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A D I V A S I

Volume 56

Number 2

December 2016

CONTENTS

Sl. No.	Name of the Paper Contributors	Title of the Paper	Page
1.	Seemita Mohanty & Smruti S. Behera	Communication Barriers Faced by Tribal Students in Tertiary Education	1-12
2.	Tattwamasi Paltasingh & Kedar N. Dash	Status of Education among Scheduled Tribes In Odisha: Implications for Policies	13-22
3.	Nirmal Ch. Dash	Tribal Origin and Growth in Odisha	23-26
4.	Digbijoy Giri	Cultural Dimensions of Eco-Tourism: A Study on Araku Valley	27-35
5.	Devdas Mohanty	Sustainability and Inclusion in Corporate Social Responsibility: Turning Rhetoric into Reality	36-41
6.	Rajashree Mishra & Lipishree Das	FRA Land Use and Livelihoods: Empirical Observations on some Single Headed Tribal Households	42-52
7.	Anil Ota & Smita Mishra Panda	Industrialization, Displacement and Tribal Culture of Odisha: A Critical Review	53-65
8.	Smruti Ranjan Patra	Kutia Kondh Development through the Years: Issues and Concerns	66-75
9.	Sanghamitra Sethi & Paramananda Naik	Dhokra Craft: A Case Study of Jhigidi Village in Rayagada District, Odisha	76-82
10.	Bhagyashree Acharya & Annapurna Barik	Art and Crafts by Kondh Women In contemporary context	83-92

Journal of Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes
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Late Professor Krishna Kumar Mohanti

(1940 - 2017)

Former Director of SCSTRTI & Editor of ADIVASI (1990 – 1998)



Late Prof. K.K. Mohanti, the former Director of SCSTRTI, former Editor of ADIVASI and former Member of the Editorial Board of ADIVASI passed away on 25th January, 2017 at the age of 77 creating a void never to be filled up. He died of cardiac arrest on Wednesday at a private hospital in Bhubaneswar. He lived in Saheed Nagar, Bhubaneswar, the state capital of Odisha .

Late Prof. Mohanti took birth as the son of late Lakshmidhar Mohanti in Khordha town in the former undivided Puri district of Odisha state on 21st March, 1940. He was a very meritorious student who earned his bachelor's degree in 1959 with 1st Class Honours and a 1st Class master's degree in Anthropology in 1961, both from Utkal University of Odisha. While serving as a Lecturer in a Government College, he pursued his doctoral degree on an artisan caste of the brass and bell metal workers (Kansari caste) of Odisha under the guidance of Prof. L.K. Mohapatra and was awarded PhD in Social Anthropology in 1985 by the Berhampur University of Odisha.

He was a brilliant scholar of academic and applied social anthropology, a phenomenal teacher and a dedicated servant to the state government and to the academic community. His fields of specialized interests were Social/Cultural Anthropology, Development Anthropology, Ethnography of Tribes and Castes and Anthropology of Education.

He was a distinguished Professor of Social Anthropology in Odisha, who started his teaching career as a Lecturer in Anthropology in a government college, promoted to the post of Reader and finally to the post of Professor and retired on 31st March of 1998 as the Director of SCSTRTI. Till the time of his death, he has remained active in his professional field in spite of his old age and sickness due to cardiac problems. During his professional career, he had held several important positions and had served very successfully in many reputed institutions in various capacities.

He worked as Professor and Head of the Department of Anthropology in Khallikote College, Berhampur under Berhampur University from September 1984 to December, 1988. Then he joined as a Senior Fellow (of Professor Rank) in the state level institute named Naba Krushna Choudhury Center for Development Studies (NKCDs) and worked there from December 1988 to September 1990. Then the State Government appointed him as the regular Director of Tribal and Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute (THRTI now SCSTRTI).

Before his joining in THRTI, Dr. Nityananda Patnaik, a renowned applied and development anthropologist of India heading THRTI as its first regular Director retired by August 1989. Immediately without finding a substitute for him, the State Government in Tribal Welfare Department made a stop gap arrangement by putting Prof. Khageswar Mahapatra as the Director-in-charge of THRTI from September, 1989 till appointment of a regular Director. Prof. Mahapatra is a reputed linguist and Professor of Odia of Shantiniketan University, then holding the post of Director of the Academy of Tribal Dialects & Culture (ATDC) (now renamed as Academy of Tribal Languages & Culture), Bhubaneswar, an autonomous research institution under the same Tribal Welfare Department and also a sister institution of THRTI (SCSTRTI).

Late Professor K. K. Mohanti had headed SCSTRTI as its Director for seven and half years that is from 14th September 1990 to 31st March 1998. During this period he has also taken charge as the Director of two other reputed research institutions of Bhubaneswar, i.e., Naba Krushna

Choudhury Center for Development Studies (NKCDs) from September, 1991 to August, 1995 and Academy of Tribal Dialects & Culture (ATDC) from July 1993 to November, 1994.

He had immensely contributed to the growth and continuity of this Adivasi journal as its editor for seven and half years during his tenure as Director of SCSTRTI and thereafter, as the Member of its Editorial Board as well as paper contributor till his sad demise. As the Editor of the journal, he had edited eighteen of its issues. As a paper contributor, he has enriched the journal by contributing 10 valuable articles on different topics. In all he has published more than 85 research papers in English and Odia languages on various topics of anthropological interest in different books and journals.

He revelled in the beauty of words and authored numerous research papers and reports with the same consideration and artistry that he applied to writing books and his numerous other scholarly publications. Before becoming the editor of Adivasi, he has edited the Inaugural Issue of "MANAV" – the Journal of Anthropological Society of Orissa (1982-83). He has also edited 18 books of SCSTRTI (some of which have been published), one book of Council of Analytical Tribal Studies (COATS), Koraput and 17 research reports of NKCDs,

From February, 1999 to February, 2001, he worked as a Consultant in the State Resource Center for Adult Education, Orissa, Bhubaneswar. During this time he had coordinated several major research projects and was associated with the preparation of reports relating to the evaluation of literacy programmes of different states of India.

He had an immensely productive, influential and creative career. He was the Founder Member and the Member, Board of Governors of the Council of Analytical Tribal Studies (COATS), Koraput, Odisha. As a professional anthropologist, he had immense contributions to the growth of this research institution. He undertook research projects, edited books and reports and contributed articles for its books and journals. Besides, he had served as the Member of the General Council of ATLC, Bhubaneswar; the Member, Board of Governors of the Odisha Model Tribal Education Society (OMTES) of ST & SC Development Department of Odisha; the Member, Book Selection Committee of H.K.M. State Library of Culture Department of Odisha etc.

Anthropology was an immensely exciting discipline, which enabled Prof. Mohanti to pursue social realities across cultural and temporal boundaries. He was an anthropologist in the real meaning of the word. He has left his mark in both his professional and personal lives. As an academic he stood for intellectual curiosity in the very best sense of the word. Through more than five decades his contributions to the subject were enormous. He will be known and revered as a dedicated and passionate teacher, always encouraging students and colleagues to write about what they felt strongly as an important and significant issue.

Even after his retirement, he used to visit SCSTRTI regularly to advise and guide its multifarious activities, as resource person for its various training, seminar and workshop programmes, as Technical Consultant and Honorary Advisor of different major research projects, as editor of books, as the member of Adivasi Editorial Board and SCSTRTI Advisory Board.

His positions came with responsibilities to make sometimes-difficult choices and decisions, and to fight corners. He consistently did so with an informed sense of conviction and a degree of tenacity, balanced by good humour and openness to reconciliation.

Over the years we had not noticed any change in him. All along, he remained the same cool, composed, principled, honest, sober, soft spoken, tolerant, very gentle and well behaved personality, never found to be angry. He was also very sincere and dedicated to his work as well as to the discipline of Anthropology. He loved and cared for all. We are fortunate to work with him. To us he remained a benevolent paternal figure.

His sad demise is a great loss to this institute as well as to the community of Anthropology. The world has lost someone truly special. We are solemnly praying Lord Jagannath to bless his soul to rest in peace in heavenly abode.

He will remain in our heart and fond memory for ever. To express our love, respect and gratitude to the great departed soul, we are dedicating this second issue of the volume 56 of ADIVASI, 2016 to Late Prof. K.K. Mohanti.

EDITORIAL

Gloriously entering into its 56th year of publication, ADIVASI, the more than a six decade old anthropological research journal of Odisha has already released the first issue of its 56th volume of June 2017 that has been dedicated to the subject of Ethno Medicine of Odisha. Unfortunately, by the time this issue was released in January, 2017, we have suffered great loss. Prof. K.K. Mohanty, the former Director of SCSTRTI, former Editor of ADIVASI and former member of the Editorial Board of ADIVASI passed away on 25th January, 2017 at the age of 77 creating a void never to be filled up. He died of cardiac arrest on Wednesday at a private hospital in Bhubaneswar. He lived in Saheed Nagar, Bhubaneswar, the state capital of Odisha.

He was a brilliant scholar of academic and applied social anthropology, a phenomenal teacher and mentor and a dedicated servant to the state government and to the academic community. He had served very successfully in many institutions in various capacities. He had immensely contributed to the growth and continuity of this journal as its editor for eight years during his tenure as Director of SCSTRTI and the member of its Editorial Board as well as quality paper contributor thereafter till his sad demise. As the Editor of the journal, he had edited eighteen of its issues. As a paper contributor, he has enriched the journal by contributing 10 valuable articles on different topics. He will remain in our heart and fond memory for ever. To express our love, respect and gratitude to the great departed soul, we are dedicating this second issue of the volume 56 of ADIVASI, 2016 to Late Prof. K.K. Mohanty.

In this is the second issue of Vol. 56, Number-2, December 2017, we have presented 10 articles spread over a wider spectrum of subjects relating to tribes of Odisha contributed by different scholars. I hope this issue will earn the appreciation of the academicians, development personnel, researchers as well as the concerned readers.

In the context of tribal development, educational development of tribal children always remained as an area of grave concern. Recent developments in educational scenario of the State have brought about appreciable changes in infrastructure, teaching – learning environment, quality education, incentivization and such other relevant aspects. However, effective communication in education remains to be very important in order to ensure that tribal students who come from different linguistic and socio-cultural backgrounds get optimum benefit out of the teaching-learning process. It is usually seen that sometimes due to certain psychological and socio-cultural constraints, various barriers in two way communication arise in the process of teaching and learning. In the first article of this issue, 'Communication barriers faced by Tribal Students in Tertiary Education', the authors S. Mohanty and S. S. Behera have presented on this issue the findings of their empirical study conducted among tertiary level i.e., college level tribal students, teachers and other staff members following a mixed-method approach. Lead findings of the study indicate that the 'shy, introvert and recluse group' of tribal students studying in different state colleges were found to be experiencing numerous problems in their learning process which can be by and large attributed to effective communication. The scholars have identified certain communication barriers

that stand against the educational achievements and accomplishments of tribal students. The article concludes with certain solutions to the issue, as proposed by the troubled tribal students themselves, their teachers and other non-tribal students and staff members of the colleges concerned.

In the second article, titled 'Status of Education among Scheduled Tribes In Odisha: Implications for Policies', the authors T. Paltasingh and K. N. Dash have dealt on the status of tribal education in Odisha. Analytically, they have discussed the status of education among the Scheduled Tribes (STs) in Odisha along with the analysis of the tribal education development programmes and schemes implemented by the Central and State governments and the gaps in their implementation. The paper reflects various challenges faced by the STs in the State which has affected their education, socio-economic and livelihood status. The authors have viewed that although Government is taking initiatives to improve the educational standard of STs in Odisha, the result has not yet met the expectation. Retention is still a matter of concern with high dropout rate at the High School level, which further blocks their entry to higher education. The authors have tried to justify that there is a need for multi-lateral approach like creating awareness about the benefits of education schemes, sensitizing government officials towards the STs and training them how to get maximum number of students enrolled in the educational institutions which can enable them to avail the benefits of these schemes. Further, they have emphasized upon the role of Civil Society Organizations and Community Based Organizations (CBOs) in effective implementation of these schemes.

In the third article titled 'Tribal Origin and Growth in Odisha', the author N.C. Dash has analysed the tribal population trends in different successive censuses from 1961-2011 to identify some unnoticed anomaly and mismatch. The author has pointed out that the proportion of tribal population to the total population of the state has gradually decreased over the census periods i.e. from 24.1% in 1961 to 21.9% in 2011 although their population in numbers has grown from 4.2 million in 1961 to over 9 million in 2011. Further, the author has identified that, amazingly, 28 (twenty eight) tribes have shown a decline of population during the decades (1991 to 2001), out of which four are major tribes and three are Primitive Tribes. The author attributes demographic factors, ethnic confusion and wrong enumeration as the principal cause for such variations. He argues that low fertility, high mortality and high interstate migration that was used to be the three main reasons for the decline of tribal population in Odisha has not been very important in the present times. However, with expansion in health and economic developmental measures, being implemented in the tribal dominated Scheduled Areas of the state, over the recent years, the said three factors may not be held responsible for the decrease in tribal population. In this context the author recommends thorough probing for clarity.

Ecotourism has become a buzz word linking ecology and environment with tourism. However, with the expansion of the concept of ecotourism, the local tribal culture has been affected a lot. D.B. Giri in his article on 'Cultural dimensions of ecotourism – a study on Araku valley', has attempted to highlight the cultural dimensions of tourism on the basis of empirical observations in Araku Valley of Andhra Pradesh; an eco-cultural landscape contiguous with the southernmost part of Odisha. The study is based upon empirical study by collecting information from the tourists who visited Araku valley during the time of the author's fieldwork. The study concludes that the natural

landscape and its scenic beauty coupled with the rich tribal culture, and its folk traditions of art and crafts holistically conforms to the criteria envisaged for eco-tourism sites. Regular interaction, interviews and diagnostic research among tourists would not only identify critical gaps in the present status and standards of tourism promotion interventions but also would help open up new ideas and options for sustainable and responsible tourism along with new vistas for economic development of the tribal communities in and around Araku valley and elsewhere. While doing so, due caution must be exercised to see that, the pristine tribal culture is not affected.

Industrialization has become the new mantra of economic development and at the same time has been the cause of many social tensions and disharmony in coexistence of industries and communities. In this context the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) wing of the industrial houses have been playing a major role in rolling out engagement plans with the community promising beneficial outcomes for both the sides. This interface between corporate and the community, as commonly understood, is not always an endless conflict and confrontation but very often an engagement for negotiation, compromise, cooperation and reconciliation. In this context D. Mohanty has attempted to draw an analysis in his article on 'Sustainability and inclusion in Corporate Social Responsibility: turning rhetoric into reality'. The author concludes that sustainable solutions to genuine problems and concerns of the communities living in the proximity of the industries call for conscientiousness, longer and larger financial commitment. Sustained results necessitate sustained investment by the project management. Insensitivity of project authorities towards long-term development goals compounds the conflict between the affected families and the project authority. In this connection community development plans need to be inbuilt in the industrial development plan of the state for a particular region/locality, with long-term implications.

The sixth paper captioned 'FRA land use and Livelihoods: empirical observations on some single headed tribal households', by R. Mishra and L. Das unveils the virtual reality of development of FRA land and the livelihoods of the beneficiaries. It is an outcome of a study conducted during October and November 2016 on FRA beneficiaries especially, the single member tribal households covering 6 villages coming under two Gram Panchayats of Pottangi Block in Koraput district using purposive sampling method. The paper has attempted to examine the land use and livelihoods of the sample population, who come under the ethnic groups Kandha, Gadaba and Paraja and the issues and concerns related to that. The paper highlights the previous land use and current land use of the FRA lands, the change in household economy, the development interventions and the gaps, the issues and challenges towards meeting the objectives of FRA. On the basis of the observation and analysis certain suggestions have been made. The study recommends that special plans need to be prepared for development of FRA lands granted to single headed tribal households to help them meet their livelihoods and income objectives.

"Industrialization, Displacement and Tribal Culture of Odisha: A Critical Review" is the seventh paper of this issue contributed by Anil Ota and Smita Mishra Panda. It discusses and highlight some of the seminal research works undertaken by different scholars on the socio-cultural lifestyle of specific tribal communities of Odisha as well as on the phenomenon of industrialization in the State and its impact on tribal culture. Owing to industrialization, more specifically the setting up of extraction based (mining) Projects and ensuing involuntary displacement of tribals, the unique

culture of the community is on the verge of change and several of its components are on the brink of disappearance. Other externally induced factors that have triggered change in the socio-economic lifestyle and culture of tribals include modernization, urbanization and westernization. The objective of this article is to provide a holistic understanding of the tribal culture of Odisha in the context of industrialization and displacement. As a backdrop to the literature review of some of the striking cultural attributes of tribal groups in the state, the authors have also attempted to sketch an understanding (and constituents/ historical evolution) of the terms 'Culture' and 'Tribe'.

Development of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) have been facing many challenges and concerns. In this context, S.R. Patra in his paper 'Kutia Kondh development through the years: issues and concerns' has analysed certain critical development indicators of Kutia Kondhs of the Kutia Kondh Development Agency (KKDA) in Belghar under Baliguda sub-division of Kandhamal district in between two reference periods of socio-economic surveys with an ethnographic background of the PVTG. On the basis of observations and analysis the paper concludes that the Kutia Kondhs are undergoing a phase of tradition and transition. The development interventions have brought immense changes in their cultural pattern and lifestyle, yet in many aspects they have retained their traditional processes and practices. However, analyzing from various parameters, the Kutia Kondh villages are not much above their disadvantageous situation from point of view of reach and access to miscellaneous facilities, infrastructure and provisions. The critical areas of concern are infrastructure, connectivity, housing, drinking water, electricity, education, health and nutrition, livelihoods improvement and income generation, irrigation, social security and above all capacity building and skill development. Along with development interventions for their socio-economic development and consequent improvement in raising the HDI, efforts and programs also need to be designed and implemented for conservation of their pristine culture and traditions.

The ninth paper is about Tribal Art and Crafts those are still the pulse of tribal communities, although, the age old folk traditions have undergone great changes over the decades in Odisha. S. Sethi and P. Naik in their paper titled 'Dhokra craft: a case study of Jhigdi village in Rayagada district, Odisha', has attempted to unveil little known aspects of the famous Dhokra craft and their significance in the tribal socio-cultural and economic life. The paper covers the historical perspectives, manufacturing technique and marketing of 'Dhokra Craft' and identifies the scenario of 'Dhokra' craft of Odisha in general and of Rayagada in particular. The craft has historically been associated with the tribal culture of India. Dhokra is the art of metal crafts amongst some aboriginal nomadic tribes and castes of eastern and central India. Tribal art and crafts have been empirically studied by ethnographers, anthropologist from the colonial period. The paper highlights the inter-relationship between the Ghasi craftsman who makes the craft and the Dongria Kandha tribe who uses the product for religious and cultural purposes. The antique Dhokra items are of great demand in domestic and foreign markets because of its simplicity, folk and ethnic tradition. The craft has remained as a means of livelihood for generations for the Ghasi community and at the same time has contributed to maintenance of the religious traditions of the Dongria Kandha tribe. The study also focus on problems faced by the craftsmen of the study area i.e., Jhigdi village of Rayagada district.

The 10th paper in this volume is a presentation on 'Art and Crafts by Kondh Women in Contemporary Context', contributed by B. Acharya and A. Barik. The paper has made an effort to present a comprehensive account of the art and crafts by Kondh women, emphasizing upon the tattooing traditions of the Desia Kondh and Penga Kondh in the Kandhamal and Rayagada districts of the State. The age old practice of tattooing by the Kondh women that was a rich folk tradition till the recent past has been fading away with the onslaught of modernization. Hence, there emerges the need to study the tradition of tattooing by the Kondh women that has a cultural significance. Besides, the Dongria Kondh women, a PVTG section of Kondh community, have a rich tradition of wall painting and textile craft especially the much popular Dongria shawl. The paper attempts to present the salient features of such artistic traditions in the tribal community. The authors conclude that the traditional art and crafts of the Kondhs reflects artistic view of their life. Their tattooing and the needle work of cloth embroidery are not only strengthening their cultural life but also improving their economic life. Now the wall paintings, art and craft of Kondhs clearly exhibit the influence of modernity because change in their lifestyle show change in their attitude towards new materials and art forms. The fading away of Kondh art and crafts traditions is a great loss to traditional tribal folklore and history of the community.

I am sincerely thankful to the paper contributors for their strenuous efforts in preparing and presenting their articles. I am also grateful to Shri S.C.Mohanty, Associate Editor of Adivasi and Consultant, SCSTRTI and Dr. M.K. Jena, Consultant for burning their midnight oil for a thorough editing of all the articles and giving their time and effort to make this volume see the light of the day. I also sincerely request the learned readers to bring to our notice any errors or omissions to enable us to learn from our mistakes and make corrections.

Dated, the 10th January, 2017
Bhubaneswar

A.B. Ota
EDITOR

COMMUNICATION BARRIERS FACED BY TRIBAL STUDENTS IN TERTIARY EDUCATION

Seemita Mohanty¹
Smruti Sudha Behera²

Abstract

Communication is at the centre of almost all the activities that take place in our daily lives. Effective communication in education is very important in order to ensure that students get optimum benefit out of the teaching-learning process. It is usually seen that sometimes due to certain psychological and socio-cultural constraints, various barriers in communication arise. Prior studies inform us that these barriers are experienced more by the students from underprivileged and deprived communities. In India, tribal students constitute a major percentage of that marginalized and deprived section. This article reports on a study conducted using a mixed-methods approach among tertiary level tribal students, college teachers and other staff members to analyse the aforesaid problems. The 'shy, introvert and recluse group' of tribal students studying in different state colleges were found to be experiencing numerous problems in their learning process. Reluctance to communicate properly with people other than their own close friends and acquaintances, a sense of being neglected by teachers, non-tribal students, and even by the administrative staff are some of the communication barriers that were observed to be prevailing among the students. The article concludes by providing certain solutions to the issue at hand, as proposed by the troubled tribal students themselves, their teachers and other non-tribal students and staff members of the colleges concerned.

1. Education, Communication and Tribals

Education is an indispensable tool necessary for the growth and development of an individual from all spheres and this further contributes towards the large scale development of the society. Each individual being the building blocks of the society in the country needs a proper institutionalised education system to not only refine him/her but also help others to do so. A society may not prosper if suitable education is not provided to individuals. Communication is again an obligatory part of any education. Without proper communication among the stakeholders, education as a medium becomes ineffective to facilitate any significant and affirmative result. Educational institutions (schools and colleges) and actors in education (teachers, principals and professors), therefore need to inculcate the necessary education through effective channels of communication to each and every group of students.

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Communication or lack of it therein, becomes a major impediment when different barriers in communication are allowed to thrive without proper care being taken by the people in position. Generally, not every teacher can communicate with efficacy and not every student has the ability to perceive with competence. This is because of the different barriers in communication that are present within different individuals. The barriers could be of many types, but the major ones that students face are psychological barriers, language barriers and social barriers (UK Essays 2015). The barriers occur when there is a difference in social strata amongst the students, difference in psychological structure between certain section of students and also between the students and the teachers, and difference in language used as medium of instruction by the teachers and language understood by the students. Psychological barriers refer to the state of mind. In the context of education when a teacher has a preconceived notion about a student, he/she may not perceive the problem of the student in a desirable manner. Neither can he/she be flexible about the way he/she teaches in the classroom. Also if a student has a sense of fear, feeling of negligence and suspicion in his/her mind, it will become difficult for him/her to perceive the deliberations inside the classroom. This is a kind of perceptual barrier which arises due to a blockage in the minds of both the receiver and the provider of the message. Social barrier is yet another kind of barrier which may arise in the communication process which may occur between people belonging to different strata of the society like between the rich and the poor, between people of the upper caste and lower caste, between the privileged and the unprivileged and so on. In this context social barriers may occur between students due to different status and caste backgrounds. Also another type of barrier which is evident is language barrier which may occur due to different kinds of language used and understood in the classroom. A teacher's medium of instruction is primarily English, which might not be easily understood by all the students of the class. There are some students who feel more comfortable to converse in the local languages, but the teachers might not be well-conversant in these local languages which lead to a certain communication gap among the two groups. When we narrow down the problem to those students who are seemingly deprived, underprivileged and are perceived not to be a part of the mainstream populace, it seems to be more serious and complex. Inequality in education between different social strata has hence continued and widened. (Desai and Kulkarni, 2008)

Accounting for 8.06% of the total population of the country as per 2011 Census, tribal people constitute the 'weaker section of the society' (Ministry of Human Resource Development Annual Report, 2011). They usually live in areas which are far from development. In fact 89.97% of them live in rural areas (Statistical Profile of Scheduled Tribes in India, 2013). Despite sincere efforts being made for their upliftment, development is yet to reach all those places. Article 366 (25) of the Constitution of India refers to Scheduled Tribes as those communities, who are scheduled in accordance with Article 342 of the Constitution. This Article says that only those communities who have been declared as such by the President of India through an initial public notification or through subsequent amendment Acts of Parliament will be considered to be Scheduled Tribes.

In India, educational facilities do not seem to have been evenly distributed among all sections of the society (Gupta 2006). Amongst the indigenous people, the gross enrolment ratio in higher education is 4.17%. The enrolment ratio of males is 4.21% and that of females is 4.12 % (All India Survey on Higher Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development Report, 2011-12). Undoubtedly, the figures have risen in the recent years with the help of the efforts made by the government. The plans, policies and frameworks put forth by government bodies have helped in

continuous improvement in education among the tribals, thereby giving them opportunities to grow. They have been included in many programmes like the Sarva Sikshya Abhiyan, Mid-day Meal scheme, and other programmes related to Tribal Welfare.

Primary education for them was made more accessible through improved facilities, incentive schemes, relevant pedagogy, flexible medium of communication etc. Although efforts are visible in primary education, the problems are still a plenty. Studies show that tribal students in primary education do not have properly equipped schools and teaching-learning materials (Pradhan et al., 2012). Moreover, studies also reveal that there has been lack of interest from the community itself (Rao, 2009). Apart from this, there are well established studies that show that when tribal languages are not used as mediums of instruction, students do not show much interest (Mohanty, 2007; Mohanty et al. 2009). Studies also show that in the training programmes for teachers conducted by government, there is lack of cooperation and coordination among participants (Rao, 1993). In this manner, the foundation of the tribal students has remained fragile, thereby aggravating the problems further which gets reflected when the same students go to colleges. Hence, when these tribal students step into colleges they face a lot of barriers; ineffective communication being a major one among these. The barriers range from socio-psychological barriers to language barriers. Their social strata, psychological conditions and the familiarity with commonly spoken languages determine to a great extent whether they will face barriers in higher education or not (Gupta, 2006). Their relationship with the teachers, their friends, non-tribal classmates and their level of expertise and comfort of communication are observed to be interdependent on each other.

The present study focuses on the various barriers tribal students face while communicating with different parts of the teaching-learning process in tertiary education and identifying the reasons behind these barriers. The focus is on higher education because by this time a student has completed twelve years of study period and is supposed to be groomed enough to take on the challenges of higher education.

The study thus has the following three key objectives:

2. Objectives of the Study

- a) To understand the communication problems faced by tribal students in tertiary education.
- b) To examine the social, psychological and language barriers existing in the communication process of the tribal students.
- c) To analyse the barriers that tribal students face while communicating with different members of the teaching learning process.

3. Methodology Used

The study was conducted among students residing in hostels and studying in certain higher educational institutions present in Sundargarh district of Odisha, which is one of the scheduled districts of the state. The study was conducted in the month of December, 2014. Prior to the main field work, a pilot study among 30 students who did not comprise a part of the main study was conducted in the initial days of the same month. Based on the pilot study there were some alterations done in the questionnaire. From question No. 11 onwards the questions were set in double negative voice which showed a lack of uniformity in the answers. Hence, the questions

were again modified and the aforesaid ones were reset in a positive voice in order to achieve uniformity in the sequence of answers.

A mixed-methods approach subsuming both methods and data triangulation was used for data collection. This included questionnaires with both open-ended and close-ended questions (Appendix I). There were 20 close-ended questions and two open-ended questions in the questionnaire. The close-ended questions using Five-point Likert-type scale included certain important parameters that judged the various difficulties faced by the tribal students. These included the measurement of the comfort level of the students in communicating with their classmates and friends, and such items that elicited information on the comfort level of students while answering questions in the classroom, asking doubts to the teachers and also the extent of participation in academic/non-academic discussions inside the classrooms. The questionnaires also integrated statements that assessed the comfort level of the students in talking to the teachers in the languages they (tribal students) knew. It asked questions pertaining to whether they felt that teachers understood their problems or not, whether the teachers made efforts in communicating with them or not and whether they felt neglected by the teachers inside the classrooms or not. Students were also asked questions regarding their participation in Extra Curricular Activities (ECAs).

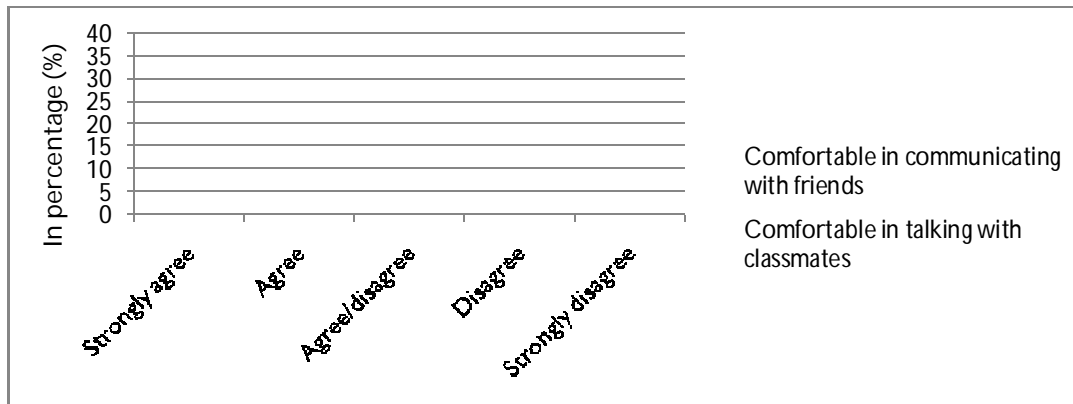
Apart from this, there were two open ended questions which asked the students about the major problems that students faced while communicating with their teachers, classmates and officials in the college. It also asked them to recommend some solutions which could be taken up to address the problems that they faced. It was perceived that these submissions could assist towards better understanding of the problems faced by the tribal students, and thereby providing the necessary answers in making knowledge and information availability easier and simpler for the students. Data was collected from 100 tribal students using the aforesaid questionnaire. Apart from this, face-to-face interviews with the students were also conducted. The teachers, lecturers, wardens of the hostels, administrative staff and the principals of the respective colleges were also interviewed. Three numbers of focus group discussions were conducted amongst tribal students, non-tribal students and amongst teachers of the colleges to elicit further relevant data.

4. What did the Study Reveal?

Hassle-free communication is a challenge for the tribal students of Sundargarh District of Odisha. The 'shy, introvert and recluse' youth's plight was recorded and thereby extracted from the questionnaire. When approached gently with affable face-to-face interrogation, they did not falter to share their day-to-day psychological exertions that they face in the classrooms. While most of the students deem language to be the major barrier in their regular communication process with the non-tribal teachers, friends, classmates and administrative officials of the institution, many more veiled issues were also discovered. Their psychology was premeditated and their encountered difficulties were noted down through this study. The questionnaire contained 18 close ended questions. Each question produced results which spoke about the various latent problems prevailing among the students.

The results elicited for each of the important parameters used in the study are represented graphically and discussed in detail in the following sections:

Figure 1: Percentage Distribution showing Level of Comfort while Communicating with Friends/Classmates



Communication in an individual always germinates better when it takes place amongst and with people closely associated with him/her. The study also showed the same. Tribal students usually do not feel uncomfortable while talking to their friends. Most of them even agreed that if they had friends belonging to the same caste and creed as theirs, they communicated effortlessly (Fig. 1). If they and their friends shared a common language and a common social stratum there was no practical difficulty when they communicated. There was yet another term used called 'classmates'. Classmates included friends but it more or less comprised of people who belonged to the general caste as well. This largely included the non-tribal students. The response recorded was somewhat different in this case. Most of the tribal students revealed that they were uncomfortable while talking to their fellow classmates belonging to the general caste (Fig. 1). They narrated the instances where they were ignored, arrogantly behaved with and sometimes left out from discussions by their fellow classmates. They also faced immense non-acceptance when they tried to penetrate into the groups of non-tribals. The unfriendly attitude of non-tribals sometimes leaves them feeling forsaken and forlorn. Time and again they are made to feel that they are different from the general mass.

The study's prime focus was to unearth the dilemmas in communication that tribal students face in tertiary education. Teaching-learning process is the most inevitable part in education. It was found that students face numerous challenges in this regard. As far as tribal students' participation in answering questions in the classes is concerned, there was a mixed reaction. There were students who felt uncomfortable while answering academic questions asked by the teachers inside the classroom (Fig. 2). They admitted that they felt shy and lacked confidence while answering even the easiest of questions apprehending that they might be laughed at or criticized if their answers were wrong. Generally, teachers also entail students in discussions inside the classroom in order to keep their interest and concentration intact. To make these effective, students need to reciprocate as well. Ironically, it was found that most of the tribal students did not feel comfortable participating in academic or non-academic discussions inside the classroom. Again, they revealed that fear of being incorrect was an important reason behind this. There were instances when these students had tried to participate in academic discussions but they were not given enough attention and their answers were, most of the time, looked down upon. English being the common medium of instruction in higher education, students are mostly expected to communicate in that language inside the classroom. Most of the tribal students are not well conversant with English language. Hence, they fail to build self-confidence

within themselves to communicate with their teachers amongst the crowd of the classroom. While most of the students of the class do not hesitate to ask doubts to the teachers concerned inside the classroom, the chunk of the tribal populace faltered to do the same (Fig.2).They were scared of the perceived criticism that they might face if they asked doubts which may not be deemed to be substantial or worthwhile. Also they had this trepidation inside their minds that their ignorance may be revealed and rebuked at by their classmates and teachers.

Figure 2: Percentage Distribution showing Level of Comfort of the Students inside the Classroom

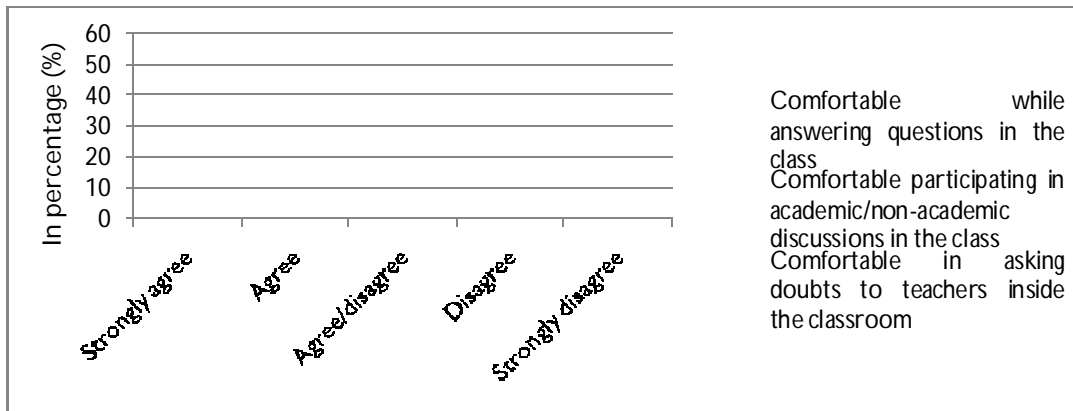
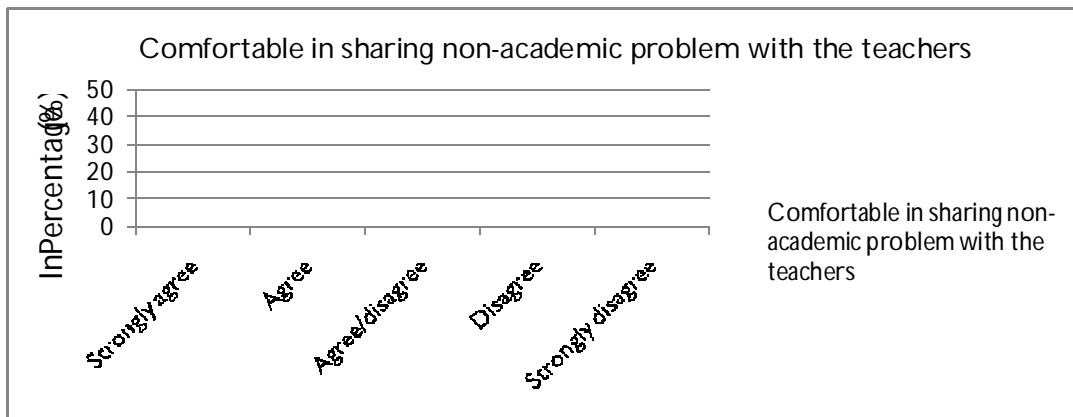
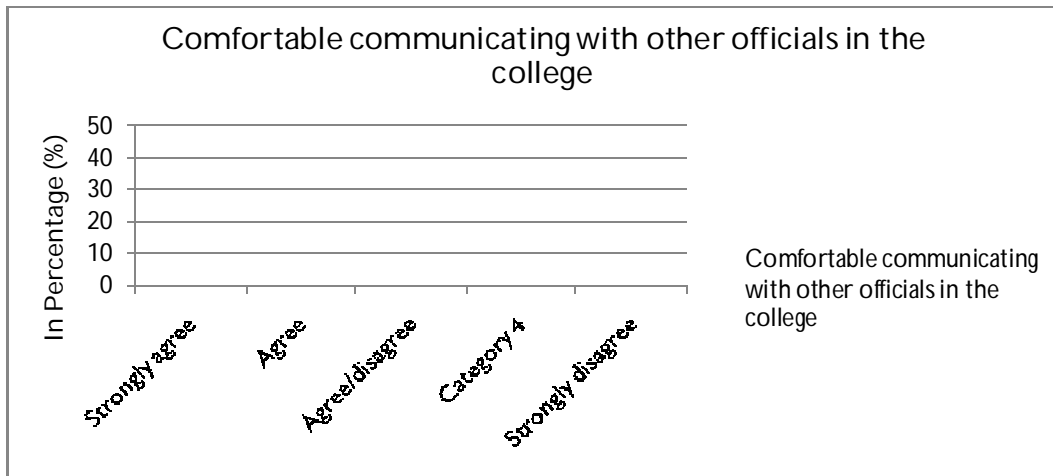


Figure 3: Percentage Distribution showing Level of Comfort in sharing Non-Academic Problems with Teachers



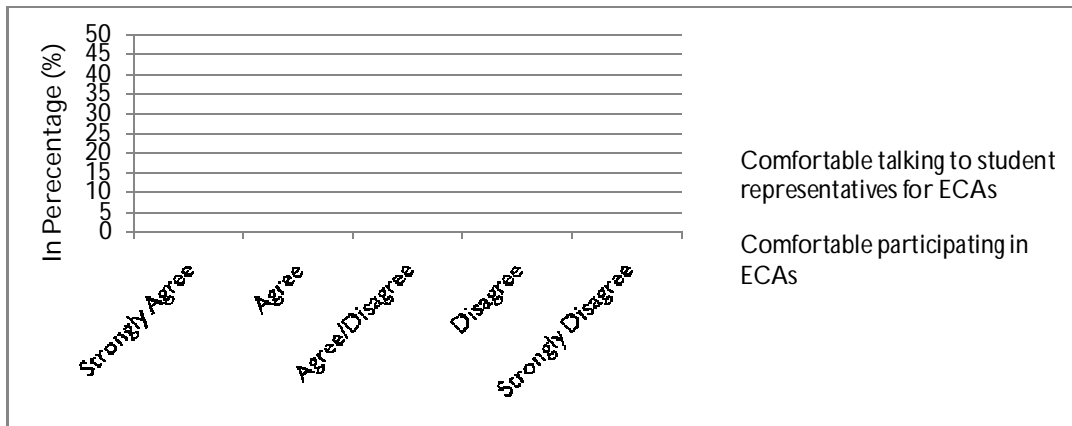
Apart from academics, students also need counselling and guidance in personal matters. The areas which were covered in the study comprised of majority of the students belonging to rural areas. These students used to stay in their respective hostels, away from their families. They do not seem to be matured enough to handle their difficulties all by themselves. They need support and advice in order to channelize their lives in the right direction. The study recorded that maximum of the tribal students were uncomfortable in sharing their non-academic problems with their teachers (Fig. 3). According to their statements the teachers did not care to pay heed to their academic problems, let alone non-academic ones. As a result they fail to establish good relationships with their teachers.

Figure 4: Percentage Distribution showing Level of Comfort while communicating with other Officials in College



Most of the tribal students also revealed that they have been facing problems while dealing with administrative issues in colleges (Fig. 4). They are offended and scolded because of petty issues. Hence most of the time, these students avoid or delay the administrative work related to college. It has also been recorded through the study that there were times when these students were unnecessarily imposed fine and were devoid of help when the need arose. These all then give rise to awkwardness in communicating with the administrative staffs, library in-charge etc.

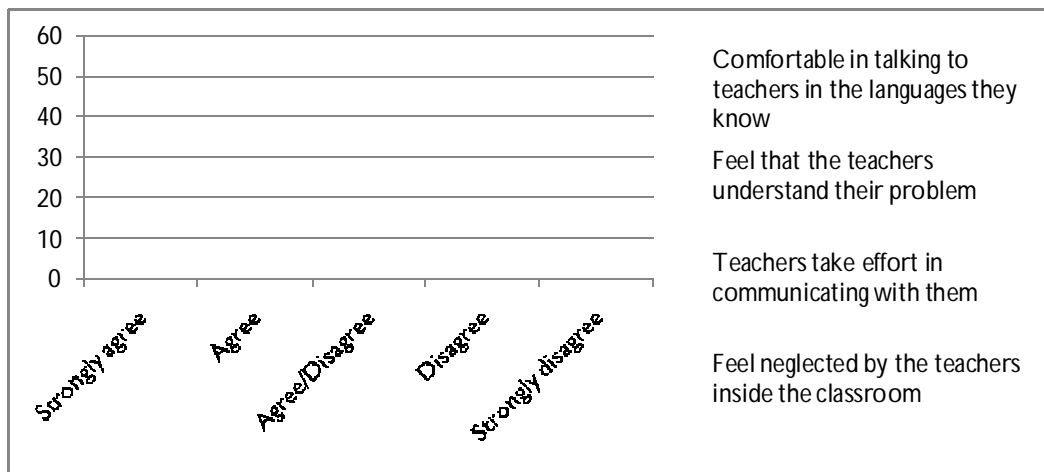
Figure 5: Percentage Distribution showing Level of Comfort with regards to Extra Curricular Activities



Academic issues aside, extra-curricular activities form an important part of students' lives. It was discovered that tribal students were confident enough in conversing with their fellow classmates/seniors who were the representatives of these activities acting as Secretaries and Presidents (Fig. 5). Although they did not hesitate to come forward and talk to the representatives, still they are ambivalent about participating in these events. Most of the students confessed that they did not feel comfortable participating in co-curricular and extra-curricular activities (Fig. 5). In fact, they acknowledged that they felt shy and reserved and did not have the confidence that they will perform well.

Of all the difficulties that were inferred, language was at the base. The medium of instruction being primarily English in most of the educational institutions, it does not serve the purpose of the tribal students. They are not very conversant in this language for which they face difficulties in communicating with the teachers. They are never given an opportunity to communicate in the languages that they know with the support of which they can express themselves better. Hence most of them disagreed stating that they did not feel comfortable talking to teachers in languages in which they are conversant (Fig. 6). This again gives rise to scepticism that whether teachers understand the problem of the students or not. The tribal students opine that they do not feel that their teachers understand their problems (Fig. 6).

Figure 6: Percentage Distribution showing Level of Teachers' Co-Operation and Effort



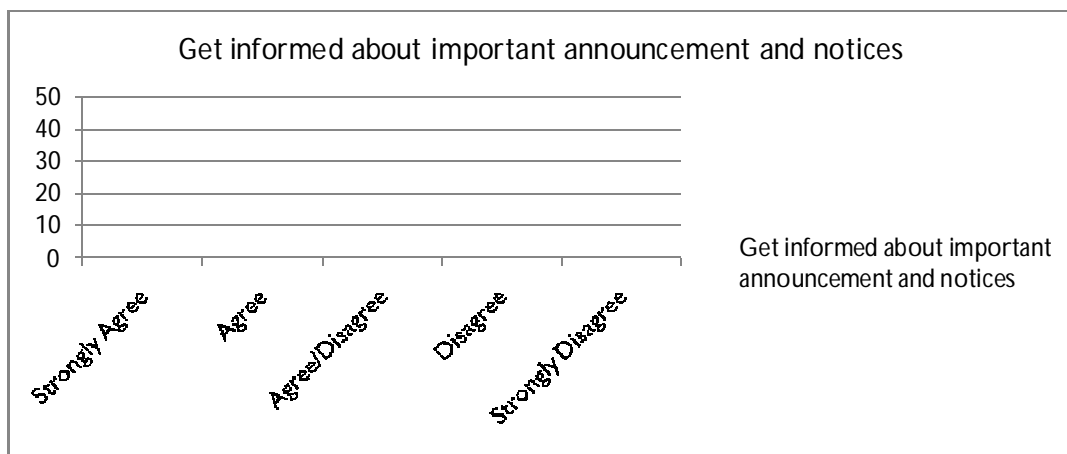
There could be two reasons for this - perhaps the students failed to express their problems because of language or any other psychological barrier, or may be the teachers did not take much effort in paying a heed to their problems, perceiving them and later resolving those. Again, when asked about whether they think that their teachers take effort in communicating with them, most of them disagreed (Fig. 6). The teachers are well aware that the tribal students face numerous problems in the classroom but they do not make any attempt to come down to their level and understand them. It was found that most of the tribal students are comfortable and conversant in languages like Sadri, Sundargarhi or Odia but the teachers always communicate in English which makes it difficult for the students even to understand certain basic things. Odia is the state language of Odisha. Sadri is the lingua franca of the tribals of Odisha while Sundargarhi is a dialect of Odia spoken mostly in the Western parts of the state (esp. in Sundargarh district). Hence, if effort is made from both the sides then only it may show some substantial results.

The tribal students also stated that they feel neglected inside the classroom by their teachers. Sometimes, when they try to answer some questions, they are ignored. When they try to ask for clarification of their doubts, they are not heard by the teachers while there are instances when they complain of the obscurity that they face but those are not given enough attention. Most of the tribal students hence have admitted to have felt neglected by the teachers inside

the classroom (Fig. 6). It is also essential that teachers try and pay attention to each and every student during the teaching-learning process. The problem of each student needs to be addressed with proper attention and care. In fact, when a student openly declares his/her problem inside the classroom, the teacher at least needs to address his/her grievances. If the students are not paid enough attention, they may not even respond well and that may get reflected in their performances later. It was surprising to see most of the students confessing that they are not even paid attention by the teachers let alone clearing up their doubts (Fig. 6).

When students study in an educational institution, it is their right to get informed about important circulars and notices that are essential for their proper functioning in the colleges. Contradictory to the aforesaid statement, it was found through this study that most of the time, the tribal students were not even informed about important notices regarding their classes (Fig. 7). They even said that there are times when a class gets suspended and they do not even have the slightest idea regarding the same. Data elicited through face-to-face interviews revealed that there were some tribal students graduating in science who said that sometimes they do not get informed about certain practical classes that are rescheduled by the teachers. While other general students are well aware about the changed timings and rescheduled classes, these groups of tribal students are not properly informed about the same.

Figure 7: Percentage Distribution showing Level of Awareness among Students about Announcements and Notices



On the other hand when asked about whether their non-tribal classmates like them being a part of their group, most of the students agreed (Fig. 8). They are in good terms with their non-tribal friends and have a healthy rapport with them. Again, the same tribal students did not agree with the statement that their non-tribal friends feel comfortable studying with them because they feel that these groups of students are less capable than they are (Fig. 8). In fact, some students also revealed that they are ignored and arrogantly behaved with and even sometimes underestimated when they try to move into the group of non-tribals in order to study with them or discuss other academic issues.

Surrounded by classmates who underestimate them, teachers who neglect them, and situations which are never in their favour, tribal students in colleges have not only been feeling pushed out but have also misconstrued themselves. A little guidance, some effort and care of the teachers will definitely help them remove the barriers while communicating and help them come out of

their cocoon of shyness and fear. Most of them admitted that they could do well if the language barrier could be broken (Fig. 9). In order to remove this barrier, they wanted the teachers to take some extra classes where the medium of instruction could be different in order to suit their needs. They also admitted that there would be a significant rise in their level of performances in all spheres if some extra care is taken and discrimination between non-tribal and tribal students is eliminated (Fig. 9).

Figure 8: Percentage Distribution showing Level of Comfort with Non-Tribal Students

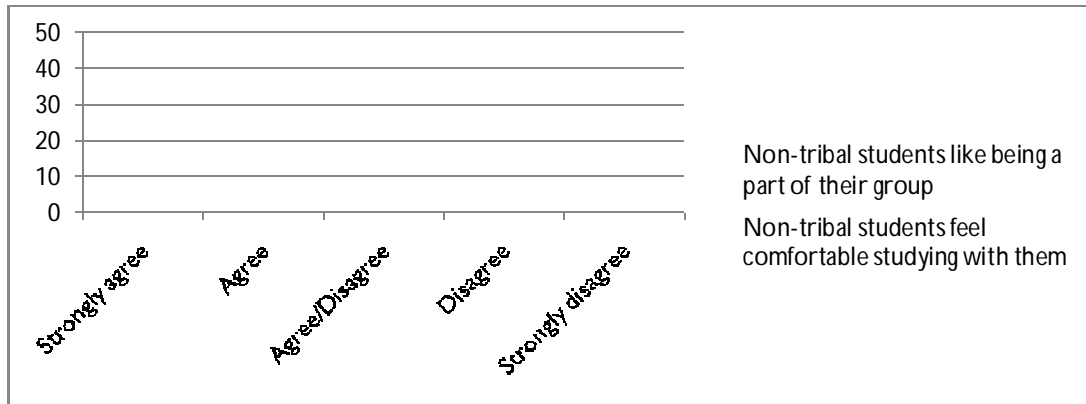
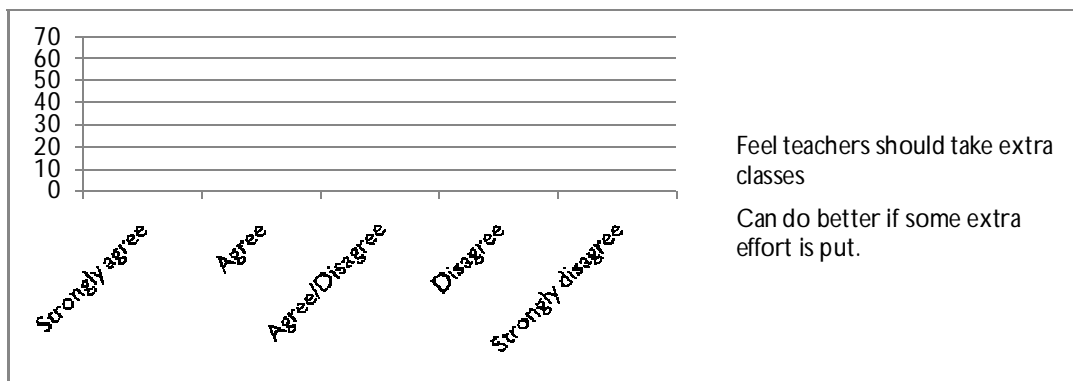


Figure 9: Percentage Distribution showing Level of Extra Effort required to be put in by Teachers



5. Findings from Focus Group Discussions and Semi-structured Interviews

The focussed group discussions and personal interviews with the lecturers, professors, principals and hostel wardens also revealed certain significant outcomes. Some lecturers and professors did not have the slightest idea that their students had been facing so many psychological and social barriers while communicating in the class. They had the perception that students understood their deliberations inside the classroom and they did not see any evident difficulties that would create a problem in the communication process of the tribal students with different key actors of the teaching-learning process. While some seemed to be confident enough that their students do not face any problems when they teach in the class, do not feel discriminated or left out, there were others who tried to cover up their shortcomings by portraying that everything is fine. There were some wardens of the hostels and junior lecturers

who have been closely associated with the lives of these tribal students. They revealed that one of the key reasons behind poor performance of the majority of the tribal students is the negligence of teachers. It is a matter of high concern and can be best addressed by teachers only.

The hostel wardens are directly associated with the lives of the students after their school/college hours. They are the direct observers of the daily routine of the students and are associated with their daily lives. Sometimes they are the ones who listen to the plight of the tribal students that is caused due to negligence faced in the educational institutions. The wardens revealed that though these tribal students have a desire to excel in academics, do well in extracurricular activities, the inadequate communication between them and their teachers prevents them from doing so. Some wardens who keep a track record of the academic performances of these students, also revealed that the performance of these students has been drastically going down with most students not being able to even reach the cut-offs.

Another key revelation was that some of the lecturers, who have recently been recruited as ad hoc faculties in various colleges of Odisha, seemed to better understand the dilemma of the tribal students. The age gap between the students in tertiary education and some of the freshly appointed faculty members of the colleges is very less. They are in a position to understand the mind-set of the students and perceive their problems better. Usually, when they teach in the class, they tend to understand the level of understanding of the students. Hence, they start teaching in languages in which the students are comfortable with. This not only helps the students from academics point of view but also lets the students share a comfort level with the teachers. This helps the students to share all their academic/non-academic problems with this category of teachers. These teachers also said that most of the tribal students were facing problems in communicating in the classroom. They were neglected in most of the classes and their problems were left unheard. These students complained of the problems that they faced in the classrooms when the senior professors taught because they were not flexible enough to teach in a customized manner. They taught the way they liked and behaved in the class in the ways they felt appropriate without considering that there were different types of students in the class and each one of them needs attention, compassion and care.

6. What Can Be Done?

The tribal students who are the major victims of the socio-psychological barriers of communication feel that the language used as the medium of instruction should be flexible enough to meet their demands. In fact they feel that the college teachers should be well conversant with at least the state language (Odia in this case). In this way, the level of understanding of academics inside the class amongst the tribal students is likely to improve. Using only English every time cannot solve the purpose alone. If not always, at least sometimes, when a student asks doubts, teachers can make an attempt to clear it in Odia. The tribal students admit that if they are making an attempt to adjust and cope-up with teachers using a medium of instruction somewhat unknown to them, then the teachers also ought to make an attempt during the time of their difficulties. Moreover, the students also want proper attention from the teachers which could further encourage them to improve. It is necessary to give them time to improve rather than judging them at an early stage. The results imply that they need to be encouraged enough to participate in classroom discussions and activities. This can be done by continuous support from the teachers themselves. They need to make the students comfortable and secured enough by reaching out to them at their level, sorting out

their difficulties, analysing them and adopting new methods to address their problems. Although counselling can be recommended as a strong step towards their personal growth, it is also necessary that these are handled by experts and are used as an effective tool for the betterment of the tribal students. The steps taken to address their issues should not be hostile in any manner to make them feel distressed instead of helping them. They should be encouraged to participate in extra-curricular activities as well. This will definitely contribute towards boosting up their self-confidence.

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STATUS OF EDUCATION AMONG SCHEDULED TRIBES IN ODISHA: IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICIES

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Kedar N. Dash ²

Abstract

Scheduled Tribe (ST) population, popularly known as 'Adivasi' constitutes 8.6% of total population of India and ST population and 9.2% of the total population in the State in Odisha (Census 2011). STs are underprivileged communities and they lag behind in many developmental indicators, which is reflected in both macro and micro level studies. They are socially, economically and educationally marginalized. The paper begins with a broad overview of demographic profile of tribal population in Odisha. The next section discusses the status of Scheduled Tribe (ST) education in Odisha and subsequently analyses the tribal development programmes and schemes implemented by the Central and State governments relating to education and the gaps in implementation. The paper has reflected the various challenges confronted by the ST population in the State which has affected their education, socio-economic and livelihood status. The last section provides suggestions with implications for relevant policies for the betterment of tribal population in the State.

1. Introduction

The total Scheduled Tribes (ST) population of Odisha is 95, 90,756; which constitutes 22.8 % of the total population of the State and 9.2% of the total tribal population of the country. In terms of ST population, the state ranks 3rd among the States and UTs of India. Out of total 30 districts in the State 08 districts (Sundargarh, Mayurbhanj, Kandhamal, Nabarangpur, Raygada, Gajapati, Koraput and Malkangiri) have large concentration of tribal population which ranges from 50-80% of total population of the district. Tribal population in Sundargarh, Kendujhar and Mayurbhanj districts alone add up to 35% to the tribal population of Odisha. Sex ratio among tribals is 1029, which

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depicts a progressive trend, where as the child sex ratio is 980. The rate of literacy among ST population is 52.2%, with 63.7% male literacy and 41.2% female literacy. There are 62 scheduled tribes among whom, 13 communities are identified as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTG).

The tribal population in India as well as in Odisha depicts diversities in geographical location, language, cultural practices and the extent of dependency on forest. Such diversities illustrate variations in different regions (Paltasingh & Paliwal, 2014). As per the Constitutional provisions and Right to Education Act (2009), everyone should have access to education irrespective of the background. Both Central and State Government no doubt have taken various initiatives for the development of STs especially in the context of tribal education, but due to lack of awareness and ignorance, the tribal communities are unable to take its benefits. Constitution of India has clear implications on education. Article 21 A of Constitution of India provides free and compulsory education to every child in the age group of 6 to 14 years, Articles 28 & 30 talk about freedom of religion & education, Article 46 specifically mentions about promotion of educational and socio-economic interests of SCs/STs and ensures protection from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. Despite these Constitutional provisions, the tribal population in India as well as in Odisha remains marginalized with regard to their socio-economic, health and education status.

2. Present Educational Status among STs

Education plays an important role in not only providing better livelihood and employment opportunities but also in improving the status of society by enhancing the human resources. STs are the most backward communities in availing the benefit of education as compared to other communities in India. It is not that they do not want to get educated but it is because they find it difficult to have access and are deprived of basic infrastructure, relevant schooling system, committed teachers and other benefits provided by the State and Central Government. Regardless of many schemes and provisions, the scheduled tribe populations in Odisha are still far behind in education. The overall literacy rate of Odisha as per 2011 census is 73.45%, out of which the literacy rate of STs is 52.24% which is lower than the General population. The gap in literacy rate is because of decrease in enrollment rate in higher secondary schools and also increasing number of dropouts at High School level. The dropout rate among STs has declined from 74% in 2005-06 to 19.02% percent in 2013-14 (Table-3). However the gap between the general category and STs remain high and noticeable.

There is an increase of 9.8% points in the literacy rate of Odisha between 2001 to 2011 Census. The literacy rate of Odisha in 2011 is found to be 72.87 % which is par with the national literacy rate of 73%. Odisha has also shown growth in the female literacy rate of 13.5% and thus a reduction can be seen in gender gap of literacy rate i.e. from 24.84% in 2001 to 17.58 in 2011. Even after remarkable and noticeable change in the overall literacy rate of the state, disparities can be seen in the literacy rate among social categories i.e. the literacy rate of SCs& STs are comparatively lower than the literacy rate of general category. The male literacy rate among STs in Odisha is 63.7 % where as the female literacy rate is 41.2 %. The information reveals a high gender gap (22.5%) between male & female ST Population (Table-1). The bottom four districts with literacy rate are Nabarangapur (38.54%), Rayagada (36.69%), Koraput (35.36%) & Malkangiri (35.23%), which is a matter of concern (Census, 2011). These districts require special intervention for higher

enrollment and better education among the ST population. The low literacy rate affects the socio-economic growth of a region which is evidenced in these tribal dominated districts of Odisha.

Dropout

Dropout rate illustrates the status of education of a State. Children from elementary level to high school level dropout from schooling due to various reasons. At the primary level, the dropout rate of Odisha has declined from 18.49% (2005-06) to 1.97 % (2013-14) among all categories. The ST dropout rate in Odisha has declined from 22.32 % to 2.71 % and the dropout rates of girls have also decreased from 24.34 % to 2.77% during the year 2005-06 & 2013-14 respectively. The dropout rates in primary schools are lower than the higher school which shows that the transition rate in high school are more (Odisha Economic Survey, 2015)

The overall dropout rate in Upper Primary Schools of the State has considerably decreased from 28.39 % in 2005-06 to 2.40 % in 2013-14 (see Table-2). The dropout rate in Primary Schools is even lower which is found to be 1.97 percent only, for ST students the rate is higher. The dropout among ST students at High school level is found to be 19.03 % and which is much higher compared to Primary & Upper Primary level of education (Table-3). Hence retaining the tribal children especially in high school level remains a challenge. Government of India as well as Odisha has taken several initiatives to facilitate tribal education at all levels.

3. Initiatives/Schemes for Education of STs by the Government:

The Central and State Governments have introduced a number of schemes and incentives with an objective to develop of the marginalized ST population (Gautam, 2013). The following section highlights the existing schemes meant for improving the status of education among the STs. However these schemes need to be closely monitored for effective implementation and adhere to pragmatic and need-based approach.

Anwasha Scheme for SC/ST Students: Government of Odisha has announced Anwasha scheme for students of SC/ST communities in 17 districts with an objective to enroll a total of 50,000 SC and ST students in 30:70 ratio. Under this scheme Government would pay fees up to Rs. 25000/- per annum (excluding hostel and scholarship). As part of this scheme Odisha government would bear expenses related to fees, books, uniform and transportation with separate hostel facility & provision of counselor for helping the ST children in studies. The selection would be based on lottery drawn by a committee to avoid any kind of bias.

Ashram School in Tribal Areas: This is a central scheme and it provides educational i.e. school as well as residential facilities to tribal children. Through this scheme children from tribal community are motivated to continue education along with lodging and boarding facility free of cost. In Odisha there are Ekalavya Model Residential schools.

Book Bank: This scheme provides fund for purchase of books for ST students from professional institutes/universities. This facility is being provided to ST students to reduce dropout because of financial crisis. In the Annual Plan of 2015-16; Odisha Government has allotted Rupees 20 lakhs for the implementation of the scheme.

Free Coaching for ST students: Ministry of Tribal Affairs have selected few coaching institutions to provide free coaching to ST students who wants to prepare for competitive exams like civil services, NDS, Medical, Engineering, Railway, Banking etc. Under this scheme stipend of Rs.1000/- is also provided per month and for students from rural areas or students requiring accommodation; boarding/lodging of Rs. 2000/- per month is also provided.

Focus on KBK Districts: This belt is popularly known as KBK districts originally comprised of Koraput, Balangir and Kalahandi. Since 1992-93 the three districts have been divided and made into eight districts: Koraput, Malkangiri, Nabarangpur, Rayagada, Balangir, Subarnapur, Kalahandi and Nuapada. All these districts are tribal dominated and backward considering the developmental parameters. Government of Odisha has taken various steps to promote literacy among the STs with focus on girls' education. Scholarship provision is included for SC & ST students to continue their studies. In addition, hostel accommodation is provided for primary class students with adequate infrastructure. New schools as well as renovation of existing school infrastructure have been carried out (Annual Report 2013-14).

Hostel for ST Girls & Boys: Objective of the scheme is to promote literacy among tribal students by providing them the facility where they can stay and continue their education, which otherwise would not have been possible because of their economic condition and location of their village. As part of implementation of the scheme Odisha Government has sanctioned 6910 hostels for SC/ST students which would provide residential facilities to around 6 lakh students out of which there would be 4 lakh girls.

Scholarship for Higher Studies Abroad: The National Overseas scholarship scheme for Higher Studies abroad is to provide financial support to ST students pursuing his/her higher studies in the field of Engineering, Technology and Science. Under this scheme a "Passage Grant" is provided till the time the student receives the scholarship.

Pre-Matric Scholarship: Pre-Matric Scholarship is being paid to the SC/ST students residing in hostels as well as the Day Scholars. Children of parents who do not come under the tax payer category are eligible for the benefits of the scheme. Day scholars of class IX and X receive Rs. 750/- per annum as scholarship, whereas children who stays in hostel receives Rs.350/- per month for 10 months (Annual Report 2013-14).

Post-Matric Scholarship: This is one of the oldest schemes prevailing in country for the educational development of Tribal community. Scheme provides financial assistance to ST students for doing their post matriculation or post-secondary level education. This scheme applies to ST student whose parent's annual income is below 1 lakh rupees per annum. As per the existing schemes in Odisha, scholarship is being disbursed through bank drafts.

Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship: This is a central scheme that provides scholarship to ST students pursuing their higher studies like M.Phil & Ph.D.

Scheme of Top Class Education for ST Students: This is a central scheme introduced from the academic year 2007-2008. Objective of the scheme is to support ST students to complete their degree or post degree level studies in recognized institutions and so far 213 such institutions are

being recognized. Under this scheme scholarship once awarded would continue till the student completes his/her course/degree.

Scheme related to ST Girls: A huge difference can be seen in the education status of girls and boys. With the objective to bridge the gap Ministry of Tribal affairs has come up with a scheme of facilitation of 100% enrollment among girls in Tribal areas. This scheme is being implemented with the help of local NGOs. Under this scheme hostel facilities to tribal girls are provided at block level so that girls can attend their primary, middle and secondary schools.

Upgradation of Merit of ST students: Objective of the scheme is to upgrade the merit of ST students by providing them remedial and special coaching in class IX to XII. Through this provision, students can prepare for competitive examination. Under this scheme students are provided package grant of Rs. 19,500/- per year. Students with disabilities are eligible for additional grants too.

Vocational Training Centre in Tribal Areas: Objective of the scheme is to upgrade the skills of youths to enable them to get sustainable livelihood sources. This scheme is being implemented through State Governments by setting up vocational training centers in Tribal areas specifically for ST students (<http://tribal.nic.in/Content/schemes.aspx>). Apart from all these schemes Odisha Right of Children to free and Compulsory Education has been implemented on the basis of the model rules made by the Government of India since 2010 and RTE cell is in operation with UNICEF support (Odisha Economic Survey, 2015).

Introduction of tribal development schemes is certainly a positive step, but their implementation and allocations of funds for ST children's education remain crucial for many lapses in execution of the schemes, which hinder the ST population to avail the benefits (Ramachandran et al 2007). In budgetary allocations, the priorities for ST population are not clearly reflected. The need of tribal people needs to be measured through proper assessment while deciding the incentives and schemes for their progress. TSP allocations are found to be limited considering their socio-economic under privileged status. The implementation is often not monitored by the concerned department and authorities and remains in a stagnant stage (Paltasingh, 2014). There are instances of underutilization of funds by the Tribal Welfare Department across many regions in India. Need based and target oriented planning with involvement of the local community can help determining future strategy for development of ST population. The ST population should participate in the process of development that can help in bridging the gaps between the STs and other communities

4. Challenges & Issues

Constitutional provision aims at empowering the marginalized communities like STs, but in practice, they are not the real beneficiaries of development programs. They are socially excluded and their rights are not given priority. Large scale migration is taking place in many tribal districts of Odisha, which has alienated them from their own location & resources. Poverty due to lack of livelihood is making education impossible for the children from poor families.

All these reasons reduce confidence level and motivation towards education and thus prevent children from coming to school and avoid parents from sending their children to school as they cannot support their children in their education.

Other reasons for migration are displacement due to development projects and industrialization.

Poverty & Livelihood Issues

Tribal population is comparatively poor amongst the state population and most of them live below poverty line. Poverty also affects the education of tribal community. They prefer sending their children to work and earn livelihood rather than sending them to schools. Most of the tribal communities also migrate to different places in search of livelihood and thus the education of their children does not get top priority.

Alienation from Forest & Displacement due to development projects

Like tribal population of other states, STs of Odisha are facing similar problem of alienation from forest land rights. Tribals who were considered to be the owner of forest are being alienated from the forest in the name of development. Their dependency with forest and agriculture is well recognized, but due to unplanned industrialization and urbanization they are now displaced and landless which is contributing to poverty. Lack of education and awareness about their rights is giving rise to many related problems and they remain excluded from availing the benefits of 'development'.

Language Issue

Over the years it has been proved that language is one of the major components for social exclusion. The objective of Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA) was to make education relevant and encouraging for STs so that more and more children can be benefited. But the biggest challenge they faced was due to unequal schooling system in which communication in tribal language or mother tongue is encouraged. Tribal children are not exposed to the school language before they go to school and lack of knowledge of alien language used in the school hinders learning and also reduces opportunity to interact or deal with school authority (Cuadra et al, 2008). They develop a sense of alienation as they are not communicated with their own language (Xaxa, 2005). Odisha has taken the initiatives of MLE, but the coverage is limited with regard to areas and dialects.

Issues of health & nutrition

There are ample evidences of malnourishment and there are many under-nourished children in the State. As per Concurrent Monitoring Survey a large number of Scheduled Tribe children are under-nourished (CCM-II, 2014). District-wise information in Odisha specifies that under-nutrition is worse in high burden districts dominated by tribal population with more than 60% tribal children stunted in districts like Bolangir, Koraput, Malkangiri, Nuapada and Rayagada. These districts also depict a gloomy picture regarding the literacy rate.

The recent incidents of Japanese Encephalitis (JE) in Malkangiri district is alarming. The virus of the fatal disease is grown among the pigs and is transmitted to human bodies through mosquitoes (South Asia Weekly, 2016). Death toll due to the outbreak in this tribal dominated district has reached to more than 100 during last two months & every day the number is increasing. This is adding to the already existing healthcare problems like malnutrition, high maternal and infant

mortality rates and the decaying healthcare set-up, particularly in the tribal areas. If survival issue can be questioned due to violation of right to health and life of the people, then education would certainly get secondary importance.

Lack of infrastructure & proper access to schools

One of the major problems in achieving universalization of education is lack of infrastructure facility because of which children cannot have access to schools. Inadequate infrastructure facility and services (road, transportation facilities and proper school building), inadequate staff and subject specific teachers are also part of it. Infrastructure and lack of teaching staff is also evident in socio-economically developed states like Gujarat. (Paltasingh, 2014). There are areas where the transport & communication facility is in under-developed state and makes education inaccessible to tribal children. Shortage of qualified/trained teachers or irregularities of teachers worsen the situation.

5. Suggestion & Recommendations

Achieving inclusive education amongst tribal children of Odisha is a major task. It requires efforts from multiple sources as the problems are also multi-dimensional.

Awareness: Tribal population should be informed about the importance of education and how education contributes towards eradication of poverty and increasing livelihood options. In such situation policy and practice should be integrated, so that schooling can receive priority among them.

Use of mother tongue: Tribal children should be taught in their mother tongue, so that they and their parents can understand what is being taught in the school. This will also encourage parents in contributing towards learning of their children as well as children can relate their learnings to day to day activities. At the same time all learning and teaching materials should also be linked to their immediate surroundings, so that they can relate better.

School infrastructure: Schools in tribal areas should be provided with amenities. Location of school should be such that children can reach safely. Transportation facilities should be provided in inaccessible or hilly areas. Trained and qualified teachers should be recruited who can motivate children to attend the school and at the same time will make parents feel that their children are in the safe and proper learning environment.

Residential schools or hostel facilities: Government has taken steps to make residential schools or hostel facilities. But adequate infrastructure and learning environment should be taken into consideration. More number of such schools and hostels should be built to accommodate the deserving tribal children in the State, who otherwise would have missed a teaching learning atmosphere.

Scholarship/Stipend: Amount of scholarship and stipend for ST children and especially for girls should be raised to motivate more and more parents to send their children to school. Scholarship for vocational courses for girls should also announce with the objective to link education and livelihood.

Effective monitoring: Proper mechanisms for monitoring of implementation of schemes and functioning of schools/hostels should be set up. Panchayat should play an active role in monitoring

of implementation of schemes. SMCs/SMDCs should be strengthened by building their capacities and their major role should be to facilitate the functioning of school and ensure inclusive education (Kumar 2008). The school management committee should be a productive partner in effective utilization of locally available resources.

6. Conclusion & Policy Implications:

Education is the foundation for economic, social, technological and environmental development of a State. Education can ensure that the ST community in the State are not deprived of their rights and lead a healthy and productive life with dignity. The enactment of Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009 aims to fulfill the constitutional commitment of Universalising Elementary Education (UEE), so that all children between 6 to 14 years of age would attend schools and pursue the next level of education.

Government is taking many initiatives to improve the education standard of STs in Odisha but still the status of education has not reached the level as per the expectation. Retention has become a matter of concern with high dropout rate at High School level, which further blocks their entry to higher education. Launching of scheme itself will not resolve the problem; there is a need for multi-lateral approach like creating awareness about the benefits of schemes, sensitizing government officials towards the ST community and training them how to reach maximum number of students which can enable them to take the benefits of these schemes. Civil Society Organisations and Community based Organisations (CBOs) can play a major role in effective implementation of schemes by supporting government. Collaboration with these organisations, members of the ST community and other relevant stakeholders can facilitate developing effective strategies. It is essential to have context specific and need-based policies based on the prior experience. All this efforts will work towards providing education to Tribal community in Odisha and empower them to earn their livelihood and live a dignified life.

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Web Links:

<http://tribal.nic.in/Content/schemes.aspx>

Table-1: Literacy among STs in Odisha & India (1961-2011)

Year	Literacy rate among STs (India)				Literacy rate among STs (Odisha)			
	Male	Female	Total	Gender Gap	Male	Female	Total	Gender Gap
1961	13.83	3.16	8.53	10.67	13	1.77	7.36	11.27
1971	17.63	4.85	11.30	12.78	16.4	2.28	9.45	13.8
1981	24.52	8.04	16.35	16.48	23.3	4.76	14	18.51
1991	40.65	18.19	29.60	22.46	34.4	10.21	22.3	24.23
2001	59.17	34.76	47.10	24.41	51.48	23.37	37.37	28.11
2011	68.53	49.35	58.96	19.18	63.70	41.20	52.24	22.50

Source: Census of India 1961-2011

Table-2: Dropout Rate in Primary & Upper Primary Schools of Odisha

Year	Primary Schools		Upper Primary Schools	
	All Category	ST	All Category	ST
2006-07	10.53%	22.88%	18.05%	32.44%
2007-08	7.79%	16.89%	13.27%	23.82%
2008-09	4.95%	10.69%	8.42%	15.12%
2009-10	2.83%	6.46%	8.19%	9.72%
2010-11	2.6%	4.85%	7.23%	7.85%
2011-12	0.43%	3.1%	3.07%	4.7%
2012-13	0.37%	2.97%	2.36%	3.38%
2013-14	1.97%	2.71%	2.4%	3.63%

Source-Odisha Economic Survey, 2014-15; Government of Odisha & Statistical Profile of Scheduled Tribes in India, 2013

Table-3: Drop-out Rate in High Schools by Communities

year	All Category	ST
2005-06	62%	74%
2006-07	61%	74%
2007-08	59.6%	72%
2008-09	59.6%	71.8%
2009-10	54%	69.2%
2010-11	51%	65.4%
2011-12	49.5%	64.3%
2012-13	18.72%	23.4%
2013-14	16.49%	19.02%

Source-Odisha Economic Survey, 2014-15; Government of Odisha & Statistical Profile of Scheduled Tribes in India, 2013

TRIBAL ORIGIN AND GROWTH IN ODISHA

N.C. Dash ¹

Abstract:

There are enough evidences to show human habitation in Odisha during Indian Paleolithic period. However, the term 'Tribe' was first used by the British rulers during mid 19th Century for the 'forest dwellers' to distinguish them from the 'Plains dwellers'. After Independence some Tribal communities in different phases were listed (by 5th and 6th Schedule of Indian Constitution) and were notified as 'Scheduled Tribes'. The present paper highlights the growth of tribal population only after Odisha became an independent state (province) in 1936. Although Tribal Population has grown from 4.2 million in 1961 to over 9 million in 2011 Census, the proportion of Tribal Population (to the total population) has been gradually decreased, i.e. from 24.1% (1961) to 21.9% (2011). It is amazing to see that 28 (twenty eight) Tribes have shown a decline of population during the decade (1991 to 2001), out of which four are major tribes and three are Primitive Tribes. Demographic factors, Ethnic confusion and wrong enumeration are the main cause for such a large scale decline. Government of Odisha through its concerned departments are taking up due steps to solve such problems.

Key Wards: Indigenous, Demography, Synthesis, Ethnic, Primitive, Decline

Introduction:

Tribe (tribes) was initially understood as a section or a group of people; however, for an Anthropologist the term 'tribe' means a type of community comprising a set of socio- economic features. As described by Anthropologists, the tribe is an endogamous group having a distinct name, a common dialect, a common way of life and sharing a common territory. In Odisha a tribe is known in different names such as Adivasi, Adimjati, Vanyajati, Janajati, etc. Those tribes who are listed under the 5th Schedule of the Constitution as per the recommendation of the Backward Classes Commission are known as the Scheduled Tribes or the Anusuchit Janajati, (Elwin 1943, Bose 1953 & Royburman 2005)

Before describing the growth and decline of the Scheduled Tribes of Odisha it is necessary to discuss the tribal origin of Odisha. Leading Anthropologists have tried to establish the tribal origin of Odisha since 2000 years back (roughly 1st century B.C.) Interestingly, Prof. L.K. Mahapatra describes that some tribes like Santal, Ho and Kharia are not the original inhabitants (Adivasis) of Odisha. They have migrated during 19th century from Chhotnagpur area (now Jharkhand) to Odisha. He is also of the opinion that a majority of tribes existed for millennia (many thousand years) and some have migrated during last 200 years or more, (Mahapatra 1982, Sinha 1987 & Dash 1997).

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Indeed, the prehistoric evidences, found till today, from different parts of Odisha reveal that human beings existed in Odisha during Indian Paleolithic period i.e. roughly 200,000 to 20,000 years ago. There are prehistoric sites of Mesolithic period (from 20,000 years to 10,000 years) and Neolithic period (from 8,000 years to 4,000 years). After that the Iron Age evolved and the historic period started in Odisha, (Bhattacharya 1972 & Mahapatra 2000).

Different studies reveal that migration of Homo sapiens occurred during upper Paleolithic period (45,000 to 25,000 years ago) in different parts of South Asia. Till today, there are two accepted theories that the people of African origin (so called Dravidians) migrated to the peninsular India by sea route and moved north ward around 20 to 30 thousand years ago. The other group (the so called Aryans) came from the South-West of Russia and entered the North-West India around 8 to 10 thousand years ago. There was a pan-mixing (hybridization) of both the populations in India during 8000 B.C. and there was also a large scale cultural synthesis. That was perhaps the early Indian culture followed later by the Vedic period, (Scupin 2005).

One can say that the history of Odishan Tribes can be reconstructed from 2000 B.C. as that of Mahenjodaro and Harappa. Further, the growth of population since lithic period can be studied by applying the recent techniques for studying the Palaeo-demography. Scholars of prehistoric and demographic studies need to take up such new challenges to reconstruct the origin and demographic linkage of the Odishan tribes- the aboriginal settlers or the indigenous people.

However, the present paper highlights the growth of tribal population only after Odisha became an independent state (province) in 1936. The first Census of Odisha Province was conducted in 1941. Some tribes (44 in number) became Scheduled Tribes in 1951 after the inclusion of their names in the Odisha list of tribes as per Schedule 5th of Indian Constitution. During 1951- 61, some more tribes (18 in number) were also included in the Odisha list of tribes and thus became 62 in number in 1961 Census.

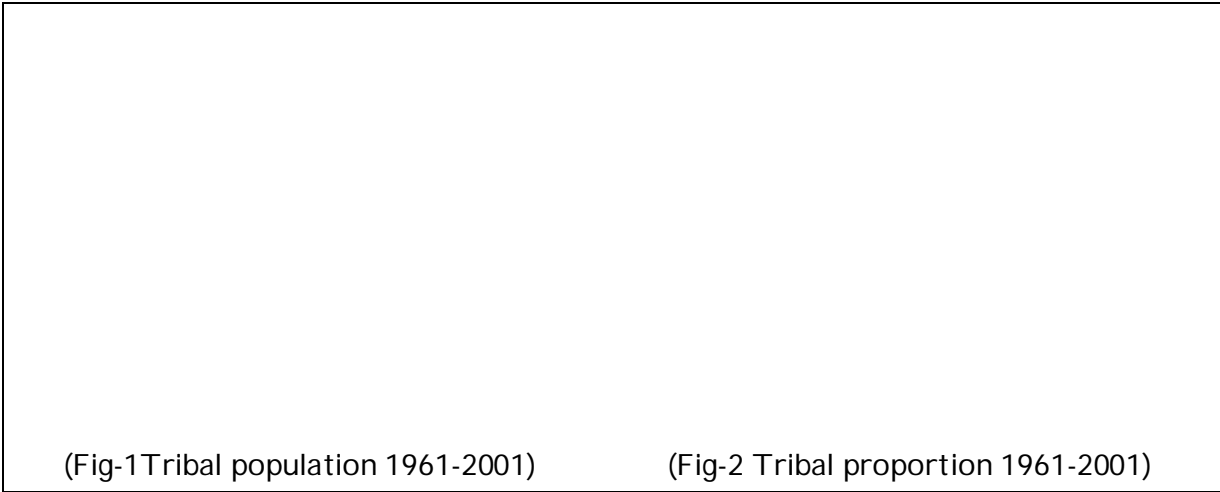
Considering the above, the Tribal population of 1961 Census is taken as the base population for this paper.

The table given below reveals an interesting picture of the Secluded Tribes in Odisha. Although the population of ST has increased in different Censuses, their proportion to the state population has shown a gradual decrease. The decadal Growth Rates show a fluctuating but downward trend as reflected in figures 01 to 03.

Table
Population and Growth of Scheduled Tribes in Odisha 1961- 2001

Census Year	Population of Odisha in Millions	Tribal Population in Millions	Proportion of S.T. (%)	Growth of S.T (%)
1961	17.5	4.2	24.1	-
1971	21.9	5.1	23.1	20.1
1981	26.4	5.9	22.4	16.8
1991	31.7	7.0	22.3	18.8
2001	36.8	8.1	22.1	15.9
2011	41.9	9.2	21.9	13.6

(Source: Calculated from the Census data of Odisha, 1961-2001)



(Fig-1 Tribal population 1961-2001)

(Fig-2 Tribal proportion 1961-2001)

(Fig-3 Decadal growth rates of ST 1961-2001)

Low fertility, high mortality and high interstate migration are the three main causes for the decline of tribal proportion in Odisha. Some scholars opine that the spread of Christianity among tribals is the main factor of the declining trend. But, my field studies among the tribes of Odisha over thirty years reveal that although a sizable proportion of tribals have accepted Christianity they have still retained their tribal identity. Therefore, spread of Christianity is a minor factor for the decline of the tribal population. Rather, the high rate of infant, child and maternal mortality along with poverty are the consequential factors for the declining trend. This is one of the main concerns of the Government. Recently some specific health and economic developmental measures are being implemented in the tribal dominated areas (Scheduled Areas) for combating the poor economic and health scenario of the Tribes of Odisha. We should soon see the results on expected lines.

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CULTURAL DIMENSIONS OF ECO-TOURISM: A STUDY ON ARAKU VALLEY

Digbijoy Giri ¹

ABSTRACT

The concept of tourism has been defined differently by different national and international authorities. However, there is no consensus concerning the definition of tourism. Tourism provides a platform for exposure on the part of first to know, see, feel and inculcate certain emotions about the place the tourist visit vis-à-vis interacts with the local culture, by way of experiencing culture ethos of the area, material culture and emotions of the people in that area. The definition of tourism has changed considerably over the years adding up new concepts, contexts and contents. Eco-tourism in this context is responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment, sustains the well-being of the local people, and involves interpretation and education.

In this context, the paper has attempted to highlight the cultural dimensions of tourism on the basis of empirical observations in Araku Valley of Andhra Pradesh; an eco-cultural landscape contiguous with the southernmost part of Odisha. The study is based upon direct structured interview to collect information from tourists who visited Araku valley during the fieldwork i.e. September and October 2013.

The study concludes that the natural landscape and its scenic beauty coupled with the rich tribal culture, art and artefacts holistically conforms to the criteria envisaged for eco-tourism sites. Regular interaction, interviews and diagnostic research among tourists would not only identify critical gaps in the present status and standards of tourism promotion interventions but also would help open up new ideas and options for sustainable and responsible tourism along with new vistas for economic development of the tribal communities in and around Araku valley and elsewhere.

The Concept of Tourism and Ecotourism

The concept of tourism has been defined differently by different national and international authorities. Conceptually it is tourism that involves travelling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objective of studying, admiring and enjoying the scenery, wild plants and animals, as well as the existing cultural aspects (both past and present), found in those areas. Ecological tourism implies a scientific, aesthetic philosophical approach, although the ecological tourists are not required to be a professional scientist, artist or philosopher. However, there is no consensus concerning the definition of tourism. But When it comes to explain it with the basic terms, we can sum it up as a collection of activities, services and industries which deliver a travel experience comprising transportation, accommodation, eating and drinking establishments, retail shops, entertainment businesses and the hospitality services provided for individuals or groups traveling away from home"

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Tourism can be understood in terms that "it is a multifaceted phenomenon involving ecological, geographical, psychological and socio-economic aspect". Tourism provides a platform for exposure on the part of first to know, see, feel and inculcate certain emotions about the place the tourist visit vis-à-vis interacts with the local culture, by way of experiencing culture ethos of the area, material culture and emotions of the people in that area"(Fennel: 1998). Hetzer (1965) identified the four pillars responsible for tourism, (a) minimizing environmental impact. (b) respecting host culture. (c) Maximizing the benefit to local people and (d) maximizing tourist satisfaction.

In order to prevent the disaccords in definition of tourism, UNWTO defined it as "Tourism comprises the activities of persons traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes." Tourism is different from travel. In order for tourism to happen, there must be a displacement: an individual has to travel, using any type of means of transportation (he might even travel on foot: nowadays, it is often the case for poorer societies, and happens even in more developed ones, and concerns pilgrims, hikers, ...) (<http://www.tugberkugurlu.com>). But all travel is not tourism. Three criteria are used simultaneously in order to characterize a trip as belonging to tourism. It involves a displacement outside the usual environment; the type of purpose; and the duration.

"The definition of tourism have changed considerably from a descriptive concept, but today it is used as the 'desired state' of a development to reach a balance between 'nature conservation', sustainable socio-economic development', and 'nature tourism" (Boo 1992b, Ziffer, 1989). More or less emphasis has been given on the management of tourism and conservation of nature, so as to maintain a balance between tourism and ecology on the one hand, and the requirements of local communities in terms of generating employment, enhancing their earning skill, and improving the status of women. The International Year of Eco-Tourism during 2002 by UN General Assembly reviewed the Eco-Tourism experiences worldwide, highlighted three significant aspects viz: nature, tourism and local communities. The review of Indian situation reflected that tourism has helped in maximising economic benefits rather than ensuring social benefits. Tourism as a broader concept centres on nature, and local communities, emphasises on conservation, sustainability and biological diversities. Tourism is the one of the largest industries in the world (World Bank, World Tourism Organization 2003). Contextually, in the current scenario, a trend is seen integrating nature, culture, and sustainable development within the concept of tourism and the new term that comprehends this linkage has become popular as ecotourism.

In the context of evolution and trends of ecotourism, Ziffer (1989) viewed ecotourism from an active stance highlighting 'the conservation, natural-based, economic and cultural components of ecotourism'. The concept not only enhances the increased pattern of visits to the natural environment, but serves as an ethic of how to turn to the natural environment ensuring a minimum impact on its resource base. Further, Ziffer highlighted that ecotourism requires planning or a managed approach which balances economic, social and environmental goals. However, she distinguished between the concepts of ecotourism and nature tourism. She claimed that ecotourism is a more comprehensive concept based on a planned approach by the destination authorities, whereas nature tourism is more consumer-based and not ecologically sound (Ziffer, 1989: 6).

Boo (1990: 10) defined ecotourism emphasizing the natural-based component of the Concept. Here, ecotourism not only encompasses the natural and conservation components, but also the

economic and educational elements. In all the cases, similar to Ziffer's approach, Boo suggested that for ecotourism to reveal its benefits it requires effective planning strategies so that conservation of resources could address the sustainable management of such resources (1991a, b; 1992; 1993).

In short, Boo claims that ecotourists are generally more accepting of conditions that are different from their home than other types of tourists (1990). Their characteristics often include living according to the local conditions, customs and food, with their activities ranging from a walk through the forest to exploring and studying the natural attractions of the location (Boo, 1990: 1).

However, very aptly and comprehensively, The International Ecotourism Society (TIES) defines ecotourism as "responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment, sustains the well-being of the local people, and involves interpretation and education" (TIES, 2015).

In Indian context all the Five Year Plans have built up infrastructure like tourist circuits and centers, that diversified tourism from the traditional sight-seeing tour to non-traditional areas such as trekking, winter sports, beach resorts; restored and balanced development of national heritages of cultural, historical and tourist importance. In ancient time, tourism was the sort of luxury of pilgrims, traders, a few scholars and adventurous souls who used to undertake journey to satisfy their respective urges. Thus, tourism was limited to wealthy and privileged people. The industrial revolution brought about major changes in the scale and type of tourism development. The increase in productivity, regular employment and growing urbanization gave more people the motivation and opportunity to go on vacations.

The scientific study of tourism originated in continental Europe, which was the first region to experience the impact of mass tourism. In India, studies on impact of mass tourism and trends have hardly been attempted comprehensively. However, recently, Anthropological Survey of India took up a unique research project for study on "Cultural Dimension of Tourism" as a continuation of its proposal during the 10th Five Years Plan to undertake a systematic investigation on "Cultural Dimensions of Tourism" as a national project with certain objectives. The study emphasized upon interaction of tourists of diverse cultures among themselves and also with the locals; management of local resources by tourists and local people; nature of contribution of ethnic groups towards promotion of tourism in an area; perception and presentation of local people about their own cultures in the wake of tourism; and emerging behavioural pattern of both tourists and local people against the backdrop of cultural contents of the area.

Materials and methods

The paper has attempted to highlight the cultural dimension of tourism on the basis of empirical observations on Araku Valley of Andhra Pradesh; an eco-cultural landscape contiguous with the southernmost part of Odisha. The empirical study has been guided by the similar objectives of Anthropological Survey of India examining the potential of the area in terms of the nature-culture interaction, the community-landscape interrelation and the trends, processes and attributes of change. Apart from general observations, stock taking and assessment of the important places of interest in and around the valley, the study has covered six sample villages, where interactions were made with the local tribal groups to further assess the tourism potential of the area from ecological and cultural perspectives. The sample villages are Chompi, Padamapuram, Mandagada, Pedalabeda, Mushirguda and Bimudalsa falling lying 2 Km to 7 Km distance from Araku valley.

The study has been based on direct interview by schedule and questionnaire to collect information from tourists who visited Araku valley during the fieldwork i.e. September and October 2013. Respondents were chosen randomly and the findings highlighted is based on observation and interview of more than 100 informants drawn from tourists groups, tourist families, local people, hotel managers, auto drivers and tourist guides as well as local key informants.

Area, community and the ecotourism potential

The Araku valley of Andhra Pradesh coming under Vishakhapatnam is one of the important ecotourism destinations which is popularly called Ooty of Andhra Pradesh. The valley is situated at a distance of 112 km towards north from district headquarter Vishakhapatnam, and 191 km South east from Jagdalpur, Chhattisgarh. As a tribal dominated area it comes under Paderu agencies area and Araku valley Mandal (Block) comprising hilly regions of Eastern Ghats, which runs parallel into coast and stretches over a length of about 161 km in the district from north-east to south-west.

The Araku Valley lies at altitudes of 300 ft to 3807 ft above the mean sea level. Temperature of the spot is recorded in summer, min-22°C, maximum-36°C, in rainy 22°C-28°C and in winter 5°C-18°C. The monsoon sets early and the average annual rainfall is 1342 mm in the area.

Araku valley is situated in one of the ranges of the Eastern Ghats consisting of 2 miles wide and 7 miles long with the altitude varying from 300 ft to 3,827 ft above the mean sea level (msl). The other valleys of this area, which are relatively smaller in size, include Malasingaram valley, Pedalabudu valley, Ondara Vagee valley, Balluguda valley and Gunta Seems valley. A hill stream runs through the middle of Araku valley with grasslands and cultivated lands on either side.

Tourism potentials of Araku Valley

Natural landscapes and Historical Sites

The valley has attracted the tourist for its natural beauty, adventure trips, and the scope to interact with the local colourful tribal communities. The valley and its surroundings have good potential for adventure sports and nature tourism. The mild climate attracts tourists round the year. The valley is located at the centre of many other important tourist spots like Dumuriguda Chaparay (15 km), Anantagiri coffee plantation (20 km), Machhakundam (52 km), Tatiguda water falls (32 km), etc. That apart, places of interest immediately around Araku valley are Tribal Museum, Padampuram Garden, Karaiguda Mahima Alekh Ashram, etc. All these places offer a wide range of tourism purposes and options ranging from scenic view of landscapes, unique tribal cultures, converted ecosystems and land use. Thus, apart from attracting tourists for nature tourism, it also attracts scholars from different subject domains like anthropology, sociology, ecology, forestry, geography, agriculture, tourism and development studies.

Araku valley is synonymous with Borra Caves situated at an altitude of 3100 ft above MSL with a spread of 01 sq Km in Anantagiri hill ranges. It is documented that king William discovered this wonderful natural cave in 1807. The river Gostani, beautiful hills and valleys surround the cave. According to local legends a tribal man discovered the cave while searching for a lost cow which while grazing fell into the cave through a hole. The cave is the origin of the river Gostani that flows through the district. One can see a mixture of water and calcium carbonate trickling continuously in the cave. The crystal white calcium stones are seen in various forms like Lord Shiva and Parvati,

tiger, mother and child, beard of saint, crocodile, lord Bramha etc. There is a small Shiva temple deep inside the cave. During Shivaratri festival every year thousands of tribals from nearby villages come to offer prayers in this temple. The cave is famous and most of the tourists visiting to Araku valley visit to Borra cave.

The Tyda Jungle Bell is a natural camp located at a distance of 38 Km from Araku valley near Tyda Railway Station is of special interest for tourists for bird watching, rock climbing and hill trekking. Tatiguda waterfall that lies 32 km from Araku valley on the way to Tatiguda village is gurgling within 20ft from top to bottom has been offering unique never before feelings to the tourists.

Centuries old Matchakundam attracts tourists for the old Sri Matsyalingeswar Swamy temple near the village Mottam and for the scenic views of stream gushing through the huge rocks with musical rhythms. As per myth of the place, once upon a time there happened a fight between a Snake named Singaraju and Fish named Matsya raju at a place called Gemmilee. During the fight, the mother fish managed to help all the fishes escape from there and safely take shelter at Matchakundam thereby saving the fish community from the arrogant snake. It is believed these fishes continue to be protected by lord Matsyalingeswar Swamy. The local tribal groups such as Paraja, Kodu, Kondadora, Bhagta, Valmiki and Kotia believe that the mother fish is still fighting at Gemmilee. People from the entire agency area and from the surroundings districts gather once in a year to celebrate " Mahashivaratri" for three days to perform worship at the temple and conduct and cultural programs locally known as "Yatra".

Converted ecosystems

Vast stretches of coffee plantations in Anatagiri located at an altitude of 2000 ft above the MSL depicts the suitability of the place for coffee plantations. The forest department and the Coffee Board have jointly managed the coffee plantations and their maintenance. Barren lands where once upon a time lush green forests existed have been now converted to cool shady coffee plantations which fall in between the Araku valley and the Borra caves.

Padmapuram garden spanning over 26 acres of land has historical importance, for the garden supplied vegetables to soldiers at war during Second World War during 1942. However, over the years the same garden has been converted to Horticulture Nursery cum Training Center (HNTC). It now has a collection of fruit bearing trees, ornamental and flowering plants, rare orchids of the locality and the most conspicuous thing being the five specially designed tree top cottages, known as hanging huts. The garden has been improvised with modern lighting, Children's Park, toy train, fountain plaza, stone sculptures and water side garden. The Dumuriguda Chapraya, the well known historical place for game, sports and shooting in the past has scenic waterfalls.

Local and tribal culture

Keeping up with the inflow of tourists in good numbers round the year, the Andhra Pradesh Government has organized infrastructure for convenience of tourists. In order to build up the understanding of the tourists on local tribal communities a tribal museum has been established where tourists can comprehensively get an idea of the social and cultural life of local ethnic groups and where tourists can also interact with the tribal artisans. For tourists interested in knowing the local tribals and their culture, the tribal museum happens to be proper interpretation center.

Kareiguda Mahima Alekh Ashram is located by a stream at a distance of 6 km southwards from

Araku valley. It is a place where unique religious performances are conducted by the followers of Mahima Dharma. Many tribal people who are disciples of the Ashram have been maintaining the sanctity of Mahima Dharma by gradually giving up their old habits. This is a place where many tribals have renewed their philosophy of life and notion of well being by taking fellowship under the Mahima Dharma.

Tribal culture has tremendous tourism potential

As many as 19 tribal groups belonging to different linguistic families and varying level of social, economical and cultural development are local inhabitants in and around Araku valley. Ethnic groups like Bhagata, Valmiki, Konda Dora, Samantha (Khond), Kotia, Paraja and Godaba are the tribal communities inhabiting the area. Bhagatas, Valmikis and Kotias are mostly settled cultivators whereas Samanthas and Konda Doras are 'Podu' cultivators. All the tribal groups are mainly dependent upon agricultural sector for their livelihood while forest labour and collection of NTFPs constitute their most important subsidiary occupations. The social, economical and cultural life of the tribes in and around Araku valley offers huge potential for the expansion of ecotourism. Given below are some of the cultural performances and artistic presentations of the tribal communities that have been posing to be important areas of attraction for tourists.

Tribal Folk Dance

Dhemsas are the most popular tribal folk dance of the Araku region and its neighboring tribal hinterlands in Odisha. Assessing the potential of the dance, the Andhra Pradesh Government has been organizing Dhemsas dance performances in their Andhra Pradesh Tourism Corporation (APTC) owned hotels-cum-restaurants, especially at Yatri Nivas. Over the years, the local tribal men and women have taken it up as a supplementary means of livelihood. For example, Chompi is a village, about 3 Km from Araku valley comprising 22 tribal households wherein each family has been performing in the Dhemsas organized at Yatri Nivas. Dhemsas being their traditional folk dance, each tribal is very adept to it. However, encouraged by the government agencies to perform Dhemsas, the villagers have registered a cultural association enlisting one member from each household. Dhemsas are usually performed during festivals and marriages. However, Andhra Pradesh tourism board is organizing the Dhemsas dance throughout the year for an hour everyday in the premises of Yatri Nivas or other strategic locations in order to showcase the tribal culture of the region.

In Dhemsas, a group of women holding each other's waist dance with musical rhythms. Everyday a group of Dhemsas dancers, not always the same persons, perform at Yatri Nivas. While the females mainly perform the dance, the male members play the musical instruments. Although women in the age group of 15 to 45 years participate in the dance, yet the young girls do it better and hence are more preferred. Dhemsas has become an important tool of socialization process within the dance group and between the dance group and the tourists. Dhemsas have also become instrumental in speaking different languages such as tribal language, colloquial language, Telugu, Hindi and also English. In this way the local tribals have learned Telugu and Hindi and are able to converse with tourists to some extent. However, they maintain their local dialect to communicate in and around the village. Each of the lady dancers gets Rs 15.00 per day and male dancer gets Rs 20.00 per day. Only traditional musical instruments are used during the performances.

The showcasing of Dhemsas before the tourists have not only contributed to the conservation of

traditional performances, but also has maintained the continuity of the making of typical crafts, up keeping of the skills and above all in improvising the performances to the acceptable extent suiting to the requirements of tourism promotion.

Terracotta

The local terracotta designs add the crafts layer to the tourism in Araku valley. There are villages where the main occupation of the people is terracotta crafts making. The village Madgada lying about 7 km away from Araku valley having twenty-one traditional potter households have vividly caught the attention of tourists. Out of them, three artisan households are actively engaged in making terracotta items out of mud and bamboo and supply these to the Tribal Museum for sale. They produce terracotta items of various designs such as animals, gods and goddesses, tribal chiefs, kings and queens and other decorative items. The artisans get some money in advance from Tribal Museum to purchase raw materials. The finished products are supplied to the tribal museum and the due payments are made on weekly basis. As a part of the modernisation processes, the tribal museum engages few skillful artisans of four villages to further add value to the terracotta products with Lac coating for which payment is made unit wise on mutually agreed terms.

Handicrafts

Communities living in and around the Araku valley have earned distinction for their typical handicrafts that have drawn the attention of tourists. They make different types of handicrafts made of bamboo, iron and sisal fiber. The villagers have been provided with design development training by the museum authorities. The locals make unique designs of screens, toys, door mats, hand bags, wall hangings, flower vases etc. out of sisal fiber. The designs made of wrought iron include animals, gods and goddesses, household articles, etc. Their attractive products in different forms, shapes and designs enhance their marketability. The museum creates demands for their products. This has given them an opportunity for earning their livelihood on a sustainable basis.

The trend with tourists

For the purpose of the study, interview of 100 tourists were conducted including 85 persons who visited the area with their respective families and 15 persons who led and represented 15 tourist groups. In all the observation is made on 412 people represented by the 100 interviewees. Age group wise, majority of the tourists including 143 males and 112 females i.e. 62% fall in the age group of 16-35. Total 157 persons including 86 males and 71 females making up 38% fall under the age group of 36-50. Further, comparing the male and female tourists it is found that the females make about 44% of the total tourists.

The educational background of tourists reflects that about 62% are graduates and about 30% are post graduates. The remaining has great variations in educational background. The occupational background of the tourists reflects that 69% of them are from service category and 22% are from business category. The regional background of the tourists reflected that around 65% came from West Bengal followed by 29% from Andhra Pradesh. Religion wise, about 87% are Hindus.

While classifying the tourists by purpose/choice of visit, about 88% of them responded that the scenic beauty of the landscape attracted them most. As good as 94% of tourists responded that they took some time out from their work schedules for relaxation and merry making in the valley.

Information and recommendation from peer spheres, suggestions from friends and relatives apart from the publicity by different medias and internet happens to be important drivers in making Araku valley a choice destination. From analysis of the responses of the tourists, it was found out that while 27% of tourists were encouraged by friends and peer groups to visit Araku valley, about 26% were advised by their family members. As good as 24% of tourists got information on the valley from books and travel guides while 14% of tourists were driven by news paper publicity.

About taking a guide on hire, it was found that about 75% of tourists did not do that or interacted with the local people. As against that only 25 per cent took the helps of local guides. In terms of conveyance to visit the place, it was found out that 82% of tourists visited the valley by train while only 17% used private conveyance or taxi to reach there by road. Since, the Araku valley is well connected by rail and road rail was found suitable for travel by most of the tourists.

Every tourist destination is not free from problems. From the interviews it was understood that as many as 49% tourists faced problems for preferred food items, 28% stated that they found accommodation as a big problem and only 20% responded that they found transport services as major problem. The statement of the problems faced by the tourists impress upon the fact that for improvement in tourism in the area food, accommodation and communication and transport facilities are the critical areas of concern.

Tourist-Tribal interactions and aspirations

Specific questions were asked to the tourists if they had any opportunities for good interaction with the local people. They viewed that the folk dance organized by the tourism authorities in Araku valley happens to be the best opportunity for interacting with the dance group members who are locals. The tribal museum and the display of exhibits of tribal art and other cultural programs also helped tourists to get an impression of people and their cultural life in the valley.

The socio-cultural and economic life of the local tribals has been influenced by their interaction with the tourists, to a larger extent. The adolescent tribal youths, in particular, have adopted the fashionable life style of the tourists which is observed from their dress pattern and adornment. However, such interaction has both growth positive and growth negative influences on the tribal culture and way of life. While the younger generation wishes to follow the life style of the tourists, the older generation is conscious that as long as their traditional way of life is continuing, the tourists would be interested in the area. The views of the older generation are appreciable in the context of conservation of culture, although the aspirations of the younger generation cannot be under estimated in a development perspective. The interaction with tourists thus has influenced the local communities to certain degrees in every sphere of social and cultural way of life. The tribal people have very little exposure for direct interaction with the tourists. However, interaction with tourists does not seem to have in any way influenced the socio-cultural institutions of the tribal people. The tribal political system holds control over the village affairs, while the tribal people celebrate their different festivals in different seasons.

The development of tourism at Araku Valley has certainly contributed to the promotion of local art and artifacts, although not at a scale. It has helped some households in the nearby villages in having a good access to cash economy and tourist market through traditional occupations. A lot of opportunities are there and many are to be improvised and extended to interior tribal pockets

linking eco-tourism as the prime focus.

The tourists from outside States express high appreciation to the place as compared to the Telugu tourists from inside Andhra Pradesh. While the local do not give importance to the ethnic content within the Araku Valley and are more fascinated by the ecological and decorative setups, the outsiders try to find a life within these. In other words, the outside tourists particularly the Bengalis view that more and more human involvement is necessary, so as to make the natural valley more lively. They view that folk dance and folk culture around the villages has to be promoted more and more on commercial basis. This will give opportunity to the locals to generate income as well as to present their culture before the world population. However, for developments in this regard in future, their own culture and heritage as is there today is also to be preserved.

Conclusion

Araku valley has vast eco-tourism potential. The natural landscape and its scenic beauty coupled with the rich tribal culture, art and artefacts holistically conforms to the criteria envisaged for eco-tourism sites. In the development context today there are adequate efforts and investments on the part of government towards integrating tourism with sustainable livelihoods. The development of infrastructure, the efforts made for showcasing and promotion of tribal culture, the promotion of local art and craft, involvement of local people in business and other allied services as fits to the areas of tourist importance have helped the mainstreaming of local tribal people and at the same time has linked them to the market economy and development paradigms. Regular interaction, interviews and diagnostic research among tourists would not only identify critical gaps in the present status and standards of tourism promotion interventions but also would help open up new ideas and options for sustainable and responsible tourism along with new vistas for economic development of the tribal communities in and around Araku valley and elsewhere.

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SUSTAINABILITY AND INCLUSION IN CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY: TURNING RHETORIC INTO REALITY

Devdas Mohanty ¹

ABSTRACT

Involuntary displacement, particularly caused by setting up of private industrial projects, can otherwise be labeled as 'profit induced displacement' as profit (return on capital investments) is the primary motive of setting up an industry and the development of the people and the region is an outcome that is secondary to the primary motive. In the course of setting up of the industry, the corporate rolls out an engagement plan with the community promising beneficial outcomes for both of them. This interface between corporate and the community is not always an endless conflict and confrontation but very often an engagement for negotiation, compromise, cooperation and reconciliation.

The purpose of this thought provoking paper is to discuss and deliberate on various aspects that are currently observed when industry and the community engage with each other in leveraging as much benefit/profit as possible for themselves. It is to argue that, it is high time that we realise our folly and translate all-pervading rhetoric of sustainability and inclusiveness into reality through sustained development practice on the ground. From the standpoint of the evolution of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) to changing strategies and role of CSRs it may appear that there has been a huge gap between the reality and rhetoric.

Sustainable solutions to genuine problems and concerns of the populace living in the proximity of the industry call for conscientiousness, longer and larger financial commitment. Sustained results necessitate sustained investment by the project management. Approaches to R&R or CSR are mostly limited to ad-hoc actions, indecisiveness in resolving fundamental issues. CSR activities too are seen limited to disturbance driven response to problems of bare existence such as food, clothing, shelter, infrastructure like water, road, drainage etc. Insensitivity of project authorities towards long-term development goals compounds the conflict between the affected families and project authority.

Community development plans need to be inbuilt in the industrial development plan of the state for a particular region/locality, with the same long-term implications. The growth plan of the business ought to take on board the social milieu amidst whom it operates. When it does not happen the leaders on the ground frequently face the difficulty of maintaining normalcy in running the business operations. The disgruntled section resorts to disruptive acts viz. plant and office lockouts, intimidation and manhandling of officials, stop-work threats etc.

Introduction

"Development induced displacement" is an oft-repeated expression in Displacement, Resettlement & Rehabilitation discourse. Involuntary displacement, particularly caused by setting up of private industrial projects, can otherwise be labeled as 'profit induced displacement' as profit (return on capital investments) is the primary motive of setting up an industry and the development of the people and the region is an outcome that is secondary to the primary motive. Here accomplishing the primary purpose i.e. Profit leads to attainment of secondary purpose i.e. Development of the region, but not the vice-versa.

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For a welfare state, the overall development of the people and the region (e.g. employment and infrastructure) is the primary motive, to which private sectors contribute partly. That is the reason why central and state governments invite private corporate houses to open up their business. Keeping this mutually beneficial objective at the forefront of its pitch to the government (viz. private profit and larger social benefit), the corporate gets all possible support from the State to set up industries for production of goods and services. This paves the way for development of the region and the state at large. Growth in business, through its multiplier effect, propels growth in income and employment.

Time and again, it is observed that while profit is an objectively and meticulously planned agenda of corporate business, development of the community and the region is only a proposed, anticipated and projected outcome of business, without any concrete plan of action. Nonetheless, a corporate often spells out its commitment to community development through its mission statement with punch lines such as "Mining happiness", "Ethics stronger than steel", "Community is the very purpose of business" etc.

In the course of setting up of the industry, the corporate rolls out an engagement plan with the community promising beneficial outcomes for both of them. This interface between corporate and the community is not always an endless conflict and confrontation but very often an engagement for negotiation, compromise, cooperation and reconciliation. This typical correlation between the corporate and the community arises primarily for three reasons. One, people oppose giving away their natural endowments (house, cultivable land, water, tree and forest) in the fear of losing their age old habitat which took generations of efforts to shape up according to their taste and social ecology. Two, they apprehend loss of occupation and livelihood. And third, if land goes out of people's hands through the principle of 'eminent domain'² (the right of a government or its agent to expropriate private property for public use with payment of compensation) their stake in the operations and profit of the industry would shrink as thereafter, the community's genuine demand would not be palatable for an industry whose core focus is generation of profit for the investor's /shareholders' hard earned money.

Purpose of the Study:

As owners of two major factors of production viz. land and labour, the displaced and affected community quite deservedly remains a vital stakeholder in the industrialization process. Earning a stake in the setting up of the industry means benefitting from it. It is sharing of profit. Sharing of profit by the industry with the community has become more pertinent in recent times due to increasing importance of social license that is ever more necessary to run a business. The moot point around which the pro- and anti-industry argument revolves has always been the degree to what extent/by how much/in what proportion this profit of the industry can be shared with its investors/share-holders as well as with the community for larger benefit of the society. The modus operandi involved in operationalising this profit sharing through development initiatives for the people has come to be known as Resettlement & Rehabilitation (R&R) of the displaced and Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR).

Once land owners lose their ownership rights over land to the corporate through sale/compensation, they are neither considered as a major shareholder/stakeholder in the establishment nor a party to a transparent profit disclosure system of the corporate.

² Eminent domain , see Land Acquisition Act 1894 stating State can acquire private land in public interest

The purpose of this thought paper is to discuss and deliberate on various aspects that are currently observed when industry and the community engage with each other in leveraging as much benefit/profit as possible for themselves. It is to argue that, it is high time that we realise our folly and translate all-pervading rhetoric of sustainability and inclusiveness into reality through sustained development practice on the ground.

Evolution of CSR Policy:

There are numerous instances of inconsistencies in the history of R&R and CSR of corporates - be it in terms of unsafe working conditions or other adversities the employees or the locals are subjected to. For a long time CSR events were PR exercises conducted in posh environs for drawing attention of the people who matter. There was a time when nothing was defined as CSR. There was neither any system of compliance nor any certification process to monitor CSR. Charity and philanthropy were counted as CSR. Records shows even tips given for prompt service or distribution of T-shirts for brand building were termed as CSR.

CSR in Companies Act:

This led the Government to formulate a law for monitoring CSR activities. Section 135 of the New Companies Act deals with new provisions for CSR whereby certain sections of profitable entities are mandatorily required to spend two percent of their three year annual average net profit towards Corporate Social Responsibility. The new act has made the reporting of CSR activities and formation of CSR boards (in hierarchical order) mandatory. Reporting of CSR activities in the organisation's website is also made obligatory.

Further, the Act strives to pre-empt the pretext corporate often takes to justify their CSR through mere compliance of rules or carrying out welfare initiatives for their employees. The New Companies Law allows for a corporate to implement social welfare activities through trusts / societies established by them or similar agencies with a proven track record. Bringing more clarity on social welfare spending norms for corporates, the government has cautioned that "one off events" such as organising marathons and sponsorships of television programmes would not be considered as CSR spending.

Schedule VII of the companies Act 2013 lists activities that can be considered as CSR. However, CSR spending even now is not free from bias spending on issues/programmes that are important for the Government. It deserves mention here that current spending of CSR funds on the Swachh Bharat Mission has resulted in a satire on CSR being called Corporate Sanitation Responsibility.

CSR Strategy vs. CSR Activities:

Harvard Business School's Professor V. Kasturi Rangan, who is also a Co-Chairman of Harvard's Social Enterprise Initiative, opined that people often confuse between CSR strategies and CSR activities. In an article published in Harvard Business Review co-authored by him, it is stated that "... there is increasing pressure to dress up CSR as a business discipline and demand that every initiative deliver business results. That is asking too much of CSR and distracts from what must be its main goal: to align a company's social and environmental activities with its business purpose and values. If in doing so CSR activities mitigate risks, enhance reputation, and contribute to business results, that is all to the good. But for many CSR programs, those outcomes should be a spill over, not their reason for being." (Rangan et al. 2015).

According to him, current state of CSR falls into three theatres. Theatre one is by and large philanthropy, theatre two is more like shared value. The third theatre is transforming business. Efforts in bits and pieces can be consolidated to have a social impact emerging from business impact but one needs to measure this social impact. Thus Rangan's view reaffirms that linking CSR spending with business results or resolution of IR issues is a distraction from the real objective.

CSR as Corporate Sustainability Rhetoric:

The focus and Goal of CSR at different points of time has been aligned to Millennium Development Goal (MDG) and thereafter Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) and currently CSR and sustainability have come to be used as an oft-repeated couplet.

Sometime back Doug King's article, "It is time to ban the empty word sustainability" drew our attention where he quite aptly argued that Corporate Social Responsibility has been replaced with Corporate Sustainability Rhetoric. How it has become a fad! He is of the opinion that a "good CSR policy connects the business to the community that supported it. But of late like Quality Assurance system, CSR has been reduced to tick box auditing with the aim of allowing businesses to demonstrate that they are no worse than their competitors" (King 2013).

King was upfront in saying, "The word sustainability should be banned from technical and political discourse. It has become so corrupt as to not only be meaningless, but to actually obscure the real issues that must be dealt with. To begin with, we must attest that all human activity has impacts, and these may go far beyond the present sustainability indicators. Nevertheless, we need to take responsibility for all of them and strive to minimize or mitigate them (King 2013)."

King continued with a note of caution, "We need to start taking responsibility for our resource and energy consumption, for social development, for the health of our economy and to protect our vital biosphere. We cannot continue to cherry-pick just those issues that allow us to demonstrate our worthiness in limited spheres. These responsibilities extend across the generations, and we cannot ignore our responsibilities simply because we will not be around to be held accountable by future generations. If our successors are still able to talk about these issues in 2100 then surely we will have sustained – by definition". (King 2013)

Inclusion in Development Discourse

The term 'inclusion' has been in use in development discourse since sometime and carries a subtle inference akin to a reaction against exclusion. Since diversity in society is marked by multifarious individuals and groups, exclusion can range from caste to religion to gender to economically marginalized, etc. Inclusion certainly holds prime importance in such a context.

"Social exclusion is a multidimensional process of progressive social rupture, detaching groups and individuals from social relations and institutions and preventing them from full participation in the normal, normatively prescribed activities of the society in which they live." (Hilary 2007: 15). Hence Corporate Social Responsibility vision of a particular industry must be based on long-term perspective for making development inclusive and sustainable.

Long term Composite Development Action: In Building Community Enterprises

Ad-hoc approaches to larger issues of community are often a product of pressure coming from social activism and human rights organizations. On occasions, there are instances where corporate is forced to take steps either to yield to people's demand for getting short term pecuniary benefits or is guided by activists' outrage. The moral outrage voiced by activist /political groups is not always free from manifest hypocrisy. This in the long run is detrimental to the people and the project. For instance, addressing livelihood concerns of people by granting them cash/subsidized food grains should not continue for long encouraging dependency and indignity of labour.

Our experience

Years of involvement in the implementation of R&R and CSR projects particularly in building community enterprises and addressing vulnerabilities have given us learning points to reflect and replicate. In this context short term is used for trials, tests and demonstrative / incubation phase of

the microenterprises. Long term development action means improving the socio-economic wellbeing of people in a time frame of at least 5-6 years after which external support can seamlessly be reduced without hampering the health of the project.

All through the implementation phase sharp focus is always on execution and institution building so as to sustain the activity in future. The following are processes - tried, tested and succeeded on ground in building small enterprises for addressing livelihood needs of women.

- Deploying of a dedicated Professional Team with expertise on Livelihoods
- Series of interactive sessions with target groups to identify activities/Enterprises
- Assessment of market potential of each activity
- Formation of activity groups, incorporating mostly the marginalized
- Exposure visits for beneficiaries to see and believe successful models
- Preliminary training of beneficiaries
- Formulation of activity-wise business plans
- Creation of required infrastructure to support the intervention
- Hands on training of members
- Commercial production and marketing
- Creation of people's institutions and market linkages

In Addressing Vulnerabilities of women: Social security for the most Vulnerable
Development action should also address vulnerabilities. A woman's vulnerability multiplies if she happens to be a widow or single woman. Deserted women or old ladies living alone, a widow with orphans, chronically sick or physically challenged females are some of the worst instances of vulnerability we tried to address. Cases of ladies as victims of alcoholic husbands are not unusual in an industrial culture. Domestic violence as a by-product of alcoholism is also a recurrent phenomenon. Instances of persons accepting more than one wife are not uncommon. To fight alcoholism, domestic violence and polygamy, counseling of both husband and wives are carried out and facilitation made for sensitization of pressure groups such as committee of community members and SHG to act on such issues like polygamy. Specific counseling sessions by professionals are conducted to help resolve family discords, on a case-to-case basis.

Conclusion

Sustainable solutions to genuine problems and concerns of the populace living in the proximity of the industry call for conscientiousness, longer and larger financial commitment. Sustained results necessitate sustained investment by the project management. Approaches to R&R or CSR are mostly limited to ad-hoc actions, indecisiveness in resolving fundamental issues. CSR activities too are seen limited to disturbance driven response to problems of bare existence such as food, clothing, shelter, infrastructure like water, road, drainage etc. Insensitivity of project authorities towards long-term development goals compounds the conflict between the affected families and project authority.

Community development plans need to be inbuilt in the industrial development plan of the state for a particular region/locality, with the same long-term implications. The growth plan of the business ought to take on board the social milieu amidst whom it operates. When it does not happen the leaders on the ground frequently face the difficulty of maintaining normalcy in running the business operations. The disgruntled section resorts to disruptive acts viz. plant and office lockouts, intimidation and manhandling of officials, stop-work threats etc.

This widely held perception has prompted Prof. Michel Cernea to observe in his keynote address in an International conference on R&R that industries should take up industrial projects as twin projects, one for running the business successfully and the other for R&R of the displaced, people considering it as a separate 'investment commitment' for the importance it holds. Hence, this leads us to infer that current approach of industries in building a dispensary here and an education center there or offering free food monthly to the housewives don't make much difference in the lives of the people. It is like a rose here and a jasmine there hardly makes a garland.

A true leader in CSR ought to be a visionary. A visionary's role is of significance for visioning and working on larger and long term development goals for the people around the industry. It would be to plan for the education for the generation next, to plan and act on producing an employable workforce in the region - so that they will be foremost beneficiaries of the industry and its growth. Developing institutional infrastructure like hospitals, schools etc. and ensuring availability and accessibility of essential services should be a priority area.

Wherever industry is seen building physical infrastructure for common use and thins down its presence later on, the government should chip in by putting the infrastructure built by the industry to good use. For instance buildings constructed by the industry can be used to run government dispensaries, schools, and community centers. In our project area, 10 years of development practice experience has made us realize that nurturing self-help groups of women, building their skills, addressing vulnerabilities and creating self-employment avenues through microenterprises have enabled families to become financially independent and socially better off.

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FRA LAND USE AND LIVELIHOODS: EMPIRICAL OBSERVATIONS ON SOME SINGLE HEADED TRIBAL HOUSEHOLDS

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Abstract

The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act was passed by Parliament in December 2006 and came into force from 2nd January 2007. The law defines a bundle of rights to be enjoyed by a claimant family who have been traditionally utilizing patches of forest land for bonafide use, and forest dependent community over a defined patch of land classified as forests in government records till date. Over the years, since the implementation of FRA has been expedited in Odisha, in general, it is observed that priority attention has been provided to settlement of Individual Forest Rights (FRA) compared to the two other provisions such as Community Forest Rights (CFR) and Habitat Rights of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTG).

The present paper is an outcome of a study conducted during October and November 2016 on FRA beneficiaries especially the single headed tribal households covering 6 villages coming under two Gram Panchayats of Pottangi Block in Koraput district following convenient and purposive sampling method. The paper has attempted to examine the land use and livelihoods of the sample population, who come under the ethnic groups Kondh, Gadaba and Paraja, and the issues and concerns related to that. The paper highlights the previous land use and current land use of the FRA lands, the change in household economy, the development interventions and the gaps, the issues and challenges towards meeting the objectives of FRA, and on the basis of the observation and analysis certain suggestions have been made. The study recommends that special plans need to be prepared for development of FRA lands granted to single headed tribal households to help them meet their livelihoods and income objectives.

Introduction

The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act was passed by Parliament in December 2006 and came into force from 2nd January 2007. The Rules were notified on 1st January 2008 after due process of consultation. The law takes the position that rights of forest dwelling communities and the goals of conservation of forests are mutually

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reinforcing and can go hand in hand. The law defines a bundle of rights to be enjoyed by a claimant family who have been traditionally utilizing patches of forest land for bonafide use, and forest dependent community over a defined patch of land classified as forests in government records till date. It provides for restitution and recognition of forest rights across the country including individual rights to cultivated land in forest areas as well as collective rights to conserve, manage, control and use forests as common property. The intent of the Act as enunciated in the preamble is to: correct historical injustice by recognizing forest rights on ancestral lands and the habitats of forest dwelling scheduled tribes and other traditional forest dwellers; address the long standing insecurity of tenurial and access rights; and promote and enable sustainable use of forest resources, conservation of biodiversity and maintenance of ecological balance. Section 3 of the Act provides for grant of heritable, inalienable and non transferable forest rights to forest dwelling scheduled tribes (FDSTs) and other traditional forest dwellers (OTFDs). The following rights which secure individual and community tenure or both, shall be the rights of forest dwelling scheduled tribes and other traditional forest dwellers on all forest lands namely-

- Right to hold and live in the forest land under the individual or common occupation for habitation or for self-cultivation for livelihood by a member or members of a forest dwelling Scheduled Tribe or other traditional forest dwellers;
- Community rights such as nistar, by whatever name called, including those used in erstwhile Princely states, Zamindari or such intermediary regimes;
- Right of ownership, collection, use and disposal of minor forest produce (includes all non-timber forest produce of plant origin) traditionally collected within or outside village boundaries;
- Other community rights of uses or entitlements such as fish and other products of water bodies, grazing (both settled or transhumant) and traditional seasonal resource access of nomadic or pastoralist communities;
- Rights including community tenures of habitat and habitation for primitive tribal groups and pre-agriculture communities;
- Rights in or over disputed lands under any nomenclature in any State where claims are disputed;
- Rights for conversion of Pattas or leases or grants issued by any local authority or any State Govt. on forest lands to titles;
- Rights of settlement and conversion of all forest villages, old habitation, unsurveyed villages and other villages in forest, whether recorded, notified or not into revenue villages;
- Right to protect, regenerate or conserve or manage any community forest resource which they have been traditionally protecting and conserving for sustainable use;
- Rights which are recognized under any State law or laws of any Autonomous Dist. Council or Autonomous Regional Council or which are accepted as rights of tribals under any traditional or customary law of the concerned tribes of any State;
- Right of access to biodiversity and community right to intellectual property and traditional knowledge related to biodiversity and cultural diversity;
- Any other traditional right enjoyed by the forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes or other traditional forest dwellers, as the case may be, which are not mentioned in clauses-1 to 11,

but excluding the traditional right of hunting or trapping extracting a part of the body of any species of wild animal;

- Right to in situ rehabilitation in alternative land in cases where the STs and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers have been illegally evicted or displaced from forest land of any kind without receiving their legal entitlements to rehabilitation prior to the 13th day of December 2005.

Over the years, since the implementation of FRA has been expedited in Odisha, in general, it is observed that priority attention has been provided to settlement of Individual Forest Rights (FRA) compared to the two other provisions such as Community Forest Rights (CFR) and Habitat Rights of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTG). Within the framework of FRA it is observed that the claim settlements have by and large gone in favour of the tribal communities as compared to similar provisions for Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (OTFDs). It seems that larger attention has been provided to FRA in order to help individual families in going for better and sustainable land use practices with a sense of ownership and thereby accelerate economic development at the household level. Further, as a later course of action the State Government and the Central Government have been expediting several community oriented as well as beneficiary oriented welfare and entitlement schemes and programs in the larger interest of the people who have accessed their entitlements under FRA. Furthering the State's commitment for betterment of the FRA beneficiaries, convergence of schemes and programs has been prioritized. In the context of the FRA claimants, NREGA, NRLM, Watershed development programs have been considered important for better and productive land use, enhancement of yield, micro enterprise and market access, etc. Land being the most important asset for the tribal people, public investments on the inalienable land allocated to the FRA beneficiaries is very meaningful in the context of their food security, economic empowerment and development.

Study area, materials and methods

The study has been conducted in 6 villages coming under two Gram Panchayats of Pottangi Block in Koraput district which is a tribal dominated district. As per District Primary Census Abstract of Census 2011 the percentage of tribal population in the district is 50.56%. Among the category of workers, 29.88% are cultivators, 41.91% are agricultural labourers, 2.08% are workers in household industries and 26.13% belong to other categories. The Pottangi block is thickly populated by tribals that figures out to 66.63% of total population of the Block. The major tribal inhabitants include ethnic groups like Kondh, Paraja and Gadaba.

The findings of this paper have been the output of a field work conducted in the month of October and November 2016. For purpose of the study two Gram Panchayats (GPs) namely Kotia and Chandaka under Pottangi Block of Koraput district were selected. Chandaka Gram Panchayat is located relatively in the mainstream while Kotia Gram Panchayat is remotely located. The geographical location of the two Gram Panchayats in relation to the block headquarters was felt ideal for sake of comparison of the developments after the settlement of claim for Individual Forest Rights (FRA) under the provisions of Forest Rights Act (FRA). In terms of ethnic composition of the population covered the villages under Kotia Gram Panchayat is predominantly inhabited by Kondhs, the villages under Chandaka Gram Panchayat are a mix of Gadaba and Paraja communities,

with Gadaba assuming higher in number. The difference in the ethnic group composition also provided another layer for comparison.

The study covered single headed households who have been provided with FRA pattas. Convenient and purposive sampling methods were followed to select the cases for study from the list of beneficiaries who have been granted FRA pattas in different villages under the GPs covered. It has been attempted to examine their comfort in terms of legally owning of forest land which they had been cultivating since years but had no tenurial rights, the independence in options that they have for land use changes, the changes in the income generation patterns from such lands, their access to entitlements under other government schemes, and above all the new challenges that have come up with the granting of FRA. The observation is based on 20 single headed households distributed in two villages of Kotia GP and four villages under the Chandaka Gram Panchayat. Semi structured schedule and interview method was employed in eliciting the information. The sample includes 9 single headed female households and 11 single headed male households.

The ethnic communities

The villages where the study has been undertaken are dominated by two ethnic communities; the Kondh and Gadaba. The villages under Kotia Gram Panchayat are dominated by Kondh community while in Chandaka Gram Panchayat the Gadaba are numerous. While the Kondh, a Dravidian tribe, speak Kuvi, the Gadaba speaks Mundari or Kolarian language. The Kondh are divided into two linguistic groups; Kui and Kuvi. Kuvi is spoken mainly in the Koraput district (Daspatnaik, 2004). According to Thurston and Rangachari the Gadabas are primitive agriculturists, coolies and hunters (Padhi, 2011). Communal life with strong ties and solidarity among the community members is one of the core salient features of both Kondh and Gadaba. Traditionally they have set their settlements on high elevations and hill side forest patches with preference for stream side locations in the vicinity of hills. Both Kondh and Gadaba worship Mother Earth Goddess and in every village a heap of stones represent the seat of the goddess.

Livelihoods, agriculture and land use

Agriculture is the mainstay of the Kondh and Gadaba households inhabiting the villages. Agriculture is mainly subsistence based. The villages are located relatively at a higher elevation and hence the lands under cultivation are located at different slope levels. In consideration to the condition and location of lands the cropping is organized. Agriculture is by and large rain fed and hence Kharif is the main agriculture season. There are three categories of land available in the village; rain fed upland, semi irrigated foot hill or valley lands, and irrigated or waterlogged low lands. However, low land holding, poor land quality and decreasing productivity cumulatively impact food security of the community. On an average the households in the villages have food security for six to nine months.

Since ages the communities have been cultivating the hill slopes under the system of shifting cultivation. At one point of time the land to man ratio in the area under shifting cultivation was favourable for the communities and the production was optimum. However, due to growing population the interval between two successive cropping cycles in the shifting cultivation was reduced to one to two years and along with that the production and yield also reduced. There came a time when the slashing and burning as it used to be under shifting cultivation was out of

place and the plots became like permanent plots for cultivation. In these plots the community members grow varieties of upland crops like millets (Ragi, little millet, pearl millet, maize), pulses (black gram, pigeon pea, cow pea), spices (chilli, ginger), tubers (yam, cassava, sweet potato), oil seeds (niger, mustard, castor) and some vegetables. In some places people also used to cultivate paddy during the Kharif season. Almost all households in the villages possess one or more plots in the nearby hill and have been cultivating in such lands since years together. However, the community members do not have titles on said lands as they lie on higher slopes for which settlement process has never been carried on.

Season wise cropping pattern in respect of types of land

Season	Crops Cultivated with Different Degree of Water Availability		
	Rain fed	Semi Irrigated	Irrigated
Kharif	Paddy, Raggi, Suan, Kandula, Biri, Kangu	Ginger, Vegetables, Paddy	Paddy
Rabi	-	Vegetables	Vegetables
Summer	-	Vegetables	Paddy

Source: Primary survey

The gentle slopes or plain lands on the foothills surrounding the village are the areas where paddy, maize, niger, spices and vegetables are cultivated. Some patches in this zone have some provision for irrigation from perennial streams flowing through or by the villages. Such patches where critical irrigation facility is available is mainly reserved for vegetable cultivation that provides cash income to the cultivators. The High Altitude Research Station (an initiative of OUAT) at Pottangi is also helping the farmers with package of practices for improved agriculture, more particularly the intercropping, to maximize production from unit area.

The low lands are mainly cultivated with paddy. Low lands are not to be confused with irrigated lands. However, even at the stream side low lands paddy cultivation is taken up twice i.e. in Kharif and Rabi season. In the summer season paddy usually fails. Some farmers therefore have been taking up vegetable cultivation on such lands during the rabi season using potable water from the streams for critical irrigation to the crops. However, vegetable cultivation on the stream banks in dry seasons is taken up by such households who have good labour force at household level.

Some of the lands on high slopes were permanently abandoned because of severe soil erosion and low productivity resulting out of continuous cultivation. Such lands are gradually being converted under plantations of fruit bearing trees; important among them being mango and cashew nut. With the plantations, economic crops like ginger and niger are also taken up. Usually the very poor families in the village continue cultivating the hill slopes immaterial of choice of crops – for cash or for subsistence.

Supplementary Livelihoods

Non Timber Forest Produce (NTFP)

NTFPs to some extent supplement their income from other sources. Decades ago the contribution of NTFPs to household economy was appreciable. Status, situation and availability of non-timber forest produce as a supplementary livelihoods option has undergone changes over time. About two

decades ago the people were able to gather good lot of forest produces for both domestic consumption and market requirements. The supply of NTFPs from the local forests reduced dramatically due to massive exploitation and indiscriminate felling by the local communities. However, there is still good availability of certain NTFPs especially the food source biodiversity that are collected for domestic consumption. The tubers in particular are still available in plenty which are harvested by the very poor Kondh and Gadaba families. Adding to that the scrubby forests around also provides many seasonal leafy vegetables, bamboo shoots, buds, flowers, berries, fruits, mushrooms, etc. Part of the gathered forest produce is sold in the weekly market of Pukali and Kunduli and a larger part is consumed at domestic level.

Labour force participation and wage earning

Labour force participation and wage earning is a major supplementary income apart from agriculture and NTFP. Their labour force participation is of two types – wage earning and cooperative labour. For the poorest sections wage earning is the second best option to agriculture for attaining food security for the whole year. The wage earning is again of two types – wages as they get working under construction contractors, government works, MGNREGS etc. and the wage earning from agricultural work. On a preference side some community members prefer wage earning from agricultural work though the amount they get is almost half of that what they get from government work such as MGNREGS. However, such a preference is attributed to the timeliness in payment terms. By participating in agricultural work they get their wage at end of the day while in other cases the worker has to wait for a long time till the bills are cleared and wages disbursed. At a closer look, it provides to understand that participation as agriculture wage earners is a round the year activity, available at door steps, hassle free payment on time although less compared to formal systems, considered one of the best options for very poor families, and above all utilizes the traditional skills in which the people are very adept. On the other hand the formal wage earning options like participation in development works and MGNREGS fetch them good income but after a long waiting period. In the formal wage earning options, the families who can wait for a while for wage usually participate in higher number. Thus wage earning options available and the preferences taken depends upon individual ability, work availability and timeliness of wage disbursement.

Cooperative labour system

Traditionally the community members make use of cooperative labour system. Irrespective of the ethnic identity the cooperative labour system operates at the village level. In the system for any work requiring many labourers especially the agricultural work, house construction, land development of any household they seek the cooperative labour for completion of the work. In turn, the person who availed the cooperative labour in the village contributes labour when the other households need it. Cooperative labour system has undergone no change over the years and still is very well-exhibited in agriculture work. In distant past when all the households were engaged in shifting cultivation, the cooperative labour system was mainly used in slashing, debushing, clearing forests to enable cultivation there. Now there is no shifting cultivation anymore and hence the cooperative labour use is seen in field preparation, hoeing, transplantation, weeding and reaping type of agricultural work. The continuation of cooperative labour system in the village stands testimony to the solidarity within the community.

In cooperative labour system the participants are paid only a token amount in the range of Rs. 20/- to Rs. 25/-. The household who sought cooperative labour provides a lunch to the participants at the site of work. The villagers attach considerable priority to such cooperative work so that the agricultural operations in all the cultivable fields of the village can be completed on time and turn basis.

Entitlement under FRA and changing livelihoods pattern: Findings and observations

As was envisaged while promulgating the Forest Rights Act tenurial security through granting of Individual Forest Rights to the legitimate claimants have brought about visible changes in the land use and livelihoods options of the communities. Further, the State Government in Odisha has also accorded high priority on land development and diversification in agriculture so as to increase the standard of living of the FRA beneficiaries through better land use and assured production from agriculture. The MGNREGS and the NRLM are two major programs, apart from rural housing, that are seriously expedited for betterment in livelihoods and economy of the FRA beneficiaries. In the study villages many beneficiaries have been benefited through the schemes and programs. However, a general observation is that the FRA beneficiaries who have more manpower at family level have been able to bank on the schemes and programs in a much better and meaningful manner as compared to the single headed households.

The observations in this paper are based on assessing the status of single headed households, both men and women, who have been granted FRA under FRA. It has been tried to understand how the single headed households have been utilizing the lands in absence of any other helping hand at the family level, and the extent to which they have been able to access other entitlements under different schemes and programs. It also highlights the changes in the previous land use and current land use, the problems and emerging issues.

The present analysis is based on interviews and survey on 20 single headed households distributed in 6 revenue villages under two Gram Panchayats. Altogether an extent of 46.90 acres of lands has been granted to them under FRA of FRA, making an average of 2.35 acres per household. Out of the lands only 17.40 acres i.e. 37% of land are located by streams or field channels and hence have some facilities for critical irrigation especially during Rabi season. The remaining land to the extent of 29.50 acres i.e. 63% has no irrigation facility. In the two villages under Kotia Gram Panchayat, out of 12 single headed household beneficiaries 10 have taken up land development works, over one acre of each beneficiary, through MGNREGS. In Chandaka Gram Panchayat, out of 8 single headed household beneficiaries 4 households have utilized the MGNREGS for land development and field channel construction on one acre of land each. Thus, out of the total 46.90 acres of land, land development has been taken up only on 14 acres i.e. about 30% of land.

It was understood from interviewing the beneficiaries that although there is provision under MGNREGS for land development still 30% i.e. 6 beneficiaries have not accessed the provision because of old age and lack of manpower at family level. The ones who have undertaken land development works have done it over about 80 to 120 days of manual work but in consideration to the work output they have qualified for about 40 to 60 days of full wages as entitled under MGNREGS. It is further observed that those families have been able to take up land development, especially land leveling works on moderate slopes as otherwise it is quite a difficult job to cut and

level land with higher slopes and convert them into terraces. In the land development works they have earned total wages in the range of Rs. 7,000/- to Rs. 12,000/- (rounded up figures) at the rate of Rs.174/- as daily wages. The other beneficiaries, who have not accessed the MGNREGS opportunities because of their old age and inability to do hard work also find it difficult to make use of community level cooperative system for land development. On one hand they are not able to pay for the nominal wages as prevailing under cooperative labour system and on the other hand they cannot contribute labour, when their turn comes, in order to compensate the labour input they availed.

The changes in land use have thus been dependent on three factors land condition, labour input for land development and irrigation. In the lands which have not been developed and are unirrigated are cultivated in the traditional fashion. Because of cultivation on same patch of land year after year without following the lands to regain fertility the productivity of such lands is very low. The lands also do not favour multiple cropping, as was being done under shifting cultivation system, any more. In the two villages under Kotia GP, such lands are only cultivated in Kharif with ragi, little millets, foxtail millet, horse gram, black gram as only crops. After the harvest the lands are not cultivated any further and remain open for grazing. In other words the families have been cultivating only once in a year. However, in the four villages under Chandaka GP, the lands have been found much degraded and hence only the ragi and little millet are grown there during Kharif only. The average income from the lands is very low. The average family income from one acre of such lands in villages of Kotia Gram Panchayat ranges between Rs. 3900/- to Rs. 4500/- only, whereas in the villages under Chandaka GP it is even lower and ranges between Rs. 2500/- to Rs. 3500/- only. The single headed households also finds the millet cropping possible on their part as it is relatively easier as agricultural practice that involves sowing and reaping only.

On the other hand, there is visible change in crop selection, cropping pattern as well as yield from the lands that have been developed. In both Kotia and Chandaka GPs, the single headed households who have undertaken land development have introduced new crop varieties and some have almost replaced the traditional crops with high yielding varieties. The lands which have some scope for critical irrigation have been taken up two crops in a year. In addition to some of the traditional varieties like ragi, foxtail millet, horse gram, black gram, etc. beans, rajma beans are being cultivated in the Kharif season and in the Rabi season vegetables like chillies, tomato, brinjal, etc are cultivated. If irrigation facility is available then cauliflower and cabbages are also cultivated. According to the beneficiaries' estimates, the production from developed land has increased by about 30-35% and the income, by about 25-30% per acre. The beneficiaries are of opinion that if irrigation facilities are created along with land development it is possible that their income would increase by 50% and comparing the situation with families having adequate able manpower to cultivate the lands they believe that the income may be more than double from unit area of land.

In the context of the above, the beneficiaries have pointed out that market is the most important force deciding the level of increase in household income. The single headed households are confronted with the problem of labour use. They are of the view that to increase the household income they need to take up subsistence crops and cash crops together. From their experience, they realize that growing cash crops demand more labour for intercultural operations as well as for carrying the farm produce to the market. Hence, they feel, they cannot be able to elevate their

income level if they do not have money to employ labour for land development and consequent production practices. They also have the problem in marketing.

Issues and concerns

No doubt, through granting of FRA under FRA many tribal families have been benefited. They have got tenurial security over the lands which they have been using since generations. It has made people happy but half heartedly because there are still many systemic issues that needs to be addressed.

Demarcation: The land demarcation is the most important and pervading issue. Of the 20 cases studied, the land demarcation has been done only in the case of the study households in Chandaka GP and not for all the 12 households of Kotia GP. The households only know about the extent of land granted to them from the pattas issued to them. Hence, the Kotia households are simply assuming that they have been granted rights over the patches of land they have been using since generations and for which they submitted claim under FRA. The beneficiaries in Kotia GP believe that Chandaka GP being relatively well accessible had the advantage of land demarcation. The land demarcation is linked with a chain of other problems. Without land demarcation the beneficiaries are not able to develop their assets, apply for beneficiary oriented programs under agriculture and horticulture schemes, to decide future land use options, and above all, they don't know properly if they are using their own land. Such a doubt is not baseless as local people know of the instances where people have made investments on lands which were found belonging to others as per patta.

Land development: As a practice, for land development under MGNREGS the work order is assigned to the head of the family who undertakes the land development work on his land. The approximate volume of work to be done and the number of mandays that may be required is worked out on the basis of technical assessment by the MGNREGS functionaries. On the basis of that FRA beneficiaries take up the work and wages are disbursed on their account. However, if the household is unable to work then he or she cannot demand work for land development under MGNREGS. Thus the aspirations for land development remain unfulfilled. In this context, it needs to be considered on the part of the MGNREGS implementing authorities to include the FRA land of single headed households for land development in common shelf of projects so that other job seekers can work on such lands and earn their wages. It would benefit the single headed households and as well as fulfill their aspirations for better productivity and income from such lands.

Planning in Integrated Natural Resource Management (INRM) perspective: There are many schemes and programs including specific beneficiary oriented programs operating at the village level. The schemes and programs are being implemented on the basis of micro plans and perspective plans at village and Panchayat level. These perspective plans pave way for developing a convergence plan. However, it is realized that there is a misplaced priority on including the land development plans of the aged single headed households. It is expected that diversity in planning in an INRM perspective considering and envisaging short term and long term impact by reinforcing of resources can cover the land and land use issues of the single headed households. The farming community understands the criticality of resource linkages but is not able to properly reflect it in their plans

(Habitation plan, Panchayat plan, Gramsabha plan). Hence, preparation of an integrated plan at habitation or landscape level remains an issue and also a challenge. To meet the challenge better and mitigate the issues there is need of a holistic and inclusive time series perspective plan envisaging specific impacts on the farming system irrespective of the land ownership.

Conclusion

The level of degradation of land granted to claimants under FRA of FRA is a grave concern for sustaining the traditional agriculture and hence taking up improved agricultural practices on such lands is a big challenge. The single headed households having no able manpower to cultivate the land granted to them under FRA are particularly vulnerable in this regard. The lands are remaining uncultivated or if cultivated, the yield remains very low. The traditional crops, usually grown on mid ridges, are gradually vanishing as communities have started to perceive it as a low economic or uneconomic option. Hence special measures and planning perspectives following farming system approach for the single headed households need to be in place in order to elevate their economic status.

The district administration is keen about developing the land allotted under FRA. District administration should set indicators and parameters for periodical review of the developments and based on that, facilitate convergence among departments for timely interventions and inputs. Special plans need to be prepared and implemented to provide good coverage and benefit to the old and disable single headed FRA beneficiaries.

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The FRA beneficiaries and their status

GP	Village	Beneficiary	Ethnic group	Gender	Extent of FRA land in Ac	Demarcation status
Kotia	U Barabandha	Rambha Pangi	Kondh	F	2.50	No
	U Barabandha	Besa Pangi	Kondh	F	2.50	No
	U Barabandha	Samara Pangi	Kondh	M	2.50	No
	U Barabandha	Appana Pangi	Kondh	M	2.00	No
	U Barabandha	Dasu Pangi	Kondh	M	2.00	No
	Kotia	Basanti Himerika	Kondh	F	3.00	No
	Kotia	Laki Gamel	Kondh	F	4.50	No
	Kotia	Damani Gamel	Kondh	F	3.00	No
	Kotia	Sonai Gamel	Kondh	F	2.00	No
	Kotia	Utura Gamel	Kondh	M	3.00	No
	Kotia	Kisi Tadingi	Kondh	M	3.50	No
	Kotia	Lakama Gamel	Kondh	M	3.00	No
Chandaka	Banigaguda	Pangi Nilasa	Paraja	F	1.00	Yes
	Kodabalasa	Khora Banu	Kandha	F	0.40	Yes
	Upper Karadaba	Pangi Mangali	Kandha	F	2.00	Yes
	Chintalaguda	Disari Ghenu	Gadaba	M	2.00	Yes
	Chintalaguda	Khora Budu	Gadaba	M	2.00	Yes
	Chintalaguda	Mandela Ghasi	Gadaba	M	2.00	Yes
	Chintalaguda	Mandala Jaya	Gadaba)	M	2.00	Yes
	Chintalaguda	Mandela Chandala	Gadaba	M	2.00	Yes

INDUSTRIALIZATION, DISPLACEMENT AND TRIBAL CULTURE OF ODISHA: A CRITICAL REVIEW

Anil Ota
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ABSTRACT

The state of Odisha is regarded to be the homeland for tribals in India. Members of 62 Scheduled Tribe (ST) communities and 13 Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) inhabit the state accounting for 22.1 per cent of the total population of Odisha (2011 Census of India Report). The vibrant culture of the tribal communities manifested through their colorful costumes/ unique dress patterns, observance of fairs and festivals with pomp etc. has been a point of attraction for tourists, researchers and academicians from within the country as well as abroad. Several studies have been undertaken and consequently, various authorities have endeavored at documenting the unique cultural attributes of the ST and PVTG communities inhabiting the length and breadth of the state. However, owing to industrialization, more specifically the setting up of extraction based (mining) Projects and ensuing involuntary displacement of tribals, the unique culture of the community is on the verge of change and several of its components are on the brink of disappearance. Other externally induced factors that have triggered change in the socio-economic lifestyle and culture of tribals include modernization, urbanization and westernization. The article at hand attempts to highlight some of the seminal research works undertaken by different scholars on the socio-cultural lifestyle of specific tribal communities of Odisha as well as on the phenomenon of industrialization in the State and its impact on tribal culture. The objective of this article is to provide a holistic understanding of the tribal culture of Odisha in the context of industrialization and displacement. As a backdrop to the literature review of some of the striking cultural attributes of tribal groups in the state, the authors have also attempted to sketch an understanding (and constituents/ historical evolution) of the terms 'Culture' and 'Tribe'.

Keywords

Culture, Displacement, Industrialization, Intangible, Odisha, Tangible, Tribals

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Introduction

Culture is perhaps the most widely used term in socio-cultural and Anthropological research. The term has been defined differently by academicians, researchers and scholars and there remains a deep sense of divide and consequent lack of consensus over its meaning and constituents. From amongst the wide range of definitions on culture, the one proposed by English Anthropologist Sir Edward Burnett Tylor is considered to be the most widely accepted one. Tylor has defined culture as 'that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society' (Tylor, 1871)². The understanding of culture developed by Tylor is believed to have originated out of his extensive research work on the origin and evolution of religion among tribal communities of Mexico. Contrary to Tylor, Sir Herbert Spencer, another English Anthropologist of eminence has not endeavored at defining the term 'culture' and moreover did not try to identify elements that constitute culture. The approach of Spencer to culture was based on the foundations that 'cultures, like people, evolve and develop through natural selection, and that this evolution leaves in its wake a continuum of cultures from the most primitive and inferior to the most sophisticated and superior' (Kleg, 1993)³. In fact, through 'the theory of social Darwinism', Spencer applied the concepts of evolution and natural selection to the development of human cultures. Outwardly rejecting the idea of 'God', Spencer's theory applied the principles of the survival of the fittest to society, including the social struggle for existence.

Several contemporary academicians and researchers have tried to compare/ equate the definitions and theories of culture proposed by famous Anthropologists. Brian Morris is one such Anthropologist who performed critical analysis of 'the theory of social Darwinism' of Spencer and 'the theory of the evolution of religion' proposed by Tylor. As an outcome of his comparative analysis of the two theories, Morris writes that, 'Tylor's scheme of human cultural evolution, which is by no means as systematic as that of Spencer, was not viewed, it seems, as one of necessary or uninterrupted progress but rather as a pattern of development that the evidence, rather than the imagination, suggested' (Morris, 1987)⁴. Despite being critical of Tylor for heavily depending upon ethnographic information on cultures recorded by travelers and missionaries, Morris recognizes Spencer as well as Tylor as 'cultural evolutionists' who made significant theoretical advances of specific institutions such as religion. Other famous Anthropologists and Sociologists who have done extensive research on culture and in the process have endeavored at defining the term include – Melville J. Herskovits, Lewis Henry Morgan, E.A. Hoebel, P.B. Horton and Indian Anthropologists M.N. Srinivas.

English Anthropologist Felix Padel and renowned tribal rights activist Samarendra Das, based on extensive field studies on tribal communities, especially in western Odisha believe that the context and significance of tribal culture needs to be revisited in the backdrop of industrialization and involuntary displacement. In order to explain the changing dynamics of tribal culture triggered by industrialization, the authors have assessed the impact of tribal displacement on the traditional

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2. Tylor, E.B. (1871). Volume 1 of primitive culture: Researches into the development of mythology, philosophy, religion, art and custom. Gordon Press: New York. ISBNs 978-0-87968-091-6.
 3. Kleg, M. (1993). Hate Prejudice and Racism. SUNY Press. ISBNs 079141535X and 9780791415351. pp. 89.
 4. Morris, AB. (1987). Anthropological Studies of Religion: An Introductory Text. Cambridge University Press. ISBNs 052133991X and 9780521339919. pp. 99.

housing pattern of tribal communities and in doing so have exposed the bureaucratic apathy towards considering culture as an important aspect in development planning. In the process, Padel and Das have laid bare the ongoing industry propelled 'culture genocide' of tribals in Odisha. The authors note that, 'The contrast between houses before and after displacement demonstrates a far-reaching difference in values and culture. Traditional tribal villages, without too much outside interference, have a high quality of life in that each man and woman is self-employed on his/her own land. They have clean water, and take a daily bath in a flowing stream — better than the most expensive bathroom! They construct their own houses with earth and wood, and though these houses are officially classified as mere 'mud huts' (...), they are far superior in many ways to pucca concrete houses. They remain cool in summer and warm in winter, unlike concrete buildings in resettlement colonies.... They and for worship of gods and ancestors. Fire hazard is given by government engineers as a reason for the superiority of pucca houses, but these usually have asbestos roofing, in apparent ignorance of the health hazard of asbestos.... Traditional houses are an expression of cultural pride, made through villagers' skill and labour. Pucca houses cost about ten times more to build, but if they are superior in fire resistance, they are also soulless, inconvenient and alien in culture.... It seems that a main reason is that the contractors make a profit by building them' (Padel and Das, 2012)⁵.

The objective of this article is to provide a holistic understanding of the tribal culture of Odisha in the context of industrialization and displacement. After the introduction, the second section of the article deals with the definition and implications of the term, 'Adivasi/ Tribe' in the Indian context. This section is followed by a discussion on the famous forms of intangible and tangible culture elements of the tribals of Odisha. In the subsequent sections of the article, the genesis of industrialization and development-induced displacement of tribals in the State has been highlighted. Based on review of existing literature material, the identified gaps in assessing the cultural impact of industrialization on tribal communities has been sketched at the end of the article with scope for future research by researchers and scholars within the realm of tribal studies. As there is no systematic research on the cultural impact of industrialization on tribals, it was considered prudent to include the issue within the scope of the present article.

Who is an Adivasi/ Tribe?

Like 'Culture', the term 'Tribe' lacks a universally accepted definition. Consequently, the term has been defined and perceived in different ways by academicians, researchers and scholars, each attributing a set of meanings embedded broadly in the socio-economic features to the community. The term 'Tribe' is widely believed to have originated around the time of the Greek city-states and the early formation of the Roman Empire (Gregory, 2003)⁶. The Oxford Dictionary has defined a Tribe as 'a group of people in a primitive or barbarous stage of development acknowledging the authority of a chief and usually regarding themselves as having a common ancestor' (Oxford

5. Padel and Das (2012). Resettlement realities: The gulf between policy and practice in 'Resettling Displaced People: Policy and Practice in India' edited by H.M. Mathur. Routledge. ISBNs 1136704213 and 9781136704215. pp. 140 – pp. 180.

6. Gregory, R.J. (2003). Tribes and Tribal: Origin, use and future of the concept in 'Human Ecology and community' edited by R.J. Gregory. Kamla-Raj Enterprises. ISBN 8185264325. pp. 107.

Dictionary, as cited in Rana, 1998)⁷. One of the simplest Anthropological definitions of the term 'Tribe' was proposed by Paul Hockings in which he says that a Tribe is 'a system of social organization which embraces a number of local groups of settlements which occupies a territory, and normally carries its own distinctive culture, its own name, and its own language' (Yogesh, 2009)⁸. However, in the context of India, the definition proposed by Hockings may not apply completely as there are several tribal communities that speak a common language and moreover, there are members of a single tribe inhabiting different parts of the country that speak different languages.

In the national context, the term 'Adivasi' is collectively used for the many indigenous peoples of India. The term derives its etymological roots from two Hindi words, 'adi' which means 'from earliest times' and 'vasi' which means 'inhabitant'. The term 'Adivasi' was coined in the 1930s largely as a consequence of a political movement to forge a sense of identity among the various indigenous peoples of India' (Minority Rights Group International, ND)⁹. Though the terms 'Adivasi' and 'Tribe' are used in modern literature in a coterminous manner, neither of them have a legal basis. It is to be noted that the term 'Scheduled Tribes' is the legal and constitutional term referring to 'Adivasis' or 'Tribes'. Renowned Social Anthropologist Felix Padel believes that, 'at independence, Adivasis were officially defined as Scheduled Tribes' (Padel, 1995)¹⁰. In order to lend a more clearer perspective on the matter, Sachchidananda has made a distinction between the terms 'Tribe' and 'Scheduled Tribe' in the following manner – 'while tribe is an anthropological concept referring to a particular type of society, in contrast to societies known as 'caste', 'peasant', and 'urban', 'scheduled tribe' is an administrative and political concept' (Sachchidananda, as cited in Atal, 2009)¹¹.

Perhaps one of the earliest Anthropologists to have recognized that the concept of Tribe differed with time and space and consequently no one single definition can substantiate in defining the term was Andre Beteille. He emphasized on a historical approach to understand the concept of tribe and argued that the characteristic features of tribes inhabiting several regions would deviate substantially from the 'ideal type' definitions. He also believed that such communities have historically remained outside of the state and civilization for which they can be termed as 'non-civilized', but certainly not 'uncivilized'. Through several empirical studies in India, he observed that most of the Indian Tribes '... stood more or less outside of Hindu civilization' (Beteille, 1992)¹².

Tribals and Tribal Culture of Odisha

The state of Odisha is regarded to be the homeland for tribals in India. It is home to 62 Scheduled Tribe (ST) communities and 13 PVTGs. Consequently, several imperial and Indian Anthropologists and Sociologists have studied the socio-cultural lifestyle of the tribal communities of Odisha in great

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7. Rana, J.P.S. (1998). Marriage and Customs of Tribes of India. M.D. Publications Pvt. Ltd. ISBNs 8175330872 and 9788175330870. pp. 61.
 8. Yogesh, A. (2009). ICSSR survey of advances in research: Sociology and Social Anthropology in India. Pearson Education India. ISBNs 8131720349 and 9788131720349. pp. 71.
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 10. Padel, F. (1995). The sacrifice of Human being: British Rule and the Kondhs of Orissa. Oxford University Press. ISBNs 0195636406 and 9780195636406. pp. 20.
 11. Atal, Y. (2009). Sociology and Social Anthropology in India – ICSSR Survey of advances in research. Pearson Education India. ISBNs 813720349 and 9788131720349. pp. 69.
 12. Beteille, A. (1992). Oxford India Collection: The backward classes in contemporary India. Oxford Univ Press. p76.

detail. As an outcome of the in-depth ethnographic studies, dedicated monographs highlighting the socio-economic and cultural life of specific ST and PVTG communities have been published. Among other socio-economic and cultural elements, most of these monographs have comprehensively documented several tangible and intangible cultural attributes of the communities. The ensuing sections have highlighted few notable published works illustrating some of the most unique intangible and tangible culture elements practiced by the tribal communities of the State.

Intangible Tribal Culture

Verrier Elwin was amongst the first imperial and early Indian Anthropologists to have undertaken seminal ethnographic studies on tribal communities, especially in eastern and central India. Elwin was so much so immersed in his research work on tribal society and culture that he had given Indian names to all his four sons – Kumar, Vasantha, Nakula and Ashoka (Ramesh (authored) and Rao (Eds.), 2011)¹³. Considering marriage to be a vital intangible cultural component especially among tribal communities, Elwin studied the institution of marriage among the Bondos, a PVTG inhabiting the Malkangiri district of Odisha. The Bonda PVTG of Malkangiri in particular is observed to abide by the most stringent marriage protocols. The entire Bonda society is divided into three exogamous groups, each independent of the other. The rule against marrying within the group is observed strictly; though the division of the three exogamous groups into 9 'Kudas' – clans seems to be less carefully observed (Elwin, 1950)¹⁴. Besides the rule of clan exogamy, the family-level ritual relationship of 'Moitor' or 'Mahaprashad' forbids matrimonial alliances between the two concerned families. The relationship of 'Moitor' – friendship established between two persons also forbids them to address each other by their names. In fact, besides the Bonda, there are several other tribal communities that practice 'clan exogamy'. Consequently breach of established norms concerning marriage or marriage between a boy and a girl belonging to the same clan can often have disastrous social consequences ranging from inter-clan feuds to intra-clan hostilities (in case the role of the members of some other clan is suspected). This aspect of clan feud among the Dongria Kondhs, another PVTG community of Odisha inhabiting the districts of Kalahandi, Koraput and Rayagada has been elaborated by Nayak (1991) in his book 'Blood, women and territory: An analysis of clan feuds of the Dongria Kondhs'. He observes that 'in an inter-clan feud, injuries are more grievous and there is always cause for apprehension of fatal injuries whereas in an intra-clan feud, injuries vary from bearing with axe handle to minor inflictions...' (Nayak, 1991)¹⁵.

Another major intangible culture component amongst the tribals of Odisha is 'folk song' or 'folklore/ folktale'. In the absence of a written script, several tribal communities have been traditionally transmitting their history, skills, religious practices, belief, rituals and other socio-cultural attributes from one generation to the other orally. Referred to as 'Oral tradition', the use of oral narration of knowledge, history, literature and customary law is perhaps as old as human civilization. Folklore/ folk song is a type of oral tradition wherein a song originating among a group of people is

13. Ramesh, B.G and Rao, Prof. L.S. (Eds.). (2011). *Immortal lights: Verrier Elwin*. Sapna Book House (P) Ltd. ISBNs 8128010050 and 9788128010057.

14. Elwin, V. (1950). *Bondo Highlander*. Oxford University Press.

15. Nayak, P.K. (1989). *Blood, Women and Territory: An Analysis of Clan Feuds of the Dongria Kondhs – Volume 2 of Sociological publications in honour of K. Ishwaran*. Reliance Publishing House. ISBNs 818504743X and 9788185047430. pp. 109.

used to pass on the traditional beliefs, customs and stories of a community from one generation to another. As such songs lack a script; they are often altered and rephrased by different singers leading to the transmission of different and at times even contradictory versions of history, knowledge etc. Such changes in the folk songs have also resulted in transmission of different versions. In the context of the tribals of Odisha, the folklore of the Kutia Kondh PVTG – ‘the Kui Gaani’ is perhaps the most extensive and elaborate. ‘The Kui Gaani’ is a collection of folksongs that narrates the origin of several physiological elements and socio-cultural and religious beliefs of the Kutia Kondhs. Dr. Mihir Jena, an acclaimed Anthropologist and Ethno-Botanist and one of the leading members of the ‘Man and Forest’ research initiative has noted that ‘the Kui Gaani describes some mythical views of shifting cultivation, although today, much of this myth can only be recalled by the elderly members of the tribe. They refer to the myth, Kui Gaani, as a means to justify their traditional cultural practices. According to the Kui Gaani, ‘the Kui people left the underground world at Sapanagada, bringing with them some domestic animals such as bullocks, buffaloes, pigs and goats, together with many households objects’ (Jena, et al, 2002)¹⁶. The author further observes that in order to avoid contradictions of other versions of ‘Kui Gaani’, one person in each village is recognized as the legitimate singer of the folksong.

From amongst the various intangible culture forms of tribals in Odisha, a large number of ‘skill forms and expertise’ possessed, nurtured and practiced by tribal communities for making a living continue to remain poorly documented. One such widely practiced form of skill is that of ‘money catching’. The skill of ‘monkey catching’ is unique to the Mankirdia, a particularly vulnerable section of the Birhor Tribe. Ota observes that Mankirdias specialize the skill of ‘... catching monkeys and making ropes out of the bark of siali/ jute fibre’ (Ota, et al, 2008)¹⁷. The Mankirdia have been classified as the only remaining ‘Hunter-Gatherer Tribe’ of Odisha who lead a largely isolated life in hilly and forested areas as nomads. Prof. Nityananda Patnaik, an Anthropologist and tribal administrator of eminence writes ‘... for calling Birhors as Mankidi or Mankirdia is that they are skilled in catching monkeys. When the monkeys create havoc in the rural areas and destroy crops, fruits and vegetables, the local people employ the Birhors to catch and kill them’ (Patnaik, 2005)¹⁸. Though significant amount of literature material on the practice of this unique skill among members of the PVTG exists, there is no readily available reference material highlighting the exact practice of monkey catching i.e. the various steps and material involved in trapping of the monkey. Similarly, other finer details associated with the skill such as the number of people involved in monkey hunting, whether any efforts are made to impart the skills or train the younger generation, the characteristic feature of the rope used for monkey trapping etc. seem to be largely unknown.

Tangible Tribal culture

The Lanjia Saora PVTG of southern Odisha are considered to be amongst the richest in the State with respect to indigenous material culture items such as household appliances, musical implements,

16. Jena, M.K., Pathi, P., Dash, J., Patnaik, K.K. and Seeland, K. (2002). Forest Tribes of Orissa: The Kutia Kondh. DK Printworld. ISBNs 8124603499 and 9788124603499. pp. 177 and 178.

17. Ota, A.B., Mohanty, S.C., Sahoo, T. and Mohanty, B.N. (2008). Primitive Tribal Groups of Orissa. Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute (SCSTRI). ISBN 81-902819-5-X. pp. 11.

18. Patnaik, P. (2005). Primitive Tribes of Orissa and their development strategies. D.K. Printworld. ISBNs 8124602735 and 9788124602737. pp. 52.

weaponry, agricultural equipments etc. The material culture items of the community as well as the various factors responsible for their disappearance have been extensively studied by Ota. Among the various material culture items of the community, the one pertaining to Surakamped, the traditional trumpet of the Lanjia Saora is that of special mention. Like most tangible and intangible culture components, the customary trumpet symbolizing bravery and valor has also witnessed several changes. Ota notes that 'While trumpets are used by almost all Communities, their shape and design vary from one region to the other and have evolved over time. In the Lanjia country, trumpets are funnel shaped and are made up of brass. Earlier the Lanjias were using horn trumpet. It is about one foot in length having a small hole in the middle for blowing air. But the use of brass trumpet by them shows their material evolution. The local artisans of Ghasi caste designed it through lost wax process. These are used both during celebrations such as festivals, marriages etc., for heralding news of glory and victory as well as during battles and external aggressions for which they can also be regarded as a tribal war bugle' (Ota, 2015)¹⁹. With growing media reporting on the life and culture of the tribals and increasing tourist demand and attraction towards tribal articles, tangible culture items such as the Surakamped of the Lanjia Saora have gone on to signify tribal identity in Odisha.

Painting (as a major art and craft form) encompasses a critical tangible culture element of any indigenous/ tribal community. Paintings have been used by communities since time immemorial for expressing their feelings and preserving their beliefs and practices. In Odisha, several findings of rock shelter paintings have been made that indicate the existence of prehistoric art, especially in the western districts of Jharsuguda and Sundergarh. However, among the various forms of native paintings in the state, the 'Ikon' painting of the Saora tribal community is perhaps the most popular and sort for by tourists and tribal enthusiasts. In fact, the paintings can be seen on the foundation walls of flyovers and on the boundary walls of government institutions and offices across the city of Bhubaneswar. The paintings have been funded and sponsored by the state government in order to popularize the tribal art form. The surge in demand for the 'Ikon' over the past few years has brought the Saora painting to national limelight and has made it synonymous with tribal art. However, owing to the role of intermediaries, the spiraling rise in the sale of such paintings has not contributed significantly towards the financial uplift of the tribe. Empirical studies on the Saora paintings indicate that such paintings draw upon tribal folklore and that they are worshipped during religious festivities and cultural celebrations. Some of the recurring motifs of the Saora paintings include animals such as elephants and horses, peoples, the moon and sun. Based on extensive field studies, Sahu has drawn certain striking similarities between the Saora paintings on one hand and the Hindu deities and the Warli painting of the Warli tribe of Palgarh district in Maharashtra, India on the other. Sahu notes that 'the tribal deities are different but their paintings also depict gods with trunks. They also paint groups of three gods, which may be Lord Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra. Tribals do not know of Hindu gods, but research suggests links between their images and gods of the Hindu pantheon. At first glance, the Saura paintings appear strikingly similar to Warli art. However, the two styles are distinct in their style and treatment of subjects. Warli paintings depict trees, animals and people. The human body is shown in Warli paintings as two juxtaposed triangles

19. Ota, A. (2015). Disappearing material culture of Tribals in India: The case of a Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group of Southern Odisha. *International Journal of Applied Research*. ISSN Print 2394 – 7500 and ISSN Online 2394 – 5869. Impact Factor 5.2. Volume 1. Issue 9. pp. 30 – 36.

— the upper triangle representing the male element points upwards and the lower one representing the female element points down' (Sahu, 2011)²⁰. His observations with respect to the interlinkage of the Saora gods with that of the Hindu pantheon is in stark contrast to the opinion held by Beteille (as highlighted earlier) that traditionally, most Indian tribes have stood more or less outside of Hindu civilization.

Market linkage of customary tribal arts and crafts have remained at the center of almost all the major schemes and programmes of the Ministry of Tribal Affairs (MoTA), Government of India (GoI) as well as the Tribal Ministry of the Government of Odisha (GoO). One such indigenous tribal 'dress form' that has witnessed an overwhelming increase in demand and sale owing to its active promotion by NGOs, corporate houses and the state government is the 'Kapadaganda'. They are indigenously woven shawls by Dongria Kondh women that has gone on to signify the community at the state and national levels. The shawls are woven on the base cloth purchased by members of the Dongria Kondh community from the neighboring 'Domb' Scheduled Caste using yarns of three colors – green, red and yellow. Ota notes the socio-cultural values of each of the three colors /as perceived by the Dongria Kondhs as follows, 'Green symbolizes hills, mountains, crop fields, trees, plant species, etc., it is the reflection of germination of seeds, growth, prosperity and development of community men. Yellow stands for peace, smile, togetherness, health and happiness, family, lineage, village, Mutha and community as whole, often regarded auspicious. Red is the symbol of blood, energy, power, revenge, aggression, tit for tat, etc.' (Ota, 2010)²¹. Over the past few years, government and private sector funding has helped set up several shawl weaving centers across the districts of Kalahandi and Rayagada. Apart from offering a credible livelihood source to the Dongria Kondh women, the operation of such centers has increased the production of the Kapadaganda to meet the rising demand of the product in the state and national markets.

Genesis of Industrialization in Odisha

The history of mineral discovery and industrial activities in Odisha is closely linked with the changing dynamics of the culture and social lifestyle of tribal communities. It is to be noted that most of the mineral reserves of the state and almost all the major mineral-based industries are located in regions inhabited by tribal communities. The present section of the article has attempted at tracing the origin of mineral discovery and sketches the major events in the timeline of industrialization in Odisha. The references of published literature material authored by eminent researchers in the spheres of industrialization and social change have been drawn for the purpose.

Endowed with some of the best quality reserves of ferrous and non-ferrous minerals, Odisha is considered to be one of the most mineral-rich states of India. In fact, the state accounts for 97.37 %, 95.10 %, 76.67 %, 49.74 %, 33.91 %, 28.56 % and 27.59 % of the total deposits of chromite, nickel, graphite, bauxite, iron ore, manganese and coal of the Country respectively²². However, there is no

20. Sahu, M. (17 September, 2011). Timeless images. Deccan Herald. URL:

<http://www.deccanherald.com/content/191569/timeless-images.html>. Accessed on 06.05.2017.

21. Ota, A.B. (2010). Launching of 'Tribes Odisha'. Tribal Development Co-operative Corporation of Orissa Limited. URL: http://tdccorissa.org/Doc/Tribes_Odisha.pdf. Accessed on 07.05.2017.

22. Mishra, P. (2006). Natural Resources and Economic Development. Deep and Deep Publications. ISBNs 8176297801 and 9788176297806. pp. 177.

literary clarity on the discovery of mineral reserves in Odisha. While several researchers trace the timeline of discovery of mineral reserves in the State to 1839 by Lt. Kittoe, others believe that the first mineral reserve discovered in Odisha was coal in the Talcher coalfields at Gopal Prasad in 1837 (Mishra, 1991)²³. Senapati and Sahu note that, '... in 1837 Lt. Kittoe went in search of coal from Cuttack to Talcher taking a circuitous route as the straight road through the town of Dhenkanal was not developed for travel by that times' (Senapati and Sahu, 1972)²⁴. Though coal was first discovered in the Talcher coal fields during the late 1830s, the first colliery in the region was set up nearly a century later by M/S Villiers at Handidhua in 1921 (Directorate – General of Mines Safety, 1980)²⁵. Industrial activities during the pre-independent colonial Odisha was largely limited to coal mining activities in the Ib River and Talcher coalfields.

The first major industry to be set up in Odisha was the Rourkela Steel Plant. The RSP was the first integrated steel plant to be set up in 1955 and commissioned in 1959 (Lal, ND)²⁶. Satpathy notes that, '...the discoveries of iron ore at several locations of the State including Joda and Naomundi served as the major propellant for the setting up of a steel plant in Odisha' (Satpathy, 2005)²⁷. The multi-location aluminium complex of the National Aluminium Company Limited (NALCO) was the next major mineral-based industry that was set up in Odisha. Set up in 1981 with its alumina refinery at Damanjodi, aluminium smelter at Angul and the captive bauxite mines at Panchpatmali, the setting up of NALCO resulted in the displacement of a large number of people (Nigam, 1986)²⁸. It is to be noted that different researchers have attributed different displacement figures to the Project. However, it is certain that a vast majority of the displaced people for the alumina refinery and captive bauxite mines Projects were tribals. The first major development Project to be set up immediately post the Liberalization-Privatization-Globalization (LPG) era was the 500 MW Super Thermal Power Station (STPS) at Kanhia. While the Council of Professional Social Workers (CPSW) reports the amount of land acquired for the Project to be 3,614 acres (1,463.75 hectares) (CPSW, 1994)²⁹, Pandey puts the figure of displacement caused by the Project at 2,032 families from 24 villages (Pandey, 1998)³⁰.

23. Mishra, H.K. (1991). *Famines and Poverty in India*. APH Publishing. ISBNs 8170243742 and 9788170243748. pp. 31.

24. Senapati, N. and Sahu, N.K. (Eds). (1972). *Orissa District Gazetteers: Dhenkanal: Gazetteer: Volume 5 of Orissa District Gazetteers*. Superintendent. Orissa Government Press. pp. 223.

25. Directorate-General of Mines Safety. Department of Mines. Ministry of Mines. Government of India (1982). *Statistics of Mines in India. Employment and Rehabilitation*. Department of Labour and Employment. Ministry of Labour. Government of India. pp. 220.

26. Lal, B.B. (ND). *Profit planning and control in public enterprises in India*. pp. 163.

27. Satpathy, I. (2005). *Environmental Management*, Excel Books India. ISBNs 8174464581 and 9788174464583. pp. 108.

28. Nigam, R.K. (Eds.) (1986). *Towards a viable and vibrant public sector in India: A Playgoer for change in Government policies in managerial practices within the public sector, and in overall environment in the Country concerning the public sector*. Documentation Centre for Corporate and Business Policy. pp. 65 and 67.

29. Council of Professional Social Workers (CPSW) (1994). *State of Orissa's Environment: A citizen's report*. Centre of Professional Social Workers.

30. Pandey, B. (1998). *Depriving the underprivileged for development*. Institute for Socio-economic Development. pp. 34.

In order to usher the growth of industrialization in the State, the Government of Odisha (GoO) enacted the Industrial Promotion Resolution (IPR) in the year 2001. Orissa diary notes that post the enactment of the IPR, the GoO has signed more than 130 Memorandum of Understandings (MoU) in the steel, power, aluminium, food processing and other industrial sectors (as of 2009). However, only 43 MoUs have materialized (Orissa Diary, 2009)³¹. Some of the major MoUs that have materialized after the enactment of the IPR, 2001 include the alumina refinery Project of Vedanta Aluminium Limited (VAL) at Lanjigarh and the alumina refinery Project of the Utkal Alumina International Limited (UAIL) at Tikiri. It is to be noted that the UAIL is currently being owned and operated by Hindalco, a wholly owned subsidiary of the Aditya Birla Group (ABG). While 2060 acres of land was acquired for the Lanjigarh alumina refinery, 2800 acres of land have been acquired for the Tikiri Project (The Hindu Business Lines, 2000)³². Other major industries that have been set up in the state after the enactment of IPR, 2001 include the integrated steel plants of Jindal Steel and Power Limited (JSPL) at Angul and Tata Steel Limited (TSL) at Kalinganagar, Jajpur.

Development-induced displacement of Tribals in Odisha

Odisha like most other eastern Indian states has witnessed as astonishing overlap of tribals, minerals and forest reserves wherein most of its high quality mineral deposits are located beneath dense forests. The dense forests in turn constitute the habitation of a large number of tribal communities. Under such a topographical scenario, mineral excavation in the past for setting up mineral-based industries has resulted in the displacement of millions of tribals in the state. In the absence of accurate figures on tribal displacement, the estimation of development-induced dislocation in the State put forth by different administrators and researchers grossly varies from one another. The displacement figures of major development Projects of Odisha drawn from existing literary sources have been shared in this section of the article.

The RSP, one of the first major industrial ventures in independent India has been alleged by the Dhebar Commission to have displaced 1,231 tribal families. However, only 843 of them were reportedly provided physical resettlement (Mishra and Pati, 2010)³³. In the neighboring district of Koraput, Srichandana notes that, 'in all 350 tribal families were displaced as a result of acquisition of land for the MIG Factory at Sunabeda. Out of the 350 families displaced, only 58 tribal families were rehabilitated in Kodigaon colony....' (Srichandana, 1993)³⁴. In the 21st century, the figures of involuntarily displaced people by VAL and UAIL Projects stand at 121 families and 147 families (Mallik and Padhi, 2005)³⁵ respectively. Multi-purpose irrigation dam projects have also resulted in the displacement of large number of tribal families, especially in western Odisha. Skillshare International India notes that only about 13.6 % (195) out of the 1,431 Tribal families displaced by

31. Orissadiary.com. (04.09.2015) Odisha PCC Chief Flays IPR – 2015, says it is replica of IPR – 2001 and IPR – 2007. url: <http://www.orissadiary.com/CurrentNews.asp?id=61407>. Accessed on 07.06.2017.

32. The Hindu Business Lines. (14.02.2000). Utkal Alumina's community project. url: <http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/2000/02/14/stories/141444c4.htm>. Accessed on 07.06.2017.

33. Mishra, A. and Pati, C.K. (2010). Tribal Movements in Jharkhand, 1857 – 2007. Concept Publishing Company. ISBNs 8180696863 and 9788180696862. pp. 153.

34. Srichandana, G. (1993). Tribal development and welfare legislation in Orissa: Under Indian plan-perspectives. Pratibha Prakashan. ISBNs 8185268266 and 9788185268262.

35. Mallik, R.M. and Padhi, S.P. (2005). Development, deprivation and welfare policy: Essays in honour of Prof. Baidyanath Misra. Rawat Publications. ISBNs 8170338832 and 9788170338833. pp. 389.

the Upper Kolab dam Project in Koraput have been rehabilitated (Skillshare International India, 2014)³⁶. Apart from mineral-based ventures and irrigation dam Projects, development Projects in other sectors have also resulted in the displacement of a disproportionate number of tribals. Mathur notes that in the Balimela Hydro Project, 98 per cent of those displaced were tribal people' (Mathur, 2012)³⁷. It is to be noted that the Balimela Hydro power Project is located in the Malkangiri district of Odisha.

Impact of involuntary displacement on Tribal culture

In the context of the Indian sub-continent, dedicated studies to assess the impact of involuntary displacement on tribal culture are largely limited. In most empirical studies, the dimension of culture has been covered only as one of aspects of the wider socio-cultural lifestyle of tribals. The present section of the article has highlighted excerpts from relevant published material that were reviewed as part of the literature review process.

Felix Padel based on his extensive empirical studies on the tribals of southern and western Odisha notes that, 'A subsistence economy is one of the defining features of traditional tribal communities. Since displacement usually destroys it, this means that every aspect of their social structure is changed or damaged. Often, even more painful than the poverty these projects reduce them to is the erosion of people's cultural identity (Padel, 2015)³⁸. However, the study of Padel has neither identified the constituents of cultural identity of tribals nor has he highlighted the specific impact that involuntary displacement has on the cultural identity of the community.

Another major impact of development-induced displacement on the tribal communities is the shattering of the 'kinship system'. Padel and Das have elaborated the impact of displacement on Kinship system of tribals in the following words, 'The kinship system is fractured by displacement from villages, where social relations follow the pattern of a village's traditional layout, and spatial distance from kin in neighboring villages. In every area where a project causes displacement, there is a split in long-standing relationships and tension between those who accept compensation and move and those who remain opposed' (Padel and Das, 2008)³⁹. Apart from the impact on kinship relations, the findings of the study also highlight the social rift that displacement creates within communities.

Based on the above discussions, it can be firmly stated that the socio-cultural impact of industrialization on the tribal communities of Odisha has been one of the least studied domains within the realm of tribal studies. Some of the limited empirical studies on the issue include that of S.M. Panda. The study undertaken by Panda on the Juang and Saora tribals of Odisha (hill dwelling

36. Skillshare International India. (2014). State of the Adivasis in Odisha 2014: A Human Development Analysis. Sage Publications India. ISBNs 9351504085 and 9789351504085.

37. Mathur, H.M. (2012). Resettling Displaced People: Policy and Practice in India. Routledge. ISBNs 1136704213 and 9781136704215. pp. 360.

38. Padel, F. (2015). Displaced by Development: Assessing Social and Cultural Impacts on Affected Tribal Communities in 'Assessing the Social Impact of Development Projects: Experience in India and Other Asian Countries: Advances in Asian Human – Environmental Research' edited by H.M. Mathur. Springer. ISBNs 3319191179 and 9783319191171. pp. 116.

39. Padel, S. and Das. S. (2008). Cultural genocide: the real impact of development-induced displacement in 'India: social development report 2008' edited by H.M. Mathur. Oxford University Press. pp. 103 – 115.

tribal communities of the state) on 'swidden cultivation' has identified the decline of the traditional cultivation pattern as a major cultural impact on the communities. Based on the outcome of her empirical study among the Juangs and Saoras in Keonjhar and Gajapati districts respectively, Panda notes that, 'A close look at the sociocultural life of the tribals reveals that swidden cultivation is not only an economic activity but also a way of life for these communities. Swidden cultivation forms an integral part of the tribal lifestyle. It is not just a means of livelihood. The entire tribal sociocultural and religious activities are interwoven into the different stages of the cultivation cycle' (Panda, 1999)⁴⁰. Panda mentions that despite several government schemes and interventions, the tribals are not giving up swidden cultivation. She has identified several factors for the phenomenon including, 'Government's failure to regulate the existing land settlement and tenure. Some assure returns from swidden cultivation in the form of a variety of crops. Insensitivity to the sociocultural needs of the tribals as reflected in the government plans'. The finding of Panda highlighting the interlinkage between swidden cultivation and the sociocultural and economic lifestyle of tribals is of particular significance on the backdrop of growing industrial activities in southern and western Odisha. In fact, land acquisition, especially for mineral-based industries in the region over the past couple of decades and consequent dispossession of tribals from land under shifting cultivation has aggravated the problem of land dispossession among the tribals. It has also limited their access to forest lands and consequently their ability of gathering and collecting food items from the local forests which has been traditionally a major source of livelihood for the community. In view of the distinct social and cultural ties that the tribals share with their land holding, the aforementioned phenomenon of growing dispossession of tribal/ swidden land constitutes a vital cultural impact of industrialization.

Critical gaps in existing literature material

Based on review of the limited literature material on the theme of displacement and its impact on tribal culture, certain vital gaps have been identified. The gaps indicate scope for future research for young scholars, academicians and researchers. The said gaps in the existing research work that were identified during the literature review process are as follows;

- No systematic efforts have been made by the researchers and scholars to attribute specific social factors (such as modernization, westernization, industrialization etc.) that are responsible for changes in tribal culture;
- There is lack of adequate research work on the theme of tribal culture, the constituents of culture (under the tangible and intangible culture forms) being affected by industrialization and displacement. Assessment of the positive impacts of industrialization seem to have been ignored as most of the existing publication material have only analyzed the adverse implications of development Projects; and
- As no systematic efforts towards assessing the cultural impact of industrialization have been made, no corresponding measures for restoration and regeneration of tribal culture have been proposed or implemented.

40. Panda, S.M. (1999). Towards a Sustainable Natural Resource Management of Tribal Communities: Findings from a Study of Swidden and Wetland Cultivation in Remote Hill Regions of Eastern India. *Environmental Management*. Volume 23. Number 2. pp. 205 – pp. 216.

Concluding Remarks

It is to be noted that the above discussions on the definition and meaning of the terms 'culture' and 'Adivasi/ Tribe' and the intangible and tangible culture components of tribal communities are only indicative and not exhaustive. Similarly, the genesis of industrialization in the State, the history of development-induced displacement and its impact on tribal culture has been sketched so as to provide the reader an overview of the 'industry-tribal-culture' overlap in Odisha. As PVTGs constitute the most primitive section of tribals, most of whom continue to retain their core culture components, it was considered prudent to undertake a secondary review of available literature on their socio-cultural lifestyle. Though there is significant amount of quality reference material on the PVTG communities of Odisha but, there are several ST communities on whom detailed ethnographic documentation is yet to be published. Furthermore, the changing landscape of tribal culture and the factors responsible for the phenomenon (especially industrialization) is yet another area that requires attention. Moreover, the available literature does not provide adequate information on the cultural impacts of industrialization on tribals. The current article is expected to introduce the historical context and connotation of terms such as 'culture' and 'Adivasi/ Tribe'. Similarly, the descriptive account of intangible and tangible culture components shared in the article and the timeline of industrialization in Odisha will certainly serve as a reference material for research on aspects of industrialization and tribal culture.

KUTIA KONDH DEVELOPMENT THROUGH THE YEARS: ISSUES AND CONCERNS

Smruti Ranjan Patra ¹

ABSTRACT

During the Fifth Five Year Plan (FYP) a sub-category was created within the Scheduled Tribes named Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs). The features of such a group include a pre-agricultural system of existence, i.e. practice of hunting and gathering, zero or negative population growth, extremely low level of literacy in comparison with other tribal groups. In 2009, Government of India (GoI) decided to re-designate "Primitive Tribal Group" (PTG) as "Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG)" considering the complaints that the term 'primitive' is value loaded. Odisha has 13 designated PVTG s. Kutia Kondh is one among them.

The present study has been conducted on Kutia Kondh in villages covered by Kutia Kondh Development Agency (KKDA) in Belghar under Baliguda sub-division of Kandhamal district. The paper has compared certain critical development indicators of Kutia Kondhs in between two reference periods of socio economic surveys with an ethnographic background of the PVTG, Kutia Kondh.

The paper concludes that presently, the Kutia Kondhs are undergoing a a phase of tradition and transition. The socio-economic development activities have brought immense changes in their cultural pattern and lifestyle, yet in many aspects they have retained their traditional processes and practices. However, analyzing from various parameters, the Kutia Kondh villages are not much above their disadvantageous situation from point of view of reach and access to miscellaneous facilities, infrastructure and provisions. The critical areas of concern are infrastructure, connectivity, housing, drinking water, electricity, education, health and nutrition, livelihoods improvement and income generation, irrigation, social security and above all capacity building and skill development. Along with development interventions for their socio-economic development and consequent improvement in raising the HDI, efforts and programs also need to be designed realistically and implemented for conservation of their unique pristine culture and traditions.

Introduction

The Kondhs are the principal inhabitants of Boudh and Kandhamal districts of Odisha. Being Dravidians in their language, they were living in this track of the country before the advent of the Aryans. They have been classified under the ancient Gondi race of the Proto-Australoid stock.

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The Kutia Kondhs are a section of Kondhs and are numerous in the Baliguda subdivision of erstwhile Phulbani and present Kandhamal district. Earlier they were designated as one among the Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) and now they have been redesignated as a Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG). They are largely populated in Belghar area of Tumudibandh block and the adjoining Kotagarh area. The present study is carried out amongst the Kutia Kondhs of Belghar area coming under Kutia Kondh Development Agency (KKDA) which is located between 19°45' - 20°05' Northern latitude and 80°30' - 83°45' Eastern longitude. This area is approximately 30 kms away from Tumudibandh; 65kms away from Baliguda towards Muniguda of Rayagada district. Belghar is situated at an altitude of 2255ft. above the sea level. The total geographical area of the project is 300sq.kms. The temperature records 35°C during summer and 3°C in winter. The average annual rain fall is 1360 mm. The type of soil found in the region is of Red Lateritic Group.

Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs)

The Dhebar Commission (1960-1961) stated that within the Scheduled Tribes (ST) there existed an inequality in the rate of development. During the Fifth Five Year Plan (FYP) a sub-category was created within the Scheduled Tribes by identifying groups those were considered to be at a lower level of socio-economic development. This special category was named "Primitive Tribal Group" (PTGs). The characteristic features of such a group include a pre-agricultural system of existence, i.e. practice of hunting and gathering and shifting cultivation, zero or negative population growth, extremely low level of literacy in comparison with other tribal groups.

By the end of the Fifth Five Year Plan, 52 communities were identified as "PTGs", 20 groups were added in the Sixth Five Year Plan and 02 more in the Seventh Five Year Plan and 01 more group was added in the Eighth Five-Year Plan, thus making a total 75 groups as PTGs in India. These communities were identified on the basis of recommendations made by the respective state governments.

In 2009, Government of India (GoI) decided to re-designate "Primitive Tribal Group" (PTG) as "Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG)" considering the complaints that the term 'primitive' is value loaded.

Odisha has the largest number of PTGs (13) among all the States and Union Territories of India. They are the Bonda, Birhor, Didayi, Paudi Bhuyan, Lanjia Saora, Hill Kharia, Mankirdia, Kutia Kondh, Dongria Kondh, Juang, Chuktia Bhunjia, Lodha and Saora. These PTGs were identified in Odisha during different plan periods starting from 5th Plan period (1974-79).

General Characteristics of PTGs

'In common parlance, the term primitive means simple-ness and antiquity. The commonly agreed cultural traits of primitive people are (1) homogeneity, (2) small population, (3) relative physical isolation, (4) social institutions are cast in a simple mould, (5) absence of a written language (6) relatively simple technology and (7) a slower rate of change. In the present context the groups of aboriginals who continue to pursue an archaic way of life and absorb the changes slowly are distinguished as PTGs' (Ota & Mohanty, 2015).

Tribal communities, who carry on pre-agricultural activities for their survival, have been classified as so called Primitive Tribal Groups. Government of India has prescribed four criteria for identifying Primitive Tribal Groups. These criteria are: (1) pre-agricultural level of technology and economy, (ii) very low rate of literacy, (iii) declining or near stagnant population, and (iv) general backwardness due to seclusion, and consequential archaic mode of living.

The so called Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) are indeed vulnerable and techno-economically backward. Their habitats are natural and serene. Development of infrastructure in their habitats is utterly inadequate. They have perfectly adapted to their eco-system and lead a very simple life like natural men. However, it is ridiculous to brand them as "primitive". This epithet is value-loaded and means primeval, or aboriginal and archaic. When the mankind is at the threshold of Twenty-first Century there should be rethinking about these Colonial and Imperial jargons. "Primitive" is the word commonly used to describe the tribes with whom anthropologists have been traditionally concerned. (Behura and Mohanti, 1998)

'With the vision of comprehensive development of the PTGs, the concept of micro level planning was introduced in the country in the year 1975-76. This envisages integrated and comprehensive development of the Micro Project areas in which various programmes irrespective of the sources of funding can be implemented in unison to achieve the common goal of bringing the area at par with other areas and to improve the quality of life of the primitive tribes' (Ota, 2015).

The Kutia Kandha Development Agency, Belghar

The Kutia Kandha Development Agency, Belghar in Kandhamal district was established in the year 1978-79 during the 5th Five Year Plan and registered under the Society Registration Act, 1960.

Socio-cultural and economic life of Kutia Kondh

Ethnic identity and language

The Kutia Kondhs are a section of the Kondh tribe and their ethnic identity is derived from the Kondh terms, Kutti, and Kui. The term Kutti gives the cultural identity of the tribe that they emerged out of a hole in Sapangada - a forest patch and later started living in Kutti (holes) of hills. Further, they speak Kui language. On the basis of the language they call Kuienja to the male folks of the tribe, Kuiladu to the female folks and are collectively known as Kuianka.

Kui is the language which the Kutia Kondhs speak. Linguists identified it as belonging to the Dravidian group. The language Kui varies a little bit from those of the other Kondh communities. Those of the community who are exposed to the mainstream speak Oriya along with Kui. Edgar Thurston quoted G.A. Grierson on Kondh language in the 'Castes and Tribes of Southern India' Vol- III, that 'the Kandhas or Kondhs are a Dravidian Tribe in the Hills of Orissa and neighbouring districts (Das Patnaik, 2004).

Settlement and housing pattern

In a Kutia Kondh village settlement (Naju), houses are arranged in two parallel rows facing each other. Each row is occupied by a sect of the tribe. Houses in each row are attached to each other in such a manner that from a distance each row appears as a single long hall. The traditional

structure of the village itself is a symbol of unity. Sometimes the village settlement looks like a cluster of houses. A large space is left in between the two rows. More or less at the middle of the longitude space, Karumunda i.e. the Meria (sacrifice) pole is established. The backyard is used for kitchen garden and cattle shed.

Kutia Kondh house (ilu) is mono-hut type, constructed on a rectangular ground plan with gabled roofing. It is usually a two roomed structure with a high verandah, converted into a sitting place. The floor of the house remains at a lower level than the premises and the design called Kutti gives the ethnic identity of the tribe. Immediately continuing with the backdoor are provisions for pigsty and goat pens. The traditional pattern of house is the same throughout with the same design, same architecture and same management of space.

Wall of the houses are made of Sal poles planted on the ground or with poles of *Buchanania lanzan* and *Xylia xylocarpa* plastered over with mud. In some cases walls are made with bamboo mats smeared over with mud. Earthen walls are very common. The roofs are thatched with jungle grass (*Themda arundinacea*) or with tiles (khopari). Khopari is much preferred by the community. The houses are painted red with black borders and the walls are engraved by fingers to make various designs called Piching. Inside or in front of the house, household deity (Ilu penu) is established.

Family organization, kinship and property inheritance

Kutia Kondh family is patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal. Nuclear type of family is found more in number. After the death of the head of the family or marriage of the son if he wants to be separated, then he makes a house for himself on the same row but his family takes food from the same kitchen. They have customary law relating to property and inheritance, which are decided upon prevailing social norms on the principles of equity and good conscience. However regarding trees in forest the ownership goes to the person who first utilized it. Then such trees become family properties and inherited according to the social norms.

Clan is exogamous. Out of 33, the nine main clans found in Kutia society are the Timaka, Saraka, Gunjika, Sukhbichaka, Nondruka, Sukuka, Mindanga, Andanga and Urlaka. Timaka is regarded as the important clan. The lineage system is understood from two main title groups: Jani and Majhi. Lineage is also exogamous. Thus at the family level both the lineages are mixed up. Families are made with both consanguineal and affinal members. By the use of kinship terms the relationship among family members can be better understood. Their role in life cycle rituals, festivals, ceremonies is very important.

Food, Drinks and Narcotics

Cereals, pulses, eggs, meat, tubers and other edibles available in the forest are the main sources of food items of Kutia Kondhs. The principal food is gruel with some vegetables. Gruel is made of rice (*Oryza sativa*), Mande i.e. finger millets (*Eleusine coracana*), out of little millet (*Panicum miliare*), Jana (*Sorghum vulgare*) etc. Raw rice is called Pranga, paddy as Kulinga and cooked rice as Bidi. Mande gruel is a favorite item for them.

Kutia Kondh male and female are fond of drinking mada i.e. toddy tapped from Sago Palm (*Caryota urens*) tree. The second type of drink is irpi kalu or adkinga, prepared out of dried flowers of Mahua

(*Madhuca langifolia*) by distillation. They also prepare liquor out of cereals which they call Katul, specially prepared during festivals and ceremonies. Apart from toddy, they distil liquor out of mango (*Mangifera indica*), jack fruit (*Artocarpus heterophyllus*), banana (*Musa sapientum*) and molasses. Now-a-days they mostly depend upon toddy of Sago palm, date palm, distilled Mahua liquor and crop beverages. Besides drinking, they also use narcotics (Dhuan bada) i.e. dry tobacco leaf and its powders called Nasa or Dua as stimulant. A Sal leaf or Siali leaf is rolled containing the tobacco dusts to make a cigar called Kali. The other type of stimulant is Gudakhu which they keep under the tongue or lips or brush the teeth with are usually purchased from vendors or local shops.

Livelihood and Economy

Taking into consideration the technology and methodology adopted for procuring food, the Kutia Kondhs have been identified as one of the primitive tribal groups of Odisha. Their economic life hinges exclusively on slash and burn type of cultivation which has become a way of life for them. They also undertake food gathering and occasional hunting. Apart from the daily routine of work, the seasonal drudgery is hard and laborious. Division of labour is based on sex. Women have to do all the vital tasks of housekeeping. In swidden plots, debushing, dibbling, hoeing, weeding, guarding the crops, harvesting, winnowing and finally storing are the women's job. Men undertake the tasks of cutting big trees, burning the felled trees, watch the crops, etc. In wet cultivation, which is very rare, women undertake the important tasks of transplanting, weeding, reaping, harvesting and storing the produce. The Kutia Kondhs do not engage themselves much for NTFP collection except some important ones like hill broom, tamarind, char seeds, etc.

Political Organization

The Kutia Kondh society is less hierarchical. So their political organization is small. The traditional secular head of the village is called Majhi. He decides the cases of inter-personal conflicts, misunderstandings, disputes over inheritance of land and property etc. The most important among his functions is decision pertaining to selection of swidden plots and their distribution amongst the villagers. He is the village representative to the courts to handle disputes with forest department for slashing and burning of forests. He takes the responsibility of making liaison with lawyers, officers and thus acts as a situational leader to villagers at the time of need. The village social and cultural affairs are organised in consultation and by the approval of the Majhi. In the Panchayatiraj system, the village head-Majhi was being unanimously elected to represent the village in Panchayat. The village people still obey Majhi and so normally they do not take the help of the police or public even in serious cases. Kutia Kondh Women do not participate in the political organization.

Religious beliefs and practices

To the people, the environment is sacred and god (Penu) is omnipresent. The entire animate and inanimate material worlds that are found around them are a small part of the larger whole, Nature. Penu is manifested in different forms of Nature. Some of the Penuni (sing : Penu) are benevolent and most are malevolent. All of them need to be invoked and treated duly at the same time or otherwise. Some demand big sacrifice and some are satisfied with small animals. The Penuni have different forms and abodes. Some live in mountains, some in plants and trees, huge rocks and peculiar landscapes. They are also seen in dreams of the priests in different forms. The Penuni themselves approach priests in dream and direct them to do performances for the welfare of the

society. The priests are directed always to act for the welfare of people in the village by acquiring the blessing and secret knowledge imparted by the Penuni.

Dharni Penu (Earth goddess) is the most important deity in Kutia Kondh pantheon. Weda Penu (Sun god) is equally powerful. Besides, there are innumerable hill spirits, ancestral spirits and supernatural spirits whom the Kutia Kondh submits to preserve their well-being.

The important festivals round the year include Punikalu (many meanings: new liquor, full-moon, new eating, new festival etc.) in January, Wango Dropondi (preparation of Swidden plots) in April, Taka Kalu (Mango kernel festival) in July, Bicha Supinere (crop sowing) in June, Badbinere (farewell festival) in October etc., Dussera Kandanga Dakina (Dasahara sword worship) in October etc. The most important festivals that are organised once at an interval of 3-4years include Biha Katina (Meria Festival) and Burlanga Dakina (crop container worship), organised sometimes in January - February and April - May respectively. Their dance forms are Kedu Dance, Meria Dance and Dhangada Dhangidi dance.

Development and Change of Kutia Kondh under the KKDA

Demographic indicators

For sake of comparison of development over the years two sets of information has been referred i.e. the socio-economic survey conducted in the year 2007 and the survey conducted in 2015. As per the survey of 2015, KKDA, Belghar covers 1468 households in 68 villages with a total population of 6336 (3079 males & 3357 females). The average family size is 4.38 persons. As compared to the socio-economic survey conducted in 2007, the total population of the tribe in the said 68 villages was 5524. The growth rate of the tribe during 2007 to 2015 has been 16.50%. Comparing the male and female growth rate during the said period, it has been 15.83% and 17.13% respectively. The growth rate of the tribe has been optimal. There has also been appreciable development marked in terms of the sex ratio which has gone up from 1078 in 2007 to 1090 in 2015. This indicates that the community has been fairly positioned on the demographic parameters.

Literacy Status of Kutia Kondh and its comparative account

There has been little change in the literacy rate of the community between the two reference periods, i.e. 2007 and 2015. The average literacy rate of the community that was 44% during 2007 has gone up to 45.71% in 2015. The Kutia Kondh community is well placed on literacy as compared to the literacy of the Scheduled Tribes as a whole in the State which was 43.96% as per census 2011. The Kutia Kondh literacy rates for men (59.98%) and for women (32.61%), as on 2015, are also appreciable compared to that of the total ST male (53.35%) and total ST female (34.82%) in the State in 2011 Census.

Accessibility and communication

There has been significant improvement in connectivity, communication and other infrastructures in the study area. Out of 68 project villages, 53 villages i.e. about 80% have been well connected by motorable roads. Adding to that CC roads within the villages have been constructed in about 49 i.e. 72% villages. With the road facilities, communication by small passenger vehicles, motor cycles, etc. have become easier. Moreover, because of the road facilities the medical emergencies are well

attended. However, there are still 15 villages to which road facilities have not been created as yet. These villages in remote pockets have been facing typical difficulties in accessing public infrastructures like medical facility, veterinary facility, bank, school, etc.

Provision of Electricity and Power

As per the base line survey in 2015, total 26 villages i.e, only 38% of the total project villages, have been electrified which was limited to 16 villages (23.5%) in 2007. Almost all households in the electrified villages have taken electricity connection. In the same manner, there are 33 (i.e. 48.5%) villages with provisioning of solar lights as on 2015. As per socio-economic survey conducted in 2007, only 12 villages had the provisioning of solar light. The data indicates that there are 59 villages provided with electricity or solar power supply and still there are 11 (16%) villages lacking such facilities. The solar light posts only light up the village premises. Hence, there is great demand for electricity so that the domestic requirements can be met. There has been no instance of use of electricity for irrigation and farming.

Drinking water and Sanitation

The base line information of 2015 indicates that 64 villages (94%) have access to safe drinking water from tube wells. By the year 2007 only 54 (79%) villages had access to safe drinking water from tube wells. However, during the dry weather some villages face the problem as the tube wells do not yield pure water adequately. Further, despite the availability of tube wells the villagers depend upon other open sources like open wells and stream water for drinking and other domestic requirements. As a comparison it can be said that there has been adequate development in provisioning of drinking water, although it cannot be said sufficient enough to cater to the emerging requirements at household level. On sanitation matters the villages have not developed much. Despite cement concrete roads running through the villages with adjoining drainage systems, the village premises remain dirty with crop residues and other garbages. The village backyards are very unclean laden with dung and garbage. People suffer from frequent outbreaks of malaria, diarrhea, and skin infection problems, due to unhygienic living conditions in the villages.

Almost all people go for open defecation. In none of the villages community toilets and bathrooms are available. There are two reasons why people go for open defecation, one it is one of their old habits and two, there is no water facility for toilet even if one would change his habit. As a matter of fact, the development trend warrants interventions for provisioning of pipe water supply in villages; both for drinking, domestic, toilet and other purpose.

Miscellaneous facilities

All the Kutia Kondh villages do not have access to provisions under Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS). The survey of 2015 indicates that in 26 (38%) habitations the Anganwadi Centres (AWC) are working. The situation in 2007 was precarious with only in 11 habitations having AWCs. However, the supplementary nutrition provisions in existing Anganwadi Centers are to be made better. For women and child related matters, each village has access to ASHA workers in own village or nearby. The ASHA workers are really a great help to the Kutia Kondh people. However, since the appropriate and referral health care centers are distantly located and the communication facilities from habitations to the mainstream are poor, the ASHAs also face a tough task in handling situations. Most of the villages are out of mobile phone connectivity.

Except the weekly haat the Kutia Kondh has opportunity to interact with the markets in Tumudibandh and Ambadola but their participation is negligible. They are at a very subsistence level of economy and hence it is very unlikely for them to participate in larger markets. Out of 68 villages only in 4 villages there are petty grocery shops which happen to help the Kutia Kondh at times of emergency.

The Public Distribution Services (PDS) is a big relief for the Kutia Kondh for whom the PDS has become sort of life line. However, the PDS shops are not available in every village but are accessible in the locality. Usually the Kutia Kondhs visit the GP headquarters to collect their PDS quota twice every month. There is no government run fair price shop.

The Kutia Kondhs have not gone far about microenterprise promotion although there are 58 SHGs that includes 54 women SHGs and 4 men SHGs formed and functioning. In absence of proper guidance in trade linkage, loan facilities and bank transactions, they have confined themselves to thrift and credit inside the villages only. The thrift and credit transactions mainly happen for medical emergencies. Since the markets are far the SHGs have not been able to link themselves with the market so far. There are community centers in 13 villages. The community centers are important for many community affairs, meetings and also occasionally for storing goods and articles meant for the community.

Sources of Irrigation

The Kutia Kondh study villages are by and large deprived of any irrigation facility except very few patches of lands located by the streams. There are no perennial water bodies, no gravity flow has been tapped, canal irrigation has not been provided, and above all hardly there are adequate field channels to aid irrigation to the agricultural lands. Hence, the agriculture is by and large rain fed and Kharif is the main agriculture season. Efforts are going on through operation of schemes like OTELP to create irrigation facilities by constructing individual farm ponds, agriculture wells, and by tapping the gravity flow, although, however, they would not be sufficient. What is important here is to plan for series of community tanks along the stretch of recharge zone and discharge zones for facilitating percolation to storage. The in-situ water conservation in an attempt to develop the soil moisture profile of the Kutia Kondh villages is very important in this connection. This can be and should be expedited.

Landholding and land types

The Kutia Kondhs own three types of land such as low land, medium land and upland. Besides, some families have been granted titles on forest land under Forest Rights Act. The average landholding per family is only 1.30 Acres and they are mostly medium lands and uplands. The low land is valued higher compared to others because the low lands favour paddy cultivation. From the FGDs it was understood that the families who own low lands have a better food security compared to those having medium lands and up lands. The poorest of poor families usually have up lands. Up lands are valued low because only Kharif cultivation is possible on up lands and usually millets are grown there depending on the mercy of nature.

The landholding does not necessarily reflect the economic well being of the Kutia Kondhs because without irrigation facilities the lands are cultivated only once in Kharif season. By the year 2015, total 1253.70 acres of land have been settled in the project villages under Forest Rights Act (FRA), which are located on slopes. Adequate land development interventions in the lands granted under FRA would help the crop diversification, food security and thus the economy of Kutia Kondhs.

Livelihood Scenario

The landscape of Kutia Kondh study villages is composed of undulating tracts of high ridges and low valleys. In these terrain different types of lands like hill slopes, foothills, high land, up land, medium and lowlands are found within the village boundary and the water of this area is drained by a main drainage line. From the hilly lands soil erosion is very high and land condition is very poor having very low moisture holding capacity. Shifting cultivation continues to be their main source of livelihoods supplemented with wage earning, animal husbandry and collection of NTFPs. On the slope lands mixed cropping system is usually followed. The multiple cropping in a shifting cultivation system is very important in the context of food security, crop harvest security, and above all in a larger context helps preservation of crop germplasm that are specific to the terrain and conditions.

The important crops that are being grown on hill slopes today are mainly millets and oil seeds. The suan (fox millet) is the commonly grown variety which again has two sub varieties called Bado suan (long duration) and Sana suan (short duration). The long duration suan is sown along with ragi. These millets come up well in comparatively least fertile soil, which is even unsuitable for millets. The short duration suan is sown in June and reaped in August. This millet meets the food requirements in the monsoon when there is no reserve of paddy or ragi left at home.

The other important crop grown on slopes is Alsi which is the only oil seed of importance. It is a short duration crop with least water requirement. The crop is grown on uplands which are very prone to soil erosion. Sometimes, Kulthi (horse gram) on the uplands which has a same duration life cycle as Alsi. Amongst the pulses, Arhar and Dongarani or Kating are the two main crops grown on the slopes. The name Dongarani (queen of hillocks) implies to its superiority on uplands. Local varieties of maize are also grown on the uplands and hill slopes.

Over the years some Kutia Kondh youths have migrated out in search of livelihood opportunities in the cities, far and near, in the states of Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Maharashtra.

Development and change

The Kutia Kondhs are in transition between tradition and modern. The socio-economic development activities have brought immense changes in their cultural pattern and lifestyle, yet in many aspects they have retained their traditional processes and practices. The main factors responsible for their economic transformation are programs launched by Government and Non-Government agencies, to bring in significant development intervention to raise the standard of living and quality of life relating to health and sanitation, education, environment, infrastructural development, individual benefit schemes, etc. Introduction of modern agriculture, multiple cropping, use of high yielding variety of seeds, provision of irrigation facilities, input assistance, market assurance, etc have to a larger extent set the trends for visible changes in future.

Now-a-days young men and women work in road construction as daily labourers and as wage earners under contractors. Some of them have adopted small business. A few Kutia Kondhs are also using motor bikes. The development organizations and welfare institutions like public health center, police check post, office of the agriculture extension officers, veterinary hospital, post office, weekly market, big shops, establishment of banks, LAMPS and several other public institutions have contributed to the changing life of the Kutia Kondh.

Conclusion

Analyzing from various parameters the Kutia Kondh villages are not much above their disadvantageous situation from point of view of reach and access to miscellaneous facilities, infrastructure and provisions. Compared to the development at the mainstream, at least at the level of nearby sub-urban areas the Kutia Kondh habitations are about decades backward. Hence, there is an urgency to seriously look at the minimum standards of infrastructure and facilities in Kutia Kondh villages so as to improve the Human Development Indicators (HDI). The critical areas of concern are infrastructure, connectivity, housing, drinking water, electricity, education, health and nutrition, livelihoods improvement and income generation, irrigation, social security and above all capacity building and skill development. Along with development interventions for their socio-economic development and consequent improvement in raising the HDI, efforts and programs also need to be designed and implemented for conservation of their unique culture and traditions.

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DHOKRA CRAFT: A CASE STUDY OF JHIGIDI VILLAGE IN RAYAGADA DISTRICT, ODISHA

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Abstract

The paper covers the historical perspectives, manufacturing, technique and marketing of 'Dhokra Craft' and identifies the scenario of 'Dhokra' craft of Odisha in general and of Rayagada in particular. The craft has historically been associated with the tribal culture of India. Dhokra is the art of metal crafts amongst some aboriginal nomadic tribes and castes of eastern and central India. Tribal art and crafts have been empirically studied by ethnographers, anthropologist from the colonial period. The paper highlights the inter-relationship between the Ghasi craftsman who makes the craft and Dongaria Kandha who uses the product for religious and cultural purposes. The antique Dhokra are of great demand in domestic and foreign market because of its simplicity, folk and ethnic tradition. The craft has remained as a means of livelihood for generations for the Ghasi community and at the same time has contributed to maintenance of the religious traditions of the Dongaria Kandha tribe. The study also focus on problems faced by the craftsmen of the study area i.e., Jhigdi village of Rayagada district.

Keywords: Dhokra, Craft, Livelihood, Ancient, Ethnic, Colonial, Empirical.

Introduction:

There is something magic lying in the handicraft of Indian sub-continent. Unique, intricate, eye catching and expressive, each item has a story behind it (Dua, 2013). Handicraft of India broadly categorised as – ceramics, Phulkari, Indian painting styles, carpet weaving, handloom and textile weaving, tie and die, papier mache and ornaments. The art and crafts of a nation reveal its culture and heritage and India is one such nation which is quite affluent in awe inspiring works of crafts. Almost all the Indian states have their own ethnic craft traditions and most of them have passed from in generation to generation as legacies (ibid).

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Art or craft in India is comprehended by the term 'silpa' which means 'variegated artistic work' involving art, skill, craft, labour, and ritual form and creation. Crafts are practiced as hereditary occupation; the succession is by apprenticeship and adaptation. Indian handicrafts have been popular throughout the world. India has achieved International reputation for its traditional culture. Every region of India is identified by its ethnic handicrafts, fairs, folk dances, music and language of the local people. In India most of the regions has its specific crafts where the skills and innovativeness of craftsmen provide a shape and colour to handicraft. Craft is a special art work involving artistic skills and creative designing. Crafts are the creation of original objects through an artist's disciplined manipulation of material. Craft is related to its past heritage and culture. The craft tradition in India has centred on religious beliefs and local needs of the commoners. The history of crafts has a long tradition traced back to almost five thousand years.

Odisha is one of the states in which the culture is preserved through its art and crafts. The crafts are the reflection of the culture. Community life is associated with the crafts both in socio-cultural and economic domains. There are 62 Scheduled Tribes and 93 Scheduled Castes living in the State of Odisha and hence the State is culturally diverse. There are many communities; both tribal and non-tribal who are known for typical crafts they make. In the State every craft has a kind of geographical indication and particular communities are engaged in that both for aesthetics and livelihoods through the ages. Among the tribal groups certain Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) like Dongaria Kandha, Juang, Lodha, Mankirdia, Bonda, and Soura have exhibited their uniqueness in typical culture specific indigenous art and crafts. Raw materials used in the handicrafts made by them are basically based on local resources or natural surroundings. The craftsmen use simple technology and exhibit their artistic sense and skills in the marvellous crafts.

The richness of the State in handicraft sector is reflected through the most popular handicrafts like the brass and metal work, appliqué, stone carving, stoneware, wood carving, shell core, horn work, pattachitra, cane and bamboo work, palm leaf inscriptions, mat making, terracotta, jewellery, Dhokra casting etc., that have gained international reputation.

The name 'Dhokra' or 'Dokra' was formerly used to indicate a group of nomadic craftsmen scattered over Andhra Pradesh, Odisha, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal in India. The wax technique of metal casting as in Dhokra is a primitive technique which can be traced back to the Indus valley civilization almost 5000 years ago. The bronze cast dancing girl model from the ruins of Mohenjodaro still evokes wonder for the aesthetic appeal and advanced technical knowledge as well.

Dhokra artisans who were considered to be groups of wanderers are still practicing the art of metal craft using their traditional technology. These nomadic groups, in course of time, settled in the different tribal regions of India, especially in States like Andhra Pradesh, Odisha, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal. In Odisha the groups are found in the tribal and non-tribal regions of Rayagada, Kandhamal, Nayagada, Cuttack, Dhenkanal and Mayurbhanj.

The brass smith people are variously known as 'Dhokra Kamar', 'Dheppo' or 'Malar' or 'Sekra' or 'Rana' in the district of Burdwan, Bankura, Birbhum, Purulia and West Midnapore in West Bengal; they are known by the names 'Malar' or the 'Ghungur Gara' in Jharkhand and Bihar. They are known by various names like 'Ghantara' / 'Ghantargada' 'Sitra', 'Jhora', 'Rana', 'Ghasia', 'Khorura',

etc., in the state of Odisha. In Andhra Pradesh they are known as 'Biswakarma'; in Madhya Pradesh they are known as 'Gharua' and in Chhattisgarh they are known as 'Ghasia'. Generation after generation the art and technology has been transmitted through imitation and practice.

Archaeological and historical evidences of wax metal casting tradition in India:

From Archaeological and secondary sources it is known that the metal craft is made in a three stage process; i.e. solid casting; hollow casting and hammering technique. The casting process called 'cireperdue' (cire: wax, perdue: lost) is a French term. In Sanskrit it is known as 'Madhuchchista Vidhanam' and in English it is known as 'lost wax'. The name lost wax is justified as the wax is lost and replaced by the molten metal. Archaeological evidences of the metal casting in India was a small bronze statuette of a dancing girl found from the ruins of Mohenjo-Daro in Sind which is sort of clay moulded casting (roughly 5000 years old). 'The bronze and copper pins discovered at the site of Chanhudaro, Mahenjodaro and Harappa of 2500-1500 B.C were probably produced by the lost wax solid casting process'(Jana, 2013:13). From the ruins of Sirkap (Takshshila, Pakistan) a number of gold and copper ornaments were found and as back as 327-325 B.C. Bronze images of 2nd century A.D. were discovered from Kolhapur in Maharashtra. The small bronze bell found from Sahribahol (Gandhara) in Pakistan dates back to the 3rd-4th century A.D. The 67.5" high copper image of Buddha dated as 400 A.D excavated in 1862 exhibits a cireperdue hollow casting process which resembles metal casting by Indian artisans. In Palava dynasty (300 A.D to 900 A.D.), the Chola dynasty (900 A.D to 1300 AD), the Pandyan dynasty (1200 A.D to 1500) A.D and the Nayaka Dynasty (1600 A.D to 1700 A.D) various metal images stand testimony to lost wax casting process (Jana, 2013).

Profile of Study Area:

Rayagada district came into existence on 02.10.1992 being carved out from erstwhile Koraput district in southern Odisha. It consists of two Sub-Divisions and eleven Blocks including 171 Gram Panchayats. As per the 2011 census, out of its total population about 55.8% belongs to tribal communities. The study village, Jhigidi is located in Jhigidi Panchayat under Bissamkatak block. Ethnic composition of this village consists of Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Castes having a total population of 939 distributed in 204 households. Out of these, forty five households belong to Ghasi community figuring out 130 in population. The selection of the village for the study was made on the basis of availability and fame of the artisans for their age old metal casting. The primary occupation of Ghasi community is Dhokra craft and secondary occupations are wage earning and share cropping. The major community festivals are Nuakhai, Pus parab, Chait parab and Dussera.

Materials & Methods:

The data presented in the paper has been gathered through primary observations on the artisans compared with available literatures. However, by and large, this paper is based on an empirical study on the Dhokra artisans in the study villages. The techniques used in primary data collection include Observation method, Interview and Focused Group Discussions. Secondary information has been collected from various documents such as books, magazines, journals and research papers as well as from internet sources.

Results & Discussion:

Raw materials for the crafts

For making Dhokra crafts the essential raw materials are brass, wax, bitumen, sal resin, clay, paddy husk, sand and wood. Brass which is an alloy of copper and zinc is the main ingredient of Dhokra craft. Wax is the other important raw material required. Brass, wax, resin of Sal (*Shorea robusta*) and coal tar are bought from the market while paddy husk, clay (termite soil), sand and wood are collected from local sources. The market price of the raw materials at existing rate is Rs. 300/- per kg for brass and wax while that of sal resin is about Rs. 250/- per kg. Bitumen is purchased at the rate of Rs. 50/- per kg. The local price for other materials like husk, charcoal and wood, etc ranges between Rs. 20/- to Rs. 50/- per unit.

Processing technology:

Wax, resin and bitumen are taken proportionately (1Kg : 250 gm : 10g) in a container. Required quantity of water is added to it and heated to make a semi solid paste. The paste is poured on a porous cotton gauge to remove the impurities as residual matter. Some wax materials that did not melt properly remain as residue which is then further smashed or kneaded and mixed with the filtered material. The proportion of wax and brass in an artefact is 1:10.

Tools :

Certain tools and implements are used in making the craft. Hand knife (Katri) is used for cutting the wax (maon), a wooden implement called Tesa aided with a sieved metal plate called Chaki are used for making wax threads. Different sieves are used for making threads of various diameters as required to put designs on the craft. The wax threads are kept on a wood board (kathapatta). The mould is given a shape using a typical stick (kathi). Tongs (chimuta) are used for putting the moulded craft in the furnace and remove it from the furnace. Hammer (hatudi) is used for shaping the wax and breaking the mould after baking in furnace.

Making Process of Dhokra:

Several steps and processes are followed to make the craft. At first, the artisan out his imagination creates a shape with kneaded clay. The final shape is developed after series of steps. For example, if the artisan wanted to make an elephant, he, first shapes up its body with clay and leave it to dry under sun. The dried up part is polished with use of leaves of carpet legume (Jhata patra). Then the artisan joins the trunk part with main body, allows it to sundry which is then polished. In a sequenced manner the artisan gives the clay model a complete shape with all the body parts. Once the complete shape is ready, a coat of red earth is given on the clay craft and it is left to dry. This is followed by winding of the wax threads around the body parts of the object as per the determined design. It is instantly followed by second coat of red soil mixed with paddy husk and again left to dry. While giving the second coat the artisan leaves a pore or void on top portion of the object through which molten brass is poured in. The object is then put on fire in furnace. The hot object is removed from fire using tongs. In a simultaneous process the brass is melted. When the object becomes cool the hot molten brass is poured into the second coat through the void. While pouring the molten brass the artisan carefully examines if any vacuum remained inside and accordingly may use mechanical objects to push through the molten brass. In order to allow no vacuum, sometimes, little extra molten brass is poured. The heat causes the melting of wax to be absorbed inside.

When the object becomes cool the clay part is broken into smaller pieces by delicate hammering. The brass craft is washed with a paste of turmeric leaves and lemon leaves for shine.

Product range:

The Dhokra Craftsmen make a range of decorative crafts and utility items of various designs and requirements. These include elephant, horse, tortoise, crocodile, cow, buffalo, frog, deer, fish, peacock measuring bowl and ornaments like earrings, necklace, hair pins etc., on the basis of demand of the local people. But now to meet the demand of the consumers in wider market, the artisans make a number of decorative artefacts of religious, cultural and household requirements. The decorative items include wall hangers, bells, lamps, funnel for serving bear or water, miniature statues of Dongaria men and women, idols of Ganesh, Krishna, Radha, Shiva, Laxmi, Saraswati, Durga etc. Daily utility items like door handle, hanger, key hanger, pen stand, vase, lamp, measuring bowl, utility box, money bank, pant/ shirt button etc are also made by them. Personal adornments like Sipina (hairpin), Kilamani (Hairpin), Kagudi (Necklace), Alera (Necklace), Tadwa (Armllet), Kikamurma (Ear pin), Siringi Sapa (Finger ring), Kendukali (Finger ring), Anta suta (Waist Chain/Band), Khagala (Neck Band), Paza (Decorative Bracelet), Andu (Anklet) etc., made by the craftsmen have an all time demand in local market.

Dhokra: a means of livelihood:

The Dhokra products of Rayagada District recite the rich glory of the craft in Odisha. The artisans of Jhigidi village have been pursuing this trade for generations inheriting their traditional skills from their predecessors. Apart from the economic aspects of the craft, the social aspect of the craft is more important. The craft has its existence because of the social and cultural exchange between the Ghasi and the Dongaria Kandha. The Dongria Kandhas provide the primary market for the craft which is very assured and largely contributes to the livelihoods of the artisan community. However, the craft has also become popular in the mainstream market and it is expected that the artisans can eke out a better livelihood from sale of the crafts in the larger market. While on one hand the Dhokra crafts are conserving the local tribal culture, on the other hand it is also showcasing the delicate skills of the artisans in the world market. Hence the craft is important from both economic and cultural point of view. Most of the Dhokra artisans have no agricultural land for which they are engaging themselves in share cropping and as agriculture labourers to supplement their livelihoods. Despite that they have been maintaining their identity as Dhokra artisans.

Division of Labour:

Family acts as a production unit in Dhokra casting trade. There is clear division of labour between both the sexes at family level in relation to the crafts making. Elder members take the responsibility of protecting the mould from stray animals while baking in the sunlight. Women are generally involved in fetching required soil, preparing wax and mould and safe keeping of artifact. The men are involved in the delicate and back breaking job of making the crafts. However, women always assist the men in many other petty affairs. In a family both husband and wife involves themselves in selling their product in Chatikana and Dukumu weekly markets. Sometimes they also carry the crafts for sale in markets around Kalyansinghpur, especially in areas where Dongaria Kandhas live. Sons and daughters assist their parents in craft making. That is how the children learn from their elders the knowledge, skill and technology and transmit the culture to next generation.

Relationship between craftsman and Dongria Kandha:

In Dongria Kandha villages Ghasi people are always welcome. Ghasi people used to go to the Dongria village for two main reasons; for collecting the disposed of used brass artefacts in the cremation ground which the Dongria throws away during cremation of the dead; and for selling their Dhokra products like ornaments, religious artifacts and domestic utilities. In olden days the Ghasi people used to wander around Dongria settlements for selling their products. Sometimes the items are traded in cash or exchanged in kind like ragi, jaw, maize, turmeric, gram, vegetables etc. Dongria allow them to stay within their village and provide them rice, vegetables to cook their food. The Ghasi reach out to the dead person's village to collect the brass utensils and artifacts.

The Dongria men and women are fond of jewellery and most of these are Dhokra items made by Ghasi artisans.. The religious instruments for their Meriah festival i.e. knife, chain, sataramari, etc. are made by Ghasi craftsmen. The Dongria women fix in hair a knife (Katri) whose handle is made of brass made by Ghasi. Since ages these craftsmen are connected with Dongria Kandha emotionally. They have developed a buyer -seller relationship as well as patron-client relationship.

Marketing of Dhokra craft:

The cost of the Dhokra products depends on various factors such as the cost of raw material, labour cost and demand of the product. The artisans and the traders have developed an understanding among themselves. Dhokra craftsmen themselves are being exposed to the various marketing platforms so that they can directly interact with customers in the local weekly markets (Chatikana, Dokumu) and festivals of different regions of India. The artisans of Jhigidi village participated in many exhibitions in New Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai, Kolkata, Bangalore, Jabalpur, Ahmedabad, Goa, Banaras, Bihar, Gujarat and Toshali Exhibition, Sisir Saras Mela, Adivasi Mela, Tribal Craft Mela in Odisha. Two NGOs Anwasha and Maha Shakti Foundation directly purchase Dhokra items from the artisans of Jhigidi village in Rayagada district.

Plan, Program & Agency for Handicraft Artisans:

The Development Commissioner (Handicrafts) under the Ministry of Textiles, Government of India implements schemes for the development of the handicrafts sector and the welfare of the artisans and craftsmen engaged in the sector. The Dhokra handicrafts are gaining popular demand from consumers and public at large both in domestic and international markets.

District Industries Centre (DIC):

The Rayagada District Industries Centre (DIC) is acting as the only Agency to deal with all services and support required for promotion, establishment and follow up action in respect of small and village industries. The DIC by linkage with the District/ State level organizations/ DRDA/ ITDA/ TDCC/ SIDAC/ TRIFED/ OSFDC/ OSFC/ IDCOL, etc. helps small Industries, Rural Artisans and inform them about different Govt. programs/ schemes from time to time. Under Rayagada DIC there are 5 handicraft cooperative societies out of which the 'Maa Alapati Handicraft Cooperative Society', located in Jhigidi is dealing with Dhokra crafts.

Several government schemes and programs have been launched to help the cause of artisans. Babasaheb Ambedkar Hasta Silpa Vikash Yojana (AHVY) under Ministry of Textile, Govt. of India is in operation since 2001 for promotion and empowerment of Artisan clusters/ SHGs/ Cooperative

Societies at community level. Under Janashree Bima Yojana for Handicraft Artisans (JBYHA), insurance coverage is provided to the handicrafts artisans, whether male or female, in the age group of 18-60 years. Rajiv Gandhi Shilpi Swasthya Bima Yojana (RGSSBY) aims at financially enabling the artisans and their family members (spouse and two children) to access the best of health care facilities in the country. All craft persons whether male or female, in the age group 0 to 80 years are eligible to be covered under the RGSSBY.

Non Government Organizations have been playing a significant role in popularizing the Dhokra craft. Anwasha Tribal Art and Crafts, located at Bhubaneswar facilitates market access of tribal handicrafts of tribal sub-plan areas and KBK districts. Mahashakti Foundation is another organization working on promotion of the craft through capacity building measures and also working on the livelihoods of Dhokra artisans of Jhigidi and Gatiguda village of Rayagada district.

Problem faced by the craftsmen:

The craftsmen have been facing many problems and challenges. The inflation in local price index has resulted in rise of cost for brass, wax, bitumen and other things that are required for making the crafts. In absence of any government run fair price shop or a competitive market they are compelled to buy the materials from the local vendors and businessmen in and around Bissamkatak. The cost of the production has increased but the cost of craft has not increased in same pace.

The making of a craft is no easy task. The various processes involved in making the crafts makes them to sit for long hours in odd posture for which back pain, joint pain and lungs problem have arisen as occupational health hazards.

The Dhokra craft industry consumes lot of wood for melting wax and brass particularly. Restrictions on cutting wood from forest and the high price of fuel wood in local market pose challenges for the craftsmen to sustain their craft making traditions.

Conclusion:

Handicraft business paves the way to rural entrepreneurship, sustainable development and empowerment of artisan community. The Dhokra crafts imitate the primitive technology of Indic people. Lost wax is one of the most ancient methods of metal casting. The art of foundry is ancient and extends to prehistoric times. Still in the era of technology and machines, the Dhokra artisans apply simple technology and hands for manufacturing of products as it was 5000 years ago. There is apparently no change in the raw materials, tools and technology. The product has a high potential in crafts market because of its increasing demand in domestic as well as in international markets. Traditionally the preference for Dhokra craft was limited to the tribals but through the years it has gained popularity among non-tribals. Looking at the current scenario of the status of the crafts sector and the need for conserving the tradition, it is essential that government extends them due support and foster revenue generation models for them that are remunerative and encouraging.

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ART AND CRAFTS BY KONDH WOMEN IN CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT

The tribal art and crafts of Odisha have always attracted the ethnographers, anthropologists and museum lovers leaving apart thousands of people interested in art and crafts for various other reasons. Tribal crafts are conditioned to the material base and utilizing the available resources around them the tribal artisans showcase their artistic talents. Their art represents the pristine visual work that uncovers the reality of grassroots. Their talents manifested through art and crafts are concrete, natural and witness the diversities of material culture of the natives.

The Kondh community has a rich tradition of art and crafts. The Kondh community in Odisha is sort of the most extensively studied community from ethnographic and culture point of view. However, it impress upon the fact that the art and crafts of the Kondhs form significant part of their culture. As a community, the Kondhs have dragged the attention of scholars and administrators since the late 1850s. In Odisha, probably, Kondh is the only community that has been studied from cultural perspectives from such a long past.

The paper has made an effort to present a comprehensive account of the art and crafts by Kondh women, emphasizing upon the tattooing traditions of the Desia Kondh and Penga Kondh in the Kandhamal and Rayagada districts of the State. The tattooing by the Kondh women, which was a rich tradition, once upon a time has been fading away with the onslaught of modernization. Hence, there is relevance to study the tradition of tattooing by the Kondh women. The women in Dongaria Kondh, a PVTG section of Kondh community, have a rich tradition of wall painting and textile craft especially the much popular Dongaria shawl. It has been attempted to present the salient features of such artistic traditions in the community.

The traditional art and crafts of Kondhs reflects artistic view of their life. Their tattooing, cloth embroidery and needle work are not only strengthening their cultural life but also these are improving their economic life. Now the wall paintings and art of Kondhs clearly exhibit the influence of modern art because change in their lifestyle show change in their attitude towards new materials

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and art forms. With the fading away of Kondh art and crafts traditions poses to be a great loss to traditional tribal folklore and history of the community.

Introduction

Odisha occupies a unique position in the tribal map of India with 62 Scheduled Tribal communities. Out of them 13 tribal communities have been identified as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) that have been recently re-designated as "Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups" (PVTGs) since the year 2009. As per the 2011 census, Odisha occupies the third position in India in terms of Scheduled Tribes population. In the State, the Scheduled Tribe population makes about 28.85% of the total population of the State. These diverse ethno-cultural groups have typical traditions of socio-cultural life in which art and crafts have occupied a significant and meaningful position. Traditional art and craft have been deeply associated in many aspects of their cultural and religious life leaving apart the aesthetic feelings and imaginations.

In the rich cultural tradition of folk art in Odisha, folklore arts, beliefs, rites and ritual, myths, and rural handicrafts are factors that enrich our folk tradition; paintings are an integral part of folk and tribal tradition of the state and often mirror their lifestyle. Rural folk paintings are abounding with colourful design which sources their themes from mystic beliefs depicting god and goddesses, nature, festivals and human and human nature. They portray the traditional sensibility of the Odisha village life and always been renowned for imagination, inventiveness and creativity representing an artistic relationship with life like religion rituals, livelihood, family, relationship and genius.

The State possesses a rich artistic tradition which enjoyed liberal patronage from the temples as well as the nobility, apart from the typical tribal art and crafts. With diverse tribal communities autochthonous to parts of the state, the tribal art and craft occupies a significant position in the art and craft scenario of the nation. The tribal art and crafts of Odisha have always attracted the ethnographers, anthropologists and museum lovers leaving apart thousands of people interested in art and crafts for various other reasons. Tribal crafts are conditioned to the material base and utilizing the available resources around them the tribal artisans showcase their artistic talents. Their art represents the pristine visual work that uncovers the reality of grassroots. Their talents manifested through art and crafts are concrete, natural and witness the diversities of material culture of the natives.

The 62 communities enlisted as Scheduled Tribes in Odisha have also many sub-groups within. While some sub-groups have been recognised well with specific recorded names, many sub-groups have remained as part of the main community. In a general view point, there are also certain sub-groups who are considered as important occupational groups covered under the main group. For example, the Kondh community in Odisha is numerically predominant tribal community. The total population of Kondh, as per census 2011, is 16, 27,486 that figures out to be 16.97% of the total tribal communities in Odisha. Numerically, the Kondh is followed by Santhal and Gond communities as enumerated by census 2011. Scholarly works, over the years, have identified many sub-groups within the main group of Kondh. While, the Kutia Kondh and Dongaria Kondh section

of the Kondh community have been designated as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTG), many others have not got prominence, although, however, within the Kondh community they are distinct sub-groups.

Distribution of Kondhs and their social life

The highest concentration is found in the districts of Kandhamal, Boudh, Rayagada, Koraput, Kalahandi, Sambalpur and Angul. They are also found in Andhra Pradesh, Chhatisgarh, and due to migration, in Assam and West Bengal. They are sub-divided by groups known as Desia, Kutia, Penga, Dongaria, etc. The Kondhs belong to the Proto-Australoid ethnic group. Their native language is Kui, a Dravidian language written with the Odia script. The Kondh dwellings exhibit greater adaptability to the forest environment. In the past they came in contact with the Aryans for a long time for which their way of life has been influenced by their religious thoughts and inclination towards art is to some extent distinct from the other tribals.

The Kondhs are generally divided in three groups are

- The Kutia Kondh- This is the weakest section leading an isolated life of poverty and indigence.
- The Dongria Kondh- This section is comparatively less primitive and is skilled in horticulture.
- The Desia Kondh- the Kondh of this section have left their hill fastnesses and settled down in the plains to pursue cultivation.

The houses of Kondhs face each other in rows and on both the sides of the road in village. In each village there are specially built Dhangdaghar dormitory for the unmarried young men and Dhangdighar for the young unmarried girls.

Kondh artistic way of life

Kondh way of life is guided and regulated by their folk beliefs. The traditional ritual art and crafts of the community is well exhibited in their religious-material traditions. They perform certain rites and rituals to appease the supernatural forces in order to achieve peace and progress for the individual as well as for the entire community. Among their divinities Dharanipenu, Sarupenu and Tarupenu are the famous but the Dharanipenu is the main deity among all.

The artistic presentation of the community in daily activities is a part of their life. The cloths which the Kondh wear used to be woven by them to be used later. A man wears a cloth called Kodi. A woman uses two pieces of cloth (Kapda-Ganda). As per their choice they make designs on the clothes in different coloured threads. They also wrap a hand-woven well designed cloth round their body. This is their traditional dress.

They polish and comb their hair well after anointing in oil and fix a comb in it. They tie their hair knots a wooden comb (kokuya), fixed at the hair knot irrespective of sex which adorns the hair lock and keeps the hair tight. As the belles arrange their hair nicely and affix flower bunches and combs so also the young man makes their hairdo. This is an everyday affair with them. Long hair is very much liked by women and men in Desia Kondh society. Hair colour, texture and cleanliness

are maintained with variety of herbal application and red soil. Girls make a big knot, more like a French roll, adorned with numerous clips. The hair knot hangs towards left like a hanging ball. 'U' shaped clips are so arranged that the bent portion is shown to outside with the long stem hidden inside hair.

The Kondh, both males and females including children, are very much fond of ornaments with which they adorn themselves ordinarily and look attractive. Ladies put on brass-wrist-lets (khadu or paja) and silver anklets (pahari-andu) those who can afford. Elderly or married ladies prefer to put on more ear and nose rings and such ornaments which have more functional value. They use Balanga (bangles) for their hand, khagala (chain) for their neck, Gonara for their head, Muharang or ear-rings in the ear.

The love for the art of Kondhs includes dance and music which form a part of their jovial social life. They combine music and dance together to make their life merry. On the eve of the dance attention is paid to utilize creative objects and personal artistic skill and knowledge to express through the medium of daily articles in decorating the body.

Their household articles, ornaments, bow and arrow, weapons, musical instruments, even the hair doing comb and in the pot and pan, in all the articles there is the streak of art markedly visible.

Earlier studies on Kondh Art and Craft

The Kondh community has a rich tradition of art and crafts. The Kondh community in Odisha is sort of the most extensively studied community from ethnographic and culture point of view. Macpherson's reports that appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIII, Part II provides to understand their typical engravings on the craft of Meria Post that is used for sacrificing the meria in which the neck of the victim is pressed inside the rift of branch of a tree from one side and cords are then twisted round the open extremity.

The community had drawn the attention of ethnographers and culture anthropologists because of their act of Meria sacrifice. However, the Kondh art and craft although had not been important objective of such ethnographic studies, yet had been featured sporadically in many scholarly works. Dash & Pradhan (2006) have provided a detailed bibliographic literature on the art and crafts of Kondhs tracing them from various academic works done so far on Kondhs. The authors have quoted Moodalier (1882) who in his 'legendary account of the origin of the Kondhs' emphasized that the religion and tradition has incorporated the artefacts which are product of the craft. The authors have mentioned the works of V. Ball who elaborately dealt about Kondh crafts in his book 'Jungle life in India' (1880); Frazer's Golden Bough (1890) that mentioned about Kondh art and craft in magic and religion; E.B. Havell's (1892) 'the art industries of Madras Presidency' in the Journal of Indian Art, vol – IV mentioning the brass crafts of the Kondhs; Edgar Thurston (1892) in his ethnographic notes on 'Brass manufacture in the Madras Presidency', vividly mentioned the metal crafts and art of Kondhs and also the art of tattooing by Kondh women. The journal 'Madras Mail' of 1894 provided elaborate description on the Kondhs' hair style, dresses, weapons, house building, etc. The Madras Mail of 1896 elaborated the hairdo of the Kuttia Kondh women in an elaborate manner. The occasional papers of S.P. Rice, as mentioned by Dash and Pradhan (2006) described the art and artistic patterns in Kondh dress and attires. In 1916, 'The Tribes and Castes of the

Central Provinces of India' by R.V. Russel and R.B. Hiralal was published that described the art, artefacts and weapons of Kondhs and the tattooing of various designs by Kondh women.

However, the most elaborate work on Kondh art and craft finds mention in Verier Elwin's famous book 'Tribal art of middle India' (1951). Elwin has noted that raw materials, colour and the art of preparation of the objects along with a discussion on their specific use in religions, witchcrafts and other areas of social interactions. In 1981, a book by M. Mallik on 'Kondh and Kondhmal' described the Kondh traditions of art and craft as have found expression in tattooing and various weapons. In the context of tattooing Mallik mentioned that the most complex type of tattoo is from the forehead to the chin on both the sides of face. Some lines of tattooing is made on both sides of the cheek, which starts and ends in rose designs. The tattoo marks on legs are small roses or circles made with a number of dots confined to the region between the knee and the ankles. The author has described the weapons and crafts used for hunting jungle denizens, birds, snakes, fish, etc.

Barbora M. Boal (1982) elaborated the Kondh bronze crafts mentioning about the process of making and the significance of the crafts. She divided the bronzes used by Kondhs in four categories such as those used in human sacrifices, as dowry objects, artefacts for various purposes, and valuables. In 'The Kondhs of Orissa', by N. Patnaik and P.S. Das Patnaik (1982) a vivid mention on the Kondh art and craft objects have found place. The authors made a close survey of the Kondhs' material and religious culture and described number of items that are significant from art and crafts point of view.

The Art & Crafts of Kondhs, a compilation edited by R.N. Dash and M. K. Pradhan published by CPSW in 2006 provides more detailed account of the art and craft objects of different sub-groups of Kondh community. The compilation covers articles on art and craft of Kondh, Desia Kondh, Dongaria Kondh, Penga Kondh, Kuttia Kondh covering their material culture, religious culture, aesthetic life along with the visual perspective of Kondh art and its fading horizons. The compilation is rich with primary information, although has not been able to present the Kondh art and craft objectives as a collective tracing from the past to present.

It may be mentioned that the Kondh art and craft objects have attracted many scholars, although they have not been dealt with exclusively in any report. However, it impress upon the fact that the art and crafts of the Kondhs form significant part of their culture. As a community, the Kondhs have dragged the attention of scholars and administrators since the late 1850s. In Odisha, probably, Kondh is the only community that has been studied from cultural perspectives from such a long past.

Kondh women and their typical art

The Kondh have typical tradition of art and crafts and since the community has many sub groups under the main community, it is apparent that their tradition and culture of art, artefacts and crafts are very elaborate. In this context the paper has attempted to discuss the artistic traditions of Kondh women. The paper presents the findings from a field study in Kondh villages in parts of Kondhmal and Rayagada district.

Tattoo of Desia Kondh women:

The Desia Kondh women call it tinka. It means smaller dots, geometric designs, and designs of leaves – flowers – buds, etc. Tinka is made in between the forehead area, in between eye brows, chin, cheek, palm, arms (above and below the elbow), legs and ankles. It is widely seen that tinka is drawn on forehead and chin. Amongst elderly women tinka is also seen having been drawn on the thighs, breasts and back of body. However, since about last three decades the women are not taking interest in tattooing body parts of their girl children, especially on the thighs and breasts because of the pain and irritations that are caused by tattooing. According to the Desia women, after tattooing the tattooed area must remain exposed to air so as to prevent swellings and wounding. The young girls were feeling uneasy and also feeling abashed to keep the body parts uncovered. Hence, the young girls gradually lost interest in tattooing. With the pace of acculturation and mainstreaming the girls are also finding it shameful to get their face and other body parts tattooed which makes them easily discriminated.

The Loharani (women from Kondh Lohar sub-group) are traditional tattoo makers. They are adept to making tattoo on the skins of girls. About four decades ago they were charging a professional fee to the tune of 25 paisa only for making one tinka of small size. For a little bigger tinka or a picture of flower or leaf, etc they used to charge up to 1 rupee. Apart from the agreed professional fee, the Loharani are sometimes paid more in kind by the women who felt satisfied with the tattooing. The Loharani are still considered as occupational tattoo makers although choice for tattooing has reduced manifold. Loharani usually visit the Kondh villages in winter season especially on weekly market days. The Kartika and Margasira months are considered best time for tattooing.

Some belief systems are connected with tattooing. Loharanis talk of redressing the torture of Yama's court and the fulfillment of their desire in the after-life and such other consoling dialogues to influence the girls and women to be tattooed. They also influence telling that the month of Margasira is the month of goddess of wealth or goddess Laxmi and hence by making a tattoo on the body a girl or women would be able to appease the goddess. The other reason being that during the dry winter season the tattoo wounds heal sooner and hardly any complicity arises.

The tattoos that the Loharani makes have also names. The names indicate the typical designs. Some of the names are Yamadanda tinka, Parajanama, Papanasana, Lakshmi, Sohagini, etc. from a close analysis of the tattoos by these names one would find that all the tattoos are of the same type with very little differences which is again not fixed. While making the tattoo the maker, by her imagination, arrange objects in the picture and give an overall shape to the tattoo. However, by taking different names the Loharani try to justify that they have a range of designs for those who are interested for tattooing. Some women only take interest to tattoo their names only on arms. The Desia Kondh women in Muniguda and Bissamcuttack Tahsils of Rayagada district have more complicated tattoos with more of geometrical and floral designs per unit area.

Folklores have been associated with tattooing. With reference to the folklore, the Yamadanda tattoo is especially important to be identified properly by the Yama (demon god) in the other world. That, after death of a woman her soul is presents herself in the court of Yama. There the judgement on her sin and merit in the living world is proclaimed. The Yama's court is full of darkness. After reaching there soul of the woman offers salute to the god in folded hands. At that time the tattoo illuminates (Muniguda side tale) and become needle like (Bissamcuttack area tale).

The illumination that emanates from the tattoo makes the god understand that the woman had wished to get rid of Yama's typical punishment from the very beginning and as such she is meritorious and her sins are atoned. Otherwise, without the tattoo on hand, the Yama is not able to know in dark room about the presence of some one that rubs the hands in salutation. So the Yamadanda tattoo was most popular in the earlier days.

Certain taboos and restrictions are also adhered to in the tattooing traditions. That, the married women are forbidden to tattoo themselves. As per Desia Kondh belief, a married woman should not bleed in her hand and get any swelling which is considered a violation of the gods and goddesses as well as a disturbance to ancestral spirits. If however, a married woman wish to do tattooing then, subsequent to tattooing, she will have to rear cows or donate an oxen to somebody for its upkeep. Of the present generation very few have been abiding by the belief strictly and many are not paying any attention to it.

In the present scenario, the present generation Desia girls have started to follow the alien culture along with education. Hence they are not willing to disfigure their body by tattooing. On the otherside the tattoo makers have also been trying to fascinate the Desia girls by trying to allure them with newer and contemporary designs. In the process the tattoo makers also convince some girls to have their hands or legs tattooed. On the other hand due to decreasing interest of girls and women to tattoo their body parts the present generation in the traditional tatoo maker community are no more inspired to be tatoo artists. Hence the tattooing culture is fading away.

Tattooing by Penga Kondh women:

Penga Kondh or Panga Kondh are seen in large numbers in Baliguda sub-division of Kandhamal district. The Penga Kondh women can be easily recognized from the elaborate tattooing on their faces. At the middle of their forehead in between the eye brows they draw a 'U' shaped tattoo which they call 'bihanga' meaning fly. Just above the two ends of the brows two big dots are tattooed that are called 'kanka or kadka' meaning eyes. At the center of Kanka is a dot called lenju (moon). On the cheeks long lines are drawn from one end to the other. On the chin are tattooed many dots which are called 'patakaja' or the bird's claw marks. However, these patakaja design is not confined to the chin area alone, it may also be tattooed near bihanga or kanka. If the moon is tattooed little above the eye, leaving some space between the eye brow and the moon, then towards the corner of the eyesone, two or three lines are seen tattooed which are called 'kanugohanga' (eye line) or 'kanugadinga'.

This elaborate tattoo on face is called 'gullet godinga' and the dots in this design are called 'gullet bihanga'. Gullet bihanga is very well marked on fair skin and hence girls with fair skin used to prefer that most. On the darker skin such dots are avoided as they make the face look darker and uglier with dots looking like pimple marks. On the nose of some women line tattooing is seen which is called 'mungeli gadinga' or 'mungeli gohanga'. On both sides of the chin three lines are tattooed slantingly which are called 'sirkadinga'. On either corner of the chin sets of three lines are tattooed slantingly which is called 'gohanga'. This is the most widely preferred tattoo design of the Penga Kondh women.

In the making of tattoo certain local materials are used. They include sringa (black), kabanedu (castor oil), turmeric, needle or any sharp and strong pin or thorn of Bael tree. For black, the pot black is mainly used. Sometimes the tattoo makers use toxic graphite of batteries for which the irritation persists for longer time. The girls and women, therefore, very cautiously offer their hands for tattooing to the tattoo maker.

To draw a tattoo, first of all, the lines are drawn on a marker like pen. Once, the girl on whose hand the tattoo is to be made agrees to the design then the tattooing process starts. The tattoo maker using the pin pricks the outline of the drawing. Basing on the requirement the tattoo maker pierce single or multiple lines. The number of pricks per unit area is more for drawing deeper marks. The blood that oozes out due to pricking are cleaned by a plain white cloth and then the black is smeared on the pricked area. This causes some acute reactions which are sometimes very painful to bear. After applying black, oil is anointed on the tattooed area. On the next day the tattooed part is to be washed with warm water following which turmeric paste is applied on the tattooed area. Application of soap or any such material is strictly prohibited for fresh wound. No herbal medicine is also applied to ease the pain and fomentation is also not advised. From the second day onwards till the tenth day or even later turmeric paste is regularly applied on the tattooed area to prevent infection.

The right age for tattooing, especially on the face, is between 10 to 12 years, although, however, the girls at the age of 8 to 9 go for tattooing. At present, since the interest of girls or women folk has been waned on tattooing so not much face tattooing is seen on young women. Earlier there was a tradition among the Penga Kondhs that prior to marriage tattooing is must to be made, because this is linked to their concept of beauty. It is worthy to be noted here that the Kondh women do not tattoo their faces by any women belonging to Harijan or Scheduled Caste.

Pictorial Art by Dongria Kondh Women

To decorate the walls with rice paste is a particular art, mostly seen among the Dongria Kondhs which goes to prove their love for beautification of the surrounding habitat. The art presentations found on the walls are both sacred and secular by nature. They decorate the walls with rice paste during certain rituals and festivals like during Meria festival and Dasahara festival. They use red ochre collected from the locality. Some Kondhs purchase coloured powder from the daily or weekly markets and anoint the same in the picture adding castor oil to it. As brush they use narrow fibrous sticks after hammering one end of it. These sticks are generally made from date-palm stem, raw bamboo and sycamore roots.

They are not trained in the execution of art pieces but do it by themselves through observations and instinct to do it by themselves. Any one, either a boy or a girl can do so without any distinction of sex but it must be done as per tradition.

During different festivals it is a traditional obligation among the Kondhs to paint the walls. The Dongria Kondhs in course of decorating their houses make painting on the outer and inner walls. There is difference in folk belief relating to the inner and outer walls decorations. During festival days deities were invoked to the sacred art raised on the inner walls for the welfare of all in the household. Every year new decorative paintings are performed erasing the old ones.

Embroidered shawl (Kapada Ganda) by Dongria Kondh women

Embroidered shawl is an ethnically unique textile production by Dongria Kondh. The textile has cultural significance. The Dongria girls are well versed with the tradition of the needle craft. A women use two pieces of cloths called Kapada Ganda, each of three feet in length and one and a half feet in width. Men also cover their body by using this shawl (Kapada Ganda). They usually love to apply three colour threads like red, green, yellow for the craft signifying meanings with different kinds of motifs and design. Both young girls and boys use it normally during special occasion. The Kapada Ganda is often exchange as a gift between young lovers.

The coarse cloth (khadi/ ganda) is loom made. It is purchased and afterwards designs are made on it. On this piece of cloth they make space for designs with a simple ordinary stick or piece of thread etc. There is nothing such that can be called unit of measurement. Some girls are of opinion that the knitting space is automatically maintained even without use of any scale.

In the past, not many colours were in use to make kapda-ganda. Usually there were two border lines across length and two across the breadth. Whatever colours were on the cloth, were printed in the loom. Coloured lines were seen on the body of Ganda. White gonad with coloured lines all over the body was costing a little more in comparison to white ganda. Innovative girls saw sarees in the market with beautiful border prints. This dragged their attention to knit prints on the kapda gonad. They used colours yellow, green and orange in the beginning. At present, even the green, yellow and orange or red is dominating the shawl. Although there is no colour restriction in use, yet use of other colours is comparatively less. Further, the Dongria eyes have been accustomed in these colours and that's why frequency of such colours is high. Black colour is a recent addition in some shawls.

Conclusion

Arts and Crafts which are existing right from pre-historic times are changing styles and techniques. Art and crafts are there for centuries together; some of them, basing on the popularity and patronization either fade or continue to the next generations.

Art, anaesthetics and tradition are the major elements in Kondh culture. The art that the Kondh women display is a preservative of the age old tradition and culture. The artistic impulses in Kondh woman have let them to possess the skill of drawing, painting, smearing, decorating etc.

The traditional art and crafts of Kondhs provide a rich commentary on their social and cultural life. Their dress, ornament, tattooing, beautiful wall painting, house decoration, etc, reflects artistic view of their life. Their tattooing, cloth embroidery and needle work are not only strengthening their cultural life but also these are improving their economic life. Now the wall paintings and art of Kondhs clearly exhibit the influence of modern art because change in their lifestyle show change in their attitude towards new materials and art forms. Kondh art and crafts is fading away by the influence of modernization. Of course, the loss of such types have become loss of major elements of primitive culture and so also a great loss to traditional tribal folklore and history.

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