

ADIVASI

Volume 49

Number 1

JUNE 2009

Journal of Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Research and
Training Institute (SCSTRI) Bhubaneswar, Orissa, India

Published by:
Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI),
Government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar.

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ADIVASI is published twice a year, in January and December, by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute, CRPF Square, Unit-VIII, Bhubaneswar-751003, Orissa, India. It publishes research papers in the field of social sciences, applied anthropology, development studies, and problems of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Articles based on empirical studies are given preference. It also publishes book reviews.

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Inland Single Issue	Rs.15/-	Abroad Single Issue	\$ 1 (one US \$)
Double Issue (Annual / Combined)	Rs.30/-	Double Issue (Annual / Combined)	\$ 2 (two US \$)

Back Issues are available for sale. The journal is also supplied on **Exchange Basis**.

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EDITORIAL

Orissa claims a prominent position among the States and Union Territories of India for having the largest varieties of tribes i.e. 62 in number including 13 Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PTGs) as well as the third highest tribal population numbering over 8 millions, accounting for about 9.7 % of the country's total tribal population and constituting 22.13 percent of the State's total population as per 2001 census. It means among every five persons one belongs to a Scheduled Tribe community in the State.

These tribes live across the length, and breadth of the State. They are found in all the districts in varying numbers. They exhibit wide divergence among themselves in their social, cultural and economic patterns. Every tribal society representing pre-literate, encysted and simple society characterized by endogamy, patriliney, patrilocality and distinct identity has its unique social system. They pursue economics for their sustenance in which shifting cultivation, settled cultivation along with forestry and wage-earning constitute the major economic activities. Their indigenous technological base is low and less developed and most of them often lead a life below subsistence level. They have their own traditional politico-jural system that includes conventions, customs, axes of power and authority and mechanism of social control. They are believers in animism and polytheism; perform various rituals and practise magic, witchcraft, sorcery etc. Dance and music, art and craft, painting and carving form an integral part of their aesthetic life. Such finer aspects of their life styles reveal a sense of gratitude for the fact of being alive and a mood of acceptance of life on its own terms almost in an existential way. Thus, a high level of social and cultural expression co-exists with the economic backwardness, deprivation and isolation in tribal Orissa.

These culturally divergent groups live in different eco-cultural settings, pursue different kinds of lifestyles and speak different kinds of languages and subsidiary dialects. Obviously their socio-cultural values, life-styles and level of development vary very widely. At one end, there are isolated primitive groups lying at a pre agricultural stage of hunting, food gathering and shifting cultivation and at the other, there are settled cultivators and urbanized industrial workers, almost assimilated into the mainstream of Indian society. Due to their contact with the non-tribals, wide socio-economic differences are observed among them. Tribal groups living around industrial and urban areas have different problems from their brethren living in the relative isolation in hills and forests. Some tribal regions are inaccessible; while in others evil impacts of deforestation, modern industries and mining activities as well as development project induced involuntary displacement create problems against their survival. Religious conversion in some areas has added another factor of differentiation into their way of life. Added to this is the rise of extremism and ethnic conflicts in certain tribal pockets of Orissa in the recent times.

The prevailing situation in present day tribal Orissa needs to be watched, analysed and publicized for betterment. This oldest anthropological research journal of Orissa which is nearly 50 years old has continuously endeavoured to accomplish this task by publishing research articles on various aspects of the society, culture and problems of Orissan tribes.

The present volume (46 No.1, June, 2009), contains 9 articles contributed by eminent researchers.

The first paper titled, *Property Rights for Women – A Case From the Koya Community in Orissa* elaborately discusses about the customary position of tribal women from the point of view of inheritance of property with reference to Koya tribe. The study

moves with the premise that economic empowerment is an essential catalyst for change in status of a group of people. It contains a wealth of relevant data and case studies.

The second paper titled, *State, Development Discourse and The Forgotten Oustees of Rourkela Steel Plant, India: Encounter & Experience* is a brilliant case study of a present day's major issue ie, Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation affecting disproportionately a large number of tribal people in different parts of the state.

The third one is *The Cognitive aspects of Gotr Ceremony*. It provides a vivid anthropological account and in depth analysis of the 'Gotr' ie, the secondary burial ritual of the Gadaba tribe of southern Orissa.

The fourth paper - *Impact of Deforestation on Tribal Life and Livelihood: A Case Study of The Lanjia Saora of Puttasing* shows us in a micro situation the hazards of another major problem that confronts and concerns the whole world.

The fifth paper titled, *Patakhanda Yatra of Jarasingha in Bolangir District of Odisha* narrates the mythological, historical, religious and socio-cultural background of a colourful festival of western Orissa in comparison with a similar tribal festival of southern Orissa which acts as a platform for tribal and non-tribal interaction.

The sixth paper titled, *In Search of A Forgotten Community: The Benniah Kandhas of Orissa* is a thought provoking paper for all concerned to remind us about a community who was present in Orissa during British rule during 19th century but forgotten now.

The seventh paper is *Drinking – A Socio-Cultural Practice Among The Tribals of Orissa*. It reveals that among the Tribals of Orissa, drinking is not merely a matter of intoxication or subtle interpersonal influences; it is regulated in the light of whole series of other controls ranging from habits, beliefs, customs, ideas, values, cost, license and laws around it. For technical reasons this paper though selected for publication in our last issue (Vol.48, No.1, 2008) could not be printed and hence, finds place in this issue.

The eighth one titled *Enrolment & Participation of SC & ST Girls of Orissa in the Selected Institutions of Higher Learning* focuses on the state of higher education of ST and SC of the state with special reference to female education. It analyses the extent of participation of tribal women in the reputed institutions of higher and technical education.

The ninth one is *Health Conditions of The Tribals in Orissa: Analysis of NFHS-2 & NFHS-3 Data*. It makes a comparative analysis to show the health deprivation among the tribals in Orissa using the National Family Health Survey (NFHS)-II and III data.

I express my sincere thanks to all the paper contributors for their valuable contributions. I also express my deep gratitude to the members of the newly constituted Editorial Board for their valuable help and suggestions before publication of this issue. I am also thankful to our Associate Editor, Shri S.C. Mohanty, Research Officer without whose dedicated efforts it would have been very difficult to bring out this issue. I also hope that these articles will be of much help to the researchers, development practitioners, academicians and general readers interested in conducting research and acquiring knowledge in tribal society and culture.

5th January 2010
Bhubaneswar

A.B.Ota
DIRECTOR

PROPERTY RIGHTS FOR WOMEN: A CASE FROM THE KOYA COMMUNITY IN ORISSA

Madhumita Ray

1. INTRODUCTION:

While all other communities like the Hindus, Muslims, Christians etc have their own customary practices, which have been established into laws — there is neither any permanent law nor judicial precedence regarding property inheritance with regard to tribal women among various tribes of India. Taking this background into account, a study on the property rights of the Koya women was initiated. The Koya is a tribal community living in the Malkangiri district in southern Orissa. **An effort has been made in this study to understand the position of tribal women from the point of view of ancestral property inheritance. The study moves with the premise that economic empowerment is an essential catalyst for change in status of a group of people.**

2. PURPOSE OF STUDY:

To examine the rights and status of property inheritance and customary inheritance practices among the Koya tribe with reference to their women in particular.

3. METHODOLOGY:

Some of the research techniques used for the study are:

- Interview Schedules for conducting interviews;
- PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal) techniques like resource mapping, social mapping, seasonality and preference ranking;
- Group Discussions with women and older people to analyse traditional as well as present practices relating to their social position and inheritance of property;
- Key Informant Discussion;
- Use of secondary information from various gazettes, journals, court judgments etc and reference of established research work and publications done on similar areas.

A workshop with the Pedas in Malkangiri on 17th October 2007, to discuss about the customary laws of the Koyas and the status of women- economic and social. This was attended by the Pedas, China Pedas, youth leaders and a few villagers.

Main Villagers met and discussed with: Singa Madkami, Jaya Madkami, Adma Madkami, Meka Madkami, Waga Padiami, Irma Padiami, Singa Madkami, Dula Sodi, Soda Padiami, Rama Madkami, Tula Sodi, Ungi Madi, Shanti Padiami, Muda Madkami, Kosa Madkami, Kawasi Laka, Bhima Magi, Adab Bas, Muka Kawasi, Unga Makdkami, Singa Padiami, Ira Padiami, Ajit Kumar, Ramesh Padiami, Bhima Padiami, Sanumu Padiami, Bhimsen Madkami, Samu Kumari, Bandi Madkami, Krushna Madkami, Suleta Padiami

4. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY:

The Study, not only explores the concept of property inheritance and distribution among Koya men and women, it also examines the status of tribal women as far as property issues are concerned. Besides, the study with the help of lawyers from the High Court and lower courts and a well known activist, has researched the judgments given by courts regarding inheritance of property among tribal communities, with special emphasis on women. The secondary data would also examine the relevant land laws like the Orissa Scheduled Area Transfer of Immoveable Property Act 1956) and Land Reforms Act 1962.

Property defined

Property designates those things commonly recognized as the entities in respect of which a person or group has exclusive rights. Important types of property include real property (land), personal property (other physical possessions) and intellectual property (rights over artistic creations, inventions, etc.). A right of ownership is associated with property that establishes the good as being "one's own thing" in relation to other individuals or groups, assuring the owner the right to dispense with the property in a manner he or she sees fit, whether to use or not to use, exclude others from using, or to transfer ownership. Some philosophers assert that property rights arise from social convention. Others find their origins from morality or natural law.

Various scholarly communities (e.g., law, economics, anthropology, sociology) may treat the concept more systematically, but definitions vary within and between fields. Scholars in the social sciences frequently conceive of property as a bundle of rights. They stress that property is not a relationship between people and things, but a relationship between people *with regard to* things. Some philosophers like Karl Marx use it to describe a social relationship between those who sell their labor power and those who buy it.

There exist many theories. Perhaps one of the most popular is the natural rights definition of property rights advanced by John Locke. Locke advanced the theory that when one mixes one's labor with nature, one gains ownership of that part of nature with which the labor is mixed, subject to the limitation that there should be "enough, and as good, left in common for others".

The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, where intra family gender relations are seen as structured primarily by two overlapping economic factors: the property status of the households to which the women belong and women's participation in wage labour. Engels argued that in capitalist societies, gender relations would be hierarchical among the property owning families of the bourgeoisie where women did not go out to work and were economically dependent on men, and egalitarian in property less proletarian families where women were in the labour force. In the context of industrializing Europe, Engels argued, the first premise for the emancipation of women is the re-introduction of the entire female sex into public industry. So is the emphasis on women's economic dependency a critical constituent of the material bases of gender oppression. Entry into the labour force is not the only way to reduce economic dependency; independent rights in property would be another, and possibly the more effective way. Left wing political parties in South Asia have given centrality to women's employment, but the necessary accompaniments emphasized by Engels, namely the abolition of private property in male hands and the socialization of housework and child care, have largely been neglected, as has the question of women's property rights.

Property advantage stems not only from ownership but also from effective control over it. In societies which underwent socialist revolutions, while private property was legally abolished, control over wealth generating property remained with men. Indeed in most societies today it is men as a gender that largely control wealth generating property. Even property that is under State, community or clan ownership remains effectively under the managerial control of selected men through their dominance in both traditional and modern institutions: castes or clan councils, state bureaucracies at all levels. Marxist analysis implicitly assumes that women belong to the class of their husbands and fathers. Hence women of propertied bourgeois households are part of the bourgeoisie and women of proletarian households are counted as proletarian, although they may also have a proletarian status by virtue of being workers themselves. Economic dependency renders women's affiliation with any class a tangential, vicarious and temporary matter. Property mediates relationship not only between men and women but also between women. In other words there is an ambiguous character to women's class position.

Engels argued for instance that in propertied households the need to ensure legitimacy of heirs would necessitate strict control over women's sexuality within marriage and provide the logic for monogamy, which is unnecessary in property less families.

But it is indeed very interesting to see that since the biblical years, there have been scholars who have zealously guarded private property and there has been much debate on the nature of property by capitalist, socialist and communist thinkers, but except for a brief mention by Engels, everybody else is completely silent on property ownership and women. William Blackstone goes as far as to say that, "every wanton and causeless restraint of the will of the subject, whether produced by a monarch, a nobility, or a popular assembly is a degree of tyranny." How should such tyranny be prevented or resisted through property rights? Then the indifference of the Indian state till late and customary laws among tribal communities in India which prevent women from owning property or at best are silent about their rights, can be defined as tyrannical towards women.

5. LAW ON PROPERTY RIGHTS OF SCHEDULED TRIBES

Before one attempts to understand the property rights of the Koya community and its various nuances, one ought to comprehend what it means by property rights of a Scheduled Tribe in India. It ordinarily means the bulk of norms or standards recognised by the community for guiding the members of a Scheduled Tribe, both men and women in respect of such matters as inheritance, succession, distribution, partition, transfer and gift etc. of property within a family and between the families. As is well known, the entire gamut of property rights of a community belongs to that sphere of civil law, which is otherwise known as personal law or family law. The personal law also encompasses such family related legislation which bears on marriage, divorce, adoption, maintenance, guardianship and custody of children. In India, unlike Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis, the personal laws including the property rights of the scheduled tribes living in either 5th Schedule or 6th Schedule Areas since the British times have remained diverse i.e. un-uniform and largely uncodified, and their determination for all practical purposes has been left to the customary usage and practices prevalent in the concerned community handed down across generations. So much so that even when certain practices of some scheduled tribes were expressly found to be contradictory to the modern canons of equality and justice as

enshrined in the Preamble and Fundamental Rights Chapter of the Constitution, the Courts in general and Supreme Court in particular refrained from interfering in them on the statutory plea that the Scheduled Areas were immune from general applicability of the laws made for the mainstream and the non-scheduled regions of the country. Of course a fierce debate has all along been raged in the post-independence period as to the degree of legislative autonomy that a tribal area should enjoy, especially in respect of personal laws including the laws relating to the property rights.

Tribal Community vis-à-vis Hindu Law

There reigns a fair amount of confusion among the jurists, administrators, legislators and social activists, not to talk of common citizens as to whether the Hindu personal law is applicable to the scheduled tribes. In fact, the relevant Hindu laws also bear provisions, which have lent strength to such abounding confusion. For instance, the Section 2(2) of Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 says, "Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-section (1), nothing contained in this Act shall apply to the members of any Scheduled Tribe within the meaning of clause (25) of Article 366 of the Constitution, unless the Central Government, by notification in the Official Gazette, otherwise directs". Against such a categorical stipulation there however exists two other provisions in the said Section-2, which by implication convey a different meaning. For instance, Section-2(1-c) says that the Act applies "to any other person domiciled in the territories to which this Act extends who is not a Muslim, Christian, Parsi or Jew by religion, unless it is proved that any such person would not have been governed by the Hindu law or by any custom or usage as part of that law in respect of any of the matters dealt with herein if this Act had not been passed". Plainly it means that there is a scope for application of Hindu law to any inhabitant of India, who is not a follower of above 4 institutionalized religions. The next instance of exception can be found in Section-2(3), that says, "The expression 'Hindus' in any portion of this Act shall be construed as if it included a person who, though not a Hindu by religion is, nevertheless, a person whom this Act applies by virtue of the provisions contained in this section". In a similar fashion, the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act, 1956 in Section 2(2) declares that the Act will not apply to the Scheduled Tribes as defined in the Constitution, but then proposes two qualifying provisions under the Section-2 itself, by virtue of which a person of Scheduled Tribe can be considered a Hindu under certain special circumstances for the purposes of this Act. The third and fourth laws in the series, namely Hindu Succession Act, 1956 and Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, 1956 replicate the said kind of provisions almost word by word. Thus we find that all the four Hindu laws, which have nearly identical, provision under Section-2 are both exclusive and inclusive of Schedule Tribe under its purview. It all depends upon the specific circumstances that shall determine whether the matters related to Personal Law in respect of an ST person shall be disposed of as per the Hindu Law or any other Law or as per the Custom or Usage of his/her community as already referred to under Section 13 (3) of the Constitution.

At the level of higher judiciary (High Court and Supreme Court), the Scheduled Tribes are treated as non-Hindus, but at the level of lower courts, there is a tendency among the lawyers to treat the ST persons as Hindus; otherwise it would entail arduous labour and forensic skill on their part to define the custom and usage of the particular tribe, and to articulate most of the argumentation from common sense and facts of the case without relying on any codified law or court precedents. Treating an ST person under

the Hindu law offers both advantages and disadvantages for the person concerned; For instance, a tribal woman would be entitled to a share in the property of her father or husband, if her complaint is treated under Hindu Succession Act, while on the basis of their existing tribal custom or usage, she may not get that kind of benefit. From another angle, say for instance, on a case around her plea to get a divorce from her husband, it would be much easier on her part to get it allowed by the Court on the basis of the custom or usage of her tribe than under the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955.

It is worth noting that the Census reports of India do not treat the tribal communities as born Hindus. Appendix 'C' to the census report of 1991 gives details of Sects/Beliefs/Religions clubbed with another religion". According to this annexure, no tribal community has been clubbed with the followers of the Hindu religion in the report. The main part of the report shows the population, in various States and Union Territories, under eight different heads — (i) Hindus, (ii) Muslims, (iii) Christians, (iv) Sikhs, (v) Buddhists, (vi) Jains, (vii) "Other Religions and Persuasions" and (viii) "Religion not stated". The head of "Other Religions and Persuasions" is detailed in appendix 'A' to the report. In this appendix about 60 tribal religions are separately specified. In addition to these specified "Religions and Persuasions" of the various tribal communities, this appendix also includes a residuary head of "Tribal Religion" and, then, an additional head of "Unclassified" religions and persuasions, which also must be inclusive of many smaller tribes.

Supreme Court on Personal Law of Scheduled Tribes:

The confusion with which the Constitution and other legal instruments of the Union have treated the Personal Laws of the Scheduled Tribes have found their reflection in the directions and judgments that the apex court has issued from time to time. As a matter of fact, only a very few cases came up before the apex court seeking for its adjudication and direction on issues bearing on personal laws of the STs. Of these, the one that stands out in terms of comprehensiveness and in-depth treatment of the subject is the famous case of MADHU KISHWAR & ORS *versus* STATE OF BIHAR that engaged the apex court for a decade from 1986 to 1996.

Ms. Madhu Kishwar, Editor of 'Manushi', a women's magazine at New Delhi and two women petitioners, one belonging to Ho and the other to Oraon Scheduled Tribes residing in Singhbhum district of Bihar made a writ petition against the State of Bihar before the Supreme Court challenging the Sections- 7 and 8 of the Chhota Nagpur Tenancy Act of 1908 as discriminatory against women, since the said provisions confined succession to property to descendants in the male line of the Scheduled Tribes. They pleaded that the said provisions were *ultra vires* to the equality clause in the Indian Constitution.

The Court at an earlier stage while hearing one of the writ petitions gave time to the respondent State of Bihar to consider the feasibility of carrying out an amendment in the offending sections so as to clearly provide that succession was not confined in the male line. In pursuance thereof, a Committee was set up by the State which came to the conclusion that a custom prevailed among the Scheduled Tribes that a female heir be excluded from succession, and that if there was any change, and the property be allowed to go into the hands of female heirs there would be agitation and unrest among the ST people who have a custom based style of living. After hearing the report of the Committee the Supreme Court held that the Scheduled Tribe people are as much citizens as others and they are entitled to the benefit of guarantees of the Constitution. It may be

that the law can provide reasonable regulation in the matter of succession to property with a view to maintaining cohesiveness in regard to Scheduled Tribes and their properties. But exclusion from inheritance would not be appropriate. Since this aspect of the matter was not examined by the State, the Court ordered it to be re-examined by the feasibility of permitting inheritance and simultaneously regulating such inheritance for the purpose of ensuring that the property does not go out of the family by way of transfer or otherwise.

On 17 April 1996 a three member bench, led by Chief Justice K.Ramaswamy did the final hearing of the case. They dealt with all problematic aspects of the issue of not allowing female inheritance of the paternal, ancestral or in-laws property and brought a judgment based upon the facts and circumstances within their knowledge.

The judgment starts with the recognition that the petitions raised a common question of law, whether female tribal is entitled to parity with male tribal in intestate succession? Specifically speaking, the petitioners sought declaration to the effect that Sections 7, 8 and 76 of the Chhota Nagpur Tenancy Act, 1908 are *ultra vires* to Articles 14, 15 and 21 of the Constitution of India. They contended that the customary law operating in the Bihar State and other parts of the country excluding tribal women from inheritance of land or property belonging to father, husband, mother and conferment of right to inheritance to the male heirs or lineal descendants being founded solely on sex is discriminatory. The tribal women toil, share with men equally the daily sweat, troubles and tribulations in agricultural operations and family management. The discrimination against them based on the customary law of inheritance is unconstitutional and unjust, unfair and illegal. Even usufructuary rights conferred on a widow or an unmarried daughter become illusory due to diverse pressures brought on her at the behest of lineal descendants. Further the married or unmarried daughters are excluded from inheritance, if they are subjected to adultery by non-tribals; they are denied of the right to enjoy the property of father or deceased husband for life. The widow on remarriage is denied of inheritance of property of her former husband. The petitioners had thus elaborated by narrating several incidents in which the women either were forced to give up their claims or became target of violent attacks or murdered.

Throughout the country, the respective State laws prohibit sale of all lands in tribal areas to non-tribals, restoration thereof to the tribals in case of violation of law and permission of the competent authority for alienation is a must and mandatory and non-compliance renders the sale void. The Acts prevailing in Bihar State expressly prohibits the sale of the lands by the tribals to the non-tribals and also direct restoration or recompensation by equivalent lands to the tribals in case of violation. Therefore, if the female heirs intend to alienate their lands to non-tribals, the Acts would operate as a deterrent. In the event of any need for alienation, by a tribal woman, it would be only subject to the operation of these laws and the first offer should be given to the brothers or agnates. In the event of their refusal or unwillingness, sale would be made to other tribals. In the event of a disagreement on consideration, the civil court of original jurisdiction should determine the same which would be binding in the partition. In the event of their unwillingness to purchase the same, subject to the permission of the competent officer, tribal women may sell the land to tribals or non-tribals. Therefore, the apprehension expressed by the State-level Committee is unfounded.

Chief Justice Ramaswamy held the view, "I would hold that the provisions of Hindu Succession Act, 1956 and the Indian Succession Act, 1925 though in terms, would not

apply to the Scheduled Tribes, the general principles contained therein being consistent with justice, equity, fairness, justness and good conscience would apply to them. Accordingly I hold that the Scheduled Tribe women succeed to the estate of their parent, brother, husband, as heirs by intestate succession and inherit the property with equal share with male heir with absolute rights as per the general principles of Hindu Succession Act, 1956, as amended and interpreted by this Court and equally of the Indian Succession Act to tribal Christian. However, the right of alienation will be subject to the relevant provisions of the Acts like, the Bihar Scheduled Areas Regulation 1969, Santhals (Amendment) Act 1958, Santhal Parganas Tenancy (Supplementary Provisions) Act 1949 as amended from time to time etc. They would be applicable to them and subject to the conditions mentioned therein. In case the tribal woman intends to alienate the land, subject to obtaining appropriate permission from the competent authority under the appropriate Act, she should first offer the land for sale to the brother or in his absence to any male lineal descendant of the family and the sale will be in terms of mutually agreed consideration and other terms etc. In case of any disagreement on consideration, the consideration shall be determined on an application filed by either party before the competent civil court of original jurisdiction over the area in which the land is situated and the decision of the civil court after adduction of evidence and consideration thereof shall be final and binding on the parties. In case the brother or lineal descendant is not willing to purchase either by mutual agreement or as per the price settled by the civil court, the tribal woman shall be entitled to alienate the land to the non-tribal but subject to the provisions of the appropriate Act.

In conclusion, the judgment however says that the writ petitions were allowed conditionally. In layman's parlance, it meant that the new principles and interpretations pronounced in the judgment may be given intellectual weight but may not be acted upon right now by the concerned authorities in view of an absence of a clear-cut provision in law favouring the plea of the petitioners.

Despite the fact that the above judgment didn't exercise any instant impact on any of the authorities of the country, legislative, judicial or executive, all of whom were fervently exhorted to the heed its new message, it has nevertheless remained to this day a landmark judgment and shall ever remain so until the day when every woman, be she tribal or not is given full and equal right along with male descendants in the succession to ancestral and intestate property. Landmark for double reasons; firstly it exhaustively exposes the glaring ambivalence and contradictions in the existing Constitutional and Statutory provisions in respect to woman's right to equal share in the property of the household; and secondly, it serves and shall continue to serve as a formidable advocacy tool for equal property rights for women as a key to women's emancipation.

6. ABOUT KOYA COMMUNITY OF MALKANGIRI, ORISSA

Koyas are one of the 62 Scheduled Tribes of Orissa living mostly in Malkangiri. They are also spread in South Bastar of Chhatishgarh and East Godavari and Khamam districts of Andhra Pradesh. In Malkangiri Koyas constitute the largest among the tribes; they numbered 58,730 in 1971 but increased to around 140,000 in 1991 and their present population has registered a decline to 1,22,535 as per 2001 Census.

They live in low thatched houses and cultivate tobacco leaf, Mandia, maize and paddy. Mahula and Salapa are their ideal drinks. They use very little milk. They rear

pigs, goats, cows and hens. They resort to magic and local herbs to treat their illnesses. The main festival of Koyas is "Bijapandu" celebrated in the month of Chaitra.

The head of the Koya village is called "Peda" and the post is hereditary. Koyas are an ancient tribe credited with a unique way of community life and a common cultural heritage which have been documented by the scholars from a variety of sources like mythologies and legends coupled with the accounts by the British administrators. Koyas were once a warrior tribe. The last Queen of Malkangiri, Bangaru Devi who ruled over Malkangiri from 1855 A.D. to 1872 A.D had defeated King Ramachandra Deva III of Jeypore by her powerful and extra-ordinarily large Koya Army. During the colonial period they played a political role too by way of offering resistance off and on to the British Government. The most famous is the episode of the Koya Revolution that took place in 1880 led by a Koya youth, Tama Dora. (Source: Website of Malkangiri District).

The Koya community in Malkangiri has however undergone a process of change from 1970 onwards, affecting thereby their ancient and traditional socio-cultural matrix to a visible degree. Such changes can be attributed to the influence of the refugees from Bangladesh rehabilitated under Dandakaranya Development Project, Oriya refugees from Burma and Ceylonese Tamil refugees on transit basis. Moreover, their habitat, economy and society at large have been subjected to tremors of large scale displacements of their families due to Duduma, Balimela, Upper Kolab, Indravati Hydro-Electric Projects, bauxite mining project, Hindustan Aeronautic project and the influx of people from various walks of life to their habitat. At present the Koyas are struggling to survive vis-a-vis the resettled populations, who are far superior to them in terms of economic and political intelligence. (Source: Tribals and Their Culture : Koya Tribe in Transition, by Kornel, Das, 2006)

7. WHAT IS THE KOYA NOTION OF PROPERTY?

The most valuable property of Koyas is their land which is held by men along with the ownership of the house and cattle. The women own the gold. There are some sorts of property that is owned by men and certain properties exclusively possessed by women. It may be noted here that while land has been classified as the most valuable property for Koyas, its economic significance as a goods of transaction is still not embedded. In course of the study, the men whenever justifying as to why women could not hold land, gave its non cultivation by absentee married women as the principal reason. Land as a commodity which could be sold by the woman for economic security was not an acceptable explanation. Land existed for cultivation and to provide food. But when it came to men owning land, they felt that it could provide them economic security in distress.

Meaning & Classification of property for Koya men (Group Discussion)

To know the concept of property among the Koyas, a group discussion with Koya men was organised in Akherpali village.

Classification of property according to ascending order

The participants placed pictures, which depicted the asset they valued most:

Name of the property	Position
Land	1 st
Bullocks	2 nd
Home	3 rd
NTFP	4 th
Salap and Khajuri	5 th
Goat	6 th
Pig	7 th
Hen	8 th
Jewelry	9 th

The concept of property and its importance was discussed in the presence of 25 men. After their rating of property as per their value and relevance, we strived to know the reason behind such ranking.

1. **According to the Koya men, land was the most valuable property, which provides food throughout life.** They said that they could also get money by mortgaging it, or build a house on it when required. However, a few men wanted to place *mahula* collection in the top position arguing that a person can easily collect and sell *mahula* that provides an easy way of earning money. On the other hand, land cultivation was arduous. When posed with a question whether they would exchange their land for *mahula* trees, the men started discussing the issue. After a while, Peda argued that land is more valuable than any property because it cannot be destroyed whereas the longevity of a tree is much less.
2. **Bullocks were given the second place,** as without bullocks land does not seem to be of much use. Bullocks were used for ploughing the field and were also considered to be an asset to be given to daughters at the time of their marriage.
3. **Houses were ranked third** as they did not invest a huge amount of money to build homes and buy household goods.
4. **Mahulla collected was given the fourth place.** It ranked higher than other liquor producing fruit trees due to higher consumption of *mahulla*, greater demand and easily accessibility. Besides, *mahulla* collection is done during the summer when Koyas have no other income. They just collect the *mahulla*, prepare and sell the liquor.
5. **Salap and Khajuri was positioned at number five** among all other property assets since the demand for these is less as compared to other drinks. Moreover, it is available through out the year.
6. **Goats were placed in the sixth position, followed by pigs in the seventh place.** Goats were a step higher compared to pigs because they are usually more in demand for food during festive occasion. Fowl was also classified under pigs as they never sold or purchased fowl.
7. The group gave **jewelry the lowest position** without any hesitation. According to them, very rarely do they sell jewelry for the sake of money. Moreover, most of their ornaments are made up of aluminum, possessing little value. One of the men stated that jewelry belonged to women only.

Meaning & Classification of property by Koya women:

To know the meaning of property from women, the research team selected Purunagada village. Few women turned up at the given time of 7 am, as they were getting ready to go for work in their land. Though only four to five women showed interest for the discussion in the beginning, later about 15 participants joined and expressed their views. They also placed the picture card in descending order.

When asked about the meaning of property, the women did not answer. But when they were handed over the picture cards and the researchers asked them to recognize them, they started giving their opinion. Then the women started keenly discussing about property among them. The discussion was democratic and was not dominated by any single woman. They ranked the assets in terms of values and relevance in the following order.

Position	Name of the property	Position	Name of the property
1	Home	6	Pig
2	Cattle	7	Goat
3	Land	8	Hen
4	Forest products	9	Jewelry
5	Money		

1. The views of Koya women about property and their ranking revealed some interesting insights and perceptions. **Home acquired the first position** for women because it is very near to *koiie*. Its women, who clean the home, sweep the courtyard, polish the walls, beautify the rooms, purchase household goods and do other household chores. Therefore their attachment to their houses is much more than men and they consider their homes a secure place.
2. They gave the **second place to cattle**, as women clean the cattle sheds, feed them and believe that without bullocks cultivation is impossible. Another reason for giving them importance is that, cows/bullock are given as presents by their parents during marriage.
3. Interestingly, women ranked **land in the third place**, as Koya women are involved in all land related work — from ploughing to production. Besides, they get food from land for the year.
4. Koya women gave **forest products the fifth place** since a Koya woman can easily collect every type of forest product like *mahula*, *kendu* leaves, tamarind etc and sell according to her wish.
5. **Money was placed at the sixth position**, which is hardly surprising because among the Koya one cannot sell paddy, livestock or ornaments for money. One can purchase few items by exchanging *mahula* drink, pig or poultry. Also, a Koya woman cannot spend money independently and has to seek permission before she does so.
6. **Pig and goat got sixth and seventh position respectively**. These assets were considered to be useful in times of festival. But Koya women cannot sell these assets independently and are expected to take care of them only.

7. **Eights place was secured by hen** as these animals could not be sold by anyone, but can be exchanged in times of need. **Salap tree got the ninth place** because it's demanded less as compared to *mohula*.
8. **Jewelry got the last position** from the Koya women as well due to the same reason put forward by men. Women said that since the ornaments were made of aluminum, it had little value. Moreover, ornaments could not be sold or mortgaged to anyone in their community. Very rarely do Koya women use gold jewellery.

Whether the rules of Koya society are in a codified form? Do the Pedas (the village secular chief) have any knowledge about it? Do they discuss about it from time to time?

The Pedas are held in high esteem in Koya society. He looks after the well being of the village and the villagers. Koya laws are not codified and are traditionally passed from generation to generation orally. Thus much depends on the interpretation of the tradition. The non codification can also be used to the advantage of women, by influencing the men and the Pedas to more equitably codify laws which will not be against women and put them in a subservient position. This would be the first step towards asserting the rights of women. If they interpret the traditional law allowing a share for their daughters, the Koya community would stick to it. The Government cannot make any specific law for tribals. It is only the Pedas who can make rules and apply them in practice. The PESA empowers them to do so.

Do the Pedas think that the old tradition should be changed and the daughters and widows should be given share of property?

Since there are no recorded laws, the existing practice can be changed according to the principles of equity and justice. If one Peda succeeds in convincing their community to provide the right of inheritance to woman, then the practice would be followed everywhere. Others will gradually adopt the practice and it will become a tradition in course of time whereby the women would lead a dignified life. The young leaders should persuade the Pedas to change their views and help women inherit property. The boys who give land to their sisters will also get land through their wives.

Muka, a village leader said that the Pedas should establish these new traditions. Since there are no written laws, there is no difficulty in allowing women to inherit the land. There should be collective decision to give women their share of property.

When a Peda dies and his son or a male heir of his family inherits his position, then how does he know about his roles and responsibilities? For example a Sarpanch can be acquainted with about his powers and functions from books and written rules. But as there are no written records, how does a new Peda know about his responsibilities? Pedas clarified here that when a child is 10 to 12 years old he starts sitting in the meeting of Pedas. He observes the discussions and decisions taken by Pedas and gradually gets acquainted with this.

If at all there are no written laws, then how are the property rights settled?

The village Pedas call a meeting of villagers to decide the division of land after the death of a person. Not only is land distributed but also livestock, tree and crops divided among family members. If a daughter is married inside the village she is given

some land for cultivation but since she has no customary landholding rights it is taken away by her brothers or the children of her brothers. For example- Ungi's mother of Phulguda village had inherited some land from her father and the Peda had also consented, and the land patta was also in her name. But the children of her brother forcibly took the land away. The property is usually equally divided among the brothers.

Are the Pedas aware of PESA and the enormous powers that it gives them?

No, the Pedas have never heard of PESA or its provisions.

Is it not right that as Pedas they should facilitate Koya women to inherit property?

- The Pedas said that if a girl gets married within the village she can till the land and harvest crops. But if she is married in a distant village of Andhra Pradesh or Madhya Pradesh the land will lie fallow and be of no use.
- Singa Padiami of Dharmapalli held that if a girl is married within the village it may be possible to give her some land and it has happened in certain cases. Parents also give land to their daughters when they feel that their daughters need it.

Bima Madakami is a 62-year-old widow of Akherpali village. Both her children, a son and a daughter, are married. Her daughter is married in the same village. When asked what had she given to her daughter at the time of marriage, Bima said that she was waiting for the *Karsa* (the customary cash payment made by the bridegroom's side to bride's side at the time of marriage) and once it is paid, she would think of presenting something to her daughter.

Upon being asked how she had given her daughter (against the usual Koya practice) a piece of land after marriage, she clarified that the land was never given by her. Rather, it was forcefully taken by her son-in-law, she alleged. The son-in-law had earlier given Bima a bullock for which he charged Rs 500, but it was too hefty a sum for Bima to pay. As a result, her land was forcefully taken from her, she said. **Stating that daughters should not demand any right on ancestral land, Bima said that she would get the piece of land from her daughter and son-in-law at any cost.**

- Unga Madkami of Sikhpalli said that though land is given to the daughter, the RoR is not transferred in her name. So the brothers forcibly take it away and even if the brother doesn't take it, his children will do the same. Sometimes the girls also refuse to take the lands of their father. He further said that the daughter will look after her parents only if the son-in-law is a good natured person. Otherwise it is not possible on her part to look after her parents during their old age. Generally there is a tradition of giving hens, goat, cow etc. as gifts to a daughter at the time of marriage but land is not given.
- A youth leader Maka said that there is no tradition in Koya society to give land to a woman or transfer RoR in her name.

The case of 24-year-old Aita Kunjami was taken to assess his views on property rights within the family. Aita got married to Irme Kunjami six months ago after a courtship of three years. When asked about the presents, which his wife had brought from her paternal home at the time of marriage, Aita said, "she had got a few sarees and some utensils those were purchased with the money that she had saved."

To the question whether his wife can purchase or sell any item without taking his permission, he replied in the negative saying, "she has to first inform me before deciding to sell or purchase any household item." Aita was unaware about the joint *patta* system, but when asked whether he would convert his *patta* by including his wife's name, his statement was ambiguous saying that she will have access to my land on my death, why does she need a *patta*.

- Ungi of village Phulguda said that her uncle gave some land to his daughter. His brothers did not protest. She used to cultivate the land but she had no legal rights (*patta*). But the sons of her brother forcibly took away the lands. Since she had no RoR, she couldn't claim her landholding rights. There are many examples of land being enjoyed by women but as they have no ownership rights they cannot claim it if somebody forcibly takes it away.
- Maka, a young Peda says that a widow can remarry in a Koya society. Besides there is no compulsion that a woman would stay with one man during her entire lifetime. She is at liberty to marry more than once. So they don't give land to the women. Maka said that whatever may be the case son is preferable over a daughter; a daughter cannot be treated at par with a son. But the older Pedas said that both the son and daughter are equal for us. The father will look after both the son and daughter. Maka said that once a daughter is married her responsibility shifts to her husband. The father should have no concern for her. But Kasa Madkami of Palkonda said that the father will look after both the son and the daughter. We should give property right to the son. But it does not mean that we would be silent when the daughter is in trouble. We should also give some share of property to a daughter. Otherwise how will the girl manage by herself?

Debe Padiami, a 41-years-old woman stays at Akherpali village with her husband Padia Padiami. They have two unmarried daughters. Initially, Debe was hesitant to talk about matters related to property, but gradually agreed to do so. However, when asked what constituted property, she said that she didn't know much about it and her husband would be better suited to answer it. Upon being queried about the heirs to their property Debe said promptly, "It would be my two brothers-in-law (husband's brothers) who would be getting the property after us." Without the slightest hesitation she explained that all the property would definitely go to the families of her in-laws.

According to Debe, **girls in their community do not possess any right to claim land as their own property. Also, the property, mostly land, cannot be transferred to the girl after their marriage.** "I had not got anything from my paternal home at the time of marriage and so at the time of my daughters' marriage I will not give anything. Only cows and goats can be gifted to the daughters," she explained.

Group Discussion in the Village of Phulguda in Malkangiri, Orissa.

The Hindu Succession Act confers equal share of property for both son and daughter. According to the provisions under the Act, a woman will get her share of paternal property if she claims it in a court of law. There are also similar laws among other groups. What are the rules in Koya society governing inheritance of property of women? It has been observed that the women contribute more in terms of labour. Then why should a woman be deprived of any share of property? The women of Phulguda village present there said that they should get some share of property. But the men argued that if a

daughter is married away, her share of land will be left uncultivated. The decision of Peda is always held high by the community. But at times the father takes decision overriding the decision of Peda and gives some land to the daughter. But the point here is that this depends solely on the whims and fancies of the father and the brothers and there is nothing sacrosanct about it.

"Who will cook if there is only a son? Who will clean clothes and who will take care when the parents suffer from illness? The men of Phulguda said that the daughter-in-law will take over all these responsibilities. "If the daughter-in-law and daughter perform the entire domestic chores, serve the parents and even do agricultural activities then what is the role of male members? It is the women who really toil hard, whether she is a daughter or a daughter-in-law. Then why is the woman deprived of any rights over property. Why the land RoR shouldn't bear her name. If there would be provision of joint RoR in the name of both the son and the daughter-in-law then the daughter-in-law would look after the in laws in case her husband absconds or dies.

Ira Padiami was of the opinion that a son will inherit the property of his father and a woman will inherit the property of her father-in-law through her husband. Who holds the title of the property is not really important. On being asked what happened to the woman when her husband died and she had no male children, he said that it was her fate.

A widow of Podagada had no children. She had an Indira Awas house, 10 acres of land and 20 palm trees. But the RoR was not in her name. So her husband's brothers tried to snatch her property. At last they managed to prove that she was insane. They made her sign a blank paper and threw her out of her home. They cut down all the palm trees. They snatched away all her land. Now the woman is homeless. She sleeps in verandahs and lives on begging. Sometimes she has to sleep in an empty stomach. If she had legal rights over her property she would not have seen such bad days.

Similarly Ungi Madakami's husband Padia Madkami passed away 12 years ago. She has five daughters out of which two were already married when her husband was alive. Ungi was initially hesitant to speak about property matters saying that she had none and had already lost whatever she had. However, later she revealed that she had several plots of land when her husband was alive. But after his death she was left with only a single forest land (Podu land) that is lying unused as none of her daughters or she are able to work in it, since Podu cultivation requires contributions from both men and women. The bullocks that she possessed earlier went to her brother-in-law's family after her husband's death. At present, one of their acquaintances in the village cultivates their land and gives them a small amount of paddy in return. Ungi's daughters also work as farm labourers for others to earn extra paddy. "My brother-in-law took all the portions of land during his son's marriage. He sold the land and with the money got his son married," she laments. She also expressed sorrow that community members of her village did not show any interest in the matter.

During the time of marriage the father gives goat, hen, cow and clothes as gift to the daughter. "Is the value of a hen, goat, and cow comparable to the value of land? A girl stays for nearly 14 to 18 years in her paternal home. She renders different kinds of physical labour for the family. Can we fix the value of her labour for a few hens, goat or cow? One of the Pedas said that this tradition has been established in Koya community since very ancient times that the women cannot inherit property.

The laws of the country establish that women should have right to inheritance of property. But the Koya society doesn't recognize this ? Who has established the norm to deprive the women of their right to property? Singa Madkami said that Dr. B.R. Ambedkar had said that women shouldn't have right to property in a Koya society. But the group rejected this claim on the ground that Ambedkar has nowhere spoken about tribal women to be deprived of inheritance of property. It was discussed that according to the provisions of PESA Act, the decision of villagers is final and no body can over rule the decision of the villagers arrived through common agreement.

Dule Madakami is a 61-years-old lady with two daughters. Dule's daughters, Gangi Padiami and Ungii Padiami, are both married. While elder daughter Gangi has no children, the younger daughter Ungii, has two sons staying in the same village. Jaga Madkami, husband of Dule was not present during the interview, as he had gone to the fields to work. The elder daughter stays with Dule. When asked whether her elder son-in-law was helping them in the agricultural work, Dule said that rather than the son-in-law who only occasionally visited them, her brother-in-law helped in the fields. Jaga has six paddy fields and a patch of forest land. He sold his forest land to a villager, getting a cow and a goat in exchange.

When questioned if she has given any property to her younger daughter who lives in the same village, Dule said that **no such rule exists to give any property to girls, who usually live in other villages after their marriage.** On the inheritance of property after her death, she said that the property would instead go to the family of her brothers-in-law. However, she had agreed after fair amount of resistance from others to give a piece of land to her elder son-in-law. Talking about her own youth, she said that land had been divided among her brothers after they got married. The Pedas and village community did the division. When posed with the question what if her husband preferred to transfer the land between their two daughters, Dule said "such a situation would never arise as the community would strongly resist."

8. CUSTOMARY PRACTICES RELATING TO INHERITANCE OF PROPERTY AMONG KOYA WOMEN

a. Land Distribution:

There seems to be enough evidence of land being distributed only among sons in the past by individuals among the Koya community. An elderly lady of Purunagada village for example, while speaking about her childhood days, revealed that her father had distributed land among her brothers, she never had a share. Another lady Peda of Akherpali village said that earlier her ancestors lived in Madhya Pradesh (MP). Due to shortage of farmland they had migrated to this part of Orissa.

Initially, they divided the land among the households and obtained *patta* (official land rights papers) for that land. During that time, either of these groups alone enjoyed more land than the others. However gradually, the community took a strong decision to do away with the stratification and there was no division among the Koyas. Those days, men irrespective of their caste/group affiliations enjoyed an almost equal amount of land, which shows that the **community is not caste influenced as far as distribution of land is concerned.** Yet, there seem to be **some amount of discrimination in favour of traditional village functionaries** like the Peda and Pujari who possess more land than others because they perform various rituals and also make decisions.

The Koya community not only divides their land, but also livestock, utensils and other household articles equally among the male members. Father or the grandfather, if alive, divides the land equally among all the brothers. No such thing as land gradation in terms of bad and good quality land exist in their community. Rather, the land area is simply demarcated and bequeathed to the heirs. However, the brother who takes the responsibility of the father is given more land compared to others. The community intervenes in case of any property partition disputes arising within a family.

The land is usually distributed after the brothers start getting married. In several cases, when the older brother marries and wishes to set up his own house, the father decides to share his assets between both the married and unmarried brothers. Generally, the parents stay with the unmarried son. Though the land is divided, the labor put in it is not. All the brothers work together, even keep their production in their ancestral home and any member can use the stored food grain. In few cases, where dispute arises among brothers, and between parents and son, the son usually sets up his new home in the village adjoining his ancestral home. He also acquires his share from all other assets and lives separately by doing his own cultivation.

Land distribution among widows:

Most of the times, a widow stays in her husband's home and work pursues his household works and economic activities as before. If her son(s) is an adult, he inherits the property of his father. If the land has not been distributed before the death of her husband, then it becomes the responsibility of the community members and the father-in-law to accomplish the task. No property is allocated separately to the widows.

Muye's husband passed away eight years ago, after which the property was divided between her two sons. However, the land *patta* is still in the name of their grandfather. Muye's elder son has married twice — his first wife died after giving birth to a girl child following which he married another woman who had a three-year-old son. Unfortunately, Muye's elder son died three years ago after which her younger son encroached on the property and drove the family of his elder brother along with Muye from their ancestral home.

At present, Muye is residing in a house besides her husband's home. "My younger son cultivates all the land and we do only labor work. In return, he gives us a small amount of paddy, which is not sufficient for four members of the family," she rued. Muye and her grand daughter, Koshi are also engaged in labor work in other people's land to earn money, something which they had not done when her husband was alive

Eighteen-year-old Koshi is of marriageable age now and when asked about her marriage, she replied that her uncle (father's brother) will take all responsibility as neither she nor her grandmother are capable. Muye said that the property of her late son would go to her grandson (her elder son's second wife's child) as he is the only heir of this property. She was not in favour of giving any land to her granddaughter.

Land allotted by parents who have no children

In case of parents who are issueless, the ancestral land goes to the son adopted from their agnatic kin group. In case a son adopted from other kin groups, he can not inherit the property.

Forty-six-year-old Bima Sodi and wife Muke Sodi do not have any children. Bima has six plots of paddy lands; two patches of forest (podu) land where he cultivates oil seeds. The couple had two children earlier, who died following severe illness. They do not wish to adopt any children at present. Bima has cordial and warm relations with his brothers who stay in another village. They often come to Bima's house and also support him at the time of need. When asked who would be the next heir of his property, Bima said, "The property would automatically go to my brother's sons. I cannot bequeath my property to other people of my village whom I like because the ancestral property has to be passed to the agnatic kins only."

Land distribution in case of multiple wives

Among the Koya community, land is distributed only among the sons. Hence, a man with multiple wives divides his land equally among the sons from all his wives. It was also revealed during the study by a man with two wives that no enmity exists between his wives and sons regarding partition of property. He also defended the tradition of equigeniture among all his sons. In other words, the land is not divided according to the whims and fancies of the father, but distributed equally to his sons. There is no question of favoring one son over another in this regard.

Forty-two-year-old Ganga Madakami has two wives living in the same village. Ganga seemed to be comparatively more educated and had some amount of exposure to the outside world as well. Besides being a member of the Village Education Committee (VEC), he can also speak Oriya quite well. Ganga revealed that he has two wives — Lake and Ungii. He married for a second time after three year of his first marriage, as his first wife used to drink regularly, neglect her household chores and it resulted in conflicts at home. "Neither did she help in the fields, nor was she able to take care of the children," he alleged. He said that he did not know of Lake's alcoholism before their marriage. This was the reason why Ganga decided to marry again. When he got his second wife, Ungii, there was no resistance from his first wife or from the community. His family easily accepted the new bride. While Ganga's first wife has a son and a daughter, Ungii has two daughters. All family members are now staying together under one roof and no apparent rivalry exists between the co-wives. According to Ganga, Ungii manages the house quite efficiently. Upon meeting Lake, she expressed that she had no objection to her husband's second marriage. **Since it was her husband's wish, there was no question to prevent him, she reasoned, adding that she has accepted Ungii as a family member and maintained a healthy relationship with her.** Lake said that she did not feel degraded after Ungii's arrival. All the children enjoyed the same treatment, she added.

When it was asked to Ganga whether he would give more land to his second wife as she did more work at home, he said it would never happen since all the property would be equally distributed among the male children. *Opining his views on property distribution, he said, "Girls do not have any right to claim ancestral property. The prevailing custom is to give land only to the male heirs."*

Property and unmarried Koya women

It was quite interesting to explore the relationship between an unmarried girl and property in the Koya tribe. The birth of a girl child is not considered to be a cause for worry among the Koyas. She also has access to every kind of property, starting from household goods to land. But, she has little freedom to purchase any goods, not even her own ornaments and toiletries. She saves a little money by collecting *mohula*, which she spends at her will and pleasure. She usually does all household chores like — cooking,

fetching drinking water, cleaning the house, cleaning the cowshed — besides helping in agricultural work. A Koya girl never makes big expenditure decisions at the time of marriage, purchase of livestock, selling of household assets etc. *Throughout her life, she seems to be controlled by her father and brother and husband.*

At the time of marriage, the Koya custom is to accept bride price where the bride's parents get cash and other assets (pig, goat, hen etc) from the groom's side. But, there is no such valuable parental asset that is transferred to her at the time of her marriage. After marriage, if the married woman requires any help from her parental home, her brothers are usually not very keen to assist her. The brothers usually visit their sister's home and gift things like goat, hen at the time of need.

Land and orphaned Koya boys

A family was found in Akherpali village, which consisted of two small boys, aged nine and three, whose parents were no more. It was the eldest son Inga, a nine-year-old boy who shouldered all the responsibility in the house. He said that their father passed away first, followed by their mother. "We also have an elder sister who is married and stays in Madhya Pradesh. But she hardly comes to our village and stays with us for only a couple of days" said Inga. The children do not have any close relatives staying at the village who can claim their property by adopting them. No one from the village has also ever tried to encroach upon their ancestral property.

Both Inga and Adma have never been to school as they remain busy earning their livelihood at this tender age. They till the land, collect firewood and *mahula* from forest. But being so young, both the boys find it difficult to cultivate. Hence, they try to do other odd jobs in the fields of others like grass cutting and making small boundaries on land, for which they get an amount of paddy. Their own lands are mostly cultivated by other villagers, who give them only a small share of paddy. This happens because there is no fixed measurement system of exchange among the Koya community.

With regard to support from the community, Inga said, "The villagers do not intervene in our family affairs. No one has come forward to take care of us and we do not expect anything from the community either." However, till now nobody has tried to usurp the land from these orphaned children.

9. CONCLUSION

It is said that the tribal folks are tradition-bound and custom-oriented. The members of the community, who through socialization get themselves acquainted with and adhere to the social customs, usages, conventions, folk-ways, mores, norms, ethos, values and ideologies play their roles as actors in the social system not only in defining the social identity of the society to which they belong but also in transmitting them to future generations. In the process of transmission the customs undergo modification, reinterpretation and adaptation with the changing situation although some customs persist for a longer period. Factors, both endogenous and exogenous, are responsible for effecting such change and in course of time several old customs become obsolete and new ones emerge. Customary sanctions, therefore, are not rigid but exist in a fluid state and change in adaptation with changing time and circumstances.

Since, no society is static and change is inevitable, the Koya society being a simple tribal society is no exception to it. During the post-independence period various protective

and welfare measures are taken in tribal areas to bring about rapid socio-economic development of the tribal people through adoption of various protective legislations and area-specific, community-specific as well as family oriented schemes and programmes. Due to inroads of modernisation, planned development intervention, implementation of multi-sectoral development programmes including infrastructural development, economic upliftment, educational advancement, influence of mass-media, development of consciousness and awareness etc. the Koya like other tribal people are experiencing change in their socio-cultural life. The modern instruments like education, awareness, development interventions, PESA, provision of joint ownership by both the spouses of land under ST & Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act 2006, etc. if used effectively may go a long way in effecting the change in the ageold customs and traditions relating to male oriented property rights in the patriarchal and patrilineal Koya society.

10. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TRIBAL WOMEN FARMERS (SOURCE: CWLR)

- The collective rights of tribal women to land, water and forests should be recognized and mentioned separately in government plans and policy documents.
- Tribal women particularly those living within the forest area, as well as women in forest dependent communities should be guaranteed their individual ancestral ownership and inheritance rights as per customary law or laws of the state which ever are recognized as more gender just.
- Where access to privately owned land is not available, rights and concessions for livelihoods and subsistence use should be rationally provided for communities on public land such as Reserve and Protected Forests like Sanctuaries. In such areas the livelihoods and subsistence needs for fuel, fodder, water and plant resources must be ensured in policies and regulations that restrict women's access to it.
- Tribal and women living in forest villages should be given land rights so that they can have access to maternal and child care services and other developmental facilities in their villages.
- Sustainable use of village common assets should be ensured by providing sufficient land, as support areas for subsistence needs, particularly for women of forest dependent and tribal communities.
- The scale of extractive use of forests and common property resources (water bodies, forests, grazing lands etc.) should be limited by reforming laws to maintain primacy of subsistence use and local markets, rather than commodification for global markets.
- A section on the Forest and Land Rights of Tribal women should be included in the new Forest and Tribal bills.
- Tribal women should be supported and trained to assume leadership roles in formal public institutions through time bound programmes.
- Prohibition of forced eviction. Instead the government should propose a gender sensitive rehabilitation policy that makes provision for the restoration of tribal

women's livelihood and income generation. Women should also get legal rights to homestead land allocated as part of the resettlement package.

- Tribal women farmer's traditional wisdom and experience related to bio diversity conservation and enhancement, seed selection and storage, water harvesting, risk minimizing agricultural practices, and sustainable use of natural resources should be acknowledged, preserved and used for natural resource management, research, planning and decision making at all levels. This will also prevent them from becoming dependent upon expensive seeds, fertilizers and pesticides.
- Tribal women's right to collection of minor forest produce should be guaranteed by the Government as it constitutes a major source of their income and they are almost exclusively involved in collection, storage, processing and marketing of this produce. Market outlets need to be reserved for women groups.
- Tribal women farmers should be provided training in marketing their produce and support in setting up cooperatives. Primacy should be accorded to local use and for local markets of forest and tribal areas over and above the penetration of large and distant markets and the subsequent commodification of resource flows.
- The Lease forestry/Van Panchayat model of Uttaranchal should be replicated in other states. 1 acre of arable land needs the support of 5 acres of common and forestland as support area for agriculture. This should be ensured for tribal women farmers along with consolidated rather than scattered land holdings in order to provide for sustainable agriculture for them.
- The State Governments should promote and sponsor research and documentation of—
 - gender disaggregated data
 - gender just customary practices and
 - the divergence between customary laws and basic human rights

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Acknowledgements: I would like to thank the ActionAid India Bhubaneswar Regional Office and my colleague Sharanya Nayak who immensely helped in my field work as well in the group discussions and field level analysis, with her deep understanding of tribal life in Orissa. I thank Shri Chitta Behera who helped me with the secondary level data analysis and collection, and whose learning has always guided my study, and researchers Sitakant, Ashok and Pratima who helped me with the interviews in Koraput and Malkangiri. I thank Shri Gupt Panigrahi, a lawyer from Koraput for giving his legal opinion, Sabita and Shri Durga Tripathy, who have spent hours working with the Koyas and helped me with the language and develop rapport with the people. I thank my mother for her support always.

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STATE, DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE AND THE FORGOTTEN OUSTEES OF ROURKELA STEEL PLANT, INDIA: ENCOUNTERS & EXPERIENCES

Rajkishor Meher

Learning from the western experience of economic development, the developing countries of the world after their liberation from colonial rule in the 1940s and 1950s pinned their hopes on industry and urbanization to stimulate accelerated economic growth and the social transformations of backward regions. It was assumed that by making substantial investment in modern infrastructures and industries, the less developed countries could accelerate their economic growth and register fast increase in their GNP to reduce poverty and improve the quality of life of their citizens. Like all other developing countries, a largely populated country India soon after its liberation from the British colonial rule went for western development model. The ruling class and the elite section of population of the country were attracted and anxious to adopt such a development strategy, as they expected to have similar living standard for them like their counterparts in the western world by modernizing their traditional economy and society. Needless to say, the international economic and development institutions like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and others that came up after the end of Second World War to help in rebuilding the war-shattered economies in Europe and other parts of the world and also played key role in India's development planning by providing finance capital. In such a development model GNP (Gross National Product) became the key indicator to measure economic growth and development.

This model of development gives thrust on building up of many mega development projects. Over the years since Independence, the country has been incessantly planning many mega development projects like multipurpose dams for flood control, irrigation and electricity generation, large industries, thermal power plants, mines for exploitation of minerals and metals from the earth crust, large irrigation projects for development of agricultural sector, large highways, railways, airports, sea ports, modern cities and urban complexes, etc. to make India a large economic power. All these development projects are undoubtedly essential for the economic development of backward regions as well as poor and marginalized people and touch all sections of the country's population in a more equitable manner. The benefits emanating from such development projects are equally distributed between the losers that is the project-affected population and the beneficiaries. However, it has been observed that many such development projects often forget to resettle and rehabilitate the people who are displaced from their hearths and homes, not to speak of making the displaced and project-affected people the principal beneficiaries of development (Dhagamwar and Verma 2003; Mahapatra 1999; Areeparampil 1995; Mathur and Cernea 1995; Fernandes 1994; Baboo 1992 and others). In most of the cases, the displaced people are marginalized sections of society, mostly the tribals and peasants living with sustainable means of subsistence from land and forest. They get nominal cash compensation and relocation sites for their resettlement to

start a new life from the scratch in the new environment. The development economists and planners involved with designing and planning of the development projects assume that the project-displaced people would be able to restore and regain their lost livelihood from the compensation given for the loss of their assets in due course of time (Perera, 2000). According to them, displacement caused due to development projects is a short time trauma for the oustees for their transition to an improved quality of life in the long run. However, as revealed from the findings of many studies concerning involuntary displacement and resettlement in different parts of the country, the oustee populations have become the victims of development and they have been pauperized in their place of resettlement (Mathur, 2008; Cernea and Mathur, 2008; Parasuraman, 1999; Pandey, 1998; Sahu, 2000; Baboo, 1992; Fernandes and Anthony Raj 1992; Ganguly Thukral, 1992; Reddy, 1992&1994; Fernandes and Ganguly, Thukral and Others, 1989). Thus, in majority of the cases all such development projects, instead of improving the quality of life of people in project area, are generating new poverty among the oustee population by making them rootless from their original place of sustainable subsistence.

In fact, the rich and privileged people of the less developed countries at the cost of the poor and ecosystem dependent people monopolize the gains accruing from all such development projects. The cash compensations given to the oustee families of development projects for the loss of their assets like land, houses and other immovable properties are highly undervalued and under-priced to replace the lost assets in their place of resettlement. In many cases while the well-to-do families somehow manage to reequip the lost assets, the medium farmers land up as small farmers, the small as marginal farmers and the marginal becoming landless in their place of resettlement. In such a situation, the economic and social conditions of sharecroppers and the landless labourers further worsen and they find their existing skill obsolete to earn a living in the new environment. Based on the findings of many involuntary resettlement projects funded by the World Bank, the theoretical model for involuntary resettlement developed by Michael M. Cernea (1994) highlights eight impoverishment risks associated with all involuntary displacement projects. Those are:

- (i) landlessness
- (ii) homelessness
- (iii) joblessness
- (iv) marginalization
- (v) food insecurity
- (vi) increased morbidity
- (vii) loss of access to common property resources and
- (viii) community or social disarticulation

In the light of this, the present paper deals with the involuntary human displacement problems of one large mega projects of Government of India, the Rourkela Steel Plant (henceforth RSP) and the inadequacy of the state's resettlement and rehabilitation (henceforth R&R) policies. It may be mentioned here that RSP and two other public sector steel plants in Bhilai and Durgapur were conceived during country's Second Five Year Plan to increase iron and steel production for development of basic economic infrastructure and heavy industries for accelerated economic growth. Besides, these three public sector steel plants were expected to play catalytic role in transformation of the mineral rich backward tribal regions of India and to bridge the development disparities. However, after more than 50 years of functioning of the RSP in the region, it is found that

there is very little trickle down of the benefits of development among the people who sacrificed their homes and h'earths for this steel plant. On the other hand, the oustees in particular and the tribal population of the region in general have been deprived of their sustainable means of subsistence. They have become relatively more deprived and pauperized in the modern development process. This becomes evidently clear from the present state of living of oustee families in their resettlement colonies and reclamation sites, as analyzed and discussed in the present paper in subsequent sections.

Research Methodology

The fieldwork in the tribal belt of Sundargarh district in Orissa surrounding the Rourkela Steel Plant has been taken up by the researcher in different phases starting from his doctoral research stage in 1987-89 to 1997, 2001-02 and latest during 2007-08. For this specific study concerning resettlement problems of the oustee population, the field work was done in the selected resettlement colonies of RSP during March to August 2007 and in May 2008. By using interactive method and a suitably designed questionnaire schedule canvassed to the oustee households of the steel plant, the researcher collected all necessary information from the field. The study covered 200 oustee families of RSP by following stratified and simple random sampling method. The oustee households were classified into two categories: i) households that could get regular jobs in the steel plant, and ii) households, which could not get any regular formal jobs in the steel plant and were left with economic compensation to survive on their own. From each category 100 households were studied at random, thereby covering 200 oustee households in total. Thus, 200 displaced households residing at present in the resettlement colonies and villages surrounding the steel town, Rourkela were intensively studied to find out the actual state of living of the oustee population after more than 50 years of their displacement.

Historical Backdrop of RSP

It may be noted that RSP was the first among the three public sector steel plants that was constructed during the Second Five Year Plan of India. In December 1953 the Government of India signed an agreement with Krupp-Demag of Germany for establishing a half million tonne steel plant in the public sector. However, in July 1955 the agreement for the project was revised to double the capacity of its production with a provision for subsequent expansion of capacity to 1.6 million tonnes. The present site, Rourkela in the Chotanagpur plateau region of Sundargarh district, Orissa was selected due to its techno-economic advantage. The region was rich in good quality iron ore within a radius of 80 km. Limestone and dolomite, the two essential fluxing materials were available within a distance of 30 km. Manganese was also available in plenty in the nearby mines of Bonei-Keonjhar. Abundant power was available from Hirakud dam nearby. There was scope for getting adequate water by building a reservoir in river Sankh, a tributary of river Brahmani, at the bank of which the site was located (Meher, 2004:67). The construction of the steel plant was started in 1955 in a war-footing and the first blast furnace of the plant was inaugurated by the President of India. Dr. Rajendra Prasad on 03 February 1959.

Before the setting up of the steel plant, Rourkela was an unknown tribal village with a small railway station on Mumbai-Kolkata railway line. It did not have any town nearby and the region was mostly inhabited by the tribal population, who earned their living in a stage of semi-food gathering economy. Agriculture was mostly subsistence oriented and it was supplemented with food gathering from forest. They were not

acquainted with the culture of wage labour for their living (Meher, 2003&2004). They were all happy and contented in their existing eco-system of the region. As there was abundant forest resources to meet their limited needs. Rather in a state of less density of population, land was adequately available for all as a free gift of nature.

It may be mentioned that Sundargarh district was formed after the merger of two feudatory states namely, Gangpur and Bonei. Rourkela region was a part of the former Gangpur state. Both Gangpur and Bonei had more than 60 per cent tribal population and till the early 1950s that is before the setting up of RSP, the region was covered with dense forest and it was sparsely populated. Out of 62 tribes distinguished as scheduled tribes of Orissa, as many as 40 tribes are found in Sundargarh district alone. However, the numerically important tribes of the district are: Oraon, Munda, Kharia, Kisan, Bhuiyan and Gond. Prior to the exposure of the district to the outsiders, the tribals led a very simple and primitive way of life in their place of inhabitations that were restricted to remote and less accessible areas of the district. The Mundas, the Pahari or hill Kharias and the Pahari or Hill Bhuiyans were basically living in dense forests. They were mainly food gatherers, collecting honey, silk cocoon, lac, edible herbs and tubers and other minor forest produces. However, as the region opened up during the British colonial rule with setting up of the Mumbai-Kolkata railway line, the tribals also gradually resorted to settled agricultural activity by clearing forests. It is told that the kings and Zamindars of the erstwhile feudal states of Gangpur and Bonei had encouraged the immigrant tribals of Ranchi and Singhbhum areas of Chotanagpur to clear jungles and develop agricultural lands on easy terms and conditions (Senapati, 1975).

Before the setting up of the RSP, the government of Orissa in 1954 had conducted a socio-economic survey of Rourkela region in Sundargarh district covering 98 villages in order to assess the possible impact and transformation of the region after the functioning of the steel plant. The survey revealed that Rourkela region was highly agricultural to the core. However, the techniques used were very primitive and the yield of crop was very low. It was mostly subsistence oriented agriculture like other parts of Chotanagpur region. The region had 84.8 per cent agricultural families and 15.2 per cent non-agricultural families, as compared to 82.3 per cent agricultural and 17.7 per cent non-agricultural families in rural areas of Sundargarh district, and 82.9 per cent agricultural and 17.1 per cent non-agricultural families respectively in the case of rural Orissa as a whole. The landowners in the Rourkela region constituted 78.7 per cent of the total number of households, whereas for the district of Sundargarh and the entire rural Orissa the figures were 70.3 per cent and 56.4 per cent respectively. The landless agricultural labour families in the region were only 4.6 per cent as compared to 9.9 per cent in home district, Sundargarh and 21.6 per cent in Orissa. Also, the region had only 1.1 per cent non-owner cultivator families and land owning families that did not cultivate their lands were only three in a thousand. In this scenario, the tribal families of Rourkela region were agricultural to even a greater extent. While agriculture was the principal means of livelihood of 84.3 per cent tribal families, among the general caste Hindus 76.1 per cent families were reporting agriculture as their principal means of livelihood and among the scheduled castes the percentage of such families was 72.6 per cent. The average size of land holding was 8 acres in the region as compared to 7.9 acres in Sundargarh district and 5.1 acres in Orissa during early 1950s. The principal crop of the people was paddy and it was totally rain-fed. In addition, people were growing Jowar, millet, sugarcane, oilseeds and tobacco mainly on a subsistence basis. (Misra, 1958).

There were little socio-economic inequalities. Though the standard of living of people could not be called superior or poverty free, everybody had sustainable means of subsistence. The tribal people of the region who formed the numerical majority were almost happy in their habitats and ecosystem based living. They were dependent upon the forests to a great extent. They searched the forests for edible roots, leaves, fruits and flowers for their living. They collected minor forest produces like *myrobalans*, Mahua flowers and seeds, Dhatuki flowers, resins, gums, lac and also plucked Kendu leaf. This was an important source of subsidiary income for them to subsist their living. Till the 1960s the forest produces were sold or exchanged in the weekly markets to procure salt, rice, and other household items. The economic survey of the region conducted by the government of Orissa, however, revealed that the per capita annual income of people in the region was Rs.144 only. This was just half of the national level per capita income in India. Only those families pursuing trade, services and other profession as their main source of livelihood had a relatively higher level of earning. But they formed only three per cent of the total families inhabiting the region (Misra, 1958: 75).

In such a scenario of land and forest based living of people with little spread of literacy and modern education, when the survey work for the steel plant was done in the region, people were completely indifferent and they showed little interest. However, when they became aware of the survey and acquisition of their land and houses for the steel plant, the village people began to show resentment. In the last part of 1951, the Ganjhus or the village headmen of several villages in a public meeting passed a resolution that the people of the locality did not want steel plant by sacrificing their home and hearth. To pacify them the Government of Orissa issued a Press Note taking responsibility for the rehabilitation of displaced people. Notwithstanding this, the locals had started organizing themselves from around 1953 and an organization called, 'Steel Plant Site People's Federation' was formed to protect the interest of oustees. Within a short time, the agitations of the locals increased in magnitude and the leadership passed into the hands of politicians. However, in 1953 the then chief minister of Orissa, Shri Nabakrushna Choudhury in a meeting held at Vedavyas, near Rourkela assured the displaced people that their interest would be looked after as far as land and employment was concerned. This to some extent calmed down the situation and thereby removing opposition from the local people. Nevertheless, the discontentment and the opposition of the locals, especially the tribals against the steel project remained. The tribals demanded that in the matter of rehabilitation they should receive special consideration; otherwise they would be lagging behind the other communities because of their inherent weakness. For this they got the support of Catholic Church. The state authority in Orissa was, however, very keen and enthusiastic for the project. The construction work of the plant continued by acceding to various demand of the locals raised from time to time. The Company that was called HSL (Hindustan Steel Limited) at that time paid compensation money to the displaced people according to the standardized gradation of their land and houses. It also promised to employ at least one member in the steel plant from each displaced household. The Government of Orissa took the responsibility of rehabilitation of displaced people. Under the rehabilitation scheme, the government set up three resettlement colonies near Rourkela at Jalda, Jhirpani and Bandomunda and allotted 2400 sq. ft housing plots to all the the displaced families. Besides 15 reclamation sites were demarcated within a radius of 100 km of Rourkela by clearing forests. In these sites the displaced persons were allotted waste land for agriculture purpose and they were given Rs.100 as subsidy per acre for the reclamation of the land. However, this did not help much for the tribal households, as

many of them did not have proper record of rights over the land occupied by them. In the past the region did not have a proper land revenue system and many immigrant tribals of Ranchi and Singhbhum of Chotanagour region had been verbally allowed by the king of Gangpur state to settle in the region. As a result, they failed to get any rehabilitation benefits. On the other hand, the Ganjhus who were the recognized official owners of the village land took away the maximum amount of compensation money taking advantage of tribals' ignorance and illiteracy (Meher, 2004: 71).

It is found from the latest record about displaced people available at the Office of the Additional District Magistrate (ADM), Rourkela that altogether land in 33 villages were acquired for the steel plant and its township in Rourkela. The total land acquired for the purpose was 19,722.69 acres (7,984.89 Ha), out of which 14,824.18 (75.16%) acres were private land and the rest 4,898.51 acres were government land. The total number of families displaced was 2,901, out of which 1974 (68.05%) were scheduled tribes (STs), 279 (9.62%) were scheduled castes (SCs) and the rest others (22.34%) were general category households. Apart from that the plant was responsible for the acquisition of land in another 31 villages for the construction of a water reservoir at Mandira in river Sankh located at a distance of 30 km from Rourkela. According to the government record the reservoir submerged 11,964 acres (4,843.72 Ha) and the number of families displaced due to Mandira dam was 1,193. Although the detailed caste and ethnic picture of the Mandira dam oustee families are not available, it is quite possible that among the oustees the tribal families must have been around 70 per cent, as predominantly it is a tribal area. Even during 1961 census, the home district Sundargarh had registered 58.1 per cent tribal population, notwithstanding large scale exodus of caste Hindu population from the plains and other states of India in the wake of functioning of the steel plant at Rourkela. Precisely, thus, the setting up of RSP caused direct displacement of 4,094 families out of which around 70 per cent were tribals and another 10 per cent were scheduled caste households. The total livelihood sustaining land lost for the project was 31,687 acres (12,829 Ha), or say at the rate of 7.74 acres per displaced family.

The government record shows that the oustees were given only nominal cash compensation for the land and other lost properties, as per the price fixed by the government for different grades of land at that time. The cultivated lands in this part are of four types, viz. Bahal (best quality low lying paddy land), Berna (terraced paddy land), Mal (up paddy land) and Guda (dry land). The price fixed for compensation at that time for different categories of lands per acre was as follows: i) Bahal- Rs.900, ii) Berna- Rs.600, iii) Mal- Rs.400, and iv) Guda- Rs.200. For homestead land the price was fixed Rs.227 per acre. It is also revealed from the records that in the 15 reclamation sites none of the oustee family was compensated for the loss of Guda land and only 684 families were given 3,983.12 acres of agricultural land, which was in fact the waste land. Added to that, 625 families were given 155.40 acres for homestead land in the reclamation sites, @ 24.86 decimals of land per family.

According to the government records, land acquisition for the RSP and Mandira dam project started in the year 1954 and 1957 respectively and continued up to 1976. However, unlike the oustees of RSP, the Mandira dam oustees did not get all benefits extended to the former. They did not get any housing plot in the resettlement colonies set up for the RSP oustees. Even there was no firm assurance of steel plant job for one adult member of each dam oustee family. Later on after many protests, some of the oustees were considered for steel plant jobs and the problem continues till date. It may be

recapitulated that the Mandira dam affected 31 villages and submerged 11,964 acres of land by displacing 1,193 families. All those displaced families were rehabilitated in six resettlement colonies namely, Lachhada, Jhandapahad, Laing, Ushra, Jaidega and Bankibahal. In these six colonies all the 1,193 oustee families were given total 149.74 acres of homestead land, @ 12.55 decimals per family. The amount of agricultural land allotted to them in these resettlement areas was 1,833.22 acres and that also to the families having *Bahal*, *Berna* and *Mal* lands, whereas the average amount of land lost by a displaced family was around 10 acres. The record, however, does not show how many Mandira dam oustee families got land in these reclamation sites. Rather it is found that against the government record of 1,193 displaced families, 1,929 persons have accepted cash compensation of Rs.3,217,486.64, @Rs.1,667.96 per person and 130 persons refused to accept the compensation amounting to Rs.2,83,141.49. Similarly, it has been found from government record that 210 persons among the RSP oustees also refused to accept compensation amounting to Rs.1,94,440.55 at that time. That means the oustees were dissatisfied with the package. There were also more shareholders of the landed properties than the reported number of displaced families.

Although there was a better effort of land based rehabilitation of the oustees, this was found to be a half-hearted measure. There was no uniformity in the principle of compensation paid to RSP oustees and Mandira dam oustees. The decision relating R&R measures was totally adhoc and arbitrary.

The Oustee Families and their Present State of Living

Studies carried out by researchers substantiate the fact that cash compensation in its present form of practice and evaluation of assets value fail to capture the non-market social values of various assets and common property resources of the project affected area that provide the sustainable means of subsistence to the oustee population (Cernea and Mathur, 2008). It is found that often the cash compensation money is mostly exhausted in building up of shelter in the place of resettlement and in household consumption during the period of transition to the relocation site. More so, the sharecroppers dependent upon the land of absentee landlords and the landless labourers and artisans dependent upon the agriculturists for wage employment and sale of their wares under traditional system of *r* patron client relationship (*jajmani*), do not get any compensation for loss of their livelihood. Added to that such categories of oustees in their place of relocation often fail to revive their traditional caste occupations or make use of their traditional skills to earn their living. Thus, they become more impoverished.

This is evidenced from our analysis of the field data collected from the household survey of the oustee families of RSP. It is found from our data collected through stratified random sampling that 60.50 per cent of the oustee families in the sample are tribals and 6 per cent are scheduled castes (SC). The OBCs (Other Backward Classes) comprise 26 per cent and the general category households comprising higher caste oustees are only 7.50 per cent. The age profile of the population in the sample oustee families has revealed that around 23 per cent are children below 14 years age and 10 per cent are adolescent children between 14-18 years. The elderly people (60+) are around 5 per cent and the rest, 62 per cent in economically productive age group of 18 to 60 years.

However, when the educational level of persons in the oustee households is analysed, it indeed gives a discouraging picture of the quality of human capital. This

indicates socio-economic vulnerability and susceptibility to poverty and livelihood insecurity of the oustees. It has been found that around 35 per cent of the people excluding 0-6 age group population are illiterate. More so, among the literates two-fifths (41%) are just namesake literates with less than 10 years of formal school education. That means only around 25 per cent of the people in sample oustee families have reasonable level of education with more than 10 years of schooling. Among them around 5 per cent are general graduates and post graduates and less than 2 per cent are technical and professional degree/diploma holders including ITI and vocationally qualified people.

As compared to this, when we work out the educational level of population in the urban area of Sundargarh district comprising Rourkela steel city, the educational level of population in all age groups during 2001 population census is as follows: illiterate-27.74 per cent, matriculates and higher secondary pass with more than 10 years of schooling-22.76 per cent, technical diploma holders-1.69 per cent, and graduates and above including technical degree holders-9.26 per cent (Census of India 2001). This picture of education reflecting quality of human capital in the urban areas of the district including Rourkela city in 2001 is obviously better than the education level of sample oustee families of RSP for the reference year 2007-08.

It is because of the low level of education very few among the earners of oustee families at present found employed in the formal and organised sector economic activities. Only 55 oustee households (27.50%) have their principal earners working in the steel plant. Out of the 100 persons from the sample oustee households provided with jobs in the RSP only 55 work there at present and the rest 45 are retired from their service. The present generation earners of the retired steel worker households do not have any specific type of occupation. They manage by doing casual wage work or petty business taken up by their offspring. In some cases, the retirees live on interest earned from retirement monetary benefits deposited in the banks/Post Offices. Among the other 100 sample households who did not get any jobs in the steel plant, the majority (75%) earn their bread by wage earning besides cultivating the lands allotted to them in the reclamation camps. Interestingly, for all such families agriculture is no longer a major source of livelihood barring four oustee households. Of the rest, some do small and micro businesses and others have taken up self-employed type informal sector services such as rickshaw pulling, trolley and cart pulling, etc. As the earnings from the principal occupation in the case of majority of the households are inadequate for subsistence, the bread earners in all such households take up various subsidiary occupations starting from agriculture to dairy and animal husbandry, agricultural and non-agricultural wage work and collect minor forest produces (MFP) from the forest.

It is because of unsecured and informal nature of employment the present generation of oustee families of RSP live a very miserable life. The majority have virtually become landless. The younger generation lack necessary technical and vocational education to earn their living by pursuing modern non-agricultural sector occupations and services. They have become ecological refugees in the grafted steel city set up in their own homeland. It is also reported that many young people from the remote resettlement colonies like Lachhada, Amgaon, Kendro, Laing, etc. seasonally migrate to places like Goa, Hyderabad, Mumbai, Ahmedabad to work there as unskilled and semiskilled workers on contract and indentured basis. Due to lack of skill and technical knowledge the progenies of steel plant employees, who were earlier given employment in the steel plant as project oustees also now earn

their living by doing casual wage work in other small scale industries and businesses establishments of Rourkela. Many work as construction workers, some as masons and the majority as unskilled and semiskilled labourers. As a result, the majority do not have the minimum living standard of a present steel plant worker family placed in the lowest grade.

According to National Sample Survey (NSS) data 2004-05, a household with less than Rs.356.30 monthly per capita expenditure (henceforth MPCE) in rural area and Rs.538.60 MPCE in urban area is considered to be poor living below the poverty line. On that basis, it is estimated that according to mixed recall period the poverty ratio in India during 2004-05 was 21.8 per cent- precisely 21.8 per cent for rural areas and 21.7 per cent for urban areas (Government of India 2008). However, according to S. Mahendra Dev and C. Ravi (2008) the consumption basket of the poor based on which the poverty line is derived from NSS data of 1973-74. The composition of the consumption basket in 1973 hardly includes any expenditure on health and education as it was assumed that the basic needs of education and health would be met by the state. As a result, poverty line determined on the basis of the consumption basket of 1973-74 hardly includes expenditure incurred on health and education by a poor category household in India. So, they have worked out the new poverty line by including per capita expenditure incurred on health and education at present. The adjusted poverty line including health and education in the MPCE according to their estimates is Rs.391.60 in rural area and Rs.622.70 in urban area of India. By using this new revised poverty line, when we work out the poverty level income of the urban based households; this comes to Rs.3,238.04 or say Rs.3,240 per month for an average family comprising 5.20 persons. That means household with an annual income of less than Rs.38,880 in the urban area of India is a below poverty line category family. For the household living in rural area, the cut off level of BPL income is Rs.2036 per month or say Rs.24,440 per annum.

Table 1: Income Particulars of the Surveyed Oustee Households

Annual Income (Rs.)	No. of Households
Up to 10,000	8 (4.50)
10,000-12,000	10 (5.00)
12,000-15,000	10 (5.00)
15,000-18,000	20 (10.00)
18,000-21,000	9 (4.50)
21,000-25,000	15 (7.50)
25,000-30,000	23 (11.50)
30,000-40,000	23 (11.50)
40,000-50,000	16 (8.00)
50,000-60,000	9 (4.50)
60,000-80,000	4 (2.00)
80,000-1,00,000	16 (8.00)
1,00,000-1,50,000	26 (13.00)
1,50,000-2,00,000	7 (3.50)
2,00,000-3,00,000	2 (1.00)
3,00,000-5,00,000	2 (0.33)
Total	200 (100.00)

NB: Figures in parentheses refer to percentages.

Source: Household Survey of Displaced Families, 2007.

Applying this estimate, when we look at the income particulars of our surveyed oustee households shown in Table 1, almost 60 per cent (118 households) of them presently live below the poverty line. If we go by rural BPL income alone, 72 (36%) households in the sample are languishing in poverty. As against this, it is found that according to revised poverty estimates of Mahendra Dev and C. Ravi (2008:8) the revised poverty ratio in Urban India is at present 34.45 per cent. This clearly reflects the precarious living of the oustee families at present and the impoverishment they might have suffered from during all these years since 1950s. It is further revealed from the survey that 65 per cent of the oustee households in the sample have reported their inability to meet basic subsistence needs at present. Almost one-tenth among the oustee families report that they face starvation problem or no cooking of food during some part of the year, especially during the rainy season of July and August. The poorer households also send their children to work instead of sending them to school. More than one-third (37.50%) of the oustee families have child labour, who are sent to work to earn something for the family and also to acquire work experience and skill for their future survival. Only around one-fourth (26.50 per cent) of the sample oustee households live in an improved socio-economic environment. The main cause of deteriorating living of majority of the oustee households is lack of regular employment (72%). According to them lack of agricultural land and loss of access to common property resources (CPRs) are the main reasons for their worsening economic condition.

The poverty and miserable living condition of majority of the households is reflected in their dwelling condition of the houses in the resettlement colonies vis-à-vis the comfortable living of the lower grade plant workers in the steel township of RSP. Very few of the oustee households possess modern gadgets and high value consumer durable goods unlike the affluent blue collar worker households of the steel plant. On the other hand, some among the poorest of the poor category households have reported fall in their assets position in the post displacement period. It is revealed from the field data that 50 per cent of the oustee families at present live in Kutcha (mud-built) houses and 44 per cent of houses do not have separate kitchen. The rest other half, of course, live in pucca or cemented structure houses and floors, but only one-third of them having toilet facility in their house. Only 44.50 per cent of houses are having electricity connection. Some of the resettlement colonies of Rourkela oustees located in forest area do not have any access to electricity. One third of the oustees at present live in good houses with adequate living space, whereas almost one-third of the oustees have reported better condition of their displaced houses as compared to their present ones. Interestingly, although majority among them presently live in urban area, more than 80 per cent of the households use traditional cooking fuel like wood, brushwood, dry leaves and charcoal.

The health status of these people is observed to be very poor due to poverty and unsanitary living. It is reported that almost 20 per cent of the households are affected by illness of family members almost four times in a year and the access of the oustee families to the public health care services is reportedly very poor. More than half of the children are left un-immunised and only 36.67 per cent have received complete immunisation. The pre and post natal health checkups of expectant and nursing mothers are also reported to be very poor. Hardly 10 per cent of them get complete health check-up facilities and almost half of them remain completely left out. Malaria is reported to be most recurring disease and almost one-third of the oustee families have reported malaria in their house

during last five years. Apart from that more than one-fifth of the households suffer from the problem of rheumatic diseases. Other serious category of diseases observed among these oustee households are tuberculosis, skin disease, gastric, blood pressure, diabetes, diarrhoea and dysentery. Because of the disease burden majority of the oustee families spend a minimum of Rs.100 on medicine every month and some having chronic diseases spend up to Rs.1,000 per month. It is found that majority of deceased people die at a very younger age below the age of 60 years. Only one-tenth of the deaths during last five years were found to be old age death, whereas infant and child below five years shared almost two-fifths of the deaths and another one-fifth of the death had occurred in the age group of 15-45 years.

As discussed earlier, before displacement all the oustee families of RSP had a moderate but self-sustainable form of livelihood with limited wants. Almost all the oustee families had agricultural land. Agriculture was the principal means of livelihood for more than 90 per cent of the oustee families and the tribal households of the region did not have the culture of doing any wage work for their living (Meher 2003). They had free access to CPRs of the village and forest to meet their food deficit by collecting edible fruits like mangoes, jackfruits, custard apples, berries, black berries, mushrooms, tamarinds, Mahua (*Bassia latifolia*), bamboo shoots, Kendu (*Diospyros melanxylon*), and fish from the village ponds and streams. Although very few among them were rich with adequate food surplus, none had the problem of food insecurity or the threat of starvation because of good community life and fellow feeling to help one another at the time of crisis. The average size of land holding was 4.60 acres and 35.90 per cent of the land had access to irrigation facility also. However, their dwelling structure was very simple and more than 80 per cent had Kutcha or mud-built houses with thatched or country tiled roofs.

The majority of the households were living in joint family setup with an average family size of seven persons and almost three adult earners engaged in agriculture and allied occupations. Of course, there was little access of these families to modern education and health care facilities. The health care needs of the people were mostly met by using indigenous herbal medicines, black magic and offerings made by the village priests and Shamans. Because of the less polluting environment there was little threat of spread of epidemic diseases and mass deaths. People had enough time for leisure to pursue cultural activities like folk songs, dances, and festivals to derive pleasure and happiness. They did not have to bother for their next day food as agriculture, local CPRs and the forest of the region had enough storage of food materials for them round the year. Failure of agriculture due to occasional drought or flood had little effect on their livelihood as the local CPRs and the forest resources acted always as shock absorbers to bridge the food deficit.

Life in Resettlement Colonies

It is claimed that among the past oustees of development projects in India, the displaced persons of Rourkela were given one of the best R&R package. The displaced families were provided with land-based and job-based rehabilitation in order to sustain their living in the changed socio-economic ambience of the region. Shri Ramchandra Sahoo, President, RSP Displaced Persons' Association says that people of Rourkela were motivated to sacrifice their hearth and home at the call of the first Prime Minister of Independent India, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru. He asked the oustee population of Rourkela to leave their hearth and home to set up a public sector steel plant for the economic benefits of the local population in terms of industrial jobs and higher level of earning in future. However,

according to him the plant authority inhumanly evacuated many of the displaced families during rainy season. Even bulldozers were used to demolish the house and no arrangement was made for the food and shelter of the displaced people in the resettlement sites. People were forcibly loaded into trucks like animals and they were dumped in the reclamation camps located far away from Rourkela in Bonei subdivision area of Sundargarh district and in Deogarh subdivision area of undivided Sambalpur district. At that time, the sites chosen for resettlement of the displaced people of Rourkela Steel Plant were highly inaccessible and remote area in the midst of forest. There was hardly any road and transport facility and the land allotted to them in the resettlement sites were hardly suitable for agriculture. Therefore, people virtually starved and many died of epidemic like cholera and diarrhoea due to intake of inedible foods and contaminated water. According to him, until date in many resettlement colonies located in forest area the demarcation of forest and revenue land has not been made properly. Now there has been further land alienation in the resettlement colonies due to opening up of many sponge iron plants in and around Rourkela region in recent years. He says, in Tainsar 27 to 44 acres of land belonging to oustee families have been given to Jay Balaji Jyoti Industry, a sponge iron plant without the knowledge of the people. Similarly, another sponge iron plant in Kuanmunda has encroached upon the land given to the oustee families.

Many displaced families have not been given any jobs in the steel plant for the sacrifice made by their ancestors in the past. According to Mr. Sahoo, 3,500 tribal families and another 500 other caste families among the oustees of Rourkela have not been given any job by the RSP, although it was decided in principle to provide at least one job to an adult member of each of the displaced families. The total numbers of unrehabilitated families of RSP at present is 8006 including Mandira dam oustees. Mr. Sahoo says, the displaced people of Rourkela have many grievances that have been left unresolved since 1950s. First, they were inhumanly evicted from their hearth and home during rainy season without prior notice. The houses of the oustee families were bulldozed by using police force. Then they were dumped in 15 reclamation sites, located far away from Rourkela in forest area and without minimum basic amenities like water and food. They were asked to construct their own house on 2,400 sq. ft. plots and reclaimed the land allotted to each oustee family in the reclamation sites. They had to face many untold hardships starting from menace of wild animals to accessing drinking water, food, without educational facilities for children and dispensaries for health care services, etc. Even no step was taken by the authority to make proper demarcation of the land given to oustees. Until date, some of the sites do not have Patta or record of rights in the name of individual oustee families. No step has been taken for conversion of the forestland into agricultural and homestead land. This becomes more explicit when we analyze the problems observed and revealed from the discussions held by us with the oustees in two resettlement colonies of Rourkela, one rural and urban in the following section.

Lachhada Resettlement Colony

This colony is located 82 km away from Rourkela in the midst forest in Gurundia Block of Bonei Subdivision of Sundargarh district. Originally, around 200 displaced families from the villages like Bankibahal, Luakera, Sarumuhan, Badkacharu, Sankacharu, Hatimunda and Jharbeda were resettled here during March-April 1958. More than 90 per cent of the oustee families were tribals namely Kisan, Kharia, Oraon, Munda, and only two families were Lohar or blacksmith. Now the numbers of families have increased to

more than 300. It is reported that due to insecure living in the colony 50 among the original oustee families have left the colony and residing in Chanderpur area.

The colony has at present around 400 acres agricultural land out of which only one-fourth is actually cultivable land and the rest three-fourth is upland, not suitable for growing any cereals, as it is mostly rocky and stony land. Owing to poor quality of the land and lack of adequate water resources to protect the crop at the time of insufficient rain, the yield rate is very low. It is only around two quintals per acre and that often is reduced due to menace of wild elephants ravaging paddy fields for their food at the time of ripening of the crop. Majority of the oustee families get hardly three months of their food subsistence needs from the land allotted to them. They mostly depend on wage work and by collecting minor forest produce (MFP) to earn their subsistence. It was revealed from the discussion held with the people that a family on an average gets 30 to 40 days of wage employment sponsored by the Government in a year. However, the actual wage rate received from such work is only Rs.50 per day, although the official wage rate at the time of survey was around Rs.55 per day. The agricultural wage rate in the village was only Rs.25 per day for both men and women and such type of employment is very low as everybody works in family-owned farms and hiring of labour is done sparingly to meet family labour shortage. Apart from that, a family on an average earns around Rs. 2,000 per annum by collecting minor forest produces like Sal seeds, Mahua flowers, Kendu leaves, mushrooms, etc. and selling them in the local market. Some of the families having own trees, such as; Mahua, mango and tamarind, etc. earn another Rs1,000 to 1,500 per annum by selling raw tamarind, mangoes, Mahua seeds and flowers.

One family on an average has hardly one to two acres of agricultural land at present, as each of the original displaced families is now been divided into four/five separate families and the land has been divided among them all. In this situation, it is estimated that the average cash income of an oustee family of Lachhada shall not be more than Rs.5000/ per annum including wage income and earning made from the sale of MFP. Added to that, they earn around rupees three to four thousand worth of food grains from subsistence farming. Some of the oustee families subsist their earning through livestock rearing like goatery, piggery and by poultry farming. By doing this they earn another 1000 to 1500 rupees per annum. That means an average oustee family of Lachhada Resettlement Colony with much struggle, manages to earn an annual income of around Rs.10,000 or say about 250 US Dollars per annum or less than one dollar a day, an average. Oustee family of Rourkela Steel Plant residing in the resettlement colony located in the midst of forest now struggles for its existence. Interestingly, now the revised poverty line income during the Eleventh Five Year Plan of India is fixed at Rs.18,000 per annum for rural household and Rs.21,000 for the urban household. On this basis, when the average earning of the oustee families in Lachhada Colony is compared with the present poverty line income of Rs.18,000 per annum. Then more than 80 per cent of them will be identified as ultra poor category households surviving just on half of the officially declared poverty level income.

Out of 300 oustee families of this colony, only 24 persons are presently working in Rourkela Steel Plant and two among the retired employees of RSP are presently residing in the village. The colony looks completely isolated from the main habitation of the region. It has only one primary school up to Class V with 200 students and only 2 teachers. The teachers are regularly irregular in coming to school and teaching is hardly done. People

prefer to send their children to nearby Missionary school. The nearby health centre is located at a distance of 24 km and the Sub-divisional hospital is located at a distance of 40 km at Bonei. Transport and communication facility is very poor. There is only one bus plying from Jalda to Bonei via Lachhada Colony.

The colony is so isolated from Rourkela that the younger generation feels completely alien in the city of their ancestors' land. It is reported that for their sustenance every year around 100 young people from the colony seasonally migrate out to Mumbai, Pune and Goa to work there as contract workers through labour contractor. They migrate out from September to May and work in their place of migration as unskilled labour on contractual basis. There they get free accommodation and free food provided by the labour contractor and earn around Rs.1,000 to 1,500 per month. But as they live in an alien place and that too in urban environment, a migrant worker on an average saves around Rs.1,000 per month and by the time he/she returns to the colony, the total saving amount dwindles to around Rs.5,000 to 6,000 only.

RSP has hardly done any development work in the colony. Only a pond was dug in 1996. In the early years, there was acute water crisis during summer. There was hardly any tube well or sanitary well in the colony. Everybody was depending upon nearby Nullah, a small rivulet for water. Diarrhoea and cholera were frequently affecting people. During 1959-60, around 300 people died of cholera in Lachhada colony due to taking of contaminated water. Similarly, people in Kendro Resettlement Colony located at a distance of just 6 km away from Lachhada Resttlement Colony met with the same fate. The oustees of Bankibahal, Jhurmur and Jharbeda were dumped in this deserted place in June 1958. It is reported that the plant authority did not make any provision for food and water. On the onset of monsoon, due to intake of polluted water nearly 400 people died of cholera.

On the whole, the standard of living of people in the reclamation sites/resettlement colonies has deteriorated over the years. People mourn for the loss of their good quality agricultural land. The average size of holding has been reduced substantially and due to soil erosion and laterite variety soil; there has been a marked fall in agricultural productivity of the land in recent years. The top soil from the agricultural field is now almost eroded and it looks hardly distinct from the denuded forestland full of stones and pebbles. At present only inferior variety, coarse paddy is grown in the land and due to poor moisture retaining capacity of the soil and lack of water; nobody grows pulses after the harvest of paddy crop. There is no electricity supply in the colony even after 50 years of functioning of a big industry like RSP in the region. The colonies located in the interior forest area of Bonei face acute water problem during summer. The tube wells virtually go dry and many remain non-functional for months together, when they go out of order. As fluoride is found at high level in the ground water, fluorosis is spreading out among the people in many colonies. The miserable condition of oustees in the rural resettlement colonies of RSP is reflected more when we analyze the present living condition of a few oustee families individually by using case study method.

Kayo Oraon

Kayo Oraon was 80 years old at the time of our survey. He was resettled in Lachhada colony in 1958 from village Hatmunda, when he was just 21 years old. In Hatmunda, he was having 52 acres of land including 14.27 acres of Bahal (low land). Now he is having only four acres Mal (up paddy land) land in the resettlement colony and

leads a very miserable life in a dilapidated hut with very little aluminium utensils and a few earthen pots. He feels that he is very detached from his kith and kin, although four of his sons and wife presently live in the colony. His eldest son is now 50 years old and others are respectively 45, 43 and 40 years old. The original family is now divided into four families. His youngest son is issueless and presently staying with Kayo Oraon. The second son is a disabled person, but does not get any disabled pension. As the yield from agriculture hardly lasts for two to three months' food requirement of the undivided family, all his sons and their wives and children earn their living by doing wage work and by collecting MFP from the jungle. The living condition of Mr. Kayo and all his sons' families are observed to be extremely poor. Sometimes they go to bed without food, when they fail to get any wage work or MFP to sell in the local market to buy rice and other necessities. In this state of living, Mr. Kayo Oraon and his wife do not get old age pension. Mr Kayo virtually started weeping when I asked him about his last land holding and living condition before being shifted to the Lachhada resettlement colony. Seems due to lack of education none from his family was given job in the steel plant. He and all his sons are illiterate and although two of his grandsons have received education up to 10 years, none is now considered for a job in the steel plant or any other type of economic rehabilitation.

Patrick Bilung

Mr. Patrick Bilung was six years old when his family shifted to Lachhada Colony. In June 2007, he completed 59 years of his stay in the resettlement colony. He has studied up to Class IX. His wife is illiterate, but seems better aware and conscious than many other tribal women of Lachhada. Mr. Patrick belongs to Kharia tribe and he is Christian by religion. His family was displaced due to Mandira dam that supplies water to the steel plant and its township in Rourkela. In his original village Budhikudar, the family was having 45 acres of land- 10 acres in Budhikudar and 35 acres in Kantabeda. When the family was resettled in Lachhada after displacement, it consisted of four persons only namely, Mr. Patrick himself, his father, mother and one elder brother who was then 20 years old. The family was allotted only 6.71 acres of Goda (upland) land in Lachhada colony.

As compared to other oustee families in the colony, Mr. Patrick's present economic condition is reasonably good to meet his subsistence. He has only one daughter and she is married. She is a matriculate and against the displacement certificate of her father, her husband who is an ITI certificate holder could manage to get a job in the RSP in 2006. Mr. Patrick has been working as a peon at local LAMPS (Large multipurpose society) since long. He earns a consolidated remuneration of Rs.1500 per month at present. Since the family presently comprises of two persons only, Mr. Patrick and his wife, the family does not have much problem in meeting its basic subsistence needs. However, the livelihood support received from the land allotted to the oustee family is too low. The family hardly gets 5 to 6 quintals of paddy from the land presently being cultivated and that lasts hardly for five to six months' rice requirement of the household at present. In order to meet unforeseen and contingent needs like health care services, social rituals and functions, besides Mr. Patrick, his wife collects MFP from the jungle to supplement family's income. It was reported by Mr. Patrick that malaria fever seasonally affects many people in the colony every year. It affects some people two to three times in a year and this often puts the family into debt trap due to loss of earning and long days of confinement in bed. Mr. Patrick, himself was reportedly affected by malaria and he was admitted into a hospital for more than 30 days during 2006.

Notwithstanding Mr. Patrick's good economic condition, he looks vulnerable to poverty like many others because his principal source of living from land is quite uncertain and the service rendered by him as a peon of the LAMPS does not ensure his economic security as it is purely a temporary position without carrying any social security benefits for the old age. Mr. Patrick and his wife might suffer in future in case they do not get any support from their daughter and son-in-law in their old age, as the land presently under possession is not in a position to meet their annual subsistence needs.

Gabriel Dungdung

Gabriel Dungdung is a tribal Christian belonging to Kharia tribe. He is 51 years old and presently works in Post Office as mail carrier and earns a consolidated remuneration of Rs.3,000 per month. Gabriel was a small child when his family was displaced and resettled in Kendro colony. His present family size is five, comprising his wife (49 years), one son 22 years old and two daughters respectively 16 and 12 years old. His family was allotted 7 acres Goda land and none was given any employment in RSP as displaced person. According to Gabriel, his family was having eight acres Bahal land in Budhikudar and three acres Bahal land in Jaidega. All his land and the house were submerged in Mandira dam.

Presently although the family is managing to earn its subsistence because of the job of Gabriel, the future looks quite uncertain. His son is unemployed although he has studied up to Class IX. Two of his daughters are reading in school, the elder one in Class X and the younger one in Class VI. His wife has also studied up to Class IX. According to Gabriel, the family's living condition was very good in Budhikudar before displacement. As it was Bahal land, return was quite certain for the family to earn its living sustainably. After displacement, nobody from his family got any job in RSP, as his father was illiterate and he was a small child. When he became mature and tried for job in the RSP as a displaced person, it was found that somebody else was working in RSP against his Budhikudar's holding record. Therefore, he could not get the job in RSP and he did not put pressure, as in the colony he could manage to get the mail carrier job in the local Post Office. Now he is desperately trying to get a job in the RSP for his son, as the land allotted to the family hardly enables it to earn its three months' subsistence. According to him, the total yield of paddy from 7 acres Goda land is only four qtls and that lasts for only four months' food requirement of the family at present. Added to that, the family manages to earn around Rs.3,000 per annum by collecting MFPs from forest.

Thunu Kisan

Thunu Kisan, a resident of Lakhada colony is now 64 years old. He is illiterate and his wife, who is 54 years old, is just literate. The family at present comprises seven persons including one son and four daughters. Thunu's son is presently reading in Class IX and he is 15 years old. His eldest daughter is 17 years old and she has studied up to Class IX. His other two daughters are presently in Class VI and V and the youngest one is just four years old. The family earns its bread by doing wage work and collecting minor forest produces, as the yield from land lasts only for three months' food requirement. The present economic condition of the family is observed to be very miserable and during June to August, sometimes they go to bed without taking any cooked food. The family is listed under the BPL (Below Poverty Line) and has a small mud-built, thatched house.

According to Thunu, he came to the Lachhada colony as a small child along with his grandfather, father and others comprising 12 persons. In the colony, the family was allotted 5.40 acres Goda land and a plot to build its house. The family was shifted from Bankibahal, where it was having 8.40 acres land and house. Although, Thunu's family was not so well to do type, it had a sustainable form of subsistence from the land owned at Bankibahal. The members did not have to do any wage work for subsistence in the original village. Immediately after arrival at Lachhada the family passed through many misfortunes including food scarcity. Two of Thunu's brothers and one sister died of malnutrition and cholera that affected many in the colony in its first year of resettlement. In later years also, Thunu's family had to encounter the problem of premature deaths of two of his children, who died at their infancy stage of less than two months. Now Thunu does not see any future for his family and being an illiterate person he reconciles to his fate. He does not dream unlike others to get a job for his son in the steel plant, nor any miracle to rescue the family from its present predicament.

Jalda Resettlement Colony

Jalda Resettlement Colony located at the outskirts of Rourkela city accommodates more than 3,800 displaced families at present in three Blocks- A, B and C. The displaced families were from the acquired villages of RSP namely, Milmili, Jharabahal, Tarkera, Garjang, Panposh, Gudiatola, Tumkela, Durgapur, Mahulpali, Bandomunda, etc. According to the Sarpanch of Jalda Gram Panchayat, Mr. Chittaranjan Bhumij around 30 per cent of the rehabilitated displaced families in Jalda are well off and the rest leads a miserable living by doing wage work. All of them are landless. According to him, around 20 per cent of the plots in Jalda are sold and transferred to non-displaced people from the original displaced families. The housing clearly reflects the wide disparities in the living condition of the displaced families, some having good two-storied Pucca and concrete roof houses and the majority living in houses of mud-built and country-tile roofs.

The major problem of the colony is acute water crisis during summer and there is no provision for pipe water supply, although it is now almost a part of greater Rourkela. In 1969, an overhead tank for pipe water supply in the Jalda Colony was commissioned by the RSP. However, after four/five years, it became dysfunctional and people mostly depend on tube wells for drinking water. There is also acute sanitation problem. Only three ponds are provided to meet bathing and easing needs of oustees. These are not adequate for the displaced families, as their number has increased to more than 5,000 at present after the split of an original displaced family into three/four separate nuclear type families. The plots provided to them are also not adequate in many cases after the division of original plot into three/four separate plots. Some people are forced to take bath in polluted sewerage water of RSP discharged into open Nullah. As a result, many suffer from scabies and other skin diseases round the year. Access to public health care services and educational facilities is observed to be very poor. Jaundice is an endemic disease of the colony. More so, owing to malnutrition and drinking habit of country liquor around 30 to 35 per cent people in the colony are suffering from tuberculosis. There is no provision of streetlight in the colony. The plant has not taken any step to provide livelihood support to the displaced families, which failed to get any regular plant jobs for their adult earners.

The total land area of Jalda colony is 2,500 acres and each of the oustee families was given 2,400 sq. feet plot to build its house. Only some of the large families were

given two/three separate plots. However, after 50 years majority of the oustee families are now divided into three four separate individual families. The plot and job in the RSP has now become the bone of contention between the brothers. Added to that, none among the oustee family has been given *patta* or the record of rights for the land allotted to it in the Jalda resettlement colony.

It is observed as well as reported that almost all the reclamation sites where the Mandira dam oustees are rehabilitated and the RSP oustees are given agricultural land and plots to pursue their agricultural livelihood are left underdeveloped until date. Nowhere an oustee family is able to earn its subsistence from agriculture from the land allotted to it in the resettlement colony/reclamation camp. It is reported by the people that the displaced persons of Rourkela were demanding plots for their rehabilitation in the heart of the present steel city, Sector-6 area covering Golghar and Durgapur Hills. In addition, they were demanding agricultural lands in the periphery of the steel city. However, the Government allotted homestead land to them on the outskirts of the city and agricultural land in the far-flung areas of Bonei Subdivision of Sundargarh district and in Deogarh Subdivision of present Deogarh district. Further according to Mr. Naveen Pasayat, a leader of Rourkela Displaced Persons' Association around 20 per cent of the original displaced persons have been cheated by the non-displaced category people for getting jobs in RSP. As a result, the tussle and fight to get RSP jobs by the left out oustees is going on since long.

Conclusion

This clearly shows that nowhere the oustee populations after their long years of displacement are happy in the changed environment. The oustee families provided with one regular grade IV category jobs in the RSP could lead comfortable life for sometime only. It is a fact that many among them now reside in good cemented structure houses. But after retirement from the steel plant service, the majority feels the pinch of unsustainable living. Many see gloomy future for their progenies, as they are left with no other alternative except eking out a wage based living from the urban informal sector economy of Rourkela or as contract worker of the steel plant with just one-fifth of the monthly earnings of a regular grade IV category steel plant worker. As there is little development of human capital and there was no systematic plan for the resettlement and rehabilitation of oustee populations, the majority continue to languish in poverty.

Now it is observed that other than the impoverishment effects caused on the direct oustee population, many mega development-induced displacement projects like hydropower dams, mines and industries all over the globe are reportedly generating many unintended socio-economic effects on the sustainable living of ecosystem people due to ecological degradation of the environment and global climate change (Blaser, Feit and McRae 2004; ICPQL 1996; Eckholm 1982). The GNP-led growth theory is encouraging more and more intensive use of both renewable and non-renewable resources to achieve higher growth in a scenario of iniquitous distribution of the gain of development between the haves and have-nots. The rich and affluent sections in order to satiate their hunger for more and more luxurious life are found to be intruding and encroaching into the life sustaining resources of the poor ecosystem people. In the name of improving the life of the poor and poverty, the affluent omnivores having full control over the government machinery are virtually found to be exhausting earth's precious natural resources and

disturbing the ecological balance. They are putting much demand on utilization of the earth's renewable resources to maintain their luxurious life style. If this continues in the name of development one day the entire earth will turn into a desert and nothing will be left for the future generation to live a life of minimum basic subsistence even. In the name of development, the rich are promoting over-exploitation of fragile environmental resources. Since the currency of this development model, especially after 1950, the world has witnessed massive deforestation. The deforestation and over-exploitation of fragile resources directly affect the livelihood support of the ecosystem and people make them more vulnerable to poverty.

It may be noted that during early years of Indian republic this steel plant was set up in the mineral rich backward and tribal inhabited pockets of Chotanagpur plateau region with twin objectives to improve the socio-economic condition of backward people and to accelerate the pace of economic development of the country. It has broader social goals. In spite of that the people involuntarily displaced by this public sector unit could not get justice. They could not be made the prime beneficiaries of the development project. Rather, the poor and vulnerable sections among them have become development victims and they feel that they are being deprived of their sustainable and peaceful living. If this has been the state of development of the oustee population due to state sponsored development projects, the situation in the case of market driven industries presently being set up by the large private corporate bodies and multinational corporations may become worse in the future. This naturally calls utmost state care for the displaced and project affected people in the backward tribal areas of India and suitable modification of the ongoing development strategy that further marginalizes the marginalized poor.

It is a fact that around 70 per cent of the population in Orissa depends upon subsistence agriculture vulnerable to weather God. More than 80 per cent of the operational holdings are small and marginal type with less than five acres of land. Almost two-fifths of the state population at present lives in poverty and another one-fifths live just above the border line. In this scenario, industrialization and non-farm sector employment is the only means to lift the people of the state from their subliminal living. However, this cannot be achieved by simply promoting mega projects like dams, industries, power plants or mines without development of human capital. There is a need for balanced development of agriculture and industries by harnessing intermediate technology so that the surplus labour disguisedly unemployed in the agricultural sector could be absorbed in the non-farm sector economy for their sustainable living. The R&R experience of RSP should be a lesson for the state to look seriously into the human capital development of project-affected population.

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THE COGNITIVE ASPECTS OF GOTR CEREMONY

*Jagannath Dash
Suresh Ch. Pradhan*

According to "The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought" cognition system is the collection of inter related items of knowledge or belief held by an individual about a person, group, event, calve or objects or any subject either concrete or abstract. Every human individual establishes a number of such cognitive systems. The degree to which they are interrelated varies greatly. One of the characteristics of an ideology is the high degree of interconnection between the most important cognitive system.

According to Parsons "All cognition is couched in symbols but where as scientific thought involves only a sample symbolic relation" that is the symbol refers directly to an observable object a religious symbol double symbolic reference.

It has been assumed that the world view of the people, i.e, the way of the people see themselves in relation to the world around them gives us a lice about themselves in relation to the "Gotr Ceremony".

World view does not start from any choice of a particular life. It does not emphasize ceremony or social structure or personality or even ethos system of moral norms. It enters seriously into the possibility of devising a form of thought for general use of the real whole of the little community that awaits the insiders' total vision and conception of everything (Redfield 1971:95).

The Gadaba and their Universe:

Gadabas broadly divide the universe into three namely 'Bhitarpur' (inner world) (Dhartan) or earth and another one is Debata Desh" or Sky. To the Gadabas the earth is a round shaped flat surface and sky is hollow round shaped structure overbearing it.

This structure of the Unviverse as presented by the Gadabas appears to be some what like circular and is very similar to the structure of their traditional house known as "Chendidien". They have a strong belief that the Gods live on the sky. After one's death, his spirit lives in the underworld known as 'Bhitarpur'.

Natural Domain and Supernatural Deities:

In the Gadaba society almost every natural phenomenon is animated and presided over by supernatural spirits. They talk of a number of such spirits each of whom have a definite area of activity in nature. Gadabas worship and offer sacrifice to other deities from time to time, and endeavour to keep them in good humour. These supernatural spirits are thought to play important role in their life and activities.

Gadaba Beliefs and Secondary Mortuary Rituals.

In every stage of life thus Gadabas have some sort of beliefs and practices according to their world view or according to their vision of the world around.

Belief in Soul and Supernatural Being:

Gadabas believe that death is caused due to the departure of 'Jiv' or life substance from the body. When 'Jiv' (unseen power) is present inside the human body, it is alive and after its death the unseen power or 'Jiv' goes to the inner world or 'Bhitarpur' after which the soul undergoes salvation. They call the spirit as 'Duma' and for 3 days following the death of a person the spirit or 'Duma' moves around the deceased person.

After the 'Tigat' ceremony is completed, the spirit is permitted to move around the burial ground.

After 10 days ie, after completion of the 'Dasa' ceremony, the spirit 'Duma' moves every where.

They have a strong belief that after the death of a man, his spirit roams here and there restlessly before the performance of the Gotr ceremony. After the completion of Gotr ceremony, the spirit gets salvation and can enter into the 'Bhitarpur' -the land of the dead. In the 'Bhitarpur' the spirit lives like a human being. In this world, the spirit maintains his life like a cultivator. Therefore the relatives of the deceased give some money in cash, new clothes, *pendum*, food and some ornaments in the cremation ground. They have the belief that these materials will be useful for the deceased in the 'Bhitarpur' and the Spirit may not return to the house after getting all these.

In the Gadaba society unnatural death rites are observed in a different way. Those who have met with unnatural death, their spirits cannot enter into the land of dead or 'Bhitarpur' and mix with other spirits and so they move restlessly and may cause troubles to the people until some special rituals are performed for them. So special rituals are observed for them at the burial ground as well as the place where the person died.

They treat the deceased differently at the time of ritual according to its type of death. They never set fire to the person who dies in an unnatural way because they believe in a story that the smoke from the fire may cause disease, death etc. in the village. So no cremation will be done for them. For them unnatural deaths are deaths by the attack of tiger, bear, due to diseases like small pox, leprosy etc., due to accident by falling from the tree, due to snake bite, due to earth quake or lightning etc.

They have a strong belief that though these kinds of spirits are already polluted they will never mix with the other spirits because they are controlled by the evil spirits. So elaborate purificatory ceremonies are omitted for these types of spirits. In the cremation ground 'Chorubhai' cook the *chorubhata* "sacred rice" for the deceased and before setting fire on the dead body he first purifies the dead body by giving this rice. They believe that after getting the rice, 'Duma' of the dead person is purified and he can mix with the other 'Dumas' and after the return from the burial ground, all persons take bath because after bath they can be free from the 'Dumas' contact. After returning home they wash all their clothes and clean the houses with cow-dung for purification. In the cremation ground they burn or bury all the daily use personal articles of the deceased person. Because they believe that all these materials will be used by the deceased in the underworld or the 'Bhitarpur'. In the eyes of Gadaba, soon after

the death of a person his spirit lives around the Gadaba habitat and after the 'Gotr' ceremony, the spirit or 'Duma' gets salvation and the spirit can be able to go to the other world and become one of their ancestor Gods.

Pollution starts immediately soon after the death of a person which lasts for 10 days and becomes over after the 'Dasa' observance on the 10th day. The pollution period is called as 'Sandatsute' 'Sutak sanda'. Among the Bada Gadaba it is called 'Baipa'.

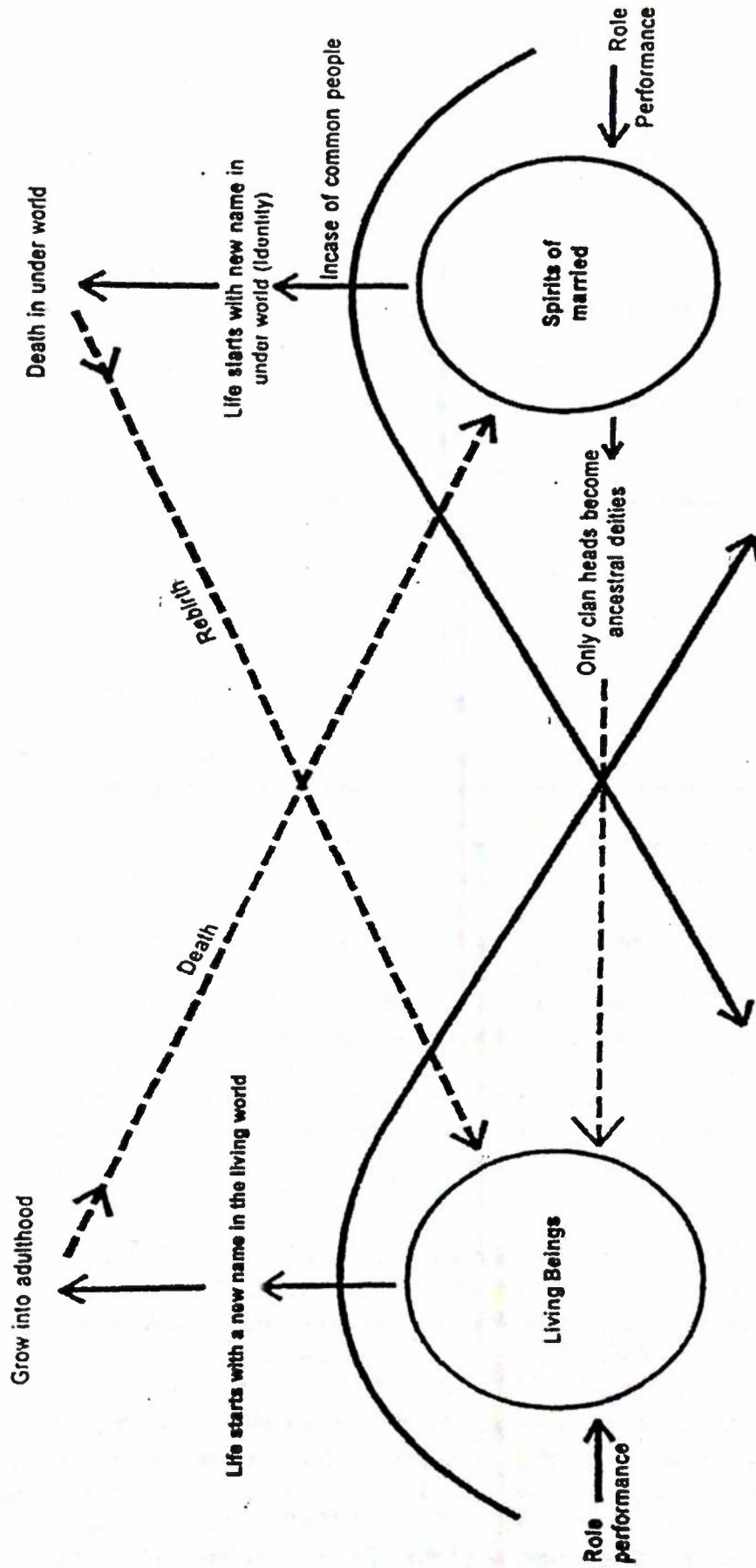
The Chief mourner never takes food which is cooked by others upto the performance of "Dasha" ceremony. Since the clan members outside the lineage are not polluted, they are free to take food in their usual manner. During this pollution period, the deceased family is not allowed to participate in village. After two days of the death of a person that is the day of the (Tigab) ceremony, Chorubhai cooks the sacred rice and sacrifices a black fowl in the name of the 'Duma'. They believe that after getting the blood, the spirit can show it as its property to the 'Gogaigo' - the king of the Dumas' to please him. This day a special fish curry is prepared for the spirit or 'Duma'. After getting this fish, he becomes satisfied and enters into the stream to cool his body. Some portion of this food is offered to the 'Duma'. Inside the kitchen room, some offered on the path halfway to the funeral ground and some on the ashes of the funeral pyre. All the relatives follow the Chorubhai. At the cremation ground, all the relatives as well as Chorubhai offer rice, curry, liquor and one white cloth in the name of the deceased. The belief behind this is that all these materials will be the asset of the spirit in the 'Bhitarpur'. On this day a feast is arranged because they believe that after the "Tigab" ceremony" or 'Pita' ceremony the spirit or 'Duma' can get freedom to move outside the funeral ground within which it has been confined. On this day, after getting the Choru bhata' (sacred rice) from the Chorubhai "Duma" is purified and gets the scope to mix with the other 'Dumas'.

In case, a young child dies before the rise of his milk teeth this treated as unnatural death so burial takes place instead of cremation. In case of adult persons family members and kinsfolk keep the personal articles of the deceased. His maternal uncle keeps one item with the belief that the deceased will recognize his maternal uncle in the other world. At the cremation ground both *Panjia Bhai* and *Choru Bhai* take part. They set fire to the dead body. First, the *Panjia Bhai* sets fire at the head side and then *Choru Bhai* sets fire on the opposite side. Therefore *Chorubhai* takes the leg portion and *Panjia Bhai* takes the head portion of the sacrificed buffalo at the time of Gotr ceremony. While returning from the cremation ground, *Chorubhai* takes the "Duma Tangia", an axe used during cremation and keeps it on the roof of the house with the belief that the spirit will never come to this area. (Refer to Gadaba world view Life and Death shown in the following Diagram)

Dasha

The second 'Tigab' ceremony is called as 'Dasa' (also in Oriya). No other ritual is performed in between the 'Pita' or 1st 'Tigab' ceremony and 'Dasha'. This second 'Tigab' ceremony is performed on the 10th day or even after one year in some rare cases. On this day 'Chorubhai' as well as 'Panjiabhai' play vital role. The 'Dasa' is performed for the partial salvation of the spirit. After 'Dasa' ritual is over, they have the belief that the spirit may be free to move any where except to enter the other world. Both 'Chorubhai' and other Brother (Mamu) cook their rice separately. The rice cooked by the 'Chorubhai' is called as "Chorubhata" and the rice cooked by the mother's brother is called as 'Mamu Choru' and besides there is another type of rice cooked by the relatives called as 'Mukula Bhata'. One pig is sacrificed in the name of the "Opggi" the deity of death.

GADABA WORLD VIEW OF LIFE & DEATH



Role Expectations
Cooperation from the souls and supernatural blessings from the Ancestors

Role Expectations
(Co-operation from the living for Gotr performance for good spirits and offering for evil spirits)

The 'Gogig' is the supreme controlling authority of the spirits or 'Duma' without whose permission no 'Duma' can move out of its area. The maternal uncle brings a cow categorized as "Muali" and it is sacrificed in the name of the deceased. This sacrifice is mainly performed by the Disari, the village priest. The liver and blood of the cow is collected by the maternal uncle who offers it to the deceased in the cremation ground. Because they believe that the 'Jiv' or soul lies inside the liver they offer the blood and liver of the cow in the name of the 'Duma' of the deceased for whom the Dasa is performed with a belief that the cow will be an asset for the deceased in the underworld or 'Bhitarpur'. This also confirms their belief in rebirth and life in the underworld. Both 'Chorubhai' and maternal uncle sacrifice fowls in the name of the ancestral spirits to allow the spirit or Duma of the deceased to enter into the spirit world or 'Duma Jagat'. On this day Chorubhai, Panjiabhai, mother's brother, paternal uncle along with other relatives go to the cremation ground and offer rice, *pendum*, different types of newly harvested crops, vegetables, small pieces of cloth and different types of dishes prepared by the relatives and themselves. The belief behind this ceremony is that the 'Duma' will take this cow and other material to plough his land and have a peaceful life. Therefore, slaughtering of one cow is a must for the ceremony. If the slaughtering cow is omitted, then the 'Duma' with utter dissatisfaction will kill the human beings and cattle. All the offerings are considered as the property of the deceased so they offer several items like plough, axe, kodki, yoke, rope, *bidi*, liquor, shoes, etc. at the "Bejarna" where Chorubhai offers one *chatodi*-bamboo cap one small paddy container made of bamboo, one earthen pot 'Patti' one piece of cloth, some *ragi*, *suan*, black gram, horsegram, *kating*, paddy, rice, some amount of money, 'bidi', tobacco etc. at the burial ground while other relatives offer different types of food grains, fruits, vegetables and different types of cooked food. All the types of food are cooked by them. At the time of offering all these items at the cremation ground, they usually face towards the direction.

Among the Bada Gadabas, 'Gotr' ceremony is a must. But among the Ollar Gadaba there are two groups. One group is known as 'Gotaria' who observe the Gotr ceremony like the Bada Gadabas. But the other groups called Kakadagodia observe this Gotr ceremony on the day of 'Dasa' or at the time of the 2nd 'Tigab' ceremony. They call it 'Sudhi Gotr' or 'Thuri Gotr' and celebrate it for 2 days. They celebrate the 'Dasa' like the Bada and Ollar Gadabas, but besides this, they also observe the 'Gotr' on this day by tying a buffalo in the name of the deceased which is later on taken by the 'Panjiabhai' from the Gotr doer on the 2nd day of Dasa. Though they do not observe it like 'Bada Gotr' they follow its major principles and procedures.

Gotr Ceremony:

Gadabas believe that after the 'Dasa' or second 'Tigab' ceremony is completed, the spirit of the deceased cannot enter into the underworld or 'Bhitarpur' and therefore, cannot get salvation. They believe that unless and until the great festival called 'Gotr' is performed one cannot move into the underworld or become an ancestral spirit. According to their beliefs and tradition they practise it in different stages. In every step they have some religious beliefs and practices which shape their style of living as well as thinking.

Dumabhariba Puja' or (Bane Bhairab)

This is the first step of 'Gotr' ceremony which comes in the month of 'Magha' (Oct-Nov). With the help of Gotaria Dishari the Gotr doer performs the ritual at the ground, as they believe that after the Dasa' or 'Tigab' ceremony, the 'Duma' or the spirit of the

deceased wanders restlessly. This day 'Disari invites the spirits into the village premises and controls the evil spirits and limits their movements within a specific area. Gadabas believe that though the physical body of the moon can decrease or die but the spirit never dies and it takes rebirth again. 'Disari' invites the 'Gagy' who is the supreme of all spiritual beings and takes his permission by offering the rice, *pendum*, fowl, pig, etc. Disari ties all the spirits and 'Hundi debata' (Village deity). Sacrificing a pig in the name of the 'Gagi' he, 'Gotaria Dishari' offers the pork to all the spirits for whom the Gotr is going to be celebrated. Chorubhai cooks the 'Chorubhata' or sacred rice and offers it to the spirits in the cremation ground to purify them so that they can participate the 'Gotr' ceremony.

Disari first sacrifices a pig in the name of the 'Gogy' who is the supreme deity of death. After the Chorubhai cooks the 'Chorubhata' (sacred rice) Disari sacrifices a pig in the name of 'Gogy'. He offers fried blood and liver of the pig to 'Gogy' with rice by chanting spells that we are offering your desired things and you keep us in peace, bless us with wealth, and our children and no one should suffer from diseases or any type of loss during the Gotr ceremony. After that, 'Chorubhai' offers the sacred rice to 'Gogy' and then to other spirits. They believe that after receiving the 'Chorubhat', the spirits became purified and can enter into the villages. 'Disari' invites the spirits and offers Chorubhata in a jackfruit leaf plate to each one. He gives life to all these 'Dumas' (spirits) by spells (Mantras). From this day beating of drums start. The reason behind the beating of drum is that by hearing this sound, no spirit or 'Duma' can dare to do any harm to the Gadabas. From this day, every 'Gotr' doer offer cooked rice and 'pendum' to their ancestors till the end of the 'Gotr' ceremony. During this period, if any one dies or any one suffers from any kind of disease, then Disari performs another ritual by offering a fowl or goat in the name of the 'Gogy' for his satisfaction on the day of Banabhariba puja. Disari puts four flags or 'bana' in four directions of the village as a result, the 'Dumas' from village neither go out nor the other evil 'Dumas' from the outside can enter into the villages by hearing the Duma music. Before the end of the ceremony, one can not dare to touch the flag because there is a strong belief that the person who touches it, after his/her death the spirit cannot enter into the underworld and remains impure. This 'Banabhariba puja' implies the welcome ceremony of the Dumas to the villages in order to attend the 'Gotr' ceremony.

In the month of 'Magh (Jan-Feb) on an auspicious day, 'Gotaria Disari' performs a ritual called *podakina* or purchase of buffaloe by offering one hen, one fowl and one parrot in the name of 'Gogy', 'Hundi' (village deity) and 'Bhima' debata. Then the Disari can give order for the purchase of buffalo for the purpose. The reason behind selection of buffalo as sacrificial animal for Gotr ceremony is that buffaloes are the powerful as well as useful animal of their area like the Gadabas are as humans and hence the buffaloes are the right substitute for invoking spirits or Duma in their body.

Disari first gives permission to the person of the family who proposes to tie the 'Kuti buffalo'. He gives a one rupee coin and a rope by enchanting spells with a belief that the Gotr doer can get the buffalo in a cheaper price and no evil spirit can do any harm until the rope is tied around the neck of the buffalo. After the purchase of *khati pod kuti buffalo* is over, the purchase of other buffalo for the Gotr ceremony starts. Every Gotr doer sacrifices a hen in the name of their ancestors before going to the market or to any other village for the purchase of buffaloes. They select the buffalo according to the sex, colour, structure, size of the deceased person for whom the Gotr ceremony is being organised. It shows that Gadabas compare the buffaloes somehow with the human being.

They also have the belief that after death of a person, his/her sex cannot change. He/she again takes rebirth after the salvation in the underworld. After purchase of buffaloes for the ceremony is finished all the Gotr doers jointly sacrifice a fowl in front of the Hundi debata (village deity) as she looks after the welfare of the village.

After all buffaloes for the ceremony are purchased, on an auspicious day, Disari sacrifices a fowl in the name of 'Hundi' debata in order to keep peace in the village during Gotr ceremony. On the scheduled day which is selected by the Gotaria Disari, they observe a ritual called as 'Subhadia' (foundation day) few days before actual performance Gotr ceremony. With the help of 'Chorubhai and mother's brother of the 'Kuti doer' who is selected as the leader or main sacrificer among the Gotr doers proceed to village 'sadar'. With music party villagers also accompany them. 'Disari' sacrifices hen's egg in the name of 'Hundi' debata by chanting spells. Then, he offers some rice and pendum to her. After some dance is performed by the villagers 'Disari' plants a 'Simili' (silk cotton) branch in front of the Sadar in the name of the ancestors. After that two other 'Simili Mundas' are posted one at 'Ghana Gotr Munda' (Gotr dien) and another at the outskirts of the village which is known as 'Pada Gotr Munda' and 'Gotr Langbo'. These 'Simili Mundas' are posted for the memory as well as for the sitting arrangement of the ancestors, village deity and the Dumas for whom the Gotr is celebrated. The Simili Munda posted at 'Sadar' is meant for the village deity. The Simili Munda posted at Gotr dien (in front of the house) is meant for the spirit or 'Dams' for whom the Gotr is celebrated and the 'Simili' tree posted at Pada Gotr Munda or at the village outskirts is meant for the departed souls.

Gadabas have a strong belief that the departed souls are in a restless position before Gotr ceremony and they always like to sit under the 'Simili' tree. Simili branch are preferred as they grow without any care and remain as a memory for a long time. Before they cut the 'Simili' branches for the purpose, they worship the 'Riali debts' by offering a hen's egg with some raw rice. It indicates that they take permission and pay respect to every one before using anything for the purpose. On this day, every Gotr doer cook Chorubhata or sacred rice and offer it in the name of their ancestors and the spirits or Duma for whom Gotr is conducted.

Seven days before the Gotr ceremony is to begin the donor distributes unhusked rice to all the women of his village for pounding and gives 3 chickens to the priest (Sisa) who sacrifices them in the name of the God called 'Gumang'. Except this rite, Sisa has no other ritual function during the 'Gotr' ceremony. However, 'Disari' a seer and magician plays the major role in Gotr. It indicates that, only the magician or seer can control the spirits seven days before the commencement of the ceremony. The first day of the Gotr ceremony is called 'Gatamela' or 'Jogarna' (no sleeping day). As the guests from the neighboring villages assemble, those who have brought buffaloes, hand them over to the donor who ties them with his own animals to special posts put up for the purpose called 'Gatamunda' and 'Gotr Munda'. Before the guests arrive, temporary shelters are built by the villagers to accommodate them. After the relatives take food they along with the villagers gather near the 'Nggom Munda' which is the donor family's own stone place. Disari first goes to the 'Kuti Gotr doer's 'Nggom Munda' accompanied by music party and villagers in the night because they believe that night time is the working time or time for the Dumas. Disari sacrifices a hen and offer rice, in the name of the ancestors. Then the Chorubhai brings two big stones with the help of villagers with proper ritual performed by the village priest 'Sisa'. 'Sisa' sacrifices a chicken before taking the stone from that area in

the name of 'Biren debta'. I have seen in the village Kangarapada that while people bringing stones for the purpose, one stone fell down and broken into several pieces and Sisa has to offer another 'puja' by sacrificing one more chicken in the name of 'Biren Debta' to satisfy him. Chorubhai and Panjiabhai with the help of villagers erect two stones at the 'Nggom Munda', one placed horizontally and the other, vertically. The horizontal one is called as "Silbiren" and the vertical one is called "Sanserbiren". They put these stones in front of the Simili branch which was posted earlier on the day of 'Subhadia'. These stones are posted with a belief that the spirit or 'Duma' can sit here and bless the villagers. Posting one stone vertically and the other one horizontally, the whole structure looks like a chair and is considered a respectful place for sitting. After the 'Gotr' ceremony is over, these stone may remain for the memory of the deceased persons. After the stone plantation is over, 'Disari' and a respectable old man of the village sit on the stone and take bath and take pendum on it. The younger people cannot sit on it because it is treated a seat for the respectable persons only. After this, the 'Panjiabhai' can sit on it which implies the 'Panjiabhai' is very closer to the ancestor or he may be a respectable person. 'Panjiabhai' can sit and take pendum on it. After this scene is over, all the villagers and relatives give a ceremonial bath to the 'Kuti buffalo' and hand over it to the Disari. Disari feeds the uncooked rice to the animal with chanting of *mantras* after which the Chorubhai feeds the cooked Chorubhata and then the Gotr doer families feed the Chorubhat before feeding the donor and address the Duma of the person with the following words:

'Under kopera Odemyu Sardangu Som,
bainen pingi dutu sardagu som,
baiburon elscrgh duka'.

This means do not be angry with us, eat gladly, brothers have come, eat gladly be gracious to your kinsmen. During the feeding the women weep, remembering their dead relations and then men sing the following Gotr songs:-

'Tor sathr acisi, tar Agari aisi
gigil gilo rilong barbar. barorilong
baro samdi piping dutu, barabhai
piping duta, terobhai piping dutu
Kasdinmiya rengu, buba niya rendu,
man duka andemu, roan hanuh ardemu'

This song means-

Your enemy comes, your foe comes, hit him heard with your hand and drive him away, twelve maternal kinsmen and in-laws have come, twelve brothers (paternal kins) have come, thirteen brothers have come. Do not cry when they take you away, do not weep when they take you away, may your mind feel no pain, may there be no ill feeling in your mind.

This Gotr song indicates their belief that the spirit of the deceased in whose honour the ceremony is being conducted is represented in the form of the buffalo. So they request and prey surrounding the buffalo. They try to finish their enemies through the Duma. The neighbouring Doms can not feed Choru to the buffalo because Gadaba treat them as inferior and untouchable caste. Entire night the drum beaters beat their drums.

In the following morning the relatives and villagers gather and make a large fence of Simili branches and all the buffaloes which are meant to be, given away at the Gotr are now taken in and fed ceremonially every day. Besides rice and curry, which are served to them in fine leaf cups. They are also given beer to drink. The people pat the

buffaloes and wail. Womenfolk scratch their cheeks with their nails so that the blood comes out, while they beat themselves on the head and weep uncontrollably. Because they have a strong believe that the buffaloes, carrying the deceased spirits of the families, that is to say, the spirits of all those who have died since the last Gotr ceremony are washed with warm water just as one does when there are important guest in the village and then they are rubbed with oil and gave a bath. After that the Kuti Buffalo eat the same. In a Gadaba village there are so many Kudas or Bansa such as Kishani, Muduli, Sisa etc. In every Kuda they have their own 'Nggom Munda' or 'Ghana Gotr Munda' where they tie their respective buffaloes. Similarly at the outscarts of the village and not far from the place where the deceased are cremated they have their own stone plan which is called as 'Gotr gbo'. In this place each Kutum have a separate Gotr Langbo.

The day before the 'Gotr' feast is called as 'Pakhana buha' day for the sleepsless deity. This day Panjiabhai from the nearest villages comes with drums, ropes and poles from the places from where Disari selected stones. Before lifting the stones Sisa or the village priest worship the Biren debta by sacrificing an egg on the stone by chanting some *mantras*. They carry the stones with the help of poles accompanied by continuous drumming up to the village *sadar*. They also carry two pair of stones, two Simili branches, rice, pendum, leafcup and plate, *mahuli* liquor etc to the Gotr village. Mainly the male persons lead the procession. Before the entrance of the village the villagers welcome the panjibhai with continuous drumming. This is the welcome ceremony to their guests or Panjiabhai. Gotr villagers jokingly beat the *panjibhai* and colour his face of the Panjibhai with mud and dust which Panjiabhai reciprocates. The entire atmosphere became very pleasant amidst merry making. This is done to strengthen their relationship. One pair of stone is planted at *sadar* and another at *pada* 'Gotr' munda by the Disari. They plant one pair at *Sadar* for the memory of the village head and another pair at *pada* 'Gotr' munda for the siting place and memory of the deceased. After Disari worshipping the stone by offering rice, pendum as well as by sacrificing a hen the elder persons, dig holes and younger persons erect the menhir (*silbirel*) and lay the flat stone (*sanyara biren*) in front. After that rice bear is served. Women as well as children dance together. The drinking, drumming and dancing lasts the whole night and therefore the day is called as "No sleep day or *jagarana*. Every 'Gotr' doers sacrifices a cow and give feast to their guests and relatives. This day also the friends and relatives from outside villages come to fed the *chroubhata* to the buffaloes.

Jurday (day of tearing into pieces) or Gotr Day

This day is considered as the climax of the function. From the very morning before sunrise at about 4 a.m. one buffalo is sacrificed in the name of Sun God (Rau Debta). So this buffalo is called as Raupada. Raupoda is sacrificed outside of the village and not far from the cremation /burial ground of the village. Then Gotaria Disari worships the Rau Debta by chanting *mantras* and handovers the buffalo to Sisa. Then village priest -Sisa, take the buffalo outside the village and sacrifices the buffalo with an axe facing towards east. Soon after the blow on the backside of the buffalo people rush towards the sacrificed buffalo and each one try to tear out the Raupoda tongue, entrails with bare hands. Some crawl over the pile of men and others tried to wedge themselves underneath. Those who get hold of a piece of flesh stock it inside their belts. The powerful persons mainy try to tear the tongue of the Raupoda and to get this they also use knife and other cutting implements. All people try to get even a small piece of the tongue of Raupoda. Because they believe that the tongue will be used as medicine for different incurable

diseases and it can save them from the Dumas or evil spirits and again by holding it one can get access to every where. Some of them also bury it in their agricultural lands to increase the fertility the land. The remaining Raupada is equally divided among Panjia and *chorubhai*. The rib portion of the buffalo is taken by Panjiabhai and the hind portion is taken by the Chorubhai which implies the position of Panjiabhai followed by the *chourbhai* in Gotr ceremony. After the Raupada is sacrifice is over all take a bath, return to their houses and prepare a ceremonial food early in the morning. They bath their buffaloes with warm water turmeric paste and Karanja oil. Then the buffaloes are decorated with Keranga saree, cloth, comb, mirror, silver, brass and silver pots, *bidi*, etc. in their body according to their sex, age, and choice of the items of the deceased in their life time. They have a strong belief that all the decorated items will be used by the Dumba in the underworld and if they will not be given these item the Duma will be angry and may damage the crop and may also cause so many disease in the family. So the relatives and friends give and decorate the articles on the body of the buffaloes. After this decoration lamentation starts and *panjibahi* then proceed towards pada Gotr munda situated at the outskirts of the village or near the cremation ground. But among the Parengas this is slightly different because before decorating the buffaloes or last *choru* wailing all the Gotr doers go to the cremation ground with *pendum*, rice, cooked food, daily use articles like *bidi*, *khaini*, and the agricultural articles plough, yoke, rope and kitchen article like mud pot, mud pitcher etc. Every person of the Gotr doers go to the cremation ground and offer cooked and uncooked food in the name of their ancestors. After that they take bath and prepare the buffaloes for the Pada Gotr munda. Disari takes the Kuti buffalo to the Pada Gotr munda after sacrificing a chicken and a chicken egg on the *neggonmunda*. While taking the Kuti buffalo towards Pada Gotrmunda the Panjiabhais take other buffaloes and follow to the Kutipada with continuous drumming. Disari tie the Kuti buffalo at the *simili* branch which was earlier posted by the Panjiabhai. Then other buffaloes are tied in different *simili mundas* of *kutum gotrs*. Local markets and hats remain open on this occasion and large number of spectators come to witness the event.. So every Gotr doer sacrifice large number of cows, bulls, goats, pigs, fowls in the name of the spirits or Dumas with the belief that these animals will be the property of the Dumas in the underworld. Panjiabhai, Chorubhai and relatives dance in front of the buffalo singing Gotr songs.

Some years ago Panjiabhai was dancing front of the buffaloes by holding a sword or axe but now-a-days, they are dancing by holding only a stick due to interference of police or law. In the mean time so many *purani* or (gift buffaloes) come from different villages mainly gifted by the mother's brother, sister and daughter of the Gotr-doers. They come with their Panjiabhai holding sticks in their hands. Before reaching Pada Gotr munda, both Panjiabhai of the buffalo doner and Gotr doer fight each other with their sticks to take the buffalo (*purani*). As per the tradition the gift buffalo or *purani* should be equally shared and any group can take the buffalo by overpowering the other. As it is a prestige issue to the each group tries to win. Some times to fight and win some persons use knives by which causes dispute between two groups.

Disari worship the Gogig debta by chanting *mantras* and sacrifice a chicken in the name of ancestors. Disari gives permission to Gotr doer and Panjibhai to take all ornaments and decorative items from the buffalo. After that the Gotr doer families start their lamentation. Then Panjiabhais lead the buffaloes towards their village without looking to the back. After Disari chants some *mantras*, Sisa or the village priest strikes the Kuti buffalo after removing its decorations. Then the mob rush to the Kuti buffalo and each

one tries to tear out the animal's entrails with bare hands, take it to their fields and bury it in their agricultural land to increase the fertility. They believe that after this ritual the dangerous spirit 'Gogig' is driven away from their village. The remaining portion of the buffalo divided into two parts by the *challan* who is a Dom by caste. The front part or rib portion (Singkuru) is given to Panjiabhai whereas the back portion (*kurunda*) is given to the *chourbhai*. In the night in the Gotr village the Dhangidis with Dhangadas perform their traditional dance called Dhemsa. Next day the quests are honoured with a feast in which large number of cow goat and bulls are sacrificed. This day is called as Kadamara day because all the relatives and guests from the neighboring villages are given a mud bath by the Gotr doers and then they take bath in the worm water prepared by the unmarried girls of the village. Only those who have come with cows, bulls etc for the Gotr ceremony they can only take Part. This is done to strengthen their bond. The gifts and exchange which is take place at the time of Gotr ceremony is very significant to mark their close social relationship. The maternal uncle comes with a buffalo or cow (*muali*) where as sister of the deceased must come with a buffalo (*purani*). The Maitar (ritual friend) never comes with empty hands. Many times Maitar brings a buffalo or a goat. Samdi may come with a cow or a goat. If any relatives had taken buffaloes at the time of last Gotr done by the same Gotr doer he/she is bound to come equal number of buffaloes to reciprocate.

This 'Gotr' ceremony is a rite-de-passage indicating a transition from one stage to another stage of life. All these, ritual actions as considered as social transformer which mark the transition not only in life but from one kind of action to another kind. The final ceremony or the Gotr ceremony comes after, a very longtime. It may after ten years or even after a generation or more. As has been indicated a Gotr implies tremendous economic effort for a family and their relatives and a really impressive accumulation of wealth. The herds of buffaloes must be increased as well as every thing else, and if delayed the more buffaloes and other goods are required. The lifespan is relatively short for these people, and it is not always certain that they could collect all the Gotr items during a lifetime. A Gotr is actually a sort of social measure of ones success in life. There is no doubt that it is their most expensive ritual where they loose a great part of their surplus. Thus it is rather obvious that the Gotr is connected with social prestige or atleast with the respectability of the donor. On the other hand, one might say that Gotr is only a means for prestige between relatives and individuals. The stones and the two poles made from the *simili* tree planted at the time of Subhadia are also very important. Gotr ceremony manifests people's wish to appease the dangerous spirit of the dead and keep them at the bay.

When the buffaloes are shifted from the village to the outside Poda Gotr muda it implies that the evil spirits are driven away from the village. This idea behind it that the spirits of the dead reside in an animal and are later carried away is nothing but the old motive of scapegoat of which Frazer mentioned several examples among the Todas and another tribe in southern India.

The plantations of stone have so many reasons.

1. It is planted in the memory of the ancestor.
2. It represents the seat of the ancestors.
3. By seating on the stones the village council members are in a way influenced by these ancestor so that their decisions will benefit the people.

* * * * *

Present Study

With this backdrop this study has been undertaken to assess the effects of deforestation among a Primitive Tribal Group (PTG) i.e., the Lanjia Saora of Puttasing of southern Orissa who live in a simple society and inhabit remote forest areas in a state of semi-isolation and thrive upon a subsistence economy based on land and forest.

This exploratory study has covered one hundred households in 12 selected Lanjia Saora settlements inhabited exclusively by the Lanjia Saora and located in Puttasing area of Rayagada district. 11 of these villages are inside the micro project, LSDA area and the remaining one just lying on the periphery of the project area. 100 Lanjia Saora households belonging to these 12 villages/ hamlets were covered under the study.

The quantitative data on aspects like population, literacy, marital status, health status, occupations and employment, traditional skills, indebtedness, livestock, agriculture, horticulture and shifting cultivation, and collection of MFP, household income and expenditure pattern etc. has been collected by administration of a set of Household Schedules. Qualitative data, on socio-cultural, economic and environmental impact of deforestation has been gathered through personal interviews, group discussion, non-participant observation, interaction with key informants and community leaders and recording of case studies with the help of an Interview Guide. In both the ways an attempt has been made to elicit comparative data on important aspects of the problem as they were in the past, 10-15 years back and the changes, if any, occurred at present i.e., at the time of this study. Relevant secondary data has been elicited from available references.

The Study Area

The study area of Puttasing is a rugged, mountainous highland country predominantly inhabited by the Lanjia Saora. This picturesque territory with its undulating terrain, rolling hills, terraced paddy fields, perennial hill streams and patches of lush green forests lies at an average elevation of 2000' above the mean sea level. It forms a natural geographic unit, comprising fertile valleys of the Vamsadhara and its tributaries between the mountain ranges of the Eastern Ghats. The soil type is red laterite on the hills. Brown to black soil is seen on the hill bottoms and valleys. Due to shifting cultivation and deforestation, soil erosion is evident on the denuded hills. The flora of this region is predominantly composed of moist peninsular Sal (*Shorea robusta*) forests in the valleys and hill ranges standing at an elevation of 590' to 5000'.

The contribution of forest to the economic life of the Saora is very significant. In the past the area was under thick forest cover, but now only patches of vegetations are left. It has been observed that while practising shifting cultivation, they spare fruit trees like Mohul, jackfruit, tamarind, mango, etc. This has given a clue to development agencies in dealing with the problem of shifting cultivation. Recently by the efforts of the micro project, LSDA, Puttasing, horticultural plantations and more particularly, cashew plantations have been raised on the wastelands and barren hill slopes.

In the past it was a wild country rich in natural wealth of flora and fauna. Tigers, jackals, bears, leopards, panthers, wild dogs, elephants, porcupines, Sambars, wild pigs and goats, fowls, deers, common langur and bander, bonnet monkey, peacocks, pythons, cobras were roaming in it's wilderness. Now the fauna is almost depleted with the forest.

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The climatic condition of the region is more like that of the Deccan plateau. Because of its elevation, the area experiences a mild and moderate climate, with a short and mild summer, moderate monsoon and a long winter. The spatial distribution of rainfall in this area is largely influenced by the Eastern Ghats.

The Tribe: Lanjia Saora

The Lanjia Saora represent a primitive section of the great ancient tribe "Saora" or "Savara". They are not only numerically important but also a historically and culturally significant tribal community of the State. According to a legendary tradition, they have been intimately associated with the cult of Lord Jagannath, who originated as a tribal deity and was later brought to Puri under royal patronage.

The tribe have their racial affinity with the proto-Australoid stock and speak an ancient Mundari dialect of their own called 'Sora'.

Numerically, a major Scheduled Tribe of Orissa, the Saora are found in almost all the districts of the State. But their main concentration lies in a contiguous mountainous territory of the Eastern Ghats in Rayagada and Gajapati districts in Southern Orissa, which can be called, the "Saora Country". Their population as per 2001 census was 4,73,233 accounting for 5.81 percent of the total tribal population of the state. Their decennial growth rate (1991- 2001) was 17.28 per cent and sex ratio, 1007 females per 1000 males in 2001 showing numerical superiority of their women over men. Educationally, they are backward with only 41.13 per cent literacy in 2001.

The exact population of the Lanjia Saora is not available. However according to an enumeration made by SCSTRTI on 2007, their population in the two Micro Projects areas viz, LSDA, Puttasing and LSDA, Serango is 1,215.

The Lanjia Saora are famous for their expertise in terrace cultivation, shifting cultivation, elaborately religious lifestyle, artistic skills for producing beautiful wall paintings or pictograms popularly known as icons and their peculiar traditional male dress-style in which the ends of the loin cloth hangs like a tail at the back. The term "Lanjia" meaning "having a tail" has been bestowed upon them by their neighbours referring to the fashion of wearing long tailed lion cloth by their male folk.

The subsistence economy of the Lanjia Saora rests primarily on slash-and burn agriculture and importantly on terrace cultivation. It is supplemented by wage earning and round the year forest collections. Individual ownership of the swidden plots is recognized on a hereditary basis. They exhibit a high degree of indigenous skill, ingenuity and technological outfit for preparing the terraces with inbuilt water management system. Mainly they grow rice in terraced fields and a variety of minor millets, cereals, and pulses in the swiddens. Among many remarkable features of their socio-economic life is their traditional system of labour cooperative called *ansir*, which ensures them supply of labour for labour intensive operations like swidden cultivation, house construction, terrace making and terrace cultivation, and other activities in the village.

The Saora social organization is distinguished by absence of exogamous clans. The main exogamous unit is the patrilineally extended family descended from a common male ancestor, called *birinda*. Women even after marriage continue to belong to their brother's *birinda*.

The Lanjia Saora pantheon includes numerous gods, deities and spirits, who are worshipped with fear and anxiety. People offer sacrifices for their safety and well-being. Most of the festivals revolve round agricultural cycle and lifecycle rituals. To commemorate the dead *Guar* is celebrated. In their society, the fear of religion is the most potent factor for ensuring social conformity and it acts as a powerful deterrent against breach of established customs.

Their aesthetic life manifests through colourful dance, music and the wall paintings, *anital*, in particular. The icons are so skillfully dreamt and drawn that these have made them famous among the scholars and artists of the country and abroad.

Their traditional village organization possesses, a well-defined territory, a hierarchy of responsible leadership and a traditional village council composed of family heads, called "Birinda Neti". There are a secular headman (Gomango/Naiko), a sacerdotal headman (Buya / Karji / Jani), headman's subordinates- (Mandal / Dal Behera), messenger (Barik), astrologer (Disari) and Shaman (Kudan / Beju). The village affairs are decided in village meetings held under the chairmanship of the Gomango. Decisions are reached mostly by consensus and not by majority vote.

In modern times, rapid changes in administrative set-up and political climate of the country and their exposure to the external modern world have influenced the Saora way of life and contributed to modernize their political organization. Various welfare measures initiated by the Government have also enhanced their contacts, outlook and awareness. The Lanjia Saora have been identified as a Primitive Tribal Group (PTG) in Orissa. For their all round development, two Micro Projects, one located at Puttasing in Rayagada district and another at Serango in Gajapati district have been established. The impact of the political change, election system, adult franchise and local self-government have triggered off various political processes and generated new leadership among them.

Impact of Deforestation on Environment

The forests as whole function as the biomass system that maintains the ecological balance to provide a life support system for the animal kingdom. This balance disappears with deforestation as it leads to environmental deterioration. Today the disastrous consequences of deforestation manifests in shapes of soil erosion due to inadequate tree cover, drought due to loss of ground water storage, floods due to run off water, and landslides due to the denudation of hills.

Now the Lanjia Saora of Puttasing, have come to realize that the destruction of forests leads to the deterioration of human beings, especially those belonging to the weaker sections like themselves who has been depending on nature for their very survival. Consequently, the environment degradation hits them harder than any other. Their community leaders have expressed such views during informal interviews and group discussions.

In their perception:-

- The area under forest coverage as well as the forest density has reduced very highly by 60-75 percent.
- Forests that surrounded their villages 2-3 decades back have receded 2-10 kms now.
- Deforestation has highly affected their natural environment. It is visible in deterioration of the soil through the ongoing process of soil erosion, loss of soil nutrients, fertility and moisture.

- The felling of evergreen trees with large leaves that protected land from the sun and retained soil moisture, leads to the lowering of the water table, reduction of moisture in the atmosphere and the consequent decrease in rain or erratic rainfall.
- The consequences of the ecological imbalance hit them in shapes of, drying of water sources, unpredictable climatic conditions, rise in atmospheric temperature, flood and draught, acute shortage of drinking water, decrease in yield from agriculture and horticulture, scarcity of food for crop failure, shortage of fodder etc.
- The equation of their age-old dependence on the forest has been disturbed by deforestation.

Destruction of forests is not merely disappearance of trees but of the resource on which the tribal economy, culture, social life and religion depend. Consequently, the destruction of their habitant does not merely deprive them of their very life support system but sets a new destructive process in motion that is harmful to their life and culture.

Impact on Socio-Economic Sphere

Tribals are inseparable from forest not only ecologically but economically too. The denizens of forest traditionally depend on the forest flora and fauna for their livelihood and thrive on subsistence economy derived out of hunting, food gathering and shifting cultivation because they have few viable economic alternatives and employment opportunities. They collect various kinds of Minor Forest Produce (MFP) in different seasons and satisfy their numerous needs from the forest with the help of most simple implements and without any external technological aid. Therefore it is now important to know how deforestation has affected their age-old dependence on the forest and its consequences.

Though, Orissa is comparatively rich in forest resources, the living standards of its people and especially the tribals is very low since, majority of the forest dwelling tribes are economically backward, pre-literate and underexposed to the outside world.

The Lanjia Saora have lived with the forest for centuries and built up a symbiotic relationship with forest in context of their social, cultural and occupational life. They inhabit clusters of villages mainly in the interior hilly areas, depending primarily on shifting cultivation and minor forest produce (MFP). As they have been depending on the forests for their very survival from time immemorial, wanton destruction of forests has not only disturbed the ecological balance but also put pressure on the diminishing forest resources. Consequently they find it difficult to pursue their traditional occupations and sustain their livelihood as their perennial source of subsistence is disintegrating in these days.

In this situation, it becomes imperative to understand the magnitude and direction of the impact of deforestation on the socio-economic condition and life of the tribals especially with reference to their occupational position, social and cultural life, living standard and economy as a whole.

The present study observes the socio-economic condition of the Lanjia Saora as affected by the consequences of deforestation.

Population, Marital Status & Literacy in Study Households:

The 100 study households have a total population of 662 including 322 males and 340 females showing an average household size of 6.6. It also shows the numerical superiority of females over males; the sex ratio being 1056 females for 1000 males.

Because the Lanjia Saora practise polygyny for a family badly needs more women workers for *bagado chas* (shifting cultivation) and other economic activities, there are more married women (38.82%) than men (35.40%); more unmarried men (61.80%) than women (55.88%); very low incidence of divorce (0.60%); very low incidence of separation involving women only (0.30%); and more widows (4.12%) than widowers (2.18%).

Their Total Literacy (30.66%) and Female Literacy (17.35%) are low.

Skills & Occupational Pattern; Continuity & Mobility

With the rapid depletion of forests leading to deterioration of natural environment, their traditional life support system i.e., their economic resource base has been squeezed. Their dependence on traditional sectors such as, hunting, shifting cultivation, animal husbandry and other forest based subsistence activities including collection of minor forest produce have declined slowly in course of time following the trail of deforestation. Gradually, they have taken up pursuits like settled terrace cultivation to grow paddy, horticultural plantations and wage labour. Now the Lanjia Saora are exhibiting a trend of temporary seasonal migration, especially in the lean seasons, to far-off states like Maharashtra, Assam, Arunchal Pradesh etc to earn higher wages by their engagement in unskilled and semi-skilled avocations such as carpentry, masonry, plumbing, auto-driving, machine operation, construction workers, tea garden workers and the like. They come back to their native places before the onset of agricultural season bringing with them the new ideas and acquired modern skills as well as the accumulated savings out of their incomes. The following Statements show the position in respect of the Study Households.

TOTAL POPULATION OF STUDY HOUSEHOLDS		S K I L L S						
		T R A D I T I O N A L			M O D E R N			
		Stone Bunding	Saora Painting	Saora Dance	Mason	Carpentry	Photography	Weaving
Males	322	49	-	1	23	2	1	1
Females	340	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Total	662	49	3	1	23	2	1	1

- Many Saora men are skilled in their traditional art and techniques of stone bunding that is required for preparing terraces for paddy cultivation, dry and upland cultivation, horticultural plantation and water management.
- While terrace making is men's job, women carry on with their famous tribal artistic traditions i.e., the wall painting of icons called *idital* or *inital*. Ofcourse with the advent of modernity and Christianity this visual folk art is losing ground and only few Saora men and women keep this rich tradition alive. Lately, the State Government of Orissa in ST & SC Development Department has imparted training to thirty young Lanjia Saora boys and girls with the help of a Lanjia Saora Wall Painting Expert and the Art Teachers of B.K. College of Arts & Crafts to preserve and promote this declining tribal folk art tradition.
- The Saora dance with song and music is another folk tradition suffering from the same fate of decline and decadence like the wall painting. Now only few Saora men and women possess skills in this age-old performing art because the younger generation lacks interest to continue the tradition.

- Acquisition of modern skills like masonry, carpentry, photography, weaving etc. is a recent phenomenon brought about by their mobility and exposure to the modern world when the decline of their traditional economic base effected by deforestation and environmental degradation pushed them forward to look for greener pastures outside the cocoon of their natural habitat as stated earlier. It is interesting to note that only men possess these new skills because generally they move out leaving their women and children behind to take care of their home and hearth.

STUDY HOUSEHOLDS (Percentages in Brackets)			MAJOR OCCUPATIONS (ENGAGEMENTS IN MANDAYS) (Per Capita Average in a Year given in Brackets)				
Break up	Total Population	Working Population (15-59 Yrs)	Terrace Cultivation	Shifting Cultivation	Horticulture	Forest Collection	Total
Males	322 (100)	146 (45.34)	5 971 (41)	6 454 (44)	4 268 (29)	4 964 (34)	21 657 (148)
Females	340 (100)	174 (51.17)	8 024 (46)	8 578 (49)	5 726 (33)	6 090 (35)	28 418 (163)
Total	662 (100)	320 (48.34)	13 995 (44)	15 032 (47)	9 994 (31)	11 054 (35)	50 075 (157)

- Less than half of the population (48.34%) of the study households belonging to the age group of 15—59 years comes under the category of Working Population.
- Corresponding to the sex ratio and marital status, women maintain superiority over men, both numerically and percentage wise, in this segment.
- The average engagement of the Working Population in major economic pursuits like Terrace Cultivation, Shifting Cultivation, Horticulture and Forest Collection keeps them occupied for less than half of a year. It means they remain under-employed and hence temporarily migrate outside in search of wage and employment as stated earlier.
- Sector wise each and both the sexes spend the largest number of days in average in Shifting Cultivation followed by, Terrace Cultivation and Forest Collection and the minimum in Horticulture. Thus forest based subsistence activities, in combination of Shifting Cultivation and Forest Collection, still remains their major economic pursuit in terms of the extent of engagement for their age old dependence on forest.
- In terms of average engagement in these avocations women work more than men in each and all sectors.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the mainstay of the Lanjia Saora economy. In recent times it has taken precedence over shifting cultivation – the traditional mode of their subsistence which no longer remained profitable under the cumulative impact of deforestation, ecological imbalance and decline of land / man ratio due to pressure of growing population. Since cultivable land is in short supply in their area for undulating nature of the hilly terrain and population growth, they have tried to find an answer to this problem by mastering the art

of preparing and cultivating terraced paddy fields on the lower hill slopes and bottoms. Yet, they still have to continue with shifting cultivation to supplement their earnings from settled (terrace) cultivation, forest collection, wage earning, and other economic pursuits. They exhibit a high degree of indigenous skill, ingenuity and technological outfit for preparing the terraces with inbuilt water management system. Mainly they grow rice in terraced fields and a variety of minor millets, cereals, and pulses in the swiddens.

Now, the Lanjia Saora of Puttasing area possess three kinds of productive assets of agriculture – (i) Saroba: the terraced paddy fields for wet land settled cultivation, (ii) Baseng: the up and dry land and (iii) Bagado for shifting cultivation. The Baseng and Bagado are meant for growing a variety of cereals, pulses, oilseeds and vegetables.

Cultivable Land Holding Pattern

Total Study House holds	Land less House holds	LANDOWNING HOUSEHOLDS classified into successive CATEGORIES OF FARMERS						Observations
		Items	Marginal Farmers (> 1Ac)	Small Farmers (1.1-2.5Ac)	Medium Farmers (2.6-5Ac)	Big Farmers (5.1 >)	Total	
100	3	No of Households	21 (21.64)	37 (38.14)	23 (23.71)	16 (16.49)	97 (100)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cultivable lands include all kinds of agricultural & Horticultural lands excluding the swiddens 3 % of the Study Households are landless Small Farmers form the majority group among all categories Bulk of the landowning households fall under Marginal & Small Farmers category
		Total Area of Landholding (Saroba & Baseng) (in Acs)	13.38	64.30	81.53	105.82	265	
		Average Landholding Per Household (in Acs)	0.64	1.74	3.54	6.61	2.73	

The above statement reveals that -

Cultivable lands include all kinds of farmlands excluding the swiddens.

Among the 100 study households, only 3 (3%) are landless.

Small Farmers form the majority group (38.14 %) among all categories followed by that of Medium Farmers (23.71 %). The bulk (60 %) of the landowning households fall under Marginal and Small Farmers category. The Big Farmers are in minority (16.49 %).

The average size of landholding per landowning household is 2.73 Acs. For the Marginal, Small, Medium and Big Farmers it is 0.64 Acs, 1.74 Acs, 3.54 Acs and 6.61 Acs respectively.

Trend of Agricultural Production

Settled agricultural practices of the Lanjia Saora mainly revolve around their saroba, which they regard to be their valuable productive asset. The following statement reveals that almost all of the study households (97%) possess and cultivable wet lands in shape of saroba at an average of 1.63 Acres per farmer household. Where adequate irrigation is

available, they raise a second paddy crop in *saroba* during summer. *Baseng* – the up and dry land is not as productive as the *saroba*. However majority (91%) of the study households have pieces of *basengs* in an average of 1 acre per household, which, as shown in the following statement, they utilize for mixed cropping like they do in their *swiddens* (*bagado*).

Category of Farmland	Number of Farmer Households (HH)	Total Area of Land holding Average Per HH (in Acs)	Cropping Pattern	Annual Yield (in Qtls)					
				PAST (About 10 Yrs Ago)			PRESENT		
				Total Yield (100)	Average Per HH	Per Acre	Total Yield (% of Change)	Average Per HH (% of Change)	Per Acre (% of Change)
<i>Saroba</i> (Terrace & Plain Lands)	97	<u>158.41</u> (1.63)	Paddy	1607.5	16.57	10.2	<u>1424.5</u> (-11.38)	<u>14.69</u> (-11.35)	<u>8.99</u> (-11.43)
<i>Baseng</i> Up & Dry Land	91	<u>97.51</u> (1.07)	Cereals: Maize, Ganga, Bajra, Suan, Kundadhan Kangu, Ragi, Jana, etc	154.77	1.70	1.59	<u>134.58</u> (-13.04)	<u>1.48</u> (-12.94)	<u>1.38</u> (-13.21)
			Pulses: Kandul, Kulthi, Mung, Biri, Bargudi, Jhudung etc.	82.47	0.91	0.85	<u>69.92</u> (-15.21)	<u>0.77</u> (-15.38)	<u>0.72</u> (-15.29)
			Oil Seeds: Til, Mustard, Castor etc.	28.95	0.32	0.30	<u>23.22</u> (-19.8)	<u>0.26</u> (-18.75)	<u>0.24</u> (-20)
Total	97	<u>255.92</u> (2.64)		1873.7	19.32	7.32	<u>1652.22</u> (-11.8)	<u>17.03</u> (-11.85)	<u>6.46</u> (-11.75)

The comparative picture of agricultural production in the past and present given in the above statement shows that:-

- Production of paddy crop from the *saroba* in terms of total quantity has come down by -11.38 percent.
- In case of the annual yield from the *baseng*, the rate of decline is higher than *saroba*. Among all the different categories of crops grown in *baseng* as well as the *saroba* the rate of fall is the highest (-19.79%) for the oil seeds.

People's Response on the Situation

Total Number of Respondent Farmers	Farmland Category	Stated Reasons for Decrease of Farmland Yields (No of Respondents)		
		Deterioration of Natural Environment		
		Deterioration of Soil Quality		Uncertain Agro-Climatic
		Soil Fertility Declining	Erosion of Fertile Soil	
97 (100)	Saroba	53 (54.64)	31 (31.96)	13 (13.40)
	Baseng	47 (48.45)	19 (19.59)	21 (21.65)
	Total	97 (100)	50 (51.55)	34 (35.05)

The above Statement shows that the Lanjia Saora farmers generally know the reasons for decrease of their farm output. They mainly attribute the consequences to (i) Deterioration in the Quality of Soil, (ii) Uncertain Agro-Climatic Conditions manifested in erratic and inadequate rainfall. Since their farmlands lack assured irrigation facilities, they are bound to be dependent on the natural agro-climate to reap a good harvest. Deterioration of the natural environment over period of time has become a matter of major concern for them.

All the respondents (100%) agree on the point that their farm outputs are shrinking for Loss of Soil Fertility. The soil has not remained as fertile as it has been in the past. In addition to that nearly half and one third of them have identified other important causative factors like Soil Erosion and Uncertain Agro-Climate with Inadequate and Erratic Rainfall.

Further opinions emerged on the state of affairs in the group discussion

- In the past, when they lived in the vicinity of lush green forests, the rainfall was abundant and the soil, fertile. Shifting cultivation and forest collections produced enough to feed lesser number of bellies. As these traditional sources started drying up day by day, their dependency on wet terrace paddy cultivation has increased.
- Population is increasing. Cultivable land holdings are becoming smaller after family partitions.
- There is little scope for expansion of farmland area for the stiff hills and the undulating terrain of their habitat.
- Now agricultural yields do not sustain many of them for a full year. Therefore they have to take recourse to seasonal migratory labour.
- One third of them know that destruction of natural vegetations and population rise lie at root of the present problems.

Horticulture

The Lanjia Saora love trees. Therefore they take all care to preserve the fruit plants like date palm, mango, jackfruit, tamarind, *mohul*, *salap*, *ramphal*, *sitaphal* etc in their villages, hills and swiddens. They save the fruit bearing and other useful trees while they clear off all other vegetations for starting the cycle of shifting cultivation in their swiddens. Besides, they raise kitchen garden in their backyards or in the close proximity of their houses and orchards if suitable sites are available.

Presently, following the gradual decline in agricultural production and forest produce they are looking for dependable supplementary sources in horticulture. They have started growing many new varieties of economic species including vegetable crops introduced by themselves as well as the development agencies like the concerned ITDA., DRDA. and LSDA as evident from the following Statement.

It is worth-mentioning here that the horticulture programme introduced by the development agencies as an alternative to swidden cultivation has become popular among the Lanjia Saora. Now besides the development of kitchen gardens and backyard plantations, mixed orchards and plantations of commercial cash crops, cashew have been

raised in wastelands and hill slopes often covering parts of *podu* ravaged and degraded swiddens. Especially, the cashew plantation drive has received overwhelming popular response for its low maintenance and high profitability. Now, they are now growing cashew on their own initiative without depending on external assistance that they received in the initial phases. Presently more than 80 percent of families own cashew orchards from which comes a good part of their income. Helping them to enhance their level of income, it has emerged as an economically gainful pursuit. As a result, shifting cultivation is gradually being pushed to the back stage.

Category of Farmland	Number of Farmer House-Holds (HH)	Total Area of Land holding Average Per HH (in Acs)	Plants /Crops Raised		Annual Yield (in Qtls)					
					PAST (About 10 Yrs Ago)			PRESENT		
					Total Yield (100)	Average		Total Yield (% of Change)	Average	
						Per HH	Per Acre		Per HH (% of Change)	Per Acre (% of Change)
Traditional	New									
Kadung Sing Backyard & Kitchen Garden	96	9.11 (0.10)	Gourd, Pumpkin, Maize, Cucumber, Papaya, Drumstick, Bean, Chillies, Mango, Jackfruit, Tamarind, Sitaphal, Ramphal	Brinjal, Cabbage, Ladiesfinger, Cauliflower, Tomato, Coconut, Lemon, Banana, Orange, Guava	407.5	4.24	44.7	324 (-20.5)	3.38 (-20.3)	35.5 (-20.5)
Kota Orchard & Swiddens	83	148.35 (1.79)	Banana, Cucumber, Lemon, Pumpkin, Gourd, Guava, Beans, Chillies, Jackfruit, Salap Karanj, Sitaphal, Ramphal, Mohul, Datepalm, Mango, Tamarind	Brinjal, Cabbage, Bean, Ladiesfinger, Zinger, Cauliflower, Tomato, Radish, Coconut, Lemon, Pineapple, Orange, Guava, Cashew, Mango, Jackfruit	1662.2	20	11.2	1851 (13.8)	22.30 (11.3)	12.4 (11.5)
Total	96	157.46 (1.64)			2069.7	21.6	13.1	2175 (5.09)	22.66 (4.95)	13.8 (6.0)

- The data given above shows that, horticultural plantations in shape of kitchen gardens, backyard plantations owned by 96 study households and orchards raised by 83 households out of total 100, now cover a total land area of 157.46 acres at an average of 1.64 acres per household which also includes the cashew plantations raised in the degraded swiddens. That means almost all the study households possess horticultural plantations of one kind or other.
- The harmful impact of ecological imbalance effected by deforestation is also noticed in gradual downslide of horticultural production (- 20.5%) particularly in their backyards and kitchen gardens where they mostly raise conventional crops as it is happening to agricultural production but the deficit is made up by newly introduced crops like cashew, zinger, pineapple, coconut, tomato, cauliflower, beans etc.
- These new horticultural crops and especially, the cashew have reversed the trend of negative growth registering a notable rise of +14 percent for the orchards and +5 percent in total horticultural production nullifying the -20.5% decline in the yields of backyards and kitchen gardens over the past decade.

- Formerly they were producing horticultural crops to meet their own consumption needs. After being aware of the fact that fruits and vegetables fetch a good price in the market, now they have started raising modern HYV species and coming to the local weekly markets to sell their horticultural produce and buy their provisions with the sale proceeds. This trend has begun since 10-15 years.
- The respondents said that the area under horticultural plantations has grown in the mean time and more particularly for the popular acceptance of the cashew.

Shifting Cultivation

Shifting cultivation is an archaic agricultural system in which forests are cleared by felling and subsequent burning and are cropped discontinuously by (i) rotation of plots (ii) employing family and cooperative labour as chief input, (iii) application of crude technology using simple implements such as hoe, digging stick, knife, axe, sickle etc, and not using draught animals and (v) leaving a fallow period larger than the period of cropping.

Mostly the forest-dwelling tribals, resort to this archaic mode of cultivation, where enough plain lands are not available for settled cultivation. The most remarkable feature of shifting cultivation is that though the yield is low, a variety of cereals, pulses, millets, oil seeds and vegetables are grown in one plot which is not feasible in the plain land cultivation. The existence of this primitive agriculture as a way of life since the hoary past is a proof of its deep impact on the tribals' psyche. It has undoubtedly evolved as a reflex to the physiographical character of their habitat on specific adaptation to forest and hilly environments.

So long as the land man ratio remained favourable, this practice did not pose so much of a problem. However, the growth of population and depletion of forests have disturbed the equilibrium. The reduction of fallow period has led to soil erosion and deterioration and permanent damage to land, which again led to extension of its coverage to larger tracts of forestland. Studies made by T.H.R.T.I, show that this practice is uneconomic for high requirement of seed and labour and low returns.

Traditionally for the Lanjia Saora, swidden cultivation (Bagad Chas) has been their way of life. With the depletion of forest growth and the underwoods, swidden cultivation does not pay dividends. Now the Saora have learnt in a hard way that this ageold mode of subsistence would no longer sustain their growing population. While they are trying to reduce their dependence on this less productive enterprise and looking for alternatives, they are yet to abandon the practice altogether.

The preceding statement clearly depicts the declining trend of their traditional mode of subsistence i.e., shifting cultivation, which is locally called *bagad chas*. Normally a *bagad* plot is cultivated for three consecutive years and left fallow for 8-12 years for rejuvenation. Since its fertility and for that matter, the productivity decreases gradually for erosion of topsoil and its nutrients, the area under cultivation between the 1st and 2nd and 3rd (*asinal*) year decreases and so also the number of cultivator families. Thus the fertility factor depends on the soil quality, agro-climate and the regenerative fallow period. The more the fallow period, the better is the fertility. Now these conditions are deteriorating day by day. The consequences are visible in the data presented in the statement below.

ITEMS	ANNUAL YIELD (Approx in Qtls) Average per Acre (Growth Rate) / Average per Farmer							
	1 st Year (Amengal)		2 nd Year (Asenal)		3 rd Year (Asenal)		TOTAL	
	Past	Present	Past	Present	Past	Present	Past	Present
Total Area (Aprox in Acs)	62.75		33.10		32.80		128.65	
Number of Farmers	37		36		27		100	
Average Area per HH (Ac)	1.69		0.92		1.21		1.29	
Cropping Pattern	Past	Present	Past	Present	Past	Present	Past	Present
Cereals	106.05	72.80	38.65	27.97	18.40	12.95	163.10	113.72
<i>Kangu, Ganga, Ghantia</i>	1.69	1.16	1.17	0.84	0.56	0.39	1.27	0.88
<i>Suan, Ragi, Jana, Maize</i>	2.87	1.97	1.07	0.78	0.68	0.48	1.63	1.14
Pulses	34.30	21.95	10.35	7.40	5.28	3.33	49.93	32.68
<i>Kandul, Jhudunga, Pea,</i>	0.55	0.35	0.31	0.22	0.16	0.10	0.39	0.25
<i>Bargudi, Black gram,</i>	0.93	0.59	0.29	0.21	0.19	0.12	0.50	0.33
<i>Horsegram, Greengram</i>	17.65	11.40	6.40	4.70	3.10	2.35	27.15	18.45
Oilseeds	0.28	0.18	0.19	0.13	0.09	0.07	0.21	0.14
<i>Til, Castor, Mustard,</i>	0.48	0.31	0.18	0.13	0.11	0.09	0.27	0.18
Spices	4.77	2.92	2.17	1.50	1.64	1.06	8.58	5.58
<i>Turmeric, Ginger,</i>	0.08	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.03	0.07	0.04
<i>Cinnamon*, Chillies,</i>	0.13	0.08	0.06	0.04	0.06	0.04	0.08	0.05
Vegetables	14.70	11.55	6.40	5.50	3.60	2.83	24.70	19.83
<i>Pumpkin, Cucumber,</i>	0.23	0.18	0.19	0.17	0.11	0.08	0.19	0.15
<i>Kankad, Ghlagarda,</i>	0.40	0.31	0.18	0.15	0.13	0.09	0.25	0.19
<i>Maragudi, Gadagai</i>	177.47	120.62	63.97	47.17	32.02	22.32	273.46	190.11
Total	2.83	1.92	1.93	1.42	0.97	0.68	2.13	1.48
	4.79	3.26	1.77	1.31	1.18	0.83	2.73	1.90

Farmers' Major Perceived Reasons for the Production Downside

Soil Fertility Declining	28 (75.67)	17 (62.96)	12 (50)
Erosion of Fertile Soil	17 (45.95)	15 (55.55)	13 (50)
Inadequate & Erratic Rainfall	19 (51.35)	12 (44.44)	10 (38.46)
Shorter Fallow Period	16 (43.24)	16 (59.25)	12 (46.15)

- Underlined crops are no longer cultivated
- * Marked crop recently introduced.

- There is gradual reduction in the cultivated area and the number of farmers from the 1st year (amengal) to the 2nd and 3rd year (asinal) bagado chas.

- Over a period of 10-15 years, the over all quantum of production has decreased by 31 percent, the rate of decline being the maximum (-32.15 %) in the 1st year followed by those in the 3rd year (-29.89 %) and then in the 2nd year (-26.42 %).
- Looking at the negative growth rate of yield for all the three successive years of cultivation of different categories of crops it is found that it is the highest (-42.86 %) in case of spices like Turmeric, Ginger, Cinnamon, Chilies etc. Next in the descending come the pulses (-35.90 %), oilseeds (-33.33 %), cereals (-30.71 %) and the lowest being the vegetables (-21.05 %).
- Huge decline of yield is noticed in the 1st Year *bagado* for spices (-37 %), pulses and oilseeds (-36% in each case); in the 2nd Year *bagado* for pulses (-29%), cereals (-28%) and oilseeds (-26%) and in the 3rd Year *bagado* for spices (-40%), pulses (-38%) and cereals (-30 %). It shows that spices, cereals and pulses are the worst affected crops during all the three-year cycle of *bagado chas*.
- For spices, pulses, and vegetables the highest decline is seen in the 3rd Year *bagado*.
- For declining fertility of *bagado* cultivation of a variety of crops have been stopped.

Peoples' Response on Causative Factors

As evident from the Statement, largest number of shifting cultivators (62%) knows that the yield from their *bagado chas* is declining with the decline of soil fertility. 50 percent of them attribute this to uncertain agro-climate with inadequate and irregular rainfall; 48 percent, to soil erosion and 42 percent, to shorter fallow period.

The time of fallow period varies with the subsistence need and the socio-economic status of the farmer as it determines the extent of his dependency on *bagado chas* be it profitable or not. A poor farmer with limited means of livelihood has no choice other than exploiting whatever *bagado* he possesses more frequently to keep his body and soul together than a well-to-do farmer. So he cannot afford to leave his *bagado* fallow for regeneration for a longer period. In the past the fallow period for poor Saora farmers were 5-8 years and for the well to do it was 7-12 years as the land man ratio was better for smaller population. The situation has changed over period of time. The fallow period has been coming down to 3-5 years and 5-8 years for both the categories of farmers.

Many hill slopes are now degraded for continuous exploitation and become unfit for *bagado chas*. These are coming under cashew plantation, which is a popular programme for its profitability. The people are aware of the fact that the deteriorating ecological conditions would hardly sustain their traditional *bagado chas* but the poorer among them have little choice.

Firewood Collection

The Lanjia Saora generally collect firewood for their own consumption from their Bagado and surroundings. In the past, vegetations existed almost in their backyards. In an average they were to move within a radius not exceeding one kilometer to gather fuel for their kitchen. With gradual destruction of vegetations and degradation of their Bagado this distance has been increasing day by day. Now it has increased to more than 2 kms for the people of the study villages. Obviously this distance increases in the summer months more than those of monsoon and winter days.

Season	Average Distance Covered (kms)		Engagement No of Persons / Mandays =Average per Person				Quantity (Qtls) Total Quantity / 100 Households = Average per Household / (Rate of Decline)				Sale/ Barter
			Collection		Processing		Collected		Consumed		
	Past	Present	Men	Women	Men	Women	Past	Present	Past	Present	
Summer	1	2.5	146	174	141	171	515	322	455	320	Lanjia Saora do not Sale Fire Wood
			2123	2113	678	511	5.15	3.22	4.55	3.20	
			14.54	12.14	4.81	2.99		(-37.47)		(-29.67)	
Winter	1	2	146	174	143	174	781	580	760	571	They gather only to meet consu- mption needs
			1631	2089	895	717	7.81	5.80	7.60	5.71	
			11.17	12.01	6.26	4.12		(-25.74)		(-24.87)	
Monson	0.80	1.75	146	174	145	167	992	834	851	821	
			1176	1923	510	517	9.92	8.34	8.51	8.21	
			8.05	11.05	3.52	3.09		(-15.93)		(-3.52)	
Total	0.93	2.08	146	174	143	170	2288	1736	2066	1712	
			4930	6125	2083	1745	22.88	17.36	20.66	17.12	
			33.76	35.20	14.57	10.26		(-24.13)		(-17.13)	

- The data presented above indicates that both the sexes shoulder the burden of firewood collection almost equally with small seasonal variations.
- For processing the firewood i.e., chopping, splitting and slicing the stock in order to make it ready for use, men are more engaged than women in all seasons.
- With depletion of the vegetations, the quantity of annual collections and domestic consumption per study households has come down by -24 percent and - 17.13 percent respectively within last 10 - 15 years.
- Deficit in firewood is substituted by farm refuses e.g., crop residues, dry leaves etc.
- Though the people know about the demand-supply gap, it has not yet turned so acute. They also understand that with the receding tree line and increasing population the firewood is going to be scarce in future. Their womenfolk who have to keep their hearths burning are more alarmed than their men about the impending crisis.

Collection of MFP

The consumption pattern of tribals, indicate that the MFP items constitute important source of sustenance. The MFP provide raw material for their cottage industries. During drought and adverse climatic condition, tribals' dependence on MFP increases. In the area where job opportunities are few and viable economic alternatives are all but non-existent, this dependence is significant. Their subsidiary occupation involves total dependence on MFP for survival for at least three lean months in a year.

As forest dwellers the Lanjia Saoras derive a part of their subsistence out of forest based activities. They collect an endless variety of seasonal minor forest produce like small timber, bamboo, thatching grass, fodder, fruits, roots, seeds, tubers, mushrooms, leaves, flowers, fibers, barks, herbs, etc mostly, to meet their consumption needs. Only a few surplus items of fruits, flowers (Mohul), seeds and broomsticks are sold out after meeting their domestic requirements.

All of them depend on MFP for their food, fodder, wild medicinal herbs, house building materials, and other needs. With depletion of forests these items are in short supply.

Type of MFP English Name / Local Name	Collection Time & Season	Average Distance Covered (kms)		Engagement Total Mandays / Total Persons / Average per Person				Quantity (Approx. in Qtls) Total / Number of Households / Average per Household					
		Past	Present	Collection		Processing		Collection		Consumption		Sale / Barter	
				M	W	M	W	Past	Present	Past	Present	Past	Present
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	11	12	13	14	15	16
Small Timber Sargi, Piasal, Sisu, Bahada, Harida, Aam Gambharii, Mohul, Karad	Summer Winter Monson	3	5	380	-	530	-	456	307	411	329	nil	nil
		2	4	134	-	91	-	77	62	91	91		
		-	-	2.83	-	5.82	-	5.92	4.44 (-25)	4.52	3.61 (-20.1)		
		2.5	4.5										
Bamboo	Summer & Winter	5.87	10.2	341	363	223	254	2285 Nos	1774 Nos	2221 Nos	1792 Nos		
				142	162	152	182	100	100	100	100	-	-
				2.4	2.24	1.47	1.39	22.85	17.74 (-22.4)	22.21	17.92 (-19.3)		
Grass (Non Fodder) Allang, Raalu	Summer & Winter	1.45	9.45	194	126	165	224	421	327	421	327	-	-
				147	163	147	163	89	73	89	73		
				1.32	0.77	1.12	1.37	4.89	4.48 (-22.3)	4.89	4.48 (-22.3)		
Fodder	Winter Monson	0.99	2.21	783	845	823	1078	634	491	634	491		
				141	152	89	124	93	81	93	81		
				5.55	5.56	9.25	8.69	6.82	6.06 (-22.5)	6.82	6.06 (-22.5)		
Barks Siali, Kumbri Talangeng, kandrudal, Radelud, Baruda, Suger	Summer Winter Monson	2.91 2.56 1.88 2.45	3.22 2.87 2.45 2.84	210	279	134	151	11.52	7.70	11.13	8.45		
				117	159	96	123	91	78	95	86		
				1.79	1.75	1.39	1.23	0.12	0.09 (-25)	0.11	0.09 (-18.2)		
Plants / Creepers Siali, Radelud Talangeng	Summer Winter Monson	2.85	4.08	129	232	112	227	5.78	3.99	5.56	4.76		
				116	169	72	144	89	81	94	87		
				1.11	1.37	1.55	1.57	0.06	0.05 (-16.7)	0.05	0.05 (-0.0)		
Fruits Aam, Kusum Anla, Bahada Jamu, Harida Kendu, Karanj Jangingel, Tol. Char, Tentuli	Summer Winter Monson	1.88	3.92	596	653	285	462	174.24	104.42	151.7	97.75	22.6	6.7
				146	164	143	164	98	95	100	99	57	39
				4.08	3.98	1.99	2.82	1.78	1.09 (-38.8)	1.52	0.98 (-35.5)	0.4	0.17 (-57.5)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	11	12	13	14	15	16
Roots & Tubers <i>Margudigai, Gadagai, Daregai, Patadgai, Kathakanda, Pitakanda</i>	Monson	1.66	5.56	321	461	172	398	36.80	26.85	31.5	28.78		
				137	168	95	161	96	91	98	99		
				2.34	2.74	1.81	2.47	0.38	0.29 (-23.7)	0.32	0.29 (-9.37)		
Leaves <i>Sargi, Mohul Siali, Kirido, Kandrumdalo Bradajop, Adrangjop, Titindarangjo p Urbangdjop</i>	Winter Monson	1.31	3.3	168	315	105	175	12.65	8.38	11.35	9.83		
				101	153	76	103	94	99	97	100		
				1.66	2.06	1.38	1.7	0.13	0.08 (-38.5)	0.12	0.1 (-16.7)		
Flowers <i>Mohul</i>	Summer	1.28	3.14	181	225	174	321	36.15	31.17	24.18	25.98	11.97	5.10
				96	132	93	129	85	81	77	89	61	42
				1.88	1.70	1.87	2.49	0.43	0.38 (-11.6)	0.31	0.29 (-6.45)	0.19	0.12 (-36.8)
Seeds <i>Tol, Sargi, Banabhalla, Karanj, Neem</i>	Summer	1.42	3.70	272	306	208	311	25.85	17.49	21.04	14.01	4.81	3.48
				128	137	132	151	98	95	99	97	37	39
				2.12	2.23	1.57	2.06	0.26	0.18 (-30.8)	0.21	0.14 (-33.3)	0.13	0.12 (-7.7)
Mushrooms <i>Sargio, Dasra Jamu, Sraban Bauns, Alenga Taraphul, Bali Alampai,</i>	Monson	2	4.69	119	454		305	14.48	9.35	13.35	11.53		
				103	167		97	100	98	97	100		
				1.15	2.72		3.14	0.14	0.09 (-35.7)	0.14	0.12 (-14.3)		
Herbs <i>Srujel, Durire Manjuati, Arka Barad, Kumbri Raktukolta Kdatidara</i>	Summer Winter Monson	1.71	4.70	272	311	167	293	4.25	2.41	4.15	2.67		
				119	153	103	137	77	63	87	89		
				2.28	2.03	1.62	2.14	0.05	0.04 (-20)	0.05	0.03 (-40)		
Resin <i>Desedai</i>	Summer	1.67	5.02	78	212	154	213	4.47	2.63	3.17	2.81		
				81	103	94	103	63	57	59	61		
				0.96	2.05	1.63	2.07	0.07	0.05 (-28.6)	0.05	0.04 (-20)		
Gums <i>Bel, Panas, Aswastha, Mohul</i>	Summer Winter Monson	0.96	4.03	43	139	52	88	0.76	0.51	0.73	0.48		
				107	131	77	139	47	49	45	48		
				0.40	1.06	0.67	0.63	0.02	0.01 (-50)	0.02	0.01 (-50)		
Broom stick <i>Janon</i>	Winter	1.63	4.58	91	227	53	232	10.39	5.80	8.82	4.96	1.57	0.84
				103	163	27	86	87	84	84	89	13	11
				0.88	1.35	1.96	2.7	0.12	0.07 (-41.7)	0.1	0.05 (-50)	0.12	0.07 (-41.7)
Others (Specify) <i>Tabang</i>	Monson	5.87	10.2	62	213		102	9.63	5.96	9.16	5.07		
				43	117		71	57	53	51	55		
				1.44	1.82		1.43	0.16	0.11 (-31.3)	0.18	0.09 (-50)		
TOTAL				34.19	35.43	35.1	37.9	1857.97	1351.48				

Our data as presented above show the link between deforestation and reduced availability of MFP, additional workload and greater hardship. Because of the non-availability of MFP, the forest dwellers require more human power to collect even the minimum required for survival.

The distance between the MFP collectors and the source i.e., the forest has increased in the mean time between past 10-15 years and the present for all items. That brings about the hardship to cover larger distance and spend more time in this activity.

The Lanjia Saora women shoulder the responsibility of collecting the MFPs more than men. Therefore this section of the population undergoes the maximum hardships because of deforestation. Today, given the distance of the forest from the village, they have to walk for an additional 3 to 4 hours a day to collect MFP. This, to some extent turns their otherwise difficult work at home into a secondary occupation. But they continue to walk this distance and also work at home in order to survive.

The reduction in the procurement of MFP between past and present is visible in all categories. The highest decline is in gums (-50 %), followed by broomsticks (-42 %), seeds, fruits and leaves (-39 % in each case), and the lowest, being in flowers (- 12 %). For other categories the rate of decline ranges between 16 percent and 36 percent. As a result their average household consumption of all these items have come down by 50 percent to 9 percent and created deficits by imbalancing the equation of demand and supply.

Most of our respondents kept repeating that the problem itself is the result of deforestation and the consequent lack of access to MFP. The data given above seem to confirm this. The first indication is the difference between the past and the present in the collection, consumption and sale of MFP. This is attributable primarily, if not exclusively, to the difference in the forest area available and the consequent difference in access.

Possession of Livestock

The Lanjia Saora rear certain kinds of animals to meet their agricultural and consumption needs. When natural vegetations were abundant there were hardly any problem to maintain their domestic animals. Now the population of these animals is decreasing with depletion of forests and decline in agricultural production. This diminishing trend is visible in the comparative data presented in the following statement.

- The animal population has decreased significantly (- 40.14 %) with the average livestock per household shrinking from 14 to 8 animals over last 10 –15 years.
- The highest negative growth rate (-78.13 %) is seen in case of pigs followed by buffaloes (-47.83 %) and cows (-45.51 %), the lowest (-23.64 %) being the bullocks.
- The people revealed the reasons for this situation. The largest number (71.35 %) of respondents cited about shrinking of sources for grazing the animals along with drying up of water sources and short supply of fodder caused by deforestation. Particularly, the populations of buffaloes, cows and goats have been affected by these factors.
- Pig rearing that has been quite common in the past has suffered a major set back on the advent of Christianity. Christianized Saoras are tabooed against this practice.

- The village councils in some villages have banned goat rearing in order to protect the economic cashew plantations, which have started in a big way over past decades.

Types of Animals	Number		Reasons for Change (Percentage of Responses)					
	Total Animals / Total Households possessing / Average per Household	Past	Present (Growth Rate)	Shrinkage of Grazing Sources	Shortage of Fodder	Drying up of Water Sources	Shortage of Manpower for tending Livestock	Fear of Taboos & Social Sanctions
Bullocks		330	252 (-23.64)	81.18			18.82	
		88	85					
		3.75	2.96			83.33		
Buffaloes		23	12 (-47.83)	66.67				
		10	6					
		2.3	2					
Cows		141	89 (-36.87)	58.97	38.46	23.07	17.94	
		45	39					
		3.13	2.28					
Goats		178	97 (-45.51)	78.57	32.14		21.43	46.42
		43	28					
		4.13	3.46					
Pigs		160	35 (-78.13)			26.83		65.85
		41	14					
		3.90	2.5					
Poultry		548	341 (-37.77)			34.57 %		
		81	76					
		6.76	4.48					
Total		1380	826 (-40.14)	71.35	35.30	44.41	19.39	56.13
		100	100					
		13.80	8.26					

Indebtedness & Bondage

It is a well-known fact that the deficit caused by decline of traditional forest based subsistence activities on account of deforestation drives the gullible tribals into the vicious circle of indebtedness and bondage. Once a tribal incurs debt from a local *sahukar*, he is trapped in a net from which he cannot wriggle out very easily. He and his children live in debt and die in debt. Indebtedness in most cases leads to bondage and land alienation. The exorbitant rates of interest charged by the local private moneylenders makes the repayment of loan impossible and invariably the cunning moneylender deprives the client of his income from his available sources of land, MFP and other produces and finally acquires the client's land and or other valuable economic assets. The worst victims are the poorer and landless sections who have no other options.

This kind of situation was prevailing in the study area till the recent past. But now, thanks to the tribal and rural development programmes, the circumstances have changed. Nationalised Banks and Self Help Groups (SHGs) have come to their rescue overshadowing the dishonest private lenders. The level of awareness of the people has also increased.

Source	Number of Loanee Households	Position of Indebtedness				
		Total Amount of Loan Taken (Rs) Average per Household	Total Amount Repaid (Rs) Average per Household	Total Amount Outstanding Average per Household (Rs)	Whether Land or any economic Asset alienated for repayment	If Indebtedness caused Bondage
State Bank of India	2	$\frac{4\ 000}{2\ 000}$	Nil	$\frac{4\ 000}{2\ 000}$	Land	No
Indian Bank	13	$\frac{5\ 39\ 533}{41\ 502.5}$	$\frac{3\ 23\ 400}{24\ 876.9}$	$\frac{2\ 16\ 133}{16\ 625.6}$	Land	No
Self Help Group	2	$\frac{9\ 500}{4\ 750}$	Nil	$\frac{9\ 500}{4\ 750}$	Nil	No
Private	2	$\frac{6\ 400}{3\ 200}$	$\frac{3\ 400}{1\ 700}$	$\frac{4\ 500}{2\ 250}$	Nil	No
Total	19	$\frac{5\ 59\ 433}{29\ 443.8}$ (100)	$\frac{3\ 26\ 800}{17\ 200}$ (58.42)	$\frac{2\ 34\ 133}{12\ 322.7}$ (41.58)		

The above statement shows that presently, Indian Bank, State Bank of India and SHGs have advanced fairly larger amounts of loans to the people than the local moneylenders. The position of repayment of loans by the loanees is also good i.e., 58.42 percent. Large inflow of institutional finance has pushed the greedy private financiers to the backstage, removing their grip over the vulnerable sections. As a result there is not a single case of bondage and alienation of land or any valuable economic asset to the private lenders on account of indebtedness.

Household Income

The data on average annual income of the study households presented in the following Statement is self-explanatory. Between past and present, the average income rose by 45.78 % whereas the expenditure has gone up by 47.55% increasing the deficit in household budget.

The highest component of income i.e., 29.84 percent in the past and 28.89 percent in the present comes from settled agriculture including terraced cultivation of paddy and mixed cultivation in up and dry lands. Yet there is one percent fall between then and now for decline of the rate of production.

Following settled agriculture, the second highest income is reported from both the sub-sectors of horticulture combined together i.e., backyards & kitchen garden and other horticultural plantations including mixed orchards and cashew plantations in backyards, wastelands and *podu* ravaged hill slopes. While the income from backyards & kitchen garden sub-sector have marginally decreased from 6.05 percent to 5.48 percent, that from mixed orchards and cashew plantations etc. have registered a significant growth

from 13.02 percent to 17.74 percent. Both the sub-sectors taken together, the total contribution of horticulture sector to household income has risen from 19.07 percent to 23.22 percent negating the trend of decline in other sectors. As mentioned earlier, this is happening for the popular acceptance of modern horticultural programmes by the people in general and the spread of cashew plantations in particular.

Sl. No.	Sources of Income	Average Amount of Annual Income (Rs)	
		Past (10 Years)	Present
		4 09 168 (29.84%)	5 77 634 (28.89%)
1.	Agriculture	1 57 103 (11.46%)	1 23 657 (6.19%)
2.	Shifting Cultivation	1 78 592 (13.02%)	3 54 705 (17.74%)
3.	Horticulture (a) Orchard etc.	82 895 (6.05%)	1 09 650 (5.48%)
	(b) Backyard & Kitchen Garden	25 865 (1.89%)	18 985 (0.95%)
4.	Animal Husbandry	2 03 295 (14.82%)	2 18 577 (10.93%)
5.	Forest Collection	5 810 (0.42%)	1 775 (0.09%)
6.	Hunting	1 476 (0.11%)	1 110 (0.05%)
7.	Fishing	1 51 275 (11.03%)	3 03 035 (15.16%)
8.	Wage and Labour	1 680 (0.12%)	2 050 (0.10%)
9.	Rural Industry	4 350 (0.33%)	6 575 (0.33%)
10.	Trade / Barter	17 135 (1.25%)	33 495 (1.67%)
11.	Gift / Exchange	1 32 695 (9.68%)	2 47 855 (12.40%)
12.	Service	13 71 339 (100%)	19 99 103 (100%)
Total		13 71 339 (100%)	19 99 103 (100%)
Average per Household (Growth Rate)		13 713. 39	19 991. 03 (45.78%)

Forest collections constituted the third largest source of household income (14.82%) in the past. With gradual depletion of forest resources over period of time, the quantum of income from this age-old perennial source has been reducing day by day downgrading its position to the 5th (10.93%) below that of wage and labour (15.16%) and service (12.40%) which were in the 5th and 6th position in the past. That means following the decline of forest resources, people are looking for alternatives in other avenues like wage earning to supplement their income and make up the deficit.

Like that of forest collections another important age-old forest based source of subsistence ie, the shifting cultivation has been declining. Consequently its contribution to household income has come down from 11.46% to 6.19% over past 10-15 years downgrading its rank from 4th to 6th.

Moreover, deforestation and the ban on hunting have affected the incomes from allied sectors like animal husbandry hunting and rural industry that is largely dependent on forest produce. While animal husbandry has gone down from the 7th to 8th position and the hunting, from 9th to 11th position, rural industry has improved its rank from the 11th to 10th, but its share has gone down from 0.12 percent to 0.10 percent. In case of hunting the income has reduced by almost 80 percent making it a mere ritual activity and for animal husbandry the rate of decline is about 50 percent.

Fishing has never been a significant economic activity for the Lanjia Saora. In terms its contribution to household income it is negligible. As such it holds the lowest rank in the past as well as in the present. This too has declined by more than 50 percent.

Thus it is found that the shares of earning from large number of economic sectors i.e., 7 out of total 12 has declined over past 10-15 years. Sectors like shifting cultivation, animal husbandry, forest collections, hunting and fishing have registered major decline and the remaining 2 i.e., agriculture and rural industry have shown marginal decline. Conversely, significant growth of income has been reported from sectors like horticulture, wage earning and service and marginal growth, from gift and exchange. Interestingly, there is no change in the income from trade and barter which has remained constant at 0.33 percent though its rank has moved up from the 10th to 9th during this period.

Household Expenditure

The data on average annual expenditure of the study households presented in the following statement speaks for itself. The quantum of expenditure has increased on all the 18 heads.

Sl. No.	Heads of Expenditure	Average Amount of Annual Expenditure (Rs)	
		Past (10 Years)	Present
1.	Agriculture	97 967 (7.1 %)	1 15 832 (5.69 %)
2.	Shifting Cultivation	99 895 (7.25 %)	1 08 176 (5.32 %)
3.	Horticulture	61 390 (4.45 %)	83 745 (4.12 %)
4.	Rural Industry	2675 (0.19 %)	3 780 (0.19%)
5.	Dress & Ornaments	67 423 (4.89%)	96 751 (4.76 %)
6.	Rituals & Festivals	53 875 (3.91%)	67 386 (3.31 %)
7.	Drinks & Intoxicants	17 810 (1.29 %)	23 765 (1.17 %)
8.	Entertainment of Guests	16 905 (1.23 %)	28 185 (1.38 %)
9.	Treatment of Diseases	19 785 (1.43 %)	33 190 (1.63%)
10.	Education & Training	27 885 (2.02 %)	49 638 (2.44 %)
11.	Purchase of Durable Assets	26 870 (1.95%)	64 584 (3.17 %)
12.	Land Revenue	719 (0.05 %)	1 219 (0.06 %)
13.	Construction & Repair of House	3 28 690 (23.84%)	5 18 875 (25.50 %)
14.	Litigation	9 300 (0.67 %)	8 500 (0.42 %)
15.	Gift & Exchange	28 655 (2.08 %)	47 680 (2.34 %)
16.	Fuel & Fodder	5 714 (0.41 %)	8 753 (0.43 %)
17.	Fooding	4 19 635 (30.43 %)	6 51 655 (32.03 %)
18.	Repayment of Loan	93 600 (6.79 %)	1 25 800 (6.18 %)
	Total	13 78 793 (100 %)	20 34 514 (100 %)
Average per Household (Growth Rate %)		13 78 793	20 34 5. 14 (47.55%)

Among all the heads the highest average household expenditure has been made on fooding and the second highest on, house construction and maintenance and as such both have maintained their 1st and 2nd positions not only in the past but also in the present circumstances. A decade ago the total share of expenditure on both the heads accounted for (30.43% + 23.84% =) 54.27 percent of the all-total average household

expenditure. This has marginally increased to 57.53 percent at present. Always it has remained over 50 percent.

The expenditure on payment of land revenue has been the lowest among all the heads. Consistently, it has held the lowest i.e., the 18th rank then and now.

Expenses on agriculture, shifting cultivation and horticulture has come down in percentage terms i.e., from 7.1 %, 7.25 % and 7.25 % in the past to 5.69 %, 5.32 % and 4.12 % respectively in the present. While agriculture and horticulture have retained its 4th and 7th ranks respectively, shifting cultivation had stepped down from its 3rd rank to 5th rank indicating its decline from the position of a major traditional subsistence activity.

Besides that, the other heads, which have held their ranks consistently over period of time, are dress & ornaments (6th), rituals & festivals (8th), education & training (10th), treatment of diseases (12th) and rural industry (17th). However in percentage terms their share has changed nominally both on the positive and negative side except that of rural industry, which has remained constant at 0.19 percent.

The study households are not only spending more on construction and improvement of their houses, they have also raised their expenditure for acquiring modern and durable assets. This has caused the upgradation of rank of the head for purchase of durable assets from 11th to 9th, while in its share has increased from 1.95 percent to 3.17 percent.

The data establishes a trend: the pattern of average annual expenditure of the Lanjia Saora study households have not changed much over the past decade. Yet signs of modernization is visible in increased spending on house construction and maintenance, acquisition of durable household assets, treatment of diseases, gift and exchange, education and training and fooding.

Conclusion

The fact remains that; traditionally their life depended upon balanced utilization of natural resources. This balance is disturbed by deforestation. As the things stand today, the situation looks grim but not worse.

Since generations the Saora have been living in their remote mountainous abode deriving subsistence from the resource bases of the hills and forests. Employing crude and labour intensive methods and a small number of simple implements they were satiating their small needs and making a bare minimum living. The main modes of living devised and adopted by them were swidden cultivation, hunting and food gathering. In those days, the nature's bounty was abundant and the population was small. So long as the hilltops and hill slopes were having verdant forest growth, the Saora were exploiting the hills and forests with mirth and furry and *bagado chas* was their way of life. Establishing small settlements nearer to the swidden fields was the practice; and moving the settlement site alongside moving into virgin swidden plots was the norm. As forests started receding swidden cultivation and forestry did not pay dividends and the Saora started preparing terraced fields for paddy cultivation. They learnt in a hard way that their age-old mode of subsistence would no longer sustain their growing population. They also sought alternatives in horticulture and seasonal migratory labour.

Experiencing the environmental hazards of deforestation on their livelihood pattern and culture, they have realized the indispensability of restoration of the degraded natural

environment around their habitat for which they are willing to contribute their part actively by planting commercial as well as traditional species in their surroundings and degraded swiddens. This is a welcome trend and a positive sign. The popularity of cashew and other horticultural programmes bear testimony to that.

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PATAKHANDA YATRA OF JARASINGHA IN BOLANGIR DISTRICT OF ODISHA

Chitrasen Pasayat

There is always charm about traveling during research work particularly in the tribal and hilly areas. One may have a detail schedule of where to go and what to do. But the air of the jungles, deep silence of mountains and sweetness of landscape, pleasant sound of streams and charming terrain can make one feel a sense of letting go where to go, what to see and when to eat or sleep. There is something about the silence of tribal and hilly areas that one does not wish to disturb it with any gross sound like shouting or chattering without purpose. But serene folk music seems acceptable particularly in Jarasingha during Patakhanda Yatra.

Jarasingha is a village situated on the bank of Sungad, which is a tributary of the river Tel. Sungad is a local stream, which takes its rise from the north-west belt of hills of the Bolangir district. Jarasingha is nearly 25 kilometers from Bolangir town. Deogaon is about 22 kilometers from Bolangir situated on the road between Bolangir and Titilagarh. From Deogaon the distance of Jarasingha is only three kilometers towards left. From Deogaon towards right, Kudasingha is about nine kilometers. In olden days, Jarasingha was under the Patna kingdom. There was a Kandha Zamindar in Jarasingha.

The reigning deity of this village is *Budhi-Aai*. Every year, a festival is organized in honor of the deity. Annually, it is celebrated on *Asadha Sukla Purnima Tithi* i.e. on full moon day in the Hindu month of Asadha (June-July). But, the festival celebrated in honor of *Patakhanda Devta* is very popular. The deity is believed to be very influential and powerful. So, it is obvious that, her festival ought to be a famous one. It is celebrated in the Hindu month of *Aswina* (September-October). It begins on *Aswina Sukla Dwitiya Tithi* i.e. on second day of bright fortnight in the month of *Aswina* and ends on *Purnima Tithi* i.e. on full moon day of *Aswina*. A system of communication between the human being and supernatural power plays an important role in Patakhanda Yatra. Common people have found a shamanic medium like Barua through which they are able to interact with the supernatural power like Patakhanda Devta. Thus, they spread the idea or the message of the existence of such power to others.

A large number of people assemble here particularly on *Purnima Tithi* i.e. on full moon day, which is the most important occasion of this festival. We may say that, *Patakhanda* deity is the symbol of unity and integration. It is so admired and popular that it creates a center of attention. It attracts people from the nearby villages and towns. It draws people even from the neighbouring state of Chhattisgarh. *Patakhanda Yatra* is an example of tribal-non-tribal interaction in this part of West Odisha. It is a case in point to establish and show the social interaction and social integration. Why it is so famous?

Common people believe that, *Patakhanda* deity cures the mentally retarded persons and blesses the issueless couples to have children. Thus, the deity is famous for the above-mentioned two reasons. It means that, the deity symbolizes "growth". In the first

case, it means growth of mind as well as intellect. In the second case, it denotes growth of society. The deity fulfills twin-objectives of the common people. It is open to the needy. This Yatra presents the message of "move forward". It makes them realize that, the situation is not so hopeless and that, it is possible for them to perceive their lives in different perspective. *Patakhanda Yatra* fuels common man's desires to be larger than life. It makes us dream; it offers us an escape route from our humdrum realities; it takes us into the world of 'belief system' with a hope of better life and healthier living.

During this time, one finds villagers walking down the serpentine roads leading to Jarasingh village. This clearly indicates the popularity of the deity. The reason is that, the deity creates a hope among the people. This hope is to be cured of ailments. This is beyond medical science. The twin-expectations of the people take them to Jarasingha during *Patkhanda Yatra*.

There is a beautiful myth regarding appearance of *Patakhanda* deity and origin of *Patakhanda* festival in Jarasingha village. Jarasingha area was earlier full of jungles and wild animals. It was a part of Patna kingdom. *Pataneswari* was the reigning deity of this kingdom. *Patakhanda Devta* served *Pataneswari Devi* and pleased her. *Pataneswari* was satisfied to give him *Bara* i.e. boon. *Patakhanda Devta* requested for a piece of jungle in Jarasingha to dwell. Also, he asked for her *Pata-Sindura*, *Sri-Pata*. *Pataneswari Devi* fulfilled his demands. Since then, *Sindura* of the *Pataneswari Devi* of Patnagarh and *Sri-Pata* or *Pata-Kana* of *Samaleswari Devi* of Patnagarh are brought to Jarasingha village to mark the beginning of *Patakhanda Yatra*. This reveals how local traditions are blended with each other. In fact, the local rulers and religious leaders have brought these two local traditions of Patnagarh and Jarasingha together and united them which otherwise reflect the coexistence of two traditions and two communities in a larger society.

As per the above myth, once upon a time, a Kandha couple was staying in a small shed in an isolated and remote village near San-Khemundi of Ganjam district. Jungle was their only source of livelihood. Daily, they used to gather fruits, leaves and firewood from the jungles for their living. Once, the Kandha man borrowed some money from one *Sahukar* i.e. money-lender. After some days, the *Sahukar* came to him to collect money. At that time, the Kandha couple had been to jungles for their sustenance. So, the *Sahukar* waited them in front of their hut. He noticed a *Khalei* i.e. a basket full of living fishes hanging from the roof of the hut. Below the *Khalei* there was a *Panki* i.e. local made vegetable cutter. He observed that, a fish automatically jumped from the *Khalei* on the *Panki* and the sharp *Pankhi* cut the fish into two pieces. It was surprising for the *Sahukar*. He saw this amazing and astonishing sight again and again. The *Sahukar* realized that, the *Panki* might have some miraculous power.

In the evening, the Kandha couple returned from the jungle. The lady was carrying a bundle of firewood and leaves on her head. The man was carrying a bunch of fruits on his shoulder. They found the *Sahukar* sitting in front of their shelter in a shocking mood. They could easily perceive the whitish and insipid face of the *Sahukar*. They were sorry for the *Sahukar* and apologized. They asked him the reason of his coming. He waited for them a long time. They apologized. They asked him the reason of his coming. They inquired why he was looking pale. The *Sahukar* did not express anything about the miraculous incident inside their hut. Rather, he said that if the Kandha couple could give him their *Pankhi*, then he would waive the loan they had taken from him. It was very

surprising for the Kandha couple. They did not anticipate and expect that the Sahukar would ignore the loan for a mere Pankhi kept in their shelter. However, the matter was settled. The Kandha couple handed over the Pankhi to the Sahukar, who spent the night there. At night, the Sahukar saw a dream. Patakhanda Devta appeared and told him that he was in the form of that Pankhi. The deity asked the Sahukar to carry the Pankhi with him

Early in the next morning, the Sahukar took the Pankhi with him and said goodbye to the couple. He proceeded towards the direction as indicated by the deity. He weaved through the rough valleys and terrains and finally reached on the bank of the river Sungod. He kept the Pankhi on a clean and safe place under a tree and went to have a bath. When he returned, he did not find the Pankhi. He searched a lot but it was in vain. He was very sorry. There was a Kandha village named Jarasingha on the bank of the river. The Sahukar spent the night there. At night, the deity appeared in his dream and told him not to worry about him because the deity had reached his destination. So, the duty of the Sahukar was over. The deity asked him to return to his village. Thereafter, as desired by the deity, the Sahukar did not bother for the Pankhi and went back to his village.

Same night, Patkhanda Devta appeared in the dream of the Kandha Zamindar of the village and introduced himself. The deity explained him detail about his journey from the jungle of Sana-Khemundi to his village Jarasingha and asked him to make arrangement for his regular Seva-puja. The Kandha Zamindar was hesitant to reply, "The presiding deity of my village is Maa Budhi-Aai. I am her trusted Sevaka. Without her permission, I cannot offer you puja. If she allows me, then only I can worship you. So, you have to take permission from Budhi-Aai". Thereafter, Patkhanda Devta approached Budhi-Aai and expressed his desire. Budhi-Aai told him, "I am the Samanta Devi of Maa Pataneswari of Patnagarh. I am supposed to protect Jarasingha village and I am to receive the Seva-puja from the villagers. You are an outsider for me and for this village. So also you are an outsider for Maa Pataneswari and for Patna kingdom. Maa Pataneswari is the sovereign deity of this whole kingdom. Jarasingha is under her kingdom. How can I give you permission? However, I do not have any objection to offer you a place to reside if Maa Pataneswari allows you to stay here. Also, I will not mind and protest your Seva-Puja if Maa Pataneswari Devi gives you permission for the same." This oral narrative justifies tribal-non-tribal coexistence and interaction in a village like Jarasingha. It was essential for the peaceful survival of different communities in this place. The ruler was also well aware of the communal problem, which might destabilize his kingdom. So, such myth was manufactured for the nonviolent living of his people in this place irrespective of caste, creed and community.

Finally, Patakhanda Devta approached Pataneswari Devi and sought her kind permission. Pataneswari told him, "It is alright. You will also remain as my Samanta in Jarasingha. But you have to stay there where Budhi-Aai will provide you a space. You will be worshipped there. Hereafter, people will offer you special puja after the completion of my Yatra in the month of Aswina (September-October) every year. Sindura from my temple and Pata-Kana from Samaleswari temple will be provided to you. Then, you will get my power. This additional strength will make you more commanding and powerful. People will come and offer puja to you. You will listen to their miseries and unhappiness and solve their problems. Now, on your way back to Jarasingha from here, you meet my brother Budha-Dangar and tell him everything. He will accompany you to Jarasingha and then only Budhi-Aai will believe you and accept you."

The oral narrative reveals the traditional hierarchical structure of administration established in past times in these areas. This also reflects the strong sense of subordination prevalent among the subordinates in the strong administration of these areas. The subordinate local rulers like Gauntias and Zamindars in the villages were truthfully obliged to their master or king. It was required to maintain law and order in the state. It was essential to prevent outsiders and alien forces. Lack of qualities like allegiance, faithfulness and loyalty among the lesser and minor ruling chiefs means disintegration of the kingdom. It may be mentioned that, there is a small village named Kudasingha between Patnagarh and Jarasingha. There is a *Dangar* (small hill) near this village. *Budha-Dangar Devta* is worshipped here. Perhaps the original name of the deity is *Budharaja*, who is a Kandha deity. Since he is worshipped on the top of *Dangar*, he is called *Budha-Dangar*. Subsequently, the name of this *Dangar* has also been known as *Budha-Dangar*. *Kandul Yatra* is the important festival of this religious shrine. It is observed annually after the harvest of *Kandul* crop on *Chaitra Purnima Tithi* i.e. on the full moon day in the Hindu month of *Chaitra* (February-March).

Whatever the case may be, *Patakhanda Devta* took *Budha-Dangar* with him and reached Jarasingha. He narrated the entire episode before her. *Budhi-Aai* listened to him and allowed him to stay at *De-Jhar* with her two other subordinate deities namely *Birupani* and *Jena*. Since then, *Patakhanda Devta* has been residing in the hole of a *Mahul* tree (*Madhuca indica*) in '*De-Jhar*'. The word '*De-Jhar*' is derived from two words namely '*De*' and '*Jhar*'. '*De*' means deity and '*Jhar*' refers to jungle. So, '*De-Jhar*' denotes 'jungle of deity' or 'the jungle where deities resides'. If the tree dies due to some reasons or other, then the deity is transferred to another *Mahul* tree. Significantly, *Patakhanda Devta* resides only in the *Mahul* tree.

The question may arise here that, why *Mahul* tree is selected for *Patakhanda Devta*. Economically, *Mahul* tree is an important species. Its flowers are used for preparation of country liquor or wine, which is widely used during festive occasions in different tribal communities in tribal Odisha. *Mahula* is a good food for the tribal people. Besides, the tribal people collect *Mahula* from the jungles and sell it in the tribal hat i.e. market to earn some ready cash. From this point of view, the generation and protection of *Mahul* tree is essential for the tribal people. The age old tradition of *Patakhanda Yatra* in Jarasingha has helped the concept and idea of 'forest protection' under socio-religious control. Apparently, tribal people create such rituals and festivals in order to protect their ecology, environment and forests which have provided them shelter, food, fruits, leaves, medicines, firewood etc. for their living. Thus, one can easily detect and recognize the symbiotic relationship between tribal people and their forests. This reminds us the fast depletion of forest cover on the earth with the temperature across the world getting warmer and warmer.

There is another historical legend associated with the origin of *Patakhanda Devta*. It is connected with the historical battle between Patnagarh and Bastar. It is said that, the fort of Bastar was besieged by the soldiers of Patnagarh for several days. At that time, an old lady used to visit the camp of the soldiers daily. She was selling *Mudhi* (prepared from rice) to the soldiers. Everyday, some soldiers were dying after eating that *Mudhi*. The king of Bastar was very surprised. He could not find the cause of the death of his soldiers. So, he invited two *Gunias* (Black Magicians) named *Hira* and *Madan* from Patnagarh.

They came to Bastar and knew that an old lady was coming to the camp of soldiers every day to sell *Mudhi*. She was none else than *Bastaren* herself, who was the presiding deity of Bastar. She was coming in disguise to weaken the strength of Patna king. Hira and Madan suggested the king to win over the deity first if he wanted to win over Bastar. They requested the king to worship *Bastaren Devi* and please her. Accordingly, Patna Raja worshipped the deity and satisfied her. He assured the deity that, after his victory over Bastar, he will make all arrangements for her *Seva-puja* all over his kingdom.

Since then, *Bastaren Devi* has been worshipped in each and every village of Patna kingdom. It is said that thereafter, the *puja* of *Bastaren Devi* has been prevalent in all village of Patna kingdom. Also, the king was pleased with the two *Gunias* for their timely suggestion. He built two big ponds in Patnagarh in their names. These are known as "Madan Gadia Bandha" and "Hira Sagar". During this war, Patna Raja had requested *Pataneswari Devi* to bless him. The deity presented him a *Khanda* i.e. sword, which helped the king to win over Bastar kingdom. In this warfare, the *Kandha Zamindars* and his subjects of *Jarasingha* had extended their cooperation, which finally led to victory of Patnagarh. So, when the king returned from Bastar, he presented the *Khanda* to the *Kandha Zamindar*. Thereafter, *Pataneswari Devi* permitted the *Kandha Zamindar* to worship the *Khanda*. This is why the *Patakhandha puja* is also known as *Bira-Puja* to commemorate the victory of Patnagarh over Bastar.

Alexander Cunningham (1884:64) has also mentioned about such an anecdote as follows. "The states of Patna and Bastar being coterminous, their chiefs were on hostile terms. Balram Deo, one of the Patna chiefs, having laid siege to the fort of Bastar, found that he was unable to take it. In this dilemma the chief began to worship *Mauli*, the tutelary goddess of the fort, who became propitiated, and said to the Raja that she would ensure his success if he would take her to Patna and worship her. The Raja agreed, and shortly after took the fort. On his way home, he established images of the goddess at various places. As she was brought from Bastar, the goddess is now generally known in Patna by the name of *Bastarin Mauli*". However, the war between Bastar and Patnagarh is a historical event.

It is pertinent to mention that, similar oral narrative is found associated with *Samaleswari Devi* and *Pataneswari Devi* of Sambalpur. During the demolition of idols of Hindu deities by *Kalapahada*, the *Sevakas* of Puri Jagannath temple escaped with the images of the deities. It is said that, they buried the images in the *Mahanadi* in *Sonepur* or *Subarnapur*, which is situated to the south of Sambalpur. *Kalapahada* and his army followed the priests and arrived at Sambalpur where *Samlei Devi* prevented them from proceeding further. Both the sisters *Samaleswari* and *Pataneswari* assumed the appearance of milkmaids and emerged before them. They sold milk and curd to the soldiers who were very thirsty at that moment. Straightaway the soldiers drank the milk and curd, which spread desolation among them. At that time, *Raja Balabhadra Dev* of Sambalpur drove back *Kalapahada* effectively (Pasayat, 2007: 76-77).

In case of Sambalpur, the deities were successful in driving out the enemies from their kingdom. But in case of Bastar, the deity could not protect her kingdom. Rather, she blessed the enemy king of Patnagarh. Whatever the case may be, such oral narratives are manufactured to create belief and faith among the common people on the deity.

Before, ordinary people were unaware of written literature. The main reason was that, written materials were beyond the reach of the common people or not easily available to them. Hindu Pauranic literatures were only available in written form on palm leaf. So, literature of the common mass was handed down from mouth to mouth from one generation to other. Accordingly, it was transmitted from one place to other. In course of transmission, the original creator i.e. writer or poet of oral literature was lost in oblivion. In this process, addition or deletion in that piece of literature was easily done by any body who was handling it. Accordingly, it is intricate to find out the genuine author of this myth and actual place of its creation and accurate time of its creation. So, the main oral narrative with some modifications is found in case of Samaleswari Devi of Sambalpur and Bastaren Devi of Bastar as well. Most significant point is that, from historical point of view, the clash between Sambalpur and Kalapahada and the fight between Patnagarh and Bastar are true incidents.

Previously, Patnagarh was being administered by an oligarchy consisting of eight Malliks (Asta-Malliks). In all probability, they were tribal by origin. Or, they were tribal chieftains. These chieftains were the Lords of eight forts (Garhs) which were - (1) Patnagarh, (2) Kagaongarh, (3) Salebhattagarh, (4) Jarasinghagarh, (5) Sindhekelagarh, (6) Kholangarh, (7) Goragarh and (8) Kumnagarh. The third Chauhan Raja of Patnagarh was Vachharaj Dev. He is known to have fought with the chief of Bastar. He reduced the fort of Dantewada, the capital of Bastar, and forced the chief to sue for peace. The daughter of the king of Bastar was given in marriage to the son of Vachharaj Dev, who brought the goddess Bastaren to Patna most likely as an award of his victory. Maybe, the war took place during last part of 14th century. Vaijal Dev was the son of Raja Vachharaj Dev. Perhaps, Vaijal Dev flourished during the early part of the 15th century (Senapati and Sahu, 1968: 49-50).

During 19th century, Maharaja Ram Chandra Singh Deo (1765-1820) created Jarasingha as a Khorposhdari estate. The Maharaja had four Ranis. The son named Bhupal Singh Deo was born from his first Rani. The second and the fourth Ranis were issueless. The third Rani died just after giving birth to a son, Jugaraj Singh. This child was brought up by the second Rani. The Maharaja was very fond of the second Rani and at her demand and request he made over Jarasingha and some other villages for maintenance of Jugaraj Singh. At the time of the Settlement of 1937, Jarasingha estate consisted of 228 villages with an area of 242 square miles excluding reserved and protected forest (Senapati and Sahu, 1968: 485). However, in view of the above analysis, it may be said that Jarasingha since time immemorial has been an important place both from political as well as administrative point of view.

Patnagarh was the place where Ramal Dev defeated the eight Malliks and established Chauhan dynasty. He knew very well that, it would be difficult for him to administer the kingdom without the support and cooperation of local people and chiefs who were mostly tribals by origin. He was aware of the fact that communalism might destabilize his efforts to build a separate Chauhan state here. So, he adopted the tribal customs and traditions and identified himself with them. He took all possible measures to integrate the tribal people with the non-tribal Hindus. It was a diplomatic move, which was essential for the survival and continuation of his kingdom. In this backdrop, Patakhandra Yatra is an important festival towards tribal-non-tribal interaction in this area.

Historically, the neighbouring two districts of Bolangir namely Boudh and Phulbari are Kandha dominated areas. Prior to 1993, these two districts had jointly formed one district called Kandhamal district. As per the tradition, tribal people dependent on jungle for their survival. Due to some reasons or other, some of them might have migrated to other areas like Sana-khemundi and Jarasingha and settled there. They built themselves as a dominant force in this area. In course of history, they had taken part in the state formation during Chauhan rule. Chauhan rulers had sought their help and cooperation during military campaigns. They were also faithful to the rulers. Though they had established themselves as a strong social force, they were placed on the lower rank in the social hierarchy conceptualized by the caste-Hindus. It is evident from the position of Kandha deities namely *Budhi-Aai*, *Budha-Dangar*, *Patakhanda*, *Birupani* and *Jena Devi* in comparison to *Pataneswari Devi*.

Now three small pieces of iron plates are worshipped as *Patakhanda Devta*. If these three pieces are jointed together, it would not look like a *Khanda* i.e. sword. Rather, it will take the shape of a *Pankhi*, a locally made knife used for cutting vegetables and fishes etc. Now, we come to the myth. As narrated earlier, *Patakhanda Devta* finally obtained the permission from *Pataneswari Devi* to be worshipped in the *De-Jhar* of Jarasingha. On that night, the deity appeared in the dream of the Zamindar and told him to make an image of the deity out of the *Pankhi* brought by the *Sahukar* as discussed earlier for his *Seva-puja*. In the morning, the Zamindar sent for the *Luhura* (black smith) of his village and gave him the *Pankhi* to make an image of *Patkhanda Devta* to be worshipped by the villagers. *Luhuras* are a caste of iron workers, whose name is derived from *Luha* i.e. iron. *Luhura* took the *Pankhi* carefully to the workshop at his residence. When he struck his *Hatudi* i.e. hammer on the *Pankhi*, it was broken into three pieces. Despite his repeated efforts, he could not join these three pieces. It frightened him. Out of fear, he surrendered before the Zamindar.

The *Luhura* narrated the whole thing in detail and requested the Zamindar to excuse him. But the incident frightened the Zamindar as well. He recalled *Patakhanda* deity and asked for pardon. That night, *Patakhanda Devta* appeared in the dream of the Zamindar and told him not to worry about the occurrence. He recommended him not to make his image hereafter. He advised the Zamindar to keep these three iron pieces in the hole of the biggest *Mahul* tree available in the *De-Jhar*. Thereafter, as per his direction, his special *puja* is performed in the month of *Aswina*. *Sindura* comes from *Pataneswari* temple of *Patnagarh*. *Pata-Kana* comes from *Samaleswari* temple of *Patnagarh*. *Chhatar* and *Kalasa* come from the temple of *Budhi-Aai*. Then only *Patakhanda Yatra* begins. When the deity appears through *Barua* or ascends in the body of *Barua*, he comes out with these three iron pieces with his hands.

Patakhanda Yatra is also prevalent among *Bondas* of *Mudulipada* in *Malkangiri* district. It is celebrated annually in the month of *Magha*. It is observed on first Monday after *Magha Purnima*.

There is a myth regarding origin of *Patakhanda Yatra* of *Mudulipada*. As per the oral tradition, once the prince of *Nandapur* agitated against his father i.e. the king of *Nandapur*. He left the kingdom and stayed in *Bonda hills* of *Mudulipada*. The king was very worried about his son. After some days, he went to the death bed. The Chief Minister realized the imminent death of the king. He went out in search of the prince and found him in *Bonda hills*. He appraised him about the dying condition of his father and requested him

to return to Nandapur. At that time, the prince had mobilized the Bondas of twelve villages in Mudulipada and built a strong and disciplined army under his control. At the request of the king, when the prince returned to his kingdom with the Chief Minister, he presented his *Khanda* i.e. sword to the Bondas. These Bonda people had shown their allegiance to the Nandapur kingdom. It is said that, the Bondas of Mudulipada since then have been worshipping that *Khanda* to commemorate the memory of that incident. This festival is observed on first Monday in the Hindu month of Magha.

Another legend is also heard. It says, Jagadeka Bhushan was the king of Chakrakote. The name of his queen was Bundi or Banda Mahadei. He had a son named Someswara. At that time, there were two neighbouring states of Chakrakote namely Vengi on the southern side and Khinali on the northern side of his kingdom. The Senapati of the king was a mischievous person. He wanted to be the king of Chakrakote. So, in connivance with the neighbouring kings, he hatched a plot and killed the king. He also tried to kill the young prince Someswara but, he failed. Somehow, the Queen Banda Mahadei fled away with her child to Bonda hills. The faithful and truthful Bonda gave them shelter and protections for several years. There the Queen and her son built a strong Banda army, with the help of whom they could regain the kingdom of Chakrakote. They presented the *Khanda* of late Raja Jagaddev Bhusan to the Banda people, who have since been worshipping the *Khanda* organizing an annual festival on the first Monday of Magha every year.

The above legend has some historical background. Chakrakote was roughly comprised of the Bastar-Koraput area. Jagadeka Bhushan was the king of Chakrakote in the eleventh century. He was not in good terms with Bhanjas of Khinali, then comprising the parts of modern Ganjam and Boudh-Kondhmal districts. He appears to have been defeated by the Bhanja king, Yasobhanja. Very probably, Jagadeka Bhushana was killed by Yasobhanja in 1060 and after his death the Chakrakote was usurped by one of his relatives named Madhurantaka, who ruled at least up to 1065. Someswara, the son of Jagadeka Bhushan obtained favour of the Goddess Vindhyabasini and killed Madhurantaka in a battle-field and regained his father's kingdom. Banda Mahadevi was the mother of Someswara, who was also a great challenger and enemy of Kulottunga of Vengi. Kulottunga Chola, the then ruler of Vengi had given help to Madhurantaka whereupon Someswara is known to have marched into the kingdom of Vengi in course of the war (Senapati and Sahu, 1966:52-54).

One finds some similarities between the *Patakhanda Yatra* of Mudulipada and that of Jarasingha. First, both *Yatras* are known as *Patakhanda*. Secondly, *Khanda* or sword is the symbol of the deity as per the oral tradition. In Mudulipada, the deity is worshipped in the form of a sword, about three feet long. Of course, in Jarasingha there are three pieces of iron plate. But as discussed above, the myth of sword is associated with it. Thirdly, the deity resides in a tree. In Jarasingha, the deity lives in Mahul tree whereas in Mudulipada the deity resides in a *Baragachha* i.e. banyan tree. Fourthly, the deity is originally an outsider in both the places. In case of Jarasingha, the deity has come from Sanakhemundi whereas in case of Mudulipada the deity has come from Chakrakote and Nandapur.

Fifthly, in both cases incident of battle is associated. In case of Jarasingha we find the war between Bastar and Bolangir, whereas in case of Mudulipada we find the incident of such a battle. Both the battles are historically correct as discussed earlier. Raja of Patanagarh presented the *Patakhanda* to the Kandhas of Jarasingha. Rani of

Chakrakote presented the Patakhanda to the Bandas of Mudulipada. In both the cases, allegiance to *Raja-Sakti* is reflected.

Sixthly, in both cases social contacts and social interactions between the tribal people and the non-tribal people are evident. In both the cases, the tribal people are placed in the lower rank in the social hierarchy by the caste-Hindu society. In other words, tribal people are treated as inferior to the non-tribal Hindu people. In case of Mudulipada, the Bandas have shown their loyalty to the Jeypore king, whereas in Jarasingha the Kandhas have shown their allegiance to the king of Patnagarh. This position is also reflected in the hierarchical status of their deities. In Jarasingha, *Budhi-Aai*, *Birupani*, *Jena* and *Patakhanda Devta* are considered as *Samanta* or subordinate deities of *Pataneswari* of Patanagarh. This also reflects the secondary status of Kandha people in relation to the Hindu people in this area.

Seventhly, in both cases, other local deities are associated with the main festival in order to make it a bigger festival. This reflects tribe-caste integration in this area. This also reflects the coordination, cooperation and co-existence of different groups and communities in this area. In Mudulipada, the priest collects flowers from the top of the hill known as '*Bana-Pacheri*' and water from '*Sita-Kunda*'. Similarly, in Jarasingha, *Sindura* comes from *Pataneswari* temple and *Pata-Kana* comes from *Samaleswari* temple of Patanagarh. Also, *Kalasa* comes from *Budhi-Aai* of Jarasingha. *Ghagara* for Patakhanda deity is prepared out of the *kana* i.e. used clothes of the *Chhatar* of *Budhi-Aai*.

It is pertinent to speak a few words about *Sita-Kunda* of Mudulipada. It is said that, while wandering in the jungle during *Banabasa* (exile), once Sita had a bath in this *Kunda* i.e. pond during her period of menstruation. Thus, it is fabled to be the spot where Sita while going naked to take bath kept her long hairs open and untied. Some Banda women saw her in that condition and laughed at her. Sita was angry and cursed them that, they laughed at a woman (Sita) though they are also women. So, there would be no *Bastra* (clothes) on their body and hair on their head from then on. This is why, Banda women never wear clothes and keep hairs on their head. Perhaps, this myth has been manufactured. Clearly, this is a step towards sanskritization to make it a wider festival and to make it acceptable by the non-tribal people as well.

Eighthly, animal sacrifice is prevalent in both cases. One may notice a common practice at the time of animal sacrifice in both the places. It is believed that, the head of the sacrificial animal ought to be cut off at one stroke only. In this context, the Banda of Mudulipada believe that, if it does not happen then misfortunes will loom around.

Lastly it may be said that, Patakhanda Jatra in Jarasingha, besides providing entertainment, has been used to spread the message that the deity is capable to cure the mentally retarded person and cure the 'barrenness' of woman. In this case, one vital lacuna is the absence of scientific attitude of people. The question may arise, what is scientific attitude? Such attitude develops out of scientific knowledge, which is scientifically valid and relevant. It improves rational attitude and practices. Cure of mentally retarded person and barrenness by the deity seems to be irrational and unscientific, which have been the causes of many social ailments in our society, particularly in rural and tribal areas. But the simple answer is that, it is based on faith and belief, where medical science has nothing much to do.

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IN SEARCH OF A FORGOTTEN COMMUNITY: THE BENNIAH KANDHAS OF ORISSA

Anuja Mohan Pradhan

I

The state of Orissa allures to all researchers and academicians who pursue a study on tribals. Orissa, with its exotic natural forests and hills has been home of 62 Scheduled Tribes and numerous sub-tribes or groups. As per 2001 census, tribal population of Orissa is 81, 45,081 and constitutes 22.1% of the state's population. About 10.38% of India's Scheduled Tribe population live in Orissa, the third in terms of tribal concentration only next to Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. Nearly 94.5% of tribal population live in villages and 90% of the same is dependent on agriculture, out of which 50.70 % are cultivators and 38.30% are agricultural labourers. The tribes, with their rich tradition and culture have contributed towards formation of picturesque mosaic of Orissan culture manifested in art, craft, folk literature and religion.

A 'tribe' is described as a social group, usually within a definite area and having a common language, cultural homogeneity and unifying social organisation¹. It may also include several sub groups. According to Mujumdar (2006) "a tribe is a collection of families bearing a common name, members of which occupy the same territory, speak the same language, and observe certain taboos regarding marriage, profession or occupation and have developed a well assessed system of reciprocity and mutuality of obligation".

In the pre-colonial period there were no social groups called 'tribes'. Such ethnic groups, which had distinct local and regional nomenclatures, were not categorized together under the general category of tribe. In the ancient Indian literatures these groups were termed as *adivasi*, *adim jati*, *janajati*, *vanyajati*, etc. The great Indian epics like Ramayana and Mahabharata, administrative documents of emperor Ashoka's period and many other ancient literatures refer the tribal people as jungle folks. The colonial rulers categorised them as "Tribes". However, in the Indian context the diversities of the large number of communities loosely called as "tribes" defies any precise definition of the term. Various authorities have attempted to define the term but an acceptable proposition is yet to emerge.

Among the 62 Scheduled Tribes of Orissa the KANDHA is numerically the largest and territorially widespread tribe in Orissa. In this regard it is not only a major tribe of the Orissa state and but also one of the major tribes of the country. According to the Census of 2001 the total population of the Kandha is 13 95 643 (6 88 402 males and 7 07 241 females) out of the State's total tribal population of 81 45 081. Though their population is unevenly spread throughout the State in all the 30 districts, their main concentration is in southern Orissa covering districts like Rayagada, Kondhmal, Kalahandi and Koraput. Geographically, their stronghold lies in the central western part (erstwhile Kasipur and Mahulpatna areas) of Eastern Ghats Region.

¹ Tribes of Orissa by SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar.

As such they are territorially and socio-culturally divided into a number of segments/sections bearing different names and exhibiting diversity as well as commonness of cultural traits among themselves. The names of many of these segments /sections have found place in the ST list of Orissa. The spatio-temporal drift has put them at different parts of the state and placed them at the neighbourhood of different cultures. This proximity to other cultures and gradual mutual dependence have influenced them to a certain extent. The sub groups or the sub tribes of the greater Kandhas are many and researchers differ about their number. Various sub groups have come into forefront at different phases of time and are specifically or randomly has caught the attention of the researchers. The present article attempts to point out the existence of the Benniah Kondhs – a forgotten sub-tribe of the Kandha as referred by various administrators and researchers. This paper will also be discussing few pertinent questions a researcher faces while venturing into an unchartered area for study of a tribe or a sub-tribe.

II

Centuries ago i.e., in August 1836 the Kandha tribe for the first time featured very prominently for their heinous practices of female infanticide and human sacrifice in the report of Mr. Russell to the Madras Government. Thereafter papers and articles on various cultural aspects of the tribe were published in various magazines and journals. Thus tribe became known to the administrative as-well as academic world for its superstitious beliefs and practices. Acting upon this information the British Government appointed Colonel Campbell who was succeeded by Captain Macpherson as the Collector of Ganjam to suppress such heinous practices.

The *Original Report*² by Captain Samuel Charter Macpherson, the then Collector of Ganjam District of Orissa under British rule (1846) happens to be the first report written in which this sub tribe the Benniah Kandha has been mentioned. Capt. Macpherson had authored the report basing on his personal visit to the Kandha hills lying west of Ganjam district. In his report he states about three types of Kandhas, namely Malliah Kandhas, Benniah Kandhas and Bettiah Kandhas. The Malliah Kandhas resided in the Eastern Ghats and Kutia Kandhas resided further west to them. The Benniah Kandhas, who were in close proximity of the Oriya speaking people of Ganjam were some sort of bulwark. The leaders of Benniah Kandhas worked as a link between the Oriya speaking Hindu kings and the Kandhas of the Agency area.

Later the Benniah Kandha appeared in the writing of Major-General John Campbell. In his narrative³ "OPERATIONS THE HILL TRACTS OF ORISSA THE SUPPRESSION OF HUMAN SACRIFICES AND FEMALE INFANTICIDE", he describes his encounters and experiences with the Benniah Kandha in an interesting episode. The episode goes as the following:

Whilst examining some magisterial cases, I observed a crowd approaching with two women in front, guarded by three or four armed men. In due time they were brought before me, and charged by a Beniah Khond, (one of a tribe of Khonds inhabiting the slopes of the mountains) with having transformed themselves into tigers killing and carrying off his son. His story was : —

² Calcutta Review , 1846a

³ 22,Chapter-II, Major-General John Campbell, C.B. of His Operations in the Hill Tracts of Orissa: The Suppression of Human Sacrifices and Female Infanticide. London: Hurst And Blackett, 1861.

"I went in the evening to the jungle near my village accompanied by my son, to gather fire-wood. We were engaged in doing so when a tiger sprung upon my son and carried him off. I pursued, shouting and making as much noise as I could, when suddenly on turning the shoulder of a rock I saw there two women standing on the top of it. The thing was now clear, the "Pulta Bag," alarmed at my shouts and close pursuit, concealed the body of my son and resumed their original (human) shape. I took them prisoners to my village, where they confessed to what I now charge them with, here they are, ask them."

I did ask them, and to my surprise both women acknowledged that the Beniah Khond's story was true, they had killed his son, and had power to transform themselves into tigers. Determined to undeceive the people as to this extraordinary belief, I told the women that I would release them on condition of their transforming themselves into tigers in my presence, which, to the horror of my people, they agreed to do if taken to a neighbouring jungle. This I ordered to be done; when seeing no mode of escape, they threw themselves on the ground, imploring mercy and pardon, and confessing the imposture. They stated that they were poor, and lived by imposing on the credulity of the villagers, who supplied them with food and clothing whenever they chose to ask for it, to secure themselves and cattle from their depredations in the form of a "Pulta Bag." Some were convinced of the imposture, but the majority were disappointed that the supposed witches were not burned or drowned.

Dalton (1872) and Rowney (1992) have acknowledged the existence of the Beniah Kandha in their descriptive ethnographic reports published afterwards. E.I. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, (1872: 293) has endorsed Macpherson's three fold division of the Kandha tribe as 'Betiah', 'Beniah' and 'Maliah'. "...Betiah a servile class, who worked for hire or held lands on conditions of labour: Beniah who occupied skirts of hills and paid rent for their lands or held them on a more honourable description of service: and Maliah or highlanders who were virtually independent, though they performed homage to the chief on his accession, and, if well disposed to his service, occasionally took the field at his bidding."

Then Risley also wrote about the Beniah Kandha in his book *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, (1891, Vol-I, p-397).

"Kandh, Kondh, Kond, Kui Loka, Kui-Enju, a Dravidian tribe, inhabiting that part of the territory of the Raja of Boad (Boud), one of the tributary states of Orissa, known as Kandhmals, a hilly tract of country 40 mile in length, and extreme breadth 24 miles, with an area of 800 square miles. These Kandhs call themselves Maliah Kandhs as distinguished from the Beniah Kandhs, who inhabit Gumsur in Madras."

"The Kandhs of Orissa Kandhmals, with whom alone we are now concerned, are supposed to have entered the Kandhmals from the South about 250 years ago, driving out the feeble unwarlike Kurums or Kurmis who appear to have been the original occupants of these tracts. They are divided into two classes- (1) Uriya Kandh, Uriyas have abandoned many Kandh usages and adopted Hindu customs in their place; while the Malua or hill Kandhs still adhere strictly to the original observances of the tribe. Within the limits of the Kandhmals these two groups have not yet become strictly endogamous, and owing perhaps to the sparseness of the population of these tracts, intermarriages still take place between them. But the Malua Kandhs already refuse to intermarry with the Uriya Kandhs of Bod (Boud) proper and Gumsur, whom they regard as having lowered themselves by taking to Hindu practices; and it seems probable that in course of time an equally complete separation will be brought about between the Uriya and Malua Kandhs of the Kandhmals." (Ibid, Vol-I, p-398)

Another most important literature on Kandhas emerged from the studies by Mrs. Barbara Boal. Her studies with Capt. Macpherson's report in the background

further threw light into socio-religious and cultural aspects of Kandhas' life along with their non-tribal neighbours. Boal, in her work "Kandhas and The Religious Change"⁴ has studied the myths on the origin of Kond (Kuinga) tribe and their predominantly non-tribal neighbours- Panos (Domanga). Capt. Macpherson, though states about three types of Kandhas is silent about their mythological source of origin. Verrier Elwyn mentions the "Sapangada" myth regarding the origin of Kandhas. This myth is also silent about the types of Kandhas as well as the Domanga. Barbara Boal, in her work mentions the Nagala-Bondela myth. This myth speaks about the origin of Kuinga i.e. the Kandhas and the Domanga i.e. Pano as written by English and Oriya writers. In brief, from the elder brother, Kulo, the active one, took birth seventeen sons and equally from the younger brother, Dohu, the lazy one, seventeen sons were born. The sons of Kulo and Dohu, as per the myth, become the fountain heads of seventeen Kui and seventeen Doma clans respectively. Boal, during her study came across 14 Kond clans and seventeen Dom clans. They are as follows:

Kond: 1) Saora Kond 2) Nepal Kond 3) Naga Kond 4) Mundari Kond 5) Santal Konds 6) Mikri Kond 7) Kutia Kond 8) Makar Kond 9) Meria Kond 10) Jomidar Kond 11) Sola Kond 12) Benia Kond 13) Siko Kond 14) Bono Saora Kond 15) I do not know the other three.

Doms: 1) the goldsmith Doms 2) the flying squirrel Doms (Diu) 3) The naked Doms 4) Duhuria Doms 5) Kusola Doms 6) seven sister Doms 7) Porpoti Doms 8) the horse drawn cart Doms 9) Ogda Doms 10) the distiller Doms 11) the Pan making Doms 12) the tiger/leopard Doms 16) Gundia Doms 17) the potter Doms.

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act, 2002 No.10 of 2003 (notified in Gazette of India, Extra Ordinary, Vol: No.10 Dated January 8, 2003) the Part -II Section 1 orders at (k) in Part XII- Orissa (xiii) in entry 31, at the end insert "Kondh, Kui, Buda Kondh, Bura Kondha, Desia Kondha, Dunguria Kandha, Kandha Gauda, Muli Kondh, Malua Kondh, Pengo Kandh, Raja Kondh, Raj Kandha";

The missing three of Boal's list can be looked in the presidential order. However, it is a paradox that the names of Kond sub tribes are not limited to the list. In Orissa, all the divisions of the Kandhas is yet to be fully identified through scientific study.

III

The tribe Kandha is a conglomeration of many sub-tribes with distinct linguistic and religious bearing. Many of the sub-tribes with their totemic identity speak Kui language with regional variations. However, the sub-groups such as Sitha Kandha and Kutia Kondh, Dongria Kandhas and Raja Kandhas have very rare similarities. The mythical origin from Sapangada does not necessarily bind all the sub tribes of Kandha tribe.

The Benniah Kandhas or Benia Kandhas were said to be existing during the tenure of Macpherson and Campbell i.e. between 1830s to 1850s . As reported by Capt. Macpherson, the Benniah Kandhas resided in the areas between the lands of hill Kandhas and Oriya speaking Hindu people. Boal made her study in 1950s to 1960s. As quoted by Boal "...secondly, along the rugged, forested lower slopes of the mountain chain, the Benniah Kandhas kept their freedom through sheer physical advantage of their locality. By 1836 their descendants had been accepted as free

⁴ The Khonds and the Religious Change by Barabara M. Boal, Modern Book Depot Bhubaneswar, (1984)

subjects of the Hindu Oriya speaking Rajah of Goomsur." Further," they have everywhere tended- and the process goes on daily by the most curious steps- to become assimilated to their conquerors in manners and religion; and the Kandhas, in particular, have formed, by intermixture with later, new castes, many of which hold a respectable place within the pale of Hindu society.

However, in none of the Government of Orissa literature on Kandhas, especially the District Gazetteers⁵, the existence of Benuiah Kandhas is mentioned. It may be under the logic that all sub tribes belong to the tribe and the tribe Kandha means and includes all its sub-tribes. The sub-tribes like Raja Kandha, Sita Kandha etc. also are not specifically mentioned but the Presidential Order has sanctified their place in the tribe.

Hence, the Benuiah Kandhas have utterly been passed into oblivion and attracted no attention as a sub-tribe even for research or academic purpose. The pertinent questions, arising thereof are:

1. Are the Benuiah Kandhas still existing with their distinct identity or perished ?
2. Does the word "Kond" means and includes Benuiah Kandhas and other Kandha sub groups not mentioned in the order?
3. If existing, does a Benuiah Kandha wants to retain his sub-group identity and is the same acceptable to existing revenue administration?
4. What is their world view in the rapid transition experiencing push and pull of two unsimilar cultures?

IV

Research, as an extension of study curriculum calls for an extra bit of interest, effort and energy. In the present context the challenges that lay ahead are somewhat peculiar and need special attention. Briefly, these can be summed up as follows:

The Benuiah Kandhas living in the proximity of the Oriya speaking Hindus were more exposed to the influence of the latter in comparison to other sub-tribes of the Kandha tribe. Over the passage of time most of the Benuiah Kandhas have shun their tribal identity. They, as on date do not speak Kui, the language of Kandhas of Kandhamal and has adopted the social practices of Oriya speaking Hindu castes. Their rituals and customs observed during child birth, marriage and death which bring the people of an ethnic group together must have gone a sea-change. For example, in Kui society the groom pays the bride price but does not demand any dowry from bride's side. The system of *solbanga kalu*, *site kalu* ⁶ etc. are to be traced if still in practice. The change in the social practices makes the task of reconstruction of past rituals of the tribe more difficult.

The government of Orissa since independence has taken no study on the Benuiah Kandhas so far. The other primitive subtribes viz. Kutia Kandhas and Dongria Kandhas, have received much attention from the government and special development projects have been started for their allround development. On the other hand, the study on Benuiah Kandhas would have revealed the effects of sanskritization of a tribe and the

⁵ The District Gazetteers of Ganjam, Boud-Kandhamal, Puri have no mention of the Benuiah Kandhas.
⁶ Fee or gift of wine by the groom side, *solbanga kalu* for entry into bride's house and *site kalu* on acceptance of the marriage proposal.

socio-cultural changes when a tribe is integrated into the main stream of the society. The Government till date does not recognise the existence of the Benuah Kandha sub-tribe and the same is not listed in the Schedule of the Tribes in Orissa. The sub-tribe which figured in the first ever literature on Kandhas i.e. *Original Report of Capt. Macpherson* is pushed into oblivion where as sub-tribes like Buda Kondh, Bura Kandha, Muli Kondh, Pengo Kandha, Nanguli Kandha, Sitha Kandha, Raja Kandha and Kandha Gouda etc whose existence was not reported during British rule in the past centuries have gained prominence by finding place in the list of Scheduled Tribes of Orissa.

A researcher ventures into an uncharted area with hope of meeting the people who can give some account about the target population. The researcher himself would try to make first hand observation of the living and practices of the targeted people. The task of locating and identifying a forgotten tribe becomes more tough where the members of the tribe itself want to shun their identity for one reason or other and are mixed with other higher class of people.

In the existing administrative system the base level revenue functionaries are entrusted with the task of inquiry of one's caste or tribe status. The issue of Benuah Kandhas, however, calls for a more systematic and elaborate study of the remnants of a sub-tribe. The task is somewhat more akin to reconstruct an edifice from the rumbles. The Benuah Kandhas whom Campbell describes as "living on the slopes of the mountains" are to be traced in the areas of erstwhile state of Ghumusar which was spread over present districts of Ganjam, Kandhamal and Nayagarh. The Benuah Kandhas have once served as the tribal army of the Bhanja kings of Ghumusar and fought the British under the charismatic leadership of Dora Bissoyee and Chakra Bissoyee, the great heroes of the Benuah Kandhas⁷ and adored freedom fighters of Orissa. Hence, a study on the Benuah Kandhas will bring a sub-tribe with rich history into limelight and serve cultural, administrative and academic interest.

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DRINKING: A SOCIO-CULTURAL PRACTICE AMONG THE TRIBALS OF ORISSA

Kedarnath Dash

Drinking is considered as a distinct phenomenon in the human society. Socio-cultural practices in relation to drinking range from eager drunkenness to total abstinence. Drinking is a cultural artifact and the forms and meaning of drinking of alcoholic beverages are culturally defined. The meaning of drinking, its relation to other aspects of the culture and society, are usually implicit. The accepted customs of the society in which a person lives have a strong influence on the attitude towards drinking. It is just broad cultural values or social norms which regulate the ways in which alcohol is drunk. But drinking is not merely a matter of subtle interpersonal influences; it is regulated in the light of whole series of other controls ranging from habits, beliefs, customs, ideas, values, cost, license and laws around it.

In the tribal societies of Orissa drinking has been widely prevalent. The preparation of liquor has been reported from many tribal societies of Orissa. Their importance is evident from multiplicity of customs and regulations that developed around production and use of drinks in different tribal societies. The sentimental attachment of the tribals with one kind of liquor or the other is evident among the Orissan tribes. Drinking can be said to be a part of the tribal social milieu from time immemorial. The beverages often became central in most valued personal, social and magico-religious occasions. Shukla (1978) says that the use of alcohol is an integral part of the ceremonies and also as a concomitant of religious performances of the tribals. They have been preparing and consuming various types of liquor on festive occasions such as marriage, birth and death rites and other ceremonial events. Drinking has been a way of life with the tribals of Orissa and the indigenous beverages, apart from fulfilling some of their religious and ritualistic needs, also supplements some of their nutritional deficiency and cheer the life of the tribals without causing any disruption in the fabric of social and economic life. Hasan (1964) found extensive ceremonial use of alcohol among the people of pre-literate societies. It can be understood in terms of their underlying meaning and characteristic form with their relation to use of alcohol in the rituals. The pattern and extent of alcohol consumption depends on the socialization process. The children are influenced by the parental attitude towards drinking among the tribal societies in Orissa.

The indigenous beverages prepared by fermentation of rice and millets have been the favorite drink of tribals of Orissa. Rice-beer (Handia/Pachhi), toddy extracted from date-palm, *salap* drink extracted from sago-palms, ragi liquor and *mohua* liquor constitute the varieties of indigenous intoxicating drinks prepared and consumed by various Orissan tribes. Besides it, the distilled liquor sold by the vendors is also consumed by the tribals in different parts of tribal Orissa. The introduction of distilled liquor proves to be a disaster to the tribal economy in Orissa.

Subsistence insecurity seems to be related to the drinking habits. The tribals of Orissa resort to drinking to escape from the pains and miseries of day to day economic

hardship. From psychological point of view the indigenous liquor provide them with required comfort, relief and vitality. It is cheaper and hygienic in comparison to other food items. The dinking behaviors of the tribals of Orissa are related to the living conditions. It acts as an agent of reduction of anxiety.

The indigenous liquor is highly valued as a ritual and cultural artifact and it has been tightly interwoven into the fabric of everyday life. The tribals of Orissa drink irrespective of their age and sex. It is commonly a social rather than a solitary activity. Drinking performed with peers and also with the family circle in tribal societies. Drinking together generally symbolizes durable social solidarity – or atleast amity. It has a magico-religious significance in their community life (D. Symington, 1938). But the excise policy of the British administration in making the liquor vending a monopoly and a source of revenue for the state had devastating effects on the tribal people.

A brief survey of tribes in Scheduled Areas in the state reveals the various drinking practices among the tribals of Orissa. Through there is different drinking practices, there is an underlying similarity of drinking behavior in socio-cultural sphere. The drinking practices of some of the important and major tribes of Orissa have been focused here in order to have a broader knowledge about the tribal life in Orissa.

The Oraons of Sundergarh and Sambalpur give much importance to the rice-beer (*handia*) and Mohua liquor in their daily life. Rice-beer which is made by themselves is the traditional drink and is served abundantly at the time of marriage, birth and death rites and many other socio-religious occasions. Every festive occasion is celebrated by intoxicating themselves with liquor. They distil liquor from Mohua flower for their own use. Among the Oraons members of both sexes who attend the funeral of deceased kin are entertained with rice-bear or Mohua liquor. When harvest is over the bones of all the deceased persons of the village are taken together in a procession and offered cooked rice, tobacco and liquor before immersion for the union of the departed soul with the soul of the deceased kinsmen.

Among the Konda Dora found in Koraput, Ganjam and Phulbani, liquor plays an important role in the marriage ceremony. Thurston (1909) says when a man contemplates taking a wife his parents carry three pots of liquor to the home of the girl, whose hand he seeks. The acceptance of these by the father is a sign that match is agreeable to him and *Jholatanka* (bride-price) of rupees five is paid to him. A Konda Dora marriage is followed by feasts in which wine and pork are served.

The Bondos of Malkangiri indulge themselves in excessive liquor consumption. They drink enormous quantity of *salap*, the juice of sago palms. Among the Bondos, liquor is tabooed to be used in all rituals excepting the ritual offered to the ghosts and dreaded spirits. Even religious functionaries are tabooed to use liquor while performing rituals.

A major part of the income of Hos of Mayurbhanj district is spent on drinks which are sold in very cheap rate in the locality. The Hos also worship Gods and Goddesses by offering liquor. They universally take "illi" or rice-beer. It adversely affects the economy of the Hos as they incur debts and are exploited by the liquor vendors. The Hos believe in the myth that a boy and girl were created by their supreme deity, Singbonga, and put together to bring forth progeny. But they would not copulate for which Singbonga taught them how to prepare *illi* (rice-beer) which excites the passion. Illi had its effects on them and in course of time their number

increased and gave rise to different social groups. Hence from the time of their origin, the rice-beer became a favorite drink of the Hos.

Among the Bhuyan of Keonjhar district the alcoholic drink is known as Mohua liquor, rice-beer called as Pachhi, toddy extracted from date-palms, *salap* drink extracted from Sago-palms and liquor prepared out of cereals. Liquors of various types are usually taken by the Bhuyans. These simple tribal folk for their poverty remain as a prey to the Sahukar (local moneylender) who always lends them money to drink habitually.

The Bhunjia of Nawarangpur district are habituated in taking distilled liquor and *salap* juice as intoxicants. At the time of scarcity of food, they can manage only with liquor for few days. During normal days when the urge for liquor becomes imperative, liquor is prepared either at home or in the jungle and is enjoyed in the company of friends.

The Bhumij of Mayurbhanj, Balasore and Sundergarh districts use the rice beer as their favorite drink. Mohua liquor is also consumed during festive days i.e., marriage and village festivals. At home, they ceremonially offer food and drink to the spirits of ancestors on festive occasions.

The Holva of Koraput and Kalahandi districts of Orissa take rice beer, *Salap* juice and arrack distilled from Mohua flower. These liquors are commonly used during the observance of different socio-religious festivals.

The Dharuas or Dharua Gonds of Koraput, Bolangir, Kalahandi and Mayurbhanj extract their favorite drink from sago-palm trees during summer. They also believe in the existence of ghosts and spirits and they offer food and liquor to their ancestors at the time of observance of various festivals.

The Binjhals of Sambalpur and Bolangir are fond alcoholic drinks. They have great attraction for the Mohua liquor and toddy. Drinking has a ceremonial significance also. It is offered to their Gods and Goddesses. The Binjhals indulge in drinking liberally during socio-religious ceremonies. The Binjal villagers remain drunk for two consecutive days during "Karma" festival. Unboiled rice, milk, liquor and meat are offered to the Goddess on that occasion. Rice-beer is the important drink of the Binjhals. Marriage ceremony and other life-cycle rites can not be observed without drinking.

The Kandhas of Phulbani use both distilled and fermented liquor in their socio-religious festivals. Distilled liquor is largely consumed by the Desia Kandhas. Even the primitive sections have greater fascination for distilled liquor but they cannot afford to purchase it regularly. They, therefore depend upon the local varieties like sago-palm juice (*Salap*) and date-palm juice (*Tadi*). To increase the alcoholic content, the Kandhas add few herbs and roots to the juice. Sometimes Mohua flower are collected and liquor is prepared to meet the requirement in special occasions. Among the Kandhas, rice-beer is the universal drink. When there is scarcity of food, the Kandhas can manage only with liquor for few consecutive days. In winter season, the Kandhas feel it necessary to drink. They are so much habituated with it that they may live without food but not without beer. The beer is brewed in ordinary days as well as on ceremonial occasions. Besides, they also drink Mohua liquor. Juice of *Salap* tree mixed with root and fibre of Kendu tree act as another type of wine. "Iрпи-kalu" or distilled liquor is also a prestigious gift exchanged by the two parties in any marriage.

The Juangs of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal district are extremely addicted to liquor and drink different varieties of alcoholic drinks such as Mahuli, rice beer, toddy and liquor made of maize and other cereals. Among them, in the marriage, birth and death rites, liquor plays an important role. During the settlement of marriage, the bride's party visits the groom's house and is entertained with liquor and delicious meals. The groom's father entertains the villagers as well as the bride's party with feast and drinks. During other festivals such as Nuakhia, Magha Parab liquor serves as a cementing bond among the kith and kin. During Nuakhia, they prepare a special type of food and sacrifice it with country liquor in honor of their ancestors and local gods and goddesses. In the Magha Parab, the Juangs prepare varieties of cakes, other delicious food and drink which are offered to Banadevi with hope of reaping a good harvest that year. In the evening they assemble in the village youth dormitory (Majang) and celebrate with music, dance and intoxication.

The Santal of Mayurbhanj district prepare liquor called "handia" mainly from boiled rice with a toxic herb. They start drinking "handia" at an early age. The children drink handia along with their family members. The friendship interactions encourage the use of handia. It is the means of showing hospitality. Drinking of handia is elaborately a group as well as individual activity. Among the Santals some of the contributing factor for drinking handia is magico-religious beliefs and practices, recreation, presumption of increasing physical capacity and availability of cheap home made materials for the preparation of the drink. Handia is offered to ancestral spirits on festive occasions. For this purpose, handia is brewed at home and offered to ancestors before anybody takes it. Liquor from Mohua flower is also prepared for use during birth rites, marriage and rituals of death in life cycle.

The Koyas of Malkangiri prepare liquor from Mahul (*Bassia Latifolia*) and Salpa (*Aryota Urens*) and drink routinely. A Koya may manage without food for few days but not without liquor. During the marriage ceremony, rice-beer (Landa) is offered to all the participants. During different festivals, the Perma (priest) is invited by the villagers to eat new fruits and drink the liquor first before they enjoy the new fruit or drink and by doing so they think, the Gods will remain pleased upon them.

The Saoras do not need cash to purchase liquor. They grow plenty of sago-palm and date-palm trees to extract juice and collect Mohua flower in huge quantity for distilling liquor at home for their own use. In the arranged marriages, the father of the bride-groom accompanied by some kinsmen visit perspective bride's house with potful of wine. If the girl's parents approve the proposal, the potful of wine is accepted and drunk by the kinsmen and important persons of the village. The bride-price in the form of liquor is given to the bride's family.

The Pentias of Koraput like to drink Mahul or Salap wine. Distillation at home is rarely done. They usually purchase their daily requirement of liquor from the market.

The Lodhas of Mayurbhanj district are addicted to country liquor and tobacco. They are particularly fond of handia (rice-beer) for their daily consumption. Having no money to buy proteinous food, the Lodha people resort to drinking of handia, as an item of food, to get relief from physical strain of labour and get energy for resuming work.

The Mahalis of Mayurbhanj and Sundergarh district prefer rice-beer (*handia*) for their daily use and Mohua liquor are the common intoxicants taken by them. They offer liquor to the deities and dead ancestors (*mones*). On socio-religious occasions such as marriage and death, *handia* (rice-beer) is usually taken by the participants. Every festival is marked by the consumption of huge quantities of rice-beer or Mohua liquor. Invariably, the rice-beer is prepared by them at home traditionally.

Among the Bhattara of Koraput and Kalahandi districts of Orissa, the liquor is an important item in marriage ceremony. The liquor is carried along with other food items by the guardian and few kinsmen of the boy to the house of the girl with a proposal of marriage (*magni*) for approval. Similarly on receiving the proposal, palm-wine is distributed among the girl's kinsmen to announce the consent of the girl's family. The marriage ceremony goes on for eight days and a number of feasts with liquor are served to the guests by both the parties to celebrate it.

The Parojas of Koraput and Kalahandi districts are addicted to alcoholic drinks and beverages. Use of liquor is a customary practice in all the magico-religious rituals, feasts and festivals. They drink various kinds of liquor such as *mohua* liquor, millet liquor (*Landha*), rice-beer, palm-wine (*Salap*) etc. *Landha* and *salap* are most favourite drinks of Paroja.

In the Kalahandi and Bolangir districts, each Dal families owns a number of Mohul trees. Mahul is collected and stored by each family for preparation of food and drinks. Mostly Mahul is exchanged for *ragi* and *kodua* with the contractors who brew liquor in the neighborhood. The Dals drink liquor throughout the night of the marriage ceremony. In the religious festivals such as Mahua, Tiar, Mahula kuchi, Chaita Parab, Bihar Behera, Matrijatra, Asadha Kai, Kodua Jatra, Navara Puja, Penchhada Puja, Chauldhua, Laxmi Puja and Pus Punei, they drink and dance to celebrate the occasion.

The Gadabas of Koraput drink various types of liquor such as *ragi* liquor (*pendum*), *Handia* (rice-liquor), Mahua liquor, excessively. In the traditional marriage, a formal offer of marriage is made to the parents of the bride along with presents of liquor and rice. In marriage and death rituals, the Gadaba drink in excess which is manifested clearly in their behaviors.

The Didayis of Koraput district are strongly addicted to *salap* juice which is available throughout the year. Liquor prepared from *ragi* and Mohul are also used among them. The bride-price (*gneng*) includes one pot of *salap* wine as an item paid by the bride-groom's father to the bride's family. The Didayi believe that the liquor they use has an invigorating effect and has some food value also.

The Kolhas of north Orissa prepare a drink ie, rice-beer, at home called "illi", which is consumed by everybody irrespective of their sex and age. The beer prepared from Mohua flower is also a favorite drink of theirs. They are also addicted to toddy-palm (*Tadi*). No festival or ritual among the Kolhas is complete without rice-beer. The Kolhas observe many community and family level rituals and festivals where alcoholic drinks have a major role.

The Mirdhas of Sambalpur and Bolangir consume rice-beer, Mohua liquor etc. In their marriage ceremony, *Kusuma* liquor is liberally served to celebrate the occasion.

The Gonds of Koraput and Kalahandi drink rice-beer and other alcoholic drinks. Dance and drink are part of life of Gonds of western Orissa. While the primitive Gonds dance in a drunken state, the Hinduized Gonds have gradually stopped consuming the alcoholic drinks routinely. For them its use is limited to special occasions only.

Liquor of various types is taken in day to living by Parenga of Koraput district. Rice-beer, Mahuli, Ragi-beer, Date-palm beer are favored by them even during normal days when the urge for liquor becomes strong. Preparation may be made either at home or in jungle and is enjoyed by all. They believe that these indigenous drinks raise the level of nutrition among them.

The Bathudis of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar generally avoid drinking Mohua liquor and rice-beer. Drinking of liquor is not very much popular among them. Strangely the Sounti of Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj districts traditionally abstain from drinking rice-beer and wine. Those who violate this taboo are out-casted.

Traditionally drinking among the tribal people can not be said to be problematic but unfortunately, one of the worst malady is the liquor vending in tribal areas which has become an instrument of exploitation of the vulnerable tribals. Traditionally, the drinking behaviour among the tribes of Orissa has not been responsible for any disorganization in their societies. The indigenous liquor has been a part of their social life without causing any major disruption in the fabric of their social and economic life. Rather it has been responsible for tribal solidarity and reportedly, to some extent act as a nutrient in their diets. But under the impact of industrialization a lot of change has occurred in their way of life including the drinking habit. In the changing context, it has a tremendous socio-economic effect on the tribal people. Dhebar commission recommended for the discontinuance of the sale of distilled liquor at once in the tribal areas. N.K. Bose (1971) accuses the liquor vendors as agents of exploitation in the tribal areas. The high place and wider role played by indigenous drinks in tribal societies makes these suitable and essential routine food and is inevitable to the tribal culture.

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ENROLMENT & PARTICIPATION OF SC/ST GIRLS OF ORISSA IN THE SELECTED INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING

Bijoya Mishra

ABSTRACT:

It is observed that in spite of several constitutional provisions for development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, in the field of education they still lag far behind the general caste people. Not only is the educational level of SCs and STs low, but there also exists a large gender gap in their society. A girl from an SC/ST family is doubly disadvantaged, firstly because she is a girl and secondly, for belonging to the deprived section of the society.

Considering the literacy and enrolment of SC/ST children in schools, it was found out that there has been substantial increase in those rates, but mostly in the primary stage. Their dropout rate is quite high at different stages compared to general caste children. The 28th report of the Commission for SCs/STs noted that though the proportion of SC/ST children corresponded to their population at primary level, there was a sharp decline at middle level, which continued and became more prominent at higher education level.

In this study, enrolment of SC/ST girl students in different prominent educational institutions of the State has been recorded for five years and analysed. To ascertain the reasons for their low enrolment, interview schedule was carefully designed to assess the difficulties they have to face while pursuing higher education. Seminars were also held to elicit the opinion of their teachers and suggestions offered by them were recorded. Suggestions from SC/ST girl students were also sought for their educational development, which have been incorporated in this study.

INTRODUCTION

Education is an important input for human resource development and has special significance for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. It not only improves prospects for employment and economic well-being but also promotes self-confidence and helps in building up capacity to meet the challenges of the changing times. Economic exploitation and social oppression of the SCs and STs has been going on traditionally over the centuries. The importance of education in mitigating social and economic disadvantages is well established. After independence, the Government has taken a number of steps that have contributed a great deal in raising the educational levels of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. However those communities still have to come up to the level of other communities in the field of educational development. Moreover development can not be sustained if it bypasses women who not only comprise half of the population but provide catalytic force for bringing out social changes. So education of SC/ST women has to be given utmost importance for their mainstreaming.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

When India became independent, it committed itself to securing a social order based on social justice and equality. The constitution contains several provisions that aim to abolish all forms of discrimination and put these groups at par with others.

Article 14, 15 and 16 under part III entitled Fundamental Rights are meant to ensure equality to all irrespective of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth.

Article 46 of the Constitution states that, "The State shall promote, with special care, the education and economic interests of the weaker section of the people, and in particular of the Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of social exploitation". Articles 330, 332, 335, 338 to 342 and the entire fifth and sixth schedule of the Constitution deal with special provisions for implementation of the objectives put forth in Article-46. (Annual Report-2003-04, Ministry of H.R.D., Govt. of India).

POLICIES AND PROVISION FOR EDUCATIONAL EQUALITY

While constitution provided the basic framework, policies and programmes in education have been also initiated on the basis of recommendations of commissions and committees appointed for suggesting educational reforms. Three major Commissions set up soon after Independence namely, Radhakrishnan Commission (1949), Mudaliar Commission (1952) and Kothari Commission (1964-66) endorsed the constitutional commitment of equality of opportunity in education for all groups of the society. (Siddiqui, Mujibul Hasan: 1993; Women Education, A Research Approach). Particularly the Report of Kothari Commission has a full chapter on "Equalisation of Educational Opportunity" with several recommendations for education of women and also for promotion of education among SCs and STs. Not only the educational level of SCs and STs is low, but also there exists a large gender gap in education existed in all sections of the society. The National Council of Education (established in 1963), constituted committees from time to time to recommend suitable resources for the development of women's education and bridge the existing gap between men and women education [Sudarshan M. Ratna (2000): Educational Status of Girls and Women].

The National Policy on Education (NPE-1986) devoted a full section on 'Education for Equality', (Part IV), where it has been mentioned that 'Education will be used as an agent for basic change in the status women. (The National Policy of Education (1986), Ministry of HRD, Govt. of India). The Policy (NPE1986) and the programme of Action (POA-1992) were policy instruments in search of equality and accorded high priority to education of women and also education of SC/ST. (Premi Kusum K- (2004), 'Education of Scheduled Caste', Encyclopaedia of Indian Education, Vol-II).

Despite constitutional provisions and several measures adopted in the successive Five Year Plans like the special component plan for SCs and Tribal Sub-plan approach for STs, the level of literacy among SCs and STs still remains low.

DISPARITY IN LITERACY RATE

Out of several forms of educational inequalities, two forms of educational inequalities need special attention. The first is the wide disparity between the education of boys and girls at all stages and in all sectors of education. The second is, the equally wide or sometimes wider, disparity of educational development between the advanced classes and the backward ones of the Scheduled Castes and the Schedule Tribes. A girl from SC/ST family is doubly disadvantaged; firstly because she is a 'girl' and secondly, for belonging to the deprived section of the society. Though all the efforts by Government have led to some significant improvements in literacy and educational development for the weaker section, still the gap between general literacy and SC/ST literacy, especially between men and women is significantly skewed.

Table -1: Gender Gap in Education**General and SC / ST literary rate of India in percentage.**

Year	General literacy			SC Literacy			ST Literacy		
	Male	Female	Gap	Male	Female	Gap	Male	Female	Gap
1961	40.40	15.35	25.05	10.27	3.24	7.03	8.54	3.16	5.38
1971	45.96	21.97	23.98	14.67	6.47	8.18	11.30	4.85	6.45
1981	56.38	29.76	26.62	21.38	10.93	10.45	16.39	8.44	7.91
1991	64.13	39.29	24.84	49.91	23.12	26.432	40.65	18.19	22.46
2001	75.85	54.16.	21.72	66.38	41.31	25.23	59.34	34.75	24.39

Source:

- (i) Census of India - 1991,2001
- (ii) Scheduled Tribe Atlas of India - Published by Census of India- 2004.

The table shows a gap in the literacy rates of general and SC/ST population and also a large gender gap in literacy in all the cases. The gender gap is marginally decreased in case of general population than for SC/ST. Though the rate of increase in literacy for SC/ST is much more than general population, and particularly, rate of increase in female literacy is very encouraging, still it is far from being at par with male literacy.

Between SCs and STs, the literacy rate of SCs shows a better picture than STs. Looking at the basic data and educational profile of SC/ST, the National Commission for SCs and STs remarked that, "In spite of all the constitutional provisions and efforts put in the successive plan periods, it appears that SC/ST have still to go a long way to come up to general level in the field of education". Special measures to improve literacy and educational development level should be taken up through a time bound programme with quality input which would help in improving standards at an accelerated pace so that the gap in literacy rates between SC/ST on the one hand and non-SC/ST population can be bridged." (Third Report of National Commission for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes- 1995-96 vol-I). With regard to female literacy, the Commission remarked, "The low level of literacy among SC/ST Women is a cause of grave concern and is largely responsible for their marginalization in socio-economic fields".

Considering the enrolment of children belonging to SC/ST in schools, it is found that there has been substantial increase in the enrolment of these children at all stages, particularly in the primary stage. But their dropout rate is quite high at different stages compared to general caste children. Analyzing the state-wise dropout rates of SC/ST, National Commission for SCs / STs have shown great concern. The report says: "The drop-out rate is alarming at primary, middle and secondary stage in respect of SC/ST children in almost all states".

The 28th report of Commission for SCs / STs notes that though the proportion of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe children corresponds to their population at primary level there is a sharp decline at middle level, which continues and becomes more prominent as one proceeds to higher education. (Twenty Eighth Report of Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Government of India).

According to Government of India statistics (1989), as on 30th September 1988 the percentage of SC Students and ST students enrolled in higher education constituted 7.3% and 1.8% respectively of total enrolment. (selected Educational Statistics, 1989; Studies in Educational Statistics No.1, Ministry of HRD.) The SC women formed 2.13% and ST women 0.8% percent of total enrolment. Moreover in the field of higher education the population of SC/ST students enrolled in science and technical subjects is very low compared to those in Humanities (Arts and Education) and among them the percentage of girl students is insignificant.

Table: 2, SC/ST students in Higher Education in Percentage.

Subjects	SC All students	ST All students	SC Women	ST Women
Arts, Humanities, Social Science	9.87	2.79	2.13	0.80
Science	5.71	0.80	1.61	0.19
Commerce	4.55	0.98	0.67	0.14
Teacher Training	7.67	2.14	2.41	0.65
Medicine	8.94	2.62	3.15	0.66
Engineering, Archeology	5.88	1.32	0.39	0.80
Research (all subjects)	2.91	0.60	0.60	0.19

Source: Selected Education Statistics- 1988-89 in Educational Statistics No. 1, 1990, Ministry of HRD, Department of Education, Planning, Monitoring and statistics Division, Govt. of India, 1990, Table VIII 36-45.

The table shows that at higher level, the traditionally low paying area (Arts and Education), the enrolment of SC/ST students is comparatively better.

Karuna Chanana (2001) in her report on "Women Higher Education, Recruitment and Relevance" based on a study of social background of women graduates of Delhi University has shown that college education was the monopoly of students from traditionally superior castes. The women from lower castes constituted barely 2.7 percent. However, the few students belonging to lower castes come from economically well off families. M.M. Rehman and KK Biswal (1994) have analysed figures relating to enrolment of Scheduled caste and Scheduled tribes at different stages in 1988-89. They have reported that at under graduate level the enrolment position is slightly better than post graduate level, but not very satisfactory. In 1988-89, the enrolment of SC and ST girls in BA was 5.6% and 2.1 % respectively. Comparative figures were 5.1 % and 0.5 in B. Sc and 9% and 0.6% in B.Com. They have also shown that the relative educational status of girls indicates clear sex disparities.

SCENARIO IN ORISSA

As per 2001 census, the SCs and STs in the country account for 16.33% and 8.01 % respectively of the total Indian population. At the same time, a study of Orissa's demographic composition (2001) shows that the state has a sizeable number

of SCs and STs, i.e. 16.52% and 22.13% respectively of the total state's population of 36, 804, 660. More than 11 % of country's tribal population and 3.7% of the total SC population reside in Orissa. Thus the SC/ST population of Orissa comprises 38.65% of its total population which is second in rank among all the states (first being Chhatisgah, 43.37). For better administration and effective implementation of developmental programmes, scheduled areas have been identified taking into consideration the spread of tribal population in different parts of the state. These scheduled areas cover nearly 45% of the total geographic area, including seven whole districts and major parts of six other districts (of the 30 districts of the state). The distribution of SC population is fairly even in almost all districts. Large number of welfare schemes and developmental programmes have been introduced by both Government of India and State Government specifically aimed' at socioeconomic development of scheduled caste and scheduled tribes communities, who have remained at the bottom line of process of development. The fifth year plan presented special policy frame for the all round development of the tribes and tribal areas in the form of tribal Sub-Plan. The special component plan for the development of scheduled caste is being formulated and implemented in the state from the beginning of sixth-five-year plan.

Like all other aspects of socio-economic life, the SCs / STs are educationally backward. It is a matter of concern that there is a considerable gap between the general and SC/ST literacy rates and also between SC/ST male and female literacy rate in Orissa.

Table -3 General and SC/ST literacy Rate of Orissa in Percentage.

Year	General Literacy		SC literacy		ST Literacy	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1961	34.68	8.65	19.8	3.4	12.95	1.77
1971	38.29	13.92	25.9	5.2	16.39	2.60
1981	47.10	21.90	33.50	11.32	23.27	4.76
1991	63.09	34.68	52.42	20.74	34.44	10.21
2001	73.35	50.51	70.47	40.33	51.48	23.37

Source: Census of India

As seen from the table, though the female literacy rate of SC/ST in Orissa has increased considerably during last decade it is still much less than of general literacy. (General- 50.51, SC-40.33, ST. 23.37). The State Government has undertaken various measures to improve literacy status of these communities through steps like provision of scholarships, boarding facilities, free distribution of text-books, special coaching etc. As per Rules set by State Govt. 8% and 12% seats in all Govt. institutions are reserved for the SC and ST students respectively. There are also 7 special Adivasi Hostels including 2 exclusively for girls run by SC ST Development Department.

Inspite of all these efforts though participation of SC/ST girls in school level has increased, participation in higher education is still very low. In view of this background Educational institutions of Orissa and also problems they are facing while pursuing higher education.

Objectives:

- To assess and analyse the enrolment of SC/ST girl students in institution of higher learning.
- To investigate the difficulties faced by SC/ST girls in pursuing Higher Education.

METHODOLOGY:

The enrolment data of general and SC/ST students were collected from important institutions of Higher Education in the State Capital, Bhubaneswar both for General Education and Technical Education. The Data were collected for five years (1999-2004) and average enrolment was calculated in post-secondary classes.

(1) Selection of Institution:

(a) For General Education, the institutions chosen are

- (i) Utkal University - The oldest and largest university in the state, located at the state capital with provision for five Girls' Hostels.
- (ii) Rama Devi Women's College (Autonomous)- The largest and the only Women's Autonomous Institution in the state offering graduate and post graduate level of education and a special hostel for SC/ST girls.
- (iii) Rama Devi Junior College- Largest +2 college for girls offering courses in Arts, Science, Commerce.
- (iv) BJB College (Autonomous)- Largest and oldest co-education, Govt. Autonomous Degree college in the state capital.
- (v) BJB Junior College, largest Govt. Co-education college at Higher Secondary Level.
- (vi) For Technical Education, data were collected from Biju Pattnaik - University of Technology (BPUT), which was established only in July, 2002 and now controls admission to Technical colleges in the state including Engineering, Medical and Management.

(2) **Respondents** - Attempt was made to interview at least 10 percent of SC/ST girl students supposed to be present in an institution according to reservation rule. Altogether 80 SC girls & 80 ST girls have been interviewed.

(3) Tools used:

- (a) with prior appointment data regarding enrolment and performance of students in an institution were collected through college authority in particular proforma.
- (b) Semi-structured, open ended interview schedule was used for SC/ST girls, so that they could express their views clearly. Seminar was held to discuss the opinion of college teachers regarding low performance.

(4) **Data Analysis;** Data collected from institutions and interview schedules were analysed by statistical method.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Enrolment data from the institutions in different courses were collected for years (1999-2003) and average calculated. Then it was analysed. However for BPUT enrolment of 2004 was studied since it was established in 2002.

1. Utkal University:

For convenience, 27 subjects taught in the University have been classified into 5 categories. All the 14 social subjects have been grouped under Arts category while the

6 physical sciences have been put under science category. Under professional course category 5 subjects taken are: Biotechnology, MBA, MCA, M. Lib and PMIR.

Streams	Total No. of Students	Percentage of students enrolment					
		General		SC		ST	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Arts	679	24.3	56.8	5.7	5.2	4.9	3.1
Science	239	45.3	38.9	6.3	2.5	4.6	2.5
Commerce	48	43.8	37.5	6.3	2.1	8.3	2.1
Professional Courses	127	47.2	33.1	7.1	3.1	6.3	3.1
Law	25	44.0	40.0	8.0	4.0	4.0	0

As seen from the Table, though the percentage of seats in the university are kept reserved for SC& ST students at 8% and 12% respectively the average number of ST students in Arts is only about 8% and in science about 7%. In commerce though the percentage is slightly better the enrolment of girls is very very low. (SC girls-2.1 %, ST girls 2.1 %). In Professional Course their enrolment is 3.1 % for SC girls 3.1 % for ST girls and in law it is only 1 % for SC girls and no ST student was ever found in law Department. Thus representation of SC/ST girls in the University is extremely low in spite of the fact that total girls always out number boys.

2. Rama Devi Women's College (Autonomous) : (+3 course) :

Stream	Total No. of students	Percentage of students enrolled		
		General	SC	ST
PG	53	84.9	7.5	7.5
Arts	416	85	8.7	6.3
Science	98	78.6	9.2	12.2
Commerce	70	94.3	2.9	2.9

In Post-graduate classes (only Hindi and Home Science) average percentage of SC and ST girls is only 7.5%. (inspite of reservation of 8% for SCs and 12% for STs).

At +3 level more SC/ST girls are found in science stream (9.2% SC and 12.2% ST) than in Arts (8.7% for SC and 6.3% for ST) and commerce (2.9% for SC and 2.9% for ST).

3. Rama Devi Junior college (+2 Course)

Steam	Total No. of students	Percentage of students enrolled		
		General	SC	ST
Arts	523	68.9	15.1	16.3
Science	268	77.4	10.4	12.3
Commerce	123	87.8	8.1	4.1

Good students passing matriculation examination always dream to come to Rama Devi Junior College, since it is a girl college and there is hostel facility. So the enrolment here in higher secondary classes is comparatively high and always exceeds the reserved quota (many get admitted without availing reservation facility).

4. B.J.B. College (Autonomous) (+3 course)

Stream	Total No of students	Percentage of students admitted					
		General		SC		ST	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Arts	458	36.2	52.2	3.3	2.8	2.2	0.9
Science	133	52.6	27.8	9.7	1.5	7.5	0.8
Commerce	161	53.4	36.6	4.3	1.2	2.5	1.9

Since this is a co-educational college, SC/ST girls have to compete with general students and also with SC/ST boys. Their number is very less compared to general students and even SC/ST boys. While analyzing the number of SC/ST girls in Arts it is 2.8% for SC and 0.99% for ST; in science it is 1.5% for SC and 0.8% for ST and in commerce it is 1.2% for SC and 1.9% for ST.

5. B.J.B. Junior College (+2 course)

Stream	Total No of students	No of students admitted					
		General		SC		ST	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Arts	497	32.2	44.9	7.8	6.0	8.0	1.0
Science	547	55.3	26.0	7.3	2.2	8.0	1.1
Commerce	145	55.9	26.2	8.8	1.4	6.9	0.7

In higher secondary classes comparatively more SC/ST girls are found in Arts stream, since for +2 science competition is extremely high. In Arts, SC/ST girls participation is 6.0% for SC and 1.0% for ST. But in science and commerce it is negligible.

6. B.P.U.T (Biju Pattanaik University of Technology)

(For the year - 2004)

Courses	Total No of seats	Percentage of students enrolled			
		SC		ST	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Engineering (all branches)	10,295	284 (2.4)	58 (0.56)	146 (1.4)	51 (0.49)
Medical	327	15 (4.5)	06 (1.83)	13 (3.97)	15 (4.58)
Pharmacy	665	08 (1.2)	02 (0.3)	06 (0.9)	0 (0)
MBA	1177	18 (1.5)	01 (0.08)	7 (0.59)	01 (0.08)
MCA	2607	16 (0.6)	0.2 (0.17)	10 (0.38)	02 (0.17)

In engineering courses, not only there is reservation in the proportion to 8% for SC and 12% for ST but even 30% of seats in all the institutions are reserved for girls in Orissa. Even then the enrolment of SC/ST girls in engineering stream is extremely low, it is only 0.5% for SC and 0.4% of ST. The reason for this may be comparatively high course fee and poor performance of girls at +2 level. In Medical stream their representation is slightly better being 1.8% for SC girls and 4.5% for ST girls. Particularly for ST, girls enrolment is more than that of boys (4.5% and 3.9% respectively). Some seats in medical college have provision for out side state quota for which, many girls come to our state from high tribal population states of the north-east to study MBBS. May be this is the reason for comparatively more number of ST students than SCs. In M.B.A. and M.C.A. enrolment of tribal girls is extremely low (only 0.1 %). On the whole we find the participation of SC/ST, girls in the field of technical education is very very low compared to general education.

Difficulties faced by SC/ST girls in the institution:

80 ST girl students and 80 SC girl students of the above mentioned institutions of the state capital Bhubaneswar, have been interviewed to assess their difficulties. In the interview Schedule there were 6 categories of questions: (i) personal back ground (ii) educational problems (iii) economic problems (iv) social problems (v) cultural problems and (vi) awareness about Govt. policies.

When asked about the difficulties during admission, 20% of SC and 50% of ST students have mentioned that they faced difficulty in arranging money for admission fees. Very few students (about 10%) have expressed difficulty in adjusting to new surroundings. About the questions regarding their problems in the institution 15% of ST and 13% of SC students mentioned that they are not able to cope with the method of teaching and about 10% of both SC and ST students mentioned about their inability to follow English medium teaching.

When asked about teachers attitude, about 60% of SC/ST students have said that teachers are co-operative and friendly. But about 15% ST students and 10% SC students have expressed that teachers are not very friendly to them. Even 10% ST students and 4% SC students have mentioned that teachers are under impression that SC/ST students are not good in studies and so they are not bothered about their problems. This is a matter of concern and the problem was later discussed with teachers.

Both in B.J.B. College and Rama Devi Women's College, since 2003-2004 a scheme for Up-gradation of Merits of SC/ST students with 100% funding by the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, GOI has been undertaken. The main objective of the scheme is to improve their academic deficiencies and thus help them to compete successfully in Joint Entrance Examinations for Engineering and Medical Colleges. But surprisingly almost 80% SC/ST girl students have expressed their ignorance about such coaching facility available in their institutions.

Regarding use of library facility though more than 75% of students have answered positively, there are few students who said that they are ignorant about it. More than 50% of total respondents said that they do not know how to use computer in spite of computer facility being available in college and hostel. When asked about any other problems they clearly mentioned that questions are generally asked to intelligent and general caste students in the class and they are ignored. Often they are treated as dull students and hence they feel diffident. When specifically asked about any problem in hostel, many mentioned that they feel inferior to others when they are put in special adivasi hostel. They have also complained about lack of proper security and lack of study atmosphere.

SUGGESTIONS OFFERED BY SC/ST STUDENTS FOR THEIR EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

- Orientation during admission.
- Separate doubt clearing classes for weaker students.
- Proper awareness generation about available cacing facility.
- Special spoken English classes for them.
- Attention needed to create study atmosphere in hostels.
- Allotment of seats in general hostels according to merit.
- Establishment of a SC/ST cell in each educational institution. SC/ST teacher to look after their difficulties.

CONCLUSION

After an analysis of interview schedules, discussion was held with the teachers of the institutions, who suggested that awareness about college education should be done at school level. However, it was generally admitted by every body that special classes for weaker SC/ST students are needed and that teachers should provide extra care for them. Interaction with parents also will help in building confidence and attracting more SC/ST girls to colleges.

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(The author acknowledges help from ICSSR for this project.)

HEALTH CONDITIONS OF THE TRIBALS IN ORISSA: ANALYSIS OF NFHS-II & NFHS-III DATA

Sanjukta Das

Abstract

Importance of good health has been well recognised over time. But many times a section of the society does not have much access to health facilities and suffer from ill-health. This paper makes such a comparative analysis to show the health deprivation among the tribals in Orissa. Using the National Family Health Survey (NFHS)-II and III data, the health conditions of the tribal children are analysed by taking mortality, anthropometry and access to health facilities into account. It also makes a causal analysis of poor health status of the tribal children in Orissa.

Introduction

Cross country studies have estimated the impact of health and nutrition on GDP (Malenbaum, 1970; and Wheeler, 1980). Micro studies have also found the economic contribution of a healthy man to be higher compared to others (Martoroll and Arroyave, 1984; Ryan and Wallace, 1986; Deolalikar, 1988). The Efficiency Wage Hypothesis — explaining the relationship between nutritional status or health and labour productivity has been discussed in Leibenstein (1957), Mazumdar (1959), Stiglitz (1976), and Bliss and Stern (1978), among others. Poor health and premature death reduces the life expectancy of the people and therefore, also reduces their investment incentive on education and other areas. This can tell upon future level of economic growth. This way the vicious circle moves. Thus, there is a need to break this vicious circle by public provision of health care facilities. This is truer for the poor states, poor and deprived section of the society who live in the most under-developed areas. Because, they consistently suffer from the poor health conditions (Macinko et al. 2003). In this paper an attempt is made to analyse the health conditions of the tribals of Orissa.

Orissa continues to be one of the poorest States of the country (Das, 2006). As per 61st NSS report, the poverty level in Orissa is as high as 46% (URP method). Among the different castes and communities, poverty among the tribals is the highest (Haan & Dubey, 2003; Panda, 2000). Using the wealth index it is found that 71% of the tribal households of Orissa belong to the lowest quintile group while the percentages for SCs, OBCs and other castes are 48.9, 31.3 and 18.1 % respectively to that group (NFHS-III, Orissa State Report). High incidence of poverty, malnutrition and poor health condition of the people are the common characteristics of the tribal dominated districts of Orissa. However, there are a few studies dealing with these problems. This paper makes a modest attempt to analyse the situation in Orissa.

The paper is divided into 5 sections. The first section briefly states the importance of the study. The second section describes the data sources and the methodology adopted for the study. The third section analyses the health condition of the tribals of Orissa. For this it makes a caste-wise comparative analysis. The next section tries to find out the determinants of the tribals' health conditions. It also uses the people's physical and economic access to health facilities for the purpose. The last section contains the summary and conclusions as well as suggestions for improvement of the tribals health conditions.

Data and Methodology

The study uses various mortality and anthropometric information (obtained from NFHS-II and III) to analyse the health condition of the tribals of Orissa. It also uses the IIPS' estimates of district specific life expectancy rate, infant mortality rate (IMR) to give an idea of lower health status of the tribals compared to others. The paper mainly concentrates its analysis on the child health, as it is more sensitive compared to that of the adults. Moreover, every society wants to protect and nourish its future generation – the children, using all its resources. Therefore, the paper deals with the different child health measures. The definitions of the measures used in the paper are given in Table-1 below:

Table-1: Definitions of different Health Measures

Measures	Definitions
IMR	The number of deaths to children under 1 year of age per 1,000 live births. Figures are based on births during the 5 years preceding the survey.
Child Mortality	The number of deaths to children of 1 to 4 years of age per 1,000 live births. Figures are based on births during the 5 years preceding the survey.
UFMR	The number of deaths to children under 5 years of age per 1,000 live births. Figures are based on births during the five years preceding the survey.
Underweight	Children whose weight-for-age measures are below minus two standard deviations (-2SD) from the median of the reference population are underweight for their age.
Stunting	Children whose height-for-age is below minus two standard deviations (-2SD) from the median of the reference population, are considered short for their age, or stunted.
Wasting	Children whose weight-for-height measures are below minus two standard deviations (-2SD) from the median of the reference population are wasted.

The study makes a comparative analysis of the health situations of different castes in Orissa to show the relative deprivation of the STs. Correlation analyses are made to show the associations of different health indicators on one hand and the health indicators and the variables which are expected to have linkage with the other. In order to find out the causes of poor health status of the tribals, it makes the regression analyses. For this purpose, it uses various health inputs like immunisation, institutional delivery etc, clinical measures like low BMI of mothers, anemia among children and mothers etc. as independent variables. Besides, it also uses household variables like availability of safe drinking water, toilet facilities etc. as independent variables. Considering the role of education for the promotion of knowledge and awareness of different diseases – their causes and consequences, preventive and curative measures – we have also used it as an independent variable. Since women mainly take care of the health and nutrition of the household members, their education and awareness is more important compared to that of men. So, instead of taking education of all, female education has been used as an independent variable to explain the health condition of the people. The study also uses physical and economic access to different facilities to analyse the situation.

Health Conditions of the Tribals: A Comparative Analysis

Premature Mortality Situation

Infant, child mortality and Under Five Mortality Rates (UFMR) in Orissa continue to be at a very high level (in spite of their decline). Information available through SRS bulletins of different years reveals Orissa's place among the few topper states. However, among tribal children these are found to be highest compared to other castes (NFHS Reports- Table -2 below).

Table-2: Premature Mortality Situation of the Tribals in Orissa

Source	Category	IMR	Child Mortality (1-4)	UFMR
NFHS-III	SC	73.7	19.5	91.8
	ST	78.7	62.5	136.3
	OBC	66.0	18.8	83.5
	Others	53.1	11.7	64.2
	Total	64.7	27.6	96.6
NFHS-II	SC	83.9	42.4	122.7
	ST	98.7	44.0	138.4
	OBC	95.6	20.1	113.8
	Others	79.1	15.0	92.9
	Total	81.0	25.5	104.4

Moreover, SC, OBC and other castes have experienced sharp fall in all types of mortality rates. But among the STs, there is sharp fall in IMR, but only marginal fall in under-five mortality rate. What is more alarming is that child mortality has experienced an increase during the period among the STs. It has increased by 18.5 % points. Similarly the difference between the IMR and the child mortality in the NFHS-3 is only 16.2 % points whereas the same for SCs, OBCs and others are 54.2, 47.2 and 41.4 respectively. This implies that there must be some serious problem among the children in the age group (1 to 4) in the ST community. This may be in their food and nutrition deficiency or their suffering from various types of infections which requires further study on the diet and nutrition, immunization, prevalence of child specific diseases like ART infection of the ST children.

Table-3: Child Anthropometric Situation in Orissa

Year	Category	Stunting		Underweight		Wasting	
		below-3SD	below-2SD	below-3SD	below-2SD	below-3SD	below-2SD
NFHS-III	SC	23.1	49.7	14.8	44.4	2.3	19.7
	ST	28.4	57.2	22.9	54.4	8.2	27.6
	OBC	16.1	40.8	9.8	38.1	5.9	17.8
	Others	12.3	33.6	6.5	26.4	3.4	12.8
NFHS-II	SC	22.8	50.7	24.2	59.4	3.0	22.8
	ST	19.9	49.4	26.5	59	5.7	30.5
	OBC	18.3	44.2	20.7	53.6	4.5	24.6
	Others	9.8	32.4	12.2	43	2.3	19.7

As presented in Table-3 above, in all types of anthropometric measures, the tribal children are found to be more deprived compared to those of other communities — in NFHS-III and also almost in NFHS-II. In spite of various developmental programmes of the Government, it is found that more than 50 percent of the ST children are stunted and under-weight. This implies that every one out of two children is malnourished, i.e. they are short and thin corresponding to their ages. Even more than one-fourth of them are wasted, i.e. have lower weight corresponding to their height. What is more worrisome is the sharp rise of the stunting percentage among the ST children from NFHS-II to NFHS-III, i.e. situation has deteriorated over time. Similarly, in underweight, there is small fall during this period among STs while fall is sharp among the OBCs. In wasting, there is small rise of wasting percentage among ST children. The poor anthropometric status of the tribal children might be caused by their poor nutrition, exposure to environmental pollution and degradation of the natural resources and their loss of livelihood security.

Mortality and anthropometric measures have links among them. Malnourished children are likely to have higher mortality in their infancy as well as in childhood. For a statistical analysis, (available) States' NFHS – III ST data are used. It is found that there are significant associations of different health measures (both mortality as well as nutrition indicators), which was quite expected. It is found that (Table:4) out of the six variables only stunting and child mortality do not have significant positive association. In all other cases there are positive and significant associations. The values of correlation coefficients (r) are given in the following Table- 4. However, this analysis does not reveal causation. Moreover, it must be mentioned that these variables are likely to be affected by other variables like economic conditions, availability of health care and practices, education, culture and social norms etc. – some of which are discussed below.

Table-4: Values of Pearson's Correlation Coefficients (r)

		Stunted	Wasted	Underweight	IMR	Child mortality rate	UFMR
Stunted	(r)	1	.750**	.508*	.584*	.394	.515
	N	22	22	22	16	15	15
Wasted	(r)	.750**	1	.869**	.698**	.661**	.753
	N	22	22	22	16	15	15
Underweight	(r)	.508*	.869**	1	.547*	.744**	.719
	N	22	22	22	16	15	15
IMR	(r)	.584*	.698**	.547*	1	.668**	.948
	N	16	16	16	16	15	15
Child mortality rate	(r)	.394	.661**	.744**	.668**	1	.870
	N	15	15	15	15	15	15
UFMR	(r)	.515*	.753**	.719**	.948**	.870**	1.000
	N	15	15	15	15	15	15

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Causes of Poor Tribal Health

Low weight at birth, non-availability of professional attendance at birth and lack of post-natal care — are generally described as the causes of high child death rate. Among the tribal women, proportion of deliveries at the health institutions is low; in Orissa, it is 17.3%, compared to 91.6 in Goa and 1.5% in U.P. — thus, the professional attendance at birth is low (25.5% in NFHS-3). The representative data of weight at birth among the tribal children in Orissa (because of home delivery) is not available. However, the information on anemia among the ever-married women, antenatal check-up and low BMI among women can help us to analyse here. It is found that iron deficiency anemia is highest among the tribal women, compared to that among SC, OBC and other women. It is as high 74.7% for tribals as per NFHS-2 (in NFHS-3, it has decreased marginally to 73.8%) while the figures for the other three groups mentioned above were 66.3, 61.3 and 54.4 percent. Similarly, professional antenatal check-up was lowest among tribals in NFHS-2 (40.7 percent); it is also lowest in NFHS-3. The percent of women availing such facility was 77.1 percent for others, 73.0 percent for OBCs and 69.3 percent for SCs as per NFHS-2. Thus, iron deficiency, no antenatal check up might have caused low weight at birth and other related problems. Similarly, the poor coverage of childhood vaccination (fully) can also be used as an explanatory variable of high infant and child death rates as well as poor nutritional status among the tribals. While the percent of children (12-23 months) fully immunised belonging to general (higher) caste is 58%, the same for tribals is almost half of it, i.e. 30.4 percent. Similarly 22.3 percent of the tribal children are found to be not immunized at all as per NFHS-III. Some of the variables which are likely to affect mothers' and child health (and mortality) are presented in the table-5.

Table-5: Variables, related to Mother and Child Health in Orissa (in %)

	NFHS-3			NFHS-2		
	Child Immunisation		(%) 3 or more ANC visit	Child Immunisation		3 or more Av visit
	Complete	Zero		Complete	Zero	
SC	59.5	3.7	58.6	44.5	8.6	-
ST	30.4	22.3	46	26.4	18.2	-
OBC	59.4	3.1	66.3	48.5	8.1	-
Others	58	15.9	74.4	49.3	5.3	-
	Hospital delivery	del.asstbyhealth personnel	LowBMI (w)	Hospital delivery	del.asstbyhealth personnel	LowBMI(w)
SC	30.2	39.1	50.8	14.3	27.9	54.6
ST	11.7	17.3	51.3	7.7	14.8	55.5
OBC	40.6	53.6	39.3	26.4	37.7	48.2
Others	60.4	66.9	28.6	39.7	50.7	37.9
	Anemia		IFA consumed by mothers	Anemia		IFA consumed mothers
	Children	Mother		Children	Mother	
SC	63.5	64.2	64.7	75.2	66.3	85.8
ST	80.1	73.8	58.3	83.9	74.7	76.6
OBC	58.7	58.6	72.8	70.9	61.3	85.6
Others	58.2	53.4	72.1	63.1	54.4	84.9

In both the reports it is found that the situation for the STs is worse than those of others. However, to know whether these variables affect child health or not, correlation and regression analyses are made as follows using the ST data of the States (NFHS-III).

First, correlation study is made and regression analyses are done taking the variables which have significant associations with health indicator variables (mortality and anthropometric). The motive is to find out the determinants of poor health conditions of the tribals. Again, calculated 't' values of regression are compared with tabulated ones and those regression equations are accepted which have higher calculated 't' values. Such equations are presented below:

- Underweight = 9.917 + 0.335 woman low BMI(1)
 (1.986) (2.917) adjusted R² =0.263; Significant at 0.05 level
- Wasted = 15.587 + 0.768 woman low BMI(2)
 (3.171) (6.304) adjusted R² =0.648; Significant at 0.05 level
- Wasted = 78.279 - 0.768 ST literacy(3)
 (5.41) (-2.435) adjusted R² =0.19; Significant at 0.05 level
- Stunted = 55.779 - 0.294 institutional birth(4)
 (17.126) (-2.757) adjusted R² =0.239; Significant at 0.05 level
- Stunted = 57.978 - 0.296 birth assistance.....(5)
 (14.259) (-2.644) adjusted R² =0.222; Significant at 0.05 level
- Stunted = 30.269 + 0.274 child anemia(6)
 (4.351) (2.736) adjusted R² =0.236; Significant at 0.05 level
- Stunted = 35.518 + 0.354 woman low BMI(7)
 (7.861) (3.163) adjusted R² =0.30; Significant at 0.05 level
- Stunted = 40.683 + 0.196 child anemia - 0.212 institutional birth(8)
 (4.823) (1.92) (-1.944) adjusted R² =0.329; Significant at 0.05 level
- Stunted = 43.367 - 0.232 institutional birth + 0.296 woman low BMI(9)
 (8.45) (-2.472) (2.881) adjusted R² =0.329; Significant at 0.05 level
- Stunted = 44.963 + 0.305 woman low BMI - 0.239 birth assistance(10)
 (8.118) (2.997) (-2.484) adjusted R² =0.444; Significant at 0.05 level
- Stunted = 72.244 - 0.482 ST literacy(11)
 (7.801) (-2.618) adjusted R² =0.215 ; Significant at 0.05 level
- Child mortality = 103.866 - 1.309 female literacy(12)
 (4.941) (-3.418) adjusted R² =0.433 ; Significant at 0.05 level
- UFMR = 262.55 - 3.033 female literacy(13)
 (6.212) (-3.94) adjusted R² =0.509 ; Significant at 0.05 level

It is found that low BMI of mothers is affecting (increasing) all the three anthropometric deprivation measures of children. Institutional birth and birth assistance – the two variables having very high (r) values – are found to affect (reduce) stunting among children. Similarly child anemia is also found affecting (positively) stunting. However, when both child anemia and institutional birth are taken as independent variables of stunting, their explanatory power declines, but still the 't' values are found to be significant at 5% level. Similar is the case of women's low BMI and institutional birth and professional assistance at the delivery. Variable – ST literacy is also found affecting negatively the stunting and wasting. Among the mortality variables, child mortality (1 - 4) and UFMAR (below 5) are found to be affected by the variable, female literacy. However, IMR is not found to be significantly affected by any of these variables (under study).

Access to Health Facilities

Access to health facilities are considered important in determining the health condition of the people in the neighbourhood. However, information of the tribals' access to health facilities is not available directly. Using the district level information relating to all people, an attempt is made here to show poor access of the tribals as given in Table-6 below.

Table-6: % of villages without the following facilities (within 5 km distance)

District	Medical Institutions	Transport Connectivity
Balasore	36	35
Balangir	50	41
Cuttack	28	37
Dhenkanal	46	40
Ganjam	-	-
Kalahandi	63	54
Keonjhar	43	30
Koraput	-	-
Mayurbhanj	41	33
Phulbani	59	59
Puri	37	31
Sambalpur	44	37
Sundargarh	54	41

Source: District Statistical Hand Book (1991 Census)

In Orissa, the percentage of tribal population is approximately 23 percent and they live in almost all the districts. But their concentration is more in some districts of north and south regions. The State has approximately 47 percent of its area under scheduled area where percentage of scheduled tribe population is over 50 percent. So, taking the districts which have higher ST concentration compared to that of the State as tribal dominated districts, people's access to health care facilities is compared in the tribal dominated and non-tribal dominated districts. (Table-7)

Using the information of 1991 census (District Statistical Hand Book), it is found that at least half of the villages did not have medical facility within 5 km distance in the districts of Balangir, Kalahandi, Phulbani and Sundargarh (Table-6). But the coastal district

like Cuttack had only 28 percent of such villages. When health facilities are not available within 5 km distance, it dissuades the people to take their patients to hospital in case of minor ailment. Similarly, the poor transport connectivity of these districts further discourages the people. Only when the situation becomes very serious people take the patient to the hospital, but at that time the probability of death becomes very high.

Table-7: Availability of Medical Facilities (Areawise)

District	ST (%)	Doctors/sqkm	Area/MI	Area/MI@ (2004)
Angul	11.68	0.02	155	148
Balangir	20.65	0.02	142	110
Balasore	11.29	0.05	60	44
Bargarh	19.37	0.02	121	99
Bhadrak	1.89	0.04	62	42
Boudh	12.48	0.01	183	194
Cuttack	3.57	0.15	58	49
Deogarh	33.61	0.01	171	245
Dhenkanal	12.88	0.03	109	93
Gajapati	50.86	0.02	116	144
Ganjam	2.90	0.06	93	100
Jagatsingpur	0.82	0.05	46	36
Jajpur	7.76	0.04	70	41
Jharsuguda	31.39	0.02	100	92
Kalahandi	28.68	0.02	130	128
Kandhamal	51.98	0.02	86	146
Kendrapara	0.52	0.04	53	48
Keonjhar	44.50	0.02	109	99
Khurda	5.19	0.08	53	37
Koraput	49.73	0.02	171	135
Malkangiri	60.32	0.01	291	148
Mayurbhanj	56.64	0.03	97	91
Nabarangpur	55.45	0.02	132	106
Nayagarh	5.88	0.03	113	78
Nuapada	34.69	0.02	179	167
Puri	0.30	0.05	55	54
Rayagada	56.31	0.02	172	144
Sambalpur	34.74	0.06	94	148
Sonepur	9.79	0.03	109	90
Sundargarh	50.24	0.02	129	118
Orissa	11.68	0.03	119	92

Note: @= only allopathic institutions of Health and Family Welfare Deptt.

Data sources: Pr. Census Abstract, 2001, @= Computed from Orissa HDR 2004; +data in Orissa Voluntary Health Association (1995), Status of Health in Orissa 1995, prepared by Almas Ali and Shikha Nayak, Information and Documentation Cell, Bhubaneswer.

Similarly, medical facilities per population and per square kilometer are also used to analyse people's access to health facilities. In case of Orissa and especially for the tribals, the latter criterion is more useful as tribals live in the hilly and interior areas. In these areas, density of population is not high; rather people live in scattered areas without having road and transport connectivity. In this context the criterion medical facilities per square kilometer is used to show the poor access in tribal dominated districts (Table-7). It is found that out of the 12 districts where the area/medical institution is higher than the state average, 9 belong to the tribal dominated district. On the otherhand, majority of the non-tribal districts have lower area/medical institution ratio (Table-7). Similar trend is also visible in the area/allopathic medical institutions in 2004. High area / medical institution ratio of the interior tribal dominated district indicate higher transport cost of visiting the medical institutions for seeking medical assistance. This is also reflected from data of the districts' percentage of women received anti-natal care (ANC) below 20%, percent of safe delivery below 20%, percentage of women visited by ANM within 2 weeks of deliveries less than 20% (Table-8). Among the names of these districts the share of interior tribal dominated district is very high. In these districts use of health facilities available is poor, indicating the poor access of the people.

Table-8: Name of the Districts Where Coverage is Below 20%

Items	Districts
Woman received no ANC	Bargarh, Jagatsingpur, Jharsuguda, Kandhamal, Sambalpur, Sonapur, Sundergarh.
Safe deliveries	Angul, Balangir, Balasore, Boudh, Deogarh, Gajapati, Kalahandi, Kandhamal, Keonjhar, Koraput, Malkangiri, Mayurbhanj, Nabrangpur, Nuapara, Rayagada, Sonpur.
Woman visited by ANM within 2 weeks of deliveries	Angul, Balangir, Bhadrak, Boudh, Dhenkanal, Jajpur, Kalahandi, Kandhamal, Keonjhar, Khurda, Malkangiri, Mayurbhanja, Nabrangpur, Nayagarh, Nuapada, Puri, Rayagada.

Source: Orissa Human Development Report, 2005

To examine the association of tribal people with all types of health deprivations and health care inaccessibility, correlation study is made using the data (of total population) of 30 districts of Orissa (Table-9). It is found that the variable – tribal population percentage (2001) has positive and significant associations with variables like area/medical institutions, percentage of delivery below the age of 20 of mothers, IMR, and under-five mortality rate. It has significant negative associations with variables like percentage of full immunization, three antenatal care visit of mothers, life expectancy at birth, female literacy and doctors per square kilometer. There is positive association of this variable with doctor per lakh population and bed per lakh population and negative association with percentage of households with safe drinking water. Thus the variables considered here have expected behavior.

Since there is very high negative association between IMR and life expectancy at birth, we have ignored life expectancy at birth and are using the IMR, which has significant negative association with immunization, antenatal care, female literacy and doctors per square kilometer. Similarly, it has positive significant associations with UFR. It has desirable associations with variables like availability of medical institutions, toilet facilities and doctors. However, the association of IMR with safe drinking water is not in

the desirable direction. In this case it may be noted that here safe sources of drinking water are pipe water, tube well, hand pump and covered well (World Bank definition). But in many cases tube wells are defunct, quality of water from tube well is not good and in those cases people depend on unsafe water. This is more true in cases of tribal dominated areas.

Table-9: Values of Correlation Coefficients

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
A	1	.556**	.480**	.063	-.333	.483**	.555**	.420*	-.419*	.787**	.410*	.220	.149	.496**
B	.556**	1	.333	.100	.439*	-.246	-.177	.208	-.210	.647**	.463*	.232	.210	.557**
C	.480**	.333	1	.129	-.247	-.324	.528**	.170	-.162	.620**	.264	.037	.095	-.258
D	-.063	-.100	-.129	1	-.280	.028	-.044	.089	-.086	-.158	.003	-.213	-.224	-.074
E	-.333	-.439*	-.247	.280	1	.417*	.249	-.339	.342	.607**	-.377*	.230	.234	.658**
F	.483**	-.246	-.324	.028	.417*	1	.591**	.477**	.472**	.515**	-.305	.236	.269	.480**
G	.555**	-.177	.528**	.044	.249	.591**	1	-.457*	.437*	.570**	.539**	.209	.158	.397*
H	.420*	.208	.170	.089	-.339	.477**	-.457*	1	.998**	.508**	.419*	-.118	-.180	-.398*
I	-.419*	-.210	-.162	.086	.342	.472**	.437*	.998**	1	.504**	-.400*	.113	.176	.398*
J	.787**	.647**	.620**	.158	.607**	.515**	.570**	.508**	.504**	1	.580**	-.061	-.012	.558**
K	.410*	.463*	.264	.003	.377*	-.305	.539**	.419*	-.400*	.580**	1	.168	.172	-.254
L	.220	.232	.037	.213	.230	.236	.209	-.118	.113	-.061	.168	1	.953**	.389*
M	.149	.210	.095	.224	.234	.269	.158	-.180	.176	-.012	.172	.953**	1	.408*
N	.496**	.557**	-.258	.074	.658**	.480**	.397*	-.398*	.398*	.558**	-.254	.389*	.408*	1

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Note: A=ST Percentage₀₁, B= Area/Medical Institution(2004), C= Delivery at age 20, D= Safe drinking water percentage, E= Toilet percent, F= Immunization, G= Mothers three antenatal care visit, H= Infant mortality rate 2001, I= Life expectancy J= Female literacy, K= Under five mortality rate, L= Doctor per lakh population, M= Bed per lakh population, N= Doctor per square kilometer.

Data Sources: A= Primary Census Abstract 2001, B,J,L,M,N= Orissa HDR05; for the rest= Ram & Mohanty (2005)

In case of UFMR, it is found that there is significant positive association with variables like lack of medical institutions and IMR; significant negative associations with variables like toilet facilities, antenatal care, and female literacy. The directions of the

association of this variable with drinking water supply (as in case of IMR), doctors per lakh population and bed per population are not in the expected manner. In this context it may be said that in the sparsely populated areas, facilities per area is more meaningful in explaining the reality than the facility per population. The two variables – mothers' antenatal care and female literacy have significant associations with both the mortalities.

We are tempted to make regression analyses using the same data (i. e. of table-7) as follows:

$$\text{IMR} = 115.263 - 0.805 \text{immunisation} \dots\dots\dots(14)$$

(7.344) (-2.87) Adjusted R² = 0.200 Significant at 0.01 level

$$\text{IMR} = 123.692 - 1.091 \text{Antenatal care} \dots\dots\dots(15)$$

(6.311) (-3.117) Adjusted R² = 0.180 Significant at 0.05 level

$$\text{IMR} = 104.533 - 6.93 \text{female literacy} \dots\dots\dots(16)$$

(9.343) (-2.87) Adjusted R² = 0.231 Significant at 0.01 level

$$\text{IMR} = 82.065 - 311.595 \text{doctorpersqkm} \dots\dots\dots(17)$$

(13.828) (-2.299) Adjusted R² = 0.129 Significant at 0.05 level

There are significant associations among these independent variables; hence by taking them simultaneously would cause the problem of multi-colleniariry. Moreover, the 't' values in those cases are not found to be significant. So we avoid them showing here.

For finding the causes of underfive mortality we use the following regression equations:

$$\text{UFMR} = 147.691 - 1.157 \text{Toilet} \dots\dots\dots(18)$$

(18.273) (-2.151) Adjusted R² = 0.111 Significant at 0.05 level

$$\text{UFMR} = 111.496 + 0.196 \text{area/Med.instit.} \dots\dots\dots(19)$$

(13.421) (2.762) Adjusted R² = 0.186 Significant at 0.05 level

$$\text{UFMR} = 170.043 - 0.789 \text{female literacy} \dots\dots\dots(20)$$

(16.126) (-3.769) Adjusted R² = 0.313 Significant at 0.01 level

$$\text{UFMR} = 193.829 - 1.284 \text{Antenatal care} \dots\dots\dots(21)$$

(10.476) (-3.386) Adjusted R² = 0.265 Significant at 0.01 level

Among these four independent variables we take area/ medical institutions and antenatal care simultaneously. Similarly we also take toilet facility and female literacy simultaneously (assuming in other cases the problem of multi-colleniariry). Thus we find:

$$\text{UFMR} = 169.166 + 0.161 \text{area/ Med.instit.} - 1.125 \text{Antenatal care} \dots\dots\dots(22)$$

(8.708) (2.57) (-3.197) Adjusted R² = 0.388;

't' of first one is sig. at 0.05 and that of the second one is at 0.01 level

$$\text{UFMR} = 170.1 - 0.119 \text{Toilet.} - 0.757 \text{female literacy} \dots\dots\dots(23)$$

(15.844) (-0.197) (-2.824) Adjusted R² = 0.288;

't' of first one is sig. at 0.05 and that of the second one is at 0.01 level

Thus, here we find female literacy and antenatal care are important in reducing IMR and UFMR. The former might take care of health and sanitation of the household and thereby can affect the endogenous and exogenous factors of IMR (Bhende and Kanitkar, 2003). It also promotes the later. Similarly, child immunization and availability of doctor in the area is significantly reducing IMR. However, for UFMR, sanitation factor (toilet facility), and nearness of medical institutions are found to be important. The former reduces the possibility of ill-health and the latter helps the treatment of the ones.

Economic Condition and Health

Besides physical access, economic access to health facilities also is important. It takes care of the private expenditure. In spite of the public provision of health care facilities people very often have to spend a lot on health. Private expenditure on health increases when the quality of public health care provision deteriorates. For example, when doctors are found to be constantly absent in Government hospitals, people have to seek the help of private physicians (by paying), even by traveling to distant places (and incurring expenses). This type of situation is more in the interior and tribal dominated districts. Moreover, what is more important is the share of income devoted for the purpose that is higher for the poor compared to that for the rich (Padhi and Mishra, 2000). Even cases of incurring debt for bearing such expenses for ill health are not rare among the poor. However, the reliable information in case of the tribals of this category is not available. Poor access results in poor health condition among the ST population.

Analysis of IMR, child mortality etc. among different economic classes reveals (both in NFHS II and III) almost an inverse relationship between economic condition and the mortality rates (presented in Table-10). This is also found with child malnutrition and economic condition.

Table-10: Economic Condition and Premature Mortality in Orissa

Source	Wealth index	IMR	Child mortality	UFMR
NFHS-III	Lowest	79.8	42.3	118.7
	Second	73.2	27.4	98.6
	Middle	51.7	14.0	64.9
	Fourth	51.4	15.1	65.7
	Highest	28.2	0.0	28.3
NFHS-II	Lowest	101.1	40.9	137.9
	Middle	83.5	14.4	96.7
	Highest	32.8	1.4	34.1

The highest income group has very less mortality rates compared to the lowest one (Table-11). This may be due to the higher access to all types of resources, including health, nutrition and education of the high economic group. Most of the tribals do not belong to these classes. Economic condition of the tribals measured by per capita income, asset (both physical and human capital) ownership, dwelling condition, poverty ratio — reveal poorer status compared to that of the non-tribals. Poverty ratio among ST (73.08%) was higher than the SCs (52.30%) and others (33.29%) in the 55th Round of NSS Survey (Haan and Dubey, 2003). According to this study, poverty among STs of southern NSS region of Orissa is as high as 92.42%. This region contains more than 60 percent of the ST population of the State. This also indicates the policy implication for

reducing inequality in general and improvement of the conditions of the tribals in particular. In the 61st round also poverty among STs is expected to be higher than that of others.

Table-11: Economic Condition and Child Malnutrition in Orissa

	Wealthindex	Stunting		Underweight		Wasting	
		>-3SD	>-2SD	>-3SD	>-2SD	>-3SD	>-2SD
NFHS-III	Lowest	28.9	59.6	21	53.3	6.0	24.0
	Second	19.3	41.9	11.1	41.2	7.0	18.9
	Middle	11.8	39.7	7.6	32.6	3.5	15.4
	Fourth	5.3	20.5	3.2	21.3	3.5	17.6
	Highest	4.1	13.2	2.5	10.2	1.5	6.6
NFHS-II	Lowest	20.4	50.8	26	61.9	5.0	28.6
	Middle	16.4	38.5	15.5	48.9	2.6	19.8
	Highest	4.3	21.2	9.9	27.8	2.4	16.9

Summary and Conclusion

Health condition of the tribal children as analysed above taking into account the mortality, anthropometry and access to health facilities reveal poorer status compared to that of the children in general and other general category community children in particular. While, SC, OBC and other castes have experienced sharp fall in all types of mortality rates, among ST, there is sharp fall in IMR, but only marginal fall in under-five mortality rate and an increase in child mortality from NFHS-II to NFHS-III. In all types of anthropometric measures, the tribal children are found to be more deprived compared to those of others — as found in NFHS-III and also almost in NFHS-II. Mortality and anthropometric measures have links among them. It is found that out of the six variables only stunting and child mortality do not have significant positive association. In all other cases there are positive and significant associations.

Among the tribal women, proportion of deliveries at the health institutions in Orissa, is very low (17.3%), thus, the professional attendance at birth is low (25.5% in NFHS-3). It is also found that iron deficiency anemia (74.7%) and women with low BMI — are highest. Professional antenatal check-up is lowest among the tribal women. There is lowest percent of fully immunized children among tribal. It is found that low BMI of mothers is affecting (increasing) all the three anthropometric deprivation measures of children. Institutional birth and birth assistance — the two variables having very high (r) values — and are found to affect (reduce) stunting among children. Similarly child anemia is also found affecting (positively) stunting. ST literacy is also found affecting negatively the stunting and wasting. Among the mortality variables, child mortality (1- 4) and UFMR (below 5) are found affected by female literacy. However, IMR is not found to be significantly affected by any of these variable (under study). Thus, it can be said that increased nutrition intake of mothers, institutional birth and promotion of literacy among the deprived section like women and ST may improve the health conditions among the ST children.

Using the district level information of Orissa, it is found that tribal dominated districts have poorer access to health facilities compared to the non-tribal dominated districts. It is also found that the variable — tribal population percentage has positive and significant associations with variables like area/medical institutions, percentage of

delivery below the age of 20 of mothers, IMR and under-five mortality rate; and significant negative associations with variables like doctors per square kilometers, percentage of full immunization, female literacy and antenatal care visit of mothers. However, the association of IMR and UFMR with safe drinking water, are not in the desirable direction. Similarly, the associations of doctors per lakh population and medical bed per population with UFMR are not found in expected direction. Yet, rise of female literacy and antenatal care visit of mothers are found reducing IMR and UFMR. An inverse relationship between economic condition and the mortality rates on the one hand and child malnutrition on the other, is found from the analysis.

Poor health status and low physical and economic access of the tribals to health care require the State to play positive role, especially for the weaker section in the backward area. Attempts should be made to raise the physical access which will promote economic access and improve their health conditions. Similarly promotion of female literacy is required to reduce the IMR and UFMR. Attempt should also be made to increase the percentage of mothers making antenatal care visit. Accordingly fund should be allocated to achieve the Millennium Development Goals in health.

* * * * *

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CONTRIBUTORS

Name	Address
Anuja Mohan Pradhan	National Metallurgical Laboratory, Jamshedpur-831007 e-mail: anuj@nmlindia.org Mobile: 09334646125.
Bata Krushna Paikray	Research Assistant, SC & ST Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar
Bijoy Mishra	Ex- Principal, Rama Devi Women's College (Autonomous) Director, ICSSR Research Project
Chitrasen Pasayat	Development Officer, Western Orissa Development Council, Rajiv Bhawan, Unit-V, Bhubaneswar
Jaganath Dash	Professor & HOD, Deptt of Anthropology, Utkal University, Vani Vihar, Bhubaneswar
Kedarnath Dash	Senior Lecturer in Anthropology, B.B. Mahavidyalaya, Chandikhole, Dist – Jajpur, Orissa
Madhumita Ray	ActionAid International Bhubaneswar Regional Office 0674 - 2544503, 9437052961
Rajkishor Meher	Reader, Nabakrushna Choudhury Center for Development Studies, Bhubaneswar
Sanjukta Das	Reader, P.G. Deptt of Economics, Sambalpur University, Jyoti Vihar, 768019
Sarat Ch. Mohanty	Research Officer, SC & ST Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar
Suresh Ch. Pradhan	Research Scholar, Anthropology Deptt, Utkal University, Vani Vihar, Bhubaneswar

**STATEMENT ABOUT OWNERSHIP AND PARTICULARS ABOUT
THE NEWSPAPER TITLED ADIVASI AS REQUIRED TO BE
PUBLISHED UNDER RULE 8 OF THE REGISTRATION OF
NEWSPAPER (CENTRAL) RULE, 1956**

FORM - IV

Place of Publication : Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes
Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI),
Bhubaneswar- 751003, District - Khurda

Periodicity of the Publication : Half-yearly

Printer's name : Director, Printing, Stationery and
Publication, Orissa, Cuttack.

Nationality : Indian

Address : Madhupatna, Cuttack-10

Publisher's name : Director, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled
Tribes Research and Training Institute
(SCSTRTI), Government of Orissa.

Nationality : Indian

Address : Bhubaneswar-03

Editor's name : Prof. (Dr.) A.B.Ota, IAS, Director of
Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes
Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI),
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