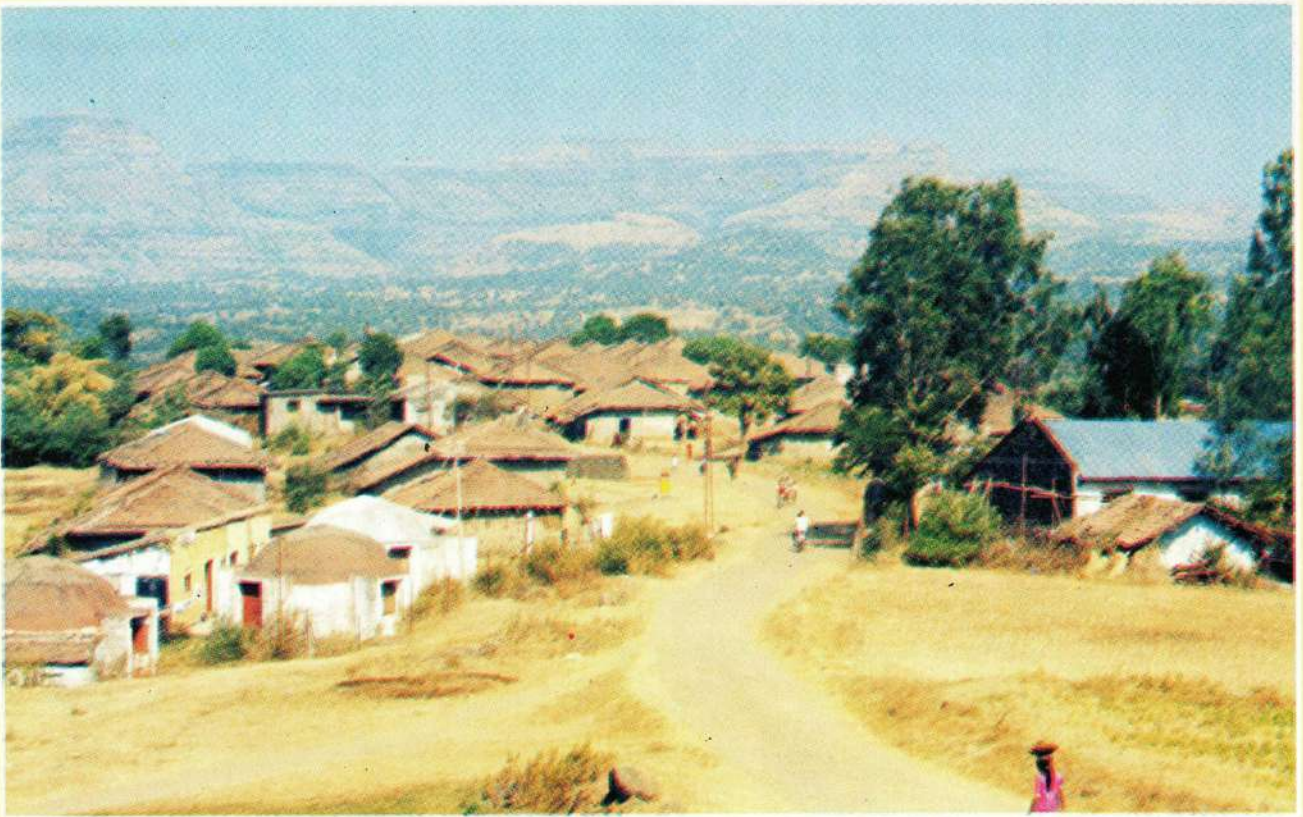




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आदिवासी संशोधन पत्रिका  
**TRIBAL RESEARCH BULLETIN**

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**Tribal Research & Training Institute,  
Maharashtra State, Pune-1**

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**March, 2004**



आदिवासी महामंडळ व आदिवासी विकास यांचे योजनेतून आदिवासी शेतकऱ्यांना शेतीसाठी ऑईल पंप.



पाडवी जमातीत पारंपारीक पद्धतीने पिण्याचे पाणी ठेवल्याचे दृष्य.



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आदिवासी संशोधन पत्रिका  
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## EDITORIAL

The Tribal Research Bulletin is a biannual publication, published by Tribal Research and Training Institute, Government of Maharashtra, Pune. The bulletin comprises of two sections. In the English section, there are five articles; whereas in the Marathi section there are four articles.

In the English section, Dr. K.B.Nayak presents a discourse of the concepts of peasantry and tribes. The article by Dr. D.B.Shirole unveils an overview of tribals. Shri Rathod and Shri Ingle throws light on need assessment of tribal farmers about soil and water conservation by using individual technique. The article by Shri Hittalmani and Gurav presents an account of Halakki Vokkalu: A tribe in transition. Further Hittalmani and Basavanagouda gives a descriptive account of the Valmiki tribe of Karnataka.


In the Marathi section, Dr. V.S. Mugade provides information of tribals in Maharashtra. Prof. Suman Muthe provides details about the development of tribal women and girls under Integrated Child Development Project. Dr. B.A.Deshmukh has unravelled the rituals of Kokna tribe in respect of "Dongar Dev - the God of Mountains". The article by Shri Tikone highlights atrocity issues.

**Editor**



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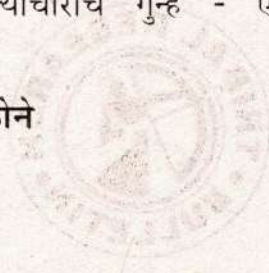
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# TRIBAL PEASANTRY- AS A TRANSITIONAL SOCIAL CATEGORY : A CASE STUDY OF THE GOND COMMUNITY IN NAWAPARA DISTRICT OF ORISSA.

Dr. Kunj-Bihari Nayak\*

## INTRODUCTION

There exists a vast literature on the concept and nature of 'peasantry' or 'peasant society' and also on 'tribe' or 'tribal society'. However, there has been a prolonged controversy over identification of 'peasants' and 'tribes'. In fact, a variety of definitions and approaches, available in the disciplines of Social-Anthropology and Sociology to identify 'peasants' and 'tribes', have provoked an endless debate. Because, in a complex and changing society like India where 'caste-peasants' and 'primitive-tribes' live together and they have been sharing their respective properties for centuries, it is not easy task to strictly define and distinguish them from each other. Rather it would be worthwhile to develop new concepts for understanding and explaining the dynamics of some transitional social categories such as tribes in the present context. The present paper is an attempt firstly, to underlie the contradictions in the conceptualisation of 'peasantry'

and 'tribes' in academics through a brief review of discourse on the concepts and secondly, - to develop a concept of 'tribal-peasantry' for defining and distinguishing some tribal communities like the Gonds in Boden block of Nawapara district of western Orissa as 'tribal peasants' who have reached at a transitional phase neither being fully away from their primitive cultural patterns of living nor been completely integrated into the living patterns of caste-peasants of Hindu society.

## A DISCOURSE ON THE CONCEPTS OF 'PEASANTRY' AND 'TRIBES'

There has been a lot of confusion about the term 'peasant' among social scientists. From the beginning social anthropologists have defined peasants by their cultural habits and norms, narrow vision and close emotional attachment to tradition. For instance, Robert Redfield who identified his ideal type concept of 'folk society' with the primitive tribals & contrasted

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it with the peasant society on the one side and towns society on the other. Following A.L Kroeber he defined peasants as "part societies and part cultures" (Redfield 1956: ;1962). Eric Wolf went further to differentiate peasants from the farmers who produce for the market and identified three characteristics of peasants as : i) agricultural producers; ii) they retain effective control over land ; and iii) they aim at subsistence farming and not at profit with investment motive. (Wolf 1955:453-55). While R. Firth defines 'peasants' exclusively in terms of 'mode of livelihood' characteristics i.e. subsistence farming ,simple agricultural technology etc. Nonetheless, Firth also incorporates other social categories such as artisans, fishermen etc. into the fold of 'peasantry' (Firth,1951:86-88). But, G. M. Foster defines 'peasants' as those communities which have grown up in a symbiotic, spatio-temporal relationship with the more complex components of their greater society i.e. the pre-industrial market and administrative city (Ortiz,1975:322-323).

The Leftist views on 'peasantry' have brought a turning point in the history of peasant studies. The leftists, who are deeply influenced by Marxist-Leninist ideas, are not satisfied

in just describing the peasantry as an socio-economic category of production and consumption. Rather they observed a vast potential inherent in the peasantry for changing the system of production itself. Therefore, some leftists including Mao-tse-Tung, have emphasised on the significance of an alliance of the peasants with the urban-industrial workers ('proletariat') for bringing about a revolutionary social change (Mao-tse-Tung ,1954:13). The Leftists view peasantry essentially as a suppressed and exploited segment of pre-capitalist society. They have attempted to understand peasantry a "as a class". In order to understand the Leftist's view of peasantry, it is essential to present a few lines from Marx's classical work. The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (1977:478-479), are as follows:

"The small-holding peasants form a vast mass, the members of which live in similar conditions but without entering into manifold relations with one another. Their mode of production isolates them from one another instead of bringing them into mutual intercourse.....their field of production, the small-holding, admits of no division of labour in it's cultivation, no application of science and, therefore, no diversity of development, no



variety of talent, no wealth of social relationships. Each individual peasant family is almost self-sufficient; it itself directly produces the major part of its consumption and thus acquires its means of life more through exchange with nature than in intercourse with society.....They can not represent themselves, they must be represented.....(They are a 'sack of potatoes').....The political influence of the small-holding peasants, therefore, finds its final expression in the executive power subordinating society to itself".

Following Marx and Engels. Karl Kautsky and V.I Lenin have attempted to extend their ideas and analyse the emerging problems of peasantry and also the structural changes in contemporary peasants societies. Kautsky, in his major work : "The Agrarian Problem" which dominated the marxist thought, pointed out capital accumulation and structural change within German agriculture. According to him, Industry was the prime mover of capitalist transformation of rural society which outstripped, subordinated, and finally, destroyed peasant agriculture. While Lenin, in his earliest books (1968,1974), was very much a 'Kautskian', but his emphasis was different and he developed a 'differentiation thesis' of peasantry. According to him, it

was the inter-peasant dynamics of 'deepening' market relations, the division of labour, and class differentiation that provided the central point of capitalist transformation. His polemics aimed at a wing within Russian Populism which believed that the homogeneity and stability of peasant society would abort capitalist development in Russia (Shanin,1983:68). However, Lenin's emphasis on the emerging process of differentiation among Russian peasantry in the countryside due to the penetration of capitalism in agriculture, has been reflected in an endless debate on the "Modes of Production in Indian Agriculture" and particularly in the writings of those who supported the 'capitalist mode of production' (Thorner,A 1980).

In reaction to the Marxists "differentiation thesis", the Neopopulists like A.V.Chayanov have emphasised on the viability of peasant agriculture and its ability to survive under any circumstances. On the basis of their notion of "family labour farm", they argued that the peasantry had no necessary tendency to develop the increasing economic inequalities and class antagonisms of bourgeoisie industrial society. There was also a tendency to create increasing groups of rich and poor peasants with a more and more unstable group of middle peasants in-between. In

fact, the village as an overwhelmingly homogeneous community, was able to constantly reproduce itself both economically and socially. Thus Chayanov observed that the modernisation of traditional small farming is lying along neither a capitalis nor a socialist path, but along a peasant path of raising the technical level of agricultural production through agricultural extension work and co-operative organisation. At the same time, it conserves the peasant institutional framework of the family small holding(Harrison, Mark 1982:246). According to him, the household farm is the basic unit of production and consumption. It is this familial and highly autonomous character of small farm that determines a specific peasant economy which in turn, generates a typical peasant social structure and a peasant\ non-peasant dualism at the national level (Shanin, 1971:292; Kerblay, 1975:151). However, no precise and clear cut definition of peasantry has been produced yet. Thus the term 'peasant' is "best regarded as an imprecise socio-economic category of descriptive rather than heuristic usefulness"(Marshall 1994:385).

However, besides Marxists and Non-Marxists, there are other traditions of thought and perspectives which considered cultural traditions, social

structures and institutions as crucial to define peasantry as a distinct social category, different from social categories preceding it as well as co-existing or even emerging subsequently (Shanin, 1971:291-93; 1975:13-14). Shanin, while combining ideas from different traditions of thought and perspectives, has provided a 'differentia specifica' of the peasantry-i.e. a set of elements by which peasantry is set apart from the rest of the social categories. To him, the peasantry consists of small agricultural producers who, with the help of simple equipment and the labour of their families, produce mainly for their own consumption and for the fulfillment of the obligation to the holders of political and economic power (Shanin, 1975:240-245).

Teodore Shanin, however, attempted to define 'peasantry' by integrating different traditions of thought. To him, the "peasantry consists of small agricultural producers who, with the help of simple equipment and the labour of their families, produce mainly for their own consumption and for the fulfillment of the obligation to the holders of political and economic power" (Shanin, 1975:240-245). Even this definition of peasantry by Shanin can be applied to other social categories like some tribes in India who have reached at a transitional phase of development neither

being fully alienated from their traditional cultural patterns nor being fully integrated in to the modern consumeristic society.

Shanin(1974, xerox copy) has identified four major characteristics of peasantry and peasant society which can be matched with that of some tribal peasants in India whose living conditions have considerably changed due to forces of modernisation. Those characteristics of peasantry as follows:

- a) The peasant family farm as the basic unit of multidimensional social organisation;
- b) Land-husbandry as the main means of livelihood directly providing the major part of consumption needs;
- c) Specific traditional culture related to the way of life of small communities; &
- d) The 'underdog' position-The domination of peasantry by 'outsiders'.

These four characteristics as discussed by Shanin that characterise peasant social life in general can not fully match with the changing situation of contemporary peasants in different regions. Though Shanin's definition of peasantry seems to be quite comprehensive and analytical, but it has certain problems. Firstly, his definition is an ideal type construct. Its abstract elements may not conform to the empirical reality

of peasants in different societies whose socio-economic life is not only influenced by different forces of change but also it is based on different structural and historical specificities. Secondly, due to increasing forces of change e.g. industrialisation, urbanisation, modernisation etc. there has been a trend either towards "depeasantisation of peasants" or towards "peasantisation of tribals".

Corresponding to the impact of modernisation and global capitalism in agriculture, F.A.Araghi(1995) has highlighted on a process of 'global depeasantisation' which refers to the experience of the Third World peasantries between the period 1945 and 1990, when an increasing number of people who were involved in agriculture with direct access to the production of their means of subsistence became rapidly and massively concentrated in urban locations. Araghi argues that "global depeasantisation is expressed in 'de-ruralisation'(depopulation and decline of the rural areas of the world) and 'over-urbanisation'(massive concentration of peoples and activities in growing urban centres of the world), both of which are in turn reflective of a pattern of differentiation of geographical space particular to the Post-World War II development of world capitalism"(Araghi 1995:338).

Main protagonists of this thesis have argued that the inevitable expansion of capitalism will lead to disappearance of peasantry from the countryside. Thus, sooner or later, rapidly or slowly, directly or indirectly, peasants will be transformed into wage workers and capitalist farmers in the countryside. In reaction to the 'depeasantisation thesis', the advocates of the 'permanence thesis' emerged in the Latin American debate who argued that peasant societies, for various reasons, do not abide by the 'laws' of industrial capitalism. On the contrary, they advocate that peasant economies have a developmental logic of their own that results in the survival of the peasantry and its conditions of reproduction in the countryside. While discussing the two opposed theoretical orientations, Araghi stressed on international dimension of depeasantisation during the Post-World War II. He studied global depeasantisation as a component of a changing international political-economic order. By linking the changes in the condition of existence of the post-war peasantries to the transformation of world economy and polity, he distinguished between two phases of global depeasantisation. In the first phase (1945-1973), he observed simultaneous processes of 'peasantisation' and 'depeasantisation' which led to a

relative decline of the Third World peasantries. In the second phase (1973-1990). He saw an accelerated pace of 'depeasantisation' which he linked with the ongoing transformation of world economy since the early 1970s. According to Araghi, one consequence of globalisation has been the weakening of nation states and their abilities to regulate their national economies. Thus he argued that denationalisation, particularly with respect to agriculture, has led to a fast-paced deruralisation of the Third World. In the 1990s, deruralisation has been extended even to the former Second World. Araghi's analysis supports a fact that peasants should neither be considered as sui-generis entities, nor should they be reduced to ideal typical categories as given by Theodore Shanin. In fact, peasantries exist in global social processes that constitute and are constituted by other processes of the world political-economy (Araghi, 1995: 358-359).

The 'depeasantisation' thesis also corresponds to the Marxist debate on 'differentiation of peasantry' which is considered as the consequence of global capitalism and particularly an impact of 'capitalist mode of production' in agriculture. However, the debate on 'mode of production' in agriculture has been a matter of controversy in India (Thorner Alice 1980). The

controversy over the identification of a particular 'mode of production' in different agrarian social structure of India revolves round mainly two critical points i.e. i) there is overlapping of boundaries within the class structure due to regional variations and ii) the features identified against each mode of production are found often criss-crossing or contradictory with each other in reality. In fact, there are a number of 'modes of production' (i.e. capitalist, non-capitalist, pre-capitalist, feudal, semi-feudal, colonial, post-colonial, dual etc.) that seem to be simultaneously operating in a complex field of Indian agriculture in different regions which is influenced by a variety of forces based on structural diversities and historical specificities. Thus, no single 'mode of production' can reflect the reality of regional variations in Indian agriculture (Pathy, 1974:--). Even if, the fact regarding changes in the agrarian social structure due to modernisation of Indian agriculture, has been empirically verified by a large number of social scientists (Thurner, Alice 1980). In this paper, we have little space to deal with the debate.

Daniel Thorner-the precursor in the debate, while looking at agrarian social structure in India, identified four major criterias of peasant society

as : i) more than half of the total working population must be engaged in agriculture; ii) there should be an existence of state power and a ruling hierarchy in which kinship or clan order is significant ( it means existence of social stratification); iii) the production of the cultivators is to feed not only themselves and the government but also the town people; iv) it must have a unit of production which grows crops primarily with the help of family labour (Thorner, D 1971:203-205).

Thorner also attempted to identify three major class situations and their sub-categories in an agrarian social structure of India on the basis of following three criteria :i) type of income obtained from the soil - a) rent, b) fruit of own cultivation, or c) wages; ii) the nature of rights - a) proprietary or ownership, b) tenancy with varying degree of tenurial security, c) sharecropping rights, or d) no rights at all; iii) the extent of field work actually performed - a) absentee who does not work at all, b) those who perform partial work, c) total work done by actual cultivator with family labour, and d) where work is done entirely for others to earn wages (Dhanagare 1983:13-14).

In reaction, D.N. Dhanagare argues that Thorner "does not relate the specificity of internal differentiations within

Indian agrarian society to broader and more widely used conceptual models in contemporary sociology" (Dhanagare 1983:16-17). Drawing inferences from the works of Lenin and Mao in Russia and China respectively, Dhanagare reformulated Thorner's model of agrarian social structure in India in which he identified five-class situation and their sub-categories. However, he maintained that there is some risk to apply a class model of agrarian social structure in a traditional society like India. Some caution is needed while using this model i.e. i) all the five class situations and their sub-categories are regionally specific; ii) the rich, middle and the poor peasant categories can be often distinguished from each other only in qualitative terms rather than in quantitative terms because due to regional variations and partly due to lack of uniform data and statistics on different regions of India and that in different periods; and iii) although the class categories are analytically separable, sometimes their boundaries are blurred in reality.

Though Dhanagare did not attempt to identify an integrative category of tribal-peasantry within the fold of 'peasantry' in his reformulation of agrarian social structure in India, his critical points of observation

regarding the limits of regional variations, overlapping boundaries of different class situations and complexity of traditional Indian society provide a space to include tribals into the fold of contemporary peasantry for three reasons. Firstly, like the caste-peasants many tribes in India i.e. the Gonds, Santals etc. are primarily settled agriculturists. Secondly, different class situations in terms of farm-size groups and their differentiations are often visible in tribal societies today. Finally, in their history, the tribals along with the caste-peasants had drawn different forms of movement against their oppressors.

#### THE TRIBAL QUESTION IN INDIA

There has also been a lot of confusion among anthropologists and sociologists with regard to exact definition of 'tribes' not only in the global context but also in the Indian context. Tribal societies may be considered as small in scale and restricted in the spatial and temporal range of their social, legal and political system and they possess morality, religion and a 'world view' of corresponding dimensions (Lewis, 1968:147). In the Concise Oxford Dictionary of Sociology, the term 'tribe' is referred to "a social group bound together by kin and duty and associated with a particular territory. Members of the tribe share the social

cohesion associated with the family, together with the sense of political autonomy of a nation". Sir Henry Maine identified the nature of tribal society with a pre-civilized stage of human society. In its derogatory use, the term 'tribalism' denotes emotional, pre-scientific and irrational behaviour (Marshall, 1994: 539).

Tribes, in India, have their unique features that differ from each other in terms of their respective structural and historical specificities. Indian society is well known as a multicultural society characterised by 'unity in diversity' of various religious, ethnic, linguistic groups and communities living together irrespective of having different class, caste, creed, regional, linguistic, socio-economic and environmental background. The tribal communities though treated as a minorities, but represent the original fabric of Indian society and its cultural heritage. However, like the concept of 'peasant', the term 'tribe' has been subject to prolonged controversy in India mainly because of prevalence of various terms such as 'advisees', 'aboriginal', or 'autochthon'. In fact, the tribes have been seen as the original inhabitants of the land (Jay, 1974:39-70). Various scholars have described them in different names. Sir Herbert Risley, L.V.Elwin and

A.V.Thakkar called them as 'aboriginals'. Sir Baines included them in the category of 'hill tribes'. Girgson also regarded them as 'hill tribes or wilder aboriginals'. While Shoobert called them 'aborignales. They have also been considered as 'animists' by Tallents and Sedwick. Martin and Hutton treated them as 'primitive tribes'. Similarly, Baines referred them as 'jungle people', 'forest tribes' or 'folk'. Elwin thought that the Baigas as the 'original owner of the country'. While G.S.Ghurey called them as 'Backward Hindus'. Since various tribal communities have been presumed as the oldest ethnological race of the national population of India, the term 'adivasis' (original inhabitants of the land) has recently been used to designate them (Naik, 1998:69).

In the colonial ethnography, the British administrators-cum-scholars had attempted to mark off tribe from caste by arguing that the tribes in India were living in complete isolation from the rest of the population without any interaction or interrelation with them. However, after independence some social anthropologists and sociologists in India stressed on the close interaction of the tribes with the larger society or civilization. For example Ghurey (1963) and Bose (1975) emphasised on the nature

of interaction between tribes and the mainstream Hindu society and the way in which the tribes have been drawn into the Hindu society. They identified some similarities between the two societies. While Sinha(1958), following Robert Redfield, went further to view that tribes as a dimension of little tradition that can not be adequately understood unless it is seen in relation to the great tradition. In his later work, Sinha(1965:57-83), following Redfield has conceptualised the tribes and peasants in a continuum. Sinha's such conceptualisation has been critically examined by L.K.Mahapatra(1974:71-84)who has followed the propositions of V.Elwin, G.S.Ghurey, T.C.Das and F.G.Bailey.

F.G. Bailey(1961:7-19) attempted to analyse the tribe and caste as social ideal types. He has characterised 'tribes' in terms of 'segmentary' principles in India. Andre Beteille does not accept such a characterisation of tribes in India. He feels that "the definition of a tribal society as a segmentary system will not be of much practical use in a country like India where segmentary societies can not easily be identified"(Beteille 1976:61). According to Beteille, tribes, like peasants, represent a human group at a certain stage in the evolution of society. To him, tribe is a society, the members of which have a common

government and share a common territory or linguistic boundary or culture. Tribal societies are not only small in scale but also they represent a definite structural type, which is quite different from the more complex social system in which the peasantry and gentry co-exist(Beteille,1976:61).

Further Beteille maintained that a tribal society can be distinguished from other types of societies e.g. peasant society only in terms of it's political, linguistic and cultural boundary. Though, social anthropologists have identified some distinctive features of tribal society i.e. i) primitive conditions of living; ii) practice of animism; iii) ecological symbiosis; these are not adequate to distinguish a tribal society (Beteille,1981:12-13).

Historically, a tribal society has not been static and yet it has retained its distinctions from a caste-society. The Anthropological Survey of India under 'People of India Project' identified 461 tribal communities in India. The share of the Scheduled Tribe (STs) population to the total population in India has increased over the last three decades from 6.94 per cent in 1971 to 7.85 per cent in 1981 and further to 8.08 per cent in 1991 census. Actually, there are 427 tribes in India and they can be classified on the basis of languages, religion, degree of



their isolation and assimilation, the patterns of their livelihood (Beteille 1974:63-64).

Even some of their attributes often resemble with the non-tribal people in a given region. Some large tribes like the Gonds, Bhils, Santals, Oraons, Mundas etc. are not only settled agriculturists, like the members of the caste Hindus some of them are also found in modern occupations. The tribal economy is largely village centered and its division of labour is based on gender, work specialisation, enurial differentiation and class distinctions. Despite these similarities, tribes remain different from the Hindu caste societies because of their geographical isolation, language or dialect and religion (Beteille 1974:65). Beteille agrees that a substantial number of tribal people are peasants today and hence, tribes are in transition (Beteille 1974:70-73). Earlier a number of studies also supported this fact (Majumdar, D.N 1937, Oraons Martin 1969:232-41).

However, many scholars in India have conceptually differentiated 'peasants' from the 'tribals'. They have rather followed more or less the ideas and concepts of different traditions of mainstream social-anthropological and sociological thought to define and distinguish tribals and peasants as separate social entities in the country

though evolved through their mutual adaptation. Little attempt has been made by them to develop conceptually an integrative social category that can incorporate the changing features of 'tribal-peasantry' at regional level today. Rarely a few of them have systematically attempted to develop an ideal type concept of 'tribal-peasantry'.

Like the caste-peasant society, there are different classes and consequently social stratification among some tribes in India. The existence of social stratification in different tribal communities of West Bengal, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Gujarat has been reported by a number of studies (Shah, G 1979: 459-69; Bose, P.K 1981: 191-96; Badgaiyan, S. D 1986: 293-308; Sachchidananda, 1090: 278-20; Thapar, R. and Siddiqi, M.H 1991: 419-30). In no way, tribes can be considered as "primitive". Along with differentiation of tribal peasantry, there is also rise of a middle class among the tribal people. A number of factors like education, migration, social mobility, socio-political awareness, changing occupations etc. have contributed to the emergence of a small middle class. Besides, the state has also sponsored development measures including the constitutional provisions and tribal welfare schemes have facilitated a new process of differentiation and stratification

in tribal society today (Sharma, K.L 2001:170).

In fact, the tribal question in India is closely linked to administrative and political considerations. There has been more concern with the identification of the tribes than with their definition. Though some criterias have been adopted to define tribes in terms of i) geographical isolation; ii) simple technology; iii) simple way of living; iv) general backwardness to the practice of animism; v) distinct tribal dialects; vi) physical features etc., but they were neither clearly formulated nor systematically applied in Indian context. Further, one set of criteria was used in one context and quite another in another context. As a result, the list of STs includes groups and communities strikingly different from each other in respect of not only size of the population but also the level of technology and other characteristics (Xaxa, V 1999:3589).

In fact, the features identified earlier by some social-anthropologists correspond to the situation of pre-industrial period. Today, many tribal communities in India are found partly adopting living conditions and life-styles of advanced communities like caste-peasants of modern Indian society. Thus, it would be worthwhile to identify those tribal communities as transitional social categories, in

stead of defining them in terms of strictly marked features like water-tight compartments.

Further more, the features identified are, in fact, not decisive in distinguishing tribal societies from peasant societies. Today, neither an ideal type tribal society nor an ideal type peasant society exists in a strict sense. An interactive process of cross-cultural fertilisation has become a recurrent phenomenon. What is crucial in the definition of tribe that makes a tribal society as a relatively self-contained unit?. Perhaps, it is not their 'mode of livelihood' but the segmental characteristics of their socio-cultural patterns of living in a relatively more autonomous, closed, uniform, informal and cohesive society. The 'mode of livelihood' is not central because different tribal groups could be involved in different activities like hunting, food-gathering, pastoralism, shifting or settled cultivation and even some tribals are partly involved in different artisan activities and wage labour for their survival. In fact, various tribes in India are involved in settled cultivation, their mode or pattern of production largely approaches to that of small, marginal or poor peasants of mainstream Hindu-caste society.

Though many tribes in India have undergone change in their cultural heritage due to their contact with the modern

complex society and disappearance of their forest economy, they have still continued to follow some of their own cultural traditions which are visible in their beliefs and rituals, family and kinship relationships, informal authority system of village associations. Thus, they are neither fully confined to their primitive stage of life nor they have been completely assimilated in the modern society. The transformation of tribal society in India has taken different forms in the direction of Hindu-caste peasant society or class society or any other religious communities like Christianity due to conversion.

In contrast to the recent trend of 'depeasantisation' of the peasants at the global level as discussed by Araghi, there is also trend towards 'peasantisation' of some tribals in the contemporary phase of Indian agriculture. Indeed, a few social scientists have argued that some tribal communities in India have reached at transitional phase of development (Desai, A.R. 1977; Roy Burman, B.K. 1983; Bhandari, J.S. 1978:243; Goswami, B.B. 1978:259; Das, N.K. 1989:33). Some other studies have articulated this fact in terms of empirical evidences. For instance, S. Mahapatra (1978) observed that modernisation of tribal agriculture as a major factor of social transformation in

tribal society and he identified some technological and cultural constraints that have obstructed the development of tribals in India. A.K. Upadhaya (1980) has substantiated the 'peasantisation thesis' in his study on "peasantisation of Adivasis in Thane district of Maharashtra". While Jagannath Pathy (1989) has attempted to develop the concept of 'tribal-peasantry' in India. In the following section, we have attempted to explore main features of the Gonds as 'tribal-peasantry' in the Bhaissadani village of Nawapara district, Orissa.

#### 'TRIBAL-PEASANTRY' IN BHAISSADANI VILLAGE OF NAWAPARA DISTRICT

The earlier conception of tribal society as a different stage or type of society that lacks positive traits of modern society is put into question. While looking at facts in the field of a regional agrarian social structure in India, particularly that of some tribal communities especially the Gonds in the Nawapara district of Orissa, an attempt has been made in this section to reformulate a concept of an integrative social category called as 'tribal-peasantry' who have reached at a transitional phase of development due to modern forces of social change i.e. Govt. policies including forest policy, education, health, modern occupation, new technology, market, new

channels of media, intervention of voluntary organisations etc.

This paper is based on our field work in a tribal village namely 'Bhaisadani' of Boden block in Nawapara (a newly bifurcated district) old subdivision of old Kalahandi district of the draught-prone Western Orissa which is known as one of the most backward and underdeveloped regions of Indian peninsula.

The study village 'Bhaisadani' is situated on the foot-hills of GURU DONGER hill-ranges, surrounded by drenched forests at the border area of Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh. The village is situated in the western end of Boden block of Nawapara district of (which was a sub-division in the old-Kalahandi district of Orissa). A fair weather road which runs through Bhaisadani connects it with Boden about 12 Kms. South-east. The village, spreads in four clusters and is situated along the foot hills of the Patdara Plateau. A number of streams and gullies spread along the hill slopes and bisect the village land in a number of plots. Among all these "Rani Jhola" is the only perennial stream that runs roughly west to east along the southern end of Bhaisadani. All the other streams and runoffs which are seasonal, first merge along the foot hills and then run into Rani Jhola, beyond the village, roughly south-east. Some

of the waters of the runoffs collect in two water-harvesting structures (WHS) and the rest collect in a tank. While the WHSs dry up by about October-November, the tank retains water till about December-January depending on the annual rainfall, irrigation usage and day temperatures. Soil quality is degraded due to extensive erosion caused by heavy runoffs. In terms of texture it can be described as yellow sandy clay and sandy clay loam with gravel. Consequently moisture retention is poor and the soil is susceptible to crusting. On most cultivated land, humus content is very low.

According to a survey made by Lokdrusti (1993:15), the village Bhaisadani has the following physical features such as :

Total geographical area -  
639.48 acres

The area under agriculture use was classified as under :-

- A. 1. Aat (foot hill slopes)  
53.16 acres
  2. Baheli (medium land)  
88.29 acres
  3. Bahal (low land)  
26.96 acres
  4. Bari (Homestead backyard)  
4.11 acres
- Total Patta land  
172.52 acres
- B. Encroached forest land\*  
73.52 acres.

(These lands include cultivable waste, pasture, village forest, stream and gully land.

Other than cultivable waste these lands cannot be legally used for agriculture purposes. If these are being used then it indicates pressure on land.)

C. All non-agricultural land in the village is classified as follows:-

1. Aat foot hill slopes  
51.69 acres
2. Baheli  
21.83 acres
3. Home stead land  
2.35 acres
4. Village forest  
812.34 acres
5. Gochar (village pasture)  
47.43 acres
6. Cultivated waste  
82.29 acres
7. Non-cultivable waste  
4.13 acres
8. Road and paths  
9.88 acres
9. Ponds and tanks  
2.18 acres
10. Public places  
0.05 acres

Other than the monsoons lasting from mid-June to the middle of October, water was a scarce commodity in the village.

Drinking Water -During 1991-92 draught period, water for drinking and household purposes was being procured from the following sources:-

- 3 Tube wells dug up to maximum depth of 200 feet.
- 2 dug wells dug up to maximum depth of 35 feet.
- 1 embankment of about 15 feet.
- 2 water harvesting structures with the larger one having bunds.

While two of the tube-wells were defunct, the third one had water till about October. The dug wells could hardly be used during summer while the embankments and WHSs dried up by December end. Consequently for drinking purposes, water had to be fetched from 'Rani Jhola' which is about 2 to 3 Kms. from the village.

Ground Water : As per government reports the under ground water table is at about 600 to 700 ft. However this remains untapped.

Rain Water : Monsoon stretches from mid June to mid October. While rainfall is adequate but most of this water flows away. The existing embankment and WHSs due to soil structure is porous. Consequently the benefits of an abundant rainfall remains limited.

Streams : There are six runoffs and seasonal streams and one perennial stream locally known as 'Rani Jhola'. On this

particular stream, checkdams could be constructed by Lokdrusti. As a matter of fact, earlier local tribal-peasants used to make temporary mud and rock check-dams. Such dams were being constructed twice; first just before monsoon primarily to irrigate paddy fields, and the second time after monsoon to ensure water during summer.

Before colonial period, both the tribal communities (the Gonds and the Paharias) were living in a primitive stage. There was no private property in strict sense. The tribals were fully dependent on forest resources and involved in hunting, food gathering and shifting cultivation for their survival. The British, for the first time, introduced not only the system of private property in the tribal region of Kalahandi but also commercialisation of local forest resources for industrialisation and urbanisation in the metropolitan centres. This resulted in the large-scale deforestation and consequently impoverishment of the primitive tribes in the region.

Later the govt. of India, after independence, through different forest laws and regulations, reserved the forests for the public purpose (for industrialisation and commercialisation) and restricted the rights of the indigenous local tribals to use forest land for their

survival. While on the other side, traders, forest officials and contractors joined together to steal away the forest resources and exploit the tribals. While moneylenders perpetually kept them indebted through their informal credit system of sackle which led to the increasing marginalisation of the poor tribals who without finding any other alternative way for survival, carried on large scale shifting cultivation by encroaching the forest land which further led to increasing deforestation. Thus, the process of exploitation and impoverishment of the poor tribals was in a circular way.

Though the Government of India, through its land reform movement, formally redistributed some plain land to the existing tribals and non-tribals in the forest region in the 1950s and 1960s, but it was inadequate for their survival. Even then, there was not only unequal distribution of land but also land alienation and exploitation of marginalised poor tribals. In the 1970s and 1980s when the forest cover slowly disappeared from the region, the poor marginalised tribals started to encroach the forest land that they cleared for shifting cultivation and cultivate it along with their *Patta* land (officially recorded land) on permanent basis.

In the year 1999(during our field work in month of November), the village was numerically dominated by two tribal communities i.e. the Gonds and the Paharias. It was inhabited by 49 Gond families, 20 Pahara families, 2 Scheduled Caste families and 3 Other Backward Caste families. Though a tribal village, today Bhaisadani exhibits a clear-cut class character of a peasant society mainly due to penetration of modern forces like: the system of private property; enactment of forest laws and reservation of forests; industrialisation and commercialisation of forest products; penetration of modern capitalism and macro-development projects; contact with the commodity market; introduction of modern education, health, transport and communication facilities and intervention of an Integrated Watershed Development Project by a local voluntary organisation called as LOKDRUSTI.

Our field data on Table No-1.1&1.2(in the end of this paper), however show that over the decades after independence there has been a process of differentiation of tribal-peasantry in the village on the one side and disappearance of traditional sources of tribal economy like shifting cultivation, minor forest produce etc. on the other. In fact, almost all the households belonging to different

farm-size groups including landless labourers in the village who had earlier encroached at least three to five acres of forest land for shifting cultivation, presently they are using these land for settled cultivation because they don't have alternative sources of income for their own survival. A few families, who are unable to cultivate, have leased-out their owned Patta-land to their neighbour-peasants by making yearly contract on the basis of 50 : 50 share-cropping pattern. Like the traditional caste-peasants in coastal Orissa, the tribal-peasants in Bhaisadani village use wooden plough pulled by the bullocks or buffalows and other traditional tools and techniques. Their agricultural activities are very much linked to their cultural festivals, ancestral beliefs and rituals which are found organised in a seasonal cycle. There is a practice of exchange not only of labour but also of bullocks or buffaloes or other agricultural tools among them. However, some better-off peasants use modern fertilisers, chemical pesticides, insecticides. In general, the productivity of tribal-land is very low due to rocky soil, slope land, lack of sufficient irrigation facilities and traditional method of cultivation for which the peasantry are not even able to sustain by depending only on agriculture. Their main products are paddy, ragi, (Maandia),black gram and

vegetables. Whatever little they produce, they either consume at home or they sell some portion of their products in the local market for their daily necessary commodities. Since their income from agriculture is inadequate for their subsistence needs, majority of the tribal families in the village have opted for daily or seasonal wage labour. When there is a draught situation, at least one or two members from some families migrate to Raipur of Chhatisgarh or to nearby towns for working as daily labourers in order to support their families.

Before intervention of LOKDRUSTI organisation in the village in the year 1993-1994, majority of the families were indebted to the moneylenders and traders (outsiders) who used to visit the village just to extract and appropriate both agricultural and forest products from the poor tribals. These out-siders were purposively making the tribals indebted by lending them money during tribal festivals and off-seasons. It is the LOKDRUSTI organisation, for the first time, prohibited those moneylenders and traders who used to come from the Boden Block town and introduced a number of welfare programmes in the village which have brought about some significant changes in the socio-economic life of the villagers. We

have little space to discuss it in this paper.

For understanding more about some tribal features of the Gond peasants in the village Bhaasadani, it is essential to have a glance at a profile of the Gond community in the following section.

#### A PROFILE OF THE GOND TRIBE

The Gonds have been considered to be numerically as well as historically the most important tribal group of India. According to Grierson G.F.(1906) their original language is *Gandi* which is a *Dravidian* language. However, the Gonds of Nawapara speak *Sambalpuri* or *Kosali* (a dialect of Oriya Language) having totally lost affinity with their original *Gandi* dialect. They describe themselves as Raj-Gonds as do the Gonds in many areas of Chhatisgarh and Andhra Pradesh too.

Anthropologists like Grigson (1938 : 36) have explained this Raj-Gond among the Gonds in various ways. While emphasising on their social life says that such names as Raj Gond identity in terms of the Gonds' gradual Hinduisation. Russell (1916 : 63) believes that the Raj-Gonds are the progeny of intermarriages between Rajput and Gond, whereas Furer-Haimendorf (1979 : 4) supporting Lucie-Smith (1870 : 46) has suggested that the Raj-Gonds of



Adilabad do not form a ruling class or even a class of privileged economic status, but an entire tribal group comprising all strata's of society coming from the feudal chiefs down to the poorest agricultural labourers. Originally it had referred only to royal and noble Gond families, but later its reference came to include their followers too. (Deo F 1984:52).

However, in the Nawapara district, the Gonds claim to be Raj-Gonds who were once allies of ruling groups and thus have enjoyed a privileged economic status known as Gahatias (Gauntias). It is a Sambalpuri term used by the tribals to mean Thekedars (lease holder of a village). Gaotia means the village headman. Today their poor relatives and neighbours neither claim this name nor are conscious of their occupation. Even some Raj Gonds of Nawapara can be seen as highly self-conscious and economically superior Gonds who enjoy or aspire to high social status. (Deo F 1984 : 53).

In general, the Gond society is based on localised clans which tend to cluster as phratries. The Phratries are the main pillars of their social structure. In fact, there are four exogamous patrilineal descent phratries but they are not separate entities. They enjoy mutual interdependence and believe in common mythical

origin and historical traditions (Furer Haimendorf 1979:79).

Their traditions trace the origin of clans to the incidental occurrence of a certain number of sons and grandsons in the family of a prominent members of the phratry and thus the names of their sons are perpetuated from them. All members of the clan consider themselves as angelically linked kinsmen. They worship totemic clan deity. It is impossible to change one's own clan. Thus membership in a clan is ascribed. Even in case of migration, the members continue to remember the genesis of their clan. (Deo F 1984). According to Stephen Fuchs (1960 : 162-63, although with the increase of population, the clan gets dispersed, the territorial affiliation (original place -*Garh*) is reaffirmed during their funeral ceremony. The Gonds in Nawapara, even today, recall their original places from Bastar and Chhatisgarh in South-eastern parts of Madhya Pradesh. However, the exact period of their migration to Nawapara is not known. Their local traditions and myths mention that the Gonds had defeated the indigenous inhabitants (i.e. Paharia and Bhunjia tribes) and settled in the best lands of that region (Deo F 1984 : 54).

According to R. C. Mazumdar and others (1970 :

441), different Gond kingdoms arose in central India during the medieval period. In western Orissa too, the first specific references to the Gonds were from medieval period, when they had quite widespread settlements in Western Orissa (Sah A. P. 1976 : 137-138). Deo (1984 : 17-49) says that with the help of other tribals, the Gonds were able to form an oligarchic form of government in Patnagarh region of Bolangir district of Orissa during 13<sup>th</sup> century A. D. During this period, new nodes in the form of Garhs were associated with the Rajput polity.

In fact, four important Gond kingdoms emerged in Gondwana during medieval period. The kingdom of Garha was the most powerful among them. This evidence supports that the Gonds aspired to Rajput status, which was also expressed in their patronage of Brahmanism and Brahmans. (Sinha, Surajit 1962 : 60-61).

In contrast, the Raj-Gonds of Nawapara had never patronised Brahmans, even though these Gonds put on the sacred thread. Rather they have considered the Brahmans to be their enemies. Nevertheless, the influence of the latter can be seen in the tradition of the Gonds worshipping the Hindu deities linking of Gond Lingo with the Hindu deities i.e. Mahadeva and Parvati. It was a Hindu interpolation in the

original Gond tradition. (Russel R.V. 1916: 47-49).

In the colonial period, the Gonds were quite widespread living in plains as well as on the hills at various levels of acculturation and economic development. In Nawapara, most of the Raj-Gonds are settled agriculturists. Although all of them still aspire to achieve the Hindu status, ironically they treat the Brahmans as their enemies (Deo F. 1984 : 56).

Among 46 tribal groups in the undivided Kalahandi district, the most populous is the Gonds. They are mostly concentrated in the Tahasils of Bhawanipatana, Dharmgarh, Lanjigarh, Nawara and Jayapatna. According to the census of 1971, the total population of the Gonds in the district was 123,778. Out of whom 61,426 were males and 62,352 females. Today their population is about 2 lakhs. They know and speak Oriya. In terms of literacy, the Gond tribe is far behind. As per 1971 census, only 10,036 (8.11%) of its total population in the district were found literate. Further, female literacy was then far below that male literacy. As per 1991 census, though their population in the district has increased, but no significant improvement in their literacy rate.

In our study village Bhaisadani, the Gonds are the majority and their population

comes around 235 out of 352. They are spread in three hamlets except in the Paharia Para where the Paharia community has settled. Very few in this community are literate. In fact, in terms of standards of living, the Gonds lead a primitive life.

The Gonds are believed to be immigrants from Madhya Pradesh. Initially, eight groups of Gonds namely Netam, Markam, Jagat, Anti, Porti, Neti Shori and Marei came into Kalahandi. Bow and arrow were their traditional weapons. In course of time, they have become settled cultivators. Earlier, they were practising shifting cultivation. However until now they have been supplementing their income by collection of forest products. Recently, they have increasingly become Hinduised and have started adopting petty business in the local markets (MSA 1993\1996:1-30).

In their personal appearance, the Gond males have a well-developed physique with fine chest and massive shoulders. But they prefer to have scantily grown beard and moustaches. They are good at negotiating steep climbs and narrow hill tracks, at carrying heavy burden, and are more industrious than other tribals in Kalahandi. Even they often take physical labour with pleasure. They devote most of their time in agriculture or in wage labour. Agriculture is their primary

source of income. Majority of Gonds in the village own patta land or they cultivate encroached land which were earlier meant for shifting cultivation. However, due to recurrent droughts and disappearance of forest cover in the region many of the Gond families have been impoverished and marginalised.

In respect of social organisation and cultural patterns, the Gonds are more advanced than other tribal communities in Kalahandi. They are divided into a number of clans. Marriage within the same clan is strictly prohibited. Child marriage and adult marriage are found at the same time in the community. Today the occurrences of child marriages are rare. Cross-cousin marriage, marriage by service and arranged marriage by the parents are common. In this community, the system of bride-price is prevalent. It is paid in the form of food-stuff, cash and ornaments, as per one's financial conditions. In marriage ceremony, the more Hinduised Gonds hire ritual services of the Brahmins from adjoining caste villages. While in case of the primitive Gonds, their '*Jani*' and '*Jhankar*' (traditional priest and astrologer), performs the rites. Marriage is one of their greatest ceremonies in which they tend to spend very lavishly. As a result, most of the Gond families were indebted in

Bhaisadani. Besides marriage ceremony, they also spend a lot beyond their affordable limit on festivals every year. Feasting, drinking alcohol, singing and dancing are the main festive forms the primitive Gonds enjoy the most. While these pomp and gaiety are gradually decreasing in case of Hinduised Gonds, reduction in their annual agriculture and forest income is another dominant factor that prevails upon the tribal to control their expenditure on festivals and ceremonies.

The Gonds in the village Bhaisadani worship a number of deities i.e. Budha deo, Janga deo and Linga deo. They also offer rituals to some malevolent deities, subscribe to superstitions and at times appease those deities by offering sacrifices of goat, hen, pegeon, pig etc. Besides the tribal deities, they also worship the God and Goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon. In act, some of their festivals approaches to a large extent to those of the Hindus i.e. Dashera, Nuakhai, (Makar) etc.

Moreover, the Gonds too observe birth and death ceremonies along with marriage ceremony as part of life cycles. After the birth of a child, the primitive Gonds observe several rites to keep the child safe from the evil spirits, Ghosts, devils etc. While among the Hinduised Gonds, all the rites are performed as per Hindu customs

but they do not forget to worship their tribal deities at the same time.

Death is considered in the Gond community as pollutant event. They believe in 'Punar Janma' (life after death). In order to purify their community, and to pay tribute to the dead person, the Gonds observe certain rites and perform rituals. It is believed that the polluting effect of death lasts for three days. Therefore, on the fourth day they perform Tel-Ghar (lighting oil-lamp) or Chhot Karma (a small rite). On the 10<sup>th</sup> day, they perform Dash-Kriya (Duma Viya). After one year they celebrate Bada-Karma (death anniversary) for paying a tribute their dead relatives as most Hindus do. Until now they have not been able to develop a written codified language their own. Their original dialect Gondi has gradually been synchronised into Oriya language - a language of the Hindus which is itself a by-product of Hindi or Sanskrit. In fact, a study of their beliefs and rituals related to death ceremony reveals Hinduisation of their culture.

Marrying out side Gond community is perceived as an anti-community activity by the Dhangada Majhi or Putra (tribal priest and astrologist respectively) and is meted out with punishment, Kani-Gudi or excommunication. If such a deviant person dies, his/her

family is punished with fine. Then the community allows the family to clear the dead. Otherwise people don't cooperate in the funeral rites.

During our field work in the village Bhaisadani, Asharam Majhi died (18<sup>th</sup> October, 1999) during Diwali vacation. Following description about the death ritual and ceremonies in the Gond community is based on our observation and facts collected from the villagers.

When a person dies in the Gond society. One or two members from every family of his or her keeth and kin join in the process of cremation. Otherwise, the Dhangada Majhi and Phuta don't allow to observe the rites. Like the Hindus the dead body in the Gond community is not given bath. They only cover a new white cloth on the dead and carry it on a cot to the end of the village where in a field the dead bodies are burnt. While carrying the mortal remains, one of the relatives walks ahead and spreads about one Kg. fried paddy and some coins on the way. All the women folks walk crying. If the dead is an old person, then a group of musicians beat drums called as Mara-Baja (a funeral music). In the case of a young person's death, then no drum is beaten.

At the cremation place, oil with turmeric is smeared on the body of the dead. Then people

carry it and move from right to left anti-clockwise around a bed of dry woods. Like the Hindus, the eldest son or grandson or son-in-law or nephew of the dead, after taking bath, fires the dead with wood and from there without looking back he comes straight to his house. Then all the members of the Gond community who were in the procession, add a wood each to the dead or they put a handful of soil on the dead, if it is buried. There they pay tribute to the soul of the dead.

After the cremation, all the members and relatives come to the house of the dead. All sit in front of the house where bowl of burnt wood is kept. Every one sprays a little oil (Jada Tel) through Neem leaf on the bowl and pray to excuse them. It is called as Duma Ganasaba (A Condolence meeting or Community prayer to the spirit or soul of the dead). Finally, the priests Dhangada Majhi and Phuta spray a little of cow-urine through some Dub grass on the heads of members and purify them in this way.

One important point to note here is that the relatives provide food to the dead's family at least for three days. On the third day, the relatives along with the priests again go to the spot of the dead-body and burn the rest of the dead if left. Like the Hindus, earlier the Gonds were preserving a bone of the

dead to through into the Ganga river. But this practice is not continued any large.

## CONCLUSION

Today no social category has continued to have endowed with all its original nature or characteristic features without change. In fact, there has been a dynamic process of mutual sharing of each other's properties. For instance, some tribes have partly adopted the patterns of living of the caste peasants in different regions of Indian peninsula. Thus, any attempt to define the 'peasants' and 'tribes' in strict sense and distinguish them from each other will mislead the purpose. Rather it would be worthwhile to conceptually locate them in an integrative social category called as 'tribal-peasantry'. On the basis of our field work in a tribal village -Bhaisadani of Nawapara district of Orissa, we have derived seven main features of the Gond peasants as follows :

- i) The Gond peasants are small producers. They produce for fulfilling their subsistence needs. Sometimes, they sell a part of their products in the local market in order to pay tax or debt or to buy essential commodities for their existence.
- ii) They derive their livelihood primarily from cultivation of land (on the basis of ownership or encroachment of land or share-cropping or other forms of

tenancy), but this does not preclude the possibility of their dependence on other sources of income i.e forest produce, cattle and poultry rearing, fishing, hunting, artisan activities, or seasonal wage labour.

- iii) They largely employ labour of their own family members to cultivate the land. Sometimes, they exchange not only their family labour but also their simple traditional agricultural tools and technology i.e. draught animals, wooden plough, etc with their neighbours.

- iv) Their agricultural activities have a direct link not only with their surrounding natural environment and cycle of seasons but also with their patterns of culture consisting of beliefs, rituals and festivals.

- v) They enjoy a low economic, political and socio-cultural status in view of domination and exploitation by the moneylenders, traders, contractors and others who are mostly from outside.

- vi) They constitute a specific agrarian social structure, which can be defined not only in terms of differential land-holding pattern but also in respect of superordination and subordination relationship between or among different income group classes. The class relations among the tribal peasantry are based on their ownership and cultivation of

land (owned or encroached or both) as well as on annual income of the households from different sources including cultivation. Since their income level is very low at subsistence level due to backward economy, diminishing access to forest resources, natural calamities and other man-made situational constraints, the extent of exploitation between classes in tribal society is little visible.

vii) They have maintained an autonomous local political organisation, called as "Gaon Panchayat" which deals with legal, political, socio-cultural affairs at the village level. Even within their village, each tribal community has its own organisation e.g. The Gond Samaj and the Paharia Samaj in our study village-Bhaisadani. Usually, members of upper classes are found in the decision making body of the organisation. Recently, the strength of this age-old organisation has been increasingly weakened due to

introduction of formal Panchayat-Raj system which is constituted of members from different class groups.

On the basis of our specific empirical facts on the Gond community as discussed above, we may consider 'tribal-peasantry' as "a transitional social category; consisting of small producers; who produce mainly for their own consumption through the cultivation of their owned land or encroached forest land or the land to which they are somehow attached by contributing their family labour; who cultivate with the help of their traditional simple tools and techniques; whose agricultural activities are significantly linked to their cultural traditions especially to their Rituals and festivals organised following a cycle of seasons ; and those who hold low social status like the non-tribal peasants in a modern complex society".

Table No. -1.1  
Community-wise Land Holding pattern By Different Farm Size Groups in Bhaisadani Village in 1991-92

Farm Size Groups	ST	SC	OBC	Total
L.L. - No Land	17 (32.07) (89.47)		2 (66.66) (10.52)	19 (32.75)
M.P. - 1 to 3 acres	11 (20.75) (100.0)			11 (18.96)

S.P. - 3.1 to 5 acres	4 (7.54) (66.66)	1 (50.0) (16.66)	1 (33.33) (16.66)	06 (10.34)
L.M.P. - 5.1 to 8 acres	6 (11.32) (85.71)	1 (50.0) (14.28)		07 (12.06)
U.M.P. - 8.1 to 12 acres	12 (22.64) (100.0)			12 (20.6)
L.B.P. - 12.1 to 22 acres	2 (3.77) (100.0)			02 (20.6)
U.B.P. - 22 acres above	1 (1.88) (100.0)			01 (1.7)
Total	53	2	3	58

Source : A Survey report of Lokdrusti 1993. p. 35.

Table No-1.2  
Land Holding pattern in Bhaisadani Village in 1998-99

Farm Size Groups	ST		SC	OBC	T'otal
	Gond	Paharia			
Landless Labourers (L.L.) - No Land	14 (28.57) (43.75)	14 (70.0) (43.73)	1 (50.0) (3.1)	3 (100.0) (9.3)	32 (43.24)
	28 (40..57) (87..5)				
Marginal Peasants M.P. - 1 to 3 acres	19 (38. 8) (79. 2)	5 (25.0) (20. 8)	0	0	24 (32.43)
	24 (34.78) (100.0)				
Small Peasants (S.P.) - 3.1 to 5 acres	4 (8.2) (100.0)	0	0		4 (5.4)



Lower Peasants (L.M.P.)-5.1 acres	Middle to 8	5 (10.2) (83.3)	1 (5.0) (16.6)	0	0	6 (8.1)
		6 (8.6) (100.0)				
Upper Peasants (U.M.P)-8.1to acres	Middle 12	7 (14.2) (100.0)	0	0	0	7 (9.4)
		7 (10.14) (100.0)				
Lower Big Peasants (L.B.P)-12.1to22 acres		0	0	1 (50.0) (100.0)	0	1 (1.3)
		49	20	2	3	74
Total		69		2	3	74

Note and Source: Figures shown on the above Table No-2, are based on our fieldwork in Bhaisadani village of Boden block, held in the month of November 1999.

NOTE:- While looking at these groups of land-holders by farm size, some important points need to be considered. These points are.

- a) This study is confined to a tribal village in the inland region;
- b) Households in the village are mostly tribals;

- c) Almost all the house-holds have encroached the reserved forest land. According to the Forest Act, 1994, the forest areas, which were earlier under the control of tribals, are treated by the Government as "Reserved Forests". It is a fact that when the poor tribals find difficulties to survive without sufficient

means of livelihood, they have no alternative but to encroach the "reserved forest land". Thus, the encroached land is seen by the officials as that forest lands which have been forcibly encroached upon by the tribal peasants and on which a peasant might be farming but without a legal right. This phenomenon of encroachment is peculiar to tribal regions.

- d) The tribal cultivators largely follow traditional method of farming.
- e) The village is situated on foot-hills of the dry-land area. Thus, the productivity of land and production of crops area limited.
- f) The production system predominantly involves exchange of labour, agricultural seeds etc. and farm implements/instruments.
- g) Due to insufficient agricultural production, the peasants often opt for working as wage labourer or they migrate for survival.
- h) Majority of households depend on forest products as their secondary source of income to support their families.
- i) The land, in this area, is classified in government records into 1) Bahal- low land; 2) Baheli or Berna - Medium Land; 3) Att-up Land; 4) Mal-Black cotton soil; and 5) Bari-Homestead yards.

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## AN OVERVIEW OF TRIBALS

Dr. D.B. Shirole\*

The tribals constitute a unique stream of our national life. There are a lot of misconceptions about the tribal people because of their different ways and practices. The tribals are small, homogenous, self-contained and relatively isolated communities residing in natural habitats, spread all over the country with some areas of large concentration.

At one time practically whole of India was inhabited by tribals and in ancient and medieval times they were more numerous and occupied a wider area than at present. From the earliest invasions they waged a losing battle against the advancing culture of the Aryans. Most of the tribes are getting gradually civilized some tribal communities are knit together by tribal customs into solid self-supporting and self-sufficient communities and preserve vestiges of ferocious and barbaric traditions. In the Sanskrit literature there are references to the tribals as wild raiders. In

Ramayana and Mahabharata epics they are mentioned as Nishad, Shabar, Kirat and Pulind.

The year 1993 was declared as "The year of the Aborigines" by the U.N.O. to focus attention of the developed countries on the problems of the tribals. The tribal people are regarded as the oldest ethnic group of the Indian population. They live in isolated areas as a distinct group speaking their own dialect. They follow primitive occupations, such as hunting, fishing, gathering of forest produce and are economically and educationally backward. Tribals prefer a primitive religion and observe certain taboos in all walks of life. They dress scantily.

The tribes numbering over 250 are spread over 21 States and in Maharashtra there are 47 tribal communities. Tribals constitute about 8% of the Indian population, maximum concentration is in North Eastern area.

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The tribal year starts with a function to welcome rain. After this the Mauva and Mango celebrations. This is followed by community hunting and fish catching. There are many more functions after the harvesting season. Every tribal participates in all these functions and the chief of the tribe directs all activities. All the disputes are settled by the head of the tribe and everybody obeys the verdict.

The tribals have very simple food. They consume rice, ragi, maize, beans, fruits and tubers, honey, birds and animals. They prepare wine from rice, Mahuva flowers, dates and palms. Drinking of wine is an integral part of any celebration like child birth, marriage or death. Tribals dance very enthusiastically and their movements are very artistic on the beats of the drums.

Tribal women have a place of importance in tribal culture. They have the freedom to choose their life partners. If they are unhappy in married life they can ask for a divorce. Women have property rights. They are hard working. They can conduct their own delivery in sitting position under the directions of a senior tribal woman.

Tribals are known for their art. They decorate the entrances to their houses by artistic woodwork. They erect beautiful

marriage poles and also prepare mats from bamboo and grass. Their tobacco containers are very decorative and attractive. They prepare lethal weapons for protection and hunting.

The data on tribal health and nature of treatment are rather scanty. Morbidity patterns are yet to be established on the basis of scientific survey and research. Extreme poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, infections, infestations and superstitions are the basic problems of the tribals. Lack of clean water and nutritious food are the two major obstacles. Every now and then one hears of diseases and deaths in tribal pockets due to malnutrition and communicable diseases.

The Infant Mortality Rate according to survey by non-Government agencies is much higher than governments official figures. I.M.R. was 132 and child mortality rate ( 0-5 years ) was 209 per 1000 live births.

The prevalent diseases are Malnutrition, ronchopneumonia, Tuberculosis, Malaria, especially cerebral malaria, gastroenteritis, other diseases are leprosy, sexually transmitted diseases and fungal infections alongwith parasitic infestations. Burns, fall from tree, snake bite and wild animal bites are known causes of mortality and morbidity.



A high incidence of sickle cell anemia and G 6 P D deficiency exists in the tribals. Study of sickle cell diseases in Gadchiroli district by Kate et al showed that Pardhan community has 34% prevalence while Madia gonds had 17%, Raj Gonds 10%, Halba 14%.

High frequencies of sickle cell anemia and G 6 P D deficiency observed among the tribals is a very delicate problem and difficult to solve. It is important to understand the socio-cultural dimensions of health and disease. The factors affecting the health of the tribals are environmental factors like improper housing, lack of safe drinking water, poor sanitation and personal hygiene in sanitary disposal of human excreta and other solid and liquid waste. Deforestation and new law regarding forests have affected the tribals to a great extent. Tremendous influence of superstition is a great obstacle in introducing new methods.

To the tribal mind the real enemies of human health are Gods and the dead. They feel

that the disease is caused by the breach of some taboos or by hostile spirits or the ghosts. They attribute certain diseases to deities like Sitala Mata. The tribals depend upon the local bhagats - quacks - for treatment of many of the diseases. The local herbal medicines are used for the cure of certain diseases. These are bone setters, snake bite cures and others to attend to the tribals. The dependence and confidence on the traditional medicine people are often responsible for the non-acceptance of modern medicine. It is important to study the socio-cultural dimensions of health and family welfare. It is essential for health workers to have knowledge about the culture of tribal people.

The overall development of roads, schools, farming, health care system is essential to improve the lot of the tribals. Simultaneously, measures to improve the socio-economic condition must be undertaken so that tribals can afford a nutritious diet and hygienic surroundings.

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# NEED ASSESSMENT OF TRIBAL FARMERS ABOUT SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION BY USING INDIVIDUAL TECHNIQUE

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## INTRODUCTION

Melghat is a scheduled area and main resident of this area are Korkus- a Scheduled Tribe community. Nearly 75 per cent tribal population is concentrated in Melghat. Their main occupation is agriculture, which is under rainfed conditions. In Melghat average annual rainfall is 1100 to 1350 mm, which is erratic in nature and unevenly distributed. Despite of sufficient average rainfall. Korku farmers are not able to achieve the required crop productivity due to the heavy soil erosion with rain water in this hilly terrain. Continuous erosion from many years resulted in poor quality of land. It needs to rehabilitate by conserving soil and water for sustainable tribal agriculture. Serious efforts were started from 1992 by implementing the soil and water conservation activities under various watershed development programmes of Government and NGOs. But, still Korku farmers are not able to produce sufficient production from agriculture. Hence, this study was emphasized

on need assessment of Melghat tribals about soil and water conservation.

## METHODOLOGY

The present study was conducted in Dharni Panchayat Samiti of Melghat, District Amravati. From the aforesaid locale, 20 watershed villages were selected purposively. From all the selected villages, 15 tribal farmers from each village were randomly selected. In total 300 tribal farmers were selected and personally interviewed. For the purpose 25 key informants working in the Melghat watershed area were contacted and discussed the needs of tribal farmers about soil and water conservation.

For assessing the needs of tribal farmers about soil and water conservation, Individual Technique of need assessment as suggested by Me Caslin and Tibezenia (1997) was used. Individual Technique includes face-to-face interviews, key informant interviews, questionnaires, and personal observation.

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## INFORMAL INTERVIEW

"This technique is appropriate when dealing with less literate audiences or complex issue for which there is little available information". In the present study, need of tribals about soil and water conservation was assessed by asking them both structured and unstructured questions about actual position and what they want about the soil and water conservation in their fields.

## KEY INFORMANTS

"Key informants are people who are considered experts in a given area because of their professional knowledge or their position of influence in the community or organization".

Key informants in this study were Agricultural Assistant, Agricultural Supervisor, Agricultural Officer of State Department, Gramsevak and the employee of NGOs. working in soil and water conservation in the same area. All these key informants were interviewed and the needs were assessed on the basis of their experience about the respective tribal holdings. The official who work in the study area are well verse with the topography of land and other soil and water conservation problems of the concerned tribal and hence their help proved be immensely important in need assessment.

## INFORMAL PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS

Valuable need assessment data often are gathered through informal observations by the investigator. While surveying the fields of respondent tribals, observations about the need of soil and water conservation practices and other watershed development activities was assessed. The field situation was personally observed with this intention.

## QUESTIONNAIRES

This need assessment technique tends to be more structured by phone, mail, or in group settings. Questionnaires are commonly administered in developed countries by conducting telephone interviews and mail services, however in developing countries like India they are rarely administered in this manner, because of non availability of telephones in rural areas and low literacy percentage. Hence, questionnaire technique was not used for need assessment in present study.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Needs of Melghat tribals about soil and water conservation

Need refers to something considered necessary or required regarding to accomplish a purpose. Assessment of target group needs regarding SWC might be helpful in planning and development of

watershed programme. In present research, needs of Melghat tribals about soil and water conservation

were assessed from the respondents and has been presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Need of the Korku tribals about soil and water conservation.

Sr. No.	Need about SWC	Respondents (n=300)	Per cent
1	More numbers of IBS	177	59.00
2	Terracing	170	56.67
3	Fields free from boulders	135	45.50
4	Diversion drains	121	40.33
5	Cement plug	111	37.00
6	Rehabilitation of existing activities	101	33.67
7	Rehabilitation of ill drained soil	91	30.33
8	Embankment between nala and fields	79	26.33

From Table 1, it is observed that majority of respondents (59%) from all the villages have expressed need of more loose boulder structure in their fields. It was observed in study area that all respondents had adopted the loose boulder structure, even though more than half of total respondents wants more LBS on their fields. It indicates the severity of soil and water erosion through gullies and also its need in Melghat area.

In Melghat area hilly and undulated lands are predominant. In this type of topography large amount of soil and water lost through gully and gradually increases the size of gullies and also increases the losses. In Melghat area efforts were made by

the Government agencies to check the soil and water erosion and level the eroded fields by implementing the LBS. But, the magnitude of LBS in the study area was found to be relatively less as compared to it's requirement. Hence, it is necessary to implement more number of LBS in Melghat area.

It is difficult to cultivate crop on the steep slope and in contrast to the situation tribal farmers cultivate the crop traditionally on the slope. It affects the quality and quantity of agricultural production of Korku tribals. Hence 56.67 per cent Korku respondents expressed the need of terracing. It was observed that no one could individually adopted terracing in the study

area, because it is costly and highly technical practice. In fact it is very effective practice in-situ soil and water conservation. It also facilitates easy cultivation by leveling the sloppy land through terracing. Terracing check the fast flow of water and allow to percolate in the soil profile, increase fertility of soil and consequently helps to increase the agricultural production of Melghat tribal. Farming on hills was observed nearly in all the villages of study area, hence terracing is found to be an important need of all Korku farmers.

Due to continuous soil erosion from many years, boulders from the sub surface of soil came out on the surface and quality of land has become inferior. This type of eroded land was observed in many villages, but its severity was observed in Kara, Kotha, Ghota and Jutpani villages. This type of land has created the obstacles in cultivation of crops and intercultural operations. Therefore, the crop yield in this area was found to be very low. Hence, nearly 45.50 per cent respondents had expressed to make the fields free from boulders in addition to other soil and water conservation measures.

In Melghat area, fields of many Korku farmers are on the base of hills. In rainy season rain water flowing from the hills enter the fields and damaged the standing crop by water logging. Some of the Korku farmers made

indigenous diversion drain, but they were not efficient to check the flow of water. Under WDP some diversion channels were prepared by State Department, but not much to the satisfaction of the tribals. Diversion drains assist to utilize the rainwater and also to drained off the excess water. Hence, it is necessary to prepare more diversion drains in Melghat area. This has been expressed by 40.33 per cent tribal respondents.

Nearly about 37.00 per cent respondents expressed need of cement plugs. Cement plug is very efficient nala bund, which effectively conserve and store the proper quantity of water in its catchment area. It also helps to recharge the ground water and increase the level of wells. It is very costly technology, which required 1 to 2 lac rupees for one C.P. Hence, number C.P. made in the study area were very less and also very low adoption was observed. Considering its benefit most of Korku tribals from the villages of NWDPR had expressed the need of C.P., but it is included only in IWDP because of high cost.

Fields of tribal farmers attached to the catchment area of nala bunds were affected by water logging problem, because edges of nala in catchment area were broken with the pressure of water, and most of water then logged in the farmers field. Thus, some area of field was lost due to the ill-drained soils. Therefore, 26.33 and 30.33 per cent respondents

expressed the need to prepare embankment between nala and fields and rehabilitation of ill-drained soil respectively. Affected situation was observed mainly in villages viz. Gobargahu, Chipoli, Chakarda of NWDPR and Tembhal, Jutpani, Bobdo. Pankhalya of IWDP.

Under WDP many SWCPs were implemented by State Dept. of Agriculture. These SWCPs were damaged due to some natural factors. And have not maintained by the Korku tribals because of lack of resources, lack of manpower low level of knowledge, poor economic condition and most important is their traditionalism. It was observed from the reports of State Dept. that 341 numbers of existing measures was repaired during VIII<sup>th</sup> FYP, but repaired measures was not actually observed in the study area, therefore physical condition of some SWCPs was worst. Hence, 33.67 per cent respondents were expressed the need of rehabilitation of damaged practices.

These all above are the needs expressed by Melghat tribal farmers about SWCPs. But according to employees of developmental agencies working in watershed area of Dharni Panchayat Samiti and personal observations of study area, in addition following important needs of Korku farmers about SWC were identified.

1. Contour cultivation

2. Across the slope sowing
3. Agro-horticulture
4. Vetiver bunds
5. Vegetative filter strips
6. Farm ponds

In study area it was observed that, even after the obstinate recommendation of across the slop sowing for in-situ soil and water conservation, it was not adopted by many of the Korku respondents. Hence, it is necessary to peruse the Korku farmers for across the slope sowing. Most of the cultivable area of Melghat is hilly and undulated, where across the slope sowing is also difficult because of varied elevations of the fields. In such cases, contour cultivation, is relatively effective practice. By considering the tribal condition, river bunds are relatively very cheap and compatible.

Vegetative filter strips are practicable and feasible from tribals' point of view. It is very effective for in-situ soil and water conservation and requires no cost for its implementation. It is well known that tribals are economically very poor, therefore agro-horticulture system can provide food grains as well as gives economic support. These practices are also recommended in dry land area for SWC. In high erosion intensity areas like Melghat, most of the rainwater is drained off and it can be properly utilized by storing it in the farm ponds.

All these practices are location specific, but its adoption was found to be practically nil or extremely low. Hence, watershed experts working in the study area

proposed to adopt aforesaid practices to overcome the losses due to soil and water erosion and for improvement of socio-economic status of tribals of Melghat.

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## HALAKKI VOKKALU : A TRIBE IN TRANSITION

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Halakki Vokkalu are known as the earliest settlers of the coastal regions of Uttara Kannada district in Karnataka State. Their way of life, their own traditional customs, social structure and function reveal that they have descended from a primitive culture. Today, though they are not totally left with their age-old traditions, to a certain extent, there are changes in their material culture, clothing and day-to-day activities. Halakki Vokkalu say that, they form a community but they are now fighting for tribal status, as they are well aware of the facilities and provisions given by the Government to any tribal people. Despite it is approximate to fix them under the category "the tribe in transition". Since these people refer themselves as belonging to "Halakki Samaj" i.e. 'Halakki Community' in this paper they are referred so.

Geographically there are seven chief regions in Uttara Kannada district, consisting of 169 villages in which the Halakki Vokkalu are found. These are

namely Karwar, Ankola, Kumbargadde, Gokarna, Nursikote, Harite and Chandavar. Their settlements lie between Western slope of Sahyadri and the Arabian Sea with Kali river in the North and river Sharavati in the South.

There is no adequate information regarding the origin of these people and the knowledge about their origin is lacking among them. According to Madras census report (1901) the term 'Okkaliyan' which is a Tamil synonym of Kannada term 'Vokkaliga' has been described as Canarese cultivators, originally belonged to Mysore and is found mainly in Madras and Coimbatore (Thurston, 1909). In Bombay Gazetteer (1884) while referring to 'Halakki Vokkalu' it has been mentioned that "in Mysore a large class of husbandmen bear the same calling. They seem to be among the earliest settlers on the coast. They have lost all traditional connections with Mysore but a trace perhaps

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remains in the worship of Venkataramana of Tirupati. It has been mentioned that, they bear a strong resemblance and appear to be a branch of Halvokkals of Mysore who rank first among the Vokkalu community". From the above notions the origin of Halakki Vokkalu can be traced to the southern region of Karnataka State.

There are different versions regarding the derivation of the name. In Bombay Gazetteer (1884) it has been pointed out that the word 'Halakki' comes from the Canarese 'Halu' i.e. milk and 'akki' i.e. rice, the people of this community are called 'Halakki Vokkalu'. In this regard Bhat (1982) highlights the close association of owner-labour relation between 'Having Brahmans' and Halakki Vokkalu of Utara Kannada.

The body color of Halakki Vokkalu varies from brown to dark brown. Stature is medium. They possess australoid features with small head, slanting forehead, prominent cheek bones, flat nose and projecting jaws. Men are muscular with broad shoulders. Women have long hair. Halakki Vokkalu have no language of their own. They speak a corrupt form of Kannada in their own accent and call it as 'Vokkalu Bhashe'.

Their traditional occupation is husbandry (Campbell, 1983). But at present, very rarely we see them practicing it. Majority of them, now work as labourers in the fields of higher caste landlords and very few of them their own land. It has been reported that, the people having their own land grow three crops annually. The important crops are groundnut, paddy and millet. Secondary source of income includes preparation of bamboo mats and working as labourers in road construction etc.

Different types of houses are seen in the Halakki villages. Those are of mud, thatched roofs, factory tiled houses and few RCC houses. The staple food of these people is rice and ragi (millet) 'Ganju' which is prepared by using boiled rice cooked regularly. During fairs and festivals, 'payasa' (sweet) is prepared using the ingredients like rice, milk and sugar. Their regular meal consists of rice, fish and sometimes vegetables instead of fish.

The traditional dress of men consists of a 'head scarf' a loin cloth and a shoulder cloth. The blanket is used as rain guard during the rainy season. Today, majority of them are found in shirts, pants and half pants. Halakki women wear sari upto knee length and take it to the upper portion to cover the

chest. They do not wear either underskirt and blouse. Their neck wear consists of a large number of strings of glass beads of various colours, mainly black, called as 'manisara' which cover the neck and shoulder portion. This signifies their community. The boys and girls of the community are seen in common dresses like shirts pants, half pants, skirts and blouses etc.

'Halakki Vokkalu' observe life cycle rituals like pregnancy, birth, marriage and death ceremonies: As regards ritual pollution and purity, mensurating women are considered to be impure for five days in the month.

According to their custom, dead bodies of the married persons are buried and those that of unmarried and pregnant women are burnt. When the sign of death appears clearly 'Das' or an elderly person calls out the name of Govinda/Hari, that is the name of their patron God, 'Venkatramana'. Later the body is given bath and covered with shroud and finally taken to the burial ground.

Generally, 'Halakki Vokkalu' live in the isolated villages. There are villages wherein we find only the dwellings of these people and in some villages they live along with other caste people. But in such villages we find the separate localities of Halakki Vokkalu called as 'Koppa'. It has been

noticed that they have a strong community organisation and they show tendency towards preserving their age old traditional values, beliefs and practices.

'Halakki Vokkalu' belong to Hindu religion and their traditions and customs are more or less similar to any Hindu community. They specify their caste by the term 'Vokkalu' that is 'Vokkalu Jati'. Venkataramana of Tirupatti is being worshipped by them as their patron God along with 'Hanuman' of Chandavar, which is located near the town, Kumta of their own district. They also worship the deities which are represented by their clans.

In the past, Halakki Vokkalu had councils both at village level and regional level for the smooth running of administration and to maintain social and religious discipline in the community. The village council was called as 'Oora Koota'. Disputes in the village were settled in these 'Kootas' by village headman along with elderly persons of the village.

Though the disputes are settled and the problems are solved, it has been reported that, people nowadays take the serious cases to the police, but rarely to the taluk courts. Even though such a change has occurred in these years, however, the structure of 'Koota' has remained as it was in the past.

At the district level there is an organisation called 'Halakki Vokkaligara Sangha' which was started about twenty five years ago, with the intention to work for the welfare of the community. The funding for the organization is made by the people of the community.

Growing interest in the present day politics is one of the major changes found in the community. This awareness is

due to the contacts of the youth with the politicians. In the year 1984 and in 1989 two candidates were elected for Vidhansabha on Janata Party and Congress Party tickets. Nowadays considerable number of representatives from this community are seen in Zilla Parishad, Taluk Parishad and Grampanchayats. This clearly shows that nowadays 'Halakki Vokkalu' people have developed considerable political awareness.

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On the basis of fertility and mortality components following (Crow 1958) the index of opportunity for selection was calculated to see the selection potential of 131 mothers who

variance of 0.01

The Fertility and Mortality Components  $I_f$  and  $I_m$  are 0.3118 and 0.2518 respectively. Fertility component exceeds mortality component. The index of

# SELECTION INTENSITY AMONG THE VALMIKI : A SCHEDULED TRIBE OF SHIMOGA DISTRICT, KARNATAKA

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opportunity for selection calculated for Valmiki is 0.7110. It shows that among Valmiki the fertility component is higher and

hence the selection is operating more through differential fertility than differential mortality.

Table 2

Selection intensity in Indian populations (Crow's Method 1958)

Group	Author	Year	I <sub>m</sub>	I <sub>f</sub>	I/ps	I
Duole Bagai (A village group)	Talukdar	1971	0.250	0.386	0.482	0.732
Dule Bagadi (10 village group)	Talukdar	1971	0.266	0.393	0.497	0.763
Northern Pahira	Basu	1967	0.815	0.175	0.318	0.133
Southern Pahira I	Basu	1967	0.529	0.137	0.209	0.788
Southern Pahira II	Basu	1967	0.484	0.137	0.203	0.687
Kota	Basu	1970	0.445	0.638	0.922	1.367
Pardhans	Murthy & Ramesh	1977	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	1.181
Kolam	Murthy & Ramesh	1977	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	0.856
Rajgonds	Murthy & Ramesh	1977	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	0.724
Tili	Talukdar	1983	0.199	0.316	0.379	0.578
Jele	Talukdar	1983	0.218	0.310	0.378	0.596
Varendra Brahmins	Talukdar	1983	0.182	0.378	0.447	0.629
Varendra Kayastha	Talukdar	1976	0.169	0.360	0.421	0.590
Kayastha	Choudury		N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	0.621
Muslim	Chakravarty	1976	0.43	0.41	N.A.	0.86
Muslim (Consanguineous Marriage)	Barua	1976	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	0.919
Muslim (Non-Consanguineous Marriage)	Barua	1976	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	0.919
Millia	Sahu	1976	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	0.956
Mahes-waris	Gandhi	1978	0.2898	0.2631	0.554	

Note: N.A. = No. Available

Table 2 presents the selection intensities among different Indian populations. The Valmikis' selection intensity of 0.7110 is near equal to the range observed in other tribal populations and lower the range

observed in other non-tribal communities.

The fertility component 0.3118 which is higher than the mortality component of 0.2548 has resulted in a very higher index of opportunity for selection compared to other tribal populations of India.

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## महाराष्ट्रातील आदिवासींची ओळख

डॉ.वि.स.मुगडे\*

### प्रस्तावना

आदिवासी (Tribal) कोणाला म्हणतात ? हे माझ्या मते खूप लोकांना चांगले माहित आहे. याचे मुख्य कारण म्हणजे त्यांची वेगवेगळ्या ठिकाणी भरणारी हस्तकला प्रदर्शने, त्याचप्रमाणे नृत्यस्पर्धा व सर्वात मुख्य म्हणजे पेपरात येणारे कुपोषणाचे बळी. त्यामुळे आदिवासी आता तसे माहित नाहीत असे नाही. पूर्वी परिस्थिती वेगळी होती. अभ्यास व संशोधक यापर्यंत आदिवासी सिमीत होते. मानववंशशास्त्रज्ञांनी संशोधन करून आदिम व आदिवासी संबंधित शास्त्रीय दृष्टीकोनातून विचार करून वा संशोधन करून व्याख्या तयार केलेल्या आहेत. त्या व्याख्या पाहता सर्वसाधारणपणे त्या थोड्याफार फरकाने सारख्याच असल्या तरी त्यातून त्यांना जे सांगावयाचे आहे ते एकच उद्दिष्ट्य आहे आणि ते म्हणजे आदिम/आदिवासी कोणाला म्हणायचे.

भारतीय मानववंशशास्त्रज्ञ डॉ.डी.एन.मुजुमदार यांनी आदिम/आदिवासींची सर्व लक्षणे लक्षात घेऊन त्यांची विस्तृत व्याख्या केली ती अशी, 'समान नांव असणारा, एकाच भूप्रदेशावर वास्तव्य करणारा, एकच बोलीभाषा व विवाह, व्यवसाय इ.बाबत समाननिषेध

नियमांचे पालन करणारा व परस्पर उत्तरदायित्व निर्माण करण्याच्या दृष्टीने एक पध्दतशीर व्यवस्था स्विकारणाऱ्या कुटुंबांचे किंवा कुटुंब समूहाचे वर्गीकरण म्हणजे आदिवासी समाज.'

तसेच वेगवेगळ्या समाजशास्त्रज्ञांनी आपापली मते पुढीलप्रमाणे स्पष्ट केलेली आहेत.

१. डब्ल्यू.जे.पेरी यांनी आदिवासी समाजाची कमीत कमी वैशिष्ट्ये सांगितली आहेत. ते म्हणतात, समान बोलीभाषा बोलणाऱ्या व एकच समान भू प्रदेशावर वास्तव्य करणाऱ्या समूहाला आदिम समाज म्हणतात.
२. डॉ.रिचर्स यांच्या मते ज्या समूहात सदस्य एक समान बोलीभाषा बोलतात. युद्ध वगैरे सारख्या उद्दिष्टपूर्तीस एक होऊन झटतात. अशा साध्या व सरळ सामाजिक समूहाला आदिवासी समाज असे म्हणतात.
३. बोगार्डस म्हणतात, सुरक्षिततेची जबाबदारी, रक्तसंबंधाचे बंध, समानधर्म यावर आदिवासी समाज आधारलेला आहे.

\*समाजशास्त्र विभाग, यशवंतराव मोहिते महाविद्यालय, पुणे-४११०३८

विशिष्ट प्रमाण लघुता, एकाच रक्त संबंधावर आधारीत उत्पत्ती, बोलीभाषा व लेखन कलेचा अभाव स्वतःची वेगळी जीवन पध्दती, साधी अर्थव्यवस्था, सिमीत तंत्रविद्या, समानधर्म, सामाजिक एकजिनसीपणा ज्या समूहात आढळून येतो तो समाज म्हणजे थोडक्यात आदिवासी समाज होय. हे वरील वेगवेगळ्या व्याख्यांवरून स्पष्ट होते.

थोडक्यात जो समाज समूहाने, गटागटाने व दुर्गम भागात वास्तव्य करून राहतो, तो अतिशय मागासलेला व गरीब आहे, अतिशय लाजरा बुजरा असा समाज आहे. ज्याला स्वतंत्र अशी फारशी अर्थव्यवस्था नाही, जो उद्याचा विचारही करू शकत नाही, ज्याची स्वतंत्र बोलीभाषा आहे, ज्या समाजात एकाच रक्तसंबंधात लग्न पध्दती असू शकते असा समाज म्हणजे आदिवासी समाज होय, असे ढोबळमानाने म्हणता येईल.

वरील लक्षणे ही त्यांच्या दैनंदिन जीवनाचा एक भाग बनलेले असल्याचे दिसून येते. वेगवेगळ्या जमाती ह्या एका ठराविक भू-प्रदेशातच शतकानुशतके राहताना आढळतात. निसर्गाच्या सतत सहवासात, स्वच्छंदी राहून जीवन जगणे ही त्यांची, आदिम काळापासून सवय आहे. शहरी भागात आदिवासी बुजून, घाबरून जातो. तो गुदमरतो. त्याला त्याचा पाडा, वस्तीच चांगली वाटते. तो निसर्गाच्या कुशीत

राहत असल्याने काटक असतो. त्याची स्वतंत्र अशी स्वतःची विशिष्ट बोलीभाषा असते. त्यांच्या बोलीभाषेतूनच त्याचे सामाजिक संबंध, श्रद्धा, नातेसंबंध व्यक्त होताना दिसतात.

उदा. कोलामांची कोलामी, भिल्लांची भिल्ली, गोंडाची गोंडी, पावरांची पावरी अशा वेगवेगळ्या आदिवासी जमातींच्या स्वतःच्या बोलीभाषा असल्याचे दिसून येते.

### भौगोलिक परिस्थिती

महाराष्ट्रात एकूण (४५) अनुसूचित जमाती आहेत. भौगोलिकदृष्ट्या महाराष्ट्रातील आदिवासी क्षेत्राचे प्रामुख्याने तीन विभाग पडतात ते पुढीलप्रमाणे

(१) सहयाद्री विभाग (२) सातपुडा विभाग (३) गोंडवना विभाग

#### १. सहयाद्री विभाग

पुणे, नाशिक, ठाणे, रायगड, मुंबई, अहमदनगर हे जिल्हे सहयाद्री विभागात येतात. या जिल्ह्यातून प्रामुख्याने वारली, कातकरी, महादेव कोळी, कोकणा, ठाकर, मल्हार कोळी या अनुसूचित जमाती आढळतात.

#### २. सातपुडा विभाग

या विभागामध्ये धुळे, जळगांव, औरंगाबाद व अमरावती या जिल्ह्यांचा समावेश होतो व तेथे भिल्ल, कोकणा, धानका, गावीत, दुबळा, कोरकू, तडवी, पावरा या जमाती राहतात.

### ३. गोंडवना विभाग

चंद्रपूर, भंडारा, गडचिरोली, नागपूर, यवतमाळ या जंगलमय प्रदेशात महाराष्ट्रातील एकूण आदिवासी लोकसंख्येच्या ८० टक्के लोकसंख्या या जिल्हयातून असल्याचे दिसून येते. या जिल्हयात गोंड, माडिया गोंड, कोरकू, कोलाम, परधान, आंध, कोकणा, कातकरी, वारली, महादेव कोळी, मल्हार कोळी, ठाकर, गावीत, हलबा या जमाती प्रामुख्याने आढळतात.

सन १९९१ च्या जनगणनेनुसार त्यांची एकूण लोकसंख्या महाराष्ट्रात ७३.१८ लक्ष इतकी आहे. अनुसूचित जमातीत असलेल्या अति मागास (Primitive Tribe) ह्या प्रामुख्याने पुढीलप्रमाणे महाराष्ट्रामध्ये आहेत. माडिया गोंड, कातकरी, कोलाम या तीन जमाती अति मागासलेल्या आहेत. त्यांची शैक्षणिक, आर्थिक प्रगती अजिबात झालेली दिसून येत नाही.

महाराष्ट्रातील बहुसंख्य आदिवासी लोकसंख्या ठाणे, धुळे, नाशिक, अहमदनगर, जळगांव, पुणे, नांदेड, अमरावती, यवतमाळ, नागपूर, भंडारा, चंद्रपूर, गडचिरोली, रायगड या जिल्हयातून प्रामुख्याने असल्याचे दिसून येते. या जिल्हयामधून असलेल्या जमाती मुख्यत्वे पुढीलप्रमाणे आहे.

भिल्ल, माडियागोंड, गोंड, वारली, कातकरी, कोरकू, कोलाम, महादेव कोळी,

कोकणा, आंध, धोडिया, दुबळा, परधान, पारधी इ.होय.

महाराष्ट्र राज्याचे भौगोलिक क्षेत्र ३.०७ लक्ष चौ.कि.मी.असून त्यातील ०.५० लक्ष चौ.कि.मी.क्षेत्र हे आदिवासी उपयोजना क्षेत्राखाली येते. राज्याच्या एकूण क्षेत्राशी हे प्रमाण १६.४१ टक्के एवढे आहे. १९९१ च्या जनगणनेनुसार राज्यातील आदिवासींची लोकसंख्या ७३.१८ लक्ष एवढी आहे. त्यापैकी ५०.१३ लक्ष लोकसंख्या (६९.०५%) आदिवासी उपयोजना क्षेत्रात असून उर्वरित २२.६५ लक्ष लोकसंख्या (२०.१५%) आदिवासी उपयोजना क्षेत्राबाहेर आहे. महाराष्ट्रातील आदिवासींची लोकसंख्या ही एकूण लोकसंख्येच्या ९.२७% इतकी असून महाराष्ट्राचा देशात आदिवासी लोकसंख्येच्या बाबतीत चौथा क्रमांक लागतो.

शैक्षणिकदृष्ट्या आदिवासी मागासले असल्याचे दिसून येते. राज्यातील साक्षरतेचे एकूण प्रमाण ३६.७७% इतके आहे. स्त्रियांचे शिक्षणाचे प्रमाण फार कमी म्हणजे २४.०३% इतके आहे.

आदिवासी आर्थिकदृष्ट्या फार मागासलेले आहेत. त्याचे प्रमुख कारण शिक्षणाचा त्यांच्यामध्ये असेलला मुख्यतः अभाव हे होय. त्यांच्यासाठी असलेल्या अनेक योजनांचा लाभ त्यांना होत असल्याचे दिसून येत नाही. याचे प्रमुख कारण अशिक्षितता हे आहे.

उपजिविकेचे प्रमुख साधन सर्वसाधारणपणे शेती हे आहे. परंतु सर्वच



आदिवासींकडे शेतजमीन नसल्याने काहीजण शेतमजुरी करतात. काही जंगलातून मिळणारी वनौषधी, मध, मोहाची फुले, लाकूडफाटा इ.विकून उपजिविका करताना दिसतात. ४०% लोक शेती करणारे आहे तर ४५% शेतमजुरी करणारे आहेत. उर्वरित १५% लोक हे जंगलातील वनौषधी गोळा करणे, बांबू, वेत, काम करणारे गवत कापणे, मध, डिक, मोहाची फुले गोळा करणे इ.जोडधंदे करतात. डहाणू, ठाणे इ.शहराजवळील आदिवासी वीटभट्टी चालवतात. तर काही शिकलेले आदिवासी सुधारीत पध्दतीने बागायती शेती करतात. तसेच सरकारी नोकऱ्यांमध्येही दिसत आहेत.

आदिवासी प्रामुख्याने दुर्गम अशा डोंगरात, जंगलाजवळ, प्रामुख्याने वस्त्या करून रहातात. ते जेथे वस्त्या करून राहतात, त्याला पाडा, पोड असे म्हणतात. सर्व भारतभर राहणाऱ्या आदिवासींच्या वस्त्या अशा पाडया पाडयात आढळून येतात. आदिवासी हे प्रामुख्याने झोपड्यांमध्ये राहतांना दिसतात. प्रत्येक जमातीची झोपडीबांधणीची एक विशिष्ट पध्दती असते व त्याचप्रकारच्या सर्व झोपडया त्या जमातीत दिसून येतात. जरी ते झोपडयात राहत असले तरी स्वच्छता दिसून येते. वारली जमातीतील लोक झोपडयांच्या भिंतीवर पांढऱ्या चुन्याने वारलीचित्र संस्कृती रेखाटतांना दिसतात.

जंगलातील बांबू, लाकूड व गवत यांचा उपयोग हे प्रामुख्याने करताना आढळतात. त्यासाठी ते जंगल तोड करून

भरमसाठ लाकडाचा वापर न करता थोडक्यातच पण व्यवस्थित झोपडी बांधतात. त्यातूनच त्यांचे जंगल व निसर्ग यावर त्यांचे असलेले प्रेम दिसून येते. जंगलाच्या आसपास त्यांच्या वस्त्या असल्याने जंगलातील प्राणी व त्यातील काही घटक हीच त्यांची दैवते असल्याचे दिसून येते. वाघापासून संरक्षण व्हावे म्हणून ते वाघाला पुजतात. 'वाघोबा' हा त्यांचा देव आहे. तसेच नाग, साप, विंचू, सूर्य, धरतारी, कणसरी, नारनदेव, डोंगऱ्यादेव, वनदेव ते पूजताना दिसतील.

अंधश्रद्धा हा त्यांच्या जीवनाचा अविभाज्य घटक झालेला आहे. याला मुख्य कारण दारिद्र्य, अज्ञान व मुख्य म्हणजे भिन्नेपणा हे त्यांचे कारण आहे. शिक्षणाचा असलेला अभाव हे प्रमुख दुसरे अंधश्रद्धेस कारणीभूत आहे. अत्यंत हलाखीची परिस्थिती असल्याने अंधश्रद्धेवरच त्यांचा अधिक भर असतो. कुटुंबांतील एखादी व्यक्ती आजारी पडल्यास डॉक्टरांकडे न जाता ते एखाद्या भगताकडे जातात व तो जे जे करावयास सांगेल त्याप्रमाणे कोबडी, बकरा बळी देणे, दारु देणे इ.गोष्टी कर्ज काढून करतील पण औषधोपचार करून घेण्यास ते नकार देतील. त्यामुळे कुपोषण, रोगराई व मृत्युचे प्रमाण वाढताना दिसून येते. मेळघाटात याच कारणाने दरवर्षी मृत्यु व बालमृत्यु होताना दिसतात. एक तर माता स्वतः कुपोषित राहतात. त्यामुळे बालके जन्माला येतानाच कुपोषित राहिल्याने ते फार काळ जगत नाही. त्यासाठी आदिवासींना ही

कुटुंबनियोजनाचे महत्व पटवून देणे गरजेचे आहे, असे वाटते.

आदिवासींमध्ये धार्मिक आणि सामाजिक विधीमध्ये मद्याला अतिशय महत्व असते. मूल जन्मल्यापासून ते माणूस मेल्यानंतरही तसेच आनंदाच्या वेळी म्हणजे, लग्न, पाहुण्यांचा आदरसत्कार इ. प्रत्येक वेळी दारुला विशेष स्थान असतेच. या प्रत्येक वेळी दारु देऊन आनंद व दुःख साजरे होतेच. मूल जन्मल्या जन्मल्या त्याच्या तोंडात दारुचा थेंब टाकला जातो. नाहीतर ते मूल नशिबवान होणार नाही, असा त्यांचा समज आहे. त्याचप्रमाणे माणूस मृत्यु पावल्यानंतर तोंडात दारुचा थेंब टाकला जातो. यथे जन्म व मृत्यु दोन्ही वेळेस आदिवासी दारु सेवन करतातच.

आदिवासी जमातीत विवाहपध्दती वेगवेगळ्या असतात. काही आदिवासी जमातीत आजही बहुपत्नीत्व, प्रौढ विवाह, विधवा विवाह मान्य आहे. याला काही जमाती अपवाद आहेत. पण चालीरितीनुसार व परंपरेने बहुपत्नीत्वाची व प्रौढविवाहाची पध्दती रुढ आहे. माडियागोंड जमातीत गोटूलची प्रथा आहे. गोटूल म्हणजे वयात आलेल्या तरुण-तरुणींचे निवासस्थान. यथे युवक युवती एकत्रित येऊन आपला जीवन साथीदार ते स्वतःच निवडतात. ह्या तरुण तरुणी रात्री जेवण झाल्यानंतर या गोटूलातच एकत्र येऊन नाच गाणी यांचे प्राथमिक धडे घेतात. आदिवासींच्या जीवनात विरंगुळा म्हणजे कोणत्याही आनंदाच्या प्रसंगी एकत्र येऊन नृत्य करणे हे त्यांचे वैशिष्ट्य होय.

पावसाळा संपून सुगीचा हंगाम सुरु झाल्यावर आदिवासींच्या नृत्यांना सुरुवात होते. दिवाळीपासून नृत्याला सुरुवात होते. प्रत्येक जमातीचे विशिष्ट असे वेगवेगळ्या नाचाचे प्रकार आहेत. वारली जमातीत तारपा नृत्य केले जाते. दंडारी हे नृत्य गोंड जमातीत होते. होळी नृत्य हे सर्व जमातीत केले जाते. कारण सुगीच्या दिवसात शेतात नवीन धान्य आलेले असते. त्यामुळे आदिवासी समाजात या होळी सणाला फार महत्व असते. दंडारनृत्य, ढोल नृत्य, गौरी नाच, घेली नाच, कांबडनृत्य, भवाडा, भगोऱ्या, रेलानृत्य इ. नृत्याचे अनेकविध प्रकार आहेत.

हिंदूप्रमाणेच दिवाळी, दसरा, होळी इ. सण आदिवासीमध्ये साजरे करतात. या सणांच्या वेळी व लग्नाच्या वेळी त्यांच्यात लोकगीते गायली जातात.

आदिवासी समाज हा अतिशय साधा, सरळ व स्वच्छ मनाचा समाज आहे. अतिशय कमीत कमी त्यांच्या गरजा आहेत. आहे त्या परिस्थितीत ते आनंदी व सुखी राहतात. एकमेकांना गरजेच्या वेळी त्याही परिस्थितीत मदत करतात. शिक्षणाच्या अभावामुळे त्यांचे दुःख व दैन्य संपत नाही. त्यांच्यासाठी असलेल्या अनेक शासकीय योजना, सवलती त्यांच्यापर्यंत दुर्गम भागात राहत असल्याने पोहचत नाही. हे प्रमुख कारण आहे. तरी सुध्दा आता आदिवासी समाज सुधारताना दिसत आहे. त्यांच्यातही अशा गरीबीच्या व दैन्यवस्थेतही सुशिक्षित तरुण दिसून येऊ लागले आहेत.

शासकीय योजना जर त्यांच्यापर्यंत व्यवस्थितरित्या पोहोचल्या तर त्यांचे राहणीमान निश्चितच सुधारेल यात शंकाच नाही. यासाठी नवयुवकांनी आपल्या जातबांधवासाठी प्रामाणिक प्रयत्न करणे गरजेचे आहे. आपण शिकलो तसेच आपल्या बांधवांनाही शिक्षणाचे महत्व पटवून देऊन शिकून त्यांचे राहणीमान उंचावण्यास मदत केली पाहिजे. त्यासाठी आदिवासी विकास विभागाने राज्यात अनेक आश्रमशाळा स्थापन केल्या आहेत व बऱ्याच ठिकाणी आदिवासी मुलामुलींची राहण्याची सोय करण्यासाठी शासनाने वसतिगृहे बांधली आहेत. या विद्यार्थ्यांना शिष्यवृत्ती, विद्यावेतन मोफत पुस्तके व वहया इ.शासनाने सोयीसुविधा उपलब्ध करून दिलेल्या आहेत.

थोडक्यात सार्वजनिक आरोग्य, रोगप्रतिबंधक उपाय, माता व बालके यांचे संरक्षण व पोषण, व्यसनमुक्ती, अंधश्रद्धा निर्मूलन इ.गोष्टी त्यांच्या मनावर बिंबविण्यासाठी एकदम त्या गोष्टी टाकून द्या किंवा सोडा असे सांगणे चुकीचे ठरेल किंवा दारु सोड असे एकदम टीका करून किंवा त्याच्या वागण्यावर, त्याच्या चालीरितीवर टीका करून, हल्ला करून चालणार नाही. तर त्यांच्यासाठी त्यांच्यात मिसळून ते त्यांच्या जीवनासाठी कसे चुकीचे व अयोग्य आहे हे पटवून दिले पाहिजे. ही गोष्ट अंधश्रद्धेच्या बाबतीतही आहे असे म्हणता येईल. आधुनिक औषधोपचाराचा उपयोग न करता जादूटोणा, मंत्र, देवदेवतांची पूजा, भगताकडे जाणे, यांचा उपयोग ते बरे होण्यासाठी

करतात. उलट आधुनिक औषधांचा पुरवठा करून वैद्यकिय सोयी सुविधा प्राप्त करून दिल्यास ते सातत्याने सेवा देऊन रोगी बरी झाल्याची प्रात्यक्षिके पाहिली किंवा त्यांना पटवून दिले तर जादू टोण्यासारख्या गोष्टी ते करणार नाहीत. इतके आदिवासी साधे व सज्जन आहेत. पण त्यांच्या तुमच्या सांगण्यावर, तुम्ही त्यांना पटवून देणाऱ्यावर सर्वस्वी ते अवलंबून आहे. त्यासाठी तुम्हाला त्यांच्यातीलच एक होऊन रहावे लागेल. त्याचे तुम्हा आम्हाला ज्ञात असलेले उत्तम उदाहरण म्हणजे डॉ.बाबा आमटे यांचे आहे.

ज्यांना आपण मागासलेले व अशिक्षित समजतो तो समाज खरोखरच पुढारलेला आहे. नृत्यकेलेबरोबरच चित्रकलाही आदिवासींना अवगत आहे, स्वच्छ सारवरलेल्या भिंतीवरूनच त्रिकोण, चौकोन, वर्तूळ इ.भौमितीक परिमाणांचा उपयोग करून सुरेख चित्र काढतात. यात वारली जमात अशी चित्रे काढण्यात निष्णात आहे. विज्ञानापासून दूर असलेल्या निसर्गाशी तादात्म्य पावलेल आदिवासींचे हे जीवन आहे. या कलेत निष्णात असलेले वारली चित्रकार जीवा सोमा म्हसे हे आंतरराष्ट्रीय ख्याती पावलेले आहे. हे एक उत्तम उदाहरण आहे की, त्यांच्याकडून शिकण्यासारखे आहे. हे अनेक गोष्टीवरून सिध्द होते. याचे उत्तम उदाहरण म्हणजे त्यांची लग्न पध्दती. आदिवासींच्या काही जमातीत लग्न करण्यापूर्वी मुला-मुलींना त्यांचा जोडीदार शोधण्याची पूर्ण मुभा असते. ते गोदूलच्या वरील माहितीत आले आहेच.

याशिवाय आदिवासींकडून शिकण्या सारखे खूप काही आहे. त्यांच्याकडे असलेली वनौषधींची जाण ही गोष्ट आपण शिकावयास पाहिजे. एकूणच निसर्गाबद्दलची माहिती, निरीक्षण व पर्यावरण जोपासण्याची माहिती, प्रामाणिकपणा या गोष्टी परंपरेने चालत आलेल्या असतात.

सामाजिक क्षेत्रात विवाह ठरवितानाच मुला-मुलींना दिली जाणारी जीवनसाथी निवडण्याची मुभा, सामुदायिक विवाहपध्दती, गोत्रबाहय विवाह, तसेच न पटल्यास घटस्फोट घेण्याची पध्दत, अशा घटनात पंचायत निर्णयात स्त्रीला दिलेले महत्व या गोष्टी आपण अजूनही आपल्या समाजात रुढ करू शकलेलो नाही. याशिवाय आदिवासींच्या अन्न शिजविण्याच्या तसेच सेवनाच्या पध्दतीमध्ये असे दिसून आले आहे

की, केवळ स्वच्छता हा एक घटक सोडल्यास त्यांची अन्न सेवन करण्याची पध्दती हया पोषकद्रव्याचे जतन करणाऱ्या आहेत. कारण मूलतः त्यांचा आहार कंदमुळे, मध, भात, नाचणी, वरई यासारखा आहे. अर्थात आधुनिकीकरण आणि विकास कार्यक्रम यामधून ज्या आदिवासी गटांचा विकास झाला आहे, त्यांच्यातील हे गुण लोप पावताना दिसतात. हे गुण केवळ जतन करण्यास हवे असे नाही तर त्यांचे अनुकरणही झाले पाहिजे. त्यांच्या जीवनातील परंपरागत माहितीचा, चांगल्या सवयीचा अभ्यास करून त्याचा उपयोग करून घेतला पाहिजे. त्यासाठी त्यांची संस्कृती, जीवनपध्दती त्यांच्या श्रद्धा समस्या यांची सुयोग्य जाणीव असणे आवश्यक आहे, असे वाटते.

### संदर्भसूची

१. महाराष्ट्रातील अनुसूचित क्षेत्र आणि अनुसूचित (आदिवासी) जमाती- डॉ.गोविंद गारे
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३. आदिवासी विश्व- डॉ.सौ.शैलजा देवगांवकर, डॉ.श.गो.देवगांवकर
४. भारतीय समाज विज्ञान कोश :- संपादक, स.मा.गर्गे, समाजविज्ञान मंडळ, पुणे

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## "कोकणा आदिवासींचे श्रध्दास्थान डोंगरी देव"

डॉ. बी.ए.देशमुख\*

महाराष्ट्राच्या अतिदुर्गम डोंगरदऱ्याच्या कुशीत निसर्गाच्या नयनमनोहारी वातावरणात राहणाऱ्या आदिवासींचे जीवनमान सर्वांना मोहून टाकणारे असते. निसर्गाच्या विविध छटांचा अविष्कार करीत आपल्या जीवनाचा आलेख ते घडवीत असतात. त्यांच्या चालीरिती, धार्मिक विधी, सण उत्सवाला, निसर्गाची मोठी साथ असते. किंबहुना निसर्गाचा पुत्र म्हणून आदिवासी आपले निसर्गप्रेम वेगवेगळ्या उत्सवाद्वारे व्यक्त करीत असतो. निसर्गाची अतुट नाते सांगणारा आदिवासीचा अनेक उत्सवापैकी एक उत्सव म्हणजे डोंगऱ्या देवाचा उत्सव होय. डोंगऱ्या देवाचा उत्सव म्हणून तो कोकणा जातीतील आदिवासी साजरा करीत असतो.

डोंगऱ्या देवाच्या उत्सवात आदिवासी बांधव उपास करतात. उपास करणाऱ्या व्यक्तींना **भाया** किंवा **माऊल्या** असे म्हणतात. हे उपास नवरात्र उत्सवातील उपासासारखे असतात. दररोज सकाळी गांवात फिरून माऊल्या माधुकरी मागतात. आदिवासी माऊल्यांची पूजा करून धान्य, आटा देतात. या गांव मागण्याच्या प्रकारात मुख्य भाया हातात मोठी झाडाची काठी घेऊन गांव मागतो. इतर भाये, माऊल्या त्यांच्याबरोबर पावरी वाद्याच्या तालावर लयबध्द फेर धरून आदिवासी नृत्य करीत असतात. हा आदिवासी नृत्यप्रकार मोठा

देखणा असून, गीते श्रवणीय असतात. गांवातील प्रत्येक दारासमोर भाया, माऊल्या गांव मागणं करतात. गांव मागणं करतानाही आदिवासींची शिस्त, निष्ठा व श्रध्देचा प्रयत्य येतो.

गांव मागणं करताना सुरवातीला पावरी वाद्य वाजविणारे पावरीकर वाद्यांची साथ देतात. त्यानंतर माऊल्यांना संरक्षण देण्यासाठी खुटेकरी असतात. त्यांच्या हातात काठीघोडा असतो. त्यावर घुंगरू असतात. खुटेकरी काठी हलविताना वाजवित असतात. खुटेकरी घेणारे खुटेकरी देवासमान असून ते माऊल्यांचे गांव मागणं करताना इतर बंधनापासून त्यांचे रक्षण करतात. तर माऊल्यांच्या मागे **पोह** असतात. हे पोह आदिवासींनी गांव मागणं करताना दिलेल्या धनधान्याच्या दानाचे साहित्य घेऊन मागे चालत असतात. गांव मागणं पूर्ण झाले, की मिळालेले सर्व धान्य एकत्रित करून ठेवतात. यामध्ये पीठ, उडीद, डाळीचा प्रामुख्याने समावेश असतो. हे धान्य माऊल्यांचा उपास सोडताना वापरले जाते. साधी फिकी उडीद डाळ व भाकरी स्वयंपाक गांवाच्या कुमारीकांकडून केला जातो. सात दिवस उपास करणारे भाये, माऊल्या घरी जात नाहीत. गांवातील मध्यवर्ती ठिकाणी गाडलेल्या थोंबाजवळ किंवा मारुतीच्या मंदिरात राहतात.

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डोंगऱ्या देवाचा उत्सव आदिवासी डिसेंबर महिन्याच्या शेवटच्या आठवड्यात हिंदू धर्माच्या पौष महिन्यातील पौर्णिमेला साजरा करतात. पौर्णिमेच्या सात दिवस आधी डोंगऱ्या देवाच्या उत्सवाला सुरवात होते. कधीकधी गांवातील महत्वाची व्यक्ती मृत झाली तर डोंगऱ्या देवाचा उत्सव पुढे ढकलून पुढील महिन्याच्या पौर्णिमेला साजरा करतात. वर्षाआड किंवा दोन, तीन पाच वर्षांनंतर गांवातील रितीरिवाजानुसार उत्सवाचा कालावर्धा ठरविला जातो. काही गांवात नवस कबूल केलेले आदिवासी आपला स्वतंत्र डोंगऱ्या देवाचा उत्सव करतात. सामुदायिक व वैयक्तिक उत्सवामध्ये फरक न करता पूर्ण गांव उत्सवात मोठ्या भक्तीने सामील होत असते. पौष महिन्यात शेतीची कामे पूर्ण झालेली असतात. मळयात खळयात नवीन धान्य आलेले असते. ते घरी आणले जाते. डोंगऱ्या देवाच्या उत्सवाची वेळ येऊन ठेपते. गांवातील सर्व आदिवासी एकत्र येऊन डोंगऱ्या देवाचा उत्सव साजरा करण्यासाठी पंचकमिटी तयार करतात. गांवातून किती भाये किंवा माऊल्या तयार होणार याचा अंदाज बांधला जातो. नवस करणाऱ्याने पुढाकार घेतला, तर गांवातील लोक त्यांना माऊल्या आपल्या घरातून देतात. किमान प्रत्येक घरची एक माऊली, भाया डोंगऱ्या देवाच्या उत्सवात सामील होते.

गांवातील मध्यवर्ती ठिकाणी किंवा मारुती मंदिराजवळ मोकळ्या मैदानात थोंब

गाडला जातो. या थोंबामध्ये ऊस, भाताची कणसे, तुळस, झेंडुची फुले, काकडी, पिंपळ व वेंळूच्या काठया रोवल्या जातात. डाळींब, द्राक्ष, धान्य, नवीन फळांची पूजा मांडतात. पाच प्रकारची धान्य ठेवून महादऱ्या तयार करतात. कणकेचे पाच दिवे तयार करून पाच महाआरती करतात आणि हा थोंब गाडून डोंगऱ्या देवाची स्थापना केली जाते. थोंबाच्या भोवती मोठे रिंगण करून त्या वर्तुळाची सीमारेषा आखली जाते. त्या रिंगणात माऊल्या दररोज सायंकाळी रात्री उशिरापर्यंत फेर धरून नाचतात. पावरी वाद्याची सुरावट आदिवासींना नाचण्यास प्रेरित करते आणि पावरी वाद्यांच्या तालावर आदिवासीमधील कलंदर तरुण नृत्यातील कसब व करतब सर्वांना दाखवितात. रात्र चढत जाते. आदिवासी महिला, तरुणी थोंबाजवळ येतात. रिंगणाच्या बाहेर थांबून डोंगऱ्या देवाची आराधना करतात. पंचारती घेऊन रिंगणाबाहेरच उभ्या राहून डोंगऱ्या देवाची पूजा करतात. पंचारती घेऊन आवाळणाऱ्या आदिवासी महिलांचे मोहोळ स्वतंत्र उभे राहिलेले पहावयास मिळते. पंचारतीच्या मंद तेवत जाणाऱ्या ज्योतीच्या असंख्य तेजपुंजाने डोंगऱ्या देवाच्या उत्सवाला झळाळी येते. यावेळी काही आदिवासी डोंगऱ्या देवाची कथा भक्तीभावाने म्हणतात. ही कथा सांगणारी कथेकरी मंडळी असते. कथेकरीजवळ काशा थाळीमध्ये मेणावर एक काठी चिटकवून त्या काठीवर हळूवारपणे हात फिरवून मंजुळ स्वर काढून कथेकरी डोंगऱ्या देवाची कथा सर्वांना

ऐकवितात. थाळी घेऊन वाजविणाऱ्या कथेकरी/थाळकरही म्हणतात. या विशिष्ट वाद्य प्रकारातून निघणारे स्वर हार्मोनियमच्या स्वरासारखे असून आदिवासींचे हे घरगुती वाद्य वेगळ्या सुरावटीचा कर्णमधूर आनंद देतात. कथेकरीच्या थाळीसरच्या बांगसरच्या सुरेल स्वराबरोबर उन्ह्या बाळाची कथा रंगत जाते आणि आदिवासींचे डोंगऱ्या देव उत्सवाचे सात दिवस सरत जातात. पौर्णिमा जवळ येऊ लागते.

पौर्णिमेच्या प्रथम दिवशी डोंगऱ्या देवाच्या उत्सवाचे मुख्य पुजारी, त्यांना आदिवासो मुदाणी म्हणतात. सायंकाळी गांवाच्या पूर्वेला गावांतील गाडलेला थोंब मिरवित नेऊन डोंगरमाथ्याशी रानात नेतात. त्याला रानखळी म्हणतात. रानखळीच्या जागी पुन्हा थोंब गाडला जातो. पंच महाआरतीने थोंबाची पूजा उभारण्यात येते. उपवास करणाऱ्या माऊल्या रानखळीवर मुक्काम ठोकतात. शेकोट्याच्या आगीच्या जोडीला पावरी वाद्य अधिक तीव्र स्वराने वाजविले जाते. त्यापूर्वी मुख्य पुजारी त्यांच्या पाच भायांसह कोंबडा घेऊन डोंगरावरील गोळाजवळ नेतात. डोंगराच्या एका सपाट कडेकपारीच्या खोबणीत डोंगऱ्या देवाचे वास्तव्य कल्पून महापंचारती घेऊन पुजारी गोळाजवळ जातात. तेथे डोंगऱ्या देवाची पूजा करून महाआरती पेटवितात व कोंबडा तेथे सोडला जातो. पायथ्याशी रानखळीजवळ असलेल्या भायांना गोळाजवळ महाआरतीचा उजेड दिसतो.

त्या प्रकाशाच्या उजेडाने पायथ्याशी असलेल्या माऊल्या उत्तेजित होतात. व पावरी वाद्याच्या तालावर रात्रभर रानखळी जागवत असतात. पहाटे गोळाजवळ सोडलेला कोंबडा बांग देतो. तसेच रानखळीतील आदिवासी झाडा देतात. वांगला खालून प्रतिसाद देतात आणि उठून सर्व माऊल्या आदिवासी बांधव नैवेद्यासाठी आणलेल्या कोंबड्या, बकऱ्यासह डोंगर चढून गोळाजवळ जाऊन डोंगऱ्या देवाची पूजा करतात. डोंगऱ्या देवाची पूजा करून सर्व आदिवासी खाली येऊन धानीजवळ पूजा मांडतात. तेथे माऊल्यांच्या देवाची स्थापना होते. प्रत्येकाचा देव वेगळे असतात. त्याचप्रमाणे वेगवेगळी पूजा व नैवेद्य दाखविला जातो. प्रत्येकजण सोयीनुसार बकरा, कोंबडं, मेंढीचा नैवेद्य दाखवितात. सामुहक गावगुंडीचा नैवेद्य घरोघरी वाटला जातो. त्याआधी पांढऱ्या फडक्यात नागली घेऊन पूजा बांधतात. गांवातील सर्व स्त्रिया, पुरुष उभे राहून नागलीच्या प्रसादासाठी झोळी, स्त्रिया पदर पसरतात. प्रमुख पाच भायें, माऊल्या नागलीचे धान्य उधळतात. ज्याच्या पदरात, झोळीत धान्य येते ते धान्य घरी घेऊन जाऊन आपल्या कोठीतील धान्यात मिसळतात. त्यामुळे घरात धनधान्याची बरकत होते. समृद्धी कायम नांदते आणि डोंगऱ्या देवाच्या उत्सवाची सांगता होते. या महाप्रसादासाठी गांवागांवातील नातेवाईक, पाहुणे येतात. मांसाहारी भोजनाचा प्रसाद खाऊन जातात.

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# एकात्मिक बाल विकास प्रकल्पांतर्गत आदिवासी महिला व बालिका यांचा विकास

प्रा.सुमन मा.मुठे\*

**बालशिक्षणविषयक चळवळ- ऐतिहासिक आढावा**

**प्रास्ताविक**

सन १९२५ मध्ये गिजुभाई बधेका यांनी बालविकासाच्या दृष्टीने पहिले पाऊल म्हणजेच बालशिक्षणाचे बीज रोवले. त्यानंतर ताराबाई मोडक, अनुताई वाघ इ.नी बालविकासाच्या दृष्टीने बालशिक्षणाच्या चळवळीसाठी विशेष कामगिरी बजावलेली दृष्टीत्पतीस येते. प्रसिध्द शिक्षणतज्ञ व विचारवंत प्रा.राम जोशी यांच्या मते प्रत्येक बालकाला समतोल विकासाची संधी उपलब्ध करून देणे आणि शिक्षणास आवश्यक अशा शारिरीक, बौद्धिक, मानसिक, भावनिक क्षमतांचा विकास घडवून आणणे हे बालविकासाचे प्रमुख उद्दिष्ट्य आहे.

आतापर्यंत बालविकासविषयक एकूण ६,५१५ संशोधन अहवाल प्रसिध्द झाले असून त्यापैकी फक्त ४१ संशोधन अहवाल बालविकास विषयक शिक्षणावर आधारित आहेत. विशेष म्हणजे बालशिक्षणाची चळवळ ही प्रामुख्याने शहरी विभागापुरतीच मर्यादित होती. या संशोधन अहवालांनी हे सुध्दा स्पष्ट केले की, महाराष्ट्रामध्ये एकूण ३० लाख मुले

शिक्षणापासून वंचित राहिली होती. त्याचबरोबर गळतीचे कारण हा सुध्दा महत्त्वाचा घटक प्रभावी असलेला दिसून आला. याचे कारण योग्य प्रशिक्षित शिक्षकांचा अभाव, दुर्गम दऱ्याखोऱ्यामधील आदिवासींच्या परिसरामध्ये राहण्यास अनुत्सुक असेलले शिक्षक/शिक्षिका यांचा वर्ग. अशा विविध कारणामुळे आदिवासी बालकांचा विशेषतः बालिकांच्या शिक्षणविषयक हेळसांडीची कारणे होती/आहेत.

**विशेष अध्ययन - मत प्रणाली-विचारमंथन**

बंगलोर येथील इंडियन इन्स्टिट्यूट ऑफ सायन्स या संस्थेने केलेल्या पाहणीद्वारा असे दिसून आले की, सर्वसामान्यपणे आदिवासी कन्यका तिच्या दैनंदिन वेळेपैकी २९ टक्के वेळ हा सरपण, इंधनसाहित्य गोळा करण्यासाठी घालविते. तर २० टक्के वेळ दैनंदिन गरजेसाठी लागणारे पाणी भरण्यासाठी घालविते. उत्तर प्रदेशातील पूर्व भागात स्त्रिया कृषीविषयक उत्पादक कामे करता करता घरकामासाठी २ ते ४ तास वेळ देतातच. त्याचबरोबर उरलेल्या घरकामासाठी जवळ जवळ ३० टक्के वेळ व त्यांच्या ६ ते ११ वयोगटातील मुली देतात.

\*प्रथमेश, दत्तात्रेय दर्शन हाऊसिंग सोसायटी, त्रंबक रोड, नाशिक-४२२००५



इशरत अली सिद्दीकी यांच्या मते आपल्या कृषीप्रधान कुटुंबातील स्त्रिया जवळ जवळ ४५ टक्क्याहून अधिक काम करतात. त्यामध्ये २०% कामामध्ये सहभाग लहान लहान मुलींचाच असतो.

तदुप भट्टाचार्य यांच्या मते आदिवासी परिसरामध्ये एक मुलगी किमान नऊ तास काम करते. तरीही मुलींना पुरेसे अन्न मिळत नाही. त्यामुळे या कष्टकरी मुली पुढे तरुण वयामध्ये वेगवेगळ्या व्याधीमुळे त्रस्त असतात.

दारिद्र्य रेषेखालील जीवन व्यतित करणाऱ्या कुटुंबांना दैनंदिन जीवन जगण्यासाठी आवश्यक असलेल्या मूलभूत गरजा उपलब्ध करून घेण्याची इतकी विवंचना असते की, मुलींना शिक्षण, आरोग्यविषयक सुविधा मिळाल्याच पाहिजेत हा त्यांच्या दृष्टीने महत्वाचा विषय होऊच शकत नाही.

काही वर्षापूर्वी ओस्केमध्ये भरलेल्या आंतरराष्ट्रीय परिषदेमध्ये १३ वर्षांच्या आफ्रिकन मुलीने "तुम्हाला माझी गरीबी दूर करता येत नाही, शिक्षणाची संधी देता येत नाही तर मग मोलमजुरी करण्याच्या माझ्या हक्कापासून वंचित करण्याचा तुम्हाला काय अधिकार आहे?" हा प्रश्न उपस्थित करून परिषदेमधील तज्ञांना विचार करावयास भाग पाडले होते. केवळ आफ्रिकेतच नव्हे तर भारतीय आदिवासी परिसरातही हाच प्रश्न अंतर्मुख करावयास भाग पडतो. कारण अल्पवयातच मुलीची क्रयशक्ती श्रमशक्ती

कुटुंबांचे उत्पन्न वाढविण्यासाठी उपयोगात आणली जाते.

**(अ) एकात्मिक बालविकास प्रकल्पांतर्गत अंगणवाडी योजनेचे महिला व बालिका या संदर्भातील विवेचन**

सहा वर्षे वयोगटातील बालके आणि त्यांच्या माता विशेषतः प्रसुतीपूर्व अवस्थेतील प्रसुतीनंतर तान्ही बालकं यांच्या आरोग्यविषयक, शिक्षणविषयक गरजांची पूर्तता करण्याचे काम अंगणवाडीशी संबंधित कार्यकर्ते करतात.

नवजात अर्भक आणि १४ ते ४५ वयोगटातील महिला यांना आरोग्यविषयक, आहारविषयक बाबीची पूर्तता करणे त्यासाठी पूरक अन्नाचे वाटप करणे, खिचडी, लापशी, मटकीची उसळ, प्रोटीव्हीराचे लाडू यांचा पुरवठा केला जातो. याशिवाय आरोग्य तपासणी शिबिराचेही आयोजन केले जाते.

**(ब) नाशिक तालुक्यातील एकात्मिक प्रकल्पांतर्गत महिला व बालकांचा विकास**

नाशिक तालुक्याचे एकूण क्षेत्रफळ १२६.०५ चौ.कि.मी. असून पाऊस ६९६ मि.मी. इतका पडतो. तांदुळ, वरई, नागली या पिकांचे उत्पादन करणाऱ्या नाशिक तालुक्यामध्ये कोकणा, भिल्ल, कोळी, ठाकर या आदिवासी जमाती प्रामुख्याने दिसून येतात. एकूण १२० गांवापैकी ८५ गांवे आदिवासी लोकसंख्या असलेली म्हणून ओळखली जातात. एकूण १०१ ग्रामपंचायती असलेल्या नाशिक तालुक्यामध्ये १६४ प्राथमिक शाळा असून ५ प्राथमिक आरोग्य

केंद्रे आणि ४३ उपकेंद्रे आहेत. एकूण ७७ पाडयांवर १३४ अंगणवाडया आहेत. सन १९८४-८५ मध्ये एकात्मिक बाल विकास प्रकल्पांतर्गत सुरवातीला ५० अंगणवाडया सुरु करण्यात आल्या. सध्या वर निर्दिष्ट केल्याप्रमाणे १३४ अंगणवाडया कार्यरत आहेत.

सन १९९६-९७ पासून अति संवेदनशील प्रकल्प म्हणून या एकात्मिक बालविकास प्रकल्पाचा नवसंजीवनी योजनेमध्ये समावेश करण्यात आला. यातील संवेदनशील पाडे म्हणजे कोहळी, उमराडे, कळमुस्ते, हर्षेवाडी, ब्राम्हणपाडा, राजेवाडी, तळेगाम, नाईकवाडी, इ.पाडयाचा समावेश करण्यात आला.

सन १९९६-९७ ते २००२ पर्यंतच्या बालकांचा आणि महिलांचा आरोग्यविषयक आणि इतर बाबींच्या विकासाचा आलेख पहाता बालमृत्युचे प्रमाणे कमी कमी होत गेलेले दिसून येते. मार्च, १९८६ मधील आकडेवारीनुसार बालमृत्युचे प्रमाण दर हजारी ८३.७८ इतके होते ते मार्च, २००२ मध्ये २७ इतके कमी होत गेलेले दिसून येते.

एकात्मिक बालविकास कार्यक्रम आणि त्या अंतर्गत १९९६-९७ नंतर सुरु झालेल्या नवसंजीवनी कार्यक्रमांतर्गत पाडयापाडयांवर वस्ती करून असणाऱ्या आदिवासी महिलांमध्ये जागृतीचे प्रमाण वाढत आहे. या महिला, महिला मंडळाद्वारा संघटित होऊ पाहत आहेत. आतापर्यंत एकूण २९ महिला मंडळाची स्थापना होऊन अनुक्रमे गोदावरी, सुवासिनी, सरस्वती,

शारदा, जिजामाता, रेणूका, प्रगती, वनिता, अहिल्या, प्रेरणा, संतोषी माँ, अंजरी, शालीनी, गुलाब, मोगरा, राणी लक्ष्मीबाई, आदर्श, नूतन इ. नांवानी महिला मंडळे स्थापन झाली आहेत.

या महिला मंडळाचा परिपाक म्हणजे आदर्श मातृत्व, बालकांचे आरोग्य, स्वावलंबन, इ.चे महत्व पटत आहे. त्यामुळे जन्मदराचे प्रमाण कमी झाले नसले तरी बालमृत्युमध्ये मात्र घट होत असलेली दिसून येते.

या मंडळाची फलश्रुती म्हणजे महिलांना बालकांचे आरोग्य, स्वावलंबन इ.चे महत्व वाढत आहे. जन्मदराचे प्रमाण कमी झाले नसले तरी बालमृत्युदरात घट होत आहे. याशिवाय बालकांच्या आरोग्यविषयक बाबीकडे आणि माता म्हणून स्वतःच्या आरोग्याकडे लक्ष देण्याचे प्रमाण निश्चितपणे वाढत आहे.

विशेष सहाय्य योजनेअंतर्गत शिवणकामासाठी शिलाई मशीन पुरविणे, मुलींना शाळेमध्ये जाण्यासाठी सायकली पुरविणे, रोगनिदान शिबिराचे आयोजन होत आहे. सुदृढ महिलांसाठी आणि बालकांसाठीच्या आरोग्य संवर्धनाबरोबरच अपंगत्व असणाऱ्या बालकांसाठी प्रश्न विचारात घेण्यात आलेला आहे.

एकूण पाहता १९९६-९७ नंतरच्या नवसंजीवन योजनेने प्रश्नांची तीव्रता कमी करण्यात अंगणवाडी शिक्षिका, सेविकांना संथगतीने का होईना यश मिळाले आहे.

## सन २००३ मधील अनुसूचित जमातीच्या सदस्यांवरील अत्याचारांचे गुन्हे - एक दृष्टीक्षेप

पी.आर.तिकोने \*

महाराष्ट्र राज्यातील मंत्रालयीन गृह विभाग वगळता पोलीस प्रशासकीय यंत्रणेचे प्रमुख 'पोलीस महासंचालक' हे असून त्यांचे कार्यक्षेत्रातर्गत खाली नमुद केल्यानुसार पोलीस प्रशासकीय यंत्रणेची विभागणी केली आहे.

१. अपर पोलीस महासंचालक, पोलीस आयुक्त, मुंबई,
२. अपर पोलीस महासंचालक, कायदा व सुव्यवस्था
३. अपर पोलीस महासंचालक, प्रशासन,
४. अपर पोलीस महासंचालक , आस्थापना,
५. अपर पोलीस महासंचालक गुन्हे व अन्वेषण विभाग,
६. अपर पोलीस महासंचालक, नियोजन व समन्वय,
७. अपर पोलीस महासंचालक, राज्य राखीव पोलीस दल,
८. अपर पोलीस महासंचालक , राज्य गुप्त वार्ता विभाग

९. अपर पोलीस महासंचालक, पोलीस प्रशिक्षण,
१०. अपर पोलीस महासंचालक, वाहतूक  
अपर पोलीस महासंचालक (कायदा व सुव्यवस्था) यांचे कार्यक्षेत्राखाली पोलीस आयुक्तालय मुंबई वगळून सर्व आयुक्तालये व सर्व जिल्हा पोलीस अधीक्षक हे राज्यात 'कायदा व सुव्यवस्था'चे काम करतात. राज्यात मुंबई रेल्वे आयुक्तालयासह एकूण १० पोलीस आयुक्तालये व ३५ जिल्हा पोलीस अधीक्षक कार्यरत आहेत. या सर्वांकडून दरमहा राज्यांत दाखल होत असलेल्या विविध गुन्हेयांच्या आकडेवारीची माहिती (अहवाल), अपर पोलीस महासंचालक, गुन्हे अन्वेषण विभाग, पुणे यांचे कार्यालयमार्फत गोळा केली जाते व तिचे विश्लेषण करण्यांत येते. या माहितीच्या आधारे दरवर्षी 'महाराष्ट्रातील गुन्हेगारी' नांवाची पुस्तिका या कार्यालयमार्फत प्रकाशित करण्यांत येते. असा उपक्रम गुन्हे अन्वेषण विभागाने सन १९९८ पासून सुरु केला आहे.

\* सांख्यिकी अधिकारी, गुन्हे अन्वेषण विभाग, पुणे

राज्यातील सन २००३ मधील अनुसूचित जमातीच्या सदस्यांवरील अत्याचारांच्या एकूण गुन्हे आकडेवारीची सन २००१ च्या गुन्हे आकडेवारीशी तुलना केली असता, गुन्ह्यांमध्ये ९ टक्के घट झाली आहे. बलात्कार, अपहरण व पळवून नेणे, दुखापत व इतर भादंवि गुन्हे या गुन्हेशीर्षामध्ये घट तर खून, जबरी चोरी, जाळपोळ व अनुसूचित जाती/जमाती अत्याचार (प्र.) कायदा या गुन्हेशीर्षामध्ये वाढ झाली.

सन २००३ च्या अनुसूचित जमातींवरील अत्याचारांच्या एकूण दाखल गुन्हे आकडेवारीची, सन २००२ च्या आकडेवारीशी तुलना केली असता, सन २००३ मध्ये २०% घट झाली आहे. सन २००२ च्या तुलनेत सन २००३ मध्ये सर्वच गुन्हेशीर्षामध्ये ० घट झाली आहे.

सन २००१ मध्ये अनुसूचित जमातींवरील अत्याचारांच्या एकूण दाखल गुन्ह्यांमध्ये, बलात्कार (२५%), अनुसूचित जाती/जमाती अत्याचार (प्र.) कायदा (१७%), या गुन्हेशीर्षांचा वाटा जास्त आहे. सन २००२ मध्ये अनुसूचित जाती/जमाती अत्याचार (प्र.) कायदा (२०%), बलात्कार (१८%), व दुखापत (८%), या गुन्हेशीर्षांचा वाटा जास्त आहे. सन २००३ मध्ये जवळपास सन २००२ सारखीच स्थिती आहे.

‘हिंसामय गुन्ह्यांच्या’ वर्गवारीत सन २००३ मध्ये अनुसूचित जमातींवरील

अत्याचारामध्ये खून(८), बलात्कार (३४), अपहरण व पळवून नेणे (२), जबरी चोरी (१) व जाळपोळ (४) असे एकूण ४९ गुन्ह्यांची (२३%) संख्या आहे. सन २००२ च्या तुलनेत सन २००३ मध्ये हिंसामय गुन्ह्यांत घट दिसते.

सन २००३ मध्ये राज्याची एकूण अंदाजित लोकसंख्या १०१८.७४ लाख इतकी आहे. १ लाख लोकसंख्येमागे अनुसूचित जमातीच्या सदस्यांवरील अत्याचाराचे गुन्हे प्रमाण ०.२१ इतके आहे तर पोलीस घटकांचा विचार करता नंदुरबार व यवतमाळ या घटकांमध्ये गुन्हे प्रमाण अनुक्रमे २.२ व १.३ इतके आहे. सन २००३ मध्ये दर दिवसाला अनुसूचित जमातींच्या सदस्यांवरील अत्याचाराचा १ गुन्हा दाखल झाला.

पोलीस घटकनिहाय गुन्हे आकडेवारी :-

सन २००३ मध्ये महाराष्ट्र राज्यातील एकूण ४५ घटकांपैकी कोणत्या घटकांमध्ये अनुसूचित जमातींवरील अत्याचाराचे किती गुन्हे दाखल झाले आहेत, याची माहिती सोबतच्या ‘जोडपत्रात’ नमुद करण्यांत आली आहे.

सन २००३ मधील राज्यातील, अनुसूचित जमातींवरील अत्याचारांच्या एकूण २१७ गुन्ह्यांपैकी, फक्त १२ गुन्हे (६%), ९ पोलीस आयुक्त्यालय क्षेत्रात (मुंबई रेल्वे आयुक्त्यालय वगळून) तर २०५ गुन्हे (९४%) पोलीस अधीक्षक क्षेत्रात दाखल झाले. यामध्ये, ठाणे ग्रामीण

(३६), यवतमाळ (३३) व नंदुरबार (३०) या घटकांचा वाटा जास्त आहे.

**खून :-**

या गुन्हेशीर्षात एकूण ८ गुन्हे, सन २००३ मध्ये दाखल आहेत. पुणे ग्रामीण या घटकाच्या हद्दीत २ तर बुलढाणा, यवतमाळ, जालना, उस्मानाबाद, नाशिक ग्रामीण व नंदुरबार या घटकांच्या हद्दीमध्ये प्रत्येकी एक गुन्हा दाखल झाला. पोलीस आयुक्तालय क्षेत्रात खुनाचा एकही गुन्हा सन २००३ मध्ये दाखल नाही.

**बलात्कार :-**

सन २००३ मध्ये राज्यात अनुसूचित जमातीच्या सदस्यावरील बलात्काराचे एकूण ३४ गुन्हे दाखल झाले. यातील ३१ गुन्हे (९१%), हे पोलीस अधीक्षक क्षेत्रात दाखल झाले. यवतमाळ (८ गुन्हे) व चंद्रपूर (५ गुन्हे) या घटकांमध्ये सर्वात जास्त बलात्काराचे गुन्हे दाखल झाले तर पोलीस आयुक्तालय क्षेत्रात फक्त ३ गुन्हे (९%) दाखल झाले.

सन २००३ मध्ये दर ११ दिवसांमध्ये अनुसूचित जमातीच्या सदस्यावरील बलात्काराचा १ गुन्हा दाखल झाला.

**दुखापत :-**

सन २००३ मध्ये, राज्यात अनुसूचित जमातीवरील दुखापतीचे एकूण १२ गुन्हे दाखल झाले. यांतील, ११ गुन्हे पोलीस अधीक्षक क्षेत्रात तर १ गुन्हा

पोलीस आयुक्तालय क्षेत्रात दाखल झाला. पोलीस अधीक्षक क्षेत्रातील ठाणे ग्रामीण, नंदुरबार(प्रत्येकी ३ गुन्हे) व रायगड (२) या घटकांत इतर घटकांच्या मानाने जास्त गुन्हे दाखल झाले.

**अनुसूचित जाती / जमाती अत्याचार (प्र.) कायदा :-**

राज्यात सन २००३ मध्ये या कालयाद्याखालील, एकूण ५० गुन्हे दाखल झाले. त्यांतील ४६ गुन्हे (९२%), पोलीस अधीक्षक क्षेत्रात तर ४ गुन्हे (८%), पोलीस आयुक्तालय क्षेत्रात दाखल झाले. सर्वांत जास्त गुन्हे नंदुरबार (१६) व ठाणे ग्रामीण (१३) या घटकांमध्ये दाखल झाले. साधारणतः दर आठवड्याला या कायद्याखाली १ गुन्हा दाखल झाला आहे.

**इतर भादंवि गुन्हे :-**

राज्यातील अनुसूचित जमातीवरील अत्याचाराच्या इतर भादंवि गुन्ह्यात यवतमाळ व ठाणे ग्रामीण यां घटकांत जास्त गुन्हे दाखल आहेत. अनुसूचित जमातीवरील अत्याचाराच्या गुन्ह्यांची पोलीस व न्यायालयांकडून निर्गती :-

सन २००३ मध्ये अनुसूचित जमाती सदस्यावरील अत्याचाराचे विविध गुन्हेशीर्षाखालील गुन्ह्यांची पोलीस व न्यायालयीन निर्गतीची आकडेवारी खालील तक्त्यांत नमुद केली आहे.

## तक्ता

गुन्हेशीर्ष	पोलीस तपासा वरील एकूण गुन्हे	पोलीसां कडून एकूण निर्गत झालेले गुन्हे	स्तंभ ३ पैकी दोषारोप पत्रे दाखल केलेले गुन्हे	पोलीस तपासा वर प्रलंबित गुन्हे	२००३ मध्ये न्यायालयांत सुनावणीसाठी दाखल खटले	न्यायालया कडून निर्गत झालेले खटले	शाबीत खटले	सुटलेले खटले	तड-जोडीने खटले	न्यायालयांत प्रलंबित खटले
१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	१०	११
खून	९	९	९	०	६७	८	१	६	१	५९
बलात्कार	४३	३८	३८	५	२९०	४८	०	४५	३	२४२
अ व प	५	४	४	१	३३	५	०	५	०	-
दरोडा	०	०	०	०	६	०	०	०	०	६
जबरी चोरी	१	०	०	१	१०	०	०	०	०	१०
जाळपोळ	५	४	३	१	५५	७	०	७	०	४८
दुखापत	१४	१०	१०	४	२९४	१८	०	१४	४	२७६
इतर भादवि	११८	९२	८८	२६	१११८	७६	१	६४	११	१०४२
अनु.जाती जमाती अत्याचार (१)	६०	५४	४९	६	४९९	४३	०	४०	३	४५६
एकूण	२५५ १००%	२११ ८३%	२०१	४४ १७%	२३७२ १००%	२०५ ९%	२	१८१	२२	२१६७ ९१%

### पोलीस निर्गती :-

सन २००३ मध्ये अनुसूचित जमाती सदस्यांवरील अत्याचाराचे विविध गुन्हे शीर्षाखालील दाखल एकूण २५५ गुन्हे पोलीस तपासावर दाखल होते. त्यापैकी २११ गुन्हेयांची (८३%) पोलीसांनी निर्गती (अ,ब,क एनसी फायनल व दोषारोप पत्रे दाखल) केली व ४४ गुन्हे (१७%) सन २००३ अखेर पोलीस तपासावर प्रलंबित होते.

पोलीसांनी निर्गत केलेल्या एकूण २११ गुन्हेयांपैकी २०१ गुन्हेयांमध्ये (९५%)

पोलिसांनी दोषारोपपत्रे (चार्जशीट्स) दाखल केली आहेत.

### न्यायालयीन निर्गती :-

सन २००३ मध्ये अनुसूचित जमातीवरील अत्याचारांच्या विविध गुन्हेशीर्षाखालील २३७२ खटले विविध न्यायालयात सुनावणीसाठी दाखल होते. त्यापैकी २०५ खटल्यांची (९%) विविध न्यायालयांनी निर्गती केली तर २१६७ खटले (९१%) विविध न्यायालयांत सुनावणीसाठी प्रलंबित आहेत.

विविध न्यायालयांनी निकाली काढलेल्या २०५ खटल्यांपैकी १८१ खटले (८८%) शाबीत झाले नाहीत तर २२ खटले (११%) न्यायालयांनी तडजोडीद्वारे निकाली काढले. सन २००३ मध्ये फक्त

२ च खटल्यांमध्ये आरोपींना शिक्षा (गुन्हे शाबीत झाले) झाल्या.

**अटक आरोपी :-**

सन २००३ मधील अटक आरोपींची पोलीस व न्यायालयीन निर्गतीची आकडेवारी.

**तक्ता**

गुन्हेशीर्ष	अटक आरोपी	अटक आरोपींची पोलीसांनी केलेली निर्गती	स्तंभ ३ पैकी खालील आरोपीं वर दोषारोप पत्रे दाखल केली.	२००३ अखेर तपासा वर प्रलंबित आरोपी	विविध न्यायालयांत सुनावणासाठी प्रलंबित आरोपी	२००३ मधील न्यायालयीन निर्गती	न्यायालयात शिक्षा झालेले आरोपी	न्यायालयीन निवाड्यात सुटलेले आरोपी	तडजोडीने सुटलेले आरोपी	न्यायालयीन सुनावणीसाठी प्रलंबित खटल्यातील आरोपी
१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	१०	११
खून	५९	५९	५९	०	२०४	१५	१	१३	१	१८९
बलात्कार	५१	४९	४९	२	३९९	५४	०	५१	३	३४५
अ व प	१२	१२	१२	०	५८	५	०	५	०	५३
दरोडा	-	-	-	-	३१	०	०	०	०	३१
जवरीचोरी	-	-	-	-	१९	०	०	०	०	१९
जाळपाळ	२९	२५	२५	४	१५४	८	०	८	०	१४६
दुखापत	२५	१२	१२	१३	६६६	३०	०	२५	५	६३६
इतर भादवि	३०५	२३१	२३१	७४	२४२३	२७६	१	२४९	२६	२१४७
अ.जा.ज. अ.प्र.का.	९७	९१	८७	६	८९४	९६	-	९१	५	७९८
एकूण	५७८ (१००%)	४७९ (८३%)	४७५	९९ (१७%)	४८४८ (१००%)	४८४ (१०%)	२	४४२	४०	४३६४ (९०%)

सन २००३ मध्ये अनुसूचित जमातीच्या सदस्यांवरील अत्याचाराच्या गुन्ह्यांमध्ये राज्यातील एकूण ५७८ अटक आरोपींपैकी पोलीसांनी ४७९ आरोपी (८३%) विरुद्ध तपास पूर्ण करून ४७५ व्यक्तींविरुद्ध दोषारोपपत्रे दाखल केली. तपासपूर्ण केलेल्या व्यक्तींशी हे प्रमाण

९९% इतके आहे. सन २००३ मध्ये ४८४८ आरोपी विविध न्यायालयांत न्यायाच्या प्रतिक्षेत होते. त्यांतील, फक्त ४८४ आरोपींचे खटले निकाली काढले. सन २००३ अखेर ४३६४ आरोपी (९०%) विविध न्यायालयाकडून न्यायाच्या प्रतिक्षेत आहेत. अनुसूचित जाती/जमाती

अत्याचार (प्रतिबंधक) कायद्याखालील गुन्हेशीर्षात आरोपींची संख्या जास्त आहे व त्या खालोखाल दुखापत व बलात्कार या गुन्हेशीर्षाचा क्रमांक लागतो.

निष्कर्ष :-

अनुसूचित जमातींच्या

सदस्यांवरील अत्याचारांच्या गुन्ह्यांचा घटना कल म्हणजे पोलीसांनी गुन्ह्यांचा तत्परतेने केलेला तपास व चोख कायदा व सुव्यवस्था पालनाची फलनिष्पती म्हणावयास हरकत नाही, असे वाटते.

- आधार :- १) महाराष्ट्रातील गुन्हेगारी - २००३  
२) क्राइम इन इंडिया २००३चा महाराष्ट्राचा अहवाल.

\* \* \*



जोडपत्र  
सन २००३ मधील महाराष्ट्रातील अनुसूचित जमाती सदस्यांवरील अत्याचाराचे गुन्हे.

अ. क्र	घटकाचे नांव	खून	बलात्कार	अपहरण व पळवून नेणे	दरोडा	जबरी चोरी	जाळपोळ	दुखापत	अनु. जाती/जमाती अत्याचार (प्र.)कायदा	इतर भादंवि गुन्हे	एकूण गुन्हे
१	अकोला	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
२	अमरावती (ग्रा.)	-	१	-	-	-	-	-	-	१	१०
३	बुलढाणा	१	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	५	६
४	यवतमाळ	१	८	१	-	-	-	१	१	२१	३३
५	वाशिम	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
६	अमरावती परिक्षेत्र	२	९	१	०	०	०	१	१	३५	४९
७	औरंगाबाद(ग्रा.)	-	-	-	-	-	१	-	-	२	३
८	जालना	१	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	२	३
९	बीड	-	१	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	१
१०	उस्मानाबाद	१	-	-	-	-	२	-	-	-	३
११	औरंगाबाद परिक्षेत्र	२	१	०	०	०	३	०	०	४	१०
१२	नांदेड	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
१३	लातूर	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
१४	परभणी	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	१	१

अ. क्र	घटकाचे नांव	खून	बलात्कार	अपहरण व पळवून नेणे	दरोडा	जबरी चोरी	जाळपोळ	दुखापत	अनु. जाती/जमाती अत्याचार (प्र.)कायदा	इतर भादवि गुहे	एकूण गुहे
१३	हिंगोली	-	१	-	-	-	-	-	-	१	२
	नांदेड परिक्षेत्र	०	१	०	०	०	०	०	०	२	३
१४	कोल्हापूर	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
१५	पुणे (ग्रा.)	२	१	-	-	-	-	-	-	१	४
१६	सांगली	-	१	-	-	-	-	-	१	१	३
१७	सातारा	-	१	-	-	-	-	-	-	१	२
१८	सोलापूर ग्रा	-	१	-	-	-	-	-	१	-	२
	कोल्हापूर परिक्षेत्र	२	४	०	०	०	०	०	२	३	११
१९	भंडारा	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	२	२
२०	चंद्रपूर	-	५	-	-	-	-	-	-	२	७
२१	गडचिरोली	-	२	-	-	-	-	१	१	२	६
२२	नागपूर ग्रा.	-	१	-	-	-	-	-	-	४	५
२३	वर्धा	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	१	२	३
२४	गोंदिया	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	१	२	३
	नागपूर परिक्षेत्र	०	८	०	०	०	०	१	३	१४	२६
२५	अहमदनगर	-	२	-	-	-	-	-	२	२	६

अ. क्र	घटकाचे नांव	खून	बलात्कार	अपहरण व पळवून नेणे	दरोडा	जबरी चोरी	जाळपोळ	दुखापत	अनु. जाती/जमाती अत्याचार (प्र.)कायदा	इतर भादंवि गुहे	एकूण गुहे
२६	धुळे	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	१	१
२७	जळगांव	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	२	२
२८	नाशिक ग्रा.	१	२	-	-	-	१	१	६	७	१८
२९	नंदुरबार	१	१	-	-	-	-	३	१६	९	३०
३०	नाशिक परिक्षेत्र	२	५	०	०	०	१	४	२४	२१	५७
३१	रायगड	-	१	१	-	-	-	२	३	५	१२
३२	रत्नागिरी	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
३३	सिंधुदुर्ग	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
३४	ठाणे ग्रा.	-	२	-	-	१	-	३	१३	१८	३७
३५	ठाणे परिक्षेत्र	०	३	१	०	१	०	५	१६	२३	४९
३६	मुंबई रेल्वे	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
३७	पुणे रेल्वे	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
३८	नागपूर रेल्वे	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
३९	रेल्वे परिक्षेत्र	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०
४०	नागपूर शहर आयुक्त	-	१	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	१

अ. क्र	घटकाचे नांव	खून	बलात्कार	अपहरण व पळवून नेणे	दरोडा	जबरी चोरी	जालपोळ	दुखापत	अनु. जाती/जमाती अत्याचार (प्र.)कायदा	इतर भादंवि गुन्हे	एकूण गुन्हे
३८	पुणे शहर आयुक्त	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
३९	ठाणे शहर आयुक्त	-	२	-	-	-	-	१	१	१	५
४०	मुंबई शहर आयुक्त	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
४१	नाशिक शहर आयुक्त	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	२	-	२
४२	औरंगाबाद शहर आयुक्त	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
४३	सोलापूर शहर आयुक्त	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
४४	नवी मुंबई शहर आयुक्त	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	१	१
४५	अमरावती शहर आयुक्त	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	१	२	३
	एकूण आयुक्तालये	०	३	०	०	०	०	१	४	४	१२
	एकूण राज्य बेरीज	८	३४	२	०	१	४	१२	५०	१०६	२१७

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