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## Contents

		PAGE
1. Elections and patterns of leadership in wo Lanjia Saora villages of Gumma Panchayat Samiti, Ganjam.	N. Patnaik, .. H. S. Mishra	1
2. Anthropogenetic study of the Pentia Halvas of Koraput district.	Usha Deka ... & K. Gosh Maulik	16
3. Social Movements among Tribes in Eastern India with special reference to Orissa : A preliminary analysis.	L. K. Mohapatra ..	37
4. Liquor among Dongria Kondhs of Orissa ..	P. S. Das Patnaik ..	52
5. Study on Hypoxia of high attitude among the Tibetan refugees.	S. Patel ..	58
6. A note on the concept of Tribe ..	Suguna Paul ..	63
7. Ethnomethodology : An exposition ..	Jaganath Pathy ..	68
8. A. B. O. Blood group of Parajas of Koraput district ..	Basanti Rath ..	73
9. ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶର ଆୟୋଜନ	ମୂଳ ରଚନା—ଡଃ ବ୍ରହ୍ମଦେବ ଶର୍ମା 78 ଅନୁବାଦିକା—ହେମନ୍ତ ଦାସ	78
10. Book Reviews ..	..	96

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# Elections and patterns of leadership in two Lanjia Saora villages of Guma Panchayat Samiti, Ganjam

N. PATNAIK  
H. S. MISHRA

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## Introduction

The study reported in this paper was taken up in Ragedi and Tahajang villages of Gumma Panchayat Samiti. They are medium sized villages predominantly inhabited by the Lanjia Saoras. Ragedi is one of the wards of Kalakota Grama Panchayat and Tahajang of Tarangada Grama Panchayat. The points of differences outnumber those of the similarities between these two villages.

The theme of the study in these two villages is related to the mode of election to the offices of Grama Panchayats and Panchayat Samiti and types of leadership which entered into the political arena of statutory local Government. The report also contains brief observations of election campaign and voting behaviour of the Saoras of Gumma Block in general and of the study villages in particular during the last Lok Sabha election.

## (Past Revenue Administration in Ganjam Maliahs)

When Ganjam was a part of Madras Presidency during British regime its highlands were divided into several hill tracts called Maliahs. The Maliahs were under the Divisional charge of the Principal, Senior and Special Assistant Agents and the Goomsur General Deputy Collector. The Maliahs which were under the Senior Assistant Agent consisted of Parlakimedi highlands with an area of 354 square miles and population of 52,309 according to the Census of 1891.

The Kimedi Maliahs (Parlakimedi, Pedda Kimedi and China Kimedi) were formerly ruled over by the chieftain of Parlakimedi. But a portion of these Maliahs was assigned to a younger branch of the ruling family in 1607. After about 169 years, that is, in 1776 this portion which was assigned to the younger branch of the Parlakimedi

chieftaincy was subdivided into two territories, one of which remained with the elder brother, whence the name Pedda Kimedi and the other portion fell to the share of the younger brother of the ruling family, whence the name China Kimedi. During British rule Parlakimedi Zamindar and other Kimedi Zamindars held their respective Maliahs under Sanad on service tenure. As stipulated in the Sanad the Kimedi Zamindars used to pay Nazarana annually to the British Government.

The Maliahs which were under the chieftain of Parlakimedi were subdivided into 11 minor territories called muttahs. They were:—

1. Gumma and Gyba
2. Serango
3. Ajayagada
4. Rayagada
5. Narayanpuram
6. Namanagada
7. Kamalasingi
8. Jirango
9. Gundahati
10. Koipuram
11. Labanyagada

Each of these Muttahs was under a Muttah-head called by various names such as Bissoyi and Patro. The headquarters of each of the Bissoyis was situated in a strategic position in the Muttah and served as a fort. The Bissoyis were established in a species of feudal tenure by the Parlakimedi chieftain for keeping the inhabitants (which were almost entirely Saoras) of their respective Muttahs under control. The British authorities designated the Bissoyis as the "Wardens of the Marches".

Each Bissoyi had maintained a number of Huddadars who represented the rank and file of the feudal order. The Huddadars were classified into five hierarchical orders. In order of hierarchy they are :

1. Dandasena
2. Majhi
3. Dalapati
4. Pradhan; and
5. Dalei

To assist the Huddadars in their work the Bissoyi had appointed a number of Paiks or Pesenias who formed the militia of the feudal order. Each Huddadar was allotted seven to eight Paiks who were not classified into any hierarchical order. The functions of Bissoyi, Huddadar and Paik are stated below.

#### **Bissoyi**

As stated, Bissoyi was the administrative head of his Muttah. His main work was to collect land revenue and house tax from the Saoras inhabiting his Muttah. He was also in charge of developmental programmes such as construction of roads, and digging of tanks and irrigation channels. For example, the Bissoyi of Gumma Muttah constructed the road from Parlakimedi town to Gumma village. Without Bissoyi's signature in the sale deeds no land transactions in the Muttah were valid. The Bissoyi was also responsible for settling inter and intra village disputes.

#### **Huddadar**

The work of Huddadar was to supervise the works of Paiks and to carry out Bissoyi's order. It was also his responsibility to look to the comforts of high-ranking persons and their entourage during their tour in his area



and arrange supplies required in their camps and porters to carry their luggage from place to place. He was also responsible for their safety while on tour in his area. He supervised the timely collection of Tanning (land tax collected in the shape of kind), sistu (land tax in cash), and tarnia (house tax) from the ryots. In payment for the services rendered the Huddadar was allotted two or three villages and the entire amount of tanning, sistu and tarnia collected from these villages was his service charges. He also enjoyed a share from the Peseni collected by the Paiks from the ryots towards their own remuneration. Besides these payments the Huddadar was given some Inam lands by the Bissoyi and these lands were tax free.

### **Paik**

The Paiks were the militia-men of the Bissoyi who assigned them to the Huddadar to help them in land revenue collection from the ryots. He also allotted two or three villages to each Paik for his maintenance. Besides military services the Paiks also served as the messengers to the Huddadars. Whenever any village failed to pay the tanning, tarnia and sistu in time (usually payment of these dues was made by the ryots in December-January) the Paiks visited these villages which are in arrears and served notice of the Bissoyi on the defaulters and arranged quick collections of the dues from them. If the Bissoyi had any message to be communicated to the Huddadars he got it done through the Paiks.

For the services rendered to the Bissoyi and Huddadars the Paiks were paid in kind at the rate of 10 manas of grain yearly per household from the villages which were allotted to them. The Paiks themselves collected their dues called Peseni from the ryots of the villages which were assigned to

them. In addition to Peseni the Paiks held Inam lands which were given by the Bissoyi for the services they rendered to him.

### **Gomanga**

The lowest position in the echelon of the feudal order was that of Gomanga who served as the head of the village. There was a Gomanga in each village and his duties were to collect tarnia, tanning and sistu from the ryots of his village. The Bissoyi fixed the amount of these dues to be paid by each village and the village Gomanga collected the same and paid to the Paik who was in charge of his village. The Gomanga was also responsible for deciding disputes and maintaining law and order in his village. If the dispute was of complicated nature beyond his control he referred it to the Bissoyi who settled it with the help of his courtiers at the headquarters. The Gomanga's duty in this respect was to escort the aggrieved parties to the Bissoyi's court and explain the dispute to the Bissoyi at the time of arbitration. If it was an inter village dispute the Gomangas of the disputed villages convened a common meeting and settled the matter in the presence of the elders of the disputed villages. Failing to adjudicate the case the Gamangas referred the matter to the Bissoyi whose decision was final.

### **Types of Revenue**

As stated above there were mainly three types of revenue collected from the ryots. They were 1. Tanning, 2. Tarnia and 3. Sistu. The land revenue collected in the shape of paddy from the Soura villages was called Tanning. The land revenue and the house tax collected in cash from the non-tribal villages was called Sistu. The house tax collected in cash was locally called Tarnia. It means that Sistu consisted of

Tanning and Tarnia in cash. As exceptional cases some Saura villages paid Sistu not Tanning to the Bissoyi. For example, the cluster of nine Saura villages included in Kalakote Illaka (area) paid sistu to the Bissoyi of Gumma Muttah. Some of the non-tribal villages which paid Sistu to the Bissoyi of gumma Mattah are Parida, Nilakanthapur, Adanguda, Bapangadi Laaba, Tamaranda which lie in the plains. Previously the Saura villages which were included in Kalakota Illaka were paying Tanning of 100 gadisa (12,0000 kgs.) of paddy to the Bissoyi of Gumma Muttah. C. F. Mac Cartie, who was acting Principal Assistant Agent of Ganjam in 1881, felt that the amount of Tanning paid by the Sauras of Kalakota Illaka was exorbitant. He reduced the amount and made it payable in cash at Rs. 450. Besides land revenue each household was liable to pay house tax of Rs. 1.50 per year. Tre Gomanga collected the house tax (tarnia) at the time of Dasahara and credited to the treasury of the Bissoyi.

Besides land revenue and house taxes the ryots of big Saura villages provided goat, honey, vegetables and pulses to the Bissoyi and his staff on festive occasions. They also supplied thatching grass or straw to the Bissoyi for thatching purposes. The Sauras at that time were subjected to Vetti or forced labour without payment. The Bissoyi and his staff of all categories such as Huddars and Paiks employed the Sauras as labourers in various agricultural operations and in domestic works such as thatching houses without paying any labour charge to them. However some food was provided to the labourers during work. The system of Tanning continued till the land revenue settlement was conducted in the Parlakhemindi Maliahs by Shri Udayanath Patnaik who abolished it

and in its place introduced payment of revenue in cash at the rate of Re. 1 per Putti of paddy paid as Tanning. The amount of land revenue was fixed on village basis and it was the responsibility of the Gomango to settle the revenue on household basis and collect the same from each household timely and pay the revenue of the village to the Bissoyi.

The system of dal, that is, payment of mamool in kind such as vegetables, minor millets, cereals, honey, goat, etc., was abolished at the time of Udayanath Patnaik's settlement. What the ryots were liable to pay was only land revenue in cash at the rate settled by him villagewise.

#### **Peshkush**

According to the terms and conditions laid down in the Sanad each Zamindar was allowed to collect a fixed amount of Peshkush from each of the Muttah-heads and to appoint, subject to the approval of the Divisional Officer, certain of the Muttah officials, all punishments, however, were in the hands of the Divisional Officer. No chieftain was allowed either to interfere between the Bissoyis and their subordinates and ryots, or to rent out any Mutta to low country bidders and collect in caprice any mamool directly from the hill people. If any chieftain violated or challenged the legality of the Government orders and increased his Peskush, his Agency Sanad was cancelled and the Maliahs which were under his control were attached and handed over to a new chieftain appointed by the Government. After Independence the Bissoyi of each Muttah paid the Peshkush to the Tahsildar and this practice continued till the abolition of all Intermediary system including Muttah system in 1971.



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## ABOUT THE STUDY VILLAGES

### 1. Ragedi

Ragedi is situated 5 Kms. to the west of Gumma. A fair weather jeepable road constructed by the Kalakota Grama Panchayat connects the village with Gumma. The village lies by the side of a rivulet called Marandaguda which dries up entirely in summer season. Lacking a bridge over it, the village remains cut off from any vehicular traffic during rainy season when the rivulet is in spate.

There are 43 Saora households, whose primary source of livelihood is agriculture and wage earning. 31 households have land of their own. The holdings vary from half an acre to three acres. The remaining 12 households are landless. Both the categories of households practise shifting cultivation in the nearby hill slopes. About one fourth of the households have gone to Assam to work in tea gardens.

All the households have been converted to christianity and most of them have well ventilated, spacious and substantial houses. The old pattern of houses which are single roomed small in size, low and without any window are conspicuous by their absence in the village. The village is far advanced in the locality in this respect and also in the matter of keeping the houses and the surrounding spotlessly clean. Every household has its garbage pit and the refuse from the house and the kitchen are dumped in it. It is a special feature of the village which is not noticed in any other Saora village in the vicinity.

The educational standard of the people of the village is as low as in any other Saora village. Out of 43 heads of households only two persons

have studied up to undermatric and four persons are barely literate. People have now been conscious of the importance of education. There is a demand by the villagers for a primary school in the village. The nearest school which is located in Linga is at a distance of 2 kilometres from the village and apart from the distance which has to be covered by walking the rivulet Marandaguda which flows between these two villages has to be crossed. Going to the school in rainy season is entirely out of question.

There are two public institutions in the village. One is Mahila Samiti which was organised by the Gumma Tribal Development Block and the other is Church which is exclusively a people's work. Recently the people of the village have organised a youth club. It started functioning since 23-1-1977. In a public meeting held at the Church on the eve of the 23rd January 1977 the people unanimously selected Sadan Savar of 45 years old as President and Aransa Savar of 25 years old as Secretary of the Club. One of the important functions of the Club is to look to the sanitation of the village. Unlike other Saora villages which look very shabby Ragedi wears a very neat appearance. The people have formed a habit of using the refuse dump dug by the members of the Youth Club at the outskirts of the village. The people have altogether given up drinking and smoking. For many such reforms in the life of the Saoras the credit goes to the Youth Club. Ragedi is becoming an ideal Saora village in the area.

One can notice a modern outlook on life of the people of the village. It is more conspicuous in their religious beliefs and practices. This is how a change has come about in their religious life. About 30 years ago an

important person of the village Dibasa Karji by name suffered from fever and his family members resorted to very expensive rituals for his recovery. But no ritual could save his life. The bereaved family not only had lost its leading member but also was drowned in debt which was incurred to meet the ritual expenses. This case was an eye opener to others who started questioning the religious methods of curing illness. It coincided with the time when the christianity was gaining ground in the locality and many neighbouring villages had given up divination and taken to scientific practices of curing illness. The successful stories narrated by the preachers of christianity were very much convincing to the people of the village. The ward member and the Karji of the village were the first to adopt christianity and allopathic curative practices. Subsequently all others of the village followed suit. Under the leadership of the pioneers a Church building was built in the village in 1955 and it has now become the central place of all new ideas and activities.

## 2. Tahajang

Tahajang is situated by the side of the road running from Parlakhemedi town to Gumma. It is at a distance of 8 Kilometres from Parlakhemedi and 19 Kilometres from Gumma. The bus plying on Parlakhemedi Gumma road passes through the village. The village is included in the Tarangada Grama Panchayat.

Tahajang has three hamlets: (1) Tahajang proper, (2) Majhi Tahajang which is situated in the centre of the cluster of the hamlets and (3) lower Tahajang. The village consists of 47 Lanjia Saora households all converted to christianity. There is a small stream flowing by the side of the village. Except in the rainy season

when the stream contains some water it remains dry in other seasons.

The settlement pattern and houses of Tahajang are not very much different from those of any ordinary Lanjia Saora villages. Single roomed low huts without windows which are typical of Lanjia Saora houses dominate the village scene in Tahajang.

Out of 47 households 20 households are landless and the remaining 27 households own land varying from half an acre to 5 acres with the exception of the present ward member who owns 10 acres of land. The landless and the land holders alike carry on shifting cultivation in the nearby hills and grow a mixed crop of minor millets, pulses and oilseeds—such as Janna, Kangu, Suan, Ghantia, Kandula and Rasi. Those who have land in the plains grow Mandia, Kulthi, Biri, Suan and Ganga in higher elevations (Padar land) and paddy in the low lying lands (Bila lands). The staple food of the people is ragi.

The people collect minor forest produce such as Karanj seeds, Mahula, and Grasses used for making brooms and sell them to the local merchants at a nominal price. The collections of mango, green leaves and tubers are exclusively meant for home consumption. The juice from the Salap trees supplies their alcoholic drink and the turmeric from their swiddens is their principal cash crop.

There is an Upper Primary School (up to Class V) in the village. Neither the teachers nor the students are regular in their attendance. As a result the School remains closed for most of the days. No one in the village has studied up to Upper Primary standard and most of the people are illiterate.



There is a Mahila Samiti in the village organized by the Gumma Tribal Development Block. It is as useless as the School. No woman has derived any benefit from the Samity ever since it was established in the village.

The church which is built by the villagers themselves is not as active as its counterpart in Ragedi in brining about change in the traditional style of life. A mid-wife is present in the village. She is maintained by the christian mission. But her impact on the life of the people is negligible. People adopted christianity under the spell of its mystic power of alleviating human suffering and healing illness. This is how christianity was appealing to the people of the village. Suku Savar of the village suffered from some mental illness some years back and became mad. His family members worshipped the deities and sacrificed fowls, goats and pigs and performed all kinds of rituals prescribed in their traditional religious system for his quick recovery. But no divination was of any help to Suku Savar. In such a crisis some christian Saoras of neighbouring villages suggested to the family members of Suku Savar to convert him to christianity and pray Jesus Christ for his recovery. His family members did so and in addition applied scientific remedy in place of heathen customs of treatments. Suku Savar responded to the medical treatment and got well. The case of Suku Savar strengthened the faith of the people on christianity and adopted it enmasse.

What is most striking in the comparative analysis of village life in Tahajang and Ragedi is that although the former is nearer to Parlakemedi town and is located on the bus route it is least affected by the urban influences of the town and road communication. Conversely Ragedi which is far from the urban centre and away from bus

service exhibits an urban style of life. It may be assumed that the change which is noticed in the life style of the people of Ragedi may be attributed to the influence of christianity. Then the question which may be raised in this context is that why did not the christi-anity have the same impact on the people of Tahajang? Further probing into the socio-economic situation particularly to the leadership pattern which motivates change may throw light on this problem. The paper discusses below the nature of leadership which participated in the elective system and the manner in which the people's representatives to the statutory Panchayat and Lok Sabha were selected.

## PANCHAYAT ELECTIONS

### Selection of Ward member—Ragedi

Ragedi and three neighbouring villages constitute a ward. They are Tuburuda (18 households), Ukuruda (4 households) and Pindaolu (10 households). Including 43 households of Ragedi there are thus 75 households comprising about 375 population in the ward.

In 1961 when the statutory Grama Panchayat was introduced in the Gumma Block people of different villages selected their own ward members to represent their respective Grama Panchayats. The ward to which Ragedi belongs is included in Kalakota Grama Panchayat. For convenience sake this ward is called Ragedi ward. All adult male members of this ward gathered at the church in Ragedi and unanimously selected Ragina Gomanga who was the Gomanga of Ragedi as ward member. Being very old Ragina did not agree to shoulder the responsibility. When the Gomanga was unwilling to accept the offer the people then selected Daipa Savar, an elderly and important

person of Ragedi as ward member. Daipa accepted the offer and is now continuing as ward member ever since he was first selected in 1962.

### **Sarpanch Election, Kalakota Grama Panchayat.**

Like Ragedi ward, all other wards of Kalakota Grama Panchayat had selected their respective ward members unanimously. All the ward members and a few older persons from each village gathered at Kalakota to select Sarpanch of the Panchayat. The ward members and all others present there selected Kirtan Savar of Tumkur for this post. Kirtan Savar was reluctant to accept the offer because he was much younger than the village elders present in the meeting and considered himself inexperienced. Since the verdict of the people was strongly in his favour he accepted the offer against his will. The qualities which conducted in his favour are his wide contact with general public and the leading politicians of the State. His knowledge in Oriya language, and his modesty and devotion to service to tribal communities are equally counted among the best leadership qualities which he is endowed with. Like the ward members he also continues as Sarpanch uncontested through all the successive elections from the inception of the Grama Panchayat in the Gumma Block.

### **Selection of ward member, Tahajang**

Tahajang itself is a ward included in Tarangada Grama Panchayat. The people of Tahajang selected unanimously Chakra Gomanga, the Gomanga of the village as the ward member. Chakra Gomanga continued as ward member for five years till his death. Budda Gomanga, one of the older members of the Gomanga lineage succeeded him. In his case also there

was no contest and he was selected by general consensus of opinion. The people of his ward wanted him to continue as ward member in the next term. But he was unwilling to continue any further. Therefore the people of Tahajang decided unanimously that Majhila Savara, another important person of the village should be their ward member. Majhila Savara continues as the ward member of Tahajang.

### **Sarpanch Election, Tarngada Grama Panchayat.**

In the first election there were two contestants Radhaballava Das and Gurli Agadu. Radhaballava Das was elected to the office of Sarpanch. The election was on majority-minority pattern. For the next term Mukuling Patra, a local merchant of Tarangada was selected uncontested. The 1975 election was a contested one. The contest was between Laxmikanta Gauda of Kurulunda and Mukling Patra of Tarangada for the office of Sarpanch. Laxmikanta Gouda was elected by majority vote. He is continuing as Sarpanch of Tarangada Grama Panchayat.

### **Chairman Election: Gumma Panchayat Samiti.**

The Gumma Panchayat Samiti to which Kalakota and Tarangada Grama Panchayats belong started functioning since 1962. At that time the Samiti was constituted by four nominated members and one elected member. The Subdivisional Officer was then empowered to nominate persons to serve as members of the Panchayat Samiti. The persons who were nominated were: (1) Chaitana Dandasena of Gumma, (2) Radhamohan Bissoyi of Seranga, (3) Nila Savara of Kalakota and (4) K. Apparao of Jeeva. The elected member was Musuli Naidu of Jeeva.



Formerly Jeeva Panchayat was a part of Kashinagar Panchayat Samiti. But after 1961 when the panchayats were reorganized Jeeva was included in the Gumma Panchayat Samiti. Musuli Naidu was an elected ward member of Jeeva Panchayat. When his Panchayat was included in the Gumma Panchayat Samiti he was taken in as one of the members of the Samiti.

For the office of Chairman of Gumma Panchayat Samiti there was a contest between Chaitana Dandasena and Musali Naidu. It was an indirect election which means that the five members of the Samiti were to elect their Chairman and Vice-Chairman. The members elected Chaitan Dandasena as Chairman and Radha Mohan Bissoyi as Vice-Chairman of the Gumma Panchayat Samiti. After a few days Musuli Naidu became the Sarpanch of Jeeva Grama Panchayat.

Chaitan Dandasena was in the position of Chairman from 1962 to 1968. In 1968 election, there were 5 candidates in the field. They were 1. Bipin Naik, Dom by caste of Seranga, 2. Barik Pujari, Ex-Huddadar of Gaiba, 3. Chaitan Paik, Ex-Militia-man of Gumma, 4. Musuli Naidu, Sarpanch of Jeeva and 5. Radhaballava Das of Tarangada. There was keen contest among the candidates and Barik Pujari was elected to the office of Chairman by majority vote.

Barik Pujari served the full term of office till the year 1971, when there was a fresh election for the same office. The candidates who were in the field are 1. Barik Pujari (former Chairman), 2. Bipin Naik, a Dom from Seranga who contested the Chairman election in 1968, and 3. Bhikari Pattanayak of Gumma, a new entrant to the political arena. Bhikari Pattanayak won the election and was in the office of Samiti Chairman from 1971 to 1975.

Unlike the previous three elections the 1975 Chairman election was not contested. Bhubananda Bissoyi, Ex-Bissoyi of Gumma, Barik Pujari of Gaiba and two Doms of the same village filed nominations to contest the election. Prior to the election all the Saoras who are numerically preponderant in the Samiti, gathered in Kalakota and decided unanimously to vote for Bhubananda Bissoyi. Knowing this that they would surely be defeated the two Dom candidates and Barik Pujari withdrew their candidature and Bhubananda Bissoyi was selected by general consensus of opinion as the Chairman of Gumma Panchayat Samiti, Bhubananda Bissoyi is continuing now in the same position.

It is very clear in the successive Grama Panchayat elections that generally the mode of election of candidates for the offices of ward member and Sarpanch was unanimity and general consensus of opinion. Contest or election by majority vote is traced in the cases where the non-tribal candidates have entered into the political arena of Panchayat election. Cases of contest for the lower and middle order offices have occurred in Tarangada Grama Panchayat which is situated near Parlakhemedi, an important urban centre in the locality, accessible to all wheather road on which bus service lies regularly and composed of non-tribal and tribal communities.

Contrasted to this there is not a single instance of contest for such levels of offices in Kalakota Grama Panchayat. The selection of ward members and Sarpanch in all successive elections was by general consensus of opinion. In fact, the persons who were chosen in 1962 continued in their respective offices through 1968, 1971 and 1975 elections up to the present time on the strength of unanimous verdict of the voters. Moreover in a

political arena where a single community of face-to-face type is in overwhelming majority any contest between parties for political position is bound to be dull and of insignificant order. The reason is that the element of unanimity characteristic of numerically preponderant face-to-face community will inhibit the forces of division of its verdict and the party which enjoys the good will of the face-to-face community's choice will bag all its votes as is done in the case of an uncontested election.

Kalakota Grama Panchayat which is the epitome of Saora culture exhibits a kind of village unity and cultural homogeneity that is unparalleled in the rest of the Saora country. Generally speaking, consensus of opinion by which selection of people's representatives is made is common in those of the areas of the Saora country which are least affected by non-tribal political elements and urban influences. In this respect the Saora villages in Gumma Block are like face-to-face communities, which hold the value of unity, unanimity and consensus much above the value of contest, factionalism and conflict.

Another feature which is discernible in the successive elections to the office of Chairman of Gumma Panchayat Samiti is that the verdict of the Saora voters was in favour of the erstwhile Muttah-head (Bissoyi) and his administrative staff and militia men. The verdict of the majority, that is, the Saoras in Gumma area in the matter of elections to positions of power in statutory Grama Panchayat was on the side of the erstwhile Bissoyi, his relations and his Huddadars, Naiks and village Gomanges in a number of cases. The continued obedience to the past authority even after its liquidation is one of the significant features of face-to-face communities.

## KNOWLEDGE ABOUT PARTY POLITICS AND PARTICIPATION IN LAST LOK SABHA ELECTION

### Awareness of Party Politics

The political party which is known to the majority of the Saoras of Gumma Block is Congress' in totality not in parts as 'Ruling Congress' or 'Congress for Democracy'. They have no idea about what is ruling party and what is opposition party. They confessed that in all general elections either to legislative assembly or to parliament, they have been unanimous in the matter of casting vote for Congress. In their mind except Congress there is no other political party in existence in the country. To them congress is synonymous with Indira Gandhi. Voting for Congress means to them voting for Indira Gandhi. They stress that they are men of Congress. In other words, they are men of Indira Gandhi. When asked about Mahatma Gandhi the majority of the Saoras replied "they have heard only the name of Indira Gandhi and do'nt know who the other Gandhi is."

### Election Campaign

During Lok Sabha election one public meeting was studied. It was held at Gumma and Shri Mohan Naik presided over it and also addressed the public who attended the meeting. The chief of the District Level Congress organisation sent prior intimation about the meeting to the Chairman of the Gumma Panchayat Samiti. On getting the news the Chairman convened a meeting of the Sarpanches and ward members to inform them about the meeting and arrange for a large gathering of people on this occasion. The Sarpanches and the ward members informed the people of their respective Panchayats and wards and asked them to attend the meeting in large number.

The news about the meeting did not reach many villages. For example,



the people of Tahajang were not aware of it because the ward member of this village who was supposed to inform the people of his ward was unaware of the meeting. In rural and tribal areas the political parties make known to the people their programmes of public meetings and speeches and their manifestos through the medium of statutory Grama Panchayats. In spite of wide publicity by the ward members and Sarpanches the attendance in the meeting was less than 100 people. The reasons for poor attendance was their low political consciousness and their pre-occupation in heavy agricultural operations in shifting cultivation.

Except this meeting neither the Congress party candidate nor the Janata party candidate had visited the Gumma area even for once on election campaign. Three Congress posters which were posted in Ragedi and Tahajang by the Congress President of the Block constituted the whole of election campaign in the study villages.

### **Voting Behaviour**

A large majority of the Saora voters were unaware of the parties which sought for their vote. Though some leading members of the Saora Community had known that the Congress party was contesting the election, but none in the study villages could tell the other party with which the Congress party was contesting. The people in general were not able to tell the names of the candidates who stood for election to the Lok Sabha from their constituency, while the majority of the Saoras of

Gumma Block were ignorant about the contesting candidates. Some of them thought vaguely that the contest was between Indira Gandhi and Biju Patnaik.

The Saoras had no idea about the symbol of the Janata Party. But they had some vague idea about the symbol of Congress party. Some respondents said that it was bullock and others guessed it to be cow. But very few could tell the exact symbol of the Congress party.

On the day of polling the ward members escorted the voters of their respective wards to the polling booths. It was observed that more than 60 per cent of the voters from the study villages had been to the polling stations to exercise their franchise. But about 20 per cent of them were not able to do so since their names were not present in the voters' list. At the booth the Saoras of different villages talked with one another that they would cast their vote for Indira Gandhi without referring to the party at all. Many a Saora voter stamped the ballot papers twice or thrice amounting thereby to a large number of cancellations of ballot papers. On the whole the observation of the Lok Sabha election in Gumma Block reveals that the concept of political party is beyond the cognition of the Saoras. As feudal order is personified in the form of Raja, Bissoyi and Huddadar, the political party is personified in the form of some political luminaries in their cognitive orientation.

## Appendix I

1962—1968

(1) Type of Election	(2) Name of candidates	(3) Age-group	(4) Caste/Tribe	(5) Position held in Feudal order	(6) Economic condition	(7) Mode of selection
Ragedi Ward Member	Daipa Savara ..	Middle aged(45)	Saora ..	..	Poor ..	Unanimity
Kalakot Gram Panchayat Sarpanch.	Kirtan Savara ..	Young ..	Saora ..	..	Moderate means	Unanimity
Tahajang Ward Member	Chakra Gomango ..	Old ..	Saora ..	Gomang	Moderate means	Unanimity
Tarangada Gram Panchayat Sarpanch.	Radhaballava Das ..	Middle aged ..	Oriya (Brahmin)	..	Rich ..	Majority Vote
	Gurli Agadu ..	Middle aged ..	Pano	..	Moderate means	..
Gumma Panchayat Samiti Chairman.	Chaitana Dandasena, Chairman.	Middle aged ..	Oriya (Paika) ..	..	Rich ..	Majority Vote
	Radhamohan Bissoyi, Vice-Chairman.	Middle aged ..	Oriya ..	..	Rich ..	Majority Vote
	Nila Savara ..	Middle aged ..	Saora ..	..	Moderate means	..
	K. Appa Rao ..	Middle aged ..	Telugu ..	..	Rich ..	..
	Musuli Naidu ..	Middle aged ..	Telugu ..	..	Rich ..	..

APPENDIX I

1968—1971

Type of Election	Name of candidates	Age-group	Caste/Tribe	Position held in Feudal order	Economic condition	Mode of selection
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Ragedi Ward Member	Daipa Savara	Middle aged	Saora	..	Poor	.. Unanimity
Kalakot Gram Panchayat Sarpanch.	Kirtan savara	Young	Saora	..	Moderate means	Unanimity
T a h a j a n g w a r d Member	Budda Gomang	Old	Saora	.. R e l a t i o n of Gomang	Moderate means	Unanimity
Tarangada Gram Panchayat Sarpanch	Mukulung Patra	Middle aged	Oriya (Brahmin)	..	Rich (Merchant)	Uncontested
G u m a Panchayat Samiti Chairman.	Barik Pujari	Middle aged	Oriya	.. Huddadar	Rich	.. Majority Vote
	Bipin Naik	Middle aged	Dom	..	Moderate means	..
	Chaitan Paik	Middle aged	Oriya	.. Paik	Moderate means	..
	Radhaballava Das..	Middle aged	Oriya Paik	..	Moderate means	..
	Musuli Naidu	Middle aged	Telugu	..	..	..



## Appendix II

1971—1975

Type of Election (1)	Name of candidates (2)	Age-group (3)	Caste/Tribe (4)	Position held in Feudal order (5)	Economic condition (6)	Mode of selection (7)
Ragedi Ward Member	Daipa Savar	Middle aged	Saura	..	Poor	Unanimity
Kalakot Gram Panchayat Sarpanch.	Kirtan Savar	Young	Saura	..	Moderate means	Unanimity
Tahajang Ward Member	Majhila Savara	Old	Saora	..	..	Unanimity
Tarangada Gram Pan- chayat Sarpanch.	Mukulung Patra	Middle aged	Oriya	..	Rich houses.	Un- contested
Gumma Panchayat Samiti Chairman.	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Bhikari Pattanayak	Middle aged	Oriya	..	Moderate means	Majority Vote
	Barik Pujari	Middle aged	Oriya	Huddadar	Rich	..
	Bipin Naik	Middle aged	Dom	..	Moderate means	..

Appendix II

1975

Type of Election	Name of candidates	Age-group	Caste/Tribe	Position held in Feudal order	Economic condition	Mode of selection
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Ragedi Ward Member ..	Daipa Savara	Middle aged (45)	Saora ..	..	Poor	Un-contested (unanimity)
Kalakot Gram Panchayat Sarpanch.	Kirtan Savara	Young	Saora	..	Moderate means	Unanimity
Tahajang Ward Member	Majhila Savara ..	Old	Saora ..	..	Rich man	Unanimity
Tarangada Gram Panchayat Sarpanch.	Laxmikanta Gauda	Middle aged	Milk man ..	..	Moderate means	Majority Vote
	Mukling Patra ..	Middle aged	Komti ..	..	Merchant	..
Gumma Panchayat Samiti Chairman.	Bhubananda Bissoyi	Middle aged	Oriya ..	Mutta-Head (Bissoyi)	Rich	Uncontested

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# Anthropogenetic study of the Pentia Halvas of Koraput District

USHA DEKA  
K. GOSH MAULIK

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## PART I

### INTRODUCTION

#### The People and the Habitat :

District Koraput in Orissa is the abode of many tribal populations who are predominantly of Protoaustraloid origin. It has a unique position geographically. It borders with Andhra Pradesh on one side and Madhya Pradesh on the other. Hilly ranges of Eastern Ghat occupies most portion and the valleys underlying are the populated areas. Rich forest is visible on the hilly sections and temperature and rainfall varies from the plain areas to the hill areas. Numerous primitive populations occupy different territories and pass for different tribes and Scheduled Castes. They maintain apparent biological and social segregation and thus provides scopes for anthropological studies. General habitational conditions, literacy, and technological efficiency are still in very primitive condition. Even to-day communication within the district is very poor. In past communication was only by foot. Naturally, the populations

under same tribal nomenclature, but occupying different territories of the same district do not have social intercourse. Such is the case in the tribe under present study.

The people under present study call themselves as Halvas, an agriculturist tribal community. They narrate a myth regarding their migration from neighbouring district of Bastar of Madhya Pradesh. According to this myth, they incurred wrath of the local king by killing his elephant and fled away to an area 'Pentkona'. As they were hiding in 'Pentkona' this section of Halvas came to be known later as Pentia. Sathpathy (Adivasi : 1964 : 161) also reports similar thing. There are another section of Halvas living in other area (Mathili Police Station area) of the same district, who do not have any social or biological communication with these people. Census of India reports them as 'Halvas' whereas the present people only as 'Pentia'. The problem of identification by name is increased in this way and only a bio-cultural approach can help solving the problem by assessing their cultural and ethnic affinity.

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In absence of any multidisciplinary study on these two population groups, we have ventured a small scale study on sampling basis with limited resources at our disposal. The present study is aimed at revealing some salient features of morphological (metrical) and genetical character among the Pentia Halva.

### Distribution

1961 Census report reveals presence of these people in Koraput, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Phulbani (Baudh-Kondhmal), and Dhenkanal districts. Few persons have been reported from Cuttack and Puri districts also. Total population in Orissa was estimated to be 9656 with sex ratio as 971 females per 1000 males. District Koraput records 42 per cent of the total population followed next by Mayurbhanj as 40 per cent. The table below will give a detailed occurrence of the population in different district.

bhanj, Keonjhar, Phulbani (Baudh-Kondhmal), and Dhenkanal districts. Few persons have been reported from Cuttack and Puri districts also. Total population in Orissa was estimated to be 9656 with sex ratio as 971 females per 1000 males. District Koraput records 42 per cent of the total population followed next by Mayurbhanj as 40 per cent. The table below will give a detailed occurrence of the population in different district.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO 1961 CENSUS

District	Total No.	Male	Female
1. Koraput	4,112	2,067	2,045
2. Mayurbhanj	3,853	1,968	1,885
3. Keonjhar	685	370	315
4. Baudh-Kondhmal (Phulbani)	551	277	274
5. Dhenkanal	369	182	187
6. Cuttack	61	16	45
7. Sambalpur	24	18	6
8. Puri	1	1	0

Total population in Orissa 9,656. Male 4,899 and Female 4,757

The data of 1971 Census is not at hand. In Koraput, the Pentia Halvas are found to live around Jeypore, Bhairabsingpur and Boriguma. In the Jeypore locality, they are found in six villages, around Bhairabsingpur in thirteen villages and around Boriguma in four villages. Data for present study were collected from 8 villages in Jeypore and Bhairabsingpur locality.

### Occupation

The Pentia Halvas are mentioned in the 1901 Census Report of Madras

Presidency (Part—I: 1902: page 174) as "Oriya cultivators in Vizagapatnam Agency; also called Haluva". They are predominantly settled agriculturist and live in the plains. They use plough for cultivation and mainly raise paddy. We have not come across any case of shifting cultivation in the locality under our survey.

The present group of population practise settled agriculture, most of the population being engaged in agriculture either as cultivator or as agriculture labourer.

Classification of the Pantia Halva of different workers according to 1961 Census, is as follows:—

Workers	Total	Male	Female
Cultivator ..	2,590	1,619	971
Agricultural labourer ..	1,040	530	510
Mining and Quarrying ..	151	144	7
Household Industry ..	740	385	355
Manufacturing other than household Industry	5	3	2
Construction ..	1	1	0
Trade and Commerce ..	24	9	15
Transport storage and Communication ..	6	6	0
Other services ..	627	389	238
Total No. of workers ..	5,184	3,086	2,098
Total No. of non-workers ..	4,472	1,813	2,659

### Language and Educational level

The Pantia Halvas speak Oriya and do not have any language of their own. Census Reports mention that some amount of Ho and Kui language is also present in some locality.

Educational level is very low. We have not found any literate person in our sample. Das mentions the 5 per cent to 9 per cent are literate without any educational level.

### Religion

Their main deity is "Adimata" or Samalei Thakurani, a goddess. They appease her on all crises like epidemic breakout and other natural distress, and also on religious occasions. Also Hindu gods have been adopted. Jani is the priest who worships goddess. Usually he is of Paroja community. Disari or community astrologer helps in settling dates of sacred occasions & religious festivals.

### Village : Organizations

Huts are mud-built and thatched and arranged usually in rows. Divisions and breakdown of families after marriage of sons, create a complex household around common courtyard. Male members are the head of a family. Traditional headman of a village is 'Bhat Naik'. He wields power bestowed upon him for settling matters of dispute or social problems as and when required. 'Chalan' is also a traditional post, who carries message and help Naik.

### Marriage

Previously there was preference for marriage of cross-cousins i.e. marrying Mother's brother's daughter. But at present, following neighbouring caste Hindu people, this preference is lost. Only the permissibility exists. It is probable that previously levirate was also in practice, as the widow has to pay some amount to her husband's

younger brother if she wants to re-marry others. Polygamy is permissible. but very rarely performed.

Marriage may be negotiated or settled by the Spouses themselves. In the negotiated marriage, some relative or father himself searches for a bride for his son from other 'gotra'. Like Hindus, they also observe 'gotra' exogamy. There are several gotra as 'Naga Nageswar' 'Kashyap' or 'Upria'. 'Subarna' or 'Sunakeria', Khamria or monkey, 'Shila' or stone etc.

Child marriage is not practised. Girls are more useful and perform not only household duties, but assist in agricultural work also. So brides parents are given money as 'bride wealth'. Previously number of bullocks and plough were demanded but now cash money is usually given.

Puberty attainment of a girl observed with some rituals is performed at the end of nine days to free her from pollution. In every month during the period, 7 to 9 days pollution is observed by keeping her segregated.

### Death

They have approved both burial and cremation of dead body. It is probable that, burial was the original practice and later on effects of Hinduization have resulted in adoption of cremation practice. Similar cases are also observed in most of the local tribes and castes. In burial, they laid down the body with head in north and face upwards. In burning, which is a bit costly affair, they cut down wood and make a pier. The eldest son performs last rite by putting fire in the mouth.

The Pentia Halvas of the Jeypore. Bariguma and Bhairabsingpur locality are obviously a settled agriculturist

group who claim to have migrated from their counterparts in the same (Halvas or Halfis of Mathili area) and from Bastar long back and are themselves a segregated population other districts. A cross-sectional sample have been examined on genetic and metric aspect which are presented in next chapters.

## PART II

### ANTHROPOMETRIC MEASUREMENTS

Measurements of Physical character of body are very useful and basic criteria for classification of human races. All the major classifications of man are based on systematic measurements known as 'anthropometry' and developed through many scientific discourse since time of Paul Broca and Blumenbach. Later on the measurements were more standardized for comparative use and we followed the prescriptions of Martin as outlined in his book 'LEHRBUCH DER ANTHROPOLOGIE' (1927).

Apart from using the metrical features in classifying races, they are of most use in study of growth and development of individuals as also a community. There are many listed measurements out of which few were selected here for precision and utilization along with genetic characters. The measurements selected here are (1) Stature; (2) Sitting height (3) Head length; (4) Head breadth (5) Head height (6) Nose length or nasal height and (7) Nasal breadth. The technique of measurements followed the standard method outlined in Martin. Calculation of indices and classification of the results were done as in Martin and Saller (1957). Statistical reduction of data were done not



only for analysis but for ready comparison with other studies as and when required.

For the purpose of having proper assessment of anthropometric features, only adult individuals were measured. The present sample of 164 adult individuals were selected randomly after segregating or stratifying the available population into adult and sub-adult units and further into not closely related individuals. And thus sample from only one strata was drawn. The data are presented itemwise in the tables No. 1 to 7, which are discussed in the course of analysis below.

### 1. Stature or Height vertex

Table 1 contains classified data on stature of 164 Pentia Halvas. Six categories of heights are made as approved by Martin.

The Pentias fall mostly in short statured group (53.66 per cent) out of which 4.88 per cent of individuals are very short. The lowest height measured is 147.0 cm. and the highest was 170.0 (table 3). People with lower medium height is found among 14.63 per cent, medium height among 24.38 per cent and upper medium among 4.88 per cent. Tall category is reached only by 2.44 per cent individuals.

Table 1  
CLASSIFICATION OF STATURE (ACCORDING TO MARTIN)

Type	Range in cms.	Frequency of Individuals	
		N	%
Very Short	.. 130.0 — 149.9	8	4.88
Short	.. 150.0 — 159.9	80	48.78
Lower Midium	.. 160.0 — 163.9	24	14.63
Medium	.. 164.0 — 166.9	40	24.38
Upper Midium	.. 167.0 — 169.9	8	4.88
Tall	.. 170.0 — 179.9	4	2.44
Total	..	164	99.99

We may assume that these people have mostly short stature marginal to medium i. e. 160.0 cm., as displayed by the mean Stature as 158.27 cm.  $\pm 0.409$  Standard deviation is calculated as 5.24 cm. indicating great variability which is expressed by coefficient of variation (3.31) in table 3.

### 2. Sitting Height

Height of person is divided into two segments length of trunk and head and length of inferior extremity. Varying rate of development is marked in these two segments, from childhood to adult life. Besides age and

sex variations, people are seen to vary ethnically as in case of other height measurements. Sitting height displays certain aspect of trunk development, though it is not exactly trunk

height, as it includes head. It can rather be called as bust height and its growth and development are mainly achieved during and after puberty, as opposed to the lower limbs.

Table 2  
CLASSIFICATION OF SITTING HEIGHT

Range (in cms.)	Frequency of Individuals	
	N	%
63 — 67	4	2.44
68 — 72	12	7.31
73 — 77	80	48.78
78 — 82	52	31.71
83 — 87	16	9.75
Total	164	99.99

Sitting height is also used to calculate skelic index or body build index with relation to stature. Manouvrier and Giuffrida-Ruggeri both introduced two different methods of calculating the index, which are used by persons engaged in studying growth. For the present analysis, as the study has been kept limited no such attempts have been made.

Table 2 displays fivefold subdivisions of sitting height measurements. Highest frequency (48.78 per cent) noticed in the group 73-77 cms. Mean sitting height is 76.95 cm. with s. e. of 0.28 and a deviation of 3.63 cms. (table 3). The mean sitting height is little less than half the mean stature. This indicates an overall occurrence of brachycormic physique in Ruggeri-Valloys Scale.

Table 3  
STATISTICAL VALUES OF SOME VARIABLE TRAITS

Measurement Type	Range in cms.	Mean in cms.	S. E. in cms.	S. D. in cms.	C. V.
1. Stature	147.0 — 170.0	158.27	0.409	5.24	3.31
2. Sitting Height	66.0 — 87.0	76.95	0.28	3.63	4.72
3. Head Height	8.6 — 17.0	12.16	0.22	2.85	23.38
4. Head Length	15.0 — 19.1	18.29	0.06	0.77	4.22
5. Head Breadth	12.5 — 15.0	12.73	0.05	0.66	5.21
6. Nose Length	4.0 — 5.5	4.55	0.11	1.37	3.01
7. Nose Breadth	3.3 — 4.6	4.65	0.05	0.651	13.98

**3. Head Measurements**

Classification of human races were mainly done on the basis of cephalic types depending on measurements. Head size and shape, has always given the anthropologists a head-aching problem as evidence from the earlier literatures. Occurrence of broad headers their migration etc. have been widely studied. Now, these are used as a descriptive trait in popula-

tion studies, not with reduction in value.

In the present case, only three dimensions of head was measured length, breadth and height.

In table 3 the data are presented. Head height varies in measurement from 8.6 cm. to 17.0 cm. as displayed by a high value of variance (coefficient of variation 23.38). Mean head height is found to be 12.16 cm.

Table 4

CLASSIFICATION OF HEAD ACCORDING TO CEPHALIC INDEX (SALLER)

Type	Range (male)	Frequency	
		N	%
Hyperdolichocephalic ..	X-70.9	8	4.88
Dolichocephalic ..	71.0-75.9	80	48.78
Mesocephalic ..	76.0 - 80.9	48	29.26
Brachycephalic ..	81.0-85.4	20	12.19
Hyperbrachycephalic ..	85.5-90.9	6	3.66
Ultrabrachycephalic ..	91.0-X	2	1.22

Compared to head height, length, and breadth measurements show less variability. Head length varies from 15.0 cm. to 19.1 cm. and breadth varies from 12.5 cm. to 15.0 cm. Mean values for both the measurements are 18.29 in case of head length and 12.73 in case of breadth (table 3).

These measurements are utilized for calculating three indices as devised by Martin and Saller. cephalic index (i) for length-broth ratio, (ii) for length height ratio and (iii) for breadth height ratio. These are presented in tables 4, 5 and 6.

Table 4 contains frequency of length-breadth index of head. Majority of the people are dolichocephals (53.66 per cent), of which 4.88 per cent are hyperdolicho and 29.26 per cent are in mesocephal group. Broad headed persons occur in 17.07 per cent Brachycephaly is present in all its three categories (Saller); brachycephal 12.19 per cent hyperbrachycephal 3.66per cent and 1.22 per cent ultrabrachycephal.

Length-height ratio (according to Saller's classification) of head presents 90.23 per cent hypsiccephal. Other



two categories of medium and long roofed head, occur exactly in same number 4.88 per cent in each case (table 5).

Table 5  
LENGTH-HEIGHT INDEX OF HEAD (SALLER)

Type of head	Range of index	Frequency	
		N	%
Chamaecephalic ..	X—57.9	8	4.88
Orthocephalic ..	58.0—62.0	8	4.88
Hypsicephalic ..	63.0—X	148	90.23

Breadth-height index of head also exhibit highest frequency of acrocephals (77.43 per cent). Metriocephal comes as next high 12.80 per cent and Tapeiocephal as 9.76 per cent.

It is revealed from the study that the Pentia exhibit mostly long and high head, though few persons are found to possess broad and high head.

Table 6  
BREADTH-HEIGHT INDEX OF HEAD (MARTIN AND SALLER)

Type of head	Range of index	Frequency	
		N	%
Tapeiocephalic ..	X—78.9	16	9.76
Metriocephalic ..	79.0—84.9	21	12.80
Acrocephalic ..	85.0—X	127	77.43

#### 4. Nasal Measurements

Like cephalic characteristics, nasal characters are also used as racial criteria. There are several measurements and observations on nose, like length, breadth, depth, nostril apertures, septum, bridge etc. Out of

these, the two essential and most important characters of metrical nature presented here (table 3).

Nose may be described as long or short or narrow or broad. These arbitrary descriptions depend much on facial length. So index calculation is

widely used, which express length index, according to Martin and Saller breadth ratio. Classification of nose (1957) is presented below :

Table 7

CLASSIFICATION OF NASAL INDEX ( MARTIN AND SALLER )

Type	Range	Frequency	
		N	%
Leptorrhine ..	55.0—69.9	5	3.05
Mesorrhine ..	70.0—84.9	95	57.92
Chamaerhine ..	85.0—99.9	64	39.02

Length of nose varies from 4.0 cm. to 5.5 cm. This shows a mean value of 4.55 cm. and s. e. of 0.11. Nasal breadth ranges from 3.3 cm. to 4.6 cm. with a mean value of 4.6 cm. and s. e. of 0.05. The two mean values exhibit an interesting factor. The nasal breadth is marginally higher than the nasal length. Breadth present more variance than length (c. v. is 13.98 as against 3.01 in the latter), shown in table 3.

Length-breadth ratio of nose, of course, makes the picture moderate, as appeared from mean values of length and breadth. 57.92 per cent persons are mesorrhine; but a considerable number of wide or flat nosed persons occur in the population as expressed by 39.02 per cent of chamaerhine. Long and narrow nose occur only as trace among 3.05 per cent of individuals.

**PART III**

**SOME CHARACTERS WITH GENETIC IMPLICATIONS**

Some characters have been chosen for study which have known way of

inheritance or whose method of inheritance is still to be found. In the first case, it has been possible to calculate the occurrence of responsible genes and to judge the position of these people. In latter cases, only the pattern of occurrence of the traits have been analysed and these have been used as characters for assessing inter-ethnic differentiation.

Under certain unavoidable limitations, this study was to be restricted within the study of only certain traits. These are: (i) A B O blood group, (ii) Rh-factor with only anti-D serum, (iii) Taste response to PTC, (iv) Capacity of rolling and folding tongue, (v) Occurrence of hairs on the ear pinna or hypertrichosis, (vi) Occipital hair whorl, (vii) Middle phalangeal hair occurrence, (viii) Ear lobe attachment, (ix) Hand clasping, (x) Arm folding, (xi) Handedness, (xii) Preference of eye or eye dominance, (xiii) Hand digital formula, and (xiv) Toe formula.

**Data**

Villages were selected randomly from two areas of concentration: (1) Jeypore and (2) Bhairavasingpur.

Within the villages only the males could be sampled. Female data were scanty and incomplete for all the traits and thus omitted from analysis. Only those persons who co-operated were considered and close relatives were avoided.

### Method

1. Blood Groups: ABO blood group and Rh-factor were studied with 2 per cent suspension of washed RBC obtained from finger pricks. All blood samples were studied within two hours of collection. Sera for ABO and Rh(D) were obtained from Bharat Laboratories, Bombay.

All the group A and AB blood samples were tested with extract of *Dolichos biflorus* to determine the sub-groups A<sup>1</sup> and A<sup>2</sup> Rh-factor study was to be restricted only to anti-D serum as other sera were not available.

2. Taste sensitivity to PTC was tested by solution prepared and diluted as outlined by Harris and Kalmus (1949); but 'sorting technique' was modified by introducing the solution through droppers. Stock solution was prepared in distilled water but diluent was local drinking water, previously boiled.

3. Tongue rolling and folding were noted after careful observation on performance of the subject.

4. Hair growth on the ear rims were noted and recorded as 'mild' (few) and 'strong' (more than five hairs).

5. Presence of hair on the back side of the head could be observed easily, as most of the people do not keep long hair tucked up in bun, as found in other tribes of the same district. Type and number of whorls were marked.

6. Presence of hair on the dorsal side of the middle section of all the four digits (save the thumb) of hand was observed with a hand magnifying glass, after properly cleaning the portions. All the people are manual workers. So most of the affected individuals have dropped their hairs, though the follicles are embedded in the skin. Careful observation reveals this matter.

7. Types of Ear lobe attachment was observed on both the lappets and extent of attachment in the doubtful cases were examined. The persons were noted under categories, 'free', 'attached' and 'intermediate' or partially attached.

8. Bilateral variance in dominance of limbs were observed for four characters: 1. Hand clasping; 2. Arm folding; 3. Handedness and 4. Preferring eye.

For hand clasping and arm folding, three performances were taken. In determining handedness, the subject was asked to throw stone thrice. Eye preference was found out by asking each person to look through a monocular view finder. Readings were marked and noted as 'R' or 'L' meaning right or left according to preference. No doubtful case was noticed.

9. Though there are instruments like dactylometer, one devised by S. R. Das and a modified one by I. J. S. Bansal, here a more simple but precise method was adopted for quick field study of the relative lengths of the fingers in the difficult tribal areas. This device consists of a millimeter graph paper fitted on a plywood board. Palm is placed on such graph-board tallying with a base line and an axis. Readings of finger tip projections are precisely taken by placing a wooden block.



The readings are noted as 2 4, 2 4 and 2 4. Similarly, the approach of the little finger up to the last interphalangeal joint of the fourth finger was also taken by placing the palm in supine.

10. For studying the comparative lengths of the 1st and 2nd toes, each subject was asked to present his feet on a flat surface, and stand erect, so that all the toes are fully stretched in natural position. Observation was made and in cases where the two

lengths are nearly equal, judgement was made by placing feet on the graph paper-board covered with celophen paper to prevent spoiling.

## ANALYSIS

### 1. Blood Groups

The present study comprises of the analyses of data on A<sup>1</sup>, A<sup>2</sup>, B, O blood group and Rh-factor of 168 individuals belonging to Pentia Halva tribal community. The data are presented here (table 8.).

Table 8  
ABO AND Rh PHENOTYPES OF THE PENTIAS AND THE GENE FREQUENCIES

Phenotypes	n	%	Gene frequencies	
			Bernstein's	Max. Likelihood
A <sub>1</sub> ..	8	4.76	P <sub>1</sub> 0.04919	0.05077 ± 0.01178
A <sub>2</sub> ..	16	9.52	P <sub>2</sub> 0.05220	0.05095 ± 0.01268
B ..	76	45.23	q 0.29571	0.29060 ± 0.03204
O ..	60	35.71	r 0.60340	0.60765 ± 0.03277
A <sub>1</sub> B ..	8	4.76	0.99996	0.99998
Rh(D) ..	168	100.00	Rh(d)	0.00

It has been observed that group B is found in maximum number, i.e., 45.23 per cent, followed next by Group O (35.71 per cent) and next by A (14.28 per cent). It is interesting to note that, sub group A<sup>1</sup> is less in occurrence than A<sup>2</sup>, only 4.76 per cent as compared to 9.52 per cent. Usually A<sup>2</sup> is of half the occurrence AB (4.76 per cent), there is not a single case A<sup>2</sup>B individual.

Gene frequencies for the alleles P(A) q(B) and r(O) were calculated using both Bernstein's improved method as well as maximum likelihood

estimation. The calculated frequencies are presented in the above table (8). Both the estimates show highest occurrence of r gene followed sequentially by q, then P<sup>2</sup> and P<sup>1</sup>.

Same number of individuals were tested with Rh (o) serum with incubation at the required temperature. All of the sampled blood showed positive reaction and thus no case of Rh-negative was detected. Complete absence of negative phenotype in a randomly sampled finite population indicates strong selection operating against recessive non-beneficial allele.

## 2. P.T.C. Taste Sensitivity

Tasting ability of Phenyl Thio Carbamide was studied among 172 Pentia Halvas. Solution of 1.3 grams of the crystal per litre of water was used with serial dilutions (as explained in previous pages). This crystal has got characteristic that some persons can taste it bitter and the others do not get any taste. Advantage of serial dilution is that it helps in determining threshold of tasting ability. It happens that the

taster persons get slightly bitter taste in higher dilution number but their actual taste capacity is detected in one or two solutions lesser (higher concentration). This is because physiological threshold of a person may lie in between two solution numbers.

The sample of 172 contains 44 persons who could not taste even the number 1 solution, and placed under category 1 (Table 9). No person could taste solution of higher dilution than 8 (Table 9).

Table 9

TASTE THRESHOLD DISTRIBUTION OF PTC OF THE PENTIAS AND THE GENE FREQUENCIES

		Solution Nos. :									
No. tested ..	<1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
172 ..	44	24	12	16	4	14	28	22	8	0	
Taster ;	{ n	%		Mean threshold			Allelic frequency of t				
	{ 72	41.86		6.333 ± .1076			0.762 ± .002				

Considering the demarcation of taster and non-taster to lie between solutions 4 and 5, taste phenotype and mean threshold of taster have been calculated (Table above). Non taster frequency is very high 58.14 per cent. There are 41.86 per cent tasters. Range of threshold of taster vary from 5 to 8 with a mean of 6.333.

Assuming diallelic inheritance of taste character, the gene frequencies have been calculated by square root method. Frequency of recessive gene t is 0.762 and that of dominant gene T is 0.238 (Table 9).

## 3. Tongue : Rolling and Folding

There are certain persons who can roll their tongue longitudinally and laterally. This is also mentioned as tongue tip overfolding and moving up the lateral margins. But the capacity do not always go together; that means same person may not possess both capacities. Pedigree studies have revealed that the inheritance is in the manner of PTC taste ability. So this trait can be used to measure inter-populational variation, as the observations are less critical.

Four categories could be made for recording the tongue movement capacity: (i) Those who can do the both (roll and fold); (ii) Who cannot roll

but fold; (iii) Who can roll but fail to fold, and the (iv) Persons who are negative to both the performances.

Table 10

PHENOTYPIC DISTRIBUTION AND GENE FREQUENCIES OF TONGUE ROLLING AND FOLDING IN THE PENTIAS

No.	Roller/Folder	Roller/Non-folder	Non-roller/Folder	Non-roller/Non-folder
168	n 32	16	28	92
	% 19.05	9.52	16.66	54.76
Rolling		n Positive type 48	28.53 %	Gene frequencies:—
Folding		60	45.24 %	R
				O a=0.534
				L
				L A=0.466
				E
				R

Data on tongue rolling and folding are presented in Table 10. In a sample of 168 individuals, there are four phenotypic categories of the following nature: 54.76 per cent persons can neither roll up or fold their tongues; 19.05 per cent persons can perform both the movements. There are 28.18 per cent persons who fall in the intermediate category or can perform either of the characters. Out of this, 9.52 per cent persons can roll up but not fold their tongues and 16.66 per cent can show only folding character. There are more persons with negative phenotype for both the characters; but comparatively folding character has much higher frequency than rolling. In pooled data, only 28.58 per cent persons can roll their tongue whereas number of folder has gone up to 45.24 per cent (Table 10).

Allelic frequencies were estimated by using square root of the negative phenotype frequency and standard error was calculated. The frequencies are presented in Table 24.

4. Hypertrichosis or Hair on the ear Pinnae

There are certain male persons who develop hair on their ears. Single or both ears may show this development. Also different areas of ear are observed to bear hair. Tommasi (1907) described such characters first and marked it as inherited trait in the male line. Since then a number of workers in human genetics have contributed valuable materials for its establishment as genetic trait. The age of onset of hair development, intensity of hair development and position of hair growth, have been critically studied in



different populations. R. R. Gates (Human Genetics, Vol. I, P. 249) has discussed the problem and the sex-linked nature of 'holandric' inheri-

tance. The affected gene is accepted to have locus in the Y chromosome thus keeping the trait restricted among the males.

Table 11  
INCIDENCE OF HAIRY PINNAE

Number tested		Affected individuals		Total
		Mild	Strong	
156	n	32	8	40
	%	20.51	5.12	25.63

Sarkar et al (1961) proposed a detailed classification of hairiness of classification of five categories; Gates, Chakravarty and Mukherjee (1962) adopted another scale of marking hairiness. All these efforts though aimed at development of recording, create problem for other workers. To avoid all sorts of complications the present data were recorded under two distinct categories, "mild" with hair up to five and "strong" with hairs more than five. There was no case of bushy hair development.

As all the subjects were above twenty years, there was very little chance of missing the trait due to non-eruption of hair. It has been reported by other workers, that hair start developing at the age of 18 and remain black even at 80. Stern, Centerwall and Sarkar (1964) again discussed the

problem on its linkage to Y chromosome.

The present Pentia Halva population exhibit 25.63 per cent affected in a sample of 156 males (Table 11). Most of the trait carriers show mild degree of hairiness (20.51 per cent) and only 5.12 per cent show strong development (ranging hair development from 6 to 15).

### 5. Occipital Hair Whorl

On the lambda region of occiput, hair forms whorl. Sometimes there are two whorls also. This occurrence of whorls has created at least two morphological categories: (i) clockwise or (ii) anti-clockwise; and the two types again in combination produce three possible types of double whorl: (i) both of similar type, i.e., clockwise or anti-clockwise), or (ii) of two different types.

Table 12  
TYPES OF OCCIPITAL HAIR WHORL

		Single whorl		Double whorl	Total
		Clockwise	Anticlockwise	Clock/anticlock	
n	112	52		4	168
%	66.66	30.95		2.38	99.99

Table 26 presents data of occipital hair whorl examined among 168 male Pentias. Only 2.38 per cent of them possess double whorl in the form of clockwise-anticlockwise. The rest are single whorl. 66.66 per cent of individuals show clockwise and 30.95 per cent show anti-clockwise whorl.

**6. Middle Phalangeal Hair (M-P-H)**

Use of middle phalangeal hair as genetically controlled trait have been emphasised by many workers. The trait occurs both in the male and female irrespective of connection with sex-hormone. Important contributions have been made by Bernstein and Winner, towards its possible genetic explanation. It is assumed that five sets of alleles are responsible for hair development on five fingers as A0 A1 A2 A3 A4. But these have different

expressivity and also controlled by different modifier genes. So, there occur variety of individuals with varying degree of occurrence of the trait.

Buchi studied age of onset of hair development among the Bengalee school children and found that by 18 years the affected individuals show hair development. Retainment of hairs on the middle phalanges depends much on the environmental condition. Loss of hair takes place more quickly and frequently in the tribal and rural communities as these people are more engaged in rough manual work.

In the present sample 172 individuals were examined for occurrence of this trait. Out of this 96 or 55.81 per cent did not show any hair on the middle phalanges.

**Table 13**  
COMBINATION OF DIGITS (BILATERALLY) WITH M-P-H.

Combination	Right hand		Left hand	
	n	%	n	%
O ..	96	55.81	96	55.81
IV ..	20	11.63	12	6.99
III-IV ..	32	18.61	36	20.93
III-IV-V ..	8	4.65	8	4.65
II-III-IV-V ..	4	2.32	4	2.32
II-III-IV ..	4	2.32	4	2.32
IV-V ..	4	2.32	4	2.32
III ..	4	2.32	4	2.32

The affected individuals (44.9 per cent) present an array of varying frequencies in different combinations. In the table on the previous page

(table 13) data on bilateral variation in digit combination are presented. More hairy 4th digits are found on the right hand than on the left; but III digit

with hairs are found more on the left hand. Middle phalangeal hairs are

found to be more frequent on III—IV among all two-digital combination.

Table 14

SYMMETRICAL COMBINATION OF DIGITS WITH M-P-H.

Combination of identical digits of both hands	Frequency of individuals	
	n	%
O ..	96	55·81
IV ..	12	6·99
III—IV ..	32	18·61
III—IV—V ..	8	4·65
II—III—IV—V ..	4	2·32
II—III—IV ..	4	2·32
IV—V ..	4	2·32
- III ..	4	2·32
Total—Symmetry ..	164	95·34
Total—Asymmetry ..	8	4·65
	172	99·99

Identical occurrence on both hand finds an important clue of tracing the range of expression of the genes involved. Presence of symmetry is as high as 95·34 per cent which display nature of more or less uniform bilateral expression (table 14).

The relative proportions of affected digits show 1 : 0·08 : 0·31 : 0·25 ratios in the sequence of IV > III > V > II.

### 7. Ear Lobe attachment

Study of attachment of the ear lobe as physical characteristic was probably first emphasized by Hilden in 1922, who tried to contradict the popular belief that attached ear lobe is a sign of criminality or mental retardation. Different authors tried to establish the

racial variation of 'free' ear lobe and 'adherent ear lobe'. By free ear lobe it is meant that the lobe is large and hang distinctly free from the lateral margin of face. 'Adherent' or 'attached' ear lobe are usually small lobes or almost no lobe where the border of the ear rim slopes down to meet the face. There, are, of course, several intergradations between these two extremities.

Wiener in 1937 and Powell and Whitney in the same year, published results of their pedigree analysis, which indicated genetic significance of the trait. Some families showed distinctly Mendelian pair with 'free' dominant over the 'attached'. Quelprud (1941) claimed that 'attached' ear lobe "after



sex and age correction" is "really dominant". This observation is negated by Gates as misinterpretation by

statistics. Wiener pointed out that this trait is governed by set of alleles with very 'complicated' action.

Table No. 15

TYPES OF EAR LOBE ATTACHMENT IN THE PENTIA HALVAS

No. Studied	Free	Attached	Intermediate
172	n 120	36	16
	% 69.65	20.93	9.41

Since then the trait has been widely used to show populational variation in genetic attributes. Also extremely simple method of observation has facilitated the study. One difficulty is faced while studying people in tribal localities is that the ear lobes are in most cases of womenfolk and in some cases of the males also are dilated through use of heavy ear ornaments from the early age. None of the males of present study had any distorted ear lobe.

Occurrence of different types of ear lobe among the Pentias is presented in table 15. In a sample of 172 male 69.65 per cent possess 'free' ear lobe while completely adherent or 'attached' type is found among 20.93 per cent individuals. 'Intermediate' category contains persons whose ear lobes are partly attached and its frequency is very low (9.41 per cent). Low frequency of 'intermediate' grade indicates strong dominance of the 'free' ear lobe and also segregation in the genotype level.

**8. Limb Dominance :**

Member of clasping hand, folding arms, instinctive preference of hand and eye, using one foot while stepping etc. manifest dominance of one limb over the other. This has got no

association with muscular development. Different workers including the present workers have examined critically various aspect of association of these traits in cross sectional as well as family studies. Persons like Pons, Freire-Maia, Weiner, have indicated genetic association of hand clasping and arm folding. But no plausible explanation could yet be furnished. Still these characteristics are widely utilized as genetic traits to delineate population character. Observational methods are not very technical ; only caution is taken against behavioural biasness in performing the so-accustomed practices.

A. Personal instinctive habit in clasping both the hands interlocking the fingers, has created a dichotomy in the human population. Some will keep all their fingers of right hand over the corresponding ones of the left hand, and the others will do the opposite. In such cases, the former are known as 'right' hand clasppers while the rest being 'left hand clasppers'.

Data on all the four categories of limb dominance study are presented in the table 16 (next page). This contains two categories of persons manifesting hand clasping, arm folding, handedness and eye dominance.

The Pentia Halva population exhibits 59·88 per cent of right hand clasper and 40·11 per cent left hand clasper.

Preponderance of right clasper has been marked on all the human populations surveyed all over the world.

Table No. 16  
PATTERN OF BILATERAL LIMB DOMINANCE

Side	Hand clasping		Handedness		Arm folding		Eye dominance	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Right ..	103	59·88	168	97·60	76	44·20	112	65·20
Left ..	69	40·11	4	2·40	96	55·80	60	34·80

B. *Handedness*—Handedness is a very popular term of denoting preferential use of either hand in performing major operations like eating, writing or throwing. In childhood man is free from any social teaching when they use both the hands equally for all purposes. But through process of socialization, usually the use of left hand for many important purpose are denounced. But a left hander person persists the habit of using left hand (may not be for eating). So under the cover of right handed persons there are many left hand users which are difficult to locate. There are methods of measuring differential powers of hand by dynamometer.

Here a simple method was employed to detect the left hand use, by asking each individual to pick up stones and throw, alternatively by both the hands for three times. The results were recorded as 'R' or 'L'.

Overwhelming majority of individuals of right hand users were found (97·60 per cent) and presented in table 16. In agricultural practices, grip of the plough is usually held by left hand. Though these people are predominantly agriculturist, they exhibit very low frequency of left handed persons, only as 2·40 per cent.

C. *Arm folding*—Like hand clasping, manner of folding arms crosswise over the chest, while standing, makes an interesting behavioural study under genetic control.

Most of the populations studied so far yield a varying frequency of 'right' folder, from less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$ th majority. The present data show 44·20 per cent of right arm folder, leaving place of majority to the 'leftists' (table 16). An inverse relation of arm folding with hand clasping was suggested. Present data also corroborate the proposition.

D. *Eye dominance*—Use of two eyes are not equal. For normal binocular vision, the distinction is not well marked. But in case of monocular vision or aiming for arrow shooting, one particular eye is utilized. The use is unintentional and an unconscious behaviour. Such use or preference varies from person to person and also from parent to offspring. Though the distinct mode of transmission of this behaviour is yet to be known, the trail makes an worthy survey for its probable association with other limb dominance.

Present sample contains 65·20 per cent person who displayed right eye

preference during the experiment. This makes a striking dissimilarity from other primitive populations of the same region.

**9. Comparative lengths of the hand digits.**

In human hand, due to evolutionary specialization, several changes have been brought about. Here only digital length will be discussed. As the pollex. minimus and the medius have unchanged order of length, they are taken as reference standard. Only the length of index and annularis vary in different hands and even in two hands of a person. This has created a three formulae classification, known as manual digital formula like  $2 > 4$ ,  $2 <$

$4$  and  $2 = 4$ . This depends on the comparative lengths of the second and the fourth digits, keeping the third digit or the medius in the centre as referential axis. This also technically written as  $d_{32} > d_{34}$ ,  $d_{32} < d_{34}$ , and  $d_{32} = d_{34}$ . Similarly, the varying length of ring finger has created other set of comparative measurements, that with the little finger. The extension of the top of the little finger up to the last interphalangeal joint of the ring finger has again created three fold classification :  $4 > 5$ ,  $4 < 5$  and  $4 = 5$

The present data of 172 Pentia individuals for two sets of digital formulae are presented in table below (table 17 and 18.—

Table No. 17  
COMPARATIVE LENGTHS OF DIGITS OF HAND (3-DIGITAL FORMULAE)

Side	$2 > 4$	$2 < 4$	$2 = 4$	Total
Right	n 0	164	8	172
	% 0	95.34	4.65	99.99
Left	n 4	152	16	172
	% 2.32	88.37	9.30	99.99
Symmetrical combination			N	160
			%	93.02

91.58% have the formula  $4 > 2$ , Whereas only 6.97% have  $2 = 4$ . Very low occurrence of  $2 < 4$  is noticed. Taken bilaterally, all three formulae show certain amount of variation. Right hands show 95.34 % of  $4 > 2$  and 4.65 % of  $2 = 4$  fingers, and no  $2 > 4$ . This  $2 > 4$  formula are found only on the left hand (2.32). The left hands show lesser frequency of  $4 > 2$  (88.37 %) but higher frequency of  $2 = 4$  (9.30 %).



In total sample, there are high degree (93.02 per cent) of symmetrical occurrence of digital lengths making the asymmetry as low as 6.98 per cent table 17.

Table 18

APPROACH OF THE LITTLE FINGER UPTO THE LAST JOINT OF RING FINGER

side		5>4	5<4	5=4	Total
Right	n	52	42	78	172
	%	30.23	24.41	45.35	99.99
Left	n	64	34	74	172
	%	37.20%	19.76	45.03	99.99
Total symmetrical combination:		n	146		
		%	84.88		

There are also bilateral difference in the digit 4th-5th comparative lengths. Right hand shows 30.23% of 5>4: 24.41% of 5<4 and 45.35% of 5=4. Left hand varies with frequencies of 37.20% for 5>4: 19.76% for 5<4 and nearly equals in case of 5=4 with frequencies of 45.03%. This set of formula also occur uniformly in 84.88% individuals, reducing asymmetric combination only to 15.12%.

10. Comparative lengths of toe or Toe formula (TFO)

Like manual digital projective length, pedal toe projections for 1st and 2nd toes are also very important achievement of man through evolution. The hallux or first toe is heavy and transmits partial body weight for which it diverge in varying degree, under varying conditions. The second toe also performs some important function of load transmission, particularly in a

foot with wide divergent hallux. The varying length of the second toe, again has created three categories of human foot, depending on the equality and inequality in length. Minami in 1952 conveniently designated the three types 1>2 as 'T' or tribal; 1<2 'F' or fibular 1=2 as 'O' or zero or transitional. Since then these three sets of length is popularly known as TFO formula for toe. Here also the same classification has been adopted and the classified data are given in table 19.

Table 19

COMPARATIVE LENGTHS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND TOES

side		T	F	O	Combination			
					TT	FF	OO	TO
Right	n	144	4	24	120	4	24	24
	%	83.72	2.32	13.95	81.08	2.71	16.20	13.95
Left	n	120	4	48				
	%	69.77	2.32	27.90				

ANTHROPOGENIC.....

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Difference of appreciable nature is noticed between left and right foot in T and O formulae. The right foot showing 83·22 per cent of Tibial type whereas left foot shows 69·77 per cent. Both the feet show remarkable similarity in having Fibular type. Again, left feet have exactly double the number of O type than the right feet.

On the basis of similar occurrence of same type of the pattern on both the

feet, homotype and heterotypic combination have been sorted out. There is high occurrence of feet with TT or both tibial type (81·08 per cent). Next comes feet with OO combination, occurring as 16·20 per cent. FF combination is of very low occurrence 2·71 (per cent). Heterotype combination occurs as TO type only, others are not found to occur. Altogether 13·95 per cent persons could be found having T type in the left foot and O type on the right foot.

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# **Social Movements among Tribes in Eastern India with special reference to Orissa: A preliminary analysis\***

L. K. MOHAPATRA

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## **I. Scope of the Enquiry**

India, like other developing countries, is facing rapid social, economic and political changes, especially since Independence in 1947. In this vast country with a variety of peoples including ethnic minorities, called "Scheduled Tribes", development has not been uniform. This is a legacy of the history, geography and ethnic background. Under similar circumstances, in Melanesia, Africa and America, social movements have appeared among ethnic minorities, some of them even leading to violence. The objective of the present study is to determine the nature, types, activities, and trends of development of social movements among the Scheduled Tribes in Eastern India in recent years. The emphasis of the study will be on the post-Independence social movements as embodied in

groups or associations among the tribes of Orissa. Eastern India for the purpose of this study comprises of Orissa, West Bengal and Bihar States. As the study is in progress, and most of the social movements covered being in various phases of growth, the present paper is in the nature of a formulation of problems to be investigated further, rather than a definitive statement on the results of the study. Another limitation is that some of the social movements as defined by us have not yet been investigated.

## **II. Definition and Nature of Social movements.**

In a recent sociological outline of social movements, it is noted, "A social movement occurs when a fairly large number of people band together in order to alter or supplant some

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portion of the existing culture or social order "(Cameron, P. 7) or" "redistribute the power of control (within a society)" (*ibid*, P. 9). In studying social movements one is interested in "examining what some men do when they deliberately attempt to foresee and to direct changes in their culture" (*ibid*, P. 10). Similarly, Heberle conceives social movements as the "direct orientation toward a change in the social order, that is, in the patterns of human relations, in social institutions and social norms" (Heberle quoted in Smelser, P. 110 f. n.) When Ralph H. Turner refers to "Social movement..... fundamentally oriented toward rendering some change in the social structure and of sufficient force to develop organization" (quoted in Smelser P. 313 f. n.), he hits the same thing.

Cameron is careful to point out that his definition above does not pretend to be precise, especially about the number of people, duration, nature of "banding" together or the portion of the culture or social order. Smelser has shed important light on the nature of social movements while developing a theory of collective behaviour. He distinguished between norm-oriented beliefs and value-oriented beliefs, centring which may develop norm-oriented movement and value-oriented movements. A norm-oriented, according to Smelser, seeks to restore, protect, modify, or create norms, whereas a value-oriented movement seeks to restore, protect, modify or create values (pp. 270, 315), Smelser does not commit these movements to "change" in the normative order a kind of norms-economic, religious, political, educational—may become the subject of the movement. A value-oriented movement involves a basic reconstitution of the relations between the self, nature, and society.

On the basis of these observations we may arrive at a working definition

of social movement thus: A Social movement occurs when a fairly large number of people, or an otherwise identifiable segment of the population, deliberately band together for collective action in order to alter, reconstitute, reinterpret, restore, protect, supplant or create some portions of their culture or social order, or to better their life-chances by redistributing the power of control in a society. These movements occasion repeated collective action over a length of time.

Social movements do not produce all the social change in a society. However, there may be a continuum from unobtrusive routine change to that through a social movement. Social movements may or may not involve political action, and also need not necessarily follow from, or culminate in, political parties or associations. However, very often, directly or indirectly, political action is involved.

Social movements do not arise all the time and everywhere. There are some predisposing circumstances, in Smelser's language, some conditions of "structural conduciveness" and conditions of "strain", as well as some "precipitating factors" to account for the emergence of these movements. Dissatisfactions commonly lie at the root of social movements, though all dissatisfactions everywhere do not give rise to social movements. "The special conditions which do lead to the formation of social movements clearly include several factors: (1) Men must consciously recognize their dissatisfactions and share these with others. (2) Men must believe in their own ability to reshape the course of their lives. (3) Men must live under conditions in which the banding together to change something is both possible and plausibly effective" (Cameron, P. 10). An-

other condition may be the sensitivity of leaders to situations of inequality not reducible to differences in wealth or education.

In the context of Messianic movements, Barber arrives at the conclusion that there is a "positive correlation of the Messianic movements and deprivation (of various types)" (Barber quoted in Smelser, P. 13). As "dissatisfaction" remains vague in the above quotation, similarly does Barber fail to specify the type of Messianic movements (many types) as correlated with deprivation of various types.

Though "nearly every identifiable national, racial, or ethnic category has been" represented "by a social movement" (Cameron, P. 42), it requires much more than "dissatisfaction" or "deprivation" to actualize a social movement. Here the remarks of Edwards in another context are very relevant. "Revolutions occur after the repressed classes, for a considerable time, have been in the enjoyment of increasing prosperity. A marked increase of power, intelligence and wealth in the repressed portion of society is a phenomenon invariably found in the period preceding any great revolution" (Edwards quoted in Cameron, P.40).

Social mobility may be the usual outcome of such movements. But all movements are not directly oriented towards, or expressly striving for, higher social status. However, when the members of a particular social movement are recruited from a specific ethnic, or otherwise identifiable social, category in the position of a minority, status mobility considerations seem to be unavoidable, and very often supply the initial motive force.

### III. Social Movement in Eastern India—A Schematic History

Social mobility movements are known to India's lower Hindu castes,

which resulted in Sanskritizing their caste practices. This trend spread to more castes during the British regime when the lower castes got better educational and economic opportunities, legal and political status. These movements became intensified due to the need to vindicate one's (assumed) caste status at the time of census recording every ten years (e.g., The Paundra Kshatriya of Bengal, Dutta Gupta in Sinha, ed.). Communication facilities made wide-scale contacts and organization among far-flung sub-castes in various linguistic regions possible (of Srinivas).

In 19th Century India, tribal groups were not much affected by such mobility movements. There were, however, some social movements in the nature of norm-oriented movements (among the Munda Santal and others) against the Hindu landlords and middlemen who were rackrenting or exploiting them, or dispossessing them of their land, and in the nature of Messianic cults. (e.g., the Tana Bhagat movement among the Oraon of Bihar). social movements were few and far between.

Deliberately organized collective efforts for higher social status are not met with among the tribes till the Indian National Congress party distributed its workers in the villages in the 1920's and thus brought some tribal groups such as the Bhumij, Kharia, Santal in Bihar and Bengal and the Bhumia and Bhattara in Orissa into direct involvement in national politics. Some tribal workers among the Bhumij (Sinha) and some non-tribal Hindu workers as among the Kharia (Banerjee, 1959, PP. 99-101), has been acquainted with the model of the political party organization and political meetings, and the constructive reformatory work of the Congress. In the case of the Bhumij an organization was started about 1935 to get their claim of Kshatriya (Hindu

warrior caste, next highest to Brahman) status recognized by the upper Hindu castes of the region. The non-tribal workers among the Kharia started welfare activities in 1939 and established branches at two other places, but had to make this welfare organization the vanguard of a Kharia social movement for higher status (that of Hindu Kshatriya, and worshipper of lord Jagannath), better opportunities (land, rehabilitation, education etc.) and to eschew "evils" in their society (like drinking and Criminal activities).

But by and large during the 1930's and thereafter, local self-government and parliamentary democracy, economic and political privileges for tribes and castes, opening of new economic opportunities such as tea gardens, factories, educational facilities and means of rapid communication and transportation, and not least, the living and working together of people of various tribal origins in towns, factories, mines, etc. all these prepared the ground for some sort of social movement in the context of feelings of relative deprivation, inequality, and hence latent dissatisfaction directed against the dominant Hindu neighbours. The newly educated elite were very much in demand by political parties after Independence and consolidated tribal votes could easily act as a pressure group in order to further the ends of tribal group concerned, and by inference, of its elite section. Therefore we find the Bhumij, the Santal, the Munda, the Gond, the Ho, the Kharia, the Bhattara, the Kond, and the Jatpu—relatively educated and in part Hinduized or Christianized—turning to political action and bargaining as informal pressure groups, political associations, or even as an intertribal political party. Among the lower caste Hindu, although the caste associations developed political dimensions as pressure groups, they never constitu-

ted themselves into an intercaste political party or even formal political associations on the basis of caste.

Simultaneously when social mobility movements were transforming themselves into political pressure groups, as political parties and associations were emerging to take care of inter-ethnic tribal interests, the college and high school students were constituting themselves into student associations of Adivasi on an inter-ethnic level or regional basis. Also some revival of tribal music, dance, and dress (though some-what modified) was being fostered in some areas due to efforts of some erstwhile tribal political workers such as those among the Koya, Matia, Bonda, etc., in Koraput. The most significant development in this type of cultural revivalism seasoned with innovations has been the invention of indigenous scripts among the Saora in South Orissa, earlier among the Jatapu (a more educated, largely Hinduized Kond section in Koraput District) and since the 1940s' among the Santal of North Orissa. But the cultural creativity coupled with some form of revivalism has gone furthest among the Santal. The Santal innovator, a high school graduate who worked among the Santal industrial workers at the foremost steel city, Jamshedpur, has also contributed epics dramas, songs and re-interpreted Santal religion and magic with moral and spiritual graftings. His followers have printed books, a monthly journal, text books for lower schools in the medium of the script and with a separate system of schools, curriculum, training schools, and specially trained teachers. A Socio-educational and Cultural Association to foster these and a religious organization, Sarna Dharam Semlet, to revive old communal worship in a sacred grove and other religious practices, have followed his leadership. Santal traditional dancing, certain forms of marriage etc., and indulgence in pleasure are considered



'evil', or 'sinful'. Thus a great Tradition of Redfield and Singer formulation is just emerging. But this preoccupation with cultural creativity, educational programmes, and religious revivalism are all blessed by, and directly beneficial to, the Jharkhand Party, which fights for a state for the Adivasi (Scheduled Tribes) to be carved out of the states of Bihar, Orissa, and Madhya Pradesh (Orans, 1965; unpunished documents, Mahapatra).

Thus, we find the emergence of several varieties of social movements among scheduled tribes after the Independence; a political party on inter-ethnic basis, regional political associations on inter-ethnic basis, pressure groups on ethnic basis as transformed social mobility movements, a revivalistic cultural movement, a cultural creativity and regeneration movement and religious (largely) revivalistic movement as wings of the inter-ethnic political party, and student's associations as pressure groups. These are in addition to social mobility movements as among the Juang, the Kisan, the Bathudi or the Saora in Orissa, which were organized on the lines of regional associations of important local castes for status mobility.

The major tribes of the region, the Santal, the Kond, the Oraon, the Munda, the Saora, the Bhumij, the Ho, the Kharia, the Koya, the Kisan, the Bhattara, the Bhumia, the Bathudi, and even the Juang have already got involved in one or the other categories of social movements. It is not always correct to say that the whole of an ethnic group like the Juang or the Saora are drawn into any such movement, but a particular section especially that which has chosen to live in the plains (of Patnaik) or that which has received education in schools for a long time or the ones assembled at factory cities such as Jamshedpur or Rourkela within the tribal majority

areas. Only such tribes as the Semi-nomadic Birhor or Pahira, who are food gatherers, and some other small tribes like the Dhurwa and Dorla of Western Orissa and Bastar in Madhya Pradesh (Hazra & Thusu in Sinha ed.) do not yet show any development towards social mobility movements or the like.

#### IV. Types of Social Movements

To construct a typology of so variegated social movements is a formidable task. There are various dimensions, several levels, overlapping bases, and even paradoxical purposes. In most cases we cannot insist on clear-cut exclusive types, but we have to take them as momentous though changing and shifting crystalizations in a continuum of socio-cultural processes. We may here differentiate between six bases of distinction, with their respective types.

- (i) Basis of distinction : Source of initiative.

Types: Endogenous, exogenous.

Description : Though it appears to be a very easy distinction, it actually is not so. For example the Kharia social movement, in the nature of a norm-oriented movement to rectify the wrongs of the local landlords and others and to secure the elimination of the stigma as a criminal tribe, was started by a Kharia political worker in 1951 and since 1952 no activity has been reported (Banerjee 1959, PP. 99). But the permanent Kharia organization, Adim Sabar Jotiya Sabha, started in 1939 by a non-tribal social (political) worker, carried on a social movement of the Kharia by organizing meetings and printing handbills, newspaper reports, etc. In order to boost the social status and economic opportunities of the Kharia as Hindu Sabar Kshatriya. This organization, with

the help of the Hindu Mission, got many Kharia ritually initiated as Kshatriya in 1946 and 1947 (*ibid.*, PP. 100-101). If we deny the character of a social movement to this technically "exogenous" organization, we may be ignoring the crucial realities. Of similar nature is an inter-ethnic political association, Koraput District Adivasi (Scheduled Tribe) Sangha (Association) organized by a communist worker in 1959, but having officials and membership drawn from among the local scheduled tribes, mainly the Kond, and regularly carrying on campaigns against the wrongs of the money lenders, rentiers, and Government, and for securing economic and political opportunities from the Government.

Similarly, when in the early 1950's the All Orissa Tribal Congress was organized on an inter-ethnic level, as a countermove to Bihar's Jharkhand Party claiming sizeable support in North Orissa, the inspiration came from the leaders of the Orissa Congress Party. Though the All-Orissa Tribal Congress was short-lived, it had some impact on the tribal society of Orissa. But this only proves how tenuous such a distinction may be. Whether it be endogenous or exogenous, the tribal elites will have to be involved in any social movement in their society in order for it to be actualized and sustained.

- (ii) Basis of distinction : Orientation to the existing culture or society.

Types : Reactionary ; conservative; revisionary; revolutionary; nativistic (revivalistic or perpetuative) ; revitalization; reformative.

Description:—The first four types are commonly met with. We may follow Cameron's definitions (*ibid.*, PP. 21-24). "Reactionary movements are those advancing aims which were once held

by the general society but which have subsequently been laid aside", seeking to bring back "the good old days". This type is represented by a single restorative movement among the Munda of Sundargarh who have reverted back to tribal religion from Christianity, "Conservative movements seek to maintain the status quo.....the purposes it holds have for some time been those of the society, but change is taking place, and the movement is organized to obstruct this change." To the extent that the "Sarna Dharam Semlet" or Sacred Grove Religious Organization of the Santal, centred at Jamshedpur, was organised to arrest the drift of the Santal and indirectly, of other tribes of the region towards Hinduism or Christianity, it was a "conservative" movement. "Revisionary movements accept some of the present purposes and methods of the existing order but wish to modify these—change is desired but the existing structure as a whole is not threatened." All the movements organized for "improvement" or "purification" of the culture or social order by eliminating "evil" or "low" customs, beliefs, or institutions, typically, social mobility movements; can be characterised as "revisionary". On the other hand, in revolutionary movements it is not merely certain portions of the culture or the social order, but the whole of it is to be replaced with another more adequate or suitable. This substitution need not refer to the contents or components, but to their organization and orientation. The Sacred Grove Religion in the form it is being popularized is not the traditional religion of the Santal or Munda; it is a religion infused with a new morality and with new ("Great Tradition") ways of worshipping the old deities; it represents a world-view having very much in common with that of Hinduism, while paradoxically rejecting numerous Hindu practices that had crept in (Oraons, 1965, P. 105). It is a revolutionary social movement

objectively considered, though it is a sheer revival from the Santal's point of view. Similarly, the Jharkhand party, aiming at a new state for the Adivasi, assumes this revolutionary nature. It seeks fundamentally a redistribution of effective power of control and better life-chances of the Adivasis by emphasizing their potential dominance in a region where, divided in smaller ethnic groups, the Adivasis remain subservient to others. Of similar character, rising above petty ethnic differences, is another political association, Koraput District Adivasi Sangha, which seeks to redress the position of the Adivasi as an exploited and suppressed class, very much like the proletariat. Though the Adivasi Socio-Educational and Cultural Association is basically a cultural movement mediated through an indigenous innovation, the Old script, it stands for a new order, a new life through a distinctive pattern of education and curricular. Therefore, this social movement also takes on the revolutionary character.

Following Linton's classification of "nativistic" movements we may arrive at even finer variations of reactionary and conservative movements. For Linton a nativistic movement is "any conscious organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of their culture (Linton quoted in Hogbin P. 230). Starting out with distinctions between "revivalist" and "perpetuative" nativism and between "magical" and "rational nativism, he comes to rational revivalist nativism" "and rational perpetuative nativism". The former seeks to accentuate cultural items when the society was "free from foreign or intrusive influences thus helping to maintain self-respect of the members. This is exactly applicable to the revival of old religion, traditions, food habits, etc. which were in vogue before Christian ways penetrated the Munda

Society in Sundargarh district. "Rational perpetuative nativism" stresses the cultural items that symbolize the existence of the society as a separate entity. The distinctive traits, symbols, etc. which were going out of fashion in Santal society were seized upon for marking them off from the neighbouring Hindu society.

At the other extreme, there may be "revitalization movement" as conceived by Wallace, that is, "a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (Wallace quoted in Smelser, P. 120), or social order. This closely resembles what Cameron designated "revolutionary" and Smelser called "value oriented". However, an intermediate category such as "revisionary" or "reformative" is called for on empirical grounds.

(iii) Basis of distinction : Portion of culture or social order dealt with.

Types: Norm-oriented movements; general social movements; value-oriented movements.

Description: According to Smelser, norm-oriented movements are concerned with the norms or regulatory principles-specific facilities to be secured, obstacles removed; value-oriented movements, however are concerned with values or "the most general statements of legitimate ends which guide social action" (P. 26), with a worldview or ideology (see section II above). He notes that many agitations commonly designated as "social movements" or "reform movements" are actually norm-oriented movements. The agitation to abolish the specific Ashram (residential with craft orientation) to schools in Orissa by the educated politicized tribal elite is a norm-oriented movements. Similar is the case with the Kharia agitating to be eliminated from the list of criminal tribes, or the



Bhumij taking collective action to secure recognition as Kshatriya and exclusion of the Bhumij from the list of Scheduled Tribes.

Smelser distinguished movements oriented towards specific norms from those more general social movements which possess "neither sufficiently crystalized beliefs nor a sufficient degree of mobilization to fall in the category of collective outbursts. Rather they provide a back-drop from which many specific norm-oriented movements emanate" (P. 273). Such general social movements are, for instance, labour movements leading to specific agitations for normative change such as shorter hours, or the humanitatrian movement of the late 18th and early 19th centuries leading to the abolition of slavery and the like. Similarly "general" may be considered some social movements incorporated in District Adivasi Associations of Kalahandi and Koraput, All-Orissa Adivasi Congress, or the Adim Sabar Jatiya for the Kharia.

Smelser gives some examples of value-oriented belief informing value-oriented movements : . Marxism-Lenninism, Naziism, religious and secular beliefs associated with cults of withdrawal, beliefs associated with "nativistic" movements, those behind "revitalization" movements, beliefs associated with religious secession, nationalist beliefs (as frequently gripping Asian, African and Latin American societies), or millenarian cults (P. 120). "Value-oriented beliefs contain a vision of future harmony and stability—which is in direct contrast of the here-now decay and instability" (P. 123). Considered from this angle, the Jharkhand Party, the Sarna Dharam Semlet, and the Adivasi Socio-Educational and Cultural Association tend to participate severally and jointly in such a value-oriented movement in creating an inter-ethnic sub-nationali-

stic entity, "Adibasi" a state dominated by the Adivasi, etc. Similarly, though implicitly, the Communist-organised Koraput District Adibasi Sangha strives to bring about a new world of Marxist hue by passing resolutions and organizing agitations about peasant and labour problems, problems of peace in the world and solidarity of the Adivasi overriding all ethnic differences, etc. Another movement of this type was raising for several years in the 1940' and 50's among the Gond and others in southern U. P., Western Bihar and eastern Madhya Pradesh. Inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's teachings, a Gond lady saint sought to reorient and refine Gond religion, magic and social customs. It had limited success (Mahapatra, 1956, Majumdar).

When some erstwhile Christian Munda of Sundargarh or some Kond of Phulbani organize a movement to reconvert the tribesmen to their old Munda religion or to a compromise between Hinduism and Kond religion, the movements are nothing but value-oriented.

(iv) Basis of distinction : Relation to religion or cult.

Types: Religious; Secular (indifferent to religion).

Description: Though there are only 3 movements which may primarily be called "religious" the others in overwhelming proportion are primarily secular. This means that often a religious movement does have a secular dimension or aspect and vice-versa.

(v) Basis of distinction: Political action.

Types : Political : Nonpolitical : Rivalistic.

Description: As is apparent, the present social movements have been in almost all cases either political or

quasi-political in character—Those which are expressly political : a party, Adivasi associations at the all Orissa or District level. The political associations do not seek changes focussed on the members only, but also on the society at large, aiming ultimately at redistribution of power. The ones thinly veiled as non-political are : the Cultural Association for the Santal, where it is specifically provided in the constitution that active members of any political party cannot hold any office in the Association; the Sarna Dharam Semlet, and the Adivasi students' association at the all Orissa or District level. There are a few others such as the Bhumij Kshatriya Association, which were originally not organized as political groups, but at present and in this case since 1958, have had to reorient their thinking and action in order to co-operate with politicized groups for common objectives regarding the Adivasi. The social mobility movements and the other two religious movements are either already to some extent politically involved at the local, district or State level, or are potentially so as pressure groups for their special interests.

Finally, we must give some attention to the peculiar phenomenon of rivalry between two associations or movements, so much so that one owes its very existence to the other. This is true of the two associations, political in nature, serving the same general cause of economic, political opportunities and solidarity of the Adivasi population of Koraput district. One of them was inspired by the Communists and the other by the National Congress. It is irrelevant that the latter was also the spokesman for the Bhattara, an ethnic group, in its efforts to be accepted as a scheduled tribe. Similar is the Juxtaposition of the All Orissa Adivasi Congress against the

Jharkhand Party. Such Secondary movements born in rivalry with personalities or political parties may be called rivalistic. A similar rivalistic movement has given rise to another reformative association of the Kond in Phulbani in recent years.

(vi) Basis of distinction : Orientation as minority :

(vii) Types : Emulation-reinforcing movements; solidarity-reinforcing movements.

Description : This distinction is based on highly fruitful insights into the evolving social movements in Santal society, developed by Orans (1959—1965).

Orans finds that in the 19th century the richer, traditional hereditary elite were already trying to emulate the higher caste Hindus. After the failure of the 1955—57 Santal revolt the process of Hinduization became stronger, "perhaps in part because the path to higher rank through military force and political action seemed closed". A Hinduized sect under the Kherwar (the heroic name of the Santal) movement adopted the sacred thread and other distinctive Hindu symbols of high rank and gave up meat-eating (Orans, 1965 PP. 36-37). However, there were counter forces to resist assimilation even in this sectarian manner which strengthened along with the emergence of educated Santals and the opening of a "political rank path" after provincial democracy was introduced in the 1930's and parliamentary seats were reserved for tribes like the Santals. This avenue to political privileges and consequent gains in the economic and social status could be widened and maintained only if the solidarity of the Santal ethnic group were developed and if they made common cause on important issues. We have already noted

the invention of a script for the Santal and reorientation of the tribal religion and initiation of the powerful cultural movements. The educated and largely Christianized tribal elite of South Bihar from Munda, Oraon and Santal groups seized upon this ferment and soon after Independence formed the Jharkhand party of the Scheduled Tribes with the avowed objective of founding a State for the Adivasi.

Thus, while there were emulation-reinforcing movements in the 19th century and early 20th century under the leadership of wealthy aristocratic leadership, since the days of democratic opportunities and constitutional privileges for the Adivasi, especially since Independence, solidarity-reinforcing movements have taken their place in Santal and some other tribes in South Bihar and North Orissa. This solidarity is sought not merely on the level of the specific ethnic group by emphasizing distinctive characteristics, customs and institutions, but also on an inter-ethnic level, that of the generalized "Adivasi" as a minority.

The same process is known to have occurred among the Bhumij, on whom detailed documentation is available. The emulation oriented movement seeking to incorporate the Bhumij in Hindu society as Kshatriya under the Bhumij-Kshatriya Association was dramatically renamed Bhumij-Adivasi Kshatriya Association in 1958 (Sinha). The story is repeated among the Kharia of West Bengal who are striving for solidarity and distinctive self-identification as opposed to the emulation of the Hindu society (Banerjee, 1962).

All the political association of the Adivasi at the district or State level, the Adivasi Students' Associations at the district and State level, are also solidarity-reinforcing movements, to

attain the inter-ethnic solidarity of the Adivasi.

However, there are some emulation-oriented social mobility movements confined to a specific ethnic group or its particular section, as among the Juang, Kond, Gond, Bathudi, Kisan, etc. Even in the Santal society in some interior areas, such as that of Madhupur in Purulia district, such emulation-reinforcing movements are still going on (Banerjee and Dasgupta in Sinha ed).

These several typologies given above do not bring out all the dimensions of the social movements among the Scheduled Tribes of Eastern India. A large movement may fall in several "types" at the same time as there may be differential orientation to different sections of the existing culture; as it grows, it tends to embody several purposes for different sections of the supporters.

## V. Organization of Social Movements

We may consider here recruitment of members, leadership, and mechanisms of communication. We find two ways of recruitment of new members: exclusive membership is the rule in secret societies, and in social mobility movements membership is confined to a specific ethnic group or class or its section; in some political associations, there is provision for non-tribal members with whom the movement superficially appears to be not a closed one. A proselytizing movement sends out missionaries to gather new members and this characterizes the religious and cultural associations started among the Santal, Munda and Kond, though restricted on principle to the Adivasi; coercive movements like the trade unions claiming to represent some whole category of people, are



not developed among the Adivasi on formal level, though informally in certain localities such coercion is not ruled out for solidarity-oriented political associations, especially imbued with a powerful ideology.

There is such ingrained force of ethnic loyalties that the political associations with an ideology have to upbraid their member to rise above such petty loyalties to achieve the solidarity of the Adivasi as a whole. Though membership is theoretically open to all Adivasi in many movements, as in the Sarna Dharam Semlet or other cultural associations as well as in political associations, the core membership is still drawn from some particular ethnic group and in a particular area.

As has been noted in Sections II and IV, some of the movements have been started by individual leaders, such as Raj Mohini Devi among the Gond, Raghunath Murmu among the Santal, Jaipal Singh among the Adivasi of Chotanagpur and Northern Orissa. These leaders have risen to power and influence by inspiring loyalties through personal qualities and achievements. The leadership they exercised may be called "charismatic", following Max Weber. Similar is the leadership of Sukra Tilming Munda, Manki Munda of Sundargarh who is converting Munda and some other Adivasi Christians back to the tribal religion and customs. It is found that in the cultural associations started by Murmu or the Munda Sabha (Association), started by followers of Sukra T. M. M. Munda, the leaders themselves do not retain formal authority but pass on the routine responsibilities to trusted disciples. As, however, the cultural associations started by Murmu have grown very large, with headquarters and branches at district, subdivision, pargana, or

even village level, bureaucratization is inevitable. With division of labour and responsibilities, maintenance of records and accounts, propaganda and extension activities, recruitment of members, election of office-holders, enforcement of Sarna code, holding of conference, etc., there is bound to be "routinization of charisma", not merely devolution or decentralization of authority. As Cameron notes, "Leadership of movements of ten proceeds rapidly from Charisma to legal or traditional authority" (P. 92).

When we come to the political associations, we meet with only one charismatic leader, Jaipal Singh, a Christian Oxford educated Munda, who was hailed as Marang Gomke (the Great Esteemed one). He in turn conferred on Murmu the honour of being addressed as Guru Gomke the Esteemed Guru. In Jaipal Singh's Jharkhand Party, bureaucratization set in early. There were the central office, district and subdivisional offices, with the paraphernalia of election and office-holders. This was also to be found in other political as well as cultural associations. The typically social mobility movements are also organized on the lines of a corporation or political party organization, the master model being the National Congress Organization.

In all of the movements discussed the literate, educated members have assumed leadership, except in the case of the Gond religious movement where the saint lady was illiterate. While in political and cultural associations the leadership, whether charismatic or bureaucratic always rested on the shoulders of the educated emergent elite drawn from traditional leaders as well as commoners' families, the social mobility movements have had a different origin. As in the case of

the Bhumij, Gond, Santal, Kisan, Munda, and Kharia movements, both traditional leaders and some educated young man guided the affairs, and if the movement were older, the traditional leaders dominated. When we came to the post-Independence era, when solidarity and ethnic distinctiveness as against the neighbours were emphasized, the role of the emerging educated elite, became more important and even crucial. Students, especially of high schools and lately of colleges, have played an important role in social movements among the Kharia, Santal, Oraon, and many other groups.

We may as well as here refer to non-tribal leaders in social movements, who are emulated by the tribal elite to be in a position to take over leadership. Cameron evaluates the situation realistically. "People who are really down-trodden do not often form political movements, or indeed anything, except escape movement...Where movements have emerged representing the depressed classes in a society they have often been led by people of higher status and financial support has often come from outside" (Cameron, P. 39).

Since Independence, written statements, handbills, appeals, and books specially prepared in the manner of Hindu epics, myths, etc. in regional scripts or their own script, opera, drama in their own languages, other symbols of identification like flags of distinctive designs, badges, and even special form of saluting have been used in some social movements, political or not. Processions, meetings and conferences with delegates from several regions, entertainments with cultural shows, managed with a corps of volunteers all these reflect the scale as well as the ramifications of a large

movement, which we come across in the Jharkhand Party, Cultural Associations of the Santal, mobility movements of the Kisan, and others. Proceeding of the conferences or annual meeting are printed and distributed, often in their own languages.

Another development is also visible. All the movements in the form of political party or association or ethnic group association (for social mobility) or cultural associations want to claim a larger share of grants and other facilities from the Government and official agencies. There is invariably a heightened spurt of activities, printing and distributing of memoranda and bulletins, tendering of application and statements, etc. whenever a commission or important committee is appointed by the Central Government. Such were the Backward Classes Commission in 1953—55, the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission in 1960—61, and lately, the Lokur Committee in 1966 to determine the desirability of retaining certain ethnic groups in the category of scheduled tribes.

As the present educated leadership stands to gain in every way if the grants, subsidies, and other economic and political privileges are maintained or increased, there is constant pressure on the Government through all types of social movements. Indeed, it is suspected, to be corroborated by further investigations, that some groups or associations are formed just before an important commission or committee visits the area, so that these bodies may be recognized as the spokesmen of the specific area or people and as the recipients of forth-coming governmental favours and assistance. There is thus the clear possibility that the efforts of

social mobility movements so far as they seek a high status in the Hindu society, to be recognized by the Hindus will be frustrating. For, continuing to claim privileges of the Adivasi largely runs counter to the requirements of high caste status. The Gond, who are accepted as a high caste in many areas of Orissa, are facing the same dilemma, as they are included in the list of Scheduled Tribes. What is called by Orans "emulation-solidarity conflict" may become more widespread or intensified under certain circumstances, that is, if the Hindu society does not recognize the anomalous status of Hindu Adivasi like Hindu Sabar (Kharia) or Adivasi Kshatriya (Bhumij), and if wealth, education, and occupation do not reinforce the old, or produce new cleavages in specific tribal societies or at the interethnic Adivasi level, to be exploited by political parties.

### **Problems for Study**

In this rapid, preliminary survey it has not been possible to scratch the surface of some fundamental problems concerning social movements. Under what predisposing circumstances and precipitating factors do social movements of a particular type arise? What is the relation between different types of movements in a specific region? Why in this particular place or moment? Why do some food gatherers and other backward societies not initiate social movements except perhaps some form of rebellion or secret society or cult of withdrawal?

Oran, says, creative cultural movements emerged in a particularly acute phase of emulation-solidarity conflict among the Santal (1965, PP. 103-104). Is it true in other tribal and non-tribal societies also? What is the pattern of relationship between the traditional ascription-oriented and

morden achievement-oriented elite and how does this complex relationship affect the directions of a social movement? What is their differential role in the emergence and development of a Great Tradition? What role does the differential perception of social realities and life-chances play in the emergence of social movements?

It is hoped that in further studies some of these problems will be taken up and tackled.

### **Strategy Implications for Tribal Development.**

Many agencies are working amongst and for the development of the tribes with various objectives in view. These objectives are not necessarily against the interests of the tribesmen as conceived by their elites, with power and authority vested by tradition, or with prestige and influence acquired through education or manipulation of the administration or welfare agencies. To what extent and in which ways, these objectives are whole-heartedly accepted or even understood to be in their ultimate interests by the benighted masses among the tribes, this is another matter. But this need not pose a serious problem to the administrators or policy makers. For, till the masses are educated and conscious of their own interests to some extent, the elites will have to fulfil their essential roles of leadership and guidance, and we have to accept this situation for a pretty long time. And we must remember the cardinal principles of social and cultural autonomy of the tribal peoples, to which our Indian state is committed. If the leaders want the society and culture to develop in a particular way, others should have hardly any room for objection. The only limitations in their strivings should be those already imposed by our constitution.



The point to be clarified here is the concept of leadership. Without going into details, we may differentiate the strictly speaking political representatives in the parliamentary system of democracy, from the wider group of elites, who exercise functions of leadership in other fields including the political field. The democratic representatives need not always be involved in all the social movements within a tribal Community or amongst several tribal communities, whom they are supposed to represent. To site only one recent example let us take the widespread and deepseated movement of the Bhuiyan women against distilleries and clandestine liquor sales ruining their economy and family life in the late 1960's. The local M. L. A. not only did not do anything about it, but also, he was unaware of this. And even if he personally sympathized with this movement, he

could not have done anything, if such public sympathy or action would run counter to the party policy to which he must conform in a party-based democracy. Similarly, other movements to revitalize or reform the social customs or cultural practices may leave the political representatives high and dry. But, the administrators and policy makers should attach importance to these social movements as conscious attempts to develop the tribal groups in their own ways, largely through mobilization of their own resources. They should also not hesitate to further, facilitate, or reinforce these attempts as much as possible, if these fall in line with the national objectives. For example, in extending educational facilities and in fighting bonded labour or other forms of concealed exploitation, such social movements can be of great and immediate help.

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# Liquor among the Dongria Kondh of Orissa

P. S. DAS PATNAIK

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The Dongria Kondh are one of the most primitive and backward tribes of Orissa. They are easily distinguished by their very quaint attire, the males clad in loin cloth wearing nose rings over their moustaches and sometimes in addition, a sharp and polished white bone thrust through the cartilage of the nose, two long and curved daggers hanging down the thighs and by their proud and dignified bearing. They are a sub-tribe of Kondh numbering about 5,618 most of whom have not been touched by census operation. They live on the top of the Niyamgiri mountains which lie in the Kalyansinghpur, Bissam-Cuttack, Muniguda and Biswanathpur Blocks in the Koraput district and in the Lanjigarh area of the Kalahandi district. They maintain themselves by growing a lot of plantain, jackfruit, orange, pineapple, turmeric and castor all of which they make over to the people of the Domb Caste for a song, a few pegs (drinks) of illicitly distilled liquor, or a few rupees or their usual requirements of salt, tobacco, dried fish, clothes, ornaments, etc. Shifting cultivation, being their main occupation they grow millet,

kosla and kandul (red gram) which they consume. As the mountains are sparsely populated and the Dongria Kondh owe all the hill slopes demarcated by unwritten tribal custom among the different villages there and are traditionally reputed as fruit growers they should, in the fitness of things be rich but they live in ramshackle huts in poverty and squalour. The Dongria Kondh are wretchedly poor because they are not able to market their produce at any reasonable price. Some people of the Scheduled Caste, Domb (also called Pano elsewhere) generally hailing from Kalahandi have settled down among them on the hills and taking advantage of the inaccessibility of the area, the simplicity of the Dongria Kondh, their ignorance, superstition, weakness for drink, lack of credit facilities, their isolation from the rest of the world, have been exploiting the Kondh to an unimaginable degree and carrying away all the produce from their trees and their fields.

Whatever may be the fact, the high terrain upon which the Dongria Kondh inhabit, the topography, the climatic factor, etc. have shaped their living



conditions and made them perpetual drunkards. The very savour of Mahua-liquor (*Irpi Kalu*) and sago palm juice (*Mada-kalu*) make the Kondh almost wild, Liquor has special charm for them. Except a few, all are habituated to drink and will avail any opportunity irrespective of the distance of either liquor shop or sago-palm-trees and condition of the purse. They are so much addicted to it that they can forego their meals. For example, an old man of Kurli village said "salpa tree is more than my wife, I can forego my wife but not the salpa-tree."

### Types and Processing of Liquor

Liquor is locally called *Kalu*. Various kinds of liquor are brewed domestically such as *Arkhi-Kalu* (Mahua-liquor) *Amba-Kalu* (Mango liquor), *Panasa-Kalu* (Jackfruit-Liquor) *Kadali-Kalu* (plantain liquor) and *Guda-Kalu* (Molasses liquor). Sago palm juice (*Mada-Kalu*) an intoxicated drink is collected from locally available sago-palm-trees.

Arkhi is secretly brewed, but not in large scale. Domestic brewing being prohibited the Kondh are afraid of local preparation and therefore, depend upon the market and their next door neighbours, the Domb. The Domb are experts in brewing Arkhi and make it a professional source of income. Some of the Domb purchase Arkhi from the licentiate liquor shops at the foot of hills and resell it in their respective villages at a higher cost. The Kondh also on special occasions like *Mandia-Rani* festival *Meria-Parab*, marriage and death ceremonies etc, brew *Arkhi* secretly with the help of the Domb.

Mahua is purchased at the rate of 75 N. P. from the local market or collected from the forest. About 5 to 6 kg. of Mahua is kept in water in an earthen-pot for a week or until it is

fermented after which it is rinsed and kept in another pot. About a bucket of water is poured and another clay pot is dumped over it. The pot at the bottom is entirely plastered at the outside with clay. An oven is prepared at the bank of the stream and both the pots are placed over the fire. A hole is made at the body of the pot placed below through which one end of a hollow bamboo is inserted. Another end of the bamboo is similarly inserted in another pot placed on the ground beside the fire-pot. Inside that pot herbs of *Badhuni* (Broom-stick), roots of *Paintira* tree are kept and a napkin is covered over the rim of the pot. Clay is besmeared over that pot also. Thus with proper heat smoke is formed which does not get an outlet to go out but passes through the hollow bamboo to the other pot placed nearby. Cold water is sprinkled over the body of the pot to cool the heated smoke which ultimately turns into water and becomes liquor. It gets more intoxicated with the addition of various herbs and roots., stated earlier.

The same process is adopted while preparing liquor from other types of fruits and molasses. Fruit-liquor is prepared out of ripe variety and only after extraction of juice. More the Juice is fermented, the more it is intoxicated. The same roots and herbs are also added to it to make it palatable and more intoxicant. Liquor from the fruits and molasses is prepared only by the well-to-do families and as such it becomes a luxuriant alcoholic drink. Sometimes, a-few families prepare this type of seasonal liquor and sell it to others if there is any surplus.

*Duri Kalu* (Beer) is prepared out of rice, *ragi*, *arka*, and *kangu*. Raw seeds are made powder and diluted with water to make a paste. The paste being

covered in a *Siali* leaf-cup is kept hanging for a fortnight to make dry completely. Within this estimated period the paste dries up which can be broken into pieces. Each piece is again made powder and soaked with water in a container for 8 to 10 days. This process enriches the alcoholic value and makes it more suor. Thus after 8 to 10 days a sediment is formed at the bottom and the water over it is used as *Duri-Kalu*. When the first stock is exhausted again water is poured and kept for 8 to 10 days. Thus the process continues for two months after which the sediment loses alcoholic value.

Excepting these country-made liquors, Sago-Palm Juice (Juice of *Salpa* trees) is used as intoxicant. *Salpa* trees wildy grow on the top of the hills and are possessed individually according to the customary division of hill teras. These trees are considered priced possession of the family which are inherited since generations. Trespassing into any body's tree is seriously viewed to the extent that the trespasser may risk his life. However, the shoots of the tree come out only from the month of October-November and remain uptil March-April without being withered away and within that period ample juice is available from each shoot. Each shoot is cut and the juice trickles down in a container, tied beneath it. The juice at the increasing heat of the sun accumulates more of alcoholic substance and becomes more intoxicating. Moreover, to add to it more alcoholic value, roots of *Kosla* plant, *Kanikutra*-plant and broom-stick plant are added to it. The entire process gives a tremendous alcholic relief and at the same time fulfils the appetite of the consumers, as it is told.

Toddy-tapping is not a common practice in the area because of less growth of such trees. Moreover, the local people are not conversant either

in climbing the trees or in tapping the toddy. The experts are therefore, called upon in exchange of wage to tap the toddy from the limited trees, mainly found in the forest.

#### Customs, Norms, belief and Practice associated with the use of liquor.

Liquor in any form is not socially prohibited irrespective of sex and age. A child picks up the habit, when he develops senses. It is a common practice approved by the society. Mahua-liquor is considered to be the bit alcoholic drink and taken through out the year irrespective of sex. Fruit liquor is seasonal and taken only by those who can afford to prepare or afford to purchase at the rate of Rs. 2 per bottle. Beer is taken only during harvest of various crops. Sago-palm juice is taken for four months.

Usually the male members are habitual drunkards and consume more. The females drink only during harvest and on social feasts and festivals. Children, above six years of age, generally drink sago-palm juice and casually drink Mahua-liquor.

During and after harvest, the people celebrate most of their social and religious functions and therefore consume liquor to a larger extent. But its consumption becomes less during lean months when the people face acute economic distress. Despite paucity of fund, the habitual drunkards do not hesitate to drink by incurring loans or mortgaging their cropped field and fruit bearing trees.

Liquor is always taken in a group. The eldest one serves it to others in leaf-cups. From the share the eldest member first offers a little of it to the Mother-goddes (*Basumati*) and pours it on the ground. Then he trickles the liquor thrice in his fingers above his head. This he officers to *Niyam Raja*,

the great God of Niyamgiri hills. After offering he touches the leaf cup in his forehead and drinks. Once he starts, other follow him. Even in individual consumption the same norms are observed. In case of sago-palm juice, the owner of the tree first sips to prove that it is not poisonous and then offers to the participants. In case of trespassing, the defaulter is assaulted. It is a belief that, if the trespasser dies after taking sago-palm juice he becomes Dumba (ghost) and victimises the owner.

Liquor is a must in all the Kondh worship. There is hardly any religious ceremony or ritual in which Mahua liquor is not used. Each family believes that liquor is not only religious necessity but a means to please gods. The priest must be drunk well before probing himself in the spiritual world. Liquor is, therefore, offered to gods as well as to the priest.

Liquor is an important item in all the ceremonies connected with death. On the day of 'Dasha' (10th day of the death), mourners assemble and drink with fullest content.

Liquor has religious and social significance in the marriage ceremony too. It is a prestigious issue both for the parents of bride and groom. It is included in bride price's item and on the other hand the bride's father is also to entertain large number of guests with liquor. Barrels of liquor are consumed in the marriage ceremony. Liquor is offered to *Niyam Raja*, *Sita Penu* and other deities in the marriage ceremony. The leaf-cup moves round, round and round till every one has drunk to his full capacity. Their financial conditions determine the quantity to be supplied. On average Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 are spent on liquor at the time of marriage by both the parties.

Mahua liquor has a still more important place in the Kondh's social life. A leaf-cup-full of liquor is a medium of social intercourse. It creates and sustains friendship. It is through which *Sai System* (Bond friends) is made and two friends became bosom to each other. Old friends' accidental meeting culminates in a mutual exchange of liquor cups. A casual meeting between two strangers at the liquor-shop may lead to permanent friendship. A happy drink is the best form of approachment between strange neighbours or friends. All hospitality and reception have got no meaning without liquor. Liquor is an energetic solace for all dance and festivals. All the Kondh dances, therefore begin with drink. Not only men, but women also drink to enjoy the happy moment. It is main item in tribal feasts. In the Panchayat meetings, the participants are more keen for drinking than to the usual proceedings. The whole village, however meets the expenditure on drink in case the Panchayat has to decide an inter-village dispute. In most of their verdicts the Panchayat awards penalty of a communal feast and drink.

In actual practice magic and drink are interlinked among the Kondh. A *Dishari* (Magician) or a *Bejuni* (shaman) must drink excessively for it is believed that a magician invokes his mysterious wisdom and probes into the world of evil spirits with the help of liquor. Most of his magical operations are preceded by drink. He is not paid in cash but in the form of liquor.

Mahua liquor is used as medicine to cure various disease. The Kondh believe that disease are not due to any infection or contagion, but due to the arrogance of various deities and spirits who are looming in nature. In order to prevent or cure these natural diseases, benevolent gods and goddesses must be propitiated and appeased. To appease them liquor is indispensable.



Thus liquor plays a vital role in the tribal life. The Kondh feel that sago-palm juice and Mahua-liquor have got food value. Fresh distilled liquor has got more food value. Liquor is an energetic stimulant which breaks the monotony and a food which satisfies the starving belly. It is a recognized means of relaxation and lessening strain. Being shifting-cultivators, they undertake enough of hazardous jobs. They ransack the forests to eke out their livelihood. They ascend and descend the hill-tops by going and coming from the fair-price and market centres. All these strains are to be lessened and liquor is therefore, a charming energetic drink for all these strains.

### **Drinking and its effect**

About 82 per cent of the families surveyed were found having deficit budget, though it has not been possible to establish any direct relationship between debt and drink yet it is obvious that if expenditure on liquor could be reduced, many families could balance their budget. I recorded 92 transactions of the Dongria Kondh with the Domb. Nearly 68, i. e., about 73 per cent of the transactions were in return of liquor. The Domb illicitly distilled liquor, offered it to the Kondh and took leases of jack fruit trees, and sometimes change trees and pine-apple gardens in return of liquor. In one instance  $\frac{1}{4}$  acre of turmeric field was leased out for pineapple garden was leased out for a year in return for 25 bottles of liquor. In another 12 jack-fruit trees were leased out for a year for 7 bottles of liquor. In another instance  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre of pineapple garden was leased out for a year in return for 10 bottles of liquor. In majority of the cases, liquor has been sought in exchange of jack fruit and orange trees. The inter-village streets are occupied by the Domb with tins of liquor during market days. They secretly sit at the back of the

bushes and entice the Kondh with liquor bottles. All the surplus produces brought by the Kondh are knocked off by the Domb in exchange of liquor. The Domb are well informed of each feast and festival of the Kondh. They, therefore, before the commencement of any function of any family in the village pre-contract with the owner to supply the required quota of liquor. The owner gets the exact requirement at his threshold but cannot pay the cost. He mortgages his fruit-bearing trees, orchard or turmeric field. During harvest, the yield is carried away by the Domb before the tumultuous eyes of the Kondh.

I recorded seven cases of accidents, who sustained vital injuries by taking liquor. Of course, there was no case of death. But out of seven cases, three cases are grave; the injured persons become invalid.

I recorded five cases where trespassers have been assaulted. Especially, one case, requires mentioning. It was a chilly night in the month of December. I had to open the door of my camp at the screaming sound of a man. I flashed my torch over him and found with astonishment that his entire body was in pools of blood. The pharmacist in charge of Primary Health Centre was called upon who rushed in and gave all possible medical relief. The victim was Tode Zakiska who trespassed for sago-palm juice and was assaulted by his uncle, Kona Zakiska of village Khambesi. When Tode was drinking the juice stealthily, Kona's son Budda saw it and intimated the matter to his father. Both father and son charged Tode for his fault but the latter did not admit. There were some altercations and ultimately Tode was severely assaulted with the axe (Tangia). The matter was reported to the police. Two police constables appeared in the village on the next morning who arrested both the alleged

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and the victim. The case was decided on the way to the police-station with the intervention of village messenger (Barik). They were released. It was told that Rs. 120 was bribed to the police and the Barik got Rs. 38 as commission. Again a meeting was convened on emergency footing at the village level. Both the alleged and the victim were fined Rs. 80 which perhaps could provide the cost of a buffalo. The buffalo was supplied by the Barik and a feast was organized and the matter came to an end with the rapprochement of both the victor and the vanquished. Such instances of criminalities for taking Mahua liquor and sago-palm juice are frequent. There are also instances of in-group fighting, over the issue of taking liquor.

Thus the social evils of drink are glaring among the Dongria Kondh. The erotic effect of alcohol leads to many maladjustments in the family. Moreover, the liquor-dealer is often a money-lender, who also procures the surplus forest and agricultural products of the tribals. He is interested mainly in keeping the tribals in an easy prey to his tricky dealings.

However, alcoholic drink is a great social evil, which is gradually eroding the economy of the community. But without that the community cannot survive. It is a fact that the tribals do drink and drinking in the tribal culture is a must but not an alternative choice, as it gives them nourishment and zest in life. It is therefore, necessary that the Anthropologists and the Administrators should seriously think of this problem.

To combat this liquor-dealing-monopoly of the Domb, the marketing centres under Tribal Development Co-operative Corporation Ltd., may act as wholesale supplier of liquor to the tribals. The Domb may be appointed as Commission Agents to deliver liquor to the tribals at a rate fixed by the centre. This may reduce exploitation to some extent. In the meanwhile a team of workers may be appointed to analyse the benefits and potentialities of the drink usually purchased by the tribals. Through research an unharmed drug may be invented to substitute alcoholic drink to solve the liquor problem of the tribals.

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# Study on Hypoxia of high attitude among the Tibetan refugees in Orissa

S. PATEL

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Growth difference, which are racial in character, result generally in an overall increase or decrease in the rate of growth with probably little effect on sequence or rate at specific ages (Roberts, 1960). Further more, environmental factors, particularly disease and nutrition, are often quite specific resulting in severe retardation of growth under adverse conditions and accelerated growth under favourable conditions (Tanner, 1962). Temperature or imotional states may also effect growth, but such environmental stresses are considered to be secondary being primary attributed to nutritional stress.

Among the environmental stress, which have not been investigated in relation to human growth is the hypoxia produced by living at high altitudes. Studies on animal growth under condition of hypoxia show

rather severe retardation of normal growth (Van lier & Stickney, 1963). Yet insufficient data on human growth throw some light on definite conclusions. Growth studies on two Peruvian populations living slightly above 3,000 meters showed them to be quite retarded in adolescent development compared to European groups (Schraer and Newman, 1958 Quevedo 1949).

## Sample and Method

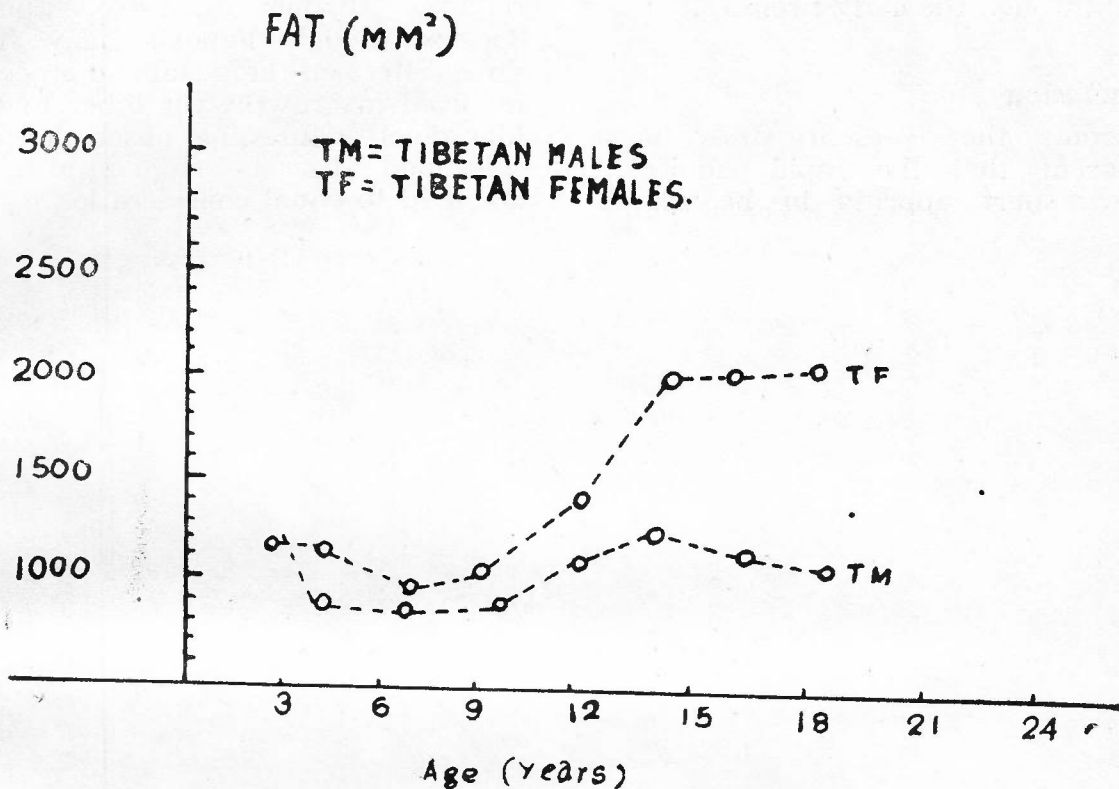
The sample under study, represent Tibetan refugees at Chandragiri re-settlement Camp, district Ganjam, Orissa.

Height and weight were collected from among 133 males and 113 females between the ages of 1 and 23. In addition 36 males and 43 females between 23 and 35 years of age were included as an adult sample.



FIG. 1

BRACHIUM FAT: TIBETAN REFUGEES.



Estimation of the mid-brachial cross. Sectional area of fat was made after the methods of Baker, Hunt and Sen (1958). The sample for these measurements comprises of 69 males and 66 females ranging from 1 to 25 years of age.

**Discussion and Results**

(a) *Stature and Weight*—With regard to the development of stature and weight among the Tibetan children, there is late development of sexual dimorphism. A statistically significant difference between the sexes does not develop until after age sixteen. Increase in stature and weight continues for the females until

near twenty at which it stabilizes. From the table 1, it is evident that, the women are quite stable throughout young adulthood showing no further increase even in weight. Males also show a stability in the growth of stature at about twenty but in contrast to the women, the data on young adult males indicate a slight continued rise in weight.

(b) *Fat*—The cross sectional areas of subcutaneous fat for Tibetan males and females have been plotted in Fig. 1. The data also suggest that the females have slightly more brachial fat than the males before coming up to adolescent period. Yet a statistically significant difference

between the sexes does not develop until around the age of seventeen. During this time only sex difference occurs quite rapidly and then stabilizes through the early twenties.

**Conclusion**

From the present study it is apparent that the rapid adolescent growth spurt appears to be spread

over a longer time period with slower rate at any one point. Very high altitudes may retard growth particularly during adolescence, but it requires further extensive studies. Because, though hypoxia may have direct effect on the metabolic processes involved in growth, yet other factors like affect of intestinal absorption and childhood diseases should also be taken in to equal consideration.

Table No. 1

Mean Height and Weight of Tibetan Males and Females

Age range	Males					Females						
	Mean age	N	Height (Cm)	S. D.	Weight (Kg.)	S. D.	Mean age	N	Height (Cm)	S. D.	Weight (Kg.)	S. D.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1-2.9	1.9	6	69.6	4.7	7.9	0.6	1.4	6	73.3	10.0	8.0	3.3
3-4.9	4.0	19	91.3	6.6	13.3	2.3	3.6	16	88.3	6.1	12.0	1.9
5-6.9	5.9	16	96.6	7.3	14.6	2.9	5.6	13	96.6	5.3	15.1	3.0
7-8.9	7.9	16	116.0	8.1	20.3	3.1	7.9	16	112.0	11.6	18.3	3.6
9-10.9	10.0	16	119.3	13.1	23.3	4.6	9.6	13	121.6	8.6	22.6	4.2
11-12.9	12.0	16	126.4	6.8	26.6	4.6	11.6	6	129.1	5.9	26.5	4.0
13-14.9	14.0	9	133.6	8.1	30.8	6.0	13.3	9	133.6	7.8	32.9	7.6
15-16.9	15.9	13	139.9	7.6	36.6	6.6	16.1	6	139.3	7.9	38.6	9.1
17-18.9	18.0	9	153.6	6.3	48.2	10.3	17.9	9	145.3	4.3	45.6	5.8
19-20.9	20.2	6	156.6	7.3	50.3	6.9	19.6	13	146.6	6.3	51.1	5.9
21-22.9	22.3	6	156.3	5.6	53.3	4.6	21.6	7	148.0	5.4	49.3	5.7
23-35.9	29.3	31	159.3	6.1	56.6	6.1	29.3	43	148.9	6.1	49.6	6.6



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# A note on the concept of Tribe

SUGUNA PAUL

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Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, much has been written on different aspects of Indian Tribes, without even having any scientific premise to identify the communities as tribes. In practice, the students of tribe have accepted the established groups as tribal communities which are duly designated by the Constitution of India as Scheduled Tribes. But unfortunately neither the Constitution lays down any concrete definition of the term nor even possess a single criterion to characterise a community of people as a tribe. Consequently without any scientific investigation, simply on a *priori* basis, through local stereotypes and images, groups of people inhabiting in particular regions are described as tribes *en bloc*<sup>1</sup>.

Tentatively speaking such a scientific perspective in the identification of tribes, is a product of the British anthropological tradition, whose origin was closely associated with the requirements of colonial administration. Again, there is also the conscious acceptance of the established groups, as it satisfies the needs of the present system in very many ways. Anyway, is such a *prima facie* selection adequate enough

to locate the 'backward' communities who are by ascription entitled to certain special socio-economic and political privileges, through the Constitution?

Our pursuit in this paper is to review the little available attempts made by antropologists to define the term—tribe and also the inherent assumptions. We would confine ourselves to the Indian context, that too briefly. And also, due to the diversities between tribes, testing of the attributes and assumptions may naturally remain limited.

In 1956, basing over the individual attempts of some pioneers anthropologists, like Morgan, Tylor, Perry, Rivers, Lowie and others, to define the term tribe, the Dictionary of Anthropology mention that a tribe is 'a Social Group, usually with a definite area, dialect, cultural homogeneity, and unifying social organisation...(it) ordinarily has a leader and may have a common ancestor, as well as patron deity. The families or small communities making up the tribe are linked through economic, social, religious, family, or blood ties<sup>2</sup>. The space does not permit us to provide full account

of the various views. Hence we would confine only to a few important contributors' attempt, in that regard.

Lewis assumed that 'ideally', tribal societies are small in scale, are restricted in the spatial and temporal range of their social, legal and political relations, and possess a morality, religion and world view of corresponding dimensions<sup>3</sup>. This definition is inadequate for it restricts to ideal societies than real ones, many of which may be quite large and scattered over extensive territories. Besides how to differentiate between tribal and peasant communities, when in many parts of the world, peasant communities are also "small in scale". Similarly, Salins<sup>4</sup> restriction of the tribe to segmentary societies, is questionable, for in that respect many developed tribes would correspond more to the peasants than to the tribes.

Perry<sup>5</sup> thinks of a tribe as a group speaking a common dialect and inhabiting in a common territory. Any student of Indian tribe can easily find contrary evidences, in plenty. So Rivers<sup>6</sup> added that the members of a tribe have a single Government and act together for common purpose as warfare. This character fails to account those tribes who do not possess any tribal chief or any tribal Government, as such. Besides, there is no ground to support the view that wars were and are always inter-tribal.

Evans-Pritchard defined tribe as a more or less homogenous society having a common dialect, common Government and a common culture<sup>7</sup>. Likewise, Kroeber conceived it as a small isolated and close-knit society. And in tribal society, socio-cultural aspects are largely organised around the kinship. Further, it is marked by

strong group integration based on the principle of primitive democracy<sup>8</sup>. Thus these authors only acknowledge to coherence and integration but not the existing internal contradictions and heterogeneity within the tribal societies.

We may now better deal with the above mentioned attributes of tribes in the Indian context. Initially, tribe and caste were synonymously used. But a period of prolonged controversy during the colonial period, they were separated and then, *The Imperial Gazetteer* described tribe, as a collection of families, bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying a common territory and which have been, if they are not endogamous<sup>9</sup>. This definition indicates the depth of influence of colonial anthropology. Moreover, the characters attributed to tribe are almost similar with that of caste<sup>10</sup>.

In distinguishing a tribe from caste, Bailey writes that an ideal tribe has always an organic entity which is characterised by lack of interaction and absence of hierarchial system, while an ideal caste encourages more interactions and hankers after a position in the hierarchial system<sup>11</sup>. This is an important contribution from a functionalist point of view so far as separating ideal tribe from ideal caste is concerned. But does the abstract ideal realm corresponds to the actual concrete world? Logically, it cannot. And so, Bailey, like his predecessors, failed bitterly in his attempts to differentiate tribe and caste, although he has studied both the social organisations, in depth.

Let us now turn to the exact use of the term in the Indian context. Sinha holds that a tribe is isolated from other ethnic groups in ecology, demography, economy, politics and other



social relations. It is marked by the lack of social stratification and role specialisation other than that of age, sex and kinship. In other words, it is a homogenous social unit<sup>12</sup>. But we are not told how they are isolated ethnic groups, what measurements we shall use to denote the groups and also what to call about the communities, which are differentiated. Indeed, Sinha added a number of observations to the confusion. This also clearly reveals the ambiguous skill of Indian anthropology. In fact, most of the well known students of tribe, have more or less followed the same outlook without specifying even the level of homogeneity in tribal societies, which they have studied. While academically we are nowhere near a comprehensive method of identifying the tribal societies, the State has accepted certain groups of people as tribes to facilitate their adequate representation in the mainstream of the nation. These categories are established and inherited from the British administration. It is not surprising that the Government should have a list of this kind in the interest of practical policy. But wonder is that the concerned anthropologists have accepted the list uncritically.

As a product of near-stagnancy in the creativity of the intellectuals, there are as many as 212 tribes in the country. And all are differentiated from non-tribes, while among them no differentiation is accepted from the practical point of view. Some States have as many as 63 tribes while others may have only one<sup>13</sup>.

For our purpose, let us see the variations between some selected tribes representing variations in demography, ecology, culture and economic development. As per Table 1 we noticed the tribes like the Gond,

the Bhil and the Santals are highly populated and are spread over several States of the country. In contrast, the Kadar, the Toda, the Ao Naga, and the Andamanese are less populated and restricted in limited areas. This means that both demographically and ecologically there exist polar communities who are levelled by a single term Scheduled Tribes.

Coming to the economy and culture, we notice that the Kadar, the Chenchu and the Andamanese are food gatherers and hunters, without private owning of means of production. And the Ao Naga, the Bhil, and the Khasi are shifting agriculturists, with the common ownership of land. At the same time, the Gond, the Oraon, and the Santal are permanent agriculturists with private ownership of land, and marked class antagonisms. Besides, there is the Toda, who live from domestication of animals. Hence, from the level of economy and culture point of view, we find hardly any similarity between these communities.

There obviously cannot be any dispute for providing certain ameliorative measures to the food gatherers, shifting agriculturists and those who live by animal husbandry because any external planned assistance would release the forces of production there without violating substantially to the relations of production. But, what about those permanent agriculturists, where the communities are structured on the basis of land. Would it not accelerate the antagonistic forces within the structured community? In addition, would it not be unfair to assist the tribal rich, while the rural poor is left to languish in poverty and malnutrition?

As is well known, among the advanced agricultural tribes, there are tribal landlords, small and middle peasants, tenants and agricultural

labourers<sup>14</sup>. The landlords by virtue of their control over land and also money-lending, enjoy not only the surplus labour of the tenants and various forms of free labour services, but also high socio-political status. In Independent India the special provisions, or at least a large part of these actually reach these powerful landlords. Many backward tribes fail to get their adequate share, as the rich section of the advanced tribes enjoy the privileges of the region. The main reason is that no discrimination is made between advanced and backward tribes, and inside advanced tribes<sup>15</sup>.

In other words, the present feudal and semi-feudal social formations

among the advanced tribal communities are the extensions of the tribal chieftainship of earlier times. The privileged class addressed their socio-economic, political and religious power to appropriate wealth produced by the impoverished peasants and serfs, and also are profited from the indiscriminate concessions of the State. In this connection, one would anticipate from the present day anthropologists that they shall earnestly seek to explain the existing problems in the established communities, and chart out specific plans for different categories of the so-called tribal communities. To us, it appears that such attempts alone can help us to conceptualize, the otherwise vague term, the tribe.

Table 1

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION OF THE SELECTED TRIBES IN INDIA

Name of the tribes (1)	Where found (population in parenthesis) (2)	Total population (3)
Andamanes	.. Andaman and Nicobar Islands (19)	19
Ao Naga	.. Nagaland (55,866)	58,866
Bhil	.. Andhra Pradesh (83), Gujarat (1124,282), Madhya Pradesh (1,229,930), Maharashtra (575,022), Mysore (217) and Rajasthan (908,768) Tripura (69).	3,838,371
Chenchu	.. Andhra Pradesh (17,609), Mysore (205) and Orissa (52).	17,866
Gond	.. Andhra Pradesh (143,680), Bihar (33,521), Gujarat (87), Madhya Pradesh (3,094,613), Maharashtra (272,564), Mysore (862), Orissa (445,705) and West Bengal (735).	3,991,767
Kadar	.. Kerala (957) and Madras (293)	1,250
Khasi	.. Assam (356,155), Nagaland (53) and Tripura (349)	356,557

Name of the tribes (1)	Where found (population in parenthesis) (2)	Total population (3)
Oraon	.. Bihar (735,025), Madhya Pradesh (283,073), Maharashtra (1), Orissa (129,061) and West Bengal (297,394),	1,444,554
Santal	.. Bihar (1,541,345), Orissa (411,181), West Bengal (1200,019) and Tripura (1,562).	3,154,107
Toda	.. Madras (2) Mysore (714)	716
Total	..	12,861,073

SOURCE—Census of India, 1961

#### NOTES

1. Regarding the arbitrary use of the term, see the well known controversy between V. Elwin and G. S. Ghurye, in G. S. Ghurye, *The Aborigines—“So called” and their future* (Poona, 1943) and A. L. Basham, *The wonder that was India* (New York: Groove Press Inc., 1954), Chapter II, For the recent criticisms on the indiscriminate use of the term see, R. Mukharji's Presidential address to XII All-India Sociological Conference, *Sociological papers* (Varanasi, May 4-6, 1974), p. 33, and also, *Government of India Reports of the Scheduled areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission* (1960-61), vol. I, p. 20.
2. See, K. L. Bhowmik, *Tribal India, A profile in Indian Ethnology*, Calcutta: The World Press Pvt. Ltd., 1971), p. 1
3. I. M. Lewis, “Tribal Society”, in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. The Macmillan Co. and the Free Press 1968), vol. 16, p. 147.
4. D. M. Salins, *Tribesman* (Prentice Hall, 1968).
5. See in K. L. Bhowmik, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1.
6. *ibid*
7. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer* (Clarendon Press, 1940)
8. A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology* (Calcutta : Oxford & IBH Publishing Co., 1972)
9. Cited in K. L. Bhowmic, *op. Cit.*
10. See for discussion, D. N. Majumdar, *The Fortunes of Primitive Tribes* (Lucknow, 1944)
11. F. G. Bailey; ‘Tribe’ and ‘Caste’ in India”, *Contribution to Indian Sociology*, V, 1961, pp. 7-19
12. S. Sinha, ‘Tribe-Caste and Tribe-peasant continua in Central India” *Man in India* Vol.45, No. 1, 1965, p. 2
13. See Census of India, 1961
14. For instance, S. Fuchs, *The Gond and Bhumia of Eastern India* (Bombay, New literature publication Co. 1968); I Singh, *The Gondwana and the Gonds* (Lucknow, 1944), T. B. Naik, *The Bhil* (Delhi, 1956); G. S. Ghury; *The Scheduled Tribes* (Bombay: Popular Press, 1963); and also J. Pathy, “Political Economy of Kandhaland” *Man in India*, vol. 56, No. 1.
15. See J. Pathy, *Scheduled Tribes : Myth and Reality* “*Mainstream*, Vol. 14, 36, pp. 12-14



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# Ethnomethodology: An exposition

JAGANATH PATHY

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"In the ages in which active life is the condition of almost everyone, men are generally led to attach an excessive value to the rapid bursts and superficial conceptions of the intellect and on the other to under value its slower and deeper labours".

*Alexis De. Tocqueville*

Recently a considerable number of social scientists are understandably curious and confused with increasing popularity of ethnomethodology. To some, it appears "liberal" and a development over the polemics between raw empiricism and theory building while others consider it, as a new dimension of "conservatism" and being divorced from profound historical analysis, focuses on the minuscule (often unimportant features) investigations, giving an illusion of academic vigour. The existence of the two equally powerful (?) and irreconcilable viewpoints among the concerned intellectuals at a given historical time and space, broadly denote the inherent contradictions in the social environment (where it was born) and social science. However, here we would like to limit ourselves only to examine the major implications of the theory of

ethnomethodology at the methodological level.

The word ethnomethodology is derived from the concept of ethnoscience in the field of anthropology, where it deals primarily with the system of knowledge and cognition of specific cultures, especially those of non-literate peoples and communities (Psathas 1068). Both ethnoscience and ethnomethodology attempt to understand, classify and define the socio-physical world of the cultural processes. But the former mainly tends to describe these cultural processes in small and relatively stable societies, whereas, the latter claims to examine the said processes in large and changing societies. However, irrespective of the talaim of understanding social changes, we will notice soon that the techniques, methods and perspectives of ethnomethodology together act as the decesive constraint in providing a dynamic dimension to social cognition, thereby ultimately reducing it to more or less, another conservative branch of social science.

Ethnomethodologists have argued that they have successfully synthesized the major sociological tendencies, and that has helped them to perceive

the social environment more concretely and systematically, which was hitherto absent in the sociological profession. In short ethnomethodology has borrowed its methodology from logico-empiricism while its theory has been derived from hermeneutic-dialectical tradition (Mehan and Wood, 1975a). Needless to point out the antagonism between the two major trends in the social sciences. But the practitioners of ethnomethodology claim that the objective inquiries are possible without siding either of the antithetical tradition. If it is really so, then the concerned theoreticians, would naturally be entitled of high esteem in the academic world. We of course in the following will observe that it is quite closer to logico-empiricism than the other tradition.

Usually the task of exposing a subject matter or a part of it, starts with the analysis of the definition. But unfortunately, in this case we are not privileged to do that for the existing literature on the subject do not provide us any precise and clear definition of the term ethnomethodology. The attempts to define the term, are almost always done in an esoteric manner, often being quite contrary to each other. And they are also formulated in an *ad hoc* and superficial descriptive way explaining the field or the technique or the purpose, but not the totality. To some it is merely a sociology with different subject matter (Turner 1974). While for others, it seems to be more a method for investigating socio-cultural environment than a theory (Pathas, 1968). Nevertheless the lack of clarity in defining the term, is though deplorable and expresses weakness in the conceptualization of the term, it need not necessarily be an obstacle to the understanding of the theory and its inherent assumptions. A concept may be underdeveloped or less developed but if its premises are systematised and comprehensive enough then

naturally, it can be treated as a high order of abstraction, a condition for scientific development.

Accordingly, let us begin with the basic assumptions of ethnomethodology. Ethnomethodology denies the generalizability of any theory of social change and suggests that the everyday life of people shall be investigated in its own right and as having a unique logic of its own. Basing over this premise, the ethnomethodologists make devastating criticisms of all the prevailing sociological theories and methodologies, of Comte to Marx to Parsons as spurious and bizarre for those were constructed over unexamined assumptions about everyday life. So the hitherto unexplored mundane—the everyday life and experience—is considered the most significant enterprise in the present day social sciences.

Again, we are told that "To do ethnomethodology one must pursue some activity", further reading does not make one an ethnomethodologist..... because ethnomethodology is essentially a way of working that it can liberate us from what Blake called... single vision and Newton's sleep (Mehan and Wood, 1975 b : 526). In other words, ethnomethodology pictures men as individual entrepreneurs and suggests that personal experience or 'face-to-face' interaction is the *sine-quo-non* for arriving at meaningful and important conclusions on individuals and cultures (Denzin 1969 : 930). But the question of activity is undefined and thus left to the choice of the researchers. Moreover since no theory claims to be eternal and immutable we will be liberated from what is unclear.

At the same time Schutz (1967) observes that every individual has a unique biography and also a unique perspective. Hence his understanding of the reality is conditioned by his

life experience. And depending on the variations in life experiences, which would in any case be conspicuous the socio-culture reality will have multiple perspectives. That is why there cannot be a single paramount objective reality. Instead, there would be a number of realities arising from the differences in individual life experiences. And so, the so-called objective reality is myth and is constructed by dominant scientists who were not usually challenged by others for anxiety and fear of being caught and condemned (Douglas, 1974). If all the social scientists follow this formulation then there would be no generalizable knowledge and we would have to confine to investigating and describing the uniqueness of every situation (Zeitlin, 1973 : 181-2). Anyway being grounded in phenomenology and committed to investigate essential and transcendental features of every day life by video-tapes, individual case studies and behaviour patterns it avoids "promiscuous (:) discussions of theory" (Garfinkel, 1967 : viii) Mention may be made that we are not critical of case studies but the selection of unique and abnormal cases and thereby claiming credit for doing new researches. In addition, such studies ignore even the fundamentals of scientific method like sampling (Garfinkel 1968). Moreover, certain haphazard cases are treated as the total universe and are never related to the larger socio-historical structure. In that sense it is atomistic astructural and ahistoric (Mayrs, 1973-14). To be precise ethnomethodology is a situational sociology that loses sight of antecedents historical conditions and the importance of a priori categories as well as theory building.

Be that aside for the moment and let us now turn to another assumption that any phenomenon has its own reality and is worth of study. This means that all situations are equally problematic

for all actors, at any given point of time. But does it so? Is there no difference between primary and secondary aspects of life and conditions? It would be absurd to consider hair dressing and working for wages as one and the same in importance. Anyway, ethnomethodologists in actuality do not deal with all the problems but only those which interest them and are not studied earlier. Being undefined the problems tend to be located in trivial issues without having any meaningful relations to the basic life chances. Mostly the selection is done on a commonsense basis (Johnson, 1974) and there is absolutely no *modus operandi* in the pattern of investigation.

It also assumes that every one is in a position equal to every one else, i.e. every one is able to comprehend the reality in his own way. That means there is no difference between common beliefs and the scientific pursuits. The focus then is on the ways through which the people construct a socially meaningful world (Garfinkel 1968 : vii). But who will determine the event is meaningful or not and whether it occurred or did not occur earlier is undecided.

Again it perceives man as controlled but beneficently and strives to repair the causalities suffered in the normal wear and tear of interaction in the socio-cultural systems. In that way ethnologists act like functionalists. They "are so concerned with reporting the fact that people bend the rules, that they forget to ask about the nature or implication of the rules" (Zeitlin 1973 : 185-6). This shows their class character and conservatism. So their liberalism is no more than laissez fair type. Further their assumption that "man creates his own world, man must then be responsible for his own situation and for his own actions is antirevolutionary, in a class-ridden society (Szymanski 1973 : 60). This is a vivid proof of



their attempt to rationalize the existing moribund and unjust social institutions, and safeguard the *status quo*.

The implication of these different premises, then is that the ethnologists deny the worth of institutional analysis aimed at social change or social transformation. At times they are even actively opposed to change. They dissolve institutions to entirely subjective categories of individuals or group perceptions. They talk of group or individual using psychologistic or biologicistic mechanisms. In the meanwhile they leave the study of society and get satisfied with minor elements. And then naturally they have to maintain that the reality which is observed is partial and is subject to continual revision. It may be mentioned here that we are not opposed to the study of creative aspects of man's personality but to the slicing of history into situations and episodes to the analysis of daily life of some individuals or groups away from historical and material roots,

and in brief, to the running functionalist play of "face-to-face" social world of the "actors" in a "situation". This is absolute reductionism and shall be criticised at all costs. The attempts to describe unique cases in an exhaustive manner, is no science (Coleman, 1968: 127). It does not bother to investigate how a particular institution or a system or a sub-system came to be or what is the effect of larger events on the particular phenomena which is being investigated (Leach 1974). Simple analysis of behaviour cannot substantiate their claim of being "radical" or critical (Reynolds, 1973). It is indeed another branch of conservatism developed in the American soil.

We would like to conclude this brief note on ethnomethodology with the oft quoted lines from C. W. Mills who held: "No social study that does not come back to the problems of biography of history and of their intersections within a society, has completed its intellectual journey" (1970, 12).

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# ABO Blood group of Parajas of Koraput District

BASANTI RATH

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In this paper the ABO blood group of Parajas of Koraput district is presented. The investigation was carried out in 1971.

A total number of 100 unrelated individuals of which 69 male samples 31 female samples were studied. Sample is small sized.

## Material and Method

The samples selected for the present study are collected from different villages of Koraput district of Orissa.

Blood samples were collected by finger pricks and grouping test was performed by the slide method.

## Results and Discussion

The total number of population tested were 100, of which 69 males and 31 females were studied. The percentage of O group in case of male group is 33.33 which is followed by the groups B and A: the percentages of

which are 29.98 and 26.08 respectively. The percentage of AB group is 11.50 which is very low.

From the Table I it is observed that among the female group the percentage of A group is 38.7 which is closely followed by the B group, the percentage of which is 35.7, O group and AB group show the percentages 16.1 and 9.6 respectively. Bisexual variation is very predominant.

$$\text{Chi } 2 = 17.30 \text{ (3 d.f)}$$

$$P \text{ is less than } 0.001$$

(The gene frequencies have been estimated as  $p=0.215$ ,  $q=0.162$ ,  $r=0.623$ ).

In the Table II the distribution of ABO blood group in different population of Orissa Compared.

The ABO blood group of Parajas shows close similarity with the Gadabas.



ABO BLOOD GROUP.....

The 'O' blood group peoples of Sashana Brahmin, Sabara Juang and Gadabas show similarity with Parajas of present study.

In AB blood group, the aboriginal tribes of Orissa, Juang and Bhois, Oriya Khandayat (studied by Tripathy and Mitra), Gauras, Panos and Gadaba (studied by M. Mahapatra Unpublished) have similarity with Parajas of present study.

Table III represents the distribution of ABO blood group in Indian population. The table shows that the Parajas of present study are similar with Santal and oraons of Bihar, Maria Gonds of Bastar and Gadabas of Koraput district which is studied by M. Mahapatra (unpublished). Compared with world frequencies, P and Q for this group are greater than the world average of 0.215, 0.162 and r is less in former than the world average.

Compared with the population studied by MC arthur and penrose

(India, Ceylon, Maldiv Islands, Nepal and Pakistan), p and r of Paraja group are greater than p and r of those populations and q of Paraja group is lower than the q of those populations. In comparision with Australoids p and q of Paraja group are greater than the p and q of Australoids and r of the Paraja group is lesser than the r of Australoid group.

**Summary**

Blood samples of 100 Parajas of some villages of Koraput district, Orissa were tested for ABO blood groups. The percentages of group A, group B, group AB and group O are 30 per cent, 31 per cent, 11 per cent and 28 per cent respectively. The gene frequencies have been estimated as  $p=0.215$ ,  $q=0.162$ ,  $r=0.623$ .

**Acknowledgement**

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Table I

Sex	No. of Subjects	Phentotypers						
		A	B	AB	O	P	Q	R
Male	69	26.08%	28.98%	11.59%	33.33%	0.232	0.239	0.529
Female	31	38.7%	35.7%	9.6%	16.1%			

**Table II**  
**ABO BLOOD GROUP DISTRIBUTION AMONG ORISSA POPULATION**

Population	No.	O	A	B	AB	Author
Ahoriginal tribes of Orissa	153	36.39	21.36	31.07	10.6	Sarkar 1956
Juang	.. 115	21.74	21.74	47.83	8.69	Sarkar 1956
Sabara	.. 86	22.09	24.42	38.37	15.12	Sarkar 1956
Bhoie	.. 58	17.24	31.93	41.37	10.36	Tripathy 1968
Oriya Khandayat	.. 60	40.00	18.33	25.00	11.67	Macfarlane 1938
Santal	.. 57	11.78	10.02	23.10	6.14	Raychowdhury and some.
Brahmin	.. 28	37.17	25.00	39.28	1.57	Tripathy and Mitra 1967.
Karan	.. 45	33.33	22.22	37.77	6.6	Ditto
Khandayat	.. 38	18.42	26.32	44.73	10.53	Ditto
Other Castes	.. 54	20.36	27.77	51.86	9.26	Ditto
Gaura	.. 118	36.57	23.28	46.99	10.66	Raychowdhury and some.
Shashana Brahmin	.. 200	30.99	27.75	37.37	7.76	Dr. U. Deka Mahapatra S. Mishra.
Pano	.. 125	40.75	31.47	41.42	11.34	Raychowdhury and some.
Oriya Brahmin	.. 235	46.3	25.5	26.50	1.28	Patnaik and Ghosh Maulik Unpublished.
Gadaba	.. 250	28.80	31.20	30.00	10.90	M. Mahapatra Unpublished.
Paraja	.. 100	28.7	31	30	11	Present study

ABO BLOOD GROUP.....

**Table III**  
COMPARISION OF A B O BLOOD GROUP AMONG INDIA AND OTHERS

Population	Authors	No.	O	A	B	AB	P	Q	R
Angami Nagas (Borders of Assam).	Mitra 1935-36	165	46.06	38.79	11.51	3.64	24.13	7.89	67.98
Angani Nagas (Borders of Assam).	Bhatachar Jee 1967.	100	45.00	38.00	15.00	6.00	25.03	8.35	66.12
Khasi (Khasia Jaintia Hills of Assam).	Basu 1938 ..	50	46.6	15.6	33.3	4.5			
Bihar (Assam)	... Sarkar ...	21	38.10	57.14		4.76			
Hos (Bihar)	... Ma j u m d a r 1950-51.	186	34.95	31.72	27.96	5.36	20.87	18.52	60.61
Mundas (Bihar)	... Macfa r l a n e 1941.	120	33.33	32.00	29.17	7.50	21.03	20.52	58.4
Orang (Bihar)	... Sarkar 1949 ...	115	26.09	27.83	33.91	12.17	22.52	26.55	
Santal (Bihar)	... Sarkar and Some 1952.	407	31.69	21.37	35.63	11.30	17.83	26.97	
Jats (Punjab)	... Khurana 1950	93	41.93	22.58	34.41	1.07	12.82	12.97	
Chamars (U. P.)	... Majumdar 1947	150	36.67	18.67	39.33	5.33	12.58	25.24	
Dom (U. P.)	... Majumdar 1942	125	36.00	20.00	33.60	10.40	16.43	24.95	
Oraons (Calcutta)	... Sarkar 1942-43	155	47.10	12.90	34.84	5.16	9.95	24.47	
Maria Gond (Jagdalpur).	Bastar Macfa r l a n e 1940.	123	78.45	26.02	34.15	11.38	20.84	26.14	
	Pandit 1934...	200	29.50	19.50	38.00	13.00	17.05	29.68	
Bhotiag (Almira)	... Tiwari 1951-52.	144	18.06	15.97	50.79	15.97	15.20	40.40	
World average	... Mc Arthur and penrose.					0.215	0.162	0.623	
India, Ceylon, Bhutan, Maldiva and Pakistan.	Mc Arthur and penrose.					0.185	0.230	0.50	
Gadaba (Orissa)	.. Maha p a t r a Unpublished.	250		28.80	31.20	30.20	30.00		10.00
Paraja (Orissa)	.. Present study	100	28.00	30.00	31.00	11.00	0.232	0.239	0.539



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# ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶର ଆୟୋଜନ

ମୂଳ ରଚନା—ଡଃ ବ୍ରହ୍ମଦେବ ଶର୍ମା  
ଅନୁବାଦିକା—ହେମନ୍ତ ଦାସ

ଭୂମିକା—

ସଂବନ୍ଧିତ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ବିବିଧକରଣ ଏବଂ ଏହାର ବିଭିନ୍ନ ବିଭାଗ ବୃଦ୍ଧିକୁ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ବୋଲି ଧରାଯାଏ । କୃଷି ପ୍ରଧାନ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଏବଂ ଆର୍ଥିକ ବିକାଶର ପ୍ରଥମ ସୋପାନରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶକୁ ତ୍ୱରାନ୍ୱିତ କରାଇବା ଆମର ପ୍ରଧାନ କର୍ତ୍ତବ୍ୟ । ଆଜି ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଆମେ ଅନୁଭବ କରି ଆସିଛୁ ଯେ, ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାଠାରୁ ଦୂରେଇ ଯାଇ ବିକାଶ ଲଭ କରିପାରିବ ନାହିଁ । ଏହି ବିକାଶକ୍ରମ ସହିତ ତାଳଦେଇ ଏହାର ଆଧାର ଭୂମି କୃଷିର ସମ୍ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ବିକାଶ ହେବା ବାଞ୍ଛନୀୟ । ଏପରି ସ୍ଥଳରେ ଯଦିଓ ଆର୍ଥିକ ବିକାଶକ୍ରମରେ, ବିକାଶ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟାର ମିଶ୍ରିତ ଅଥବା ବିସ୍ତୃତ ରୂପର ସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତକୁ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିବାର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ନାହିଁ, ତଥାପି ଭାରତୀୟ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାରୁ ଆମେ ଅନୁଭବ କରିଛୁ ଯେ ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟରେ କେତେକ ଗୁଡ଼ିକ ରହିଛି ଏବଂ ଏହାକୁ ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ କରିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ହେଉଛି । ଦ୍ୱିତୀୟ ପଞ୍ଚବାର୍ଷିକ ଯୋଜନାରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶକୁ ତ୍ୱରାନ୍ୱିତ କରିବାର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ରହିଥିଲା । ଏହି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାକୁ ତୃତୀୟ ପଞ୍ଚବାର୍ଷିକ ଯୋଜନାରେ ମଧ୍ୟ କାଏମ ରଖାଯାଇଥିଲା । ଏହି ନୂତନ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟସୂଚୀ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ଶିଳ୍ପଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ପ୍ରାଥମିକତା ଦିଆଗଲା । ଅତି ଦୁର୍ଭାଗ୍ୟର କଥା ଏହି ଯେ ସେ ସମୟରେ ଆମର କୃଷି ବିକାଶ ଆଶାନ୍ୱରୁପ ହୋଇ ପାରିନଥିଲା । ଏହା ଫଳରେ ଅସନ୍ତୋଷ ସ୍ଥିତି ଜାତ ହେଲା ଏବଂ ଆମର ଆର୍ଥିକ ସଂରଚନାର କେତେକ ସ୍ଥଳରେ ବିକ୍ରୋହ ମୁଣ୍ଡ ଟେକିଲା । ଏହା ଫଳରେ ନୂତନ ନୀତି ପ୍ରଣୟନର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ହେଲା । ଚତୁର୍ଥ ଏବଂ ପଞ୍ଚମ ପଞ୍ଚବାର୍ଷିକ ଯୋଜନାରେ ପୁନର୍ବାର କୃଷିକୁ ଉଚ୍ଚ ସ୍ଥାନ ଦିଆଗଲା ।

୨ । ଯଦି ଆମେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ପ୍ରତି ଦୃଷ୍ଟିପାତ କରୁ, ତେବେ ଆମେ ଦେଖିବାକୁ ପାଇବା ଯେ ଏହା ଆମର ସାଧାରଣ ଗ୍ରାମ୍ୟ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାଠାରୁ ମଧ୍ୟ ଯଥେଷ୍ଟ ପଛରେ ପଡ଼ିଛି ଏବଂ ଏଥିରେ ଅପେକ୍ଷାକୃତ ବିଭିନ୍ନତା ମଧ୍ୟ କମ୍ । ଆଦିବାସୀ

ଅଞ୍ଚଳର କୃଷି ଉପରେ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିଦେଲେ ଦେଖାଯାଏ ଯେ ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳର କୃଷକ ଏକ ସାଧାରଣ ଭାରତୀୟ କୃଷକଠାରୁ ଯଥେଷ୍ଟ ଅନୁକୃତ । ଯଦିଓ ଏହି ପରିସ୍ଥିତି କେବଳ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ପ୍ରତି ପ୍ରୟୁଜ୍ୟ ତଥାପି ପ୍ରତି ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ସ୍ଥିତି ଏକ ନୁହେଁ । କେଉଁ କେଉଁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଅତ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଅନୁକୃତ ଏହାର ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କୃଷିର ପୂର୍ବାବସ୍ଥା ଉପରେ ଆଧାରିତ । ଏପରି କେତେକ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ରହିଛି ଯେଉଁଗୁଡ଼ିକ ହିଁ ସାଧାରଣ ଭାରତୀୟ ଗ୍ରାମାଞ୍ଚଳ ସହିତ ସମାନ । ଅଧିକାଂଶ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ବିପୁଳ ଖଣିଜ ଏବଂ ବନ୍ୟ ସଂପଦ ଭରି ରହିଛି । ସାଧାରଣତଃ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଜଙ୍ଗଲରୁ ଲଘୁ ବନ୍ୟଜାତ ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟ ସଂଗ୍ରହ କରିଥାଏ ଏବଂ ଏଥିରୁ ସାମାନ୍ୟ ପାରିଶ୍ରମିକ ମଧ୍ୟ ପାଇଥାଏ । ଆଦିବାସୀ ସମାଜରେ ସାଧାରଣ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ମଧ୍ୟ ପାରପାଂରିକ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ ଉତ୍ତମ ଦକ୍ଷତା ହାସଲ କରିଥାଏ । ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଅଧିବାସୀମାନେ ପ୍ରାୟ ନିରକ୍ଷର ଏବଂ ଆଧୁନିକତା ବିଷୟରେ ସଂପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଅଜ୍ଞ । ଏପରି ସ୍ଥଳରେ ବିକାଶମୂଳକ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଯଥା—ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରା ନିର୍ମାଣ, ବିଭିନ୍ନ ବିକାଶମୂଳକ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ସ୍ଥାପନ ପ୍ରଭୃତି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଆରମ୍ଭ କରାଗଲେ ସଫଳତା ଲଭ କରିପାରିବ ନାହିଁ । କିନ୍ତୁ ଏହିସବୁ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶ ପାଇଁ ଅନୁକୂଳ ଉପାଦାନ ଯଥା:—ଶସ୍ତ୍ରା ଶ୍ରମିକ, ବିଷ୍ଣୁତ କ୍ଷେତ୍ର ତଥା ଜଳର ପ୍ରାଚୁର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ଶିଳ୍ପ ଉପଯୋଗୀ କରିପାରିବ ।

୩ । ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଶୈଳିକ ସ୍ଥିତି ପ୍ରତି ବିହଙ୍ଗମ ଦୃଷ୍ଟି—

କେତେକ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ସ୍ଥାପିତ ହୋଇଛି । କିନ୍ତୁ ସେହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶର ସ୍ଥିତି ଅନେକ ସମୟରେ ଅସଙ୍ଗତ ବା ବିରୋଧଭାଷୀ ହୋଇ ଆମ ଆଗକୁ ଆସୁଛି । ଏହାର ମୁଖ୍ୟ କାରଣ ହେଉଛି ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ ମାର୍ଗଦର୍ଶନର ଅଭାବ । ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ଓ ପୁରଗଣା ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବିକାଶର ବ୍ୟବଧାନକୁ ଅତି କମ୍ କରିବା ତଥା ଆଦିବାସୀମାନଙ୍କୁ ଜାତୀୟ ଜୀବନର ମୁଖ୍ୟସ୍ରୋତରେ ସାମିଲ କରିବା ଆମର ମୁଖ୍ୟ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ । ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟକୁ ଘୋଷଣା କରି ସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତ ରୂପରେ

ନିଆଯାଇଛି । କିନ୍ତୁ ଏହା ସହିତ ସମତାଳ ଦେଇ ବିକାଶର ସଂଗ୍ରାମୀ ନୀତି ମୋଟା ମୋଟି ଭାବରେ ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ କରାଯାଇ ନାହିଁ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ବିକାଶକୁ ବିଶେଷ କରି ଶିକ୍ଷା ବିକାଶ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ତଥା ସଂପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ବିକାଶ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରକୁ ଏକ ଏବଂ ଅଭିନ୍ନ ରୂପରେ ଗଢ଼ିବା ଅତି କଷ୍ଟକର ବ୍ୟାପାର । ଶିକ୍ଷା ବିକାଶର ଦିଗ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଧାରଣରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ବିକାଶର ଭୂମିକାକୁ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ସ୍ଥାନ ମିଳିନାହିଁ, ବରଂ ଅଧିକ ଭାବରେ ଅପପ୍ରୟୋଗର ଧାରା ଅତି ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ସ୍ଥାନ ଅଧିକାର କରିଛି । ଏହା କହିଲେ ଅତ୍ୟୁକ୍ତି ହେବନାହିଁ ଯେ, ଏହି କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଶିକ୍ଷା ବିକାଶ ମୂଳ ରୂପରେ ଆତ୍ମକେନ୍ଦ୍ରିକ ହୋଇ ରହିଛି ଏବଂ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅର୍ଥ-ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଓ ତା'ର ପ୍ରଭାବ ଉପରେ କୌଣସି ଧ୍ୟାନ ଦିଆଯାଇ ନାହିଁ ।

୪ । (କ) ବୃହତ୍ ଧରଣର ଶିକ୍ଷା—ଅନେକ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ କେତେକ ଭାରି ଶିକ୍ଷା ଏପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ସ୍ଥାପନ କରାଯାଇଛି । ପରନ୍ତୁ ଏହି ଶିକ୍ଷାଗୁଡ଼ିକ ବହୁଭାବରେ କଞ୍ଚାମାଲ ଉପରେ ନିର୍ଭର କରିଥାଏ ଏବଂ ଏହାର ସ୍ଥାପନା ମୁଖ୍ୟତଃ ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରିୟ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ କରାଯାଇଛି । ଉଦାହରଣ ସ୍ୱରୂପ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ରାଉରକେଲ ତଥା ବିହାରର ରାଞ୍ଚିକୁ ନିଆଯାଇପାରେ । ଏହି ଶିକ୍ଷା ସଂସ୍ଥାଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଅନଗ୍ରସର ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ସ୍ଥାପିତ ହୋଇଛି । ଓଡ଼ିଶାର କିରିଗୁର ଓ ମଧ୍ୟପ୍ରଦେଶର ବୈଲ୍-ଡ଼ିଲାର ଖଣିଜ ସଂସ୍ଥା ସ୍ଥାପନ ପାଇଁ ଯୋଜନା ଗଢ଼ାଗଲା ଏବଂ ଏହି ଶିକ୍ଷା ସଂସ୍ଥା ପାଇଁ ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ରେଳ ଲାଇନ, ସଡ଼କ, ବିଜୁଳୀ ଆଦି ପରିଯୋଜନାର ଏକ ଏବଂ ଅଭିନ୍ନ ଅଂଗ ଭାବରେ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରାଗଲା । ଏହି ଶିକ୍ଷା ସଂସ୍ଥା ତଥା ଖଣିଜ ସଂସ୍ଥାନର ବିଶେଷତ୍ୱ ହେଉଛି ଯେ, ଏହା ଅନେକ ସ୍ଥାନରେ ଆତ୍ମାଭିମୁଖୀ ହେଉଛି ଏବଂ ଆତ୍ମନିର୍ଭର ପାଲଟୁଛି । ଏହି ଶିକ୍ଷା ସଂସ୍ଥାଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଯଦିଓ ସ୍ଥଳ ରୂପରେ ଅନୁନତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ରହିଛି ତଥାପି ଏହାର ସହଲଗ୍ନତା ପ୍ରଗତିଶୀଳ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରଠାରୁ ଯଥେଷ୍ଟ ଅଧିକ ହେଉଛି । କେବେ କେବେ ଏହି ଶିକ୍ଷା ଅଞ୍ଚଳଗୁଡ଼ିକ ସାମାନ୍ୟ ମଜୁରୀ ପାଇଁ ମଧ୍ୟ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଲୋକଶିକ୍ଷା ଉପରେ ନିର୍ଭର କରେନାହିଁ । ବାହାର ଲୋକଙ୍କୁ ନେଇ ସେ କାମ କରିଥାଏ । ଏହି ଭାରି ଶିକ୍ଷାଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ଛାଡ଼ି ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ଶିକ୍ଷା ମଧ୍ୟ ସ୍ଥାପିତ ହେଉଅଛି । ଏହି ଶିକ୍ଷା ଉଦ୍ୟୋଗଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଭାରି ବନ୍ୟ-ଜାତ କଞ୍ଚାମାଲ ଉପରେ ନିର୍ଭର କରିଥାଏ । ଏହା ସ୍ଥାପିତ ହେବାର ମୁଖ୍ୟ କାରଣ ହେଲା ପକ୍କା ଜିନିଷ ତିଆରି ଏବଂ ଅଧିକ ଲାଭ । ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିକ୍ଷା ବିକାଶ ପାଇଁ କୌଣସି ଦୀର୍ଘକାଳୀନ ଆୟୋଜନ ଏପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ହୋଇନାହିଁ । ଅତଏବ ଏହା କହିଲେ ଅତ୍ୟୁକ୍ତି ହେବନାହିଁ ଯେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିକ୍ଷା ବିକାଶ ଆଶାନୁରୂପ ହୋଇପାରିନାହିଁ ।

୫ । (ଖ) ଅନ୍ୟ ପ୍ରୟାସ—ସାମୁଦାୟିକ ବିକାଶ ଖଂଡ଼, ଆଦିବାସୀ ବିକାଶ ଖଂଡ଼ ତଥା ଅନ୍ୟ ସମାନ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଏବଂ ଏହା ଅନ୍ତର୍ଗତ ସାଧାରଣ ବିକାଶ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ହାତକୁ ନିଆଯାଇଛି, ଯେଉଁଥିରେ କି କ୍ଷୁଦ୍ର ଶିକ୍ଷା, ହସ୍ତକର୍ମ, କୁଟୀର ଏବଂ

ଗ୍ରାମ୍ୟ ଶିକ୍ଷା ପ୍ରଭୃତି ସମ୍ମିଳିତ ହୋଇଛି । ପରନ୍ତୁ ଏହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଗୁଡ଼ିକ ପ୍ରଗତିଶୀଳ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ କରାଯାଇଛି । ଏହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଗୁଡ଼ିକସାମାନ୍ୟତଃ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ବିଶେଷ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ପ୍ରତି କେନ୍ଦ୍ର କରି ଲଘୁ କରାଯାଇଛି । ପ୍ରଗତି-ଶୀଳ ସମାଜରେ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଧାରିତ ମାର୍ଗ ଦର୍ଶନର ଆଧାର ଉପରେ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠିତ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ବହୁଧା ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଆଦିବାସୀ ମାନଙ୍କର ନୂତନ ଲଭକୁ ଆତ୍ମସାତ କରିଥାଏ । ଏହି କାରଣରୁ ଏ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଏହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମକୁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ବିଶେଷ ସ୍ୱୀକୃତି କରିନାହିଁ । ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଆଜି ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଅଳ୍ପ ବହୁତେ ଯେତେବି ଶିକ୍ଷା ବିକାଶ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ରହିଛି ତଥା ଯେଉଁଠାରେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ଯାହା କିଛି ବିବିଧତା ଦେଖାଯାଇଛି, ସେହି ସ୍ଥଳରେ କେବଳ ସ୍ଥଳ ରୂପ ଆଦିବାସୀ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ରହିଛି ଏବଂ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବିକାଶ ସଠିକ ଭାବରେ ହୋଇପାରୁନାହିଁ । ସହରାଞ୍ଚଳ ଏବଂ ଶିକ୍ଷା ବିକାଶର ଅର୍ଥ-ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଦୂରତ୍ୱ ରହିଲେ ମଧ୍ୟ ଏହାକୁ ସହର ଶିକ୍ଷାର ବିସ୍ତୃତ ରୂପରେ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରାଯାଇଥାଏ । ଏହି ଭାବରେ ଆମେ ଯେଉଁ ଯେଉଁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ବିକାଶର ରୂପ ଦେଖି ସେଠାରେ ଆଧୁନିକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଓ ପାରଂପାରିକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ କେନ୍ଦ୍ରବିନ୍ଦୁ ସ୍ଥାପିତ ହୋଇପାରୁନାହିଁ ବୋଲି ଅନୁଭବ କରୁ ।

୬ । ଆଦିବାସୀ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାରେ ଶିକ୍ଷାର ପ୍ରଭାବ ଓ ଏହାର ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣତାଲୋକନ :—

(କ) ବୃହତ୍ ଶିକ୍ଷା —ଉପରୋକ୍ତ ବିଶ୍ଳେଷଣରୁ ଏହା ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ ହେଉଛି ଯେ, ଏ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଶିକ୍ଷା ବିକାଶର ଧାରା ଆଦିବାସୀ କ୍ଷେତ୍ର ଅନୁରୂପ ତଥା ଆଦିବାସୀର ବିଶିଷ୍ଟ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତାକୁ ଓ ସମ୍ଭାବନାକୁ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର କରି ଗଢ଼ିବାର ଆୟୋଜନ ହୋଇନାହିଁ । ବୃହତ୍ ଶିକ୍ଷା ତଥା ଖଣିଜ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନର ସ୍ଥାପନା ଆମଦେଶର ଅନୁନୁୟ ସଂପ୍ରଦାୟକୁ ହଠାତ୍ ଅତ୍ୟାଧୁନିକ ଆର୍ଥିକ ସାମାଜିକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ସହିତ ପରିଚୟ କରାଉଛି । ଏହି ଦୁଇ ସ୍ଥିତି ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବିକାଶର ମିଳନ ବିନ୍ଦୁ ନାହିଁ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଆଧୁନିକ ଶିକ୍ଷାଞ୍ଚଳ ଏକ ବିଶାଳ ଅନୁନୁତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ମଧ୍ୟରେ କ୍ଷୁଦ୍ର ଶିକ୍ଷା ରୂପରେ ଆତ୍ମପ୍ରକାଶ କରୁଛି ଏବଂ ସରଳ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଯେତେ ଶୀଘ୍ର ପାରେ ବିକଶିତ ହୋଇଯାଉଛି । ଏହି ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟାରେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜ ବିଶେଷ ଉପକୃତ ହୋଇ ନଥାଏ । ଏହାଦ୍ୱାରା ଆଦିବାସୀ ନିଜ ନିଜର ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ସ୍ଥିତିରେ ବିଶିଷ୍ଟ ଭାବରେ ରହିଯାଇଥାନ୍ତି । ଅନୁନୁତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିକ୍ଷା ସ୍ଥାପନ ପାଇଁ ଯେଉଁସବୁ ହିସାବ କରାଯାଏ, ଏହାଦ୍ୱାରା ଅନେକ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ପାରଂପାରିକ ଅଧିକାରକୁ ଅସ୍ୱୀକାର କରାଯାଇଥାଏ । ତେଣୁ ଏହି ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ନୂତନ ଶକ୍ତିଶାଳୀ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ଆଗରେ ନିଜ ଅଧିକାର ଜାହିର କରିପାରେ ନାହିଁ । ଉଦାହରଣ ସ୍ୱରୂପ କୁହାଯାଇପାରେ ଯେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମ୍ପଦାୟ ଅନୁନୁତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର କୀର୍ତ୍ତିକା ତଥା ଭରଣପୋଷଣ ବଣ୍ୟଜାତ ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟ ଉପରେ ନିର୍ଭର କରେ । ପରନ୍ତୁ ନୂତନ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାରେ ସାଧାରଣ ଭାବରେ ଏହାର ସ୍ଥାନ ରହି ନ ଥାଏ ।



୭। ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଭାରିଶିଳ୍ପ ସ୍ଥାପିତ କରି ନିଜର ପାର୍ଶ୍ଵବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ସହିତ ସାମାନ୍ୟ ସମନ୍ବନ୍ଧ ସ୍ଥାପନ କରିବାର ଚେଷ୍ଟା ଏପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ହୋଇନାହିଁ । ସାଧାରଣ ସେବା, କୃଷିଜାତ ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟ, ଦୁଧ, ଅଣ୍ଡା, ଘିଅ ଇତ୍ୟାଦିର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ନୂତନ ଆର୍ଥିକ ସମ୍ଭାବନାର ଜନ୍ମ ଦେଉଅଛି । ପରନ୍ତୁ ଏହାଦ୍ଵାରା ପାର୍ଶ୍ଵବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ କୌଣସି ଲଭ ପାଇ ପାରୁନାହିଁ । ବିଭିନ୍ନ ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ସହିତ ଜଡ଼ିତ ପ୍ରବାସୀମାନେ ଅଧିକ ଲାଭବାନ ହେଉଛନ୍ତି । ପାର୍ଶ୍ଵବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ କୃଷିଜାତ ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟର ଉଚିତ ବ୍ୟବହାର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଏପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ହୋଇନାହିଁ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ପ୍ରଥମ ଅବସ୍ଥାରେ ଏହି ଶିଳ୍ପ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ସାଧାରଣ ବ୍ୟବହାରୀ ଜିନିଷ ପାଇଁ ଦୂରବର୍ତ୍ତୀପ୍ରଗତିଶୀଳ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ଉପରେ ନିର୍ଭର କରିଥାଏ । ଧୀରେ ଧୀରେ ଆଖପାଖ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ବହୁ ପ୍ରବାସୀ କୁକୁଡ଼ା ପାଳନ ପ୍ରଭୃତି ଆରମ୍ଭ କରି ବସବାସ କରି ଆଆନ୍ତି ଏବଂ ସେମାନେ ପନିପରିବା ଗୁଣ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ମଧ୍ୟ ଅଗ୍ରଣୀ ହୋଇଆସନ୍ତି । ଏହିପରି ଭାବରେ ଶିଳ୍ପକେନ୍ଦ୍ର ଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଏବଂ ନିକଟବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସମନ୍ବନ୍ଧ ରହିପାରେ ନାହିଁ । କିନ୍ତୁ ଏଥିରେ ପ୍ରବାସୀମାନଙ୍କର ଭୂମିକା ପ୍ରଧାନ ସ୍ଥାନ ପାଏ । କାଳକ୍ରମେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ବନ୍ୟ ପ୍ରଦେଶର ବହୁ ପକ୍ଷକୁ ଗୁଲିଯାଏ । ଏହି ଭାବରେ ପାର୍ଶ୍ଵବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ବିବିଧୀକରଣ ଓ ଏହାର ସୁନିୟୋଜନର ଅଭାବ ଏକ ନୂତନ ସମସ୍ୟା ସୃଷ୍ଟି କରିଛି । ଦ୍ଵିତୀୟ ଓ ତୃତୀୟ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟରେ ମଧ୍ୟ ଆଦିବାସୀ ସ୍ଥାନ ପାଇପାରେ ନାହିଁ । ଆର୍ଥିକ ବିକାଶ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟାମଧ୍ୟରେ, ନୂତନ ସମ୍ଭାବନାର ପୃଷ୍ଠଭୂମି ଉପରେ କୁଶଳ ଜନଶକ୍ତି ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ହୋଇଥାଏ । ପରନ୍ତୁ ଏହି ବର୍ଦ୍ଧିଷ୍ଣୁ ଗୁରୁତ୍ଵ ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ କରିବାରେ ପ୍ରବାସୀ ବ୍ୟବସାୟୀ ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀ ଯଥେଷ୍ଟ ଲାଭବାନ ହୋଇଆସନ୍ତି । ଏହି ଭାବରେ ଶିଳ୍ପକେନ୍ଦ୍ର ମାନଙ୍କରେ ପ୍ରତିଦିନ ନୂତନ ଅବସର ଜନ୍ମନେଇଥାଏ । କିନ୍ତୁ ନୂତନ ଜନଶକ୍ତିର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ତଥା ଏହାର ଲାଭ କେବଳ ପ୍ରବାସୀମାନେ ହିଁ ପାଇଥାଆନ୍ତି ।

୮। (ଖ) କ୍ଷୁଦ୍ରଶିଳ୍ପ—ଅନେକ କ୍ଷୁଦ୍ରଶିଳ୍ପ ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳମାନଙ୍କରେ ସ୍ଥାପିତ ହେଉଅଛି । ଏହି ଶିଳ୍ପଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଅନେକାଂଶରେ କଞ୍ଚାମାଲ ଉପରେ ନିର୍ଭର କରିଥାଏ । ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜର ସ୍ଥିତିରେ ଏବଂ ଲାଭ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରୁ ଏହା ବୃହତ୍-ଶିଳ୍ପ ସଦୃଶ । ଅବଶ୍ୟ ଏହା ଦେଖାଯାଇପାରେ ଯେ ଏହି ଶିଳ୍ପର କେନ୍ଦ୍ରଭୂତ ଏକତ୍ ଅଧିକାଂଶ ସ୍ଥାନରେ ବିସ୍ଥିତ ହୋଇ ରହିଛି । ଏହାର ଲାଭ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜକୁ ମିଳିବାର ସମ୍ଭାବନା ଅଧିକ ଥାଏ ଏବଂ ବୃହତ୍-ଶିଳ୍ପ ଠାରୁ ଏହାର କୁ-ପ୍ରଭାବ ମଧ୍ୟ ଟିକେ କମ୍ ଥାଏ । ଏହା ସଂପର୍କରେ ଏକ ଅଲଗା ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ନିଆଯାଇପାରେ । ଏହି ଶିଳ୍ପ ଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଅନ୍ତଃଜଗତରେ ବିକ୍ରେତ ହୋଇ ରହିଛି ଏବଂ ଏହା ଉପରେ ପ୍ରଶାସନିକ ନିୟନ୍ତ୍ରଣର ସମ୍ଭାବନା ମଧ୍ୟ କମି କମି ଯାଉଛି । ଅତଏବ ଯେଉଁଠାରେ ଏକାଧିକ ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀ ଏହି ଉଦ୍ୟୋଗରୁ ଲାଭ ପାଇବାର ସମ୍ଭାବନା ଅଛି, ପରନ୍ତୁ ତା ସାଙ୍ଗରେ ଉଚିତ୍ ପ୍ରଶାସନିକ ଶୃଙ୍ଖଳା ନ

ରହିଲେ, ଏହା ଅନୁନ୍ତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ପାଇଁ ଏକ ବିଶାଳ ଶୋଷଣକେନ୍ଦ୍ର ଭାବରେ ଠିଆ ହେବାର ସମ୍ଭାବନା ରହିଛି ।

୯। (ଗ) ଗୃହ ଶିଳ୍ପ—ଆମେ ପ୍ରଥମ ଅବସ୍ଥାରୁ ଦେଖି ଆସିଅଛୁ ଯେ, ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଧ୍ୟୁଷିତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଗ୍ରାମ୍ୟ ତଥା କ୍ଷୁଦ୍ରଶିଳ୍ପ ସ୍ଥାପନ ଏବଂ ଏହାର ସହାୟତା ସଂପର୍କରେ କୌଣସି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ହୋଇନାହିଁ । ତେଣୁ ଏହି ଶିଳ୍ପମାନ ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ଅନୁଯାୟୀ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରିପାରିନାହିଁ । ଏହି ସଂପର୍କରେ କୌଣସି ସମସ୍ୟା—ସମାଧାନକାରକ ମଧ୍ୟ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ ହୋଇ ପାରିନାହିଁ । ଅନମନିୟତା ଯୋଗୁଁ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଗୁଡ଼ିକରେ ବିଭେଦ ସୃଷ୍ଟି ହେଉଅଛି । କୌଣସି ସମୟରେ ଯଦି କୌଣସି ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀ ପାଇଁ, ଶିଳ୍ପ ଗଢ଼ାଯାଉଛି, କାଳକ୍ରମେ ତାହା ସେହି ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ସାଧନ କରିବାରେ ଅକ୍ଷମ ହେଉଛି । ସାଧାରଣ ଭାବରେ ଏହା କୁହାଯାଇପାରେ ଯେ, ଘରୋଇ ଶିଳ୍ପ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଗୁରୁତ୍ଵ ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣରେ ସଫଳ ହୋଇପାରୁନାହିଁ ।

୧୦। (ଘ) ଶିଳ୍ପ ଉତ୍ପାଦନର ପ୍ରତିସର୍ଦ୍ଧା —ଏହି ସ୍ଥଳରେ ଅନ୍ୟ ଏକ ବିଶେଷ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟାର ବିଶ୍ଳେଷଣ କରାଯାଇପାରେ । ଉନ୍ନତର ବେଗ ସହିତ ତାଳଦେଇ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ସ୍ଥାପିତ ହେଉଅଛି । ପ୍ରଥମ ଅବସ୍ଥାରେ ଏହା କଷ୍ଟକର ହେଉନାହିଁ । ପରନ୍ତୁ ଏହାର ଦୂରୁହତାକୁ ସେହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ନୈସର୍ଗିକ ପ୍ରତିରକ୍ଷାତ୍ମକ ପ୍ରାଚୀର ବୋଲି କୁହାଯାଉଛି । ଏହି ପ୍ରାଚୀର କ୍ରମେ କ୍ରମେ ଅଧିକ ହେଉଛି । ଏହା ଫଳରେ କଳତିଆରି ଶସ୍ତ୍ର ଦରର ଜିନିଷ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଧୀରେ ଧୀରେ ପହଞ୍ଚି ପାରୁଛି ଏବଂ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ପାରଂପାରିକ ହାତ ତିଆରି ଜିନିଷ ସହିତ ପ୍ରତିଯୋଗିତା କରୁଛି । ଏହା ଅତି ଉଲ୍ଲେଖଯୋଗ୍ୟ କଥା ଯେ ଉପନିବେଶିକ ଯୁଗରେ ଆମର ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରୀୟ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଏହିପରି ଅବସ୍ଥା ଦେଇ ଗତି କରିଥିଲା । ସେହି ସମୟରେ କ୍ଷୁଦ୍ର କ୍ଷୁଦ୍ର ଶିଳ୍ପ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନଗୁଡ଼ିକ ବିଲୁପ୍ତ ଜିନିଷର ପ୍ରତିସର୍ଦ୍ଧା କରୁଥିଲେ ଏବଂ ଏହି ବିଦେଶୀ ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଆମର ଗ୍ରାମ୍ୟ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଉପରେ କୁଠାରାଘାତ କରିଥିଲା । ବସ୍ତୁତଃ ସୂତ୍ର-ରୂପରେ ଏହି ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା ଆଜି ମଧ୍ୟ ତା'ର ପ୍ରଭାବ ବିସ୍ତାର କରି ଚାଲିଛି । ଉଦାହରଣ ସ୍ଵରୂପ ଆଦିବାସୀ ତନ୍ତୀର ତନ୍ତୁଗା, ଧାନପେଟାକଳ ଆସିବା ପରେ ତିଳିର ବ୍ୟବହାର କମିଯିବା, ଆଦିବାସୀ ବଢ଼େଇର ଗ୍ରାହକ କମିଯିବା ଇତ୍ୟାଦି ଗ୍ରାମ୍ୟ ଜୀବନ ପ୍ରତି ଏକ ନୂତନ ଅନୁଭବ ଆଣିଦେଇଛି । ଅନମନୀୟ ତଥା ପ୍ରଗତିଶୀଳ ଅଞ୍ଚଳଭିତ୍ତିକ ଯୋଜନା ଏବଂ ଏହାର ବିକାଶକ୍ରମ ଏହି ଅନୁନ୍ତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ପାଇଁ ବିଶେଷ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରିପାରିବ ନାହିଁ ।

୧୧। ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶ ପାଇଁ ନୂତନ ଉଦ୍ୟମ—

ବିକାଶର ସଂଦର୍ଭରେ ସବୁ ଦିଗରୁ ବିଚାର ହେବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏହା ଆମ ସାମ୍ନାରେ ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ ରୂପରେ ପ୍ରତିଭାତ

ହେଉଛି ଯେ କେତେକ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶ ହେବାଦ୍ୱାରା ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ଆୟ ବୃଦ୍ଧି ପାଇଛି । ଯେହେତୁ ଆମେ ଉଦ୍ୟୋଗୀ-କରଣକୁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ବିକାଶର ଅନ୍ତର୍ଭୁକ୍ତ କରିଛୁ, ତେଣୁ କେତେକ ବୈଧାନିକ ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ ଆମ ସାମ୍ନାକୁ ଆସୁଛି । ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଉତ୍ପାଦନ ବୃଦ୍ଧିର ସମ୍ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଲଭ ଆଦିବାସୀ ପାଖରେ କ'ଣ ପହଞ୍ଚିପାରୁଛି ? ଏହି ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ ପରୁରିବା ପୂର୍ବରୁ ଆମକୁ ଏକାଧିକ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ ପ୍ରତି ଧ୍ୟାନ ଦେବା ଉଚିତ । ଆଧୁନିକ ନୂତନ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିବା ପାଇଁ କ'ଣ ସମ୍ଭବ ? ଯଦି ଆମେ ଏହି ଶିଳ୍ପାଞ୍ଚଳ ଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିଦେଉ ତେବେ ଦେଖିପାରୁ ଯେ ଅଧିକାଂଶ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ନୂତନ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାଭିତ୍ତିକ ଲଭ ନେବା ପାଇଁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ସମ୍ଭବ ହୋଇପାରିନାହିଁ । ତେଣୁ ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ଉନ୍ନୟନ ଓ ଜନସାଧାରଣଙ୍କର ବିକାଶ ଦୁଇଟି ଭିନ୍ନମୁଖୀ ଚିନ୍ତାଧାରା । ଯେ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ସ୍ୱୟଂ ଶୈଳୀକରଣ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା ଅତ୍ୟନ୍ତ ସୀମିତ ଏବଂ କେବଳ ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ବିକାଶ ସ୍ତରରେ ଗଢ଼ି ଉଠୁଥିବା ଏକଗୁଡ଼ିଆ ଶିଳ୍ପ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନ ସୀମିତ ସ୍ତରରେ ଯେ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରୁଥିବ ସେ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଆଦିବାସୀ ବିକାଶ ଓ ସମସ୍ୟାର ସମାଧାନ ହେବନାହିଁ । ଉଦ୍ୟୋଗୀକରଣ, ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଦ୍ୱିଧାତୁକ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ଜନ୍ମ ଦେଉଅଛି । ଯଦି ଆମେ ଏହି ଶିଳ୍ପର ଭୂମିକାକୁ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ଅନୁରୂପ କରି ଗଢ଼ିପାରୁ ତେବେ ଏହା ସଫଳତା ଲଭ କରିପାରିବ । ଯଦି ଏହି ଉଦ୍ୟୋଗ୍ୟ ନେଇ ଶିଳ୍ପବିକାଶ କରାଯାଏ ତେବେ ଶିଳ୍ପାଞ୍ଚଳର ପାର୍ଶ୍ୱବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ କିଛି ପରିମାଣରେ ଉପକୃତ ହୋଇପାରିବ ।

୧୨ । ସରଳ ଆଦିବାସୀମାନଙ୍କ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ସଂପର୍କରେ ଆଉ ଏକ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ ବିରୁଦ୍ଧକୁ ନିଆଯାଇପାରେ । ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ବିକାଶଜନୀତ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ବିବିଧି-କରଣ ପାଇଁ ଆମେ କ'ଣ ସ୍ୱାଭାବିକ ଘଟଣାକ୍ରମର ଅପେକ୍ଷାରେ ରହିବା ଏବଂ ଏହି ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା ଯେତେବେଳେ ନିଜେ ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ ହେବ, ସେହି ସମୟରେ କ'ଣ ନୂତନ ଶିଳ୍ପମାନ ସ୍ଥାପନ କରାଯିବ ? କିମ୍ବା ଏହା ପାଇଁ କୌଣସି ବିକଳ ପଛା ରହିଛି କି ? କ'ଣ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜର ଗୃହିତା ଅନୁସାରେ ଏହାର ନିୟୋଜିତ ରୂପର ବିବିଧିକରଣ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟାକୁ ତୁରାନ୍ୱୀତ କରାଯିବ ? ଏହି ପ୍ରଶ୍ନର ଅପର ଦିଗ ପ୍ରତି ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଦିଆଯିବା ଉଚିତ । କ'ଣ ବିବିଧିକରଣ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟାକୁ ଶିଳ୍ପ ସ୍ଥାପନା ସଂପର୍କରେ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାପ୍ତ ବୋଲି ମାନିନେବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିବ ? ଅଥବା, ବିବିଧିକରଣ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା ପାଇଁ ଆୟୋଜନ ଏବଂ ଶିଳ୍ପ ସ୍ଥାପନାକୁ ଏକ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟାର ଦୁଇ ରୂପ ଭାବରେ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିବ ? ଯଦି ବିବିଧିକରଣ ଏବଂ ଉଦ୍ୟୋଗୀକରଣର ମୂଳସୂତ୍ର ଏକ ତେବେ ଲଘୁସ୍ତରୀୟ ଆୟୋଜନ ପ୍ରତି ସମ୍ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଧ୍ୟାନ ଦିଆଯିବା ଉଚିତ, ସମଗ୍ର ଦେଶର ଆର୍ଥିକ ବିକାଶକୁ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିଦେବା ସମୟରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ବିକାଶକୁ ଗୌଣ ସ୍ଥାନ ଦିଆଯାଏ । ଏହାକୁ ଗୌଣ ସ୍ଥାନ ଦିଆଯାଇଛି ଭାବି ଆଦିବାସୀର ବିକାଶକୁ ଏକ ଅଜଣା ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା ଉପରେ ଛାଡ଼ି ଦିଆଯିବା ଉଚିତ ନୁହେଁ । ଏହି ଅଜଣା ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା ଆଦିବାସୀର ଆର୍ଥିକ ଛିତିକୁ ଦ୍ୱିଧାତୁକ କରି ଗଢ଼ି ତୋଳୁଛି । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଶିଳ୍ପ ସଙ୍ଗଠନକୁ ଶେଷ ଲକ୍ଷ୍ୟ

ଭାବରେ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରାଯାଉଛି ଓ ଏହାକୁ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜର ସ୍ୱୟଂ ବିକାଶସ୍ତର ବୋଲି ଗ୍ରହଣ କରା ଯାଉନାହିଁ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ସ୍ୱୟଂ ଓପିଦ୍ୟୋଗୀକରଣକୁ ଅଧିକ ଭାବରେ ବିସ୍ତାର କରିବାର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ରହିଛି । ଆଦିବାସୀର ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ବିବିଧିକରଣ, ମୂଖ୍ୟ ଅଂଶ ହେବା ଉଚିତ । ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶର ରୂପ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଧାରଣ କରିବା ସମୟରେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜ ଏହାଦ୍ୱାରା କେତେ ପରି-ମାଣରେ ଉପକୃତ ହେଉଛି ତାହାକୁ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ତତ୍ତ୍ୱ ରୂପରେ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିବ । ଯଦି ଆମେ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ପରିଦର୍ଶନ କରୁ ତେବେ ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନର ଆର୍ଥିକ ସାମାଜିକ ଛିତିରେ ଅସାମଞ୍ଜସ୍ୟ ଦେଖିବାକୁ ପାଇବା । ଏଥି ସକାଶେ ସମୁଦ୍ର ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶ ଏବଂ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ପାଇଁ ଏକ ସୁନିୟନ୍ତ୍ରିତ ଧାରା ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ କରିବା କିମ୍ବା ଏକ ପ୍ରକାର ସମାଧାନ କାରକ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ କରିବା ସମ୍ଭବ ହେବନାହିଁ । ଏହା ସମ୍ଭବ ହେବା ମଧ୍ୟ ଅନୁଚିତ । ଏହି ଭାବରେ ଆମେ ଏକ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ନିଷ୍ପତ୍ତି ଉପରେ ପହଞ୍ଚିଛୁ ଯେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶ ଯୋଜନା ଆଶାନୁରୂପ ହୋଇପାରୁନାହିଁ । ଆଦିବାସୀର ବିକାଶ ପାଇଁ ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଲଘୁସ୍ତରୀୟ ଆୟୋଜନ କରାଯିବ ଏବଂ ଏହି ଆୟୋଜନକୁ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶର ନୂତନ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟ ରୂପରେ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରାଯିବ । ଏହି ଯୋଜନାରେ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ବିବିଧିକରଣ ପାଇଁ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ରହିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏହି ସଂପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଉନ୍ନୟନ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ବିନ୍ଦୁ ହେବା ଉଚିତ ।

୧୩ । ଶିଳ୍ପ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ପାଇଁ ସ୍ଥାନ ମନୋନୟନ:—

କୌଣସି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶ ଓ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଉପରେ ପ୍ରଭାବର କଥା ବିରୁଦ୍ଧ କରିବା ସମୟରେ ସ୍ୱୟଂ ଓପିଦ୍ୟୋଗୀକରଣର ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ସୂତ୍ରକୁ ବିଶ୍ଳେଷଣ କରିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଶିଳ୍ପ ସ୍ଥାପନ ପାଇଁ ସ୍ଥାନ ନିରୂପଣକୁ ସାଧାରଣତଃ ତିନି ଭାଗରେ ବିଭକ୍ତ କରି ଦିଆଯାଇଛି ।

- (କ) ଆର୍ଥିକ
- (ଖ) ସଂଯୁକ୍ତ ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ବିକାଶ ପାଇଁ ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରିୟ ନୀତି
- (ଗ) ପ୍ରତିରକ୍ଷା, ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରିୟ ଅଥବା ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ବିକାଶ

୧୪ । ସ୍ଥାନ ମନୋନୟନ ପାଇଁ କେତେକ ଆର୍ଥିକ କାରଣ:—

- (୧) କଞ୍ଚାମାଲ ତଥା ଅନ୍ୟ ଉତ୍ପାଦକର ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱ ଉପ-ଲବ୍ଧି ।
- (୨) ଗମନାଗମନର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ତଥା ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା
- (୩) ଶକ୍ତୀ ଶ୍ରମିକ
- (୪) ଉଦ୍ୟମ କର୍ତ୍ତାଙ୍କ ଦୂରଦୃଷ୍ଟି
- (୫) ପକ୍ୱା ଜିନିଷ ଉତ୍ପାଦନ ହେବାର ସମ୍ଭାବନା ।

୧୫ । ଯଦି କୌଣସି କ୍ଷେତ୍ର ବିଶେଷର ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶ ପାଇଁ ଏକ କିମ୍ବା ଏକାଧିକ ଆର୍ଥିକ ତତ୍ତ୍ୱ ଉପଲବ୍ଧି ନ ହୋଇଛି ଏବଂ ଏହି ପରିପ୍ରେକ୍ଷାରେ ବିକାଶକୁ ଓ ସମସ୍ୟାକୁ ବିଶେଷ ଧ୍ୟାନ ଦିଆଯିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଅପର ଦିଗରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାର ନିୟନ୍ତ୍ରଣ ଏହି ସମସ୍ତ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ ସହିତ ବ୍ୟବହାର କରାଯାଇପାରେ । ଯେତେଦିନ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଏହି ଶିଳ୍ପ ପ୍ରତିରକ୍ଷା ସଂପର୍କରେ ଆସୁଥିବ ସେତେଦିନ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଉତ୍ପାଦିତ ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟର ମୂଲ୍ୟାଙ୍କନକୁ ଗୌଣ ସ୍ଥାନ ଦିଆଯାଉଥିବ ।

୧୬ । ଆର୍ଥିକ ବିକାଶର ସୈଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତିକ ବିବେଚନା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଥିବା ବହୁଧା ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ବିକାଶ ତଥା ଜନସାଧାରଣଙ୍କର ସାମ୍ବଲିକ ବିକାଶକୁ ଏକ ସୋପାନ ଭାବରେ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରାଯାଇଥାଏ । ଯେଉଁ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜର ବିଭିନ୍ନ ସଂପ୍ରଦାୟ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଦକ୍ଷତା ସଂପର୍କରେ ଅସାମଞ୍ଜସ୍ୟ ନଥାଏ ଏବଂ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସାମାଜିକ ନୀତି ଯଦି ଏହାର ପଥରୋଧ କରୁନଥାଏ ତେବେ ଏହା ସମାଜର ତାତ୍କାଳୀନ ସ୍ଥିତି ସହିତ ଖାପ ଖାଇଥାଏ । ପରନ୍ତୁ, ଏହି ନୀତି ଯଦି ପରସ୍ପର ବିରୋଧୀ ଦୁଇ ଅବସ୍ଥାର ସମ୍ମୁଖୀନ ହୁଏ ତେବେ ଏହା ସମାଜକୈତ୍ରିକ ହୋଇପାରେନାହିଁ । ଯେଉଁଠାରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାଗୁଡ଼ିକ ପାରମ୍ପାରିକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଉପରେ ଆଧାରିତ ସେଗୁଡ଼ିକ ସହଜରେ ପ୍ରସାର ଲଭ କରିପାରୁଛି । ଆଜିପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଯେତେକ ସ୍ଥାନ ନିରୁପଣ କରାଯାଇଛି ସେଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ବିକାଶ ଉପରେ ଆଧାରିତ । ଆଦିବାସୀର ବିକାଶ କରିବାକୁ ହେଲେ ସଂଯୁକ୍ତ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶକୁ ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ବିକାଶ ସହିତ ସମକକ୍ଷ କରିବାକୁ ହେବ । ଏହି ସ୍ଥାନ ନିରୁପଣ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ମାନବିକ ମୂଲ୍ୟବୋଧକୁ ଏକ ତତ୍ତ୍ୱ ରୂପରେ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିବାକୁ ହେବ । ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶକୁ ସମୂହ ବିକାଶ ଦିଗରେ ଲଗାଇବା ଉଚିତ୍ । ସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତ ରୂପରେ ବିଶେଷକରି ଆଦିବାସୀ ବିକାଶ ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ “ମାନବିକତା” କୁ ସର୍ବାଧିକ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱ ଦିଆଯିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏହା ଆମକୁ ମାନିବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିବ ଯେ ପ୍ରତିରକ୍ଷାତୁଳ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନର ସ୍ଥାପନା ଏପରି ଏକ ସ୍ଥିତିରେ ହୋଇପାରେ ଯେଉଁଠାରେ କି କ୍ଷେତ୍ର ବିଶେଷରେ ଜନ-ସାଧାରଣଙ୍କ ମଙ୍ଗଳକୁ ନୀତିଗତ ଭାବରେ ଗୌଣ ସ୍ଥାନ ଦିଆଯାଉଥିବ । ଏହି ସ୍ଥିତିକୁ ଆମେମାନେ ଭଲ ଭାବରେ ଜାଣି ରଖିବା ଉଚିତ୍ ଏବଂ ଏହି ସ୍ଥିତି ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ ଭାବରେ ପରିଭାଷିତ ହେବା ଉଚିତ୍ । ଏହିସବୁ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ସଫଳ ହେଲେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶ ଆଶାନୁରୂପ ଭୂମିକା ପାଇ ପାରିବ ।

୧୭ । ରକ୍ଷାତୁଳ ତଥା ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରିୟ-ହିତ ସଂପର୍କୀତ ଉଚ୍ଚ ଧରଣର ମୌଳିକ ଶିଳ୍ପ:—

ଆମେ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଶିଳ୍ପର ବର୍ଗୀକରଣକୁ ରକ୍ଷା-ହିତ ତଥା ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରିୟ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା, ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଅଥବା ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ଆଧାର ଉପରେ ଦେଖୁ । ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ଲକ୍ଷ୍ୟ ସ୍ଥିତିକୁ ଚିନ୍ତା ନକରି ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରିୟ ହିତକୁ ଆଖି ଆଗରେ ରଖି କେତେକ ଶିଳ୍ପ ସ୍ଥାପନର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ରହିଛି । ଏହାର କୁଳତ

ଉଦାହରଣ ରକ୍ଷା ସଂସ୍ଥାନ ବା ଅନୁନତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ସ୍ଥାପିତ ଇସ୍ପାତ କାରଖାନା ପ୍ରଭୃତି । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଆମକୁ ଗଭୀର ଭାବରେ ଚିନ୍ତା କରିବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିବ ଏବଂ ମୌଳିକ ତଥ୍ୟକୁ ଅତି ସହଜ କରିବାକୁ ହେବ । ଯେଉଁ ମୌଳିକ ତଥ୍ୟ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ସ୍ତରରେ ଅତି କଷ୍ଟକର ମନେ ହେଉଥାଏ, ପରେ ଏହା ଅତି ସରଳ ଭାବରେ ଆମ ପାଖରେ ପହଞ୍ଚିଥାଏ ଉଦାହରଣ ସ୍ୱରୂପ କୌଣସି ରକ୍ଷା ସଂସ୍ଥାନକୁ ସ୍ଥାପନ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ କଥା ପ୍ରତି ଅପେକ୍ଷା କରିବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିନଥାଏ । ପରନ୍ତୁ ଯେତେବେଳେ ଖଣିଜ ପରିଯୋଜନାର ଆୟୋଜନ କରାଯାଏ ସେତେବେଳେ ଏହା ସ୍ଥାପିତ ହେବାର ସମୟ ଏବଂ ସ୍ଥାନ ଦୁଇଟିଯାକ ରକ୍ଷା ସଂସ୍ଥାନ ପରି ଅପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନୀୟ ରହେନାହିଁ । ଏହା ସଂପର୍କରେ ଆର୍ଥିକ ହାନୀ-ଲଭ, ରାଜନୈତିକ ଦାନ ତଥା ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଅବ-ସ୍ଥାପନାର ଉପଲବ୍ଧି ଅତି ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ତତ୍ତ୍ୱ ଭାବରେ ଆମ ସାମ୍ନାକୁ ଆସିଥାଏ । କୌଣସି ଗୋଟିଏ ତତ୍ତ୍ୱ, ଏହାର ପ୍ରତିକୂଳ ହେଲେ ସ୍ଥାପିତ ହେବାର ସ୍ଥାନ ଓ ସମୟ ବଦଳି ଯାଇପାରେ । ଏହି କଥାରୁ ଏହା ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ ରୂପରେ ପରିଭାଷିତ ହେଉଛି ଯେ ଯେଉଁଠାରେ ଏକ ବା ଏକାଧିକ ତତ୍ତ୍ୱକୁ ପ୍ରଭାବଶାଳୀ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ତତ୍ତ୍ୱ ପ୍ରାରମ୍ଭରୁ ଧ୍ୟାନ ଦିଆଯାଏ । ସେହି ସ୍ଥାନରେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଆର୍ଥିକ ଏବଂ ସାମାଜିକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାକୁ ଉପେକ୍ଷା କରାଯାଇଥାଏ । ଯଦି ଏହି ସଂସ୍ଥାଗୁଡ଼ିକର ସ୍ଥାପନା ପାଇଁ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜର ସ୍ୱୀକୃତି ନିଆଯାଏ ଏବଂ ଯଥୋଚିତ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱ ଦିଆଯାଏ, ତେବେ ଆମର ପ୍ରାଥମିକ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟାବଳୀ ଭିନ୍ନ ରୂପରେ ଗଢ଼ିଉଠେ । ଏହା ଆମକୁ ମାନିବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିବ ଯେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଧ୍ୟୁଷିତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ହେଉ ବା ଅଣ-ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ହେଉ, ସେଠାରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ପାଇଁ ଅର୍ଥ ବିନିଯୋଗ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ପାର୍ଥକ୍ୟ ଅତି କମ୍ । ଏହି ସ୍ଥିତିରେ ଯଦି ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ସାମାଜିକ ଓ ଆର୍ଥିକ ଦିଗ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଧାରଣକୁ ଏକ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ତତ୍ତ୍ୱ ରୂପରେ ସ୍ୱୀକାର କରା ଯାଆନ୍ତା ତେବେ ଅନେକ ବିକଳ ପଛା ଆମ ସାମ୍ନାରେ ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ ହୋଇଉଠନ୍ତା । ଏପରି ସମୟରେ ଏହି ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ ଆମ ଆଗରେ ଆସି ପହଞ୍ଚୁଛି ଯେ ଯଦି ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଧ୍ୟୁଷିତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ନୂତନ ଶିଳ୍ପ ଗଢ଼ିଉଠିବ ତେବେ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ପାରମ୍ପାରିକ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କ୍ଷତ ବିକ୍ଷତ ହେବନାହିଁ ତ ? ଶିଳ୍ପ ସଂସ୍ଥାନ ପାଇଁ ବିକଳ ପଛା ଗ୍ରହଣ କରି ଅନ୍ୟ ଏକ ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ବନ୍ଧାଯିବ କି ନାହିଁ ବା ଏହି ସ୍ଥାନରେ ଆମକୁ ଏପରି ଆଗେଇବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିବ ଯେପରି ଉଚ୍ଚ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ପାର୍ଶ୍ୱବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ଉପକୃତ ହେଉଥିବ । ଏହା ଅତି ସାଧାରଣ କଥା ଯେ ସ୍ଥାନ ନିର୍ଣ୍ଣୟ କେବଳ ଦୂରଦୃଷ୍ଟି ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସୀମାବଦ୍ଧ ନୁହେଁ, ପରନ୍ତୁ କୌଣସି ଶିଳ୍ପ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ସାମାଜିକ ଓ ଆର୍ଥିକ ସ୍ଥିତିକୁ ଅତି ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ସ୍ଥାନ ଦିଆଯାଏ । ଏହି ଭାବରେ ଶିଳ୍ପାୟତନ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ସ୍ଥାନ ଓ କାଳ ନିରୁପଣ କରାଯାଇଥାଏ । ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସାମାଜିକ ଓ ଆର୍ଥିକ ସ୍ଥିତିକୁ ସ୍ଥାନ ନିର୍ଣ୍ଣୟ ସମୟରେ କେବଳ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ତତ୍ତ୍ୱ ରୂପରେ ରଖାଯାଏ ନାହିଁ, ବରଂ ଏହାକୁ ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ଏବଂ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ସ୍ତରରେ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ତତ୍ତ୍ୱ ରୂପରେ ରଖାଯାଇଥାଏ ଓ ଦକ୍ଷତାର ସହ କରାଯାଇପାରେ । ଏହି ତଥ୍ୟକୁ ଧ୍ୟାନରେ ରଖିବାକୁ ହେବ ଏବଂ ନୀତିନିୟମ ଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ନୂତନ ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତିତ



କରିବାକୁ ହେବ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ସଂପର୍କୀତ ସମୀକରଣ ଗୁଡ଼ିକର ବାରମ୍ବାର ଅନୁଶୀଳନ ହେବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ।

୧୮ । ଉପରଲିଖିତ ବିବେଚନ ଓ ତର୍କ ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ତଥା ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନ ଉପରେ ଲଗ୍ନ କରାଯାଏ । ଏହା ଅବଶ୍ୟ ସତ ଯେ ଏ ସବୁର ଅନୁଧ୍ୟାନ ଓ ହାନୀ ଲଭକୁ ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରୀୟ ହିତ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରେ ଗଣି ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଶିକ୍ଷ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନ ଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ସବୁ ସମୟରେ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱ ଦିଆଯାଏ ନାହିଁ । ଏହି ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ ଶିକ୍ଷ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନ ଉପରେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାକୁ ଉଚ୍ଚ ସ୍ଥାନ ଦେବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟ ଅତି ଉଲ୍ଲେଖଯୋଗ୍ୟ କଥା ଯେ ଶିକ୍ଷ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନ ପାଇଁ ଦୁଇଟି ସ୍ଥାନ ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ । ଏହି ଦୁଇଟି ସ୍ଥାନ ବିକଳ ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରୀୟ ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ ସମାନ । ପରନ୍ତୁ ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ବିକାଶ ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ ଏହାର ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଅତ୍ୟନ୍ତ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ସ୍ଥାନ ପାଇଥାଏ । କାରଣ ଯେଉଁ ସ୍ଥାନଟି ପରିଶେଷରେ ବଢ଼ାଯାଏ, ତାର ବିକାଶ ଅତି ଦ୍ରୁତ ହୁଏ ଏବଂ ଅନ୍ୟ ସ୍ଥାନଟି ଯେପରି ଥିଲ ସେପରି ରହିଯାଏ । ଏହି ପରିସ୍ଥିତିରେ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ବୃହତ୍ ଧରଣର ସମସ୍ୟାମାନ ଆମ ସାମ୍ନାକୁ ଆସେ । ଯଦି ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଆର୍ଥିକ, ସାମାଜିକ ସମସ୍ୟା ଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ସ୍ଥାନ ଦିଆଯାଏ ତେବେ ଏହା ଅଧିକ ଯୁକ୍ତି ସଙ୍ଗତ ହୁଏ । ଏପରି ଭାବରେ କରାଗଲେ ସ୍ଥାନ ନିର୍ଣ୍ଣୟର ଭର—କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ତୁଳନାତ୍ମକ ଶକ୍ତିର ଆଧାର ଉପରେ ଗଢ଼ିଉଠିବା ଅଧିକ ସମ୍ଭବ ହୁଏ । ଯଦି କୌଣସି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଉପରେ ଏହାର କୁପ୍ରଭାବ ପଡ଼େ ତେବେ ଅନ୍ୟ ଏକ ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ବାଛିବା ଅଧିକ ଯୁକ୍ତିସଙ୍ଗତ ହୁଏ । ଅନ୍ୟ ଦିଗରେ ଯଦି ସ୍ଥାନ ନିରୂପଣରେ ଅନୁନ୍ନତ ଆଦିବାସୀଙ୍କର ଲଭ ଅଧିକ ହେବାର ସମ୍ଭାବନା ରହେ, ତେବେ ଉକ୍ତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ସର୍ବପ୍ରଥମ ସ୍ଥାନ ମିଳିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ।

୧୯ । ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ବିକାଶ ସଂପର୍କରେ କେତେ ଗୁଡ଼ିଏ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟକୁ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କାରଣ ସଂପର୍କରେ ମାନି ନିଆଯାଏ । ଏହାର ଅନୁଧ୍ୟାନ ଅତ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଉଦାହରଣ ସ୍ୱରୂପ ନିଆଯାଇପାରେ, ମନେ କରନ୍ତୁ ଅମୃତ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଆର୍ଥିକ ବିକାଶ ଇଚ୍ଛାତ କାରଖାନା ଉପରେ ନିର୍ଭର କରେ । ସେଠାରେ କେତେକ କଳ୍ପନାକୁ ମଧ୍ୟ ତଥ୍ୟ ରୂପରେ ମାନି ନିଆଯାଏ । ଯେପରି ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଶିକ୍ଷ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ଅଧିକ ଅଧିକ ରୋଜଗାରର ପଛ ପାଇବ ଏବଂ ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଯେପରି ଅଧିକ ଆଗେଇବ ଓ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଯେପରି ଏହା ଦ୍ୱାରା ଅଧିକ ଲଭବାନ ହେବ, ଏହାକୁ ଅଗ୍ରାଧିକାର ଦିଆଯାଉଛି । ଏଥିରେ ଦ୍ୱିଧାତ୍ମକ ଆର୍ଥିକ ଓ ସାମାଜିକ ସ୍ଥିତିକୁ ଅତି ସାଧାରଣ କରି ଦିଆଯାଉଛି । ଏହି କାରଣମାନ ଆଦିବାସୀର ଆର୍ଥିକ ସ୍ଥିତି ଉପରେ ଶିକ୍ଷର ପ୍ରଭାବକୁ ଦୁର୍ବଳ କରିଦେଉଛି ।

୨୦ । ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଅବସ୍ଥିତି—ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନ ଆମେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିକ୍ଷ ବିକାଶ ସଂପର୍କୀତ ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟବିଧିର ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ ଉପରେ ଆଲୋଚନା କରିବା । ସମ୍ଭାବ୍ୟ

ଶିକ୍ଷର ପ୍ରକୃତି ଓ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଆଦିବାସୀର ଲଭ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରି-ପାରିବାର କ୍ଷମତା ଅଥବା ତତ୍ପରତାରେ ସାମଞ୍ଜସ୍ୟ ରହିବା ଓ୍ୟାଦ୍ୟୋଗୀକରଣର ମୂଳମନ୍ତ୍ର । ଶିକ୍ଷ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ଓ ଆଦିବାସୀ ସମାଜର ତତ୍ପରତା, ଆଦି ଦୁଇଟି ତତ୍ତ୍ୱ କେବେ ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତିତ ହେବନାହିଁ । ଆଉ ମଧ୍ୟ ଏହାକୁ ପୁରାପୁରି ଭାବରେ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର କୁହାଯାଇପାରିବ ନାହିଁ । ଏହି ଦୁଇ ତତ୍ତ୍ୱକୁ ସଠିକ ଭାବରେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀ କରାଗଲେ ଅଧିକ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରାଯାଇ ପାରିବ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଆମେ ସାମୁ-ଦାୟିକ ଉଦ୍ୟମ ଉପରେ ବିଶ୍ୱର କରିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ହେଉଛି । ଏହା ଅତି ପରିଷ୍କାର ଭାବରେ ଆମକୁ ଜଣେଇଁ ଦେଉଛି ଯେ, ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ବିଶେଷରେ ଯଦି ବିକାଶକ୍ରମକୁ ଅଧିକ ସହଜ କରି ଦିଆ-ଯିବ, ତେବେ ସେହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଉଦ୍ୟମ ଅଧିକ ହେବ । ଯଦି ଏହି ସଂପର୍କରେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜର ବିକାଶକ୍ରମର ପଛା ନିରୂପିତ ହୋଇନଥାଏ ଏବଂ ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ବିକାଶ ପାଇଁ ଉଦ୍ୟମ ଅତି କମ୍ ହୋଇଥାଏ ତେବେ ଅନୁନ୍ନତ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ, ଉନ୍ନତ ଅଣଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ସହିତ ସମକକ୍ଷ ହେବା ପାଇଁ ବହୁ ବର୍ଷ ଲାଗିଯାଏ, ଏବଂ ଏହି ସ୍ତାଣୁରୁ ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ସ୍ଥିତିକୁ ବିକୃତ କରିଦେବ ।

୨୧ । ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିକ୍ଷ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା ପାଇଁ ଉଦ୍ୟମର ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଅସାମଞ୍ଜସ୍ୟ ରହିଥାଏ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଉଦ୍ୟମ ଅନୁଯାୟୀ ଶିକ୍ଷ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା ଓ ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ ସ୍ଥିତି ତିଆରି କରିବାର ନ୍ୟୁନତମ ସମୟ ମଧ୍ୟ ପୃଥକ ପୃଥକ ହୋଇ ରହିବା ଉଚିତ । ଏହା ଆମ ସାମ୍ନାରେ ପରିଷ୍କାର ହୋଇ ଉଠୁଛି ଯେ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଶିକ୍ଷ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା ପାଇଁ ଦକ୍ଷ ଏବଂ ଉପାଦାନ ପାଇଁ ଲଭର ପ୍ରୟୋଗ ସଠିକ ହେବା ପାଇଁ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ସମାଜରେ ଏକ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ସମୟର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ରହିଛି । ଯେପରି କ୍ଷୁଦ୍ର ଏବଂ ମଧ୍ୟମ ଧରଣର ଶିକ୍ଷ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା ପାଇଁ ସୀମିତ ସମୟ ଓ ଭାରି ଶିକ୍ଷ ପାଇଁ ଦୀର୍ଘ ସମୟର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତାକୁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଉନ୍ନତର ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ସ୍ତରରୁ ଏକାଧିକ ପ୍ରାରମ୍ଭିକ ସ୍ଥିତି ନିର୍ଦ୍ଧାରିତ ହୋଇଥାଏ ଏବଂ ଅନ୍ୟ ଦିଗରେ ଏହାର ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନର ଗତି ଓ ଏହାର ସୀମା ନିର୍ଦ୍ଧାରଣକୁ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ତତ୍ତ୍ୱ ରୂପରେ ଆମେ ଭେଟିଥାଉ । ଆଦିବାସୀ ସମାଜରେ ଆଜିର ସାଧାରଣ କୌଶଳ, ବିଶିଷ୍ଟ ଶ୍ରେଣୀର ହସ୍ତକୌଶଳ ତଥା ନୂତନ ଶିକ୍ଷ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଅନୁରୂପ ଶିକ୍ଷ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାକୁ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ସ୍ତର ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଆଣିବାକୁ ହେଲେ ଦୁଇ ପକ୍ଷର ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନ ଯଥା ଶୀଘ୍ର କରାଯାଇ ପାରେ, ଏହି ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ତତ୍ତ୍ୱକୁ ଏପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଧ୍ୟାନ ଦିଆଯାଇନାହିଁ ।

୨୨ । ଆର୍ଥିକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଏବଂ ସାଧାରଣ କୌଶଳର ବିବିଧିକରଣ:—

ଉପରୋକ୍ତ ଆଲୋଚନା ପ୍ରସଙ୍ଗରେ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି କୌଶଳକୁ ଆଧୁନିକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଅନୁଯାୟୀ ଗଢ଼ିବା ଉପରେ ବିଶେଷ ଯୋର ଦିଆଯାଇଛି । ପରନ୍ତୁ ଏଠାରେ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି କୌଶଳକୁ ଅତି ସୀମିତ

ଅର୍ଥରେ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିବା ଅନୁଚିତ । ପୁରାତନ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଅନୁଯାୟୀ ଜନସାଧାରଣ କୃଷି ଉପରେ ଅଧିକ ନିର୍ଭର କରୁଥିଲେ । ଏମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରୁ କିଛି ଲୋକ କାରିଗରୀ ମଧ୍ୟ କରୁଥିଲେ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ପାରପାରୀକ କାରିଗରୀକୁ ଆଧୁନିକ ହସ୍ତ କର୍ମର ମୂଲ୍ୟ ଦିଆଯିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ପରନ୍ତୁ ଏହି ନୂତନ ହସ୍ତ କର୍ମକୁ ଶିକ୍ଷା କରିବା ସଙ୍ଗେ ସଙ୍ଗେ ଯେପରି ପୁରୁଣା ହସ୍ତ କର୍ମ ପ୍ରତି ସେମାନେ ବୀତସ୍ବହ ନ ହୁଅନ୍ତି, ସେଥିପ୍ରତି ସମୁଚିତ ଧ୍ୟାନ ଦିଆଯିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଜଣେ ସାଧାରଣ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ହତିଆର ତିଆରି କରିପାରେ, ଘର ତିଆରି କରେ, ବୁଣାବୁଣି କାମ ମଧ୍ୟ କରିପାରେ । ସତ୍ୟତାର ବିକାଶ ଯେତେ ଦ୍ରୁତ ହେଉଛି, ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି କୌଶଳ ଆସ୍ତେ ଆସ୍ତେ କର୍ମିତାଉଛି । ନିୟୋଜିତ ବିକାଶର ମୂଖ୍ୟ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ ହେଉଛି ସମ୍ବୁଦ୍ଧ ଆଦିବାସୀ ସମାଜକୁ ଦ୍ବିତୀୟ ଏବଂ ତୃତୀୟ ଯୋଜନାର ଆର୍ଥିକ ଗତି ବିଷୟରେ ଭାଗ ନେବାରେ ସଚେତନ କରାଇବା ଏବଂ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାକୁ ବିବିଧିକରଣ କରାଇବା । ଏଥି ପାଇଁ ସ୍ଥାନ ବିଶେଷରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ସାଧାରଣ ବିବିଧିକରଣକୁ ଉଚ୍ଚ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରର ସମ୍ବୁଦ୍ଧ ଆର୍ଥିକ ଗତିବିଧି ସଦର୍ଭରେ କରାଇବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଅନେକ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟରେ ଆମକୁ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରିବାକୁ ହେବ । ପାରପାରୀକ କାରିଗରି କୌଶଳ ପ୍ରଥମ, ଦ୍ବିତୀୟ ଓ ତୃତୀୟ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟ ସହିତ ସମକକ୍ଷ କରିବାକୁ ଚାଲିମ ଦିଆଯିବ । ଆଧୁନିକ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ସଂପର୍କୀତ କ୍ଷୁଦ୍ର କ୍ଷୁଦ୍ର ସାଧାରଣ କୌଶଳ, ଯେଉଁଗୁଡ଼ିକ ସମସ୍ତ ଆଦିବାସୀ ସମାଜ ପାଇଁ ସଂପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଭାବରେ ନୂଆ ସେଗୁଡ଼ିକ ବିଷୟରେ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଏକ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ଧାରଣା ଦେବା ଅତି ଜରୁରୀ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା । ଏଗୁଡ଼ିକ ହେଉଛି ଛୋଟ ଧରଣର ବେପାର, ଯଥା ଶ୍ରମିକ ସଙ୍ଗଠନ, ଛୋଟ ଛୋଟ ଠିକା କାମ ଇତ୍ୟାଦି ବିଷୟ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଚାଲିମପ୍ରାପ୍ତ କରିବାକୁ ହେବ । ଏହି ବିବିଧିକରଣ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟାର ପ୍ରମୁଖ ଅଂଶ ଯଥା “ନାଗରିକ ଶିକ୍ଷା” ଏମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଏକ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ରୂପରେ ରହିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଆଦିବାସୀମାନଙ୍କୁ ନୂତନ ସତ୍ୟତା ସହ ପରିଚିତ କରାଇବା ଏହାର ମୂଳ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ । ଏହି ନୂତନ ବୁଝାମଣାର ଆଧାର ଉପରେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ସାଧାରଣ ବିଭକ୍ତିକରଣର ଦିଗକୁ ପ୍ରାରମ୍ଭିକ ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ଭାବରେ ନିଆଯାଇପାରେ । ଏଥିରୁ ଏହା ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ ଅନୁମିତ ହେଉଛି ଯେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ତଥା ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି କୌଶଳକୁ ବ୍ୟାପକ କରିବାକୁ ହେବ । ତଦ୍ବାରା ଏହି ଦୁଇ ଦିଗ ପରସ୍ପର ଅନୁପୂରକ ହୋଇ ବିକାଶ ଲଢ଼ କରିବେ ।

୨୩ । କୌଶସି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିଳ୍ପନୀତି ନିର୍ଦ୍ଧାରଣ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ କୌଶଳ ଏକ ମହତ୍ତ୍ବପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ତତ୍ତ୍ବ ରୂପରେ ଆସିଥାଏ । ଯେଉଁ ପ୍ରଗତିଶୀଳ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ କୃଷି ଏବଂ ଶିଳ୍ପର ମିଳିତ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ରହିଥାଏ, ସେଠାରେ ଆର୍ଥିକ ଦିଗ ଦୁଇଭାଗ ହୋଇ ବିସ୍ତାର ଲଢ଼ କରିବ ଏବଂ ଏକ ସମାନ ସାମାଜିକ ସ୍ଥିତି ଗତି ପାରିବ । ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରୀୟ ସ୍ତରରେ ଏହି ଦ୍ବୈତ ଅର୍ଥନୀତି କେବେ କେଉଁଠି ଧିମେଇ ଯାଇଛି, କିନ୍ତୁ ଏହି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଫଳରେ

ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଏହି ପୃଥକୀକରଣ ଭେଦ ଅତିମାତ୍ରାରେ ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ ଏବଂ କର୍ମକ୍ଷମ ହୋଇପାରିଛି । ଏହି କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ମୂଳ ଆଦିବାସୀ ସମାଜର ସ୍ଥିତି ଅତି ସହଜ ସୁନ୍ଦର ରୂପରେ ଆମ ପାଖକୁ ଆସିଥାଏ ଏବଂ ନୂତନ ସମାଜର ସ୍ଥିତିକୁ ବୁଝିବାରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅକ୍ଷମ ହୁଏ । ଅପର ଦିଗରେ ଆମର ଆଧୁନିକ ଜୀବନ ସଂଶ୍ଳିଷ୍ଟ, ଶକ୍ତିଶାଳୀ ଓ ଚତୁର ହୋଇଉଠେ । ଏକ ସାଧାରଣ ଆଦିବାସୀ ପ୍ରତିଯୋଗିତା ସଂପର୍କରେ ଅନଭିଜ୍ଞ । ସେଥିପାଇଁ ସେ ନୂତନ ରୀତିନୀତି ଅଧିକ ଉତ୍ସାହନକ୍ଷମ ଆଧୁନିକ ସମାଜ ଓ ଆଧୁନିକ ସତ୍ୟତାକୁ ଠିକ୍ ଭାବରେ ବୁଝିପାରେ ନାହିଁ । ଆଦିବାସୀ ନିଜ ପାରପାରୀକ ରୀତିନୀତିକୁ ସହଜରେ ଛାଡ଼ି ପାରେନାହିଁ ବା ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ କ୍ରିୟାକଳାପକୁ ଅର୍ଥ-କୈନ୍ଦ୍ରିକ କରି ବୁଝିପାରେନାହିଁ । ନୂତନ ଶିଳ୍ପ ଚେତନା ପାଇଁ ଆବଶ୍ୟକୀୟ ତତ୍ତ୍ବ ଓ ଏହାର ସମୁଚିତ ପ୍ରବନ୍ଧକୁ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀ କରାଇବାରେ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ତତ୍ତ୍ବର ଅଭାବ ମଧ୍ୟ ଦେଖାଦିଏ । ଏହା ଅତି ଉଲ୍ଲେଖଯୋଗ୍ୟର କଥା ଯେ ଆଧୁନିକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାରେ ଭାରି ଶିଳ୍ପଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ଅଧିକ ପ୍ରୋତ୍ସାହନ ମିଳୁଛି । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ବହୁଭାବରେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ଧରଣର ଶିଳ୍ପ ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ହେଉଅଛି । ଆଦିବାସୀ ପାଇଁ ତଥା କଥିତ କ୍ଷୁଦ୍ର ତଥା ଲଘୁ ଶିଳ୍ପ କୌଶଳ ଓ ଏହାର ଦକ୍ଷତାକୁ ଏକ ବଡ଼ ଧରଣର କୌଶଳ ଭାବରେ ଦେଖାଦେଇଛି । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଉଦ୍ୟମ ଓ କୌଶଳର ଅଭାବ ଅତିମାତ୍ରାରେ ପରିଲକ୍ଷିତ ହେଉଅଛି ।

୨୪ । ଉଦ୍ୟମ-କୌଶଳରବିକାଶ ପାଇଁ ଅନ୍ୟ ଏକ ତଥ୍ୟ ଅତି ମହତ୍ତ୍ବପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଭାବରେ ଆମ ଆଗରେ ଦେଖାଦିଏ । ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ସାମୁହିକ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମକୁ ମହତ୍ତ୍ବ ଦିଆଯାଇଥାଏ ଏବଂ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିଗତ ପ୍ରତିଯୋଗିତାକୁ ଅତି ନଗଣ୍ୟ ସ୍ଥାନ ଦିଆଯାଏ । ଏହାର ଦୁର୍ଲ୍ଲଭତା ଆଧାର ଉପରେ ଆଧୁନିକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ସ୍ବାତନ୍ତ୍ର୍ୟ ଓ ପ୍ରତିଯୋଗିତାକୁ ଆମେ ଚରମ ସ୍ଥାନ ଦେଇଥାଉଁ । କିନ୍ତୁ ଏହି ନୂତନ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମରେ ନୈବୈକ୍ତିକ ସ୍ତର ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଗୁଲୁ ରଖାଯାଏ । ଏଥିରେ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ସମକ୍ଷ ଅପେକ୍ଷା ନିବେଶ, ଉତ୍ସାହନ, ହାନୀ ଲଭକୁହିଁ ସର୍ବାଧିକ ମହତ୍ତ୍ବ ଦିଆଯାଇଥାଏ । ଏଥି ସକାଶେ ସାଧାରଣ ଆଦିବାସୀକୁ ନୂଆ ଦୁନିଆଁରେ ଅଗ୍ରସର ହେବା କଠିନ ହୋଇଥାଏ । ଯଦି ସେ ନୂତନ ସମାଜର ଗୁଡ଼ିକ ତତ୍ତ୍ବକୁ ସହଜରେ ବୁଝିପାରନ୍ତା ତେବେ ସମ୍ଭବତଃ ଏହି ନୂତନ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ବିଧି ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଗତି କରିବା ତା ପକ୍ଷରେ ସହଜ ହୋଇଉଠନ୍ତା । ଯେଉଁ ଶିକ୍ଷିତ ଯୁବ ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀ ପ୍ରଥମରୁ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ପରିବେଶ ସହିତ ପରିଚିତ, ସେମାନେ ଏହି ନୂତନ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମକୁ ଅତି ଆଦରରେ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିପାରିବେ । ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟ ହୋଇପାରେ ଯେ ଏହି ଦୁଇଟି ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀ, ବିଭିନ୍ନ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ରହି, ଦୁଇଦିଗ ପାଇଁ ସମାନ ଆକର୍ଷଣର ଶୀକାର ହୋଇପାରନ୍ତି । ଏହି କାରଣଗୁଡ଼ିକ ପାଇଁ ଏହି ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା କିଛି ପରିମାଣରେ ଅସଫଳ ମଧ୍ୟ ହୋଇପାରେ, ଏହି ପ୍ରକାର ପରିସ୍ଥିତି ଉପସ୍ଥିତ ଅତି ସ୍ବାଭାବିକ । ଆଉ ଏକ ସମ୍ଭାବନା ଏଠାରେ ବିରୁଦ୍ଧୀୟ । ସାଧାରଣ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀଗତ ଭାବରେ ସଫଳତାର ସହ

କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରିପାରେ । ଆଦିବାସୀର ଏହି ପ୍ରକାର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟଦକ୍ଷତାକୁ ଭଲ ଭାବରେ କାମରେ ଲଗା ଯାଇପାରେ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ସ୍ଵାଧୀନ ଭାବରେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରିବାର ସୁବିଧା ସୁଯୋଗ ତାକୁ ଦିଆଯିବା ଉଚିତ ଏବଂ ଏହାକୁ ଏପରି ଭଙ୍ଗରେ ଗଢ଼ିବାକୁ ହେବ ଯାହାକୁ କି ଆଦିବାସୀ ନିଜେ ଅତି ସହଜରେ ବୁଝି ପାରୁଥିବ ଏବଂ ଏହାକୁ ହ୍ରଦୟଙ୍ଗମ କରି ନିଜେ ନିଜେ ଚଳେଇ ପାରିବ । ଯଦି ଏହିପରି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କରାଯାଇପାରିବ ତେବେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ସାମୁହିକ ଭାବରେ ପ୍ରତିଯୋଗିତା କରିପାରିବ । କାରଣ ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀଗତ ଭାବରେ ସେ ପ୍ରତିଯୋଗିତାମୂଳକ ସ୍ଥିତି ସହ ପରିଚିତ । ଏଠାରେ ଆଉ ଏକ ତଥ୍ୟ ସହ ପରିଚିତ ହେବା ବିଧେୟ । ଯଦି ଏହି ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀଗତ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାକୁ ଓପିପଗୁରିକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ରୂପରେ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିନିଆଯିବ ତେବେ ଏହା ଆଦିବାସୀ ପାଇଁ ଅପରିଚିତ ହୋଇ ରହିଯିବ, କାରଣ ଏହା ସହିତ ତାର କୌଣସି ପରିଚୟ ନାହିଁ । ଉଦାହରଣ ସ୍ଵରୂପ କୁହାଯାଇପାରେ ଯେ ସହକାରୀ ସମିତିଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ନୀତିଗତ ଭାବରେ ଜନସାଧାରଣଙ୍କର ସ୍ଵେଚ୍ଛାକୃତ ସଙ୍ଗଠନ ବୋଲି ଆମେ ବୁଝୁ । ବସ୍ତୁତଃ ଅର୍ଥକାଂକ୍ଷା କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଓପିପଗୁରିକତା ବର୍ଣ୍ଣତଃ ସହକାରୀ ସମିତିଗୁଡ଼ିକ ପ୍ରଶାସନିକ ନିୟନ୍ତ୍ରଣର ଅନ୍ୟ ଏକ ରୂପ ଭାବରେ ପ୍ରକାଶିତ ହୁଏ । ଏଥିରେ ସାଧାରଣ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଂଶୀଦାର ହୋଇରହେ, ମାତ୍ର ଏହି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାକୁ ଭଲ ଭାବରେ ବୁଝିପାରେ ନାହିଁ । ଏହା ଅତି ସତ ଯେ ସେ ଏହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକୁ କେବଳ କର୍ତ୍ତବ୍ୟ ଭାବି ଚାଲିଯାଏ । ଏହି ସମିତିଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଜନସାଧାରଣଙ୍କର ଇଚ୍ଛା ସମ୍ମତ ନହୋଇ ପ୍ରଶାସନିକ ନିୟନ୍ତ୍ରଣର ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶରେ ପରିଚାଳିତ ହୋଇଥାଏ । ସେଥିପାଇଁ ଏହି ସମିତିଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ଓପିପଗୁରିକ ନିୟମ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସୀମାବଦ୍ଧ ନ କରି, ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀଗତ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଗଢ଼ି କରାଇବା ଉଚିତ ।

୨୫ । ଯଦି ଆମେ ଏହି ସ୍ଥଳରେ ଆଦିବାସୀର ଉଦ୍ୟମ କୌଶଳକୁ ଅଧିକ ବିଶ୍ଳେଷଣ କରୁ ତେବେ ଏହା ଆମକୁ ଏକ ଆଲୋଚିତ ଦିଗର ସନ୍ଧାନ ଦେବ । ଉଦ୍ୟମ କୌଶଳର ମଧ୍ୟ କେତେକ ସ୍ତର ରହିଛି । ଏକ ସରଳ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଯଦି କୌଣସି ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ସାଧାରଣ ବ୍ୟବହାରୀ ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟର ବିକ୍ରୟ ପାଇଁ ଦୋକାନଟିଏ ଖୋଲେ ତେବେ ଏହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକୁ ଉଦ୍ୟମ କୌଶଳ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ପ୍ରଥମ ବିଶେଷତ୍ଵ ବୋଲି ବୁଝିବାକୁ ହେବ । ବସ୍ତୁତଃ ଉଦ୍ୟମ-କୌଶଳ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରେ ଏହି ଛୋଟ ଦୋକାନଟିକୁ ସାଧାରଣ ଭାଷାରେ “ନେଣ ଦେଣ” କୁହାଯାଇପାରେ । ପାରଂପାରିକ ଆଦିବାସୀ ରଣ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା, ବିଶେଷ କରି ଖାଇବା ପାଇଁ ଯେଉଁ ରଣ ନିଆଯାଏ, ତା ପାଇଁ କୌଣସି ଲିଖିତ କାଗଜ-ପତ୍ର ରହେନାହିଁ । ଏହାକୁ ଆଦାୟ କରିବା ମଧ୍ୟ ସେହିପରି କଷ୍ଟକର ବ୍ୟାପାର । କ୍ରମେ କ୍ରମେ ଆଧୁନିକ ସଭ୍ୟତା ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ପ୍ରବେଶ ଲଭ କରୁଛି ଏବଂ ଏହି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଆସ୍ତେ ଆସ୍ତେ କମିବାରେ ଲାଗିଛି । ଏହାଦ୍ଵାରା କେତେକ ଆଦିବାସୀ ସାହୁକାରର ଭୂମିକା ନେଉଛନ୍ତି । ତୁଳନାତ୍ମକ ଭାବରେ ଏହି କ୍ଷୁଦ୍ର “ଦେଣ ନେଣ” ବ୍ୟବସାୟକୁ ଏକ ସାଧାରଣ ଉଦ୍ୟମ-କୌଶଳ ଭାବରେ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରାଯାଉଛି । ଏହା ଛଡ଼ା ଏକ

ଲଘୁସ୍ତରୀୟ “ଗୁ ଦୋକାନ” ଆଦିବାସୀ ପାଇଁ ଏକ ଜଟିଳ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଏବଂ ଏହା କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀ ହୋଇ ପାରିବ କି ? ଏପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ କୌଣସି ଉଦ୍ୟମ-କୌଶଳକୁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ପରିପ୍ରେକ୍ଷାରେ ବିଚାର କରାଯାଇନାହିଁ । ନିୟୋଜିତ ବିକାଶ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ ଦୋକାନ ବନ୍ଦୀ ଏବଂ ସାଧାରଣ ନିତ୍ୟବ୍ୟବହାରୀ ଜିନିଷପତ୍ର ପାଇଁ ସହକାରୀ ସମିତିମାନ ସ୍ଥାପିତ ହେଉଅଛି । ଏହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ପାଇଁ ଶାସନ ସଂସ୍ଥା ବିପୁଳ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟୟ କରୁଛି । ଏହି ଭାବରେ ସରଳରୂପ ଉଦ୍ୟମ-କୌଶଳ ଆଧାରିତ ଆର୍ଥିକ କ୍ରିୟାକଳାପ ସେଠାରେ ସଂସ୍ଥାଗତ ଭାବରେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରୁଅଛି । ଏହାର ମୂଳ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ ହେଉଛି ଆଦିବାସୀକୁ ଶୋଷଣମୁକ୍ତ କରିବା ଏବଂ ଦେଶର ପ୍ରଗତିଶୀଳ ମୂଳକ ବିବିଧ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମକୁ ସେମାନଙ୍କ ନିକଟରେ ପହଞ୍ଚାଇବା । ପରନ୍ତୁ ଏହାର ଅନ୍ୟ ଏକ ଦିଗ ରହିଛି ଏବଂ ଏହାର ବିଚାରଧାରା ଅନ୍ୟ ରୂପରେ କରା ଯାଇପାରେ ।

୨୬ । ସହକାରୀ ସଂସ୍ଥାଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଦ୍ଵାରା କ୍ରୟ ବିକ୍ରୟ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଏବଂ ସଂସ୍ଥାଗତ ଆଧାର ସଂପର୍କରେ ବିଚାରଧାରାରେ କେତେକ ଚର୍ଚ୍ଚା ରହିଛି । ଯେଉଁ ସହକାରୀ ସମିତିଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଆଦିବାସୀର ଦୈନିକ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ପୂରଣ କରୁଛି ତାର ମୂଳ ଲକ୍ଷ୍ୟ କ’ଣ ଏହା ଆମର ପ୍ରଥମ ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ । ଏହି ସହକାରୀ ସଂସ୍ଥାଗୁଡ଼ିକ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ମୁଖ୍ୟ ଅଙ୍ଗ କି ? ଅଥବା ଏହି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଯେ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜଗଢ଼କ ନ ହୋଇଛି ସେ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଏହା ଅସ୍ଥାୟୀ ଭାବରେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରୁଥିବ । ଆରମ୍ଭତଃ ସହକାରୀ ସମିତି ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନର ମୂଳ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟରେ ଏକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାକୁ କାଏମ ରଖିବାକୁ ହେବ । ଯେଉଁ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଫଳରେ ସମାଜ ଶୋଷଣମୁକ୍ତ ହୋଇପାରୁଥିବ ଏବଂ ସମସ୍ତ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମର ଲଭ ସମାଜ ଭୁକ୍ତ ସଭ୍ୟମାନଙ୍କୁ ମିଳିବାରେ ଏହା ସାହାଯ୍ୟ କରୁଥିବ । ଏଠାରେ ଏହା ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ କରାଯାଇପାରେ ଯେ ଯେତେବେଳେ ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ର ଏକ ଭିନ୍ନ ଆଦର୍ଶରେ ଆଗେଇ ଚାଲିଛି ସେତେବେଳେ ସେହି ଆଦର୍ଶର କିୟଦଂଶ ମଧ୍ୟ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ ଲଗାଯାଇ-ପାରୁନାହିଁ । ଏହି ଆଦର୍ଶରେ ଆଦିବାସୀକୁ ଅନୁପ୍ରାଣିତ କରିବା ମଧ୍ୟ ସମ୍ଭବପର ହେଉନାହିଁ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ସହକାରୀ ସଂସ୍ଥାଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ଆଦର୍ଶର ବିସ୍ତୃତ ରୂପ ଭାବରେ, ସାମାଜିକ-ଆର୍ଥିକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ସଂଦର୍ଭରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ, ସ୍ଵୀକାର କରାଯାଇ ନପାରେ । ଏହାର ସ୍ଥିତିକୁ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଅସ୍ଥାୟୀ ଅନୁପୂରକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ରୂପରେ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରାଯାଇପାରେ । ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟ ଆମ ପାଇଁ ସତ୍ୟ ଯେ, ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ନିତ୍ୟ ବ୍ୟବହାରୀ ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟର ଯୋଗାଣ ସଂପର୍କରେ ସହକାରୀ ସମିତି-ମାନଙ୍କର ଭୂମିକାକୁ ଏବଂ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ଏହା ଏକ ନିୟୋଜିତ ରୂପ ବୋଲି ମାନିବାକୁ ହେବ । ଯଦି ଏହି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାକୁ ଏପରି ବିଚାର କରାଯାଏ ତେବେ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ପଦକ୍ଷେପଗୁଡ଼ିକର ଭଲ ମନ୍ଦ ବିଚାର କରିବାକୁ ହେବ । ଯଦି ଆମେ ବିକଶିତ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରର ବିକାଶ କ୍ରମକୁ ସାଧାରଣ ପ୍ରତିଯୋଗିତା ସଂଦର୍ଭରେ ସ୍ଵୀକାର କରୁ, ତେବେ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ପଦକ୍ଷେପଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ଆଦିବାସୀକୁ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିଗତ ଭାବରେ ନୂତନ ଭୂମିକାକୁ ଆମକୁ ବୁଝାଇବାକୁ



ପଢ଼ିବ ଏବଂ ଆବଶ୍ୟକୀୟ ଭୂମିକା ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିବ । ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟ ହୋଇପାରେ ଯେ କାଳକ୍ରମେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଏହି ଅସ୍ଥାୟୀ ସଂସ୍ଥାଗତ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ରହିବ ନାହିଁ ଏବଂ କାଳକ୍ରମେ ଶାସନକଳ ସାହାଯ୍ୟରେ ଏହି ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରୁ ଦୂରେଇ ଦିଆଯିବ ।

୨୭ । ସହକାରୀ ସଂସ୍ଥା ଗୁଡ଼ିକର ଭୂମିକା ସଂପର୍କରେ ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟନୀତିର ଅଭାବ ଏହାକୁ ସମ୍ମୁଖୀନ କର୍ମକ୍ଷମ କରିପାରୁନାହିଁ । ଯଦି ଆମେ ସହକାରୀ ସଂସ୍ଥାଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଆଦର୍ଶ ସଂସ୍ଥା ଭାବରେ ଦୀର୍ଘକାଳ ପାଇଁ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିନେଉ, ତେବେ ଆମକୁ ଏକ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ତତ୍ତ୍ୱ ପ୍ରତି ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଦେବାକୁ ହେବ । ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ବୃଦ୍ଧି ପାଇବା ସଙ୍ଗେ ସଙ୍ଗେ ସାଧାରଣ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ବିଭିନ୍ନକରଣ ଅଧିକ ହେଉଛି ଏବଂ ଏହାଦ୍ୱାରା ବ୍ୟାପାରିକ ଅଗ୍ରଗତି ଘଟୁଛି । ପରନ୍ତୁ ଏହି ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ବିବିଧକରଣର ରୂପ ଏବଂ ଏହାର ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଦିଗ ପାଇଁ ଆୟୋଜନର ଅଭାବ ଏବଂ ଆମଦାନୀ ହୋଇଥିବା କୌଶଳର ପ୍ରୟୋଗ ଫଳରେ ଏହା ସଫଳ ହୋଇପାରୁ ନାହିଁ । ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାକୁ ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନର ଆଦିବାସୀ ପରିପ୍ରେକ୍ଷାରେ ବିଚାର କଲେ ଆମେ ଅତି ଭଲଭାବରେ ବୁଝିପାରିବୁ ଯେ ଏହା ଦିଆତ୍ମକ ସଂରଚନାକୁ ଅଧିକ ପରିପୁଷ୍ଟ କରୁଛି ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟ ହୋଇପାରେ ଯେ ବିକାଶର ପ୍ରଥମ ସୋପାନରେ ସହକାରୀ ସମିତି ଏକମାତ୍ର ବ୍ୟାପାରିକ ସଂସ୍ଥା ଏବଂ ଧିରେ ଧିରେ ଏକାଧିକ ବ୍ୟାପାରିକ ସଂସ୍ଥା ଗଠିଉଠେ ଏବଂ ଏହା ସେମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଗୋଟିଏ ହୋଇ ରହେ । କାଳକ୍ରମେ ଏହି ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ସହକାରୀ ସଂସ୍ଥାଗତ ପୃଷ୍ଠଭୂମି ଅନାବଶ୍ୟକ ହୁଏ ଓ ଏହା ଲଭକରି ସଂସ୍ଥା ହୋଇ ରହେ ନାହିଁ । ବସ୍ତୁତ ଏହି ସଂସ୍ଥାଗୁଡ଼ିକ କିଛି ସମୟ ପାଇଁ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ସ୍ଥାନ ପାଇଥାଆନ୍ତି । କିନ୍ତୁ ପରିଶେଷରେ ଏକ ଅସ୍ଥାୟୀ ଆଧାର ଉପରେ ଏ ଗୁଡ଼ିକ ସ୍ୱୀକୃତି ପାଇଥାଆନ୍ତି । ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ସାଧାରଣ ପ୍ରତିଯୋଗିତା ମୂଳକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କାଏମ ରହେ । ପରନ୍ତୁ ଏହି ସଂସ୍ଥାଗୁଡ଼ିକର ଭୂମିକା ସଂପର୍କରେ ଆମର ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ ଧାରଣା ନଥିବା ହେତୁ ଆର୍ଥୀକ ବିବିଧକରଣ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟାରେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜ ଅଂଶୀଦାର ହୋବାପାଇଁ ଅବସର ପାଏ ନାହିଁ । ଯଦି କୌଣସି ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ ଧାରଣାର ଆଧାର ଉପରେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଉଦ୍ୟମ-କୌଶଳକୁ ଗଢ଼ାଯିବ, ତେବେ ଏହା ଏକ ନିଶ୍ଚିତ ସମୟ ସୀମା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସହକାରୀ ସଂସ୍ଥାମାନଙ୍କର ସ୍ଥାନ ନିରୂପଣ କରିବାରେ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ କରିବ ଓ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜର ଆର୍ଥୀକ ବିସ୍ତୃତିର ଦିଗ ପରିଶେଷରେ ଭିନ୍ନ ରୂପରେ ଆତ୍ମପ୍ରକାଶ କରିବ ।

୨୮ । ଏହା ସାଧାରଣତଃ ସ୍ୱୀକାର କରାଯାଏ ଯେ କୌଣସି କ୍ଷେତ୍ର ଖୋଲିବା ସଙ୍ଗେ ସଙ୍ଗେ ଏହା ଏକ ପକ୍ଷରେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ କାରିଗରୀ ପାଇଁ ପ୍ରତିଯୋଗିତା ମୂଳକ ସ୍ଥିତି ଆଣେ ଏବଂ ଅପର ପକ୍ଷରେ ସାହୁକାର ଓ ଛୋଟ ଛୋଟ ବେପାରୀଙ୍କ ପାଇଁ ଦୁର୍ଗମ ହୋଇଥାଏ । ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଗମନାଗମନର ସୁବିଧା ପାଇଁ ବିପୁଳ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟୟ କରାଯାଉଛି । ଛୋଟ ଛୋଟ

ବେପାରୀମାନେ ସଡ଼କ ଧାରରେ ଗଛ ଧରଣର ବେପାରୀ ଯଥା “ଗୁ ଜଳଖିଆ ଦୋକାନ” ଆରମ୍ଭ କରି ଦିଅନ୍ତି । କ୍ରମେ କ୍ରମେ ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ଆଦିବାସୀ ପୃଷ୍ଠଭୂମି ହରାଏ ଏବଂ ଏକ ନୂତନ ପ୍ରବାସୀ ବ୍ୟାପାର-କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ସ୍ଥାପିତ ହୋଇଯାଏ । ଏହାଦ୍ୱାରା ପାର୍ଶ୍ୱବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଶୋଷକ-ଶୋଷିତ ସଂପର୍କ ଗଢ଼ିଉଠେ ।

୨୯ । ଏପରି ଅବସ୍ଥାରେ ଆମ ପାଖରେ ଏକ ନୀତିଗତ ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ ଆସି ପହଞ୍ଚୁଛି । ନୂତନ ପ୍ରଧାନ-ମାର୍ଗକୁ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଆର୍ଥୀକ ସଂରଚନା ଭିତ୍ତିରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଓ ପ୍ରବାସୀ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର କେନ୍ଦ୍ରସ୍ଥଳ ବୋଲି କୁହାଯିବ ? ଏହା ଯଦି ସତ ହୋଇଥାଏ ତେବେ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ସଂଖ୍ୟକ ଆଦିବାସୀଙ୍କୁ ଆର୍ଥୀକ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ ଦେଇ ଏହିପରି ଗଛ ଛୋଟ ଦୋକାନ ଖୋଲିବା ପାଇଁ ଉତ୍ସାହିତ କରାଯାଇ ପାରେ । ଏହି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାରେ ଆଦିବାସୀର ଯେଉଁସବୁ ସାଧାରଣ ଅସୁବିଧା ହେବାର ଆଶଙ୍କା ରହିଛି, ତାର ସମାଧାନ ସହଜରେ କରାଯାଇପାରେ । ଏହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମକୁ ସଡ଼କ ନିର୍ମାଣର ଏକ ଏବଂ ଅଭିନ୍ନ ଅଙ୍ଗ ରୂପରେ ସ୍ୱୀକାର କରାଯାଇପାରେ । ଏହିପରି ଗୋଟିଏ ଗୋଟିଏ ପଦକ୍ଷେପ କରିଥାରେ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ସାମାଜିକ ସଂଦର୍ଭକୁ ନିଶ୍ଚିତ ଭାବରେ ପ୍ରଭାବିତ କରାଯାଇପାରେ । ଏହି ବିକାଶକ୍ରମୀତ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଦ୍ୱାରା ଉତ୍ସାହୀ ଓ ନବୀଭାବୀ ଆଦିବାସୀମାନେ ଆଗୁଆ ହୋଇପାରିବେ । ଏହି ପରିପ୍ରେକ୍ଷାରେ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ସରକାରଙ୍କର ଦାନ ଆଧୁନିକତାର ସଂଦର୍ଭରେ ଏକ ଝରକା ସଦୃଶ । ଏହା ଦୂର ସମାଜ ମଝିରେ ଏକ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ସ୍ଥାନ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିଛି । ଏପରି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ହେବା ଫଳରେ ଉତ୍ସାହୀ ଯୁବକମାନେ ଆଗେଇ ଆସିପାରିବେ । ବସ୍ତୁତଃ ଅଧିକ ପ୍ରଗତିଶୀଳ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଏହିକାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଏବେ ମଧ୍ୟ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରିଗୁଲୁଛି । ବିକଶିତ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଛୋଟ ନଗରୀୟ-କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ଓ ଏହାର ପାର୍ଶ୍ୱବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ମଧ୍ୟରେ କୌଣସି ନିଶ୍ଚିତ ବିଭାଜକ ରେଖା ରହେନାହିଁ, ଅତଏବ ଦୁହେଁ ପରସ୍ପର ଉପରେ ନିର୍ଭର କରି ରହି ଥାଆନ୍ତି । କିନ୍ତୁ ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମର ଅଭାବରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଯେଉଁ ସବୁ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ସ୍ଥାପିତ ହୋଇଛି ତାର ପାର୍ଶ୍ୱବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ଉପକୃତ ହୋଇପାରୁନାହିଁ ଏବଂ ଯେଉଁ ସଂସ୍ଥା ଏକାନ୍ତ ହୋଇ ରହିଛି ସେ ବିକାଶ ଲଭ କରିପାରୁଛି ।

୩୦ । ସାଧାରଣ ବ୍ୟାପାରିକ ଗତିବିଧିର ଉପରୋକ୍ତ ବିଶ୍ଳେଷଣ ଉଚ୍ଚସ୍ତରୀୟ ଭୂଦେ୍ୟାଗିକ ଗତିବିଧି ପାଇଁ ପୁରାପୁରି ଲଗୁ ହେଉଅଛି । ଏପରି ସ୍ଥଳରେ ସେହି ଗତିବିଧିଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ ଭାବରେ ପରିଭାଷିତ ହେବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ହେଉଛି । ଏପରିବି ଉଦ୍ୟମ-କୌଶଳର ସ୍ଥାୟୀ ସଂସ୍ଥାଗତ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀ କରାଇବାର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ଆସିଛି । ଏପରି ସ୍ଥଳରେ ସେହି କ୍ଷେତ୍ରକୁ ଚିହ୍ନଟ କରିବା ଉଚିତ ହେବ, ଯେଉଁ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରଗୁଡ଼ିକରେ କି ଏହି ସଂସ୍ଥାର ଅଧାରକେବଳ ଅସ୍ଥାୟୀ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରୁଥିବ । କେତେକ ଶିଳ୍ପ ପାଇଁ ଆଜିକାର ପରିବେଶ ଅନୁକୂଳ ନୁହେଁ । ଅପେକ୍ଷାକୃତ ବୃହତ-ଶିଳ୍ପ ପାଇଁ ଦୀର୍ଘକାଳୀନ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା

ସହକାରୀ ଅଥବା କର୍ପୋରେଟ୍ ସଂସ୍ଥା ଭାବରେ କରାଯାଇଥାଏ । ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ଅବସ୍ଥାରେ ଯେଉଁଠାରେ ସହକାରୀ ସଂସ୍ଥାର ରୂପ ଏକ ଦିଗରେ ବହୁ ବିଭକ୍ତ ହୋଇ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକରେ ପରବର୍ତ୍ତୀ କାଳରେ ଏହା ସେହି ସହକାରୀ ସଂସ୍ଥା ହୋଇ ରହେ ଏବଂ ଏହାର ପରିଚାଳନା ପାଇଁ ବ୍ୟବସାୟିକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ହୁଏ । ଧିରେ ଧିରେ ଏହି ସହକାରୀ ସଂସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜର ନିୟନ୍ତ୍ରଣ ବୃଦ୍ଧିପାଏ ଏବଂ ବ୍ୟବସାୟିକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ରୂପକୁ ଧିରେ ଧିରେ ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନ କରାଯାଇପାରେ । ଏହାଦ୍ୱାରା ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଲୋକ ପ୍ରତିନିଧିତ୍ୱ ଅଧିକ ହୋଇଥାଏ ।

୩୧ । ଛୋଟ ଛୋଟ ଶିଳ୍ପ କାରଖାନାମାନଙ୍କର ସ୍ଥିତି ଏହାଦ୍ୱାରା ଅପେକ୍ଷାକୃତ ଭିନ୍ନ ହୋଇପାରେ । ଏପରି ସ୍ଥାନରେ ଆଦିବାସୀର ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିଗତ ଶିଳ୍ପ କୌଶଳକୁ ଉତ୍ସାହିତ କରିବାକୁ ହେବ । ଏହି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାରେ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଶିଳ୍ପାରମ୍ଭ ପାଇଁ ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ପଥ ମିଳିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ସ୍ତରରେ ଏକ ପୋଷକ ସଂସ୍ଥାର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କରାଯାଇପାରେ । ଯେପରିକି ଏହା ନୂତନ ଅନୁଭବହୀନ ଉଦ୍ୟମକାରୀଙ୍କୁ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ କରିପାରିବ ଏବଂ ଅନେକ ସମୟରେ ଏମାନଙ୍କୁ ପ୍ରୋତ୍ସାହିତ କରିପାରୁଥିବ । ଏହି ସଂଦର୍ଭରେ ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ର ସ୍ଥିତି “ଜେବିୟାର ଇନଷ୍ଟିଚ୍ୟୁଟ ଅଫ୍ ଷ୍ଟାଡିକ”ର କଥା ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ କରାଯାଇପାରେ । ଏହି ସଂସ୍ଥାରେ ଅନେକ ଗୁଡ଼ିଏ ଛୋଟ ଛାଟେ ସଂସ୍ଥାର ଉଦ୍ୟମକର୍ତ୍ତାଙ୍କୁ ତାଲିମ ଦିଆଯାଏ ଏବଂ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ସାଧାରଣ ଉଦ୍ୟମ ପାଇଁ ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ ମାର୍ଗ ବତାଇ ଦିଆଯାଏ । ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ହେଲେ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ସବୁ ଦିଗରୁ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ କରାଯାଏ । ଏହାଦ୍ୱାରା ବହୁ ସଂଖ୍ୟକ ଯୁବକ ଆଶାତୀତ ସଫଳତା ଲଭ କରିପାରୁଛନ୍ତି । ଏହାଦ୍ୱାରା ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଅନେକ ସମ୍ଭାବନା ମୁଣ୍ଡ ଟେକେ । ଜଣେ ଛୋଟ ବରାପକୃତି ବ୍ୟବସାୟୀ ଯେ’ କି ସ୍ୱଳ୍ପ ମୂଳଧନରେ ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ଆରମ୍ଭ କରିଥାଏ ସେ ଧିରେ ଧିରେ ବଡ଼ ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ଆରମ୍ଭ କରେ । ଏଠାରେ ଏହା ଅତି ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ଯେ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ ଦିଆଯିବ ଏବଂ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ସ୍ତରରେ ଉନ୍ନତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ପ୍ରତିଯୋଗିତା ଠାରୁ ଏମାନଙ୍କୁ ଦୂରରେ ରଖି ବିକାଶର କଥା ଚିନ୍ତା କରିବା ଆମର କର୍ତ୍ତବ୍ୟ ।

୩୨ । ଶୈଳୀକରଣ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟାର ଅନୁକୂଳ ରୂପ—

ଏହି ସଂପର୍କରେ ଆଲୋଚନା କରିବା ପୂର୍ବରୁ ଆମେ ସାମାଜିକ ଓ ଆର୍ଥିକ ପରିବେଶ, ପ୍ରକୃତି ଏବଂ ସମାଧାନ ଉପରେ ବିଚାର କରିଛୁ । ପରଲ୍ଲ ସାମ୍ୟ, ମୂଳସୂତ୍ର ରୂପରେ ଏକ ଏକ ତରଫା ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଆମେ ସ୍ୱୟଂ ଶିଳ୍ପ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟାକୁ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଆର୍ଥିକ-ସାମାଜିକ ସ୍ଥିତିରେ ଏହାର ସାମାଜିକ ଉପଯୋଗିତା ସଂଦର୍ଭରେ ବିଚାର କରିବା ଉଚିତ୍ । ସର୍ବ-ପ୍ରଥମେ ଶିଳ୍ପୀକରଣର ଅର୍ଥକୁ କେତେକ ଶିଳ୍ପ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସୀମାବଦ୍ଧ କରାଯିବା ଅନୁଚିତ୍ । ବସ୍ତୁତଃ ଶ୍ରଦ୍ଧାଧ୍ୟାୟକରଣ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ବିବିଧିକରଣ ଏବଂ ସମୁଚ୍ଚ ସମାଜର ଉଦ୍ୟମ କୌଶଳ ଦ୍ୱାରା ବିଶେଷ ଭାବରେ ବିକଶିତ ହୋଇ

ଉଠେ । ଅତଃଏବ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଓ ଶିଳ୍ପ କ୍ଷେତ୍ର ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଏକ ସ୍ୱଳ୍ପ ପରିଭାଷିତ ନୀତିର ସଂପର୍କ ସ୍ଥାପିତ ହେବା ଉଚିତ୍ । ଆଇନତଃ ଏହା ସ୍ୱୀକାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଯେ ଏହି ସଂଦର୍ଭରେ କୌଣସି ଶିଳ୍ପ ସ୍ୱୟଂଚାଳିତ ସଂସ୍ଥା ନୁହେଁ । କିନ୍ତୁ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିଗତ ବିଶିଷ୍ଟ ଭୂମିକାରେ ଏହା ଯେ କୌଣସି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରିବରେ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର । ଶିଳ୍ପ ନିୟୋଜନ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ପରିବେଶକୁ ଅତି ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ କରିଦିଆଯିବା ଉଚିତ୍ ଏବଂ ସ୍ୱୟଂ ଶିଳ୍ପକରଣ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା ତା’ର ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ସୀମା ରେଖା ମଧ୍ୟ କ୍ରିୟାଶୀଳ ହେବା ଉଚିତ୍ ।

୩୩ । ପାର୍ଶ୍ୱବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ଉପରେ ପ୍ରଭାବ—

ଶିଳ୍ପ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ, ବିଶେଷ କରି ବୃହତ୍ ସଂସ୍ଥାର ପ୍ରବନ୍ଧକମାନେ ନିଜକୁ ସେହି ସେହି ସଂସ୍ଥାର ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ କରିବାର ଦାୟିତ୍ୱ ନେଇଥାଆନ୍ତି । ବହୁ ସ୍ଥାନରେ ଆମକୁ ଏହା ମାନିବାକୁ ପଡ଼େ ଯେ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ତତ୍ତ୍ୱ ଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଧିରେ ଧିରେ ମିଳେଇ ଯାଉଛି । ଯେଉଁସବୁ ବିଶେଷ ବିକଶିତ କ୍ଷେତ୍ର ରହିଛି ସେଠାରେ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀ-ଆର୍ଥିକ, ସାମାଜିକ ପୃଷ୍ଠଭୂମି ଯେପରି ଏକ ହୋଇପାରେ ଏବଂ ଏଠାରେ ତୁଳନାତ୍ମକ ଶକ୍ତିରେ ପୃଥକୀକରଣ ଯେପରି ବିଶେଷ ନହୁଏ, ସେଥିପ୍ରତି ନଜର ଦେବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିବ । ପରଲ୍ଲ ଅତି ଅନୁନ୍ନତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ପାଇଁ କିଛି ପରିମାଣରେ ବିଶେଷ ଉଦ୍ୟମ କରାଯାଇଥାଏ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଏହାର ନିକଟବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ଉପରେ ଶିଳ୍ପାଞ୍ଚଳର ପ୍ରଭାବକୁ ଉଦ୍ୟମକର୍ତ୍ତା ବା ଶିଳ୍ପ ମାଲିକମାନେ ବିଶେଷ ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଦେଇଥାନ୍ତି । ଆଜି ଏହି ତଥ୍ୟକୁ ସମସ୍ତେ ସ୍ୱୀକାର କରିଛନ୍ତି । କାରଣ ଶିଳ୍ପାଞ୍ଚଳ ଓ ତା’ର ନିକଟବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଯେତେବେଳେ ସଂଘର୍ଷ ରୂପ ନେଇ, ସେତେବେଳେ ସେମାନେ ଏହି ତତ୍ତ୍ୱକୁ ପରିଷ୍କାର ଭାବରେ ମାନିନେଲେ । ଏହା ଅତି ଜଣାଶୁଣା କଥାଯେ ସଂଘର୍ଷ ଏକ ଧାରାବାହିକ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟାର ଶେଷ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟ ଅନେକ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଅବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥିତ ଅବସ୍ଥା ଦେଖାଦିଏ, କିନ୍ତୁ ପ୍ରତି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଏହି ଅବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥିତ ଅବସ୍ଥା ସଂଘର୍ଷର ରୂପ ନିଏ ନାହିଁ । ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ଅବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥିତର ଶେଷ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଚିନ୍ତାଚେତନାର ତୀବ୍ରତା, ଏବଂ ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀଦ୍ୱୟର ତୁଳନାତ୍ମକ ଶକ୍ତି ଉପରେ ନିର୍ଭର କରିଥାଏ । ଅଧିକାଂଶ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଶିଳ୍ପାଞ୍ଚଳ ବିଶେଷ ଶକ୍ତିଶାଳୀ ହୋଇଥାଏ । ଏହା ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜର ନୂତନ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ଅନୁନ୍ନତ ସ୍ଥିତି ପ୍ରତି ଲକ୍ଷ୍ୟ ରଖି ନୂତନ ସ୍ଥିତିକୁ ବୁଝାଇଥାଏ । ଆମେ ଏହି ଅନିୟମିତ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାକୁ ସବୁ ଦିଗରୁ ଧ୍ୟାନ ଦେବା ଉଚିତ୍ । ଯେଉଁ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ବିଶେଷରେ ଭାରିଶିଳ୍ପ ତଥା ଖଣିଜ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନମାନ ରହିଛି, ତା’ର ନିକଟ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ-ମାନଙ୍କରେ ଏହାର ପ୍ରଭାବ ପଡ଼ିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ଏବଂ ଅବିରତ ଚେଷ୍ଟା ରହିବା ଉଚିତ୍ । ଏହାଦ୍ୱାରା ସମୁଚ୍ଚ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ସମୀକରଣ ତଥା ସମନ୍ୱୟାତ୍ମକ ବିକାଶ ସମ୍ଭବ ହୋଇପାରିବ ।

୩୪ । ଏହାପରେ ଆମେ ଉପରୋକ୍ତ ବିଶେଷଣର ଗଭୀର ଅନୁଧ୍ୟାନକରିବୁ ଏବଂ ଏକ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ତଥ୍ୟ ଉପରେ ଆମକୁ

ନିର୍ଭର କରିବାକୁ ହେବ । ସାଧାରଣତଃ ବୃହତ ଶିଳ୍ପ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନ ତଥା ଖଣିଜ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ପ୍ରାୟ ଆତ୍ମକେନ୍ଦ୍ରିକ ନୀତି ଉପରେ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟବସିତ । ଏହି ସଂସ୍ଥାନ ଅନ୍ତର୍ଗତ ସାମାଜିକ ସେବା ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନର ଅବସ୍ଥା-ପନା ମଧ୍ୟ ଏହି ଏକ କେନ୍ଦ୍ରିକ ଶିଳ୍ପାଞ୍ଚଳର ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିକ ପାଇଁ ସୁରକ୍ଷିତ ରଖାଯାଏ । ଏହିପରି ଭାବରେ ଅନୁନତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ-ମାନଙ୍କରେ, ଯେଉଁଠାରେ ଏକ ଛୋଟ ଧରଣର ସେବା ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ଗଢ଼ିବା ଅସମ୍ଭବ ହୋଇପଡ଼ୁଥିଲା, ସେଠାରେ ଏକ ସୀମିତ ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀ ପାଇଁ ଅତି ବିକଶିତ ସେବା ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କରାଯାଇପାରେ । ଶିଳ୍ପାଞ୍ଚଳର ବସ୍ତି ତଥା ଆଦିବାସୀମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସାମାଜିକ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ସମନ୍ୱୟ ସ୍ଥାପନ କରିଥାଏ । ବସ୍ତୁତଃ ଅନୁନତ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଆଧୁନିକ ସଭ୍ୟତାର ପ୍ରବେଶ ଲଢ଼ ପଳରେ ଶିକ୍ଷା ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ଓ ସ୍ୱାସ୍ଥ୍ୟ ସଂସ୍ଥାମାନ ସ୍ଥାପିତ ହେଉଅଛି । ଯଦି ଶିଳ୍ପ ସକ୍ରାନ୍ତିର “ଶ୍ରମିକ କଲ୍ୟାଣ” ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ସୀମିତ ପରିବେଶ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଆତ୍ମପ୍ରକାଶ କରେ ତେବେ ପୂର୍ବବସ୍ଥିତ ବିଷମ ପରିସ୍ଥିତି ସୃଷ୍ଟି ହେବା ସ୍ୱାଭାବିକ । ସାଧାରଣତଃ ଏହି ତଥ୍ୟକୁ ଆମେ ଭୁଲିଯାଇଥାଉ ଯେ ଏହି ଶିଳ୍ପାଞ୍ଚଳର ଶିଳ୍ପ ଶ୍ରମିକ ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠିତ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ନୁହଁନ୍ତି । ସ୍ୱୟଂ ମଜଦୂର ଶ୍ରେଣୀ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଆର୍ଥିକ ଏବଂ ସାମାଜିକ ସ୍ଥିତିର ବହୁ ପଛରେ ରହିଥାଆନ୍ତି । ଏହି ଭାବରେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ଶିଳ୍ପାଞ୍ଚଳର ପ୍ରକୃତି ବିଶିଷ୍ଟ ଶ୍ରେଣୀୟ ହୋଇ ରହେ । ନୂତନ ପରିବେଶରେ ଆଦିବାସୀର ଆର୍ଥିକ ସ୍ଥିତି ପ୍ରାୟ ସର୍ବନିମ୍ନ ହୋଇରହେ । ନତନ ସେବାକାରୀ ସାମାଜିକ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନର ଆର୍ଥିକ ଭାର କିପରି ଭାବରେ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ସଂସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବିଭାଜିତ ହୋଇପାରିବ ତାହା ଏକ ଅଲଗା ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ ଏବଂ ଏହାର ସମୁଚିତ ସମାଧାନ ସମ୍ଭବପର । ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ସଂସ୍ଥା ଏହାକୁ କିପରି ଭାବରେ ସ୍ୱୀକାର କରିବେ ଏବଂ ଏହି କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଗଢ଼ିଉଠୁଥିବା ସାମାଜିକ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନର ଲଢ଼ ବ୍ୟତୀତ ଅନ୍ୟ କୌଣସି ଭେଦ ଶିଳ୍ପାଞ୍ଚଳ ଓ ଶିଳ୍ପ ପ୍ରଭାବିତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳମାନଙ୍କରେ ଦେଖାଯିବା ଅନୁଚିତ ।

୩୫ । ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାରେ ଶୈଳ୍ପିକମାନର ଅନୁକୂଳ ରୂପ—

ଏହା ସଂପର୍କରେ ଅନ୍ୟ ଏକ ଦିଗରୁ ବିଗୁର ହେବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ସାଧାରଣତଃ ଯେ କୌଣସି ଶିଳ୍ପ ସଂସ୍ଥାନ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜରୁ ଏହା ଆଣା କରିଥାଏ ଯେ ଏହି ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ସ୍ଥାପିତ ହେବା ସଙ୍ଗେ ସଙ୍ଗେ ତତ୍କାଳୀନ ସମାଜ ତାର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମକୁ ନୂତନ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ କିପରି ସାଲିସ କରିନେଉ । କିନ୍ତୁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ଦୁଇଟି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କାର୍ଯ୍ୟରୂପରେ ଏପରି ଭେଦ ସୃଷ୍ଟି କରନ୍ତି ଯେ ସାଧାରଣ ଆଦିବାସୀ ନୂତନ ଖସଡ଼ାରେ ନିଜକୁ ବଦଳାଇ ପାରେନାହିଁ । ପରିଶେଷରେ ଏହା ଲଢ଼ ହୁଏ ଯେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନଗୁଡ଼ିକ ବନ୍ଦହେବ ଏବଂ ଅତି ସାଧାରଣ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ ମଧ୍ୟ ପ୍ରବାସୀମାନେ ପ୍ରାଥମିକତା ପାଇଥାଆନ୍ତି । ଏଠାରେ ଏହା ସୁରକ୍ଷ ରଖାଯାଇପାରେ ଯେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଅନୁକୂଳ ନ ହେବା ଅତି ସ୍ୱାଭାବିକ କଥା । ଯଦି ଆମେ ବମ୍ବେର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଶିଳ୍ପର ଇତିହାସ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାଲୋଚନା କରୁ

ତେବେ ଏହି ପରିସ୍ଥିତି ସଂପର୍କରେ ଏକ ମୋଟା ମୋଟି ଧାରଣା ଆମେ ପାଇପାରିବା । ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ସ୍ତରରେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଶିଳ୍ପ ପାଇଁ ପ୍ରାୟ ଅଧିକାଂଶ ଶ୍ରମିକ ଉତ୍ତର ଭାରତରୁ ଆସୁଥିଲେ ସେହି ଅବସ୍ଥା ଆମେ ଆଜି ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଧ୍ୟୁସିତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଦେଖିପାରୁଛୁ । ଦୁଇ ପକ୍ଷକୁ ଦୁଇ ସ୍ଥିତି ସଂପର୍କରେ ଧାରଣା ଦେବାପାଇଁ ବହୁ ସମୟ ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ବସ୍ତୁତଃ ସେହି ସମୟରେ ବମ୍ବେର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଶିଳ୍ପକୁ ସ୍ଥିତି ଅନୁରୂପ କରି ଗଢ଼ିବାକୁ ହେଲା । ଏହା ଆଗରେ କୌଣସି ବିକଳ ପଛା ନଥିଲା । ଆମର ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରିୟ ଆର୍ଥିକ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟର ବିକାଶରେ ସମୁଚ୍ଚ ଭାରତୀୟ ଶ୍ରମିକ ଶ୍ରେଣୀ ମୂଳତଃ ଗ୍ରାମୀଣ ଥିଲେ ଏବଂ ଶିଳ୍ପ ସଙ୍ଗଠନ ସାମ୍ନାରେ କୌଣସି ବିକଳ ପଛା ନଥିଲା । କିନ୍ତୁ ଏହି ସ୍ଥିତି ଏବେ ବଦଳିଯାଇଛି । ଉନ୍ନତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଶ୍ରମିକଶ୍ରେଣୀ ସଙ୍ଗଠିତ ଭାବରେ ଆର୍ଥିକ ତଥା ଉତ୍ପାଦିତ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରର ଅନୁଶାସନ ଏବଂ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟପ୍ରଣାଳୀ ସହ ପରିଚିତ ହୋଇଯାଇଛନ୍ତି । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଆଜିକାର ପରିସ୍ଥିତିରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶର ବିଭିନ୍ନ ବିଭାଗର ବିକଳ ପଛା ମଧ୍ୟ ମିଳିଯାଇଛି । ଏହି କାରଣରୁ ଶିଳ୍ପ ସମୃଦ୍ଧ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଶ୍ରମଜୀବୀମାନଙ୍କୁ ଅବହେଳା କରୁଛି

୩୬ । ଏହି ତଥ୍ୟର ସଦର୍ଭରେ ଏହା ଅତି ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ଯେ, ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ନୂତନ ଶିଳ୍ପ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା, ସେହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ବିଶିଷ୍ଟ ଆର୍ଥିକ-ସାମାଜିକ ପୃଷ୍ଠଭୂମି ଉପରେ ଗଢ଼ିଉଠିଥାଏ । ପ୍ରଥମ ଅବସ୍ଥାରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିଳ୍ପକୁ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ଅନୁଯାୟୀ ଗଢ଼ିବାକୁ ହେବ । ଏହା ଅଭାବରେ ସାଧାରଣ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଏହା ସହିତ ପରିଚିତ ହୋଇପାରିବ ନାହିଁ । ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟ ସତ୍ୟ ଯେ ସାଧାରଣ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଏପରି ଦାୟିତ୍ୱବାନ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ନୁହେଁ, ଯେ’କି ନିଜର ସାମାଜିକ ଦାୟିତ୍ୱ ସଂପର୍କରେ ହଠାତ୍ ସଚେତନ ହୋଇଉଠିବ । କିନ୍ତୁ ସେ ନିଜର ପାରଂପାରିକ ସାମାଜିକ ଜୀବନ ସହିତ ଓଡ଼ପ୍ରୋତ ଭାବରେ ଜଡ଼ିତ । ତେଣୁ ତା ପାଇଁ ଯେପରି ବ୍ୟବହାର ଦରକାର ହେଉଥିବ, ସେପରି ବ୍ୟବହାର କରିବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିବ । ଉଦାହରଣସ୍ୱରୂପ କୁହା-ଯାଇପାରେ ଯେ ଆମେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଧ୍ୟୁସିତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ସାମୁ-ହିକ ଆୟ ପଛା ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିସାରିଛୁ । ଅର୍ଥାତ ଅନ୍ୟ ଭାବରେ କହିବାକୁ ଗଲେ ‘ଯଦି ଆମେ ଏକ ନିଶ୍ଚିତ ସଂଖ୍ୟକ ଶ୍ରମିକ ରୁହୁଁ ତେବେ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଉପଲବ୍ଧ କରାଇବାର ଦାୟିତ୍ୱ ନେବା ଏବଂ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ସଂପର୍କଠାରୁ ଦୂରରେ ରହି ସମୂହ ଉନ୍ନତିକୁ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିଦେବା ସର୍ବାଦୌ ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏହି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାକୁ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଆଦିବାସୀ ନେତୃତ୍ୱ ଉପରେ ଛାଡ଼ି ଦିଆଯିବ ଏବଂ ଏକ ନିଶ୍ଚିତ ସଂଖ୍ୟକ ଶ୍ରମିକ ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀ ଗଢ଼ାଯିବ । ଯଦି ଏହିପରି ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀ-ଗତ ରୋଜଗାରକୁ ସ୍ୱୀକାର କରାଯିବ ତେବେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନ-ମାନଙ୍କୁ ନିଶ୍ଚିତ ସଂଖ୍ୟକ ଶ୍ରମିକ ମିଳିଯିବେ ଏବଂ ଅନ୍ୟ ଦିଗରେ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ଶ୍ରମିକକୁ ଅନେକ ଛୁଟି ମିଳିଯିବ । ଏହା ଦ୍ୱାରା ସେ ନିଜର କୃଷି ତଥା ସାମାଜିକ କର୍ତ୍ତବ୍ୟ ମଧ୍ୟ ପାଳନ କରିପାରିବ । ଏଠାରେ ଏହା ଅତି ପରିଷ୍କାର ଭାବରେ ଜଣାଇଦେଉଛି ଯେ ଏହି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ସକ୍ରମଣକାଳୀନ ଓ ଅସ୍ଥାୟୀ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଭାବରେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀ ହେବ ।



୩୬ । ଏଠାରେ ଆମକୁ ଧ୍ୟାନ ଦେବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିଥାଏ ଯେ ଜଣେ ସାଧାରଣ ଆଦିବାସୀ ନିଜ ବିଷୟରେ କ'ଣ ଚିନ୍ତାକରି ପାରୁଛି ଏବଂ ତା ମନ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ସଂପର୍କରେ କି ପ୍ରକାର ଧାରଣା ଉପସ୍ଥୁଛି । ଅଣଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ଆସିଥିବା ଶ୍ରମିକମାନେ ସଙ୍ଗଠିତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ରୋଜଗାର ଏବଂ ଲାଭ ବିଷୟରେ ସଂପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଅବଗତ । ସେମାନେ ଏହା ଭଲଭାବରେ ବୁଝିଥାଆନ୍ତି ଯେ ଯଦି ଥରେ ସେ ଶ୍ରମିକ କାମ ପାଇଯାଏ ତେବେ ତାର ଭବିଷ୍ୟତ ଉତ୍କଳମୟ ହୋଇଉଠିବ । ସାମୁହିକ ଶକ୍ତି ଉପରେ ସେ ଭରଣା ରଖିଥାଏ ଏବଂ ଦୀର୍ଘ କାବନ ପାଇଁ ସେ ଉତ୍କଳ ଭବିଷ୍ୟତ ପାଇଯାଏ । କିନ୍ତୁ ସାଧାରଣ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଏହି ବିଷୟରେ ସଂପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଅଜ୍ଞ । ସେ ନିଜ ଭିତାମାଟିକୁ ସ୍ଥାୟୀ ସଂପତ୍ତି ବୋଲି ମାନିନେଇଥାଏ । ଯଦି ଆମେ ଏହି ବୈଜ୍ଞାନିକ ଭିତ୍ତି ଭୂମି ବିଷୟ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ସଚେତନ କରାଇପାରୁ ତେବେ ଗ୍ରାମରେ ପାଉଥିବା ମଜୁରୀ ଠାରୁ ସେମାନେ ଅଧିକ ମଜୁରୀ ପାଇପାରିବେ ଏବଂ ଶିଳ୍ପାଞ୍ଚଳରେ କାମ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ଇଚ୍ଛାପ୍ରକାଶ କରିବେ । ଏପରି ଭାବରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ନୂତନ ସ୍ଥିତିକୁ ଧିରେ ଧିରେ ଆପଣାର କରିନେବେ ।

୩୮ । ନୂତନ ସ୍ଥିତି ସହ ଦ୍ଵୈପାକ୍ଷିକ ବୁଝାମଣା—

ଶିଳ୍ପାଞ୍ଚଳ ଓ ଏହାର ପାର୍ଶ୍ଵବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସଂପର୍କ ଅନ୍ୟ ରୂପରେ ଗଢ଼ିଉଠିବ ଏବଂ ଏହାକୁ ସମ୍ୟକ ଭାବରେ ବୁଝିବାର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ରହିଛି । ଶିଳ୍ପ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନରେ “ଦୂରବର୍ତ୍ତୀ” ଏବଂ “ପଡ଼ୋଶୀ” ଧାରଣା କେବେ କେବେ ଭିନ୍ନ ରୂପ ନେଇଥାଏ ଏବଂ ଏହାର ଧାରଣା ଅନୁଯାୟୀ ସେହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ନିଜର ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ସୀମାରେଖା ଅଙ୍କନ କରୁଥାଏ । କିନ୍ତୁ ପାର୍ଶ୍ଵବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଆଦିବାସୀ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରେ ଏହି ସୀମାରେଖାର ଅର୍ଥ କିଛିନାହିଁ । ପରିଯୋଜନାରେ ଜନଶକ୍ତିକୁ ସହଜ ପ୍ରବାହ ରୂପରେ ନେବାପାଇଁ ଅପେକ୍ଷାକୃତ ବୃହତ୍ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ରହିଛି । ମୋଟାମୋଟି ଭାବରେ ଏହି ତଥ୍ୟକୁ ଦେଖିବାକୁ ଗଲେ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ଅବସ୍ଥାରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ପାର୍ବତ୍ୟ ପ୍ରଦେଶରେ ଏହି ପ୍ରସାର ଅତି ଦ୍ରୁତ ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ନେଇପାରେ ନାହିଁ । ଏହି ବଭେଦର ମୁଖ୍ୟ କାରଣ ଦ୍ଵୈପାକ୍ଷିକ ଦୂର ସମ୍ପର୍କ ଉପରେ ଗଢ଼ିଉଠିଥାଏ । ଯେଉଁ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ବେଗ ସହିତ ପରିଚିତ ତା ନିକଟରେ ୨୫ ମାଇଲ ଦୂରତ୍ଵ ବିଶେଷ କିଛିନୁହେଁ । କିନ୍ତୁ ଆମର ଗ୍ରାମ୍ୟ ଅନୁଭବ ଅତି ସୀମିତ ଏବଂ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଏହା ଅତି ସୀମିତ ହୋଇଉଠେ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଉକ୍ତ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନର ଆଧାରଭୂତ ସମୀକରଣ ଅଲଗା ହୋଇଥାଏ ଏବଂ ଏହାର ଫଳକୁ ଅପେକ୍ଷା କରାଯାଇ ନଥାଏ । ଯଦି କୌଣସି ପରି-ଯୋଜନା ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜଲବ୍ଧ ଲାଭକୁ ଯୋଗକରେ ତେବେ ଏହାର ସଦର୍ଭ ଅପେକ୍ଷାକୃତ ବିଶାଳ ନିକଟବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ହୋଇପାରେ । ଏହି ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା ଅନୁଯାୟୀ ଯେଉଁ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିମାନେ ପୁରାପୁରି ଭାବରେ ପଡ଼ୋଶୀ ହୋଇ ରହିଥାଆନ୍ତି ସେମାନଙ୍କ ପାଖରେ ଏହାର ଆକାଂକ୍ଷା ଓ ସମସ୍ୟାଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଗୁପ୍ତଭାବରେ ରହିଥାଆନ୍ତି । ଅନ୍ୟ ଦିଗରେ ଯଦି ଏହି ପଡ଼ୋଶୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ

ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିଷୟରେ ଚିନ୍ତାକରେ ତେବେ ପାର୍ଶ୍ଵବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ବିଷୟରେ ଏକ ସଂପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଧାରଣା ସେ ପାଇ ପାରେନାହିଁ । ଫଳରେ ବିଷମ ସ୍ଥିତି ଉପରେ ଏବଂ ଅବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥିତ ପରିସ୍ଥିତି ସୃଷ୍ଟି ହୁଏ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଦୁଇପକ୍ଷର ଦୃଷ୍ଟିକୋଣ ଓ ବୁଝାମଣା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସାମଞ୍ଜସ୍ୟ ରହିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ଏବଂ ପରସ୍ପର ପରସ୍ପର ସ୍ଥିତି ସଂପର୍କରେ ସଚେତନ ହେବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏକ ସୀମିତ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶ ଆରମ୍ଭହୋଇ କ୍ରମେ କ୍ରମେ ବୃହତ୍ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରର ଲଘୁସ୍ଵରୀୟ ବିକାଶକୁ ଏକ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟ ଭୁକ୍ତ କରି-ପାରିଲେ ଏହି ସମସ୍ୟାର ଉଚିତ ସମାଧାନ ହୋଇପାରିବ

୩୯ । ଦୂରର ଏବଂ ନିକଟର କଳ୍ପନା ବସ୍ତୁତଃ ଏକ ସାମାଜିକ ମନୋବୈଜ୍ଞାନିକ ସମସ୍ୟା ଅଟେ । ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜ ଭିତ୍ତିରେ କୌଣସି ଶିଳ୍ପ ସଂସ୍ଥାକୁ ଏକ ଏବଂ ଅଭିନ୍ନ ରୂପରେ ସ୍ଵୀକାର କରିବା ଏକ ବିଚାରଯୋଗ୍ୟ କଥା । ଯଦି ପାରସ୍ପରିକ ସମ୍ପର୍କ ଏପରି ଗୁଂଥି ଦିଆଯାଏ ଏବଂ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜ ଶିଳ୍ପସଂସ୍ଥାକୁ ତାର ଏକ ଅଙ୍ଗ ରୂପରେ ସ୍ଵୀକାର କରେ ତେବେ ଅବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥିତ ସ୍ଥିତି ଓ ଅସାମ୍ୟ ସୃଷ୍ଟି ହେବନାହିଁ । କୌଣସି ଏକ ଶିଳ୍ପର ଆକାର ତଥା ଏହାର ସ୍ଥାନ ନିର୍ଣ୍ଣୟ ସାଧାରଣତଃ ଆର୍ଥୀକ କାରଣର ଆଧାର ଉପରେ ଗଢ଼ି ଉଠିଥାଏ । କିନ୍ତୁ ଏହି ସବୁ ତତ୍ତ୍ଵ, ଯାହା ଦୁଇ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସହଜ ସଂପର୍କ ଗଢ଼ିବାରେ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ କରିଥାଏ ସେଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ସହଜରେ ଭୁଲିଯାଇଥାଏ । ଯଦି ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ଉପା-ଦାନ ସଙ୍ଗରେ ଏହି ମହତ୍ତ୍ଵପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ତତ୍ତ୍ଵକୁ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ସର୍ଭ ଭାବରେ ସ୍ଵୀକାର କରି ନିଆଯାଏ ତେବେ ଏହି ଉଦ୍ୟୋଗ ସ୍ଥାପନ କରିବାର ଦିଗ ଭିନ୍ନ ହୋଇଥାଏ । କୌଣସି ଶିଳ୍ପ ସ୍ଥାପନ ଜନୀତ ସାମାଜିକ ଲାଭ ତଥା ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସାମାଜିକ ମୂଲ୍ୟ ଅନେ-କାଂଶରେ ଏହି ସଭାବ ଉପରେ ନିର୍ଭର କରିଥାଏ । ଯଦି ଏହାକୁ ଏକ ମହତ୍ତ୍ଵପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ତତ୍ତ୍ଵ ରୂପରେ ମାନିନିଆଯାଏ ତେବେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶର ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ସ୍ତରରେ ମଧ୍ୟ କ୍ଷୁଦ୍ର କ୍ଷୁଦ୍ର ବିକାଶ କେନ୍ଦ୍ରଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ପ୍ରଥମେ ପ୍ରାଧାନ୍ୟ ଦିଆଯାଇଥାଏ । ଏହି ପରି-ସ୍ଥିତିରେ ଉକ୍ତ ଶିଳ୍ପ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ସମାଜ କୈନ୍ଦ୍ରିକ କରି ଉପା-ଦାନ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟାର ଏକ ଏବଂ ଅଭିନ୍ନ ଅଙ୍ଗ ଭାବରେ ମିଳିତ ହେବାର ଚେଷ୍ଟା ରହିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏହି ବିକାଶ କେନ୍ଦ୍ରଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ସମାଜ ସମ୍ବୁଦ୍ଧକରି ଗଢ଼ାଯାଇପାରେ । ଏଥିରେ ନୂତନ ଆର୍ଥୀକ କ୍ରିୟାକଳାପଜନୀତ ଲାଭ ପ୍ରଥମ ଉତ୍ପାଦକକୁ ମିଳିବାରେ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ କରିବ । ମହାରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରରେ ସହକାରୀ ଚିନିକାରଖାନା ଏହି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଉପରେ ଅନେକାଂଶରେ ଆଧାରିତ । ଏହି ପ୍ରତିଦର୍ଶକୁ ଆଦିବାସୀର ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସ୍ଥିତି ଅନୁରୂପ କରି ଗଢ଼ିବା ଏବଂ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ଶିଳ୍ପର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ମୁତାବକ ଗଢ଼ାଯାଇ ପାରେ ।

୪୦ । ଉପରୋକ୍ତ ବିଶ୍ଳେଷଣରୁ ଆମେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ତଥା ତା'ର ଶୈଳିକ, ଆର୍ଥୀକ, ସାମାଜିକ ଅବସ୍ଥା ସଂପର୍କରେ ସମ୍ୟକ ଧାରଣା ପାଇପାରୁଛୁ । ଆମେ ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶର ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ତତ୍ତ୍ଵ ଉପରେ ଆଲୋଚନା

କରିପାରିବୁ । ଏହି ତତ୍ତ୍ୱ, ଯେଉଁ ତତ୍ତ୍ୱକୁ ପ୍ରଯୋଜକ ପରି-  
ଯୋଜନା ତିଆରି କରିବା ସମୟରେ ଅଧିକ ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଦେବେ ।  
ଏହାର ସବିଶେଷ ଆଲୋଚନା ନିମ୍ନରେ ହୋଇଛି ।

୪୧ । ସଂପଦର ସମ୍ଭାବନା—

ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବିପଣୀଯୋଗ୍ୟ ଅତିରିକ୍ତ କୃଷିଜାତ ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟ,  
କ୍ଷୁଦ୍ର ତଥା ବୃହତ୍ ବନଜାତ ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟ, ଖଣିଜ ତଥା ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ  
ସଂପଦ ଇତ୍ୟାଦି ମିଳିତ ହୋଇରହିଛି ।

୪୨ । ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜର ଆର୍ଥିକ ସ୍ଥିତି—

ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ନିମ୍ନଲିଖିତ ତତ୍ତ୍ୱ ନିହିତ—

- (୧) ବର୍ଦ୍ଧିଷ୍ଣୁ ଜନସଂଖ୍ୟା
- (୨) ବସ୍ତିଗୁଡ଼ିକର ଅବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥିତ ଅବସ୍ଥିତି
- (୩) ଶିକ୍ଷାର ସ୍ତର
- (୪) ବ୍ୟବସାୟିକ ବିସ୍ତୃତି
- (୫) ସାମାଜିକ, ଆର୍ଥିକ ତଥା ପ୍ରଶାସନିକ ସଂସ୍ଥା  
ମାନଙ୍କର ବିବିଧ ସ୍ଥିତି ।

୪୩ । କାରୀଗରୀ କୌଶଳର ସ୍ତର—

ଆଦିବାସୀ ସମାଜରେ ସାଧାରଣ କୌଶଳର ସ୍ତର ବିଶେଷ  
କରି ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଯଦି କୌଣସି କାରୀଗର ଶ୍ରେଣୀ  
ରହିଥାଆନ୍ତି ତେବେ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଉଚ୍ଚ ତାଲିମ ଦିଆଯିବା  
ଆବଶ୍ୟକ, କାରୀଗରମାନଙ୍କର ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ସ୍ଥିତି ଓ ପର-  
ପରା ପ୍ରତି ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରଖି ସେମାନଙ୍କର ହସ୍ତ କୌଶଳକୁ ଦୃଷ୍ଟି  
ଦିଆଯିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ।

୪୪ । ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ନୂତନ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା —ପାର-  
ପାରିକ ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ସାମଗ୍ରୀ ଏବଂ ଅନାବଶ୍ୟକ ନୂତନ ସାମଗ୍ରୀ  
ପାଇଁ ଦିଗ ନିରୂପଣ ଓ ଦୀର୍ଘକାଳୀନ ପରିପ୍ରେକ୍ଷୀ ମଧ୍ୟରେ  
ଦେଖା ଦେଇଥିବା ନୂତନ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତାକୁ ସମୁନ୍ନତ ସ୍ଥାନ  
ମିଳିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ।

୪୫ । କୃଷି ବ୍ୟତୀତ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟାବଳୀ—  
ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବୃହତ୍, ମଧ୍ୟମ, କ୍ଷୁଦ୍ର ତଥା ହସ୍ତ କର୍ମ ସମ୍ପର୍କୀତ  
ହୋଇରହିଛି ।

୪୬ । ଅବସ୍ଥାପନା—ସଡ଼କ, ଗମନାଗମନ  
ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା, ବିଦ୍ୟୁତ୍‌କରଣ ଏବଂ ବ୍ୟାଙ୍କ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଏହାର  
ଅନ୍ତର୍ଭୁକ୍ତ ।

୪୭ । ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନର ଅସନ୍ତୋଷ ସ୍ଥିତିର ସମାଧାନୀକରଣ—  
ମୂଳତତ୍ତ୍ୱକୁ ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ ଭାବରେ ହୃଦୟଙ୍ଗମ କରିପାରିଲେ,  
ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ବିବିଧିକରଣରେ ଦୀର୍ଘକାଳୀନ

ସଙ୍ଗ୍ରାମୀନୀତି ନିର୍ଦ୍ଧାରିତ ହୋଇପାରିବ । ଆଜି ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ  
ଏକାଧିକ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଆଧୁନିକ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶ ଆରମ୍ଭ ମଧ୍ୟ  
ହୋଇନାହିଁ । ଅପର ଦିଗରେ କେତେକ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଅତ୍ୟା-  
ଧୁନିକ ଶିଳ୍ପ କେନ୍ଦ୍ରମାନପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା ହୋଇସାରିଛି । ଅତଏବ  
ଏହା ଅତି ସିଧାସଳଖ କଥା ଯେ ଏହା ପାଇଁ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ  
ସାମାଜିକ ପୃଷ୍ଠଭୂମିକୁ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର କରି ଗଢ଼ିଉଠିବା ଉଚିତ । ଏପରି  
କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଯେଉଁ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶଜନୀତ ଲଭ ହେଉ  
ନଥିବ, ସେଠାରେ ପରିସ୍ଥିତିର ମୁକାବିଲ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ଦୃଢ଼  
ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ନିଆଯିବ । ଏହି ସଂପର୍କରେ ଶିଳ୍ପକେନ୍ଦ୍ରମାନଙ୍କୁ  
ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ କେତେକ ସ୍ତର ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀ କରିବାକୁ ହେବ ।  
ଅପର ଦିଗରେ ପରିଯୋଜନା ପ୍ରଣୀତ ନୀତିଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ଯଦି  
ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନ କରାଯିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ହୁଏ ତେବେ ଏହାକୁ ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତିତ  
କରାଯାଇପାରେ । ଏହାଦ୍ୱାରା ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜ, ନୂତନ  
ସମ୍ଭାବନାର ସହଭାଗୀ ହୋଇଥାଏ । ଅପର ଦିଗରେ  
ଶିଳ୍ପାଞ୍ଚଳ ତଥା ଗ୍ରାମାଞ୍ଚଳ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ସମ୍ପନ୍ନ  
ସ୍ଥାପନ ଏବଂ ଏହାର ସମ୍ଭାବନାକୁ ଦେଖିବାକୁ ହେବ ।  
ପରିଶେଷରେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜ କୈନ୍ଦ୍ରିକ ସେବାକୁ ଉପଲବ୍ଧି  
କରାଇ ଏହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟପାଇଁ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଆଗ୍ରହ ବଢ଼ାଇବା ଆମର  
ପ୍ରଧାନ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ।

୪୮ । ଯେଉଁ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ପ୍ରଥମ ଅବସ୍ଥାରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା  
କରାଯାଇଛି ସେଠାରେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମକୁ ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ ଭାବରେ  
କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀ କରାଇବା ଉଚିତ । ପରନ୍ତୁ ଏହା ସହିତ ଆମେ  
ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରିୟ ତଥା ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱକୁ ଏହି ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶର ସଂପର୍କରେ  
ଆଣିଥାଉ । ଯେଉଁ ଶିଳ୍ପଗୁଡ଼ିକର ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ସ୍ଥାପିତ  
ହେବାର ଅଧିକ ସମ୍ଭାବନା ଥାଏ, ସେହିଗୁଡ଼ିକର ସ୍ଥାପନ ପାଇଁ  
ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ସମୟକୁ ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ହେଲେ ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନ କରାଯାଇପାରିବ  
କି ନାହିଁ, ତାହା ଆମକୁ ଦେଖିବାକୁ ହେବ । ଯଦି ଏହି  
ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନ ସମ୍ଭବ ହୁଏ ତେବେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ସମାଜକୁ ଯେପରି  
ଅଧିକ ଲଭ ମିଳିବାରେ ଏହା ସହାୟକ ହେବ, ଏବଂ ନୂତନ  
ଲଭ ମିଳିବା ପାଇଁ ଯେପରି ଅଧିକ ସମୟ ହାତରେ ରହିବ,  
ସେପରି ଭଙ୍ଗରେ ଗଢ଼ିବାକୁ ହେବ । ଆଗାମୀ ପ୍ରଶିକ୍ଷଣ  
ଯୋଜନା କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମରେ, ସମ୍ଭାବିତ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକଳାପ ସଦର୍ଭରେ  
ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ କୌଶଳର ଉନ୍ନତିକରଣ, ପାର୍ଶ୍ୱବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ  
ନୂତନ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ଅନୁଯାୟୀ ଗଠନ ଏବଂ ନୂତନ ଶିଳ୍ପକୁ  
ସମ୍ଭାବ୍ୟ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ସଂପ୍ରସାରିତ ନାଗରିକ ଶିକ୍ଷା କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ  
ସହିତ ସମନ୍ୱିତ କରାଇବା ଆମ ସାମ୍ନାରେ ଅତି ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ  
କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ।

୪୯ । ପାରଂପାରିକ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଶିକ୍ଷାପାଇଁ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ:—

ପାରଂପାରିକ ହସ୍ତକୌଶଳ ଅପେକ୍ଷାକୃତ ଅଧିକ ଉନ୍ନତ ଓ  
ବିଭିନ୍ନ ପ୍ରକାରର ହୋଇଥାଏ । ଏହି ଶିଳ୍ପର ଉନ୍ନତି ଲାଗି  
ବିଶେଷ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ରହିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏହି କାରୀଗରମାନେ  
ପ୍ରଥମରୁ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ପରିବେଶ ମଧ୍ୟରେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରିବାରେ ଅଭ୍ୟସ୍ତ ।

ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଏମାନେ ଆଧୁନିକ ଏବଂ ପାରମ୍ପାରିକ କାରିଗରୀ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସେତୁ ସଦୃଶ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରିଥାଆନ୍ତି । ଏହା ଦ୍ୱାରା ଅନେକ ଲୋକ କୌଶଳ ବିକାଶ ଲାଭ କରିପାରିବ ଏବଂ ଆଧୁନିକ ଶିଳ୍ପ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଏହାକୁ ସମ୍ମୁଖ୍ୟତା ସ୍ଥାନ ଦିଆଯାଇପାରିବ । ଆଜି ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ପରମ୍ପରାଗତ କାରିଗରୀ ପାଇଁ ଯେଉଁ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ ହୋଇଛି ଏହାର ପ୍ରକୃତି ଓ ରୂପ ଏପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଅପ୍ରକାଶିତ ହୋଇରହିଛି । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଆର୍ଥିକ, ସାମାଜିକ ବିକାଶରେ ଏହି ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀର ଭବିଷ୍ୟତ ଭୂମିକାକୁ ସହଜରେ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରାଯାଇନାହିଁ । ଏହା ସହିତ ଘନିଷ୍ଠ ସଂପର୍କରେ ଆସିଥିବା କଲ୍ୟାଣମୂଳକ ନୀତିର ମଧ୍ୟ ଏକ ସୀମିତ ଭୂମିକା ରହିଛି । ଯଦି ଏହିସବୁ ସମସ୍ୟାକୁ ଏକ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରେ ଦେଖାଯାଏ ତେବେ, ଏଥିରେ ଦୀର୍ଘଦିନର ଅନୁଧ୍ୟାନ ସମ୍ଭବ ହେବନାହିଁ । ବସ୍ତୁତଃ ପାରମ୍ପାରିକ କାରିଗରୀକୁ ଆଦିବାସୀର ସାମାଜିକ ସ୍ଥିତି ମଧ୍ୟରେ ନୂତନ ଭୂମିକାରେ ସ୍ୱୀକାରକରାଯିବ ଏବଂ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ପୁରାତନ ଓ ନୂତନ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସମନ୍ୱୟ ସେତୁ ଭାବରେ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରାଯିବ । ଏହି ଭୂମିକା ପାଇଁ କେବଳ ଆଦିବାସୀର କାରିଗର ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀ ଦାୟୀ ନୁହେଁ । ଯଦି ସମସ୍ତ ସ୍ଥିତି ସଂପର୍କରେ ଆମେ ଏକ ଅନୁଭବ ଅନୁଶୀଳନ କରୁ ତେବେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ହସ୍ତ କୌଶଳ ପାଇଁ ଏହା ଏକ ନୂତନ ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ହେବ ।

୫୦ । ନିମ୍ନସ୍ତରରୁ ଆୟୋଜନ:—

ଏହିସ୍ତରରେ ନିମ୍ନସ୍ତରରୁ ତୁରନ୍ତ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ଭାବରେ ବୁଝିପାରାଯାଉଛି । ଯଦ୍ୟଦି ନିମ୍ନସ୍ତରରୁ ଆୟୋଜନ ସମ୍ଭବ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ପାଇଁ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ତଥାପି ଶିଳ୍ପାଞ୍ଚଳ ପାଇଁ ଏହାର ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱ ଅତ୍ୟଧିକ । ପ୍ରଥମରୁ ଆଧୁନିକ ଶିଳ୍ପ ସୃଷ୍ଟି, ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ପରମ୍ପରା ବିଶେଷ କରି ଆଦିବାସୀ ପରମ୍ପରା ସହ ପରଚିତ ନୁହେଁ । ଆଜିକାର ସ୍ଥିତି ଏପରି ଯେ ଯେକୌଣସି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ ହେଉଛି ଏହା ପ୍ରଗତିଶୀଳ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରର ଅନୁଭବ ଓ ଏହାର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ମୁତାବକ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଦ୍ୱାରା ନିୟନ୍ତ୍ରିତ ହେଉଅଛି । ଅନେକ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ଏପରି ମଧ୍ୟ ଘଟିପାରେ ଯେ ପୁରାତନ ଓ ଆଧୁନିକ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସଂପର୍କ ସ୍ଥାପିତ ହୋଇପାରୁନାହିଁ । ଅତଏବ ଏହି ଦୁଇ ସ୍ଥିତି ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ସ୍ତର କିଛି ସମୟ ପାଇଁ ତ୍ରିୟାଶୀଳ ହୋଇ ପାରେ । ଏପରି ସ୍ଥିତିରେ ଏହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଗୁଲୁହେବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ସମ୍ଭବ ହେବ ।

୫୧ । ବିହାର ଶିଳ୍ପବିଭାଗ ଦ୍ୱାରା ଅନୁଧ୍ୟାନ କରାଯାଇଥିବା ଆଧୁନିକ ଶିଳ୍ପର ଧାରାବାହିକ ରୂପ ଏବଂ ଏହାର ବିସ୍ତାର ଉପରେ ଅନେକ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ତତ୍ତ୍ୱ ଆମେ ପାଇଥାଉଁ । ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରର ନିକଟବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଥିବା ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ କାରିଗରମାନେ ନିଜ ଚେଷ୍ଟାରେ ନୂତନ ଶିଳ୍ପମାନ ଆରମ୍ଭ କରିଛନ୍ତି । ପରିସ୍ଥିତି ଏପରି ଯେ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଅଳ୍ପ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ କରାଯାଇପାରିଲେ ସେମାନେ ଅଧିକ ଲାଭବାନ ହୋଇପାରନ୍ତେ । ଏମାନଙ୍କର

ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ମଧ୍ୟ ବହୁତ କମ୍ । କେଉଁ କାରିଗର ନିଜ ପାଇଁ ଉନ୍ନତ ଧରଣର ହତିଆର ଗୁଣୁଛି ତ କେଉଁ କାରିଗର ନିଜର ବ୍ୟବସାୟକୁ ଚଳାଇବା ପାଇଁ ଅଳ୍ପ କିଛି ପୁଞ୍ଜି ରଖି ସୂତ୍ରରେ ଦରକାର କରୁଛି । କିନ୍ତୁ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଏହି ସମସ୍ୟାକୁ ଆଦୌ ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଦିଆଯାଇନାହିଁ । ପୁଞ୍ଜି ଲଗାଣ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ସଂପର୍କରେ ଏପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଚିନ୍ତା ମଧ୍ୟ କରାଯାଇନାହିଁ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ପରିଯୋଜନା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବ୍ୟାଙ୍କଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ବିଶେଷ ସ୍ଥାନ ଦିଆଯାଇଛି । ଯେଉଁ ସମୟରେ ସମାଜର ଦୁର୍ବଳ ଶ୍ରେଣୀର ଶ୍ରେଣୀମାନଙ୍କୁ ବ୍ୟାଙ୍କ ସହାୟତା କରିପାରୁଛି ସେତେବେଳେ ଏହାର ସମାଧାନର ପଛା ନିରୂପଣ କରାଯାଇପାରୁଛି ଓ ଏହାର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ମଧ୍ୟ ଅନୁରୂପ ହୋଇ ବଢ଼ିଯାଉଛି । ପରନ୍ତୁ ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟ ହୋଇଥାଏ ଯେ ଏହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟାଳୟ ସହିତ କେନ୍ଦ୍ରୀୟ ସମସ୍ୟା ଅତି ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ସ୍ଥାନ ନେଇଥାଏ ଯଦି ଏହି କାରିଗର ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀକୁ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ମୁତାବକ ସହାୟତା ମିଳିଯାଏ ତେବେ ଏହା ଅଧିକ ସଫଳତା ଲାଭ କରିପାରିବ । ଏହି ପରିସ୍ଥିତିରେ ଦରିଦ୍ରତାମୟ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ମଧ୍ୟ ଉପକ୍ରମ ହୋଇପାରିବ ଏବଂ ଅନେକ ନୂତନ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଆତ୍ମ-ବିଶ୍ୱାସ ନେଇ ପ୍ରବେଶ କରିପାରିବ । ଏହି ଭାବରେ ଆମେ ନୀତି ସ୍ତରରୁ ଆୟୋଜନ କରି ଧିରେ ଧିରେ ଅଗ୍ରସର ହେବୁ ଏବଂ ହାତକୁ ନେଉଥିବା କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମଗୁଡ଼ିକ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜର ଗ୍ରହଣ ଶକ୍ତି ମଧ୍ୟରେ ରହିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏହି ଶିଳ୍ପଜାତ ଲାଭ ଯେ ଜନସାଧାରଣଙ୍କ ନିକଟରେ ସିଧାସଳଖ ପହଞ୍ଚିବ ଏହା ଆମ ପାଇଁ ଏକ ସାହଜନାବାଣୀ । ଏହିପରି ଭାବରେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜର ନୂତନ ଦିଗ ଉଦ୍‌ଘାଟିତ ହେବ ଏବଂ ବିକାଶ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା ଆତ୍ମନିର୍ଭର ହୋଇଉଠିବ ।

୫୨ । ଶିକ୍ଷିତ ଯୁବସମାଜର ଉଚିତ ଉପଯୋଗ ଅନ୍ୟ ଏକ ବିରୁରଣୀୟ କଥା । ସମ୍ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଜରିଆରେ ଏହି ଜନଶକ୍ତିକୁ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ ଲଗାଯାଇ ପାରିବ । ଯଦି ଏହି ନୂତନ ଉଦ୍ୟମକର୍ତ୍ତାଙ୍କୁ ସଙ୍ଗଠିତ କରାଯାଇ କିଛି ସାହାଯ୍ୟ ଯୋଗାଇ ଦିଆଯିବ ତେବେ ସେମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ କ୍ରମେ କ୍ରମେ ଆତ୍ମବିଶ୍ୱାସ ବଢ଼ିବ ଏବଂ ନିଜେ ନିଜେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରିବାର ଉଚିତ ପ୍ରେରଣା ମଧ୍ୟ ପାଇପାରିବ । ଏହି ସଂରକ୍ଷକ ସଙ୍ଗଠନ ଏକକ ରୂପରେ କରାଯାଇ ପାରିବ ଅଥବା ସମ୍ପର୍କ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ସ୍ଥାପିତ କୌଣସି ବୃହତ୍ କିମ୍ବା ମଧ୍ୟମ ଧରଣର ଶିଳ୍ପ ସଂସ୍ଥାର ଅଧିନରେ କରାଯାଇପାରିବ । ଆମେ ପୂର୍ବ ପରିଚ୍ଛେଦରେ ଏହି କେନ୍ଦ୍ରୀୟ ଶିଳ୍ପ ଏକକତ୍ୱ ସଂପର୍କରେ ବିସ୍ତୃତ ଭାବରେ ଆଲୋଚନା କରିଅଛୁ ।

୫୩ । ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ କଞ୍ଚାମାଲ—

ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶ ନୀତି ନିର୍ଦ୍ଧାରଣ କରିବା ସମୟରେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ କଞ୍ଚାମାଲ ଏକ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ତତ୍ତ୍ୱ ରୂପରେ ଆମ ସାମ୍ନାକୁ ଆସିଥାଏ । ଅଧିକାଂଶ କଞ୍ଚାମାଲ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରୁ କଞ୍ଚାମାଲ ରୂପରେ ଅଣାଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ଆସିଥାଏ । ଫଳରେ



ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ କଞ୍ଚାମାଲରୁ ବହୁତ କମ୍ ଲାଭ ହୋଇଥାଏ । କଞ୍ଚାମାଲଗୁଡ଼ିକ ବିଶେଷ କରି ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ପକ୍କା ଧରଣର କଞ୍ଚାମାଲ ବା ଅର୍ଦ୍ଧ ମିଶ୍ରିତ ଅବସ୍ଥାରେ ରହିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏହା ଦ୍ୱାରା ବିଶେଷ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶ ହୋଇପାରିବ ଏବଂ ନୂତନ ଶିଳ୍ପ ପ୍ରକୃତି ଏବଂ ସ୍ଥାନ ନିର୍ଣ୍ଣୟକୁ ଅଧିକ ଭାବରେ ଉପଯୋଗୀ କରାଯାଇପାରିବ ।

୫୪ । ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ—

ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶର ପ୍ରଧାନ ଭୂମିକା ନେଇଛି ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସହାୟତା । ଏହି ସାହାଯ୍ୟର ଦୁଇଟି ଦିଗ ରହିଛି । ଗୋଟିଏ ହେଉଛି ଅର୍ଦ୍ଧ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ ଏବଂ ଅନ୍ୟଟି ବର୍ଦ୍ଧିତ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ । ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ଖୋଲିବା ସଙ୍ଗେ ସଙ୍ଗେ ଏହି ସମାଜର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ଅନେକ ରୂପରେ ଆସି ପହଞ୍ଚେ । କିଛି କିଛି ନୂତନ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ମଧ୍ୟ ଏହା ସହିତ ଆସିଥାଏ । ବହୁ ସ୍ଥାନରେ ଉତ୍ପାଦିତ ହେଉଥିବା ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ମଧ୍ୟ ବଦଳିଯାଇଥାଏ । ଉଦାହରଣ ସ୍ୱରୂପ ନିଅନ୍ତୁ । ପାରଂପାରିକ ନମୁନା ଥିବା ଲୁଗା ସ୍ଥାନରେ ନୂତନ ନମୁନା ଥିବା ଲୁଗାର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ବଢ଼ିଛି । ଅଥବା ପୁରାତନ ଅଳଙ୍କାର ବଦଳରେ ଶସ୍ତା ଅଳଙ୍କାରର ପ୍ରଚଳନ କରାଯାଇଛି । ବସ୍ତୁତଃ କେତେକ ସ୍ଥାନରେ ବଡ଼ ବଡ଼ ବ୍ୟାପାରିକ ସଂସ୍ଥାଗୁଡ଼ିକ ନୂତନ ଦିଗରେ ଗତିକରି ସୁନୟନିତ ଏଙ୍ଗରେ ନୂଆ ଜିନିଷକୁ ଅଳ୍ପ ଦାମରେ ବିକ୍ରୀ କରିଥାଆନ୍ତି । ଏହା ଦ୍ୱାରା ପ୍ରତିଦ୍ୱନ୍ଦ୍ୱିତା କରୁଥିବା ଜିନିଷର ଗୁଣିତା କମିଯାଏ ଓ ଏହା ନିଜେ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା ପାଇଥାଏ । ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ବିବିଧକରଣ ନୀତି ନିର୍ଦ୍ଧାରଣ କରିବାରେ ସବୁ ଦିଗରୁ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ହେବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ଏବଂ ଏହାର ଅନୁଶୀଳନ ହେବା ମଧ୍ୟ ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଯେଉଁ ସ୍ଥାନରେ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନ, ଗୁଣାତ୍ମକ ଭାବରେ କରାଯାଏ ସେହି ସ୍ଥାନରେ ପରଂପରାଗତ କାଗରୀରକୁ ପୁନଃ ପ୍ରଶିକ୍ଷଣ ଦିଆଯିବା ସର୍ବାଦୌ ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଯେଉଁଠାରେ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ଗୁଡ଼ିକ ପୁରାପୁରି ନୁହାଁ ସେଠାରେ ଆଧୁନିକ ଶିଳ୍ପ କୌଶଳକୁ ନୂତନ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ଅନୁଯାୟୀ ଗଢ଼ିବାର ଅନୁଶୀଳନ ହେବା ବାଞ୍ଛନୀୟ ।

୫୫ । ସମ୍ଭବତଃ ନିୟୋଜିତ ହେବା ସମୟରେ ଆଦିବାସୀର ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଥିବା ଅର୍ଦ୍ଧ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତାକୁ ଗୌଣ ସ୍ଥାନ ଦିଆଯାଇଥାଏ । ଏହାକୁ କୌଣସି ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱ ଦିଆଯାଏ ନାହିଁ । ଏହା ଫଳରେ ସଂପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ବର୍ଦ୍ଧିତ ପାଇଁ ଖୋଲ ରହିଯାଏ । ଯେତେବେଳେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ହସ୍ତ କୌଶଳର ପୁନଃ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା ପାଇଁ କୌଣସି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ହାତକୁ ନିଆଯାଏ ସେତେବେଳେ ଏହାକୁ ବର୍ଦ୍ଧିତ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ସହିତ ଯୋଗ କରିବାର ଚେଷ୍ଟା ହୋଇଥାଏ । ଅନ୍ୟ ଭାବରେ କହିଲେ ବଜାର ସମସ୍ୟାକୁ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ବର୍ଦ୍ଧିତ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ସଂଦର୍ଭରେ ବିଭିନ୍ନ କରାଯାଇପାରେ । ଏହି ସମସ୍ୟା ସମାଧାନ ଦିଗରେ ବିଶାଳ ବିପ୍ଳବ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କରାଯାଇଛି । ପରନ୍ତୁ ଏଠାରେ ଏହା ଉଲ୍ଲେଖଯୋଗ୍ୟ ହେବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ଯେ

ଯେଉଁ ସବୁ ଦୂର ଏବଂ ନିକଟବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ବଜାରକୁ ଏହି ସଂପର୍କରେ ପ୍ରମୁଖ ସ୍ଥାନ ଦିଆଯାଇଛି, ସେହି ବଜାରଗୁଡ଼ିକର ଗ୍ରାମୀଣ ସମ୍ଭାବନା ଏବଂ ଉତ୍ପାଦନ ଅତ୍ୟନ୍ତ ସୀମିତ ପରିସର ମଧ୍ୟରେ ରହିଯାଇଛି । ଏହି ବଜାରରେ ଜିନିଷପତ୍ର ପହଞ୍ଚିବାର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ତଥା ପରିବହନର ବ୍ୟୟ ମଧ୍ୟ ଯଥେଷ୍ଟ ଅଧିକ ହୋଇଥାଏ । ତେଣୁ ହାତଟିଆରି ଜିନିଷପତ୍ରର ବିକ୍ରୟ ଏକ କଠିନ ସମସ୍ୟା ହୋଇ ଦେଖାଦେଇଛି ଏବଂ ଏହା ଆତ୍ମନିର୍ଣ୍ଣାର ହୋଇ ପାରୁନାହିଁ । ସେଥିପାଇଁ ସୁଦୂର ବଜାରକୁ ମୁଖ୍ୟ ସ୍ଥାନ ଦେବା ପାରଂପାରିକ ନିୟମ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ରହିଛି ଏବଂ ନୂତନ ଉତ୍ପାଦନ ସାମଗ୍ରୀ ସକାଶେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ଓ ସମ୍ଭାବନା ଉପରେ ଅଧିକ ଗୁରୁତ୍ୱ ଦିଆଯାଏ । ଏଠାରେ ଆମେ ପୁଣି ଏକ ନୂତନ କଠିନ ପରିସ୍ଥିତିର ସମ୍ମୁଖୀନ ହେଉଅଛୁ । କିନ୍ତୁ ଏହି ସମସ୍ୟାକୁ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସଂଦର୍ଭରେ ଆଜିଯାଏଁ କୌଣସି ଧ୍ୟାନ ଦିଆଯାଇନାହିଁ, ଉଦାହରଣ ସ୍ୱରୂପ ଲଘୁ ଉଦ୍ୟୋଗ ତଥା ଗୃହ ଉଦ୍ୟୋଗକୁ ଉତ୍ସାହ ଦେବାପାଇଁ କେତେକ ଯୋଜନା ଗଢ଼ାଯାଇଛି । ପରନ୍ତୁ ଏହାର ନୀତି ସଂପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ସାଧାରଣ ରୂପରେ ପରିଭାଷିତ ହେଉଛି । ଏହାଦ୍ୱାରା ଏପରି ହୋଇପାରେ ଯେ ଏହା ବିଭିନ୍ନ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ଅନୁରୂପ ନ ହୋଇପାରେ । ଏହା ଆମକୁ ମାନିବାକୁ ହେବ ଯେ ଏଠାରେ ପୂର୍ବରୁ କୌଣସି ଲଘୁ ଉଦ୍ୟୋଗ ନ ଥିଲା । ଏପରି ମଧ୍ୟ ଘଟିପାରେ ଯେ ପାରଂପାରିକ କାରିଗରୀକୁ ବିକ୍ରୀ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ ବଜାର ମିଳେନାହିଁ । ଏଣୁ କାରିଗରମାନଙ୍କୁ ବଜାର ଖୋଜି ଜିନିଷ ବିକ୍ରୟ କରିବାର ମନ ଆସେ ଆସେ ଭାଙ୍ଗି ଯାଇଥାଏ । କିନ୍ତୁ ଏହି ଯୋଜନାରେ ଏହି ସ୍ଥିତିକୁ ଧ୍ୟାନ ଦିଆଯାଇ ନ ଥାଏ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ସମସ୍ତ ଯୋଜନାରେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଜନସାଧାରଣଙ୍କୁ ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ ମିଳିବା ଉଚିତ୍ । ଉଦାହରଣ ସ୍ୱରୂପ ଯଦି ସାର୍ବଜନୀନ ଭବନ ତଥା ଅନ୍ୟ ସ୍ଥାନର ସାଜସଜା ପାଇଁ ପାରଂପାରିକ ଶିଳ୍ପକଳା ବ୍ୟବହାର କରିବାକୁ ଆଇନ ପ୍ରଣୟନ ହୁଅନ୍ତା ତେବେ ସେଇ ଶିଳ୍ପୀମାନଙ୍କୁ ଆପେ ଆପେ ବହୁତ ସହାୟତା ମିଳିପାରନ୍ତା । ଏହିପରି ଭାବରେ ନୂତନ ଭବନକୁ ଯୋଜନାର ଅର୍ଦ୍ଧ ଭୁକ୍ତ କରାଯାଇପାରେ । ଏହାଦ୍ୱାରା ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଆର୍ଥିକ ଗତିର ସ୍ତର ଉନ୍ନତ ହେବା ସଙ୍ଗେ ସଙ୍ଗେ ପାରଂପାରିକ ହସ୍ତକଳାର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ମଧ୍ୟ ବଢ଼ିଯାଏ । ଏହି ଦୁଇ ସ୍ଥିତି ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଏକ ସକାରାତ୍ମକ ସମନ୍ବ ସ୍ଥାପିତ ହୋଇପାରେ ।

୫୬ । ଶୈଳ୍ପିକ ଯୋଜନା ପାଇଁ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଧାରଣ:—

ଆଦିବାସୀ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରର ସାମାଜିକ-ଆର୍ଥିକ ସ୍ଥିତିର ବିଭିନ୍ନ ସ୍ତର ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସଂଯୋଗ ସ୍ଥିର ରୂପରେ ହୋଇ ନ ଥାଏ । ଏହା ସଂପର୍କରେ ଏକ-ପକ୍ଷିୟ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିକୁ ଆପଣାର କରିବାରେ ବାଧା ଉଠୁଥିଥାଏ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଏହି କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଉପର ବର୍ଣ୍ଣିତ ସମସ୍ତ ପକ୍ଷକୁ ଧ୍ୟାନରେ ରଖି, ଏକ ବ୍ୟାପକ ବିକାଶ ଯୋଜନା ଗଢ଼ିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟ ଅତି ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ ଯେ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ପାଇଁ ଏକ ସମୟରେ ଆୟୋଜନ ହୋଇପାରେନାହିଁ ।

ତଥାପି ଯଦି ସେଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ଅତି ଶୀଘ୍ର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀ କରାଯାଏ ତେବେ ଏହି କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ସଂଯୁକ୍ତ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶ ସମ୍ଭବ ହୋଇପାରିବ

୫୭ । ଶୈଳ୍ପିକ ଆୟୋଜନ, ସମସ୍ୟା ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ନିମ୍ନରେ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ବିଭାଗରେ ବିଭକ୍ତ କରାଯାଇପାରେ—

(୧) ନିଶ୍ଚିତତାକୁ କ୍ଷେତ୍ର :-

(କ) ଏହି ଆଦିବାସୀ କ୍ଷେତ୍ର ଯେଉଁଠାରେ କି ବୃହତ୍-ଧରଣର ଶିଳ୍ପ ଅଥବା ଖଣିଜ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନ ସ୍ଥାପିତ ହୋଇସାରିଛି ।

(ଖ) ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ଯେଉଁଠାରେ କି ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରୀୟ ଅଥବା ପ୍ରତିରକ୍ଷା ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରେ ବୃହତ୍ ଶିଳ୍ପ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନ ସ୍ଥାପନ ହେବାର ସମ୍ଭାବନା ରହିଛି ।

(ଗ) ଏପରି ଅନେକ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ରହିଛି ଯେଉଁ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ମାନଙ୍କରେ କି ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରୀୟ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଅନ୍ୟ କୌଣସି ଆର୍ଥିକ ଗତି ଦ୍ୱାରା ବହୁ ଭାବରେ ପ୍ରଭାବିତ ହେଉଛି ।

ଉଦାହରଣ ସ୍ୱରୂପ—ସଘନ-ବନ-ପ୍ରବନ୍ଧ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ।

(୨) ଆଦିମ କ୍ଷେତ୍ର :-ଏପରି ଅନେକ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ରହିଛି ଯାହାର ସାମାଜିକ, ଅର୍ଥନୈତିକ ସ୍ଥିତି ଅତି ଆଦିମ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ରହିଛି । ଏହାକୁ ମାନବିକ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିକୋଣରୁ ନିକଟ ଭବିଷ୍ୟତରେ ସଘନ ଭୂବ୍ୟାପିକ ଗତିର ବିସ୍ତାର ପାଇଁ ସମ୍ଭାବିତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ କରିବାକୁ ହେବ ।

(୩) ସମ୍ଭାବନାର କ୍ଷେତ୍ର :-

ଏହି କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ (କ) ଘନୀଭୂତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ (ଖ) ସମୃଦ୍ଧ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ଆର୍ଥିକ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରକୁ ସମିଳିତ କରାଯାଇଛି ।

(୪) ଅନ୍ୟ କ୍ଷେତ୍ର :-ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଉପରୋକ୍ତକ୍ଷେତ୍ର ବ୍ୟତୀତ ଅନ୍ୟକ୍ଷେତ୍ର ଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ମଧ୍ୟ ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଦିଆଯିବ । ଆମେ ଏହି ସମସ୍ତ ଶ୍ରେଣୀ ସଂପର୍କରେ ପୃଥକ ଭାବରେ ଆଲୋଚନା କରିପାରୁ ।

୫୮ । ନିଶ୍ଚିତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ

ଆମେ ପ୍ରଥମ ଅବସ୍ଥାରୁ ଦେଖିଛୁ ଯେ ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ପ୍ରତି ଯଥାଶୀଘ୍ର ଧ୍ୟାନ ଦିଆଯିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏହାଦ୍ୱାରା ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜ ଉପରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶର କୁପ୍ରଭାବ ପଡ଼ିବ ନାହିଁ । ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ପ୍ରାଥମିକତାର ଭିତ୍ତି ଭୂମି ଉପରେ ବ୍ୟାପକ ଭାବରେ ଆୟୋଜନ କରାଯାଇପାରେ , ଯେଉଁ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶର ଆୟୋଜନ ଏକ ଏବଂ ଅଭିନ୍ନ ଅଙ୍ଗ ଅଟେ ।

୫୯ । ଆଦିମ-କ୍ଷେତ୍ର

ଏପରି ଯେଉଁ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ଯାହାର କି ଆର୍ଥିକ, ସାମାଜିକ ବିକାଶର ସ୍ତର ଏ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଅତ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଆଦିମ ଅବସ୍ଥାରେ ରହିଛି, ସେହିପରି ଏକ ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶର ଅତି କଠୋର ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟରେ ଗ୍ରହଣ କଲେ, ଆଦିବାସୀ ସଂସ୍କୃତି ଉପରେ ଆଞ୍ଚ ଆସିପାରେ । ଏଥି ପାଇଁ କେତେକ କୁଳନ୍ତ ଉଦାହରଣ ରହିଛି । ଯଥା— ମଧ୍ୟ ପ୍ରଦେଶର ବସ୍ତର ଜିଲ୍ଲାର ଅରୁଙ୍ଗମାଡ, ଓଡ଼ିଶାର କୋରାପୁଟ ଜିଲ୍ଲାର ବଣ୍ଡା ପରଜା ଅଞ୍ଚଳ, ତଥା ବିହାରର ସାତ୍ତାଳ ପ୍ରଗଣାର ପାର୍ବତ୍ୟ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ।

୬୦ । ମୋଟାମୋଟି ଭାବରେ ଏହି ଆଦିବାସୀ ସମାଜକୁ ଅତ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଅନୁନୂତ କୁହାଯାଇପାରେ । ଏଠାରେ ସାକ୍ଷର ସଂଖ୍ୟା ଶତକଡା ୫ ରୁ କମ୍ ଏହି ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀର ଆର୍ଥିକ ବିକାଶ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମକୁ ଅତି ସାବଧାନତାର ସହ ବିରୁଦ୍ଧ କରିବାକୁ ହେବ ଏବଂ ଏହାର ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନର ଗତିକୁ ଅତିମାତ୍ରାରେ ତୀବ୍ର ନ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ଧ୍ୟାନ ଦିଆଯିବ । ଯେ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଅତି ଆବଶ୍ୟକ କାରଣମାନ ନ ଆସିଛି ସେ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ନିକଟ ଭବିଷ୍ୟତରେ ଶିଳ୍ପାଞ୍ଚଳ କରି ଗତିବାର ସମ୍ଭାବନା ମଧ୍ୟ ରହିବା ଅନୁଚିତ । ଯଦି କୌଣସି ବିଶେଷ କାରଣରୁ ଏଠାରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା ଦରକାର ହୁଏ, ତେବେ ଏହି ସଂପର୍କରେ ଉଚ୍ଚମହଲରେ ଆଲୋଚନା ହେବାର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ରହିଛି ।

୬୧ । ସଂଭାବ୍ୟ କ୍ଷେତ୍ର

(କ) ସଘନ ଆବାଦୀ କ୍ଷେତ୍ର :-କେତେକ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ସାମାଜିକ ଅତି ଯୋର ସୋରରେ ବଢ଼ିଗଲିଛି । ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ବହୁଥିବା ଘନଆବାଦୀ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରର ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ଜୀବିକା ବନ ତଥା ଭୂମିର ସଂଶୋଧନ ଉପରେ ଆଧାରିତ ନୁହେଁ । ରାଜସ୍ଥାନ ତଥା ଗୁଜରାଟର ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଶ୍ରମିକ ତାର ବେକାର ସମୟରେ ସୁଦୂର ସହର ତଥା ଶିଳ୍ପ କେନ୍ଦ୍ରମାନଙ୍କରେ କାମ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ଯାଇଥାଆନ୍ତି । ଏହି ସ୍ଥଳରେ ଏପରି ଏକ ସ୍ଥିତି ଆସେ ଯେ ନୂତନ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ସ୍ଥିତିକୁ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଭାଗରେ ବିଭକ୍ତ କରାଯାଇ ପାରିବ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଘନଆବାଦ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରକୁ ବିକାଶର ପ୍ରଥମ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟରେ ରଖାଯାଇ ବ୍ୟାପକ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଗଢ଼ାଯିବ ।

(ଖ) ସମୃଦ୍ଧ ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ :-ସମୃଦ୍ଧ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶର ଉନ୍ନତି କଲେ ନୈସର୍ଗିକ ସମୃଦ୍ଧ ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ଅଧିକ ଧ୍ୟାନ ଦିଆଯିବ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ଆଧାର ଉପରେ ବ୍ୟାପକ ଶିଳ୍ପ-ଯୋଜନା ଗଢ଼ାଯିବ । ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ସମୃଦ୍ଧ ସାଧନର କାରଣ ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ନିଶ୍ଚିତତା ଉପରେ ନିର୍ଭର କରେ ନାହିଁ । ଯଦି ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶର ନୀତିକୁ ହଠାତ୍ ପ୍ରୟୋଗ କରି ଦିଆଯାଏ ତେବେ ସେହି ସମୟର ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତିତ ସ୍ଥିତିକୁ ସାମ୍ନା କରିବାରେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜକୁ

ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ କରିବାରେ ଆମପାଖରେ ଯଥେଷ୍ଟ ସମୟ ରହିବ ନାହିଁ । ତେଣୁ ଏହି ସ୍ଥଳରେ ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ କିପରି ଭାବରେ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଯୋଜନା ଗଢ଼ାଯାଇ ଏବଂ ଏହା କିପରି ଅଧିକ ବିକାଶ ଲାଭ କରିବ, ଏହା ପ୍ରତି ସମ୍ବୃଦ୍ଧି ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଦେବାକୁ ହେବ । ଏହି ସ୍ଥଳରେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମାଜ ତିଆରି ସ୍ତର ଉପରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶକୁ ଅନୁରୂପ ଭଙ୍ଗରେ ଗଢ଼ାଯାଇପାରେ । ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ମାନବୀୟ ସାଧନାକୁ ବିକାଶ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ସହିତ ଯୋଗ କରିବାକୁ ହେବ । ଭବିଷ୍ୟତର ସଂଭାବ୍ୟ ଶିଳ୍ପ ପାଇଁ ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ହେଉଥିବା କୌଶଳକୁ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ କୌଶଳ ସହ ସାମିଲ କରିବାକୁ ହେବ । ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ସ୍ତରରେ ବିକାଶ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମର ରୂପ ଅତି ସାଧାରଣ ହୋଇ ରହିଥାଏ ଏବଂ ଯେଉଁ ସମୟରେ ନୂତନ ସ୍ଥିତି ଓ ନୂତନ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ବଢ଼ିଯାଏ, ଧିରେ ଧିରେ ତାର ବିଶିଷ୍ଟକରଣ ଓ ବିବିଧିକରଣ ଆଡ଼କୁ ଧ୍ୟାନ ଦିଆଯାଇପାରେ ।

୨୭ । ଅନ୍ୟ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ

ଶେଷ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶଜନୀତ ନିଶ୍ଚିତତାକୁ ସ୍ଥିତି ଉତ୍ପନ୍ନ ହେବାର ସମ୍ଭାବନା ନାହିଁ । ସେଥିପାଇଁ ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ବିବିଧିକରଣ, ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ବିକାଶଜନତ ସଂଗ୍ରାମୀ ନୀତି ଏକ ଏବଂ ଅଭିନ୍ନ ହେବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ପରନ୍ତୁ ଏହାକୁ ବିଶେଷ ଧ୍ୟାନ ଦିଆଯିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏଠାରେ ଏହା ଧ୍ୟାନ ଦେବାକୁ ହେବ ଯେ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସଂପଦ, ଲୋକଙ୍କର ଆର୍ଥିକ, ସାମାଜିକ ସ୍ଥିତି ତଥା ସାକ୍ଷରତା ଉପରେ ଅଧିକ ଯୋଗ ଦିଆଯିବ । ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ କ୍ଷୁଦ୍ରଶିଳ୍ପ ଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ପ୍ରାଥମିକତା ମିଳିବା ଅତି ସୁଖର କଥା । ସଂରକ୍ଷକ ସଂଗଠନର ସ୍ଥାପନା ତଥା ପରିଯୋଜନା ଅର୍ଦ୍ଧଭୁକ୍ତ ଶିଳ୍ପାଞ୍ଚଳ ଓ ଏହାର ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶ ପାଇଁ ଅଧିକ ଚେଷ୍ଟା ରହିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ।

୨୩ । କ୍ଷୁଦ୍ର ସାମିତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ସମଗ୍ର ଶିଳ୍ପ ଯୋଜନାର ଗୁଣାତ୍ମକ ସମାଧାନ ସଂପର୍କରେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱରେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମର ଏକ ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧିତ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା ଆରମ୍ଭ କରିବାକୁ ହେବ । ସର୍ବ ପ୍ରଥମେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶର ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଉପାଦାନଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଗୋଟି ଗୋଟି କରି ସମୂହ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ ଦେଖିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ତଦ୍ୱାରା ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ବସ୍ତୁର ଉପଲବ୍ଧି ଓ ଏହାର ସମ୍ଭାବ୍ୟ ଉପଯୋଗ ସଂପର୍କରେ ବ୍ୟାପକ ଯୋଜନା ଗଠନ କରାଯାଇ ପାରିବ । ଉଦାହରଣ ସ୍ୱରୂପ 'ଏଣ୍ଟି ଗୁମ୍' କୁ ନିଅନ୍ତୁ । ଯଦି ଏହାକୁ ଆମେ ନିଜ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରେ ସୀମାବଦ୍ଧ କରୁ ତେବେ ଏହି ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ସବୁ ଉନ୍ନତ ହୋଇପାରିବ ନାହିଁ । କିନ୍ତୁ ଆମେ ଯଦି ସଂପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଏହି ଏଣ୍ଟିପୋକ ଗୁମ୍ବର ଉନ୍ନତ ସମ୍ଭାବନା ଦେଖିପାରୁ, ତେବେ ଏହାର ବିକାଶ ପାଇଁ ନୂତନ ଆଇନ ଖସଡ଼ା ତିଆରି କରିବାକୁ ହେବ । ସାମିତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳମାନଙ୍କରେ ସମସ୍ତ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶ ସଂପର୍କରେ ଆଲୋଚନା ଯଦି ସମ୍ଭବ ହେବ, ତେବେ 'ଖୋସା' ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ପାଇଁ ସଠିକ ସ୍ଥାନ ନିରୂପଣ କରାଯାଇପାରିବ । ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରୀୟ ସ୍ତରରେ ଅନେକ

ସଙ୍ଗଠନ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ବିଷୟକ ବିକାଶ ସହ ସଂଶ୍ଳିଷ୍ଟ । ଏହି ସବୁ ସାଙ୍ଗଠନିକ ବସ୍ତୁଗୁଡ଼ିକ ପାଇଁ ସମସ୍ତ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ବ୍ୟାପକ ଆୟୋଜନ କରାଯାଇପାରେ । ଯଦି ଭିନ୍ନ ଭିନ୍ନ କରି ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ପାଇଁ ଯୋଜନା ଗଢ଼ାଯିବ, ସେହି ସମୟର ତତକାଳୀନ ସମାଜ, ପରିବେଶ, ଆର୍ଥିକ ଅବରୋଧ ବିଷୟରେ ବିଚାର ହେବା ସର୍ବାଦୌ ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଯେତେବେଳେ କୌଣସି ସାମିତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ପାଇଁ ଆୟୋଜନ କରାଯିବ, ସେତେବେଳେ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଶିଳ୍ପ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ପ୍ରାଥମିକତା ନିର୍ଦ୍ଧାରଣ କରାଯିବ । ଏହି ଚିନ୍ତା ଆମ ଆଗରେ ଅତି ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ ହୋଇଯିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଯଦି ଆମ ପାଖରେ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ବସ୍ତୁ ସମୟରେ କୌଣସି ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ ନାହିଁ, ତେବେ ଏପରି ଆୟୋଜନ କରିବା ସମ୍ଭବ ହେବନାହିଁ । ପରନ୍ତୁ ଏହା କଠିନ ସମସ୍ୟାର ରୂପ ନେବ । ଏହି ସ୍ଥିତିରେ କ'ଣ କ'ଣ ସମ୍ଭବ, ଏପରି ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ କରାଯାଇପାରେ ନାହିଁ ଏବଂ ଏହି ଆୟୋଜନ ଜଣାଶୁଣା ସ୍ଥିତି ଉପରେ କରାଯାଏ ।

୨୪ । ଉପରୋକ୍ତ ସାଧାରଣ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ବ୍ୟତୀତ ବୃହତ୍ କ୍ଷେତ୍ର ମାନଙ୍କରେ ଆୟୋଜନର ଯଥେଷ୍ଟ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ରହିଛି । ପାରଂପାରିକ କାରିଗରୀ କୌଶଳର ବିକାଶ ପାଇଁ ଛୋଟ ଛୋଟ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ଉଚ୍ଚ ପ୍ରାଥମିକତା ଉପରେ ଗଢ଼ାଯିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । କେତେକ ପରିମାଣରେ ଉପରେ ପ୍ରବର୍ତ୍ତ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟାକୁ ଆପଣାର କରାଯାଏ । ବିସ୍ତୃତ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ପାଇଁ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ହସ୍ତକୌଶଳ କମ୍ପୋଜି ଉଠିଥାଏ ଏବଂ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମକୁ ଏହା ଛାଡ଼ି ଚଳାଯାଇଥାଏ । ଏହି ସ୍ଥାନରେ ଏକ ବିଶେଷ ପ୍ରବୃତ୍ତି ସଂପର୍କରେ ସାବଧାନ ହେବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । କୌଣସି ସ୍ଥାନରେ ସଂଗ୍ରାମୀ ନୀତି ଗଢ଼ିବା ସମୟରେ ଏହା ଯେପରି ଅନମନୀୟ ନମୁନାର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ହୋଇ ନରହେ, ସେଥିପ୍ରତି ଦୃଷ୍ଟିଦେବାକୁ ହେବ । ଯଦି ଏପରି କ୍ଷୁଦ୍ର ତେବେ ଏହି ନୀତିଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଉପର ସ୍ତରରେ ଗଢ଼ାଯିବ ଏବଂ ଏହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଗୋରୁ ମୁଣ୍ଡ ଥାପି ବାଇଗଣ ରୋପିଲ ପରି ହେବ । ସମାଜର ନିମ୍ନ ଶ୍ରେଣୀରୁ ଏହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଆରମ୍ଭ କରିବାକୁ ହେଲେ ଆମକୁ ଏହି ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟାକୁ ବଦଳାଇବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିବ ।

୨୫ । ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶ ପାଇଁ ସଙ୍ଗଠନ:—

ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶ କରିବାକୁ ହେଲେ ଏଠାରେ ସଙ୍ଗଠନ ପ୍ରତି ସମ୍ବୃଦ୍ଧି ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଦେବାକୁ ହେବ । ଆମେ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ସ୍ତରରୁ ବୁଝିଛୁ ଯେ ଆଦିବାସୀ କ୍ଷେତ୍ର ସଙ୍ଗଠନ ବହୁଳ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଯଦି ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶର ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ସଙ୍ଗଠନ କରିବାକୁ ପଡ଼େ, ତେବେ ଏହାକୁ ଅତି ସୂକ୍ଷ୍ମଦୃଷ୍ଟିରେ ବିଚାର କରିବାକୁ ହେବ । ଯଦି ସମୂହ ବିସ୍ତୃତ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଗୋଟିଏ ମାତ୍ର ସଙ୍ଗଠନ ଗଠନ କରାଯାଏ ତେବେ, ଏହା ସୁଦୂର ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ପହଞ୍ଚିବା କଷ୍ଟକର ହୋଇଥାଏ । ଏହା ଦ୍ୱାରା ବୃହତ ଶିଳ୍ପ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଏହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ସୀମାବଦ୍ଧ



ହୋଇପାରେ । ଆମ ପ୍ରଥମରୁ ଦେଖି ସାରିଛୁ ଯେ ଏହି ବୃହତ୍ କେନ୍ଦ୍ରଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଆର୍ଥୀକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ଅଙ୍ଗ ନୁହେଁ ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଯଦିବା ଅନେକଗୁଡ଼ିଏ ବୃହତ୍ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଖୋଲିଯାଇଛି, ତଥାପି ଏହାର ଦାନ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଅତି ନଗଣ୍ୟ ।

୨୭ । ଯୋଜନା ତଥା ଏହାର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀତା ପାଇଁ ଦାୟିତ୍ଵବାନ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ଏବଂ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସ୍ଥିତି ବିଷୟକ ସମ୍ୟକ ଧାରଣା ଯେକୌଣସି ବିକାଶ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମର ମୂଳମନ୍ତ୍ର । ଆଦିବାସୀ ସମାଜର ନୂତନ ସଂଗ୍ରାମୀ ନୀତି ମଧ୍ୟରେ ପ୍ରଶାସନିକ ବିସ୍ତୃତି, ଯେଉଁ ପ୍ରଶାସନିକ ନିୟମଗୁଡ଼ିକ ସାଧାରଣ ବୋଧଗମ୍ୟତାର ଆଧାରଭୂମି ଭାବରେ ଏହା ଗଢ଼ିଉଠିଥାଏ । ଏହିଭାବରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ-ମାନଙ୍କରେ ରଣ ସହ ବିପତ୍ତନ ସଂସ୍ଥା, ବଜାର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ପରି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରୁଛି । ଏହି ସଂସ୍ଥା ପ୍ରଶାସନିକ ସଂସ୍ଥାଠାରୁ ସ୍ଵତନ୍ତ୍ର । ତଥାପି ମଧ୍ୟ ଦୁଇ ସଂସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଘନିଷ୍ଠ ସଂପର୍କ ରହିଅଛି । ଏହି ଦୁଇ ସଙ୍ଗଠନ ଏକାକୃତ ଆଦିବାସୀ ବିକାଶ ପରିଯୋଜନା କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ବିକାଶ ପାଇଁ ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ନେବାର ଏହା ଏକ ସଙ୍ଗଠନାତ୍ମକ ରୂପ । ଏଥିରେ କୌଣସି ବିଶିଷ୍ଟ ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ନେବା ସକାଶେ ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟ କରାଯାଇପାରେ । ଏହି ଆୟୋଜନ ସଂପର୍କୀତ ବିଶେଷ ଜ୍ଞାନର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ଯଥେଷ୍ଟ ରହିଛି । ଯେପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟାନୁୟନର ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ ରହିଛି ସେପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଉପରବର୍ଣ୍ଣିତ ରଣ-ସହ-ବିପତ୍ତନ ସଂସ୍ଥା ସର୍ବାପେକ୍ଷା ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ ପଛା ରୂପରେ ବିବେଚିତ ହେଉଥିବ । ଏଠାରେ ଏହା ଉଲ୍ଲେଖନୀୟ ଯେ ଏହି ସଙ୍ଗଠନ ଆଦିବାସୀର ଛୋଟ ଛୋଟ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତାକୁ ସିଧାସଳଖ ପୂରଣ କରିବାରେ ସହାୟକ ହେବ, ଏବଂ ବିଶ୍ଵାସଭାଜନ ହୋଇପାରିବ ଯଦି ଏହାକୁ ନୂତନ ଶିଳ୍ପ ପ୍ରସଙ୍ଗରେ ଉପଯୋଗ କରାଯିବ ତେବେ ଏହା ସର୍ବାପେକ୍ଷା ମହତ୍ତ୍ଵପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ହୋଇଯିବ ।

୨୮ । ବିକାଶର ନୂତନ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟରେ ରଣ-ସହ-ବିପତ୍ତନ ଲଘୁ ବନଜାତ ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟ ସଂଗ୍ରହର ଦାୟିତ୍ଵ ନେବ । ତେବେ ଯାଇଁ ଏହି ସଙ୍ଗଠନ କଞ୍ଚାମାଲରୁ ଉତ୍କୃଷ୍ଟ ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ କରିବାରେ ସକ୍ଷମ ହୋଇପାରିବ । ଆଦିବାସୀର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ଅନୁରୂପ ଏହା ଗଢ଼ିଉଠିବ । ଏଥି ସକାଶେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ସ୍ଥାପନର ସ୍ଥାନ

ନିର୍ଣ୍ଣୟ, ଅନୁଧ୍ୟାନର ବିଭିନ୍ନ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟ ଆଦିକୁ ସମୁଚିତ ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଦେବାକୁ ହେବ । ଅତି ଅନୁନତ ପଛୁଆ ଶ୍ରେଣୀ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଏହି ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ବିନାଦୃଶରେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଆରମ୍ଭ କରିବା ଅତି ଆବଶ୍ୟକ କଥା । ଏହି ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ମଧ୍ୟରୁ ବଡ଼ ବଡ଼ ସହରରେ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠିତ ହେବାର ପ୍ରବୃତ୍ତି ମଧ୍ୟ ଆଶ୍ରେ ଆଶ୍ରେ ଲେପ ହୋଇଯିବ ।

୨୮ । କଞ୍ଚାମାଲରୁ ଉତ୍କୃଷ୍ଟ ଦରକାରୀ ପଦାର୍ଥ ତିଆରି କରିବାର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ମୁଖ୍ୟ ସ୍ଥାନ ପାଇବା ଉଚିତ । ସ୍ଵୟଂ ସଙ୍ଗଠନ ପାଇଁ ଏହି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଅତ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଲଭଜନକ । ଏହି ସଙ୍ଗଠନ ଆଦିବାସୀର ସାଧାରଣ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ପୂରଣର ଦାୟିତ୍ଵ ନେବ । ଏଥି ପାଇଁ ଛୋଟ ଛୋଟ ଶିଳ୍ପ ମଧ୍ୟ ଆରମ୍ଭ କରାଯାଇପାରେ । ଏହାର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀତାକୁ, ଅତି ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ ଭାବରେ ଦୁଇଭାଗ କରାଯାଇପାରେ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ କେତେକ ସଂସ୍ଥାଗତ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ରଖାଯାଇପାରିବ । ଦୁଇ ପକ୍ଷର ହିସାବ ପତ୍ର ମଧ୍ୟ ଅଲଗା ଭାବରେ ରଖାଯାଇପାରେ ।

୨୯ । ଯେଉଁ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ-ଉଚ୍ଚ ସ୍ତରୀୟ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶ କରିବାକୁ ହେବ, ତାର ସଙ୍ଗଠନାତ୍ମକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାକୁ ଅଲଗା ଭାବରେ ବିଚାର କରିବାକୁ ହେବ । ଯଦି ଏହା ସର୍ବ ପ୍ରଥମେ ନୂତନ ସଙ୍ଗଠନ ରଣ-ସହ-ବିପତ୍ତନ ସଂସ୍ଥାର ଅଧିନସ୍ଥ ଥିବ, ତେବେ ସ୍ଵତନ୍ତ୍ର ସଙ୍ଗଠନ ଭାବରେ ଏହା ଗଠିତହୋଇ ପାରିଲେ, ଏହା ଅଧିକ ଲଭସଦ ହେବ । ପୁରାତନ ସଂସ୍ଥାର ଅଙ୍ଗ ବା ଅଧିନ ହେବ ଦ୍ଵାରା ଏହା ଅନାୟସରେ ଲଭବାନ ହୋଇପାରିବ ଏବଂ ସ୍ଵତନ୍ତ୍ର ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ରୂପରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶ ପରିଯୋଜନା ତଳାଇବା ପାଇଁ ବିଶେଷ ଜ୍ଞାନ ଯୋଗାଇ ଦିଆଯିବ । ଯଦି ଭାରି ଶିଳ୍ପ ସ୍ଥାପନ କରିବାର ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ ଆସେ, ତେବେ ଏଥିପାଇଁ ସ୍ଵତନ୍ତ୍ର ସଙ୍ଗଠନ ରହିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏହି ପରିସ୍ଥିତିରେ ବୃହତ୍ ଶିଳ୍ପ ସଂସ୍ଥାର ନିକଟବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ କେନ୍ଦ୍ରସଂସ୍ଥା, ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିକାଶର ଦାୟିତ୍ଵ ନେବ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ କେନ୍ଦ୍ରିୟ ଶିଳ୍ପ ସଂସ୍ଥାନରେ ଏକ ସ୍ଵତନ୍ତ୍ର କକ୍ଷ ରଖାଯିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏହା ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ଆମ ସାମ୍ନାକୁ ଆଣିପାରିବ । ଏହି ସ୍ଵତନ୍ତ୍ର କକ୍ଷ, ପରିଯୋଜନା ତଥା ରଣ-ସହ-ବିପତ୍ତନ ସଂସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସଂପର୍କ ଏବଂ ସମତା ରକ୍ଷା କରିବାରେ ସହାୟକ ହେବା ଉଚିତ ।

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## Book Reviews

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### MURDER AND SUICIDE AMONG THE MUNDA AND ORAN.

By Shri A. B. SARAN, National Publishing House, Delhi : 1974 P. P. 266, Rs. 40'00

FALSIFICATION of history is closely associated with the phenomenal spread of American social sciences, particularly psychology, sociology and anthropology, into the third world countries. In the meanwhile, there is spectacular tendency to camouflage the reality by concentrating on values rather than on interests which are the responsible factors in understanding not only the structure of the prevailing social phenomena but also their dynamics. As a consequence much has been said on anomie, normlessness, deviance, disintegration, etc., while it is rare to find a scholarly work from the social scientists, who trail behind the mentors of Michigan, Princeton, Harvard and M. I. T. on existing contradictions and the social forces which lead to certain specific activities like murder, suicide, etc. No surprise, of course.

The essence of the present volume under review is an extension of the same functionalist perspective, travelled directly into the study of murder

and suicide among two Indian tribal communities—Munda and Oraon. No wonder, the author has started his arguments from the premises of Durkheim and a few recent prominent conservative American academicians. Sufficient stress is laid on motivations, values and beliefs, while only marginal touching is being made to the socio-economic and political relations existing in the two societies, as a product of history.

Murder and suicide are thought to be the product of the imbalance of conscience, which in turn, produced by inadequate socialization leading to frustration which originates aggression. Well, socialization is supposed to be the base of bourgeois social science which means that there can not be any structural change—only deviant behaviours. Saran has uncritically accepted the dogma as science, for change is the inherent character of each and every society, irrespective of space and time. No doubt, from a short term perspective, for healing the wounds or for correcting the bits of abnormal activities it may be of some help, (though limited) to the system especially police authorities, Judiciary and prison administrators. But so far as knowledge is concerned short sightedness has no place in it.

Again, raw empiricism followed in Saran's study fails to take us beyond a limited extent to the comprehension of the reality. Simple case studies, largely based on the police reports can not fulfil, the primary requirements of understanding the 'strains' in the given structure, to which the criminals belong. No scientist would deny the importance of case study as a scientific method. But it would be wrong to assume that the simple case studies alone can explain the 'strains' or the contradictions, which forced the culprit to do the crime.

The style of writing is the same as many other Indian social scientists follow, i. e., while after tabular representation of data there exists repeated description of the source, which only increases the bulk of the book. Further, though Saran has gone beyond the pet correlates like age, sex, marital status, etc. to some reasonable variables, he could not identify the dependent, independent and intervening variables to sharpen the correlation. And here is another set of firm limitations of this enthusiastic enterprise. We would have been benefited if he has taken the trouble of going into the structural problems existing among the concerned tribes and then relate them to the variations in the frequencies of murder and suicide.

However, the book may be of some help for future researchers studying such problems among the tribal communities.

JAYARAM PANDA

**RETURN TO THE NAKED NAGAS ; AN ANTHROPOLOGISTS VIEW of NAGALAND**

By *Christoph Von-Furer-Haimendorf*, *Vikas Publishing House, Pvt. Ltd., 1976. P.P.268 Rs. 50'00*

As early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, Indian tribes have

been the major attraction for the anthropologists at home and abroad. Consequently, our present day libraries are equipped with unimaginable number of volumes of work about the once little know tribal communities. But unfortunately, we have more simple descriptive accounts on the "unique" and exotic customs and traditions of these relatively stable societies, than on their socio-economic and political structures and dynamics. Being subservient to the British social anthropology, the tribal ethnological works in India have primarily focussed on the theories of "static equilibrium" and "cultural lag" and thus remained conservative and stereotyped. Even in 1970s, functionalism is the reigning approach to the tribal studies.

Needless to say that guided by the assumptions of functionalism, the tribal studies have only attempted to rationalize the internal coherence of the structured populace through a consideration both of its units and of their activities. With respect to change, the studies have assumed that it is a gradual and cumulative process of adjustment to new situations—largely products of diffusion. This nominalistic, mechanistic and a Historical conception of social reality is bound with incrementalism, and thereby, fails to grasp the fundamental contradictions in the society that are responsible for socio-cultural change. In short, notwithstanding the massive literature on India tribes, we are no where near a precise model or even a concrete analysis of social change in the tribal societies.

From an eminent anthropologist like Furer-Haimendorf who had the opportunity to study the Konyak Nagas at two different periods of time—1936 1937 and 1970—one could naturally



anticipate an adequate analysis of the socio-cultural change witnessed by the tribe, whose population has created sufficient curiosity for about 20 years due to their consistent struggle to establish a sovereign Naga State to safeguard their nationality and common interest. But the author has consciously avoided the issue, and asked the readers to construct their independent judgements from the last chapter of the book, which nevertheless reflects only fragmentary points on the political events shaping the region and the society.

Though many people in this country know how it is difficult to get a permission to stay for a few days in Nagaland, Furer Haimendorf's account provides a broader testimony to it, for he was known to no less a person like B. K. Nehru the then Governor of Nagaland.

Be that aside, the book costing Rs. 50 has only two new chapters to its bulk over the author's previous book entitled, *The Naked Nagas* (1938). Again out of the two chapters, one deals not with the konyaks but with the Wanchus, whom the author observes "hardly distinguishable from some of the communities" which he had studied in 1936-37. The reviewer cannot understand why this too descriptive and vague chapter is included, without having any implication on the main purpose of studying the change the Konyak. Anyway, whatever the importance the book carries it rests simply in one chapter out of the total 27 chapters.

Here too is the same diffusionism explaining social change. The sour-

ces of change are said to be the impact of Christianity, English education, extension of Indian administration and politics, and enormous central assistance for communication and the like. So we are told that new townships with barracks, office buildings, shops and bungalows, have developed; increasing number of people have gone for English education; jeepable roads are extended and so on. More than these, there are frequent references on the gradual accumulation of the "foreign" cultural traits in dress, ornament, music, drink, cemetery and so on in the traditional Konyak cultural milieu.

At the same time the author points out the continuation of the slash—and burn cultivation without any improvement of technology, and the power of chiefs to get free labour from his subject and tributes from the dependent villages. But he has not gone far to investigate in any detail the changes in the socio-economic and political structure of the society occurred over a period of 34 years. Instead, to our great disappointment merely confined to the changes in the religious beliefs and practices and "political outlook".

However, irrespective of the methodological, theoretical and ideological limitations, the chapter on change implicitly remarks that the external forces, by themselves, cannot bring any radical transformation in the socio-economic life of the people. This is indeed commendable. We may add here that the internal differentiation with multiple contradictions, class formation and conflicts can only bring qualitative changes in the system and not in simple borrowing of cultural traits.

MANU BHASKAR

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