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Editors

S. N. MISRA

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EDITORIAL

The Tribal Research Bureau Advisory Board met in the Tribal Research Bureau building on the 19th December 1966. Shri T. Sanganna, Minister for Tribal & Rural Welfare, presided over the meeting in absence of the Chief Minister. Shri Ram Prasad Mishra, Minister for Agriculture & Community Development, Shri Raghunath Prasad Padhi, Development Commissioner, Shri Somanath Mishra, Secretary to Government, Tribal & Rural Welfare and Shrimati Usha Dekka Mohapatra attended the meeting. The Board reviewed the activities of the Bureau since its last meeting in March 1966 and expressed its appreciation on the outturn. The Board assigned further studies to Bhubaneswar and Phulbani centres for next six months.

For the Research staff of the Bureau the meeting was a happy augury. They got an opportunity to discuss various problems with the members of the Board, who are the top brass of the State Government. Our staff have to work and tour amidst various

handicaps in interior tribal areas of State. They have no statutory duties which deprive them of certain amenities and privileges attached to duty posts. In spite of all those shortcomings our young research workers both ladies and gentlemen have paid devoted attention to the various studies assigned to them and completed those in scheduled time. The studies undertaken by Tribal Research Bureau are of applied nature and are promoted by administrative exigencies. Hence those are bound to be short-term problem oriented ones. It was decided to publish brief accounts of those studies in the Adibasi, while the longer reports will be published as handbooks. It is hoped that the findings of those studies will interest administrators and academicians alike to appreciate tribal and cultural problems of the State. We owe our gratitude to the Chairman and members of Tribal Research Bureau Advisory Board for their sympathetic understanding of our problems and anticipate that they will continue to guide us in our activities.

It is equally gratifying that last three issues of the Adibasi during the current year have drawn approbation from various quarters in this country and

abroad. We strive hard to publish all our issues with articles on topical interests. We welcome contributions from all our readers and admirers to keep up our pace.



SOMANATH MISRA

The problems facing the Adibasis bulk very large in the minds of many patriots and public servants engaged in tribal welfare work are often criticised as having been imbued only with a mercenary outlook with no heart for tribal welfare. This criticism cannot be called altogether misplaced. Those who are in charge of either selecting or building necessary man-power to execute various schemes for promotion of the social and economic well-being of the tribals have the need of greater vigilance in the matter and are to be blamed more than the field workers who prove inadequate. It is largely true that many of those who have got assignments to do the work of tribal welfare lack necessary zeal, aptitude and the touch of human sympathy but how can we expect wonders when we put square pegs in round holes? There must be deeper understanding of the tribal life, tribal qualities and tribal weaknesses in both drawing up programmes for welfare and selecting personnel in executing such programmes.

The tribals as a class are simple-hearted, resigned to the workings of inexorable fate, steeped in prejudices and superstitions

QUALIFICATIONS FOR TRIBAL WELFARE WORK

of all kinds, addicted to drinking and improvident. Simple in nature themselves, they love simplicity and have natural repulsion for snobbery and arrogance of any kind. They love only such outsiders as meet them with a genuine smile and a look of sympathy. They hate those who boss over them or harass them in any way while they heartily reciprocate the humane approach of their well-wishers. A public servant who visits their villages, sits on their verandahs, sleeps on a charpoy in their village common house and enquires of their harvest, their village market or village sanitation, captivates their heart. An officer who on the other hand sends for them for every little thing, requires them to procure food for him, exhibits officious attitude, rudely commands them to do or not do a thing and appears before them spick and span only with costly attire without being mentally equipped to serve them, immediately forfeits their love, good will and willing allegiance.

Due to vicissitudes of history the tribals lost all hope of honourable existence and took it for granted that they are born only to serve others. They did not know how to protest. Their last

protest was to surrender to the exploitation and helplessly drag on their life. Only a noble heart can resurrect the lost spirit and bring it to life again. Those who have the slightest inclination to exploit the helplessness of the Adibasis either for personal comforts or for selfish aggrandisement are definitely unsuitable to work in the tribal areas. A public servant to be truly dedicated to tribal welfare should possess sufficient human spirit to work for the down-trodden, strong health to withstand the rigours of life in mountainous areas, capacity to walk miles after miles and simple habits of food and clothing. He should in the nutshell be very abstemious in habits and by his own example be in a position to influence the habits of those who surround him.

Another quality that a public servant should own to render effective service to the tribals is a sense of realism or strong practical common sense. Any sentimental approach to a tribal problem will only delay results. Poverty, ignorance, ill-health and illiteracy are very deep rooted in tribal life and these problems require great practical approach. The methods of work should be shorn of emotional bias as such an attitude will engender weakness in the programme and make both the workers as well as the tribals lose the proper perspectives. The workers should be seasoned and practical men with knowledge to tackle human problems in a matter-of-fact way and should have no weakness to be lost in emotions or impractical

idealisms. They should attack the problems with earnestness and integrity and not allow any indulgence to wavering influences. Not too much should be attempted at a time and one experiment should lead to another.

Those among the tribals who have received education of late in schools and colleges should be mobilised and initiated to the task of uplifting their brethren. Their experiences in the outer world should be fully brought to bear on the welfare programmes and they should be coaxed and cajoled to set examples of integration of Adibasi life with their reformed ideas on food, sanitation and religious worship. The primitive religious beliefs and practices account for most of the misfortune of Adibasi's life. The costly animal sacrifices and offer of drinks to ghosts and deities to propitiate ancestors, to prevent spread of epidemics, to ward off tiger menace or to mitigate the effects of floods or droughts perpetually keep the tribals indebted to money-lenders and traders and whatever they grow or earn ultimately finds its way to the coffers of others. The wrong religious beliefs require attention of unorthodox missionary organisations like Ramakrishna Mission but a public servant should develop his own resources and evolve a pattern of social education to combat the evils of primitive faiths. No result can be achieved by only a round of lectures but utmost perseverance and tactful pursuit of the ideal are called for to produce tangible effects by slow degrees. For this

the public servant has to live among the tribals, talk to them in their language and fraternise with them.

Throughout his work among the tribals, a public servant should avoid coercion and accept as an article of faith the superior efficacy of persuasion to force. It is the duty of the State to choose officers with the above qualifications for key positions in tribal development programme. An officer's value should be assessed with due regard to the requirements mentioned above. The difficulties of assessing an officer's true merit are however immense and it is a formidable task to choose right men for right job. An officer's future is determined not always by what are his abilities but by what is called a confidential report about him and such reports can be highly subjective. An officer of prejudiced disposition easily harms a subordinate and covers up his real merit by

many uncharitable remarks. In this way the task of the State in selecting right type of men for any job and much more for tribal welfare work becomes difficult and often wrong men are selected.

There is thus no royal road to progress and the way is certainly much longer than one imagines.

To remove the deficiencies in selection of personnel a scheme of training has been drawn up by which the officers detailed on the job of tribal welfare will get facilities to reorient their outlook. A reorientation training centre has been opened recently by the State Government at Machkund and the tribal welfare workers will be trained there in several batches. The Instructors who run the organisation will do well to bear in mind the particular techniques which are necessary to evoke response from the tribal people and should try to train the minds of the workers in that way.

SIBA PRASAD ROUT

Introduction

The life of the tribals like other communities is closely knitted around religion and magic. The tribals inhabiting the inaccessible tracts of hills and forests and the inhospitable climate governed by capricious whims of natural agencies like sun, rain and wind, and leading an insecure life devoured by wild birds and beasts believe in the power of the supernatural and unseen forces. Living on the bosom of nature they depend on the mercy of the unseen powers and forces which guide them in every walk of their life. Thus religion and magic, regarded by Durkheim as sacred and profane reign and regulate the life of the tribals.

Magic as defined by Somerset Maugham "is not more than the art of employing consciously invisible means to produce visible effects. Magic has but one dogma, i.e., the seen is the measure of the unseen". According to Sir James Frazer, "Magic is a spurious system of natural law as well as a fallacious guide of conduct. It is a false science, as well as an abortive art". He draws a distinction between homeopathic magic and contagious magic. Homeopathic magic can be directed on the image or shadow of a person who may not be available

WITCHCRAFT AMONG THE SANTALS OF MAYURBHANJ

at that moment, while contagious magic may be directed against nail-paring or any other part and parcel of the person. An identical but functional distinction is drawn up between black and white magic, the former aiming at bringing disease, death and destructions in the Society, while the later used to release mankind from the grip of such misfortunes and calamities caused by black magic.

Witch, witch doctor, leechcraft practitioner, etc., are agents of magical performance, and witchcraft falls in the category of black magic. A person practising witchcraft is called a witch, and the supposed psychic emanation which is believed to cause injury to health and property is called witchcraft, which can be mastered by learning some incantations in rigorous training period invoking certain deity or spirit.

Similar is the case with the witch doctors who are benevolent magicians, and are believed to diagnose and combat the evil effects of witchcraft by the help of incantations and spells.

The problem

Rev. Lal Behari Dey, in his book "Bengal Peasants life" has maintained that witchcraft is

prevalent among the lower castes in Bengal and Bihar and with the spread of education the belief is getting weaker day by day. Among the Santals, however, the belief is still very strong leading to dastardly murders. The present article describes the extent of belief of Santals in witchcraft, the *modus operandi* of the witches, the role and status of a witch in the society, social control to check witchcraft and other points of interest relating to witchcraft.

A study on this problem is a formidable one, as the tribesmen are reluctant to disclose anything on the practice of witchcraft. Only after persuasive interviews and gaining confidence they could say some aspects of the practice of witchcraft and the basic beliefs associated with it. It was revealed that windows are not provided in the houses lest a witch may suck the blood from a sleeping person by a straw through the windows. Similarly an informant who had earlier denied any knowledge of witchcraft told that his three sons died as a witch removed their hearts.

Area and the villages

The study was conducted in two villages, namely, Mahuldiha and Kantabani in the Bamanghaty subdivision of Mayurbhanj district. The villages are situated at a distance of three kilometres from Rairangpur town and are predominantly inhabited by Santals. Mahuldiha has a population of 228 out of which 180 are Santals and 48 non-tribals, and out of 47 families 41 are Santals.

In Kantabani out of the total population of 236, 92 are Santals and the rest are Mahanta and Jhara. The total Santal families number 20 while the rest 24 families belong to Mahanta and Jhara.

Mahuldiha is a road side village where the Santals have been much influenced by the non-tribals of Rairangpur, the subdivisional headquarters. Some of the Santals of this village are educated and are serving as teachers in schools, work as lawyers and are engaged in other professions. On the other hand, the village Kantabani is relatively backward and is situated about two to three Kilometres from the main road. The inmates of this village have not taken to other occupations, except cultivation of land.

For comparative analysis, the Santals of village Bhagbatpur in Baripada suburb were also interviewed. The chief method of collecting data was by interviewing various groups in different villages. As witches are not to be publicly identified it was not possible to collect data directly from the witches about their activities. During the field study data were collected observing and participating in the rites and rituals associated with witchcraft.

The Ojha of Kantabani was helpful in permitting us to observe the rites he performed to cure witch-attacked patients.

To substantiate the data collected by interviewing the tribals, cases of murder committed due

to belief in witchcraft were also collected from Rairangpur police circle and from Shri R. Roy, Superintendent of Police, Baripada, who was very kind to provide necessary help to facilitate the study. In a subsequent visit a case of double witch hunt in the village Sagjori in Biso Police-Station was also studied.

Witchcraft among Santals

As has been mentioned previously the belief of witchcraft is not confined to the Santals alone but is deeply rooted in the belief system and thought-pattern of the tribals other than the Santals and the non-tribals who inhabit the area. Bathudis, Kharias and Mundas of Mayurbhanj strongly believe in the activities of the witches, so also the neighbouring non-tribals like Mahanta, Sundhi, and Pano, etc., dread the witches. Cases of murder collected from the police records also corroborate the view that the belief in witchcraft is common to all the neighbouring tribes and castes. The fact that Santals have no term of their own for 'witch' and they use the Oriya terminology 'daini' and 'nazar' (evil-eye) lead to the supposition that the Santals might have learnt witchcraft from the Oriyas in good old days. The predominance of expert *Ojha* (medicine-man) and *Sakha* (witch-diviner-cum-witch doctor) in non tribal communities of the area and the name of the Hindu deities like Rama, Laxman and Sita mentioned by Ojhas during their magical performances, and such deities like Kali-mata and Durga propitiated by

witches strongly support such supposition.

Origin of witchcraft

Santal folk-lore depicts the origin of witchcraft in Santal society and how such art became exclusive possession of the women. In good old days women were very powerful in the society and they exercised great deal of control over their husbands. Men used to woe women during their youth, but with the decline of age they became lazy and spent their time by drinking and feasting leaving the entire burden of the family on women. This enraged the women who lost all respects for men. Once all the men assembled and decided to find out a method to control the women. They went to *Sing Bonga*, their supreme deity, and prayed for teaching them some technique by virtue of which they would be able to subjugate the women. *Sing Bonga* was pleased and asked them to come on some appointed day to learn the art. The secret was, however, revealed to the women who had stealthily followed the men and heard the order of the *Sing Bonga*. Hearing every thing the women came away to their village unnoticed by their husband and behaved very nicely with them on pretention to such an extent that the men thought of forgoing the desire of learning the art from the *Sing Bonga*. On the appointed day the housewives fed their husbands with delicacies and made them to drink liquor to such an extent that they became heavily drunk and slept like



Small Khond girl plucking ears of rice, Munargaon
*Photo by—*Courtesy of Robert Ebnother

logs. The women, got themselves dressed like men and went to *Sing Bonga* begging for boon. Thinking that they were men *Sing Bonga* taught them witchcraft. The women returned home and started misbehaving with their husbands more than they used to do beforehand. When men went to *Sing Bonga* and prayed to learn the art the real truth could be discovered and since the women had already mastered the art of witchcraft it could not be taught to men. With much grief, *Sing Bonga* taught men the art of *Ojha* to neutralize the evils done by the witches. From that day, women became powerful witches and were dreaded by all.

How to detect a witch

It is not always possible to detect a witch in Santal society. In case of calamity and misfortunes overtaking a village a delegation from the whole village goes to consult the *Sakha* who by his power of divination can detect the witches creating troubles to the villagers and announces their names. A woman with red-eyes is often suspected to be a witch by Santals. If the presence of a woman makes a child to cry and feel restless, or if the look of any woman on somebody's food brings stomach-complaints the woman is taken as a witch without any doubt. In cases where a woman becomes widow at an early age or her elder sons die without suffering for a long time, the villagers suspect her to be a witch.

Training of the witches

Evans Pritchard, in his book "Witchcraft, oracles and Magic

among the Azande" states that among the Azande there is no training for the witches. The Azande believe that witchcraft is a substance in the body of the witches and is inherited. Such a physical trait is transmitted by unilinear descent from the parents to their children.

Among the Santals, however, witchcraft is acquired. It is learnt through rigorous training. Those who volunteer to master the art may go and approach a veteran witch secretly to teach them witchcraft. Generally the *Guru* (witch master) pretends that she does not know it and avoids the disciples until she is convinced that they would be loyal and faithful to her and they actually have the intense desire to learn the art. The *Guru* must be convinced that the intending candidates are not persons of power and prestige so that they may not try to overpower her or defy her; after which only training is given to them. The trainees must be absolutely fearless and should have patience and perseverance to undergo training. On the other hand, in many cases persons are made to learn witchcraft by the witches. Young girls or women with weak temperament are induced to witchcraft. Whenever a witch gets a chance to meet such a candidate in a lonely place on way to or from the market or in the field doing agricultural work she begins to sing the enchanting witch-songs to attract her. The songs are so sweet that those create a kind of insanity in the

mind of the person who feels a passionate inclination to learn the songs. Thus she falls a prey to the witch who teaches her the songs which are part and parcel of the witch-training. The more a person learns these songs psychologically she loses the balance of her mind and volunteers to be a witch.

It is believed that a witch cannot but check her temptations in teaching the witchery to others. Her knowledge about the art is liable to be ineffective if it is not taught to others. Greater the number of disciples a witch have, greater is her power and prestige in the circle. It is also believed that if a witch fails to impart the art of witchcraft to anybody else, she may, thereby, open the doors for calamities to her own family. All these factors are responsible for tempting the witches to attract others to be their pupils.

Sex of the witches

It is commonly believed by Santals that only females may be witches. The Oriya term 'Daini', used by Santals to designate a witch is a feminine term, which leads to the presumption that witches are all females. The Santal folk-tale also further substantiates the fact that witchcraft is the exclusive possession of the females. Thus only the intending female candidates are given training in witchcraft and not the males. If any man happens to know or see the operations of a witch he is severely warned not to disclose it to

others under threat of penalty. In the two villages of Rairangpur area the informants said that only women were witches and not men, but one or two persons in Sagjori, and some tribal students of Bisoi High School gave to understand that also men may be witches. The position may be explained in the following manner. Though women are witches, the men also can inflict disease or illness by practising black-magic. Some men having 'evil-eyes' or 'evil-mouth' may bring sickness to others and in one case in Rouran Police-Station a man was murdered on the ground of playing witchcraft. Here it is necessary to distinguish witchcraft from 'nazar'. While the art of witchcraft is acquired by undertaking regular training no training is necessary to possess 'evil-eye' or 'evil-mouth'. Having 'evil-eye' or 'evil-mouth' is a physical trait which a man inherits by birth, rather than acquiring it by training. The term witch is thus applied to women though, in loose sense, some may refer to persons having 'evil-eye' or 'evil-mouth' or practising black-magic as sorcerers or witches without keeping in mind the real connotation of the term.

Age and marital status

Any woman whether adult or minor, and married or unmarried may be accepted as a trainee by a witch. A girl of about ten years old and able to remember the *jharni* (spells and incantations) may learn witchcraft. In the village Kantabani, it was said that the daughter of a witch aged about ten years was given training in witchcraft by her mother.

Girls of marriagable age are also frequently inclined to take up training from the witches, and in some cases the woman may also volunteer for such training.

Time and place for training

It is believed that at the dead of the night, after all the villagers fall asleep, the witches step out on their nocturnal journey. The training is given preferably on new-moon night without the knowledge of the villagers. To ensure strict secrecy the training is given in a secluded place away from human habitation so that others may not get a chance to keep a watch over their activities. Generally burial grounds of the village or any other secluded or deserted field or forest near the village is considered ideal for the training ground; but at times witch-songs and incantations (*jharni*) are also taught to young girls on way from market or in the field while working together.

Promises made

Before training is imparted the trainees are given sufficient warning not to disclose the art before anybody. They are also made to promise that they would have least hesitation to kill their near and dear relatives after the completion of training. The girls are to promise that they would eat the *kalija* (heart) of their elder brother or father, while the married women are to promise to kill their husband or eldest child. They should also guarantee that they would complete the training and would

not leave it half way. They are threatened with death or serious misfortunes if they fail to complete the training course. It is also believed that the persons who leave the training course incomplete turn mad and become imbecile.

Training of a witch

The training is inaugurated on *Sohorai* festival day on the new-moon night in the month of Kartik. At the dead of the night, when the whole village falls into deep slumber and there is none awake to watch over the activities of the witches, the witches start on their nocturnal journey. They go from door to door giving signals to the trainees to come out of their houses and join the night's sojourn. When they leave their bed their dummy remains lying on the bed so that their husband or other relatives may not suspect anything. Some informants stated that the candidate remains at home, but her spirit goes out, while others opine that the *bhut* (spirit) act as a proxy at home while the self goes out. It is also believed that one of the *bongas* tamed by the *guru* is made to remain in the house as a substitute for the person going out for training.

The witches assemble once in every week on Sundays or at longer intervals. When they come out of their houses they strip off their clothings and become completely naked. They wear a girdle of brooms and join the witch-expedition holding the witches' light kindled on tiger's

skull or produce light by rubbing the middle finger thumb. When all assemble at one place the *Guru* and other witches sprinkle magical water on the village dogs so that they may not bark at the time of their journey and proceed to the *jahira*, or *manjhi-than* to hold their meeting. The witches carry with them an old winnowing fan containing a black chicken, *arua* rice incense and other offering materials. They worship *Kalimata*, *Durga* and invoke a series of *bongas* and sacrifice chicken. They perform their dance which is known as witch's dance to please the deities and by their magical spell they wipe out the footprints and all other traces of dance when they leave the place. The offerings are cooked and eaten on the spot. The trainees are introduced to the *bongas* who approve them. It is said that a trainee, admired by a *bonga* is formally married to him, who pays a token bride-price to her and applies vermilion on her forehead. She is then taught the *jharnis* to invoke the *bongas* in succession. She is made to pat the tigers and comb their fur. The tigers are supposed to be husbands of the witches and it is believed that the witches tame tigers at home in disguise of dogs. The witches are supposed to eat night-soil and birds, frogs, or any other prey which comes on their way.

The big trees standing at the outskirts of the village are often used as transport by the witches to go to distant place, and when the witches return they place back the trees to the original site.

Tests after training

After the completion of training the witch *Guru* examines to know to what extent a trainee has mastered the various rites and the *jharni* songs, and what number of *bongas* she has been able to satisfy. She is asked to experiment her witchery on trees or animals. If a living tree can be burnt or an animal is put to death by the play of witchcraft the trainee is believed to have mastered the art with proficiency. She is then asked to extract *kalija* (liver) of her elder brother or father (in case of an unmarried girl) or of her husband or eldest son, and there by put him to death. The liver is offered to the *bongas* and is eaten by the witches including the trainee. If the trainee resents to do so she is made to suffer by the ill temper of the *bongas*. She may either turn mad and leads a miserable life or is punished by death; but if she does so without hesitation she is proved to have attained proficiency as a *bona fide* witch.

Gradation among the witches

The more the number of *bongas* employed the greater is the power of a witch. If a witch has the proficiency of mastering powerful *bongas* she becomes very powerful and may inflict any harm by commanding the *bongas*. Such a witch attains the status of a *nanzom*. A *nanzom* is so powerful that she is dreaded by all including the *Ojha* and the *sakha*. She attains such status by experience and proficiency and unlike other witches she walks on

her palms with her head down and legs stretched upwards during her nocturnal expedition. If anybody is attacked by a *nanzom* there is no chance for him to recover. Treatment by a *Sakha* or an *Ojha* fails to produce any effect, and the victim must die. Such witches are, however, very few in number and unless one is destined to die he may not fall a prey to the attacks of a *nanzom*.

Modus operandi of the witches

The witches are believed to undermine the security of the society. Once one becomes a witch the whole village is at her mercy. She can inflict disease and death on anybody out of personal animosity and may take the victim suffer from various ailments. The witches not only 'eat' persons and induce sickness by bringing smallpox, cholera and epidemic, but are also responsible for destroying crops, killing cattle, and the like. A witch develops a kind of psychic state of mind and is tempted to indulge in anti-social activities. She does not distinguish between her close kins and the distant ones in exercising her witchery. Rather it is believed that one of the victim's inner family members must be a witch to initiate disease or death in the victim. Moreover, a mother-witch has least hesitation to kill her son, an aunt her nephew, a sister her brother, a daughter her father, a wife her husband and the like. There are cases of mother being murdered by son on the suspicion that she as a witch was responsible for inflicting sickness on her grand-

son. In Kantabani, the *Ojha's* eldest daughter-in-law is believed to be a witch who is supposed to have 'eaten' her husband and elder son. It is said, that if a witch looks at somebody the hearts, liver, and lungs of the person become visible to her, and she cannot check temptation in extracting the hearts, etc., from the body of the person and thereby making him ill. An informant of the village - Bhagabatpur in Sadar subdivision narrated that she undertook the witch's training when she was unmarried. She had one brother. After she completed her training she was asked by the *bongas* and her *Guru* to face the ordeal of 'eating' her brother's heart. Whenever she looked at her brother, his heart was clearly visible to her and she was frightened by it. She felt very uneasy and refused to kill her only brother. She revealed the matter to her villagers, and promised that she would prefer to forgo the witchery than killing her own and the only brother. Thereafter she forgot the rites of the training. She was not made to suffer by the *bongas* and her *Guru* because as the broke the secret in public the *Guru* apprehended that if any suffering is caused to the girl she might disclose the name of the *Guru* and thereby exposing her in the public. Now the girl is married and leads a normal life in her village.

The witches also possess "evil-mouth", and if by chance they utter some evil words (which they are tempted to do) those would bear immediate effect. It

was narrated by an old man of Bhagabatpur that once a young boy of the village who had some education went to the field to attend the call of nature. When he sat near a bush he heard the whispering voice of a witch teaching witchcraft to her daughter at the other side of the bush. The boy was curious enough to hear the 'jharani' songs and hiding himself he heard the songs and could remember those. When he returned to the village he always remembered the lines of the songs and could not but recite those. He saw his father and recited the witch-songs but in no time the father fell ill and died. When he recited the same lines on seeing his brother and sister, the latter also died. The boy was so much aggrieved that he committed suicide to refrain from such baneful activities.

Another informant in Kantabani narrated that a small girl aged eight to ten years was given witch training by her mother. Once while sitting with her father she told him that she could see the hearts of their bullock which was grazing in front of them, and wanted to extract those. The father became curious about the matter and in order to test her daughter permitted her to do so. The girl extracted the hearts of the bullock by the power of witchcraft and as a result the bullock which had no complaint and was grazing merrily before a few minutes fell on the ground and became senseless. This led the father to be confirmed that his daughter was a witch. He

threatened his daughter to regenerate life in the bullock, least he would kill her. The girl again set back the hearts of the bullock by dint of her witchery and the bullock was cured.

A witch does not destroy the victim immediately but makes him to suffer by infusing sickness so that he may ultimately die. The killing of a victim is either done by the witch herself or by the *bongas*. A *bonga* may itself bring death and destruction or does it by providing a death dealing agent in its place. A witch employs the following methods in bringing death and diseases to others.

(i) A witch may extract the hearts, lungs and liver from the body of a victim and rolling it in *sal* leaves she preserves it for offering to *bongas*. As soon as these are extracted, the victim falls ill, and when these are cooked offered to *bongas* and are eaten the person dies.

(ii) A witch is very fond of suckling blood from human body. At the dead of the night a witch may extract blood from the body of the victim by means of a piece of straw. This is one of the reasons for which the Santals are afraid of keeping windows.

(iii) A witch may take the form of a black cat and at the dead of the night roam in every house. If she licks the saliva of a sleeping person, the person falls ill and succumbs to death. The witch, in the guise of a cat may also lick the hair of a victim, after which

his/her hairs begin to fall down and the victim suffers from fatal diseases which may ultimately bring death.

(iv) Some witches possess "evil eye" and "evil-mouth". If they cast their "evil-eyes" on somebody the person suffers from stomach complaints, headache, fever, etc., and if they utter harmful lines by looking at somebody the person is sure to suffer from fatal diseases.

(v) The witches are also capable of endangering the prosperity and wellbeing of the village. It is believed that the witches purchase the seeds of sickness from powerful *bonga* merchants, and if they bury some of these seeds in the village lanes, or sprinkle it in well this may bring cattle-disease, epidemic, cholera, smallpox, famine and other calamities of serious nature. In the village Sagjori where the double witch hunt has been committed, it was reported that last year the witches were responsible for "blowing off" the harvest of paddy, and through the villagers had a bumper harvest, they had to face acute shortage of grains.

The witches have their well defined areas of operation beyond which their powers are ineffective. It was also reported that the witches generally play their witchery on their own tribesmen, but the non-Santals of their village or of the neighbouring villages may also occasionally fall pray to the powers of a witch.

Diagnosis and Remedy

Once a person is attacked by a witch he starts suffering from fever, headache, stomach pain,

general breakdown of health, and other complaints. If someone's hairs begin to fall, it is also believed to be due to witchcraft. General calamities like breaking out of cholera, small-pox, famine and cattle-death in a village are also attributed to witchcraft.

In cases of personal sufferings the sufferer's relatives go to an *Ojha* for medicine. Anybody from out of some temperament including a vision of some God or spirit may take up the profession of an *Ojha* or *Sakha*. Some may also be attracted to the profession for love of profits and may undergo training in the necessary rites and penances and incantations and spells under some *guru*. They can find out through their magical rites the reasons of sickness and can identify the witches responsible for inflicting illness. They not only perform divination, but provide medicine to subdue sickness, or neutralize the ill effects of the witches by performing magical rites or by sacrificing fowls and offering other materials to please the *bongas*. A *Sakha* is primarily a diviner but an *Ojha* is more a medicine-man than a diviner. They gain considerable prestige in the society for their benevolent activities in detecting witches and curing disease and sickness.

When a man goes to consult an *Ojha* he takes some oil with him. The *Ojha* anoints oil and vermilion on a *sal* leaf and utters incantations. If the disease is caused by a witch, it is believed that the reflection of the witch would fall on the *sal* leaf. The *Ojha* may then sacrifice chicken

to please the *bongas* and induce the witch to take back the sufferings from the sufferer. In cases where the hearts of a person is eaten partially by a witch the *Ojha* may transplant the hearts of a chicken or a goat in the body of the patient so that he gets back his life. In cases of sickness, an *Ojha* may blow off the evil by reciting incantations. In Kantabani the *Ojha* used to cure the patients suffering from ache or pain by keeping a few grains of *arua* rice on the aching portion and curing the ache by uttering incantations. Everyday ten to twenty persons suffering from various complaints used to come to him for medicine and he earned not less than ten rupees per day.

The *Sakhas* are diviners. While individuals go to consult *Ojhas* for personal complaints the *Sakhas* are always consulted by the villagers for mass misfortune. When a calamity of serious nature affects the village and undermines the security of all the villagers a deligation from the village goes to consult a *Sakha*. It is said that some *Sakhas* are so proficient that on arrival of the persons they can foretell the reasons of their coming, the name of their village, and other relevant facts. A tribal student of Bisoi High School narrated an incident which occurred in his village some years ago, when he was a child. A large number of cattle died in the village, and the villagers went to consult a *Sakha*. When they arrived in the *Sakha*'s house, the *Sakha* could foretell that they went there to know the reason for cattle epidemic which

broke out in their village, and gave a detail description about the setting of their village, the location of the village burial-ground, the type of husking-liver one of the villagers had, and other details which were true and vivid, though the *Sakha* had never seen their village.

When approached, the *Sakha* by virtue of his magical performances can tell the name of the witches who were responsible in causing the calamity or can give a detail description about the appearance of the witch, the type of house she dwells in, the trees and plants on the four directions of her house, etc., which give sufficient clause to identify her.

The Santals take recourse to various means for dealing with the witches. The witches are either shunned, despised and warned, or fined or are ostracised from the village. In some cases the anger on witches lead to witch-hunting. The witches are punished by the following methods :—

- (i) When one suffers and after consulting an *Ojha* is confirmed that some witch is responsible for his illness, he brings the matter to the notice of the village. The village elders assemble. Now they have not known the name of the witch; only they have known that some witch of some house has brought the illness. One evening a group of village elders headed by the headman walk around the village lanes shouting in a tone of threatening to the witch "Beware, so and so is ill, and unless he is cured within a few days the culprit

will be dealt severely". At this threatening the witch may think it better to leave the patient.

(ii) In some cases, after the witches are detected, they are beaten severely or are humiliated in the public. It is reported that in one case of cattle epidemic in a village the women folk of the village were indiscriminately insulted. The women of every household were to carry the dead bullocks to the field and were made to carry a knife with them, which symbolizes beef-eating. Beef-eating has been discouraged in the public among Santals since long, and by humiliating the village women by this way it was believed that the witches would feel offended and give up their bainshful art.

(ii) In certain cases, the witches after detection were fined by the village elders. A report of dated the 7th November 1963, published in the daily newspaper 'Samaj' stated that a widow, suspected to be a witch, was fined two hundred rupees. Ganga Naek and his daughter suffered from fever continuously for a long period. They consulted an *Ojha* for diagnosis, who said that Kuli Kolhuni a widow was a witch who caused fever to them. Ganga Naek made an appeal to the villagers and a council consisting of village elders was summoned. According to the decision of the village council the widow was fined two hundred rupees.

(iv) When the villagers apprehend that a certain witch is an agent of constant mischief and a source of great danger to the

security and prosperity of the village, the witch may be ostracized from the village.

(v) The last and the safest device to get rid of a witch is to kill her. Witch-hunting, though considered a criminal offence in the eyes of the law, is approved by the unwritten code of the Santals. To them a witch is a thorn to the progress of the society at large, and for her anti-social activities she should be punished with death. Thus any case of witch-hunt is backed by the approval of the society, and after killing a witch not only the murderer, but all the villagers feel secured and safe. Witch-hunts are quite frequent in the district of Mayurbhanj, and more particularly in the Bamanghati subdivision of the district where the Santals are quite numerous. Cases of which murder are seldom reported from the Sadar and Udala subdivisions but their number in Panchpirh subdivision is not negligible. Cases of witch-hunts brought to the Law Court proves that the belief in witchcraft leading to witch-hunt is still going strong in the minds of the tribes like Kolha, Munda Kharia and Bathudi and among the non-tribal communities. A majority of such cases are, however, reported from the Santals of Bamanghati subdivision. The figures collected from Rairangpur Police Circle Office show that in 1964 there were three cases of witch-hunt in the area, while the figure increased to five in 1965.

Witches are killed either by striking their necks with axe, or

with other heavy tools, or by strangulation by means of a rope or cloth.

Cases of witch-hunt

Some cases of witch-hunt in Bamanghati and Panchpirh subdivisions are given below.

(1) In Bisoi Police Station of Bamanghati subdivision a man killed his step-mother on the suspicion that the deceased was a witch who was supposed to be 'eating' his sons.

(2) An old woman of Kunjakachha in Bisoi Police Station was suspected to be a 'man eating' witch. Salu Majhi's son of ten months old died on the 7th July 1963, and after consulting an *Ojha* Salu Majhi suspected Sal Majhiani, an old woman to be a witch who was responsible for killing his son. On the 8th July 1963, Sal Majhiani was returning from the village Paunsia after the day's toil. Salu Majhi killed her and buried her near a hill.

(3) On the 14th January 1964, a young widow named Sita Bewa of Patijhari village, in Bisoi Police Station, was suspected to be a witch and was murdered by Hira Naek and Singa Naek.

(4) In the year 1964, Bikram Majhi killed Mangi Majhiani, a widow of village Allapani in Bisoi Police Station, by dealing a blow with an axe on her while she was returning from a forest. Mangi Majhiani was suspected to be a witch.

(5) In Jashipur Police Station an old woman was murdered by three persons. The woman was suspected to be a witch. On a festive occasion she was invited and given liquor to drink. When she got intoxicated and lost her senses the accused killed her and threw the dead body in a tank.

(6) In the month of April, 1966, it was reported that Nani Majhi-ani of village Bisipur in Karanjia Police Station was killed for being a witch.

(7) In the month of May, 1966, Chakua Majhi and Salkha Majhi killed Sakar Majhiani by strangulating her with a piece of cloth. The woman was suspected to be a witch and the villagers were not pleased with her.

Three cases of double murder on the ground of witchcraft are described here.

(8) In the month of August in 1966, an old woman named Salge and her daughter of village Ranipokhari in Sarat Police Station of Panchpirh subdivision were murdered by Salge's son-in-law, on the ground that Salge was a witch and was responsible for inflicting sickness in some of her relatives.

(9) In September, 1966, Mangu Sardar of Parabedha village, in Rouran Police Station of Panchpirh subdivision was believed to be a witch who practised witchcraft on two persons of the village. The victim's brother murdered Mangu Sardar on the ground of witchcraft and his son as the latter was a witness to the murder.

(10) *Double witch hunt in Sagjori, a case-study*—Sagjori is a small village in the Bisoi Police-station in Bamanghati subdivision of Mayurbhanj district. The village is situated at a distance of two kilometres from Bisoi Police-station amidst paddy fields. The village has 19 families, of which 17 are Santal and two are Puran. A small stream flowing nearby provides drinking water for the village.

It was reported in a newspaper that a double murder was committed in the village, the motive being witch-hunt. A study was made to assess the facts by interviewing the villagers including the relatives of the deceased persons and the mother of the accused.

It was revealed that Chandu Majhi's mother was suffering from fever since three weeks. Prior to the day of the murder, Chandu did not administer any medicine to her. It was gathered that Chandu Majhi went and consulted some *Ojha* or *Sakha* who might have told about the suspected witches responsible for the ailment of his mother.

The villagers also suspected the above women to be witches from the omen that though they had a fairly good harvest last year a major portion of it disappeared mysteriously. The villagers perhaps consulted an *Ojha* or *Sakha* who attributed the cause to witchcraft. During the period when Chandu's mother (aged about 60 years) fell ill, all the village women came to see her.

Two of them once exclaimed that the old women was getting weaker day by day and may not survive longer. They were reported to have asked Chandu Majhi's mother secretly to pay them Rs. 60 so that they could provide medicine to cure her, but the latter expressed inability to pay the amount on the ground of poverty. During her illness, Chandu Majhi's mother complained that the two widows namely, Jasmi Majhiani and P u n t i Majhiani, were responsible for her illness, because whenever they came to see her, she felt restless and her fever rose with vomiting. All these factors perhaps prompted Chandu Majhi to have killed Jasmi and Punt.

It was stated by the villagers and the Police Officers that after killing two persons Chandu did not suffer from serious mental agony. He was sitting on the verandah of his house keeping his axe beside him and smoking tobacoo till he was arrested. The Superintendent of Police, Baripada, sent Chandu's mother to the local dispensary and it was found out that she suffered from malaria. When medicine was administered she was cured, but she maintained that the death of the witches did cure her sickness.

Conclusion

From the foregoing account it is clearly evident as to what extent the Santals believe in witches, how the witches inflict disease, death and destruction in the society, how witches are

dreaded, the methods of diagnosing the diseases caused by witchcraft, and the remedial and preventive measures taken by the Santals to get rid of the witches. An analysis of the data collected on witchcraft may be able to provide the following inferences.

(1) The belief in witchcraft is not only found among the Santals, but it is also deeply rooted in the belief system of the primitive Kharias, advanced Mundas and Hos, acculturated Bathudis, de-tribalized Mahantas and Puranas, and in the mind of caste-groups like Telis, Gonds and Sundhis of the locality.

(2) The Santals, like the Azandes, believe that a witch has two selves, the physical and the spiritual. The physical self is the normal self which acts like any ordinary person, but the finer self equipped with the techniques of witchcraft leaves the physical self and goes out at the dead of the night on nocturnal expeditions.

(3) A witch brings sufferings through malevolent spirits called *bongas* and by the occult powers acquired through rigorous training. When asked by a *bonga* or when desired to victimize anybody the witches make no distinction between near and dear ones and the distant relatives. As a witch, a mother may 'eat' her son, a wife her husband, an unmarried girl her father or brother, and the like. W. G. Archer, in his article. "The Santal treatment of witchcraft" (Published in "Man in India",

Volume XXVII, June 1947, No. 27 has stated that a victim should be killed by one of the witches of his inner-family, and in case a witch is not available in his inner-family one of the members of that family is forced or attracted to witchery so that after the training she as a witch, may kill or initiate the killing of her close kin. The Witch-hunt cases described earlier also make it clear that in most cases the witches are widows. The Santals always suspect widows to be witches as they believe that they might have 'eaten' their husbands to satisfy the *bongas* after the completion of the witch-training. The Santals always correlate personal quarrels, conflicts, chance accidents and the like, with persons and this may lead them to suspect those persons as witches. It was found from Sagjori that correlation of the visits of the deceased women and the rise of fever of Chandu's mother led Chandu to suspect the two women to be witches.

(4) The Santals believe that the witches undermine the security of the society. They always expect a smooth and steady life free from diseases and calamities. However, not all their expectations and aspirations may be crowned with success, and any deviation, any failure or frustration, or any disease or death is attributed to the evil motive of the witches.

(5) Though the witches cause immense trouble to the society, each Santal village is believed to have more than one witches. It

is also interesting that the wife of the important persons of a village are often reported to be witches. All the villagers are afraid of witches, but they donot dare to protest them in public and incur their displeasure. Even an *Ojha* may be afraid of a witch or a *nanzom*. In the village Kanta-bani, it was reported that the *Ojha* was afraid of her eldest daughter-in-law who was a witch. Though she is suspected to have 'eaten' her husband, her son and is believed to have caused prolonged sickness to her husband's elder brother the *Ojha* did not have the courage to protest her. In their daily life the witches live with other village women and no stigma of hatred is attributed to them ordinarily. A witch is also not rejected for marriage. The girl at Bhagabatur who underwent training to be a witch but discarded the profession did not suffer from any dejection in leading a marital life.

(6) *Ojhas* and *Sakhas* work as agents to safeguard the society from the depredations of the witches by diagnising disease and sickness. They administer medicines to cure those diseases caused due to witchcraft by means of divination, and prescribe preventives to check witchcraft. They control and subjugate malevolent and pernicious spirits, ward off the evil-eyes, and safeguard people's health and happiness.

(7) Once a witch is described and detected in connection with some calamities of serious nature a Santal mind cannot reconcile it.

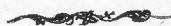
Death is the only means to get rid of a witch for good. A witch is murdered not only for personal safety but for the general wellbeing of the village. So every witch-hunt is backed by the approval of the whole village, though a selected person or persons actually kill a witch. After killing a witch, the prosecutor suffers from no guilty complex or from any serious state of psychological imbalance. His logic makes him strong to rationalize that he committed the murder not out of malice or personal hatred, but to do away with an unwanted person and a social evil for the wellbeing of the society.

A trip to Sagjori revealed that the villagers did not look to be so serious about the double murder committed in their village. The sons of the deceased women also did not seem to have been overstricken with grief and sorrow for the death of their mothers. They behave like any other man of the village and expressed no sigh or sorrow for the loss of their mothers. They came to the house of Chandu Majhi, the accused which any agrieved person would not normally do. Bikra Majhi and Pandu Majhi might be rationalizing thinking that by losing their mothers they have also got rid of two witches. It is also quite likely that the witch-hunt was covertly approved by the entire village.

(8) The efficacy of witchcraft is not doubted by the Santals as well as by the other tribal and

non-tribal communities. The tribal students of Bisoi, in an interview, expressed that the presence of witch in the society may not be doubted at all, and that the witches are also jealous of handsome and educated boys and intend to eat them. The school teacher informed us that the father of a tribal student once expressed that his son should not go to the village during vacation lest a witch may cast her evil-eyes on his son so that he may turn mad or may not be able to read, write and remember anything. An Assistant Engineer's wife was also once believed to have been attacked by a witch. After she was attacked she ate the food cooked for five persons. An *Ojha* was called in and when he administered medicine and blew off the spirit the woman was cured. A welfare worker, working in Bisoi also believed that he was attacked by a witch though he actually suffered from typhoid. When the treatment of *Ojhas* bore no fruit the person was sent for medical treatment.

This being the situation it cannot be said that the Santals may soon consider witchcraft as a myth than a reality. With the spread of education the belief is no doubt getting weaker in the mind of the Santals, but want of increased medical facilities and non-availability of medicines in the hospitals may be factors forcing the Santals to take the help of their traditional medicine man-cum-witch doctor (*Ojha*) for curing diseases. To free the Santals from the age-old belief about the witches, and to convince them about the ineffectiveness of the *Ojhas* in curing diseases it is required that increased medical facilities should be made available to them. Once the tribals feel that the modern medicine can cure them, they may begin to discard their *Ojhas* and consult the doctors. Prolonged propaganda discouraging the belief in witches and witch-hunting may also help in changing the outlook of the tribals and may drive out the age-old belief from their mind.



SURVEY REPORT

AFFECTED VILLAGES UNDER SALIA IRRIGATION PROJECT

(This survey was assigned to Tribal Research Bureau, Bhubaneswar, by the Development Commissioner and the Secretary to Government in Tribal & Rural Welfare Department. It was taken up in the last week of November 1966 and completed in record time.

Shrimati Kiranbala Devi, Sarbashri Pravanshu Sekhar Das Patnaik, Amiya Kumar Mohanty, Shrimati Raja Laxmi Mohanty and Shrimati Sipra Kanungo, Junior Research Officers, conducted the survey with the help of 8 Investigators. Shri S. P. Rout, Research Officer, supervised and co-ordinated the work. Shri Nityananda Das, Assistant Director, gave necessary guidance for planning and implementation of the survey and compilation of the report.)

River Salia is a hill stream which flows across the hill terrain in Banpur Tahasil of Puri district and in a part of Ganjam district. It was decided to build a medium irrigation project on this river in the year 1958. The project was designed to irrigate an area of nearly 20,000 acres both in Puri and Ganjam districts. The submersible area is nearly 2,800 acres. The catchment area is 96 square miles. There is provision for a concrete dam with one earthen dyke and a spillway. The system will comprise of two main canals, 11 distributaries and 8 minor canals. The length of the total canal system will be 15.97 miles.

In the first phase 6,000 acres of land will be irrigated in the district of Puri and the rest will be completed in due course. The

project is estimated to cost Rs. 2.73 crores. The project was conceived and the preliminary survey of the submersible area along with other preliminaries were taken up in 1958. Land acquisition proceedings and other formalities began thereafter. Compensation and awards were paid by the Puri District Office for the areas affected in Puri district and for the Ganjam villages by Ganjam District Office. The amount of compensation paid in Puri and Ganjam districts are given in the Appendix.

The villages are situated along the hills. The main agricultural lands are located in the valleys. The inhabitants are settled agriculturists. There is no shifting cultivation in existence. The inhabitants are mainly tribals and their percentage is 66.6 to the

total affected population. The Scheduled Caste form 4.4 per cent of the total population while the rest 29 per cent belong to other castes. The tribes are Sounti, Kandha, and Saora. Out of the 21 villages 6 are unsettled (bechhapari) villages while the remaining are recognized revenue villages. From these settled villages, 8 will be wholly submersible and the rest will be partly affected. The affected families are 278. Out of these 179 are tribals, 18 Scheduled Castes and the rest belong to different castes. The largest number of affected persons are in Krushnapalli village. They belong to Sounti tribe. The smallest village is Nillapalli with one affected family only which is a tribal. The table attached will show the number of affected families in different villages. The average affected families per village is nearly 18.

The Sounti are an assimilated group of tribals. They have adopted Hindu customs and manners.

The Kandhas are known as Janis in the local area. They have also acquired considerable amount of Hindu customs and practices. Most of the Kandhas work as Janis (worshippers) of the village deities and are paid by the villagers for such services rendered by them.

The Saoras living in the area are definitely a part of the Lanjia Saora tribe who are autochthones of Ganjam agency and Puttasingi. However after many wanderings they have settled down in this area. They have given up the

colourful loin cloth (Ulia). They retain their language. The elaborate religious ceremonies of Saoras have been given up mostly due to the economic condition. However, innumerable ancestors and spirits of the Saora Pantheon are widely remembered and propitiated according to available resources.

The tribes are highly indebted. The Sahukars and Kumutis from Banpur frequent the hills. Cash and other forms of credit are advanced to the people by them at a higher rate of interest. The cash compensation paid to the villagers has been mostly used to pay outstanding debts to the creditors. In this background the Tribal Research Bureau conducted a survey in the above area mainly on the following points.

(1) Number of Adibasi and Harijan families affected

Data collected from the official source reveal that in total 139 families and 670 persons have been affected by the Salia Irrigation Project. But data collected from various villages show that total number of 278 families and 1,416 persons have been actually affected. This may be attributed to the growth of population and disintegration of joint families in the span of last seven to eight years from the year of survey in 1958. However, out of 278 families, 179 belong to Scheduled Tribes, 18 Scheduled Castes and 81 from other castes. Out of 179 families, 89 belong to Sounti, 60 Kandha and 30, to Saora tribes. From the total 1,416 persons, 943 are tribals, 62 Scheduled Castes

and 411 are from other castes. Out of 943 tribals, 445 are Sounti, 168 Saora and 330 persons are Kondhas.

(2) The number of family members in each villages.

The Survey has been conducted in 21 villages out of which 6 villages are uninhabited. The total number of families inhabiting those 15 villages is 278 who have been affected. 51 families, the highest number are affected in the village Krushna-palli and in Nilapally only one family has been affected. In average 18 families have been affected.

(3) Economic condition

Out of 1,416 affected persons, 839 belong to the age-group of 1 to 6 years (Males 153 and females 189), 343 (Males 168, females 175) to the age-group of 7 to 16 years, 554 (Males 297, females 257) to 17 to 45 years, 129 (Males 63, females 66) to 46 to 60 years and 51 (Males 25, females 26) are more than 60 years of age.

The people are mainly agriculturists. Table No. 4 in Appendix reveals that 554 persons belong to the age-group of 17 to 45 years which is considered as working age-group. Out of 680, 441 persons are agriculturists, 182 wage-earners, 13 service holders and 74 persons are engaged in other professions like trade, etc.

There are mainly two types of lands such as wetland (Sarada) and dry land called *Padar* or

Bajefasal in that area. Most of the households have kitchen garden (*Badiland*). Paddy is the principal crop harvested in the wet land, mustard, niger, biri, mung, koltha, suan, maize, ragi, etc., in padar land and seasonal vegetables like brinjal, pumpkin, gourd, beans, chilli and being produced in kitchen gardens.

The people do not maintain regular accounts of their expenditure, but by persuasive interview the following figures have been collected from them to give a picture of their income and expenditure.

The total income of 278 families is Rs. 1,70,367 from agriculture, Rs. 80,235 from wage earning, Rs. 14,460 from service and Rs. 29,600 from other sources. The total income from all the sources is Rs. 2,94,662. Average annual income per family is Rs. 10,59-93 P. The total expenditure of 278 families on food is Rs. 3,16,416 on agriculture Rs. 13,403 on dress and ornaments Rs. 27,637 on purchase of household articles. Rs. 4,666 on medicine Rs. 4,906 on education Rs. 1,887 on rites and rituals Rs. 67,865 and Rs. 6,419 for repairing and construction of house. The annual expenditure of 278 families is Rs. 4,43,199 which brings the annual expenditure per family to Rs. 1,594-96 P. in average.

Comparative analysis of annual income and expenditure per family reveals that the expenditure is more than income.

Table Nos. 6 and 7 in the Appendix show a great disparity between income and expenditure of the people. The annual income per family is Rs. 1,059-93 P. while the expenditure is Rs. 1,594-96 P. The increase in expenditure may be attributed to various reasons. It is not possible to collect accurate data on the income and expenditure within a short period as the inhabitants who are mostly tribals maintain no account of their family budget. The annual expenditure calculated on the basis of food-stuff consumed per day does not give a correct picture of the annual expenditure as the tribals consume very little food during lean months or supplement their diet to a greater extent by collection of wild roots, fruits and tubers. Income from such sources like collection of forest products, from poultry and from occasional wage-earning which are considered minor for the people also add to their annual income to a great extent.

The affected persons live in inaccessible tracts and depending on the vagaries of nature exploit the environment to maintain their

livelihood. Due to this they are not sure of their fixed annual income and the expenditure always exceeds the income. To meet such deficit they incur heavy loans and run to the local money-lenders. They generally borrow in cash and kind with an agreement to repay those with 50 per cent and 25 per cent interest, respectively. In most of the cases the repayment is done in kind such as paddy, *koltha* and *mandia*. Our studies have shown that last year due to drought conditions agricultural production was low. Hence, the loans could not be repaid. Now the compensation money has already been exhausted, and the villagers will be displaced soon, they are in serious predicament to repay their debts.

(4) The amount of compensation each family got for loss of land.

The study in the submersible villages reveals that all the 278 families have been given compensation for the loss of their lands. The rate of compensation paid for various kinds of land given by the Land Acquisition authorities are given below :—

		Rupees per acre
Wet land (Sarada)	..	600
Padar land (Baje Fasala)	..	400
Kitchen, garden and housestead land.	} Ghara and Bari ..	1,000
Padia land	..	100
Bagayat land	..	300
Garden land	..	300

The people feel that they have not received adequate compensation for the loss of their lands. This is due to the fact that the

prevailing rates for land in the local area being Rs. 1,300 per acre of wet land, the rate of compensation paid for similar

kind of land is Rs. 600 only. As compensation has not been paid for fruit and other trees in their lands outsiders have started visiting villages and have been purchasing trees for nominal price.

The total compensation received by 278 families is Rs. 3,12,591. The compensation was paid in the year 1963. During these three years, the compensation received by the people has already been spent. From the total compensation of Rs. 3,12,591, Rs. 1,04,700 was spent for purchasing land, Rs. 34,333 for paying old debts, Rs. 1,28,286 for purchasing food-stuff, Rs. 12,350 on rites and rituals, Rs. 2,500 for household articles and Rs. 29,732 was spent for other purposes. Out of 278 families only 40 families have spent money for purchasing lands. The rest of the families have spent in other ways.

From the above discussion it is obvious that the affected families who got compensation have already spent the money either in purchasing land or on other things. Out of 278 families only 24 families are willing to pay *Salami* if they are provided fertile lands near the selected sites at the proposed rate of Rs. 500 per acre; but are not willing to bear the cost of reclamation of forest land proposed to be allotted to them.

It is proposed by the Government to resettle the affected families of Puri district in Mauza Borigaon and Nipania of Puri district and families affected in

Ganjam district in the Mauza Mundala of Ganjam district. 943.47 acres of land (including 100 acres of homestead land) will be provided for resettlement of affected families. An amount of Rs. 500 for each family has been sanctioned for transportation to resettlement site.

The affected families are mainly concentrated in wholly submersible villages like Sundari, Bodhakapalli, Janteswar, Kalamatia and Krushnapalli. The villagers of Sundari who are Saora and Janeteswar who are Kondh are willing to move to the rehabilitation site at Nipania and Borigaon. The picture is different in village Krushnapalli, inhabited by Sounti. Due to factions in the village 32 families are willing to move to the reclamation sites, while the rest 29 families intend to move to Nathpur and Sinnipoi selected by them.

From our study it is evident that the people are not willing to receive compensation for their dwellings. They want that they should be rehabilitated in built-in-houses at the rehabilitation site.

Suggestions

The erstwhile Bihar and Orissa Government conceded certain rights to the villagers in the forest. They were allowed to take firewood, timber for building houses and collect some minor forest-produce for their domestic use. With their displacement by the project, they are keen that in

their new abode there should be facilities to get forest resources free of cost which they are enjoying at present. Moreover some of the tribal leaders claim that the valuable trees in those forest on which they had traditional rights should not be auctioned by Government and the proceeds appropriated. They want that they should get the sale-proceeds. In view of the cash compensation already paid, and the manner in which those have already been spent away, it will not be a sound proposition to give them further cash on any account. Instead, their traditional right in the forest for their domestic use needs protection. In the new site of rehabilitation a small patch of forest may be set apart for this purpose which will enable them to obtain their requirements for building houses.

The affected people are not interested to receive compensation for houses in cash. It would be better to construct houses for them. Regarding this Dhebar Commission recommend at page 116 that "Work on the development of colonies for displaced persons should be completed before they are asked to vacate their lands and houses". They further recommend that "The taste, tradition and needs of the tribals should be borne in mind;" (Page 123). It is found during our survey that majority of tribals have one to two rooms houses besides cowshed. Houses are built of sal pillars plastered with mud and roofs are thatched with straw. For each family, two

rooms are sufficient. They are interested to build stone walls and stone slabs available in the area. Cemented floor with Khaspurli asbestos roof or G. I. C. roofs are not only expensive but will be uncomfortable for them. So their own house pattern should be taken into consideration while building houses for them. In all the villages, houses are constructed in rows with small kitchen garden to the back of the house. In the colony, quarters should be constructed in that pattern. Dhebar Commission recommend at page 254 that, "In most tribal areas there is no need to change the architecture of the building. We may introduce small windows to take away smoke and let in more air".

Dhebar Commission have recommended that in case of displacement of the tribals the affected persons should be provided with land for the loss of land and house for house. Cash Compensation should not be encouraged. The survey has revealed that cash compensation was awarded to affected villages since 3 to 4 years. Illiterate and backward tribals who are not fully conversant with value of money were awarded large sums. Stories are current that even at the stage of counting currency notes some cunning persons, manipulated to take away some amount from the affected persons. The cunning money-lenders exploited the situation to reckon up past debts, and demanded payment of those out of the compensation money. Liquor venders and petty traders had bumper

trade and some amount of the cash compensation found way into their premises. No doubt, some of the affected villagers utilised a part of their compensation to acquire immovable properties at other places. However, most of the affected villagers did not utilise the cash compensation in this direction. Today they are left with no funds to pay Salami for the new land to be provided in the rehabilitation site.

The total amount of compensation should not have been paid to the tribals in cash. At least half of the amount should have been deposited in Savings Bank in the name of the individual family heads to help planned and proper expenditure.

In this context rehabilitation programme under the MIG Project at Koraput may be taken into consideration. In the latter project the cash compensation was not handed over to the affected villagers in full. The authorities in pursuance of a sound policy withheld a part of the compensation and deposited the same in Savings Bank account. A follow-up study in MIG Project area has shown that most of the affected persons have purchased land, built new houses, acquired live-stock, etc., out of the compensation money. After some amount was spent in other ways they become conscious and utilised the remaining portion for beneficial needs.

This position when compared to Salia Project area will show

the diversity. Here the full compensation was paid in cash according to the prescribed rate. As discussed above, now the affected people who are bound to be displaced in another year have no resources to pay for their houses or land at the rehabilitation site.

Another point is that the MIG Project was taken up expeditiously and affected people were conversent that their displacement was imminent. Hence they could visualise the scope for rehabilitation and became cautious. In case of Salia Project 3 to 4 years have lapsed since they received compensation and the affected persons could not fully grapple the displacement. At that moment when the cash compensation came to their hands it was bound to have been spent away in various ways without proper planning.

As the position stands now the tribal people should be rehabilitated with houses, cultivable land and live-stock, etc. They are unable to pay for those in full. No further cash compensation should be paid to them. In this context the recommendation of the Scheduled Areas and Schedule Tribes (Dhebar) Commission are relevant which stress that "Compensation as suggested in the Land Acquisition Rules, is a partial solution of the problem. But efforts should also be made to ensure that the tribal does not become rootless". In Salia area the assimilated groups like Sounti

have shown prudence to a greater extent by purchasing few plots of land at other places. Some of the Kondhs have also done that. But the backward Saoras have not purchased any land. It, therefore, clearly indicates that an assessment may be made for the loss of houses, fruit trees and other resources for which compensation has not been awarded and the amount should be utilised for houses, agriculture land, and other amenities at the rehabilitation site.

Before selecting a site, the opinion of the tribal leaders should not be ignored. The tribals have strong emotional attachment to their soil. When they are made to leave their home and hearth they feel most insecure. Taking the opinion of the displaced persons in selecting new sites and performing rites and rituals for avoiding future calamities in that new site (which the tribals strongly believe) may give some consolation to the displaced persons and thereby minimize their apprehension.

A further study in the Government colony in MIG area reflects that the people are quite happy and have adjusted to a considerable extent in their new settlement, because the site was selected in deference to the liking of the affected persons. Government provided money to the tribals to perform rites and propitiate deities for selecting the new site, so that natural calamities would not befall them in the

new site. However, the tribals complained that Government did not provide funds for performing rituals before constructing new houses in the colony, as a consequence of which the people have suffered from diseases and cattle death. The authorities have to note this point as the guide-line for the rehabilitation of the displaced tribals under the Salia Project. It is imperative that the social values and ideas of the people need to be regarded so that they feel congenial at the new site.

For systematic rehabilitation of the displaced persons it is essential that technical training and other avenues of employment should be provided to them. All the families may not be able to get sufficient land. Future expansion to accommodate the growing population may also not be possible. The land will, therefore, not sustain the entire population. It is, therefore, essential that suitable young men should be trained in training centres at Banpur and other places so that they take up various trades and get a reasonable source of living. Premium should be given to employ the displaced persons in the project establishment so that the dam which has been constructed for the benefit of others by uprooting them should not be a perennial stigma to their healthy living in future. In this context, Dhebar Commission have rightly suggested that "the persons likely to be affected as a result of a project should have preference in employment on

the project work, subject to the consideration of technical qualifications, where they are needed.”

There are social prejudices among the different tribals and castes. Social distances are maintained on account of those prejudices. The Sountis consider themselves superior to the Kandha and Saora. The Kandhas consider themselves superior to Saoras. Each tribe have their separate customs and practices, rites and rituals, and Gods and deities. For this reason in the rehabilitation colony different castes and tribes should live in separate wards.

In each ward, shrines representing the tutelary deities of different tribes and castes may be installed,

and funds should be allotted for installation and worship of traditional deities in the new site.

As given above there are educational institutions and traditional community houses in which village assemblies are held. Those are to be provided at the new rehabilitation site.

For rehabilitation in right lines, a few of which have been circumscribed above, the authorities concerned should associate an anthropologist from the Tribal Research Bureau. This will obviate future complication and the rehabilitation programme will be in consonance with the felt needs of the affected persons in general and tribals in particular.

Table No. 1

Table showing the extent of submersion, total No. of families and persons affected

Sl. No.	Name of the village	Extent of Submersion	Total No. of families affected					Total family	Total No. of persons affected				Total affect person		
			Saunti Saora Kondh			S. C.	Others		Saunti Saora Kondh		S. C.	Others			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	
1	Sundri	Wholly	..	11	..	..	..	11	..	63	..	..	..	63
2	Janteswar	Do.	..	..	7	..	..	7	..	..	42	..	..	42
3	Barkoli	Partially	..	11	19	..	..	30	..	65	93	..	..	158
4	Bodhakapali	Wholly	..	..	19	..	..	19	..	..	104	..	..	104
5	Badsula	Partially	..	..	11	2	..	13	..	..	62	8	..	70
6	Krushnapali	Wholly	..	51	..	..	..	51	251	..	..	..	..	251
7	Nilapali	Partially	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	8	..	..	8
8	Bankiapalli	Do.	..	..	..	..	19	19	..	..	..	..	91	91
9	Talaborechi	Do.	..	9	..	..	..	9	80	..	..	..	..	80
10	Kasipada	Do.	..	6	..	..	..	6	..	40	..	..	..	40
11	Kalamatia	Wholly	..	23	..	..	..	23	81	..	..	..	..	81
12	Khariapalli	Partially	..	..	4	..	..	4	..	..	15	..	..	15
13	Angargaon	Do.	..	..	..	13	21	34	..	..	..	49	95	144
14	Malabelpada	Do.	..	6	..	..	..	6	33	..	..	..	..	33
15	Kumaripali	Do.	..	..	1	1	43	45	..	..	6	5	225	236
Total			..	89	29	61	16	83	278	445	168	330	62	411	1,416

Table No. 2

Total population affected and their age-group

Sl. No.	Name of the Villages	Number of Persons belonging to age-group														Total number of affected families	
		Up to 6 years				7 to 17 years				17—45 years				46—60 years			Total Population
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female				
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)		
1	Sundaris	..	5	15	4	9	12	10	3	5	..	..	24	39	63	11
2	Janteswar	..	3	5	4	10	9	8	2	1	..	..	18	24	42	67
3	Barakoli	..	9	20	21	23	38	25	11	7	1	3	80	78	158	30	
4	Bodhakapalli	..	9	20	9	11	21	21	3	3	4	45	45	59	104	19	
5	Badasula	..	6	6	11	13	12	13	3	1	3	2	35	35	70	13	
6	Krushnapalli	..	32	34	33	34	44	47	8	13	3	3	120	131	251	51	
7	Nilapalli	..	3	..	..	..	2	2	..	1	..	..	5	3	8	1
8	Khariapalli	..	1	..	4	..	5	3	..	..	..	2	10	5	15	4
9	Bankiapali	..	7	17	17	7	17	16	7	3	..	..	48	43	91	19
10	Talaborehi	..	10	9	9	11	16	13	1	1	4	6	40	40	80	9	
11	Kalamatia	..	13	8	6	8	17	16	5	6	2	..	43	38	81	23	
12	Rasipada	..	5	7	1	7	7	7	4	2	..	..	17	23	40	6
13	Angargaon	..	18	11	19	17	36	20	8	10	3	2	84	60	144	34	
14	Malbelpada	..	6	3	4	6	8	5	1	..	..	..	19	14	33	6
15	Kumari pari	..	26	31	26	19	53	51	7	13	6	4	118	118	236	45	
Total		..	153	156	168	175	297	257	63	66	26	26	706	710	1,416	278	

Table No. 3

Literacy

Sl. No.	Name of the Caste/ Tribes.	Illiterate	Number of perrees reading up to						Remarks
			Literates	L. P.	H. P.	M. E.	H. E.	P. H. E.		Total
1	Sauati	329	38	59	8	10	1	..	445
2	Saora	168	..	..	..	..	..	..	168
3	Kandh	259	56	11	3	1	..	..	330
4	Schedule Caste	50	8	2	1	1	..	..	62
5	Others	308	47	44	7	2	..	3	411
	Total	1,114	149	116	19	14	4	..	1,416

Table No. 4

Table showing various occupations of the people

Sl. No.	Name of the Caste/ Tribes	Total population	Total population between 17 to 60 years	No. of persons having main occupation of—			
				Agriculture	Wage Earning	Service	Others
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1.	Saunti	445	201	150	76	7	10
2.	Saora	168	79	18	51	..	31
3.	Kandh	330	154	100	24	..	40
4.	Schedule Caste	62	34	15	5	..	3
5.	Others	411	212	158	26	6	..
Total		1,416	680	441	182	13	74
Percentage		48%	48%	32%	13%	1%	6%

These figures are the result of a survey conducted in the villages of the affected villages of the...

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Table No. 5
Table showing the number of families spending compensation on various items in wholly submersible villages

Sl. No.	Name of the Caste/ Tribe	Total No. of Families	No. of Families			
			Having land and receiving compen- sation	Purchasing land	Spending away money other wise	Willing to pay salami
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1.	Saunti	89	75	19	57	1
2.	Saora	29	29	..	29	..
3.	Kandh	61	56	11	45	23
4.	Schedule Caste	16	11	..	11	..
5.	Others	83	61	10	49	..
Total		278	232	40	191	24

Table No. 6
Annual Income

Serial No.	Name of the Caste/Tribe	Total number of Families	Amount of Income from					Per-Family Income		Remarks
			Agriculture	Wage Earning	Service	Others	Total			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	
			Rs. P.	Rs. P.	Rs. P.	Rs. P.	Rs. P.	Rs. P.		
(1)	Saunti	89	55,925-00	19,627-00	3,600-00	130-00	79,282-00	890-81		
(2)	Saora	29	5,354-00	14,000-00	..	1,500-00	20,854-00	719-10		
(3)	Kandha	61	17,630-00	16,520-00	..	16,300-00	50,450-00	827-71		
(4)	Schedule Caste	16	4,353-00	8,970-00	..	2,175-00	1,548-00	861-00		
(5)	Others	83	87,105-00	21,118-00	10,860-00	9,495-00	1,28,578-00	1,549-13		
Total			273	1,70,367-00	80,235-00	14,460-00	29,600-00	2,44,662-00	4,886-65	

Table No. 7
Annual Expenditure

Serial No.	Name of the Caste/ Tribe	Total No. of family	Amount of Expenditure on										Per Family Expenditure	Remarks
			Food	Agricul- ture	Dress & House Orna- ment articles	Medicine	Educa- tion	Rites & rituals	Others	Repair- ing of house	hospital	Total		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		
1	Saunti	.. 89	1,21,226	4,991	7,860	677	2,814	787	34,356	1,320	1,74,031	1,955.04		
2	Saora	.. 29	6,520	334	3,185	280	..	..	10,037	330	20,686	713.65		
3	Kandha	.. 61	55,619	2,344	6,395	1,177	238	170	14,648	1,401	81,992	1,344.13		
4	Scheduled Caste.	16	26,687	595	1,575	484	430	60	1,865	960	32,656	2,041.00		
5	Others	.. 83	1,06,364	5,139	8,622	2,048	1,424	870	6,959	2,408	1,33,834	28,178.72		
Total			.. 278	3,16,416	13,403	27,637	4,666	4,906	1,887	67,865	6,419	4,43,199	31,594.24	

Table No. 8

Table showing the opinion of the villagers for the new sites of resettlement

Sl. No.	Name of the village	Total family	Number of families willing to be resettled in				Remarks
			Nipania	Nathpur	Cothipoli	Borigan	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1	Sundari	12	12	..	..	..	..
2	Bodhakapalli	19	..	19	..	..	..
3	Janterswar	5	5
4	Kalamatia	23	23
5	Krushnapali	51	17	19	..	15	..
Total		110	34	38	23	15	..

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Table No. 9

Compensation amount spent in various ways

Sl. No.	Name of the Caste/Tribe	Total compensation received	Amount of Compensation spent for								Remarks
			(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	
			Rs.	Rs.	Purchasing of land	Paying old debt.	Purchasing Food stuff	Rites and rituals	Household articles	Others	
1	Saunti Percentage	89	99,950	59,900	90%	3,625	22,855	5,400	100	13,120	
		..				4%	23%	5%	1%	13%	
2	Saora Percentage	29	13,408	..	..	5,308	7,000	..	..	1,100	
		..				40%	50%				
3	Kandha Percentage	61	56,468	26,200	47%	7,400	10,168	2,700	600	8,660	
		..				14%	18%	5%	1%	15%	
4	Schedule Caste Percentage	16	10,852	..	..	1,000	5,700	600	..	4,552	
		..				10%	42%	5%		43%	
5	Others Percentage	83	1,31,913	18,600	14%	17,000	82,563	3,650	1,800	2,300	
		..				13%	62%	3%	2%	3%	
Grand Total			278	3,12,591	1,04,700	34,333	1,28,286	12,350	2,500	29,732	
Percentage			..	..	33%	11%	41%	4%	1%	10%	

VIJAYA KUMAR MATHUR

What is tribal development and to what extent has it been achieved? This is a baffling question, not only because adequate quantum of tribal development has not been achieved but also because of the scantiness of the measurement of tribal development; as also the partial confusion that exists regarding the type of changes in tribal life that can be categorically labelled as tribal development. Measurement to show tribal development is as inadequate as the often heard sweeping remarks regarding lack of tribal development. The absence of definiteness on this score leads to a considerable amount of both complacency and frustration on the part of the Government and the public. It is as futile to get boosted-up by looking at pockets of progress as to get disheartened by imaginary remarks that our approach to tribal societies is unrealistic.

Social values and Tribal Development

Before any indicators to measure tribal development are evolved it would be necessary to de-fog some of the confusion that prevails with regard to the values we attach to a particular tribal change towards development. According to the present policy

INDICATORS OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

of the Government the term 'tribal development' would mean to encompass welfare work, economic development and all those measures which seek to bring about an overall progress of tribal societies. If this was not the approach, it would have been necessary to keep tribal economic development as an isolated issue, and consider tribal development as analogous and synonymous to tribal economic development. In such an event, the measurement of tribal development would also have become much simpler and tangible. No dichotomous value systems would have been involved and the only test to find out changes would have been to reckon the stages of economic growth in terms of production and money incomes. No doubt, the absence of money economy in some tribes or the presence of barter systems would have created computational errors. But these errors would have been short lived and would vanish gradually in proportion to the rate of economic development. Barring some very difficult areas (the stagnant ones) the normal theoretical surmise would be: higher standard of living and perhaps a faster rate of tribal integration (with non-tribal culture) would be the necessary corollary of, and directly

proportional to tribal economic development. But then such an approach eliminates our strong national desire on the social plain of tribal change. By getting more money tribals may intensify alcoholism, allow their colourful music and art to drift into oblivion, and the worst may be, that during the process of economic development there may be a long drawn process of economic exploitation of tribals by their own people or by outsiders. In our anxiety to preserve the ethical traits of tribal culture in the wake of economic development, a number of 'measurement-of change' difficulties are encountered. It is evident that the measurement of changes in the structural and organisational aspects of tribal life is far more difficult than to measure the economic changes. A typical case in point would be to study the implications of tribals just beginning to get employment in a large scale industrial undertaking—a steel plant or a mining industry. Whereas, on the economic score there may appear significant progress in the lives of such tribals, it may not be safe to argue that their social life also undergoes commensurate changes for the better. Problems of adjustment and the lure of industrial social vices are known to create multi-dimensional tensions among such industrial workers. The sum total of the situation leaves the keen devotee of tribal welfare in a dilemma. It becomes impossible to say that the total change—economic plus social—has been a positive step forward.

Planning for tribal development and fixing targets, therefore, becomes a rather difficult task. The economic and social indicators of tribal development are not always in consonance with each other, and often, become so fatally divorced that two contradictory programmes of tribal development have to be launched simultaneously. Each one of the two programmes exercise opposite pulling forces and the final outcome may be only an infinitesimal gain on both the scores—economic and social. An illustration in order would be, to take a non-industrialisation example, the initiation of a co-operative society in a tribal area. Designed as all economic organisations, the co-operative society is bound to promote an ingroup of those decision makers (tribals, or sometimes, more non-tribals) who by virtue of their varied superiority over the common tribal people, become 'instant-leaders' of the co-operative society. This small ingroup bureaucracy takes decisions often for mutual gains without taking into account the needs of the common masses. Thus an economic development programme starts *ab initio* with a positive slant towards exploitation and social injustice. Here, in terms of the economic indicator of development the particular tribal area gains a positive stride forward but the corresponding indications on the social scale are far from rewarding. Many more pertinent illustrations of this type could be cited from industrial belts proximating tribal populations.

Although, I dare not say it too openly, those indicators of social progress as are motivated by unrealistic ethical values appear to me as major barriers to tribal development. By unrealistic ethical values, I mean those forms of utopian traits which we would very much like to be present among tribals for reasons of tradition, philosophy and human goodness, but which are unlikely to be achieved in the wake of economic development. It is, therefore, of immediate importance that the planners of tribals development guard against two pitfalls—firstly, only such social changes should be planned as are likely to be in a realistic consonance with the desired economic development amongst tribals; and secondly, at least for sometime to come tribal development should be measured primarily on the basis of economic indicators, since economic development should be our major focus.

Personally, I have no quarrel with ethics, as no sane man can, while living in the society; but India as a whole faces an acute situation when priorities have to be fixed from amongst a series of choices. Economic development, no doubt, is priority number one; and much as one may dislike, the ethics of social values may have to await their turn

Measurement Techniques.

Under this title, it is not possible for me to discuss in a limited space the comparative effective-

ness of all the techniques of evaluation and statistics which are currently in vogue with great advantage in the developed nations. Presently, I wish to discuss in a general manner some of the basic difficulties we face in the application of these techniques in the areas of tribal development.

(a) *Agency of Development*—It is but natural in a democratic set-up like ours that a large number of agencies, both governmental and voluntary, will be working for the total tribal development. Whereas, the need for a close co-ordination amongst these agencies is paramount, there is always likely to be some difference in the ideologies of these agencies—more so, when the variety of voluntary action emerges from religious, social and pseudo-political bodies. This difference creates a heterogenous fabric in the totality of all programmes directed towards tribal development. Occasionally, the hiatus, between governmental exigencies of programme implementation (often required to undergo drastic changes in national interest) and the programmes of voluntary agencies (which may be motivated by unidirectional interests), becomes glaringly pronounced. Under these circumstances the measurement of tribal development or retardation creates difficulties not for its own sake alone, or because techniques of measurement are not efficient enough; but because it also becomes necessary to attribute a particular item of change to the various agencies which have

launched action in that area. Bureaucracies in all organisations (governmental or voluntary) as they have been known to function, and human ego as it exists, want to take responsibility for all aspects of progressive development but feel shy of admitting failures resulting from their programmes. The matter of evolving indicators of tribal development is, therefore, also closely linked with the identification of the particular agency which launches programmes of planning and induced change.

(b) *Agency Fixing Indicators*—The agency which is responsible for measuring tribal development has three major roles to play—(i) Evaluate the quantum and quality of development for a specified period of time, (ii) Announce categorically the indicators which test development, (iii) Give suggestions for speeding-up achievement in case there are bottlenecks and retardation. It may also be considered whether this agency should be a part of the agency which implements the programmes of development, or it should be an independent body. The only merit in having a single agency for the implementation of programmes and evaluation lies in the fact that the evaluators possess a realistic view of the various conditions in which a programme is launched. It often happens that an evaluation agency which is divorced from the action agency fails to assess the human and social factors in their correct perspective. Their reports are often a

set of cold statistical data concealing those consequential factors of and barriers to development which are the very essence of the complex. In this context, mention is necessary of 'Action Research' techniques first developed by the famous social anthropologist, Sol Tax, but later perfected to some extent for employment in the area of planned development. Unless a well balanced debate comes to a definite conclusion, it is premature to advocate the exact relationship between the action and the evaluation agency.

(c) *Publicity and Mass Media*—Communication of successes and failures of a tribal development programme not only to the world outside but to the very people for whom the programme is designed has an untold spiral effect—sometimes this effect may acquire a regressive direction. The directors of the publicity campaign have to use the explosive material with extreme caution—the sword cuts both ways. At frequent and successive intervals the tribal population needs to be exposed to such publicity. An important content of the information that must flow out to the people is the indicators of development which have been chosen for a particular programme. These indicators are as important a catalytic agent as the timed targets. When failures are communicated to the people special care has to be exercised. The material publicised must have the twin quality of being analytical and easily understandable by the people.

Tools for Measuring Tribal Development

It is a pity that social science research methodology is still undergoing its teething troubles in the underdeveloped world—a place, where perhaps, it is most needed today. There can be no two opinions regarding the fact that the western developed world has achieved meteoric heights in this field during the twentieth century. But it can be profitably argued that, possibly, the underdeveloped regions cannot and should not blindly employ the same techniques as have been perfected and found useful in a different social and geographical context. The calamity of the situation is that until we are able to evolve our own methods and offer alternative systems of research tools and methods we are unable to stand up in challenge and say 'no' to the infiltration of these systems. The glamour of even mediocre research work brought out by the affluent is so bewitching that we are just swept off our feet and accept it in totality. I say this with a special emphasis in view of my long experience in the field of social research investigations, and often, a close contact with visiting specialists. A number of research tools, naming particularly the interview schedule, I have found to be of little use not only with our illiterate masses but also with the so-called elite. Since measurement of tribal development intimately depends upon qualification of data the neglect of these tools is also dangerous. This dilemma is the task of those

social engineers who are responsible for evaluatory studies.

Indicess of Tribal Development.

Before we attempt to fix as to what type of changes in tribal life will be called as tribal development, it may be pertinent to discuss the actual stages of development through which a tribal society is envisaged to pass. To my mind there are two broad alternatives—(i) Tribal societies will first achieve the status of non-tribal rural areas and then aspire forward as the rural areas are doing, (ii) Tribal societies should byepass the rural India stage and jump to the urbanised and industrialised stage. Pragmatically, I think, our efforts should be in the direction of the second alternative. Although, I do not claim to have a prescription whereby I can claim that the second alternative is possible certain peculiar social and attitudinal traits inherent to tribal living often make the tribals more amenable to change than their non-tribal rural counterparts. For this reason, I believe, economic development of tribal societies is a shade easier than that of our non-tribal rural societies. Arguing in the same vein, it may be more feasible to evolve those indices of tribal development as would indicate sudden departures from tribal life to industry without going through the beaten track of the elusive Indian agriculture. This breakthrough can only be possible, if some far reaching changes are arrived at in our approach to the tribal world.

A SUMMARY OF THE STUDY ON IMPACT OF INDUSTRIALIZATION ON THE TRIBALS OF SUNDAR- GARH DISTRICT

Industry generates economic mobility of a country, technological skill of the people and an overall change in the socio-economic life of the workers. The industrial environment molds and modifies the day-to-day life of the workers and brings about certain healthy changes. Simultaneously there are unhealthy changes which adversely affect the traditional life of the people and create maladjustment in the society. The impact of industrial environment on the social, economic and political organization of the people, their religion, psychology, attitudes and values, etc., have been a topic of study for the social scientists all over the world.

In Orissa, industrialization has mobility during the post-independence period. Particularly, a thorough change has swept over the various areas of Sundargarh where both mines, industries and factories have been operating since long. Sundargarh is the homeland of various tribes like primitive Pauri Bhuinya and Erenga Kolh, acculturated Kissan, Binjhia and Khadia and assimilated Munda and Oraon. The tribals constitute

58.3 per cent of the total population of the district. The mines, industries and factories have sprung up in tribal areas and as such the tribals in general have been subjected to changes arising out of industrial complex. Limestone quarries in Birmitrapur, Purunapani, Hatibari, Tensa and Lanjiberna, cement factory at Rajgangpur; Steel Plant at Rourkela and factory for producing machine parts at Kansbahal have opened modern avenues for the tribals and have cast far reaching influence on the workers and as well as the non-workers of these industrial pockets. Thus it was felt necessary to conduct a study about the impact of industrialization on the various aspects of tribal life in Sundargarh district. The study was conducted by three Junior Research Officers, Shrimati Kiran Bala Debi, Shri A. K. Mohanty and Shrimati Rajlaxmi Mohanty under the supervision of the Research Officer Shri S. P. Rout and with the guidance of the Assistant Director. Basic data were gathered from four areas, viz., Birmitrapur (Bisra Stone Lime Company of 48 years old), Rajgangpur (Orissa Cement Ltd. of 15 years old), and Tensa, and Purunapani mines operating since

nearly 6 years. Thereafter comparative data were obtained from Rourkela suburb, Kansbahal and Lanjiberna areas.

Biramitrapur, previously known as Raipur is situated in Panposh subdivision. Before 1949 it formed a part of the Gangpur State. It is surrounded by Hatibari and Purunapani (two important mining areas) in the east, the State of Bihar in the north, Raiboga in the west and Panposh in the south. The Hindustan Steel Plant at Rourkela is situated at a distance of 20 miles. The total population of the Biramitrapur police-station is 42,335 and the Munda, Oraon, Binjhia and other tribals form 67.6 per cent of the total population. The tribes have been influenced by missionaries and conversion is quite high though lesser than Rajgangpur.

In Rajgangpur, on the other hand christianity has played an important role. This area lies midway between Rourkela to Sundargarh and has been open to outside contact since long. The Orissa Cement factory also started working since 1951. This area was suitable to record changes in the life of the tribals due to impact of factory.

Purunapani, Tensa, Kansbahal and Lanjiberna also stand on different footings. All these areas have comparatively recent mining or industrial units and each has its special characteristics to be studied. Geographical isolation of Tensa area with the primitive non-converted hill dwelling tribals of the area living primarily of shifting cultivation would certainly react differently to mining or industrial

atmosphere from those sophisticated and plains dwelling tribals of Purunapani and Lanjiberna areas. Moreover, Purunapani is surrounded by industrial and mining complexes in all sides. The Bisra Stone Lime Co. lies at about 10 miles on the west and Hatibari Mines of TISCO lies only at a distance of two miles. The light of the Rourkela township are visible to Purunapani which is about 10 miles as the crow flies. The tribals of this area therefore, get greater scope to work in different industries and come in greater contact with outsiders which brings in various changes in their traditional life.

The scope of study in Kansbahal is also different from the other areas. Unlike other mining and industries of the district where a majority of the tribals are employed as unskilled workers, in Kansbahal most of the jobs are skilled jobs which require technical training. As most of the tribals do not have requisite training or education they fail to qualify themselves for employment in the Utkal Machinery at Kansbahal.

Bisra Stone Lime Company is the oldest mining enterprise in Sundargarh district. The earlier history of the company could not be collected, but it is known that the company was handed over to Birds & Company by Zobell and Co. in 1915. In 1918 the company started prospecting and acquiring limestone and dolomite deposits and the mining work started at full swing. At present, Biramitrapur produces 1.8 million tonnes of

limestone and dolomite per year by employing 11,166 workers. The products are supplied to the Tata Iron & Steel Co. at Jamshepur, India Iron & Steel Company in Bengal, and Hidustan Steel Company at Rourkela. Most of the works in B. S. L. Co. are done by engaging manual labour. The Company employs 9,900 tribals for skilled, semiskilled and unskilled jobs.

The Orissa Cement Ltd. started functioning from 1951. It recruits tribal workers from the neighbouring 37 villages. The number of tribal workers is 2,077 who are mostly Oraons, Kissans and Mundas. Likewise, industries and mines started functioning in Purunapani, Tensa, Lanjiberna and Kansbahal area in 1958, 1958, 1951 and in 1961. The number of tribals employed in Purunapani, Lanjiberna and Kansbahal are 585, 1,482 and 310. Two villages in Rourkela suburb and in total 33 villages with three workers' colonies in Birmitrapur were also studied for collecting comparative data to show phases of change sweeping the tribal life of the district.

Before beginning field studies preliminary data on employment potentiality were collected from official sources intensive study was conducted with the help of questionnaire and interview.

It is rather difficult to gauge the impact of industrialization alone without assessing the impact from conversion and other ancilliary factors. All those produce a cogent blend which reflect the change in various aspects of their life.

Vital changes have taken place in the social, economic, political and ritual organizations of the tribals. The tribal society, which was once closed and integrated society has become loose and discrete. Nuclear families have grown in number and the people have become more individualistic. Inter-personal relationship, which was once based on kinship ties and sense of familiarity has become more impersonal and indifferent. Village organization has become feeble and the tie binding the villagers to take part in communal endeavour has become weak. Marriage by capture which was popular in olden days is looked down by the tribals who work in mines or industry. Now the opinion of the groom is taken into consideration before finalizing a marriage proposal. Divorce and widow remarriages are also considered indelicate and irregular by the new generation. They have also developed hatred for their traditional songs, dances, dress and ornaments. However, a tendency to educate their children has now been noticed in the tribals working in industry or mines.

Changes in the economic life of the tribals have been numerous. Due to emergence of industries or mines many tribals have lost their land, and the compensation received has been spent on liquor or for purchasing fashionable articles. The tribals who raised paddy, pulses, cereals, cotton and variety of other crops do not cultivate their land so extensively. Cultivation of cotton has been completely ceased, and the availability of cheap mill-made clothes has been

welcomed by the tribals who do not take the trouble of growing cotton, spinning the yarn, and giving it to weavers for making clothes. The tribal villages which were once more or less self-sufficient in economy have now to depend on the market for most of their requirements. On the basis of data collected on the occupation for three generation it is seen that persons engaged in mines and industries are increasing. There is also greater incidence of cultivating own land in preference to share cropping. The tribals who were once in collectional economy and hunting now depend on agriculture or on mines and industries. Collective labour and co-operative farming have declined. Barter and exchange which were vogue in the past have become obsolete. Mercantile economy has captured the market as the tribals earn more money than production of crops. They show an increased tendency to purchase fashionable goods and spend more on dress, cosmetics and liquor. Their earning and purchasing capacity have increased, but their wants have also multiplied. Tea taking, chewing betel, and smoking cigarettes have been acquired by many tribals.

The tribals have lost many important traits of their religion. A majority of Oraon, Munda and Khari have embraced christianity Binjhias, Bhuinyas and in some cases the Kissans have not been attracted towards christianity. They observe their traditional feasts and festivities, but most of them have cut short their rites and

rituals. The communal festivals have lost their glamour.

Changes have taken place in the traditional political organization of the tribals. In their traditional society, leadership was determined by birth and seniority, but at present wealth and education have become determining factors in selection of leaders.

Thus it is found that changes have taken over different phases of life of the tribals of all the areas, but such changes are not uniform in all the areas. Rajgangpur area with Orissa Cement Ltd. has been subjected to maximum changes. This area is not only having the cement factory since long, but the developed communication facilities connecting the area with the important places and the growing impact of christianity have infused greater changes in the tribal life and culture of the area.

Though Birmitrapur is having the oldest mining area of the district and the maximum percentage of tribals (47.2 per cent) of the surveyed villages being employed in mines the changes are not so conspicuous as the influence of christianity is not so strong as in Rajgangpur, and its distance from the towns of the district makes the area more rural than urban.

The tribal folk of Purunapani area have been subjected to considerable change due to the impact of industrialization. Two limestone quarries—Purunapani Limestone quarry of Hindusthan Steel Ltd., and Hatibari Mines of

TISCO lying at a distance of 3 to 4 Kilometres employs tribal and non-tribal workers both from the neighbouring villages and from outside. The tribals of the area also go to work in Rourkela Steel Plant which is about 10 miles as the crow flies and share the ideas and the way of living of the outsiders. 10.1 per cent tribals of the surveyed villages work in mines.

Changes are marked in the socio-cultural life of the tribals in Rourkela suburb, where 10.6 per cent tribals are found to be employed as workers in the industrial management. Nearness to Rourkela Steel Plant and the township has thrust changes directly on the villagers and most of the land of the tribals being taken over by company as well as by non-tribal businessmen and traders the economy of the natives has suffered to a greater extent.

16.6 per cent tribals of the surveyed villages in Lanjiberna area are employed in quarries who are mostly engaged in unskilled jobs. This area employs quite a good percentage of tribals but the geographical isolation of the area and the lack of suitable communication facilities have put a check in the changing cultural life of the tribals. Similar is also the case in Tensa area where only 6.3 per cent of the tribals are employed in mines and are least affected by the industrial environment. The Pauri Bhuinyas, who are the predominating tribe of the area show greater resistence to christianity. They dwell on hills and

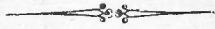
forests and grow paddy and a variety of other crops mainly by shifting cultivation. Agriculture is the main source of their living and a small number only go to work in mines to supplement their income. The hills and forests standing as great physical barriers, obstruct the changes overtaking the traditional tribal culture of the Pauri Bhuinyas.

The picture in Kansbahal is of different type. The German firm employs only those persons who are trained for doing skilled and specialized jobs. As the tribals of the area do not have required education to undertake training for qualifying themselves to work in Utkal Machinery, very few local people are employed in the firm. Only 2.4 per cent of the tribals were found to be employed in industry, but the establishment of the firm employing Germans and educated persons from all over India has infused great changes in the socio-cultural life of the natives.

As has been noticed from the study the impact of industrialization has been felt by the tribals in more than one ways. There are healthy changes in form of larger income with corresponding rise in the standard of living. Ideas, and out-look with wider horizon of knowledge have made them to think of progressive life. On the other hand, there are unwanted and unfavourable effects. The breaking up of the village organization and corporate life along with acquisition of extravagant habits like smoking, drinking and use of cosmetics have

drained most of their resources. Cultivation of land has been given a secondary place to income from mines and industries. Traditional rhythms of life manifested in dance, songs, music, ceremony and feasts and festivities have been given a go by. No doubt there has been a greater spread of education and some cleaner habits and resort to modern hygiene and medicine.

One point is nevertheless clear that industrialization has opened a vista of changes in the area affecting the tribal life, to which the tribals are constantly striving to adjust. In this process of adjustment they acquire new ideas which may not be always detrimental to their interest, though some of the changes generate maladies to normal life.



BHAGIRATHI CHOUDHURY

CHAITI PARBA—THE ANNUAL HUNTING FESTIVAL IN THE DISTRICT OF KORAPUT

(The aim of the present article is to give a vivid description of one of the most characteristic annual festivals of the people of Koraput district. This will speak of dependancy of the people on the forest and its contents in the past.)

The *Chaiti Parba* is one of the characteristic communal festivals observed by the communities living in the villages around the Koraput town. In this area a number of tribes, viz., Poroja, Gadba, Kondh, etc. and also Scheduled Castes, viz., Pana, Ghasi and Dom are found. There are also a number of other Backward Classes people such as Rana, Paika, Gouda, Mali and Sundhi. Besides Christian converts are also found more from the Scheduled Castes. The villages are mostly mixed villages in which several communal festivals are observed annually, all the villagers irrespective of age and sex, excluding the Christian converts participate. Nearly two to three weeks are spent for preparation and observances of this festival.

Purpose

The celebration of the *Chaiti Parba* is mainly intended for taking out seeds ceremoniously from the grain bins for ceremonial sowing, welfare and well-being of the people and cattle, mango-first-eating, and beginning of annual hunt are other objects. This

also provides occasion for relaxation with festivity, merry-making for a period of fortnight or so after the labourious agricultural season. Unmarried girls and boys avail the opportunity for selecting life-partners.

Preparation

Many days prior to the actual ceremony preparations are made by each family of the village. Persons working outside return to the village. Womenfolk engage themselves in making, rice and millet flour, and alcoholic drinks like *pendum*, *Landha* and *mohua-liquor*. Houses are colour-washed and given a new look.

On the first day of the full-moon half of the month of *Chaita* (April-May), a meeting of the village elders is held for fixing the amount of subscription to be paid to the *Pujari* (village priest) and the *Dissari* (village astrologer) for their remunerations. After consultation with the *Dissari* the ceremony is started from 7th or 10th day of the month. It concludes with a hunting expedition.



Khond girls of Munargaon combing each other's hair

Photo by—Courtesy of Robert Ebnother

On the following day the persons nominated by the village-council proceed to the house of the *Dissari* for consultation. They have to carry four to five Kgs. of rice, twelve to fifteen Kgs. of millet and one Kg. of *Kandula* or *birhi* (pulses) for the *Dissari*, the latter forecasts the auspicious moment for the annual hunt and also nominates persons for leading the hunting expedition and also for ceremonial bringing out and sowing of seeds.

Ceremoney proper

Day to day proceedings of the festival are described below.

First day

On this day known as *Bihan-Utra* each cultivating family of the village has to bring out the different varieties of seeds ceremonially from the grain bins at the auspicious moment fixed by the *Dissari*. A male member of the family lights a wick and offers *jhuna* (incense) to the village deities before seeds are brought out. The *Pujari* (village priest) on behalf of the whole village, worships village deities and sacrifices a fowl or a he-goat, the meat of which is distributed in the village.

Second day

On the second day of the festival the head of each household worships in his own house Thakurani, Kalika and Durga (village deities) for welfare and wellbeing of the family. Cooked rice, mango, and milk are offered. If the family can afford, a goat

or a fowl is also sacrificed. The village bears a festive look. New clothes, good food and drinks mark the occasion. In the afternoon of this day, the auspicious moment fixed by the *Dissari* is heralded by blowing of a *turi* and beating of *tamak* near the shrines of the village deities. The *Piyari* takes the leave of the deities from the grain bins. After the rites the person selected for the purpose by the *Dissari* will throw those seeds to a congregation of villager from a platform. All present collect thus thrown out. After that the all have got some portion of seeds thus thrown out. After that the villagers disperse and sow those ceremonially in their fields. The evening is spent in dancing and singing. Both the sexes participate in the dances and merry-making.

Third day

The third day known as *Chadheibenta* is devoted for communal hunting by all capable members of the village. The person nominated by the *Dissari* leads the hunting expedition. Sticks are the only weapons taken by them. Only sticks are used and those carrying weapons of any other kind are punished by the village council. They are expected to return from the expedition with any games. On their return they are welcomed with music and song by the persons present in the village. In a procession they go round the village and then proceed to the house of the *Dissari*, where they are received by his wife and

female members by throwing *arua* rice and scented smoke of *jhuna*. As a token of reward *Dissari's* wife pays them 12 to 25 paisa. In the mean time the village priest worships the village deities for the success in the expedition. The procession is led to the outskirt of the village where the animals killed by the party are roasted and eaten by male members of the village. That night is spent in singing and dancing.

Fourth day

The fourth day known as *bad benta* (big hunting) is the most important day of the ceremony. On the previous night the village priest keeps a bow and arrow near the village deities quietly. One unmarried boy and a girl selected by the *Dissari* are brought in a procession in the morning to the village deities. The priest propitiates the deities for the wellbeing of men and cattle and for a bumper crop in the coming season. Now the girl hands over the bow and the arrow to the boy, who in his turn runs immediately with these. In the mean time the girl has to throw cowdung to the boy by running after him. As soon as cowdung falls upon him, the boy halts then and there till the arrival of the villagers. The boy is carried in a procession to a tree at the outskirt of the village for keeping the bow and the arrow. In the evening all able-bodied male persons of the village carry their hunting. The villagers with their weapons return to the village in a procession. In the meantime an unmarried girl, selected by the

Dissari is to hide on the way. Somebody from the procession has to shoot the girl, who has to pretend as if wounded. She is now called *dalsambar*. She is carried in a procession with music and dance to the house of the Naik (the secular headman of the village) where his wife gives a vermilion mark on her forehead. She is then carried to the residence of the village deities where the wife of the Naik performs a *Piya*. There the night is spent in drinking, dancing and singing.

Fifth day

In the morning after breakfast all capable male members of the village with their hunting weapons gather near the above-mentioned tree at the outskirt of the village. Any one who does not participate is taken to task and humiliated. The priest worships Bana Durga with an egg for success in the hunt. The hunting party divide functions among the members during the expedition.

(a) *Padakanisa*—They are to watch the periphery of the forest so that no animal escapes.

(b) *Damkia*—A person with strength and presence of mind is selected as *Damkia* to give direction during the expedition.

(c) *Sirakanisa*—Persons who can run after the animals are selected as *Sirakanisa* so that the animals cannot escape.

(d) *Jalua*—Several persons are employed to remain vigilant near the place where the nets have been spread.



Drinking of Mahua-liquor from small gourd, Munargaon

Photo by—Courtesy of Robert Ebnother

In the evening the party returns to the village. If they return unsuccessfully they blame the *Dissari* and the *Naik* as incapable to look after the wellbeing of the people. The women of the village humiliate the hunters by throwing cowdung water to them for their failure. In such cases hunting continues for days together till they succeed in procuring games. At the conclusion of the hunt the party is greeted with music and dance at the outskirt of the village. The game animals are decorated with garlands. In a procession they proceed to the village deities. Here the village priest worships the deities while the hunters are entertained with drinks. The *Dissari* and the *Naik* are praised by the villagers. The games bagged on this occasion are distributed as follows:—

- (a) The person who has shot the animal gets one leg extra.
- (b) Backbones of all animals are distributed among *Dissari*, *Naik* and *Pujari*.
- (c) Rest is distributed among all the families according to number of members.

The night is spent in feasting, drinking, singing and dancing by

all. Young boys from the neighbouring villages come in batches on this occasion. Sometimes music competitions in form of questions and answers are held by boys and girls forming two separate parties. This type of songs is popularly known as *Kindri*. These are romantic songs.

When the hunting party does not succeed on the fifth or sixth day of the ceremony they consider it inauspicious to lead to failure of crops and danger for men and cattle. After the success in hunt the village priest is informed to perform the ceremony. The priest in his turn proceeds to the outskirt of the village. He ties some rice in a piece of cloth to the tree and tears of by an arrow as a sign for the conclusion of the ceremony.

Above description of the ceremony shows the village solidarity and recognition of the village leadership in *Naik*, *Pujari* and *Dissari* who are held responsible for the welfare and wellbeing of the villagers and the cattle. This also gives some hints about their co-relation of religious activities with the prospect of crops in the ensuing year. Moreover it reflects the deep association of the community with the forest, though they are now only agriculturists.

CANANATH DAS

THE PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL EDUCATION FOR BACKWARD TRIBALS

In some States, e.g., Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa the tribal population is quite considerable. In Orissa they account for nearly 25 per cent of the total population. By the 1961 Census the percentage of literacy among the Scheduled Tribes is as low as 7 per cent as against 21 per cent for the entire population of the State. Educationally, therefore, the Scheduled Tribes are in a very low level of development. Their economic condition is still worse. The bulk of the tribal population live in forest and hilly areas, and it has been estimated that nearly one-fourth of the total tribal population of 42 lakhs live on shifting cultivation which they supplement by collection of roots and fruits for their sustenance. They are subjected to exploitation in a variety of manner by their non-tribal neighbours and people from the plains who operate in the areas as petty traders and money-lenders. Abject poverty, malnutrition and ill health are their constant companion.

Our Constitution has taken careful and serious note of the underdeveloped condition of the tribals who constitute a sizeable percentage of the country's popula-

tion and many special provisions have been made in it for the development of the backward areas and protecting the backward people from exploitation. The State Governments have been enjoined to take special measures in this direction for which they received substantial grants-in-aid from the consolidated funds of the Central Government under article 275 of the Constitution. In States having sizeable concentration of tribal population the areas where they live in majority have been identified as Scheduled Areas in order to focus attention thereon and the Governors have been made specially responsible under the Fifth (in the case of Assam, the Sixth) Schedule to ensure good administration of the areas, and protection of the backward people from exploitation.

The execution of the programmes for the welfare of the backward people has been entrusted to the Panchayat Samitis constituted under the Panchayati Raj set up. It is well known that in tribal areas the representation of tribals on the Panchayat Samitis is far from satisfactory in most cases. This is so not only on numerical considerations, but more remarkably in the effectiveness of the members. The position is worse in

the case of the more backward and primitive tribes. It is significant to notice that although in the traditional Panchayats the tribal members are active and effective, the very same persons as members of the Statutory Panchayats are no more than nonentities. The few non-tribal members, who are generally their exploiters, dominate the Panchayats and the Panchayat Samitis. A single non-tribal may be found to be wielding considerable influence over all the tribal members who behave as his vassals being bound in debt bondage.

It has been admitted on all hands that the backward tribals have not been able to take full advantage of the welfare schemes executed under the community development programme for their benefit. On the one hand, there is conspicuous apathy and indifference on the part of the Scheduled Tribes, while on the other a lack of confidence in them by the Panchayati Raj (Block) personnel. As a result, the benefits of the Block programmes flow to others (non-tribals) or to the comparatively advanced and therefore more vocal of the Scheduled Tribes.

Thus, unless the awareness of the backward Scheduled Tribe is widened and the tribal is able not only to stand on his own but also to withstand the exploitation to which he is subjected, things are not likely to improve. Effort has been made to do this by undertaking a programme of general education and social education for the backward tribes. In the field of general education, in addition to the traditional schools some special schools called Ashram

Schools have been started where Scheduled Tribe students both boys and girls are taken as resident students. Some High Schools have also been started. The entire cost of education and maintenance is met by Government. No doubt, some progress has been achieved in the field of general education and to some extent in the field of technical education also. This is bound to be a long-term programme and its effects will be available in ample measure for the future generation. Adult and older generation of the tribal population which constitute more than 60 per cent of the total tribal population, is not expected to derive any benefit from these programmes of general and technical education. But unless there is a change in the outlook of this important section of the population, the impact is not likely to be effective enough on the society taken as a whole. The progress of education among the younger generation depends to a considerable extent on the support that it receives from the older generation. I may cite here an instance which will illustrate the indifference almost bordering on hostility of the older generation in respect of the education of their children. In a certain village which I was visiting in course of my tour, I noticed as I was approaching the Village School that there was a congregation of a large number of people of both sexes and some animated discussion was in progress. I discovered that the teacher of the school had been threatened with assault by an elderly lady when he repeatedly approached her in course of his usual morning rounds

to collect students to send both of her grand-children to the school. The old lady was disgusted with the daily visits by the teacher and when on that particular day the teacher insisted on taking her children to school she got infuriated and attempted to assault him. She had however, asked a very pertinent question which she repeated in my presence as to what use would her children put their education to earn their livelihood and how would that benefit them. The teacher had not taken care to answer to these questions carefully, but was merely insisting on the childrens' attendance in the school.

Apart from the need to make education in backward tribal areas productive and remunerative in the end, it is very much necessary that the tribal parents should be well informed about the need for educating their children and how that would stand them in good stead. The example can be multiplied to cover the different facts of development programme of which the elderly tribal people are very ill-informed. It is a fact that our peasants, and more so the backward tribal people, are conservative in their outlook. When we try to introduce new crops or new agricultural practices it would be far easier to enlist the support of these people and to involve them in the programme if they were made aware of the benefits of the new programmes rather than if they were kept in the dark. Before introducing new programmes and practices, therefore, it is necessary to build up public

opinion and an attitude to accept change. As it is a common knowledge tradition dies hard. The tribal people have their own traditions, beliefs, and attitudes which they have developed over countless generations. It will be unwise not to take heed of them and to plunge headlong into a programme of change without anticipating that such a measure might evoke a hostile attitude.

The importance of social education cannot, therefore, be over emphasized. It is through well planned programme of social education that it would be possible to mould the older generation of the tribal people effectively. At present the programme of social education consists of adult literacy and youth and village leaders' training programmes. The Social Education Organisers are also required to be in charge of the nutrition programme for the distribution of milk powder and other foods. Mahila Samitis and Yubak Sanghas have been started in selected villages through whom certain programmes of village recreation, milk feeding and rural crafts are undertaken.

The main programme of adult literacy which aims at giving a smattering of general education to the elderly men and women in the tribal area does not seem to lead anywhere. The interest of the tribals themselves is not evoked in this programme and it is often seen that soon after completing a course of adult education, the tribals relapse into illiteracy. As for programmes of



Small Khond girls of Munargaon
Photo by—Courtesy of Robert Ebnother

village recreation, occasional festivals (melas) are organised in a very limited number of villages to which sometimes dance parties and musicians from distant places are sent for entertaining the backward tribals. No attention is paid to the growth and development of the village orchestra parties and dance parties which are found almost universally in the tribal areas. The alien music and dance no doubt, amuse the tribals for the time being but does not leave any lasting impression on them. The programme of village leaders' and youth leaders' training camps are mostly confined to the younger generation. The camps are held in a few central villages to which experts on various subjects are invited to explain new schemes and improved methods and techniques of production. These experts generally have no knowledge of tribal dialects. The backward tribals who are not very well up in the regional language are not able to understand and appreciate the knowledge that the experts try to put across to them. The programme of milk feeding and expanded nutrition no doubt benefits the ill-fed children and expectant mothers but the grant being limited only a fraction of the population get the help under this programme.

The programme of social education stands in urgent need of orientation to suit the backward Scheduled Tribes. The first and foremost importance is the necessity to utilise the existing organisations like the village orchestra

and dance parties which exist in every tribal village. The Yubak Sangha which is started in a tribal village need not necessarily be a separate organisation. On the other hand, if it is made to grow out of the orchestra and dance party it will be much more effective than a formally constituted Youth Club. Women's organisations of the type of Mahila Samitis are no doubt new in the backward tribal areas except where the dormitory system is still found to be lingering. The dormitory system is however, a complicated social institution and it would not be advisable for the Social Education Officer to try to re-orient it.

It will be worthwhile to prepare special literature in the tribal dialects to project with the help of the existing concert and drama parties, and matters which will be of interest to the tribal people. Maps and pictorial charts and Audio-Visual aid like the magic lantern can be usefully employed to widen the outlook of the tribals on various matters. Podu cultivation, for instance, is an age-old practice with many tribal communities. It will be difficult for these tribals to understand and appreciate a discourse on the evil effects of podu given to him by the Agricultural Extension Officer without illustrating it in the above manner. On the other hand, it will be more effective if practical demonstrations are held, pictorial charts and slides are exhibited and these efforts are supported by a musical composition to convince that soil

conservation measures have to be adopted in order that the hills and hillsides should not be denuded. The tribals are subjected to severe exploitation by unscrupulous merchants and money-lenders. It may sound paradoxical, but the tribals do grow various kinds of cash crops, fruits and vegetables in the uplands among the hills. They also collect various kinds of minor forest produce from the forest. If they were allowed to enjoy the fruits of their labour without exploitation they would not have to live in penury as they are today. Their present condition is due to the exploitation which they suffer at the hands of these merchants and money-lenders. It is no doubt paradoxical that the tribals are seen to be supporting the merchants and money-lenders whom they call their "Sahukars". That is because they do not see any alternative than depending on the mercy of their "Sahukars". Through some suitable musical composition it might be possible to impress them that if they join together and try to market their produce they would not be exploited by the merchants and it would not be necessary for them to go to the money-lenders for a loan.

In their forest abode they live far away from medical help but many of the common ailments like skin and intestinal diseases can be avoided if they observe a few simple principles of hygiene and use protected drinking water. There are instances of wells having been dug in tribal areas but because the tribals are not

convinced that it would be better to collect water from a little distant well rather than to get it from a polluted source nearby they continue their age-old practice. They can very well be told about the havoc created by mosquitoes and taught to fill up marshes near their village to prevent mosquito breeding.

The Draft Outline of the Fourth Plan includes a provision of Rs. 64.00 crores under Social Education. In order to utilise the amount in a fruitful and attractive manner it would be worthwhile to train up the Social Education Organiser. He should operate as the live wire pioneer and as such should be able to mould the attitude of the people towards the Block Programmes. In backward tribal areas he should be one of the first of the Block team to acquire a knowledge of the tribal dialect and evoke the confidence of the people. Not only the Social Education Organiser should be carefully selected, but also trained properly. He should be equipped with proper literature and implements which he must be able to handle confidently before the people. Provision for training and supply of equipments should be made in the budget adequately for the purpose out of the outlay on Social Education.

Suitable orientation in the Women's and Children's programmes can also be thought of. The programme of expanded nutrition and milk feeding may be linked up with that of the advantages of developing kitchen

gardens and food preservation. It will then have a face lift from its present atmosphere of "poor feeding". Chorus songs and dances for children may emphasize these aspects. Vegetable seeds and grafts and seedlings of fruit trees may be handed over to the participants at the close of the event. Tailoring and needle work should produce articles of daily necessity and marketing of the produce of the Mahila Samiti should be arranged, so that their labours bring them some income rather than kept as soiled articles for occasional production at exhibitions or before visiting officials and dignitaries. Similarly, Yubak Sanghas can be impressed to learn manufacture of tiles for their roofs in their leisure hours. Recreation programmes may be linked up with use of improved agricultural implements, production and repair of the plough, and house building materials like the "Choukath" by using simple hand tools. In short, the programmes may be linked

up in a tactful manner to functional objectives. This will not only lend colour to the recreational programmes, but make them useful for the participants.

There is almost unlimited scope for giving the programme of social education a functional orientation in order to help the backward Scheduled Tribes to take interest in their own welfare. That would not only widen the outlook of the Scheduled Tribes and help them to throw away their superstitious beliefs and practices but, what is more important, it would help the Panchayat Samitis to give some more benefits to the backward Scheduled Tribes through the welfare schemes that they are executing under the Block programme. With the awareness of the tribal people widened it would be easier to involve them in the execution of the programmes and to enable them to withstand the exploitation which is eating into their vitals.

The 'Directive Principles of State Policy' in Article 40 of our constitution reads as ;

"The state shall take steps to organise village Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-Government."

With this objective in forefront Panchayati Raj was introduced in various states after independence. In some states judicial and magistral powers were also delegated to Adalati Panchayats in addition to developmental activities. Panchayat system is as old as the India's civilisation, politics philosophy and culture. Settlement of disputes through peaceful means in the country from ancient past was through Panchayats. 'Panch' was taken as the symbol of God and each member of Panch which originally consisted of five persons, were considered impartial, judicious and their decisions were guided by principles of natural justice. The decisions of the Panch were respected and honoured. Defiance of such decisions resulted in ex-communication of the offender. Prerogative of the 'Panch' was extended over all domains of social life. The caste council or

village council headed by traditional leader's who constituted the Panchayats determined all issues. Even the sovereigns of the time did not venture to over rule decisions of the Panchayats.

In this hoary background we had to strive to constitute Panchayats as a step towards progressive decentralisation of power. In the state of Orisaa Panchayati Raj was preceded by an Anchal Sasan Scheme which envisaged an 'Anchal' meaning 'area', as the territorial unit for decentralisation of power. This scheme came into force in 1955 and an Anchal Adhikari as the chief executive guided by an elected Advisory Board was vested with all powers of revenue collection, administration, etc. However this scheme was given a go-by in 1957. Nevertheless this formed the nucleus for ultimate introduction of Panchayati Raj. By 1961 Panchayats were formed on a solid foundation and the then Chief Minister of Orissa described the heads of the Panchayats as respective Chief Ministers, for their areas. The Panchayati Raj has been introduced in three tiers, viz., village; Panchayat Samitis, comprising of a development block, consisting of the heads of village Panchayats; and a district council, Zila Parishad consisting

of chairmen of Pannchayat Samitis. In this background an analysis is presented to show the pros and cons of Panchayati Raj in backward tribal areas.

Orissa has a large tribal concentration with nearly 42 lakhs of its population being tribes. The tribes are in different stages of culture and development. There are real backward or so-called primitive sections, partially assimilated and assimilated groups among the tribes. The last section of the tribes have imperceptibly merged with the general rural population and share in the village organisation, identifying themselves only through some of their culture traditions, which have not been obliterated by Hindu customs and manners. The partially assimilated groups in turn still retain their traits and the real backward ones are distinct groups. Among the tribes in general there are traditional Panchayats headed by a secular leader. The various functionaries, secular and religious from the Panchayat and are regarded as the basic component of tribal organisation. Traditions lay out the form and function of the Traditional Tribal Panchayats.

A few instances of Panchayats among the Munda, Ho, Santhal and Kharia show that the Panchayat consisting of Manki and Munda the secular head, Pahan the religious head, errand men and elders exercise control over the various aspects of tribal life. Among the Lanjia Saora the Gamang, Bhuiya, Karji and the errand man-Barik constitute the

Panchayat to which other elders are invariably associated. Among the Kandh the 'Saonta' and elders with the errand men constitute the Panchayat. These traditional leaders are hereditary functionaries and dispense justice on the established principles of justice and equity. There are many instances where the traditional heads are removed from their office for contravening the tribal ethics. Their power and privilege are therefore in consonance with the protection of common interest, not otherwise. Thus they are loved and respected not dreaded and cajoled by the common man.

When the official Panchayats were constituted in tribal areas with elected representatives, the traditional Panchayats lost their executive functions. The official Panchayats are empowered by statute to do and undo things, and relied on bureaucratic formalities. The might of the state backed their decisions in contradistinction to traditional Panchayats who derived their prerogative from traditions, ethics and morality. Therefore there is a wide difference in the basic components of the two systems.

A study among the Lanjia Saora of Ganjam and Koraput hills revealed that the official Panchayats constituted in those areas, after the introduction of Panchayati Raj system the elected members were not the traditional leaders among the Saoras. In Saora society there is a Gamang who is the recognized chief of the village. Under him there is a

religious head Bhuiya. Second in command to Gamang is the Dalbehera. There is a Karji who enforces the decision of the Gamang and there is a Barik who is the errand man. All these functionaries constitute traditional Panchayat. In settling inter-village disputes these leaders of respective villages sit together. In Ganjam agency where the Muttadari system was prevalent, the Mutta head is Khastriya by caste and he was arbitrating in inter-village disputes within his jurisdiction. In case of Koraput agency where there was no Mutta system, the Gamang with the traditional hierarchy had full control over all village affairs including allotment of hills for shifting cultivation and plots for wet cultivation. Stories are current that the Gamangs of Pottasinghi revered only two authorities the Raja of jeypore as their over-lord and the Collector of Koraput as the principal executive. The Raja of Jeypore always recognized their authorities and respected the Gamang and the traditional Panchayat of the Saoras. The Revenue and Police authorities always took Gamangs into confidence and in all matters of law and order the Gamangs were fully associated. Thus in traditional Saora society this village Panchayat was the arbitrator and protector of the Saora.

With the instalation of the elected Panchayats, it is noticed that the persons elected to the Panchayats in most of the cases are

not the traditional leaders. Most of the Saora could not grapple the significance of the official Panchayats nor they took any interest in the Panchayat election. As a result of it the Doms who are shrewd and cunning and are mostly converted to Christianity with considerable amount of resourcefulness prompted candidates for such elections from among the Saoras. Those persons sponsored to the official Panchayat by other provided leeway for the domination of Panchayats by the Dom. The Saoras being illiterate, Doms are appointed as Secretaries of the Panchayats and become the *de facto* Panchayats disposing the panchayat business according to their own interests. The Saora panchayat members or heads without understanding the implications of those decisions affix their thumb impression to the resolutions in token of their approval which sometimes jeopardize their own interests. Another notable feature is that in certain panchayats although the Saoras are in majority one or two non-tribals elected to those become the Sarpanch or Naib-Sarpanch. In such circumstances from the analysis of the activities of the panchayat it is found that the official panchayat intruded more and more into the traditional life of the Saoras. It is well-known that the Saoras are one of the most exploited groups of tribals who for centuries have been subjected to various forms of exploitation by Mutta heads and Doms. The Panchayat system with lofty ideals could not do any good to the Saora rather produced contra-reaction.

Opinion test in a few Saora villages revealed that very few from among them realised the significance of the Panchayati Raj System and still few took any interest in the matter. The grain-golas to provide credit facilities on easy terms were used by the non-tribal heads of the Panchayats and the Dom Secretaries to generate a new type of exploitation against which the Saora were helpless. Before the visiting officials Saoras who do not know other languages do not express their views, and the Dom interpreters always give a different picture to the officials. Moreover the stereotyped schemes in T. D. Blocks, could hardly be understood to be beneficial to Saoras who continue to wonder about the beneficial aspects of those schemes. The traditional leaders being kept apart from the leadership the new elected leaders cannot exercise that amount of control over the people to push through development schemes. As a result of it these schemes do not make much headway and the progress is not tangible.

Among the advanced tribes like the Santal in Mayurbhanj district a study was conducted to find the shortfall of the tribal representatives in official panchayats. Interesting data were collected from the sample panchayats from various part of the district. It has been shown that the elected members to Panchayats are generally influential persons owning land, taking up business and money-lending. The common tribals have to depend on them in many ways for occupation, share

cropping, credit, etc. Therefore they have no alternative except to vote for such influential persons in Panchayat elections. On many occasions the common men resent the arbitrary action of the Panchayat members yet are helpless to do anything in the matter. Moreover they find the official panchayats as another form of bureaucratic machinery with the backing of the state to rule over them. Hence they look at the official panchayats with awe, instead of reverence. Santals of Mayurbhanj have been subjected to transacculturation for a long time. The opening of mines and industries in Jamshedpur, Singhbhum as well as in Mayurbhanj proper produced changes in their social life. Santals equally migrated to different areas during off-season in search of manual labour. Thus in their outlook they have exceeded the other tribes. The Santals, nevertheless in spite of the stress and strain due to migratory habits and impact of advancement, have retained traditional culture mostly due to their close cultural base. The hard core of culture is maintained by to a strong traditional Panchayat among the Santal. The elaborately described 'Bitlaha' custom by which sexual intercourse of a Santal woman with an outsider is strongly resented by the whole community and the warth manifested by burning and destroying the family of the offending woman unless removed earlier, clearly reveal the power of the traditional panchayat in Santal society. Marriage, bride-price inter and intra-village relationship

are controlled by the traditional panchayat. This could not have been retained by the advanced section of tribals like the Santal except their regard for the traditional Panchayat.

The modern statutory panchayat with elected representatives cannot therefore enforce that amount of vigorous discipline among the Santal. The advent of the political parties into the arena of Panchayat elections equally disrupted the traditional values. Once elected the elected leaders hold their post not at the pleasure of the electorate but for a particular period prescribed under law. Thus they can afford to lose proper contact with the common man and behave arbitrarily as a superior force.

From the above studies as well as from other short-term studies among the various tribes it is now an established fact that the conflict of the elected panchayats with the traditional panchayats of

the tribes, and the lack of respect for the elected panchayats have made the latter a redundant force in tribal areas. The Dhebar Commission, the Renuka Ray Team and the Elwin Committee have invariably pointed out this diastema in introduction of statutory panchayats in tribal areas. If the basic object of the Panchayat Raj is to make a common man share the burden of ruling himself and promote decentralization of administration, then the statutory panchayats in tribal areas have strayed into wrong premises. Students of tribal life, social workers working among the tribes and the interested administrators have realised this lacunas, yet the system continues without any amendment. Moreover the official panchayats have no control over the basic needs of tribal life like employment facilities, exploitation of forest resource, distribution of land, etc. and continue to be just a wing of administration devoid of social force. It is time now we have some rethinking on the subject.

A FEW WORDS ABOUT US

*Introductory speech by Shri S. N. Mishra, I.A.S., Secretary to Government,
T. & R. W. Department-cum-Director, Tribal Research Bureau;
Secretary, Tribal Research Bureau Advisory Board, held
on the 19th December 1966*

Mr. Chairman and Friends

Today we are meeting for the second time within this year to review the activities of the Tribal Research Bureau and to advise on the programme drawn up for the next six months. After reconstitution of this Board, the first meeting was held on the 26th March 1966. The Development Commissioner indicated that specific studies should be undertaken by T. R. B. and the performance of the Bureau and the individual officers may be reviewed by the board every six months.

During this period the Bureau expanded its activities and a centre was opened at Phulbani with an Additional Assistant Director, two Research Officers, seven Junior Research Officers along with other staff. This centre has two wings, one for the normal research programme and another for survey and evaluation of T. D. Blocks.

The following assignments were made for the Bhubaneswar and Phulbani sections of the Bureau on the advice of the Board in its last meeting.

*Tribal Research Bureau,
Bhubaneswar*

- (1) Study of impact of industrialization in old and new

mining and industrial complexes in Sundargarh district.

- (2) Employment potential survey in public sector undertakings in Daitary, Badahil and Talcher.
- (3) Study of witch-craft among the Santals in Mayurbhanj district.
- (4) Handbooks on Bathudi, Kharia and Santal tribes.
- (5) Compilation of primer on Juang language.

*Tribal Research Bureau,
Phulbani*

- (1) Survey and evaluation of specified T. D. Blocks.
- (2) Survey of the Blocks under the area Development programme.
- (3) Study of colonization scheme and culture survey; to be carried out along with survey of T. D. Blocks.
- (4) Study of Kutia Kandh, Dongria Kandh, Gadaba, Paraja and Bonda tribes.

- (5) Compilation of primers in Kui and Saora languages.
- (6) Study of impact of Christianity on the tribes in Malkangiri, Chandrapur and Ganjam Agency.

The Bhubaneswar centre has completed all the assignments in time. The performance of the officers at Bhubaneswar has shown that they have undertaken vigorous tours to fulfill their assignments in time. Brief notes circulated among the members may give account of those studies. It is hoped that the State Government will benefit from such studies by the T. R. B. The centre at Phulbani has not shown as much progress as was expected from the staff posted there because of many initial difficulties on recruitment of junior staff. Many numbers of the staff who were newly appointed did not stick to their jobs. The organisation took some time to stand on its feet and fully set itself to serious work. However under constant pressure from headquarters the centre has completed some surveys and produced reports.

The Additional Assistant Director, Phulbani, has since been appointed a Special Officer for Dance, Drama, Music, etc., with headquarters at Bhubaneswar and the Assistant Director, at Bhubaneswar will guide and control the research work at Phulbani also. It is hoped that this may improve the situation.

The question of adequate T. A. provision for the T. R. B. was widely discussed in the last meeting

of the Board. I am glad to report that with the help of the Development Commissioner we have augmented the T. A. provisions. The full T. A. requirement of the T. R. B. staff could not be met due to the present financial difficulties. Nevertheless the amount which has been sanctioned this year will go to a great extent in enabling the staff to undertake required tours which they were hitherto unable to perform for want of T. A. provisions.

The office set up of the Bureau at Bhubaneswar has been improved. Since the last meeting of the Board, many of the difficulties of the Bureau have been solved. Some immediate necessities like furniture, type machine, permanent advance, provisions for photographic section have been met. The Assistant Director has been declared as Head of the office and required powers have been delegated to him.

The journal of the Bureau could not be published regularly. Now the setup of the Adibasi has been improved. During this year (1966-1967) all the 4 issues of the journal will be published. The journal has also got approbation from foreign countries in addition to Indian scholars.

Lastly I shall express my gratitude to the Chairman and members for their interest in the activities of the Bureau and it is hoped that they will give their valuable advice on the programme drawn up for the next six months.

With these words I shall request the Chairman to commence the proceedings of the day.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

In this issues our contributors are—

1. Shri Bhagirathi Choudhury, M.A., Research Officer, Tribal Research Centre, Phulbani.

Shri Choudhury was appointed in Tribal Research Bureau as a Junior Research Officer in 1962. He got his M. A. in Anthropology from the Utkal University. He was for sometime working in the office of the Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Government of India, Bhubaneswar. Shri Choudhury has done field work among various tribes and castes of the State.

2. Shri Gananath Das, I.A.S., Additional Secretary to Government, Finance Department.

Till recently Shri Das was the Director, Tribal & Rural Welfare. He was also the Editor of the journal 'Adibasi'. He visited different foreign countries with an international scholarship to study the problems of backward classes and their welfare. Shri Das had been piloting the welfare programme of the State for nearly a decade.

3. Shri Nityananda Das, M.A., B.Sc., LL.B., Assistant Director, Tribal Research Bureau, Bhubaneswar.

Shri Das is the permanent Assistant Director of the Bureau since 1956. For sometimes he was on deputation to Dandakaranya Project, Scheduled areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission (Dhebar Commission), and as Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Government of India, Madras. Shri Das has studied the various tribes and castes not only in this State but in other States also.

4. Shri Siba Prasad Rout, M.A., Research Officer, Tribal Research Bureau, Bhubaneswar.

Shri Rout joined the Tribal Research Bureau as a Junior Research Officer in the year 1962. Prior to that he was making exhaustive study among the hill Juangs of Keonjhar after getting his M. A. Degree from Utkal University in the year 1960. He is a pains-taking field worker.

5. Shri S. N. Mishra, M.A., I.A.S., Secretary to Government-cum-Director, Tribal Research Bureau and Director, Tribal & Rural Welfare.

Shri Mishra was a brilliant scholar, debator and writer during his student days. He was directly recruited as a Deputy Collector, during the British days and is now a Senior Officer in Indian Administrative Service. As the former

Collector of the predominant tribal district of Koraput he has intimate knowledge of the tribes and their problems.

6. Shri Vijaya Kumar Mathur, M. A., Vice-Principal, Tribal Orientation and Study Centre, Government of India, Bhubaneswar.

Shri Mathur got his M. A. Degree in Economics from Agra University

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