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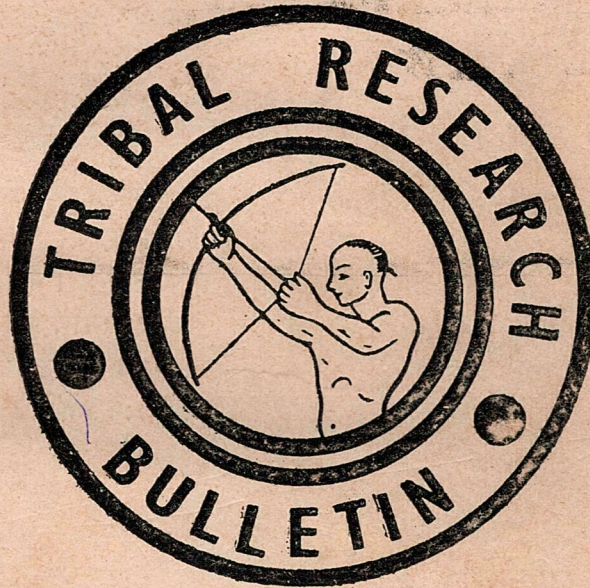
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सत्यमेव जयते

GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA

# TRIBAL RESEARCH BULLETIN



Tribal Research & Training Institute, Pune  
Government of Maharashtra

Vol. I, No. I, March 1979

*Editor* : Dr. G. M. GARE  
*Associate Editor* : Dr. P. R. SIRSALKAR

अपने देशके शोषित उत्पीडित एवं उपेक्षित लोगोंकी जो सेवा करता है, वह सबसे बड़ा पुण्यात्मा है। एक आदिवासीकी सेवा सेकड़ों मंदीर निर्माण करनेके बराबर है। अस्तु अपना तन मन धन उनकी सेवाओंमें अर्पित कर दो जो वस्तुतःमें उपेक्षित है।

— महात्मा गांधी

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**TRIBAL RESEARCH  
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**Vol. I, No. I, March 1979.**

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Maharashtra State, Pune.

**CONTENTS**

	<i>Page</i>
Editorial	... (v)
The Anthropology of Unified Awareness — <i>J. V. Ferreira</i>	... 1
Tribal Development — A Social Ecological Approach — <i>M. G. Kulkarni</i>	... 5
Research Abstract of the Report on "Health Conditions of the Tribals in Maharashtra."	7
Diet and Nutrition Status of the Tribes — <i>D. R. Pratap</i>	... 9
Spatial Planning of the Development Programme in Tribal Areas. — <i>G. M. Gare</i>	11
Statistics on Scheduled Tribes.	... 13
चन्द्रपूर जिल्ह्यातील कुष्ठरोगाची समस्या — पुरुषोत्तम शिरसाळकर	... 14
आदिवासी सहकारी सोसायट्या : उद्देश्य व कार्य — द. तु. बिरारी	... 17
आदिवासी विकासात प्रशिक्षणाचे महत्त्व — रामदास डवरे	... 20
आदिवासी संग्रहालय परिचय — उत्तमराव सोनावणे	... 22

## TRIBAL RESEARCH BULLETIN

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

Tribal Research Bulletin is a Bi-Annual Bulletin published in March and September. Contributors can contribute articles pertaining to Tribal Research.

### **Guidelines for contributors**

The normal length of an article should be between 1,500 and 3,000 words.

The manuscript to be published in this Bulletin should be typewritten in double space on one side of the paper and carefully corrected for any typing errors. The matter should be organised under suitable headings.

Manuscripts are not returned.

The Editor is not responsible for the views expressed by the writers in this Bulletin.

Twenty off prints with a copy of the Bulletin are supplied free of charge to the contributor.

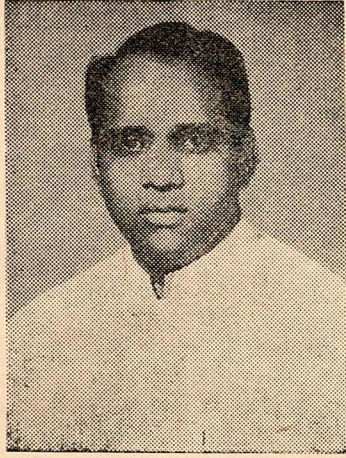
All correspondence should be addressed to the Editor, Tribal Research Bulletin, Tribal Research and Training Institute, 28, Queens Garden, Pune 411 001.

## Editorial

The "Tribal Research Bulletin" is devoted to provide objective reading material based on first hand field research and observations on various aspects of tribal life. Articles covering tribal life and culture and their problems as well as developmental activities going on in tribal areas and its impact, are invited from Social Scientists and persons having deep involvement in tribal matters. It is a bi-annual publication, first of its kind, in Maharashtra State.

We have great pleasure in bringing out the Bulletin and we hope that the Bulletin will play an important role in diffusing information on tribal matters and will be helpful to the administrators and social workers in tribal development.

G. M. GARE,  
Editor.

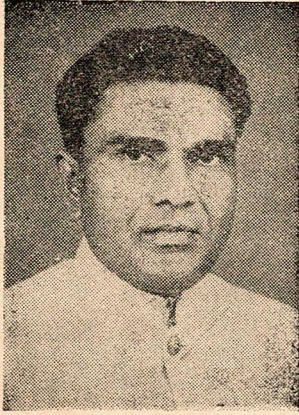


आदिवासी संशोधन आणि प्राशिक्षण संस्थेतर्फे काढण्यात येणाऱ्या आदिवासी संशोधन पत्रिकेचा पहिला द्विवार्षिक अंक येत्या मार्चमध्ये प्रसिद्ध होत आहे हे वाचून आनंद वाटला.

महाराष्ट्रात आदिवासी आणि अनुसूचित जातीच्या बांधवांची संख्या बरीच मोठी आहे. आदिवासामध्ये निरक्षरतेचे प्रमाण अधिक असल्याने त्यांना साक्षर करून विकास योजनांचे फायदे त्यांच्यापर्यंत पोहोचविण्यासाठी जाणीवपूर्वक प्रयत्न झाले पाहिजेत. आदिवासी कल्याणासाठी शासनाने हाती घेतलेल्या कार्यक्रमांना या पत्रिकेमध्ये उचित प्रसिद्धी देण्यात येईल असा मला विश्वास वाटतो.

आदिवासी संशोधनपत्रिकेच्या प्रथम अंकास माझ्या हार्दिक शुभेच्छा.

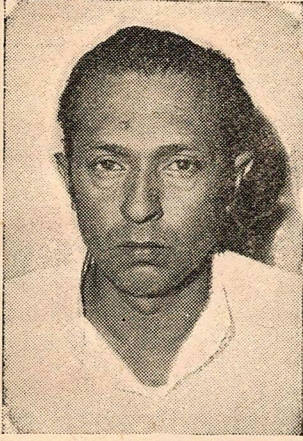
शरद पवार,  
मुख्यमंत्री,  
महाराष्ट्र राज्य.



*I am glad that the Tribal Research and Training Institute, Government of Maharashtra, Pune 411 001, is publishing a research bulletin on topics connected with Scheduled Tribes in the State. There is a dearth of such publications today and those interested in Tribal Development will get an opportunity to read in one publication results of the various research studies on Scheduled Tribes. There is one more point about such publications which I would like to highlight. Literature on Scheduled Tribes in Maharashtra as well as in India seems to put emphasis on their ethnological and anthropological aspects, and tends to shy away from undertaking in-depth studies on the problems in the economic domain. This aspect is being driven home almost every day in the context of Tribal Areas Sub-Plan launched in the State to improve the living standards of Scheduled Tribes. As for example, the exact relationship between schemes for developing areas where the Scheduled Tribes live and those benefiting the Scheduled Tribes individually is yet to be worked out and the decision makers, unfortunately, cannot have the benefit of studies on this particular and other such points. I hope the Research Bulletin will remove this gap.*

*I wish all the best to this venture.*

**A. S. KASTURE,**  
*Minister for Social  
Welfare and Tribal Welfare.*



महाराष्ट्रात सुमारे ६ टक्के वस्ती असलेल्या आदिवासींच्या विकासाला महाराष्ट्र शासनाने प्राधान्य दिले असून त्या कार्यात आदिवासी संशोधन आणि प्रशिक्षण संस्थेचे कार्यही अत्यंत मोलाचे ठरले आहे. आदिवासी लोकांचीही स्वतःची संस्कृती, परंपरा व जीवन वैशिष्ट्ये आहेत. ही संस्कृती भारतीय संस्कृती समृद्ध बनविण्यासही सहाय-भूत ठरली आहे. संस्कृतीचा हा वारसा जतन करून त्यांची आर्थिक उन्नती आपल्याला साधावयाची आहे. त्या कामी आपल्या संस्थेचे कार्य भावी काळातही मोलाचे ठरणार आहे. संस्थेस मी सुयश चिंतितो.

दिलवरसिंग पाडवी,  
राज्यमंत्री,  
वन व आदिवासी कल्याण, महाराष्ट्र राज्य.



## THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF UNIFIED AWARENESS

\*J. V. Ferreira

IN his remarkable book "The Speaking Tree: A Study of Indian Culture and Society", the French Scholar Richard Lannoy points out that it is the aesthetic sensibility or, in other words, the capacity for unified awareness which lends to Indian thought and consciousness its most characteristic note and colour. He demonstrates this conclusion by examining at considerable length the art of India, its family system, its social structure and its value system and attitudes.

Turning to the tribal population of India Lannoy develops his concept of the antipodes in trying to interpret the attitude of the Hindus to the tribes in their midst. He believes that the Hindu caste system tends to conserve the primitive tribes in India because they represent a negative identity in the unconscious of the Hindus. Accordingly, the theme of unity or oneness is added to by the theme of polarity which, he thinks, is only overcome in the higher reaches of Brahminic philosophy and through the unifying mechanisms of festivals and the syncretistic bhakti cults stressing love, devotion and ecstasy.

It would seem to me, however, that Lannoy's concept of the antipodes or negative identity is an exaggeration. This is so primarily because the aesthetic sensibility or capacity for unified awareness which Lannoy rightly regards as a fundamental characteristic of Indian consciousness is also a fundamental characteristic of tribal consciousness all over the world. Long ago Lucien Levy-Bruhl called this characteristic 'mystic participation' and went on to designate tribal mentality as 'pre-logical' or 'a-logical'. Dominated by evolutionism Levy-Bruhl at first believed that he had thus disclosed an earlier stage in the evolution of the mind and that, therefore, the tribes represented a lower stage in mental development. Levy-Bruhl's thesis came

under attack by anthropologists who had lived, worked and participated in tribal cultures and who thus found that the tribes were as basically rational as the advanced populations of mankind, but were only lacking in sophisticated knowledge. Although Levy-Bruhl recanted a little before his death, his concept of mystic participation can be equated with Lannoy's concept of unified awareness, and can, therefore, be regarded as a fundamental characteristic of tribal consciousness wherever it has not been fragmented by contact with the so-called advanced peoples. There is, therefore, in this characteristic a bond of similarity between the tribes of India and the high culture that we call Hinduism. In fact one can support the affirmation that much which is regarded as typically advanced in our culture could possibly have had its roots in the tribal way of life and consciousness.

Considering the fact that in recent times a renewed interest has manifested itself in the concept of unified awareness in western countries-witness the emergence of the counter-culture movement in the 60's and early 70's, the works of Carlos Castaneda and the growing attraction to eastern religions and religious personalities it would seem to me that Indian anthropologists would do well by concentrating attention on this aspect of tribal life and consciousness in India. In this concentration lies the possibility of developing a characteristically Indian anthropology which would not be a mere imitation of western concepts and methods.

Let us, to begin with, consider the Katkaris who are mainly found in the Thane and Kulaba districts of Maharashtra and on whom we have a book-length ethnographic study, the first of its kind undertaken and completed in the Department of Sociology of the University of Bombay.

It goes without saying that the Katkaris who have long been in contact with the peoples of the surrounding countryside are not expected to display the capacity for unified awareness in all its compactness and comprehensiveness. Contact with advanced population results in exploitation and expropriation of the tribal peoples and the disintegration of their cultures. Nevertheless, if primordial-ly one assumes the existence of this capacity as the dominating feature of tribal consciousness, one may expect to find enough of evidence, even today, of its former existence in a fuller form.

One of the more obvious channels through which this capacity seeks expression is dance and music. In this connection A. N. Weling, the ethnographer of the Katkaris, tells us that the Katkari passion for dancing is proverbial and that the call of the drum is found irresistible by all, by children of ten and by adults of fifty. While individual dances are a rarity, group dancing of various kinds occurs frequently. In individual dances, the dancer attempts to reach a climax by quickening his movements and speeding up the beat of the cymbals which he himself handles. From the description of a performance which Weling had the opportunity to observe, it is evident that the dancer was aiming at a unified state of mind which normal self-consciousness does not encourage or promote. In the group dances which go on for hours many varieties of co-ordinated movements are, made of which the following are significant: (1) All the dancers bend forward and each dancer places his hand on the back of the dancer ahead; (2) All the dancers stand in a row and each dancer extends his arms sideways, puts them on the shoulder of the next person and so complete the round. The group dances also strive to reach a climax through the acceleration of music and movements; but the presence of the group, it would seem, tends to heighten the effect through a kind of merging of minds and the enhancement of group solidarity.

Turning to Katkari social organisation we learn that the local group is typical. It is a small community which lives in huts clustered together in a limited area.

There are numerous local groups and each regulates its own affairs. All the persons in a local group are related to one another by blood or marriage. In other words, the local group is a kinship group. But for purposes of marriage, the local groups in a given area are bound together by interrelations. This larger group also attends to disputes arising from marital relations and charges of witch-craft. In addition the Katkaris have a number of clan-names, some of which point to a territorial origin and others to a totemic basis. The existence of clan endogamy seems to suggest further that clan totemism was once very strong among the Katkaris. Thus J. Abbott says in his book "The Keys of Power" (1932) that the Katkaris display a totemistic organisation, but he goes on to add 'that for practical purposes it is now a thing of the past'. Kinship, whether real or artificial, is, as is well-known, a basic ordering feature of tribal societies. It is a binding or unifying force. When strengthened by clan-totemism, it makes for unified awareness to a heightened degree.

Regrettably Weling does not tell us much about Katkari religion or the Katkari's relations to nature. Nor does he probe deeply into the quality of their consciousness or dilate on the tribe's values and attitudes. We may, however, conclude that in all these directions a careful study would unearth sufficient data to justify the view that the Katkaris like their tribal fellows in many parts of the world had once a relatively strong capacity for unified awareness and that this capacity has been considerably weakened and fragmented by the adverse influences emanating from the so-called advanced peoples with whom they have come into contact from early times. A re-study of the Katkari's from this and other stand-points is urgently called for, considering the facts that Weling's ethnographical study was published as early as 1934, that it has many gaps in it, and that with governmental measures and the growth of modernisation the tribes are fast losing many elements and values of their cultures, the significance of which, ironically enough, is once more being realized in the west today.

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Let us, however, return for a moment to Richard Lannoy. He calls the traditional art of India, and in particular the art of the Sanchi gateway and of the cave sanctuaries, 'oneiric' or dreamlike. We are thus by a natural association of words and ideas led to ponder over the Australian aborigine's view of the universe and man which Spender and Gillen called long ago 'the dream time', and which W. E. H. Stanner prefers to call just 'Dreaming'.

It is instructive to follow Stanner in his efforts at unravelling the meaning of the term. In one of its central meanings Dreaming refers to a sacred and heroic period a long time ago when man and nature came to be as they are. Neither time nor history are implicated in this concept. Dreaming is a complex term. One's totem or the locality from which one's spirit has come is also called one's Dreaming. A custom or a law are likewise related in a causal nexus to Dreaming. According to Stanner Dreaming is 'a kind of logos or principle of order transcending everything significant for aboriginal man'. He thinks it likely that the aborigine makes contact with the mystery that joins Dreaming with the present through the act of dreaming in both its forms, as reality and symbol. Again, to a tribal his name, his spirit, his shadow are him; they are bound together in a kind of oneness, and there are, says Stanner, many other such unities. For instance, brothers and sisters, a grand-parent and grand-child, a living person and inanimate object may be seen as unities. There is also a kind of oneness between waking life and dream life. Putting it in a nutshell, Stanner says: 'The truth of it seems to be that man, society and nature and past, present and future are at one together within a unitary system of such a kind that its ontology cannot illumine minds too much under the influence of humanism, rationalism, and science. One cannot easily, in the mobility of modern life and thought, grasp the vast intuitions of stability and permanence, and of life and man, at the heart of aboriginal ontology'. That is to say, aboriginal thought is more perceptual than conceptual; whereas modern thought is the other way

round. Conceptual thought tends to isolate; whereas perceptual thought tends to unify.

But if traditional Indian art has a dream-like quality, as Lannoy tells us, what about tribal art? Owing to the predominance of conceptual thinking among us, we tend to separate the arts, one from another and we regard them as private pursuits both in their practice and in their enjoyment. Not so, however, the primitives. The arts are valued as parts of public festivities. At such public gatherings music, dancing, singing and the various objects of art come together, dissolving stresses and strains, merging into one another, submerging individual separateness and engendering wholeness. As Edmund Leach tells us, many primitive peoples are brought up to think poetically and to cultivate ambiguity, perhaps because thereby through a confluence of meanings and a blending of thought and feeling a unity of consciousness can be created, a unity which modern civilisation has tended to despise and discard till recently and which, as we have already pointed out, it is in process of rediscovery in the west today. We may note here that Floyd W. Matson has admirably documented the fragmentation of modern consciousness in his well-written book "The Broken image". What, however, does this confluence, this blending resemble more than anything else, if not the state of dreaming?

Or, consider mythology. In the first volume of his four-volume work "The Masks of God" which is dedicated to primitive mythology, Joseph Campbell points out that the artist's eye has a mythical slant on life and that the mythological realm abrogates the laws of time and space. The dead come back to life. The primeval times become the very present. Indeed, in the primitive world the gods and demons are not hard and fast, positive realities. They can be in two or more places at one and the same time. And the mast in a tribal celebration is cherished and experienced as that which it was intended to represent. The wearer of the mast is the god or demon which it stands for. Campbell says: 'There can

be no doubt that the world of myth has been saturated by dream, or that men were dreaming even when they were little more than apes'.

But if the dream is a close cousin of the trance, one may note the power of the shaman in throwing himself into a trance at will. As Mircea Eliade describes it, the shaman, beating on his mystic drum which is made from the wood of the tree that symbolizes the axis of the world, rises to heights of spiritual transport, and undergoes magical metamorphoses as signs of the power which have engulfed him in the ecstasy of the trance.

And, as I. M. Lewis sees it, the basic aim of shamanism is to maintain harmony between man and man and between man and nature. 'It celebrates', he goes

on to add, 'a confident and egalitarian view of man's relations with the divine, and perpetuates that original accord between God and men which those who have lost the ecstatic mystery can only nostalgically recall in myths of creation, or desperately seek in doctrines of personal salvation'.

Accordingly, one may conclude, as one began, that it is by probing deeply and widely into the capacity of unified awareness as it manifests itself fully or fragmentarily in the tribal cultures of India that Indian anthropology can acquire an identity of its own. With this as its primary aim, corresponding methods and concepts will have to be developed next. Thereafter should no doubt eventuate the season of high burgeoning, of flowering and fruition.

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## TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT—A SOCIAL ECOLOGICAL APPROACH

\*Dr. M. G. Kulkarni

DEBATES and discussions have been going on in the country, plans are being drawn up, and programmes are chalked out to implement whatever the plan-objectives have been for the last 30 years in order to bring about the development of the Scheduled Tribes. Crores of rupees have been spent and many more are being ear-marked for the purpose. But the solution to the problem of development of the tribals seems to elude us still. Well-intentioned objectives turn out to be abortive, inadequate or inappropriate at the level of their translation into programmes to be implemented. Since the measures adopted so far have either misfired or have fallen short of the objectives it is necessary to have a second look at our objectives, plans, and programmes. The remedy having failed to ameliorate the disease it is natural to go back and question the diagnosis itself. Now that the role of the social scientists in solving or at least in analysing and understanding such social problems is being acknowledged, it is felt that the social scientists should turn their exercises to immediate problems such as this one and thereby lend it a better prespective. The present paper is an attempt from this stand-point.

Initially, the concept of tribal development has to be understood in all its facets. Development is commonly taken to mean economic development. But often such catchwords as cultural development, cultural growth, political representation of the tribals in local and larger statutory or non-statutory decision-making bodies, and assimilation and integration of the tribals with the larger society are mentioned in the context. Apart from the ambiguity of these words touching upon different facets of the tribal life and the general lack of unanimity about the priority of different programmes to be adopted to bring about the desired results, there is no consensus as to the direction of development and to the final picture that emerges after development. By

direction I mean the goals and the subsequent process of development. Development of the tribals is viewed from the two angles in this respect, one from the stand-point of the tribals themselves, and the other from that of the non-tribal sympathisers, the politicians, the administrators, the social reformers, and the like. The first emphasises that the tribals can be made willing participants in the development process if the goals articulated reflect their aspirations and felt needs or if they are made to visualise, assimilate and own the goals adopted for them. One way to assure this is to incorporate the goals decided upon by the tribals themselves at local level, while accepting them at higher level or to associate the tribals in the decision-making process at the higher level. The second stand-point treats the tribals as a backward, ignorant mass of people and goes about improving their lot after possibly the bet of the models, throughout taking a benevolent, patronising posture towards the tribals. What is best for the tribals here is decided without taking them into confidence. While these two represent two extremely opposite views, a judicious combination of both of them will prove fruitful in the long run. While it is true the tribal may be expected to co-operate in the developmental efforts only if they are convinced of their effectiveness and propriety, it may not be true that they are the best judges of what is good for them. If it is agreed that they need development, invitation to expert opinion as to how best it can be achieved becomes the necessary next step. Like-wise, programmes of development drawn up after a model, if their implementation is to be effective have to incorporate programmes of social education or persuasion to solicit the peoples' participation. A patient cannot prescribe his own medicine but the prescription cannot be forced on him.

About the ambiguity of the concept of development, it does not mean the same to all the people involved in the process

or programmes of implementation, including the politicians, administrators, social workers and the people who are subjected to these programmes. Economic development by the very nature of its ancillary process can be described, enunciated and understood in specific terms. Economic development is also more appealing and important to the people. But cultural growth or political participation are vague terms. They are usually left undefined. As a result greater stress is laid on economic development. All or almost all of the grievances that demand the constant attention of the government pertain to the economic life of the tribals.

Economic development entails betterment of the factors involved in production the land, labour and capital, and of the economic process of production, distribution and exchange in order to bring about an improvement in the capabilities for consumption a better standard of living. Betterment of the land involves tapping of the natural resources and their optimum utilization which should not merely concentrate on the immediate gains but should favour a restrained approach so that the supply of the resources is not snapped altogether but is kept continuous. Betterment of labour results from educational and training facilities. Capital-formation depends upon savings. Distribution and exchange of economic goods and services presuppose links with wider markets and transport and communication facilities. The tribal community living on an isolated, rugged, hilly terrain for a number of centuries, translation of these simple propositions into action among them becomes all the more difficult. Since all the details of these factors involved in

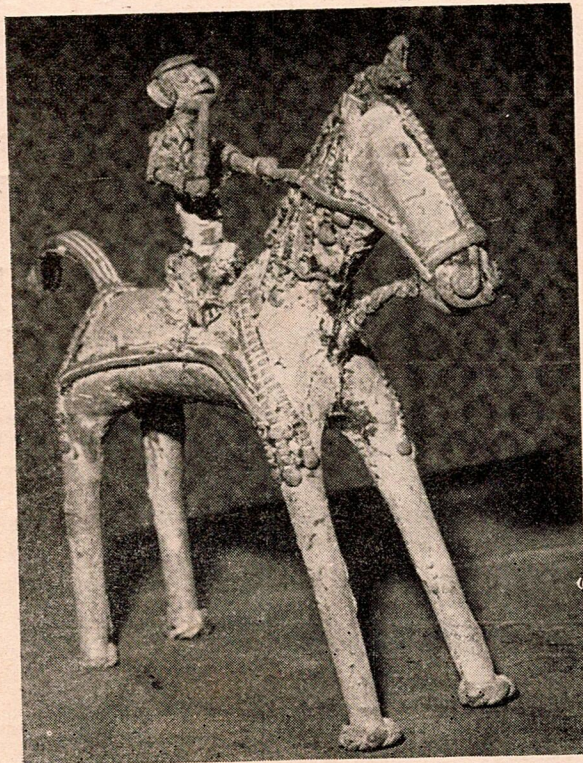
economic development are not uniform for all the tribals in the country, placed as they are amidst different surroundings, with different history and experience with the outside-world, it is obvious that we cannot have uniformity in the programmes chalked out for their development although the objectives may be similar.

The different tribes that have traversed a long time in solitude with an unchanging environment and mode of life, and as a result have settled down to unique crystallized forms of cultural milieu. The natural resources, the knowledge to tap them, the tools and techniques employed, the division of labour that has been evolved, the beliefs, norms and values that guide, gear or goad them to activities, are all organically integrated in these forms. There appears to have been no major tilt in the equilibrium reached by these different aspects of the tribal life for a long time in the past. Disturbance due to the interference from the external or exogenous forces is a recent phenomenon. Planning for development and the implementation of programmes thereby are bound to introduce imbalance in tribal life if concomittant and concurrent changes in all the aspects are not thought of and planned for in advance simultaneously with planning for economic development. Data pertaining to the Scheduled Tribes in Maharashtra will further be examined in the light of this views. As this view looks upon the natural environment the geographical area as the prime factor which shapes the cultural forms and that there is symbiotic unity between these and different aspects and groups within the tribal community, obviously its approach is social-ecological.





*"Powa Tiddana Ghota"* tobacco container of the Madia Gonds of Bhamragad Region of Chandrapur District



*"Mata-Goddess on Horse"* worshipped by the Kolams, Pardhans and Gonds of Yavatmal and Chandrapur Districts



*Bison Horn* Head dress of the Madia Gonds of Chandrapur District



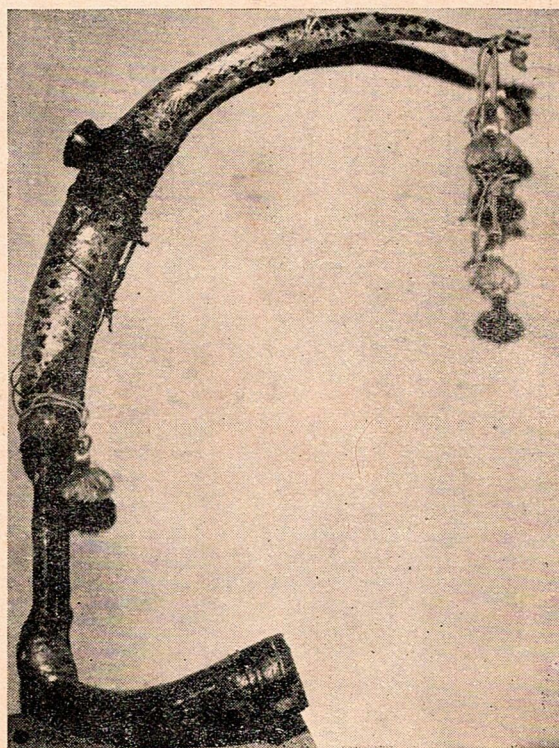
Traditional tribal painting of Waril Tribe of Thane District



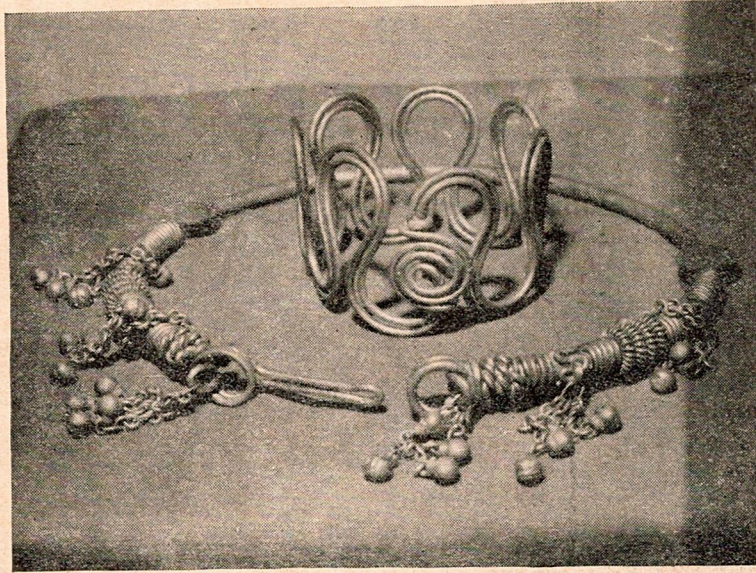
"Yetya Bokya"—Water container of the Gonds and Madia Gonds



"Vaghya Deo" (Tiger God) of the Warli, Thakur and Katkari Tribes



"Pawari" musical instrument of Pavara Bhils



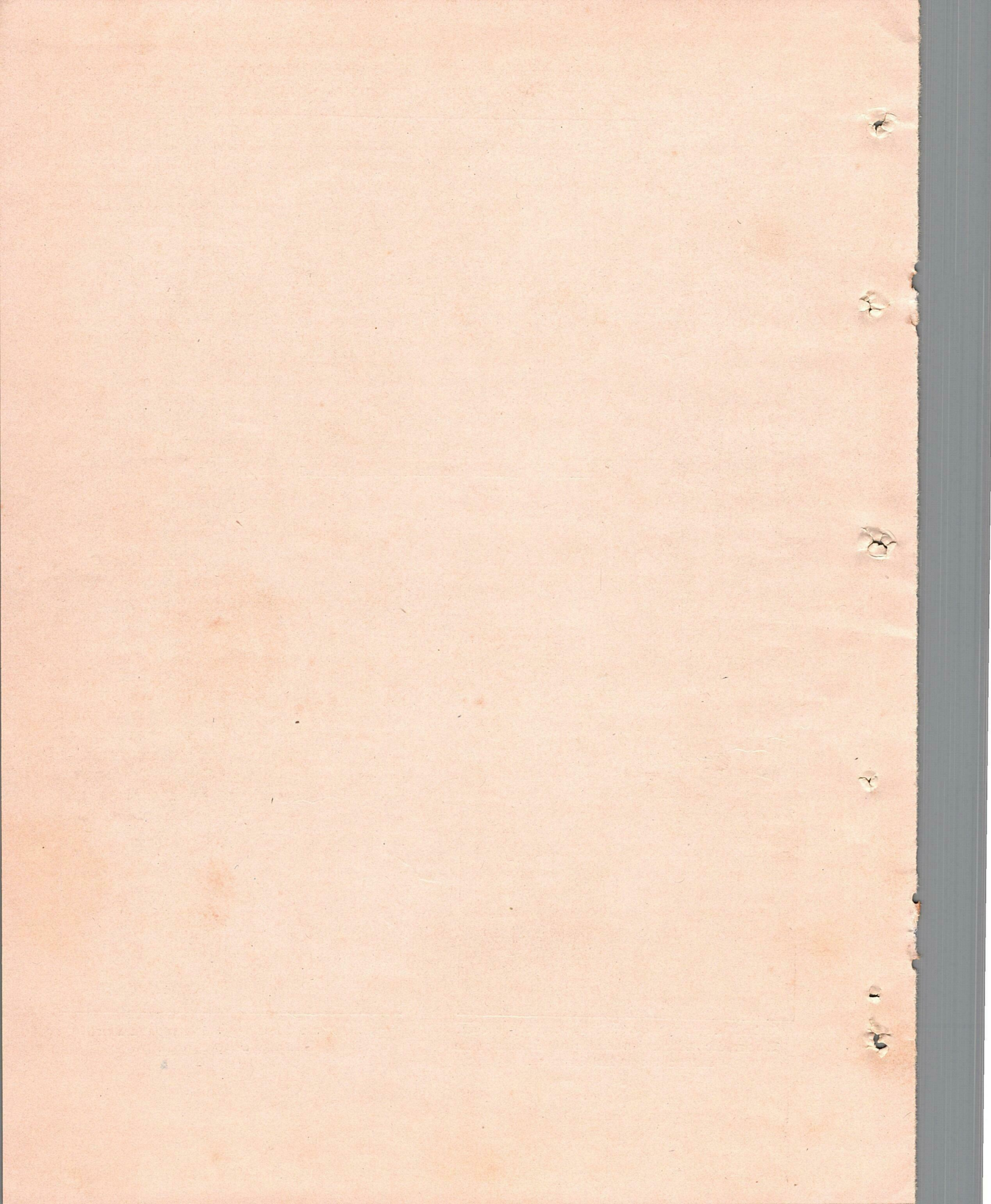
Ornaments of Korkus of Melghat Tahsil in Amravati District



"Shinoli" a type of pole erected in honour of the dead. The size, decoration and art on the pole depends on the status of the dead in his society.



"Kodhal" mask used by the Kolams of Yavatmal District in Dhensa Dance.



## THE RESEARCH ABSTRACT OF THE REPORT ON "HEALTH CONDITIONS OF THE TRIBALS IN MAHARASHTRA STATE"

The study was undertaken by the Institute with a view to find out the Health Conditions of tribals, diseases commonly prevalent among the tribal people and to study medical institutions in tribal areas. The important findings and suggestions made in the report are given below.

The existing medical facilities are inadequate. It is therefore suggested that for a distance of not more than 5 to 10 miles, one Primary Health Sub-Centre should be established fully equipped with medicines, surgical apparatus and medical staff. It is also suggested that the mobile medical units should be adequately increased and must have an equally important preventive section.

Health education is very necessary in tribal areas. A systematic programme, wherever possible with audio-visual equipment should be undertaken to spread knowledge about the dietary conditions and sanitary habits. One of the major difficulties in the interior regions like Bhamragad in the way of persuading tribal people to come for medical treatment is the fact that they have a well-developed primitive system of diagnosis and cure. The usual theory of disease in tribal society is that it is caused by hostile spirits, the ghosts of the dead or the breach of some taboo. What is spiritually caused, therefore, must be spiritually cured and this is the main reason why people in the interior prefer to go to their own doctor *Bhagat*. A wise doctor will make friendship with the local priest or *Bhagat* and will create healthy psychological atmosphere among the tribals. This is one of the most important needs in case of serious disease like leprosy in Madia Gonds of Chandrapur.

There is a serious problem of venereal diseases amongst the tribals. The basic problem in this regard is about the basic survey for want of which an adequate preventive and curative measures are not possible. In Surgana taluka there is one Leprosy Centre attached to the Primary Health Centre. There is one Ayurvedic Dispensary at Barhe, one mobile unit at Borgaon and one S. M. P. Centre at

Umbarthan. These centres are insufficient to give medical help to the tribals from interior villages. One mobile van at Barhe is badly essential to help the tribals from interior villages.

### Detailed Survey for Leprosy

Gondwadi, Chichghat, Dharni, Duni, Ranitamboli, Hardoli, Diya and Utavai are the villages in Dharni Block where the spread of this disease is noticed in greater number. There are still other 18 villages from where the patients approach for receiving the medicines to the Leprosy Centre. It is therefore necessary to take the detailed survey of the patients by physical examination by the Medical Department to know the number of leprosy patients in the area.

### Supply of clean drinking water

The supply of clean drinking water is required to be made still at various places where the drinking water is available either from the river or the "Zira" in the Nala Beds.

### Geographical coverage of the Tribal Areas by medical Institutions

It is revealed that the number of medical institutions at present available is utterly inadequate to serve even minimum needs of the tribal people. The average number of population served by a Primary Health Centre in the tribal areas varies between 41,000 in Peint Tahsil (Nasik district) and 1,47,000 in Gadchiroli tahsil (Chandrapur district) and the average is over 1,04,000 for the whole of tribal Sub-Plan area. Some new primary health centres have been opened in the tribal areas during the last year but the number is insignificant as compared to the need. As per the model plan each block with a population varying from 60,000 to 66,000 will have to be provided with one Primary Health Centre with three sub-centres and three Family Planning Sub-Centres. According to this norm additional 20 Primary Health Centres with 60 sub-centres and 60 Family Planning Sub-Centres will have to be opened in the Tribal Sub-Plan Area.

It appears that there is not even a single curative institution of Ayurvedic medicine in the Tribal Sub-Plan Area. In view of the small number of allopathic doctors available there is enough scope to set up increased number of Ayurvedic Primary Health Centres and dispensaries to meet the need for treatment of diseases on scientific lines. The tribals are already used to herbal remedies.

There are wide differences in the bed population ratio among the Tribal Development Blocks and the population served by one bed varies between 7,000 in Murbad tahsil (District Thane) and 25,000 in Gadchiroli tahsil (District Chandrapur) and the average population served by one bed is 18,000 for the whole of Tribal Sub-Plan Area. The recommended standard is one bed per thousand population.

The coverage in India for one medical institution is about 100 sq. miles, but a medical institution in the tribal area, one can unhesitatingly say, serves twice or thrice this area.

#### **Infra-structure built up at the Public Health Centre**

The consensus of opinion by the Health Administration is that there should be at least one medical officer for every 20,000 to 25,000 population, one lady health visitor for every 5,000 population and one sanitary inspector for every 10,000 population and one midwife for every 100 births. Here again we find wide variation from block to block in the tribal area. The situation becomes more terrifying when

we see the doctor population ratio for the interior and peripheral areas separately. The tribal sub-plan area as a whole, the ratio stands at 1 : 50,000. This shows that the tribal population of Maharashtra is still unable to get medical facilities adequately. In certain blocks the situation is much worse. Blocks or tahsils like Shahapur (Thane), Kalwan (Nashik), Nawapur and Shahada (Dhule), have a ratio 1 : 60,000 or more.

The present method of indenting for medical supplies in the remote areas is very frustrating. When forms are filled up and reach the head-quarters, scrutiny is made on the basis of the normal requirements of the plain area. It is all mathematically done on the basis of the Primary Health Centre returns. It is forgotten that the medical personnel in tribal areas have not only to treat the patients but also brave the rigours of climate and on many occasions to meet the urgent requirement which require the maintenance of stock of special remedies at hand. The above discussion and the data supporting show that the existing medical facilities in the tribal sub-plan area are far less than those needed to satisfy even minimum requirements.

The real problem that the Tribal Sub-Plan Area faces on the medical front is that of provision of facilities in the Tribal Areas. Doctors are reluctant to serve in the tribal villages. Unless some incentives are given to the medical personnel to serve in the tribal villages, the problem will continue to be serious. The problem is big. It's solution requires bigger efforts.

# DIET AND NUTRITION STATUS OF THE TRIBES OF ANDHRA PRADESH

\* D. R. Pratap

With a view to find out the dietary habits and Nutrition status of the tribal communities of Andhra Pradesh, the Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad conducted studies in the Agency districts of Adilabad, Mahabubnagar, Kurnool East and West Godavari and Srikakulam.

Occupationally the tribals of Adilabad are settled Agriculturists while the tribals of East and West Godavari and Srikakulam are podu cultivators. The Chenchus inhabiting the Nallamala is of Kurnool and Mahaboobnagar are food gatherers and hunters. The results of the study are presented below.

## What the tribals eat ?

*Cereals.*—The Gonds of Adilabad are unique in consuming exclusively Jowar and Maize. The tribals of Srikakulam district consume more ragi than in other areas. In the other districts Jowar, ragi, rice and other millets are consumed depending on the availability. A millet locally called "Vooda" is consumed extensively in Srikakulam district, while Sorgham, Samai, and Italian millet are consumed in the Godavari region.

The per capita consumption of cereals is highest among the Gonds and lowest among the tribals of Godavari. The average daily consumption is almost upto the recommended quantity among the Gonds, but deficient by 44 per cent in Godavari region, 34 per cent in Srikakulam and 27 per cent in Kurnool and nagar districts.

## Pulses, nuts and seeds

Excepting Adilabad where field beans and red gram are consumed in large quantities as a side dish as well as a supplement for cereals. The consumption of dals is negligible among other tribals. However, a variety of wild seeds, nuts etc., are consumed in all the areas. Especially in Srikakulam the lower consumption of cereals is compensated by eating mango-seed extensively. Similarly, adda seed is consumed in its season by the Chenchus.

Taking the consumption of pulses, nuts and seeds together the consumption is far higher in Adilabad and Srikakulam. While, in Godavari, Kurnool and Mahaboobnagar districts a deficiency of 61 per cent and 35 per cent respectively was observed.

## Leafy vegetables

The consumption of leafy vegetables especially wild varieties is very high among the Chenchus and among the tribals of Srikakulam and Godavari region. These tribals consume leafy vegetables exclusively in times of scarcity to make up the deficiency of other staple diets. But the consumption is very low among the Gonds. It is observed that the tribals resort to wild leaves only when they could not get any cereals or roots for consumption. As such the gonds who could consume better quantity of cereals and pulses were neglecting leafy vegetables and there was a deficiency of 94 per cent.

## Vegetables, roots and tubers

The consumption of cultivated vegetables is very much limited to particular seasons. Pump-kins are very popular among the tribals of Srikakulam and Godavari region, while, country beans are exclusively consumed during the months of December to March by Gonds. The Chenchus did not bother to cultivate any vegetables. However, excepting the Gonds the other tribals supplement their diets or exclusively subsist on many varieties of wild roots and tubers in times of scarcity. Wild yans known as "Chenchu Gadda", "Nulugadda", and "Elavaragadda" form the main stay for Chenchus for most of the year. While Teega dumpa 'Pulidumpa' 'Pandeiga dumpa' 'Govindagada' etc., are eaten in the eastern agency. The popular tubers in Adilabad district are 'Kehkanati' and 'Noskanti'. Even unpalatable bitter tubers which are abundantly available during times of scarcity are consumed by repeatedly boiling and washing them to remove the bitterness.

However, the consumption of roots and tubers is far lower than the recommended

quantities in all the area ranging from 69 to 94 per cent. The highest consumption of roots and tubers was observed among the food gathering Chenchus.

#### Flesh foods

The tribals are very fond of meat, but they could not get enough of this item due to various reasons. The Chenchus who are hunters and the tribals of Godavari who get fish from the river Godavari, consume better quantities of flesh food than the other areas. Though poultry is kept by all the tribals, they will not consume Chicken or eggs as these items are marketed for money. The consumption of mutton in Adilabad and Srikakulam is limited. The mutton is occasionally purchased from the shandies. Compared to recommended standards, the consumption is deficient by more than 90 per cent in Srikakulam and Adilabad districts, 10 per cent among the Chenchus and 16 per cent among the tribals of Godavari.

#### Milk and milk produces, oil, sugar and jaggery

Consumption of these items is negligible in all the areas. However, the tribals of Godavari were better than the other tribals. The milk is used only in tea.

On the whole the tribals diets are deficient in all items of food excepting leaves and wild roots and tubers in certain areas.

#### Nutrient intake

*Calories and proteins.*—The per capita consumption of calories and proteins is the highest among the tribals of Adilabad and lowest among the tribals of Srikakulam.

The survey reveals that the adults in Adilabad get nearly 3,000 calories, in Kurnool and Mahboobnagar about 2,200, in Godavari agency 1,900 and in Srikakulam 1,860, calories per day from the foods consumed against a requirement of 3,900 per day per heavy worker and 2,800 per moderate worker. Most of the tribals do heavy to moderate work like hunting, felling trees and agriculture. The diets are deficient in calories in all the areas, if the tribals are considered to do heavy work. But the consumption in Adilabad is quiet satisfactory for moderate work.

While, in other areas it is not sufficient even for a moderate worker.

The consumption of protein is satisfactory in all the areas except Srikakulam where it is deficient by about 7 grams per day. The tribals of Adilabad are unique by consuming almost double the required quantity of proteins through pulses and field beans.

#### Minerals

As the tribals consume better quantities of leafy vegetables, seeds and ragi which are good sources of calcium and iron, their diets are not deficient in minerals. The tribals of Srikakulam and Chenchus exhibit the highest consumption of calcium.

#### Vitamin A

The consumption of leafy vegetables, jack fruits and mangoes provide good sources of Vitamin-A to the tribals. Hence, Vitamin-A is satisfactory in all areas, excepting Adilabad. Adilabad forests do not provide jackfruit and mango which are abundant in the Eastern agency. Further, leafy vegetables are not consumed in large quantities. Hence, deficiency of Vitamin A is common among the Gonds. However, deficiency of this Vitamin is possible in certain seasons of the year.

#### B-Complex Vitamins

Due to age old beliefs, the tribals are averse to consume milk and milk products. They feel that it is a sin to deprive the calf of its mother's milk. Hence, B-Complex vitamin deficiency is very common in tribal areas.

The tribal diets are deficient in calories but not in protein. Consumption of inadequate quantities of cereals and exclusion of protective foods like milk and vegetables is regulating in vitamin deficiency. Thus the problems in tribal areas are under nourishment and ill balanced diets.

Due to ill balanced diets the tribal children suffer with 'Kwashiokor, aneamia' liver and skin enlargement. The heights of the children are 10 to 20 per cent less than the standard in tribal areas.



## SPATIAL PLANNING OF THE DEVELOPMENTAL PROGRAMMES IN TRIBAL AREAS

\*Dr. G. M. Gare

AN attempt has been made to analyse the social and economic system of the tribals and to see how the same are articulated in space. A note of the changes of every kind that are sweeping across the tribal areas has also been taken. The tribal economy has been closed economy until recent times. The people have been living by and large, at subsistence level with very little surplus with which to buy necessary goods and services. This has led to very little spatial integration of the economy in the Tribal Area. The consequences is that there has been nothing like focalisation of relationships in space. The only exception is the weekly market centre where one perceives the feeble heart-beats of the spatial interaction of the tribal economy.

In a barter economy, which was the case in most tribal areas, there was no necessity for an organised market nor for transport to move the produce over considerable distances. It is only where a money economy and greater specialization in production comes that markets have to be organised and people have to think about some transport facilities. These conditions have undoubtedly come into existence at least in some parts of the tahsils through facilities of marketing and transport have not developed to any considerable extent. At present the tribals are travelling sometimes 10 to 15 kilometres on foot to reach these market centres.

The tribal development programmes are bringing to every tribal village new ideas; new techniques and new contacts. Roads are opening up their territory. The school, the hospital and the Adivasi Cooperative Society are being located in some of the centrally located villages. All these developments have to be properly organised in space so as to bring out the greatest impact and in such a way that they are made instruments, and ultimately to help them develop along the lines of their own traditions and genius. This is the task of spatial development. Very often ecological planning is regarded just a passive variable in economic development. Very little thought and efforts have been bestowed on the spatial dimensions of the development design in Tribal Areas. In the spatial sense every settlement point in a backward economy which at

present happens to be 'absolutely' determined without any functional inter-relationship with other settlement, transforms itself into a relatively bound location, when a common facility or service gets located here. The location of common facilities and services at discrete points in geographic space could, if intelligently manipulated, become a powerful mechanism for bringing about development in lagging regions.

This philosophy is based on two contentions— (i) Limited investment resources will have little spatial impact if spread too thinly among numerous small settlements and (ii) Agglomeration and urbanisation economies will accrue to the investment: if they are concentrated spatially in a few focal points. Therefore, while restructuring the spatial relations between the settlements on a functional basis in order to meet the requirements of a changing economy and society, the above approach has to be kept in view.

Spatial development is a dynamic process. In a transitional economy, the changes in consumer demand and consumer travel patterns influence the character and spacing of settlements, alter relative importance of settlements, depressing the role of some existing ones and endowing certain others with new significance. In planning exercise, therefore, one must strike a balance between stability and change and this could be done only if one tries to build a system on the moorings of the tribal society.

The existing consumer travel patterns in the tribal society shows that there are at least three types of movements which are undertaken by the tribals to meet the barest needs of his existence. These are: (1) a weekly movement to the market place, which is located on an average at about 8 miles from his village, and (2) a seasonal movement to places where fairs are hold. The distribution of these fairs shows that the average distance among them varies between 15 to 20 kilometers. (3) Third movement is far seasonal employment, particularly in grass cutting work charcoal making, cutting of forest, during the months of October to February-March. To these three types of traditional movement, new ones are being added to-day. The most important

among such movements is the travel to the Block Headquarters and Adivasi Co-operative Society centres. There are also sometimes movements to the administrative headquarters and to the regulated markets. The average distance between one block headquarters and another is about 30 kilometres.

It is important to note these critical distances 8, 20 and 30 or 35 kilometres respectively because they are bound to play a significant role in the life of the community for a long time to come. The mode of transport may change, the wants of the community may increase and the frequency of contacts may also increase, as the community undergoes various kinds of transformation from traditional cultivation to modern agriculture, from a barter to a money economy and from a subsistence to a surplus economy. Such changes will no doubt introduce changes in the cluster of activities associated with each level but three levels of centres differentiated from one another may yet continue to remain. To illustrate this point, we may note that as the tribal's mode of transport changes, the weekly market may decline in significance; yet it may continue to be a central village or Adivasi Co-operative Society centres for meeting his more frequent needs. Its marketing function may be taken over by the place where Adivasi Co-operative Society centres are spread and the seasonal fairs are presently being held. With the change to a surplus economy, the need for processing industries may arise. These changes will gradually build up the skill of the tribals. This in turn may lead to the accentuation and growth of secondary activity in selected places. All these development will call for spatial adjustments and they have all to be properly planned such that the entire process of change is accompanied by stability.

Taking the various aspects of change likely to affect the community into account an attempt has been made to provide a plan for the restructuring of the spatial pattern of the tribal communities. This plan has been conceived for a period covering the next 15 years, which in our opinion represents the transition stage of the communities. The spatial frame consists of the following elements.

#### MARKET TOWN

(Centre for diffusing growth in Tribal Area)

Wholesale collection and distribution centre, Industrial Estate, Superior Educational facilities, college, Poly-technics, Bank.

#### SERVICE CENTRE

(Centre for various extension services)

Collection centre for agricultural and forest produce, Centre for common facilities and services, credit institution, Post and Telephone office, Police Station, High School, Public Health Centre etc.

#### CENTRAL VILLAGE

Middle School, Adivasi Co-operative Society, Dispensary, Weekly Market, Collection sub-centre etc.

#### BASIC VILLAGE

Drinking water, primary school, Road connecting the village to the central village.

Effective planning calls for the creation of an appropriate institution whose purpose is to shape and steadily stimulate the development process which can help to attain the minimum targets and goals.

In the present Paper, we have viewed the problems of spatial integration of a tribal economy, taking note of the urgency for accelerated development as well as the need for bringing about any change with stability. The national policy aims at securing advancement of the tribal areas of the country without disturbing the essential harmony of the lives of the indigenous inhabitants of the areas and securing their integrations without imposition. It is hoped that our basic principles conform to that objective and will be helpful in fulfilling it. The present tribal development programmes will have to be examined in the lights of the basic principles of spatial and ecological planning in the Tribal Sub-Plan Area of the State.

**STATISTICS ON SCHEDULED  
TRIBES**

*Tribewise population of important tribes in  
Maharashtra State (1971 Census)*

Sr. No.	Name of Scheduled Tribe	Population
1	2	3
	All Scheduled Tribes	... 29,54,249
1	Anoh	... 76,147
2	Bhils	... 678,750
3	Dhanka	.. 53,649
4	Dhodia	.. 9,936
5	Dubla	... 12,474
6	Gamit	... 1,28,831
7	Gond	... 3,31,798
8	Helba	.. 7,205
9	Kathodi	.. 1,46,785
10	Kawar	.. 2,877
11	Kharia	... 3,827
12	Kokna	.. 2,64,009
13	Kolam	... 56,061
14	Koli Dhor	... 43,528
15	Koli Mahadeo	... 3,39,855
16	Koli Malhar	... 99,613
17	Korku	.. 67,742
18	Naikda	... 9,315
19	Nihal	.. 3,604
20	Pardhan	.. 50,910
21	Pardhi	.. 24,956
22	Thakur	.. 1,78,805
23	Varli	... 2,93,931
24	Vitolia	... 1,031
25	Unspecified and population of 20 communities having less than 1000 population.	68,610

*Districtwise Population of Scheduled Tribes in  
Maharashtra State*

(Population according to 1971 census)

S. No.	District	Total population (lakhs)	Tribal population (lakhs)
1	2	3	4
	<b>MAHARASHTRA STATE</b>	504.12	29.54
1	Bombay	... 59.70	0.30
2	Thane	... 22.81	5.80
3	Kulaba	... 12.63	1.14
4	Ratnagiri	.. 19.91	0.10
5	Nashik	... 23.69	5.61
6	Dhule	... 16.62	6.16
7	Jalgaon	... 21.23	1.25
8	Ahmadnagar	... 22.69	1.46
9	Pune	... 31.78	1.08
10	Satara	... 17.27	0.04
11	Sangli	.. 15.40	0.02
12	Sholapur	... 22.54	0.09
13	Kolhapur	... 20.48	0.04
14	Aurangabad	... 19.71	0.32
15	Parbhani	... 15.07	0.42
16	Bhid	... 12.86	0.04
17	Nanded	... 13.98	0.56
18	Osmanabad	... 18.97	0.03
19	Buldhana	... 12.63	...
20	Akola	... 15.01	...
21	Amravati	... 15.41	0.79
22	Yavatmal	... 14.24	1.98
23	Wardha	... 7.80	..
24	Bhandara	... 15.86	..
25	Nagpur	... 19.43	—
26	Chandrapur	... 16.40	2.31

## चंद्रपूर जिल्ह्यात कुष्ठरोगाची समस्या

\*डॉ. पुरुषोत्तम सिरसाळकर

'चंद्रपूर जिल्ह्यात कुष्ठरोगाची समस्या' हा संशोधन प्रकल्प १९७७-७८ वर्षात पूर्ण केला. या अभ्यासासाठी सह-संचालक, कुष्ठरोग, पुणे विभागीय कुष्ठरोग अधिकारी व उप-संचालक (स्वास्थ्य), नागपूर जिल्हा स्वास्थ्य अधिकारी, चंद्रपूर व मेडिकल अधिकारी, गढचिरोली, मूल व ब्रह्मपुरी यांच्याशी चर्चा करून आवश्यक माहिती गोळा करण्यात आली. तसेच प्रश्नावलीद्वारे माहिती संबंधित अधिकाऱ्यांकडून व श्री. बाबासाहेब आमटे, सचिव, महारोगी समिती, वरोरा यांच्याकडून गोळा करण्यात आली. सर्व संबंधित अधिकाऱ्यांनी व स्वयंस्फूर्त सेवा संस्थांच्या कार्यकर्त्यांनी कुष्ठरोग प्रतिबंधक कार्यक्रम राबविण्यात येणाऱ्या अडचणींचा व त्यांनी केलेल्या सूचनांची दखल या अभ्यासात घेण्यात आलेली आहे.

भारतात या रोगांनी पीडित अंदाजे पंचवीस लाख लोक आहेत. यापैकी पन्नास टक्के रोगी तामिळनाडू व आंध्र प्रदेशात आहेत. महाराष्ट्रात एक हजार लोकसंख्येत आठ महारोगी आढळतात. अंदाजे ४ लाख महारोगी महाराष्ट्रात आहेत. यापैकी २५ टक्के रोगी संसर्जन्य आहेत. महाराष्ट्रातील निरनिराळ्या जिल्ह्यात या रोगाचे हजार लोकसंख्येत खालील-प्रमाणे प्रमाण आहे.

कुष्ठरोगाचे जिल्हावार प्रमाण

अ. नं.	जिल्हा	रोगाचे हजारी लोक- संख्येत प्रमाण
१	वर्धा	१८.८५
२	उस्मानाबाद	१५.३७
३	चंद्रपूर	१५.३५
४	सोलापूर	१३.१९
५	नांदेड	१४.१७
६	अमरावती	११.७३
७	यवतमाळ	१०.७७
८	अकोला	१०.०५
९	बीड	१०.०२
१०	नागपूर	९.३०
११	ठाणे	८.५०
१२	सातारा	७.६३
१३	भंडारा	७.५१
१४	परभणी	७.२४
१५	सांगली	५.७३
१६	बुलढाणा	५.३९

अ. नं.	जिल्हा	रोगाचे हजारी लोक- संख्येत प्रमाण
१७	औरंगाबाद	५.३७
१८	अहमदनगर	५.१८
१९	जळगाव	५.१०
२०	कोल्हापूर	४.५०
२१	पुणे	४.३७
२२	नाशिक	४.१७
२३	कुलाबा	३.१४
२४	धुळे	३.०७
२५	रत्नागिरी	१.६७

वरील तक्त्यावरून असे आढळून येईल की, महाराष्ट्रातील वर्धा, चंद्रपूर, उस्मानाबाद, नांदेड या जिल्ह्यात कुष्ठरोगाचे प्रमाण इतर जिल्ह्यांच्या तुलनेने अधिक आहे.

या अभ्यासानंतर आढळून आलेले महत्वाचे निष्कर्ष खाली दिलेले आहेत. कुष्ठरोग प्रतिबंधक कार्यक्रम अधिक गतीने राबविण्यासाठी काही महत्वाच्या सूचना केलेल्या आहेत.

निष्कर्ष व सूचना —

- चंद्रपूर जिल्ह्यात गढचिरोली तालुक्यात या रोगाचे दर-हजारी प्रमाण (१६.६), ब्रम्हपुरी तालुक्यात (१२.६) चंद्रपूर तालुक्यात (१४.८), वरोरा तालुक्यात (१०.३), सिरोंचा तालुक्यात (८) व राजूर तालुक्यात (८), आढळून येते. अंदाजे पंचवीस हजार रोगपीडित या जिल्ह्यात आहेत. महारोग्यांसाठी उपलब्ध करून दिलेल्या वैद्यकीय सोयी या रोग्यांचे प्रमाण लक्षात घेता पुरेशा नाहीत. या जिल्ह्यातील भौगोलिक परिस्थिती, दर एकरी लोकसंख्या, दळणवळणाच्या साधनांचा अभाव अधिक पर्जन्यमान लक्षात घेऊन रोग्यांसाठी अधिक वैद्यकीय सोयी उपलब्ध करून देणे या रोगाला प्रतिबंध घालण्यासाठी आवश्यक आहेत.
- महाराष्ट्र प्रतिबंधक युनिट, ब्रम्हपुरीच्या कार्यक्षेत्रात एका तंत्रज्ञाकडे सरासरी (२३) गावे, महारोग प्रतिबंधक युनिट गढचिरोलीच्या कार्यक्षेत्रात एका तंत्रज्ञाकडे सरासरी (४१) गावे, व महारोग प्रतिबंधक युनिट मूळच्या कार्यक्षेत्रात एका तंत्रज्ञाकडे सरासरी १७ गावे रोगप्रतिबंधक कामासाठी दिलेली आढळून आली. तसेच असेही निदर्शनास आले की अति पर्जन्यवृष्टी,

- दळणवळणाचा अभाव, विखुरलेली गावे, घनदाट जंगले व दरएकरी कमी लोकसंख्या अशा कारणामुळे या भागात काम करणारे तंत्रज्ञ व त्यांचेवर देखरेख करणारे कर्मचारी, कार्यक्षेत्रातील सर्व गावांना नियमित भेटी देऊ शकत नाहीत. या कर्मचाऱ्यांवर वैद्यकीय अधिकारी, त्यांच्या कामाच्या ताणामुळे विशेष लक्ष देवू शकत नाही व यामुळे या कामास गती लाभत नाही. या कामाचा वेग वाढविण्याच्या दृष्टीने सर्वेक्षण शिक्षण व प्रशिक्षण केंद्राची फेररचना करून प्रत्येक तंत्रज्ञाकडे (१६) कि. मी. चौरस व दहा हजार लोकसंख्या असलेला भाग, त्या विभागातील भौगोलिक परिस्थिती लक्षात घेऊन ठेवावा, ज्यामुळे तंत्रज्ञांना खेड्यास भेटी देणे सोयीचे होईल.
३. प्राथमिक आरोग्यकेंद्रात महारोग्यांना वैद्यकीय मदत देण्यासाठी असलेली रक्कम पुरेशी नसते. तेव्हा या रकमे-शिवाय अधिक दहा हजार रुपये, औषधासाठी आरोग्य केंद्रास दरवर्षी या कामासाठी देण्यात यावेत. त्यामुळे खेड्यापाड्यातील महारोग्यांना औषध पुरविणे शक्य होईल.
४. श्री. बाबासाहेब आमटे यांनी या भागातील कुष्ठरोग्यां-साठी चालविलेले हॉस्पिटल कुष्ठरोग्यांची उत्तम सेवा करीत असल्याचे आढळून आले. हा विभाग वर्षातून सहा महिने, इतर विभागापासून दळणवळणाच्या सोयीअभावी वेगळा पडलेला असतो व या विभागातून अद्याप शासकीय वैद्यकीय स्कीम पोहोचलेल्या आढळून येत नाहीत. अशा दुर्गम भागात ही संस्था उत्कृष्ट कार्य करीत आहे. या संस्थेमार्फत वीस खाटांचे रुग्णालय चालविण्यासाठी व त्याच्या इमारतीसाठी आर्थिक मदत व औषधोपचारा-साठी दरवर्षी काही प्रमाणात मदत देऊन संस्थेच्या कार्यास शासनाची मदत व्हावी. त्यामुळे आदिवासी भागात आरोग्य सेवा होण्यास मदत होईल.
५. जिल्हा आरोग्य अधिकारी, चंद्रपूर यांच्याकडे या कामा-साठी दिलेली औषधे व इतर सामग्रीसाठी वार्षिक रक्कम फारच अपुरी आहे. ही रक्कम दरवर्षी वाढ-विण्याची गरज आहे. त्यामुळे महारोग्यांच्या औषधाकडे व इतर सेवेकडे लक्ष पुरविता येईल.
६. या रोगाची व्याप्ती पहाता जिल्ह्यात असलेली तंत्रज्ञांची संख्या अपुरी आहे, व त्यामुळे प्रतिबंधक काम उत्तम रीतीने करता येत नाही. कामाचा वेग वाढविण्यासाठी प्रत्येक तंत्रज्ञाच्या सहायासाठी एक कम्प्युनिटी लेव्हल वर्कर नेमण्यात यावा. हा कर्मचारी तंत्रज्ञाला सर्वेक्षण शिक्षण, प्रशिक्षण कार्यात मदत करील. या कामासाठी हे काम करण्यास तयार असलेले त्याच भागातील आदि-वासी कर्मचारी नेमावेत.
७. गदचिरोली, अहेरी, कुरखेडा सिरोंचा व इटापल्ली येथील ग्रामीण दवाखान्यात या रोग्यांसाठी उपचारासाठी पुरेशा खाटा नाहीत. तेव्हा या दवाखान्यात प्रत्येकी पाच ते दहा खाटा या रोग्यांसाठी असाव्यात.
८. भामरागढ भागात ज्या ठिकाणी बरेचसे माडिया गोंड आदिवासी कुष्ठरोग व क्षयरोगानी पीडित आहेत. दहा हजार लोकसंख्येसाठी एक पुरुष बहुउद्देशिय पुरुष कर्म-चारी व पाच हजार लोकसंख्येसाठी एक स्त्री बहुउद्देशिय कर्मचारी, या प्रमाणात आवश्यक कर्मचारी याच जमा-तीतून निवडून नेमण्यात यावेत. हे कर्मचारी इतर वैद्य-कीय कर्मचाऱ्यांना या कामात मदत करतील. ही योजना या भागात सफल झाली तरच इतर भागात राववावी.
९. आरोग्य अधिकारी व इतर वैद्यकीय कर्मचाऱ्यांना वेळो-वेळी आवश्यक प्रशिक्षण देणे जरूरीचे आहे.
१०. जिल्हा आरोग्य अधिकारी, या कामासाठी विशेष लक्ष देऊ शकत नाहीत. कारण जिल्ह्यातील सर्वच प्रकारचे वैद्यकीय काम त्यांना पहावे लागते. या रोगाची या जिल्ह्यातील व्याप्ती लक्षात घेऊन असे सुचविण्यात येते की, या कामासाठीच द्वितीय श्रेणीचा वैद्यकीय अधिकारी आवश्यक कर्मचाऱ्यांसह नेमण्यात यावा.
११. तंत्रज्ञांना नेमलेल्या ठिकाणी निवासाची सोय उपलब्ध होत नाही, यामुळे मन लावून काम ते करू शकत नाहीत. तंत्रज्ञांना नेमलेल्या गावी घरे बांधण्याची योजना टप्प्याटप्प्याने पूर्ण करण्यात यावी. या गावात निवासाची सोय केल्याशिवाय तंत्रज्ञ राहणार नाहीत असे आढळून आले आहे.
१२. तंत्रज्ञांना खेडोपाडी पायी चालून, सायकलवरून जाऊन अथवा बसने जाऊन यावे लागते. यामुळे त्यांचा बरा-चसा वेळ व शक्ती वाया जाते. वन व पहाडी विभागा-तील कुष्ठरोग्यांना वैद्यकीय सवलती पुरविण्याच्या दृष्टीने प्रत्येक तंत्रज्ञाच्या मदतीसाठी एक सहायक देणे आवश्यक आहे.
१३. वन व पहाडी दुर्गम भागात काम करण्याच्या दृष्टीने आजचे वैद्यकीय अधिकारी व तंत्रज्ञांची श्रेणी आकर्षित करण्यासारखी नाही. वैद्यकीय तांत्रिक कर्मचाऱ्यांना अशा क्षेत्रात कार्य करण्यासाठी आकर्षित व्हावे म्हणून त्यांना मूळ पगाराच्या वीस टक्के जादा पगार या विभागातील प्रकल्प अधिकाऱ्यांप्रमाणे देण्यास हरकत नाही.
१४. एक विशेष आरोग्य शिक्षण केंद्र आरोग्य अधिकारी (कुष्ठरोग चंद्रपूर) यांच्या देखरेखाखाली स्थापन कर-ण्यात यावे. हे केंद्र आदिवासी भागात आरोग्य शिक्षण मोहीम जोराने चालवू शकेल. या मोहिमेत भिती-पत्रिका व स्लाईडसचा वापर व्हावा व जास्तीत जास्त स्थानिक बोलीभाषांचा वापर करावा.
१५. वैद्यकीय कर्मचाऱ्यांवर देखरेख ठेवण्याच्या उद्देशाने व गावांना वेळोवेळी भेटी देणे सुलभ व्हावे म्हणून कर्म-चाऱ्याला विशेष वाहन भत्ता देण्याचा विचार व्हावा.
१६. उपलब्ध आकडेवारीवरून असे आढळून आले की, ज्या भागात दर हजारी कुष्ठरोग्यांचे प्रमाण जास्त आहे त्या भागात नवीन रोगी हुडकून काढण्याचे प्रमाण कमी

- आहे. या रोगाच्या नव्या केसेस हुडकून काढण्यासाठी वैद्यकीय पहाणी व सर्वेक्षणाची व्याप्ती वाढविणे आवश्यक आहे. यासाठी सर्व कर्मचाऱ्यांनी विशेष कार्य करणे आवश्यक आहे.
१७. या कार्यक्रमासाठी लोकांचे सहकार्य कमी मिळत असल्याचे आढळून आले. लोकांचे अधिक सहकार्य मिळविण्याच्या हेतूने ग्रामपंचायतीचे सरपंच, तरुण मंडळाचे कार्यकर्ते, महिला मंडळाच्या कार्यकर्त्या, ग्रामसेवक, पटबारी इत्यादी लोकांना या रोगाची माहिती देण्याच्या दृष्टीने प्रशिक्षण शिबिरे भरविण्यात यावीत.
१८. आरोग्य अधिकाऱ्यांचे कामावर नियंत्रण असण्याच्या दृष्टीने व संबंधित कर्मचाऱ्यांना वेळोवेळी मार्गदर्शन करण्याच्या उद्देशाने, त्यांना वाहनासाठी लागणाऱ्या पेट्रोल खर्चावर आजची मर्यादा आहे ती वाढवून पुरेशी रक्कम दरवर्षी देण्यात यावी.
१९. तंत्रज्ञ, आरोग्य शिक्षणाकडे त्यांच्या इतर कामामुळे पुरेसे लक्ष देऊ शकत नाहीत. आरोग्य अधिकाऱ्यांनी या बाबीची दखल घेऊन या कामाकडे संबंधित कर्मचारी दुर्लक्ष करणार नाहीत हे कार्यक्षमतेने पाहिले पाहिजे.
२०. कुष्ठरोग्यांच्या पुनर्वसनाचे काम श्री. बाबासाहेब आमटे यांच्या प्रेरणेने बरोबर येथे चालू आहे. सुधारलेल्या कुष्ठरोग्यांना स्थानिक परिस्थितीप्रमाणे सुतकताई, छपाई, सुतारकाम शिकविणे आवश्यक आहे. त्यामुळे ते स्वतंत्र व्यवसाय करून पोट भरू शकतील.
२१. या जिल्ह्यात दळणवळणाच्या सोयी उदा. रस्ते व पूल फारच अपुरे आहेत. त्यामुळे वैद्यकीय सेवा उपलब्ध करून देण्यात अडचणी येत आहेत. यासाठी गडचिरोली, सिरोंचा, ब्रह्मपुरी व राजुरा तहसीलमध्ये रस्त्यांच्या व पुलांच्या कामाला प्राधान्य देण्यात यावे.
२२. पहाणीत असे आढळून आले की, कुष्ठरोग प्रतिबंधक युनिट, ब्रह्मपुरीद्वारे ६३% रोगी उपचार घेत होते. गडचिरोली व मूळ युनिटमध्ये हे प्रमाण अनुक्रमे ६७ टक्के व ६६ टक्के होते. उपचार घेण्याच्या दृष्टीने उपचार न घेणाऱ्या रोग्यांशी सतत संपर्क साधणे व त्यांना वैद्यकीय सवलती सुलभ रीतीने उपलब्ध करून देणे आवश्यक आहे. संबंधित आरोग्याधिकाऱ्यांना, या बाबीकडे त्वरित लक्ष घालून, या प्रमाणात सुधारणा घडवून आणता येईल.
२३. निरनिराळ्या म्युनिसिपल दवाखान्यातून डी. डी. टी. गोळ्या वाटपाचे काम कुष्ठरोग्यांसाठी आठवड्यातून एक दिवस करण्यात येते. हे काम आठवड्यात तीन दिवस करण्यात यावे. त्यामुळे अधिक लोकांना त्याचा फायदा होईल.
२४. पहाणीत असे दिसून आले की कुष्ठरोग युनिट मूल, गडचिरोली व ब्रह्मपुरी येथे नोंदलेल्या लिप्रोमॅट्स रोग्यांपैकी सरासरी ३१ टक्के रोगी उपचार करून घेत नाहीत. या रोग्यांना उपचारासाठी आणण्यासाठी वैद्यकीय कर्मचाऱ्यांनी सातत्याने प्रयत्न केले पाहिजेत. त्यांच्यात उपचारांची जाणीव व महत्त्व निर्माण करण्यासाठी जनजागृती शिबिरे आयोजित करावीत.
२५. प्रतिबंधक उपाय या रोगासाठी व रोग्यांसाठी अपुरे आहेत. ज्या ठिकाणी दर हजारी प्रमाण जास्त आहे अशा भागात या रोगाची वाढ न होण्याच्या दृष्टीने त्वरित प्रतिबंधक उपाय अंमलात आणणे आवश्यक आहे.
२६. प्रत्येक वर्षी या विषयावर संबंधित तंत्रज्ञ, अधिकारी, डॉक्टर्स व स्वयंस्फूर्त संस्थांच्या सेवाभावी कार्यकर्त्यांचे चर्चासत्र आयोजित करण्यात यावे. त्यामुळे या कार्यास अधिक गती देता येईल.

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# महाराष्ट्रातील आदिवासी सेवा सहकारी संस्था : उद्देश व कार्य

\*डॉ. टी. बिरारी

भारतीय गणराज्यातील सर्व घटकराज्यांनी भारतीय घटनेतील मार्गदर्शक तत्वांना अनुसरून दुर्बल पददलीत, कमकुवत घटकांसाठी विविध योजना तयार करून त्या राबविण्याचा प्रयत्न गेल्या तीस वर्षांपासून केला आहे. पंचवार्षिक योजनांच्या सर्वसाधारण चौकटीतून या दुर्बल घटकांसाठी जरी प्रयत्न केले गेले असले तरी त्याद्वारा सर्वसामान्य लोकांसमवेत व गतीने प्रगती झाली नाही व तशी ती आपोआप होऊ शकत नाही हे शासनाच्या लक्षात आले. म्हणून आदिवासींच्या उन्नतीसाठी व त्यातही गती आणण्यासाठी वेगळा मार्ग काढण्याची आवश्यकता भासू लागली. नेते व तज्ज्ञ यांच्या अनुभव व विचार मंथनातून एक आगळे साधन १९७५ नंतर महाराष्ट्र राज्यात निश्चित करण्यात आले. ते म्हणजे 'आदिवासी उपयोजनात, प्रत्येक राज्यांची जी योजना आहे तिचाच एक भाग पण वेगळा असा स्वतंत्रपणे वाजूला काढण्यात आला व योजनेतील या उपयोजनेप्रोत्थर्थ ठराविक व निश्चित असा वेगळा पैसा व साधनसामग्री अंमलबजावणीसाठी अलग करण्यात आली. विकासाची निश्चित उद्दिष्टे व लक्ष्ये ठरविण्यात आली व त्या नुसार ती पूर्ण करण्यासाठी देखरेख करण्यास, समन्वय साधण्यास व अडथळे दूर करण्यासाठी प्रशासनात वरपासून खालपर्यंत यंत्रणा स्थापन केली गेली. हेतू हा की आदिवासी लोकही आदिवासींचे क्षेत्रे यांचा सर्वांगीण विकास, त्यांच्या स्थानिक गरजा व त्यांच्या आशा आकांक्षा लक्षात घेता व्हावा व तोही द्रुतगतीने.

या उपाययोजनेचाच एक भाग म्हणजे आदिवासींना शोषणमुक्त करण्यासाठी काही खास उपक्रम हाती घेणे हा होय. या उद्दिष्टपूर्तीसाठी जे जे उपक्रम शासनाने हाती घेतले त्यातील एक उपक्रम म्हणजे आदिवासी सेवा सहकारी संस्थांची स्थापना.

## आदिवासी सेवा सहकारी संस्था

महाराष्ट्राची आदिवासी उपयोजना एकूण १३ जिल्ह्यांना लागू करण्यात आलेली आहे व त्यातील ४८ तहसीली योजनेत सामील आहेत. धुळे, नासिक, ठाणे, जळगाव, पुणे, यवतमाळ, अमरावती, अहमदनगर, कुलाबा, नागपूर, भंडारा, नांदेड व चंद्रपूर हे ते १२ जिल्हे होत. मात्र या जिल्ह्यातील प्रामुख्याने जे तहसील आदिवासींचे वस्तीत आहेत तेच फक्त घेतलेले आहेत. या उपाययोजनेच्या क्षेत्राखाली ६४२६ खेडी व त्यातील १९०२ लक्ष आदिवासींची लोकसंख्या समाविष्ट आहे. या क्षेत्रांची एकूण लोकसंख्या ३४७९ लक्ष इतकी आहे.

अशा क्षेत्रात उपरिनिर्दिष्ट सहकारी संस्था १९७६ पासून टप्प्याटप्प्याने स्थापन करण्यात आल्या आहेत. तत्पूर्वी या

क्षेत्रात विविध कार्यकारी सहकारी संस्था कार्य करीत होत्या. त्यांचे कार्य एकंदरीत असमाधानकारक होते त्यांच्याकडे पैसा व साधनसामग्री फारच अपुरी होती. त्यांच्या कार्यावर बिगर आदिवासीमधील काही व्यक्तींचा अधिक पगडा होता. त्यामुळे शासनाने अशा संस्था बंद न करता त्यांना आदिवासी सेवा सहकारी संस्था नव्याने काढून त्यामध्ये सामील केले. त्यातील काही संस्थांनी या सामिलीकरणामुळे बराच विरोध केला. विशेषतः ज्यांच्या कार्यक्षेत्रात आदिवासी लोकसंख्या कमी आहे अशाच जुन्या संस्थांनी कोर्टातून 'स्थगिती' देखील मिळविल्या. आज उपयोजना क्षेत्रात एकूण २५८ संस्था स्थापन झालेल्या आहेत. त्यांच्या कार्याचा लाभ मात्र त्यांच्या क्षेत्राखालील आदिवासी तसेच बिगर आदिवासी अशा दोघांना व्हावयाचा आहे. सामान्यपणे १२,५०० लोकसंख्या व त्यातील २५०० कुटुंबांना एका संस्थेद्वारा लाभ व्हावा अशी आखणी आहे. तसेच सर्वांना लाभ होणे सुलभ व्हावे म्हणून एका संस्थेच्या ४ ते ५ शाखा वेगवेगळ्या ठिकाणी काढलेल्या असतात. एका शाखेखाली साधारणपणे ५०० कुटुंबे येऊ शकतात.

**सभासद :**— आदिवासी शेतकरी, शेतमजूर, कारागीर बिगर आदिवासी अल्पभूधारक इत्यादी या संस्थेचे सभासद होऊ शकतात. आतापर्यंत २,७९,९९८ सभासद २५८ संस्थांचे झालेले आहेत. या सभासदांपैकी १,९६,१४३ आदिवासी असून ७५,७७५ बिगर आदिवासी आहेत.

**स्वरूप :**— आदिवासी सेवा सहकारी संस्था प्रामुख्याने एक पतपेढी व खरेदी-विक्रीप्रधान संस्था आहे व ती सहकारी तत्वावर कार्य करणारी असल्याने तिची महाराष्ट्र सहकारी संस्था अधिनियम, १९६० खाली नोंदणी केलेली असते.

## उद्देश :—

१. आदिवासी शेतकरी, कारागीर व तसेच शेतमजूर यांना शेती व वनाधारित उद्योगांसाठी कर्जपुरवठा करणे, शेती उत्पादित मालाच्या खरेदी-विक्रीस व त्यास अनुषंगिक गरजा भागविण्यासाठी देखील कर्ज दिले जाते.
२. सभासदांच्या दैनंदिन व समाजिक गरजा अनुत्पादित धरून भागविण्यासाठी कर्ज पुरवठा करणे.
३. आदिवासी सभासद व इतरांच्या जंगलातील व इतर उत्पादित मालाची खरेदी-विक्री व वाटपाचे व्यवहार अंगिकारणे.
४. अल्प, मध्यम व दीर्घ मुदतीची कर्जे सभासदांना मंजूर करणे व तसेच जुनी कर्जे फेडण्यासाठी व घरगुती गरजा भागविण्यासाठी कर्जे देणे.

५. शेती, पशुसंवर्धन, दुग्धव्यवसाय, मच्छीमारी व इतर व्यवसाय यातून निर्माण होणाऱ्या वस्तूची योग्य किंमत सभासदास मिळावी यासाठी त्या मालाची खरेदी-विक्री करणे, साठवणूक करणे, वाहतूक करणे इत्यादी कामे करणे व प्रक्रिया यंत्रणा उभारणे.
६. पशुसंवर्धनास पोषक व्हावे म्हणून जातीवंत वळू पाळणे व सभासदांच्या मार्गदर्शनासाठी आदर्श दुग्धशाळा चालविणे.
७. सभासदांच्या मार्गदर्शनासाठी "मॉडेल फार्म" काढणे.
८. रोजगार उपलब्ध करून देणे. शासनाशी व अन्य संस्थांशी करार करून रस्ने, विहिरी, इमारती, तलाव बांधारे यांची सार्वजनिक कामे स्वीकारणे व त्याद्वारे सभासदांना रोजगार पुरविणे व त्यांच्या उत्पन्नात भर घालणे.
९. सभासदांनी काटकसर, सहकार व आर्थिक शिस्त अंगी बाळगावी म्हणून त्यांना बँकिंगच्या सवयी लावणे.
१०. उद्दिष्टपूर्तीसाठी आवश्यक तो पैसा उभा करणे.

येणेप्रमाणे उद्दिष्टे लक्षात घेतल्यास हे ध्यानात येईल की, ही संस्था पतपेढी व खरेदी-विक्रीद्वारे आदिवासी भागात शतकापासून आदिवासींची व इतर दुर्बल घटकांची जी पिळवणूक होत असे व आजही काही प्रमाणात चालू आहे ती थांबविणे हेच एकमेव उद्दिष्ट गाठण्यासाठी स्थापन झालेली आहे. पिळवणूक थांबल्याखेरीज आदिवासी लोक व त्यांचा भाग यांची कोणत्याही प्रकारची उन्नती होणे शक्य नाही. तेव्हा पिळवणुकीपासून मुक्तता अथवा शोषणमुक्ती हेच खरे या संस्थेचे उद्दिष्ट होय.

कार्य :- उद्दिष्टे पाहिल्यावर या संस्थेची कामे आपल्या ध्यानी येऊ शकतात.

**किराणा दुकान चालविणे :-** सभासद व इतरांना गरजेच्या वस्तू पुरविण्यासाठी या संस्थांनी किराणा दुकान सुरू केले आहे. घान्य, डाळी, तेल, मीठ, मिरची, गूळ, साबण इ. सर्व जिनसा विकत घेण्यास आदिवासी व इतर या दुकानांचा लाभ बऱ्याच मोठ्या प्रमाणात घेऊ लागले आहेत.

**कापड दुकान चालविणे :-** अनेक संस्थांनी आपल्या कार्यक्षेत्रात कापड दुकाने चालविली आहेत. काही तर बाजारच्या दिवशी बाजारात कापड विकतात. काहीनी ३ ते ४ दुकाने चालविली असून अशा दुकानातून कंट्रोलचा कपडा स्वस्त दरात विकला जातो.

**रेशन दुकान चालविणे :-** काही संस्थांनी अशा प्रकारची दुकाने चालविली आहेत. तथापि देशातील एकंदरीत अन्नधान्य स्थिती समाधानकारक असल्याने या दुकानांचे महत्व कमी झाले आहे.

**दुग्धव्यवसाय व मच्छीमारी :-** काही थोड्या संस्थांनी ह्या व्यवसायाच्या विकासासाठी कर्जे दिली आहेत.

या व्यतिरिक्त खालील उपक्रम व कामे या संस्थांनी हाती घ्यावीत अशी अपेक्षा आहे.

इमारती लाकूड, कोळसा, सरपण, डीक, गुरे पाळणे, माल साठवणूक करणे, वितरण करणे, खरेदी-विक्री करणे, पीठ-गिरणी सुरू करणे, कुक्कुटपालन, प्रक्रिया करणारे उद्योग, वर्कशॉप चालविणे इ.

**पंचकमिटी :-** व्यवस्थापनासाठी प्रत्येक संस्थेस एक पंचकमिटी असते. तूर्त शासनाने तीन वर्षासाठी अशी पंचकमिटी नियुक्त केलेली असून तदनंतर निवडणुकीने पंचकमिटीचा स्थापन होतील. यात ११ सदस्य राहतील. निवडून आलेले ७ सदस्य सहकार आयुक्तांचे २ प्रतिनिधी सदस्य, वित्तपुरवठा संस्थेचा १ प्रतिनिधी सदस्य व एक पदसिध्द सदस्य जे व्यवस्थापक म्हणून काम पहातील. त्याप्रमाणे सदस्य सध्या आहेत, पण ते नियुक्त आहेत.

**अर्थसहाय्य :-** या संस्थांना भरपूर व योग्य कारणांसाठी जर अर्थसहाय्य केले नाही तर त्या शोषण मुक्तीचे उद्दिष्ट पार पाडू शकणार नाहीत म्हणून सहकार खात्याद्वारे त्यांना खालील कारणासाठी अर्थसहाय्य कर्जरूपाने दिलेले आहे.

१. भागभांडवल घेण्यास सभासदांना विनव्याजी कर्ज देणे. प्रत्येकी रु. १०० व ७ वर्षात परतफेड.
२. कारभाराविषयक खर्चातील तूट भरून काढण्यास पंधरा वर्षात परतफेड करावयाचे विनव्याजी कर्ज देणे.
३. बुडीत कर्ज रिझर्व्ह फंडास शासनाने मदत म्हणून निधी देणे.
४. अतिगरीब आदिवासी सभासदांना व्याजात सूट देणे.
५. संस्थेसाठी गोडाऊन बांधण्यासाठी कर्ज देणे. रु. १,२०,००० प्रत्येकी.

वरील बाबींसाठी सर्व संस्थांना मदत झालेली असल्याने त्यांचे कामकाज सुरू झालेले आहे. सहकार खाते, बँक इ. यांचे अनुभवी अधिकारी या संस्थांचे व्यवस्थापक म्हणून काम पाहतात. शासनाने व्यवस्थापक व हिशोबतपासनीस नव्याने नेमून त्यांना ३ महिन्यांचे प्रशिक्षण देऊन शिकावू अधिकारी म्हणून या संस्थावर नेमले आहेत. त्यामुळे लवकरच आज डेप्युटेशनवर काम पाहणारे व्यवस्थापक त्यांच्या खात्यास परततील.

वरील अर्थसहाय्याव्यतिरिक्त जिल्हा सहकारी मध्यवर्ती बँकांनी या संस्थांना पीक-कर्जे, मध्यम मुदतीची कर्जे व काही ठिकाणी खावटी कर्जे त्यांच्या सभासदांसाठी मोठ्या प्रमाणावर दिली आहेत. महाराष्ट्र राज्य आदिवासी सहकारी विकास महामंडळातर्फे या संस्थांना १० जिल्ह्यात खावटी कर्जासाठी सुमारे तीन कोटी रुपये दिले. त्यातून हजारो आदिवासींना जुलै १९७८ पासून २ महिन्यात एन गरजेच्या वेळी खावटी कर्ज



मिळाल्याने शोषणमुक्तीच्या दृष्टीने चांगली मदत झालेली आहे. असे कर्ज भूमीहिनास रु. १००, थकबाकीदारास रु. १२५ व बिगर थकबाकीदारास रु. २५० या दराने दिले गेले असून त्यात ३० टक्के पैसा रूपाने व ७० टक्के माल रूपाने—धान्य, गोडेतेल, मिरची, मीठ, कापड इ. देण्यात आले.

तसेच १९७७ मध्ये सुमारे दोन महिने ऑक्टोबर, नोव्हेंबर व १९७८ मध्ये दसऱ्यापासून महामंडळाच्या वतीने या संस्थांनी एकाधिकार खरेदी योजनेखाली उपाययोजनेच्या क्षेत्रात शासनाने ठरविलेल्या शेती व जंगल उत्पादित मालाची खरेदी मोठ्या प्रमाणावर केली. प्रत्येक संस्थेने ठराविक गावातील खरेदी केंद्रावर हा माल बाजारभावाने खरेदी करून या सर्व

दुर्बल घटकांना तेथेच एकाच हप्त्यात पैसा दिला. वजन व्यवस्थित करून प्रतीप्रमाणे किंमत दिली गेली. यामुळे लोकांची पिढवणुकीपासून मोठ्या प्रमाणात मुक्तता झाली.

एकंदरीत या संस्था आदिवासी व दुर्बल घटक यांना शोषणापासून मुक्त करण्याच्या कामी योग्य दिशेने प्रयत्न करताना आढळतात. तथापि बेरोजगार सभासद अनेक आहेत. त्यांना रोजगार मिळवून देण्यासाठी फार मोठ्या प्रमाणावर प्रयत्न या संस्थांनी करणे व शासनाच्या संबंधित खात्यांनी त्यासाठी सहकार्य करणे हे अद्यापि होऊ न शकल्याने या हजारो दुर्बलांचे खरे कल्याण अद्यापि दूरच आहे. आशा आहे की ते उद्दिष्ट देखील सफल होईल.

# आदिवासी विकासात प्रशिक्षणाचे महत्त्व

\*रामदास डवरे

महाराष्ट्रातील आदिवासींची लोकसंख्या सुमारे ३७ लाख आहे. आदिवासी जमाती ह्या डोंगराळ, दऱ्या-खोरे व जंगलमय प्रदेशात राहत असल्याने सर्वसाधारण समाजापासून अलग राहिल्या असून त्या शैक्षणिक व आर्थिकदृष्ट्या फार मागासलेल्या आहेत. आदिवासींच्या उन्नतीच्या मार्गात अनेक अडचणी येतात. बारमाही वाहतुकीच्या सोयी, पिण्याचे स्वच्छ पाणी, पक्की घरे, वैद्यकीय सोयी इत्यादींचा अभाव आदिवासी भागात आढळतो. अज्ञान व आर्थिक कर्जवाजारीपणामुळे त्यांच्या जमिनी सावकार व जमीनदार यांनी वळकाविल्या आहेत. शेतजमिनीचे मालक असलेले आदिवासी आता शेतमजूर व जमिनदारांचे कूळ म्हणून काम करताना दिसतात. ह्या त्यांच्या जमिनी परत मिळवून देण्यासाठी महाराष्ट्र शासनाने नवीन दोन कायदे केलेले आहेत. त्यांचे मुख्य प्रश्न गरिबी, अज्ञान, आर्थिक शोषण, बेकारी व बेरोजगारी. आदिवासींचे काही रीतीरिवाज सुद्धा त्यांच्या विकासाच्या आड येतात. समाजाला पोषक आणि उन्नतीकारक असलेले आदिवासींचे जुने रीतीरिवाज यांचा परिपोष करणे, त्यांचे आर्थिक शोषण थांबविणे व त्यांचा शैक्षणिक व आर्थिक विकास घडविणे हा महाराष्ट्रातील आदिवासींच्या प्रश्नांचा सोडवणुकीचा मार्ग आहे.

आदिवासींचा शैक्षणिक व आर्थिक विकास लवकर घडवून आणण्याच्या दृष्टीने शासनाने अनेकविध प्रयत्न सुरू केले आहेत. महाराष्ट्र शासनाने आदिवासींचा शैक्षणिक व आर्थिक विकास व्हावा व त्यांची होणारी आर्थिक पिळवणूक थांबवावी म्हणून अनेक योजना कार्यान्वित केल्या असून आदिवासी बांधव त्या योजनांचा फायदा घेत आहेत. परंतु ज्या प्रमाणात या योजनांचा फायदा मिळावयास पाहिजे होता त्या प्रमाणात या योजनांचा फायदा मिळू शकला नाही. शासनाच्या शैक्षणिक व आर्थिक योजनांची बहुतांश आदिवासी बांधवांना माहिती नसल्याने ते या शासकीय प्रयत्नांपासून लाभ घेऊ शकले नाहीत.

आदिवासींचा विकास घडवून आणण्याच्या कार्यात भाग घेत असलेले बहुतांश अधिकारी, कर्मचारी व सामाजिक कार्यकर्ते यांना आदिवासींचे जीवन, संस्कृती व त्यांच्या समस्या यांची माहिती नाही. त्यामुळे ते आदिवासींच्या विकासाच्या योजना परिणामकारकरीत्या राबवू शकले नाहीत असे दिसून येते. आदिवासींचा सर्वांगीण विकास घडवून त्यांना समाजातील इतर घटकाप्रमाणे सामाजिक व आर्थिक जीवन लवकरात लवकर प्राप्त करून देण्यासाठी आदिवासींना त्यांच्या विकासासाठी जे प्रयत्न सुरू आहेत त्याची माहिती देणे आवश्यक आहे. आदिवासींचा विकास ही शासनाच्या सर्वच खात्याची जबाबदारी असल्याने या खात्यातील जिल्हा, तालुका व ग्राम पातळीवर कार्य करणाऱ्या अधिकाऱ्यांना व कर्मचाऱ्यांना आदिवासींचे जीवन, संस्कृती, त्यांच्या समस्या व त्यावरील उपाय याबाबत प्रशिक्षण देणेसुद्धा आवश्यक आहे.

आदिवासी विकासातील प्रशिक्षणाचे महत्त्व ओळखून शासनाने आदिवासी संशोधन संस्थेत प्रशिक्षण विभाग सुरू केला आहे. आदिवासी संशोधन व प्रशिक्षण संस्था १९७०-७१ सालापासून जिल्हा पंचायत समिती स्तरावरील अधिकाऱ्यांना तसेच शासकीय आश्रम शाळेतील शिक्षक व बालवाडी शिक्षिका व आदिवासी युवक यांचेसाठी निरनिराळे प्रशिक्षण सत्र आयोजित करित आहेत. डिसेंबर १९७८ अखेर या संस्थेने ४१ समाजकल्याण व आदिवासी कल्याण अधिकारी, २१४ आदिवासी विकास गटातील निरनिराळ्या खात्यातील विस्तार अधिकारी, ७६ शासकीय आश्रम शाळेतील शिक्षक, ३६ शासकीय आश्रम शाळेतील बालवाडी शिक्षिका, व ११७५ आदिवासी युवक यांना प्रशिक्षण दिले आहे. १९७०-७१ सालापासून आयोजित केलेल्या प्रशिक्षण सत्रांची माहिती खाली दिली आहे.

क्र. नं.	वर्ष	प्रशिक्षण सत्र	प्रशिक्षणाचा कालावधी	कोणासाठी	प्रशिक्षणार्थींची संख्या
१	१९७०-७१	४	३० दिवस	समाजकल्याण, आदिवासी कल्याण अधिकारी, विमुक्त जाती व भटक्या जमाती अधिकारी.	४१
२	१९७१-७२	४	३० दिवस	आदिवासी विकास गटातील निरनिराळ्या खात्याचे विस्तार अधिकारी.	४९
३	१९७२-७३	२	३० दिवस	आदिवासी विकास गटातील विस्तार अधिकारी	४४
४	१९७२-७३	४	७ दिवस	आदिवासी युवक	६९
५	१९७३-७४	१	३० दिवस	आदिवासी विकास गटातील विस्तार अधिकारी	१५
६	१९७३-७४	७	७ दिवस	आदिवासी युवक	२५४
७	१९७४-७५	१	३० दिवस	आदिवासी गटातील विस्तार अधिकारी	११

\* अधिव्याख्याता, आदिवासी संशोधन व प्रशिक्षण संस्था, पुणे.

अ. नं.	वर्ष	प्रशिक्षण सत्र	प्रशिक्षणाचा कालावधी	कोणासाठी	प्रशिक्षणार्थींची संख्या
८	१९७४-७५	१	२० दिवस	शासकीय आश्रम शाळेतील शिक्षक	३८
९	१९७५-७६	१	३० दिवस	आदिवासी विकास गटातील विस्तार अधिकारी	२०
१०	१९७५-७६	९	७ दिवस	आदिवासी युवक	३४२
११	१९७५-७६	१	३० दिवस	शासकीय आश्रम शाळेतील बालवाडी शिक्षिका	३६
१२	१९७६-७७	१	३० दिवस	आदिवासी विकास गटातील विस्तार अधिकारी	२०
१३	१९७६-७७	१	३० दिवस	शासकीय आश्रम शाळेतील शिक्षक	३८
१४	१९७६-७७	६	७ दिवस	आदिवासी युवक	१८०
१५	१९७६-७७	१	७ दिवस	आदिवासी जोडप्यांचा शहरी जीवनाशी परिचय व विकासाच्या योजना.	१२
१६	१९७७-७८	१	३० दिवस	आदिवासी विकास गटातील विस्तार अधिकारी	३३
१७	१९७७-७८	६	३० दिवस	आदिवासी युवक	१८०
१८	१९७८-७९ डिसेंबर अखेर	१	३० दिवस	आदिवासी विकास गटातील विस्तार अधिकारी	२२
१९		५	७ दिवस	आदिवासी युवक	१५०

(१) आदिवासी जीवन, संस्कृती व त्यांच्या विकासासंबंधी प्रशिक्षण :—

या प्रशिक्षणात आदिवासी विकास गटातील निरनिराळ्या खात्यातील विस्तार अधिकारी भाग घेतात. प्रशिक्षण काल ३० दिवसांचा असून त्यात महाराष्ट्रातील प्रमुख आदिवासी जमातीचे जीवन, संस्कृती, चालोरिती, वैशिष्ट्ये व त्यांच्या समस्या यांची माहिती दिली जाते. तसेच आदिवासींच्या उन्नतीसाठी कार्यान्वित असलेल्या निरनिराळ्या योजना, प्रतिबंधात्मक उपाय, आदिवासींकरिता घटनेतील तरतुदी याबाबतही चर्चा करण्यात येते. निरनिराळ्या जिल्ह्यातील विस्तार अधिकारी असल्याने त्यांच्या जिल्ह्यात सुरु असलेल्या आदिवासी विकासांच्या प्रयत्नासंबंधी विचारांची देवाण-घेवाण प्रशिक्षण सत्रात करण्यात येते.

(२) आदिवासी युवकांसाठी नेतृत्व प्रशिक्षण शिबीर:—

आदिवासी विकासाच्या योजनांचा खराखुरा लाभ आदिवासींना मिळावयाचा असेल तर त्यांच्यातच जागृती निर्माण करावी लागेल. व त्याकरिता आदिवासी नेतृत्व पुढे आणावे लागेल. या दृष्टीने आदिवासी लोकसंख्या प्रामुख्याने असलेल्या जिल्ह्यात आदिवासी युवक नेतृत्व प्रशिक्षण शिबीरे आयोजित केली जातात. आदिवासी युवकांना त्यांच्या समस्या समजण्याचे व सोडविण्याचे ज्ञान देण्याचे व त्यांच्यात आत्म-विश्वास निर्माण करण्याचे प्रयत्न प्रशिक्षणाद्वारे करण्यात येते. तसेच आदिवासींच्या विकासाच्या योजनांची माहितीही त्यांना देण्यात येते. प्रशिक्षण काळात एकत्र येऊन सामुहिक जीवनाचा अनुभव त्यांना मिळतो.

(३) शासकीय आश्रमशाळेतील शिक्षक व बालवाडी शिक्षकांसाठी प्रशिक्षण:—

आदिवासींच्या शैक्षणिक उन्नतीसाठी शासनाने आश्रम-शाळा काढल्या आहेत. आश्रमशाळेलाच बालवाडीही जोडली आहे. आश्रमशाळा व बालवाडीतील शिक्षक व शिक्षिका ह्या बहुतांश आदिवासी असून प्रशिक्षित आहेत. आदिवासी मुलांना चांगले व परिणामकारक शिक्षण देता यावे म्हणून या शिक्षकांना शिक्षणाच्या पद्धती, तंत्र व शाळा व्यवस्थापना-संबंधी प्रशिक्षण दिले जाते.

(४) आदिवासी जोडप्यांचा शहरी जीवनाशी संपर्क:—

ग्रामीण भागापेक्षा शहरी भागाचा विकास फार मोठ्या प्रमाणात झाला आहे. शहरी जीवनाची व विकासाचा परिचय करून देण्यासाठी हे प्रशिक्षण सत्र आयोजित करण्यात आले.

आदिवासी संशोधन व प्रशिक्षण संस्थेने १९७९-८० सालात (१) आदिवासी विकास गटातील विस्तार अधिकारी, (२) समाजकल्याण व आदिवासी कल्याण अधिकारी, (३) आदिवासी युवक, (४) शासकीय आश्रमशाळेतील शिक्षक व बालवाडी शिक्षकांसाठी प्रशिक्षण सत्र आयोजित करण्याचे ठरविले आहे.

आदिवासी भागात काम करणाऱ्या कर्मचारी वर्गाला व कार्यकर्त्यांना प्रशिक्षण देणे ही आदिवासी विकासातील अत्यंत गरजेची बाब समजावी लागेल. प्रथमतः आदिवासींचे प्रश्न समजण्याच्या दृष्टीने अशा प्रशिक्षणाचा उपयोग होतो व त्याद्वारा कर्मचारी व कार्यकर्ते मंडळीत आदिवासी संबंधाने नव्या जाणीवा व नवी दृष्टी निर्माण करता येते. आदिवासी

भागातील नोकरी ही केवळ नोकरी नसून ती येथील दीन-दुबळ्यांची सेवा आहे. हा नवा दृष्टीकोन अशा प्रशिक्षणाच्या माध्यमातून निर्माण करता येईल. संस्थेच्या गेल्या ७-८ वर्षांच्या प्रशिक्षणाच्या मंथनातून हा विचार स्पष्ट झाला आहे. कार्यकर्ते आणि कर्मचारी वर्गाला नवी दृष्टी, नवी दिशा यातून मिळालेली आहे. तसा पडताळा संस्थेला आज आला आहे. या प्रशिक्षणात शिक्षण घेतलेले तरुण आज गावोगावी सुधारणेच्या कार्याला लागले आहेत. आदिवासी-

मध्ये जागृती करू लागले आहेत. कर्मचारी वर्गात आदिवासींच्या प्रश्नाबद्दल जाणीव निर्माण होऊन आदिवासीबद्दल त्यांच्या मनात सेवाभाव निर्माण होण्यास मदत झाली आहे. लोकशाही राज्यात आदिवासींच्या समाज प्रबोधनाची प्रक्रिया याही मार्गाने आपल्याला पुढे नेता येईल. असा विश्वास आम्हाला वाटतो. यापुढे हा कार्यक्रम मोठ्या प्रमाणावर यशस्वी करणे, प्रशिक्षणाची व्याप्ती व संख्या वाढविणे ही बाब आदिवासी विकासाला उपकारच होईल.

## आदिवासी संग्रहालय : परिचय

### \*उत्तमराव सोनावणे

आदिवासी संशोधन व प्रशिक्षण संस्था, पुणे ही महाराष्ट्र शासनाच्या समाज कल्याण विभागाने दिनांक ३ मे १९६२ रोजी स्थापन केली. संशोधन, मूल्यांकन व इतर अनेक उद्दिष्टांपैकी संग्रहालय सुरू करून त्याचे संवर्धन करण्याची जबाबदारी शासनाने संस्थेकडे सुपूर्त केली आहे.

संस्थेच्या संग्रहालयात प्रामुख्याने आदिवासी संस्कृती निदर्शक वस्तूंच्या माध्यमातून परिचय वरून दिला आहे. महाराष्ट्र राज्यातील निरनिराळ्या आदिवासी भागातून आदिवासी संस्कृतीचे दर्शन घडविणाऱ्या अनेक वस्तू जमा करून संग्रहालयात जतन केल्या आहेत. वस्तूंचे प्रदर्शन दोन विभागात केले आहे. ह्या विभागांना गोंडवन दालन व सह्याद्री दालन अशी नावे दिलेली आहेत.

गोंडवन विभागात यवतमाळ, अमरावती, नांदेड व चंद्रपूर या जिल्ह्यातील गोंड, माडिया गोंड, कोलाम, कोरकू, परधान इत्यादी आदिवासी जमातीकडील वस्तूची मांडणी केलेली आहे. सह्याद्री दालनात ठाणे, नासिक, धुळे, जळगाव, पुणे, अहमदनगर व कुलाबा ह्या जिल्ह्यातील वारली, ठाकुर, कातकरी, महादेव कोळी, कोकणा व भिल्ल ह्या जमातींच्या वस्तूची मांडणी केलेली आहे.

धार्मिक : आदिवासींच्या धार्मिक कल्पना निसर्गाशी निगडित आहेत. प्रत्येक सजीव निर्जीव वस्तूत कोणाचा तरी जीव किंवा आत्मा राहत असतो. त्यामुळे प्रत्येक वस्तूला सचेतन रूप असते, जीवात्म्याच्या या कल्पनेतून व पूजेतून देव, पितर, भूत, पिशाच्च, इत्यादी कल्पना आदिवासींमध्ये निघाल्या आहेत. पशु-पक्षी, वृक्ष-वेली, नद्या-समुद्र, पर्वत-ढाळ, तारे, चंद्र-सूर्य या सर्वांच्या ठायी जीवात्मा असतो व त्यांचा आपल्यावर कोप होऊ नये म्हणून आदिवासींमध्ये विविध धार्मिक विधी केले जातात. वाघ्यादेव, नारनदेव, कणसरी, हिमाय, धरतरी,

भूतणीचेडा, बडादेव, डोंगरदेव, सातदेव, पांचदेव, अकशिऱ्या, पांचशिऱ्या हिरवा, हिमाय, सुपली, वीर, दंतेश्वरी, वनदेव इत्यादी देवदेवतांचा आदिवासी जीवनाशी संबंध पोहोचतो. अशा देवदेवता संग्रहालयात जतन केल्या आहेत.

लग्नविधीला आदिवासींमध्ये अतिशय महत्त्व असते. लग्नविधीसाठी गोंड जमातीमध्ये मध्यवर्ती खांबाची उभारणी करावी लागते. हा खांब म्हणजे आदिवासी कलेचा नमुना असतो. लग्नातील बासिंग टोपली ही देखील कारागिरीचा उत्कृष्ट नमुना असतो. आदिवासींनी तयार केलेली शिंदी व पलस झाडांच्या पानांची बासिंगे, मुंडावळ्या ह्या देखील कलाकुसरीच्या असतात. संग्रहालयात या सर्वांचे नमुने आहेत.

देवदेवता बरोबरच पितर, वडिलधारी, वीर (अिर) यांच्या स्मरणार्थ उभारण्यात येणारी स्मारकेही आदिवासी जीवनात महत्त्वाची असतात. अशा स्मारकांचा आकार व विविधता व त्यावर केलेली कलाकुसर यावरून मृतांचे त्या कुटुंबातील, कुळातील, टोळीतील त्याचप्रमाणे पाडा अगर गावातील सामाजिक स्थान व मोठेपण कळण्यास मदत होते. अशा शिणाली संग्रहालयात जतन केल्या आहेत. कौटुंबिक स्मारकांचे नमुने व वीर (अिर) सुपली संग्रहालयात ठेवण्यात आल्या आहेत.

दागदागिने : आदिवासींना दागदागिन्यांचा भारी शोक. संग्रहालयातील दोन्ही दालनात आदिवासींचे विविध दागदागिने ठेवले आहेत. रंगी-बेरंगी काचेच्या मण्यांच्या माळा व पोती-पिपरपान, सूर्यपान, साखळ्या, हरली, गोट, वाकी, तोडा, येळर, कानसाखळ्या, कर्णफुले, आंगठ्या, त्याचबरोबर कवड्याच्या माळा, दगडी मणी यांचाही वापर केला जातो. अंगभर गोंदणे, गळाभर मण्यांच्या माळा, कानात झुबे, हातात गोठा कमरेला साखळ्या, कमरपट्टे, वगैरे आदिवासींचे वैशिष्ट्यपूर्ण दागिने संग्रहालयात जतन केलेले आहेत.

वाद्ये : आदिवासींच्या जीवनाचा एक अविभाज्य भाग म्हणजे त्यांचे नृत्य, निरनिराळी वाद्ये, कातकरीची कहाळी, वारलींचा तारपा, भिल्लाची पावरी, थोट्टीची किंगरी, माडीया गोंडाची डिमकी-मांदरी व घुंगरू, कौरकू-कोलमांचा ढोल-डफ, महादेव कोळी, कोकणांची ढाक, ढोल, टिमकी, पावा, ठाकरांची झांगळी, आदिवासींची वाद्ये साध्या व सुटसुटीत बांधणीची असतात. निर्मितीचा खर्च अल्पसा असतो. बांबू, भोपळे, झाडांची पाने, जनावरांची शिंगे, कातडी व केस, लाकूड यांचा वापर करून बनविलेली असल्याने निर्मितीचा खर्च अल्पसा असतो. नृत्याच्या वेळी वाजविल्या जाणाऱ्या अशा प्रमुख वाद्यांचा संच संग्रहालयात ठेवला आहे.

आदिवासींच्या गाण्यांत गेयता असते, नाद असतो. वाद्यांच्या नादब्रह्मात रात्रभर लग्नबद्ध नृत्ये ते करतात. धार्मिक विधीचे वेळी आदिवासी देवदेवतांसमोर नृत्य करतात. लग्नसमारंभ, गावजत्रा, दिवाळी, होळी, इत्यादि सणा-समारंभाच्या प्रसंगीही नृत्ये केली जातात.

कला : आदिवासी कलेचे अनेक नमुने संग्रहालयात ठेवण्यात आले आहेत. त्यांच्या कला म्हणजे पारंपारिक कलेचा एक भाग, बारीक मंडण, वेषभूषा, गोंदण, बाहुल्य, मातीचित्रे लाकडांवरील नक्षीकाम, दगडी शिल्पे, तंबाखूच्या डब्या,

मण्यांच्या माळा, विविध प्रकारचे गजरे, लाकडी फण्या, लग्नखांब व पीतर खांबावरील कोरीव कामे आणि नक्षी, नृत्यांचे मुखवटे, गवताच्या टोप्या, मातीची साठवणे इत्यादि प्रकारांतून त्यांची कला व हस्तकौशल्य दिसते. संग्रहालयातील अनेक वस्तुमधून आदिवासी कलेची ओळख होते.

औजार : शिकारीची हत्यारे व शेतीच्या औजारांचे काही नमुने संग्रहालयात ठेवलेले आहेत. मासे आणि खेकडे हे आदिवासींचे पावसाळ्यातील अन्न, मासे मारण्याची साधने, शिकारीचे फासे (पक्षांचे व जनावरांचे) व विविध नमुन्यांचे धनुष्य-बाण संग्रहालयात जतन करण्यात आलेले आहेत.

संग्रहालयात याखेरीज विविध प्रकारच्या वस्तू आहेत. आदिवासी पुतळे, आदिवासी भागाचे नकाशे, तक्ते व आदिवासींची विविध प्रकारची चित्रे संग्रहालयात आहेत. आदिवासींचे लोकजीवन व संस्कृतीचे दर्शन घडविणाऱ्या काही फिल्मसही जतन केल्या आहेत.

अशा विविध माध्यमातून आदिवासी संस्कृतीचा व जीवनाचा परिचय करून देण्याचा या संस्थेचा प्रयत्न आहे. संग्रहालयाची दरवर्षी वाढ करण्यात येते. संग्रहालय शास्त्राच्या निष्कर्षावर उभे राहात असलेले हे संग्रहालय या विषयाचे एकमेव समृद्ध स्थान करण्याचा संस्थेचा सतत प्रयत्न चालू आहे.

### LIST OF STUDIES AND RESEARCH PROJECTS COMPLETED BY TRIBAL RESEARCH & TRAINING INSTITUTE, MAHARASHTRA STATE, PUNE

(1962-1967)

1. Traits and characteristics of Vimukta Jatis and Nomadic Tribes of Maharashtra. (1962)
2. Report on the Housing conditions and Housing schemes of Scheduled Tribes in Maharashtra. (1962)
3. Report on the working of Ashram Schools in Maharashtra. (1962)
4. Gondi-Marathi, conversational guide. (1963)
5. Gondi-English, conversational guide. (1963)
6. Report on the evaluation of the scheme of eradication of Palemodi system in Thane district. (1965)
7. Report on the evaluation of the scheme of rehabilitation of shifting cultivators in Chandrapur District. (1966)
8. Report on forest privileges granted to the Scheduled Tribes. (1966)
9. Brochure on traits and characteristics of Scheduled Tribes in Maharashtra. (1966)
10. Report on education and communication of Tribal Development Block, Surgana, Nashik District. (1966)
11. Report on education and communication of Maregaon Tribal Development Block Yavatmal District. (1966)

## LIST—contd.

12. Report on the proposed locations of Ashram Schools for Scheduled Tribes, Vimukta Jatis and Nomadic Tribes in Maharashtra State. (1967)
13. Report on the Primary Health Centre, Kasa, Thane District. (1967)
14. Report on the Primary Health Centre, Dharni, Amravati District. (1967)
15. Report on the Primary Health Centre, Mhaswad, Dhule District. (1967)
16. Report on the Primary Health Centre, Ambegaon, District Pune. (1957)
17. Report on the Primary Health Centre, Surgana, District Nashik. (1967)
18. Report on the Primary Health Centre, Waki, Ahmadnagar District. (1967)
19. Report on the Primary Health Centre, Etapalli, Chandrapur District. (1967)
20. Rapid Survey of ten villages of Jawhar Tahsil of Thane District. (1967)
21. Rapid Survey of ten villages of Dahanu Tahsil of Thane District. (1967)
22. Socio-economic survey of Katkaris of Kulaba District. (1967)

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