, develop a sense of oneness with tribal people with proper understanding of their culture and way of life. We should follow the Arunachal pattern of administration and policy of emotional integration and strive to preserve that is good in tribal society and seek to spread the civilizing processes through the media of tribal ethos and morals, institutions and customs and belief and value system.

The Government officials working in Arunachal Pradesh are in many ways inextricably interlined with the life and culture of the tribal communities. During my field work in pasighat and Along areas of Siang district in the early part of April, 1972 I was an eye witness of the emotional association between the Government officials and the tribal communities living in my study area. The occasion in which I could observe this unique inter relationship was the Mopin festival, which was held at Along from the 5th April to 7th April 1972.

The Mopin festival was related to the worship of Sun-Moon God (Donopolo). The Deputy Commissioner informed me that the Adis had a dream in which they

saw what the image of the Donopolo would be like. They wanted to make the idol of the Donyipollo exactly like what they saw in their dream and install in a temple at Along. The Government's contribution in this work was the construction of the temple and the hall of worship (Donyipolo Dere) and the people's share was the installation of the idol. The day on which the deity was installed in the newly built temple-hall provided an opportunity for a get together of thousands of Adis at Along and an occasion of dancing, singing, feasting, and rejoicing in which the local Government officials took active part. One interesting item of the festival was the custom of smearing rice powder mixed with apong (Country liquor) on the body of one another. The local tribal people particularly Adis do not spare any Government official on this occasion. Batch by batch men and women move from one street to the other visiting every bungalow of the officers and anointing the rice powder on the members of every officer's family. The officers also reciprocate it and take part actively in all aspects of the mopin ceremony.

The Mopin festival is an example of cultural synthesis between the sacred and profane idea systems of which the great efforts of will on the part of the Administration to achieve psychological integration and consolidation and the revitalization movements of the Adis are the two most important interlocking aspects. The administration land financial support to build the Donyipolo dere with the idea that it would serve as a centre not only for community worship but also for social gathering and developmental activities. The Adis' idea of making an idol of Donyipolo and installing it in dere was to build up unity and oneness among themselves through the worship of Donyipolo which was being weakened in the wake of christianity. Whatever may be the purpose of the mopin festival it serves as an example and a lesson to those who are in charge of tribal development and seek to achieve it by cultivating the genius and tradition of tribal people in other parts of the Nation.

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# **The Problems of Empirical Research**

**Abdul Wahid Ansari**

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While collection of first-hand information from a field of study is, on the one hand, a Herculean task, it is, on the other hand, an eye-opener for an investigator engaged in empirical research. Being confronted with varied and varying field situations, he has to undergo, an acid test in the art of fact-finding from a people who are, usually very little or almost unknown to him socially, culturally or otherwise. In such situations he has to apply a personal informal approach to the people under his study to elicit information from them. This provides him with a highly vital and greatly significant practical experiences, and contributes, too, to the development of his insight into the nature of social problems and field situations that help to chisel his personality from an arm-chair social scientist to one involved in practical field actions.

Though collection of facts and figures from different sources of literature is of importance on account of its utility as a corrective and directive device to check a one sided tendency, it remains to a great extent, insufficient for developing an investigator's insight into the social problems, he happens to handle in actual field situations. Since analysis of a social problem in unadulterated form needs more than more collections of relevant facts and figures from different secondary sources, it is necessary to be in the midst of the people concerned so that one may share their

problems, get a peep into their mind, realise their sentiments, understand their attitude, appraise their 'Does's and 'Don'ts' and get acquainted with their philosophy of life. In order to be understood and assessed correctly, social problems need a developmental macro-approach, a kind of qualitative analysis (Golal, M. H. 1962—1985). It is only by being with the people and by belonging to their milieu that information regarding their intimate personal and family life could be correctly gathered. But being with a people under observation and sharing their world view by a social scientist is not an easy task. The very fact of his being a stranger to the people he seeks to study, sparks-off various reactions leading to problems of varying nature and dimensions that impede the process of empirical study.

While collecting first-hand information on a problem entitled, 'Rural Extension and Adoption of Innovation's from one thousand randomly selected respondents in the Maner Community Development Block in Patna district (Bihar), this investigator had to face field problems of varying nature and dimensions. These are reproduced here for the information of the future empirical research scientists so that they may be prepared before-hand to handle effectively similar field problems that crop up more frequently in rural and tribal communities than in the urban-industrial ones.

## 1. The Rumour Mongers

The first and fore-most of all the troubles that an empirical social research scientist has to face is the problem created by rumour mongers regarding the actual motive and design behind a field investigation. The rumour-mongers are usually intelligent but socially deviant individuals. They are generally the first persons to approach new comers to their village community, talk to them, manage to know their plan of work and the purpose of visit. Thereafter they interpret everything in their own fashion to their fellows in the village community.

This investigator had to face such a situation while collecting first-hand information in the Maner Community Development Block regarding diffusion of innovations, social, cultural and material. Within a few days of the first round of data collection, a young man met the investigator and enquired of him about the objectives of the investigation which was being done. He appeared to be satisfied with the investigator's answer. But, to the great surprise and dismay of the investigator, very disgusting things happened. He spread the false news among the villagers that the investigator was a State Government official in disguise, who was out to assess the income and the property of the villagers for the purpose of assessment of tax. The rumour spread like wild fire, and most of the villagers believed it to be true. There were some preliminaries items of enquiries relating to the personal, social, occupational and economic status of the individual villagers. These preliminaries enquiries about personal affairs were necessary for classifying the informants into different categories. Unfortunately these corroborated their misgivings and the rumour was accepted to be authentic news. With the help and the co-operation of the village level extension functionaries and other private leading persons whom the investigator took into confidence, it was successfully repudiated.

## 2. Resentment and Distrust

The prevailing general feeling of resentment towards the machinery of public administra-

tion at the grass-root and the suspicion with which the multitude view Governmental measures taken for public welfare are also formidable source of troubles to the field investigator, particularly to those who happen to seek information from villagers regarding different developmental programme. Unsatisfactory working of extension functionaries attached to developmental programme, paucity of financial resources and the callous, in different attitude of the personnel of public administration, are some of the portent factors that continuously feed the villagers' sentiment of total resentment of the machinery of public administration. As such, most of the villagers have preconceived notions about the Governmental machinery and its personnel whom they regard as parasites. They possess the wrong notion that Government officials come to villagers more for the sake of their own personal pecuniary benefits than for planning to do some thing real for their welfare. Such general feeling of mass resentment and distrust towards Governmental machinery of public administration create the atmosphere of suspicion towards the overt motives of the Governmental Extension Functionaries and also towards the outsiders intending to make first-hand assessment of the impact of newly implemented socio-economic progressive measures at village level.

This investigator had to face such a situation of mass resentment and distrusts. A prosperous cultivator in one of the villages covered under the sample outrightly rejected his request to fill in the questionnaire. He was an educated man and he possessed a working knowledge of English. He was considered to be a progressive farmer, and he was the private leader of his caste. After going through the questionnaire he thrust it back into investigator's hand with the remark, "My brother, do not make a fool of me. We do not understand the real intentions of the Government. People of your class want to butter their own bread. Why do you not fill in your paper yourself and make your money? I would not object to it. I would rather satisfy that you visited

## THE PROBLEMS . . .

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us. That will serve your purpose. We know very well that the Government officials are there only to exploit us and not to help us". With great difficulty I made him understand the academic value of the research work and the importance of his co-operation in supplying necessary information.

### 3. Previous Examples of Deceit

To get co-operation of, and to elicit information from, people who have been victims of deceit by some outsiders in the past are difficult tasks. On account of their previous experience, they look upon all outsiders, with suspicion. On the very first day of this investigator's visit to a village an incident occurred and the whole social atmosphere of the village was clouded with suspicion and distrust. During the process of interviewing, an informant was asked as to whether he would like to form a Co-operative Society to better his economic condition. As soon as the investigator put this question, the informant, who happened to be the very first one in that village, withdrew himself from further answering the questionnaire. Not only he, but also the onlookers grew suspicious and dispersed silently suspecting the investigator to be a cheat. Later on, the same day the investigator moved from one door to another to contact the selected respondents, but no one appeared. From every house a young boy or a woman stirred out and told him that the required person was not at home. In a mood of dejection and disappointment the investigator had to return to his camp with only a half-completed questionnaire. The following day the investigator approached the villagers again through a village level worker. But it was all in vain. He was also not trusted by anybody. As a result of the non-cooperating attitude of the villagers, the investigator had to shift to the neighbouring villages, earmarked in the sample, for interviewing the selected informant.

During the period the investigator was engaged in gathering from the respondents in the neighbouring villages information about the nature and purpose of the investigation, the

news about his long stay in the neighbouring villages and their non-cooperation with the investigator spread to that village. This created later on, a favourable impact on them, and as a result, their attitude changed from distrust and suspicion to that of co-operation and support. Before closing the first round of data collection the investigator once again made an attempt to contact them and, to his great surprise, the villagers who had once refused even to listen to him, came gladly from their huts and houses and furnished the required information. On being asked the reason for their past behaviour, they told him that a few months ago they were cheated by gentleman who came from Patna and claimed to be a Government official incharge of forming village Co-operative Societies for supply of milk. He hurriedly called a meeting of the villagers and from each aspirant members he collected rupees twenty-five as the fee for the primary membership. He assured them that all the enrolled members would get rupees one thousand within a month or two for purchasing a milk buffalo. But since he left the village, he never turned up for months. After waiting for months the villagers approached the Community Development Block authorities and those at the State Co-operative Department at Patna and learnt that they had been victimised by a sharper. Thus the simple poor village folks were robbed off their hard earned money. Such instances of exploitation always put obstacles on the path of an easy and smooth collection of first-hand field information, particularly from these who had been the victims of such deceit and fraud by some white-collared outsiders were very hostile to the investigator.

### 4. Illiteracy and Poverty

Illiteracy in general and poverty in particular of the rural labour class pose great difficulties for the collection of field data. On account of illiteracy, villagers do not attach much significance to an investigation work being carried on among them. At times, in the very middle of the interviewing process, some respondents flared up and started going about their own field work without fully answering the questionnaire. Due to ignorance and illiteracy they used to remark before leaving a half finished questionnaire, "Please, fill in your paper your-

self as you are an educated man. You know better than what we know about our problems. Whatever you would write on our behalf that would be better than what we ourselves would write for us."

Such attitude of the respondents used to create baffling problems for the investigator leaving him in a fix as what to do and what not to do. But on repeated requests some of such indecisive and hesitant respondents became agreeable to answer the questionnaire.

Besides illiteracy, poverty, particularly of the village labour class, was a great hindrance for collection of information from them. It was a very difficult task to contact a respondent village labourer. They were in the habit of leaving their huts early in the morning and returning home late in the evening. At night they were usually in a drunken state. Often in the late hours of night they found either abusing their wives or beating their children or picking up a quarrel with their neighbours or relatives. It was therefore, very difficult to interview them properly. Even those respondent labourers who apparently seemed to be cool and calm were sometimes found in too frivolous state of mind to answer the questionnaire. After answering a few questions, they usually spoke out their grievances, personal and social. Out of frustration which was almost widespread among them, they used to complain as to they were being exploited by villagers belonging to the upper Socio-economic strata, and that the Government turned a deaf ear to all their grievances. At times, while complaining about the personal and social injustices meted out to them, they used to get flared up and ask the investigator to stop interviewing them, to pack up his belongings and to get out. According to their individual estimate whatever good being done at village level was meant largely for the villagers belonging to richer and upper social strata, and not for those who were the social underdogs.

Such baffling circumstances arising out of illiteracy and crushing poverty, always stand in the way of empirical social research and pose problems of complex nature before an investigator.

## 5. Village Faction and Groupism

Elections to statutory Grama Panchayat or State or national legislatures have greatly added to the already existing elements of village faction and groupism. They damage village solidarity, community sentiment and ties of primary relationships and fellow feeling. They also create at times unsurmountable difficulties for the collection of first-hand information from villagers who happen to be total stranger to an investigator. The danger of boycotting of an investigator by the villagers is greatly aggravated when he, due to the lack of any previous knowledge of the existence of village factions and groupism, commences his investigation work from either of the groups or factions that happen to appear first and in natural order in the sample. But this is misunderstood by the rival groups and factions, and is considered as a kind of favour shown by him to the villagers belonging to the opposite camps. This investigator had to face such a situation. According to the random design of the sample, the investigation work was first started by chance in a part of a village having a high population of the upper castes and the subsequent selected units of a study were located in another area of the village that had a dominating population of the Muslims and Backward castes. The next visit, according to the random order of the sample, was paid to that secluded part of the village which was exclusively inhabited by the untouchables. But unfortunately, this random order of investigation roused some ill-feeling among the respondents belonging to the community of the untouchables. A college-going Harijan student expressed his resentment in words that characterised the general attitude of the other members of his community. He said "Whoever comes to our village, comes to us in the end, as if we were the rotten stuff of the society. Moreover, one comes to us only when it is indispensable to collect some information from us. Priority, in all matters is given, even today, after decades of independence, to the villagers of the upper Socio-economic strata."

Thus village factions, groupism and faulty selection of the subject of investigation and design of sample, create great difficulties in the process of empirical social research.

## THE PROBLEMS...

### 6. A Lengthy Questionnaire

A Lengthy questionnaire, supposed to be completed at a single sitting is no less a source of trouble to the field investigators than those outlined above. Informants, in general are usually in a state of hurry and want to dispose of an investigator as quickly as possible. Therefore, if the questionnaire is lengthy and time-taking, it makes informants not only disinterested in answering but also peevish. This investigator, during the course of field study involving a lengthy questionnaire found that the informants who used to show great interest in the beginning generally lose interest on finding the interviewing process prolonged beyond their expected period of time. To overcome this difficulty, the questionnaire consisting of eighteen pages was divided into two parts. The first one was completed on first contact with an informant, and to complete the second one, the investigator used to fix up date and time with him. This device worked well and the problem

arising out of a lengthy questionnaire was thus skilfully solved.

These in brief are some of the problems besides the financial, personal, physical, social and religious ones. A social scientist intending to take up empirical studies has to face these. But they are not such as could not be handled favourably, if a little bit of tact and skill is applied. Thus first-hand collection of data is brought with numerous troubles and handicaps. All the same this investigator had the opportunity to realise that it was an interesting affair. And to a sociologist in action noting could be more thrilling and interesting than being with the people under his study, with a view to observe and record, in un-adulterated forms the social facts as they appeal in natural setting, either to corroborate the existing social theories or to establish some new sequence of facts adding to the already existing stock of knowledge about man, the most complex social animal, and the society he has built up down the ages.

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# **Economic Condition of a Tribal village in Ranchi District (Bihar)**

**F. M. Pradhan**

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## **Introduction**

Ranchi district is situated in the Chotanagpur Plateau, the famous tribal belt of Bihar State. According to Census, 1971, the district had the highest tribal population (58.08 per cent) in the plateau. The principal tribes inhabiting the district are the Munda, the Oraon and the Kharia, whose main source of livelihood is agriculture. The area in which they live is undulating and the tribal people have cut up the ridges of the undulating plateau to make them suitable for settled cultivation. Due to high concentration of population in the area, land is in short supply and the produce from land is inadequate even to make both ends meet. Consequently, the tribals have eaken to wage earning as agricultural labour and other off-time employment. Although Ranchi has been industrialized, the local tribals derive very little benefit from it as they are rarely considered suitable for employment on permanent or temporary basis on the plea that they lack, skill required for industrial job. As a result, in off seasons there is massive migration of tribals to assam, West Bengal, Andaman Islands and Bhutan in search of employment. There has not been any improvement in the economic condition of the tribals who suffer impoverish-

ment and remain indebted to the local moneylenders and merchants in the same manner as before.

This paper presents the findings of the study of a tribal village called "Raidih-Nawatoli" which is situated at a distance of 14 Kms. to the south-east of Hatia industrial complex. Ranchi town is 24 Kms. from the village in the same direction. It is connected by a cart tract with Hajam, its panchayat headquarters from where an unmetalled road runs up to Sataranji located on the Ranchi-Khunti State highway.

## **Landholding and population**

The village is inhabited by Oraon, Murda Lohar (blacksmith), Ahir (milkmen) and Muslims. Except the Oraons and Mundas, Others have immigrated to this village. The Lohars and the Ahirs depend upon their caste occupation for their livelihood. The Muslims are owner cultivators who have acquired land in this village through the processes of auction of the lands of defaulting feudal chieftains, mostly Thakurs. They also carry on trade and commerce at weekly markets for supplementing their income from land. The ethnic composition, population and landholding is presented in Table I.

TABLE I

*Ethnic composition, population and landholding*

Community	Total No. of house-holds	Total population	Extent of land (acres)	Average land holding per household (acres)	<i>per capita</i> land holding (acres)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Oraon ..	25 (35.72)	178	98.55 (28.86)	3.94	0.55
Munda ..	19 (27.14)	98	48.20 (14.82)	2.54	0.49
Muslim ..	19 (27.14)	143	194.72 (57.02)	10.25	1.36
Lohar ..	5 (7.14)	29	..	..	..
Ahir ..	2 (2.86)	17	..	..	..
Total ..	70 (100.00)	465	341.47 (100.00)	..	..

It would be seen from Table I that land is largely concentrated in the hands of the Muslims who are less in number than the original settlers, that is, the Oraon and the Munda of the village. The average size of land per household is 10.25 acres in the case of the Muslims. The corresponding figure in the case of Oraons and the Mundas taken together is 3.33 acres. The Muslims also wield political power in the village in as much as the offices of the Mukhia of the Gram Panchayat and the

Secretary of the Co-operative Society. In the Panchayat, besides the Mukhia and Oraon youngman with some education and good landed property has been represented as a member. The Mundas are neither represented in the Panchayat nor in the co-operative society as executives.

**Distribution of Landholding**

Table 2 gives communitywise break up of land holding.

TABLE 2  
Communitywise distribution of landholding

Landholding size (acres)	Oraon	Munda	Muslims	Total
Landless	..	3 (15.79)	2 (10.53)	5
0.01 to 5.00	19 (76.00)	14 (73.68)	7 (36.84)	40
5.01 to 10.00	5 (20.00)	2 (10.53)	5 (26.31)	12
10.01 to 15.00	1 (4.00)	..	1 (5.26)	2
15.01 to above	..	..	4 (21.06)	4
Total	25 (100.00)	19 (100.00)	19 (100.00)	63

Figures in the brackets are columnwise percentage

This table shows that five households of the village are landless. The majority of the households (83.87) per cent hold the size groups of 0.01 to 5.00 and 5.01 to 10.00 acres. Only one tribal holds land above 10.01 acres, whereas nearly 1/3 of the Muslim households fall in this size group.

#### Land use pattern

Due to indebtedness a sizable proportion of the cultivable land under possession

have been mortgaged with the private money-lenders for obtaining loan from them. Besides, due to lack of manpower and finance a proportion of land is also leased out on low rents. Whatever amount of land is left with them, they are unable to bring it under cultivation for want of finance and a portion is left out as fallow. Table 3 gives the communitywise land use pattern.

TABLE 3  
Communitywise land use pattern

Land holding size (acres)	Total land held	Land mortgaged to others	Land leased out	Land held in lease/mortgage from others	Land available for cultivation	Land cultivated
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Oraons—						
Landless						
0.01 to 5.00	55.50	1.25	..	3.40	57.65	55.01
5.01 to 10.00	31.00	5.20	..	2.10	27.90	5.80*
10.01 to 15.00	12.05	..	..	4.45	16.50	26.00
15.01 and above	..	..	..	..	..	5.00*
Total	98.55	6.45	..	9.95	102.05	13.00
						0.75*
						11.55*

ECONOMIC....

Land holding size (acres)	Total land held	Land mortgaged to others	Land leased out	Land held in lease/mortgage from others	Land available for cultivation	Land cultivated
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Munda—						
Landless ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
0.01 to 5.00	36.64	8.63	2.57	9.55	34.99	28.95 0.50*
5.01 to 10.00	14.55	3.00	..	..	11.55	9.75 0.25*
10.01 to 15.00	..	..	..	..	..	..
15.01 and above	..	..	..	..	..	..
<b>Total ..</b>	<b>51.19</b>	<b>11.63</b>	<b>2.57</b>	<b>9.55</b>	<b>46.54</b>	<b>38.70 0.75*</b>
Muslims—						
Landless ..	..	..	..	1.50	1.50	1.50
0.01 to 5.00	19.84	8.69	..	3.75	14.90	14.40 0.75*
5.01 to 10.00	32.88	0.85	..	0.60	32.63	30.25 1.40*
10.01 to 15.00	14.00	0.15	..	1.50	15.35	11.65 0.15*
15.01 and above	128.00	..	..	..	128.00	100.70 10.00*
<b>Total ..</b>	<b>194.72</b>	<b>9.69</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>7.35</b>	<b>192.38</b>	<b>158.50 12.30*</b>

\*Double cropped area

It is seen from table 3 that land mortgaging is common in the village. It decreases with the increase in land holding size. In the cases of Munda and Muslims the extent of land mortgage decreases with the increase in landholding whereas in the case of Oraon it increases with the increase in land holding size. The Oraons are good vegetable growers and need loan to get the required inputs for this purpose. Having nothing else to offer as security the Oraons are forced to mortgage their land to get loan from the local money lenders. This table also shows that the extent of cultivated land decrease with the increase in land holding size. This may be due to increasing cost of cultivation which the poor farmers cannot meet from their own sources. Therefore, they are compelled to leave a portion of land uncultivated.

In the absence of assured sources of irrigation, raising a second wet crop was out of question. The situation has changed now to some extent. Different financing agencies such as M. F. A. L. Development Agency advance loan on subsidy to the beneficiaries (small farmers) to dig wells for the purpose of irrigation. A few progressive young Oraons have taken advantage of these new schemes and tried to improve their economic condition, whereas the Mundas appear to be less interested as none of them have availed this facility. This may be due to lack of dynamic leadership.

### Cropping Pattern

The land of this village are of two types, the dryland (Tanr) and low land (Don), with sub-classification of I, II, III depending on their fertility and elevation. Tanr-I is the land situated near the village including 'bari' and is some what fertile. In such type of land 'Marhan dhan' (paddy), vegetables and pulses are grown. Tanr-II is situated further away and is less fertile and suitable only for dry crops. Tanr-III is the upland near the forests and hilloecks, and is most

unfertile where millets, oilseed and pulses are grown. As there is no source of assured irrigation, the crops grown, on these types of land are dependant on the monsoon. Due to poor fertility of the land, farmers dump their cowdung from their own sources and also 'Karanja' flowers collected in the month of March-April, in the hope to get a better yield.

Don-I is the high land, Don-II the medium land and Don-III is the low land. In Don-I and Don-II land paddy and vegetables are grown, whereas Don-III is suitable only for paddy cultivation. The fields which are situated in between two valleys are terraced. In a normal year of good rainfall, water flows from the nearby hills and passes through these lands. The rainwater also brings alluvial deposits into these fields making them fertile. In some cases the Don-III is found, to be waterlogged. The availability of ground water is just a few feet below the surface and the farmers dig small wells for irrigation. Manure or fertilizer is rarely used in these fields.

The staple food of the people is rice. The farmers mainly grow paddy. In addition to it they also grow samai (Gunduli), horsegram, blackgram, ragi in the kharif season and surbuja (niger), mustard, redgram and gram in the rabi season. Recently after the industrialisation of Hatia the farmers have introduced potato, wheat and vegetables such as ladiesfinger, tomato, cabbage, ridge gourd and pumpkin. Except vegetables which have a great commercial value in the local markets the other crops are grown mainly for home consumption. The seeds which they use are of local varieties and the improved or highyielding varieties are used only in recent time in small quantities, because of the high cost of cultivation of such crops. But the farmers apply chemical fertilizer in small quantities to get a better yield in land where vegetables, wheat and potato are grown. The Table 4 gives the cropping Pattern of the village.



TABLE 4  
*Cropping pattern (in acres)*

Crops	Oraon		Munda		Muslim		
	Area	Percentage	Area	Percentage	Area	Percentage	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Paddy ..	73.30	69.44	28.50	72.84	112.75	66.01	214.55
Ragi ..	8.75	8.29	5.40	13.69	16.00	9.37	30.15
Blackgram ..	9.30	8.81	1.90	4.82	11.00	6.44	22.20
Horsegram ..	2.41	2.28	2.90	7.35	5.00	2.93	10.31
Gunduli ..	0.75	0.71	..	..	7.50	4.39	8.25
Surubuja* ..	1.05	0.99	..	..	5.75	3.37	6.80
Redgram* ..	..	..	..	..	6.00	3.52	6.00
Patato* ..	1.80	1.71	..	..	1.05	0.61	2.85
Wheat* ..	..	..	..	..	0.50	0.29	0.50
Mustard* ..	..	..	..	..	0.50	0.29	0.50
Gram* ..	..	..	..	..	0.40	0.23	0.40
Vegetables* ..	8.20	7.77	0.75	1.30	4.35	2.55	13.30
Total ..	105.56	100.00	39.45	100.00	170.80	100.00	315.81

\*Second Crop grown in Rabi season

It will be seen from Table-4 that in all cases paddy occupies the highest percentage followed by ragi. Among other crops blackgram occupies a significant place among the Oraons and the Muslims whereas horsegram among the Mundas. Around 10 per cent of the area, each of Muslims and Oraons was under second crop which was too negligible among the Mundas. The Oraons have taken vegetables growing in a big way than the

other two communities for reasons cited above. The Mundas and Muslims are also adopting this slowly and they may put more acres under this crop in the near future. It was also observed that the area under second crop would have increased considerably but for lack of irrigation facility it has not been possible. The dry crops are not profitable and are mostly grown for home consumption. The Oraons who have taken

loans under MFALS scheme have dug a few irrigation wells and a few are doing share cropping, sharing one well. The Muslims who are economically and politically in better position than the other two communities could also manage to get loans from the Co-operative society as well as from the Block for growing vegetables.

### Occupation

As pointed above land is not sufficiently productive on account of ecological limitations and lack of irrigation facilities. Finding it difficult to depend exclusively on agriculture the people have taken to wage earning and agriculcultural labour. The tribals have

resorted to seasonal migration to far off places like Andaman Islands where they work in the P. W. D. and Forest Departments as labourers. A few people also migrate to the tea plantations areas of Assam, West Bengal, and Bhutan in search of work. The main subsidiary occupation of the Oraons and Mundas is wage-earning, whereas that of the Muslims is business followed by wage-earning. The Oraons, particularly women, found it profitable to purchase paddy in the local markets and after husking resale rice at a higher rate in those markets to supplement their living. Table 5 gives the primary and secondary occupation of the different communities.

TABLE 5  
*Occupational pattern of different communities*

Occupation (1)	Oraon		Munda		Muslim	
	Primary (2)	Secondary (3)	Primary (4)	Secondary (5)	Primary (6)	Secondary (7)
Agriculture ..	76 (80.85)	5 (8.62)	35 (68.63)	4 (11.76)	42 (84.00)	9 (30.00)
Labourer* ..	4 (4.26)	41 (70.69)	8 (15.69)	28 (82.36)	5 (10.00)	10 (33.33)
Service** ..	..	..	1 (1.96)	..	1 (2.00)	..
Business ..	..	12 (20.69)	2 (3.92)	2 (5.88)	2 (4.00)	11 (36.67)
Outmigration ..	14 (14.89)	..	5 (9.80)	..	..	..
Total ..	94 (100.00)	58 (100.00)	51 (100.00)	34 (100.00)	50 (100.00)	30 (100.00)

Note—Figures in the brackets are columnwise percentages

\* Unskilled labour other than industrial

\*\* Other than industrial

## ECONOMIC . . .

From Table 5 it is seen that although this village is situated at a walking distance of the industrial townships, not a single person has secured a permanent job or any other work even under the contractors in the industries. This leads to discontentment in the minds of the people and therefore they are forced to go away to far off places in search of employment. This, in turn, reduces the work force available for cultivation which leads to under utilisation of available cultivable land. The nature of work the people do is crushing of stone and construction of road, etc., in which wage rate is very low as a man gets Rs. 2.50 and a woman Rs. 2.00 per day. This work is also not available throughout the year and on all days. As a result the people are half-fed and on many days they do not get food at all.

### Income

As stated, the major source of income of the inhabitants of the village is agriculture. Wageearning supplements income from agriculture. This is more so in the case of the tribals than other communities of the village. Other sources of income for those who are marginal farmer are collection of minor forest products such as lac, karanja seeds, mahua flower and seeds, animal buy-products such as milk and business. The people sale their

minor forest produces in the local markets to petty traders who come from Ranchi to snatch away their fruits of labour at very nominal prices. The Lac (laka) is so to say cultivated by them and if proper price is offered to them the condition of the people can be improved to a great extent. The income per family is the lowest among the Mundas and the highest among the Muslims. In all cases agricultures contribution is the highest. But the Muslims due to their surplus income from agriculture they could manage to plough back a portion for higher income from agriculture whereas the Mundas could not do so. But the Oraons due to introduction of commercial crops could also get a higher income from agriculture. The Table 6 gives an idea of income by different sources.

### Food Supply

Low yield from land and meagre income from sources other than agriculture have naturally affected the food supply. The extent of their food deficit is examined here. As rice is their staple food, I converted the total income into rice at the prevailing market price. Then annual requirement of food has been calculated on the basis of data collected from them for different age groups. Table 7 gives data on food supply and their actual requirements.

TABLE 6  
*Average Annual Income-Sourcewise for different communities*  
(in Rupees)

Landholding group (1)	Oraon					Total average (7)
	Agriculture (2)	Labour (3)	M. F. P. (4)	Service (5)	Others (6)	
1. Landless ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Up to 5.00 ..	872.84	460.53	98.42	219.47	214.47	1,865.73
3. 5.01 to 10.00 ..	1,577.21	330.00	165.00	160.00	266.00	2,498.21
4. 10.01 to 15.00 ..	2,719.90	250.00	100.00	..	..	3,069.90
5. 15.01 and above ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Overall ..	1,087.64	426.00	111.80	198.80	216.20	2,040.44
Percentage to total income . .	(53.30)	(20.88)	(5.48)	(9.74)	(10.60)	(100.00)

TABLE 6  
Average Annual Income-Sourcewise for different communities

(in Rupees)

Landholding group (1)	Munda					Total average (13)
	Agri- culture (8)	Labour (9)	M. F. P. (10)	Service (11)	Others (12)	
1. Landless .. ..	..	286.66	33.33	136.67	136.67	593.33
2. Up to 5.00 .. ..	679.74	592.85	167.85	210.71	1,708.86	531.23
3. 5.01 to 10.00 .. ..	1,213.38	325.00	150.00	300.00	535.00	2,523.38
4. 10.01 to 15.00 .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. 15.01 and above .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Over all .. ..	628.59	516.31	62.10	176.84	233.16	1,617.00
Percentage to take income .. ..	38.88	31.92	3.84	10.94	14.42	100.00

Landholding group (1)	Muslim					Total average (19)
	Agri- culture (14)	Labour (15)	M. F. P. (16)	Service (17)	Others (18)	
1. Landless .. ..	99.38	275.00	..	..	1,950.00	2,324.38
2. Up to 5.00 .. ..	367.14	88.57	152.00	706.85	706.85	1,845.79
3. 5.01 to 10.00 .. ..	1,771.46	20.00	110.00	96.00	904.00	2,901.46
4. 10.01 to 15.00 .. ..	2,494.75	..	500.00	1200.00	1,950.00	6,114.85
5. 15.01 and above .. ..	6,419.51	..	375.00	..	686.75	7,483.26
Over all .. ..	2,155.13	183.26	166.85	144.42	935.52	3,587.08
Percentage to take income .. ..	60.08	5.16	4.65	4.03	26.02	100.00

TABLE 7  
*Food supply and Requirement\**

Land holding size groups	Oraon			Deficit or surplus %
	Total annual requirement Kgs.	Total annual supply Kgs.		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Landless	..	..	..	..
Up to 5.00	..	34,838.520	26,360.000	-8.96
5.01 to 10.00	..	10,763.120	992.848	-6.17
10.01 to 15.00	..	2,249.860	2,455.200	+9.12
15.01 to and above	..	..	..	..

Land holding size groups	Munda			Deficit or surplus %
	Total annual requirement Kgs.	Total annual supply Kgs.		
(1)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
Landless	..	2,795.900	1,744.00	-37.62
Up to 5.00	..	20,282.320	19,117.097	-5.75
5.01 to 10.00	..	3,162.360	4,037.408	+27.67
10.01 to 15.00	..	..	..	..
15.01 to and above	..	..	..	..

\*Adult unit—0.500 grammes per meal

\*Infants—0.250 grammes per meal



TABLE 7  
*Food supply and Requirement\**

Land holding size groups	Muslim		
	Total annual requirement	Total annual supply	Deficit or Surplus
(1)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Landless ..	3,343·400	3,719·000	+11·23
Up to 5·00 ..	11,002·560	10,336·473	—6·05
5·01 to 10·00 ..	7,295·620	11,605·824	+59·08
10·01 to 15·00 ..	4,012·888	4,915·800	+22·54
15·01 and above ..	10,276·020	23,946·440	+133·08

\*Adult Unit—0·500 grammes per meal

\*Infants—0·250 grammes per meal

From Table 7 it is seen that among the Oraons and Mundas there is a food deficit among the people having small holding. But this deficit decreases with increase in the holding size and becomes surplus. Among Oraons there is a deficit (6·17 per cent) in the 5·01 to 10·00 size group where as among Mundas there is a surplus up to 27·67 per cent in the same size class. Mundas are landless labourers who suffer a deficit of food by 37·62 per cent. The difference in food deficit among the Oraons and Mundas is due to the size of the family. The Oraons have a bigger family size than the Mundas. The food situation among the Muslims is quite different. Except the groups having land within 0·01 to 5·00 acres there is food surplus in all the groups including the landless. In this group the deficit is up to 6·05 per cent. But in the group having above 15 acres of land, the surplus is most remarkable which is as high as 133·08.

#### Indebtedness

As the inhabitants are unable to meet their household consumption barring a few who hold 10·01 acres of land and above they have hardly any thing left out from their own sources to invest for a higher income from agriculture. Therefore, they are forced to borrow money from money-lenders, relatives and Government sources such as co-operative society, Block and Taccavi. It was observed that although the Governmental agencies lend money at lower rate of interest than the private agencies, the people feel that the loan advanced by the former sources are inadequate as well as untimely and therefore do not serve their purpose. Besides, the unscrupulous and the untrained officials, harass the people and demand a share (as high as 25 per cent) of the loan sanctioned. Due to natural calamities the crop fails frequently and they become defaulters and their request for postponement

ECONOMIC . . . .

of repayment is turned down causing hardship. These circumstances force them to go to the private money-lenders who take interest at exorbitant rate. They also have to mortgage land. This means they are to part away a portion of their land and in turn decreases in their income. But the fact is that unlike the Governmental agencies, the private money-lenders advance loan at anytime and

also whatever amount is required. They wait till the harvesting of next crop for repayment in case of crop failure. This is why the people prefer to borrow from them even at higher rate of interest. Again the co-operative society located in the village is governed by the economically well-to-do persons who take more benefit than the tribals. This can be seen from Table 8 below.

TABLE 8  
*Indebtedness (in rupees)*

Land holding size group	Oraon		
	Government sources	Private sources	Average per H. H.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Landless ..	..	..	..
Up to 5.00 acres ..	300 (2)	540 (4)	44.21
5.01 to 10.00 acres ..	500 (3)	2,600 (2)	620.00
10.01 to 15.00 acres ..	..	..	..
15.01 and above acres ..	..	..	..
Overall ..	800 (5)	3,140 (6)	157.60

  

Land holding size group	Munda		
	Government sources	Private sources	Average per H. H.
(1)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Landless ..	..	..	..
Up to 5.00 acres ..	1,460 (7)	3,257 (9)	336.92
5.01 to 10.00 acres ..	375 (2)	1,100 (2)	737.50
1.01 to 15.00 acres ..	..	..	..
15.00 and above ..	..	..	..
Overall ..	1,835 (9)	4,357 (11)	325.89

Note—Figures in the brackets are No. of beneficiaries

TABLE 8  
*Indebtedness (in Rupees)*

Land holding size group (1)	Muslim			Average per H. H. (10)
	Government sources (8)	Private sources (9)		
Landless ..	200 (1)	400 (1)		300.00
Up to 5.00 acres ..	1,570 (6)	3,640 (7)		744.29
5.01 to 10.00 acres ..	400 (1)	600 (3)		200.00
10.01 to 15.00 acres ..	300 (1)	150 (1)		450.00
15.01 and above acres ..	1,400 (2)	2,380 (3)		695.00
Overall ..	3,890 (11)	7,170 (15)		581.05

Note.—Figures in the brackets are No. of beneficiaries

It can be seen from Table 8 that with increase of land holding there is an increase in the average indebtedness per household among the tribals. This may be due to the fact that they require more finance to cultivate more land as they cannot meet from their own resources. This table also shows that the average loan per household is the highest among the Muslims and the lowest among the Oraons. This may be attributed to the fact that the Oraons meet a part of their need from the sale-proceeds of vegetables in the nearby markets as well as remittance which they receive from family members who are staying outside the village. But the Mundas having less number of such persons away from home get much less remittance from outside. Therefore, they are more dependent on loan than the Oraons. As the Muslims are involved in business in weekly markets they are in need of cash every week. So they had to borrow more than the other two communities.

### Conclusion

To sum up, the analysis shows that the people, barring a few, are below the subsistence level. Their economic condition is very poor and the standard of living is very low. The scope for employment in the industrial complex is negligible. The pressure of population on land is high. Productivity of land is very much limited on account of lack of irrigation and ecological limitations. The consequences have been

out migration, indebtedness and wage earning. The recommendations for the economic improvement of the tribal people of the study village are listed below:—

- (1) The arable land should be increased by allotting all cultivable fallow land lying uncultivable in the village by distributing to landless labourers and poor cultivators after reclamation.
- (2) Irrigation facilities should be provided by digging more wells, tanks and through minor irrigation projects.
- (3) Medium and long-term loans should be given on easy terms by the Government agencies and earlier debts should be liquidated and the lands mortgaged should be released.
- (4) A separate Employment Exchange should be set up at Hatia and Ranchi to look to the employment of the tribals in industrial complex.
- (5) A suitable Governmental agency should have monopoly to procure forest produces from the tribals at a competitive price and supply their daily necessity at fair price.
- (6) Credit at preferential rate of interest by different nationalised banks should be provided to the poor tribal people on a co-operative basis to start cottage industries, to process lack, etc.

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# ***A study of modernisation levels among the Scheduled Tribes of North Orissa Tribal Region***

**K. C. Satpathy  
S. K. Mishra**

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The levels of modernization among the scheduled tribes of North Orissa Tribal Region has been measured by taking two principal indicators, i.e., urbanization and literacy. The principal component analysis method has been used for measuring the levels of modernization. The modernization level was expressed through a mathematical index. The analysis shows that the tertiary economic activity of the regional economy acts as major factor for determining the levels of urbanization among the tribes of the region. Similarly, the literates having primary education predominate among the scheduled tribes. Thus the level of modernization of an individual tribal community of the region depends upon the tribes' participation in the tertiary economic activities and the number of literates.

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## **1. Introduction**

1.1. The nature of any developmental prescription for a tribal society sometimes does depend upon the extent and the level to which a tribal society has responded towards various socio-economic changes (i.e., the process of urbanization, industrialisation and other economic activities). This problem necessitates to have a comprehensive measurement among the tribal societies. The present paper is an attempt to measure the levels of modernisation among the scheduled tribes of North Orissa Tribal Region.

## **2. Objective**

2.1. The principal objective of this paper is to measure, quantitatively, the level of modernisation among the Scheduled Tribes by taking certain socio-economic indicators.

## **3. Study Area**

3.1. For the study purpose, the North Orissa Tribal Region has been taken into account. The region consists of three districts, namely, Sundargarh, Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj. The total population of the region is 34.20 lakhs (1971) out of which 18.38 lakhs are the population of Scheduled Tribes (53.76 per cent). About 27 different major scheduled tribes are inhabiting in the region. Among these tribes Santals, Bhumiya, Bathudis, Bhumijs, Gonds, Kolhas, Oraons, Kisans, Kharias and Gonds are predominantly found.

## **4. Data**

4.1. All the data of 1971 Census were computed from the unpublished documents of the Directorate of Census Operation with the permission of the Director, Census Operation, Orissa.

## A STUDY....

### 5. Definitions

5.1. Modernisation : For the convenience of the present analysis 'Modernisation' is defined as a process within the society by which the society develops incorporating certain advantageous factors into its social structure. Those factors may be of social, economic or psychological in nature and can be generated within a society or can be learned from other societies.

5.2. Depending upon the availability of data, two factors of modernisation are considered for the analysis, viz., urbanisation and education. The factor urbanization is assumed to be the function of urban economic activities and urbanism, i.e., urban way of life. Similarly, education is a function of socio-cultural activities and mostly related to the various educational levels of the society.

### 6. Problem of formulating one Index

6.1. Taking these two-aspects (Urbanization and education) a set of indicators are selected for the analysis. Independently each one of the indicators cannot provide a comprehensive picture of the levels of modernization among the tribes. So, it is necessary to fuse all the indices into one indicator. The process of aggregation or fusion of indicators to one composite index cannot be possible without giving weights to each of the indicators. This creates the problem of determining weightages for the indicators. Then comes the problem how to get the composite index, whether through multiplication or simply addition of weights.

6.2. This problem is solved by principal component analysis<sup>2</sup> (P. C. A.) method developed by H. Hotelling<sup>1</sup>.

This Provides a way how to fuse a group of variables into a more fundamental set of independent orthogonal components called factors<sup>3</sup>. Moreover, the fundamental variates (i.e., composite index) are aggregative in nature and takes into account the problem of multicellinearty and provides a set of

mathematical weight. This method was used in a number of authentic studies for finding out a composite index.

6.3. For this analysis, other methods like discriminant analysis cannot be favoured unless we have some idea about the existence of two discriminable groups. So, it is more safe to use the P. C. A. method for the present analysis.

### 7. Methodology

The principal component analysis involves the following stages for arriving at the final results:—

1. (a) Inter-correlation matrix : To find out the correlation co-efficients between each of the variables the said matrix is formed.
- (b) Scanning of variables : Considering the results of correlation matrix, the variables having significant and conformal correlation co-efficients are taken out and grouped.
- (c) Calculation of Eigen values and Eigen vectors.
- (d) Determination of weights for each indicator.
- (e) Formation of composite index : By multiplying the weights with the transformed indices and adding all the values of indicators the composer index is determined. This process is repeated for each group. Then all the individual groups are fused into one to find out a composite index.
- (g) On the basis of the index a classification is made for the requirements of the analysis.

### 8. Analysis

8.1. The standardised<sup>4</sup> data of the selected indicators have been fed to a digital computer to get the inter-correlation matrix of the 21 variables. However, the correlation matrix cannot be presented here due to its sizeable

1. H. Hotelling : Used the method for the analysis of psychological problems

2. Analysis of a complex statistical variables into principal components

3. Economics-By G. Tintner

4. In order to make the data comparable necessary adjustments are made and to obtain a standardised value all the data were converted into log/threshold log form



magnitude. Only indicators having significant correlation were taken into account for further analysis.

The negative correlated indicators within the group have been dropped. In some cases positive correlation co-efficients (insignificant at 5 per cent level) also have been considered since they carry more factual significance. On the basis of above said factors seven indicators in the urbanization group and five indicators in the education group have been selected. The correlation matrix of each group has been given in Table No. 1 and Table No. 2.

**8.2. Urbanisation : Correlation matrix** — The matrix was formed by taking urbanization as the base indicator and its other correlated indicators from the computed inter-correlation matrix. The indicators are as follows :—

- (i) No. of urban population to total population.
- (ii) No. of tertiary workers to total population.
- (iii) No. of workers in other than household industry to total population.
- (iv) No. of workers in transport and storage to the total population.
- (v) No. of workers in the other services to the total population.
- (vi) No. of workers in the construction to the total population.
- (vii) No. of workers in the mining and quarrying, etc., to the total population. The correlation matrix is given in the Table No. 1.

**8.3. Education correlation matrix** :—By taking the literacy as the base indicator a five and five matrix was formed. The indicators are as follows —

- (i) No. of literates (Census defined) to the total population.

- (ii) Primary level educated persons to the total population.
- (iii) Non-technical diploma holders to the total population.
- (iv) Graduates to the total population.
- (v) Matriculates to the total population.

The correlation matrix is given in Table No. 2

**8.4. Weight Determination** —The said two matrices are further computed to obtain the following equations which explains the weightages of each indicators of each group.

$$U_1 = 0.20505 x_1 + 0.23249 x_2 + 0.21770 x_3 + 0.22718 x_4 + 0.22154 x_5 + 0.14468 x_6 + 0.19788 x_7.$$

In the above equation total variation in the original set by  $U_1$  is 61.45 per cent. The  $\lambda_1$  is 4.3013. Where  $\lambda_1 =$  The largest root of the urbanization matrix and  $U_1 =$  composite index for urbanization. The variable  $x_2$  (No. of tertiary workers to the total population) get the highest weight in the equation.

$$U_2 = 0.34147 y_1^2 + 0.42810 y_3 + 0.203149 y_4 + 0.373405 y_4 + 0.361539 y_5.$$

Here the explained total variation in the original set by  $U_2$  is 42.72 per cent. The  $\lambda = 2.335$ ,  $U_2 =$  composite index for literacy group.  $x_{1th} =$  the variables of urbanization group.  $y_{1th} =$  the variables of literacy group.

**8.5. Composite index formation**—The composite index  $U_1$  and  $U_2$  have been calculated for each tribe and accordingly classified. (Table No. 3) Finally the two indices are fused by equal correlation method and a composite index of modernization has been found out. Taking the composite index, the tribes were calassified to know the relative levels of modernization among them (Table No. 3).

## 9. Result and Discussion

9.1. *Urbanization* :—The analysis reveals a high correlation between the level of urbanisation and the tribal workers participation in the tertiary activity of the regional economy. It seems that this sector provides a better employment for the tribes those are migrating to the urban areas. The correlation of urbanization with the economic activities like other services, transport and storage also explains the above fact. Thus, it may be concluded that the development of transport and other services systems have significant impact on the spread of urbanization among the Scheduled Tribes of the region. The classification of tribes on the basis of level of urbanization index (Table 3) shows that Mundas, Oraons, Mundaris and Kolhas occupy the highest level of urbanization scale. Only Juangs have the lowest level of urbanization (0.5774 index) among the tribes of the region. Bathudis, Dharuas, Matyas and Khonds have relatively a low level of urbanization. Other tribes are in an intermediate stage of urbanization. Thus, very few tribes are influenced by the process of urbanization of the region. The main barrier in the spread of urbanization among the Tribes is their economy which only centres round a primitive agriculture. Moreover, the low level of skill and education coupled with other sociological factors also create hindrances for the rapid diversification of the economy and the urbanization among the tribes of the region.

9.2 *Education* —The educational level among the tribes mainly limited up to the primary education. Other higher technical and non-technical education have little impact on the tribes of the region. The analysis reveals that the tribes like Oraon, Kharias, Mundas and Kawars have relatively the highest level of educational index among the tribes of the region. The tribes like Matya, Dharwar, Kolhas and Gonds show a low level of index. Apart from these tribes, all other tribes are either included in higher or medium level of literacy group. It seems from the above analysis that the present education system has little impact on the tribes of the region.

The deep rooted causes of such ineffectiveness of education are obvious and need not be elaborated here.

9.3. *Modernization*:—It is observed that five tribes have comparatively a high level of modernization (Table-3) and they are Munda, Oraons, Kharias, Kolhas and Mundaris. The Tribes having a very low level of modernization are Matyas, Juangs, Dharwars and Gonds. Out of these tribes Matyas and Juangs have the lowest (i. e., 0.433 and 0.5176) index of modernization. Their score in case of urbanization and literacy also is very low. Due to the nature of their social system these tribes have responded negatively to all types of developmental activities and hence have scored the lowest value in the scale. Moreover, their economy is still in the primitive level and characterise low participation in the regional economy. So, all these factors combined with other factors determine their position in the lowest part of the scale of modernization. All other 18 tribes are in an intermediate stage of modernization and either occupy a position in 2nd order or 3rd order (Table 3) of modernization. Most of the tribes of these groups either have a high index for modernization or low index for literacy and vice versa. These tribes though have shown the inclination to modernise their society still are facing certain problems which inhibit their progress to the upper scale of modernisation.

## 10. Conclusion

10.1. After analysis, it is obvious that low level of modernization among most of the tribes reflect an absence of association between factors of literacy (education) and economic participation. As a matter of fact modernisation or a transformation of their primitive way of living into a modern one can be achieved only when the above mentioned two factors are matched and synchronised properly. Moreover, adaptation requires an exposure which in turn requires the circumstance of communication and acceptance. This can be achieved only through education so that the tribes can freely be assimilated in the mainstream of the society.

TABLE 1  
*Correlation Matrix (Urbanization)*

Variables	X <sub>1</sub>	X <sub>2</sub>	X <sub>3</sub>	X <sub>4</sub>	X <sub>5</sub>	X <sub>6</sub>	X <sub>7</sub>
X <sub>1</sub>	1.000000						
X <sub>2</sub>	0.661341	1.000000					
X <sub>3</sub>	0.576511	0.603726	1.000000				
X <sub>4</sub>	0.664307	0.636051	0.664538	1.000000			
X <sub>5</sub>	0.601275	0.815146	0.522190	0.622457	1.000000		
X <sub>6</sub>	0.359810	0.537346	0.368540	0.299383	0.372471	1.000000	
X <sub>7</sub>	0.312678	0.495422	0.710361	0.710160	0.556193	0.243604	1.000000

*N. B.*—(a) The degree of freedom in all cases is  $27 - 2 = 25$

(b) Since the correlation matrix is symmetric only upper lower diagonal have been presented.

(c) \*Significant at 1 % level of significance

(d) \*\*Significant at 5 % level of significance

(e) Others are not significant at 1 % and 5 % level of significance

TABLE 2  
*Correlation Matrix (Education)*

Variables	Y <sub>1</sub>	Y <sub>2</sub>	Y <sub>3</sub>	Y <sub>4</sub>	Y <sub>5</sub>
Y <sub>1</sub>	1.000000	0.410666	0.395585	0.441944	0.123711
Y <sub>2</sub>		1.000000	0.114421	0.418387	0.697002
Y <sub>3</sub>			1.000000	0.214355	0.066329
Y <sub>4</sub>				1.000000	0.346551
Y <sub>5</sub>					1.000000

TABLE 3

*Levels of Modernisation among the Tribes of the North Crissa Tribal Region, 1971*

Sl. No.	Name of the Tribe	Urbanisation			Literacy			Modernisation (Comosite Index)		
		Index	Rank	Classification	Index	Rank	Classification	Index	Rank	Classification
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1	Munda ..	2.6162	1	V.H.	2.0784	3	V.H.	1.5564	1	I
2	Oraon ..	2.4172	2	V.H.	2.1178	1	V.H.	1.5043	2	I
3	Kharia ..	2.0508	3	H.	2.0855	2	V.H.	1.3737	3	I
4	Mundari ..	2.3801	4	V.H.	1.5040	8	H.	1.2857	4	I
5	Kolhas and Loharas.	2.2640	6	V.H.	1.6210	6	H.	1.2871	5	I
6	Mahali ..	2.2801	5	V.H.	1.4698	10	H.	1.2415	6	II
7	Santal ..	1.7762	13	H.	1.9279	5	H.	1.2307	7	II
8	Binjhoa ..	1.9609	9	H.	1.4497	13	H.	1.1302	8	II
9	Kora ..	1.9033	10	H.	1.4640	12	H.	1.1161	9	II
10	Bhuiya ..	1.8450	11	H.	1.4662	11	H.	1.0978	10	II
11	Bhumij ..	1.8441	12	H.	1.4418	15	H.	1.0893	11	II
12	Kawar ..	1.2484	22	M	2.0216	4	V.H.	1.0893	12	II
13	Lodha ..	1.4312	18	M.	1.5686	7	H.	0.9966	13	III
14	Kisan ..	2.0008	8	H.	0.9202	22	M.	0.9650	14	III
15	Saora ..	1.5657	15	M.	1.3400	16	M.	0.9628	15	III
16	Pentia ..	1.5120	16	M.	1.3281	17	M.	0.9422	16	III
17	Kolha ..	2.0949	7	H.	0.5934	25	L.	0.8858	19	III
18	Ho ..	1.6141	14	M.	1.1015	21	M.	0.8994	17	III
19	Sounty ..	1.4687	17	M.	1.1823	20	M.	0.8790	20	III
20	Khond & etc. ..	1.1155	23	L.	1.4779	9	H.	0.8628	21	III
21	Bathudi ..	0.9169	26	L.	1.4606	14	H.	0.7916	22	III
22	Dharua ..	1.0151	25	L.	1.2342	18	M.	0.7774	23	III
23	Sahara ..	1.4091	19	M.	1.2602	19	M.	0.8857	18	III
24	Gond ..	1.3209	20	M.	0.8170	24	L.	0.7076	24	IV
25	Dharwar ..	1.2510	21	M.	0.3203	26	V.L.	0.5176	25	IV
26	Juang ..	0.5774	27	V.L.	0.8888	23	M.	0.4883	26	IV
27	Matya ..	1.0969	24	L.	0.2200	27	V.L.	0.4353	27	IV

1. V.H.—Very High	2. Urbanization	3. Literacy	4. Modernization
H—High	Mean=1.6691	Mean=1.3469	Mean=1.0002
M—Medium	S. D.=0.49913	S. D.=0.48565	S. D.=0.2787
L—Low	C. V.=29.904%	C. V.=36.056%	C. V.=27.817%
V.L.—Very low			

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# **Health & Genetic Problems of Kutia-Kondhs of Burlubaru village, Phulbani district (Orissa)**

**Almas Ali**

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## **Introduction**

The report on the health and genetic problems is based on field work in the Burlubaru Village, a Kutia Kondh village located in Belghar area of Phulbani district, Orissa. The Kutia Kondhs are a primitive section of the great Kondh tribe which was once noted for its horrid practices of human sacrifice and femal infanticide.

The Kondhs are most numerous and are mainly concentrated in Koraput, Phulbani and Kalahandi districts. The advanced section of the tribe is scattered throughout the State and live mixed with non-tribal people in the different degrees of economic parabiosis.

The Kutia Kondhs are even to-day away from the pale of civilization in the mountain fastnesses and lead a life of squalor, poverty and misery. Either any detailed ethnographic study or any medical anthropology of the Kondhs let alone the isolated primitive section, is available. The present study is a beginning of systematic survey of the little known problems of health, genetics and nutrition among the tribe. The present study centres round these problems.

## **Objectives**

The main objective of the present survey was to identify special and specific problems

concerning their health aspects. A systematic survey work was therefore undertaken in identifying these problems with the view of taking effective measures in formulating definite health programmes and of course implementing them in the near future for the benefit and well-being of this particular tribal group.

## **Burlubaru, the study village**

The village Burlubaru lies at a distance of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kms. from Belghar Police-Station on the Ambadola-Belghar Road in Tumudi-bandh block of Phulbani district. It is situated at a height of about 2250 ft. above sealevel and lies roughly on  $19^{\circ}47'$ -N. latitude and  $83^{\circ}44'$ -E longitude, on the north-east fringe of the Eastern ghat. It is surrounded by wooded hills and thick forest intersected by many perennial hill streams. The area of the village is about 66.64 acres and it comes under the special project area known as the Kutia Kondh Development Agency (K. K. D. A.). The village consists of 20 house-holds of 107 people all belonging to the Kutia Kondhs.

## **Materials and Methods**

103 persons out of the total population of 107 were examined physically, clinically and the blood samples were tested for



malarial parasite sickle-cell gene and G-6 P. D. (Glucose 6-Phosphate Dehydrogenase) deficiency. Out of 103 persons studied 52 were males and 51 were females. The youngest of the population examined was only 3 months' old whereas the oldest of 72 years of age.

The following methods were used for the survey of the study village:—

(a) A thorough clinical examination of the people of the village was made and in some cases with the help of laboratory data the existing diseases in the study village were diagnosed and general disease pattern was established.

(b) Survey of nutritional status in the sample families was carried out only by the help of clinical assessment.

Clinical Examination :Inspection and measurement.

The overall nutritional appearance of each patient was appraised to find out whether a person is grossly underweight or has generalised skin lesions or other indications of unsatisfactory health, possibly related to diet. Changes in hair, eyes, skin, neck, mouth, teeth knee and ankle jerk reflexes, oedema of lower extremities and many other signs suggesting possible nutritional deficiency were evaluated.

(c) Data on hygiene, sanitation, religious beliefs, about health practices, traditional methods of treatment, present health condition and health facilities and medical care available in the village were collected by interviewing people of the village.

(d) In depth investigation with special reference to genetic diseases such as sickle-cell disease and red-cell enzyme deficiency (G-6-PD) was carried out with the help of following methods :—

(i) For detection of sickle-cell disease the simple sickling test was conducted using sodium-metabisulphite.

(ii) For detection of G-6-PD deficiency Breinstins' method was adopted using 2-6 Dichloro-Phenol indo-phenol and Phenacin-methasulphate.

(iii) For detection of malarial parasite thick and thin blood films were taken and examined.

### Observation, Finding & Discussions

From the survey the following health problems have emerged:—

In the matter of health and sanitation Kutia Kondhs of the village are very backward and primitive. Their knowledge regarding health is rudimentary. They cultivate land and grow their own food. They take buffalo meat, beef and pork, but there is inadequate supply of such animal protein. Their staple food is rice though they are fond of ragi gruel. There is no regulated menu for their daily diet. The cereals and millets such as ragi and rice which are produced by them hardly last for about 4 months and the rest of the 8 months they depend on wild roots, fruits and leaves of edible plants. Fruits such as mango and jack fruit provide food to the Kutias for about one to two months. They prepare gruel from mango stones. Thus in their diet fat and protein content is very inadequate. Thus, deficiencies in their diet is both quantitative and qualitative. The result is malnutrition which is most common in the study village. The Kutia Kondhs are very much addicted to Mohua and Salap liquor. One of their common drinks is 'Katalu'. Consumption of such alcoholic drinks aggravates liver diseases. Thus, Cirrohsis of liver has been found to be one of the common diseases among them. Consciousness regarding bodily cleanliness is lacking among them particularly among the children and women. Lack of personal hygiene causes skin and infectious diseases. These Kutias do not take bath for days together. Some of them are without bath even for a month and most of them do not brush their teeth and therefore dental and skin diseases are most common among the Kutias.

**Type of diseases prevalent (Disease pattern)**

Medical examination of the 103 people of the study village indicates that almost all people were found to have suffered from one type of illness or other. Most common disease is Malaria. Other types of diseases are water-borne and due to unhygienic condition of the surrounding in which they live and malnutrition and low intake of food. The source of drinking water is the hillstream which is not only polluted but also has high content of graphite causing irritation in the gastrointestinal tract resulting in gastric discomfort, abdominal pain, hyper-acidity and constipation.

The hill stream serves many purpose. It provides water for drinking and cooking food, and cleaning utensils. It is the place where people bath, wash their body after defecation and clean their cattle. It is for this reason that incidence of diarrhoea and dysentery (Amoebic and Bacillary), Typhoid and other gastric diseases are very common. Occurrence of hel-minthic (worm) infections, viz., Taenia solium, Taenia bovis, Ascaris Lumbri coides (Tape worm and round worm), etc., is high due to their food habits. The incidence of T.B. (Tuberculosis) is also high, the most common form of it being pulmonary tuberculosis. Semi-starvation, inferior diet and unhygienic living conditions, attribute to the prevalence of T.B. Their houses are rectangular in ground plan with some 2 rooms while most of them having only one room each. The walls made of planks of sal wood in most cases and of bamboo wattle plastered with mud in a few cases. In all cases the roof is grass thatched. There are no windows. Hardly any light gets into the hut. Poor ventilation and close contact with infected members of the family are largely responsible for wide spread contagion.

Only 3 cases of Leprosy were seen in the study village. But in Rangaparu, a village  $3\frac{1}{2}$  Kms. from Burlubaru, leprosy

was rampant. Though no health survey was conducted in this village but our preliminary visit brought out as many as 23 leprosy patients in this village. They were not segregated from their society and the disease spread widely as a result of close contact with the infected patients.

No case of Yaws was detected in the study village. Similarly, no case of filariasis was also present and this disease is perhaps not common in this area. The incidence of some viral diseases are common particularly that of the upper respiratory tract with symptoms of rhinitis (running nose) pharyngitis, bronchitis, cold, cough and fever. Skin diseases are very common in this village. Scabies tops the list among all the skin diseases. Other skin diseases are also common. Venereal diseases (V.D.), viz., syphilis and gonorrhoea is not common among Kutias. Cardio-vascular diseases (heart disease), diabetes mellitus, renal diseases (kidney disease) are not so common. Diseases of ear also are not common. Dental diseases are very common. Hypertension (high blood pressure) was not seen in any of the individuals of the study village. On the contrary low blood pressure was very common. One of the most interesting observations was that not a single person even the very old persons were neither bald nor had their hair grown grey. Child mortality rate is not very high. Adult marriage is practised among the Kutias. During our survey we found out many unmarried girls of 22 to 26 years of age.

**Nutrition assessment by clinical methods**

Nutrition survey (only nutrition assessment) through clinical study was also conducted during this survey to assess the prevalence of malnutrition and undernutrition in the study village. Unfortunately no diet survey could be conducted, which is a must in any nutrition survey to define the diet and the dietary pattern of the population.

On clinical assessment 43 cases showed one or more signs or symptoms of nutritional deficiency. Most common deficiencies observed were:—

1. Under-nutrition—
  - (a) Low weight in relation to height
  - (b) Diminished skin folds
  - (c) Lethargy-especially in children
  - (d) Exaggerated skeletal prominence
  - (e) Loss of elasticity of skin
2. Protein-calorie deficiency—
  - (a) Oedema
  - (b) Muscle wasting
  - (c) Moon face etc.
3. Vitamin 'A' (Retinol) deficiency—
  - (a) Xerosis of skin
  - (b) Xerosis conjunctivae
  - (c) Keratomalacia
  - (d) Bitot's spots
4. Vitamin B1 (Thiamin) deficiency—
  - (a) Loss of ankle jerks
  - (b) Calf muscle tenderness
5. Vitamin B2 (Riboflavin) deficiency—
  - (a) Angular stomatitis
  - (b) Chelosis
  - (c) Magenta tongue
  - (d) Corneal vascularization
6. Vitamin C (Ascorbic acid) deficiency—
  - (a) Spongy and bleeding gums
  - (b) Petechiae
7. Vitamin D deficiency—
  - (a) Active rickets in children
  - (b) Healed rickets in children and few adults.
  - (c) Octomalacia in adults with local skeletal deformities.
8. Iron deficiency—
  - (a) Pallor of Mucous Membrane (Anaemic)
  - (b) Koilonychia

It may be emphasized that the aforementioned signs are largely non-specific and clinical examination alone is not sufficient to establish a clear and definite diagnosis of nutritional diseases and deficiencies. A thorough diet survey and biochemical studies revealing confirmatory and essential dietary and biochemical data are required for the appraisal of nutritional status. Future studies of nutritional stress will throw more light on the problem.

#### Genetic problems of Kutia Kondhs

The incidence of sickle-cell disease is quite common among the people of the study village. So is the case of Enzyme Glucose-6-Phosphate Dehydrogenase (G-6-PD) deficiency in the blood.

The term sickle-cell disease is applied to all hereditary (genetic) disorders in which the red-cells contain Haemoglobin-S or (Hb-S). Hb-S is much less soluble than normal haemoglobin particularly in the reduced state. When reduced it undergoes changes with the result that the cells which contain it become markedly deformed, assuming a sickle-shape hence the name sickle-cell disease and the phenomenon is known as sickling. Sickle-cell disease is inherited as a mendelian dominant. The common sickle-diseases are sickle-cell trait, sickle-cell anaemia and sickle-cell thalassaemia.

The red-cell enzyme G-6-PD deficiency is a genetically transmitted disorder by a sex-linked gene of intermediate dominance. Full expression of the trait occurs in hemizygous males, in whom the single x-chromosome carries the mutant gene and in homozygous females in whom both sex chromosomes (XX) carry a mutant gene. Intermediate expression is found in heterozygous females, in whom expression is variable.

103 blood samples were collected from the study village. 16 cases with G-6-PD deficiency were detected, and the incidence of sickle-cell haemoglobin (sickle-cell gene) was detected in 22 cases. Such a high

## HEALTH AND....

incidence of sickle-cell disease and G-6-PD enzyme deficiency calls for immediate remedial attention.

The abnormality of these two genes expose the Kutias to : 1. Drug induced as well as other forms of haemolytic anaemias with all its known complications and 2. Congenital malformation.

### Malaria

Malaria is very common in this area and more so in the study village and manifests its typical clinical symptoms.

All the blood samples were tested for the detection of malarial parasite (MP) , with the help of thick as well as thin blood films. The incidence of positive cases with malarial parasite in the blood smear was not very high (only 14 positive cases). All of them belong to the species *Plasmodium falciparum*. But clinically with the help of past history of the illness (Anaemnesis) and through clinical examination it was found out that at least 63 persons are suffering or had suffered in the recent past, by malarial infection. This was also evident from a very high incidence of hepato-splenomegaly (enlargement of liver and spleen). 18 persons were suffering from Malaria when the survey was undertaken. Mostly, children were suffering from typical signs and symptoms of high fever of intermittent type with shivers and profuse sweating even though the clinical and laboratory investigation for the identification of Malarial parasite did not tally always. But it can be explained by the fact that at the time of collection of blood samples presumably, the parasites were absent, though in reality the persons may be suffering from Malaria. From this survey it is evident that among the inhabitants of Burlubaru village the incidents of Malaria (*P.falciparum*) is quite high. An interesting fact to note is that the mortality rate from Malaria is not high at all.

### Malaria and genetic disorders

Presumably these hilly areas are hyperendemic or mesoendemic for Malarial infection.

The Kutia Kondhs have been possibly exposed to Malarial infection for the last several hundred years and as a result such mutation might have occurred in them. The heterozygous advantage in affording protection against Malaria, particularly against *P. falciparum* is known and this possibly must be the genesis of such a high incidence of sickle-cell disease and redcell enzyme G-6-PD deficiency.

Other side of the problem is still more interesting and at the same time alarming which calls for immediate attention of health authorities in particular. In eradication of Malaria the role of red-cell enzyme deficiency G-6-PD should be given due emphasis. Moreover, we know, that Malaria is treated with anti-Malarial drugs like Chloroquine, Camoquine, Primaquine, etc., which in turn can induce acute haemolytic anaemias in persons having this deficiency and in some cases this may be fatal. So, instead of saving them from the grip of Malaria we can do great harm by giving anti-Malarial drugs to persons who are G-6-PD deficient. So, this may lead to some serious complications resulting in severe jaundice and anaemia and sometimes may lead to even death.

So, by the help of this survey a thorough screening for G-6-PD deficiency was done in the village inhabited by this primitive tribal group. Record has been made regarding the frequency of the incidence of G-6-PD deficiency in this Kutia Kondhs of Burlubaru village. Hence indiscriminate use of anti-Malarial drugs for treatment as well as for prevention has to be given with precaution taking into view of this particular factor. This particular type of phenomenon thus not only becomes a problem for the geneticist but also to be Public Health authorities as well as to the Tribal Welfare Development authorities.

### Superstitious beliefs regarding diseases

On interviewing the residents of the study village we found out that these Kutia Kondhs generally believe in the prevalence of bene-

volent and malevolent spirits, which affect and control their lives. They appease the malevolent spirit that bring misfortune, disease and consequently death. In obedience of religious believes deeply rooted in the Kutias invariably call on their village preiest (Jani) also popularly known as 'Kutaka'.

They diagnose anger of deity or evil spirits as causing illness, thus according to them the etiology and pathogenesis of any disease is nothing but mainly due to anger of evil spirits. Hence, the Kutakas (Priest) perform rituals with animal sacrifice to please the evil spirits. It usually starts from small animals like hen, pigeon, etc., and ends up in bigger animals. Buffalo sacrifice is very common amongst them. Mostly, Kutia Kondh depend on such priests and witch doctors for help during their illness. Because of this belief they usually do not prefer to go to dispensaries or hospitals to avail modern medical treatment.

But in the study village the situation is gradually changing. This age-old tradition and belief and as well as their attitude towards modern medicine has also changed considerably during the last few years and this is mainly due to good social work done by one devoted lady worker of Utkal Naba Jivan Mandal—Shrimati Radhamoni Sahu (Popularly known as Apa) in this village, who is living with them for the last 12 years, i. e., from 1967 onwards. She is helping these tribals in all their difficulties and doing immensely good work in this village. She also advises them at the time of their need to go to the hospital or even to the primary health centre to consult the doctor for treatment whenever these tribals suffer from any serious illness, thus indirectly popularising modern medicine and treatment amongst the Kutias.

#### **Existing health service in the study village**

Unfortunately, the existing health facilities and service in this village is very low. The salient features of the health service and medical care are given below:—

1. There is no hospital nor dispensary here
2. The nearest hospital is situated  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Kms. away, i. e., at Belghar. The hospital is a six-

bedded one and is practically the one and only source of getting medical aid for the residents of the study village. But unfortunately it runs without a doctor. No doctor is prepared to come to this study village for the inaccessibility to the place. Hence virtually the Kutias of this village do not have any access to the health facilities.

3. The only other alternative for them is the primary health centre at Tumudibandh which is about 25 Kms. from this study village. The distance has to be covered by foot and that too through dense forests and hills, thus creating natural geographical barrier, for the utilisation of health services by the unfortunate villagers.

4. In this study village no special health survey of this kind was conducted in the past to understand the health problems of the Kutia Kondhs.

5. No special campaign have been ever undertaken so far in this village for eradicating any dreaded disease.

6. The Kutias of Burlubaru village were never covered in routine campaign for eradication of mass-killers like cholera, small-pox, malaria, etc. (excepting for the fact that a Malaria Supervisor has visited this village only twice during last 3 years).

#### **Conclusions and suggestions**

1. Our survey shows that the Kutia Kondhs of the study village are interested in getting themselves medically examined and in taking up medical allopathic treatment for their illness. During our camp in the village, not only survey and research was conducted for collection of data on medical anthropology but also several medicines were distributed free among people after proper diagnosis of illness.

2. Most of the diseases afflicting the Kutia Kondhs of this village are mainly due to insanitary condition, lack of personal hygiene, lack of health education and ignorance.

3. There is utter ignorance among the Kutias about the causes of their maladies. The only way to enlighten them in matters concerning health is to give these tribals health education

## HEALTH AND . . .

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through adult education classes. In addition health education may be imparted to tribal children by introducing topics on health in school syllabus.

4. The tribal people are poor and they cannot afford those food of rich nutritious contents which are not locally available. It is therefore necessary to analyse the food value of the food-stuff which are locally available and popularise such nutritious food as to provide a balanced diet to the tribals. In other words it implies that a thorough nutritional survey including all the three vital components, viz., (1) clinical-assessment, (2) diet survey, (3) bio-chemical studies is imperative for the appraisal of the nutritional status of this village.

5. Detail knowledge about various types of herbal medicines and their medical efficiency is overdue. A systematic investigation of this matter and proper collection of various samples of herbs used for medical purposes should form part of any health survey in the Kutia areas. Since the toxic side effects of the herbal medicines are minimal it is therefore advisable to make such medical ingredients popular in place of synthetic drugs which have considerable toxic effects.

6. It is suspected that the water of the hill streams of this area which the Kutias used for drinking and for cooking meals contains graphite. The Kutias complain about indigestion and irritation in stomach. These troubles may be due to graphite content in water.

7. The survey indicated high incidence of tuberculosis in the study village. It is due to insanitary condition and contagion by living huddled together in hut without ventilation. Proper housing condition and nutritious diets will surely check the disease.

8. Incidence of leprosy was not found to be high in the study village, but in a nearby village, viz., Rangaparua its incidence was quite high among Kutias. They are not excluded from their society and live in close contact with family members. So, a leprosy assylum will stop spreading this disease.

9. It is necessary to carry out an investigation to find out what factors are responsible for the healthy growth of hair among the Kutias in the study village.

10. The causes of low blood pressure (Hypotension) which was found among the Kutias require investigation.

11. The Kutias have a strong habit of drinking alcoholic beverages. Before any attempt is made to stop this habit, it is absolutely necessary to analyse all types of beverages chemically and find out if they contain any vitamins. Any proposal for stopping the habit of drinking should include suggestion of substitute which will supply the same vitamins.

12. The survey indicated that the incidence of sickle-cell disease (sickle-cell trait and anaemia) and the red-cell enzyme-deficiency (G-6-PD) is quite high. It is necessary to carry out a detailed investigation to find out if any other type of genetic diseases are existing in the population of the village. Therefore, this aspect of the problem has to be investigated in a special survey to find out the epidemiology of such serious genetic diseases. Each of the genetic hazards needs special preventive and curative measure.

13. A very high incidence of Malaria was observed in the study village. So is the case with the genetic G-6-PD enzyme deficiency. Moreover, we know that Malaria is treated with anti-Malaria drugs which in turn can induce acute haemolytic anaemia in persons with this deficiency, and in some cases it can also lead to death. It is necessary to inform this situation to the N. M. E. P. authorities as well as other Health authorities who are in charge of eradicating Malaria so that they do the screening of G-6-PD deficiency before administering anti-Malarial drugs indiscriminately.

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## OUR CONTRIBUTORS

1. Dr. N. Patnaik, M. Sc., Ph. D. . . Director, Tribal & Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute, Bhubaneswar.
2. Dr. Abdul Wahid Ansari . . . Assistant Professor of Rural Sociology Bihar Veterinary College, Rajendra Agricultural University, Patna.
3. F. M. Pradhan . . . Research Associate, National Institute of Rural Development, Rajendranagar, Hyderabad—500030 (A. P.).
4. K. C. Satpathy  
S. K. Mishra } . . . Department of Architecture and Regional Planning, I. I. T., Kharagpur—721302.
5. Dr. Almas Ali, M. D., Ph. D. Special Officer (Tribal Health), Tribal & Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute, Bhubaneswar.  
(Medicine).

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Institute, Bhubaneswar.

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