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**Journal of Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute
(SCSTRTI) Bhubaneswar Orissa India**

EDITORIAL

This volume of *Adivasi* contains ten scientific papers on various themes pertaining to tribal and folk society, their culture, and development.

The paper, 'Tribal Development: from "Sport" to "Sonata" to "Science"' critically examines the strategies adopted for tribal development during the different Plan periods. It argues that the first phase of neo-development TSP strategy can be conceptualized as '*Development Sport*', during which development goals were pursued vigorously, and that the second phase as '*Development Sonata*', during which development activities continued at a slow pace. In the concluding part, the author stresses the need for a scientific review of tribal development policies and strategies. The author pleads for involving research scientists using various dynamic development models and computer technology in carrying out development programmes. This phase, which we have not arrived at yet, can be conceptualized as '*Development Science*.'

The second paper, "Blurred Genres in South Orissa: The Internal Dynamics of the Dance of Punishment" elaborately discusses various aspects of '*Dando Noto*', an important traditional religious dance-drama of South Orissa. It systematically describes performing artists, delineates various forms of performances, and explores the ritual significance of the dance of punishment. The author has diligently documented the fascinating folk tradition of south Orissa in a scientific manner.

The third paper, "Occupational Shift of Katkari: A Primitive Tribe of Maharashtra" focuses on various categories of occupation shifts among the Katkari, and attempts to design a systematic model of occupational shifts identifying the major stages of change.

In "Issues in Tribal and Forest Development: An Overview from an Anthropological Perspective" the author examines the forest-tribal inter relationships vis-à-vis the existing forest policies. The paper also suggests measures for regenerating degraded forests.

The fifth paper, "Unrest and Extremist Activities in Tribal Areas of Andhra Pradesh: Genesis and Remedial Measures" deals with the factors responsible for unrest and extremist activities there and suggests ways of overcoming these problems. The author is of the view that the situation could be remedied by plugging the loopholes of the existing protective legislation on the one hand and by effectively implementing the Panchayati Raj system through empowerment of Gram Sabhas on the other.

"Modernity and Primitiveness: A Conflict in the Bondo Life" highlights various issues and problems relating to the development of the Bondo and pays special attention to their educational development.

The paper, "Tribal Communities in the Changing Scenario in India with special reference to Andhra Pradesh: Challenges and Responses" gives a comparative

picture of the present development status of the general and the tribal populations emphasizing the urgent need for a Tribal Cultural Policy.

"Mobilizing the Tribals for Participation in the Development Process" identifies various factors that impede the progress of tribal development. It lays stress upon evolving effective communication strategies in order to motivate and mobilize tribals so that their meaningful participation in the development process becomes possible.

In "Mahadev Kolis: A Short Appraisal of their Identity and Chances of Dignified Survival" the author has systematically analyzed the status of the community from a historical perspective, and has attempted to redefine the ethnic identity of the Mahadev Kolis.

With the help of data from the World Bank and other sources, the last paper, "For Richer, For Fairer: Poverty Reduction and Income Distribution" attempts to correlate economic growth with income distribution in the context of achieving poverty reduction.

It is hoped that these articles will be of immense help to academicians, researchers, and development practitioners committed to research and development of tribal people, and will serve the purpose general readers as well.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not thank the Members of the Editorial Board of the Journal for their moral support. We extend our sincere gratitude to Shri Aurobindo Behera, the then Commissioner-cum-Secretary, ST & SC Development Department for his helpful suggestions and guidance. We are also thankful to Shri A.K.Samantray, the present Commissioner-cum-Secretary.

I sincerely thank the contributors of papers to this volume of *Adivasi*. At the same time, I thank the research staff and members of the Institute for their help and cooperation in bringing out the volume.

Editor

TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT : FROM "SPORT" TO "SONATA" TO "SCIENCE"

Introduction :

P.K.NAYAK

The paper discusses the nature and course of 'tribal development' pursued since inception of the Tribal Sub-Plan strategy. From the very nature of pursuance of the development in tribal areas and the impetus for achieving results, tribal development can be characterized to have passed through two phases, from 'development sport' to 'development sonata.' In the first phase, the development practitioners took it, at an affective plane, as some sort of sport and kick-started the game. Development took off the ground. After some years, it continued at a slow pace, somehow or other enabling the orchestrated development institutions to compose and play their sonata soundless. It was the second phase of development sonata. In order to achieve the goals of tribal development what is felt imperative is to proceed with the premise that development has to be garnered through a scientific course, technically at a clinical level that could be labeled as the phase of doing 'development science.' The problems of tribal development have to be tackled conscientiously through calculated means. This phase is being awaited.

In the light of the concepts used and outlined above, the main discussions will follow in subsequent sections of the paper. As a prelude to that, especially for the purpose of clearing the ground, a brief outline of the approaches to tribal development since the British period has been presented hereunder.

The British adopted the 'policy of isolation' for protection of their environment and culture, and seeing them grow on their own, and realized the effects of predatory activities of outside usurpers on their forest and other resources, and opposed application of common laws for tribals and non-tribals. They honoured local customs and considered judicious intervention only when felt inevitable. Thus the British adopted a policy of lightly administering the tribal areas under a single line administration. However, they had no policy of planned development (cf. Basu & Nijhawan, 1994).

After Independence, the approach to tribal people and their development is reflected in the five principles enunciated by Nehru. These principles are: "1. Tribal people should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditions of Arts and Culture. 2. Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected. 3. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. We should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory. 4. We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through and not in rivalry to their own social and cultural institutions. 5. We should judge result, not by statistics or the amount spent but by the quality of human character that is evolved." Nehru

had a genuine liking and respect for tribal culture. He appreciated their life style (cf. Hasan, 1992).

On account of the zeal for 'national integration' efforts were made to assimilate the tribals into the neighbouring Hindu societies. Anthropologists and sociologists contributed to that by hypothesizing that assimilation was part and parcel of the tribal culture and the tribals were imperfectly integrated classes of Hindu society (cf. Singh, 1994). The assimilation-integration approach as it was understood continued to prompt the political and administrative measures for the upliftment of tribes. The Constitution makers insisted on safeguarding tribal rights and liberties. Reservation policies were made for them. They received a due share in the representative democratic bodies. Specific provisions were enshrined in the Constitution. India's concern for tribal issues and problems is reflected in it.

The Central and State governments created the required machinery for tribal development administration. At the national level the President of India is responsible for safeguarding the provisions enshrined in the Constitution. At the State level, the Governor and on his behalf the Chief Minister and other Ministers are responsible for the formulation and implementation of schemes in tribal areas of the State. Welfare Departments look after the interest of the tribals and advised by the Tribal Advisory Council (TAC). In tribal concentration States Tribal Research Institutes (TRIs) are functioning. The TACs and TRIs help in the formulation of tribal policies and programmes. Besides, Parliamentary and Assembly Committees, Commissions and Committees from time to time assess and control the working of the welfare activities for the tribals (cf. Deogaonkar, 1980). The Planning Commission also appoints working groups, Task Forces and Committees to study the problems of tribals. However, that tribal administration should take into account the cultural patterns of the tribes while formulating and implementing programmes was deemed *sine qua non*.

In recent decades the Government also sought the help of Voluntary Agencies for framing policies for tribal people, and involved them in the implementation of the schemes for them. However, the ideology of these agencies has often little to do with the tribal culture and problems. They hardly realize that their well-intentioned activities will do more harm than good in terms of their socio-cultural life. Although Elwin's idea of 'National park' came to be known as the 'anthropological approach', the anthropologists believe in the ultimate integration of the tribal people into the mainstream of Indian national life. All development interventions among the tribes and in the tribal areas, the anthropologists hold, should proceed along the ethical and cultural foundations of the people. In no way can we claim superiority over them. Approach to tribal development from a "dominant reformist" bias rather than from a cross-culturally scientific perspective, anthropologists would argue, would no doubt be counter-productive.

Tribal Sub-Plan: Neo-Development Strategy

Contrasted with the earlier plan periods, the major thrust of the new strategy in the Fifth V Year Plan under the rubric of Sub-Plan Strategy was to develop tribal areas and tribal people in an integrated way. Considering the geographic and

demographic concentration of the tribal communities and the need for their faster development, initially Sub-divisions and later Blocks with more than 50% tribal population were treated as areas of tribal concentration, and the whole areas were covered under the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) approach. In order to handle the tribal population coming within the purview of tribal Sub-Plan Strategy in an integrated and coordinated manner, the Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDPs), the Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) and Clusters for pockets of tribal concentration, and special projects for primitive tribes were planned. A development Block has been taken as the smallest unit in the new programme. A group of Blocks under ITDP has been the basic unit for planning and development of the new tribal development programmes. Each constituent Block of the ITDP should formulate its Five Year Plan with annual phasing taking into account natural resource bases, occupations and skills of the people, infrastructure and human requirements. Project reports are prepared on the basis of the Block Plans, coordinated by the ITDPs get integrated at the State level into the Tribal Sub-Plan of the State. Thereby the needs, aspirations and priorities of the tribal areas get reflected in the TSP of a State (cf. Satyanarayan, 1990).

Boosting tribal economy assumed particular significance. Funding economic development programmes through the provision of State Plans and Central Assistance was geared up. The schemes of the sub-plan are contributed by the sectoral departments of the State and Central Government, the tribal development department of the State functioning as a coordinating and nodal department. Family and community oriented schemes were drawn up to raise the socio-economic standard of individual families. Integrated schemes of infrastructure development like schools, public health centers etc. were taken up (cf. George & Sree Kumar, 1994).

In order to mitigate the imbalances in the development of different tribal groups, utmost attention was given to the primitive tribal groups. Special programmes were drawn and implemented for the extremely backward groups and these were financed 100% by the Government of India.

During the Sixth V year Plan a new dimension was added to sub-plan approach. It was the poverty alleviation programme through which it was intended to raise a substantial number of families above the poverty line by implementing family oriented schemes. Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and the new twenty-point programmes were added to the package of anti-poverty programmes under the sub-plan. Programmes of agriculture, animal husbandry, fishing, sericulture etc were extensively implemented. To curb and control exploitation, land alienation, indebtedness and bonded labour were equally emphasized as important objectives of the sub-plan approach.

During the Seventh V Year Plan the objectives of the Sixth Plan were pursued and special attention was given to vulnerable groups like nomads, shifting cultivators, forest villagers, displaced families, migrant labourers and tribal women. For the improvement of quality of tribal environment and up-gradation of resources, plans and programmes were drawn on the basis of scientific survey. It was decided to cover all categories of tribal population within the ambit of the TSP: tribals living

under ITDPs, MADA pockets and Clusters, PTGs, vulnerable groups in industrial area and tribals living outside the above area.

From the Seventh V Year Plan period emphasis has been laid on covering all sections of tribal communities and their specific situational problems including the problems of migration, effects of large projects in tribal areas, displacement and rehabilitation. However, with the emergence of the TSP concept the spirit and zeal of tribal development strategists reached its peak around the onset of the Seventh Plan and after that it descended gradually rendering tribal development a routine practice and the development institutions and agencies sick. Tribal development is thus moving at the same slow place along a horizontal axis rather than showing any vertical growth and progress. The planners and policy makers of course have spared no efforts in working out strategies for tribal development since the First V Year Plan, and more rhetorically since the Fifth Plan, and improving these strategies and removing the shortcomings during plan reviews from time to time. One could artfully play with tribal development and compose one's own tune to change them, but 'to develop the tribes along the lines of their own genius' needs scientific understanding at a clinical level and technical endeavour at a cross-cultural plane. Imposing anything on them without considering their interests will be detrimental for the people, a subversive activity, and a national loss in the context of post-modern developments.

A phase of Perceptible Change and Development in Tribal Orissa: Some Observations

From the later part of the Fourth V Year Plan period, many development activities in the field of horticulture, animal husbandry, agriculture, health and education including construction of roads, buildings and dug wells were taken up in rapid succession in the tribal areas of Orissa. These were some of the noticeable activities. In the Fifth Plan, the activities ascended to the peak and were carried forward, to my knowledge, up to early nineties, the end of the Seventh Plan. Being ordained by my profession I was then making frequent trips to different tribal areas, from north to south to west of Orissa. What impressed me most during my extensive field visits to tribal Orissa was a host of activities pursued by the field officers and staff of development agencies and the schoolteachers in residential tribal schools, and their concern for and commitment to the tribal people. Added to that, the high officials' frequent supervision and monitoring of the activities and assessment of progress of work and the field situation were really quite noteworthy. Despite lapses and many shortcomings in the process of the execution of the development schemes what was quite satisfying to observe was that there was utmost discipline in the government machinery of development administration.

Orange, lemon, ginger and banana plantations in addition to high yielding rice cultivation in Ramgiri-Udaygiri areas of Lanjia Saora concentration and orange, ginger, banana and pineapple plantations in the Niamgiri areas of Dongria Kondh concentration were very successful development schemes. Cultivation of vegetables in the hills was equally successful. The schemes benefited the tribal villagers covered under the respective development agencies. People earned cash in addition to pursuing their traditional subsistence agriculture in the hill slopes. Cash crops

and vegetables were also encouraged among the tribal villagers adept at plough cultivation in the plateaux, plains and terraced fields. They were also encouraged to raise bovine animals. The tribal schools were well managed, and had a congenial environment for the schooling of tribal children. Schoolteachers individually and severally put in hard work imparting lessons to the tribal children and building their personalities with a spirit of dedication. Classroom performances were of good standard and school results were satisfactory. Although there were health hazards in most of the tribal areas, the primary health centres served the people and free medical services were available. Road networks got developed at a rapid pace in tribal areas, which facilitated communication and transportation of development input to many tribal villages. Dug-wells and tube wells were installed in most of the tribal villages and many tribal families availed themselves of the benefit of irrigating their land. The quantum of infrastructure work and economic development activities undertaken during the seventies and spilling over to early eighties and the progress achieved could not be underestimated. I am pretty sure, a quantitative assessment of all these could corroborate such a view of progress and development in tribal areas of Orissa and identify their positive effects.

The path adopted by the development agencies, the development personnel on the top of it, was so humane that they would not afford to vie with the people and their culture in any way. The pursuance of economic development programmes and the modus operandi of the development personnel were in no way disruptive of the tribal socio-cultural and community life. It can be said that development interventions did proceed along the genius of the tribal people. From officer to field staff, everybody was enthusiastic about tribal development and achievement, and at the same time, being the right kind of persons posted and deputed for the purpose they were able to sort out problems that arose with the help of local people. As government officials they had their say in the area where they worked. I have seen, how, even at a personal level, some individual field officers were controlling the local traders and moneylenders and efficiently procuring land and forest produce of the tribals giving them a fair price and fair deal. The situation in the field used to be peaceful, congenial and harmonious. Politically, tribal areas were relatively quiet. The development policy, plan, the project personnel, people and politics seemed to be in harmony with each other! One would have expected slow and steady progress, lasting effects, tangible results out of the development activities undertaken in tribal areas. Definitely there were some impressive progress and positive effects on the people. But if there were any frustrating results and negative consequences, these were due to overwhelming people with multiple schemes and in consequence allowing too many outsiders into tribal areas, about which Nehru was quite apprehensive and cautioned us very early.

The areas where people were receptive to development intervention reaped the benefits of development. Not only they produced more, they also developed purchasing power and moved from barter to market and money. Taking advantage of their transition, shopkeepers and traders rushed into the tribal areas, applied their tactics and maneuvered to siphon away the development benefits from them. In the competitive market, the tribals could not withstand the market pressure and succumbed to exploitation by outside tradesmen. Nevertheless, the standard of living of these people has risen, and, at the individual level, some have changed their life style but that has not affected the social and community life of the people.

The irony is that in the process of developing the tribes the development personnel were lacking in empirical understanding of the tribal situation and deeper knowledge of their socio-cultural system. At the same time, not being theoretically and analytically skilled, they did not realize the economic differentiation existing in tribal villages. Among them, some families were landless and poor and others belonged to the land-owning group. They took tribal societies to be an ideal community practising some sort of primitive communism. As a result, the entire development benefit went to the well-to-do families, who won the confidence of the development agent, but not to the needy and the poor. The hiatus between the better off and the worst off got widened further. In some cases, it led to exploitation of the poor fellow tribal. Not only the development agents were unaware of the empirical and analytical categories, they were also unable to discern tribal development in a broader perspective.

Fully charged with humanistic fervor and a progressive spirit, with the zeal and enthusiasm of sports persons, the policy makers and planners reviewed the preceding approaches to tribal welfare and development, and put on anvil the neo-development strategy of Tribal Sub-Plan. Although the anthropological perspectives of tribal development were given due consideration, the area approach coupled with demographic determination played a major role in formulating the TSP strategy. Macro-coverage of the tribal area, delineating ITDPs on the basis of survey and sampling and implementing economic development programmes in haste without paying adequate attention to the felt needs of the tribal villages in keeping with their cultural and human resource bases had their limitations. Intending to tackle development and achieve development goal sooner than later prompted the development strategists to insist on rapid actions at whatever cost. When their optimism did not last long, they shifted their attention in the horizontal space from covering one section of tribal people to as many sections as possible, thereby making it explicit that they had covered the entirety of the tribal mass. It gave them a great feeling of satisfaction. Without taking a pause, evaluating the development undertaking in right earnest and sorting out the problems they continued it further, went ahead with multiple packages for the benefit of a few. Showing the number of beneficiaries and computing the money spent at the end of a scheme was assumed to be their development achievement. Information on quantity dominated that on quality. It was no measure or judgement of development as categorically stated by Nehru long ago. Engaging in a sport for oneself is healthy, but playing with the destiny of the disadvantaged, however sportive, is unwarranted for the makers or sponsors of destiny.

What happened next? Did development register any progress?

The years following the Seventh V Year Plan witnessed tribal development passing through a calm state. The development schemes and programmes were implemented less enthusiastically and with less rigour. The newly recruited field staff (most of them from the coastal districts) in the initial phase of the TSP, were young and unmarried. They were curious to work in the hinterland and to pursue development programmes at a participatory level getting personally involved. They worked very hard in the field and had no family burden. In later years they got

married and their family increased. They had to give more attention to their families. After staying in the field for 5-10 years they got used to the area and the people and acquired the necessary skill of how to live with the tribals and the local people. They grew older and did not have the same zeal and zest for development work. After 10-15 years they were further discouraged when the Project funding was curtailed and the development institutions survived on salary to the staff. They had practically less to do for the people. They had no other alternative than to taking resort to some lucrative means of earning for their livelihood. They joined the local people in trade and business. The field officers and their higher ups, after some years got transferred. Supervision and monitoring got hampered. Development zeal waned. Their successors were devoid of the spirit and enthusiasm to take up any challenge. Neither merit nor any suitable selection norm was followed any more for the recruitment and posting of officers and staff in the field. Frustration reigned everywhere. Posting in ITDAs was discredited.

The hum of development activities pursued in tribal areas after reaching its climax in late eighties slowed down and moved at a pace registering no positive impact. Rather, the impact was negative. The tribal people's expectations were belied. They got disturbed and disillusioned. Out of disgust, they rejected the change they had accepted. They felt dejected and resigned. In some cases they took resort to their traditional means of subsistence and in other cases they neither regressed nor did they move forward. Their woes got multiplied. They felt more and more insecure as they no longer got the same support and protection from the development agencies nor did they retain the strength they derived from the traditional community based institutions. Their social fabric weakened, and taking advantage of that the outsiders started exploiting them more and more. They did not have the moral courage to counter the moneylenders and traders. They became their victims since they were needy and deprived.

Most of the development schemes that are now in operation in tribal areas follow a set pattern without making any breakthrough. A visit to any development agency office and overseeing its activities in the field today make one see how casually things are being managed, as if the energy has drained away and the orchestra team is playing the sonata in silence. The phase of acceleration is over now. Development institutions are languishing. Infrastructures built in the recent past remained unused serving no purpose anymore. Agricultural and horticultural farmhouses and sapling centres are now being guarded by watchmen only. There are hardly any farming activities anymore. Tribal schools give the impression that there is no schooling environment and that there is sickness everywhere. There is utter negligence at the level of the schoolteachers and the authority. One comes to know about the estranged relationship among the teachers and between the teachers and the authorities. There is some problem somewhere. There is no concern, no commitment. People do not get the required services of doctors in Primary Health Centres (PHCs). Absenteeism of doctors has crippled the PHCs. Roads to tribal villages remain unrepaired for years. In many areas the neo-development phase of road communication was of no use to people or to the agency personnel.

The first phase of neo-development action benefited the people quite a lot. Infrastructure facilities were created and the areas improved appreciably. Development became visible. But, later on, up to the present, when the really needy

wants to get his share from development aid he returns home frustrated. People have less faith in the agencies and their managers. Moreover, in recent years the tribal situation and scenario have undergone change. Party politics and involvement of the unemployed educated youth in it create a situation very difficult for the agencies to handle. People are feeling the difference between the first phase of agencies' attachment and empathy for the people and the second phase of their detachment and apathy. Hence, quite often there is a scuffle between the agencies and the people. This strikes a discordant note for the future development strategy. Should we not stop playing such a sonata? Everybody is sick of hearing it.

Towards a future development strategy: Putting the research scientist as practitioner in the field

The scenario of change and development in tribal areas is really a matter of grave concern today. It needs greater attention than before. The tribal leaders who are at the helm of affairs, the machinery of development administration and the well-wishers of the tribes have to rise to the occasion and reformulate the tribal policy and redesign the development strategy for the tribal areas and the people. A rethinking is necessary at this juncture. The mere humanitarian philosophy of tribal development has to give way to a scientific philosophy of development. A new philosophy has to grow, be propagated and practised. Round table discussions across party lines and professional orientations need to be held and development formulae ought to be evolved. Bias and bossism have to be checked. Impressionistic assessments and individual prescriptions should not be weighed in terms of the status of the person, and put to practice. Rather, observed knowledge from the field relevant to context has to be considered first. The context has to be cleared. Science of development has to take precedence over vested interest development. Facts should be brought to the fore. The facts of tribal societies cannot be collected mechanically by filling out schedules but by closely interacting and keenly observing the people and their interpersonal relationships. The problems of the people have to be examined scientifically and solved clinically.

Planning from below has to be from below, neither mediated nor manipulated. It should be based on intensive study than extensive survey. In no way should it be scrutinized by the untrained, and manipulated at the top all-knower. Action plans should be meticulously prepared, preserved, referred to and revised from time to time allowing scope for flexibility. In the machinery of development administration of tribes and tribal areas, development knowledge is missing. Expertise on tribes is not receiving the appreciation it deserves. The message of the master of tribes and tribal cultures is often being misconstrued. The dialectics of development is deplored. There is hardly any preparedness for understanding micro-perspectives of tribal development. The macro perspective of economic development ignoring the micro-perspective of culture and environment and the campaign to turn traditional man into modern man has failed. People are caught in the deadlock of development (cf. Sachs, 1997).

In order to develop micro-areas and micro-societies in the present context it is very necessary to observe that they have been changing, their dependence on natural resource bases is decreasing and their propensity to market orientation is increasing.

Anthropologists as micro-social scientists participate in the change processes of the groups they study and by virtue of their training and orientation are sensitive to the needs and values of their fellow human beings as individuals or as groups. They have the capacities to turn experiences, impressions and bias through introspection and discussion into objective knowledge. Looking from below implies that the realities are being seen most critically, and thus scientifically. It is not a question of relevance of anthropology but its responsibility. In our context, an anthropologist should render his knowledge to help the people he studies and the country as a whole. He cannot just watch and see planners trained in other disciplines making all kinds of mistakes. It is his duty to intervene, advise, and direct since he has the theory and the method to give valid suggestions that can stand the test. Given the opportunity he can give good guidance. There is a need for study of values, social organization, systems of belief and other aspects of tribal societies before embarking upon any form of change if we want to avoid costs of all kinds. Anthropologist's technique of observation and his understanding of the interrelations of social institutions have important contributions to make toward development in traditional societies. 'Practice is the proof of theory' and this precept should be borne in mind.

Conclusion

The Neo-Development sport under TSP with the objective of developing tribal areas and improving the standard of living of the tribal people conformed to the norms of participatory development. The development staff and personnel chosen on merit did hard work of pursuing development programmes in right earnest without violating the traditions and cultures of the people. They took the tribal people into confidence and they in turn trusted them. Based on natural and human resource potential, action plans were drawn up and implemented. Constant supervision and monitoring of the project activities resulted in achieving the targets. The strategy was workable, the approach suitable and execution of work was practicable. Achievement was satisfactory and there was success in the first few years. As a result, the sportive operations in the tribal areas made much headway. However, people became dependent on government aid and help. They expected more and more. The sportsmen of development did not continue long, they had to take rest and moved away from the field.

The second phase of development in the last ten years was carried out without much innovativeness and enthusiasm. There was complacency. After the period of sport the players got exhausted. Proper evaluation of development, positive and negative, were not made. It was not considered important to assess how far tribal development progressed, in which areas and sectors there was relative success, and where it affected the socio-cultural life of the people and the direction of their change. It was also not thought necessary to look into the unforeseen consequences of the development strategy in the tribal areas and the problems encountered there. It was only believed that development did not succeed to the desired extent. That is why the same programmes were continued with the help of the same field staff without being mindful of the fact of change in the tribal situation and the change of the mindset of the development workers. The nature and quality of pursuance of development programmes deteriorated, supervision and monitoring lost its rigour, development agencies were managed by officers not chosen with care, the field situation

worsened, and development euphoria died down. Somehow other schemes and activities were carried on mechanically without any impressive results. However, development sonata went on at a feeble pitch.

Now what is most warranted is to make a through and scientific review of tribal development strategy. The rethinking needs to be done more at a theoretical and methodological plane than at the factual level. The entire approach to the tribes and their development has to be examined in the light of the post-modern theories of development from a point of view of sustainability. From the perspective of global developments and the present euphoria of liberalization of the economic policies of the country, tribal development strategy needs to be revamped and reformulated. In the present context the onus will be on the research scientists who will take the lead and take up the challenge of tribal development. They should come forward to contribute to the formulation of a new tribal policy for the country and development policy for the tribal communities. The scientists working in tribal research institutes should have their active role to play being part and parcel of the development agencies. They have not been engaged and given the responsibility so far; they have only been passively roped in and have been asked to give some of their views. Experience in Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh shows that active involvement of the tribal research institutes with tribal development administration has paid rich dividends.

In order to tackle the problem of economic development of the tribes and tribal areas, the social, cultural and political developments in different regions of the country has to be borne in mind. Keeping macro-developments in perspective, micro approach to tribal development seems to be the right alternative. No longer we shall be dealing with tribal societies relatively in static form but in their dynamic manifestations. Analysis of change in tribal societies has to be given the priority. Understanding the changing frontiers of tribal economy, ecology, culture and society has to be made first before we announce the next phase of tribal development strategy. It will be certainly a phase of development science. Scientific plans have to be drawn up for planned development of tribal communities, tribal regions and sub-regions. Dynamic development models can be devised and put to practice. Computer technology has to be used at all levels of tribal development administration for ongoing assessment, evaluation and examination of the day to day progress. It will automatically help promote transparency in development administration and check wastage, stagnation and delay. The present practice of evaluation of development schemes conducted by a second party, not involved in any way either with development administration or with implementation in the field will not be required.

'Tribal development' needs to be perceived and pursued as a scientific mission, more than a sort of humanitarian aid and help. The problems of poverty, ill health and low literacy among the tribes need to be tackled with a scientific and humanistic spirit. The problems of development have to be addressed socially at a technical plane employing all the skills of a scientist. The development variables and the social and cultural correlates have to be examined in the context of the specific tribe and the tribal area, taking into account the human resource potential, techno-economic skill, available natural resources and cultural excellence of the people, and accordingly schemes should be formulated and implemented. The cultural dimension of tribal development has to be very close to the heart of the development scientist. The aim is

to develop the tribes without harming their culture and ecology. Loss of tribal cultures and natural ecology will be a great loss to the nation and the world of humanity. The future generation will pay for the loss. The cultural scientist has the moral responsibility to caution the development agents and agencies to handle tribal development conscientiously rather than casually. Better, the scientists should take up the challenge, come out to the field, their laboratory, from where they acquire knowledge, and use it then and there and develop the tribes. Should the sponsors of tribal development wait any longer to endorse this new agenda?

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BLURRED GENRES IN SOUTH ORISSA? THE INTERNAL DYNAMICS OF THE 'DANCE OF PUNISHMENT'

Burkhard Schnepel

1. 'Dando Nato' and its Participants

This paper describes the internal dynamics of an Orissan religious festival known as 'Dando Nato', a term which is best translated as 'Dance of Punishment' or 'Dance of Penance'.¹ Dando Nato, which takes place once a year at the beginning of April over a period of thirteen days, is dedicated to Devi, mainly in her ferocious form as Kali, and, in a subordinate role, to Siva. The material presented here stems from my observations of three such festivals in 1997, 1998 and 1999 at places in and around Berhampur, the largest town in coastal south Orissa. This is the sub-region in which the festival seems to have originated (definitely so according to the actors' own perception) and of which it is quite characteristic in several respects, last but not least because it is one of the main religious occasions in the yearly cycle of festivals. Other parts of Orissa also celebrate Dando Nato, though with variations (e.g., at some places Siva has pre-eminence over Devi) and with lesser overall significance to the people.

In south Orissa, the Dance of Punishment is staged in a number of villages and towns, perhaps thirty groups and more at a reasonable overall estimate. The number of devoted dancers, known as *danduas*, varies between 30 and 250 per group. According to myth, the first group of dancers consisted of the thirteen naughty sons of Brahma, Indra and Kubero, who insulted a sage (*rishi*) while he was in deep meditation (*tapasya*).² In order to escape from his curse of death by way of penance, they were the first who had to perform the dance and observe its various kinds of punishment. In actual contemporary celebration, therefore, a group should not have less than thirteen *danduas*, and even though we usually find more dancers, there are some sequences or ritual elements in the dance in which only the ideal number of thirteen perform. There seems to be no upper limit with respect to the number of dancers in one group, though groups tend to fragment once they have reached a certain size. According to my own observations, 60 to 70 *danduas* per group was quite common.

The dance or, better, its numerous individual manifestations in the villages and towns are usually organized by committees of temples dedicated to Kali and/or Siva, with the respective manager or *adhikari* being responsible for all practical matters. One of the things he has to take care of, far in advance, is to accept commissions from individuals or groups who want the *danduas* to dance in front of their house or in their street, ward or village. This patronage is usually for one day only and is intended to ensure the well-being of the sponsors and the group they represent (i.e., a family, lineage, *jati* or village), to fulfil a vow made some time before, to prevent future misfortune and disease, or to further the future fulfilment of a wish, such as success in business or work. Unlike the *danduas*, the sponsors themselves do not have to observe the particular restrictions and

¹ For some information on Dando Nato, see Dash (no date) and Mishra (2000). My own research on this festival so far resulted in two publications (Schnepel 1998; 2001).

² On the mythology of Dando Nato, see Bina Danda (1980).

punishments associated with the dance. However, they have to attain a certain degree of purity and devotion during the day preceding the dance at their place and, of course, on the day itself. Moreover, the financial burden required to sponsor a day's dance is quite heavy, amounting to 10,000 rupees and more, and this could also be counted as a kind of punishment.

While the festival is taking place, various other individuals or groups play significant roles. Besides members of the temple committee, *danduas* and sponsors, a major role is played by priests of the organizing temple. There is, as it were, a division of ritual labour pertaining to various tasks particular for this festival, such as carrying a painting of Kali on bamboo wood known as *prabha*. The standardized number of these tasks and their 'bearers' is again thirteen. In actuality, however, there are often only six or seven ritual specialists. One of these priests, known as *pata dandua*, is the 'chief dancer' and responsible to Kali for the proper execution of the various performances and the proper conduct of all of the festival's participants. He has to be particularly strict in his own observances, and his close contact and communication with Kali is expressed at various stages in the festival through his becoming possessed by her. The priests involved are seldom of the Brahman caste, but usually belong to low-ranking castes such as the gardener (*mali*) or the barber (*bhandari*) caste. Brahman priests have functions at specific places in the festival only, especially on its first day, when they conduct a fire sacrifice (*homo*) in order to consecrate the participants and sacred objects of the dance.

Apart from the various participants mentioned so far, there is a group of priestly assistants, usually between five and ten in number, who supervise the various exercises and punishments. These priestly assistants, often simple labourers or agricultural workers from the community of the temple holding the dance, also adhere to the observations and regulations to be specified below, though in a more relaxed matter. Then there is a group of lay performers, mostly stemming from the village or ward of the organizing temple, who enact a quite rustic and comic theatrical interlude in an afternoon ritual sequence of the dance known as *dhuli dando* or 'dust punishment'. Before and after these performances, they lead their ordinary lives, though they will take care not to become too heavily polluted during the festival period. Moreover, after midnight and into the early morning a theatrical performance takes place in the village square or in front of the sponsor's house. The themes of these performances used to be taken from mythology, but these days the theatre groups often adapt stories from contemporary Hindi booklets and movies. These dramas are performed either by the lay performers of the village mentioned in connection with the afternoon interludic plays or by especially hired professional and semi-professional theatre groups. Last but not least are the spectators, who assemble for all the daily and nightly phases of the dance, but in especially large numbers for the *dhuli dando* in the afternoon and for the late night dramas.

As far as the *danduas* in particular are concerned, these are usually young men from, so it seems, low-ranking castes, but there may also be the occasional Brahman or Kshatriya youth. Sometimes elder men can be seen to take part; women do not dance. My inquiries into the social background of the *danduas* usually led to emphatic statements that there is no caste or class during Dando Nato. The egalitarian character of the dance is also expressed quite overtly by the fact that the *danduas* all dress in the same way, wearing two pieces of yellow, ochre or pink cloth only, and that they all have to bear, without distinction, the same penances and observe the same restrictions. Moreover, during the thirteen days of the festival, they all live, dance and sleep together in often spatially quite

confined conditions, where bodily contact between them, no matter which caste, is common and apparently not a problem.

What are the observances and restrictions the *danduas* have to observe? They are not allowed to wear any shoes or slippers. This may cause inconvenience, because circumambulations of the village or town quarter as well as processions from village to village form an integral part of the dance: usually, only the first and the last days are performed in the precinct of one's own temple. Moreover, the *danduas* face strict restrictions as far as their dietary habits are concerned. They are not allowed to eat meat, drink alcohol or smoke cigarettes. To behave otherwise would lead to disease or even death. During the day, they may not take any food. A first meagre meal, consisting of fruit and milk, is consumed in the early evening, while the only proper, but still relatively humble meal of the day of rice, lentils and some kinds of vegetable and spices is eaten in the late evening. Moreover, social contact with the outside world is severely restricted during the thirteen days of the dance. *Danduas* should not interact with members of their family or village, with friends, business associates or spectators, even though these are often sitting or standing close by, since they should not become distracted or polluted by outsiders. To have sexual intercourse during the festival period is as great an offence as eating meat and in fact inconceivable.

During the nights, the *danduas* are not supposed to sleep. The all-night theatrical performances derive part of their *raison d'être* from this obligation of the *danduas* to stay awake: they entertain and thus help the *danduas* not to fall asleep. However, some of the *danduas* may follow the dramas while lying stretched out on the ground in front of the stage and with eyes shut, especially during the latter days of the festival, when fatigue is showing in many of them. One of the severest punishments is the 'dust punishment' or '*dhuli dando*' in the afternoon, during which *danduas* perform physical exercises, such as dancing on one leg, rolling in the dust or forming human pyramids. These exercises and other activities, to be specified below, are demanding in themselves and all the more so because they are performed under the sun. April, it must be added, is one of the hottest months in Orissa, and 40 degrees in the shade and more were quite common during the years I observed the festival. So being under the extremely hot sun alone is almost unbearable.

Why do people take on these punishments and wish to participate in the dance? Usually, the participation is preceded by a vow (*brata, osa*) made to acknowledge a wish already fulfilled (such as having passed an examination or obtained a government job), to get rid of a misfortune or disease which has befallen a member of the dancer's family, or to have a wish fulfilled in future (often the birth of a son). The vow usually refers to one dance only, but one may also promise to take part in several dances. While these reasons are usually rather mundane, there are reasons which one might consider more spiritual, for *danduas* also stress that they dance for love of and devotion to the goddess alone. Ultimately, it is their great dedication to, and *bhakti* for, the Goddess which makes them dance. And it is only their submissive love that enables them to endure the hardship of the dance. As a matter of fact, the mood among the *danduas* is less one of suffering or feeling guilty or humbly submitting to a just divine punishment, as might be surmised under too great an influence of Christian notions of suffering, guilt and atonement. Rather, the *danduas* are in a state of enjoyment. In spite of the physical hardships, they mostly seem to cherish the mutual companionship and their closeness to the deities. At another level, therefore, the more egotistical and materialistic motives are considered 'secondary'. In

theologically oriented pamphlets, as well as in the statements of various informants, the 'primary' motives for participation in the dance (and for its very existence and performance) are said to be a removal of sin and the attainment of liberation (*mukhti*, *moksha*) from the eternal rounds of rebirth. However, 'primary' and 'secondary' motives should be seen as being interrelated and as mutually enforcing each other. Both material benefits and spiritual release are sought, though one might aspire to the first during life, while the latter is sought after death.

Hence, Dando Nato exemplifies several characteristic elements of devotionalist Hindu festivals known from elsewhere in India: it has an egalitarian ethos with traces of anti-casteism and anti-Brahmanism; it is mainly conducted by members of subaltern groups, even priests being from non-Brahman castes; *danduas* explicitly give their love or *bhakti* as the reason for their participation (they are also quite commonly known as *bhaktas*); the attainment of benefits, both worldly and spiritual in kind, is seen as being mainly due to personal emotion; and although rituals play an important part at many stages of the festival, it is less their correct knowledge and enactment than the devotional mood in which they are carried out, no matter whether the actors are high or low, rich or poor, learned or illiterate, that makes them work.

What, then, are the major phases or sequences within a typical day of the dance? Seven distinct phases can be identified and most of them (the first five) carry a distinct Oriya name:

1. *dhuli dando* or 'dust punishment' from around one pm to four pm
2. *pani dando* or 'water punishment' from around four pm to five pm
3. *alati puja* or the evening service from around seven p.m. to eight pm
4. *agni dando* or 'fire punishment' from around eleven to twelve pm
5. the *prabha* dance, a dance of possession beneath the painting of Kali at around midnight
6. the performance of the 'sacred drama' of the mythical fowler and his wife, from around midnight till one am
7. the performance of a 'social drama' or theatre play on a contemporary theme until the early hours.

Each of these seven major sequences is divided into numerous further segments, subsegments and minute individual acts. Moreover, there are various ritual activities connecting these single sequences, and there are particular rituals on the first and the last

day of the dance. It would go beyond the limits of this paper to give only brief descriptions of all of these. For the purpose of the problem being pursued here, it suffices to note that these seven sequences cover a wide span on the scale from 'ritual' to 'theatre' as these phenomena are commonly understood, starting from *alati puja*, as representing the standard form of ritualized worship in Hinduism, to the social drama, which apparently has only little religious significance and ritual form. In between, we find processions containing fire plays, music and singing (*agni dando*), possession dances (*prabha* dance) or a ritualized bath (*pani dando*).

In the eyes of the actors, all of these diverse genres of cultural performance belong together and make up a unified whole. This whole, however, looks like a curious mixture of blurred genres, not only when one applies Western conceptual dichotomies such as 'theatre' and 'ritual', 'sacred' and 'profane', or 'serious' and 'entertaining', but also in the eyes of the actors themselves. Just take the name of the festival: 'Dando Nato'. This consists of two terms, one of which, *dando* or stick/punishment, has mainly religio-moral connotations, while the other, *nato* or dance, belongs rather to the semantic field of secular entertainment.

How is this unique mixture of apparently blurred genres actually combined, in both action and thought? And how does the interplay of more theatrical and more ritual elements bring forth the internal dynamics without which the Dando Nato as a whole would not work? To pursue these questions will be the aim of the remainder of this paper. However, in the following discussion, with its necessary spatial and temporal limits, I will concentrate not on the whole of Dando Nato, but just on one of its seven ritual sequences, namely the 'dust punishment' or *dhuli dando* in the afternoon. This approach is justified because the *dhuli dando* synecdochically reveals many of the elements, characteristics and dynamics pertaining to the mixture of the Dando Nato as a whole. Hence, the mingling of genres of different kinds, of what we would identify as ritual and theatre, and one could add sport, military drill, yoga, fertility rites, sacred drama, possession, dance, and other forms of cultural performance, not only spreads over all the ritual sequences of the Dando Nato, it also exists within single ritual sequences in themselves, and most obviously within the *dhuli dando*.

2. The 'Dust Punishment' and its Three Basic Forms of Performance

In order to structure our understanding of the various performative elements of *dhuli dando*, we can identify three basic forms of performance occurring during that afternoon sequence of the Dando Nato:

1. physical exercises
2. pranks
3. ritualized sequences

In actual practice, these three basic forms are often combined with one another, such as when pranks performed by a lay theatre group are integrally accompanied by the physical exercises of the *danduas*. Hence the following analytical differentiation between three forms of the *dhuli dando* performance and their various sub-forms tends to ossify and over-systematize what in reality are quite fluid, ambiguous, and dynamically transformative actions.

2.1 Physical exercises

As far as the physical exercises are concerned, these can be further subdivided into two: those which are exercises in a narrower sense of the term, which one could call 'physical exercises pure and simple'; and those in which activities from everyday life or known objects are depicted, here called 'expressive physical exercises'. Among the 'exercises pure and simple', we find the following routines enacted by the *danduas*:

- 1) *danduas* stand side by side in a row in front of the Kali painting (*prabha*) and the other sacred objects with hands' folded and head bowed
- 2) *danduas* form a row in front of the sacred objects, dancing two to three steps backwards and forwards several times while singing and clapping their hands
- 3) *danduas*, forming a row, kneel down and touch the earth with their foreheads in veneration of Kali
- 4) *danduas* stand with raised heads and folded hands towards the sun
- 5) they form a row, lift their right legs and hold them with the right arms, while simultaneously grasping their noses with their left hands and hopping backwards and forwards
- 6) while standing in a row, *danduas* listen to admonishments of the priests, such as 'don't eat meat' or 'be devoted to Kali', answering with 'yes' or 'no'
- 7) *danduas* lie stretched out in the dust of the village square or road, side by side and very close to each other, with their faces towards the earth; arms and hands are stretched out toward the *prabha*
- 8) as 7, but this time with their faces towards the sun
- 9) one of the *danduas* rolls over the others who lie on the ground as in 7
- 10) *danduas* lie on the ground, all rolling forwards and backwards

11) as 10, but this time *danduas* form pairs, one holding the legs of the other and pressing his face on or between the other's feet/leg

These physical exercises of the 'pure and simple' category are all enacted with the face/head toward the Kali painting and the other sacred objects which are placed in front of the sponsor's house. Some of these exercises (especially 1, 2, 3, 6 and 7) are enacted several times. Except exercise 6, these actions are accompanied by the constant drumming and flute-playing of musicians sitting at the other end of the road or village square in the shade (if possible). Several priestly assistants carefully watch these exercises standing in front of the *danduas*, occasionally walking up to one or the other, touching him with a bamboo stick and admonishing him to perform more enthusiastically or correctly.

The various physical exercises of the pure and simple category could be differentiated further into those which are carried out standing (nos 1-6) and those carried out lying on the ground (nos. 7-11). These latter exercises are paradigmatic of the *dhuli dando* as such, because contact with, and experience of, the dust is greatest there. Through these exercises, the earth is covered with wet spots of sweat. Even though I did not get explicit statements by the actors to this effect, it should be noted that the mingling of dust and sweat in other Orissan rituals symbolizes fertility.³ Moreover, the egalitarian character of the dance is neatly expressed by the close physical contact between the *danduas*, especially the pressing of one's face on to or in between the legs of another *dandua*. It should be noted that in performing these exercises the *danduas* lie next to, and interact with, each other just as it happens or as the priests and their assistants order them, not according to their own choices.

Among the physical exercises of the pure and simple kind one can also distinguish between those which are enacted in a light mood of entertaining (for example, and most characteristically, no. 5) and those which are characterized by the greater religiosity of their performance (especially nos 1 and 7). I am aware that this distinction is not unproblematic, for it is difficult to measure different degrees of religiosity adequately. In a sense, all exercises are expressions of devotion and deeply felt religiosity. Moreover, the difference is often not very great, such as when one compares no. 1 (more solemn) and no. 2 (more entertaining). Nonetheless, I consider it helpful and necessary to distinguish between those exercises which are mainly meant to be entertaining and those which are mainly carried out in a rather solemn manner, as some such distinction is also part of the actors' own conceptualization of things, though this is revealed less in words than in habitus. For example, when they wish to emphasize their solemnity, *danduas* bow especially deeply, or else they accompany their activities by singing songs and uttering mantras. Moreover, the background music is played more emphatically and loudly when one wants to stress the devotional or religious side of one's exercises, not against, but along with the 'entertainment' side.

As far as the more expressive forms of the physical exercises are concerned, we can discern the following elements:

- 1) *Danduas* mime certain everyday activities such as sweeping the floor, sprinkling plants with water and sowing seeds.

2) Ten to fifteen *danduas* form a circle, standing with their arms around their neighbours; one of them sits inside the circle, holding a long bamboo stick with a red flag on top, which is waved over the bodies. Occasionally, in the more acrobatic groups, some *danduas* stand on top of the shoulders of those forming the bottom circle. These human circles are meant to depict Kali/Shiva temples. Two *danduas* sit outside the circle, one metre apart, as if they were guardian deities at the entrance.

3) Ten to fifteen *danudas* sit close to each other in a circle, forming a well.

4) *Danduas* form two rows consisting of ten to twenty on each side, sitting opposite to each other, so closely that their feet can touch and their arms can be laid upon the shoulders of the opponent. Some large pieces of cloth are spread out over these crouching rows, which are meant to depict a weaving loom.

5) Four *danduas* form a rectangle with their bodies by lying down in a criss-cross pattern with their faces towards the earth and touching the legs/feet of the other. Several of these rectangles, which are said to depict fields, may be joined.

6) Two or more pairs of *danduas*, holding sticks between them, run over and around these rectangles, driven by a priest hitting them on their backs with a stick, as if they were bullocks in front of a plough.

While the physical exercises of the 'pure and simple' category are performed by all the *danduas* of a group forming long rows of human bodies along the street or village square, physical exercises of the 'expressive' category are performed by just some of the *danduas*, and then immediately in front of the *prabha*. Hence, there is, for example, only one human circle forming a well, while the remaining *danduas* sit and watch. However, as far as I could make out, in each instance the actual performers are rotated, so that after thirteen days everyone will have performed several times in most exercises.

³ Cf. Marglin (1990).

All these physical exercises, no matter whether of the expressive or of the pure and simple kind, take place outside under the open sun at its hottest, for a period of two hours and more, thus putting great strains on the energy and physique of the participants. It is also for this reason that they count as punishments. The close physical contact between the *danduas* that is required in performing these exercises, can be seen as an expression of the egalitarian ethos of the dance. Within the community of performing *danduas*, notions of purity and impurity stemming from caste distinctions are extinguished. However, with regard to outside persons, animals, food and things (such as friends, dogs, meat, modern things), the need to avoid them, and even the danger of becoming polluted by them, have increased.

In all the physical exercises, but most obviously in the expressive ones, the bodies of individual *danduas* form larger bodies, constituting, as one might say in politico-legal terminology, 'corporations aggregate'. Hence, first the individual bodies of the *danduas* are made equal to each other, they are no longer distinguishing signs of different social, political or ritual status, for all *danduas* eat, wear and suffer the same. Then, all these anonymous bodies form larger composite corporations which basically manifest devotion: they lie in the dust, out in the sun, and are subjected to priestly orders, admonishments, corrections, ridicule and even mild beatings. All of these 'corporations aggregate' therefore physically express the *bhakti* ideal of loving surrender and *passio*, though one does so more obviously than the others, namely the temple configuration. This figure expresses the fact that with and in their bodies the *danduas* can construct a place of worship anywhere, at any time.

2.2. The pranks

The body figures of the *danduas* are more than mere *tableaux vivants*. This can be seen when we now turn our attention away from physical exercises as the first basic form of *dhuli dando* to the second basic form mentioned above, namely the pranks. These pranks take place on and next to the bodies of the *danduas*, arranged in the various forms mentioned above. Hence the bodies of the *danduas* form a sort of stage or decor against which theatrical performances in the form of pranks and comical interludes take place. All in all, we can identify six themes or kinds of prank, in which two social groups in particular, with their typical activities, are depicted and made fun of, namely Brahmins and farmers:

- 1) the temple prank
- 2) the well prank
- 3) the weaving prank
- 4) the ploughing prank
- 5) the farmer-and-his-wife-out-in-the-field prank
- 6) the 'call of *dhuli dando*'

This second basic form of *dhuli dando* has its forerunners in some of the exercises of the *danduas*, such as when they mime sowing seeds or sweeping the floor, though there are also some significant differences. The expressive acts of the *danduas* are carried out in a solemn mood and under the supervision of priestly assistants, while the pranks are performed in satirical ways, as farces with a lot of slapstick, improvisation, buffoonery

and even mild obscenities. Moreover, these pranks are performed, not by *danduas*, but by some of the priestly assistants who earlier supervised the *danduas*' exercises, so that there is also a change in personnel involved in going from the first basic form to the second. In prank no. 5 we even find actors, often members of lay or semi-professional theatre groups based in the village from which the Dando Nato group hails. These actors are made up as women, with all the expertise and props of female dressing necessary to make their disguise impressive and credible. Only the farmer, who plays an important role in this sketch, comes from the group of priestly assistants, while the background in this prank is provided by the bodies of the *danduas* lying on the ground as rectangular rice fields.

In these pranks, language becomes more important. In their exercises, *danduas* do not have any text to recite, apart from 'yes' or 'no' in response to priestly admonishments. They are sort of speechless, a trait in their character which is emphasized by the fact that in many sequences they hold a straw in their mouths, the function of which is explicitly connected with the *danduas*' obligation to remain silent. By contrast, the actors in the pranks have stories to tell and enact. The comic mood of their performances is strongly, though not solely, dependent on dialogue and funny word-play. There is no written and unalterable text which they have to rehearse, as when an actor in Western theatre plays his role. Rather, there are a number of stock characters, recurrent themes and dialogic situations, which seem to be traditional and well-known, and which by and large are brought on to the various stages in a similar vein. But there is a lot of improvisation, and it is these on-the-spot alterations, embellishments and spontaneous inspirations by the actors as they go along which determine whether they are found entertaining or not. However, it may not be possible always, or everywhere in the audience, to understand the verbal messages of the actors properly. The surroundings are often noisy ones, and the technological devices used—usually a microphone hanging over the actors' heads in the middle of the square or road—may be deficient, squeaking and cracking, or completely failing from time to time. Because of this, the actors also put a lot of emphasis on performing their plays with non-verbal elements, such as exaggerated gestures and lots of slapstick. Speaking is thus only one part of the theatrical performance, which, though no doubt important, is strongly dependent on, or even completely pushed aside, by body language.

Two aspects common to all the pranks are that there are usually two actors opposing, and dialoguing with, each other, and that these two stand in a hierarchical relationship. There is the Brahman priest and his subordinate priestly assistant, who argue about the proper way in which a certain *puja* should be conducted or about the terms of payment. Or we find the land-owning farmer who has a dispute with his servant about the amount of work the latter should be doing and the money due to him. Last but not least, we find a husband arguing with his wife about work, food and (indirectly) erotic matters. In addition to these pairs, other actors enter the scene, for example a village head, a learned Brahman or a sister-in-law, who want to settle the continuing disputes but soon get involved in the quarrel themselves.

Let me now give a brief description of the various pranks. In the temple prank, which is quite long compared to the others, namely around twenty minutes and more, the Brahman and his priestly assistant first raise the question as to how a temple for Kali/Siva (depicted by the *danduas* in the background) should be built, which material should be used, how much it should cost, and how long it would take to build it. With real water and mud, these two pretend to make repairs at the temple, i.e. at the bodies of the *danduas*, which

creates some laughter among the spectators. Once the temple has been completed, the two protagonists have an argument about how to consecrate it and conduct the daily *pūja* so as to get the maximum amount of money out of the devotees with the minimum amount of work. The various mocking scenes of this prank show the priests in a rather undignified light, pulling each others' ears, slapping their cheeks and having fist fights, so that the subordinate priest especially often falls into bursts of loud wailing and lamenting. During their disputes, there are also some obscenities, such as when the subordinate priest mimes cleaning his behind with consecrated temple water, or when he tells the Brahman to eat his stool because he is so mean. There are further rather blasphemous scenes depicting Brahman priests as greedy for the money of devotees and as cheating them rather than conducting serious and proper *pūjas*. Thus, for example, a mock *pūja* is enacted in which the priests themselves eat the bananas and coconuts, originally presented as gifts by devotees to the deities, with a voracious appetite. Or the actor-priests pretend to do some religiously potent *mudras* with their sacred threads, only to get completely entangled with their fingers; or they pretend to speak esoteric formulas or *mantras*, though everyone can hear that they are only talking gibberish.

All in all, this depiction of a Brahman habitus outdoes all the other caricatures, for example that of the farmer and his servant, in sharpness and obscenity. This may be surprising, since it means that the priests of the Dando Nato are apparently turning their own status group into an object of satirical ridicule. However, one has to remember that the priests in the Dando Nato are not Brahmans but members of low-ranking castes. Concretely, therefore, this caricature does not aim at priests and ritual practices as such, but rather at Brahmans and their ritualism, which for the lay devotee is often quite obscure and has to be paid for. It has been pointed out that in Dando Nato this ritualism and esoteric knowledge of professional Brahman priests is substituted by an inner devotion and love for the deity (*bhakti*), which any devotee can experience and use without the intervention of a professional priestly class. Apart from the anti-ritualistic and anti-Brahmanic emphasis, there is also an egalitarian ethos in this prank, as well as in all the others, for they all exaggerate, and thus demask and mock, social hierarchies and inequalities.

In the well prank, which is relatively short (seldom longer than ten minutes), several *danduas* form a well, sitting in a circle as indicated above. In front of this, the priest-actors, miming a master farmer and his servant, start a dispute about where and how to build a well and about who has the right to take water from it. At one place the servant is complaining about being exploited, until a village head joins in to settle their dispute. In this prank we encounter most clearly one aspect which is part of all the pranks: they are also moral or didactic plays in which important activities or institutions of village life are 'discussed' (though in popular and funny ways) regarding their proper use and/or the correct way of carrying them out. The technical aspects—in this prank, for example, the question of how to build a well—are thus integrally linked to various social and moral aspects, such as the question of who has access to the well or the fact, considered quite important by my informants, that the village headman, not the police, is called to settle the dispute.

In the weaving prank, which lasts about twenty minutes, the *danduas* form a weaving loom in the way described above. In front of or around this configuration of bodies, two or three priestly actors, miming priests, argue about the proper way of weaving. Every now and again, one of them goes to one or other of the squatting *danduas*, urging them,

with light touches of the stick, to sit in a more correct position. In one sequence, two priests stand opposite each other on each side of the rows forming a weaving loom, holding a stick across them, and walk up and down, moving the stick back and forth and thus also touching the *danduas*, as if the stick were the shuttle and they were weaving. In another sequence, an argument among the priests leads to the servant fleeing from the puffs of his master by crawling all the way through the two rows of *danduas* beneath the cloth, only to be given even more blows when he comes out at the other end. Once the weaving is completed, the cloth is taken off the heads and shoulders of the *danduas* and measured by the priests, who again use a stick for this activity, this time as if it were a yard-stick. There then arises a dispute about the price of the cloth, which is meant to have been produced as a gift for Kali. During this weaving prank, a lot of slapstick, fist fights as well as comically exaggerated wailing and lamenting occurs.

The prank of the ploughing of a field is another short prank, but one which merges seamlessly with the most important and longest prank of the farmer and his wife out in the field. The ploughing prank most aptly confirms Dash's characterization of the pranks during the dust-punishment phase of the dance of punishment as 'agricultural plays'.⁴ As pointed out above, *danduas* lying on the ground and forming rectangles meant to depict fields form the stage provided for this play. On these fields two, four or six *danduas*, always in pairs, mime bullocks attached to a plough being driven round and round by a priest-actor miming a farmer ploughing the field. Again two simple sticks are important props: one depicts the yoke of the plough to which the bullocks are attached, while the other is used as a driving stick by the farmer. The bullock part is in a sense the most exalted theatrical performance as far as the *danduas* are concerned, who otherwise only do physical exercises or form the bodily background for the action. The priest-actors, certainly pursue their histrionics to greater heights. At one point there is a dispute and fight between two farmers about the quality and price of one of the bullocks (the bullock *dandua* concerned smiles somewhat sheepishly in the course of this dispute over the strength of his body). Then there is some haggling regarding the question of how to raise the money for this animal, which may lead to the sponsor, or even the anthropologist, being approached for additional funding.

At yet another point, there is a mock *puja* in front of one of the bullocks as if it was a sacred cow or some other deity. Furthermore, while ploughing the servant suddenly breaks down, as if overcome by heat. Water is poured out over him until he is revived. Then the ploughing continues until the bullocks, full of sweat and dust, rejoin their colleagues, while the 'field *danduas*' remain lying on the ground. In those groups with a more knowledgeable priest, songs depicting the time of the monsoon are sung, and the episode in which Rama, Sita and Laxman leave the royal capital of Ayodhya for their forest exile is recited. All in all, the plough prank has erotic connotations, which is also emphasized by the fact that in Oriya the term for ploughing - *holo koriba* - is a metaphor for having sexual intercourse.

The mild and rather implicit erotic undertones of the ploughing prank are continued in the prank with the farmer and his wife out in the fields. Immediately after the bullocks left the field, some four or five women (or, rather, lay actors dressed as women) enter the scene. One of them is carrying a basket on her head containing food, another a brass vessel with water. They enter the stage in a single file, solemnly throwing rice on the ground (and the

⁴ See Dash (no date).

danduas) in front of them. Like this, they circumambulate the fields several times, singing and accompanied by music. Their way of walking is dance-like, and from time to time, when the musical rhythm becomes faster, these dance-like steps almost assume the form of a rather lascivious dance, like those from Hindi films. In their songs they report about their domestic tasks, such as smearing the floor with cow dung or cooking.

Then a longer episode begins. The women, i.e. the wife, sister-in-law and neighbours of the farmer, leave their houses in order to meet the farmer out in the fields at lunch time. To begin with they cannot find him and have to ask another farmer. 'As is the custom in Orissa, when asking, the wife does not mention her husband's name but inquires about 'my him' (*mooro tanko*). Finally, they find 'her him' sleeping in the shade of a tree. He is rudely woken up by a splash of water in his face. While he is shakily and sleepily standing on his feet, his wife scolds him for not working, until he becomes alert to the occasion and angrily asks why she had come. After this little domestic dispute some conciliatory gestures and words replace the angry ones: 'Why are you angry with me?', asks the wife. 'I have brought some tasty curry with me. Eat something and have the betel'. There is further teasing between husband and wife in which the other women, especially the sister-in-law (traditionally a person to joke with), take part. The wife then tries to persuade her husband to take some food, but he only starts to eat after some further teasing, urging and even forced feeding. In the accompanying songs and in the play itself are some slightly sexually allusive scenes. Finally the husband promises to take his wife on a shopping trip into town once the period of sowing and planting is over. Following this, the women help him with the farming work, weeding, ploughing, sowing and re-planting rice-seedlings.

All the pranks discussed so far represent social dramas in sense evoked by Turner (1982: Ch. 2). However, they are social dramas which have found their way back on to the stage and which are thus dramas in the proper theatrical sense, not just in the metaphorical sense of the term. The various disputes which the audience encounter are highly stylized. In them, I was assured, there are no concrete hints at actual members or events with respect to the village in which they are played. However, some spectators may come to associate the one or the other enacted dispute with persons or events from his/her neighbourhood, for, at least as stock types, these theatrical disputes and the characters being mocked in them are well known to everyone from village life. Ultimately, then, the audience is provided with a satirical mirror reflection of their own everyday lives. The pranks are comically exaggerated 'stories people tell themselves about themselves', to quote Geertz's famous phrase (cf. Geertz 1972).

Finally, there is a yet another, somewhat different kind of prank, the 'call of the *dhuli dando*'. This prank is usually enacted in the middle of the ploughing prank or during the out-in-the-field prank. It basically consists in an announcement made aloud by one of the priest-actors, usually the one who plays the foolish servant. He goes to the musicians and takes one of their drums back on to the stage. After some haggling and arguing with one or two of the other priest-actors, he starts to beat the drum with great verve, calling for the attention of all the persons present. Then he calls out his messages. Their contents were first dismissed by my research assistant as 'irrational phrases' which are not worth being written down or even translated. But when I insisted and convinced him that they might be important in a twisted way, it emerged that these phrases are addressed to women only and carry the following messages:

'The rice of Dando Kali is being sold!'

- 'Empty pots should not be placed in front of the house!'
- 'Wives should start their search for new husbands!'
- 'Widows should not moan their departed husbands!'
- 'Women with bad teeth should sit in front of their houses'
- 'Children should be made to weep'

Two or three more of such partly nonsensical, partly inauspicious, partly socially improper ways of behaviour are demanded in this announcement. Thereafter, the 'herald' is driven off the stage by a series of mild puffs and blows. In some cases, another actor takes the drum in his stead and makes announcements of precisely the opposite content.

2.3 Ritualized Sequences

As far as the third basic form of performance in the *dhuli dando* is concerned, four different kinds of ritualized sequence can be identified:

1. the *puja* in front of the sacred objects at the beginning of the *dhuli dando*
2. the *champapado-puja*
3. the chief priest walking up and down three/four times over the bodies of all the *danduas* lying on the ground side by side in one row
4. several wooden planks are laid on the back of some *danduas* lying as in 3, and coconuts are smashed on them in a *puja*-like sequence

While the *danduas* or the priestly assistants are the main actors in the physical exercises and pranks, in these four ritualized sequences of the *dhuli dando* the priests (as already mentioned, ideal-typically thirteen) come to the fore. During the two other basic forms, these priests either stay back and take a rest or, more often, sit in front of the sacred objects, accepting gifts from, and conferring blessings, on devotees, and conducting abbreviated versions of *puja*.

During the opening *puja*, which is reminiscent of the kind of *puja* conducted in orthodox Hindu temples, the chief priest and two or three of the other priests, plus all the *danduas* and numerous members of the neighbourhood, mainly women and children, assemble in front of the *prabha* and the other paraphernalia. There is much devotional singing and drumming, while one of the priests makes *tikas*, i.e., coloured marks of blessing on the devotees' foreheads, and hands out rice, flowers and turmeric. At one point the recipients throw these auspicious materials into the air in front of and on to the sacred objects with loud, cheerful cries of 'hula-huli', then going down to their knees and bowing deeply in front of Kali. While doing so, they collect up some of the things thrown at Kali before. Hence, the gifts to the goddess are somehow redistributed to the participants as more

highly valued *prasad*, i.e. as gifts blessed and enriched in worth by their contact with the divine.

All through this ceremony, which lasts about ten to fifteen minutes, garlands of flowers, are hung around the *prabha*, while the priests also receive bananas, coconuts, flowers, pieces of cloth and money handed to them on trays. During these proceedings, Kali is not placed with her back to the wall of the sponsor's house, as is the case during the remainder of the *dhuli dando*. Rather, her 'bearer' stands behind the *prabha* and holds it in his hands, rocking it smoothly backwards and forwards to the rhythm of the music. This senior priest is held fast by a junior priest standing behind him, for while moving the *prabha* he is in a trance-like state which becomes more and more uncontrollable the faster the music and the longer the *puja* lasts. It may even occasionally result in the priest becoming possessed by Kali and collapsing. Simultaneously, in front of the *prabha*, other younger priests and the *danduas* accompany the music with bundles of peacock feathers in their hands, which they rhythmically wave up and down. The chief priest does the same, but several times first touching the *prabha* and then the assembled devotees with his peacock feathers. This is thought to transfer part of the power or *sakti* of the goddess on to the blessed devotees. Every now and again, some of the participants bow down before Kali, and at the end of this sequence many lie down stretched out toward the goddess with hands folded.⁵

The second kind of ritualized sequence during the *dhuli dando* is the *champapado puja*, which takes place around in the middle of the *dhuli dando* sequence. *Champapado* is a round, snail-like stack of hay of approximately one and a half metres in diameter, formed of a rolled-up, thick rope of straw. In the morning of the first day of the dance of punishment, the outer, somewhat loose end of the *champapado* is ceremonially kindled. From then on, it is kept smouldering smoothly and should not be extinguished until the festive period is over. This fire is meant to be the fire of Brahma, the creator of the world, and is believed to have originally been lighted by Kali. From time to time during these thirteen days, and the *champapado puja* represents such an occasion, the smouldering straw is made to blaze.

The *champapado puja* lasts for around ten minutes. All through this time, the *danduas* lie in front of the sacred objects stretched out in the sand (as in the physical exercise pure and simple no. 1). Meanwhile the priest responsible for carrying the haystack and for keeping it burning, known as the *champabarua* or *champapado* bearer, kindles a small fire in front of the *prabha* with the smouldering end of the haystack. This fire is nourished with straw and small wooden logs. At its four corners are lit four earthen torches, sacred objects especially made for the dance and known as *dandos*. After this, the *champapado* is carried by its bearer, solemnly pointing its smouldering top (inclined upwards) towards the fire and the *prabha* for quite some time, while music is played and devotional songs sung. The priest then turns clockwise with the haystack, briefly pointing it towards the three other cardinal points of the circle, thus spreading smoke in all directions over the bystanders. Once the round has been completed, the rhythm of the music increases, and the priest

⁵ In many respects this open-air *puja* resembles the evening *puja* of the Dando Nato which takes place some four to five hours later. However, this *puja* known as *alati puja* usually takes place within the compounds of a temple, it is longer and more intense, and *always* leads to the possession of the *prabha* bearer and possibly others. Moreover, while Kali is revealed in all her beauty and ferocity in the evening *puja*, in the afternoon sequences of the Dance of Punishment, the painting of the six-armed blue goddess with a garland of human skulls around her head is covered by a large piece of cloth.

wildly swings the smouldering top of the *champapado* up and down, so that the movement of air sets the fire ablaze. All through these proceedings, women stand close-by with heads bowed and hands folded, while some of the priests, who are sitting in front of the sacred objects, accept gifts and offer them to Kali. Besides the usual bananas, coconuts or money donations, I also saw larger gifts being made on this occasion, such as fine *saris* and big red flags adorned with the sign of 'Om'.

The third kind of ritualized sequence during the *dhuli dando* consists in the chief priest or *pata dandua* walking over the bodies of the common *danduas* lying side by side in the dust. Hence, while we have already encountered various combinations of physical exercises and pranks, such as when the priestly assistants perform the ploughing prank (prank no. 4) on top of the *danduas* forming rectangles (expressive physical exercise no. 5), this ritualized sequence represents a fine example of the combination of a physical exercise (exercise pure and simple no. 1) with a ritualized sequence. The walking ritual, which lasts about ten to fifteen minutes, marks the beginning of the end of *dhuli dando* (which is followed by and indeed smoothly merges with the ritualized sequence no. 4). After all the physical exercises have been carried out, all the pranks played and the two *pujas* conducted, the *danduas* assemble once again as a whole and lie down stretched out and with their faces toward the earth. This is carefully supervised by the priestly assistants, for this time they should lie especially neat and close to one another. In the case of large groups, the resulting row of bodies may be quite long, stretching out to thirty metres and even more.

While this 'corporation aggregate' is being completed, the spectators get to their feet. Some leave the place of proceedings, others remain watching, and yet others start to walk along the row of bodies, bowing and touching the feet of the *danduas* with their hands, and then touching their faces with their palms. Similar gestures are known from *puja* sessions, when devotees briefly hold their hands over camphor flames and then to their faces, and they remind us of the exalted way of the respectful greeting, when one person (a subordinate) briefly touches the feet of another (a superior). These similarities, and the solemn mood in which the devotees touch the feet of the *danduas*, lead to the conclusion that the (feet of the) *danduas* contain a sacred potency or *shakti*, to which respect is paid and which these persons seek to come into contact with. Moreover, as this gesture towards the *danduas* is only enacted at the end of the *dhuli dando*, it must be assumed that the *danduas*' potency has come to them in the course of, and as a result of, partaking in the dust punishment.

The priest walking over the bodies of the *danduas* may also be interpreted as a ritual concerned with imbuing with and soaking up *shakti*. I deliberately leave this point regarding the question of where the *shakti* goes to or comes from vague: from the priest to the *danduas* or vice versa. For, on the one hand, we have already seen that the *danduas* are repositories of divine energy or force. On the other hand, the chief priest, generally and throughout this festival and beyond, is considered someone with special closeness to and elective sympathy with the goddess. His being a repository of divine energy is also due, it is said, to the fact that he is especially strict in his observances and fasts, not only during the period of the Dance of Punishment but before and after it as well. As was mentioned at the beginning of this paper, at several stages of the Dando Nato he becomes possessed by the goddess, who even speaks out of him on these occasions. Hence, while there is no doubt that, from the actors' point of view, some kind of a transfer of *shakti* takes place during the walking ritual, the direction of transfer is not as clear as when the

devotees touch the *danduas*' feet. Possibly, one should regard the transfer of *shakti* during the walking ritual as going in both directions and consider it as a more general charging with an energetic, divine force.

When he is slowly walking over the *danduas*, carefully placing his bare feet on their lower backs, the *pata dandua*'s two hands are held by junior priests who walk alongside him on the ground. His shaky walk is supported by these assistants so that he does not stumble or fall, which is all the more necessary since he appears to be in a trance-like state. Other priests meanwhile see to it that the *danduas* correct their postures should these be found deficient, for example if the *danduas* do not fold their hands properly or if they cross their legs. In this way, the chief priest walks up and down three or four times, which may take up to fifteen minutes and more, depending on the number of *danduas* he has to cross. Pieces of cloth are spread over some of the *danduas* lying in the middle of this row, on to which the spectators throw coins. Spectators also continue to touch the *danduas*' feet while this walking ritual is going on. Some fortunate ones may even be touched by the peacock feathers which the chief priest holds in his right hand.

The *danduas* in the middle, ideal-typically thirteen, also form the centre of the fourth and final ritualized sequence of the dust punishment, namely the coconut *puja*. During this climax to the *dhuli dando*, not cloth but wooden planks are laid over the backs of the *danduas*. While many spectators step in front of the *prabha* with gifts which priests present to the deities in a shortened version of *puja*, other priests take coconuts and smash them on these wooden planks or on the earth immediately in front of the *danduas*. Sometimes this takes some effort, and several forceful beatings have to be made (making one concerned about the backs of the *danduas* lying underneath the planks). When the coconut has finally been cracked, its milk flows over the bodies of the *danduas* and in front of their heads into the earth.

The coconut ritual might be interpreted as a form of *puja* in which the gift is transformed into a sacrifice. Or one might say that the sacrificial side of gift-giving, which is inherent in all *puja* gifts, is especially emphasized. While the opening *puja* of the *dhuli dando* is enacted by the priests and *danduas* standing, for this final *puja* the *danduas* lie down on the earth. While the first *puja* reminds us of a wedding ceremony, the coconut ritual makes references to a cremation in one of its main elements, namely the smashing of the deceased's skull. In line with the findings of Parry (1990: ch. 5) regarding the symbolism of funerary ceremonies, one could say that the *danduas* themselves or, rather, their lives are the real and essential sacrificial gifts in this *puja*.

4. From Ritual to Theatre and Back

At this stage of my argument, I want to re-shuffle the individual performative elements, which, so far, I have detached from their actual contexts and classified into the three major groups of physical exercises, pranks and ritualized sequences in accordance with my own analytical interests and descriptive requirements. Now, however, we have to ask how these various elements are actually combined in the *dhuli dando* when it is enacted out there in the streets and squares of southern Orissa.

By and large, disregarding minor variations, omissions or repetitions, the actual sequence of events appears as follows:

1. opening *puja*

2. *danduas* stand in front of sacred objects with hands folded and heads bowed
3. *danduas* lie stretched out in the dust with faces towards the earth
4. *danduas* lift their right legs and hold them with their right arms, while simultaneously grasping their noses with their left hands and hopping
5. *danduas* dance, sing and clap their hands
6. *danduas* listen to the various admonishments of the priests
7. as 3, but this time with faces turned towards the sun
8. *danduas* with raised heads and folded hands towards the sun
9. *danduas* mime sowing
10. as 2
11. *danduas* mime sweeping
12. as 5
13. as 6
14. *danduas* mime planting and watering plants
15. as 2 and 10
16. *danduas* lie on the ground, all rolling backwards and forwards
17. as 5 and 12
18. as 6 and 13
19. one of the *danduas* rolls over the others who lie on the ground
20. *danduas* roll in pairs
21. as 5, 12 and 17
22. as 6, 13 and 18
23. *champapado puja*
24. temple prank (the temple is represented by the bodies of the *danduas*, i.e., the prank is accompanied by a physical exercise of the expressive kind)
25. as 2, 10 and 15

26. well prank (the well is represented by the bodies of the *danduas* ...)
27. as 5, 12, 17 and 21
28. as 2, 10, 15 and 25
29. weaving prank (the weaving loom is represented by ...)
30. as 5, 12, 17, 21 and 27
31. as 2, 10, 15, 25 and 28
32. as 6, 13, 18 and 22
33. ploughing prank (the rice fields and bullocks are represented by ...)
34. call of *dhuli dando*
35. farmer-and-wife-out-in-the-field prank (field represented by ...)
36. walking ritual (over the bodies of the *danduas* lying as in 3)
37. coconut ritual (on and in front of the bodies of the *danduas* as in 3)

Combining this sequence of the actual performance with the analytical observations made before, we can arrive at some statements concerning the internal structure and dynamics of the *dhuli dando*, which can be divided into two main parts. The first, which includes elements 2 to 22, mainly consists of physical exercises. The second part, made up of elements 24-35, is dominated by various pranks, each of which is opened or closed by ritualized sequences or physical exercises, numbers 2, 3, 5 and 6 being especially common. All through the *dhuli dando* the *danduas* and priest bow in front of the *prabha* and the other sacred objects, even though this is sometimes done only cursorily and therefore has not always been mentioned here. As regards the question of duration, these two parts are not equal; the first part lasts up to half an hour only, while the second is more extended, lasting up to one and a half hours.

The overall structure presented so far reveals something about the dynamic development of 'theatricality' within the *dhuli dando* sequence of the Dando Nato.⁶ It can be seen that physical exercises of the pure and simple kind, where there is comparatively little theatricality, are followed by the more mimetic physical exercises of an expressive kind, like miming sowing, sweeping, planting, or forming bodily configurations. Thereafter,

⁶ I here use the term 'theatricality' in the wider sense of the term which reaches beyond the framework of the theatre as an institution and a form of art. In this wider sense, theatricality is a general anthropological category, describing man's constant creative construction and transformation of the perceived and experienced cultural world. Theatricality, in this view, underlies all cultural processes and all social domains, including politics, ritual, the everyday, and of course also art. On this, see Fischer-Lichte (1998).

upon or in front of these 'corporeal stages' of temple, well, weaving loom and rice fields, we find the enactment of the respective pranks, up to the farmer-and-his-wife-out-in-the-field prank which represents the theatrical climax of the *dhuli dando*. This development is accompanied by a move from pure body language to spoken and sung texts: the amount of spoken text is smallest in the physical exercises, being restricted to standard admonishments by the priests and 'yes' or 'no' answers from the *danduas*, and it is largest in the final prank, where they even take the form of poetical songs.

As concerns the protagonists in the various sequences of the *dhuli dando*, they also change, as has been indicated before, with this gradually increasing theatricality. Initially, it is the *danduas* who are at the centre of activities. The main actors then are some of the priestly assistants, who initially only supervise the physical exercises of the *danduas*, but in the second half of the *dhuli dando* turn into actors in the pranks. Lay actors of the village, who otherwise do not function as priestly assistants or in other capacities, assume the main roles during the final prank. The increase in theatricality is also expressed in the use of costumes and props. The *danduas* only wear loin clothes or *dhotis*, occasionally holding a straw in their mouth. The priests and their assistants wear *dhotis* too, but they also wear T-shirts or even proper shirts, and around their heads they fasten saris like a turban for protection against the burning sun. Some of the more daring priestly assistants break the colour code expected for *danduas* (which usually extends through all yellowish and reddish tones) by wearing blue or other colours. One or other of the priestly assistants, when acting in a prank, may even wear sunglasses. One main item in the histrionics of the priestly assistants-turned-to-actors is a longish, thin bamboo stick, which they use mainly as such, that is, as a stick or *dando* to (mildly) discipline the *danduas* during their physical exercises. But these sticks can also assume other 'roles' during the pranks, such as representing a weaving shuttle or the yoke of a plough. Finally, the lay actors in the farmer prank play the role of women, wearing women's dresses, make-up and jewellery. They thus exhibit the highest degree of costuming and theatricality.

As far as the audience is concerned, the number of spectators varies according to the size of the local community or the village in which the *dhuli dando* takes place, but also according to the popularity of the group. In cities like Berhampur as well as in a number of other larger towns or villages, there may be several competing groups at any one time or following each other during the thirteen-day period, so that spectators may choose which performance to attend. Usually the cross-roads, squares and roads are filled with people of all ages and sexes. Only during the *pujas*, do women dominate in numbers. While the *dhuli dando* takes place, it may happen that people simply pass by, occasionally pushing bikes or scooters, or that they stop briefly in order to watch for a while or to talk to a neighbour. Among those who have decided to stay put during the whole *dhuli dando* sequence, not a few might decide at one point to get some betel or a drink, or to cross the street in order to find a better place or to greet a friend. Others just step on to the scene in order to offer gifts for a *puja* in front of the Kali painting, leaving again after this has been done. *Danduas* can also be regarded as spectators, for especially among the larger groups only a fraction of them is involved in the individual pranks or expressive physical exercises. Usually only the physical exercises pure and simple are performed by all the *danduas*. When not directly performing, they sit close by as interested spectators cherishing the silly pranks or simply relaxing. One of my informants even claimed that the *raison d'être* of the pranks is exactly that they provide an opportunity for most of the *danduas* to have a rest. All in all, then, the spectators of a *dhuli dando* are quite lively,

mobile and, on occasion, restless as compared to Western theatre audiences, and the border between audience and spectators is not clear-cut.

In between the two main parts, separating and joining them, stands the *champapado puja* (element 23), which lasts about ten minutes. Moreover, the *dhuli dando* is opened and closed by *pujas* (elements 1, 36 and 37), which last approximately fifteen, fifteen and five minutes respectively. As the beginning, middle and end of the *dhuli dando* are thus 'framed' by acts which I have called 'ritualized', there is a strong case for arguing that the *dhuli dando* as such is a ritual. Not only is the wider context in which it takes place, the religious festival of the Dando Nato, essentially ritual in character, but also the framing of the dust punishment sequence itself clearly marks it as a ritual. There are also many elements within this ritual framework which are ritualistic in character: many of the physical exercises are easily transformed into, and to be understood as, devote gestures; all through the *dhuli dando* people step in front of the *prabha* and the other sacred objects to show reverence and/or offer gifts; the priests and *danduas* become increasingly charged with divine energy or *shakti*, which may even be transmitted onto the spectators when they touch the *danduas'* feet or when they are touched by the priests' peacock feathers or sticks; instances of possession or trance by priests, *danduas* and spectators may occur during the opening and closing *pujas*; the 'play-ground' and the space in front of the sacred objects should only be trodden upon in bare feet. The assumption of a ritual nature of the *dhuli dando* also applies if one places the spectators, not the actors, at the centre of interpretation. Certainly, most of the spectators only come to be entertained, without directly participating in any of the more ritualized actions. But this being entertained alone marks their watching the *dhuli dando* as ritual in character. For, according to Hindu notions of religiosity, in which the viewing or *darshana* of gods constitutes one central element, merely watching a religiously framed entertainment, especially if it takes place in a *bhakti* context, is thought to confer blessings.

How, then, is the relationship between ritual and theatre in the context of the *dhuli dando* to be understood? On the one hand, we have seen that the dust punishment is characterized by a strong element of what we would call theatre, prank, play-acting, and histrionics. This emphasis on theatricality is also expressed in matters of time: pranks and physical exercises take up three times as much time as rituals. But, we have also seen that the ritualized elements, short as they may be in comparison to the theatrical elements, occupy the most important places of the whole and frame it. The more theatrical elements of the *dhuli dando* are therefore ultimately subordinate to, and encompassed by, the ritual elements, and thus to be regarded themselves as ultimately being ritualistic in character.

This latter conclusion of the basic ritualistic character of the theatrical elements also has to be drawn, unless one wants to atomize the *dhuli dando* into its elements and regard the pranks and physical exercises as separate phenomena which exist detached from the other elements and have nothing to do with them. Some such an atomization might have been suggested in the earlier part of this paper, but this was done for analytical reasons alone. Looking at the sum total of elements, however, we see that the sum is more than its parts, and in this sum ritual puts its stamp upon theatre. Quite obviously, in the dramaturgy of the *dhuli dando* there is a close link and interaction between the various elements of all the categories. These interconnections go further than simply representing an encompassment of the theatrical by the ritual, for influences go in both directions. Many ritual elements are also played and thus characterized by a high degree of theatricality, such as the *champapado puja* with its ostentative bowing in all four directions and its

producing a lot of holy smoke. On the other hand, many of the more theatrical elements can easily turn into, or be regarded as, ritualistic ones, such as the notion that rolling in the dust is also a fertility rite. Moreover, some of the pranks, especially those that make fun of Brahman priests, could be interpreted as *bhakti*-oriented rites of rebellion. Hence, in their multivalent characters and close interconnectedness, ritualistic and theatrical elements mutually define and reinforce each other: the ritual elements are as necessary for the understanding and enjoyment of the more entertaining elements of the *dhuli dando* as these theatrical elements are necessary for supplementing, highlighting and empowering the ritual elements.

Therefore, what is a distinguishing sign of the cultural performance discussed here is not that, in it, theatre and ritual somehow fall into one, while, by comparison, they are clearly distinguished from each other in Western thought and practice. In my observations of Orissan cultural performances like Dando Nato, Durga Puja or Prahlado Nato, and in conversations with Oriyas on the topic, I reached the impression that in the indigenous view of things too, there is a rather clear understanding of what is theatre and what is ritual, and that this understanding is not significantly different from our own 'commonsense' notions concerning these genres. What is different in Orissa, however, is the notion, more expressed in practice than in words or thought, that ritual and theatre go together, without corrupting or in other ways hampering or working against each other. They are different, but not separate genres, which support and complement each other. And this is different to Western notions of theatre and ritual in the aftermath of late medieval, early modern Protestant assaults on all forms of play and theatre, which tended to view these as being synonymous with deceit and evil, belonging to the realm of Satan. In the context of Orissan religiosity, play-acting does not detract from any of the serious, solemn, religious intentions of the actors or spectators. In fact, even the goddesses and gods like to play and act; they themselves like to disguise themselves and to perform *lila*—plays, sports, games, theatre—and they enjoy it if and when human beings perform *lila* for them.

Ultimately, therefore, it is a constant and complex interplay between theatre and ritual that sets the dynamic process of the *dhuli dando* into motion. Only the devotional mood and ritual practices give the slapstick and pranks their meaning and vitality. And even the most blasphemous pranks and silliest slapstick are there, not simply to entertain or bring comic relief, they are absolutely necessary and vital in promoting the ritual process.⁷ As has been indicated, the beginning of this process is a ritual that recalls a wedding in its symbolism, while its end carries with it the symbolism of smashing the deceased's head at a funeral ceremony. What we have in between is life—the life of a farming community, with its various agricultural occupations as well as its hardships and frustrations, but also enjoyments. It is a life in dust, but the earth which produces this dust also produces fertility in man, animals and plants, thus ensuring a good life and well-being, if one is willing to accept the dust, roll in it and even swallow it.

⁷ A similar argument is put forward by Handelman (1981) in his discussion of the ritual clown.

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OCCUPATIONAL SHIFT OF KATKARI : A PRIMITIVE TRIBE OF MAHARASHTRA

Renuka Pattnaik

Abstract :

Population dynamics forms the focus of discussion in the present paper particularly the aspect related to seasonal spatial mobility brought about by changes in livelihood strategies. This field of study has enormous significance to the geographer as it succinctly reflects the change in the state of the environment on one hand, while at the same time revealing how simpler societies adopt different strategies suited to securing its livelihood in a greatly modified habitat. This is particularly significant in the case of primitive groups who have still retained intimate links with the natural environment, as one observes in the case of the Katkaris, a primitive tribe in the Sahyadri region of the Western Ghats of Maharashtra.

Introduction :

Maharashtra's tribal population number 789-37 lakhs is concentrated in two main zones : the Western Sahyadrian belt and the North-eastern Gondwan region. A total of 47 major tribes have been enumerated in the State, but only two major tribal groups, associated with the two core areas of tribal population in Maharashtra are the Bhils in the Western Ghats and the Gonds in North-eastern region. In the present paper with the help of a micro-level study of a single village, attention is largely focussed on one primitive tribe, the Katkari, who mainly inhabit the districts of Sahyadris in the Western Ghats. Their mobility patterns have been traced over time and in space, so as to provide certain clues to the economic behaviour of primitive tribal groups in particular ecological settings. The temporal changes in occupations, the result of changes in the natural environment, it is assumed will provide a satisfactory explanation for spatial variations of mobility among primitive groups. Even from a cursory glance at the state of environment readily suggests that the major forces which may have prompted the modifications in livelihood strategies are associated with a general depletion of natural resources particularly forest resources which greatly affect the sustainability of the habitat.

To start with, the present study hypothesises that spatial mobility patterns of primitive tribes are a direct reflection of their survival strategies in a given natural environment. Further it is assumed that these movements vary both in time and space and also with respect to individual tribe and is a function of economic and social factors operating in a particular ecological setting. Citing the example of one of the most primitive tribes of Maharashtra, the Katkaris occupational change or, shift and related seasonal movements within the physical constraints of the landscape in tribal areas have been studied. In other words, what has been attempted here is to lay bare the processes leading to occupational change, the manner in which it occurs and initiates mobility in a tribal group for deriving bare subsistence, thereby leading to spatial dislocation. It is also noted that such occupational change has an important bearing upon the life style of migrants on the one hand as also upon the socio-economic situation of the people of the immigrating area.

Keeping this above considerations as core concerns, the present paper draws attention to the followings :

- (i) a historical perspective of the primitive tribes of Maharashtra, for providing the necessary background.
- (ii) an understanding of the various forms of occupational shifts and their categorisation.
- (iii) to prepare a systematic model of occupational shifts isolating the major stages of change.

The Case Study Village :

Kothimbe the village under consideration for micro level analysis falls in the Raigarh district which forms part of the Konkan coastal lowland of Maharashtra. The topography is undulating due to the presence of many spurs projecting from the Western Ghats. The area is traversed by numerous rivulets emanating from the Sahyadris and merging into the Arabian Sea, after a short journey. Due to its coastal location, Raigarh district is characterised by a mild, warm and humid climate, typical of the Western Coastal lowlands in India. The area is covered by "Deccan Trap", is the process of laterisation has progressed far in this area of high rainfall, rendering the soil highly porous due to which water percolates in the lower horizons and this causes shortage of water in summer. On the hill slopes, the soil is reddish in colour, highly acidic and is used for fodder crops.

Historical Perspective of the Tribe -Katkari :

The most primitive tribe identified in this area is the Katkari, or Kothadi, the name having originated from the word "katha" (Catechu) has their original and traditional occupation was of distilling Katha from the Accassia Catechu tree. They are believed to be the original inhabitants of Athavisi, the present district of Surat in Gujarat. They are supposed to have entered Maharashtra from the North, from where they spread to the districts of Thane, Raigarh and some parts of Pune, whereas N. N. Vyas says "the Kathadis were brought to Rajasthan by Borha Forest contractors to work as forest labourers for making Katha from Kher trees". At first only the males came and worked in the Kher forests and returned to their native place after the Katha season was over. This process of seasonal migration was quite inconvenient and lumbering. So many Kathodi families finally migrated to Rajasthan.

The condition of the Kathodies in the Kher forest became precarious when the forests were depleted and this led to a fierce struggle for existence. It is widely believed by many that in the absence of an alternative source of livelihood the Katkaris had decided to return to their native place in Maharashtra.

Katkaris :

There are two sub-groups among Kotharis : the Son Katkari and Dhor Katkari. The Kathadi or, Katkari including Dhor Katkari and Son Katkari were first notified as a Scheduled Tribe against the name Kathodi or, Katkari under the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) order, 1950. Dhor Katkari are considered inferior to Son Katkari as they eat beef. Their peculiar dialect contains certain words common among the Bhils which is the major tribe in the Sahyadris. A number of their customs and other characteristics point to a Bhil origin "Stephen Fuchs calls them a sub-section of Bhils." Now a days they speak a dialect of Marathi. In appearance they are dark and slim like the other forest tribes in the area. Their chief object of worship is the 'Wagh Deo', i.e., Tiger God, 'Chaid Deo' and 'Masoba'. But now they claim to worship all other Hindu Gods in addition to their other animistic beliefs.

Occupational Shift Among the Katkaris : An Overview :

The analysis in the foregoing is based entirely on the interviews of 45 families from village Kothimbe. The livelihood strategies which the Katkaris have adopted to sustain themselves have been identified. Katkaris generally have little or no land and to derive a constant source of income, they are compelled to lead a nomadic way of life are virtually geared to an occupation which the natural environment supports. Their various occupations do not provide adequate substance throughout the year, with the result one finds hardly any stability in their earnings. The various earnings from different reveals their restlessness to cope with the minimum requirements for existence.

The economy of the Katkari is mainly based on forest labour and forest produce. Their primary occupation was to prepare 'Katha', while gathering and selling of forest produce. The collection of

forest produce provides them subsidiary food as well as a source of income. Regular hunting and gathering which was the main economic activity formerly has considerably declined with the decline of forest resources. At the same time changes in forest policies restricted their free handling of forests and its produce. As a result, this landless primitive tribe Katkari has displayed distinct changes in their original occupation. The alternative subsistence strategies adopted to cope with the greatly modified habitat has been the focus of this paper.

Prior to the deterioration of forests and restriction on forest resource utilisation the primitive Katkari tribes migrated to the forests of Western Udaipur in Rajasthan for distilling *Accassia catechu* for making 'Katha' from Kher trees. With the passage of time as the forests in the area depleted the Katkaris were worst affected and had no resource but to return to their native place in Maharashtra and give up making 'Katha' altogether. They switched over to making charcoal instead as an alternative source of livelihood. So most of the Katkari families now moved to Ratnagiri District in Maharashtra for making of charcoal. For this the Katkari households received some advance during the rainy season as this was the most difficult period to tide over since most food supplies get exhausted. The understanding was that the Katkari families will work in the kilns operated by the party that provides them with the advance. All accounts were generally settled by the end of season in May, when the work is terminated just before the beginning of rains in June. The Katkari used to seasonally move from the uplands to the Konkan plains to make charcoal from Diwali onwards, till the beginning of rainy season, i.e. from the month of November to the end of May, after which they returned to their native place during the rainy season to work mostly as agricultural labourers. With the new forest act the Government's policy banned making of charcoal as it requires felling of trees which leads to deforestation and environmental degradation, disturbing the fragile.

The total dependence of the tribals in general and the Katkaris in particular on forests to satisfy their economic, social and religious needs continued unabated until the later half of the nineteenth century. With the construction of railways, roads and with the introduction of rapid means of communications, forest produce and forest wealth could be transported to distant places quickly. The forests then became an important resources, a valuable source of revenue to the States. The precarious imbalance between the tribals and forests is the result of over-exploitation of forests in the past by tribals, through the middlemen and contractors and with the phenomenal growth of population, the forest resources became even more scare and rapidly deteriorated. The Government had vested interest in collecting revenue and so allowed the contractors to over exploit forest resources and indulge in a number of malpractices in connivance with petty officials. Thus the destruction of forest land was completed within a short period leaving the tribals landless and forestless—in short resourceless. The Katkaris were the worst but, not only they were very primitive but possessed no land and with no permanent source of income they were forced to move from place to place to different parts of the taluka and district for different types of wage labour on a daily as well as seasonal basis. Primary data collected from village Kothimbe in Karjat taluka in Raigarh District shows occupationwise distribution of families.

Table showing sources of income for the Katkari Tribe

Tribe	No. of families		Source of Income					
			1	2	3	4	5	6
Katkari	45	No.	42	42	1	2	1	3
		%	93	93	2	4	2	7

Note—The total percentage does not add up to 100 as the same individual is engaged in more than one occupation at different times of the year, showing seasonality in occupational structure.

1. Agricultural labourer
2. Different types of daily wages
3. Sharing cultivation
4. Agriculture having own land
5. Service
6. Goat and Cattle keeping

From the above table it is seen that the economy of the Katkaris shows heavy dependence on daily wage, agricultural labour, supplemented by gathering and selling of forest produce whenever available. Their primary occupation however depends upon the locality where they live. For example, where the village is in the more remote, interior places in forested areas their primary occupation is invariably linked to gathering and selling of forest produce, agricultural labour belong the subsidiary occupation. Likewise in the villages which are situated by the road side the Katkaris depend on daily wage labour especially agricultural labour.

Faced with different problems created by changes in forest laws, Government policies, deterioration of forests and also due to exploitation by contractors the Katkaris gave up their traditional occupation of making 'Katha'. Next they had to abandon the preparation of charcoal due to restrictions. Hence out of a total of 45 families, 42 Katkari families (93 per cent) earn their livelihood mainly as agricultural labour and at the same time they engage in other activities like daily wage in different seasons among which brick laying is a predominant activity. Brick laying leads seasonal migration to different urban places. This movement usually begins from the month of November lasting up to the end of May. In case of brick laying they do not have any specific or, predetermined place to move but the contractors generally hire them on daily wage basis. In some places payment is according to the number of bricks layed per day (for example Rs. 60 for 1,000 bricks). This payment is not per head but per family. In rainy season most Katkaris also work as agriculture labourers in the fields of other land owners, those who need extra labour for weeding and harvesting on the basis of a daily wage of Rs. 25 for a male worker and Rs. 20 for a female worker.

Katkaris also hunt fish, rabbits and collect herbs, wild fruits and roots to supplement their diet.

Conclusion :

Katkaris as a tribe are considered one of the most primitive tribes in Maharashtra. They are highly localised on the district of Raigarh and Thane. Majority of them are landless and with the depletion of forest resources they have switched over to wage labour particularly in agriculture. Though they live in permanent settlements, they are seasonally mobile since the environment does not provide them with year long subsistence. A spatio—temporal model of their mobility pattern is visualized in five stages, associated with their stage of socio-economic evolution.

MODEL SHOWING FIVE DISTINCT PHASES OF TRIBAL ECONOMY AND MOBILITY PATTERN

Stage	Time Period	Mobility Pattern	Economy	State of the Environment
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
I	Up to late 19th century.	Unspecified Random constant movement.	Hunting, Gathering catechu from Khair trees.	Forested

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
I	Early 20th century.	Nomadic. No permanent settlement. specific seasonal mobility due to permanency in settlement.	Hunting, Gathering, Fishing, Agrl. labour, Daily wage labour, Charcoal making.	Forested
III	Mid 20th century.	Seasonal movement is predominantly in rural areas.	Wage Labour in agriculture, construction brick making, road work etc.	Depleting forest resources.
IV	1960—1980	Seasonal movement to rural and urban areas.	Agrl. labour or labour work in urban areas.	Degraded environment.
V	1980 onwards from tribe to ward caste.	Permanent movement to urban areas for jobs in factories or Govt. industries.	Rural tribes work as Agrl. labour, Urban tribes in industry or administration.	Depleted

The above five stage clearly shows that the Katharis like the rest of the tribals are moving from tribe to caste along a continuum and their peasantisation is progressing rapidly in the case of the Katkaris.

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ISSUES IN TRIBAL AND FOREST DEVELOPMENT : AN OVERVIEW FROM ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

K. Dash

Since time immemorial forests have played a vital role in the socio-economic and cultural life of the tribal people in India. The tribal communities in India largely occupy the forest regions where, for a long period, they have lived in isolation from the mainstream of national life, but in harmony with the nature. As such, it is a fact that the tribals and forests are inseparable. Forests occupy Central position in tribal economy. Tribals and forests have been co-existing with mutual benefit developing a symbiotic relationship with each other.

Forests also plays a pivotal role in the tribal areas with their employment generation potential. The forest provide the tribals food and shelter in the form of fruits, roots, fire-wood, gums, dyes, fodder, firewood, herbal, medicine, ornaments and other material objects. They get direct benefit from the forest for day-to day living.

Tribal people have abundant self respect and are conscious of preserving their social and cultural identity. They are simple, sincere, innocent, colourful, hospitable and lively. Their basic needs of life are food, shelter and clothing. On account of various pressures exerted on them, they retreated into forests and hill tracts several centuries ago.

Tribals traditionally collect many items of daily use from the forests which are necessary for their day to day sustenance. The tribals have already been sentimentally attached to the forest and considered forest to be a nature's gift. The problem of forest conservation and protection can not be separated from the lives of local tribal population. The primitive hunting and gathering tribal community are numerically very small. But the survival of these tribal communities is dependant on minor forest produce like Mahua flowers, sal seeds, sal and Kendu leaves, edible roots, bamboo and fruits etc. In brief they depend entirely on the natural resources existing within their limits of survival, with the evolutionary sequence on time continuum, the increase in the human population, consumeric market, industrial growth and other related factors have resulted ruthless exploitation of the natural resources resulting to the forest degradation and environmental problems.

Now-a-days enactment of several laws and imposition of it on the people like administrative ban on the collection of forest produces has resulted in break down of the traditional economic pattern among the tribals. The tribal communities are on adaptation to the new economic pattern within the limits of Government policies and existing environmental conditions. This change from traditional economic pattern is also leading towards a change in their socio-cultural life.

In this paper an approach has been made on focussing strategies and methods included in the forest and tribal policies and acts and which are to be needed to include for the parallel development of inseparable tribals and forests.

India's forest cover has been put at 19.52 per cent of the total land and which is 329 million hectares. At the time of attaining Independence, about 22 per cent of the country's area was having forests according to National Remote Sensing Agency, out of the 19.52 per cent green cover, over 8 per cent form open forests and only 1.10 per cent comprises coffee plantations at present.

Forest come to assume the central position in the life of tribals. They are capable enough to exert considerable influence on the life of tribals. So, it is pertinent to indicate a brief summary of the National Forest Policy which has radically affected the relationship between the tribals and the forests.

The first national forest policy of India was proclaimed by the Maurya King, Ashoka in his famous rock edict near Bhubaneswar of Orissa where he assured the forest dwellers about his concern for their welfare.

During the middle ages the forest dwellers more generally paid tribute to the paramount powers. Only in limited areas there were incipient trends of tributes being converted into tenant. This process

was consolidated in much larger areas during the colonial rule. Moreover, in the form of reserve forests state sponsored capitalism was imposed on primitive mode of production in the forests.

The colonial administration realised the commercial value of forests and began to use them as source of revenue and in the process tried to regulate the rights of the forest dwellers over forests.

In 1855, a memorandum providing the guidelines restricting the rights of forest dwellers was issued and the first act to give effect to the rules for the management and preservation of governments forests was passed in 1865. The major objectives of the act was to establish Government's control over forests. A more comprehensive act, Indian Forest Act of 1878 classified forests into (1) Reserved Forests (2) Protected forests and (3) Village forests. Certain acts like trespass and pasturing of cattle was prohibited in the reserved forests. The local governments were given rights to notify any forest or land as protected forest after ascertaining the nature and extend of rights of government and of private persons over the forest land or waste land.

Faced with evident resistance, the forest policy of 1894, the British Government accepted the prevalence of certain rights of the tribal communities what were otherwise claimed as state owned forests. But even then, wherever it was politically possible or operationally feasible, rights were encroached upon. The comprehensive Indian forest act come in 1927 which contained all the major provisions of the earlier act. The government of India Act 1935, passed by the British Parliament created provincial legislatures and the subject of forest was included in the provincial list under this Act. Thereafter, several provinces made their own laws to regulate forests and the rights and privileges of forest dwellers over forest land and produce. The British forest policy was mainly used on commercial interest and it aimed at supplying timber and other forest resources to colonial forest based industries.

After India obtained freedom, the national forest policy was redefined in 1952 while the traditional rights in forests here converted into concessions, a number of fundamental rights were conferred by the Constitution. But market orientation in respect of forest products continued without going on for commensurated investment for forestry regeneration and production. As in the colonial period, after independence also, whatever little investment was made, was wholly for the development of commercial forestry, no investment was made to maintain not to say augment the supply of forest products. On the other hand, areas under reserved forests were extended. There was also population explosion. As a result more and more number of tribal people were forced to depend upon on less and less forest and to fulfil their basic needs. This caused obvious strain on the forest resources and in the relation of the tribal people depending on forests and the forest officials.

In post independence period, an effort has been made to improve the living and working conditions of the tribal forest labourers through organising forest labourers co-operative society in different states of India.

In the early 70's National Commission on Agriculture accepted for the first time that unless the essential needs of the population like fuel, fodder are met through integrated forest development, it is not possible to prevent forest being destroyed. A new programme known ss Social Forestry was instituted during 5th plan and continued upto now which marks complete break with colonial forest policy.

The National Commission on Agriculture in 1976 classified forest lands into (i) Protection forests, (ii) Production forests (iii) and Social forests. The Commission can not meet the needs of the tribals for the fuel, fodder and other minor forest products. It is to be noted that the tribal economy is basically subsistence economy. Traditionally they produce only for themselves and for their immediate community. But the tribal communities are always looked upon as destroyer of forest rather than conservator of forests. Moreover, the community's need oriented forestry is not at the core of forestry programme, it is marginally accommodated. It leads to inadequate plan outlay for social forestry programme.

The National forest policy 1988 marks a significant departure from its predecessors, most notably in its clear recognition that the primary function of our forest is the maintainance of ecological stability. It calls for the involvement of the forest dwellers, tribals and the neighbouring communities of the forest in the management of the forests.

Now it is clear that democratic decentralised and participatory forest management is the need of the hour for a sustainable development which means improving the quality of human life within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystem. Accordingly it is now possible to formulate people oriented policies that would not regard forest dwellers and tribals as a liability but as human assets. No true partnership between the people and the forest management can be sustained unless there is institutionalised arrangement to build up mutual trust and confidence. Forest management is a very broad concept comprising administrative, economic, social, psychological, legal, technical and scientific dimensions for the use and conservation of forest. Sustainable forest management implies continuous and deliberate human intervention for safeguarding and maintaining the forest ecosystem. The concept of joint-forest management which was emphasized now a days based on the participatory and decentralized principles. But it ignores another aspect of policy of man-culture forestry.

After 50 years of independence of India, the administrative regulations on the forest has resulted in the break down of the traditional tribal economy. The economy of small societies living within or around the forests is centered around the natural resources in interaction. The breakdown of traditional economy pattern has led many tribal communities to adopt or adopting to the new economy pattern, existing within the framework of the government policies. This has created a shift from one time self sufficient economy to hand to mouth feed for some of the tribal communities. Thus leading to the many fold problems of very low growth rate, malnourishment, suffering from infectious disease etc. among these tribal communities.

The working on tribal development set up during last plan period also devoted considerable attention on forest development vis-a-vis tribal economy. The working group recommended to the effect that the forest department should consider themselves responsible for the development of the tribals as well as forest and that in turn the tribals should recognise the need to preserve forests; in fact a partnership approach has been recommended.

In fact, forest economy and tribal economy should be two equal goals. A strong forest economy should be geared to the requirements of employment and economic progress of the scheduled tribe communities living in the area. In any event, the two should not be anti-thetical to each other.

Today due to almost complete nationalisation of the forest, the tribals feel that they are deprived of their natural birthright. National forest policy given more importance to the interest of the nation as a whole in comparison to local interest. But in a welfare state ideologically the national interest should not clash with local interest. Moreover, the tribals supposed to be under-privileged less developed section of the Indian Society will not be able to conceive a greater India, with an ideal welfare state unless they discover their own locus standi in proper form in the immediate surroundings. Hence, a linked policy of forest and tribal development should be framed by government by keeping a balance eye on each other. Following strategies are suggested for a balance development of tribals and forest.

1. The micro level causes of environmental degradation has to be identified in each tribal village and area around.
2. To ensure the involvement of the people, the existing cultural and socio-economic environment of the locality should be taken into account. The tribal traditions and social organisations should not be ignored while framing various policies and programme.
3. As the dependance of tribal people on forest is direct, certain concessions in regard to collecting wood for fuel purpose and controlled grazing to some extent can be allowed. The right of tribals to the collection of minor forest produce should be recognised.
4. As wildlife is an integral part of forests and helps in maintaining the ecosystem in proper balance, the tribal people should be convinced not to disturb the wildlife by attributing a connection between their religions and wildlife.
5. Rehabilitation of degraded forest through social forestry through active involvement of the tribal people can be made. Co-operation of those people should be sought in this regard by implementing the agro-forestry programmes. Certain plant species, which grows at faster and productive in nature should be planted more in number to cover the development of forest.

6. In order to avoid encroachment by other people, the local tribal population should be entrusted which only can save the land and forest.
7. The forest is the worst victim of wildfires which causes irreparable losses. These catastrophe can be checked by training the tribal people to check the wild fire as those people live in vicinity of forests and they can early ascertain the reasons and act quickly in controlling the spread of fire. Prizes are to be declared to villages for illustrative work in this line.
8. A three way plan of the forestry programme to be undertaken—
 - (a) Linkages of tribal with forest economy much more than that of availability consuming relation.
 - (b) Exploitation of minor and major forest produces and processing to be done in tribal area by the tribal people.
 - (c) Immediate benefit to the tribal in terms of employment opportunities.
9. The tribal people exploit the forest land by making terraces and shifting cultivation which for a small gain, can cause heavy damages to the existing resources. Therefore, to restore the ecosystem, the tribal people should be made convince about their losses and trained in alternative way of cultivation of get more output. In this regard, some incentives in different form should be given to them in initial stage by government as the forests are the sustenance of life particularly the tribal people in hilly areas.

Efforts made so far to involve the people in the forestry have not succeeded. There seems to be two prominent reasons for this (Shrivastav, 1989).

1. The fact that the 'people' an important and intergral part of forest management does not occur in traditional values shared by the forestry services which were founded during the colonial period, where the question of locals exercising their legitimate democratic rights over forests did not arise.
2. The growth of forests as a source base for the supply of timber, fuel, fodder etc. has not kept pace with the rapid increase in demand for those essential products by a burgeoning human population and a matching cattle population.

Lastly, the measures enumerated above will lead to success according to understanding the geographical and socio-cultural profile of the areas in which results are desired. The different sub-plans based on the needs of the tribal population in different geographical area will be more accurate approach rather than that of a National Policy.

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UNREST AND EXTREMIST ACTIVITIES IN TRIBAL AREAS OF ANDHRA PRADESH : GENESIS AND REMEDIAL MEASURES

P. Lakshmi Narayana

The tribal areas of our country which were once known as pleasant and placid places have been periodically rocked by violent outbursts of disturbances because of exploitation of simple and gullible tribals and encroachment on their natural resources. These ever recurring struggles of tribals for their survival with the long history of more than 200 years have always been waged against ruthless exploitation by non-tribals, moneylenders, landlords, liquor vendors, unsympathetic administrators or against stringent forest conservation laws and land assignment policies and procedures. Nearly more than 80 revolts occurred in different parts of the tribal areas of the country. The details of revolts and disturbances are furnished in the Annexure-I. The British policy of *laissez-faire* towards tribals and their habitat resulted in exploitation and encroachment of their lands and thus they have lost command over the natural resources in their own habitat.

The British administration have neglected the tribal areas. Inaccessibility and difficult nature of terrain, less revenue, lack of basic facilities and influence of philosophy of myth of "noble savage" on administrators and policy makers were some of the important reasons for negligence of Tribals and their areas during British rule in India. "In the long run, the policy shattered the economic base of the tribals and reduced them to a state of penury. It not only created bitterness among them for their countrymen but also isolated them from main stream of the society. Eventually the bitterness and unrest among the tribals surfaced in sporadic movements and armed revolts". (R. C. Varma, 1990, P. 47). The tribals revolted against British regime and feudal landlords during 18th century itself and these rebellions especially Kol Mutiny of 1831 Waged by Hos and Mundas in Chhotanagapur area (present Ranchi and Hazaribagh district), was considered as first well known struggle by the tribals. Several revolts occurred in Chhotanagpur area of Bihar and consequently the British rulers adopted the policy of "Indirect Rule" through local tribal chiefs/Institutions not only in Chhotanagpur area but also in other parts of the tribal areas in the country.

Mr. Augustus, Cleveland the then District Collector of Rajmahal hills in Chhotanagpur area during British rule adopted the policy of reconciliation rather than conflict and confrontation with martial tribals like Pahariyas and other tribal communities. He formulated a policy of special treatment and administration through local chiefs, popularly known as Damin-i-Koh. The "Damin-i-Koh area was exempted from the jurisdiction of ordinary Courts and put under the sole charge of the Collector. He made his own rules for conduct of the affairs of the area. Separate rules under the Regulation 1 of 1796 were made for administration of the area as also for conducting the meetings of the Hill Assembly. Damin-i-Koh was made a non-regulation area. It was the first experiment in providing simple administration to the tribals and may be regarded as the precursor and the prototype of the non-regulation areas which were subsequently carved out as the Scheduled Districts, the Backward Tracts and Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas" (Ibid, P. 49). Cleveland was the founder of policy of extension of Protective regulations and implementation of other measures of welfare administration in Tribal areas.

The Rampa Rebellion of 1879 Konda Reddy and Koya revolts of Godavari districts under the leadership of Saint Warrior Alluri Seetharama Raju during 1922—1924 and Gonds (Babjhari) uprising the 1940 in Adilabad district were some of the important revolts against the rulers before independence. One of the main causes for the Rampa Rebellion was due to introduction of Abkari

Regulations preventing the drawing of toddy for domestic consumption and leasing the toddy revenue to renters. "The unpopularity of the police, who had assisted in introducing the new toddy rules and also oppressed the people on their own account, was a contributory cause". (Christoph Von Furer-Haimendorf 1945 P. No. 31). Prof. Haimendorf analysed the historical facts and circumstances leading to revolt and condition of local tribals. "From our point of view the history of the Rampa Rebellion is important in two respects : it shows firstly that aboriginals, even if inherently not of a war like character are capable of considerable efforts when driven to extremities, and secondly that it is both inexpedient and dangerous to allow the control and exploitation of aboriginal populations to fall into the hands of unscrupulous and unsupervised outsiders, who, although not directly responsible to Government, are backed by the authority of the police and the law courts. "(Prof. Ibid : P. No. 33)" These observations of visionary Anthropologist appear to be most relevant to the modern situation in Tribal areas.

In the erstwhile Madras Presidency "there have been troubles of outbreaks of the hill people (Fituris, as they are locally called) in the Golconda hills in 1845—1848, 1857-1858, 1879-1880, 1886 and 1891; in Jeypore Zamindari in 1849-1850 and 1855-1856 among the Savaras of Gunupur taluk in 1864 and 1865; and Koravanivalasa in Salur taluk in 1900. (Vizagapatnam District Gazetteer in the Presidency of Madras published in 1907, P. 58). Thus series of revolts occurred in several parts of tribal areas of the then Madras Presidency due to negligence on the part of administrators and exploitation of simple tribals by unscrupulous landlords and money lenders and merchants.

GOND REVOLT UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF KUMARAM BHEEMU (BABJHARI REVOLT) :

Kumaram Bheemu resident of Sankupalli village situated about 5 miles from Asifabad revolted with the help of Gonds and Kolams against the erstwhile Nizam Government. The root cause of the Babjhari movement was non issue of patta rights to the local tribal cultivators but at the same time confirming patta rights to non-tribals and extension of stringent forest conservancy rules. The ruthless exploitation of the tribals by the non-tribals and unsympathetic attitude of the petty officials of the Government driven the peace-loving tribals to the extreme conditions. "In the aboriginals minds there is a deep sense of frustration and hopelessness : they feel that they are considered as people without rights, that they can never prevail against the wealthier outsiders who are gradually taking possession of their country, and that subordinate officials are not so much intent on enforcing laws and rules, but on gaining personal profits, and that even in such matters as the demarcation of forest lines or police investigations money determines their actions. Whenever aboriginals want to approach an officer it costs money, and even if they penetrate through the barrier of peons, subordinates and clerks they seldom get a decision, but are told to submit an application to which they never get a reply either positive or negative". (Prof. Haimendorf, 1945 : Tribal Hyderabad, P. No. 135 & 136).

In sheer desperation under unmitigated oppression and exploitation, the helpless tribals rallied behind their leader Kumaram Bheemu, native of Sankupalli about 5 miles from Asifabad in the year 1940. As most of the land in his native village passed into the hands of non-tribals, he went in search of land to Surdapur Kakarghat near Devara and ultimately he settled in Bab-Jhari and lived there for about 5 years. This village was included under reserved forest in course of time and the forest guards burnt the village when tribals did not evacuate the village. Again forest guards and Chowkidars promised to assign land at Jhodeghat which is situated to the East of Babjhari, provided each tribal pays an amount of Rs. 2,000. The tribals under the leadership of Bheemu refused to pay but appealed to higher authorities. But again the forest petty officials with the help of Police Constables burnt down some of the houses of Jhodeghat without any warning. One Arab from Forest Department party shot and injured Bheemu. The followers of Bheemu were enraged with this incident and beat the forest officials. The Police and forest subordinates wanted to punish tribals because they refused to surrender. The Police party shot dead Bheemu and eleven other Gonds and wounded man others. Even though their movement was ruthlessly suppressed, this episode succeeded in drawing the attention of the

administrators and the rulers to the pathetic condition of tribals and unscrupulous exploitation by forest subordinates, Police and Excise Officials. As a first step of rehabilitation of tribes Prof. C. Von. Furer Haimendorf, a renowned Anthropologist was appointed, as Advisor on Tribal affairs to H.E.H. Nizam Government. He investigated into the causes of frustration and discontentment of aboriginals. Prof. Haimendorf assisted by Shri Moazzam Hussain and Shri P. Sethumadhava Rao of the State Civil Service laid firm foundation for Tribal Welfare activities. Prof. Haimendorf suggested comprehensive and far-reaching measures for the protection of innocent tribals from all sorts of exploitation. At the State level, W. V. Grigson, Revenue and Police Member of Government of H.E.H. the Nizam dealt with the tribal affairs sagaciously. His sympathetic attitude and knowledge of Aboriginal problems of Central Provinces and Berar stood him good stead and he gave concrete suggestions for the introduction of statutory provisions to prevent land alienation on the pattern of Agency administration of Erstwhile Madras Government. The Tribal Area Regulation, 1356 Fasli was enacted but it was not implemented. This was replaced by comprehensive Regulation called "The Tribal Areas Regulation, 1359, Fasli No. III of 1359 Fasli". Under this Regulation, the villages with predominant tribal population were notified. (K. Mohan Rao, 1990 P. 16, 17).

A sort of paradoxical situation had developed in post independence era in which while the area advanced, the tribal inhabitants could not reap the full benefits of the development activities that have been introduced. This was due to the fact that the extension of communication and health programmes to relatively inaccessible areas resulted in influx of land hungry non-tribals from the plain areas in search of virgin lands and lands available at much cheaper rates. Ultimately these benefits were cornered by immigrants who are relatively more advanced. Further, taking advantage of official lethargy and some times with their connivance due to flaws in the protective laws, land alienation, money-lending and the consequent indebtedness continued unabated and made the life of the tribals more miserable and desperate.

This simmering situation provided the extremist elements in the country, with fertile ground for experimenting the efficacy of their ideology in the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh, especially in Srikakulam in the beginning, and East Godavari, Khammam, Warangal and Adilabad districts in the later days.

NAXALITES MOVEMENT OF SRIKAKULAM, 1968—1970 :

The extremist movement, popularly known as "Naxalite" movement first started in Naxalbari of Bengal and slowly gained ground in tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh as guerrilla movement especially in Srikakulam district. Jatapu and Savara tribal communities are predominantly inhabiting in the district. The Scheduled Tribe population constitute 8.91 per cent to the total population of Srikakulam district as per 1961 census report and they are mainly found in the former taluks of Salur (25.81 per cent), Parvathipuram (28.44 per cent), Palakonda (8.11 per cent) and Pathapatnam (17.88 per cent). The literacy rate of Scheduled Tribes as per 1961 census reports was only 5.11 per cent. Late Shri V. Raghavaiah, veteran freedom fighter and dedicated social worker among Yanadies of Nellore district while analysing the causes of Naxalite movement in Srikakulam district observed that "loss of land voluntarily and involuntarily alienated to plains", money-lenders, landed proprietors and unscrupulous other middle men. The same sordid story of indebtedness, usurious rates of interest, rack-renting law's delays in civil and criminal Courts, attachments of debtors' properties and the labyrinthian process involved in securing reliefs. It is a well known fact that too many money-lenders have built up big fortunes in money-lending for over half a century in the tribal areas and have purchased thousands of acres of fertile land from the innocent, simple tribal people, even though such money lending and alienation of land of every sort has been unequivocally prohibited by the Governor's Regulations, thereof than in compliance (V. Raghavaiah, 1971 P. 54). Vempatapu Satyanarayana, a school teacher in Badragiri area was one of the important leaders of the movement. He was moved by ruthless

exploitation of tribals and low wages paid to tribal labourers. During 1960s daily wage paid to tribal labourers was only half a rupee and a glass of chodi gruel mixed with powder of kernal of mango seeds during lunch time. He learnt local tribal dialects songs and ballads of local tribals. He created awareness among tribals about land alienation problems and payment of low wages to agricultural labourers.

It was reported that Satyanarayana along with few others was shot dead on 10th July 1970 in an encounter in the Bon hills and consequently the movement was declined "whatever hardship and bloodshed the Naxalite movement might have brought in its wake, it also focussed the attention of the public and of the Government on the conditions of life among the tribal people of Srikakulam district". (Prof. N. Subba Reddy, 1971).

In view of large scale disturbances in tribal areas Government took several measures to restore the confidence of Tribes. Government introduced programmes of development through establishment of Girijan Development Agency in Srikakulam. These focussed the attention of the Government about the inadequacies of protective laws. Even though Land Transfer Regulation was enacted in 1959, rules for implementation and machinery to enforcement were not made till 1969. Comprehensive rules were framed and special enforcement machinery was created to implement the provisions of A. P. Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation, 1959. Several loop holes in Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulations were removed by enacting 1 of 1970. A. P. Regulation 1 of 1970 is considered as one of the best enactments in the country wherein presumptive clause is incorporated to the effect that all the lands in Scheduled areas belong to Scheduled Tribes and unless the contrary is proved. Further blanket ban is imposed on transfer of land not only from tribals to non-tribals but also from non-tribals to non-tribals in Scheduled areas.

INDRAVELLI GOND UPRISING—1981 :

Indravelli is a small town situated on the road side between Adilabad to Utnoor at a distance of nearly 40 Km. from the district headquarters. The town was once mostly inhabited by the local tribals but at present more non-tribals are found than the tribals. It has become one of the important business centre in Adilabad district. Out of the total population of 4,242, S.Ts. constitute only 16.50 per cent as per 1981 census reports. "Thus Indravelli, once the seat of a Gond Raja has grown into a large commercial centre with houses and cement structures lining both sides of the road". (Haimendorf 1989 P. 59).

Improvement in communication facilities and road links from Gudihatnur, Utnoor, Kerimeri, Asifabad has been attracting large scale immigration of non-tribals and some denotified tribals, and this flow of immigration has been resulting in land alienation. Even though non-tribals in TSP area of Adilabad district constitute only 35.5 per cent, they occupied more than 60 per cent of the cultivable land. This shows the large scale deprivation of local tribals from the main source of livelihood. The large scale immigration of identical groups and other backward castes who are not getting any concessions and privileges across borders resulted in not only encroachment of poramboke lands, forest lands but also alienation of tribal lands. These imbalances in demographic trends, largely responsible for continuous struggles for limited natural resources. Lack of proper leadership among tribals and absence of committed machinery for redressal of grievances of local tribals are some of the immediate causes for extremist activities at Indravelli on 20-4-1981. Girijan Rytu Sangham proposed to organise a rally at Indravelli on 20-4-1981. This rally was fixed on weekly market day as generally tribals in large number attend to weekly markets for purchase of their domestic requirements and to meet their relatives and friends. The police imposed Section 144 Cr. P. C. in Indravelli on that day and local tribals were not aware about the implications of these restrictions. The police lathi charged the crowd and then resorted to bursting of tear gas shells but tribals while running helter-skelter threw stones at police. Consequently police suddenly without warning opened fire. "According to the police the dead included thirteen Gonds and one police constable. No dead body was handed over to relatives of the deceased. The Gonds told the (A.P. Civil Liberties) Committee that the dead bodies were being

recovered from tanks, wells, rivulets and bushes as late as April 26..... However, they place the number (dead) around one hundred. (Prof. Haimendorf postscript 1981, P. 324). After these horrible incidents, Government took several steps to improve the economic conditions of the tribals.

CAUSES FOR PRESENT DISTURBANCES IN TRIBAL AREAS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WEST GODAVARI DISTRICT :

All the tribal communities in Andhra Pradesh are traditionally agrarian except few communities. But these tribal communities also gave up their traditional occupations of rearing of cattle, basket making, rearing of pigs etc., in modern times. More than 90 per cent of the tribals have been eking out their livelihood through cultivation or allied activities. Therefore land is basically not only the main source of livelihood but also considered as a socio-cultural heritage handed from one generation to another. Tribals usually develop emotional and cultural ties with their ancestral lands. Alienation of these lands or encroachment of their ancestral lands by outsiders is the main source of frustration and hatred. The non-tribals evolved various deceitful methods to circumvent the legislations in order to grab land in tribal areas. "As a result large chunks of fertile lands had changed hands from tribal to non-tribal and thousands of tribals have been deprived of their ancestral land and turned into impoverished landless agricultural labourers. The tribals living in the Scheduled areas are gradually losing their command over their sources of livelihood such as land and forest. Out of the total cultivable land of 18,48,209-30 acres in Scheduled areas more than 48 per cent of the land is legally or illegally under the cultivation of non-tribals. In the districts like Khammam, Warangal and Adilabad more than 50 per cent of the lands is under the occupation of non-tribals. The details of land under occupation of non-tribals, district wise in Scheduled areas is furnished in the Annexure II.

In spite of implementation of one of the best alienation Regulation in tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh (A.P. Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation, 1959) the lands are being cultivated by non-tribals illegally. It is found that approximately 2,89,233 acres is under the occupation of non-tribals as per the provisions of Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation (A.P.S.A.L.T.R.), 1959 as on 31-12-1999. Out of this total land, 1,07,369 acres was decided in the favour of tribals of which 93,993 acres was actually restored to tribals. Still there are 30,516 acres yet to be decided. There are large number of cases pending in districts of Warangal, Khammam, Visakhapatnam and Adilabad. Moreover, large number of cases have been decided in favour of non-tribals.

In case of West Godavari district 8,148 cases covering an extent of 41,262 acres have been booked upto the end of 31-12-1999. Out of total cases detected 7,672 cases covering an extent of 39,304 acres have been disposed off till 31-12-1999. Out of the total cases disposed only 2,000 covering an extent of 8,604 acres were decided in favour of tribals. Further, out of the total cases disposed off in favour of tribals, only in 793 cases covering an extent of 3,011 acres of land was actually restored to tribals leaving large number of 488 cases covering an extent of 2,000 acres yet to be restored to tribals. It is reported that 404 writ petition are pending in High Court of Andhra Pradesh pertaining to LTR in addition to 774 appeals filed before the agent to Government, West Godavari district against orders of Special Deputy Collector. The Agent Granted stay in 83 cases. Of the total cases detected as many as 1,075 cases are yet to be disposed off by Special Deputy Collector, Tribal Welfare, K.R. Puram. The details of progress report indicating total number of cases detected, extent of land covered, action initiated, restored to tribals and decided in favour of non-tribals, district wise from inception to the end of June, 1997 are furnished in the Annexure III.

Critical review of the progress of implementation of the provision of A.P. Scheduled Areas LTR 1959 reveals tardy and cumbersome procedures of restoration of land to tribals in cases of violation of the Regulation. Moreover most of the cases were decided in favour of non tribals.

The Agrarian system in tribal areas is very complicated as these areas were partly under the Estatadars and Jamindars and Government. As these Estatadars and Jamindars belong to non-tribal

communities, they encouraged only non-tribals to come and settle in tribal areas. The lands were also assigned to non-tribals and tribals got only raw deal under the traditional administration system. These facts could be inferred from the history of revenue administration of West Godavari district. Out of 136 villages situated in former Polavaram taluk, 102 villages were declared as Scheduled areas by Presidential Order, 1950. These villages consist of 73 Government villages and 29 estate villages in present Polavaram and Buttayagudem mandals. Large chunks of lands in these Agency areas were classified as Assessed Waste Dry (A.W.D.) lands and these lands were freely assigned to non tribals. It is learnt that an extent of 7,961.57 acres was declared as Assessed Waste Dry Lands of which 5,523.16 acres (69.37 per cent) was under the occupation of non-tribals in two mandals of Polavaram and Buttayagudem. The joint survey was conducted in the year 1919 and re-survey in 1934 and all the lands under occupation of non-tribals under the category of Assessed Waste Dry Lands were regularised and pattas were given to non-tribals. But Agency Tract Interest and Land Transfer Act, 1917 was enacted to prevent alienation of tribal lands in Scheduled areas, with effect from 14-8-1917. Under Section 4 (I) of the 1917 the Special Agent to Government or Assistant Agent to Government was competent to accord permission for alienation of land from tribal to non-tribals. Under this relaxation, it is estimated that half of the land situated in West Godavari district was acquired by non-tribals.

The tribal population in West Godavari district is only 0.85 lakhs and they constitute 2.4 per cent to the total population of the district. Koyas and Konda Reddis are predominantly found in Scheduled areas and Yerukulas, Yanadis and Lambadas are sparsely found in plain areas. Even though literacy rate among S.Ts. was recorded as 24.06 as per 1991 census reports actual literacy rate among Koyas and Konda Reddis is much less. The agricultural labourers among S.Ts. in West Godavari has been increasing from decade to decade. They constitute 51.3 per cent to total working population as per 1971 census reports and the agricultural labourers increased to 58.7 per cent to the total workers as per 1991 census reports. This trend indicates that large number of tribals are becoming Landless labourers due to land alienation and encroachment by non-tribals.

As discussed in the preceding pages the land problems have been becoming more acute and consequently there is a threat for food security of the local tribals. "Poverty, hunger, ignorance and failure to catch up with the changing world around them have almost driven them to the wall. They still live in the single roomed, dingy, thatched houses. Out of 80 houses in Busarajupalli, a tribal hamlet in Buttayagudem mandal which became well known after the violent incidents on August 5, only one house has a tiled-roof. The rest are typical cave houses. Many tribal youths believe that non-tribals are singly responsible for their predicament. They say that non-tribals grabbed land from their forefathers in dishonest ways..... The Manugopala and Busarajupalli incidents organised the tribals into a force. On March 21, 1996 a group of non-tribals raided the tribal hamlet over a land issue, beat up women and men and ransacked houses. The casual treatment of the incident by the administration annoyed tribals. Then on August 5, 1996 in a pitched battle, the tribals scared the non-tribals by shooting arrows and beating up a few. Soon after the incident, 115 tribals were arrested and sent to the central prison at Rajahmundry. They were freed in a phased manner only after the issue figured in the Assembly. A police officer feels that the Busarajupalli incident was mismanaged. A clash could have been averted by timely action. (The Hindu 25-12-1996). The tribals has been demanding assignment of poramboke waste land, surplus lands, and restoration of land which are occupied by non-tribals, illegally. They have been requesting to get the stays vacated at various Courts under the provisions of LTR and other Regulations.

The tribals have been continuing their struggle for getting Government land and Assessed Waste Dry Land (A.W.D.) in the Scheduled areas of Jeelugumilli, Buttayagudem and Polavaram mandals. It is reported that the local tribals have been resorting to harvesting crops from the disputed lands under the cultivation of non-tribals. They have been destroying the tobacco crops of tribals in Reddy, Ganapavaram, Busarajupalli villages etc. The police have been raiding the villages to recover the harvested crops and to arrest the tribals who resorted to forceful harvesting of the crops on the

complaints of non-tribal land lords. "Narrating the incident to Indian Express, Koram Gouramma, a tribal woman, said, "The police raided our hamlet at around 3 A.M. They knocked my door and asked for our leader Madakam Venkateswara Rao. When I opened the door and said that I did not know the whereabouts of our leader, they gagged and then dragged me by the hair on the road beating me with sticks and using filthy language. Only when my sister raised an alarm did the neighbours come to our rescue. Nevertheless, the police had beaten me up as well as women in the neighbourhood". A youth K. Venkateswara Rao, said, "About 70 policemen bashed up 18 men and women, after which the entire hamlet rushed to the scene with their traditional weapons of bows and arrows.

In violation of the provisions of the law, non-tribals who do not belong to our village, were given pattas for the Government and A.W.D. lands. We will not stop the fight till the revenue officials give the land to us." But police denied allegations and stated that they have been treating tribals politely in view of their ignorance.

Indian Express while reporting the incidence in tribal areas mentioned above it narrated a case history about how an innocent tribal was cheated. "A 70 year old tribal farmer Palda Jogaiah of Busarajupalli (Buttayagudem mandal) said, "When I was ten, my father along with six others of our family, brought 18 acres of forest land into cultivation as the then karanam B. Venkatramaiah had promised to distribute the land among us. A year later, the karanam sold it away to a non-tribal, B. Suraiah" (The Indian Express, dated : 30-12-1996).

Such cases of cheating and exploitation and forceful occupation of tribal lands are frequent occurrence in tribal areas. It is reported that about 300 non-tribals attacked the Mandal Revenue Officer and Special Tahsildar, land acquisition, burnt the records, furniture at Jangareddigudem and beaten up the officials on August 6, 1996. The local tribals stated that cases were not booked against non-tribals who destroyed Government property and they are frustrated with regard to discriminatory attitude.

The shrewd non-tribal land lords have been creating several legal obstacles in the way of proper implementation of Land Transfer Regulation. They filed writ petitions challenging the validity of scheduling the villages by President of India in honourable High Court and nearly 15 writ petitions of this nature are pending in the High Court. It is reported that Special Deputy Collector (T.W.) K.R. Puram declared that alienation of 210 acres of land in favour of non-tribals was null and void and orders for restoration to tribals in Nersegudem village. But the land lord brought stay orders. In hundreds of restoration cases stay orders were brought and non-tribals have been occupying the lands in violation of protective Regulation.

Over the past 200 years several protective Regulations have been enacted in different parts of Tribal areas in the country. It is pertinent to note that the enactment of each of these Regulations has been preceded by a tribal revolt which in turn was succeeded by another more stringent Regulation than the previous one, giving rise to a unending process of a tribal restiveness and passing of a protective Regulation. This shows that the Regulations considered to be full proof at a particular point of time seem to be gaping with too many lacuna and the consequent incapability to contain exploitation of tribals by outsiders. The solution to this difficult and persisting situation lies in not merely enacting more and more stringent laws for the protection of tribals, but in the expeditious implementation of the provisions of these laws in the true spirit of the Regulation.

The conditions largely responsible for the present day unrest and consequent extremist activities can be summarised as follows :—

1. Scarcity of cultivable land in tribal habitats because of forest clothed hills and mountains.
2. Inclusion of cultivated lands by tribals within the Reserve Forest boundaries.

3. Alienation and encroachment of local tribal lands by non-tribals and other advanced sections of tribal communities by adopting to dubious methods.
4. Complicated Revenue System of administration, prolonged, legal battles and procedures and in this process poor tribals are sufferers.

5. Occupation of Government lands by shrewd non-tribals and acquisition of titles through several questionable methods.

6. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FOLLOWING PROTECTIVE REGULATIONS ARE TARDY AND HENCE FAILED TO ACHIEVE DESIRED RESULTS :

- (i) A.P. Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation, 1959.
 - (ii) A.P. Scheduled Areas Money Lending Regulation, 1960.
 - (iii) A.P. Scheduled Areas Debt Relief Regulation, 1970.
 - (iv) A.P. Scheduled Areas Rhyotawari Settlement Regulation, 1970.
 - (v) S.C./S.T. Atrocities (Prevention) Act, 1989.
7. Discriminatory treatment to tribals by some sections of bureaucracy vitally connected with their survival protection and development as per the existing Constitutional Directives Protective Regulations and Government policies and programmes.
 8. Loss of command over natural resources, such as land, forest, water, mineral resources etc. in their habitats.
 9. Gradual degradation of forest wealth and scarcity of N.T.F.P. The forest wealth has been gradually siphoned off by greedy non-tribal land lords and traders.
 10. Permission of the Forest Department for large scale extraction of bamboo by private industry as per an agreement between the Government and the private industry. This large scale exploitation made bamboo a scarce commodity for tribals and denied the tribals of the basic requirements for domestic and agricultural purposes.
 11. The Integrated Development approach initiated since 1974-75 could not yield the expected results due to frequent changes in Project Officers and posting of corrupt and inefficient other development functionaries as a measure of punishment. Even District Collector is being changed at short intervals. Consequently the tribal could not find an Officer whom he could approach with confidence for redressal of his grievances or for helping him with development inputs.
 12. There is economic crisis, leadership vacuum among the tribals. Added to this, official indifference to their genuine problems. This further led to loss of nerve among the tribes. Their faith in the Government and their leaders was shaken.
 13. The tribals resort to violence in extreme and desperate conditions and exploitation by outsiders.
 14. Their anger was directed against the exploiters in the first instance and later on against the police and administration as the tribal got the impression that police and administration are abetting and aiding the outside exploiter against the tribal's genuine fight for their survival.
 15. Tackling the tribal revolts/unrest as mere law and order problems rather than as socio-economic problems and Consequent deployment of police force. In this process tribals face harassment and sometimes inhuman treatment.

16. Fear psychosis about threat to their amour-propre and dignity of their women folk.
17. Some of the non Governmental Organisations (N.G.Os.) especially Sakthi of Rampachodavaram (East Godavari district) created good awareness about various complexities of land problems in tribal areas.
18. It is significant to note that Koya women folk are in fore front in the struggle for getting back the lands which are grabbed illegally by non-tribal land lords.
19. The tribals of Andhra Pradesh living in the hilly tracts are basically mild people and not at all hostile and aggressive. Their habitats are situated in inaccessible hilly areas and extremists have chosen these areas as their hide outs.

The critical analysis of these tribal uprisings from 1778 to 1997 over a period of more than 200 years, brings out the pathetic situation imposed on the life styles of the tribals. These uprisings or violent activities are pitiable manifestations of their frustration. These frustrations generated from several disabilities they suffered either from nature or their brethren belonging to other communities. They suffered these frustrations mostly in hostile and adverse conditions in the remote and inaccessible areas of their habitats.

ACTION POINTS :

1. Government of Andhra Pradesh have taken a very good initiative to verify the validity of the pattas given to non-tribals pertaining to Assessed Waste Dry Lands (A. W. D.) in former, Estate and Government villages. The Special Deputy Collector, Tribal Welfare (S. D. C. T. W.) from all the I. T. D. A. districts were called to West Godavari and they were entrusted with the responsibility of verification of lands (A. W. D.) and purambok lands under the occupation of non-tribals. They have been also asked to verify the land records of non-tribals as per the provisions of L. T. R. The S. D. Cs. are assisted by surveyors. These special teams have been verifying the records from January, 1987 and the Project Officer, ITDA, K. R. Puram has been Coordinating their survey work and sending weekly progress reports. So far they have identified as on 20-6-1997, 1024.82 acres of all categories of lands under occupation of non-tribals and assigned the same to 586 tribal beneficiaries. The pattas are also given to them. The resurvey and verification was done in the presence of representatives of tribals (N. G. Os.) Revenue Department and ITDA officials.

The district administration has been preparing plans to further assign the lands to local tribals after due verification of lands illegally occupied by non-tribals. These efforts have to be continued and total verification in the entire scheduled area of West Godavari district have to be completed and lands under the illegal occupation of non-tribals should be taken away and assigned to landless local tribals. Similar exercise of re-survey for verification of validity of lands under occupation of non-tribal cultivators/land lords may be verified in all the Scheduled areas/districts in the State by following due process of law lest similar disturbances may occur.

2. The Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas L.T.R. 1959 should be amended to have overriding powers over all the Acts and Regulations pertaining to Survey and Settlement, Abolition of former Estates, Muttas and introduction of Ryotwari settlement Regulation and assignment of pattas, etc. Further this Regulation has to be given retrospective effect from 1917 in tribal areas of Andhra Region and from 1949 in tribal areas of Telangana Region as analogous Act and Regulations were in force in these regions respectively. Moreover Governor of State having Scheduled areas is vested with powers under V Schedule of Constitution, not only to make Regulations to control money lending, indebtedness and land alienation but also to introduce these regulations retrospectively in order to maintain peace and good Governance.

3. A crash programme has to be introduced in tribal areas to settle all the land alienation problems as per the provisions of A.P. Scheduled Areas LTR, 1959 within period of two years. All efforts may be taken to file counter affidavits in Honourable High Court and obtain the orders of the Court. The required legal aid may be provided by Government. If necessary the services of eminent lawyers/advocates may be utilised by paying required amount by concerned P.Os. of I.T.D.A.

4. Government may offer prevailing market rate to those non-tribals who possess valid patta rights over the lands under their cultivation in case they propose to sell away and assign the lands to the landless tribal families.

5. Government have to impose total ban on assignment of poramboke waste lands or forest lands to non-tribals in scheduled areas.

6. The non-tribal landlords/ cultivators who have been creating innumerable hurdles in restoration of lands to tribals transferors should be externed from scheduled areas. At present as per Section 6 of the A. P. Scheduled Areas LTR, 1959 the violations are considered as cognizable offence. Those non-tribals who are booked under this Section should be externe from tribal areas. Similar provision was existing in the Notified Areas of Telangana region in the erst while Hyderabad State. Further the provisions of S. Cs. and S. Ts. (Atrocities) prevention Act 1989 also can be invoked to initiates similar action on those persons who continue to exploit the local tribals by creating all sorts of hurdle in restoration of lands and continue to cultivate lands belonging to S. Ts. Section (3), (IV) (V) and Section 10 (1) (2) of S. Cs. and S. Ts. (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989 such cases may be transferred to Special Courts of S. Cs. and S. Ts. Constituted under the Act.

7. In some tribal areas, the concerned MROs. are not immediately restoring the land to tribal transferors and asking the tribal to go and occupy land without bringing necessary changes in the village land records. This negligence facilitating the land restoration case as criminal case and police are interfering in such cases and booking tribal owners as if he has trespassed into the land of the others. The MROs. should make necessary changes in land records and hand over the possession to rightful owner immediately soon after passing the restoration order by SDC/Agent.

8. The tribal educated youth including women may be given comprehensive training in revenue matters such as understanding of Adangal/Pahanis, survey and settlement matters, A.P. Scheduled Areas LTR provisions and other important Regulations and Acts to take up their own land problems and to get them solved in the legal way. This training programme may be organised in respective ITDA areas for minimum 6 months. These trained youth should assist the Grama Sabhas proposed to be reconstituted as per the provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas Act), 1996.

9. The A.P.S.A. LTR, 1959 has to be also amended to associate Gram Sabha in identification, investigation and restoration of lands to tribals. In the absence of any valid records the majority views of Gram Sabha should be considered and the lands should be restored to tribals. The Gram Sabha should work as watchdog in implementation of LTR provisions strictly. The Gram Sabhas in Tribal Areas are already empowered to take up cases relating to land alienation as per the provisions of the Panchayat (Extension to Scheduled Areas Act, 1996).

10. As some of the advanced and rich tribals have been purchasing the lands from other tribals who are small and marginal farmers such transfers have to be stopped. Transfer of lands from one tribal to another tribal also should not be allowed automatically. The Project Officers of ITDAs or SDCs should investigate and prevent the economically well of tribals from acquiring more lands. The transfer of the land from one tribal to another tribal should be permitted by Project Officer only under genuine reasons.

11. The NGOs may be encouraged to take up cases of S.Ts. in the Courts and necessary legal aid may be extended to them by concerned ITDAs. The sympathetic lawyers may be associated to take up the cases in Commission on behalf of tribals. The legal aid may be extended to them.

12. The scope of definition of alienation or transfer should include benami transfers, transfers to concubins/wives of non-tribals, bonded labourers, bond friends, adopted children etc. This step will prevent benami transactions in the name of gullible tribals.

13. Mobile squads consisting of concerned Revenue officials, ITDA representatives, Tribal representatives, NGOs may be constituted for detection of alienation cases as well as for enforcement of restoration orders of Special Deputy Collectors, Agents and other Apex Courts.

14. The cases relating to wrongful occupation or cultivation or wrongful dispossession of member of Scheduled Tribe from his land may be booked under Section 3 sub-section IV and V of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities Act, 1989).

15. Similarly cases relating to insults, intimidation, humiliation of institution of false cases against members of Scheduled Tribes especially tribal women may be also booked under S.C./S.T. (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989.

ANNEXURE I CHRONOLOGICAL RECORD OF TRIBAL REVOLTS

Sl. No.	Year	Revolt
1.	1778	Revolt of the Pahariya Sirdars of Chhotanagpur against the British Government
2.	1784-1785	Koli disturbances (Maharashtra)
3.	1789	Revolt in Tamar of Chhotanagpur
4.	1794-1795	Revolt in Tamar of Chhotanagpur
5.	1795-1800	Chuani Movement in Bihar
6.	1798	Panchet estate sale revolt
7.	1801	Tamar revolt in Bihar
8.	1803	Kova uprising in the Rampa area of the East Godavari Agency, Andhra Pradesh
9.	1807-1808	Chhotanagpur Tribal revolt
10.	1809-1828	Bhil revolt in Gujarat
11.	1811, 1817, 1820	Bihar Agrarian Tribal revolts
12.	1818	The Koli revolt (Maharashtra)
13.	1816-1824	Burmese invasions of Assam and their reign of terror
14.	1824-1826	First Burmese war against the Burmese occupation of Assam in which the British first espoused Assam's cause and after defeating Burmese, usurped Assam.
15.	1825	Singphos attacked and set fire to the British magazine at Sadiya
16.	1827	Mishmis murdered explorer Wilcox
17.	1828	Revolt of Assam tribes against the British under Gomdhar Konwar who was defeated by Lt. Rutherford.
18.	1828	Singpho's Chief attacked Sadiya with 3,000 tribal warriors

19. 1829 Revolt of Khasis of Assam
20. 1829 Teerut Singh (Assam) massacred the British Generals and their Indian Sepoys
21. 1833 Teerut Singh's Surrender
22. 1834 Teerut Singh's death
23. 1831-1832 The Great Kol insurrection
24. 1820, 1832, 1867 Munda revolts in Bihar
25. 1832-1833 The Kherwar rising under the leadership of Bhagirath in Bihar.
26. 1834-1841 Lushais (Assam) raid British subjects
27. 1835 Daflas of NEFA (Assam) raided British plains, subjects and British took to reprisals to avenge.
28. 1835 Raja of Jaintia Hills (Assam) was deposed by the British owing to his anti-British activities and given a pension.
29. 1836 Mishmis (Assam) killed botanist Griffith suspecting his intentions
30. 1838 Naik revolt in Gujarat
31. 1839-1843 Khampti (Assam) rising
32. 1839 Khamptis attacked and killed the British Agent, Adam White and 80 other officers and soldiers.
33. 1842 British annex Sadiya and Mutock country in Assam
34. 1842 Captain Blunt's troops attacked by Bastar Gonds. Blunt had to withdraw
35. 1842 Lushais (Assam) raided the British territory of Arakan, Sylhet and defeated the British forces.
36. 1843 Singhpho chief Nirang Phidu attacked the British garrison and killed several soldiers.
37. 1844 Lushais attacked Manipuri villages. Reprisal by the British followed. Lushai leader Lal Sukla arrested and transported for life.
38. 1846 Bhil revolt under Kuwar Jivo Vasavo in Gujarat
39. 1849 Kadma Singhpho attacked British villages in Assam and was captured
40. 1850 Revolt of Chakra Bisoi, the Kondh Tribal leader in Orissa.
41. 1854 Kachari Chief in North Kachari hills of Assam submitted and permitted the British to annex his territory.
42. 1855 The revolt of Santhals in Bihar
43. 1855 Eden's punitive expedition against Mishmis to avenge their killing of two Missionaries
44. 1858 Naikdas revolt against the British in Gujarat
45. 1857-1858 Bhil revolt (Gujarat) under the leadership of Bhagoji Naik and Kajar Singh
46. 1857 Revolt of Maniram Dewan and Saring Raja of Assam their arrest by the British Government.
47. 1860 Lushai Chief raided British Tripura and killed 186 British subjects
48. 1860-1862 Revolt of Syntengs of Jaintia Hills
49. 1861 The Phulaguri uprising of tribal peasants

50. 1861 The Juang revolt in Orissa
51. 1862 Revolt of Syntengs of Jaintia Hills
52. 1862 Andhra Agency Koya tribal revolt against Muttadars (Petty tribal Zamindars) and their supporters, the British
53. 1867 Sentinal islanders (Andaman group) attack Humphrey
54. 1868 Naik's revolt under Joria's leadership in Gujarat
55. 1868-1869 Revolt of the Raig-Mels of Kamrup and Darrang
56. 1869 Final peace between the British and the Singphos
57. 1869-1870 Dhanbad Santhal unrest (Bihar) against Raja of Tundi subsequently settled by Colonel Dalton.
58. 1871-1872 Treaty signed between Lushais and British
59. 1872-1873 Daflas quelled by British military expedition
60. 1879 Naga revolt
61. 1879 Andhra Agency Koya revolt against Muttadars and the British
62. 1880 Koyas' revolt under Tammandora's leadership in Malkangiri, Orissa
63. 1883 Sentinel islands attack Humphery (Andamans)
64. 1889 Sardari (Munda leaders) agitation against the British Government
65. 1891 Manipur revolt led by Tikendraji Singh against the British
66. 1892 Eastern Lushais' rising against the British
67. 1895 Birsa Munda's arrest
68. 1911 Bastar tribal uprising
69. 1913-1914, 1920-1921 Tana Bhagat rebellions in Bihar
70. 1922 Rampa rebellion of Koyas under Alluri Sree Rama Raju against the British
71. 1932 Rani Guidallo's Naga non-christian revolt (Assam)
72. 1941 Gond and Kolam revolt against the Nizam Government in Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh led by Bhimu.
73. 1942 Lakshmana Niak's Koraput revolt in Orissa
74. 1942-1945 Revolts against Japanese occupation army by the Tribes of Andaman group of islands
75. 1956-1958 Warli revolt (Maharashtra)
76. 1963-1971 Naga revolt
77. 1966-1971 Mizo revolt
78. 1967-1971 Naxalite revolt
79. 1981 Indravalli Gond uprising
80. 1996-1997 Disturbances in tribal areas of West Godavari district over land problems

Source : 1: Tribal Revolts : 1971 by V. Raghavaiah Published : Andhra Rashtra Adimajati Sevak Sangh, Nellore (A.P.), 1990.

2. Indian Tribes through the Ages : 1990 by R. C. Verma published : Director, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi.

ANNEXURE II

THE EXTENT OF LAND UNDER THE OCCUPATION OF NON-TRIBALS IN THE SCHEDULED AREAS

Sl. No.	Name of the District	Total land in scheduled area, in acres	Land under the occupation of non-tribals, in acres	Percentage
1.	Srikakulam	14,949.17	359.20	2.20
2.	Vizianagaram	42,333.00	92.00	0.21
3.	Visakhapatnam	2,88,107.00	N. F.	—
4.	East Godavari	1,73,417.49	33,739.89	19.46
5.	West Godavari	75,702.42	27,979.16	36.96
6.	Khammam	7,71,604.93	4,07,368.33	52.79
7.	Warangal	1,42,533.00	1,02,104.50	71.64
8.	Adilabad	2,97,170.95	1,80,349.40	60.69
9.	Mahaboobnagar	42,391.60	1,444.18	3.41
TOTAL		18,48,209.56	7,53,435.66	48.29 (Excluding Visakhapatnam)

ANNEXURE III

PROGRESS OF IMPLEMENTATION OF APSALTR AS ON 31-12-1999

S. No.	Item	SKL	VIJ	VSP	E. G.	W. G.	KMM	WRL	ADB	M. Nagar	Total
1.	Total No. of cases detected.	413	1,222	6,798	6,910	8,148	28,852	6,658	7,214	61	66,276
2.	Extent covered in Acrs.	988	7,177	22,631	42,827	41,262	1,08,960	14,499	50,597	292	2,89,233
3.	Total No. of cases disposed off.	393	1,164	5,741	6,692	7,672	25,467	5,985	5,923	5	59,042
4.	Extent covered in Acrs.	938	6,995	16,926	40,933	39,304	95,995	13,601	44,006	34	2,58,732
5.	Cases decided in favour of Scheduled Tribes.	259	852	2,306	2,739	2,000	11,656	3,759	3,486	5	27,062
6.	Extent covered in Acrs.	526	5,469	5,659	14,428	8,604	39,794	7,332	25,523	34	1,07,369
7.	No. of cases in which land was restored to Tribals.	245	840	2,306	2,739	793	10,596	2,653	3,215	NF	23,387
8.	Extent covered in Acrs.	519	5,469	5,659	14,428	3,011	36,428	4,296	24,183	NF	93,993
9.	No. of cases pending disposal.	20	50	1,057	218	488	3,380	673	1,291	56	7,233
10.	Extent covered in Acrs.	50	183	5,705	1,894	2,000	12,964	897	6,591	232	30,516
	Figures furnished as on Date.	12/99	12/99	7/99	12/99	12/99	12/99	11/99	12/99	12/99	..

MODERNITY AND PRIMITIVENESS : A CONFLICT IN THE BONDO LIFE

Jaga Mohan Basantia
D. Mukhopadhyaya

The Bondo is one of the primitive tribes of Orissa, living at Khairput Block of Malkanagiri district. They have their own socio-cultural set-up, customs, values, way of life, food habits etc. Most of them live on the Bondo-Hills (3,000 fts. to 4,000 fts. altitudes) located towards the remote south-western tip of the Malkangiri uplands and north-west of river Machkund.

Anthropologists and Ethnologists like E. Thurston (1909), C. A. Henderson (1911), C. Von. Furer Heimendorf (1945), Verrier Elwin (1950) etc. have regarded Bondo as the member of Austro-Asiatic tribal group. They were migrated and settled in the wild Bondo-Hills (previously known as Jeypore Hills). Their language **Remo** falls under the South-Munda language groups, having a special identity. Now they are trying to acquaint with Oriya language for social interaction with outsiders.

Bondos are traditionally cultivators and follow shifting cultivation (*podu*) as well as wetland cultivation with their traditional cultivating instruments. Mainly they used to grow cereals pulses millets and now-a-days they harvest oil seeds and various kinds of vegetables. For food the Bondo mostly depends on different kinds of tubers, bamboo-shoots, green leaves, seasonal fruits etc. Their staple food **Entra** which is prepared from ragi and millet. Very few Bondo families eat rice along with curry, only in special occasions or festivals they eat rice. The Bondo are very fond of meat, but do not use milk and consider it as an impure substance.

Bondos are well known for thier special kind of dress, which covers only lower private parts of their body. For male it is known as **Gosi** and **Ringa** for female. The Ringa (2' X 8") is some thing more than just a bit of cloth. The Bondo women are very fond of ornaments, specially golden coloured ornaments and necklace of multi-coloured beads.

An interesting marriage system prevails in the Bondo society. Marriageable age of the male Bondo is nine or ten years, that is before starting of their adolescent period. The wife will be generally 15 to 20 years older than the husband. As-soon-as the son marriages, he builds his own house and resides with his wife separately from his family. Like other tribal communities, the dormitory system is widely prevailed in the Bondo society.

The child rearing practices of the Bondos are very primitive type. Irrespectives of sex a child is always welcomed to the Bondo family. During pregnancy a Bondo woman has to observe many restrictions in respect of diet, movements etc. She delivers the child insides the room in her sitting posture holding tightly the rope which is hung from the roof as support during child birth. Only an experienced old woman who also cut the *lundi* (umbilical cord) is allowed to help her inside the room. Generally the name of the child is given accordingly to the day he or she born. The Bondos are less concerned about their health care system. Neither they follow regular bath, nor they clean their teeth regularly and wash their hands before or after eating. In any disease they try to satisfy some deities. This may be due to their poor socio-economic conditions.

The religion of the Bondo, at present, is a conglomeration of Hinduism and Animism. The Bondos considers that the **Patkhanda Mahaprabhu**, the supreme deity, has His abode in the heaven, He is Omnipresent, Omniscient and Omnipotent. Like other tribal groups, the Bondos also observe many

socio-religious festivals which are closely related to seasons and agricultural cycles. Though they observe festivals like other groups, yet there are some peculiar performances observed. The important festivals they observe are, *Kuree (Bandafun)*, *Kumbuguda (Dasara)*, *Gewarsung (Diwali)*, *Pushparab*, *Chaitparab*, *Jhatiparab* etc.

Population Distribution :

The Bondos are a small tribal group confined 33 villages of two Grampanchayat—Mudulipara and Andrahal under Khairput block of Malkangiri district. The population of hill-Bondo is available from the year 1981 and onwards—

Year	Male	% of Growth	Female	% of Growth	Total	% of Growth
1981	2,034	..	2,173	..	4,207	..
1991	2,284	12.29	2,433	11.97	4,717	12.12
1996	2,428	06.30	2,885	18.58	5,313	12.64

Source : Office of the Bondo Development Agency (B.D.A.), Mudulipara.

EDUCATION

The dynamics of change is a continuous and universal process associated with the change of time. Human societies—both primitive and modern are more or less affected by this process. Education plays an important role in the process of modernisation. In this paper a case study about certain important educational structures and problems of Bondo community was made through direct survey of the total Bondo area. Like other primitive tribal groups, the Bondos are apathetic to education of their children. According to the census, 1991 the literacy percentage was 3.46 (male—6.38 per cent and female—0.86 per cent). According to the survey conducted by B.D.A. in 1996, it was found to be 7.80 per cent.

Existing Educational Facilities :

Though the Department of Education and Harijan & Tribal Welfare Department (H. & T.W.D.) of Orissa are engaged for the educational upliftment of the Bondo community, yet the quality and quantity is not satisfactory.

Primary Education—Only ten primary schools are established by the Department of Education at selected ten villages. Apart from Bondapara primary school rest nine schools have no buildings of their own. Except Patraput and Dumuripara schools the posts of teachers in rest of the schools have remained vacant for a long time. According to the villagers and organisers of some NGOs, the teachers come to school almost twice or thrice in a month for one or two hours. Hence the enrolment number is virtually an official record.

In this respect the effort of H. & T.W.D. schools are successful to some extent. A primary standard Sevashram was established by the department at Mudulipara in the year 1960 and a Kanyashram in the year 1996.

Middle-English School Education (Lower Secondary School)—As per norm of the Government of India, there should be one M.E. school for every four primary schools in the tribal locality. There is no M.E. school established by Education Department at Bondo locality, though there are ten primary schools. The H. & T.W.D. runs two M.E. schools at Mudulipara.

Mudulipara Kanyashram—Feeling the need of M.E. education for female, the Welfare Department established a school for girls at the gate way of Mudulipara and Dantipara in the year 1996. The boarding school provides all facilities for the education of girls. The enrollment and teacher strength of the school is as follows :

<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>
Male one (Headmaster, B.A., B.Ed.)	Classes I—VII
Female-five (including one tribal teacher)	160

As per physical verification of official record on 15-10-1998.

The peculiar thing noticed by the researchers is that the headmaster of the kanyashram takes classes at Mudulipara high school which is one Km. from his own school. No teacher of the school can speak or understand the Bondo language. Though there are 160 girls according to the official record, they hardly come to school.

High School Education—The sevashram which is established by the Welfare Department at Mudulipara, was upgraded to high school status in the year 1988. That was the only high school in Bondo-Hill area. The school has classes from I—X, under the control of one headmaster. The teacher pupil ratio of the school is 11 : 370 (as per physical verification of the official record on 14-10-1998). The school building and hostel accommodation is not sufficient. The teachers and staff members face a dual problem. On the one hand there is scarcity of staff quarters and on the other there are no houses which can be rented for accommodation.

College Education—There is no facility for college education in Bondo-Hill areas. Very few students cross the barrier of H.S.C. Examination. Vikrama Dev College at Jeypore is situated miles away from the Bondo-Hills.

GOVERNMENT PROGRAMMES FOR DEVELOPMENT OF THE BONDOS

At the beginning of the fifth five-year plan, when the tribal sub-plan came into effect, special attention was given to the all round development of the primitive tribal communities of India and some Micro-Projects were established for their development. The Government started a Micro-Project (1976-1977), at Bondo-Hills known as Bondo Development Agency (B.D.A.). With the help of the B.D.A. very limited progress have been made in the Bondo life. Some attempts were made to make the Bondos literate and educationally developed. Yet the efforts made by the Government is unsuccessful which can be found from the literacy rate. The persons employed in the teaching job are unable to adjust with the culture and people of the area. There are some Anganwadis and Non-Formal education centres which provide education at Bondo-Hill areas but they cannot function well due to some reasons or other.

Educational Problems :

The object of tribal development is to make the socio-economic transformation smooth, so that the tribal communities can maintain their identity avoiding social disintegration and assimilate themselves with the mainstream of national life. Education plays an important role to establish the bridge between different social gaps. Keeping all these views in mind various educational programmes have been implemented yielding little result. Unfortunately, some problems stand as barriers in the educational progress of the Bondos. These problems may be broadly classified under four heads :—

Home Environment—The home environment of the Bondos are not congenial for education due to various socio-cultural factors. Their dress pattern, health care, socio-religious practices, family relationship, child rearing practices, homesickness etc. are some of the major causes.

School Environment—Due to various types of shortcomings of the schools, the educational programmes could not yield a satisfactory result in Bondo-Hill areas. The existing school facilities, like infrastructure, hostel condition, teaching-learning materials are very poor in quality and quantity. Moreover, insufficient staff, unwillingness of the teachers, language problems and cultural barriers are the main hurdles in educational progress. The teachers serving in Bondo-Hill areas do not know tribal language, customs, etc. which creates a huge gap between teachers and students and ultimately leads to an unhealthy atmosphere in school.

Psycho-social Constraints—The researchers feels that the psycho-social problems are one of the main obstacles for the education of the Bondos. These constraints may be due to their early marriage systems, excessive drinking habits, homicidal tendencies, aggressive personality, religious beliefs, poor communication systems, lack of modernity and social awareness etc.

Socio-economic Status—It is said that the socio-economic status of the family plays an important role on educational success of the child. The economic standard of the Bondos is so poor that they do not get daily meal. The Bondo children have to assist their parents in various activities. But in name of the so called development we are developing a beggarly attitude among this innocent tribe by giving them some dole from the Government funds.

SUGGESTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

It is evident from the preceding study and opinions collected from different segments of the population that the education of the Bondo-Highlanders has been confronted with numerous problems. The possible solutions of these problems may be as follows :—

- (i) Parental awareness should be created in the field of education, health, and outer world by Government as well as private efforts.
- (ii) Possible efforts should be made to change their unhealthy social customs and practices.
- (iii) Various economic programmes should be launched to raise their economic standard. It will be helpful, if they are trained with modern agricultural systems, handicrafts, and house hold products and sell their products in fair price.
- (iv) More residential schools, should be established specially in Bondo-Hill areas, with all types of facilities like food, dress, medical treatment, learning kits etc.
- (v) Primary school teachers in the Bondo-Hill areas should be appointed from among the Bondos. For this purpose qualifications and experience should be relaxed.
- (vi) For Bondo students books should be prepared in the Bondo language in Oriya script.
- (vii) Finally, Bondo students should be gradually exposed to the outer society by frequent arrangement of excursion, study tours, cultural competition, festivals etc.

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TRIBAL COMMUNITIES IN THE CHANGING SCENARIO IN INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ANDHRA PRADESH : CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES

P. Lakshmi Narayana

Out of the total population of 83.8 crores in India, the Scheduled Tribes account for 6.78 crores, constituting 8.08 per cent to the total population as per 1991 census reports. Nearly three fourth of S.T. population is concentrated in 7 States situated in central India i.e. Madhya Pradesh (153.39 lakhs), Maharashtra (73.18 lakhs), Orissa (70.32 lakhs), Bihar (66.17 lakhs), Gujarat (62.62 lakhs), Rajasthan (54.75 lakhs) and Andhra Pradesh (42 lakhs). In some of the States and Union Territories like Mizoram, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Lakshadweep, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, the tribal population is predominant. Manipur and Tripura have substantial S. T. population. The traditional habitats of tribal communities have been situated in the inhospitable and rigorous terrains and they have evolved their own survival mechanisms. All these tribal groups are at various stages of socio-economic development. (The details of States-wise total population, S. T. population as per 1991 census are furnished in Annexure-1).

1.1. The policies of isolation and laissez-faire philosophy pursued towards tribals and tribal areas by erstwhile British and other alien and native rulers in the past led to exploitation of indigenous communities who are basically peace loving and gullible. Series of revolts and rebellions in tribal areas occurred before Independence due to exploitation and encroachment by outsiders on their natural resources.

1.2 Even after completion of 50 years of Independence, most of the Scheduled Tribes live in utter poor conditions. Their command over the common property resources available in their traditional habitats are gradually diminishing. Degradation of environment and consequent degeneration in the quality of life sustaining systems is conspicuous in the tribal areas. The various developmental projects like irrigation projects, mines and major industries are displacing large number of tribal families and this uprooting of tribal families resulting in disorganisation and disruption and pauperisation. Introduction of liberalisation, globalisation, free market economy encouraging the jungle law of survival of the fittest "may bring more misery to tribals as they are at the bottom layer of the society". The traditional knowledge, values and indigenous skills are being undermined by blindly following modernisation and westernization.

2. THE TRENDS OF DEVELOPMENT AND MODERNISATION IN TRIBAL AREAS :

2.1. In pursuance of the various provisions enshrined in the Constitution of India, Governments at National and State levels adopted two pronged policy of protection and development of Scheduled Tribes. The Governors of States having Scheduled Areas have been vested with enormous powers to enact Regulations for peace and good Governance in tribal areas. The Regulations enacted for control of problems of land alienation, money lending, indebtedness could not prevent occurrence of these problems. Consequently, the tribal areas in several parts of the country are simmering with discontentment and unrest. For example in the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh approximately 48 per cent of the cultivable land is under occupation of non-tribals legally or illegally. The present serious disturbing conditions in the tribal areas of West Godavari district are the result of tardy implementation of protective regulation over the past several decades.

2.2. Government have taken up comprehensive schemes for promotion of development of weaker Sections of the society especially SCs, STs, and other BCs, after attainment of Independence. Various Five Year Plans that are being implemented have been giving special emphasis for improving the quality of life of the STs. Introduction of V Five Year Plan could be considered as a significant milestone in the history of tribal development in the country. As a result of this visionary strategy, 194 ITDPs, 254 MADA pockets, 79 clusters have been established in different States for promoting the integrated tribal development and to take up poverty alleviation programmes. In addition to this about 75 Primitive Tribal Groups (P. T. Gs.) have been identified in 15 States/Union Territories on the basis of pre-agricultural level of economy and extremely low literacy levels. Further the programme of dispersed tribal groups have been introduced to take up developmental activities irrespective of their location. In spite of these schemes with massive investment the condition of the tribals have been improved as contemplated. "Regarding poverty eradication programme much has been left to be accomplished. In 1987-88 as per the estimates of planning Commission 49.87 per cent of S. T. population still live under the poverty line against the corresponding National figure of 25.49 per cent". (Annual Report 1996-97, Ministry of Welfare, Govt. of India page-35).

2.3. It is observed that most of the families belonging to Primitive Tribal Groups are growing in abysmal poverty. The health and hygienic conditions are in deplorable state. The nutrition deficiency diseases are rampant. The starvation deaths in some parts of tribal areas are frequently occurring. It is estimated that about 500 tribal children died of malnutrition. (The Times of India Dt. 17-8-1996). It is also reported that Kalahandi belt of Orissa comprising the districts of Kalahandi, Bolangir, Koraput and Nuapada which are predominantly inhabited by tribals is in the grip of acute hunger and chronic malnutrition resulting in misery and deprivation (Times of India Dt. 27-6-1997). In order to save this alarming situation, Ministry of Welfare, Govt. of India started a scheme of prevention of starvation deaths among tribal communities. It is paradoxical to state that various tribal communities in contemporary period facing the challenge of survival in the midst of surplus and plenty.

3. LITERACY LEVELS :

3.1. The literacy levels among the STs, are low when compared to the general population. The following table gives a comparative picture of literacy rates in the last 4 decades between Scheduled Tribes and non-Scheduled Tribes population in the country.

		TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
1961 Census	— General	28.69%		
	S. T.	8.54%		
	Difference	19.65%		
1971 Census	— General	29.45%	39.45%	18.69%
	S. T.	11.30%	17.63%	4.85%
	Difference	18.15%	21.82%	14.00%
1981 Census	— General	36.23%	46.29%	24.82%
	S. T.	16.35%	24.52%	8.04%
	Difference	19.88%	22.37%	16.00%

		TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
1991 Census	— General	52.21%	64.13%	39.23%
	S. T.	29.60%	40.65%	18.19%
	Difference	22.61%	23.48%	21.04%

3.2. The literacy levels among the tribes of Andhra Pradesh are extremely low when compared to national and state levels. The literacy rate of STs. is at the bottom when compared to S.T. literacy rate of 22 States and 4 Union Territories excluding the States and Union Territories where there are no S.T. population. The details of literacy rates at national and state levels for both general and tribals from 1951 to 1991 are furnished below :

Sl. No.	census Period	All India Literacy per cent		Andhra Pradesh Literacy per cent	
		General	Sch. Tribe	General	Sch. Tribe
1.	1951	16.67	5.96	15.81	3.46
2.	1961	28.29	8.54	21.19	4.41
3.	1971	34.45	11.29	24.57	5.34
4.	1981	36.23	16.35	29.94	7.82
5.	1991	52.21	29.60	44.09	17.16

3.3. The above table indicates about wide disparity in the literacy levels between all India General, Andhra Pradesh general and all India Sch. Tribes and Andhra Pradesh Sch. Tribes population. The literacy rate among the Scheduled Tribes of Andhra Pradesh is not even half of the national literacy of Scheduled Tribes as per 1981 census report. The literacy levels from 1951 to 1971 reveal that at national level the literacy percentages are almost more than treble in general population when compared to those of tribal population. During 1971—1981 the general literacy level is more than double when compared to Scheduled Tribes. But in Andhra Pradesh during 1951 to 1981 the general literacy growth rate in each decennial period is almost four times more than that of Scheduled Tribes. The report of the working group on development and welfare of Scheduled Tribes during Eighth Five-year Plan stated that over all for Scheduled Tribes and for S.T. males, Andhra Pradesh had the lowest literacy rates 7.82 per cent and 12.02 per cent respectively in 1981. The five states of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal retained S.T. female literacy rates of 5 per cent or less in the 1981 census. The Andhra Pradesh State is at the bottom of all the States and Union Territories when placed in the order of literacy levels as per 1981 and 1991 census reports. Even in the field of female literacy, Andhra Pradesh occupies lowest position among States and Union Territories except Rajasthan according to 1991 census.

3.4. The literacy percentage of Tribes of Andhra Pradesh increased significantly from 7.82 (1981) to 17.16 (1991) (83.72 per cent) but still A.P. Tribals literacy level is at the bottom of the literacy level of Tribals of all other States and Union Territories. In Andhra Pradesh, the S.T. female literacy levels also have not improved as per 1991 census. The highest literacy percentage among Scheduled Castes is recorded in Kerala (79.66) and for S.T. Mizoram State achieved highest literacy rate with 82.73 per cent. In Bihar and Uttar Pradesh the literacy rate of S.Ts. is higher than that of S.Cs. of that States.

INDEX OF DEVELOPMENT :

4.1. The development indicators of all India level and State level, showing the comparative picture between the tribals and non-tribals are furnished in the Annexures III & IV. The dropout rate in the field of education at various stages is extremely higher when compared to general population. For example in Andhra Pradesh the drop out rate for among boys in general population during the year 1993-1994 was 65.98 per cent where as for S.T. boys during the same period was 82.06 per cent for the classes from I to VII. Among girls in general population the drop out was 70.25 per cent and S.T. girls show 89.20 per cent. These figures indicate heavy drop out rate among S.Ts. and special measures have to be taken to reduce drop out rate and to achieve higher educational levels.

4.2. While analysing the impact of development and consequent modernisation among the tribal communities Shri Madhav Gadgil a renowned, 'ecologist, described changing scenario in the tribal areas as follows' : "The modernisers representing the aspirations of India's urban elite had easily prevailed; signalling the launch of massive state sponsored development of the country's natural resources to encourage industrial growth. Terming dams and power stations, temples of modern India, Nehru called on tribals and peasants to sacrifice in larger national interest".

4.3. "Sacrifice they did. When their lands were submerged under dams, they received a pittance in compensation. Paper mills were granted bamboo at throw away prices, which they promptly exhausted, switching to eucalyptus when bamboo was no longer available. But lakhs of rural artisans dependent on bamboo has no such option and were turned into ecological refugees. There were then two major contradictions in the development strategy. While we talked of modernisation, no serious effort was made to educate the masses of illiterate Indians. For these ecosystem people who lived close to the earth, modernisation merely meant destruction of the natural resource base on which they had been traditionally dependent. Indeed, development had quickly been equated to channelising nation's resources to a narrow elite of omnivorous-powerful land owners and urbanites in the organised industries-service sectors. These resources flows were driven by large scale state sponsored subsidies. This created a system of highly inefficient resource use, a system that led to resource exhaustion even as it fostered social inequities and regional imbalances". (Madhav Gadgil, The emerging paradigm, The Hindu, date 1-7-1997).

5. RESERVATIONS AND EMPLOYMENT OF S.Ts :

5.1. As per the provisions of Article 16 (4) and 335 of Constitution reservations are provided to S.Cs. and S.Ts. Because of past neglect untranch in inequality and extreme backwardness, Constitutional provisions for "Compensatory discrimination" has been created in favour S.Cs. and S.Ts. Inspite of statutory reservations relaxations, special drives the representation of S.Ts. in various services is not satisfactory due to various factors. The representation of S.Ts. in Central Government Services as on 1st January, 1994 are detailed below :

Group	Total	No. of STs	Percentage
A	59,016	1,727	2.92
B	1,03,198	2,902	2.81
C	23,81,613	1,28,228	5.38
D	10,23,285	62,945	6.15
(excluding sweepers)			
Sweepers	2,25,359	15,567	6.90
Total	35,67,112	1,95,802	5.48
(excluding sweepers)			

(Source : India 1995, published by Publications Division, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of India)

5-2. Even though the policy of reservation is in force for about five decades, there is a view gap in the actual representation of S.Ts in services especially in higher categories and statutory requirements.

6. EMPOWERMENT OF TRIBAL COMMUNITIES :

6-1. In contemporary period, tribal communities have been facing innumerable complex challenges. Implementation of target oriented schemes in the tribal areas are resulting in lopsided development. "Such development has created impowerisation, continue backwardness and environmental degradation "(Stephen Rego, Economic and Political Weekly, February 12, 1994). The tribal communities are becoming frustrated and they are not able to understand the complex procedures involved in the process of implementation of developmental programmes. Moreover, the schemes are formulated and implemented by 'donors' with pathametic attitude without least concern and empathy for tribals and their culture.

6-2. After bringing about 73rd Amendment Act, 1992, Bhuria Committee examined in detail the imperative need and areas of self-rule in the decentralisation set up. The Committee evolved on "alternative system built on the foundations of traditional institutions". It recommended a harmonious blending of various Constitutional Provisions particularly those of Sixth Schedule and the Directive Principles" (Dr. B. D. Sharma, 1997 P. 7).

6-3. On the basis of recommendations of Bhuria Committee, Government of India enacted the provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996. This Act will usher in new era of self rule and development by participatory management. The Grama Sabha in tribal villages/hamlets is going to play a crucial role in all the developmental activities in their respective villages. The Act aims at evolving synthesis of indigenous knowledge and modern Science and Technology. The provisions for empowerment of Grama Sabha (Community) consists of safeguards for social and cultural heritage promotion of economic development and protection of life sustaining systems. Workable and land strategies have to be evolved to implement the provisions of Act, 1940 of Government of India in letter and spirit in order to facilitate simple and innocent tribals of this country to rejoin what they lost in the past.

7. CULTURAL HERITAGE OF TRIBAL COMMUNITIES :

7-1. The tribal communities are important segments of Indian population and they played a significant role for evolution of composite culture of India. The present Indian culture and civilisation have been nurtured by these authchthonous population which came into contact with other communities and ultimately developed and blended new types of civilizations. The social scientists have devoted mostly to the contemporary social process like sanskritisation, dominant castes, dominant cultures, Islamisation, westernisation etc. But no systematic study was taken up on contributions made by indigenous population to indigenous Great Tradition.

7-2. NEED FOR TRIBAL CULTURAL POLICY :

The tribals of our country have fascinating textiles, ornaments handicrafts in addition to their rich folklore, folk songs and robust and enchanting folk dances. The complex social organisation with associated ritual ceremonies, practices, religious belief systems, faiths and festivals are another inseparable component of cultural heritage of our country. Comprehensive and authoritative documentation of these intrinsic and valuable facets of tribal heritage should be given top priority. The text books in the schools and colleges should contain well written lessons of different aspects of tribal culture including their folklore, artistic forms, performing arts etc. This type of teachings from the childhood itself remove the ethnocentric and temporocentric tendencies and facilitate harmonious integration of different ethnic groups as equal and proud citizens of this country. The unity in diversity

would be more meaningful and relevant if the 'diversity' is recognised and encouraged in order to facilitates spontaneous unifying forces.

7.3. In view of fast changing cultural scenario of tribal communities National Policy on Tribals and their culture is imperative to give policy guidelines for recognitions and strengthening of core aspects of tribal culture. This policy may be formulated in such a way that it could serve as fulcrum for promotion of sustainable development of tribals and ethnic cultural identity. Such a National Policy has to operationalise systematically all the Constitutional directives.

ANNEXURE I

STATE-WISE TOTAL POPULATION AND S.T. POPULATION AS PER 1991 CENSUS :

Sl. No.	State/Union Territories	Total population ('000)	Total S.T. population ('000)	Percentage of S.T. population
INDIA		8,38,584	67,758	8.08
States :				
1.	Andhra Pradesh	66,508	4,200	6.31
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	865	550	63.66
3.	Assam	22,414	2,874	12.82
4.	Bihar	86,374	6,617	7.66
5.	Goa	1,170	..	0.03
6.	Gujarat	41,310	6,617	7.66
7.	Himachal Pradesh	5,171	218	4.22
8.	Karnataka	44,977	1,916	4.26
9.	Kerala	29,099	321	1.10
10.	Madhya Pradesh	66,181	15,399	23.27
11.	Maharashtra	78,937	7,318	9.27
12.	Manipur	1,837	632	34.41
13.	Meghalaya	1,775	1,518	85.53
14.	Mizoram	690	654	94.75
15.	Nagaland	1,210	1,061	8.70
16.	Orissa	31,660	732	22.21
17.	Rajasthan	44,006	5,475	12.44
18.	Sikkim	406	91	23.36
19.	Tamilnadu	55,859	574	1.03
20.	Tripura	2,757	853	30.95
21.	Uttar Pradesh	1,39,112	288	0.21
22.	West Bengal	68,078	3,809	5.59

Sl. No.	State/Union Territories	Total population ('000)	Total S.T. population ('000)	Percentage of S.T. population
Union Territory :				
1.	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	281	27	9.54
2.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	138	109	78.99
3.	Daman & Diu	102	12	11.54
4.	Lakshadweep	52	48	93.15

*1991 Excludes J. & K. as there was no census

ANNEXURE II

PERCENTAGE OF LITERACY AMONG TOTAL POPULATION AND S.T. POPULATION 1991

Sl. No.	India/State/Union Territories	Literacy among S.T. population 1991			Literacy among total population 1991		
		P	M	F	P	M	F
	INDIA	29.60	40.65	18.19	52.21	64.13	39.29
	States :						
1	Andhra Pradesh	17.16	25.25	8.68	44.09	55.13	32.72
2	Arunachal Pradesh	34.45	44.00	24.94	41.59	51.45	29.69
3	Assam**	49.16	58.93	38.98	52.89	61.87	43.03
4	Bihar	26.78	38.40	14.75	38.48	52.49	22.89
5	Goa	42.91	54.43	29.01	75.51	83.64	67.09
6	Gujarat	36.45	48.25	24.20	61.29	73.13	48.64
7	Haryana	0.00	0.00	0.00	55.85	69.10	40.47
8	Himachal Pradesh	47.09	62.74	31.18	63.86	75.36	52.13
9	Karnataka	36.01	47.95	23.57	56.04	67.26	44.34
10	Kerala	57.22	63.38	51.07	89.81	93.62	86.13
11	Madhya Pradesh	21.54	32.16	10.73	44.20	58.42	28.85
12	Maharashtra	36.79	49.09	24.03	64.87	76.56	52.32
13	Manipur	53.63	62.39	44.48	59.89	71.63	47.20
14	Meghalaya	46.71	49.78	43.63	49.10	53.12	44.85
15	Mizoram	82.73	86.67	78.74	82.27	85.61	78.60
16	Nagaland	60.59	66.27	54.51	61.65	67.62	54.75
17	Orissa	22.31	34.44	10.21	49.09	63.09	34.68
18	Punjab	0.00	0.00	0.00	58.51	65.66	50.41
19	Rajasthan	19.44	33.29	4.42	38.55	54.99	20.44
20	Sikkim	59.01	66.80	50.37	56.94	65.74	46.69
21	Tamilnadu	27.89	35.25	20.23	62.66	73.75	51.33
22	Tripura	40.37	52.88	27.34	60.44	70.58	49.65
23	Uttar Pradesh	35.70	49.95	19.86	41.60	55.73	25.31
24	West Bengal	27.78	40.07	14.98	57.70	67.81	46.56
	Union Territory :						
1	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	56.62	64.16	48.78	73.02	78.99	65.46
2	Chandigarh	0.00	0.00	0.00	77.81	82.04	72.34
3	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	28.21	40.75	15.94	40.71	53.56	26.98
4	Daman & Diu	63.58	41.49	71.20	82.66	59.40	
5	Delhi	0.00	0.00	0.00	75.29	82.01	66.99
6	Lakshadweep	80.58	89.50	71.72	81.78	90.18	72.89
7	Pondicherry	0.00	0.00	0.00	74.74	83.68	65.63

*Excludes Assam where census could not be held owing to disturbed conditions prevailing there at the time of 1981 census. No Tribes were scheduled by the President of India for Jammu & Kashmir till 1989 and in 1991, census could not be held, so figures for literacy are not available for Jammu & Kashmir.

ANNEXURE III
INDEX OF DEVELOPMENT

Sl. No.	Name of the Indicator	1951		1961		1981		1991	
		General	Tribal scenario	General	Tribal scenario	General	Tribal scenario	General	Tribal scenario
1	Population (Millions)	361.08	19.14	439.23	30.13	685.28	51.62	838.58	67.75
2	Percentage of S. T. population to total population.	..	5.30	..	6.86	..	7.53	..	8.08
3	Literacy Rate (%)	16.67	..	24.02	8.53	36.23	16.35	52.21	29.60
	Male	..	..	..	13.83	46.89	24.52	64.13	40.65
	Female	..	..	..	3.16	24.82	8.04	39.29	18.19
4	Sex Ratio (females per 1000 males)	946	..	941	987	935	983 927	972	..
5	Enrolment Ratio : Primary (I-V)	..	..	76.4 (year 1971)	48.6	93.4 (year 1984)	81.9	644.97 lakhs (year 1988)	33.66 lakhs
	Upper primary (VI to VIII)	..	..	34.2 (year 1971)	12.9	48.9 (year 1984)	26.0	372.52 lakhs (year 1988)	32.99 lakhs
6	Dropout Rate :								
	Primary	..	..	..	..	..	..	47.93	64.53
	Middle	..	..	..	..	..	..	65.40	78.08
	Secondary	..	..	..	..	..	..	75.36	86.72
								(Year 1998)	
7	Work participation Rate :								
	Male	..	..	..	..	51.62	57.20	51.00	..
	Female	..	..	..	..	13.99	28.81	16.03	..
	Total	..	..	..	..	32.47	43.11	34.18	..
7	Infant :								
	Mortality Rate (per 1000 live births)	..	..	129 (year 1970)	..	110	120 (year 1978)	79	..

ANNEXURE IV
INDEX OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT - ANDHRA PRADESH

Sl. No.	Indicator	Unit	General Population			S. T. Population	ITDAs
1	Population 1991	Lakhs	665.08			41.99	18.95
2	Per cent of S. T. Population to the total population 1991.	Per cent	6.31			..	67.50
3	Decennial growth Rate of 1981—1991.	Per cent	24.2			32.2	..
4	Literacy Rate 1991	Per cent	44.09			17.16	..
5	Males	Per cent	55.13			25.25	..
6	Females	Per cent	32.72			8.60	..
7	Infant Mortality Rate (1992)	..	71/1000			85/1000	..
8	<i>Per Capita</i> Investment (1991)	Rs./ HEAD	787.86			325.30	..
9	<i>Per Capita</i> Income (1989-90) at current prices.	Rs./ HEAD	3364.00			915.00	..
10	Enrolment in primary Classes (1993-94)	LAKHS	71.41			35.26	..
11	Dropout rate From I to VII Class Year 1993-94.	Boys Girls Boys Girls	65.98	70.25	82.60	89.20	
12	Per cent of forest area to the total Geographic Area.	Per cent	23.15			..	63.04
13	Unemployed as per the Line Registers.	LAKHS	29.96			0.69	0.34
14	New irrigated to total cropped area.	Per cent	37.89			4.08	13.13
15	Electrified Villages	Per cent	100.00			68	44.6
16	Weaker Section colonies electrified.	No.	8246			..	3111
17	No. of beds per lakha of population (1991).	No. of beds	71			..	47

Sources :

- 1 Hand Book on Social Welfare Statistics 1986, Government of India, Ministry of Welfare, New Delhi
- 2 Statistical Abstract of India 1974, Central Statistical Organisation, Government of India
- 3 Central Monitoring for Monitoring India Economy, Vol. II, September, 1993
- 4 Educational Profile of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes till 1992, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh.

MOBILISING THE TRIBALS FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE DEVELOPMENTAL PROCESS

G. K. Sahu

Introduction :

India has the second largest concentration of tribal population after that of African subcontinent. According to 1991 census, the total Scheduled Tribe population in India is about 6.78 crores which constitute about 8.08 per cent of the total population of 83.86 crores in the country, excluding the population of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The development of such a vast population cannot be neglected and therefore become a prime concern for the policy planners and administrators.

The Scheduled Tribe population live in remote hilly tracts surrounded with dense forests and suffer from poverty, illiteracy and malnutrition. They spread over almost all States except that of Punjab, Haryana, Chandigarh, Delhi and Pondicherry. They live mostly in rural areas. Only 7.39 per cent of the Scheduled Tribe population of India live in urban areas as compared to 25.73 per cent of the general population.

Constitutional provisions :

Keeping in view the backwardness of the tribal communities and underdevelopment of tribal areas, the constitution makers made special provisions for the tribals. The Constitution adopted two pronged strategy for the upliftment of the tribals : protection and socio-economic development of the tribals. The main provisions relating to Scheduled Tribes are contained in Articles 15(4), 16(4), 19(4), 19(5), 23, 29, 46, 164, 275(1), 330, 332, 334, 335, 338, 342 and Fifth and Sixth Schedules of the Constitution.

In pursuance with the constitutional provisions contained in Articles 16(4) and 335, reservation in services has been provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Central Government provided 7.5 per cent of the posts reserved to Scheduled Tribes in Government departments and public sector undertakings. Similarly State Governments have also provided reservation in services for Scheduled Tribes keeping in view their population in the States.

Constitution provides political protection to Scheduled Tribes for their election to Parliament and State Legislative Assemblies. Articles 330, 332 and 334 of the Constitution provide for reservation of seats in Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabhas for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in proportion to the percentage of their population in their respective States and Union Territories.

Article 15(4) empowers the State to make any special provision for advancement of any socially or educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes. Article 46 contains a directive to the State Governments to promote with a special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The economy of the Scheduled Tribes is mainly based on agriculture and forests. Due to unauthorised alienation of tribal land and deprivation of tribals of forestry rights, the tribal economy has been seriously affected. In certain areas, it has resulted in migration of tribals from their traditional habitat to the urban areas and other States to earn their livelihood. In order to deal with the problem of land alienation, exploitation by money lenders and other non-tribals, special laws have been enacted in all

the States. In New Forest Policy of 1988 special rights and concessions are given to the tribals for utilising forest resources for their livelihood. They are entitled to explore their domestic requirements of fuel, fodder, minor forest produce and timber from the forest.

Development measures :

In its planned development strategy, the Government has undertaken several developmental programmes for the upliftment of the tribals. Demarcation of administrative units like Tribal Blocks, Integrated Tribal Development Projects, etc. in various States having tribal population and formulation of Tribal Sub-plans and quantification of funds for tribal areas can be counted as some of the tangible achievements in this direction. A number of Ministries and Departments in the Union and State Governments have been entrusted with the task of implementing the Constitutional provisions as also various area specific and family oriented programmes for speedy development of Scheduled Tribes.

In addition to the Governmental measures both at the National and State level, several voluntary organisations are also working for the upliftment of the tribals. These voluntary organisations are working in various fields like education, health and sanitation, housing, environment and forest, agriculture etc. Some of them are doing a commendable job in creating awareness, educating and motivating the tribals to involve in the developmental process. They are also educating the tribals regarding their rights and protective measures of the Government made for them.

Causes of under Development :

Despite all these measures and efforts by the Government and voluntary agencies tribals still live in a condition as their predecessors lived a century ago. However, desired results have not been achieved mainly on account of weakness in delivery system. The lack of progress in achieving the desired objectives of the tribal development schemes has been attributed to a host of factors : essentially a bureaucratic approach, poor co-ordination between different departments and agencies of the Government, rigid uniformity even under vastly different conditions, and above all lack of participation of the tribals in the development process. In addition to the above lacunas another major factor responsible for the failure of the development schemes is absence of proper communication approach. There is a need for plugging various loopholes in the implementation of programmes and for strengthening of delivery system. There is also need for effective enforcement of various Constitutional safeguards and protective measures relating to, among others, land, forests, money lending etc.

Communication strategy :

Tribal communities suffer from the formidable problems like poverty, illiteracy, lack of proper sanitation and health care facilities, belief in evil spirits and superstitions, inadequate communication and transportation facilities, etc. In addition they have been subjected to exploitation by money lenders and timber merchants. In order to overcome these problems a strong communication support is the need of the hour. An effective communication strategy aimed at creating awareness, educating and motivating the tribals to help overcome their problems and to protect their identity must be worked out. As Jawaharlal Nehru said, "The best in the traditional society, culture, art and language should be preserved and developed; that welfare and education facilities should be protected; so that tribal people may have equal opportunities with their fellow citizens of the plains and finally that the tribes should be integrated in a true heart-unity with India as a whole". In this regard communication plays an important role in protecting their identity, tradition and culture as well as help to participate in the developmental process.

Communication ensures involvement and participation of the tribals in the diagnosis of the problem and in planning of action to solve it. It creates awareness, educates and motivates the tribal communities to participate in the developmental process. For ensuring the involvement and

participation of the tribals, social institutions like the modern mass media, community level communication come into play. These modern and traditional media and community organisations and groups can be mobilised to provide the individuals the social support, reinforcement and legitimisation of the desired action for resolving problems or situations.

Before undertaking any development project in tribal localities, the following aspects need to be taken into account :—

- (i) social, economic and cultural background of the local community for whom the development project intended to benefit;
- (ii) the problems and needs of the community;
- (iii) a thorough understanding of both the formal and informal organisations and groups at the local level;
- (iv) indigenous channels of communication such as traditional folk forms, community groups, community gathering centres etc. need to be studied extensively;
- (v) traditional and modern political and social leadership and their influence on the community ; and
- (vi) the role of extension workers of the Government and voluntary agents in the community development.

A thorough research on the above and other relevant aspects will provide an insight on the local problems and issues.

The development is to have any relevance to the tribals, who need it most, it must start where the real needs and problems exist. Tribal communities who live in remote hilly tracts must be encouraged to perceive their real needs and identify their real problems. The development programmes must ensure the participation of the tribals in the following four stages of the development project : participation in decision-making, participation in implementation, participation in benefits and participation in evaluation.

Participation implies sensitising people to become more receptive and responsive to development programmes. In order to occur participation, it requires a sustained flow of information between the planners, the implementing agency and the local community. Without communication there could be no meaningful participation of that sort, as communication is transmission of ideas, thoughts, beliefs, knowledge, attitudes, and opinions. Therefore, effective communication is prerequisite for social change and development. An appropriate blend of media could only help to achieve the desired change leading to the overall development of the tribals.

Participatory media :

Mass media in India are urban-based and also urban-biased. They provide very little coverage on tribal issues. The media contents and programmes are of little relevance to the problems and needs of the tribal communities. Therefore, under the existing set up mass media could play a very little, if any, role in the tribal development. Under such circumstances, there is a need to establish new media network in tribal localities. Establishment of rural newspapers, FM radio stations, and local television centres with production facilities in rural areas will help the participation of the tribals in the developmental process. The communication revolution has opened new opportunities for participatory communication. For example, participatory video provides an opportunity to communities to create their own messages—share common experiences, question absolute control over mass media exercised by power elite—retaining the power of communication within their own community to some extent. According to Stuart (1990) :

Video is an appropriate and powerful tool for transporting local experiences from place to place quickly to inspire constructive action elsewhere..... What is universal is the adaptability of this technology and its particular advantage in the hands of local organisers and extensionists.... Video puts illiterate views as well as illiterate producers on par with their literate counterparts, thus levelling or equalising element can transform relationships, support a high level of participation and have a great impact.

As a part of the process of bringing media closer to the heads and hearts of the people, and to ensure their greater involvement in the media programmes, it is necessary to involve the tribal communities in the production, decision-making and implementing level of the communication project. Firstly, it is necessary to provide professional help, technical facilities and production resources in the production of messages and programmes. Secondly, tribal communities needs to be empowered in deciding the programmes (Contents, time, schedule, etc.) and in controlling the administration and financing. Thirdly, it is also essential to involve tribal communities in formulating plans, policies, objectives, management principles, ways of financing, etc. (Utreras, 1988).

Participatory media draws talent rooted in the genius of the area and develops media contents and programmes suiting to the socio-cultural environment of the locality. The contents and programmes produced at these media centres will be mainly in the areas of health and sanitation, education, agriculture, horticulture, tribal rights, Constitutional safeguards, legal help etc. The contents and programmes so produced will be in accordance with the needs and aspirations of the local community. In short participatory media is that media which is managed by the local community, operated for the local community and its contents and programmes cater to the needs and aspirations of the local community.

Indigenous communication network :

Indigenous communication system can be defined as "a communication system embedded in the culture which existed before the arrival of mass media". They are the most profound and powerful means of communication in tribal belts. Indigenous communication system constitute traditional folk forms and all other internal communication system such as community meetings, weekly marketing centres, bathing *ghats*, local tea stall and other places of interpersonal interaction and group communication. They are originated and developed in the culture and is closely related to the communication behaviour pattern and life style of the people and can play an effective role in creating awareness and educating the tribals on their own rights. Voluntary organisations and missionaries are successfully utilising these channels for creating awareness, educating and motivating the tribals for different causes. The communication planners must study the communication strategies of these organisations and find out effectiveness of different channels of communication and utilise them for protecting the tribals against exploitation as well as implementing developmental programmes.

Interpersonal channels of communication :

Field workers in tribal areas generally betray poor knowledge, orientation and empathy. Their activities are on the whole confined to serving the elites. Their credibility is not high because at times they do not transmit messages which are timely or specifically useful to the tribals, and also because their communication inputs are not always matched by adequate services or goods.

It is often blamed that the Government agents pay special attention to the opinions and suggestions of influential people in the locality and ignore the poor. When any Government agent visits tribal villages, the influential people in the tribal localities receive the agents, they articulate the village's needs and interests, their concern which emerge as the village's priorities for development. Most of the benefits of development go to these influential members. The poor, hapless and hopeless tribals are

often side-tracked. The poorest of the poor never gets the benefit of development as they cannot express their own needs. The influentials often suppress their voice.

Under these circumstances it is necessary for a development agency to give due consideration to the opinions of the people at the grass roots level while making development plans for tribals. There must be a constant interaction between the development agency and the tribals. Interpersonal interaction can serve this purpose very well. The failure of the most of the Government's projects may be due to neglect of participation of the tribals in decision-making and implementing level.

There are so many venues at which interpersonal interaction can take place. The field worker has to find out these places and utilise them for effective communication. For example, the field worker can utilise weekly market places. Tribals most often gather in the market centre. As a news centre, weekly market centres attracts personal as well as public information on different aspects of development.

Conclusion :

If the tribal development projects have to be successful it is necessary to take into account the real situation and expectation of the tribal communities who live in remote parts of the country. In this respect integration of communication with development projects will give desired results. It is time for a systematic approach in the strategy, design and implementation of communication processes and media which can fill the gap between policies and people. This means a shift from an exclusive focus on modern mass media to a broader focus on participatory communication media and indigenous communication channels based on proper, in-depth assessment of designated audience groups, objectives and message design, as well as the institutional aspects of managing communication strategies and campaigns.

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THE MAHADEV KOLIS : A SHORT APPRAISAL OF THEIR IDENTITY AND CHANCES OF DIGNIFIED SURVIVAL

S. Swayam

Introduction :

Mahadev Kolis, a section of the larger community of 'Kolis', according to Ghurye, " the largest and the most well known of the non-Brahmanic and non-dominant ethnic groups in Deccan". (1957 : 1). The colonial Gazetteers of Bombay and Hyderabad Presidency bears several references to Mahadev Kolis along with other segments of Koli population. S. S. Ul-Hassan in 1920 indicates the presence of the Mahadev Kolis in Hyderabad State, but Ghurye in 1957 reports that despite his sincere effort, he could not find any Mahadev Kolis group there. Interestingly, captain Macintosh felt that the "Kolis" from the Mahadev Hills (North-west of Berar or modern Vidharbha, which was a part of the Hyderabad State) precipitated into Poona, Ahmednagar and Nasik districts of Maharashtra and therefore known as Mahadev Kolis.

Macintosh's preposition may explain the nomenclature of the ethnic identity of these people, however it perpetuates the skepticism of the historic validity of the migration as the date of the migration is not known and there is no conceivable reason for such a migration. Ghurye made an earnest attempt to solve the ambiguities of Macintosh's hypothesis. His efforts went grossly unheralded, as in most of the documents the subcategory of the ethnic name was ignored. Therefore, it was difficult to separate the Mahadev Koli faction from other Koli groups from the record. As the records proved insufficient to solve the riddle of migration, a fresh effort to record them seems to be the only viable option. Ghurye returned empty handed from the field, without being able to identify the Mahadev Kolis from other factions as after independence most of the Malhar Kolis (an equally numerous group) claimed the status of Mahadev Kolis in the records to get the special benefit of the scheduled tribe. This particular experience of Ghurye gets confirmation as the Surgana area Mahadev Kolis admit that most of them were originally Malhar Kolis. As their identities are now accepted, they feel less threatened to palpitae an old secret.

The distribution of the present Mahadev Kolis population concentrates in the north of Pune and that of the Malhar Kolis to its south. Nonetheless, where two communities lived side by side, Mahadev Kolis assumed a superior position of farmer whereas Malhar Kolis figured mainly as village servants (Ghurye 1957). Considering the fact of post independence conversion of Malhar Kolis to Mahadev Kolis and Ghurey's report of the co-existence of these two communities side by side, there arises a possibility that the present Surgana taluka Mahadev Kolis may be a mixed community of both Mahadev and Malhar Kolis. In Maharashtra 'Kolis' in general means fisherman, but it is the Son Kolis who are exclusively fishermen. No scholar so far has found any link between Son Kolis and Mahadev Kolis. Rather Mahadev Kolis and Malhar Kolis existed side by side and must have shared some historic conditions to a certain degree. Hence the conversion of Mahadev Kolis to Malhar Kolis does not put any hindrance to the basic concern of this paper.

Ghurye traces the historicity of Mahadev Kolis back to the period of Ramayana by linking Mahadev Kolis of the tradition of Valmiki, the author of the epic Ramayana. This assumption primarily shoots out of the character of antisocial and tainted militancy among Mahadev Kolis. There is a lot to contend

about this assumption, as this it is rooted within a questionable premise. The premise is defined through a particular historical process, which has feigned the ethnic identity of this particular group with a variable magnitude at different times. Here is an attempt to encompass the historical milieu of Mahadev Kolis to indicate the cultural significance of historical facts.

Social and Political Integration : Mahadev Kolis in 18th Century :

Peshwa Balajirao Bajirao in 1741-1742 A.D. took the possession of the fort of Kurag that was under Kolis. After a decade, (1750-1751 A.D.) he annexed fourteen *Mahalas*—areas under the possession of Mahadev Kolis. Thus, all the Mahadev Koli forts in *Prant Surgana* fell to Peshwas. A Bahamani record dated to the middle of the 14th century gives a convincing proof of the existence of fifty-two Koli chiefs with their Sarnaik (head chief), stationed at Junner. "The reference to Jawar are particularly interesting because they mention Ranis of Jawar as their rulers or managers of dominions, and also because of the peculiarity of the personal names of Jawar rulers. The first mention in the year 1760-1761 A.D. refers to a dispute between the male would be heir to the throne. The male is named Krishnasa, which is a corruption of Krishna Saha, the latter part being the title conferred on the rulers by Muhammad Tuglak. The Peshwa Balajirao handed over the management of the Jawar state to the female heir Mohan Kunwar (*mark the Rajputization of the personal name here*) and decreed that after her death it would pass over to the son of Krishnasa. The last reference dated 1784-1785 A.D. is in the Diary of Savai Madhavrao and refers to the instigation of the Koli disturbances by Abai, the Rani of Jawar. The Peshwa seems to have brought her over to his side by providing sumptuously for her upkeep, that the Kolis were well integrated into the political society of Maharashtra and the main bulk of the community looked up to the Peshwas as the natural leaders is reflected in the routine occasion of Koli life even today" (Ghurye 1975).

In the backdrop of this political scenario, let us now move to the oral traditions of Mahadev Kolis. Mahadev Koli sources claim their descent from the first Sanskrit poet Valmiki, who wrote the famous epic Ramayana. It is not difficult to guess the source of such a popular belief, as one finds corroboratory depictions in the historical records. Some of the eighteenth century commentators on the Puranic texts identify Kolis with Nishadas, a forest living community often mentioned in the Puranic sources. One even today notices a strong sentimental attachment of the Kolis and others inhabiting the high peaks of the Sahyadri to the places, which according to them are attached to Rama, or other popular characters of epic Ramayana. Anthropological literature often uses such oral traditions to trace their linkage with the greater tradition as corroborative to the ancient texts to prove primitiveness of a particular community. What strikes to me here is rather the other way round. In the emphasis on the complementarities, the inherent negation of the forest and the plain remains covert. Let us read this historical text from the perspective of the 'other'.

The subjugation of the Koli chiefs by Peshwas, according to Ghurye stands as the testimony to the appropriation and correction of aberrant activities of Kolis in the interest of peace (Ghurye 1957). Sontheimer, a German scholar who has worked his lifetime on the tribal cults in Maharashtra, explains the duality of such overt assumption of complementarities in terms of 'Vana' and 'Kshetra'. Kshetra includes the region where agrarian population lived in permanent settlements. This represents the dominant tradition. Vana, stands as a negation to the Kshetra where the primeval forest still supports communities who support their lives through hunting and gathering. As a historical process, the Kshetra spread into Vana for obvious reasons. More the Kshetra spread into the Vana more tribal cults were integrated though in an exceedingly slow but steady process over centuries. They were reinterpreted in terms of the cults and rituals of the Kshetra (Sontheimer, 1994). This view being shared

by many scholars offers an alternative paradigm to interpret the overt historical fact. It is thus safe to believe that the political integration of Mahadev Kolis must have provided the required impetus to their social integration as well. The subjugation of Kolis by Peshwas thus indicates the interference of Kshetra in Vana and their slow integration might have been accomplished by linking them to the tradition of Valmiki.

One may argue that the social and cultural integration of the Kolis might have occurred earlier than the Peshwas's regime. At the middle of the seventeenth century, captain Macintosh refers to a rebellion under the Koli Sarnaik Khemi's leadership. Khemi with his allegiance to Shivaji had challenged to Muslim rule. However, at a tragic turn of the event, the Mughal army overpowered Kolis and killed all the members in the Khemi lineage. At Junar, they chopped the heads of all Koli prisoners and over it, they built a platform known as "*Kala Chabutra*", the black platform. This contribution of the Kolis had lost its luster in Peshwas' regime. A community with a history of sacrificing their lives in faithful allegiance to Shivaji in what circumstances were treated as the rabble-rouser for Peshwas thus escalates the curiosity. Despite this limitation of our present state of knowledge, it can be safely concluded that the political and social integration took place under the Peshwas.

Mahadev Kolis and the British Rule :

Some of the historical information on Kolis in colonial period needs a critical treatment. Kolis found to be included in the army of captain Barrow who was leading the British conquest of Maratha dominations. Captain Macintosh also reports troubles from Koli bands in between 1818 to 1848 A.D. Raghoji Bang hare, a Koli revolted against the Marwari merchants as one of them seems to have troubled his mother. Captain Macintosh though towards the end of 1848 succeeded in putting down this revolt, but soon after Bhils started raising banner against colonial subjugation. British tactfully formed a Koli corps under colonel Nuttal and used them to fight against Bhils who were the traditional rivals of the Kolis. The same corps seems to have been employed also in connection with putting down the revolt of 1857, ultimately the corps was dismantled in 1861 A.D. This hypocritical exploitation of the strength and valour of the simple forest dwellers for the political purpose by the British administration and then abandoning them after their goals were achieved must have created a sudden unemployment. As the whole generation was engaged in the British army, they had lost the skill in their traditional subsistence. Mahadev Kolis took some time to get over this trauma and opposed the British due to its interference in their territories. This was full of vigour and vindication. Finally, before they could put the British administration into any trouble, in 1914 A.D. under the Criminal Tribes Act Mahadev Kolis were notified as a criminal tribe.

Centuries of oppression and their sustained rebellion against the intruders to their own territory have left innumerable scars on Mahadev Kolis communal identity. To an outsider these scars may stand as justice to their aberrant tainted militancy, only if they ignore its historical context. At present this libel is so much embossed on the present generation that they are apologetic about their past.

The Post-independence Follow up :

The political independence of India is an important event for all communities in this sub-continent, and its significance is no less for the forest dwellers. During the colonial rule, the forest was considerably destroyed and the forest laws of British period had already initiated a new equation in the social and economic life of the forest dwellers. After the independence the Union Government also carried on the same forest policies. The injustice continued.

The forest communities lead a symbiotic life-style *vis-a-vis* the specific ecological system. But the moment State makes inroad to their habitat or circumscribes their resource base, because of urgency and value of forest wealth, the economy becomes destabilised till it reaches a new compromise and

new level of stability of interactions and interdependence with the State, the market system and the neighboring ethnic group (Mahapatra, 1990). Mahadev Kolis, a community which has seen its history taking an unexpected turn in the beginning of this century, has left a very limited scope to reconstruct their traditional subsistence system. As the historical records indicate, in the mid of the fourteenth century Kolis were organised under a small kingdom. Kolis at that time were inhabiting fifty two mountain valleys. Thus with a permissible level of speculation indicate practice of agriculture to a certain extent. But most of their requirement must have come from the forest products and hunting wild games. The forest at that time had a rich biodiversity. The wild animals, edible roots, fruits and berries must have given them a reliable forest resource base to fulfill their requirements. The present situation in the valleys of Surgana is completely different from this. The current situation of the Mahadev Kolis is discussed in the following paragraphs in nutshell.

Depletion of Land Holding :

The forest laws which prohibit Mahadev Kolis from their free access to forest, the large scale deforestation and decrease in the wild games in the forest has left the land as the only local resource base. So at present the fate of the Mahadev Kolis depend up on the amount of land they possess. To get a clearer picture let us consider the data on land holding of Mahadev Kolis of Sukapur, a homogeneous Mahadev Koli settlement with a population of 236, there are 31 families in the village. 15 families out of these 31 are landless. Only 16 households have some land in their possession. They altogether possess 31.1 acres of land. So per head land holding in Sukapur village comes to just 0.25 acres.

There are only four households where landholding is more than one acre per head. The type of land they own is mostly hill slope dry land. Conspicuously, terrace cultivation is unknown to the Mahadev Kolis. Tribal groups in Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland are reported to practice terrace cultivation who live in a similar situation. They control the run off velocity of the rain water by constructing terraces in the hill slopes and retain the water for cultivation. In the absence of such a practice the agricultural production mostly depends on the rainfall. The irregular rainfall, pestilence and other natural calamities put considerable stress upon the agrarian economy of Mahadev Kolis. It seems the adoption of agriculture for Mahadev Kolis is quite recent, thus they have not mastered the necessary agricultural technology required to maximise the production. The Konkanas and Warlis, who live in the same locality hold the better lands in the valleys. Therefore, it is probable that Mahadev Kolis were hunter-gatherers living on the hilltop and have taken up agriculture very recently. The Saoras and Kondhs exist in a similar situation sharing the eco-niche in a similar way. The Saoras are terrace cultivators and low land agriculturists. The Kondhs living in the same locality practice Sweden agriculture and hunting gathering. Such type of co-existence practising different subsistence strategies has several parallels.

What is more important to notice here is the relative disadvantage of the hunter-gathers who have taken up the agriculture recently. The Konkanas who had adopted the agriculture way of life way back are found to be in disadvantageous position in their struggle for existence. The depletion of the forest eco-system and its resources has marginalised the hunter-gatherers and hill slope cultivators.

I feel it is crucial for us to understand the relationship of forest and such communities as Mahadev Kolis who for years were dependent on forest. In this kind of situation the forest, exist as a common property resource. The management and exploitation of this common property is achieved by their social organisations and customs specially devised for this. Thus their present integration into the modern social and economic system has created an economic and technological change. The fatalism noticed among them is explicitly due to a culture conflict.

Composite Hurdles : Illiteracy, Population and Migration :

Illiteracy and increase in population are two major hindrances for the welfare of the Mahadev Kolis. 67 per cent of the population in the surveyed area is illiterate. As discussed above, due to the sudden change in the subsistence pattern the experienced Mahadev Kolis barely manage to take one crop. The production is so low that it could feed the family only for four months. Then they are forced to migrate out for some means of livelihood. Land as a resource is becoming unreliable due to increase in population. In each generation, the land is being divided among the numerous offspring. So the per head land holding is decreasing for each future generation. As there is no scope for Mahadev Kolis to acquire more forest lands in the coming generation, they would surely be landless.

The landlessness and the low productivity of land are forcing the Mahadev Kolis to migrate out of the village to far away areas in search of employment. They generally migrate to Nasik, Umbargaon, and to Gujarat to work in the grape vines and in sugarcane fields. One of the case study collected from the investigated area exposes the extent of exploitation of Mahadev Kolis as agricultural labourers. A group of ten people generally take the contract of a grape vine of an acre. They look after the vine for the whole season, i.e., for four months. The prevalent market rate for this year is Rs. 34,000. Thus they get Rs. 850 per head per month. Though it is quite low as compared to the labour rate for industry and construction work, still people prefer this as they are at least assured of the employment for four months at a time. It was found out from the survey that 70 per cent of the population is forced to migrate for a period of at least six months each year. Apart from this, a direct correlation between migration and illiteracy is one of the significant conclusion from this extensive survey. Migration is the most important factor that hinders the spread of education among Mahadev Kolis.

Due to the cumulative effect of the migration and low economic position, Mahadev Kolis have failed to take opportunity of the primary education facilities provided by the Government. Therefore, the Warlis and the Konkanas in this area have acquired education and are in a position to take the benefits provided for the Scheduled Tribes. Their recurring absence from the village results in a lack of participation in the local politics.

In the economic sphere, Mahadev Kolis are buyers only. As they produce no surplus they have nothing else than the physical labour to sell. Due to illiteracy and lack of understanding of the monetary economy they are often cheated and exploited by the traders and land owners. The drinking is a habit for almost all of them. The festivals and marriages put additional pressure on the household economy of Mahadev Kolis. They take loan from the land owners and money lenders in high interest rate. The burden of the loan reaches such a height that to pay them back sometimes they sell their labour for the whole life.

Conclusion :

In the light of the above discussion, I would like to make three points. First, Mahadev Kolis are definitely a community which has a significant contribution to the India's freedom struggle. The second, the right of the self determination and social justice, a long due to Mahadev Kolis, should be given to them immediately. This may help them to get back their self dignity and identity. The third, it is the unequal subjugation of Mahadev Kolis in past that has resulted this despotic situation where a community with a moral allegiance to their motherland has turned to be a class of landless labourers. Finally, I would like to aloud an appeal to give Mahadev Kolis special attention and assistance to keep

them safe from the age old pillage of feudalism and to stop them from being victims of the hypocrisy of the capitalism.

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FOR RICHER, FOR FAIRER :

Poverty reduction and income distribution

M. L. Narasaiah

Will the international target of reducing poverty by half over the next 15 years be met ? Not unless growth efforts are accompanied by significant improvements in income distribution. Poverty reduction is a twin function of the rate of growth and of changes in income distribution. The research shows better distribution has as much impact on reducing poverty as had increased growth and given predicted rates of economic growth, it emerges as the factor that will make the main difference between success and failure for new 'pro-poor' growth strategies.

Over the past decade, the amount of poverty reduction resulting from a given rate of economic growth has varied in close step with income distribution. On average, a growth rate of 10 per cent reduced the poverty headcount (the percentage of people living on less than \$ 1 a day) by 9 per cent in countries where income was fairly equally distributed. However, in countries where income was unequally distributed, a growth rate of 10 per cent reduced the poverty headcount by only 3 per cent.

The World Bank estimates that developing countries will grow at 4 per cent *per capital* per annum until 2015. So, the good news is that the income-poverty target is attainable provided that significant improvements take place in income, distribution. These can be achieved *ex-ante*, by designing growth strategies that increase disproportionately the incomes of the poorest, or *ex-post*, by redistributing income through taxation. many questions arise. What is the recipe for income-redistributing growth ? Is there a trade-off between growth and distribution ? An *ex-post* strategies of reduction feasible ? These questions are far from new. Indeed, to a large degree, they are the very questions on which the development studies profession is founded. Nevertheless, they have been neglected in recent years. Does current research offer new perspectives ? Article in this issue of insights offer six main conclusions. They are that :

- We need a way to measure 'pro-poor growth'. The concept originates from the 1990 World Development Report of the World Bank and is taken to mean a labour intensive growth path that encompasses the economic activities of the poor. However, such a growth path could be accompanied by increasing, declining or static income inequality. Mc Culloch and Baulch propose that the 'poverty bias of growth' or PBG (whether pro-poor or not) be defined by comparing actual change in income distribution with the change that would have resulted had all incomes grown at one rate with no change to income inequality. This difference is compared in their report (opposite) for two states in India. From this comparison it emerges that growth in Bihar State was accompanied by worsening income distribution and has been biased against the poor, whereas in Andhra Pradesh the reverse was true.
- Growth might be expected to be pro-poor if it takes place in areas and sectors where the poor live and work. For the poorest countries this means mostly in rural areas and to a large extent in agriculture. In Asia, Green Revolution technologies were adopted by poor farmers because they were scale-neutral and low-risk. Poor non-farmers also benefited from the extra employment and lower food prices that resulted. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the Green Revolution has been slower in coming, but research at reading by Mosley suggests an African Green Revolution will help. In Uganda, for example, the spread of new technologies in maize and cassava has contributed to sharp falls in poverty, notable in the country's North, where mosaic-resistant cassava has made a conspicuous difference to farmer's yields and incomes in an otherwise poor and undeveloped region.

- ° Even so, as many will remember well from debates about the Green Revolution in Asia, not everybody benefits from growth. In Ethiopia, researchers from the Universities of Oxford and Addis Ababa found that rural poverty has fallen sharply since the change of government in 1992, driven by market liberalisation and better weather (see Dercon, backfold). Yet those who have gained have been those with assets, including land, oxen for ploughing, education and access to public goods; such as roads. Those without assets are left behind. Rural inequality has actually risen, implying Ethiopia could reduce poverty faster if policies countered inequality yet maintained current growth rates.
- ° People without assets might be expected to compensate by migrating or moving out of agriculture. Sometimes this happens, but seeking off-farm opportunities may be easier for the haves than the have-nots. In rural Zimbabwe, for example, Piesse and Thirtle have shown that (in more remote areas at least) those with higher farm incomes are better placed to exploit off-farm opportunities, including the option of working in town.
- ° In any case, migration to town may not offer much to the unskilled - again, a problem facing those without assets. The evidence here comes from China, in research carried out by the institute of Economics and Statistics. Wage employment has increased in urban China, but wage inequality has increased sharply, with falling real wages for the unskilled.
- ° The efficiency (hence the growth) and equity trade-off is far from clear cut. Analysis by Knight of the reasons behind rising wage-income inequality in China has revealed that some of these changes reflect greater labour market efficiency. In other words, more productive, experienced and skilled workers have become better paid. Other changes hint at new inefficiencies creeping into China's labour market, such as growing discrimination: females and minority groups find they are disadvantaged in the Labour market, whereas members of the Communist Party are more likely to get jobs other signs are sharper segmentation, with state employees paid more than private sector counterparts and growing differences in wage rates between the provinces, not offset by labour mobility.

The cross-section of findings offered in these pages does not amount to a systematic review of the 'inequality question' in developing countries. far from it: here is fertile ground for further research. Even so, we are confident that it is time to promote inequality to the fore of the research and policy agenda.

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