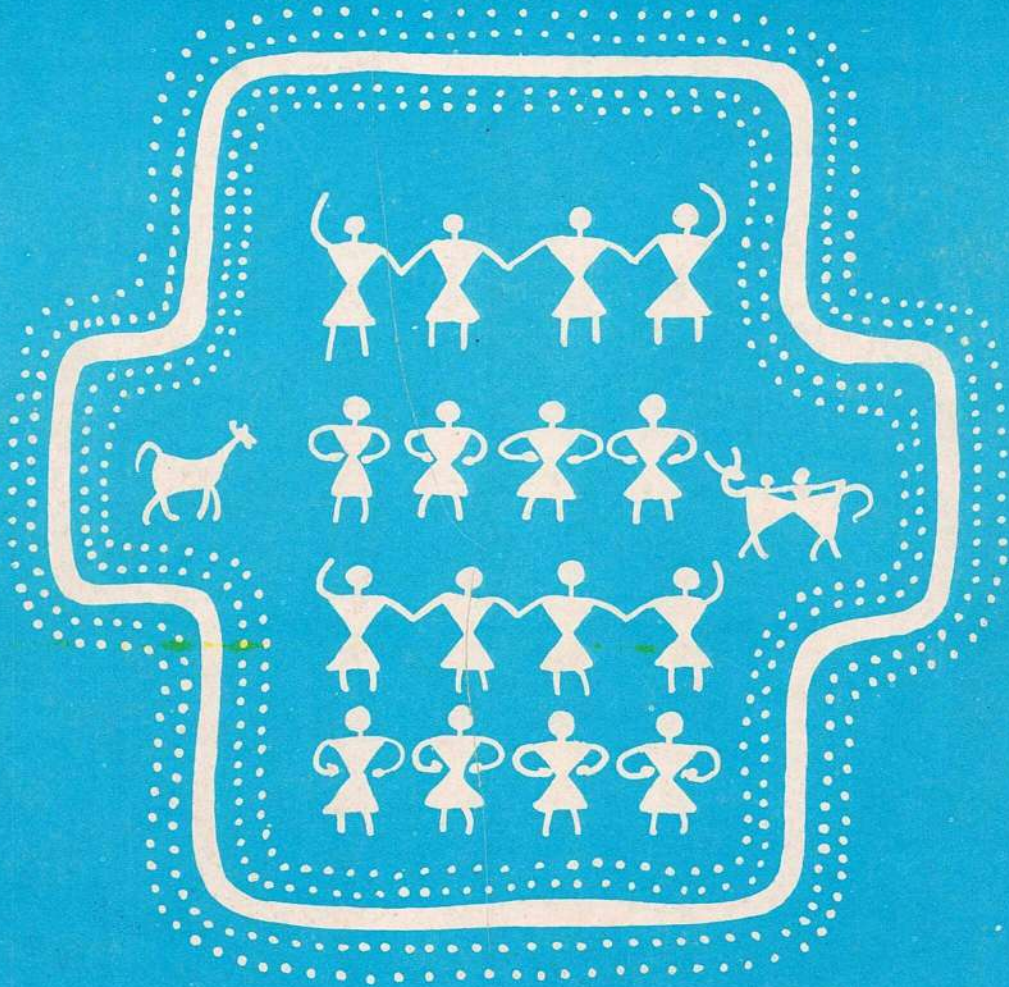




आदिवासी संशोधन पत्रिका

TRIBAL RESEARCH BULLETIN



Tribal Research and Training Institute, Pune

Vol. XV, No. III]

[September 1993



⇒ आदिवासी संशोधन व प्रशिक्षण संस्थेच्या स्नेहसंमेलनाचे उद्घाटन : दीप प्रज्वलन करताना संस्थेचे संचालक श्री. नि. पां. भणगे व सौ. भणगे.

आदिवासी संशोधन व प्रशिक्षण संस्थेचे स्नेहसंमेलन : खेल व स्पर्धा.



आदिवासी संशोधन पत्रिका
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Tribal Research and Training Institute, Pune

Vol. XV, No. II]

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TRIBAL RESEARCH BULLETIN
Vol. XV, No.2, September, 1993
A Bi - Annual Journal of
Tribal Research & Training Institute,
Pune - 411001,
Regd. No. RN 37438 - 79



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Publisher : N. P. BHANAGE

Tribal Research
and Training
Institute,
M.S. Pune-1.

Printer : MANAGER
Photo Zinco Press,
Pune - 1.

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EDITORIAL

We have great pleasure in bringing out this issue of the Bulletin. The Tribal Research Bulletin is devoted to provide objective reading material based on first hand field research and observations on various aspects related to tribal life, culture and development.

In this issue, Mr. U. R. Sonawane, Curator of Museum of T.R.I., Pune has presented an elaborate classification of rational presentation of exhibits in a museum of tribal culture. This classification will certainly prove to be useful to the scholars in this field.

Shri Robin Tribhuwan and Shri John Gaikwad in their conceptual paper 'Anthropological Dimensions of studying Ethnobotany' have highlighted the methodological details and significance of a combined Anthro-Botanical approach while carrying out ethnobotanical research. This paper illustrates examples from paauraa and Thakur tribal communities in Maharashtra.

In the article 'Gothi system-A study of its socio-economic impact on the Tribals of South Orissa,' Dr. Santoshkumar Apata states that this system resembles the bonded labour system. His observations indicate that despite the Protective legislation, bonded labour is in vogue in some other forms.

Dr. S. Mahalati, Dr. V. Chari and Ms. Gulnar trace the Socio-economic Exploitation of Tribal Women' to illiteracy, ignorance and lack of adequate skills. They have suggested necessary measures to eliminate the exploitation of tribal women.

Dr. Shaunak Kulkarni- discusses the Sexual Dimorphisms on the Odontometric features of Gonds and Mahadeo Kolis, in Maharashtra State.

In the Marathi section Robin Tribhuwan & Preeti Tribhuwan in their article have highlighted the significance of conducting anthropological research on maternal and child health care beliefs and practices of the tribals.

In his article, Shri S.A. Shevkari observes that the voluntary organisations can play a vital role in the upliftment of tribals.

Mrs. Mangala Ghode, observes that both Government and non-Government organisations should encourage Preservation, Commercial Promotion and Propagation of tribal art and help the tribal artisans with gainful employment.

Shri Mangesh Kulkarni has given an indepth information regarding 'Shramajivi Sanghatana' - a voluntary organisation working among the tribals in Thane district.

It is hoped that the articles presented in this issue will enable further and deeper insight into the problems and issues which in turn would help in planning and implementation of the relevant programmes for the tribal communities. We hope that the material in this issue will be of immense help to the Government Administrators and Executives, social scientists, Research scholars and general readers as well.

N.P. Bhanage
[IAS]

A Model Classification for the Exhibits in a Museum of Tribal Culture

Uttamrao Sonawane,

Tribal Cultural Museum has been housed at the second floor of the building of the Tribal Research & Training Institute, Pune. It is part and parcel of the Institute. The activities of the Institute have been defined in Government Resolution dated 3-5-1962. These, aims and activities have been classified under 3 major heads as below :

- 1) Detailed Monographic Research
- 2) Collection of statistical data and Technical information.
- 3) Activities of special Nature

'Tribal Cultural Museum' is an activity of the Institute grouped in activities of special nature.

Under the instructions contained in the said G.R. the activities of special nature were so designed to meet the necessities of preserving the vanishing tribal cultures because of various forces i.e. welfare activities, hydro-electrical projects started in tribal areas, voluntary organisations, and increased contacts of non-tribal etc. Almost all activities were professional in nature and technical and trained but professional staff was a need to run those activities. It was a need. But whatever may be the reasons this need of specialised staff was not anticipated. Among the activities of special nature following works were assigned to the Institute.

- 1) Collection, editing and publication of tribal folklore.
- 2) Books in tribal dialects.
- 3) Preparation of documentary films.
- 4) Training
- 5) Library
- 6) Museum

I reveal, when I joined, the Institute on 9-10-65 as an Investigator, there were only 13 employees on Institute's establishment. I also remember there was savings in the annual budget of Rs. 1,00,000

to the effect of 50%. The post of principal was surrendered to Government. The staff was one Chief Research officer, Two Research officers, 4 Investigators, One O.S., One Statistical Assistant, One Sr. Clerk, One Jr. Clerk and two peons Total 13. From the staffing pattern it can be seen that there was nobody to look after the activities of special nature.

The above staffing position was during the year 1965. Now there are 4 Lecturers, attending training section. For other activities, there is one Assistant Librarian, one Curator, one Cultural Officer, one Assistant curator, One Artist-cum-Modeller, one Photographer-cum-Cine Operator have been created up to 1983, considering the importance of preservation of culture, these 6 persons are too limited. Therefore, it can be said that those activities are not given due consideration even to-day. The fact that professional works can be carried out by hiring the services, has it's limitations. You cannot go for hiring the services all the times. Secondly, it is going to affect the quality of the work.

The post of Investigator was attached to Research section. I joined the duties as Investigator on 9-10-65. During the time the authorities were thinking about the progress of the activities of special nature. It was almost nil, considering the problem very seriously, I was asked to look after development of Museum and Library on 1-4-66. The Museum of the Institute was having only 31 exhibits, collected by Shri Anantrao Bodhankar, the first Research Officer. I had no option rather than to obey as Investigator's salary was my livelihood. I was asked to look after the Library and Museum in addition to my normal duties as Investigator. Whether I worked as Investigator or did Library duties was not going to affect my salaries.

I come from a poor backward class family. We had to exert hard for our bread. This background

enthused me to work hard for collection of exhibits and books also, I was alone. But I wandered through-out the tribal areas in the state on feet. The warlat, Baglan, Salher, Mulher, Umbarpada, Mani, Borgaon, Peth. Bothe and Mokhada waver-Dehre Gambhirgad area Kudasi, Navapur, Visarwadi, Khandbara, Chinchpada, Kalbi and Mevasi estates, Khandesh, Kharyapada to Langda amba Melghat area. Dhulghat to Ranigaon, Kutunga to Raipur, Pastai to Tarubanda, Kalkumba churni, Kinwat, Unapdev, Jamb, Kelapur, Pawnar, Matharjuni, Maregaon, Wani, Rajura, 18 Jahagir area of Halba's Aheri to Asagaralli, Dhanora to Kotgul Korchi, Maseli Aheri to Kuwakodi, the entire Gondwan area. I moved on feet constantly. I was wandering. At one time I was moving in Bada Madia area for one entire month. I am proud of the fact that the entire collection in the Museum has been developed by me. In the year 1966 I had been to Kuwakodi, Phodewada, Permalbhathi, Unchevahi, Turemarka-Pangasur, Binagunda and Gundenhod, that too in shivering cold of December. Madia marriage pole of 1 1/2' x 1 1/2' x 6' wooden, I had managed to transport upto Chandrapur Railway Station within 23 Rupees only. It was possible because of my tribal friends. They helped me a lot I shall be thankful to them throughout my life. I worked as Investigator in this fashion till 1975 i.e. nearly for 10 years.

By this time a separate Directorate of Tribal Development was started. A new post of Assistant Curator was created in 1975. The department neglecting the services I rendered for development of Museum, issued a circular to all branches for proposals of suitable candidate.

Fortunately Tribal Research Institute submitted a proposal for promoting me and I joined the Assistant Curator's post on 18-1-75. A post of Assistant Librarian was created later on.

Thus, after a gap of 13 years separate posts were created for Museum and Library. In the year 1980 Cultural Unit was transferred to the Institute. It consists of a Cultural Officer and Photographer and Curator's Post was created in the year 1983.

This is the story of activities of special nature. Neglecting other factors I put hard labour to develop the Tribal Cultural Museum of the Institute. It has been included in Indian foreign tourist guide as prominent place of interest, in Pune. Tourism department has recognised it as tourist spot since 1985. Tourist Luxury buses 'Pune Darshan' are halting regularly at the Institute. The classification and display's have been copied by the similar museums in the country.

Eventhough, it needs improvement, I am a trained Museologist, I know my drawbacks. Today it is housed on second floor, one has to climb up 52 steps. This is not conclusive to any Museological activity, secondly, the space.

Now, submission, the present Director, Shri N.P. Bhang, I.A.S. immediately accepted the re-organisation of the Museum. Shri Prakash Wani, Dy. Director took interest in it and suggested to shift it at ground floor. Shri Wani in order to provide more space for museum changed extension plan of the building. These two, controlling officers have a museum mind. Because of their soft corner, the importance of the Museum after re-organisation would definitely, be increased.

As present, the classification is based on utility purpose. Accordingly we have :

- 1) Introduction
- 2) Domestic utensils
- 3) House Models
- 4) Ornaments and objects of personal decoration
- 5) Musical instruments
- 6) Ecology and environment
- 7) Religion
- 8) Basketry
- 9) Fishing nets
- 10) Agricultural implements
- 11) Weapons and implements
- 12) Masks
- 13) Warli paintings

Objects have been displayed, based on this classification, in 2 halls of 105' x 33' and 65' x 28'. We have 47 tribal communities scattered in 15 districts and 75 talukas. Kolam, Katkari and Madia Gonds are recognised as primitive tribes. Considering this, the present space is too short, under re-organisation entire ground, including proposed extension would provide better space to Museum.

Today, my Tribal Cultural Museum is full of compartments, because of Islands. But, there was no go rather than Islands. On ground floor, islands shall be avoided and electronic devices would be introduced, considering the importance of re-organisation I started thinking of classification scheme. Last 9 to 10 months I was working on it step by step I was progressing. On completion I realised that on tribal study I have prepared an exhaustive classification scheme. It would facilitate detailed monographic and ethnographic studies. It would be an asset to post - graduates,, Researcher's, Scholars etc. With this hope I have decided to publish it as below :

Classification of articles for Tribal Cultural Museum

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Information to be illustrated
1)	Introduction	A) The Institute	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) The aims and objects of the Institute. 2) The Projects completed under applied Research. 3) The Data Bank and work under collection of statistical and technical data and information. 4) Cultural preservation and, activities of special Nature.
		B) Identification	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) The groups in Maharashtra. 2) Alternative names and meanings. 3) Location 4) Important sub groups 5) Cultural and linguistic position.
		C) Work published	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) List of important primary sources. 2) a. Name of authors b. Title of article book. c. Vol. No. Journal etc. 3) Unreferred references
		D) Map	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Map of tribal habitation in Maharashtra. 2) Latitude and longitudes to be indicated 3) Approximate ethnic boundries. 4) Location of neighboring tribes. 5) Important natural Features, including roads and other means of communication.
		E) Geographical environment	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Location in reference to 5 above. 2) Climate, Type of climate, Seasons, Temperature, Rainfall. 3) Topography : geology, hills, mountains, plains, plateaus, passes. - Water resources: lakes, rivers etc.

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Information to be illustrated
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Character of sea-coast-Dahanu. - Water supply
		4)	Soil-physical characteristic erosion soil fertility area susceptible of cultivation.
		5)	Fauna and Flora <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. animals and birds 2. disease bearing micro-organisms-Bhamaragad 3. domesticated animals 4. Jungle, forest 5. Important species.
	F)	Physical Characteristics	1) Important anthropometric data-tribe wise. 2) Descriptive Somatologu <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Colour of skin, hair eyes. - Form - Length - blood groupings - Anatomy
	G)	Racial Affinities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - indicated affination with established races - race mixture - racial theories
	H)	Demography	1) Population - tribewise, districtwise. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - density - population trends and policies 2) Composition of population <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - distribution of population by age, sex, locality, Nomadic and Sedentary

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Information to be illustrated
1)	Introduction	A) Institute	<p>3) Cultural preservation and activities of special nature. This section would consist of the following -</p> <p>A) Plastic or Acrylic sheets of 4' x 2' Box type semi transparent Panelling would be prepared to exhibit.</p> <p>1) Photograph or transparencies of</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Dance competition b) Warli painting competition c) Warli painting workshop d) Handicraft exhibition e) Propoganda camp Filmshows f) Teacher training g) Post recruit training h) Leadership i) Film making j) Folk songs collection k) Parapatic exhibition (schemes) l) Dance competition <p>2) In special fitting</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) arranged visit b) guide lectures c) film shows d) slide shows e) award of scholarships would also be exhibited.
		D) Map	<p>1) Map of Maharashtra indicating tribal habitation. - Additional details for the</p> <p>A) 10'' x 15'' colour blow ups of the following tribe as these are predominant communities.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Warli, 2) Thakar 3) Malhar Koli, 4) Dhor Koli, 5) Kokna, 6) Mahadeo Koli 7) Bhil, 8) Pawra

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Information to be illustrated
			9) Kolam, 10) Korku 11) Gond, 12) madia 13) Pardhan, 14) Katkari Exhibition method as suggested in A-4-A Transparent plastic panels of 4' x 2'
			B) Colour blow ups of the following tribes 'under the title' less populated tribes would be depicted on revolving stand.
			1) Thotti, 2) Dhodiya, 3) Dhanka, 4) Andh, 5) Gamit, 6) Naikda, 7) Mavchi, 8) Tadavi, 9) Padvi, 10) Halba, 11) Baiga, 12) Koya, 13) Bada Madia etc.
			C) Documentary films of the institute would be shown on V. C. R.
			D) Opel vision would be introduced near the Map. Programme on tribes in general and tribe would be prepared with commentary.
	E) Geographical environment		(Additional information for No. 5, Fauna and Flora sub. No.4 Jungle 1 Forest)
		4) Jungle, Forest	a) Maps of various forest types along with divisions and special forests to be collected from Forest Department and exhibited.
			b) Botanical classification alongwith herbariums be exhibited.
			c) Locations of Devrais along with involvement of tribals in protecting such Devrais to be explained.
			d) Map of important Medicinal plants, Local centers of Medicine practices run by tribals.
			e) Few photographs of thick forest to be included.
			f) Relation between the tribals and forest can be depicted through following -

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Information to be illustrated
			<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Shrines of dieties under the trees in open Jungle: Bhivsen/7 gods, Chetukdevi etc. 2) 'Chavhata' i.e. open space worshipped as Gods. 3) Indicative marks of village boundries.. Toran/Shiv. 4) Pictures of special Forest Vanvaibhav of Allapalli to be exhibited. This will help to show care of forests taken by the tribals. 5) Tree worship <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) as gods 2) worshipping before cutting 3) worshipping of medicinal plants 4) others 6) Interdependancy of tribal and forest (Much trace should be given on this topic) <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Collection of Minor Forest produce 2) Wild fire and tribal 3) Marking (Rab) operation 4) Shifting cultivation 5) Fire wood collection 6) Wild animals 7) Hunting and animal care 8) Fishing 9) Forest labour

1:A:1:	A chart of Govt. Resolution in acrylic Box illumination from behind 6' x 4'	4,000/-
1:A:2:	Wall type showcase of 10' x 4' (important findings and suggestion would be depicted through electronic device-)	8,500/-
1:A:3:	Nature and quantum of information stored in data bank mode of approach etc.	1,500/-
1:A:4:	- Negative Album - Folk Music - Documentaries - U.Matic and video Tapes - Photographs of dance competitions - Warli painting competition and workshop - Handicraft workshop - Exhibition - Awareness Camps - Training Camps - Pre-recruit Camps (Slide programme with commentary)	15,000/-
1:B:1	Map of Maharashtra with electronic control for each section.	40,000/-
1:C:	Chart.....	500/-
1:D:	Map of Maharashtra	800/-
1:E:	Maps and charts to be obtained from various agencies and exhibition	5,000/-
1:F:	to be introduced through opel vision-11 slide programmes to be supported by colour blow ups. 12' x 15' Mat finish	21,000/- 30,000/-
1:G:	Charts	
1:H:	Charts	

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Information to be illustrated
1)	History and cultural contact	A) Cultural Affiliations	1. Relations to surrounding cultures. 2. Membership in tribal groups settlement of disputs. instances 1) Sidbi Katkari 2) Acceptance in caste ceremony in respect jailed Halba. 3. Trait distribution 4. Linguistic affiliations
		B) Archeology	1. Prehistoric culture sequences and cronology (e.g. as determined by geological and paleontological evidence, by straligraphy by typology by tree-ring slating.) 2. Archeological supplementation of historical record. Evidence from epigraphy, technology 3. Tools, weapons and utensils inferences from archeology.
		C) Traditional history	1. Oral historical traditions 2. Mythology 3. If possible dynastic lists and genealogies 4. Traditions of kin and local groups 5. Migrations 6. Inferences from tradition
		D) Historical reconstruction	1. Inferences as to origins migrations, contacts and culture history from evidence of anthrometry and language. 2. Historical reconstructions based on combinations of several kinds of evidences.
		E) Recorded History	1. Evidences and inferences as to historical events and cultural changes from written sources. 2. Written records, for socialist with a long historical records with references tribal dynesties.
2)	Total Culture	1. Cultural summary	1. Synopsis of the whole culture (as a background against which to project specific instances.)

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Instrumated to be illustrated
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2. References to summaries in other works. 3. Glossary of local terms frequently used.
	2. Ethos		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. General orientation of the culture. 2. Predominating interests (war, wealth, religious ceremonial) 3. Characterization of culture. 4. Total cultural configuration.
	3. Integration		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Internal cultural consistency or its lack. 2. Allegations of integration or disintegration. 3. Adjustment of parts of the culture to each other.
	4. Complex instances		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Specific cases, events, illustrative of interpenetration of parts of the culture and which would require assignment to a large number of the categories below - 2. Adjustments 3. Folk Tales 4. Mythology
	5. Cultural Participation		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Instances in which entire society shares the culture. 2. Prevalence of specialities or areas of culture known only to a limited few minimization. 3. Proliferation of sub-cultures. 4. Social/cultural stratification.
	6. Individual society and culture		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Character sketches and socialisation of individual. 2. Investment of cultural forms with affect and symbolic meaning. 3. Cultural selectivity with regard to personality types and traits. 4. Personality.
	7. Cultural change		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reasons thereof 2. Extent 3. Inventions and discoveries, fashions and vogues cultural borrowings. 4. Social trend and a culturative changes.

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
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TRIBAL CULTURAL MUSEUM

3)	Food & Beverages	1) Food	<p>A) Food</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Collecting : Karvande -Fruit of Corinda tree, Amala-Jamun, Kandmule, Karand, Kadukand, Alu-Kand, etc. 2. Hunting : Animals & Birds 3. Fishing 4. Dairying and slaughtering 5. Hunting (Killing) <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Domesticated animals for food 2) Rituals, 3) Festivals, 4) Parties/Feasts. 6. Food grains : 1) Rice, Udid, Varai, Tur, Ragi, Mung, Kosri, Kutki, Kondo, Ambadi, Groundnuts, Vall, Jawari, Ralith, Nuts, wheat, clearing of Rice in a place called Ukhal/Musal, Korkuchi, Ghiri etc. 7. Purchasing : Jaggary, Oil & all above objects. 8. Other commodities <p>B) Food : 1) Regular Food informal Rice, Roti, Dal.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2) Change (formal) - Festivals - Weddings - Religious rituals <p>C) Preservation & Storage of Food</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) A small corn-bin 2) Loft 3) Jute 4) Korku granary 5) Kolam granary 6) Cow dung layer-Media <p>D) Methods of food preparation</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Clay chula 2) Fire place (Chulwan) 3) In travel 4) Use of Bamboo
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Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> E) Eating <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Serving 2) In formal eating (scatter, gathering near chula, without drinking water) 3) Table Manners/Protocol 4) Food Tabors F) Disposal <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Disposal of waste, cleaning procedure 2) Cleaning of utensils 3) Tobacco chewing and disposal at Chula.
	(1) Beverages	A) Water	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Availability, Transport and Storage. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wells at hill fort - Ponds - Khachar 2) Water and thirst <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Drinking of water like an animal bending in the water flow. 3) Beliefs and practices about drinking water. 4) Water sources : Wells <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pond Nala Springs - drinking cleaning and all other purposes at same place. - While drinking water dirt on water is shifted by hands. A) Collecting of 'Moha' flowers drying, soaking B) Jaggary and its process C) Container of 'Palas' leaves for drinking 5) Alcoholic beverages, selling and further process and impact. 6) Social and religious importance. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Need of alcoholic beverages at the important functions 2) Feeding few drops of liquor in the mouth of infant.

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3) Community consumption of liquor after sleep with children. 4) Serving of liquor to the school children as a break-fast. 5) Importance of liquor in religious function worship of God 'Naran' 6) Liquor prohibition impossibility and effects.
2.	Stimulants	1. Kinds used	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A) Tabacco <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Chewing/eating 2) Smoking <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A) Chutta B) Chilim C) Gudgudi B) Marijuana (rarely) Chilim C) Bhang D) Affim
		2. Availability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Self sufficient production 2) Market 3) Local person 4) As a Hospitality 5) Associated beliefs and practices <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Water Godess - Festivals & stories - Myths 6) Water <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Water utensils <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Ghagar 2) Handa 3) Bhopla (dried pumpkin) 4) Daba (Tin) 2) Storage : Tiwai, Tithe etc.

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
			3) Drinking and storage utensils. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Variety of 'Bhopala' 2. Use of german and brass glasses and other containers. 3. Plastic utensils.
			7) Other uses of water <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Production of liquor 2. For animals 3. Personal use - bath and washing of clothes. 4. For agriculture
	B) Alcoholic beverages		1) Variety of alcohol <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) liquor 2) Tadi
			2) Milk
			3) Tea and other stimulants.
			4) Methods of preparation of drinks.
		A)	Manufacturing of Alcohol <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Use of Three stone 'Chula' - On that a big round shape utensils - wooden cover - Bamboo for stairing - Pipe - Clay layer
		B)	Tadi/Madi <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Sweet 2) Sour 3) Boiled 4) Buried
		C)	Gorga : Use of Bamboo - Climbing

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
4)	Explorative activities	A) Annual cycle	1) Seasonal distribution and succession of exploitative activities. 2) Annual ceremonial calendar 3) Seasonal Migration.
		B) Collecting	1) materials gathered e.g. root fruits, fibers, small animals. 2) Territory covered. 3) Methods and Techniques.
		C) Extractive activities	1) Water Supply <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A) Natural Sources of water B) Artificial sources-wells bunds etc. C) Water Carrying D) Containers. E) irrigation F) Other uses of Water. G) Ceremonies regarding Water. H) Belief and customs about water. 2) Fuel gathering <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A) Nature of fuel used B) Sources C) Methods and Techniques
		D) Hunting	A) Tapping <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Animals sought 2) Types of Traps and snares. 3) Poisoning 4) Methods of using 5) utilisation of Product. B) Fowling <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Birds sought 2) Methods and Techniques nels birdlime decoy etc.

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3) Weapons 4) Uses 5) Utilisation of Product
		C)	<p>Land Hunting</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) animals sought 2) territory covered and weapons 3) use of domestic animals in hunting 4) individual Methods (stalking) 5) collective Methods (drives) 6) game laws 7) utilisation
		D)	<p>Fishing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) kinds of fishes 2) Fishing sites 3) Weapons 4) Lines and nets 5) Use of poisons 6) Other fishing Methods-Manuals, Traps, weirs. 7) Utilisation
		E)	<p>Pashu-Sanvardhan</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Captive and domestic animals and fowls. 2) Care and treatment 3) Training if any 4) Utilisation of <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A) Flesh, Blood and Milk. B) Manure C) Hides, Hair D) Bones and Horn

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
			5) Typical cattle sheds 6) Sacrificial animals 7) Beliefs and customs about animals.
		F)	Agriculture
			1) Plants cultivated and their relative importance 2) Horticulture 3) Clearing of land and shifting cultivation. 4) Aquisition of seeds <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) graingold 2) Deokhale 3) Khavali 5) Preparation of land hoking plowing etc. 6) Irrigation 7) Protection of Crops 8) Bujgavani 9) Harvesting 10) Agricultural implements and tools 11) Utilisation-include Palamod also 12) Harvest ceremonies
5)	Technology	A) Wood working	1) materials (wood, Bamboo, bark) 2) Methods of seasoning shaping i.e. cutting, sawing, planing burning, wrapping) 3) Artifacts used 4) joining 5) decoration 6) Wood sculpture 7) Areas prominent
		B) Basketry and Mats	1) Materials, artifacts used 2) techniques <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Chekar work b) Coiling c) twilling

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
			d) twining e) wicker work f) wrapped
		3)	Baskets and their uses.
		4)	Mats and their uses
		5)	Decorations
	C) Cordage & Weaving	1)	Types of cordage
		2)	Bhil weaving
		3)	Nels
		4)	leaoes decoration
		5)	taboos
	D) Work in skin	1)	materials, preparation
		2)	Musical instruments
		3)	Other uses.
	E) Work in Bone, Horn and shell	1)	Materials
		2)	Artifacts used
		3)	Hair cutting by shell
		4)	other uses
	F) Stone Carvings	1)	Materials
		2)	Methods of shaping-Chipping, Pecking, grinding.
		3)	Arlifacts
		4)	Weapons/implements
		5)	Stone burials and urskal
		6)	Virgals and chede
	G) Metallurgy	1)	Materials
		2)	Smelling etc.
		3)	Methods of casting
		a)	dye punching

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> b) lost wax c) iron smithy
		H) Chemicals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4) Products and uses. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Manufacture of poisons, dyes, pigments, glues 2) Rosha Oil. 3) Tolambi 4) Kadu Oil 5) Other
		I) Fire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Fire making implements and techniques. 2) Home fire 3) Borrowing 4) Fire used as lightly 5) Fire wood
6)	Capital	A) Weapons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 6) Chakmak <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Striking and trusting club, swood, dagger, spear 2) Missile weapons <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sling Bola, Bow/arrood 3) defensive weapons 4) Poison 5) Materials and construction. 6) Methods of gripping striking hurling, 7) Uses 8) Games.
		B) Tools and implements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Cutting tools : Knife, are, adze chisel wedge, scissors, saw, sickle. 2) Boring tools - needle, angur, bil 3) abarding tools - grindsime 4) Striking tools - Hammer 5) digging tools - spade, hoe, shoveleh

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
			6) Broom, brush, comb etc. cleaning tools.
			7) Materials and construction
			8) uses such as carpentry smithy etc.
		C) House Utencils	1) Furniture : rugs, mats and bedings.
			2) Heating and lighting appliances
			3) Utencils of gorge pumpkin
			4) Wooden
			5) Earthen
			6) Baskets
			7) Eating & Cooking
			8) Smoking Pipes
			9) Dwelling upkeeping
7)	Houses	1) Residential and non-residential	1) Pattern of Houses tribeswise/areawise.
			2) Temporary Harvet Houses.
			3) Mandirs and God places
7)	Tribal Houses	A) Residential and non-residential houses/huts.	1. Tribewise and areawise pattern of houses/huts.
			a) This section would be housed in class 1 rooms of 30' x 16'.
			b) huts/houses would be depicted through scale models/toy models/sketches and table tops. For models traditional tribal house building materials would be used.
			c) 2' x 2' side table top models on standing panels would be arranged. For following tribe alongwith detail information in charts.
			1. Warli
			2. Katkari
			3. Bhil
			4. Kolam
			5. Korku
			6. Gond/Madia Gond
			7. Halba
			8. Thotti

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
			<p>d) On panels paintings of peculiar cultural identification characteristic would be painted such as.</p> <p>Warli.. Waghya/Chouk Katkari.. Nomadic life or Kattachu or coal klins. Bhil .. Bhangorya Korku.. Meghnath/drapery Kolam.. Pod/Gavbhandhani Madia.. Defence fencing Thotti.. Kingari recilal Halba.. Fort/Jahagiri</p> <p>e) In the corner of the ball dioramic display of peculiar Bada Madia hut alongwith double fencing, Bamboo matting walls of decorative weaving Madia huts scattered around a fire in middle of the hut, open ground fire of three wood branches, piggery secular huts etc. with assistance of painting would prepared.</p> <p>f) Mini dioramic displays depicting basketry in front of house and threshing of rice would be constructed.</p> <p>2. Temporary houses such as harvest, houses work site houses.</p> <p>3. Ghotuls and chavdis</p> <p>4. Temples and Gods houses</p> <p>5. Patterns of house building alongwith materials - detail information to be given.</p> <p>6. Ladies special house with purpose.</p> <p>7. Positions fixed for each member of the family as per tradition.</p> <p>8. Agricultural implements, nets and traps.</p> <p>9. Court yard and back yard its utilisation and patterns tribewise.</p> <p>10. Cleaning and repairs.</p>

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
			4) Methods of construction and materials used 5) Special House for ladies Menstrual hut 6) Cock houses, grainaries Pigaries 7) Chotul and community Houses. 8) Karvi walls ventilation techniques. 9) Decorative Walls.
		2) House hold	1) Bedding and rugs 2) Seals 3) Tithe and Tiwari's 4) Utencils, Kangya, Fodder etc. 5) Door and division 6) Bedding sites 7) Implements 8) Cleaning
8)	Settlement	Village	1). Types of settlement <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cluster warli 2. Both sides at open space in middle-Madia. 3. Scattered Bhil 4. Kolampod and Katkari Pada 5. Shifting cultivation 6. Laws
9)	Food and drinks	A) Food	1) ideas about food 2) acquisition of food <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Collecting b. Hunting c. Fishing d. dairying and Slaughtering, e. Agriculture f. trade g. Other

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
			3) Types <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Regular 2. Change
			4) Food preparation grinding, Cutting, Mixing
			5) Infant diet
			6) Cooking Methods and technique roasting, baking, boiling
			7) Recipes
			8) Implements and utensils
			9) Mealtimes and eating and table manners.
			10) Disposal of waste and excess food.
			11) Cleaning of utensils
	B) Drinks		1) Water and thirst <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. use of water for drinking b. thirst i.e. manifestations, controls c. ideas about water d. Water supply e. drinking utensils f. water sources g. water dieties h. other uses of water
	C) Beverages		1) Alcoholic beverages
			2) drinking of milk
			3) Others i.e. tea.
			4) Preparations <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) distilling b) Tadi-Godi Ahobat boiled burried c) Madi

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
			d) Gorga e) Mahua f) Gul-jogger
			5) Production, sale and further cycle. 6) Social - cultural religions importance 7) Prohibition
		D) Narcotics	1) Kinds tobacco used, betel Bhang, ganjua 2) Manufacture and preparation 3) Methods of consumption 4) Quantity, occasions 5) Behaviour under effect
10)	Dress and Ornaments	A) Dress	1) Ideas of clothing 2) Prevalent types (tribe and area). 3) Nude and covered parts of the body. 4) Clothing materials 5) Status and seasonal differences 6) Headgear and footwears, arms 7) Ceremonial attire 8) dancing costume 9) Techniques 10) Services of clothing
		B) Ornaments	1) Types a) Necklaces b) Bracelets c) Rings d) Anklets 2) Mode of attachment to body.
11)	Dress and Ornaments	1. Dress	1. Ideas of clothing

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
			<p>2. Prevalent types Tribal drapery will be presented with the help of toys of</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Katkari 2. Warli 3. Kokna 4. Dhorkoli 5. Malhar Koli 6. Thakar 7. Bhil 8. Naikda 9. Mavchi 10. Tadvi 11. Korku 12. Nihal 13. Andh 14. Raj Gond 15. Gond 16. Madia, Bada Madia 17. Kolam 18. Thotti 19. Pardhan 20. Halba 21. Dubla 22. Dhodiya 23. Pawra <p>Plan of exhibit : Toys, painting and/or sketches would be used in a Panel Map of 8' x 10'.</p> <p>- Slides and audiotape on tribal dressing and drapery would be set near the Map. Special arrangement to illuminate particular tribe region etc. would be made. Special exhibition of dresses of Bhagats at worship would be prepared. Slide show would be prepared.</p> <p>3. Sketches of Nude and covered parts of body would be prepared.</p> <p>4. Clothing materials</p>

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
			<p>5. Status and seasonal differences would be shown as below.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Warli - Farmer at ploughing day to day Bandi Kurta Dhoti. 2. Pawras in hills with Langoti only. - Pawras converts 3. Borchek village may be considered 4. Halba - Jahagirdar Gond - Kings Kokna, Kindom Kathi State Jawhar State Katkari, Thotti, Thakar for seasonal migration. 5. Impact of neighbouring tribes on dressing would also be shown. <p>6. Headgear and foot-wears, arms includes - Poop wears</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Madia chappels of perirmili 2. Pavadis 3. Use of leaves to avoid burning heat - Headgears 1. Korku Pagdi 2. Madia black cap 3. Bison Horn head gear 4. Pawra feta <p>7. Arms -</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Golli 2. Fadsa 3. Koyata 4. Sling 5. Galoli 6. Chandrya 7. Dharya 8. Match Box <p>8. Ceremonial Attire</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bada Madia 2. Korku

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
			3. Pawra
			4. Warli etc.
			Special attention will be paid to depict marriage costumes of various tribes.
			9. Dancing costumes of -
			1. Tarpa
			2. Ghouri
			3. Gher
			4. Dandar
			5. Bhovada
			6. Dindan
			7. Rela
			8. Shikar
			9. Bhivsan
			10. Holi of Pawras
			11. Dhol dance of Madias.
			10. Techniques -
			1. Bhil weaving
			2. Tailoring
			3. Body decorating
			11. Use of clay, Rithe. Hingan as cleaning agents.
			- Introduction of soap and dittergents.
			- Ironing
			2. Ornaments
			1. Types
			A) Metal
			1. Necklaces
			2. Bracelets
			3. Rings
			4. Toe Rings
			5. Ancklets
			6. Attached Rings
			B) Beed strings and necklaces.
			C) Stone strings
			2. Punching method-Relief work Designs to be depicted alongwith a Note.

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subjecte to be illustrated
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Ornament designs to be shown by sketches. 4. A model of lost wax. For ornaments, in middle of the showcase, a cassette of the tribal ornaments will be shown. 5. Mode of attachment 6. Hair ornaments 7. Ear, Nose and Lip ornaments 8. Specific articles of Adornments. 9. Occasions 10. Decorative Art. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hair dressing - cutting, pulling etc. 2. Shaving - special exhibits on shaving by shell to be depicted. 3. Razors 4. Hair styles - cutting, parling arrangement. 5. Comb, brushes, pins and flowers 6. Hair ornaments 7. Body decorations including tatooning 8. Bathing 9. Ladies by gine including menstrual and delivery. 10. Enhancement for sexual appeal-weekly market may be considered <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bhongarya - Colour and B & W blow up would be exhibited. - One life style plaster cast model, in middle with all ornaments would be kept in middle of 30' wall.
	3. Toilet		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3) Hair ornaments 4) Ear, Nose and Lips ornaments 5) Specific articles of adornment 6) Occasions 7) Decorative art

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
		C) Toilet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Shaving and depilaton 2) Razors 3) Hair styles Cutting Parling arranging 4) Comb, brushes, Pins 5) Hair ornaments 6) Body paintings 7) Bathing 8) Menstrual bygiene 9) Enhancement of sexual appeal.
12)	Routine of living		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Activities of typical days time of arising and retiring 2) Working time 3) Eating times 4) Recreation 5) Sleeping and conception of fatigue 6) Beds and bedding 7) Manners and etiquettes 8) Standard of living.
13)	Specialization	A) Division of labour by Sex	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Activities customarily performed exclusively or predominantly by males or by females. 2) Activities forbidden to or despised by one sex 3) Activities of both sexes participation-alternatively/jointly 4) Routine tasks 5) Status of women in relation to men.
		B) Specialization by age.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Gradation of tasks according to age. 2) Activities of <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Children b) Adults c) Old age

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
		C) Specialized Occupations	1) Extent of occupational specialization 2) Partially and fully specialised occupations. a) Carpenters b) Mason c) Smiths d) Weavers e) Tailors f) Farmers g) miners h) Potters i) Traders j) Others
14)	Marketing	D) Midwives	Barbers, musicians etc. Service Enterprises. a) Markets and fairs b) Shops, Middlemen c) Government regulation
		Medium of Exchange	a) Articles circulating in exchange at their intrinsic values as standard money salt, cattle, grain etc. or coins. b) Weights and measures
15)	Transportation		1) Extent of Transportation a) types and quantity of articles transported b) Distances and areas covered. c) Message carrying 2) Routes 1) Types e.g. trails paths, road, rivers 2) Location 3) Inns and rest-houses 3) Migration - Seasonal migration - Nomadic and periodic shifting of settlement - Emigration and immigration

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
16)	Tribal Art	1. Decorative Art	1) Metal Objects <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Selected white Metal ornaments. b) Selected Metal idols and ornaments. c) Bigul, Chandryal etc. 2) Wood carvings <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) decorative doors from M. Koli, Kokna and Korku. b) selected wooden gods such as - Waghya, Chetuk, Devala, Raja Panta, Ganda Thakur, Mogra etc. c) Poles of Korku and Madias d) Decorative hangings e) Bhil and Madia combs f) Tobacco boxes 3) Natural and geometrical designs to be elaborated by drawing sketches etc. 4) Pottery special utensils in Bhil and Madia area to be presented.
		2. Representative Art	a) Warli paintings <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Religious style 2. Decorative style 3. Language of communication 4. Outer wall paintings 5. Commercial 6. Eminent Warli painters 7. Material and patterns b) Modeling and casting <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Stone Gods 2. Ghatuwa Gods 3. Castin Method in Western Ghat area.

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
			<p>c) Materials and implements Selected objects would be collected/scale Models would be prepared.</p> <p>d) Painters and sculptures</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Warli paintings 2. Korku outer wall 3. Pardhi stone sculptures idols and urskals. 4. Virgals from Nasik 5. Metal sculpture 6. Wooden - Boundries <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Poles, Marriage/memorials e.g. Shinoli, Patli, Ayya's, Mariyam mata etc. - Gods - Masks <p>5) Subjects</p> <p>In this section it is proposed to exhibit tribal art object as per the subject e.g.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Animals - <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Warli paintings 2. Wooden gods 3. Tak 4. Ghatuwa 5. Stone 6. Memorials 7. Others b) Human beings <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Warli paintings 2. Ghatuwa 3. Patli

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> c) Natural and imaginary objects <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Warli paintings 2. Tobacco container 3. Yetya Bokya 4. Poles 5. Ornaments/Tak d) Form and colour special attention needs to be given for building this section. e) Symbolism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Warli paintings 2. Gods 3. Poles 4. Others f) Masks <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Paper 2. Wooden 3. Hyde's 4. Tatis
	C) Music		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Musical form and structure <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. In order to present scale, pitch, tone, tempo rhythm etc. pre-recorded cassettes and head phone would be introduced. 2. It would be supported with eighter slides show or simple photographs. b) Vocal music <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bhangsar 2. Daka bhakti 3. Nagpanchamichi Gani 4. Rela 5. Rodals Jodi/Dandar c) Beating - Daka Tabli <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mandari Dhol Dholki Mandol Nagara, Tilbuli, others.

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> d) Instrumental music <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Accompaniments <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Tarfa, 2) Kingari, 3) Biri, 4) Pawri, 5) Zangali, 6) Bhangsar, 7) Sahanai, 8) Kahali, 9) Others b) Solo playing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tandoli 2. Rantha 3. Tarpa 4. Pawa 5. Van's 6. Others c) Orchestra <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rodali Jodi 2. Dandar 3. Gammat (Tamasya) 4. Dakabhakli 5. Govbhandhani 6. Dhol dance 7. Others e) Idiophones <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Various types of clappers and rattels e.g. Manjira, Tal, Tappa, Gappa and Kirkis. f) Membraphones <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Various types of Drums. g) Aerophones <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pawa, Kahali Tarpa, Sanai Pawri, Others h) Other musical instruments
	D) Dancing		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Dance styles technique gesture and postures. Formalization, rythm, Musical accompaniments and other aspects would be depicted through photographic Blow ups.

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
			2) Warli paintings of Tarpa dance would also be exhibited. 3) a tableau of Rela, Tarpa, Dhol and similar dances. 4) A chart to above effect would also be prepared. 5) Relation of the dance to magic and ritual need to be collected.
		f) Drama	Dandar Bhovada Gammat These forms would be illustrated. Story telling of Thottis, Rantha Bhils and Gonda Bhils, may be exhibited.
17.	Religion	a) Lore and learning	a) Cosmology conception of universe and cosmological system. Heavens and hells b) Realm of the dead c) Cosmic phenomenon <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the sun and its rising and setting. 2. Night and day 3. Dawn and twilight 4. The moon and its phases 5. Eclipses 6. Omens and portent
		b) Religion	a) Conception of the supernatural <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Concept of the Soul 2. animatism and magic force 3. concept of good and bad luck b) Sacred objects and places <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. fetishes 2. idols 3. extraordinary objects <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Bazoar stones b) albino animals

Sr. No.	Section	Sub-Section	Subject to be illustrated
			4. Relics
			5. Sacred places
			6. Temples
		c)	Dangerous and unclean objects and places
			1. food
			2. excreta
			3. corpses
			4. menstrual blood
			5. child birth
			6. sorcery material
			7. evil and dangerous places, graves
			8. taboos and avoidance
	c)	Supernatural Beings	a) Guardian spirits
			b) tutelary divinities
			c) nature spirits and gods
			d) animal deities
			e) demons
			f) fairies
			g) mythological monsters
			h) deified heroes
	d)	Inspiration	Spirit possession, communication with dead
	e)	Magic	Wilchcraft and sorcery evil eye vampires
	f)	Religious system	1. ancestor worship
			2. totemism
			3. spirit worship
	g)	Religious practices	and Rituals, Religious rights.
	h)	Ceremonials	
	i)	Religious persons	

ANTHROPOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF STUDYING ETHNOBOTANY

Robin D. Tribhuvan
Gaikwad John S.

INTRODUCTION :

Plants have been an integral part of human belief systems since times immemorial. Almost every known society has developed culture-specific beliefs and/or interpretations about the religious, economic, ritualistic, magical, medicinal, totemic, spiritual and symbolic significance of plants within their respective cultural frame of reference.

Hence one finds references of plants in various spheres of social life such as marriage, dances, songs, myths, tales, religion, medicine, rituals, magical forms, proverbs and so on. Interpretations of plant symbols and their meanings however may differ from one culture to another. Banyan tree (*Ficus benjamina*) for instance is interpreted as a sacred tree by Hindus, while among the Thakurs it is believed to be the abode of evil spirits.

Despite the similarities and differences of interpretations of plant symbols and their meanings that exist in human societies, the fact remains that there has been and also is a close relationship of human societies with plants. This phenomena of how various human societies interpret the utility and symbolic significance of plants in different spheres of social life has been termed as Ethnobotany.

Since last few decades the science of Ethnobotany has received much attention of botanists more particularly than Anthropologists. Ethnobotany according to botanist deals with relationship between human societies and plants (Jain S. K. 1981 : vii). Its importance has been realized chiefly in respect of the varied economic uses of plants among primitive/tribal societies. It brings to light numerous little known or unknown uses of plants, especially some of which have potential of wider range.

While collecting information concerning plants used by a tribal community and/or an ethnic group, following information is collected by the Ethnobotanists :

- 1) Cereals, pulses, fruits and vegetables both cultivated and wild ones used by a community as food.
- 2) Plants which are used for house hold equipments & house building.
- 3) Plants that provide fuel & manure.
- 4) Plants that are used as fats, oils, spices, condiments & alcoholic beverages.
- 5) Plants that provide fibre for making ropes & packaging material.
- 6) Plants that are used as medicines.
- 7) Plants concerning magical & hallucination properties.
- 8) Plants used as cosmetics.
- 9) Plant that provide timber, grass, trade etc.
- 10) Plants that are used for preparing arts & crafts.
- 11) Plants that are used for preparing musical instruments & hunting gadgets & so on.

There is no end for listing & describing the ethnobotanical significance of plants as perceived by the botanists. However, one common factor is clearly highlighted through most ethnobotanical studies and that is the factor of economic utility of plants used by a tribal or an ethnic group.

Botanists who study the phenomena of ethnobotany, tend to bring into light the botanical aspects of plants utilized by the community. Hence emphasize on documenting botanical name of the

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plant part used or entire plant as it were, the process of manufacturing or preparing the final product and so on. This element of projecting only botanical data creates a problem to the usage of the word 'Ethno' which is a prefix of botany. This mere botanical approach of collecting data does not do any justice to the word 'ethno' - which refers to people, their ideas, beliefs, knowledge, concepts, values and perception about plants.

As Jain S. K. (1981 : vii) rightly points out that Ethnobotany has been recognized as a multi-disciplinary science comprising many interesting and useful aspects of plant science, history, anthropology, culture & literature. Prof. R. E. Schultes, a leading ethnobotanist has also pointed out the significance of multi-disciplinary approach while carrying out ethnobotanical research. In fact ethnobotany in a simple way according to him is an anthropological approach to botany. Both Jain & Schultes emphasize the need of a collaborative anthropological & botanical approach while studying ethnobotany. However not many Ethnobotanists nor Anthropologists have been able to combine both approaches while carrying out ethnobotanical research.

This paper proposes to put forth a new methodological dimension which will do justice both to anthropology & botany, while carrying out ethnobotanical research. We hope that such an approach will contribute to a wholistic understanding of the relationship of human societies with their plant environment.

The Etic & Emic Approach -

A debate has been going on for years between those who emphasize 'actor's meaning' & those who stress 'observed' characteristics of the world - characteristics of which the actor may be unaware. One version of the argument in anthropology marches to the tune of emic and etic approaches the former emphasizing folk concepts & the latter stressing those of the ethnographer (Agar Michael 1986 : 44-45).

Most ethnobotanical studies may be categorized into 'etic approach studies', wherein a botanist gives botanical description of plants utilized by a community. For example *Solanum xanthocarpum* (Bhui ringani), a plant of solanaceae family is utilized as a medicinal plant. He may further get into details such as plant part used, (Fruit), disease treated,

method of preparing & administrating medicine and of course the chemical composition of the plant part used.

Ethnobotanical research must not limit itself only to etic approach only. One must also take into consideration the 'actor's' (respondent's) perception about plants, i.e. the emic view. For instance the Pawras & Thakurs - tribes of Western Maharashtra have got their own ways of interpreting the plant symbols and their meanings, economic utility of plants, physiology & intrinsic qualities of plants & so on. A papaya for that matter is classified as a 'hot food' by both Thakurs & Pawras & hence papayas (especially raw ones) are not consumed by pregnant women, as it is believed that the heat in it may lead to an abortion. Tribals or any ethnic group for that matter hold certain cultural beliefs regarding plant, which must be brought into light through emic view. Ethnobotanical studies should combine both emic & etic approaches to get a comprehensive understanding the relationship between human societies & plant environment.

A need for Widening the scope of Ethnobotanical studies :

Yet another lacuna that exists in ethnobotanical research is the factor of restricting itself to tribal societies. In fact the very definition of ethnobotany put forth by leading botanists spells out that it deals with study of relationship of tribals/primitive societies with their plant environment. Ethnobotanical research must not restrict itself to only tribes, but it is much more than that. Research studies could also be conducted on caste communities, nomadic groups & ethnic groups in urban settings. There is an urgent need therefore to widen the scope of ethnobotanical studies as the term 'ethno' very often is linked with a tribal societies only.

Assessment of Multiple utility of plants.

Many a times while describing the economic utility of a plant researchers of ethnobotany tend to look at the utility of a given plant in only one context. For example rice (*Oriza sativum*) is classified under cereals and its usage with diet is described. However, not much efforts are made to document the multiple usage of rice in the culture studied. Besides dietary utility of rice, it may symbolize fertility cult in another context or may have something to do with the cosmic forms in

a diagnosis ritual, or any other meaningful function in some other cultural context. It is very necessary to document both economic & symbolic aspects of a plant or plant part used in multiple contexts.

Interpretations of plant symbols :

Symbolization is a universal phenomena. A symbol is something that stands for, suggests, it reveals the mind a reality other than itself Cavendish (1985 : 258). Symbols are used for conveying values and meanings of ideas & conceptions. The function of a symbol is to act as a rallying point for meaning & through it connects several meanings which are not outwardly or immediately connected.

Same rule applies to plant symbols also. Plants or plant parts used in rituals & ceremonies stand for reality or mean something within a given cultural context. Interpretations of plant symbols may vary from one society to another. Even within the same society a plant symbol may have different meanings in different contexts. For instance when a male child is born among the Thakurs coconut with water is broken and its wet pieces are distributed to the well wishers and relatives of the family in which male child is born. However, when a girl child is born dry coconut (copra pieces) are distributed. Coconut with water in this context symbolizes male child, as the water in the coconut is associated with sperms and the dry coconut (half copra) without water which is hollow, (symbolizes womb of a woman) is associated with feminine gender. Thus, coconut in this context symbolizes male and female sex of the new born. In yet another situation i.e. healing rite of chickenpox it symbolizes 'sky'. Turner victor (1967 : 50) has emphasized the polysemic nature of ritual symbols, with different meanings of the same symbol becoming paramount in different contexts. To put in other words ethnobotanical research must give due importance to the meaning attached to plant symbols and their inter-relationship with other in a given belief system.

TOWARDS A WHOLISTIC UNDERSTANDING OF ETHNOBOTANY :

Usage of plants both economic & symbolic is predominant in major rituals such as birth, puberty, marriage, death, healing and magical in any society. These plants or plant parts gain symbolic & economic significance within the context they are used and hence are interpreted as part of the beliefs system. The phenomena of ethnobotany if

anthropologically viewed must be studied from a wholistic angle taking into account the belief system. Ethnobotany cannot be studied unless due considerations are given to the belief system of the tribe or group under study.

ETHNOBOTANY & ETHNOPHYSIOLOGY :

People everywhere have beliefs regarding the intrinsic qualities of plants & their effects on human body physiology. Ethnophysiology is a sub-discipline of Medical anthropology and deals with how people interpret the functions of various bodily systems. For example, among the Thakurs a belief exists that *Dioscorea bulbifera* (a corm) if consumed by new mothers contributes to production of more breast milk and hence it is consumed by new mothers (Tribhuvan Robin 1993 : 99).

There are number of plants and food items which are classified into hot, cold, luke-warm, bitter, sweet, pungent, poisonous, chilly hot, sour and so on. These qualities are believed to have effects on human physiology. Each quality of a food item or medicinal plant may be interpreted differently in different situations or contexts. While studying ethnobotany one should take into account the various beliefs that people hold regarding the intrinsic qualities of plants and their effects on human physiology.

There is yet another factor which should be noted while studying relationship of ethnobotany with ethnophysiology and that is the symbolic qualities (e.g. magical, divine, preventive, promotive, productive etc.) of certain plants. For instance, lemon (*Citrus lemon*) is a symbol of preventive magic in healing situations of both Thakurs and Pawras (Tribhuvan Robin, 1993, Gaikwad J. S. & Bhanu B. V. 1990.) During a healing rite of warding off evil effect or absorbing evil, a lime is ritually used to absorb and/or ward off the evil effect. A researcher must document both natural and symbolic qualities of plants under study. There are certain plants or plant parts which in some cultural contexts play an important role on the psyche of a person.

For instance the use of Gunj seeds (*Abrus precatorius*) and Jowar grains (*Sorghum vulgare*) in a diagnosis rite performed by a Pawra Budva

(Shaman). These seeds cannot be replaced with some other seeds. Similarly the Koknas and Warli Bhagats of Thane use rice grains for diagnosis. These ritual procedures if not followed as per cultural prescriptions will not have any effect on the psyche of the patient. Similarly, one will find intensive rituals in different communities where plants and plant parts play significant role on the psyche of the actor's involved in the concerned rituals or ceremonies. Efforts must be made to draw a relationship between human psychology & plants, while carrying out ethnobotanical research.

TOWARDS AN ANTHROPO-BOTANICAL METHODOLOGY :

Since Ethnobotanist and Anthropologist agree that both botanical and enthnopological research tools and techniques are essential for studying ethnobotany. Researchers working in this multi-disciplinary field must combine both Anthropological and Botanical approaches such as ethnography, participant, observation, Indepth-Interviews of respondents and key persons, long duration of stay in the field, wholistic understanding with regards to the total belief system, botanical details such as botanical name of the plant, its family, local name, usage of that plant or plant part in multiple contexts, chemical composition of the plant and so on.

Thus a combination of anthropological and botanical methodologies will give a total understanding of a community understudy, regarding its ethnobotanical beliefs and practices. We also feel that it is very essential for an Anthropologist to know systematic botany and other basic details of botany while carrying out ethnobotanical research. He must know how to prepare a herbarium sheet, also have knowledge of how to handle plant samples which he does not know in the field till he takes them to botany experts. He must work with botany experts while carrying out ethnobotanical research.

CONCLUSION :

To conclude, while examining ethnobotanical concepts a researcher must integrate both anthropological and botanical research tools and

techniques so as to get a wholistic understanding of ethnobotanical beliefs and practices by using emic and etic approaches.

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GOTHI SYSTEM-A STUDY OF ITS SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT ON THE TRIBALS OF SOUTH ORISSA

DR. SANTOSH KUMAR APATA

The tribal community of the hill-tracts of South Orissa comprising the districts of Ganjam and Koraput formed a part of the Madras Presidency till the creation of the separate province of Orissa in 1936 generally lived in a state of chronic indebtedness during the entire period of the British rule. They were neglected, humiliated and exploited in diverse ways. They were subjected to varieties of illegal exactions which brought untold miseries and sufferings to them. The worst of these exactions was the practice of Gothi or debt-slavery which had disastrous effects on the tribal economy of South Orissa.

Gothi was a practice of debt-slavery known in Koraput district as Gothi and in Rayagada subdivision as the Khambari system. Similar system existed in the Agency tracts of the Ganjam district. But it had more ruinous impact in the Koraput district.¹ It was a time-honoured custom which had its origin in the peculiar medieval type of administration.

Gothi was a system of labour whereby a person, on receiving some advance in money or kind or incurring some loan, engaged himself by a written or oral agreement to labour under his creditor for agricultural and domestic purposes as long as the loan together with its interest remained unpaid. These agriculturist creditors were called sowcars in these parts.

In addition, the Gothi or debt-servant received a maintenance allowance in shape of paddy and a piece of cloth every year as well as some presents

of grain at the time of more important festivals. Every year one fifth of the capital amount of the loan was considered to have been worked off.

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE GOTHI SYSTEM

The opening up of the country and its settlement by people with an entirely different economy of life had given rise to a number of problems. The new-comers to the country had a legitimate aspiration to acquire land and by industrious tillage to make the best use of their capacities.

These outsiders or well-to-do cultivators found the existing socio-economic condition of the hill ryots a very convenient prerequisite for this nefarious practice of acquiring lands. The aboriginals were addicted to wine and more so on occasions of festivals and ceremonies like marriages. The tribals were known for their thriftiness and improvident habits. They lived in a state of chronic indebtedness. Their deep poverty and rackless extravagance compelled them to sell or mortgage their lands for a cash sum.

R. C. S. Bell stated: 'The hill-man is generally willing, if not eager, to part with his land for a cash sum which, though it may seem great wealth to him, is probably much less than its actual value to the purchaser. The temptation to mortgage his land is even harder to resist, for the hill ryot cannot learn by experience that a mortgage, once executed, is hardly ever redeemed. The disastrous

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consequences of this fatal thriftlessness was turning numbers of hillmen into a landless proletariat, disinclined to work for daily wages and with no resort but to bind themselves as bond slaves to a richman or to get what they could by podu (shifting) cultivation in the forests.

The large-scale transfer of land from the tribal peasants to rich non-tribal agriculturists contributed to the increasing miseries among the tribals. This was brought to the notice of the Madras Government and to put a stop to such alienation. The Agency Tracts Interests and Land Transfer Act I of 1917 was passed prohibiting all transfers from hillmen to non-hillmen without express permission of authorities.

This act no doubt put some check on the transfer of lands from the tribals to non-hillmen wealthy cultivators or merchants called sowcars. On the other hand it was unfortunately not without its darker side. The Act certainly contributed to the growth of Gothi system in South Orissa.

As discussed above, many tribal peasants became landless. Those who possessed land were unable to sell or mortgage their lands because of the restrictions imposed by the above mentioned Act. Hence, in these circumstances most tribal peasants of Koraput district had no alternative than to depend on the money of sowcars for their existence. They were forced to act as debt-servant or Gothi in the house of the sowcar for a number of years.

SEVERITY OF THE GOTHI SYSTEM

When the money-lender, like the borrower, was a member of one of the hill-tribes, the yoke of the Gothi would be an easy one. The Gothi would be treated as an equal in his master's house, would have leisure to carry on cultivation on his own account and be allowed frequent holidays.

But when a hillman pledged his services to an immigrant from the plains, the result was a much less harmonious relationship. The plainman, who invested money in a servant, tried to exact as much as he could from his investment in the shape of labour. In practice these sowcars taking advantage of the illiteracy, ignorance, gullibility and helplessness of the peasantry dictated the terms, calculated the interests and manipulated the annual deductions of wages earned and readjusted the account in such a way that number of labourers were bonded for several years and in a few cases their children and other relatives also after their death. This system thus degenerated into serfdom.

Often the money-lender or sowcar at the time of making advance deducted the total interest of the year from the principal though the borrower was made to sign that he had received full payment. He sometimes procured his signature on a blank paper and then put down any figure he liked. These things rarely came to the notice of the Law Courts as the people were very ignorant and did not dare to bring to the notice of the officers the malpractice of their willy creditors.

The interest swelled and the principal remained unpaid and annual deductions from the principal on account of the annual wages were seldom made and thus the labourers remained a payment bond-slave. If the loan was in grain, the interest was compounded with principal at the end of the year and sometimes a further bond was taken and so on.

In many cases unhappily the attitude of the immigrant who employed a Gothi was purely of an exploitation, and incorrect accounts of the debt were kept and the Gothi was compelled to work on long after he had repaid the amount borrowed.

H. D. Taylor, then manager of the Jeypore estate in Koraput district, came across a case in

1892 where a ryot had borrowed Rs. 20/- from sowcar fifty years back, repaid Rs. 50/- at intervals and worked for the whole of his life and died in harness. For the same debt the sowcar claimed the services of his son, and he too died in bondage leaving two small sons aged 13 and 9, whose services were also claimed for an alleged arrear of Rs. 30/- on the original debt.

Such gross oppression was very common. In 1927 L. E. Saunders, District Superintendent of Police, Koraput district, collected a mass of statistics which showed that Gothis were frequently compelled to labour for years, working off their original debts at the rate of only two or three rupees a year and that such debts were held binding on the children of Gothis who had died in service. These terms were embodied in written contracts.

A variation of the Gothi system that existed in towns and the larger villages, seemed to be less severe. According to this, a man pledged his service for a period of one year only for a lump sum of twenty to thirty rupees paid in advance. Under this system the Gothi did not receive any subsistence allowance from his employer in addition to the advance.

As a result of this Gothi system many hillmen had grown up practically as serfs and spent their lives in a condition of poverty which was embittered by constant bad relations with their employers. Even if a Gothi did succeed in working off his debt he was often unable to stand on his own legs and found no alternative but to pledge his services again.

Nothing had been done by way of legislation to abolish or modify this system, though its rigours had frequently been lessened by Government officers bringing about an equitable compromise where the terms of agreement had been found in particular cases to be unduly severe on the Gothi. Naturally, the sowcars were not able to enforce

the full terms of their bonds in the courts, but Gothis usually had no alternative means of livelihood and had to perforce accept their master's terms. Of late, emigration to Assam had afforded the gothi a means of escaping from an over-exacting employer, and creditors, realising this, were tending to become more reasonable.

Thus the Gothi system fell heavily, cruelly and oppressively on the gothi labourers. They were left to mercies of the money-lenders or sowcars who exploited them to the unbearable limits. They became landless, homeless and helpless. This desperate situation led to large scale emigration from the Koraput district after 1930.

ABOLITION OF GOTHI SYSTEM

Thus it is found that the British authorities have not taken any steps or introduced any legislative measures in order to stop this nefarious and inequitable practice in South Orissa. It is only after the post-independent era that the Government of Orissa, from time to time, have taken some steps in abolishing this Gothi system. The Orissa Debt Bondage Abolition Regulation 1948 was enacted in this regard. But owing to the unwillingness and incapacity of the aboriginals to take advantage of the legislation, the system still prevailed. Of course the legislation minimized the system and created consciousness among the tribals.

In 1976 the Government of India took another step in this direction. The Bonded Labour Abolition Act, 1976 was passed which abolished the system of Gothi.

This sort of exploitation marved all prospects of the hill tribes to march ahead with the progress of civilization. If the British Government had taken some drastic steps in the beginning, the system of Gothi could be nipped in its bud.

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION OF TRIBAL WOMEN

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In the Tribal socio-economic set up it is the women who occupy a dominant economic role rather than the men. Consequently their social status is also much higher when compared to socio-economic status of women in other parts of the society. Yet it is in tribal set up that the socio-economic exploitation of women is also higher.

In Tribal societies women contribute to the working force in a more substantial way than the

women in non-tribal societies. But the tribal women's contribution to working force has been largely confined to meeting the needs of subsistence agriculture, which provides them with only the barest minimum necessities of life. The forces of modernization have produced a two-fold trend. They have created conditions for proliferation of occupation for tribal women on the one hand. While on the other hand they have been more exploited economically in the modern setup than in the traditional one.

Show change in labour force composition in census figures :

Table 1

Tribal Population of Madhya Pradesh

	1961	1971	1981
1. Total Population	6678410	6387403	11987031
2. Total Male Population	3334363 (49.92)	4198499 (50.05)	6003304 (50.08)
3. Total Female Population	3344047 (50.07)	4188904 (49.94)	5983727 (49.91)
4. Total Workers	4058924 (60.77)	3333920 (39.75)	4547897 (37.84)
5. Total Male Workers	2119640 (63.56)	2374040 (56.54)	3535971 (58.90)
6. Total Female Workers	1939284 (57.99)	959880 (22.91)	1991926 (33.28)

Source: Various Census Reports.

figures in brackets are percentages

In the present paper the economic and social plight of Tribal women of Aalirajpur, Madhya Pradesh, are presented with some suggestions for their upliftment.

The economic Scenario

Apart from the household work the economic contribution of tribal women starts from childhood. Their initiation in this field starts from an early age and continues unabated till the end of their lives. As time passes their household responsibilities also increase. The labours of the tribal women are grossly depreciated through low wages and non-recognition of house hold work. The tribal women of this area usually start work as labourers from their age of 8-10 year. The various occupations which they adopt are listed below :

Agricultural

1. Field workers
2. Wood gathering
3. Coal making from wood
4. Gathering forest-produce
5. Landless labourers
6. Poultry farming
7. Dairy
8. Selling vegetables

Industrial

1. Construction workers
2. Brick making
3. Labour work in Factories

Services

1. House maids
2. Tailoring-small jobs

Cottage Industries

1. Basket making
2. Making small iron implements
3. Making Tyre chappals

There are certain characteristics which are common to all occupations.:

a) The employment is in the informal sector, only a few are employed by Govt. agencies/organised sector.

b) One woman often does atleast two types of work - eg. works as agricultural labour during season and at some other job at other times. The crop season is only for the few monsoon months and after that there is no agriculture work.

c) Female labour gets pay less than males for the same work.

The ways in which the tribal women are economically exploited are as follows :

First of all they are not able to get regular full time employment anywhere. This leads to job insecurity. Since the economic burden of the whole family is borne by women to a large extent in tribal societies, women are forced to accept any terms of employment, in order to secure a job.

Secondly, the women are mostly illiterate and untrained. In the market a monopsony type of structure exists in which the buyer (which is mostly an agent) determines the weight, quality & price of the produce. This agent also often lends money to these women. so that women never get proper price for their outputs.

Thirdly, women are still considered physically weaker than men. On the pretext of their work efficiency being less than that of men their wages are fixed at a far lower rate than those for men (if men are paid Rs. 14/- for same work women are paid only Rs. 10/-). The women are made to put their thumb impression on much higher wages (such as required Rs. 25/- per day) on paper. The contractor or the middle men profit from this difference.

Lastly the women are made to work longer hours than the regular 8 hours. They cannot protest against this because of the fear of being removed from the job.

It is the administration & outer society which exploits the tribal women most. In their own tribal social set up their economic liability has always been appreciated through economic freedom, social status and having a major decision making power at societal & family level. But they are treated as third rate citizens by the non-tribals.

Tribal women generally do not move out of their own areas. This immobility also lessens the opportunities for employment & increases the dangers of economic exploitation. The only significant migration is of tribal construction workers. These labourers often migrate to neighbouring areas of Gujrat where they are paid much higher wages. This migration takes place in the construction season only and therefore provides only partial relief.

Social Exploitation

So far as social exploitation of the women is concerned, it is again the non-tribal parts of the society which are to be blamed. Tribal women in Aalirajpur area are considered a social & economic asset in their own clans. The birth of a daughter is considered to be very auspicious & beneficial for the parents. The girls have the freedom to choose their spouses. If they are not satisfied with a man, they also have freedom to divorce and marry another person. A bridge price has to be paid at the time of marriage by the groom. If the low status of Indian women is manifest from large dowries then this custom of reverse dowry surely indicates a high status of tribal women in the tribal set up of this area of M. P.

It is when women step out of their own social milieu & family to earn money for their families that they get exploited.

The most common form of social exploitation is that these women are treated as outcasts by the non-tribal sections of the society. They are spared no human feelings and are made to do every kind of menial job, back breaking work, for long hours & given just a pittance in return.

The employers of these women take them to be of easy virtue and do not hesitate to force women to sell their bodies. The threat of unemployment is so severe that women often bow down to such social pressures.

Remedies

The Govt. of India has been trying to ameliorate problems of women-especially of those belonging

to the tribal areas-through legislation and special area programmes. Yet the efforts have so far been either grossly inadequate or entirely unsuitable.

In view of the fact that socio-economic exploitation of tribal women occurs because they are illiterate, unskilled and unorganised, these are the areas that need to be attacked first. Although special benefits are provided for educating the tribes, the achievements are meagre because the facilities provided are not suitable to the social set up of the tribes. New methods must be evolved & more appropriate curriculum designed to enable the tribal population to accept education and literacy are essential acquisition. The literacy programme for tribal women need to be correlated with vocational training. An effort needs to be made to improve the very outlook of these tribal women. Only when these women would be charged with self-confidence & proper understanding of the environment, their exploitation can be reduced.

The voluntary agencies which work in these areas do creditable work. These are mostly hampered by lack of recognition & funds. The district administration and bureaucracy should be encouraged for greater cooperation with voluntary agencies.

The tribal population should be encouraged to form cooperatives and unions to gain more from their efforts.

Lastly there should be stricter enforcement of provisions of existing legislatures such as the minimum wages act, and maternity benefit act etc. The block and district level administration should participate actively not only in this but also in formulating and implementing integrated area development plans.

Those efforts will not only improve the lot of tribal women but also stop their migration to cities and thereby preserve a precious heritage.

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Tribal Education : New Social Structure and Alternative Strategy

Dr. Hemlata Talesra,

The Indian society today is characterised by conflict, coercion, communalism, corruption and a number of centrifugal forces. It appears that the new values of democracy, socialism, secularism and scientific ethics have failed to hold the society together. Violence has increased. It looks that the whole society has run amuck in such a situation of increasing tendencies of disintegration, it is important to take a stock-taking of the role of education in the backward segments of society.

Scheduled Tribes constitute the backward segments of Indian society. They form 7.5 per cent to the general population. In the Tribal-Sub-Plan-Area they number about 16 lakhs constituting 12.21 percent to the total population of the state. They are mainly concentrated in hills and forests. Their migration to plains is recent. In the hilly region they reside in scattered villages. In the plains they live in compact village side by side with Hindus of their caste and other social groups.

They are a premordial group inhabiting this part of the country before the ascendancy of Rajput rule. In fact they were the rulers of the erstwhile state of Banswara and Dungarpur. In the historical records it is found that the tribals of this region helped the Rajputs when they were in wear with the Mughals. The history of tribals during the Rajput period has been the history of subordination, suffering and exploitation.

With the promulation of the constitution the tribals got some special privileges to come at par with the other segments of the society. Reservation of seats in various public institutions, services, preferential treatment in financial assistance, professional education, etc. constitute the package of discrimination. The framers of the constitution provided these facilities to tribals with the hope

that in course of time they would develop themselves at par with the non-tribals. The general backwardness thus would be overcome. Various programmes of developments since the First Five Year Plan to the present day have been implemented for the rapid development of the tribals. Education has been identified as one of the crucial factors for the development of tribals.

The main objectives of tribal development programmes have not been development as an end in itself it is a means. The ultimate objective is to build our nation on the norms and values of democracy, socialism and secularism by integrating the tribals in the National mainstream. We believe that education works as an instrument to help tribals to obtain their incorporation at various levels of our National, Regional, State and so on. Our national society as it emerges from the Constitution, Five Year Plans, and Government policies is a plural society held together by forces released from Constitution. The Constitution expects from the tribal group to retain their individual institutions, customs of birth, marriage and death, observe their ceremonies; and above all to retain their age-long identity.

The role of education specially in the context of tribals is not without controversy. In some cases education has created a sense of withdrawal among the educated tribals from their society. It is a common observation in the field to find that the educated tribal avails of the first opportunity to run away from his village to settle in towns and in cities. In course of time he becomes a rare visitor to his own village. He prefers to become a stranger. Education has made him to run for white collar jobs. He hates doing manual labour. The educated tribal has emerged as a new middle class among

the tribals. It is the education which is largely responsible for creating increasing inequality among the tribals.

Our empirical data are drawn from four districts of Dungarpur, Banswara and parts of Udaipur and Chittorgarh. Data have been generated from three types of schools Government, Ashram and Mission. On purposive sample we have drawn 24 schools as our school samples representing the three types. The sample of students consists of 300. The teachers, parents, social workers and leaders who are also part of the school system comprise 200 persons. We have applied the tools of schedule, interview, case study, and observation.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF TRIBAL SOCIETY

We have tried to identify some of the major characteristics of the regional society of TSP area. It must be observed that the total TSP region consists of two sub-regions, namely Mewar, and Vagad. The dialects of this regions are Mewari and Vagadi. The dominant castes in the whole region are Oswals — a Mahajan caste, Rajputs and Brahmins in Mewar; Oswals, Rajputs, Chaubisas in Vagad. During the regime of Rajputs the dominant castes had an easy access to power. Economically also these castes were superordinates. The lower segments of society including the tribals aspired to integrate themselves in the regional society. Even today the dominant castes groups of the region wield power. They style themselves as the model for the imitation of the tribals. They approach the tribals with a spirit of imposing their culture on them.

1. EDUCATION AND NEEDS OF TRIBAL SOCIETY :

The response given by the tribals is not on uniform pattern. Those in the tribal society who are well-off have accepted education quite successfully right from primary standard to secondary. Dropouts among tribals are higher from the strata which are relatively poor, which are landless labourers and wage earners. For the poor tribals, therefore, modern education is something which is partially denied. Their argument is that if they get education it will mean a loss of wage and a further liability to find out resources for employment. For well-off tribals education is an

excellent opportunity for climbing higher in the hierarchy.

Our data provide massive evidence to show that services in government departments can only be had by getting education. The tribal educated boys prefer to enter the job of a teacher, a revenue officer or a police constable. He is convinced that education as he gets it in the school is not helpful to keep him engaged in agriculture. There is inverse relationship between education and agriculture. Positively, the more a tribal is educated the greater he is likely to be engaged in off-the-farm occupations.

Education for the tribals today has differential impact on the diverse tribal groups. The Minas have taken larger benefits from the educational development programmes. We have enough evidence to indicate that the Mina group has taken the largest size of cake. This has put the Bhils, Damors and Garasias to a disadvantageous situation. In fact the Minas and to a smaller extent the Bhils have cornered gazetted positions in the government services. Though the Minas have not been able to occupy the prestigious positions in the professions of medicine and engineering. They have been able to occupy some status positions in other walks of life.

2. EDUCATION AND TRIBAL ETHNIC IDENTITY :

The tribal society's basic needs are two-fold. They want to get rid of poverty. Poverty has been their plight for the last several years. Whatever is done to alleviate their poverty, is acceptable to them. The tribal land situation has become worst today. They have had very little land with them since the beginning. The process of fragmentation has reduced it today to a minimum. For most of the tribals land-holdings are not viable. Their problem today is to seek a good-bye to agriculture and seek employment in off-the-farm occupations.

The second need of tribals is to maintain their ethnic identity and at the same time integrate themselves in the mainline of regional and national culture. On the basis of available data it must be said that education has succeeded them in providing non-farm-occupations to some extent and the second problem requires some elaboration in the light of empirical reality.

The up-down practice allowed by the government works against the objective of integration. All opportunities of bringing the students face-to-face with the tribal boys get defeated by the practice of daily commuting. Again the Ashram schools which were begun as new experiment in helping the students to prepare their lessons at home, for their family does not have any educational background, have isolated the tribal boys from the interaction of the non-tribal students. Educationally, the working of Ashram Schools is helpful in raising the standard of tribal boys but it keeps the tribals away from the wider society. Obviously, it is the disintegrative function of Ashram schools. However, the posting of teachers in the Ashram schools regardless of their tribecaste orientation is a healthy feature which the government has adopted.

The impact of Christian schools has also diverse orientations so far tribal integration is concerned. One very positive feature of Christian schools is that despite being sectarians they permit non-tribal students also to get enrolment in their schools. This encourages integration among non-tribal students, Christian tribal students and native tribal students. It is found that the functioning of Christian Mission schools is more towards integration in the national mainline than towards the caste regional mainline.

Negatively the tribal boys do not want to have networks with non-tribal students. A large number of them does not want to enter into business relations with non-tribals. They know it well that Hindi brings them immediately into national mainstream. Their success in talent tests, games and sports and participation in tournaments of state and national levels vividly show that they have a tendency to move towards national model of integration, than the regional.

It is found that some of the basic characteristics of tribal society correspond well to the modern educational syllabus. For instance, out of all the school courses made for them the tribal students show keen interest in Geography and environment which is so substantial for them. It must be observed here that the students in the school have differential approach to subjects corresponding the basic features of their society.

STRUCTURAL CHANGES AND THE TRIBAL SOCIETY?

It is difficult indeed to assess tribal structural changes with one factor causation, namely, education. However, among the factors bringing structural changes education is a crucial causal factor. The tribal society has witnessed several changes in the structure of its society. The First and the foremost, it is increasingly becoming non-agricultural society. On the present situation it is difficult to label tribal society as a peasant society. Education has prepared them in a larger way to accept off-the-farm occupations. They are now very much in the economic mainline. Second, they are participating in the general political system of the region and the nation. Occasionally they also involve themselves in the regional political movements. They also take part in elections. They are actors in the wider political organization. It is found that the tribals have succeeded in establishing political networks with non-tribals right from Panchayat Raj institutions to Parliament. They are characterised by regional and national awakening.

Third, as a result of education those who have migrated to plains have started living in compact villages. They are in various degrees competing with the non-tribals. In a school programme one can easily observe tribal students rubbing their shoulders with the non-tribals in all competitions.

Recently the traditional tribal Panchayats have issued some of the resolutions saying that bride price practice should be abandoned; drinking of liquor should be prohibited; taking of non-vegetarian meals should be tabooed, and girls should not dance with the boys in fairs. These are some of the reformative aspects which characterise their new social structure. On the strength of data it could be said that the tribal society has ceased to be an agricultural society. Its integration in the caste society is marginal. Its major incorporation is general national stratification.

ALTERNATIVE STRATEGY FOR TRIBAL EDUCATION

Before we jot down some features of an Alternative Paradigm of tribal education we must state our promise in definite terms. Our logic is that any paradigm or model of education is relative to the basic postulates of the society under consideration. Second, the structure of society in terms of its stratification determines the elements of education. With this theoretical premise in view we tentatively tend to suggest a few items as structural units to this model.

(1) The modern education system which is in operation among the tribals of TSP area is in no way different from the non-tribal students, both content-wise and approach-wise. The school system is uniformly applied in the whole state irrespective of any social distinctions. Such a uniform application has created some unprecedented distinctions in the tribal society. For instance the tribals did not have any elaborate division among genders. The concept of sex distinction was also very vague among them. Modern education has made this distinction very pronounced. Then the tribals who did not hesitate to do manual labour in unfavourable environment, now tend to withdraw from hard work. This is evident from their new love for white collar jobs.

In any alternative paradigm of education efforts should be made to stress on manual labour and stress on the equality of sexes.

(2) The new model of education should have special courses oriented to technology rather than agriculture, for the latter does not occupy any significance in their economy. There should be enough material in the courses content which should prepare them to accept off-the-farm occupations. With tongue in-cheek we would say that some courses

in TSP area at the secondary level should be introduced as optionals having a bearing on technological, industrial, urban occupations.

- (3) The syllabus should have a higher dose of games and sports along with cultural programmes. Such a co-curricular package of activities in the school would provide opportunities to the tribals to come face-to-face with the non-tribal boys.
- (4) The methodology of education among the tribals should undergo wide structural transformation. The age-old methods of teaching in the class even without blackboard should be abandoned. The technology of Distance Education including the network of mass media should be introduced in the tribal schools. This will hasten up the integration of tribal students with their non-tribal counter-parts.

We do not argue for a separate system of education for the tribals. One premise is that in free India the needs of the tribal society cannot be different from the needs of the non-tribal society. We cannot have two societies in one nation. When the needs are the same, the model of education would also be the same. If we introduce a tribal language as a medium of instruction as Madhya Pradesh and some other states have done, in the name of merit we would isolate the tribals from the mainline civilization. What the Alternative model has to do is to provide some special packages of course contents which could suit to the temperament of the tribals. Our argument is that the tribals will have to develop along with their genius. We had enough of tribal isolation. We kept them buried in illiteracy for years together; we exploited them for generations; we kept them away from the benefits of civilization for centuries. Let us not follow any more the colonial policy of tribal isolation in manifest or latent form.

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SEXUAL DIMORPHISM ON THE ODONTOMETRIC FEATURES OF GONDS AND MAHADEO KOLIS

Dr. SHAUNAK S. KULKARNI

Introduction :

In dental anthropology, the analysis of sexual dimorphism has a great importance. The study of variations with reference to the sex group is important to get an idea of evolution of sexual dimorphism and to find out the factors behind the variations in sexually dimorphic features. Many dental anthropologists are interested to focus the sexual dimorphism in tooth size in different living and prehistoric populations (Bailit et al. 1968, Garn et al. 1954, Garn et al 1967, Potter 1972). The expression sexual dimorphism is probably related with the food habits and the life styles in general. The populations which are more engaged in laborious occupation are naturally expected to have greater degrees of sexual dimorphism than the other groups. In such conditions the male population develop more robustness than the females who are mostly engaged in domestic work. This paper, reports the sexual dimorphic features reflected on the dentition of Gonds and that of Mahadeo Kolis. The Gonds and Mahadeo Kolis both are the tribal groups, the main occupation of the Gonds is agriculture, hunting-gathering and fishing, they work as agriculture labourer. Mahadeo Kolis are also agriculturalists, with milk trading and poultry. But the rate of literacy among Mahadeo Kolis is higher than the Gonds, many of them holding white collar jobs and they are most urbanised for a long period than the Gonds. Because of technological facilities, Mahadeo Kolis are applying more processed food

than the Gonds, for a long period. In such cases, Gonds must exhibit more sexual dimorphism than the Mahadeo Kolis.

Aims and objectives :

The main aim of the present study is to report the sexual dimorphic features reflected on the dentition of the Gonds and of Mahadeo Kolis. The sexual dimorphic features are metrical as well as morphological. This paper mainly deals with the odontometrical differences with reference to the male and female population of Gonds and Mahadeo Kolis. Secondly, it finds the rate of sexual dimorphism among both the communities with reference to different parameters like mesio-distal, bucco-lingual diameter and crown area, crown index and crown module.

Methodology :

The data were collected from different Ashram schools of Pune and Gadchiroli districts of Maharashtra. Only the individuals with healthy teeth were included at random in the casting programme. All are unrelated by blood, through a common great grandfather. Permanent eruption of almost all the teeth was confirmed by visual examination. Hundred permanent teeth casts per community per sex group were available for the study. Two direct measures, mesio-distal (MD) and Bucco-lingual (BL) diameter were taken by following Moorree's (1957) method. A MAX-CAL digital caliper was used for the

measurements. On that basis three more indices were computed viz. crown area (CA) crown index (CI) crown module (CM) by following Wolpoff (1971). Thus,

$$CA = (MD \times BL) \quad CI = (MD/BL \times 100)$$

$$CM = (MD \times BL)/2$$

The statistical parameters like mean, standard deviation, coefficient of variation, standard error for crown dimensions and indices were computed. The comparison based on 't' values and overall differences based on 'T²' were also carried out.

Results and Discussion :

The dental crown dimensions and indices for sexual dimorphism for both the communities are presented in table 1 and table 2. The Student's 't' test has been applied to each tooth to get an expression of the degree of sexual dimorphism. The differences found with 't' test are also reflected in the 'T²' values, which are presented in table 3.

The dental size of Gonds is larger than the Mahadeo Kolis for all the parameters. As a general rule, male teeth are larger than the female teeth in both the communities, for mesio-distal as well as bucco-lingual diameter. The products of mesio-distal and bucco-lingual i.e. crown area and crown module are naturally larger for males than females.

The magnitude of sexual dimorphism varies among both the communities. The rate of sexual dimorphism is highest in Gonds than the Mahadeo Kolis. Out of the 32 't' test for mesio-distal diameter Gonds show 24 results (75.00%) highly significant and Mahadeo Koli show 13 results (40.62%) are highly significant. For bucco-lingual diameter 17 results (53.12%) are highly significant in Gonds while 8 results (25.00%) are highly significant in Mahadeo Kolis. The same pattern more or less continues for crown area and crown module.

The sexual dimorphism in crown index however does not follow a usual pattern. It appears that the incisors, canines and first two molars are more sexually diagnostic than the premolars and the third molar. The third molar is probably the least sexually dimorphic tooth where all comparisons yield non-significant distances.

The sexual dimorphism is greater in mesio-distal diameter than the bucco-lingual diameter in both the communities. The sexual dimorphic values for crown area are recorded highest than all other parameters. since it is the direct product of mesio-distal and bucco-lingual diameter.

The differences found with 't' statistics are also reflected in the 'T²' test. The 'T²' values of all the parameters are higher in case of Gonds than in Mahadeo Kolis.

The expression of sexual dimorphism is probably related with food habits and the life styles in general. The Gonds who are more engaged in laborious occupations are naturally expected to have greater degrees of sexual dimorphism than the Mahadeo Kolis who are semi urbanised and exposed to modern technological facilities for a long time. The food resources is also a contributory factor, males proportionately consume more food and more non-vegetarian food than the females. Differential work demands placed on males and females are reflected on body dimensions. In hunting-gathering communities, male segment performs more laborious activities and tend to be robust while female segments mostly engaged in domestic activities and are rather gracile. In agricultural populations the work load on males and females is almost equal and as a result, the dimorphic features are not so prominent. These facts are reflected among both the communities so the male teeth are larger than the females and Gonds exhibit higher sexual dimorphism than the Mahadeo Kolis.

Table 1. Sexual dimorphism for mesio-distal and bucco-lingual diameters.

Group		Gond		Mahadeo Koli		Gond		Mahadeo Koli	
Side		R	L	R	L	R	L	R	L
MAXILLA		MD		MD		BL		BL	
I1	M	8.72	8.71	8.69	8.61	6.63	6.60	6.45	6.40
	F	8.42	8.41	8.35	8.38	6.33	6.33	6.28	6.25
I2	M	7.30	7.36	7.05	7.12	5.95	5.95	5.86	5.75
	F	6.99	7.06	6.75	6.71	5.66	5.61	5.56	5.46
C	M	7.80	7.79	7.71	7.60	7.65	7.59	7.46	7.48
	F	7.65	7.68	7.57	7.49	7.40	7.28	7.26	7.28
Pm1	M	7.10	7.11	7.05	7.14	8.98	9.00	8.90	8.87
	F	6.91	6.85	6.85	6.81	8.78	8.81	8.78	8.70
Pm2	M	6.85	6.80	6.56	6.51	8.99	8.96	8.85	8.86
	F	6.45	6.49	6.41	6.43	8.66	8.61	8.56	8.58
M1	M	10.92	10.83	10.58	10.69	10.99	11.03	10.81	10.83
	F	10.02	9.98	9.89	9.84	10.63	10.68	10.40	10.42
M2	M	9.51	9.47	9.32	9.25	10.57	10.54	10.35	10.30
	F	9.10	9.02	9.02	8.91	10.27	10.29	10.20	10.21
M3	M	8.95	9.02	8.63	8.55	9.80	9.86	9.73	9.75
	F	8.45	8.50	8.32	8.15	9.49	9.53	9.43	9.43
MANDIBLE									
I1	M	5.61	5.66	5.42	5.48	5.61	5.57	5.34	5.29
	F	5.20	5.26	5.12	5.10	5.53	5.50	5.22	5.20
I2	M	6.27	6.35	6.08	6.10	5.83	5.79	5.65	5.72
	F	5.87	5.79	5.72	5.77	5.68	5.65	5.51	5.53
C	M	6.88	6.82	6.78	6.77	6.99	7.01	6.91	6.87
	F	6.58	6.55	6.46	6.40	6.60	6.63	6.22	6.20
Pm1	M	7.05	7.12	7.00	7.05	7.42	7.40	7.35	7.37
	F	6.70	6.71	6.66	6.65	7.20	7.18	7.12	7.15
Pm2	M	7.15	7.18	7.02	7.06	7.90	7.95	7.85	7.81
	F	6.68	6.75	6.49	6.53	7.63	7.60	7.42	7.40
M1	M	11.38	11.29	11.04	10.96	10.49	10.38	10.33	10.38
	F	10.80	10.93	10.53	10.55	10.15	10.18	10.06	10.10
M2	M	10.69	10.74	10.02	10.10	9.89	9.85	9.75	9.71
	F	9.97	9.98	9.55	9.52	9.65	9.68	9.51	9.53
M3	M	10.48	10.51	10.12	10.06	9.64	9.59	9.50	9.54
	F	9.99	9.89	9.50	9.51	9.51	9.49	9.41	9.38

Table 2a. Sexual dimorphism for Crown-area.

Group		Gond	Mahadeo Koli			
Side		R	L	R	L	
MAXILLA		CA		CA		
I1	M	63.58	64.04	58.95	57.93	
	F	57.01	58.01	53.45	53.04	
I2	M	46.85	47.08	43.25	43.01	
	F	41.83	41.78	38.45	37.75	
C	M	64.91	65.10	61.72	60.20	
	F	59.59	60.11	56.14	55.83	
Pm1	M	66.83	67.23	64.42	65.68	
	F	61.43	61.21	60.69	60.55	
Pm2	M	62.89	62.25	59.85	59.19	
	F	57.23	57.64	55.61	56.25	
M1	M	124.28	123.49	117.98	118.72	
	F	110.01	110.51	107.20	108.15	
M2	M	107.31	106.83	101.53	100.21	
	F	97.83	97.33	93.63	93.41	
M3	M	94.73	94.48	87.25	85.71	
	F	83.99	85.91	80.10	79.63	
MANDIBLE						
I1	M	33.72	34.43	31.33	31.81	
	F	30.10	30.37	28.73	28.79	
I2	M	39.58	39.93	36.72	37.13	
	F	34.01	33.76	32.53	32.69	
C	M	50.87	50.08	48.15	48.53	
	F	46.76	46.95	44.23	43.94	
Pm1	M	54.72	55.38	50.53	50.49	
	F	49.48	50.08	48.15	48.53	
Pm2	M	58.90	58.81	56.87	56.81	
	F	52.71	53.21	50.53	50.49	
M1	M	123.31	122.15	116.53	116.58	
	F	112.71	114.23	107.72	107.61	
M2	M	106.97	107.53	100.73	100.35	
	F	95.70	98.51	93.03	93.13	
M3	M	104.63	105.05	99.87	98.73	
	F	96.83	96.32	91.28	91.08	

Table 2b. Sexual dimorphism for crown-index.

Group		Gond		Mahadeo Koli	
Side		R	L	R	L
MAXILLA		CM		CM	
I1	M	118.12	117.05	128.23	128.45
	F	111.24	121.68	129.75	131.17
I2	M	113.83	115.46	115.28	118.35
	F	116.20	118.93	117.19	118.87
C	M	93.93	93.51	96.24	96.18
	F	98.01	97.89	100.21	100.28
Pm1	M	75.15	75.42	77.22	77.68
	F	77.54	76.50	77.12	76.94
Pm2	M	75.18	74.03	72.01	71.56
	F	72.34	72.83	73.61	73.28
M1	M	96.01	95.92	95.06	96.21
	F	91.11	90.00	91.23	90.35
M2	M	84.38	84.52	85.50	85.29
	F	84.52	83.45	86.55	85.98
M3	M	85.35	86.12	85.19	85.23
	F	84.87	84.01	86.51	84.28
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MANDIBLE					
I1	M	93.41	93.68	93.81	93.63
	F	89.56	91.01	90.45	90.11
I2	M	99.96	101.23	100.60	100.21
	F	102.93	99.01	100.28	100.88
C	M	93.51	93.85	96.03	95.15
	F	92.31	91.11	94.00	94.13
Pm1	M	91.16	91.43	92.41	93.17
	F	90.44	89.64	91.51	91.19
Pm2	M	87.23	87.45	86.53	87.91
	F	84.39	85.29	83.38	84.01
M1	M	105.11	104.87	104.54	103.04
	F	103.31	104.32	102.93	103.43
M2	M	107.18	107.28	99.65	101.67
	F	99.64	100.89	97.75	97.53
M3	M	105.01	105.31	102.63	102.56
	F	102.89	101.34	98.95	99.03

Table 2c Sexual dimorphism for crown-module.

Group		Gond		Mahadeo Koli	
Side		R	L	R	L
MAXILLA		CM		CM	
I1	M	8.11	8.15	7.73	7.69
	F	7.58	7.61	7.35	7.34
I2	M	6.80	6.93	6.43	6.41
	F	6.49	6.48	6.25	6.21
C	M	7.98	7.90	7.79	7.71
	F	7.68	7.71	7.38	7.43
Pm1	M	8.11	8.19	7.99	8.05
	F	7.83	7.87	7.80	7.83
Pm2	M	7.90	7.91	7.80	7.73
	F	7.63	7.65	7.56	7.61
M1	M	11.03	10.98	10.73	10.75
	F	10.48	10.49	10.36	10.36
M2	M	10.25	10.32	10.03	10.03
	F	9.86	9.87	9.79	9.63
M3	M	9.53	9.61	9.23	9.20
	F	9.18	9.27	9.03	8.95
MANDIBLE					
I1	M	5.78	5.84	5.47	5.53
	F	5.45	5.50	5.37	5.34
I2	M	6.21	6.29	5.98	6.01
	F	5.81	5.80	5.70	5.64
C	M	7.02	6.93	6.87	6.81
	F	6.80	6.85	6.55	6.60
Pm1	M	7.46	7.53	7.23	7.29
	F	7.01	7.08	6.90	6.98
Pm2	M	7.61	7.67	7.48	7.49
	F	7.23	7.30	7.14	7.08
M1	M	11.03	11.01	10.73	10.70
	F	10.61	10.69	10.38	10.37
M2	M	10.31	10.33	10.01	9.97
	F	9.77	9.90	9.53	9.60
M3	M	10.20	10.18	9.81	9.86
	F	9.81	9.80	9.53	9.54

Table 3. T² Values showing the Sexual Dimorphism.

Group	MD	BL	CA	CI	CM
GOND	31.471	23.133	58.955	6.155	24.340
M. KOLI	29.331	19.699	45.343	3.796	13.638

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आदिवासी जमातींमधील माता-बाल स्वास्थ्यविषयीच्या समजुती आणि आचारांच्या अभ्यासाचे महत्त्व

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प्रस्तावना

स्त्रिया आणि मुले ही आपल्या देशाची मोठी संपत्ती आहे. त्यांची लोकसंख्या ही आपल्या देशाच्या एकूण लोकसंख्येच्या ७० टक्के इतकी आहे. त्यांचे स्वास्थ्य कुटुंबांच्या आणि देशाच्या स्वास्थ्याचा पाया आहे. दुसऱ्या शब्दांत सांगावयाचे झाल्यास कुटुंबाच्या संतुलित सामाजिक आणि आर्थिक विकासाकरिता स्त्रिया आणि मुले ह्यांचे स्वास्थ्य अत्यावश्यक आहे, ज्यायोगे देशाचाही विकास होईल.

म्हणून लोकांच्या संपूर्ण शारीरिक, मानसिक आणि सामाजिक कल्याणाकरिता ह्यांच्या स्वास्थ्य-संरक्षणासाठी आणि स्वास्थ्य-वृध्दीसाठी स्वास्थ्यविषयीचे शैक्षणिक कार्यक्रम आखणे उपयुक्त ठरेल. त्यांच्या स्वास्थ्यविषयीच्या गरजा समजावून घेण्यासाठी हे शैक्षणिक कार्यक्रम राबविताना येणाऱ्या अडचणी विचारात घेणे आवश्यक आहे.

ह्या कार्यक्रमांचे यश पडताळून पाहण्यासाठी असे संशोधन होणे जरूरीचे आहे की, ज्यायोगे ह्या कार्यक्रमांचे मूल्यमापन करता येईल व लोकांचा सक्रिय सहभाग मिळवता येईल, आणि यशापयशाची कारणमीमांसा देता येईल.

दुसरे असे की, आदिवासी समाजातील माता-बाल स्वास्थ्यविषयीच्या समजुती, रूढी आणि आचार ह्यांची माहिती मिळवणे ही तातडीची गरज आहे. मानवजातीच्या अशा प्रकारच्या अभ्यासाची या आरोग्याविषयीच्या योजनांच्या आखणीकरिता आणि त्यांच्या अंमलबजावणीकरिता नक्कीच मदत होईल.

ह्या पार्श्वभूमीवर हा लेख आदिवासींमधील माता-बाल स्वास्थ्यविषयीच्या समजुती, पध्दती आणि रूढींच्या मानवशास्त्रीय

संशोधनावर प्रकाश टाकतो. तसेच, ह्या कार्यक्रमांच्या अंमलबजावणीमध्ये येणारे सामाजिक आणि सांस्कृतिक अडथळे जाणून घेण्याचाही प्रयत्न केला गेला आहे. ह्या लेखात व्यक्त झालेली मते ही कर्जत तालुक्यातील ठाकूर, महादेव कोळी, कातकरी आणि धुळ्यातील नसापूर तालुक्यातील गावची ह्या आदिवासींवरील प्रत्यक्ष गुणात्मक संशोधनावर आधारलेली आहेत.

माता-बाल स्वास्थ्यसंबंधीत सांस्कृतिक बाबी समजावून घेण्यासाठी प्रत्येक आदिवासी जमातीतील २५ माता आणि ५ सुईणी ह्यांच्याखेरीज स्थानिक प्राथमिक आरोग्य केंद्रातील स्वास्थ्य कार्यकर्ते आणि वैद्यकीय अधिकारी ह्यांच्याही मुलाखती घेतल्या गेल्या आहेत. ह्या लेखाद्वारे खालील दोन गोष्टींवर भर देण्यात आला आहे.

१. माता-बाल स्वास्थ्यविषयी मानवशास्त्रीय संशोधनाचे महत्त्व.
२. माता-बाल स्वास्थ्यविषयीच्या कार्यक्रमात येणारे सामाजिक आणि सांस्कृतिक अडथळे.
३. माता-बाल स्वास्थ्यविषयीच्या मानवशास्त्रीय संशोधनाचे महत्त्व.

मानवशास्त्र हे मानवाचे आणि त्याच्या संस्कृतीचे शास्त्र आहे. आरोग्य हा संस्कृतीचाच एक घटक असल्या कारणाने संस्कृती-विषयीचे सिध्दांत आरोग्यासाठीदेखील लागू पडतात. आरोग्य आणि आजार ह्या जैविक गोष्टी असल्या तरी त्या लोकांच्या आरोग्याविषयीच्या समजुती, मते, रूढी आणि आचार ह्यांच्याशी निगडित असतात आणि त्यांच्या संस्कृतीशी एकरूप झालेल्या असतात.

संशोधन रॉबिन त्रिभुवन, सहायक, आ.सं.सो. (म.रा.), पुणे - १
प्रीती त्रिभुवन, शिक्षिका, माऊंट कारमल स्कूल, लुलानगर, पुणे.

ह्या समजुती आणि आचार ही आधुनिक वैद्यकशास्त्राच्या चाकरीतून निर्माण झालेल्या कल्पना नसून लोकांच्या पारंपरिक सांस्कृतिक विकासाची निर्मिती होत. (ह्यूजेस, १९६८ : ९०) हीच पारंपरिक वैद्यकशास्त्राची व्याख्या आहे.

पारंपरिक वैद्यकशास्त्र आजाराविषयी लोकांच्या कल्पनांचे शास्त्र, लोकांच्या स्वास्थ्य कल्पना, पारंपरिक वैद्यकशास्त्रीय तज्ज्ञांचे स्वरूप व त्यांची भूमिका, पारंपरिक वैद्यकशास्त्राच्या विविध उपचार पध्दती, उपचार विधी, पारंपरिक शरीरशास्त्र, प्रतिबंधात्मक औषधे, चेटूक आणि जादूटोणा इ. गोष्टींवर प्रकाश टाकते. (फॉस्टर, १९७६, १९८१, फेंब्रेगा १९७७, ह्यूजेस १९६८, डग्लस १९७०, १९७५, लिबन १९७३, टर्नर १९६७)

आरोग्य आणि आजाराच्या समजुती, रूढी-परंपरा आणि कल्पना ह्यांच्याशी असलेल्या संबंधाचे मानवशास्त्रीय संशोधन, आरोग्यविषयक कार्यक्रम आणि आरोग्याविषयी शिक्षणाच्या योजना काय आणि कशा असाव्यात हे अभ्यासण्यास वेगळी दिशा दाखवते.

माता-बाल स्वास्थ्याविषयीचे मानवशास्त्रीय संशोधन तीन गोष्टींवर केंद्रित झालेले आहे.

१. माता-बाल स्वास्थ्याची काळजी आणि स्वास्थ्याविषयक शैक्षणिक कार्यक्रम यांचे यशापयश पडताळून पाहण्यासाठी या कार्यक्रमांचे मूल्यमापन करणे. यामुळे अशा प्रकारच्या कार्यक्रमांच्या योजनेत आणि अंमलबजावणीत राहणाऱ्या त्रुटी समजावून घेण्यास आणि त्यानुसार या कार्यक्रमांची कार्यक्षमता वाढवण्यास मदत होईल.
२. माता-बाल स्वास्थ्याची काळजी आणि स्वास्थ्याविषयक शैक्षणिक कार्यक्रमांमध्ये येणारे सामाजिक आणि सांस्कृतिक अडथळे दूर करण्यासाठी प्रयत्न होणे आवश्यक आहे. यामुळे लोकांना स्वास्थ्याविषयक शिक्षण देणारे आणि स्वास्थ्य पुरवणाऱ्यांना लोक जसे वागतात ते तसे का वागतात हे समजावून घेणे शक्य होईल. तसेच सुदृढ राहणीमान स्वीकारण्यासाठी लोकांची मते बदलण्यास काय केले गेले पाहिजे हे कळेल.
३. माता-बाल स्वास्थ्याच्या काळजीसंबंधीच्या लोकांच्या समजुती, सांस्कृतिक श्रध्दा, रूढी, परंपरा याटिकाणी

लोकांच्या प्रजनानाविषयीच्या समजुती, नवजात अर्भकाची काळजी, गरोदरपणात आणि बाळंतपणानंतर सामाजिक आणि सांस्कृतिकदृष्ट्या निषिद्ध मानले गेलेला आहार, बाल-संगोपनाच्या पध्दती, माता-बाल स्वास्थ्य वृद्धिंगत करणारे आणि प्रतिबंधात्मक आणि उपचारात्मक विधी, चिकाच्या दुधासंबंधी (पहिल्या तीन दिवसांतील मातेचे दूध) लोकांच्या समजुती, लोकांचा माता-बाल स्वास्थ्यविषयक सरकारी कार्यक्रमांकडे पाहण्याचा दृष्टिकोन, माता आणि बालकाच्या आहाराच्या सवयी, पारंपरिक सुडणीची भूमिका इत्यादींवर भर दिला गेला पाहिजे.

माता-बाल स्वास्थ्याविषयक कार्यक्रमात येणारे सामाजिक आणि सांस्कृतिक अडथळे

आदिवासी भागांमध्ये प्राथमिक आरोग्य केंद्र चालवणाऱ्यांना आणि स्वयंसेवी कार्यकर्त्यांना स्वास्थ्यविषयक आणि स्वास्थ्य-शिक्षणविषयक कार्यक्रम, लोकांमध्ये रुजवण्यात कायमच त्या आदिवासींचा कायमच विरोध होतो आहे. या त्यांच्या विरोधास त्यांचे आचारविचार कारणीभूत आहेत, ज्याला "सामाजिक आणि सांस्कृतिक अडथळे" असे म्हणता येईल.

याटिकाणी अभ्यासलेल्या चार आदिवासी जमातींमधील अशा प्रकारचे काही सामाजिक आणि सांस्कृतिक अडथळे खालीलप्रमाणे आहेत.

१. लोहयुक्त गोळ्यांची अतिउष्णता :

गरोदरपणात स्त्रियांना वाटण्यात येणाऱ्या लोहयुक्त गोळ्या या कायम फेकून दिल्या जातात. या गोळ्या अतिउष्ण आहेत असे मानले जाते आणि त्यामुळे गर्भपात होतो अशी समजूत आहे. ही समजूत एक प्रकारचा अडथळा ठरतो.

२. चिकाच्या दुधाविषयीच्या समजुती :

असे दिसून आले की, पहिले ३ ते ५ दिवस बालकास मातेचे दूध देत नाहीत. ह्यामागे अशी समजूत आहे की हे दूध घट्ट असल्याने बालकास अतिसार किंवा हगवण होते. टाकर असे मानतात की, हे दूध नासके असते. ते मानतात की गरोदर स्त्रीस नऊ महिने पाळी येत नाही,

या कालावधीत जे खत तिच्या शरीरभर पसरते आणि त्यामुळे तिचे दूध घट्ट होते, मासिक स्त्राव हा ठाकरांच्या समजुतीनुसार अशुद्धतेचे प्रतीक असतो. त्यामुळे अशा प्रकारच्या रक्तात मिसळले गेलेले दूध हे नासके मानतात, त्यामुळे ते पिळून टाकले जाते. हाही एक अडथळा होतो.

३. त्रासदायक तांबी (कॉपर-टी) :

पुष्कळशा आदिवासी स्त्रियांच्या म्हणण्यानुसार काम करताना, विशेषतः लैंगिक संभोगाच्या वेळी तांबीचा त्रास होतो. त्यांना त्यामुळे खूप अस्वस्थ वाटते आणि म्हणून तांबी बसवण्यास त्या नकार देतात.

४. माता आणि नवजात अर्भकातील आजाराचा उगम आणि त्यामागील कारणे याबाबत दैवी हस्तक्षेप मानण्याची प्रवृत्ती :

असे नेहमी दिसून आले आहे की, माता आणि नवजात अर्भकाच्या आजारात दैवी शक्तींना दोष देण्यात येतो. जसे सटवाईचा कोप, दुष्ट आत्मा आणि दैवी कोप, जादूटोणा, चेटूक इत्यादी म्हणून जे दैवी आहे ते दैवी उपचारांनेच बरे केले गेले पाहिजे. आणि त्यामुळे दैवी शक्तींच्या द्वारे उपचार करणाऱ्यांचा आधार घेतला जातो आणि त्यामुळे अशा रुग्णांना प्राथमिक आरोग्य केंद्रात नेले जात नाही.

वरील उदाहरणे या चार आदिवासी जमातींमधील माता-बाल स्वास्थ्याविषयीच्या समजुतीच्या माहितीमधील काही उदाहरणे होत. शेवटी वस्तुस्थिती अशी राहते की, प्रत्येक आदिवासी जमातीत माता-बाल स्वास्थ्याविषयी काही समजुती आणि रूढी-परंपरा असतात.

अशा प्रकारचे तुलनात्मक संशोधन जर मोठ्या प्रमाणावर केले गेले तर आरोग्य शिक्षणविषयी कार्य करणाऱ्यांना आदिवासी समाजात रुजतील, अशा योजना आणि कार्यक्रम आखण्यास आणि त्यांची अंमलबजावणी करण्यास नक्कीच मदत होईल. अशा अभ्यासाने ह्या कार्यक्रमात राहणाऱ्या त्रुटीदेखील भरून येतील. माता-बाल स्वास्थ्याविषयक कार्यक्रमांना आणि संशोधन कार्याला सरकारी आणि स्वयंसेवी संस्थांनी प्रोत्साहन दिले पाहिजे.

:-- संदर्भ --:

- १) डग्लस मेरी १९७०
नॅचरल सिंबलस, पॅनयीन बुक्स, न्युयॉर्क
- २) डग्लस मेरी १९७५
इंन्लीम्प्रीसीट मिनिंग्स, स्टेलेज व केगन पॉल, लंडन
- ३) फॉस्टर जॉर्ज व अॅन्डरसन बाबरा, १९७८ मेडिकल अॅन्थ्रॉलॉजी, जॉनविली अॅन्ड सन्स, न्युयॉर्क
- ४) फॉस्टर जॉर्ज, १९८१
एथ्नोमेडिसीन एक प्रस्तावना, बॅनरमॅन यांनी संपादन केलेले पुस्तक मेडिसीन व हेल्थ भवरेज, जागतिक आरोग्य संघटना, जिनिवा.
- ५) कॅब्रेज १९७७
एथ्नोमेडिसीनचे महत्व कलचर, मेडिसीन व सायल्याट्रो १-२, २०१
- ६) ह्यूजेस चार्ल्स १९६८
एथ्नोमेडिसीन, एनसायक्लोपेडिया ऑफ सोशल सायन्स, व्हॉल्युम १० पान ९०
- ७) लिबन रिचर्ड १९७३
मेडिकल अॅन्थ्रॉपॉलीजी हॉनिगमच्या पुस्तकात ए हॅन्ड बुक ऑफ सोशल व कलचरल अॅन्थ्रॉपॉलिट्रो रॅन्ड मॅकनलो, शिकागो.
- ८) टर्नर विक्टर १९६७
फॉरिस्ट ऑफ सिंबलस, इथीका, कारनेल विद्यापीठ, अमेरिका

आठव्या पंचवार्षिक योजना काळात आदिवासी विकास कार्यक्रम राबविण्यात सामाजिक स्वयंसेवी संस्थांची भूमिका

श्री. सो. रा. शेवकरी

प्रास्ताविक :

पूर्वीच्या नियोजनाचे स्वरूप :

पूर्वीच्या काळी पंचवार्षिक योजना तयार करताना विस्तृत तथा विशाल स्वरूपाचा वृष्टिकोन ठेवण्यात येत असे. त्यामध्ये राष्ट्रीय उत्पन्नात वाढ, तसेच दरडोई उत्पन्नात लक्षणीय वाढ करण्यावर भर देण्यात येत असे. याशिवाय पंचवार्षिक योजनेचे बहुविध उद्दिष्ट डोळ्यासमोर ठेवण्यात येत. परिणामतः राष्ट्रीय तथा राज्य पातळीवरील पंचवार्षिक योजनेमध्ये विस्तृत स्तरावरील उद्दिष्टांवर लक्ष केंद्रित करण्यात येई. त्यातील सुसंगतीचा विचार अभ्यास करण्यात येत नसे किंवा त्याला गौण स्वरूप प्रदान करण्यात येई. तेव्हा राज्यपातळीवरील नियोजनाची उद्दिष्टे ही राष्ट्रीय पातळीवरील उद्दिष्टांची केवळ नक्कल केलेली आहेत असे वाटे.

८ व्या पंचवार्षिक योजनेचे स्वरूप :

परंतु ८ व्या पंचवार्षिक योजनेमध्ये अशा पूर्वपरंपरागत वृष्टिकोनापासून अगदी वेगळा बदल करायला हवा याची जाणीव झाली. एक किंवा दोन उद्दिष्टे मिळून लोकांच्या किमान गरजा पुरविणे व त्याचबरोबर अर्थव्यवस्थेचा असा विकास साधायचा की, भविष्यकाळात ठरविलेल्या अंतिम साध्यापर्यंत पोहोचता येईल आणि त्यायोगे आत्मनिर्भरता, स्वावलंबन वाढीला लागेल. उदा. ८ व्या पंचवार्षिक योजनेमध्ये दारिद्र्यरेषेखालील लोकांचे प्रमाण सन १९९५ पर्यंत १५ टक्के कमी करायला हवे. दारिद्र्य निर्मूलनासाठी अतिरिक्त किंवा जादा उत्पन्न निर्माण करायला हवे. तसेच जादा/वाढीव उत्पन्न दारिद्र्यरेषेखालील समाज घटकांना पोहोचले पाहिजे.

८ व्या पंचवार्षिक योजनेची उद्दिष्टे :

८ व्या पंचवार्षिक योजनाकाळात अत्यंतिक दारिद्र्यामध्ये घट करावयाची आहे, हेच एकमेव उद्दिष्ट विकास धोरणात समाविष्ट केले आहे. त्याचबरोबर राष्ट्रीय उत्पन्न व दरडोई उत्पन्नातील वाढ साध्य करायला हवी. अशा परिस्थितीत दारिद्र्य निर्मूलनाच्या कामी रोजगाराच्या संधीमध्ये लक्षणीय वाढ करायला पाहिजे हे नियोजनकारांच्या लक्षात आले आहे. थोडक्यात दारिद्र्यरेषेखालील लोकांना दारिद्र्यरेषेच्यावर काढण्यासाठी रोजगार संधी मोठ्या

प्रमाणावर उपलब्ध करून देणे गरजेचे आहे. ही एक पूर्व प्राथमिक अट आहे. पण ती पुरेशी अट नाही. त्यासाठी विकास कार्यक्रम असा तयार केला पाहिजे की, गरीब व गरजू यांची योग्यरितीने निवड झाली पाहिजे. मगच त्याला विकासाच्या मुख्य प्रवाहात आणता येईल. या संदर्भात दोन उपायांची आवश्यकता भासते.

१. विकास कार्यक्रमाद्वारे वेतन रोजगार निर्माण करणे. तसेच किमान उत्पन्न मिळवून देण्याची हमी असलेल्या स्वयंरोजगारांची संधी निर्माण करणे.
२. असे उत्पन्न निर्माण झाल्यावर त्या अनुषंगाने उपभोग्य वस्तूंची विपुलता अस्तित्वात आली पाहिजे की, ज्यायोगे गरिबांच्या उपभोगासाठी त्या वस्तू सहज सुलभतेने उपलब्ध होऊ शकतील.

याशिवाय काही सामाजिक सेवा म्हणजे प्राथमिक शिक्षण, प्राथमिक आरोग्य सुविधा, गरीब व गरजूंना सहजपणे उपलब्ध होतील. त्यायोगे त्यांच्या जीवनमानात सुधारणा घडेल.

वरील उद्दिष्टांच्या पूर्ततेसाठी विकास धोरणामध्ये समाजातील विविध घटकांचा सहभाग व सहकार्य यांची नितांत गरज आहे. सामाजिक स्वयंसेवी संस्थांची या संदर्भातील भूमिका तपासणे संयुक्तिक होईल.

स्वयंसेवी संस्थांचे कार्यस्वरूप :

आपल्या देशामध्ये समाजातील दुर्बल व दुर्लक्षित घटकातील लोकांच्या आर्थिक उन्नतीसाठी स्वयंसेवी संस्था सातत्याने प्रयत्न करीत असल्याचे दृश्य आपणास पाहावयास मिळते. भारतातील थोर विचारवंत आणि महान द्रष्टे, स्वामी विवेकानंद, थोर तत्वज्ञ रविंद्रनाथ टागोर, आणि राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी यांच्या ग्रामीण भागातील कार्य व शिकवणुकीतून त्याची प्रचीती येते.

स्वयंस्फूर्तीने कार्य करण्यामागील मुख्य प्रेरणा ही की, समाजजीवन व्यक्तिगत जीवनाला व्यापून टाकते आणि समाजाशिवाय व्यक्तिजीवन व विकास अस्तित्वातच येऊ शकत नाही. स्वातंत्र्यपूर्व काळात समाजविकासकार्यरत अशा बऱ्याच स्वयंसेवी संस्था उदयाला आल्या. त्यांचा उद्देश समाजाची आर्थिक

आणि सामाजिक प्रगती घडवून आणणे हाच होता. सदर त्या कार्यक्रमात श्रमदानाच्या माध्यमातून स्वयंस्फूर्तीने सहभाग नोंदवून ग्रामीण भागातील जनतेचा विश्वास संपादन करणे हाच मूलभूत हेतू त्यामागे होता.

६ व्या व ७ व्या पंचवार्षिक योजनेत स्वयंसेवी संस्थांबाबत दृष्टिकोन :

थोडेसे पाठीमागे वळून पाहता असे दिसून येईल की, ६ व्या पंचवार्षिक योजना १९८० मध्ये कार्यान्वित झाली. त्यामध्ये स्वयंसेवी संस्थांचे कार्य धर्मदाय व कल्याणकारी कार्य संघटना अशा स्वरूपाचे होते. सन १९८५ मध्ये तयार केलेल्या ७ व्या पंचवार्षिक योजनेने स्वयंसेवी संस्थांच्या कार्याचे त्या ज्या भागात काम करतात, तेथील लोकांचे दारिद्र्य निर्मूलन करण्याकरिता उत्तेजन, प्रोत्साहन देण्याचा प्रयत्न केला. विशेषतः ग्रामीण विकास कार्यक्रमांमध्ये स्वतःचा विकास-कार्यक्रम तयार करणे व त्याची कार्यपद्धती अनुसरणे ह्याबाबत पूर्ण स्वातंत्र्य त्यांना देण्यात आले. ग्रामीण भागातील अनुसूचित जमाती/जातींमधील गरीब शेतकरी, शेतमजूर, कारागीर तसेच स्थानिक मनुष्यबळ व आर्थिक साधन-सामुग्री यांचा शोध घेऊन त्यांचे कौशल्य/कसब वृद्धिंगत करणे व आर्थिकदृष्ट्या स्वयंनिर्भर, स्वावलंबी होण्यासाठी त्यांना साधने पुरविणे, ग्रामीण भागातील गरिबांचे संघटन करणे, त्यांना त्यांच्या न्याय हक्कांसाठी जागृत करून प्रसंगी लक्ष देण्यास तयार करणे अशा प्रकारच्या महत्त्वाच्या कामांमध्ये स्वयंसेवी संस्थांचा सहभाग मोलाचा आहे, हे नियोजनकारांनी ओळखून त्याची दखल घेतली आहे.

७ व्या पंचवार्षिक योजनेच्या (१९८५-९०) च्या दृष्टिकोनामध्ये असे उचितपणे वर्णन केले आहे की, अंतिम पृथक्करणातून दारिद्र्यनिर्मूलनाची उद्दिष्टे अशाप्रकारे गाठता येतील की, गरिबांना स्वतःला त्यांच्या गरिबीची जाणीव झाली पाहिजे. शैक्षणिक सुधारणा व कार्यक्षमता यांचे आधारावर संघटित बनून त्यांचे अस्तित्व भासून दिले पाहिजे.

स्वयंसेवी संस्थांची विकास कार्यक्रमात भूमिका :

स्वयंसेवी संस्था निरनिराळ्या कार्यक्रमांद्वारे आदिवासींचे कल्याण व विकास साधण्याच्या प्रयत्नांमध्ये व ते विना विलंब घडवून आणण्यामध्ये परिणामकारी व उपयुक्त भूमिका बजावू शकतात. उदा. अतिरिक्त जमिनीची उपलब्धता व आदिवासी लोकसंख्या गटातील कुटुंबांमध्ये वाटप, याबाबतीत प्रशासन यंत्रणेवर प्रत्यक्ष किंवा अप्रत्यक्षरित्या दबाव आणू शकतात. अनेकप्रकारे ते पाठपुरावा, मदत करू शकतात. या प्रयत्नात त्यांना अशाप्रकारचे विकास कार्यक्रम हाती घेण्यासाठी राज्य शासन मदत करू शकेल. परंतु हे करताना त्यामध्ये स्वयंसेवी संस्थांची अस्मिता जशीच्या तशी ठेवली पाहिजे. त्यांच्यातील पुढाकार व जनजागृती, उत्साह योग्यरितीने जपायला हवा.

स्वयंसेवी संस्थांपुढील प्रश्न :

स्वयंसेवी संस्थांना ज्या प्रश्नांना तोंड द्यावे लागत आहे त्यांचा विचार केला तर असे दिसून येते की, शासकीय विभाग व त्यांच्यातील गैरसमज हेच कारणीभूत आहेत. शासकीय विभाग किंवा राजकीय पक्ष यांच्या नजीक यायला स्वयंसेवी संस्था धजत नाहीत. स्वतःची स्वायत्ता व पत त्यामुळे धोक्यात येईल असे त्यांना वाटते. आणखी असे की, शासकीय मदत त्यांना वेळेवर उपलब्ध होत नाही. याबाबतीत विकासात्मक कार्यक्रम राबविणाऱ्या अधिकाऱ्यांना योग्य ते प्रशिक्षण देण्यात यावे.

स्वयंसेवी संस्थांकडून अपेक्षा-भूमिका :

आदिवासी लोकसंख्या गटाच्या आर्थिक व सामाजिक उत्कर्षासाठी राबवावयाच्या कार्यक्रमांमध्ये स्वयंसेवी संस्था व शासकीय विभाग यांनी 'प्रगतीतील भागीदार' (Partners in Progress) म्हणून काम केले तर विकास प्रक्रियेमध्ये त्या यशस्वी भूमिका बजावू शकतील. त्यासाठी दोहोतील समन्वय साधणे तितकेच जरूरीचे आहे. एकात्मिक आदिवासी कार्यक्रम राबविण्यामध्ये स्वयंसेवी संस्थांची मदत घेणे जरूरीचे आहे. सदर योजनांची परिणामकारक कार्यवाही त्यांच्याकडे सुपूर्द करून अर्थव्यवस्थेमध्ये अपेक्षिलेला विकासाचा दर साध्य करता येईल.

आदिवासींच्या विकासाची खरी गुरुकिल्ली ही त्यांच्या उत्साहवर्धक सहभागामध्ये, तसेच त्यांच्या परंपरागत जमीन हक्कांचे रक्षण यामध्ये दडलेली आहे. भूतकाळातील अनुभवातून असे दाखविता येईल की, आदिवासींचे जमीन हक्क हिरावून घेतले आहेत. त्याप्रमाणे त्यांना नोकरीविषयच्या संधी पुरविण्यात आलेल्या नाहीत. एवढेच नाही, तर निरनिराळ्या सर्वेक्षण व पुनर्वसन अहवालातून असे आढळून येते की, जमीन हक्क बाबी त्यांच्या विरुद्ध वापरण्यात आलेल्या आहेत. कायदेशीर हक्क नोंदी वगळण्यात आलेल्या आहेत. व्यापारी व इतर बँकांकडून त्यांना दीर्घ मुदतीची कर्जे मिळू शकत नाहीत. जमीन, पाणी यांचे व्यवस्थापनबाबतची सध्याची रीत किंवा पध्दती, उत्पादन तंत्र, मजूर किंवा श्रमशक्ती वापर याविषयी उपलब्ध असलेली माहिती इतकी अपुरी आहे की, सामाजिक बदल घडवून आणण्यासाठी साधन म्हणून उपयोगी पडत नाही. पुनर्वसित कुटुंबांनी पुढे आदिवासींच्या जमिनी बळकावल्या आहेत. त्यामुळे आदिवासींना अगदी अल्प किंवा नगण्य किमतीस आपले जमीन हक्क, मालकी हक्क सोडावे लागले आहेत. परिणामतः त्यांच्याकरिता शेती हा अनिश्चिततेचा व चिंतेचा विषय झालेला आहे. अशा परिस्थितीत आदिवासींचे जीवनमान उंचावण्यासाठी, त्यांच्या किमान गरजांची पूर्तता करण्यासाठी आवश्यक सेवा पुरविण्याचा प्रयत्न करायला हवा. त्या प्रयत्नात शासनाबरोबर स्वयंसेवी संस्थादेखील स्थानिक विश्वासार्ह भागीदार म्हणून सिंहाचा वाटा उचलू शकतील. त्यांना आदिवासींकरिता काम न करता आदिवासींबरोबर काम केले पाहिजे. (They should work with tribals and not for tribals.)

'आदिवासी हस्तकला प्रदर्शन'

सौ. मंगला दि. घोडे

प्रास्ताविक

पुणे येथील बालगंधर्व रंगमंदिरामधील कलादालनात दिनांक २९ नोव्हेंबर १९९२ ते ३ डिसेंबर १९९२ पर्यंत ३ दिवसांचे आदिवासी वस्तूंचे भव्य प्रदर्शन भरविण्यात आले. या कलाप्रदर्शनात महाराष्ट्रातील चंद्रपूर, गडचिरोली, नाशिक, रायगड, धुळे इ. जिल्ह्यांतून आदिवासी हस्तकलाकारांनी/कारागिरांनी आपला सहभाग नोंदविला व आपल्या कलाकृती प्रदर्शनात मांडल्या.

१) 'कला ही आदिवासींची उपजत प्रवृत्ती व आवड -'

पंडित नेहरूंनी आपल्या 'विश्व इतिहास की झलक' ह्या पुस्तकात म्हटल्याप्रमाणे "निसर्गाच्या कुशीत राहणाऱ्या लोकांना निसर्गतःच कलांची अभिरुची असते. डोंगर, झाडे, पशुपक्षी यांच्या सहवासात राहणाऱ्या डोळ्यांना आकाशाची निळाई, शेतांचा हिरवा रंग, त्यावर सकाळच्या प्रहरी काही वेळ विश्रांती घेणारे दवबिंदू, सूर्याचे प्रखर तेज, चंद्राची शीतलता हीच त्यांच्या जीवनातील आकर्षणाची स्थाने होत. साहजिकच चित्रकला त्यांच्या बोटांतून उमटते. आदिवासींच्या परंपरा व संकेत यांनी समृद्ध झालेल्या कलेचा ठेवा म्हणजेच आदिवासी कलाकृती होय."

आपल्या देशातील विविध वन्य जमातींच्या बांधवांनी कलेचा हा फार मोठा वारसा जतन करून ठेवला आहे.

२. लेखाचे प्रयोजन -

प्रस्तुत लेखामध्ये प्रदर्शनात सहभागी झालेल्या हस्तकलाकारांच्या कलाकृतींचे प्रकार, त्यासाठी उभे केलेले भांडवल, उपलब्ध बाजारपेठ, ग्राहकांचा प्रतिसाद व त्यापासून त्यांना मिळणारे उत्पन्न, कलाकृती तयार करण्यासाठी शासनाची मदत इ. बाबींना प्राधान्य देण्यात आले आहे व प्रदर्शनात सहभागी झालेल्या २५ हस्तकलाकारांपैकी २२ हस्तकलाकारांकडून चर्चेच्या माध्यमातून अनौपचारिक स्वरूपातून माहिती मिळविण्याचा प्रयत्न केला, तथापि सांखिकी माहिती गोळा करण्याच्या उद्देशातून त्यांचेकडून प्रश्नावली भरून घेण्यात आली.

३. भाग घेतलेले कारागीर व कलावस्तू-प्रकार -

प्रदर्शनात प्रत्यक्ष भाग घेतलेल्या कलाकारांची जिल्हानिहाय संख्या व त्यांनी प्रदर्शित केलेल्या कलावस्तू व त्यांचे प्रकार यांची माहिती तक्त्याच्या स्वरूपात खालीलप्रमाणे दर्शविता येईल.

तक्ता क्रमांक १
हस्तकलाकारांची संख्या व हस्तकला प्रकार

अ. क्र.	जिल्हा	एकूण हस्तकला कारांची संख्या	हस्तकलाकार		घरगुती वस्तू	लगघा पासून	लाकूड गवता पासून	वन औषधे	हस्तकला वस्तू प्रकार					
			कारागीर व्यक्ती	नोंदणी कृत संस्था					वांबू काम	वारली चित्र-कला	आंबाडी वस्तू	धातू-काम	लाकडी मुखवटे	विण-काम
१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	१०	११	१२	१३	१४	१५
१.	नाशिक	७	७	-	-	-	-	२	४	-	-	-	१	-
२.	धुळे	४	४	-	-	-	-	-	२	-	-	१	-	१
३.	ठाणे	६	५	१	१	१	१	-	-	२	१	-	-	-
४.	चंद्रपूर	१	१	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	१	-	-
५.	रायगड	२	-	२	१	-	-	-	१	-	-	-	-	-
६.	अहमदनगर	१	-	१	१	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
७.	गडचिरोली	१	-	१	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
८.	एकूण	२२	१७	५	३	१	१	२	८	२	१	२	१	१
९.	टक्केवारी	१००%	७७%	२३%	१४%	४.५%	४.५%	९%	३६%	९%	४.५%	९%	४.५%	४.५%

बालगंधर्व कलादालनात भरलेल्या आदिवासी कलाकृतींच्या प्रदर्शनातील एकूण २२ हस्तकलाकारांच्या मुलाखती घेतल्या. त्यामध्ये ७७ टक्के कलाकारांनी व्यक्तिगत हस्तकलांचे प्रदर्शन केले व उर्वरित २३ टक्के हस्तकलाकारांनी नोंदणीकृत संस्थेमार्फत आपल्या कलांचे प्रदर्शन सादर केले. नोंदणीकृत संस्थांमार्फत मांडलेल्या प्रदर्शनात बांबू व वेतापासून बनविलेल्या वस्तू, शो-पिस, फर्निचर इ. तसेच घरगुती वापरात येणारे पदार्थ यांचा समावेश होता, तर व्यक्तिगत सादर केलेल्या कलाकृतींमध्ये लगद्यापासून, लाकडापासून, गवतापासून, धातूपासून बनविलेल्या वस्तूंचा समावेश होता. तसेच आंबाडीवस्तू, लाकडी मुखवटे, आदिवासी विणकाम, वारली चित्रकला इ. मनोवधक कलाकृतींचाही समावेश होता.

४. कारागिरांची वर्गवारी -

प्रदर्शनात भाग घेतलेल्या कलाकारांची कुशल, निमकुशल, अकुशल अशी वर्गवारी करता असे दिसून येते की, काही कारागीर (कलाकार) हे परंपरागत व्यवसाय करीत आहेत. जिल्हानिहाय वर्गीकरणानुसार कारागिरांची स्थिती तक्ता क्र. २ वरून स्पष्ट होईल.

वरील तक्त्यातील आकडेवारीचे पृथक्करण केले असता, असे निदर्शनास येते की, सुमारे ५० टक्के कारागीर हे कुशल व प्रशिक्षित आहेत. हे कारागीर सर्वसाधारणपणे नोंदणीकृत संस्थेतील असल्याचे दिसते, परंतु सुमारे ४१ टक्के हस्तकारागीर हे सदर व्यवसाय परंपरागत रितीने करीत असल्याचे समजले. तथापि उर्वरित ५९ टक्के हस्तकला कारागीर हे अशिक्षित व अकुशल असून उपजीविकेचे साधन म्हणून त्यांनी ही कला हस्तगत केली आहे.

तक्ता क्रमांक ३

हस्तकलाकारांना मिळणारे आर्थिक साहाय्य, भांडवल उभारणीचे साधन -

अ. क्र.	जिल्हा	एकूण हस्तकलाकार संख्या	शासनाकडून आर्थिक मदत			आर्थिक भांडवलाची साधने			एकूण	
			० ते ५००	५०० ते १५००	१५०० ते ३०००	एकूण	घरच्या घरी संस्था/बँक	सावकार		
१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	१०	११
१.	नाशिक	७	-	१	३	४	३	३	-	६
२.	धुळे	४	-	-	-	-	४	-	-	४
३.	ठाणे	६	-	-	२	२	३	२	-	५
४.	चंद्रपूर	१	-	-	-	-	१	१	-	२
५.	रायगड	२	-	-	-	-	१	१	२	४
६.	अहमदनगर	१	-	१	-	१	-	-	-	-
७.	गडचिरोली	१	-	-	-	-	१	-	-	१
	एकूण	२२		२	५	७	१३	७	२	२२
	टक्केवारी	१००%	-	९%	२३%	३२%	५९%	३२%	९%	१००%

तक्ता क्रमांक २

प्रशिक्षित/अप्रशिक्षित परंपरागत/अपरंपरागत व्यवसाय करणाऱ्या हस्तकलाकारांचे वर्गीकरण

अ. क्र.	जिल्हा	प्रशिक्षित	अप्रशिक्षित	परंपरागत	अपरंपरागत
१.	नाशिक	४	३	४	३
२.	धुळे	१	३	२	२
३.	ठाणे	२	४	२	४
४.	चंद्रपूर	१	-	१	-
५.	रायगड	१	१	-	२
६.	अहमदनगर	१	-	-	१
७.	गडचिरोली	१	-	-	१
	एकूण	११	११	९	१३
	टक्केवारी	५०%	५०%	४९%	५९%

५. शासकीय मदत व प्रोत्साहन -

या हस्तकला व्यवसायासाठी शासनाकडून आर्थिक मदत मिळते का, किती रकमेपर्यंत हस्तकलाकारांना आर्थिक मदत मिळते? आर्थिक मदत मिळत नसल्यास व्यवसायाला लागणारे आर्थिक भांडवल कसे उभे केले जाते हे पुढील तक्त्यावरून वरून दिसून येईल.

तक्त्यातील माहितीचे विश्लेषण केले असता असे आढळले की, रु. ५०० ते १५०० पर्यंत फक्त २ हस्तकलाकारांना मदत मिळते, व १५०० ते ३००० रु. पर्यंत ५ (पाच) आदिवासी हस्तकलाकारांना मदत मिळत असल्याचे आढळून येते. याव्यतिरिक्त व्यवसायाकरिता भांडवल उभारणी कशी केली जाते हे पाहिले असता ५९ टक्के हस्तकलाकारांनी स्वतःच्या पायांवर भांडवल उभे केले. ३२ टक्के हस्तकलाकारांना बँक व इतर आर्थिक संस्थांमार्फत भांडवलाची तरतूद केली गेली. दोन हस्तकलाकारांनी

सावकाराकडून कर्ज काढून भांडवल गोळा करून आपल्या व्यवसायाला सुरुवात केल्याचे आढळून आले.

६) कलावस्तू निर्मिती -

कलावस्तूच्या निर्मितीसाठी कच्चा माल कोटून उपलब्ध करून देतात व या व्यवसायामध्ये कुटुंबातील कारागीर संख्या व कुटुंबाबाहेरील किती कारागिरांना रोजगार उपलब्ध करून दिला जातो या बाबी पुढील तक्त्यावरून आपणास समजून येतील.

तक्ता क्रमांक ४

उपलब्धता, साधने व यंत्रणा दर्शविणारा तक्ता -

अ. क्र.	जिल्हा	कच्च्या मालाची उपलब्धता		कारागीर संख्या			एकूण
		स्थानिक ठिकाणी जंगलात	विकत	नोंदणीकृत संस्थेतील	व्यक्तिगत कुटुंबातील	व्यवसायातील कुटुंबाबाहेरील	
१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८
१)	नाशिक	५	३	-	२४	४०	६४
२)	धुळे	१	२	-	१४	१	१५
३)	ठाणे	३	३	२६२	१८	-	२८०
४)	चंद्रपूर	-	१	१२५	-	२०	१४५
५)	रायगड	१	१	-	-	-	-
६)	अहमदनगर	१	१	१२५	-	-	१२५
७)	गडचिरोली	१	१	११	-	-	११
एकूण		१२	१२	५२३	५६	६१	६४०
टक्केवारी		-	-	-	-	-	-

उपरोक्त तक्त्यातील माहितीचे पृथक्करण करता असे दिसून येते की, १२ हस्तकलाकारांना कच्चा माल स्थानिक ठिकाणी किंवा जवळपासच्या जंगलातून उपलब्ध होतो. यामध्ये बांबू, वेत, लाकूड, वनस्पती यांचा समावेश होतो. बांबू आणि वेत जंगलातून आणण्यासाठी वन विभागाची परवानगी आवश्यक असते. १२ हस्तकलाकारांना कच्चा माल बाहेरून विकत घ्यावा लागतो. यामध्ये आंबाडी, धातू, वारली चित्रकलेसाठी लागणारे साहित्य यांचा समावेश होतो. एका कलाकाराला कच्चा माल स्थानिक ठिकाणीही उपलब्ध होतो व कधी कधी दूरवरून विकतही घ्यावा लागतो असे त्यांनी सांगितले.

प्रदर्शनात सहभाग नोंदविलेल्या हस्तकला व्यावसायिकांमध्ये एकूण १७ कुटुंबे गुंतलेली आहेत, तर ५ संस्था आहेत. या

१७ कुटुंबांतील ५६ कारागीर हे कुटुंबातील सदस्य आहेत तर ६१ कारागीर हे कुटुंबाबाहेरील आहेत. त्यांना कलावस्तूच्या मागणीनुसार हंगामी स्वरूपात रोजगार दिला जातो. नोंदणीकृत ५ संस्थांमध्ये एकूण ५२३ कारागीर काम करित असल्याचे आढळून आले. त्यांनाही हंगामी स्वरूपात कामावर घेऊन रोजगार पुरविला जातो.

७) कलावस्तूसाठी बाजारपेठ -

हस्तकला व्यवसायाला विक्रीसाठी बाजारपेठ उपलब्ध आहे का, असल्यास ग्राहकांचा प्रतिसाद कसा आहे? या बाबी जाणून घेतल्या असता पुढील निष्कर्ष हाती आले.

तक्ता क्रमांक ५

कलावस्तूसाठी बाजारपेठ व ग्राहकांचा प्रतिसाद -

अ. क्र.	जिल्हा	बाजारपेठेची उपलब्धता			कायमस्वरूपी बाजारपेठ		ग्राहकांचा प्रतिसाद		
		घरगुती	दुकानात रोडवर	प्रदर्शन	होय	नाही	ठीक	चांगला	उत्कृष्ट
१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	१०
१)	नाशिक	२	५	७	-	७	-	६	१
२)	धुळे	३	३	४	-	४	-	३	१
३)	ठाणे	-	२	६	-	६	१	३	२
४)	चंद्रपूर	१	१	१	-	१	-	१	-
५)	रायगड	१	१	२	२	-	-	१	१
६)	अहमदनगर	१	१	१	-	१	१	-	-
७)	गडचिरोली	-	-	१	-	१	-	१	-
एकूण		८	१३	२२	२	२०	२	१५	५
टक्केवारी		३६%	५९%	१००%	९%	९१%	९%	६८%	२३%

उपरोक्त तक्त्यावरून ३६% कारागीर हे तयार केलेल्या वस्तू घरगुती मागणीनुसार शेजारीपाजारी जाऊन विक्री करतात, तर ५९% टक्के कारागीर आपल्या वस्तू रोडवर, दुकानात विक्रीसाठी ठेवतात व कधी कधी आठवडे बाजारातही विक्रीसाठी घेऊन जात असल्याचे हस्तकला कारागिरांनी मुलाखतीत सांगितले.

(८) आदिवासी विकास विभागाचे सहकार्य/योजना -

प्रदर्शनात सहभागी झालेले सगळेच्या सगळे (१०० टक्के) कारागीर आदिवासी विकास विभागामार्फत भरविण्यात येणाऱ्या प्रदर्शनात आपल्या वस्तू ठेवत असल्याचे आढळून आले. याचे कारण जाणून घेतले असता हस्तकलाकारांनी सांगितले की, या प्रदर्शनासाठी लागणारा सर्व खर्च शासनामार्फत केला जातो. त्यामुळे सर्व कारागीर आपल्या वस्तू अशा प्रदर्शनात ठेवण्यात उत्सुक असतात. प्रदर्शनामध्ये कलावस्तूंच्या विक्रीस शहरी भागातून

चांगला प्रतिसाद मिळतो. सहज बाजारपेठ उपलब्ध होते. हा फार मोठा फायदा आहे. कलावस्तूंच्या खरेदीसाठी प्रतिसाद कशा स्वरूपात आढळून येतो याचे वर्गीकरण केले असता ९ टक्के कारागिरांनी प्रतिसाद ठीक असतो असे सांगितले, ६८ टक्के हस्तकलाकारांनी प्रतिसाद चांगला असल्याचे सांगितले तर २३ टक्के कलाकारांनी उत्कृष्ट प्रतिसाद असल्याचे सांगितले. उत्कृष्ट प्रतिसाद असणाऱ्यांमध्ये नोंदणीकृत संस्थांचा समावेश अधिक असल्याचे आढळून आले.

(९) कलावस्तूंच्या विक्रीपासून मिळणारे उत्पन्न (स्थिती) -

हस्तकलाकारांना त्यांच्या कलावस्तूंच्या विक्रीमधून मिळणारे उत्पन्न याचे गटवारीप्रमाणे वर्गीकरण खालील तक्त्यात दर्शविले आहे.

तक्ता क्रमांक ६

हस्तकला वस्तू-विक्री व्यवसायातून मिळणारे वार्षिक उत्पन्नानुसार वर्गीकरण

अ. क्र.	जिल्हा	एकूण हस्तकलाकारांची संख्या.	मिळणारे वार्षिक उत्पन्न (रुपयांत)				एकूण
			० ते १०००	१००० ते २०००	२००० ते ३०००	३००० चे पुढे.	
१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८
१)	नाशिक	७	-	-	५	४	९
२)	धुळे	४	-	-	२	-	२
३)	ठाणे	६	२	३	-	-	५
४)	चंद्रपूर	१	-	१	-	-	१
५)	रायगड	२	-	-	-	-	-
६)	अहमदनगर	१	-	१	-	-	१
७)	गडचिरोली	१	-	-	१	-	१
एकूण		२२	२	५	८	४	१९
टक्केवारी		१००%	९%	२३%	३६%	१८%	८६%

उपरोक्त माहितीच्या विश्लेषणातून असे दिसते की, सुमारे ९ टक्के हस्तकलाकारांना हस्तकला व्यवसायापासून १०००/- रुपयांपर्यंत वार्षिक उत्पन्न प्राप्त होते. ३६ टक्के हस्तकलाकारांना २०००/- ते ३०००/- रुपयांपर्यंत वार्षिक उत्पन्न मिळते. तसेच १८ टक्के हस्तकलाकारांना ३०००/- रुपयांचे पुढे अर्थप्राप्ती होत असल्याचे आढळून आले. उर्वरित १३ टक्के हस्तकलाकार मिळणाऱ्या उत्पन्नाचा अंदाज देऊ शकले नाहीत.

१०) निरीक्षणातील मुद्दे -

(१) मुलाखतीद्वारे असे आढळून आले की, केवळ ७ (३२%) हस्तकलाकारांना शासनाकडून आर्थिक मदत प्राप्त झाली आहे. उर्वरित हस्तकलाकारांना स्वकष्टावर भांडवल उभे करण्याचे प्रमाण जास्त आहे.

भांडवल उभे करण्याबाबत हस्तकलाकारांना अडचणी निर्माण होतात.

- (२) व्यक्तिगत हस्तकला व्यवसायामध्ये कुटुंबातील व कुटुंबाबाहेरील व्यक्तींचा समावेश असल्याचे आढळून आले.
- (३) हस्तकला कारागिरांना हस्तकला वस्तू विक्रीसाठी कायमस्वरूपी बाजारपेठ नसल्याचे सांगण्यात आले. त्यामुळे

तयार केलेल्या वस्तू बहुतांशाने प्रदर्शनातच ठेवाव्या लागतात. जिल्ह्याच्या ठिकाणी रोडवर व दुकानातूनही विक्रीस ठेवल्या जात असल्याचे सांगितले. ज्यांना विक्रीसाठी कोणताच मार्ग उपलब्ध नाही असे कारागीर घरोघरी भेटी देऊन विक्री करतात.

- (४) कला वस्तूंच्या खरेदीसाठी ग्रामीण/शहरी भागांतील ग्राहकांचा प्रतिसाद चांगला असल्याचे आढळून आले.
- (५) ३६ टक्के कारागिरांचा हस्तकला हाच मुख्य व्यवसाय असल्याचे आढळून आले, तर ७७ टक्के कारागिरांनी हस्तकला हा दुय्यम व्यवसाय करित असल्याचे मुलाखतीत सांगितले.

(११) निष्कर्ष/सूचना तथा शिफारशी -

पाहणीमधून हस्तकलाकारांच्या हस्तकलेविषयी काही निष्कर्ष व शिफारशीवजा सूचना करता येतील त्या पुढीलप्रमाणे -

- (१) हस्तकलाकारांना प्रोत्साहन देऊन हस्तकलाकारांची संख्या वाढविणे, जेणेकरून अधिक व्यक्तींना स्वयंरोजगार प्राप्त होईल.

- (२) हस्तकलाकारांच्या सहकारी संस्थांना (नोंदणीकृत) उत्कृष्ट प्रतिसाद मिळत असल्याने अशा सहकारी संस्थांची संख्या वाढवून जास्तीत जास्त व्यक्तींना सहभागी करून घेऊन रोजगार उपलब्ध करून देण्यास शासकीय पातळीवरून प्रयत्न करण्यात यावेत.
- (३) कारागिरांना हस्तकला व्यवसायाचे प्रशिक्षण देऊन प्रशिक्षित करण्यात यावे. तसेच आदिवासी उपयोजना क्षेत्रातील औद्योगिक प्रशिक्षण संस्थांमध्ये (आय.टी.आय.) प्रवेश देताना शैक्षणिक अट शिथिल करून आदिवासी हस्तकला कारागिरांना प्राधान्याने प्रवेश देण्यात यावा.
- (४) हस्तकला कारागिरांना भांडवल उभे करण्यामध्ये अनेक अडचणींना तोंड द्यावे लागते. यासाठी शासनामार्फत, वित्तीय संस्थांमार्फत, बँकांमार्फत, खादी ग्रामोद्योग, जिल्हा ग्रामीण विकास यंत्रणा यांचेमार्फत कर्जपुरवठा करण्यात यावा. तसेच यूथ स्कीममधूनही आदिवासी हस्तकला कारागिरांना व्यवसाय सुरू करण्यासाठी कर्जपुरवठा करण्यात यावा.
- सध्या ट्रायसेमखाली जे प्रशिक्षण वर्ग घेतले जातात त्यात आदिवासी हस्तकलांचा अंतर्भाव करण्यात यावा व प्रशिक्षणार्थ्यांना स्वतःचा व्यवसाय सुरू करण्यासाठी १००% अनुदान देण्यात यावे.
- (५) हस्तकलाकारांच्या वस्तूंना शासनाकडून कायमस्वरूपी बाजारपेठ उपलब्ध करून देणे गरजेचे आहे. त्यामुळे हस्तकलाकारांचे प्रोत्साहन वाढून अनेक हस्तोद्योजक यामध्ये सहभागी होतील.
- (६) आदिवासींच्या हस्तकलाकृतींची प्रदर्शने आदिवासी विकास विभागामार्फत दरवर्षी भरविण्यात यावीत, तसेच शासनामार्फत "Tribal Craft Federation" तयार करण्यात येऊन त्यामार्फत आदिवासी हस्तकलाकारांच्या वस्तूंना परदेशी बाजारपेठ मिळवून देण्यात यावी.
- (७) सहकारी ग्राहक भांडार (Co-operative Consumer Society) व डिपार्टमेंटल स्टोअर्समध्ये आदिवासी हस्तकलांचा समावेश करण्यात यावा व त्यांची विक्री व्यवस्था प्राधान्याने करावी. शासकीय पातळीवरून यासाठी विशेष प्रयत्न व्हावेत.

संस्था परिचय :

श्रमजीवी संघटना (जिल्हा ठाणे, महाराष्ट्र)

मंगेश कुलकर्णी

स्वातंत्र्योत्तर भारतातील धनिक-धार्जिण्या, विषय, व पर्यावरणास हानिकारक विकास प्रक्रियेमुळे मुळातच दुबळ्या असलेल्या आदिवासी गटांची स्थिती दयनीय झाली आहे. या उपेक्षितांना शोषणाविरुद्ध व न्याय्य हक्कांसाठी लढा देण्यास संघटित करणे, त्यांच्यात जागृती व चैतन्य निर्माण करणे व त्यांचा सर्वांगीण विकास घडवून आणणे या उद्दिष्टांनी प्रेरित झालेल्या स्वयंसेवी संस्था गेल्या वीस वर्षांत देशभर उदयाला आल्या, हा एकच आशेचा किरण दिसतो.

सत्तेच्या राजकारणापासून दूर राहून आमूलाग्र परिवर्तन व उपेक्षितांचा उद्धार यांसाठी झटणाऱ्या संस्था महाराष्ट्रात मोठ्या संख्येने आढळतात. धुळे जिल्ह्यातील 'श्रमिक संघटना' व ठाण्यातील 'भूमी सेना' या अशा प्रकारच्या संस्थांमधील सर्वांत जुन्या व परिचित संस्था. गेल्या दशकात नव्याने उभ्या राहिलेल्या तत्सम संघटनांमध्ये 'विधायक संसद - श्रमजीवी संघटना' या संस्थाद्वयीचा समावेश होतो. प्रस्तुत लेखात या संस्थेचे स्वरूप व कार्य यांचा परिचय करून दिला आहे.

स्थापना : विवेक व विद्युलता पंडित या विशीतील दंपतीने १९७९ मध्ये मुंबईपासून ४० मैल अंतरावर असलेल्या दहिसर (तालुका वसई) या गावात विधायक संसद प्रतिष्ठानाची मुहूर्तमेढ रोवली. स्थानिक आदिवासींच्या कल्याणार्थ बालवाडी, पाळणाघर, आरोग्यसेवा, टोपल्या बनविणे, शेळ्यांची पैदास, यांसारखे कार्यक्रम राबविण्यात आले. वर्षभरातच पंडित दंपतीला या कार्यक्रमांच्या मर्यादांची तीव्र जाणीव झाली.

आदिवासींच्या स्थितीत मूलभूत परिवर्तन घडवून आणण्यासाठी वेढबिगार, किमान वेतन, जमीन हस्तांतरण यांसारख्या कठीण प्रश्नांना हात घालण्याची निकड पंडितांना कळून चुकली. 'विधायक संसद' सारख्या कल्याणकारी संस्थेच्या चौकटीत राहून हे करणे शक्य नसल्याने १९८२ मध्ये त्यांनी 'श्रमजीवी संघटना' या कष्टकरी आदिवासींच्या ट्रेड युनियनची स्थापना केली. "आदिवासी ढोर नाय - मानूस हाय ! मानुसकीची भीक नको - हक्क हवा, हक्क हवा !" या संघटनेच्या घोषवाक्यातून तिचा लढाऊ बाणा व्यक्त होतो.

संघटनेची सदस्यसंख्या आज जवळपास ५००० इतकी आहे. विधायक संसद व श्रमजीवी संघटना संयुक्तपणे काम करतात. संसदेचा भर रचनात्मक कार्यक्रमांवर तर संघटनेचा भर संघर्षात्मक वृत्तीवर असतो.

कार्यक्षेत्र : ठाणे जिल्ह्यातील वसई, वाडा, भिवंडी व शहापूर या तालुक्यांमध्ये संघटनेचे काम चालते. या भागातील आदिवासींचे प्रमाण २०% ते २५% असून वारली, मल्हार कोळी, ठाकूर व कातकरी या इथे आढळणाऱ्या प्रमुख आदिवासी जमाती होत. येथील वने शासकीय नियंत्रणाखाली आहेत, तर शेतजमीन बिगर आदिवासी व्यक्तींच्या मालकीची आहे. आदिवासी वनसंपत्ती व सुपीक जमीन या उपजीविकेच्या प्रमुख साधनांना पारखा झाला आहे. काही आदिवासी अल्पभूधारक आहेत, परंतु बहुसंख्य आदिवासी शेतमजुरी किंवा वीटभट्ट्यांवर मजुरी करून निर्वाह करतात.

वेढबिगारी येथे मोठ्या प्रमाणात होती. लग्नाचा खर्च करण्यासाठी मालकाकडून घेतलेले कर्ज फेडण्यासाठी 'लगीनगडी' म्हणून काम करण्याच्या प्रथेत या वेढबिगारीचे मूळ आहे. शिवाय, आदिवासींच्या उरल्यासुरल्या जमिनी बळकावणे, त्यांना किमान वेतन कायद्याने ठरविलेल्या दरापेक्षा कमी मजुरी देणे हे प्रकार देखील सर्रास घडतात.

कार्यकर्ते : विवेक व विद्युलता पंडित यांचे शिक्षण मुंबईत झाले असून दोघेही पदवीधर आहेत. विद्यार्थीदशेत राष्ट्रसेवादलाच्या कार्यात त्यांचा सक्रिय सहभाग होता. काही वर्षे व्यावसायिक सामाजिक कार्यकर्ते म्हणून त्यांनी आरोग्य, बालविकास, गलिच्छ-वस्ती सुधारणा यांसारख्या प्रकल्पांमध्ये मुंबईत काम केले. गेल्या दशकाच्या सुरुवातीला त्यांनी विधायक संसद - श्रमजीवी संघटनेच्या कार्याला पूर्णपणे वाहून घेतले.

कोणतीही ठाम राजकीय विचारप्रणाली त्यांनी स्वीकारली नसली तरी एतद्देशीय लोकशाही समाजवादाची परंपरा त्यांना जवळची वाटते. कुमारवयात साने गुरुजींच्या निखळ मानवतावादी व सेवाभावी विचारांचा त्यांच्या मनावर खोल ठसा उमटला.

सेवादलात त्यांच्यावर फुले, गांधी, आंबेडकर, जयप्रकाश नारायण, लोहिया व एस.एम.जोशी यांच्या परिवर्तनवादी विचारसरणीचे संस्कार झाले.

सध्या पंडित दंपतीप्रमाणे संगीता कोपर्डे विधायक संसद - श्रमजीवी संघटनेच्या पूर्णवेळ कार्यकर्त्या आहेत. त्या 'सामाजिक कार्य' या विषयाच्या पदवीधर आहेत. रा.वि. भुस्कुटे हे सेवानिवृत्त तहसीलदार व दयानंद प्रभू हे सेवानिवृत्त मुख्याध्यापक यांचाही संस्थेशी घनिष्ठ संबंध आहे. भुस्कुटेचा कल साम्यवादाकडे आहे. त्यांचा जमीनविषयक प्रश्नांचा गाढा अभ्यास व प्रशासकीय अनुभव या दोहोंचा फायदा संस्थेला होतो. प्रभू समाजवादी असून त्यांच्यावर एम.एन.रॉय, पाउलो फ्रेर व लोहियांचा गाढा प्रभाव आहे. संस्थेच्या शैक्षणिक कार्यक्रमांचे संयोजन ते करतात. लहू पाझारी, केशव नानकर व वेणूबाई मेघवाले हे आघाडीचे आदिवासी कार्यकर्ते.

मुंबई व ठाण्यातील शेकडो समविचारी व्यक्तींचा आर्थिक व नैतिक पाठिंबा संस्थेला मिळतो. वेळोवेळी ज्यांनी विशेष साहाय्य केले आहे अशा व्यक्तींमध्ये सदानंद वर्दे, मृणाल गोरे, विजय तेंडुलकर, श्रीराम लागू, श्री.ग. सहस्त्रबुद्धे, अॅडव्होकेट नितीन प्रधान तसेच काही शासकीय अधिकार्यांचा समावेश होतो. शिवाय सुधारित शेती, सामाजिक वनीकरण, दुग्धोत्पादन यांसारखे कार्यक्रम राबवताना अनेक तज्ज्ञांचे साहाय्य आजतोवर लाभले आहे.

कार्यक्रम :

(अ) अन्यायाविरुद्धचा लढा -

संस्थेने पहिला लढा पुकारला तो वेठबिगारीविरुद्ध. केंद्रशासनाने वेठबिगार प्रतिबंधक कायदा १९७६ मध्ये जाहीर केला व वेठबिगार ठेवणे हा देखलपत्र गुन्हा ठरविला.

शेतमालकांच्या प्रखर व हिंसक विरोधाला न जुमानता वेठबिगारांना संघटित करण्याचे काम संघटनेने सुरू केले. वर्तमानपत्रांद्वारे, प्रसिद्धी, मोर्चे, अर्जविनंत्या यांपैकी कशाचाही परिणाम झाला नाही. शेवटी फेब्रुवारी १९८४ मध्ये संघटनेने पत्राद्वारे सुप्रीमकोर्टाच्या सरन्यायाधीशांना मदतीचे आवाहन केले. न्यायमूर्ती भगवती यांनी पत्राचे रूपांतर रिट अर्जात करून या प्रश्नाची चौकशी करण्यासाठी एक आयोग नेमला.

आयोगाने संघटनेच्या बाजूने निर्वाळा दिला. अखेरीस शासनाला वेठबिगार मुक्त करण्यासाठी पावले उचलणे भाग पडले. मुक्त वेठबिगारांचे पुनर्वसन करण्याची जबाबदारी विधायक संसदेने समर्थपणे घेतली. यासाठी शासनाने केलेली तरतूद तसेच सेवाभावी संस्था व व्यक्ती यांचे साहाय्य यांतून मुक्त वेठबिगारांना धान्य, बैलगाड्या, बकऱ्या, किराणा दुकाने, घमेली, कुदळी, भांडी व घरे उपलब्ध करून दिली. त्यांचे मनोर्धैर्य खचू नये याचीदेखील संस्थेने खबरदारी घेतली.

श्रमजीवी संघटनेच्या अथक प्रयत्नांमुळे वेठबिगार बाळगणाऱ्या एका जमीनमालकाला कोर्टाने तीन महिन्यांची कैद व २००० रुपये दंड ठोठावला. वेठबिगार - मालकाला शिक्षा होण्याचा देशातील हा पहिलाच प्रसंग ! आजमितीस संघटनेने १५०० वर वेठबिगारांची मुक्तता केली आहे. वेठबिगार मुक्ती व पुनर्वसन यांसाठी संघटनेने विकसित केलेली पद्धती शासनानेदेखील स्वीकारली आहे व इतरत्र तिचा वापर करण्यात येत आहे. या पद्धतीची सविस्तर माहिती रा.वि. भुस्कुटे व विवेक पंडित यांनी लिहिलेल्या 'बंधमुक्ती' या पुस्तकात दिली आहे.

वेठबिगार मुक्तीसाठी संघटनेने दिलेल्या यशस्वी लढ्याची दखल 'आकाशवाणी', 'दूरदर्शन' यांसारख्या प्रसार माध्यमांनी देखील घेतली. आदिवासी मजुरांना किमान वेतन मिळवून देण्यातही संघटनेला बऱ्याच प्रमाणात यश मिळाले आहे.

धनदांड्यांनी लुबाडलेल्या जमिनी आदिवासींना पुन्हा मिळवून देणे, आदिवासी वर्षानुवर्षे कसत असलेल्या वनविभागाच्या अखत्यारीतील 'एकसाली' जमिनी त्यांच्या नावे करणे या प्रश्नांवर, तसेच पिण्याचे पाणी, शैक्षणिक व आरोग्यविषयक सोई मिळविणे आणि बेकायदेशीर जंगलतोड व आदिवासींची पिळवणूक थांबविणे यांसाठी संघटना कार्यरत आहे. वेठबिगारी व किमान वेतन यासंबंधीचा लढादेखील संपुष्टात आलेला नाही.

(ब) रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम :

विधायक संस्थेने सहकारी तत्त्वावर चालणारे बरेच आर्थिक उपक्रम हाती घेतले आहेत. मुक्त वेठबिगारांनी चालविलेला मालवाहू ट्रक, वीटमट्टी, धान्य पेढ्या, कलिंगड लागवड व डेरी प्रकल्प यांचा यात समावेश होतो. यांसाठी लागणारा निधी, ग्रामीण विकासाला चालना देण्यासाठी शासनाने राबविलेल्या योजना (उदा. आय.आर.डी.पी. उर्फ एकात्मिक ग्रामीण विकास योजना) व संस्था (उदा. कापार्ट) तसेच 'ऑक्सफॅम' सारख्या अशासकीय संस्था, यांच्या साहाय्याने उभा केला जातो.

शासनाच्या सामाजिक वनीकरण योजनेचा लाभ घेऊन संसदेने लाखो रोपे लावली. आदिवासींना आर्थिक लाभ व्हावा म्हणून फळझाडांच्या लागवडीवर भर देण्यात येत आहे. काही वर्षांपूर्वी शासनाने विधायक संसदेला उसगाव (तालुका वसई) येथे साडेतीन एकर जमीन दिली. या जागेत शेती प्रयोग केंद्र सुरू करण्यात आले आहे. येथे आदिवासींना सुधारित शेतीविषयक सल्ला मिळतो. तसेच खते, वेल व पंप माफक दराने उपलब्ध होतात. शिवाय संसद - संघटनेच्या शैक्षणिक कार्यक्रमांचे व सभाशिविरांचे हे केंद्रस्थान झाले आहे.

'ट्रायसेम' योजनेचा फायदा घेऊन संसद आदिवासी तरुणांना रोपवाटिका चालविणे, गवंडीकाम, शिंपीकाम व डेरीविषयक काम

यांचे प्रशिक्षण देते. शिक्षण व जागृतीद्वारे खर्चिक लग्नसोहळे, अतिरेकी मद्यपान, स्त्रियांची गांजणूक यांसारख्या आदिवासी समाजातील घातक प्रथांचे उच्चाटन करणे हेदेखील विधायक संसदेच्या कार्यक्रमाचे एक अविभाज्य अंग आहे.

वर्षातून तीनदा आदिवासींसाठी सहअध्ययन शिबिरे भरविण्यात येतात. आदिवासींची स्वत्वभावना जागी करणे, त्यांना समाज व पर्यावरण यांच्याकडे सहजपणे पहाण्यास प्रवृत्त करणे, नागरी हक्कांची जाणीव करून देणे, सहकार व सामुदायिक कृतीद्वारे विकास साधण्याची निकड पटवून देणे, त्यांच्यात नेतृत्वगुण रुजविणे तसेच स्वातंत्र्य, समता, न्याय, विज्ञाननिष्ठा, लोकशाही या मूल्यांचा वस्तुपाठ घालून देणे ही या शिबिरांची प्रमुख उद्दिष्टे आहेत. जमीनविषयक प्रश्न, पोलीस, शोषण, ग्रामपंचायत, स्थानिक प्रशासन, विकास योजना यांसारख्या आदिवासींच्या दैनंदिन जीवनाशी निगडित विषयांभोवती ही शिबिरे गुंफली जातात.

चित्रे, नकाशे, मॉडेल्स, वैज्ञानिक उपकरणे व प्रयोग यांचा वापर, अध्ययनास अनुकूल सामूहिक गीते व खेळ, प्रश्नोत्तरे, गटचर्चा, अहवाललेखन व वाचन, स्पर्धात्मक तोंडी परीक्षा व ज्ञानाचा प्रत्यक्षात उपयोग करण्यासाठी आयोजिलेले कृतिप्रधान कार्यक्रम ही या शिक्षणप्रक्रियेची वैशिष्ट्ये म्हणता येतील. पोलीस ठाण्यावरून विविध प्रकारची माहिती आणणे, ग्रामपंचायतीकडून झोपड्यांना नंबर मिळविणे, ही कृतिप्रधान कार्यक्रमांची काही उदाहरणे.

शिबिरात सहभागी झालेले आदिवासी मिळविलेल्या ज्ञानाचा प्रसार आपापल्या पाड्यात करतात. जे विशेष नेतृत्व - गुण दाखवितात त्यांच्यासाठी स्वतंत्र नेतृत्व शिबिरे घेतली जातात. 'स्वातंत्र्य चळवळ', 'संघटना कौशल्य' यांसारख्या विविध आणि व्यापक विषयांभोवती ती गुंफलेली असतात. निवडक आदिवासी कार्यकर्त्यांची तयारी करून घेऊन त्यांचा सहायक अध्यापक म्हणून पुढील शिबिरात समावेश केला जातो.

समारोप : अन्यायाविरुद्धच्या लढ्याला रचनात्मक कार्यक्रमांची जोड देऊन व संघर्षाला जाणीव - जागृतीचे व्यापक परिमाण देऊन संस्थेने परिवर्तनाच्या नव्या वाटा यशस्वीपणे चोखाळल्या. परिणामी स्थानिक आदिवासींच्या आयुष्यात लक्षणीय स्थित्यंतर घडून आले आहे. त्यांची आर्थिक स्थिती सुधारली. सहकारी वृत्ती व कार्यपद्धती त्यांनी आत्मसात केली. त्यांच्यातील अंधश्रद्धा, दैववाद, दुबळेपणा व लाचारी यांची जागा वैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोन, आत्मविश्वास व न्याय्य हक्कांसाठी लढण्याचा निश्चय, यांनी घेतली. व्यसनीपणा व स्त्रियांना दिली जाणारी वार्डेट वागणूक, यांचे प्रमाण घटले. आदिवासींची राजकीय जाणीव वाढली. त्यांच्यात

नागरिकत्वाची भावना रुजली. लोकशाही मूल्ये व निर्णयप्रक्रिया त्यांच्या परिचयाची झाली.

गेल्या तीन वर्षांत संस्थेचा अनेक अंगांनी विकास झाला आहे. ठाण्यातच नव्हे तर राज्यात इतरत्र होत असलेली आदिवासी जनतेच्या हक्कांची पायमल्ली रोखण्यासाठी संस्थेने 'मानवी हक्क अभियान' हा उपक्रम राबविला आहे. प्रसार - माध्यमे, विधिमंडळ, न्याययंत्रणा व नोकरशाही यांच्या सहकार्याने शोषितांच्या मूलभूत समस्या सोडविण्यासाठी 'समर्थन' हा व्यापक जनसंपर्काचा कार्यक्रम हाती घेण्यात आला आहे. परंतु अजून बराच लांबचा पल्ला गाठावयाचा आहे. 'शोषित जन आंदोलन' या राज्यव्यापी चळवळीतील समानधर्मी कृती - गटांच्या खांद्याला खांदा लावून हे मार्गक्रमण चालू आहे.

ऋणनिर्देश : विवेक व विद्युलता पंडित यांनी मोकळेपणाने चर्चा करून संसद - संघटनेच्या कार्याविषयी तसेच व्यक्तिगत स्वरूपाची माहिती दिली. दयानंद प्रभू यांच्या सहकार्यामुळे उसगाव येथे पंडित दंपतीची भेट घेणे, तसेच संस्थेच्या कार्याचे जवळून निरीक्षण करणे शक्य झाले. शिवाय त्यांनी दुर्मिळ साहित्य उपलब्ध करून दिले.

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शासन निर्णय :

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महाराष्ट्र शासन

आदिवासी विकास विभाग

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- १३) संचालक, आदिवासी संशोधन व प्रशिक्षण संस्था, पुणे सचिव
४. संचालक, आदिवासी संशोधन व प्रशिक्षण संस्था, पुणे यांना नियामक मंडळाच्या अशासकीय सदस्यांच्या प्रवासभत्त्याच्या व दैनिक भत्त्याच्या बिलावर प्रतिस्वाक्षरी करण्याचे व त्यानुसार पैसे देण्याचे अधिकार देण्यात आले आहेत.
५. अशासकीय सदस्यांचा प्रवास भत्ता, दैनिक भत्त्याचा होणारा खर्च 'मागणी क्र. टी-३'-२२२५-अनुसूचित जाती, जमाती व इतर मागासवर्गीयांचे कल्याण-०२-अनुसूचित जमातीचे कल्याण-२७७ शिक्षण-५-संशोधन व प्रशिक्षण -५(१)(ए) "जनजाती संशोधन व प्रशिक्षण संस्था (२२२५ १३०१)" या शिर्षकाखाली खर्ची टाकण्यात यावा व त्याखाली चालू वर्षी करण्यात आलेल्या तरतुदीतून भागविण्यात यावा.
६. हा शासन निर्णय वित्त विभागाच्या संमतीने त्या विभागाच्या अनौपचारिक संदर्भ क्रमांक ५४६ दिनांक १.२.९३ अन्वये निर्गमित करण्यात येत आहे.
- महाराष्ट्राचे राज्यपाल यांचे आदेशानुसार व नावाने,
- (अ. द. कुलकर्णी)
उपसचिव.
२. नियामक मंडळाची मुदत ३ वर्षांची राहिल. नियामक मंडळाच्या बैठकी आवश्यकतेनुसार भरविण्यात याव्यात. परंतु प्रत्येक ३ महिन्यांच्या कालावधीत निदान एकतरी बैठक घेण्यात यावी.
३. समितीवरील अशासकीय सदस्यांचा प्रवासभत्ता व दैनिक भत्ता मुंबई नागरी सेवा नियम खंड-२ मधील परिशिष्ट ४२(अ) मधील सेक्शन-१ मधील १(१) (बी) च्या तरतुदीनुसार व शासन निर्णय, वित्त विभाग, क्रमांक

TRIBAL RESEARCH BULLETIN

Tribal Research and Training Institute,
Maharashtra State, Pune - 411 001

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Registration No. RN-37438/79

FORM IV

(See Rule 8)

1. Place of Publication .. 29, Queen's Garden
Pune - 411 001
2. Periodicity of Publication .. Bi-Annual
3. Printer's Name .. Manager,
Photozinco Press,
Pune - 411 001
Nationality .. Indian
Address .. Photozinco Press,
Pune - 411 001
4. Publisher's Name .. N.P. BHANAGE,
I.A.S.
Nationality .. Indian
Address .. 28, Queen's Garden,
Pune - 411 001
5. Editor's Name .. N.P. BHANAGE,
I.A.S.
Nationality .. Indian
Address .. 28, Queen's Garden,
Pune - 411 001

I N.P. BHANAGE, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

N.P. BHANAGE
(Signature of Publisher)

Dated 1st September, 1993

Price Rs. 5.00

बिहार राज्याच्या अनुसूचित
जाती/जमाती-कल्याण समितीची
अभ्यास दौऱ्यानिमित्त संस्थेस भेट :
महाराष्ट्र राज्यातील आदिवासींच्या
सद्यस्थितीबाबत चर्चा करतांना



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अभ्यास दौऱ्यानिमित्त संस्थेस भेट :
आ. सं. व प्र. संस्थेचे संचालक मा.
श्री. नि. पां. भणवे संस्थेबद्दल
ऋिती सांगताना