

Journal of  
Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Research  
and Training Institute (SCSTRTI)

Volume 57 ■ Number 1 & 2 ■ June & December 2017

ADIVASI

Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Research and  
Training Institute (SCSTRTI), CRPF Square  
Bhubaneswar, Odisha, India



**Published by:**

**Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI),  
Government of Odisha, Bhubaneswar.**

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ADIVASI is published twice a year, in June and December, by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute, CRPF Square, Unit-VIII, Bhubaneswar-751003, Odisha, India. It publishes research papers in the field of social sciences, applied anthropology, development studies, and problems of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Articles based on empirical study are given preference. It also publishes book reviews.

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# A D I V A S I

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**VOLUME 57      NUMBERS 1&2      JUNE & DECEMBER 2017**

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**JOURNAL OF SCHEDULED CASTES & SCHEDULED TRIBES  
RESEARCH AND TRAINING INSTITUTE (SCSTRTI),  
BHUBANESWAR, ODISHA, INDIA, 751003**

ISSN : 2277-7245

## EDITORIAL

This is the 57<sup>th</sup> volume number one and two of Adivasi - the oldest anthropological research journal of Odisha. In this issue we are presenting five articles based on empirical research contributed by six research scholars.

The first article contributed by Dr. Devdas Mohanty is titled **“Development Practice among the Disadvantaged: Keeping the Culture intact”**. In this paper he has stated that the development practitioners, when given an opportunity, can become the real catalysts of development and change on the ground keeping culture of the social milieu intact. In this context he has presented a case study of a micro enterprise of 45 tribal nontribal women named in a remote rural tribal pocket in Rayagada district of Odisha started by the local corporate houses for economic empowerment women. Named **Project Saksham**, it is a modern garment training cum production centre that established that coming together of corporate, community and expertise of development professionals can bring change in the quality of life of people.

The second article titled **“Continuity and Change of Tribal Culture in Odisha: A Critical Review”** written by Anil Ota & Jagannath Lenka highlights the key tangible and intangible culture components of the tribals of Odisha deducing the dimensions of stability and change in tribal culture. The findings of the study indicate that the interplay of stability and change is an evident pattern across the tribal communities of the state.

The third one - **“Preserving the Traditional Healthcare Knowledge of the Displaced Tribal Communities from the Protected Areas in India”** authored by Ms. Madhulika Sahoo presents case studies of the problems of involuntary displacement of tribals from two protected forest areas. It highlights the importance of the traditional healthcare knowledge of the tribals and the way it is diminishing because of displacement.

The fourth article - **“The Role of “Barabhai” in Development of Juangs”** contributed by Niladri Bihari Mishra discusses the usefulness of the age old traditional socio-cultural institution of Barabhai of the Juang tribe - a corporate body of village elders and leaders in implementation of development programmes.

The fifth article contributed by Shri S.C. Mohanty, is a short descriptive ethnography of the Jodia / Jhodia Paroja tribe titled **“Jodia / Jhodia Paroja of South Odisha”**. In this paper, the

author has presented the empirical data along with the relevant data from a number of published ethnographic literatures that will be useful to the researchers who are working or will work on this colourful tribe.

I express my sincere thanks to the paper contributors for their painstaking efforts in preparing and presenting their articles. I am also grateful to Shri S.C.Mohanty, Associate Editor of Adivasi and Consultant, SCSTRTI for giving a lot of time for a thorough reading and editing of all the articles and giving substantial time and effort for bringing out this issue.

It is hoped that these articles will be of much help to the researchers, development practitioners, academicians and general readers interested in conducting research and acquiring knowledge in tribal society and culture.

**Dated, the 10<sup>th</sup> January, 2018**  
Bhubaneswar

**A.B. Ota**  
EDITOR

# DEVELOPMENT PRACTICE AMONG THE DISADVANTAGED: KEEPING THE CULTURE INTACT

Devdas Mohanty <sup>1</sup>

Whether they live on the plains or in the valleys, whether they live in slums or isolated villages, whether they speak Hindi, Swahili, or Uzbek, people have one thing in common: They do not want charity. They want a chance. They do not want solutions imposed from without. They want the opportunity to build from within. They do not want my culture or yours. They want their own. They want a future enriched by the inheritance of their past.

James D. Wolfensohn, President, The World Bank.

<http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/sdvext.nsf/60ByDocName/SocialDevelopment>

## Abstract:

*Getting an opportunity, development practitioners can be the real catalysts of development and change on the ground keeping culture of the social milieu intact. **Project Saksham**, a modern garment training cum production centre by following an ever-evolving standard operating procedure (SOP) has successfully demonstrated establishment of a micro enterprise in a remote rural tribal pocket in Rayagada district of Odisha. It is truly an enterprise of the women, by the women, and for the women. The functioning of this community enterprise has shown that through hand holding of rural women in planning, in design, in knowledge building and innovation in overcoming road blocks, in impact assessment, in building institution and in documenting learning points, sustainability in business can be ensured.*

*The initiative ensured building an employable skill in women and guaranteed an income for the marginalised. It is established that coming together of corporate, community and expertise of development professionals can bring change in the quality of life of people. It needs perseverance, meticulous planning and execution and long-term commitment for investment and support.*

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<sup>1</sup> Director, Renaissance Strategic & Management Services Pvt. Ltd.

## **Introduction: Geography and the Initiatives**

The district of Rayagada known for its bountiful nature and virgin beauty is one of the remote districts in South Odisha. Kasipur as one of its block has earned its notoriety for starvation deaths. It is one of the most impoverished blocks of the state. An erratic monsoon, primitive technology, cultivation of low yield crops, lack of irrigation facilities, very low opportunities for women and youth employability are problems that plague this region. When Utkal Alumina International Ltd. (UAIL), an Aditya Birla group company, entered this area to set up their Alumina Refinery plant in Tikiri, they believed right from the inception that an atmosphere of harmony between industry and the community could be built on creating opportunities for gainful engagement of youth and women in the region. Along with this the company began its efforts in creating better education and health facilities for the locals.

In pursuit of progress and development of the deprived, Renaissance, as a development agency began its operation in the year 2010 from the panchayat of Tikiri in Kasipur block. In course of its Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) partnership with UAIL, initiatives on land, water and agriculture began with tribal farmers and rural women. Subsequently, establishment of a modern Garment training cum production center was envisaged during the year 2014 for the rural women and girls particularly from the disadvantaged sections of the community. The goal of the project is to build an easy to learn skill viz. manufacturing easy to stitch garments in automatic sewing machines by girls and women so that they are gainfully engaged in garment manufacturing and supplement their family income. After thorough deliberation and need assessment of the target community a plan with budget proposal was put up with central management team of Utkal Alumina International Ltd. (UAIL) for setting up a garment training cum manufacturing unit.

As soon as the project was sanctioned necessary arrangements are made in the month of January 2015 for procurement of Juki make automatic sewing machines along with three specialized machines viz. button hole, button stitch and over lock machines. Required furniture are procured and necessary infrastructure development work viz. workspace with partitions, store space for raw materials, Sales counter and office space etc. are carried out to set up the unit.

With a mission of being catalysts for transformation, a team of professionals from UAIL and Renaissance visited the needy villages and met the women folk. The team was well aware of the rich cultural heritage of the tribal community. "We simply cannot conceive of development without cultural continuity. Culture is basic to improving development effectiveness- in education, health, the production of goods and services, .... The self-awareness and pride that come from cultural identity are an essential ingredient if communities are to take charge of their own lives and choices (The World Bank 1998: iii)."



After several rounds of deliberations between the ladies of the village and the professionals, community members are made to understand the nuances of garment manufacturing as an enterprise. Prior to setting up the centre a number of follow up meetings, interactive sessions and one to one interaction were held with the community members particularly girls and women folk in the periphery villages to make them aware of the goals and objective of the programme. Special emphasis is given on selecting those ladies who are disadvantaged and keen to pursue the vocation with a long-term commitment. In course of several filtering in and out process a list of 45 women members coming from 13 tribal (Kondh and Jhodia) and non-tribal (Domb) villages are finalized. The number of members are kept deliberately on a higher side compared to the no. of machines on hand considering an eventuality of future drop outs.

As was planned earlier, a Programme Manager is deployed to anchor the production and marketing of the products produced by the manufacturing centre. Post selection of trainees, few rounds of interviews were conducted to select one pattern cutter cum master trainer along with an Asst. Trainer cum Production Supervisor for the unit.

Bringing together the skilled human resource and the machines, the centre was inaugurated on 12<sup>th</sup> February 2015 and began functioning from 18<sup>th</sup> February 2015 with the title i.e. **Project Saksham** for enhancing Livelihoods of Rural Girls and Women. It is envisioned that at the end of the sixth month the training period will be over and the members will start commercial production of easy to stitch products such as school uniforms and institutional aprons. Simultaneously samples of other products such as *kurta*, *kurti*, and shirt will be produced in subsequent months for test running of products in the market. Prior to production scheduling, market study is conducted covering distributors and institutional buyers in the state of Odisha and neighbouring region.

### **Justification of the Project:**

In an industrial set up, it is observed that pursuing agriculture as primary occupation has gradually been taking a back seat because of being less remunerative in the face of wage earning from industry. Further when more and more agricultural land is put into industrial use people's weaning away from agriculture has become a trend. It is noticed that in the industry, opportunity for women are very meager who were otherwise engaged in agriculture. This project is planned to create a gainful engagement opportunity for girls and women. It is visualized that the project will address women's issues relating to their idleness and lack of income earning opportunity. The project would build the skills /capacity of girls and women so that they are able to earn a supplementary income on their own and become self-dependent.

**Goal of the Project:**

The goal of the project is to bring qualitative improvement in the lives of the families in the region through a harmonious co-existence of agriculture and industry. Interventions by the industry in education, health and livelihoods are all aimed at improving the lives of the people and those of their future generations in the regions without causing any harm to their culture.

In his paper “Indigenous concepts, values and knowledge for sustainable development: New Zealand case studies” Garth Harmsworth focuses that within the vicious tide of westernization and globalization “Maori values, a strong sense of cultural identity and purpose, and the retention and use of Maori knowledge” (2002:1)

**Objective:****The objective of the project is :**

To enhance the capacity of 30 women members belonging to the land-less marginalised communities from the disadvantaged (Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe) sections so that six months hands on training in Automatic stitching machine would enable them to produce quality garments as per the market demand.

To ensure commercial production of garments by trained women members wherein, in the early phases of production cycle they start generating a monthly income of Rs. 2000/- to Rs.4000 per head post training period

**The Primary Stakeholders: Beneficiaries**

As many as 45 girls and women members from scheduled cast, schedule tribe and other backward community are project beneficiaries. They belong to the periphery villages of the industry. They are selected on the basis of their keen interest in pursuing the vocations to become self-dependent. As girls change their place of residence post marriage, particularly married women are given preference so that post training their long term association and commitment in the manufacturing unit would help members earning a sustainable income from garment manufacturing.

**The Other Stakeholders: Management team and the Facilitators:**

Sustained liaison with the management of UAIL, Tikiri, bore fruit with the UAIL coming forward for funding and support to the project, seeing it as a unique enabling environment where partnership of community, corporate and development entity could bring enormous benefits to the advantage of the tribal women. From the beginning, a financial outlay is parked by the corporate to kick start the project with all accompanying support.

**Highlights of Operational Processes:** Major operational processes that are adhered to during implementation cycle are illustrated below.

- Need assessment and Community mobilisation
- Project planning and Selection of site/work shed
- Arrangements of finance for fixed and working capital
- Procurement of machines and equipment
- Recruitment of manpower/professional from the domain
- Arrangement of raw material including packaging material
- Installation of machines and electrification
- Selection of market channel
- Hands on Training on stitching
- Systematic handholding to stitch in automatic industrialized sewing machine
- Training on Pattern making
- Beginning of Commercial production
- Micromanaging operational issues and trouble shooting
- Setting norms and practices in Accounting, Sales and Marketing

**Project Design and Approach:**

- During the training phase, progress of trainees is being monitored on the parameters like adherence to center norms and discipline, basic stitching operations, speed control, threading and finishing, minimizing common faults and trouble shooting ability etc.
- Such commonly practiced development interventions in the past focused on training for training sake. In many such experiments, training and manufacturing oriented activities assume market as a kind and readily accessible realm which is far from true. Market is truly harsh in case what is supplied is not in sync with what is in demand. During design of the programme a market study is conducted in which due attention is given in aligning what is wanted in the market and what is being produced. Training and production plan is carried out taking into consideration the market demand, both the local market and the market in the neighboring districts.
- The next step is to bring on board, professionals and technical personnel to drive the microenterprise. For example, a pattern cutter with 25 years of experience in garment manufacturing industry is brought on board. From time to time professional inputs are sought from designers (fashion technology graduates from NIFT) and merchandisers who have updated knowledge on frequently changing fashion trend in the market.
- Labor -machine ratio is kept intact taking into consideration labor intensive aspect of the project without hampering production efficiency and product quality. For instance, while machine is introduced in cutting the clothes in layers, each of the members are

facilitated to learn and do stitching of each part under the supervision of the production supervisor.

- Well defined rewards are also assured to members as per piece basis. As soon as trainees are skilled enough to produce quality samples, Job work opportunities is tapped from schools in nearby districts. In course of time, it is planned that members will be trained to produce designers' clothes for marketing of products in Boyanika and Fab India, a niche market, wherein the margin accrued to the members for workmanship will be more.
- The manufacturing unit is placed under the aegis of a newly formed members owned Producer company. The unit has adopted two-pronged strategy to manage resources and optimize their value. During initial phases of commercial production, market leads are generated from institutions like schools, hospitals, hotels for assessing the demand on uniforms, aprons etc. and accordingly a production plan is put in place and its execution is carried out.
- On another level sample development of several product lines are prepared with the help of designers preparing designer clothes viz. kurta, kurti, shirt on the basis of current market trend. The samples are given to institutional buyers to finalize designs which will be put to production to cater to niche market demand.

#### **Innovations in the Project:**

- Experience suggests that rural women with low skill level take longer to acquire an alien skill. It needs hard and meticulous practice for translating the acquired skills into production which has a market demand. They also lack business acumen while transacting with the market, outside. They too lack premises, machines, raw materials, electricity and other resources required for growth. The project is innovative in the sense that it brought together the right mix of women, machines, infrastructure and institutional arrangements so as to evolve a successful model of micro enterprise in a remote rural area. The guiding principle of such community enterprise is marked by close bonding, cohesion and solidarity of a group of women for fulfilling an economic purpose. Citing Japan's example of economic prosperity though evolution of public attitude and behavior of a nation (Sen, 2000:3)observed that 'It drew on a different class of moral values in economic operations which emphasized group responsibility, company loyalty, inter personal trust, and implicit contracts that bind individual conduct'.
- Very often in this kind of projects implementation of the programme is limited to training of the members with little handholding. These kind of programmes assume that once capacity building of the women happens, post training they will become employed and self-dependent. Building knowledge, skills and financial support is only one side of

the coin. However, there is another equally important other side of the coin is to link them with the market and handholding them for at least a few successful business cycles.

- Improving skill set of participants and assisting them with startup financial support is only the necessary condition for creating a microenterprise. Further linkages with the market are taken with equal seriousness. Government schools are contacted and tenders are filed to get institutional orders. Wholesalers of school uniforms and designer clothes are contacted to get into distribution channel. Efforts are on for opening up retail outlets /showrooms etc. in the nearby town which cannot be undertaken by the members of the unit given their socio-economic backwardness.
- Due attention is also given for partnering with existing businesses and working through honest brokers, organizations and Government to ensure access to stable markets.

### **Significant Roadblocks:**

In course of its operations the institution has faced many roadblocks viz. dealing with machine maintenance, hiring of professionals, ensuring finesse in quality while at the same time enhancing efficiency in production quantity, overcoming limitation in organizing additional physical and financial resources on time and assessing the market potential in real terms and responding to it.

#### **Repair and maintenance of machines:**

- In the initial phases of the training period machines used to get out of order more often because of trainees inexperienced handling of equipment. Sourcing technician from the machine supplier from Kolkota takes time and unwarranted expenses causing operational disruption. To address this a few selected trainees are trained by the technician to handle common faults which worked well.

#### **Hiring of Professionals:**

- Owing to remote location it is hard to get professionals as and when required. A line/production supervisor who is placed in the unit to supervise, guide and ensure quality product left the assignment for a better prospect in the midst of execution of order of school uniforms. It was observed that this led to quality issues. To address the issue, efforts are put to get a local tailor so that quality issues are addressed.

#### **Individual Production vis a vis Group production:**

- When thirty members stitch clothes individually, it is observed that there is a lot of variation in the finishing part of the garments. In the training phase, it is necessary that each trainee need to learn stitching of a complete product. But as soon as they are moved to production mode, it is necessary to bring more uniformity in product. . For the purpose, five groups are formed coordinated by one leader who decides the

division of labour viz. fusing, stitching collar, cuff, placket, joining body parts, trimming, ironing, packing etc. among its members as per member's efficiency. Thus, assembly line production not only brings uniformity and fineness in production but also helps in increased efficiency and scale in production.

### **Building Institution for Sustaining the Microenterprise:**

One of the most important pillars in making the programme sustainable is to build the capacity of the community and handhold them in running a few business cycles and then transfer the ownership of the programme gradually and seamlessly to community institution which will own, manage and develop the enterprise.

An expert on community owned institutions, from Indian Institute of Rural Management, Anand (IRMA) Sharda Gautam, pointed out that "Experience suggests that withdrawal of facilitators and handholding support from such enterprise is a myth. Needless to say, micro enterprise run well till the time handholding is in place and they fail to survive primarily because sufficient attention has not been paid to capacity building of the managerial board /elected representatives of the collective /community institution. When transfer of ownership starts taking place, what can possibly happen is in-drawal and out-drawal of some facilitating actors. Moreover, financial constraints impede collectives' ability to bring in paid management and resources required to facilitate the successful running of business. Therefore on one hand systematic development of suitable MIS for routine activities is important to ensure that low cost professionals can assist the managerial /representative board of the collective to manage the programme. Simultaneously efforts must be on to ensure that collective enterprise achieves higher degree of business revenues which will help in keeping professional on its pay roll even after project funding is over."

Earning sustainable livelihood requires not only high degree of fineness in the art of stitching but also effectively linking supply (production) and demand (market). In many such instances where training on stitching has been imparted, post training women get limited opportunity to repair and refurbishment of their own household clothes to maximum of approaching neighbouring needs. Training of so many members from the same locality may further limit their access to local market. In such a scenario, impact of entire effort will go in vain. Answer to this problem is to get linked with distant institutional and retail buyers. This will require bringing together skill of stitching and professionalism in business. To ensure the sustainability of the project, it is necessary to take the business revenue to such a level that the business can afford the fee for hiring professionals for managing procurement to production to marketing. Professionals like designers, pattern makers, marketing managers are required. Like any other business these human resources will come at a cost to the members. To bear that cost the members

are placed under a collective with legal status of a producer company legally owned by its members.

The members as owners of the producer company will share the cost of running the business viz. from sourcing the raw materials to paying these professionals and ensuring supply to the buyers on time. Formation of a producer company is an ideal model for creation of this member controlled institution. For the project Saksham the required legal compliances like TIN, PAN, VAT etc. are obtained within one year of its inception.

### **Impact Monitoring and Evaluation Framework:**

Monitoring and evaluation of Project is carried out vis a vis the deliverables (a set of outcomes and outputs) enunciated in the project planning document from the beginning:

<b>Project Saksham</b>		
	<b>Outcome</b>	<b>Output</b>
Garment Training cum Manufacturing Center (30 women members)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 45 women members from weaker sections selected to join in the activity group engaged in Garment Training cum Manufacturing</li> <li>• Work space and necessary infrastructure availed and Equipment and raw materials provided</li> <li>• Enterprise established</li> <li>• Training programs conducted on               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) Basic Sewing machine and stitching training (1.5months)</li> <li>(b) Product Development Training (1.5months)</li> <li>(c) Professional Stitching Training as per the market demand(3months)</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Generating orders from the market and beginning of commercial production</li> <li>• Executing order of school uniforms and ensuring sustained business</li> </ul>	In the initial phases of the production period, at least 30 women members should start earning Rs.1500-Rs. 2000 per month per head from working in the Garment Manufacturing Unit

Prior to execution of the project, the following indicators are set to assess the short-term impact and evaluate the progress of trainees:

### **Short term Impact Indicator:**

- All the trainees are ensured to secure at least 6 or more on a 10-point scale in their performance on basic sewing machine operation and stitching along with product development

- b) Two major components of the Training module viz. Basic Sewing Machine and stitching training (1.5months) and Product development (1.5months) are imparted during the initial three months of the training period. At the end of this training phase, a test is conducted to assess the performance of the trainees. It is ascertained that each of the trainees has secured more than 6 in a 10-point scale.
- c) At the end of fourth month each trainee is made capable of stitching products viz. kurti, shirt, and trouser. Accordingly, it is established that stitching products such as petty coat, school uniform (half /full shirt, half/full pant, kameej) are learned and stitched by each trainee at the end of fourth month.
- d) Attainment of production efficiency of at least 2 pieces (including full trouser being most time-consuming product) a day per member at the end of sixth month.
- e) At the end of sixth month of the training period, average production efficiency per member remains at 1.5 to 2 pieces (shirt, half pant, kurta/ kurti) per day which should graduate to 3 pieces of products (stitching of full trouser being most challenging) per day in next 6 months. It is envisaged that in the above case the participant would earn Rs. 50 per piece as per a conservative estimate amounting to a supplementary income of Rs. 150 a day and Rs.3750/ a month.
- f) Since the last part of the training period the production and marketing focus has been on School uniforms (shirt, pant, and salwar-kameej) aligned with key expertise of the trainees. Marketing efforts began to generate orders of school uniforms from the district and neighboring districts.

#### **Magnitude of the Change Brought in the Beneficiary:**

At the end of the sixth month of the production period, the magnitude has been minimal as members are in the process of executing their first bulk order for school uniforms. The receivable of the unit estimated for the job work was 60000 INR for stitching 600 trousers and 18750 INR for stitching 250 shirts. The net receivable by members setting aside expenses such as cost of accessories, packaging, inward and outward freight, overheads, risk coverage, was Rs.60 per trouser and Rs.50 per shirt. Average remuneration accrued per member from this order was Rs.1700 which was executed in 20days time.

In the following months it is noticed that the revenue of the unit has been coming mostly from the job work (job work order of uniforms from schools) and the enterprise has been putting more efforts to generate job work orders. In such orders, the advantage is that, raw materials (clothes and accessories) come from the client in advance and investment by the enterprise is minimal. For a micro enterprise, it is always a challenge to maintain the cash



flow in tact considering meagre capital resources at its disposal. On occasions long gestation period in realising market credit adds to the woes and end up in disruption in production cycle .In the subsequent months it is noted that approximately 70 percent of revenue generated from the business of the enterprise comes from job work while the rest 30 percent of business accrued from the home production .In the following months the average remuneration per regular member ranged in between Rs.1000 to Rs.1500 per month.

#### **Changes adapted in implementation strategy:**

For instance, during training period the strategy is to make each member able to learn the stitching of a full cloth. But during production phase it is observed that products produced by 30 members individually brought in considerable variation in quality. At this point it is discussed and decided by common consent of the members that to bring in uniformity in products they need to form into groups and produce in assembly line which brought in considerable uniformity in product and efficiency in stitching particular parts of the product. Speed in production is also enhanced through these changes.

#### **Learning points:**

- From the very beginning, setting SOP(Standard Operating Procedure) in the enterprise unit and ensuring its strict adherence by each member in execution of orders is a must.
- During training period, practice of line/curve stitching on the newspapers is avoided in later phases as it is realized that newspaper contains bamboo pulp which causes frequent needle breakage.
- During execution of orders of school uniforms, customized measurement taken from each student can be grouped into different size slabs. In case of bulk orders cutting piece by piece is not feasible. Using the rule of average, body measurements can be grouped into specific sizes and cutting cloth in layers with the help of machine would save time.
- Ensuring quality stitching should be first priority while enhancing speed and quantity in production should be next in priority. Once quality is compromised, there is greater incidence of mistakes getting repeated in future and loss of market share.
- Producing products in assembly line through group work brings uniformity in products and enhances production efficiency.
- During group work members are given to do specific tasks in rotation so that each member develops proficiency in stitching each and every part of a product.
- Slight slip in supervision in any of the minor part of the product would damage the quality of the product and thereby reputation of the enterprise.

**Scalability and Exit Strategy:**

Once a few successful business cycles are established, a scale up plan can be put in place for garnering economies of scale in the business. Reach of the project can also be extended to or replicated in other geography to leverage benefit for more marginalized populace in the vicinity. The generation of business revenue should be taken to a level so that the enterprise would be viable for meeting the cost of hiring professionals for marketing, pattern cutting and designing as and when required to sustain the business.

**Conclusion:**

This model in non-farm livelihoods in a remote rural area has proved that long term partnership of corporate and community with a sustainable development vision facilitated by development professionals from the field can do wonders to address poverty and deprivation. It needs long term commitment, perseverance and sustained investment of time, energy and resources by all the stakeholders. The outcome would no doubt empower the community to take charge of their lives and aspire for a better future for themselves and for their children.

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# CONTINUITY AND CHANGE OF TRIBAL CULTURE IN ODISHA: A CRITICAL REVIEW

Anil Ota <sup>1</sup>  
Jagannath Lenka <sup>2</sup>

## Abstract

*The socio-cultural lifestyle of several tribal communities in Odisha is poorly documented. Similarly, there is an acute dearth of literature material on the dimensions of stability and change in tribal culture of the state. This paper highlights the key tangible and intangible culture components of the tribals of Odisha. The methodology used for the study includes review of existing literature material on tribal culture and change in Odisha. Based on literature review, the dimensions of stability and change in tribal culture have been deduced. While constancy of certain culture components is indicative of the ethics and core values of the tribals, changing culture elements signify the acculturation of tribal communities with the outside world. The findings of the study indicate that the interplay of stability and change is an evident pattern across the tribal communities of the state. It is believed that the paper will help in identifying the factors as well as the nature of culture change being witnessed by the tribal communities of Odisha so that corresponding measures can be proposed towards their conservation and propagation.*

## Key Words:

Culture change, Intangible culture, Stability, Tangible culture and Tribal culture

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## Introduction

As per the Census of India 2011, Scheduled Tribes (ST) account for 22.8 per cent of the total population of Odisha (Devere, et. all, 2016)<sup>3</sup>. Members belonging to 62 ST communities and 13 Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTG) inhabit the State. In the national context, with 744 ST and 75 PVTG communities, the tribal population stood at 8.7 % as per the 2011 census Report. In terms of proportion of tribal population, Odisha is ranked fifth in the country only after the states of Arunachal Pradesh (68.8 %), Manipur (35.1 %), Sikkim (33.8 %) and Tripura (31.8 %) (Bisai, et. all, 2014)<sup>4</sup>. It is to be noted that ST communities are those tribal communities that have been declared as one by the President of India under clause 1 of Article 342 of the Indian constitution. On the contrary, there is no definitive classification of PVTGs (earlier known as 'Primitive Tribal Groups (PTG)'). The PVTGs are considered to be tribal communities that are at the bottom of the development pyramid. PVTGs have been characterised by the Dhebar Commission in 1960-61 by pre-agricultural system of existence, practice hunting and gathering for earning livelihood, are witnessing a stagnant or negative population growth and possess extremely low literacy levels (Chaudhuri et. all, 2005)<sup>5</sup>.

The tribals of Odisha are widely regarded to be amongst the most culturally vibrant communities in the country. The distinctly different cultural identity of tribal communities in Odisha is characterised by their colourful dress forms and ornaments, the pomp and spectacle with which they celebrate their fairs and festivals, their dance and music forms, their agricultural and hunting implements as well as household appliances etc. However, owing to growing contact with the outside world and consequent impact of industrialisation, urbanisation and westernisation, several components of tribal culture are on the verge of disappearance and certain others have already been modified beyond recognition. Hence, it would not be incorrect to state that tribal culture as a whole is standing at the cross roads of modernisation and traditionalism.

The present study based on review of pertinent literature material is being undertaken on the backdrop of the cultural changes being witnessed by the tribal communities of Odisha. The study assumes particular significance as it has endeavoured at highlighting some of the most widely practiced intangible and tangible culture forms of the tribals of Odisha. Similarly, based on systematic analysis of the changes being witnessed by specific culture elements, a narrative on the phenomenon of 'stability and change' in tribal culture has also been sketched. The paper is organized under the following sections;

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3. Devere, H., Maiharoa, K.T. and Synott, J.P. (2016). *Peace building and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Experiences and Strategies for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Volume 9 of the Anthropocene: Politik – Economy – Society – Science*. Springer. ISBNs 3319450115 and 9783319450117. pp. 160.

4. Bisai, S., Saha, B.S., Sharma, R.K., Muniyandi, M. and Singh, N. (2014). *An overview of tribal population in India*. Tribal Health Bulletin. Volume 20 (Special issue). ISSN 0971 – 4677. pp. 1 – 9.

5. Chaudhuri, S.K. and Chaudhuri, S.S. (2005). *Primitive tribes in contemporary India: Concept, Ethnography and Demography*. Mittal Publications. ISBN 978-81-8324-026-0. pp. 2.

- Introduction (the current section): This section provides an overview of the demographic scenario of tribals in India and introduces the paper to the reader;
- Objectives of the study: This section highlights the objectives with which the present paper has been formulated;
- Research methodology: The methodology used for undertaking the present study has been discussed;
- Tribal culture of Odisha: Some of the most widely practiced and known intangible and tangible culture forms of various tribal communities of Odisha have been discussed;
- Continuity and change of tribal culture in Odisha: Based on an analysis of the phenomenon of stability and change of certain specific culture components in the tribal society, a narrative on the dynamics of tribal culture has been sketched;
- Critical gaps in existing literature: The key gaps identified during review of the available literature material have been highlighted; and
- Concluding remarks: This section discusses the prospective audience as well as the anticipated contributions of the present paper.

### **Objectives of the study**

The present study encompassing review of existing literature material on the tribal culture of Odisha was undertaken with the following objectives;

- To identify and illustrate some of the most popular and widely practiced/ used culture elements (intangible and tangible) of the tribal communities of Odisha;
- To discuss the cultural changes being witnessed by the tribal communities of the state as well as the element of cultural stability in contemporary tribal life; and
- To identify the critical gaps in the existing literature with respect to tribal culture and change in Odisha.

### **Research Methodology**

The current paper is only based on review of available literature material relating to the tribal culture and culture change in Odisha. Consequently, a comprehensive review of literature material available in the public domain relevant to the tribal culture of the State was carried out on the internet. Review of available literature material in the form of Reports, books, research papers and case studies was also undertaken as part of the appraisal process to aid the information obtained from the web search.

### **Tribal culture of Odisha**

As is the case with all human societies, even in the context of the tribals of Odisha, the various culture components can be clubbed under two distinct heads such as; (a) tangible culture and (b) intangible culture. In fact, the culture elements of various tribal communities in the State though largely indigenous have not evolved in isolation. On the contrary, most of them have been influenced and have consequently developed in contact with several other cultures and change agents over time. The subsequent sections provide

a narrative on some of the most widely practiced tangible and intangible culture components of the tribals of Odisha. The impact of various agents of social change on the social identity and cultural lifestyle of tribals has also been assessed.

### **Tangible culture**

Tangible culture represents one of the two dimensions of the cultural heritage of a group of people or society (the other being 'intangible culture'). The term has been defined by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) as, 'buildings and historic places, monuments, artifacts, etc., which are considered worthy of preservation for the future. These include objects significant to the archaeology, architecture, science or technology of a specific culture' (UNESCO, \_\_\_\_)<sup>6</sup>. UNESCO also believes that study of cultural objects is important as they provide a concrete basis for ideas. The conservation of tangible culture components is directly linked to the concrete cultural identity of a community. Clarity in understanding of the origin as well as the cultural and contemporary significance of such objects is the first step in their preservation and propagation.

The Saura painting is perhaps the most widely known and bought culture component of tribal Odisha both within the state, country as well as abroad. The extensive propagation and popularity of the painting form has elevated it to symbolize the cultural identity of the state. 'Apart from depicting primitive everyday life, Saura paintings are meant to appease the presiding deity, Edital' (Suri, 2011)<sup>7</sup>. The motifs of Saura art consists of animals, moon, people, sun, trees, village activities etc. The art form follows the fish-net approach wherein the border of the painting is first drawn after which the inland portion of the picture is painted. Though the Saura painting originated as an art form among the Sauras, in recent years, it has found acceptance among other tribal as well as non-tribal communities.

The Kapadaganda is another indigenous tangible culture form of tribal Odisha that has witnessed growing demand in the national and international market over the past few years. Kapadaganda is a form of shawl that is woven by the female members of the Dongria Kondh tribe. The embroidery work uses three colors - green, yellow and red each of which signify certain social and cultural values. While green and yellow symbolize hills, mountains, crop field, trees and peace, smile, togetherness and health respectively, 'red is the symbol of blood, energy, power, revenge, aggression, tit for tat etc.' (Ota, 2010)<sup>8</sup>. Owing to greater demand for the shawl and corresponding financial

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6. UNESCO (\_\_\_\_). *Tangible cultural heritage*. URL: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/cairo/culture/tangible-cultural-heritage/>. Accessed on 04.09.2017.
  7. Suri, B, (18.06.2011). *Saura Invocations*. The Hindu. URL: <http://www.thehindu.com/features/magazine/saura-invocations/article2112837.ece>. Accessed on 04.09.2017.
  8. Ota, A.B. (2010). *Quote highlighted in 'Tribes Odisha tapping market'*. Tathya - Informing People. URL: <http://www.tathya.in/2016/story.aspx?args=2A927ECAD131151AE864F767C35ACF855BAFF9CC8032F5864AF9DFA1BD2A272CD77D842D9331AA9D>. Accessed on 05.09.2017.
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support under the state tribal development programmes, the Kapadaganda has emerged as a livelihood support for several tribal women in the districts of Kalahandi and Rayagada.

Musical instruments constitute another tangible culture form. Among the most noticeable musical instrument used by the tribal communities of Odisha is the 'Surakamped' or 'Trumpet'. 'It is a wind instrument used for producing an unceasingly vibrating sound generated through circular breathing... In the Lanjia country, trumpets are funnel shaped and are made up of brass. Earlier the Lanjias were using horn trumpet. It is about one foot in length having a small hole in the middle for blowing air... The local artisans of Ghasi caste designed it through lost wax process. These are used both during celebrations such as festivals, marriages etc., for heralding news of glory and victory as well as during battles and external aggressions for which they can also be regarded as a Tribal war bugle' (Ota, 2015)<sup>9</sup>. The replacement of bovine horns with brass as the principal raw material for manufacturing the Surakamped is indicative of the change that several culture components of the tribal communities in the state are witnessing.

### **Intangible culture**

Intangible culture represents the other dimension of the cultural heritage of a group of people or society (the other as discussed earlier being 'tangible culture'). The term has been defined by the UNESCO as, 'intangible cultural heritage as the practices, representations, expressions, as well as the knowledge and skills (including instruments, objects, artifacts, cultural spaces), that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage' (UNESCO, 2003)<sup>10</sup>. Intangible culture forms cannot be touched or stored in physical form and are transmitted from one generation to another through cultural vehicles such as songs, dance, drama, festivals etc. Digital storage and transmission of songs, dance forms etc. using digital is the latest medium of transmitting intangible culture, especially of tribal communities across the state and country.

Considered to be the oldest medium of transmitting the history, traditions, beliefs and customs within a group of people over space and time, folklore is a major intangible culture form of indigenous and tribal societies around the world. With respect to Odisha, the most famous and widely recognized form of folklore is 'Kui Gaani'. Narrating the origins of the Kutia Kondh PVTG, the 'Kui Gaani' is perhaps amongst the most well documented tribal folklores of Odisha. The folklore, 'presents a twofold journey through the symbolic analysis of the Myth of Creation (Kui Gaani) and the unprecedented documentation of a sacred site that is believed to be the center of the cosmos. This is

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9. Ota, A. (2015). *Disappearing Material Culture of Tribals in India: The Case of a Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group of Southern Odisha*. International Journal of Applied Research. ISSN Print: 2394 – 7500 and ISSN Online: 2394 – 5869. Impact Factor 5.2. Volume 1. Issue 9. pp. 30 – 36.

10. UNESCO (2003). Text of the Convention for the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. URL: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>. Accessed on 06.07.2017.

Sopāngadā, a sacred hill covered with forest, the womb of mother earth, from which beings emerged’ (Beggiora, 2015)<sup>11</sup>. The folklore has been extensively documented in the form of a separate appendix in the tribal monograph – ‘The Kutia Kondh’ prepared under the ‘Man and Forest’ series. It is to be noted that the Kutia Kondh PVTG are one of the two primitive sections of the Kondh tribe.

The vibrant dance forms of tribals constitute a vital component of their identity. The rich history, culture and tradition of the community are manifested through various dance forms. Growing interaction between the tribal and non-tribal communities of the state have led to the proliferation of several dance forms originally practiced by tribal groups to the urban centers of western Odisha. One such dance form is ‘Dalkhai’. ‘Dalkhai is supposed to be an Adivasi dance of the Soara, Binjhal and Gour communities... The dalkhai dance is thus considered a shy (surmili) and sensual (bhabo rossa) dialogue between girls and boys. Moreover, ‘Dal’ (rice) and ‘khai’ (eating) also signifies eating rice, generally associating the Goddess Dalkhai with rice’ (Guzy, 2013)<sup>12</sup>.

Observance of events in the human life cycle such as birth, puberty, marriage and death constitute a major intangible culture component of tribal societies. The social practices and norms surrounding the observance of these events differ from one tribal community to another. Most tribal communities of Odisha believe in the concept of ‘life after death’. Consequently, the death rituals of a deceased family member are observed so as to commemorate his/ her contributions; and recollect his/ her likes and dislikes, tastes and preferences etc. Among the various tribal communities of the state, the death rituals observed by the Kandha tribe is considered to be largely similar to that of the Hindus. ‘After cremation is over their relatives take bath and return to home. The family of the deceased and the lineage members observe death pollution for 11 days. On the 12<sup>th</sup> day they observe mortuary rite, which is locally known as mana. In that day they clean their house, clothes and all other materials used by them. They cut their hair, beard and nails. A feast is arranged on this occasion. The family members of the deceased and their relative’s take part in the feast and the ritual come to an end’ (SCSTRTI, 2013)<sup>13</sup>. In case of an accidental death or the death of a child below the age of 8 – 10 years, the dead body of the deceased is buried on the backyard of the house. It is believed that such an individual does not get salvation and by burying the dead body in the backyard of the house, it is believed that the departed soul is not left alone and that he continues to stay with his/ her family members.

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11. Beggiora, S. (2015). *Journey to the centre of the world Indigenous cosmogony of Kutia Kondhs in Odisha*. Internationales Asienforum. ISSN Internet: 2365 – 0117. Volume 46, No. 1 – 2. Pp. 59 – 80.
  12. Guzy, L. (2013). *Marginalised Music: Music, Religion and Politics from Western Odisha, India: Volume 8 of Sound Culture Studies*. LIT Verlag Munster. ISBNs 3643902727 and 9783643902726. pp. 83.
  13. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI) (2013). *The Kandha*. SCSTRTI. pp. 14 – 15.
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### Continuity and change of tribal culture in Odisha

Dress and ornaments constitute the most visible culture component of any community. Changes in dress patterns or clothing forms, especially among the tribal communities of the state has become a common phenomenon. An empirical study undertaken among the Gadaba reflects the changing dress pattern in the community. The paper highlighting the social transformations being witnessed by the Gadaba of the Koraput district states that 'Previously the Gadaba women wore the *kerang sari*. Recently with all the modern market facilities around, the Gadaba women have started to use synthetic fabrics. They now wear the *kerang sari* only on the occasion of a few festivals and sometimes at the time of marriage. The young girls now also wear frocks and salwars. The dress of women also varies with age and education. The young ladies now generally wear *sari* and blouse, petticoat and under garments. Unlike the old and illiterate women, the educated young women wear *sari* covering the lower parts of the legs up to the ankles' (Padhi, 2011)<sup>14</sup>. However, as indicated earlier, despite growing preferences for modern dress forms, the elderly members of the community continue to wear the traditional Gadaba *saree* and *dhoti*. Similarly, the continuity of traditional Gadaba clothing among members of the community can also be seen during fairs and festivals.

Tribal dialects and languages constitute a major culture form of the community. Despite living within close vicinity of caste Hindus, several tribal groups of Odisha have used dialects and languages for communication that are distinctively different from the regional language – Odia. However, under the influence of modernization and westernization, the youth of most tribal communities are reluctant to speak their vernacular dialects/ languages. An empirical study undertaken among the Kisan, Oraon, Kharia and Munda tribes in Rourkela reveals that, '.... Most of the tribes today do not speak their original language or even encourage their children to learn the basic ideology of their long lived tribal culture. Today, the use of local language, Odia has been an important aspect in Rourkela and the tribal languages have become limited and the use of Odia language has taken their place' (Ekka, 2013)<sup>15</sup>. Disinterest amongst the tribal youth to speak the traditional dialect/ language of his/ her community has contributed towards the growing identity crisis of tribals, especially in the eastern states of Jharkhand and Odisha. Use of the regional language has also impacted the intra-community affinity of members of different tribal communities. However, the use of the traditional dialects/ languages can be observed (during recital of holy verses and religious hymns) by the tribal priest while performing life cycle rituals (such as marriage and death) and during fairs and festivities. The practice of reciting sacred verses in the tribal dialect/ language reflects the continuity of traditional culture forms in different tribal communities.

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14. Padhi, S. R. (2011). *Socio-economic transformation of Gadaba tribe: A Socio-Anthropological study in Orissa*. Humankind. Volume 7. pp. 111 – 128.

15. Ekka, N. (2013). *Impact of modernisation on tribal religious customs and traditions: A case study of Rourkela – A dissertation submitted to the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, National Institute of Technology Rourkela, in partial fulfilment of requirement of the award of the Degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies*. National Institute of Technology Rourkela. pp. 24 – 25.

Similarly, customary/ traditional tribal councils are a core culture component of most tribal communities. The traditional tribal councils comprise of mostly tribal elders. Membership to the councils is determined through heredity (in case of priest members) and seniority (for other members). Traditionally, in the absence of police and the judicial system, traditional tribal councils were responsible for administering law and justice in tribal society. Cases of burglary, theft, murder, rape, conspiracy etc. were decided by the tribal councils and their ruling was binding on all parties concerned. 'However, with the path breaking initiatives of the welfare state to facilitate self and participatory governance at the grass roots level, such traditional institutions have been weakened. While on one hand no legal status has been ascribed to such customary entities, on the other, the authority of the modern leadership councils comprising of elected members has been legitimized' (Ota, 2014)<sup>16</sup>. In fact, as a consequence of enactment of the Panchayat Extensions to Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act, 1996, the social role as well as significance of the traditional tribal councils have been curtailed in tribal societies. However, despite the legal validity ascribed to the modern councils, an inter-play between the two councils (traditional and modern) can be observed wherein the elected representatives of the modern councils seek the expert opinion and advice of the elder members of the traditional council. Hence, even within the sphere of 'law and justice', tribal society is at the cross roads of stability and change.

### **Critical gaps in existing research**

Based on limited review of available literature material on the theme of tribal culture and change in Odisha, certain vital gaps have been identified. The gaps indicate scope for further research for scholars, academicians and researchers. The inferred gaps in the existing research work that have been identified through the literature review are as follows;

- There are several intangible and tangible culture aspects of tribal communities of Odisha that have not been adequately documented. Consequently, the changes witnessed by such culture components cannot be assessed;
- No systematic efforts have been made to attribute the changes being witnessed in tribal culture to specific change agents such as industrialization, modernization, urbanization and westernization; and
- Owing to lack of understanding of the impacts of specific change agents on tribal culture, no corresponding measures for mitigating/ minimizing such impacts have been proposed.

### **Concluding remarks**

Stability and change constitute two vital aspects of the culture of any community. Constancy of certain culture components is indicative of the ethics and core values of a

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16. Ota, A. (2014). *Industrialisation and the changing contours of social order in eastern India: Implications of development projects on the dynamics of tribal identity*. Global Academic Research Journal. ISSN 2437-3592. Quality Impact Factor: 3.73 (CARS). Volume II, Issue IV. pp. 16 – 29.

community. Similarly, changing culture elements signify the acculturation of communities with one another. The interplay of stability and change within the cultures of communities is an evident pattern across societies all over the world. In fact, increasing plurality within the society and growing contact of tribal communities with the outside world has fastened the dynamics of culture change. Consequently, several tribal communities along with their social lifestyle and unique culture forms in Odisha are standing at the cross roads of tradition and modernity. While the elderly tribals are making efforts to preserve the age old customs, traditions and practices of the community, the increasing influence of change agents and socio-political developments in the tribal regions has attracted the tribal youth to give up their customary beliefs and conventions and accept new ideas and a modern lifestyle. The culture change that most tribal communities of the state have witnessed is a gradual process of 'Hinduisation'. Triggered by the persistent practice of the customs and traditions of the neighboring Hindus such as monogamy, early marriage, donning a red tika on the forehead by men and sindoor by women; a vast section of the tribal population are often claimed to have been transformed into Hindus. However, despite following certain Hindu traits, most tribals continue to identify themselves as 'tribals' and several tribal communities continue to retain their distinct cultural identity and observe/ practice their age-old customs, rituals, festivities etc. The current paper may be used as a reference material by scholars, students and academicians of Anthropology and Sociology and policy formulators. It is believed that the paper will help in identifying the factors as well as the nature of culture change being witnessed by the tribal communities of Odisha so that corresponding measures can be proposed towards their conservation and propagation.

# **PRESERVING THE TRADITIONAL HEALTHCARE KNOWLEDGE OF THE DISPLACED TRIBAL COMMUNITIES FROM THE PROTECTED AREAS IN INDIA**

**Madhulika Sahoo <sup>1</sup>**

## **Abstract**

*Displacement of tribal populations from any location results in a multitude socio-economic and socio-cultural effects on the tribal communities. In India, many cases, especially relating to tribal communities that have been relatively isolated from the outside world, the displacement is traumatic from both economic and cultural point of view. This paper highlights the importance of the traditional healthcare knowledge of the tribals and the way it is diminishing because of displacement. The author has tried to share her Ph.D. fieldwork experiences on displaced tribal communities from Simlipal and Achanakmar wildlife sanctuaries in India.*

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**Background:**

In India, the number of people reportedly displaced by development projects is among the highest in the world (IDMC, 2016). However, there is lack of accurate statistics of tribal that displaced from the wildlife sanctuaries. Studies have estimated that around 600,000 tribals displaced from the protected areas in India alone (PRIA, 1993). There is lack of accurate statistics of tribal's that have displaced from wildlife sanctuaries. The World Conservation Monitoring Centre (WCMC) database also does not give clear information about the statistics of people displaced from the protected areas. Studies on displacement in protected areas have also highlighted the lack of systematic information about the management objectives associated with particular categories of protected areas are translated into practice (Agarwal and Redford, 2007). The cross and intra-state variations in the implementation of protected area provisions along with the paucity of information on the actual effectiveness of protected areas. It also lacks the consensus on the metrics along which conservation effectiveness that has been compared across sites. The matter of fact is that there are very few studies that establish a relationship between the displacement of humans from the protected areas and the marginal gain such displacement confer on biodiversity conservation (Redford, Hubbard and Fearn, 2007).

In recent years, with involuntary resettlement becoming largely questioned, the trend in India has been to place so many restrictions on indigenous peoples to limit their movements and livelihoods as to make their continued residence almost impossible, obliging them for self-relocation or living in rehabilitation colonies (JBHSS, 2000). However, the relocation process in India is mainly done through induced ways. The relocation is sought or accepted by the communities or families concerned in the grama sabha, due to the circumstances created by the protected areas. These circumstances could include severe pressure and harassment by officials, deprivation of natural resources that are essential for their livelihoods, medicinal herbs, and denial of basic developmental facilities (Lasgorceix and Kothari, 2009). The conservation projects also limits the access to land that is needed for ritual and ceremony of the tribals social lives (Begay, 2001).

Displacement inevitably causes social-cultural changes to the tribes. The displaced tribal communities encounter and adjust too many facets in their life, including the economy, education, lifestyles, beliefs, religion and many others (Woube, 2005). Displacement has also impacted on the indigenous medicinal systems that leave many tribals without any traditional healthcare resources in post displacement situation. Relocating from the forest made the traditional medicinal knowledge rapidly disappearing among the tribal communities, owing to cultural change and declining access to sources of natural medicinal products (Stephens et al. 2006).

In this paper, I have tried to share my Ph.D. fieldwork experience of the ethnography study done among the displaced tribal communities of Simlipal and Achanakmar wildlife

sanctuaries situated in Odisha and Chhattisgarh state in India. The paper highlights mainly the traditional reproductive healthcare knowledge among the tribal communities and the ways it is affecting due to displacement.

### **Displacement in Simlipal and Achanakmar sanctuaries**

The Simlipal tiger reserve is located in the Mayurbhanj district which is in the north-eastern part of Odisha. The Simlipal reserved forest was notified as a proposed sanctuary in 1979. A total of 41 tribal families were relocated from three villages namely Jamunagarh, Jenabil and Kabatghai. There was further relocation in the year 2013 about 31 families from Baharkamuda village to were relocated to the buffer area Asankudar (Table 1). In 1980, a survey of the families residing in these villages was conducted and to resettle 149 Khadia and Mankedia primitive tribal families, who are hunters and gatherers by practice, a portion of Ambadiha of 168.67 hectares was de-reserved by the Government of India under the Forest (Conservation) Act 1980. Land acquisition proceedings were also started under the Land Acquisition Act 1894 and were finalized. Therefore, the pre-relocation houses were constructed and land developed by the Integrated Tribal Development Agency at Ambadiha for resettlement of the villagers. Similarly, houses were made ready on revenue village at Kapand village in Jashipur block. The resettlement colony was named 'Kapanda Banabasa' for people relocating from Kabatghai and Jamunagarh village. A total of 41 families were relocated from these villages in 1994 and 2003, and 61 families got relocated from Jenabil in March 2010, where earlier 29 families were relocated to Ambadiha in Udala block in the year 1998 and 2003. Again in the year 2015, total 35 families from Jamunagarh were relocated to Bahuban in Udala block. The government in its relocation package guarantees to provide health, education, electricity, and water along with a compensation of Rs 10 lakh to each family (Sahoo, 2012).

The Achnakmar is located in Mungeli district of Chhattisgarh was declared as a wildlife sanctuary in 2009, the induced displacement was initiated phase wise, about 249 families were displaced from six villages namely Kuba, Bokrakachhar, Bahud, Bankal and Sambhar Dhasan to various rehabilitation colonies in different locations planned by the Government of India (Table 1). The main inhabitants of these villages were Baiga (PVTG) followed by Gond and Yadavs communities. In February 2009, the tiger reserve was notified under Project Tiger, with the condition of relocating all the villages from the core area of the reserve to make "inviolate space" for tigers. Villagers were promised a fixed compensation package of Rs 1 Lakh and basic amenities in the new settlement place like 5 acres of agriculture land/household, accommodation, school, healthcare and better livelihood opportunities. But when this relocation was done, the alternative location was not made ready for the displaced population and each household was given a petty amount of Rs.5000 cash and Rs.45,000 in the bank account, which was spent mostly in meeting the daily needs and housing arrangement (Deccan Herald, 2013).

**Table 1: Displaced families from Simlipal and Achanakmar wildlife sanctuary**

<b>Name of the rehabilitation colony</b>	<b>Relocation site</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Year of Relocation</b>	<b>Total household relocated</b>
Kapanda Banbasa	Simlipal	Odisha	1994	41
Ambadiha	Simlipal	Odisha	1998, 2003, 2010	92
Bahuban Jamunagarh	Simlipal	Odisha	2015	35
Asankudar	Simlipal	Odisha	2013	31
Bankal	Achanakmar	Chhattisgarh	2009	32
Bokargacha	Achanakmar	Chhattisgarh	2009	41
Sambhaardashan	Achanakmar	Chhattisgarh	2009	17
Bahud	Achanakmar	Chhattisgarh	2009	66
Jalda	Achanakmar	Chhattisgarh	2009	74

### **Study population**

The study was conducted in nine rehabilitation colonies in Odisha and Chhattisgarh states of India. The colonies' population ranges from 100-200 total households, dominated by main tribal groups such as Hill Kharia<sup>2</sup>, Kolha, Bathudi, Baiga<sup>3</sup> and Gond. The study identifies the tribal communities those were displaced from Simlipal and Achanakmar wildlife sanctuaries. The indigenous groups who were living in the forest for ages shared similar ways of dependency on forest resources, medicinal plants and traditional ethno-medicinal practices. The ethnography study design was used for the study. Focused Group Discussion (FGD) and in-depth interview techniques were adopted to collect the data from the displaced tribal women, Traditional Birth Attendant (TBA) and traditional healers. The women who have given birth between the reproductive age group of 15-49 years were interviewed in this study. The FGD guide mainly included questions related to the traditional health care practices for the antenatal care (ANC), postnatal care (PNC) and other diseases.

### **Traditional healthcare practices**

The traditional healthcare beliefs and methods of tribals are different from the modern scientific worldview and emerge from their living in forests rich with medicinal plants. This

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<sup>2</sup> Hill Kharia are one of the indigenous ethnic groups of India. This tribal ethnic group is one of the largest tea tribes in India. They originally spoke the Kharia language, which belongs to the Munda subgroup of the Austro-Asiatic languages. They are sub-divided into three groups known as the Hill Kharia, Delki Kharia and the Dudh Kharia.

<sup>3</sup> Baiga call themselves Bhumiaraja or Bhumijan are a Munda or Kolarian people (part of the Bhuiya tribe) located in the central highlands of India. The name "Baiga" means "sorcerer, medicine man" and is applied in this sense to the priests of the Chota Nagpur tribe.

belief and healing system has a strong influence on the healthcare practices, health-seeking behavior and choices of tribal people. In this study the tribal groups have their own socio-cultural practices for antenatal and postnatal care especially among the Hill Kharia, Kolha and Baiga tribes have different indigenous food habits and traditional medicines for healing (Table 2). The Baiga community women rely on medicinal plants like *Kahua* bark (*Arjuna*) and *Dasmuli* (*Deadalacanthus Roseus*) roots during the pregnancy for safe delivery. Also, in case of Hill Kharia and Kolha tribal women has a number of food restrictions at the time for ANC such as restriction on consuming salted dry fish, jackfruits and malabar spinach tribal women believe it will lead to abortion.

**Table 2: Socio-cultural beliefs and practices related to reproductive health care**

Tribe Name	Types of Socio-cultural beliefs and practices
<b>Baiga</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The Baiga women rely on indigenous medicinal plants such as <i>Rohina</i> bark and <i>Ami turmeric</i>, <i>pitra</i> and <i>alsijagery</i> for ANC and PNC provided by the traditional healer for healing.</li> <li>2. The Baiga's prefer to call Traditional Birth Attendant at home than going to the health facility for the delivery of the child.</li> <li>3. The Baiga community observe six days traditional rite after delivery known as <i>Chhati</i>. The women and the child follow certain taboo for six days where no one allowed seeing both mother and child. On the last day the child is given name with big celebration.</li> </ol>
<b>Hill Kharia</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The Hill Kharia women believe in number of food taboos such as not to consume salted fish, jackfruit, pumpkin, flying termite (<i>Kalaie</i>) in ANC and PNC. Most of the practices are decided by the elders in the family</li> <li>2. The Kharia's believe in indigenous medicines such as <i>Patal garuda</i> (medicinal plant) for healing.</li> <li>3. The Hill Kharia's observe twenty one days rituals after delivery known as <i>eksia</i>. The women and child are not allowed to see for twenty one days. On the last day the child is given name with big celebration in the community.</li> </ol>
<b>Kolha</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The Kolha women believe in number of food taboos such as not to consume salted fish, jackfruit, pumpkin, Kalaie (flies) in ANC and PNC. Most of the practices are decided by the elders in the family</li> <li>2. The Kolha believe in indigenous medicines such as <i>Patal garuda</i> for healing.</li> <li>3. The Kolha observe 9days after delivery known as <i>Nandia</i>. The women and child follow certain taboo for 9days. On the last day the child is given name with big celebration</li> </ol>

Sources: Interview with the women and TBA



In case of postnatal care all most all Baiga women take *Chind* root, *Rohina* bark and *Ami* turmeric (*Curcuma angustifolia* Roxb, *Zingiberaceae*), *pitra* and *alsijagery* for quick healing after delivery. In Bahud and Jalda colony the Baiga women in FGD says

*"We all take chind root for fast healing and strength. This help us speedy recovery in post-delivery"* (Baiga women in FGD)

In all the three tribal communities the antenatal and postnatal care is mainly decided by the mother-in-law and TBA. Those women who are little literate and had institutional delivery rely on both modern medicine as well as traditional medicines. It is certain that the tribal communities even after displacement they still continue to rely on their traditional methods in the rehabilitation colonies (Table 3). It was found out that the displaced tribal women are more comfortable giving birth at home than in the health facilities this is because they rely on the traditional methods and care.

**Table 3: Ethno-medicine used during pregnancy**

Tribe Name	Types of ethnomedicine and use
<b>Baiga</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Asparagus Racemosus</i> Wild. (<i>Liliaceae</i>), 'Satavar', Boiled tuberous roots are eaten to the increase lactation in women leaf juice (two teaspoon a day) is given during pregnancy for easy delivery</li> <li>2. <i>Cassia tora</i> L. (<i>Caesalpiniaceae</i>), 'Charota, Pawar', Chaparwa Young seedling of the plants after washing is chewed by pregnant women for timely and easy delivery.</li> <li>3. <i>Ficus carica</i> L. (<i>Moraceae</i>) 'Anjir', Tilaidabra Two cups of fruits decoction is taken a few days before the delivery period to make it easier</li> </ol>
<b>Hill Kharia</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Naramamidi (<i>Litsea deccanensis</i> Gamle) to ease body pain</li> <li>2. (<i>Zingiberaceae</i>); Banhaladi, Rhizome paste is applied on new born child to prevent all type of skin diseases and also applied to dry up the child naval (round of placenta) and cures other infections. A paste made with its rhizome and dudura leaves (<i>Datura metel</i>) is applied on women swelled breast.</li> <li>3. (<i>Oleaceae</i>); 'Gangasiuli' to cure malaria fever in children</li> </ol>

<b>Other tribes (Santal and Munda)</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Stem of Ocimum (Tulsi) with garlic and purified Kochila seeds (<i>Strychnos nox-vomica</i>) are worn around the neck or waist of Santal babies to prevent against cold, cough and evil eye.</li> <li>2. The petiole of betel leaf smeared with castor oil and applied to the anus of the constipated baby to facilitate motion, i.e., passing of stool</li> <li>3. Gall stone of a cow called Gorochama is used as a medicine. It is added with mother's milk of honey and given to the children to cure indigestion, hiccups, flatulence and liver malfunction.</li> </ol>
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*Sources: interview with displaced tribal women and TBA*

### **Impact of displacement on traditional practices**

#### ***Fear of adopting modern health care services:***

Indigenous groups have a strong belief in their traditional practices. The study has identified that the Baiga, Hill Kharia and Kolha tribal women prefer to deliver baby at home than going to the facility. As the tribes believe home, delivery is safe in the hands of mother-in-law and TBA. The Baiga women in the FGD express fear of accepting modern medical services. In Jalda colony Baiga women in FGD says

*"We fear to go to the hospital and to take injection feels it will kill us. The traditional ways of delivery at home is safe as family members are around to support"* (Baiga women in FGD)

Many Hill Kharia and Baiga women do not take Iron Folic Acid (IFA) tablet as they believe the infant will grow fat inside the mother womb leading to painful delivery. Many women consume food that contains iron than consuming IFA tablets.

#### ***Lack of forest resources and health problems:***

The indigenous groups are mostly depended on forest resources for living and health care. The post displacement has led the displaced tribes to rely on market products and modern medicine. The tribes who are consumer of organic food are now consuming pesticide foods. One Hill Kharia woman in Kapanda Banbasa colony says

*"Before displacement, we used to consume green organic food, now we are consuming chemicals which is affecting our health. We don't have access to forest, we have no option now"* (30-year-old Hill Kharia women, In-depth interview)

The tribes who used to live in cool surrounding of forest are now shifted to hot and humid place in rural areas having no forest resources. This has led to many health problems among Hill Kharia, Baiga and Kolha tribes. Many women complain due to excessive heat and hard

work in summer makes them physically weak especially during pregnancy. The Hill Kharia and Baiga women in Kapanda Banbasa and Jalda colony says

*"We do not like this new place as it is too hot and working in this heat making us weak. Our children suffer from malaria and jaundice. Old village was surrounded by forest and medicinal plants"* Women in FGD

Coping with the new place and people have become wearisome for the displaced tribal communities. Many Baiga and Hill Kharia women find it tough to accept the modern medicinal methods and techniques for delivery as they still prefer traditional methods. The lack of forest resources is making them difficult to avail the medicinal plants. Also, the lack of common property resources such as streams, grazing lands and worship place which is a crucial for the tribals makes them all the more alien in host village.

### **Conclusion**

The traditional belief system and practices of the tribals sometimes act favorable and unfavorable to their health. There exists a severe gap of adaptation of scientific knowledge with the ethnomedicine that can help tribals to accept the modern health care (MoTA, 2014). Displacement due to development projects has made many villages no longer surrounded by the natural habitat that formerly served as a medicine cupboard, and bodies of folk knowledge that have accumulated and been honed for thousands of years are disappearing at an alarming rate. In some cases, this loss may confer net health benefits (Alves and Rosa, 2007). Indigenous peoples have sophisticated ideas of health and wellbeing, notions that are closer than most western views to the aspirational definition of the World Health Organization (WHO). Health for many tribal populations is not merely the absence of ill health, but also a state of spiritual, communal, and ecosystem equilibrium and wellbeing (Bristow et al. 2003). The symbiotic relationship with the forest has made tribals to develop well established traditional medicine systems, with tried and trusted remedies developed from their ancestors. However, due to growing exploitation on tribals lands due to various development projects the very resources which tribal communities themselves have carefully managed and protected for centuries, including medicinal plants, forest products, and natural mineral resources are disappearing. In many cases, these indigenous knowledge systems have been fragmented over at the cost of development (Stephens et al. 2006).

### **Call for preserving the indigenous traditional medicines:**

The Lancet series, 2006 on indigenous health discussed the integration of western and traditional health; it identifies the importance of its assimilation. The international forum also acknowledges that without the indigenous peoples' knowledge, the modern world might not be able to understand the full value of the ecosystem for health and medicine (Stephens et al.

2006; UNSECO, 2002). The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in its 2030 agenda has also given priority to protecting and enhancing the indigenous knowledge “Indigenous peoples must be able to practice and enhance their knowledge and become part of the solution in the global search for agricultural systems and global consumption patterns that are just, healthy, and sustainable”. The high level UN meeting on indigenous people mentioned the need for addressing the indigenous peoples’ rights and well-being in SDGs. Especially in Goals 13, 14, 15 which says about Indigenous peoples’ traditional knowledge:

*Through centuries of practice, indigenous peoples have developed sophisticated knowledge systems about their natural environment with sustainable management systems that have retained the ecosystem and world’s bio-diversity. These are important tools that will contribute to the Sustainable Development Goals (Permanent Forum for indigenous issues, 2016)*

Various countries have established the role of traditional medicines in health care for a large part of the population living in developing countries. In fact, for centuries, indigenous medicines were the only health care system available to the prevention and treatment of diseases in different tribal cultures. Since, India has the largest tribal population, there is a need for the formal recognition of the indigenous medicinal systems through research and development. The anthropologist and public health researchers must lead the development of a research agenda that considers social, cultural, political and economic contexts, to maximize the potential contribution of traditional medicines into modern healthcare systems.

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# THE ROLE OF “BARABHAI” IN DEVELOPMENT OF JUANGS

Niladari Bihari Mishra <sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

*The family heads of a Juang village, taken together including the traditional leaders designated as Nagam / Boita / Dehury (secular headman), Ardhan/ Pradhan/ Nayak (sacerdotal headman) and Dangua / Dakua (messenger) constitute the traditional village council called Barabhai. Barabhai plays an important and useful part in the Juang society. It was exercising the executive, financial, religious and judicial powers. Any kind of customary affair relating to the village is first discussed and then finalized in a meeting held in Majang – the village community center-cum-youth dormitory, and its decisions were being respected by all the Juangs and non-Juangs and obeyed by one and all in the village. It was very democratic system governance recognized by the kings of Keonjhar State, for centuries.*

*Though the political scenario has changed after independence, yet the development workers of non-Government organizations and employees of different Government departments are taking the help of Barabhai to implement the development works in the Juang villages. So this institution should be conserved and made involved for the success of developmental activities in the Juang habitation areas of Keonjhar district.*

*The sample study has been carried out taking two Juang inhabited villages – one homogenous and another multi-community, with a hypothesis. After analyzing the data and present situation, it is concluded in favour of conservation and promotion of this age old institution,*

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**Introduction :**

Juang is a Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG) of Odisha confined to Keonjhar, Anugul and Dhenkanal districts. In Keonjhar district they are still found within their traditional culture. Therefore, they draw attention of many Sociologists and Anthologists. The “Barabhai” or traditional village council of Juang society is a very useful and important village level institution that plays a key role in managing the socio-cultural affairs of village and maintains its unity and integrity as well.

**Objectives :**

1. Learn about the traditional system of governance (Barabhai) of the Juang with socio-cultural values.
2. Understand the challenges and opportunities for its integration in local democratic setup for discourse of developmental activities.
3. Justify the best part of “BARABHAI” and plan out for appropriate space towards decision making, planning and implementation of development programmes.

**Hypothesis :**

The positive, beneficial, traditional and cultural institution of “Barabhai” of the Juang with ground level executive, religious, quasi-Judicial powers can be associated with their development process. They have much confidence on their tradition and culture to launch any kind of planning and development project, either micro or macro or major or special. Their co-operation and acceptance is required for success of development projects. This can help to penetrate development plans in their mental state easily for contemporary changes.

**Methodology :**

Literature study, field visit, data collection, group discussion in Juang villages and analysis. Personal interaction with- Pirha Sardars, villagers, development workers, N.G.O Heads, Panchayat Members, Sarapanchs, Panchayat Executive Officers, Extension Officers.

**Study Villages :**

For the study two sample villages were selected - KHARBA a homogenous Juang village and PANASIA a multi-community village inhabited by Juang, Munda, Mahanta and Gouda (Milkman).

**Traditional System of Barabahi :**

The Juang villages are generally governed by a corporate body of family heads of the village including the secular head and the ritual head elected by them. It is called “Barabhai” or village council. The Juang family being patriarchal and patrilineal in nature, The eldest male member of each Juang household acts as the family head. He is responsible for economic, social and cultural management of both his family as well as village. “Barabhai” literally means twelve brothers; it does not mean the number twelve, but used in the sense of many, because they all belongs to a single clan. Any kind of affairs of the village is first discussed by the “Barabhai” in the Majang or Manda ghara – the village community center. The decision taken by them is carried out by villagers without any question. The matters like distribution of *podu* lands among families, marital alliances with the *bandhu* villages, inter and intra village conflicts, celebration of festivals, appointment and impeachment of village leaders are finalized by them. If any outsider may be a Juang or non-Juang requests to reside in the village permanently, his request is considered by the village council.

In case of mixed community villages where non-Juangs like Munda, Bhuyan Mahanta, Ganda, Bathudi, Milkman, Jhara etc, are residing with the Juangs in different hamlets in the same village, the role of “Barabhai” is crucial. Any kind of dispute that arises among them relating to cattle grazing, land boundary, marriage, money lending or any other issue, the non-Juang communities approach “Barabhai” to resolve the matter. In presence of both parties, the matter is discussed vividly and then finalized by “Barabhai” in the Majang and further course of action is directed which is respected by all.

### **Psychology :**

Juangs are more individualists when expressing their views. They are ready to listen everyone, but make their own choice. So whether the village is a homogenous one or of mixed community, the “Barabhai” is still considered the right forum to provide them their freedom of expression.

### **Functions and Decision making :**

In the dawn, almost all of the “Barabhai” gather, to warm themselves around the sacred fire of the Majang and discuss about matters of the village informally. In the dusk they also gather there after their work to continue the discussion while smoking their handmade cigar. Many of the current matters discussed and examples are sought for, for settling the disputed matters.

Formally, the “Barabhai” meets several times in a year in the Majang in specific occasions as well as when so required. It functions in a democratic way, where all the members are free to give their opinion at the time of discussion. Though they are not answerable to any authority but they have to follow their customary law. So their decision regarding any matter of the village is final. There are certain matters like dispute on village boundaries, divorcee and



separation, grazing which cannot be decided by one party. For this the council members of the concerned villages meet together to resolve the matter.

“Barabhai” is the traditional institution of social control that was recognized by the then kings of Keonjhar State for centuries. So the Juangs are very much accustomed in this socio-cultural practice.

#### **Changing situation at present :**

In Juang villages of Keonjhar they followed this system of authority but after independence government has replaced this with Panchayat system where the power lies with the Sarpanch and Ward Members. They are also elected by the people and ultimately they are depending on “Barabhai” for getting vote from the village.

In the models of old and new type of local authority it is important that community development workers need to avoid party politics. At the same time they should know the Juangs, their needs and attitudes and have to work with the new system. The development workers are interested to see developmental changes primarily and constantly from Juangs’ point of view. The Juangs may feel insulted or suspect if outside agencies works without understanding their way of life. Development therefore means educating and helping a community to understand the changes and act accordingly while retaining their cultural identity. In this context Juang identity and culture find expression in their institution of “Barabhai”.

In the group of “Barabhai” certain member may have more influence than others by their personal qualities and experience. Such persons have the ability to motivate others. These kind of Juangs are acting as link between development workers and villagers.

#### **Village Level Committees :**

At present the following committees are generally found in the Juang villages formed according to government guidelines and non-government organization’s procedure for village development.

1. School Management committee- by Education Department.
2. Vigilance committee- by I.C.D.S. of W & C.D.
3. Forest Right committee- by Tribal Welfare Department.
4. Village Welfare committee- by National Health Mission.
5. Vana Sangrakshyana Samiti- by Forest Department.
6. Water and Sanitation Committee- by Water Resources Department.
7. Village Development Committee- by Non-government organization.

**Study Village- KHARBA :**

Kharba is an interior village where only Juangs are living. It is situated on a hill, surrounded by jungles. It is coming under Pithagola Gram Panchayat of Harichandanpur Block. In 142 families 531 Juangs living in this village having a literacy about 42 percent only. There is a Primary School up to class-V standard established on 1976 and the Anganwadi center is functioning from 1982. The nearest Bank, Post Office, Panchayat Office, High School, is in Pithagola lying at a distance of six kilometers. Except government agencies, three N.G.O's named Foundation for Ecological security, KIRDTI and Srusti are working there for village development. Agriculture, goatery, animal husbandary, daily wage are their source of income. The names of jungles around the village are Sapatunguru, Banjhakendu, Tunguru, Dumani, Ambadar, Pudadih, Baraguda, Ramadas, Madhurapani and Karla. The *nalas* around the village are - Samakoi, Janta, Ambadar.

**Study Village- PANASIA :**

Panasia village is a large settlement coming under Harichandanpur block. Besides the Juangs the people of Munda, Mahanta and Milkman are residing in separate hamlets. 93 families of Juangs, 41 families of Mundas, 67 families of Mahantas and 41 families of Goudas (Milkmen) are found in the village. The Juangs, who are numerically dominant, are the early settlers and they have accommodated non-Juangs in course of time in this village. The school building was constructed in the beginning by the initiative of villagers. The Upper Primary School up to Class-VIII was started on 1979. There are two Anganwadi centers for preschool education of the children of the village. The average literacy of the Juangs is more than 50%. The nearest Bank, High School, College, Primary Health center, Post Office are located in Janghira, at a distance a of 10 kilometers. There are eight Jungles named Besarabadi, Nandubandh, Ghagi, Tagamara, Ketakijharan, Asadiakendu, Chhata Pathara, Badapada and six *nalas* named- Gendachua, Ketakijharan, Madhurapani, Chhatapathara, Besarabadi, Nandubandha found surrounding the village.

**Development works within five yours collected from primary sources****KHARBA**

SL. No.	Name of the Agency	Work done or in Progress	Year
1.	Foundation for Ecological Security	Water Absorption Tank	2014-15
2.	- do -	Percolation Tank-1	2015
3.	- do -	Forest Protection	2014-15
4.	- do -	Drying yard-2	2015

5.	- do -	Repair of Badakatha	2016
6.	- do -	Loose bolder Check dam-16	2016-17
7.	- do -	Community Center-1	2017
8.	- do -	Agricultural Equipment	2017
9.	- do -	Renovation of Traditional chua-3	2015-16
10.	With Sanyog	Road repairing 80 meters	2015
11.	KIRDTI	Support for natural and traditional farming	2012 to Continuing
12.	Srusti	Mango Plantation- 800 Plants	2015
13.	- do -	Bore Well-1	2016
14.	- do -	Goat shed -13	2016
15.	- do -	De-worming and vaccination of Goats	2016 to Continuing
16.	Pithagola G.P.	Concrete Road - 1 k.m.	2013-14
17.	- do -	Mandaghar area made concrete	2015
18.	- do -	Primary School building repair	2016
19.	- do -	Renovation of Tarini Thakurani Sala	2013-14
20.	- do -	Tube well- 1	2015
21.	- do -	Renovation of Chua	2013
22.	- do -	Pradhan Mantri Awaas Yojana- 9	2016
23.	- do -	Pradhan Mantri Awaas Yojana - 16	2016-17
24.	Tribal Welfare Department	Ticket on I.F.R. -100	2011

### PANASIA

Sl. No.	Name of the Agency	Work done or in Progress	Year
1	Monojmanjari Sishu Bhavan	Health and Education worker	2012 Cont...
2	Monojmanjari Sishu Bhavan	Health worker	2014 Cont...
3	Foundation for Ecological Security	Field Bonding - 10 hec.	2016-17
4	Foundation for Ecological Security	Percolation Tank	2016
5	Foundation for Ecological Security	Loose boulder check dam- 1	2017
6	- do -	Oil Expeller	2017
7	- do -	Drying yard-2	2015-16
8	- do -	Agro Equipments -25	2017
9	Foundation for Ecological Security with Horticulture Dept	Mango Plantation- 4.5 hec.	2017
10	KIRDTI	Advocacy for land restoration	2016-17

		for 40 hec.	
11	- do -	Support for Natural & Traditional farming	2014 Cont....
12	WOSCA	Tuition Teacher-1	2017
13	WOSCA	Livelihood support-5	2016-17
14	WOSCA	Distribution of Study Materials	2016-17
15	Jamjodi G.P	Pond-1	2012-13
16	- do -	Check Dam-2	2014-15
17	- do -	Road-1	2014-15
18	- do -	Concrete Road 150 meter	2016-17
19	- do -	Concrete Road 200 meter	2016
20	- do -	Indira Awaas- 14	2015-16
21	- do -	Indira Awaas- 29	2016-17
22	Jirang G.P	Check Dam-1	2015-16
23	- do -	Rain water management check dam- 1	2015-16
24	- do -	Concrete Road from main road to School	2015-16
25	Soil Conservation Department	Cashew Plantation 12 hec. 24000 Plant	2016-17
26	Sericulture Dept.	Arjun Tree Plantation 10 hec. 17000 Plants	2016-17
27	Tribal Welfare Dept.	Ticket On I.F.R.- 79 Persons	2011

### **Decision making procedure at present :**

The development workers belonging to non-government organizations and government agencies are taking the help of “Barabhai” in three stages- (i) For fixation of day, date and timing for meeting for discussion on execution of development programmes for the village. (ii) In the meetings they all stress on the opinion of village council members which is respected by all. (iii) While planning for implementation in the field they need the presence of village council members to carry out the work according to their suggestion. In both the villages “Barabhai” are working as guide to implementation of development programmes.

### **Conclusion:**

In both the villages the role of “Barabhai” is praiseworthy, which follows the values common to the village. This democratic institution is still functions with ample sagacity to meet the challenges of the changing times. They provide the scope for development agencies to avoid the faults while working through new committees in village. The members of Barabhai are also represented in various new committees and they continue to guide the process of

decision making in these bodies. The Barabhai can fulfill their collective responsibilities as a whole; in a unifying and effective manner. In this above scenario the development works can be more effectively and successfully by involving “Barabhai” in Juang villages as a statutory rule as has been done in case of the Mundari Act in Jharkhand.

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# JODIA / JHODIA PAROJA OF SOUTH ODISHA

S.C. Mohanty<sup>1</sup>

## (I)

### Introduction & Background

**Paroja/ Parja/ Parajais** a major Scheduled Tribe (ST) of Orissa. They are also found in Andhra Pradesh, undivided Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra where they have been enlisted as Scheduled Tribe in the names of Porja, Parja, Parja respectively.

According to K.S. Singh, "Variously known as Paraja, Parja, Porja or Poroja, the Paroja are distributed in the states of Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, West Bengal and Assam.... In Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra, the Paroja are notified as a scheduled tribe.... In **West Bengal**, the Paroja/Parja/Porja (ST) are also known as Porja or Poroja. They are a migrant community..... The Parja themselves claim that they have come from the Jaipur (Koraput) district of Orissa and settled down as labourers in the tea plantations of the Dooars region of North Bengal around 1949.... In **Assam** the Porja are recruited from Orissa and are settled in the tea-gardens."(1998:2781-83)

As compared to other states, the tribe has its largest concentration in Orissa which they regard as their homeland and where they number 3 17 301 persons (1 55 626 males and 1 61 675 females) accounting for 3.89 percent of the total ST population and enjoying the rank of the 10th largest ST of the state as per 2001 census.

They inhabit the hills and valleys of southern Orissa. As evident from Annexure-1 showing the Paroja Population & Distribution in Orissa as per 2011 Census, their population in the state is distributed unequally in 26 out of total 30 districts, with the largest chunk found in Koraput district followed by Nabrangpur, Malkangiri, Kalahandi and Rayagada districts in the descending order.

The Paroja are socially divided into several sections among whom JODIA /JHODIA or JODIA /JHODIA PAROJA is one. This section is largely concentrated in Kashipur block area

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of Rayagada district and scattered over the neighbouring areas of Kalahandi, Koraput, Nowrangpur and Malkangiri districts.

The members of the JODIA /JHODIA /JHODIA PAROJA identify themselves as HARJA (Parja) in their own tribal mother tongue. But, their neighbours call them JODIA /JHODIA in short because majority of them bear the surname JODIA /JHODIA which they have accepted ungrudgingly like other tribes.

Govt. of India amended the ST list of Odisha vide Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act, 2002 that was notified in 2003 through which it included various sections and synonyms of the Paroja tribe such as – Paroja, **Parja, Bodo Paroja, Barong Jhodia Paroja, Chhelia Paroja, Jhodia Paroja, Konda Paroja, Paraja, Ponga Paroja, Sodia Paroja, Sano Paroja, Solia Paroja** at Sl.55 of the list.

## (II)

### Time, Location and Coverage of the Study

The broad based empirical ethnographic study on the JODIA / JHODIA / JHODIA PAROJA community has been undertaken during March, 2010, covering 7 JHODIA / JHODIA PAROJA inhabited villages spread over 5 blocks of 4 districts of southern Orissa forming a contiguous hilly region where the bulk of the target group's population is largely concentrated and therefore can be called the homeland of the JHODIA / JHODIA PAROJA. The details are presented in the Annexure-2.

Relevant ethnographic data on the target community have been collected in the study areas applying anthropological techniques like personal interview, observation and focussed group discussion etc. using a structured interview guide and cross-checking the same to assess the reliability of data. Relevant ethnographic references have also been consulted and compared with the primary data while presenting the study findings.

## III

### Study Findings

#### (A). PAROJA

##### 1. Origin & Identity

The opinions of different ethnographers are cited below.

“The Porojas or Parjas are hill cultivators found in, the Agency tracts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam... There is no doubt, however, that by far the greater number of these Parjas are akin to the Khonds of the Ganjam Maliahs. They are thrifty, hardworking cultivators, undisturbed by the intestine broils which their cousins in the north engage in, and they bear in their breasts an inalienable reverence for their soil, the value of which they are rapidly becoming acquainted with.... Their ancient rights to these lands are

acknowledged by colonists from among the Aryans, and, when a dispute arises concerning the boundaries of a field possessed by recent arrivals, a Parja is usually called in to point out the ancient land-marks." (*Thurston, 1909:207-08*)

"A small tribe, originally an offshoot of the Gonds, who reside in the centre and east of the Bastar State and the adjoining Jaipur zamindari of Madras. They number about 13,000 persons in the Central Provinces and 92,000 in Madras, where they are also known as Poroja...perhaps, that the Parjas were the original Gond inhabitants and rulers of the country, and were supplanted by a later immigration of the same tribe, who reduced them to subjection, and became Raj Gonds....The Parjas appear to be Gonds and not Khonds." (*Russell & Hiralal, 1916: 371-73*)

"Poroja presence is essentially a matter of the central and higher level agency; the four taluks of Padova, Pottangi, Koraput and Jeypore yield nearly 80 per cent. of the total and with Naurangpur, 95 per cent....The Porojas seem to have been inhabiting Vizagapatam Agency from about the 2nd century of the Christian era, if not before. ...items of evidence go to support the theory that the real sons of the soil were the Porojas and other hill tribes." (*Census of India, 1931: 197*)

"The Porajas or Parojas are hill cultivators found in the districts of Ganjam and Koraput...The Parojas seem to have been inhabiting this country from about the second century of the Christian era." (*District Gazetteer: Koraput. 1966: 103*)

"The Porojas inhabit the district of Koraput in Orissa and the adjoining areas of the Andhra Pradesh". (*Chowdhury, 1963-64: 27*)

"Whatever may be the origin of these peoples, Gonds (according to Russell, Hiralal), or Kondhs (according to Carmichael, Bell), they are a class of aboriginal tribal people who have settled down in Koraput from a very early period and have been acculturized to a great extent by the Aryans of that region". (*Mohapatra, 1985 :299*)

"The Poraja are a hill tribe inhabiting the agency tracts of Visakhapatnam district in Andhra Pradesh and adjoining areas of Orissa State. They are chiefly agriculturists and cultivate lands on the high level hill slopes...Porajas seem to be akin to the Khonds of the Ganjam...A majority of Poraja people live in Orissa of chiefly concentrated in Koraput district. In Visakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh, some Poraja are found. Majority of them have migrated from Orissa State about 200 years to Andhra Pradesh in search of cultivable land." (*Encyclopaedic Profile of Indian Tribes, Vol,III, 1996: 832*)

"The Paroja are one of the well-known major tribes of Orissa. Their main concentration is in the districts of Koraput and Kalahandi..." (*Mohanty, 2004: 249*)

## **2. Nomenclature, & Etymological Meaning**

The term Parja is, as Mr. Carmichael has pointed out, merely a corruption of a Sanskrit term signifying a subject, and it is understood as such by the people themselves, who use it in contradistinction to a free hill-man. 'Formerly, 'says a tradition that runs through the whole tribe, 'Rajas and Parjas were brothers, but the Rajas took to riding horses (or, as the Barenja Parjas put it, sitting still) and we became carriers of burdens and Parjas.' It is quite certain, in fact, that the term Parja is not a tribal denomination, but a class denomination, and it may be fitly rendered by the familiar epithet of ryot (cultivator).



“The name Poroja seems to be derived from the Oriya, Po, son, and Raja, i.e., sons of Rajas. There is a tradition that, at the time when the Rajas of Jeypore rose into prominence at Nandapur, the country was occupied by a number of tribes, who, in return for the protection promised to them, surrendered their rights to the soil, which they had hitherto occupied absolutely. I am informed that the Porojas, when asked what their caste is, use ryot and Poroja as synonymous, saying we are Porojas, we are ryot people.” (Thurston, 1909:207-09)

“The name Parja appears to be derived from the Sanskrit Parja, a subject. (Russell & Hiralal, 1916: 371)

“The term ' Poroja ' in its Agency origin connotes the idea 'subject ' or 'subjected ' as opposed to rule and epitomizes the history of Vizagapatam Agency and its people.(A Sanskrit literature) ...says that a prince of the Gangs family of Orissa came southwards and established a throne at Gudari near Gunupur. This prince is said to have had an army of hill tribes...The rulers were immigrants who brought along with them some Oriyas and gave them holdings of land, free of rent in some cases but mostly on feudal tenure. The Oriyas having become the lords of the land, the sons of the soil had to seek service under them, became 'prajas' or ryots. The Poroja was practically reduced to slavery. He lost his independence but the usurping ruler maintained the conditions of his original contact with the original inhabitants to observe the religious rites and festivities of the sons of the soil.” (Census of India, 1931: 197 )

“Their name is said to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word 'Paroja' which means people' (also subject or simply rayats)”. (Chowdhury, 1963-64: 27)

“The term Paroja or Poroja, as Thurston suggested, has been derived from the Oriya words po, meaning son, and raja, meaning king. They are the sons of the raja. There is another view, according to which the root word is the Sanskrit paroja or sons of the soil.” (Singh, K.S. 1994: 996-97)

“The terms Poraja, Paroja, Poroja, Parja and Paraja are synonymous.” (Encyclopaedic Profile of Indian Tribes, Vol,III, 1996: 832)

“The term 'Paroja' is a local Oriya term sometimes pronounced as Paraja, Parja or Poroja. It appears to be derived from the Sanskrit word Praja, which literally means the common people, i.e. subjects or citizens as distinct from the former ruling chiefs called the Raja or the Zamindar in pre-independence times. One of the legendary traditions of the tribe also states that formerly the Rajas and the Prajas lived like brothers. Later the former took to luxury and comfortable living like riding horses, while the latter accepted the hardship of carrying burdens. The term 'Paraja' also has another meaning in Oriya language, namely the tenant (peasant) or Royat.” (Mohanty, 2004: 249)

### 3. Social Divisions

Concerning them, it is noted, in the Madras Census Report, 1871, that "there are held to be seven classes of these Parjas, which differ from each other in points of language, customs, and traditions”.

“The Porojas are not a compact caste, but rather a conglomerate, made up of several endogamous sections, and speaking a language, which varies according to locality. These sections, according to Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, ...are”

(1) Barang Jhodia, who eat beef and speak Oriya!

(2) Pengu Poroja, subdivided into those who eat the flesh of the buffalo, and those who do not. They speak a language, which is said to bear a close resemblance to Kondhs.

- (3) Khondi or Kondi Poroja, who are a section of the Kondhs, eat beef and the flesh of buffaloes, and speak Kodu or Kondh.
- (4) Parengi Poroja, who are a section of the Gadabas. They are subdivided into those who eat and do not eat the flesh of buffaloes, and speak a Gadaba dialect
- (5) Bonda, Bunda, or Nanga Poroja, who are likewise a section of the Gadabas, call themselves Bonda and speak a dialect of Gadaba.
- (6) Tagara Poroja, who are a section of the Koyas or Koyis, and speak Koya, or, in some places, Telugu.
- (7) Dur Poroja, also, it is said, known as Didayi Poroja, who speak Oriya. (*Thurston, 1909:207-10*)

JHODIA is "A sub-division of Poroja". (*Thurston 1909: 492*)

"The Porojas are divided into twelve tribes and each tribe is called after the region in which that tribe lives. But generally they are divided into the Bodo Poroja or Sodja, the Sano Poroja, the Jodia Poroja and Perang Poroja". (*Census of India, 1931: 197*)

"The Poroja tribe is sub-divided into several sections. It seems improbable, ... to find out a complete list of these sections due to variations in names in different areas. In the adjoining areas of the Koraput town the Porojas of the following sections are found."

Sodia Poroja or Bada Poroja

Bareng Jodia Poroja

Bada Jodia Poroja or Penga Poroja

Konda Poroja or Selia (Chhelia) Poroja. (*Chowdhury, 1963-64: 27-28*)

"The term Paraja is so broad a term that it includes, in a very loose sense of the term, a number of other communities. At times the Bondas and Gadabas also refer themselves to be Bonda Parojas and Gadaba Parojas, respectively. Hence, it is very difficult to give a complete list of the various sections of the Parajas. Their main sections, however, are

Sodia or Bad Parja

Bareng Jodia Paraja

Penga Paraja

Konda Paraja or Selia Paraja" (*Rout, 1963-64: 141*)

"They are divided into four sections—(1) Jhariya or Bad Paraja, (2) Bareng Jhariya Paraja, (3) Pengu Paraja, (4) Celiya or Konda Paraja". (*Mohapatra, 1985 :299*)

"The Parojas however, reported only six sub-groups namely (1) *Parangi Poraja*, (2) *Jodia Poraja* or *Barengi Jodiya* (3) *Konda Poraja* or *Barangi Poraja*, (4) *Gadaba Poraja*, (5) *Didayi Poraja* and (6) *Pengu Poraja*, However, several synonyms exist for the same group at different locations." (*Encyclopaedic Profile of Indian Tribes, Vol,III, 1996: 832*)

"The Paroja are not a compact community, but a conglomeration of several endogamous divisions. They are divided into several divisions, such as Sodia Paroja or Bada Paroja, Bareng Paroja or Jodia Paroja, Bada Jodia Paroja or Penga Paroja, Konda Paroja or Sella Paroja or Chhelia Paroja." (*Singh, K.S. 1994: 997*)

It is abundantly evident from the above cited published ethnographic literatures that PAROJA/POROJA/PORJA/PORAJA /PARAJA/PARJA are a major tribe of Southern Orissa mainly concentrated in a compact mountainous territory of the undivided district of Koraput (now divided into 4 districts viz, Rayagada, Koraput, Nowrangpur and Malkangiri) and the adjoining areas of Kalahandi district (coming under the Scheduled Areas of Orissa) which they regard as their homeland and this large tribe is divided into several sections among which JODIA / JHODIA / or JODIA PAROJA /JHODIA PAROJA / is one.

## **(B). JODIA / JHODIA / or JODIA PAROJA /JHODIA PAROJA**

### **1. Origin, Migration and Distribution**

During observance of rituals their traditional community priest- Jani recites incantations to invoke the spirits of their ancestors. In his verses he mentions the names of places in which their ancestors lived in the past such as “Bastar (Chatisgarh), Junagarh (Kalahandi), Mahadalpur (Nabrangpur), Kotapali (Kotapad)” and the rulers and their kingdoms such as Kashipur Thata Raja (ruler of Kashipur zamidary), Jaipur Patta Raja (Raja of Jeypur ex-state) under whom or which they lived as subjects (Parjas). He also utters the name of the female deity of Dantewada of Bastar who is known for her protruding teeth (Danteswari). It indicates Bastar in neighbouring Chhatisgarh state as their place of origin from where they have moved to adjacent Koraput and Kalahandi districts of Orissa.

“In Bastar... the Parjas were formerly dominant in this tract. They themselves have a story, somewhat resembling the one quoted above from Madras, to the effect that their ancestor was the elder brother of the first Raja of Bastar when he lived in Madras, to the south of Warangal. From there he had to flee on account of an invasion of the Muhammadans, and was accompanied by the goddess Danteshwari, the tutelary deity of the Rajas of Bastar. In accordance with the command of the goddess the younger brother was considered as the Raja and rode on a horse, while the elder went before him carrying their baggage. At Bhadrachallam they met the Bhatras, and further on the Halbas. The goddess followed them, guiding their steps, but she strictly enjoined on the Raja not to look behind him so as to see her. But when they came to the sands of the rivers Sankani and Dankani, the tinkle of the anklets of the goddess could not be heard for the sand. The Raja therefore looked behind him to see if she was following, on which she said that she could go no more with him, but he was to march as far as he could and then settle down. The two brothers settled in Bastar, where the descendants of the younger became the ruling clan, and those of the elder were their servants, the Parjas. The story indicates, perhaps, that the Parjas were the original Gond inhabitants and rulers of the country, and were supplanted by a later immigration of the same tribe, who reduced them to subjection, and became Raj - Gonds. Possibly the first transfer of power was effected by the marriage of an immigrant into a Parja Raja's family, as so often happened with these old dynasties. The Parjas still talk about the Rani of Bastar as their Bohu or 'younger brother's wife,' and the custom is probably based on some such legend. The Madras account of them as the arbiters of boundary disputes points to the same conclusion, as this function is invariably assigned to the oldest residents in any locality....the Parjas, in Bastar at any rate, must be held to be a branch of the Gonds, they may have a

considerable admixture of the Khonds, or other tribes in different localities, as the rules of marriage are very loose in this part of the country” (*Russell, R.V. & Hirallal, 1914:372-73*)

“The tribe is originally an offshoot of the Gond tribes. One of their main tradition states their original home to be in Bastar and their migration to present Koraput and the adjoining areas of the Andhra Pradesh (which were previously included in the Madras Presidency)” (*Chowdhury, 1963-64: 27*)

“They are originally an offshoot of the Gond who reside in the centre and east of the Bastar state and in the adjoining Jaipur Zamindari of Madras Presidency.” (*Singh, K.S. 1998: 2782*)

“The Jhariya Parajas occupy the highest position in the caste hierarchy. They do not eat beef and honour the cows like the Hindus. As tradition goes, these Parajas had their original home-land in Baster region and for that they till now worship Danteswari, the tutelary Goddess of Bastar. The affinity of their language with the Halbi dialect of Bastar region gives evidence to this tradition.” (*Mohapatra, 1985: 299*)

By their origin and history, they are a part of the great Paroja tribe as they remember and invoke their Paroja ancestors who have migrated in the distant past from Bastar region of the Middle India and the primary and secondary data in this regard points to their affinity of the great Paroja tribe of which they are a part.

## **2. Population, Distribution and Literacy**

As sated above, population and literacy data of the 07 study villages of JHODIA / JHODIA PAROJA spread over 5 blocks of 04 districts have been given in **Annexure-2.**

- (i) It shows that total JHODIA population of the study villages is 2315 (1159 males and 1156 females) indicating a near equal sex ratio of 996 females per 1000 males.
- (ii) These people compose 557 households accounting for average household size of 4.16
- (iii) Their level of literacy is 11.06 percent which is less than those of the Paroja (17.96%) and total ST population (37.37%) as per 2001 Census
- (iv) The level of their female literacy is low i.e. 8.47 per cent as compared to that of males which is 13.63 percent in the study villages.
- (v) Their average annual household income is calculated at Rs 6054/- with the highest at Rs 35 000/- and the lowest at Rs 3000/- which shows that majority of them are Below Poverty Line.
- (vi) Among them 116 (20.83%) households are landless and the rest 441 (79.17%) are land owning households with the highest one possessing 12 Acs and the lowest one, 0.15 Acs. Among the land owning households 161 (36.50%) are marginal farmers, 156 (35.37%), small farmers, 108 (24.49%), medium farmers and 16 (3.64%), big farmers.

The above data of the empirical study is indicative of the fact that like many other tribes of southern Orissa, the JHODIA are educationally and economically backward.

As regards distribution of JODIA / JHODIA / JHODIA PAROJA population no authentic data is available. The general information gathered from the field shows that they are widely distributed in the areas of undivided Koraput district (now divided into 4 districts viz, Rayagada, Koraput, Nowrangpur and Malkangiri) and the adjoining areas of Kalahandi district (coming under the Scheduled Areas of Orissa) which they regard as their homeland.

Larger concentration of JODIA/JHODIA or JHODIA PAROJA is found in Kashipur area of Rayagada district.

### **3. Surnames / Titles**

JODIA / JHODIA use Poraja, Jodia, Jhodia, Jani, Muduli, Naik, Gauntia, Disari, Pujari etc. as their surnames. Among these Jani, Muduli, Naik, Gauntia, Disari, and Pujari are titles indicative of social positions of village chief, village priest, village astrologer and medicine man, as the case may be, in the past and present

### **4. Language**

Jhodia / Jhodia Paroja have a traditional language of their own called Parji that belongs to Dravidian family of languages and it is also the language of the Paroja tribe. In course of time like other sections of the Paroja tribe, they have picked up a dialect called Jodia / Jhodia / Jadia / Jhodia after the name of the community. The tribesmen call this dialect Tali / Oli in their own tongue. This dialect is a local variant of Desia language - the lingua franca of undivided Koraput district and Desia is a regional variant of Oriya language- the lingua franca of Orissa state. Now there are few Parji speakers mostly belonging to older generation. However, traces of this old language can be found in their present dialect. They are trilingual since they use their own tongue Jodia / Tali / Oli for intra-group communication, use the common regional language and state language -Desia and Oriya for for inter-group communication. They use Oriya script for writting.

The Parji language is stated by Mr. G. A. Grierson to have "hitherto been considered as identical with Bhatri. Bhatri has now become a form of Oriya. Parji, on the other hand, is still a dialect of Gondi." (*Thurston, 1909: 209*)

"Their sept names are Gondi words, and their language is a form of Gondi, called after them Parji. Parji has hitherto been considered a form of Bhatri, but Sir G. Grierson has now classifed the latter as a dialect of the Uriya (Oriya) language, while Parji remains 'A local and very corrupt variation of Gondi, considerably mixed with Hindi forms.'" (*Russell, R.V. & Hiralal, 1914:373*)

"Relics of their forgotten language can be picked up from the homely talk or the songs of the peoples Puttra (a stream), Kanda (a child), Sala' (region) as in Ku-sale, the place around the well, are some of such words "Pa" is pronounced as "ha." There is a marked peculiarity in their intonation in pronouncing Oriya." (*Census of India, 1931:198*)

“Linguistically they are included in the Dravidian group, their original language being 'Parji'. Now most of them including woman speak Oriya, although the traces of their original tongue can be picked up from their talk and song”. (*Chowdhury, 1963-64: 27*)

“The Parji language which literally means the language of the Parajas is the mother-tongue of only a particular section of the Parajas who are found in Koraput district of Orissa and in some parts of Madhya Pradesh and it belongs to the Dravidian family of languages... (The Jhariya or Bad Paraja and Bareng Jhariya Paraja) are more akin to each other as they both speak an Oriya dialect called Jhariya....The Jhariya Parajas occupy the highest position in the caste hierarchy. They do not eat beef and honour the cows like the Hindus. As tradition goes, these Parajas had their original home-land in Baster region and for that they till now worship Danteswari, the tutelary Goddess of Bastar. The affinity of their language with the Halbi dialect of Bastar region gives evidence to this tradition”. (*Mohapatra, 1985: 299*)

“Parji, a Dravidian language, is their mother tongue. Oriya and Telugu are used for inter-group communication and either the Oriya or the Telugu script is used by them depending upon the area they inhabit. According to the 1961 census, the Parji language was spoken by 84,607 persons, of whom only 19,695 persons (23.28 per cent) were bilingual. Among the bilinguals, Oriya as a second language was spoken by 13,762 persons (69.88 per cent), the Kuvi language was spoken by 3214 persons (16.32 per cent), Telugu was spoken by 2441 persons (12.39 per cent) and only 278 persons spoke other languages. But in the 1981 census, only 33,091 persons are returned as Parji speakers, which show a significant decrease in the number of Parji speakers.” (*Singh, 1994: 996*)

## 5. Personal Appearance

Traditionally Jhodia / Jhodia Paroja men wear Langoti / Kachha (loin cloth) leaving the entire body completely naked, but young males are wearing shirt, banyan, lungi or dhoti.

Women wear short white or coloured sarees in a special style which in their opinion suitable for working and dancing. It covers upto their knees and tied in a knot on the left shoulder. They are fond of adorning themselves with ornaments such as Kanjika, Sikidiguba, Suju on head, Phasi, Jiliguto on earlobes, Dandi and Mundra on nostrils and on septum, Kagada, Khadimadi and Adalimadi on neck, Bajubomdha on arm, Sadaibada, Bada and glass bangles around wrist, Kumudaati, Takahajer, Hitud Hajer on finger and Godabada, Painjali and Jetra etc. on their anklets. They also wear metallic rings in their earlobes. Wearing of nose and ear rings is customary for married Jhodia women. Coloured bead necklaces around their necks add to their beauty. They fashion their hair in an exclusive style keeping their bon towards right hand of backside. They beautify themselves by tattooing their arm, chest, forehead, leg, chick etc. with varieties of designs like, Kumbana, Sikidibana, Udulibana, Hulbana, Danbana, and Topa etc. It is done by skilled women of Kela community to whom they pay in kinds of food stuffs like rice, vegetables or ragi powder.

As described in *Census of India, (1931:197-98)* “A (**Poroja**) man wears two cloths one round the loins and the other for the head. He trims his hair into any form he likes but does not adopt any one form always. A young man wears one or two metallic rings on his left wrist and some garlands of coloured beads round his neck. But it is the woman that presents the dress and ornaments typical to the tribe.

The **Bodo Poroja** woman combs her hair with parting in the middle on the top of the head. All the hair is collected behind and is put into a knot. ...Garlands of beads of various colours embrace the neck from the nape to the clavicles and thence hang down to the pit of the stomach. Over these are worn one or two round metallic rings. The lobes of the ears are bored and in each is worn a coil of metallic serpents. The outer-wall of the ear also is bored in several places and a thin small ring is passed through each hole. To one or two of the topmost rings of the left ears pendants of small chains are worn. On the left lower arm the women of this class wear brassrings which extend from the wrist to the elbow; but on the right lower arm few or none. Each finger is provided with a ring topped with a coin or a round flat piece of metal. On the ankles are worn "U" shaped hollow anklets in which jingle small round pieces of stone or metal. Each toe is also adorned with a ring shaped in such a form as to suit the particular toe for which it is intended.

Any cloth of any colour is worn but the white cloth provided with red hems is the one peculiar to all classes of Porojas. It is folded lengthwise so that the two hems may form one broad band. The lower end does not descend below the middle of the thighs; the apron part of the cloth goes from below the right arm across the trunk to over the left shoulder where the one in front and the one from the back are united in a knot. The rest of the cloth is wound in several coils round the waist, always taking care to have the red hems come one above the other.

**Sano Poroja**- the women of this class wear ornaments and dress similar to those of the first class (Bodo Poroja), but with some peculiarities in dressing the hair and in certain ornaments. These women comb the hair with a parting in the middle and collect all the hair behind and thrust it into a loose knot from below; this knot hangs down below the nape of the neck. One or two hairpins with broad outer ends are put into the knot to keep it intact. Some women wear a ribbon like garland of fine beads round the head. Round the neck the ornaments are similar to those of the first class. The rings adorning the left lower arm are of white metal. ...On the toes, the women of this class wear clusters of small metallic bells which make a rhythmic jingle when they walk...The cloth is worn so as to hang down to the knees. In other respects it is worn as by the women of the first class.

**Jodia Poroja**.—This class of men and women also ...dress like the Sano Porojas. The distinction between the two is not marked. ...a man ties his turban with crossing belts in front and a big lump behind. The woman of this class in addition to the metallic wrist rings on the left lower arm, wears on each upper arm a bracelet about three inches in breadth.”

“The dress and adornments of the Paraja and the ornaments used by their women are of special types....The manner in which the Paraja women wear their clothes and ornaments is unique. Ten to twelve brass rings dangle from each ear. Similar rings also adorn the nose. If any Paraja woman does not wear such rings she faces serious criticism by the society and is subjected to severe humiliation at her mother's-in-law place. ...A Paraja woman exhibits a great skill in getting herself dressed and adorned. She forms the locks of the hair of her head into the shape of flat bun and uses a number of hairpins on either side of the bun in order to keep it in position. This adds to the beauty of the manner of her hair-dressing. Besides, she uses silver rings, one round each finger of her hands. The old one-rupee or half-a-rupee silver coin is studded on each ring and all these rings, when worn round the fingers, make her look more handsome. She also likes to wear two or three chains of necklace made of coloured beads. She puts on plastic bangles of various colours in her wrist. .. The Paraja woman adopts a special manner of wearing cloth. She uses three-fourths of her cloth to cover the portion from the waist to the knees and rolls the

remaining one-fourth of the cloth round her breast and back and ties the end of the cloth by means of a knot which rests on the upper side of her left shoulder. The Paraja women are very fond of dancing and the manner in which they wear their clothes is adopted to it. It is their opinion that any alteration in their usual manner of wearing cloths creates obstacles in dancing. The traditional way of wearing clothes is also very suitable for field work.” (*Ulaka*, 1976:21-22)

“Males wear a small cloth similar to underwear (*gochi*) and leave the body naked when they are in the house or at the field, while females wear a saree wrapped around the body above the breast level. However, men wear shirt and lungi when they go out,... females wear the saree in a special manner in which they tie the ends of the saree on the left shoulder, covering breast from right to left leaving the right shoulder naked. They dress themselves in traditional fashion while participating in folk dance and reciting folk songs to the tune of music along with the sound of drums. Few young women wear blouses and put on vermilion on the forehead between the eyebrows due to acculturation. Women pack the hair and confine them in a fillet on the back of the head. Women wear silver and copper ornaments along with artificial makes. Occasionally, necklaces are embeded with copper or nickel coins.... Also both men and women wear finger rings whose tops are embeded with nickel or copper coins with a small metal lining to fit on the fingers. Females put on rings on both sides of nostrils and also septum, forming triple rings on the nose and single or more rings on earlobe (*mundi*) and helix. Females wear necklet and anklet while only married women wear toe rings.” (*Encyclopaedic Profile of Indian Tribes*, 1996, 832)

“The men usually wear loin cloths and napkins, and women wear coarse and cheap saris. Children of up to three to four years of age go naked. After that, they wear a small piece of cloth, torn off from old, discarded clothing of the adults of the family, which barely covers their genitals.... These clothes are not washed regularly except for certain important social occasions.... Nowadays, due to external contact, modern dresses like shirts, banyans, blouses, coloured saris, ribbons, etc. are becoming popular. These dresses are preferably worn during festive days or while visiting friends and relatives. Common ornaments worn by Paroja women are bangles, armlets, bracelets, necklaces, rings, hair pins, etc., usually made of silver, aluminium, brass and sometimes gold. A number of brass earrings dangle from each ear and the nose. A married woman must wear these rings lest she be subjected to severe social criticism and ridicule. Silver rings called *shamka*, often studded with coins, are also worn around the fingers. On the toes they wear silver rings known as *bakuli* and *gungur*. Wearing glass or plastic bangles on the wrists is very common. Metal chains and bead necklaces adorn the neck and chest. The *khagla*, a kind of heavy and broad silver ring is used as a necklace, while a thinner type called *khadu* adorn the forearm and upper arm. Wearing *khagla* and *khadu* is compulsory for married women. Tattooing is prevalent among Paroja women. Girls above five years of age have tattoo marks on their faces and hands.” (*Mohanty*, 2004: 250)

## 6. Settlement Pattern and Housing

Jhodia / Jhodia Paraja settlements are exclusively situated at the foothills and near to perennial hill streams flowing down from hillslopes. Most of their settlements are homogenous and unclan in structure. In the heterogeneous villages, they usually live in separate wards maintaining distance with other ethnic groups. Houses are arranged in parallel linear pattern and are made of mud or red brick wall, clay floor, grass (*piri*) or country made tile (*khapar*) thatched gabled roofing. In the middle of the street there is the seat of the village deity- Hundi installed on a stone platform encircled by menhirs called



Nisanimunda. Another land mark of their village is Berna Munda –the seat traditional village council. It is a constellation of some circular stone slabs lying in front of the of village headman’s house.

Houses are two roomed having no windows for ventilation. The bigger room is used as living room cum store to stock their grains and the smaller room is used as kitchen. There is a verandah in front whose level is higher than the floor of the house. They construct another shed outside their house to accommodate their livestock. Their females decorate their walls applying red and white coloured clay paste. Often the floors, verandahs and walls are painted back with black earth.

“Every village is enclosed with a living fence in which a gap is left to serve as an entrance. Houses are built in two or more rows leaving a broad space between. Each house is divided into a store room, a kitchen and the sleeping apartment; a cow shed and a drinking space also forma part of some houses. All these are built separately and are enclosed by a wail or fence. In one place of the wall is left a gateway....Two houses are built separately, one for the grown up maidens of the village to sleep in and the other for the unmarried young men...In the middle of the village is planted a banyan (*Ficus indica*), or *ficus-religiosa* or a mango tree. Round the foot of the trunk, a platforlh surmounted with stone slabs is raised. This serves as a seat for the headman when he sits in court to hear and decide the village disputes”. (*Census of India, 1931:198*)

“The Paraja houses are of one type for all, irrespective of economic or social differences among them. The houses of different families are built in isolation from one another, and there is only one entrance to each dwelling-house. No exit is provided at the back of the house. Thus the front door of the house serves both as entrance and exit. The hearth, granary, abode of the family deity, and place for sleeping are all inside the house. All the members of a family irrespective of age sleep on floor inside the house.

There are mainly two important places in each Paraja village. One is known as Berana Munda and the other Nisani Munda. A constellation of some circular stone slabs lying at the centre of the village is called Berana Munda. The Paraja denote this place as Mandu Dand which lies in front of the house of village headman. The people of the village gather at Berana Munda or village assembly and discuss matters relating to the village and the festivals observed in the village. The village sanctuary in which the deity called Hundidebata is installed is called Nisani Munda. It is made of stone slabs and encircled by Menhirs which are fixed erect on the ground round the shrine...In each Paraja village there is a dormitory for unmarried youths (Dhangada Basaghar) and a dormitory for maidens (Dhongadi Basaghar). The boys and girls spend the night in their respective dormitories and dance together at the village assembly (Berana Munda).” (*Ulaka, 1976:21-22*)

“The Paroja inhabit large or small settlements, either exclusively or with other communities like the Domb, Rana, Kondh, Sundhi and Gauda, etc. In large villages either they live in separate wards inside the village or in a separate hamlet a little away from the main village. The villages or hamlets are usually found near the forest or in the foothills adjacent to a permanent water source like a perennial stream or river and are linked by footpaths from various directions....In some villages houses are scattered here and there, while in other villages individual houses run in two parallel rows facing each other along a common street. In the open spaces between houses, sheds are built to accommodate domestic animals like cattle, sheep, pigs and fowls. Individual households have small kitchen gardens in front of the house. In the village there

are two important places called Berna Munda and Nissan Munda. Berna Munda is a centrally located place inside the village comprising a constellation of circular stone slabs where the village headman, leaders and elders gather and sit down to discuss and decide village affairs. Sometimes, this place is in front of the headman's house and otherwise called Munda Dand. The Nissan Munda is another place where a circular stone slab is kept encircled by menhirs standing erect. This is the seat of the village deity called Hundi...

The pattern of individual housing is more or less the same, irrespective of the difference in the social or economic status of the household. The Paroja use indigenous raw materials like soil, mud, cow-dung (*lappi*), bamboo, wood, straw (*piri*) and country-made tiles (*jhikar*) for house construction.... The walls, verandah and floors are regularly maintained by plastering with cowdung and decorating with coloured soils. The Paroja are fond of using red or white coloured soil mixed with cowdung or ashes to colour the house. The roof is maintained by thatching the house once a year, preferably after the harvest when paddy straw are available. In order to protect the low thatched roofs from the cattle, wattle fencings are made around the house.

The typical feature of Paroja housing is that, like those of agricultural tribes like the Kondh, Bathudi, Gond and Santal, Paroja houses, besides having a kitchen garden, have a verandah raised higher than floor level and a spacious courtyard on either side of the house. The verandah is used as a place for sitting, gossiping and sleeping. The doors are smaller in dimension but coloured and decorated with carvings. Inside the house, partitions are made for the hearth and the kitchen, store and sleeping spaces. A space lying preferably at the eastern corner of the house and strictly prohibited for outsiders is earmarked as the sacred seat of family deities and ancestral spirits. Livestock is accommodated in a separate shed beside the house and poultry is kept inside a small cabin either inside the house or on the verandah.

Although the houses are similar in type, the size of the house and number of rooms vary according to the need and economic status of the individual household. Nowadays, well-to-do families are constructing big, strong, spacious houses having more than two rooms. Some progressive people construct brick walls and semi-permanent roofs using country-made tiles and providing multiple doors instead of one common door. Affluent landowners among the Jodia and Penga Paroja living in Kalahandi District have large double-storied houses locally known as Dhaba Ghar. The Dhaba Ghar usually have country-made tile roofing. The upper storey is smaller in height and used for storing grains, implements and other household assets." (*Mohanty, 2004: 250-51*)

## 7. Social Groupings: Clans & Septs

Jhodia are a section of a large community Paroja. They are divided into a number of totemistic exogamous clans such as; *angaria*, *atimundia*, *bageria* (tiger), *baria* (wild boar), *bedia*, *chahaderia*, *chahia* (Champak tree), *chalia*, *chemia*, *chikamia*, *chhembia*, *chindria*, *dabia* (Piri grass), *dindia* (egg of a bird) *hachodia*, *hadria*, *halkeria*, *handia*, *haranginia*, *jiria*, *kadengia*, *kanwakharia*, *kutesia*, *narkia*, *gadadia* (banana tree), *ganuria*, *girilia* (a tree called Girli), *hukesia*, *jamudia* (Jamun tree), *kaledia*, *kaleria*, *kaletia* (a snake called Kaletia), *kartaria*, *katedia*, *katia*, *kharlia*, *kochia* (eel fish), *kodikharia*, *kodinga*, *kodiparia* (name of a hill), *kucheria*, *kuhuria*, *kundaria*, *lauria*, *lulia*, *maribtia*, *marlia*, *murkharia*, *nangeria*, *nerkeria*, *ornagaria*, *rengia*, *sanderia*, *sodia*, *tarighatia*, *titosia*, *tuadia*, *tualaria*, *tumudia*, etc.

These septs are named after the names of the villages, mountains, plants and animals. They rever their totemic objects and observe taboos against haring them.

Generally, the JHODIA villages are uniclan in nature and therefore exogamous. For the clan members of one village the other clan members of other villages stand in a dichotomous relationship of either a brother or a friend/relative. Marital alliances with the brother clan villages (Bhaigan) are not permissible. Marital alliances with the relative's clan villages (Bandhugan) are permissible.

Among the Barang Jhodies, the *gidda* (vulture), *bagh* (tiger), and *nag* (cobra) are regarded as totems. (*Thurston, 1909: 210*)

The (Paroja) tribe have exogamous totemistic septs, as Bagh a tiger, Kachhim a tortoise, Bokda a goat, Netam a dog, Gohi a big lizard, Pandki a dove and so on. (*Russell, R.V. & Hiralal, 1914:373*)

Amongst the Porojas, there are many Gotras or totems. Bag (tiger); Nag (serpent); Phulu (flower) Goru (cow); Matshu (fish). The Poroja does not kill or eat the thing that is the emblem of his totem. (*Census of India, 1931:198*)

Among them (Paroja) there are several clans such as Khil (Tiger), Hantal (Snake), etc., and marriage within the same clan is strictly prohibited. All the members of a clan believe in the descent from a common ancestor and hence are brothers and sisters. (*Chowdhury, 1963-64: 28*)

The Poraja claim that they are descendents of Surya (Sun). Each endogamous sub tribe has several clans and totemic symbols derived after Chandra (moon) Gradda (vulture), Matsya (fish), Puli (tiger), Yelugu (bear), Peyya (cow), Naga (snake), etc. They respect their clan deities. (*Encyclopaedic Profile of Indian Tribes, 1996, 833*)

The Paroja have exogamous totemic clans such as Bagh (tiger), Kachhim (tortoise), Bokda (goat), Netam (dog), Gohi (lizard), Pandki (dove), Bedia, Moria, Sodria, Halkaria, Chemia and so on. They highly respect their respective totemic species and observe taboos against killing or harming them. (*Mohanty, 2004: 254*)

“They (Paroja) have a number of totemic clans including Bagh (tiger), Nag (cobra), Mandl (cow), Kachhim (tortoise), Bokda (goat), Nagam (dog), Godhi (Bengal monitor), Pondi (dove)”. (*Singh, 1994: 997*)

**JHODIA/JHODIAPAROJA-** “They have several lineages (ban), like Kodiparia, Dimundia, Choleric and so on.” (*Singh, 1998:1390*)

Existence of exogamous totemistic clans named after villages, mountains, plants and animals is essentially a tribal characteristic common to the majority of tribal communities residing in different parts of India and possession this ethnological trait establishes the fact that JODIA / JHODIA is a tribe. In this respect it has similiarity with the great Paroja tribe

## 8. Life Cycle

### a) Pregnancy & Child Birth

During the ninth month of pregnancy they observe the **pre-delivery ritual gotuja / artiuja** conducted by their traditional female shaman- Bejuni or Gurmai to appease the

benevolent and malevolent spirits and ancestral spirits to avoid ill omens and mishap for the pregnant mother and the baby in her womb by sacrificing a pigeon, fowl or a pig and offering *arua* rice, turmeric water, *jhuna* (resin) and *sindur* (vermillion).

They engage an experienced old woman of their own community as midwife (*dadu budi*) to help delivery of the child. The umbilical chord of the infant is cut using a knife (*kura*) placing it over a broken earthen pot (*khapar*) and buried in a pit (*kacharakak*) in the backyard of the house. The midwife for her services is remunerated in kinds of a new sari, some food stuffs like rice, ragi, turmeric, oil and vegetables.

**Birth pollution** is observed till the rest of the umbilical chord attached to navel portion is dried up and perished. On that day, the family observes the name giving ceremony (*dumba ladatar*) for the newborn and hosts a feast for the lineage members. They generally choose the names of their ancestors using rice divination method conducted by their traditional astrologer - the Disari and the female shaman- the Gurumai.

They observe *duadiharba* ritual for **first cereal feeding**, after one month of the baby's birth. On this day the newborn is given a ceremonial bath and they prepare a paste using *arua* rice, *jhudung* (a pulse), *saru* (a root) *ranikanda* (a root) *kating* (a pulse) and *kumuda* (pumpkin) etc. and offer it first to a cow. They put a little of the paste into the mouth of the newborn. On that day, they also observe the **tonsure** and **ear piercing ceremony** of the newborn baby in which the maternal uncle conducts the rites. For all these observances, their Disari and Gurumai and the maternal uncle of the newborn baby play a major role.

“A pregnant woman is subjected to many taboos and restrictions in respect of her diet and daily activities for her well-being and safe delivery....At childbirth the woman is confined to a room and no male members are allowed inside. Only elderly and experienced woman and the traditional midwife attend the expectant mother. Gurumain, the female priest (shaman), is summoned to conduct rituals for smooth delivery. In spite of all these measures, if the delivery becomes painful and if any complications arise the traditional witch doctor-cum-medicine man (Gunia) is sought to diagnose the cause, and he prescribes appropriate herbal remedies. After the delivery of the child, the umbilical cord is cut by the midwife, and the child is given a bath near a pit dug in the courtyard of the house for this purpose. The mother and child remain polluted and secluded inside the house until the naval cord dries up. On this day, the midwife throws the dried-up naval cord into the pit. The pit is then filled up with earth after lighting a lamp and incense sticks near it to ward off evil spirits. Then the mother and the child take a bath and change clothes. Family deities are worshipped for the well-being of the family and newborn. The family's earthenware cooking pots, and the clothes and beddings from the delivery room, are thrown away and replaced with new ones. A ritual is conducted to purify family members from birth pollution. The midwife is remunerated in the form of a new sari, some rice, *ragi*, turmeric, oil and vegetables. Then the mother resumes her normal activities.

The rituals and ceremonies connected with the name-giving and first hair-cutting of the child is held on auspicious dates fixed by the traditional astrologer (Disari) within a year. In these ceremonies, the maternal uncle and grand parents play a vital role.” (*Mohanty, 2004: 252*)

“The Paraja take the help of an elderly woman at the time of child birth. Guru Main of the village is also asked to remain present at the time of delivery. The work of Gurumain is to light the lamp and burn incense and utter incantations. In spite of these measures if the delivery becomes painful and if any complications arise, then the sorcerer is sought and the necessary herbal medicines prescribed by him are administered. After the child is born umbilical cord is cut and the child is given a bath near the pit dug in the courtyard of the house for this purpose. The mother and child remain polluted until the navel cord dries up and falls off. The midwife who helps at the time of delivery is called home on the day on which the stump of the umbilical cord falls off and in her presence it is thrown into the pit, and incense is burnt and lamp is lighted near the pit which is then filled in with earth. The midwife gets from the family some rice, ragi, turmeric and oil on this occasion, and thereafter the family undergoes purification of birth pollution.” (*Ulaka*, 1976:26)

“After the birth of a child, pollution for sixteen days is observed during which the mother and baby are kept in isolation. On the 15th day, house is cleaned with cow dung and both mother and child are brought into the house. The first cereal feeding ceremony is observed in the sixth month while naming ceremony is after the first birth day of the child. They give their ancestors names to their children if they think that some ancestor has reborn. Mundan ceremony ... conducted between first and third year”. (*Encyclopaedic Profile of Indian Tribes*, 1996, 836)

“They observe birth pollution, the childhood ritual of the first feeding of rice and puberty rites.” (*Singh*, 1994: 997)

#### **b) Puberty rites**

They observe puberty rites (*dinda aila*) for girls on reaching their first menarche. The girl is secluded in a room for a period of seven days and during this period she is tabooed to look at male persons and to perform any household chores. Pollution period lasts for seven days. On the dawn of the eighth day she takes ceremonial bath in the nearby hill stream anointing her body with turmeric paste. Then her family presents her a new cloth and some cosmetics. In the evening, the family entertains the kinsfolk with a non-vegetarian feast and country liquor (*mohuli*).

“At the time of her first menstruation, a girl is considered unclean, and she remains in seclusion in a remote corner of a room for seven days. During this period, she is subjected to many taboos and restrictions. She should avoid the sight of males, abstain from eating non-vegetarian and spicy foods, and should not move outside alone. She should not use oil, soap or cosmetics. At the end of her confinement, she takes bath, wears new clothes, worships the deities and becomes free of pollution”. (*Mohanty*, 2004: 252)

“Menarche is considered an important event (*revuthokekuta*) for a girl and celebrated by a non-vegetarian feast to all the villagers on the eleventh days after observing pollution for ten days. This function is an indirect announcement for prospective bridegrooms to marry her. Three days of pollution period is observed for regular menstruation period.” (*Encyclopaedic Profile of Indian Tribes*, 1996, 836)

### c) Marriage

Among the Jhodia / Jhodia Paraja adult marriage and monogamy is commonly practised. Different modes of marriages are (i) marriage by negotiation (*kudianata*), (ii) marriage by capture (*jhikianata*), (iii) marriage by service (*garhaon*), (iv) marriage by mutual consent (*manaraji*), (v) marriage by elopement (*udilia*) and (vi) marriage by exchange (*badulu*) etc.

Marriages arranged through negotiation (*kudianata*) are considered ideal and prestigious. It is customary for the groom's father to initiate the marriage proposal and visit the bride's house with his lineage members and kinscarrying presents in shape of liquor and food grains. Acceptance of the presents by the girl's parents indicates their acceptance of the marriage proposal. Consent of the girl is sought before finalizing the matrimony.

Cross cousin marriage like, marriage with mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter is considered most preferential modes of marriage. Junior levirate (*boudeurghar*), junior sororate (*tada*) and remarriage of widow, widower and divorcees are permitted in their society. A man can marry his deceased elder brother's wife with her consent (junior levirate) and also his deceased wife's younger sister (junior sororate).

In all regular forms of marriages, it is customary for the groom's side to pay the bride's side the bride price (*jolla*) in shape of some cash (Rs 5 -50/-), 2 clothes (one for the bride and other for her mother), rice 20-30kgs, domestic animals (goat or cock -1), and 1 pot of liquor before finalization of the matrimony.

Though the community is endogamous, marriages takes place freely among the JHODIAs and the JHODIA PAROJAs and PAROJAs living in five districts viz, Rayagada, Koraput, Nabarangpur, Malkangiri and Kalahandi.

"In the Barang Jhodia, Pengu, and Kondhi divisions, it is customary for a man to marry his paternal aunt's daughter, but he cannot claim her as a matter of right, for the principle of free love is recognised among them...

When a marriage is contemplated among the Barang Jhodias, the parents of the young man carry two pots of liquor and some rice to the parents of the girl, who accept the present, if they are favourable to the match. If it is accepted, the future bridegroom's party renew the proposal, a year later by bringing five *kunchams* of rice, a new female cloth, seven *uddas* of liquor, and a sum of money...

Widow remarriage is permitted among all the divisions of the Porojas, and a younger brother usually marries his elder brother's widow." (*Thurston, 1909: 210-11 & 215*)

"Marriage is prohibited ...between members of the same sept. ...The proposal for a match is made by the boy's father, who first offers a cup of liquor to the girl's father in the bazar, and subsequently explains his errand. If the girl's father, after consulting with his family, disapproves of the match, he returns an equal quantity of liquor to the boy's father in token of his decision. The girl is usually consulted, and asked if she would like to marry her suitor, but not much regard is had to her opinion.

If she dislikes him, however, she usually runs away from him after a short interlude of married life. ...A short time before the wedding, the boy's father sends a considerable quantity of rice to the girl's father, and on the day before he sends a calf, a pot of liquor, fifteen annas worth of copper coin, and a new cloth. The bridegroom's expenses are about Rs. 50, and the bride's about Rs. 10....The remarriage of widows is permitted, and a widow is practically compelled to marry her late husband's younger brother, if he has one. If she persistently refuses to do so, in spite of the strongest pressure, her parents turn her out of their house. In order to be married the woman goes to the man's house with some friends; they sit together on the ground, and the friends apply the *ffka* or sign by touching their foreheads with dry rice." (*Russell, R.V. & Hiralal, 1914:375-76*)

"Generally the young man selects the woman he likes to marry and informs his parents who carry on the negotiations with the parents of the selected maiden. If the maiden's parents do not approve the match fails. But if they consent, the bride money is settled and the marriage day is fixed....Persons of the same *gotra* may not marry. ...Widow remarriage is allowed. It is compulsory for a widow to marry her late husband's younger brother. If she does not wish to do so, the man she marries must pay to that younger brother an amount fixed by the villagers." (*Census of India, 1931:198*)

"Among them there is only adult marriage. Premarital familiarity and the system of free love are socially recognized..., Cross-cousin marriage (a boy marrying a maternal uncle's daughter) is a favoured form of marital alliance. A man if so likes can marry his deceased wife's younger sister (junior sororate) or the wife of the deceased elder brother (junior levirate) .... Widow remarriage is allowed; and involves no payment of bride price." (*Chowdhury, 1963-64: 28-29*)

"There are three types of marriage noticed among the Paraja. They are called Maga Marriage, Jhinka marriage and Pasmamundi marriage. Maga type corresponds to marriage by arrangement in which the marriage is settled by negotiation.....According to the tradition the bridegroom's father pays some bride-price (Jalla) to the bride's father... If the parents of the bride and the parents of the bridegroom cannot afford to perform the marriage of their children by arrangement, marriage is held by capture (Jhinka marriage)....The third type of marriage which is known as Pasmamundi is equivalent to marriage by intrusion....The other terms used for such type of marriage are Udulia and Paisamundi marriage." (*Ulaka, 1976:23-24*)

"Marriage is strictly prohibited between the members of the same clan,...The proposal for marriage is made by the boys' father. Cross-cousin marriage, i.e., marrying mother's brother's daughter is the general rule....Marriage by arrangement is the common form... but a few cases of marriages other than arranged marriages are also found. These types of Paraja marriages are thus mainly five in number-

1. *Haribol Baha* (marriage by arrangement)
2. *Udulia Baha* (love marriage)
3. *Jhinka-Utra Baha* (marriage by capture)
4. *Paisamundi Baha* (marriage of the widows and the divorced ladies).
5. *Gharjwain* (marriage by being adopted as a son to the wife's father)."

"Widow marriage is permitted, and in fact the younger brother has every right to marry his deceased elder brother's wife..." (*Rout, 1963-64:142*)

"Earlier, the Porajas used to acquire mate through the practice of capture and elopement. But due to

contact with plain people, now they are practising marriage by negotiation. Cross cousin marriages especially father's sister's daughter is mostly preferred followed by mother's brother's daughter rather than assortative matings... Usually the elder brother's widow is married by the younger brother but the brother's widow cannot be married by the elder brother. A person is allowed to marry his wife's elder or younger sister. A male can marry any number of girls (polygyny) but polyandry is prohibited. Formal bride price exists... Widow, widower and divorce remarriages are very common. Significant changes are observed in the marriage shifting from capture and elopement to marriage by negotiation and an increase in the age at marriage of a girl changing from child marriage to adult marriage.” (*Encyclopaedic Profile of Indian Tribes*, 1996, 834)

“Cross-cousin and widow marriages are permissible among them. They marry after attaining adulthood. Monogamy is the rule, and among the different modes of acquiring mates, negotiation is held as the most prestigious and is common.” (*Singh*, 1994: 996)

“...adult marriages have become the common practice... It is the boy's side which takes the initiative in arranging the marriage.... But before finalizing the match the consent of the boy and girl is obtained... The consent of the girl is very important in this matter, because if she marries against her will she may desert her husband after few days, thus causing disgrace and economic loss to both her husband and her own parents, which may finally lead to divorce and separation.

As in other tribal communities, the Paroja have various ways of acquiring mates. The most common, prestigious and ideal way is marriage by formal negotiation. The Paroja call this *haribol* / *maga*...

The amount of brideprice paid for *maga* marriage varies from place to place. However, it is paid in both cash and kind. Generally a few head of domestic animals (usually cows or buffaloes), a huge amount of rice or millet (*rugi* or *mandia*), clothes for the girl and her relatives, rice beer (*pendum*), *mandia* beer (*landba*), palm wine (*salap*) and some cash above a hundred rupees are paid. The day on which the brideprice is finalized, both the parties celebrate the occasion by entertaining their guests in a small feast in which rice, meat and wine are served....

...The other types of marriage are marriage by capture (*jhinka-utra*) and marriage by elopement (*udlia*). Levirate and sororate types of marriage are also permitted.” (*Mohanty*, 2004: 253-54)

**JHODIA/JHODIAPAROJA-** Cross-cousin marriage with one's father's sister's daughter is less common among them. They are generally monogamous, but polygyny is also prevalent among them. Bride-price is paid both in cash and kind and remarriages, including levirate (junior) and sororate (junior), are accepted customs. (*Singh*, 1998:1390)

#### **d) Divorce**

Divorce (*kutubhangba*) is permitted in their society. Either party can divorce his / her spouse, on the grounds of misconduct, cruelty, extramarital relationship, suffering from chronic and incurable diseases and disabilities etc.

Divorce cases are settled with due approval of the traditional council constituted of Muduli (traditional village head), Jani (traditional village priest), Chalan (traditional village messenger) and Dandasi/ Barik (traditional inter-village messenger), family



members and kinsfolk of both the sides who hold a meeting in the groom's village. The person who seeks divorce gives a copper coin or a pebble (*chelo*) to his/ her spouse as a mark of divorce. After divorce all their children including the breast-feeding ones, remain in custody of the husband. If the divorced woman remarries, her former husband claims the *jholla* (bride price) from her new husband as his compensation. The same customary rule of compensation applies to a married woman who deserts her husband and lives with another man of her choice.

"A man can divorce his wife if she is of bad character, or if she is supposed to be under an unfavourable star, or if her children die in infancy. A divorced woman can marry again as if she were a widow." (*Russell, R.V. & Hiralal, 1914:376*)

"Divorces are permitted ; if a woman does not like her husband she will pay him five rupees and go away from him ; but a husband leaving his wife pays her only one rupee. If the woman while living with one man goes to another, the new one must pay her late husband a sum of money fixed by the elders of the village. The children, if she has any, are taken away by the man to whom she bore them." (*Census of India, 1931:198*)

"Divorce can be effected with the approval of the tribal council of the village on the grounds of marital faithlessness and marital incompatibility. If divorce is demanded by the woman, the bride price or the same amount of it, if paid, is returned back to the husband. A man wanting to divorce his wife has to pay compensation to the woman according to the decision of the tribal assembly." (*Chowdhury, 1963-64: 28*)

"Either party can divorce with the approval of the headman of the tribe and elders. Children are the liability of the father and divorce compensation is paid to the aggrieved party. If husband proposes divorce, he has to pay maintenance to the wife till she gets remarried. If wife deserts husband, the bride price collected by her parents at the time of her marriage should be returned." (*Encyclopaedic Profile of Indian Tribes, 1996, 834*)

"Divorce is socially permitted on the grounds of marital incompatibility, mal-adjustment and infidelity. Cases are decided in the traditional village council. A husband divorcing his wife pays her compensation as fixed by the village council. If the woman divorces her husband she has to return the bride price which he has paid to marry her. After the divorce has been formally granted, the man and woman are free to marry again elsewhere." (*Mohanty, 2004: 253-54*)

#### **e) Death Rites**

They were practicing burial in the past and in present times, cremation to dispose off their deads. However, dead bodies of children below five years age, leprosy and small pox victims and pregnant women are buried.

The dead body is anointed with turmeric paste and clad with a new cloth after which the pallbearers (*malbadia*) belonging to their own community carry it to the cremation ground for the funeral. The personal articles of the deceased such as the cot, clothes, umbrella, walking sticks, etc are burnt or thrown in the burial / cremation ground. After

Cremation/burial the lineage members including the palbears take bath in nearby hill streams eat the mango leaves and resin clean their body in brooms for purification.

Death pollution is observed until the purificatory rites are performed. Most of them (poorer section) conduct the minor purificatory rites -*sana kama / duma misani* after three or five days of the death, but the well-to-do families perform the major and expensive rites called *bada kama / dassa* on the tenth day of death.

During the mourning period, observance of rituals, festivals, worship of deities, visiting sanctum sanctorum of the holy shrines, giving alms to beggars, sexual union, eating of non vegetarian dishes, sweet meats, oil, onion, garlic and consumption of alcoholic drinks are strictly tabooed. Agricultural activities, during this period are also prohibited. The bereaved family does not cook food in their kitchen. The neighbouring families of their lineage supply them vegetarian food during this time.

On the day of the purificatory rite they throw away all their used earthen wares, clean the walls and floors of the house by plating with coloured earth or cow dung paste. The eldest son conducts the mortuary rites presided over by their traditional community priest the Jani. The maternal uncle acts as the barber and shaves the male participants. They wash their clothes by themselves. For observance of these rites they do not avail the services of Brahman, barber, and washer man traditionally serving the caste Hindus.

After performance of purificatory rite, in the night, they go to the outskirts of the village with drumbeating to offer foods to the departed soul in a leaf cup containing rice, dal, meat, fish and country liquor (*mohuli* or *salapjuice* ). They call the name of the dead three times to accept their offering. After their return, the bereaved family hosts a non vegetarian feast with country wine (*mohuli*) to lineage members, relatives and guests and after that they participate in dance in honour of the dead.

On the eleventh day they construct a monument (*kamsied*) on the spot of cremation in honour of the departed soul. It is a menhir i.e., a large stone slab planted vertically on the ground to commemorate the dead. The task is accomplished by a male member of the maternal uncle's family of the deceased. They do not have the tradition of immersing bone of the dead in holy water for salvation.

"The dead are, as a rule, burnt. By some of the Jhodia Porojas, the ashes are subsequently buried in a pit a few feet deep, near the burning-ground, and the grave is marked by a heap of stones. A pole is set up in this heap, and water poured on it for twelve days. On the fourth day, cooked rice and fish are set on the way leading to the spot where the corpse was burned. The celebrants of the death rite then take mango bark, paint it with cow-dung, and sprinkle themselves with, it. The ceremony concludes with a bath, feast, and drink.... They observe pollution for three days, during which, they do not enter their fields. On the fourth day, they, anoint themselves with castor-oil and turmeric, and bathe." (*Thurston, 1909: 216-17*)

“The dead are invariably buried, the corpse being laid...Rice-gruel, water and a tooth -stick are placed on the grave nightly for some days after death....After the burial a dead fish is brought on a leaf-plate to the mourners, who touch it, and are partly purified. The meaning of this rite, if there be any, is not known. After the period of mourning, which varies from three to nine days, is over, the mourners and their relatives must attend the next weekly bazar, and there offer liquor and sweets in the name of the dead man, who upon this becomes ranked among the ancestors.” (*Russell, & Hiralal, 1914:377-78*)

“When a man or a woman dies in a family, the corpse is taken to a place outside the village, all the men and women following. The corpse is either burnt or buried according to convenience. Then all of them bathe in an adjoining river or pond and take along with them a flat long stone to their village and set it upright just outside the village and place another slab flat at its foot. A small rag is tied round the middle of the upright stone and a bamboo the top of which is split and formed into a trident, is placed upright behind the vertical stone. Every day or whenever the departed soul is propitiated, offerings of food and fowls are made on the flat stone at the foot of the vertical one. Generally the offerings are given on the third and the tenth days.” (*Census of India, 1931:199*)

“Among the Parojas the ashes are subsequently buried in a pit a few feet deep, near the burning ground and the grave is marked by a heap of stones. A pole is set up in this heap and water is poured on it for twelve days. On the fourth day cooked rice and fish are set on the way leading to the spot where the corpse was burnt. The ceremony concludes with bath, feast and drink.” (*District Gazetteer: Koraput, 1966: 117*)

“When death occurs in a family two-people carry the dead body to the cremation ground. These two people are called Madadharia. ...All the things used by the deceased are thrown on the cremation ground. The relatives of the deceased family contribute one rupee each and with this they buy some wine which they drink together after taking a bath. . To express mutual sorrow the people get their gruel from their respective families and dine-together for one and a half day in the house of the deceased. On the second day they get house of the deceased cleansed and the clothes of the members of the deceased family are washed. The pall-bearers go to the cremation ground and collect the ashes into a heap and place three pieces of stone in a triangle on the ashes and lay a large piece of stone over them to keep the ashes covered. Then they go to the nearby river or hill-stream and catch some fish and reach the place where the clothes of the deceased, family are washed.... After the clothes are washed they...wear the wet clothes and proceed to the house of the deceased with the fish caught from the river or the stream. On reaching the house they start cooking seven fistfuls of rice and fish and divide the cooked food into seven shares and make seven food packets with the help of sal leaves and give these to the members of the family to eat. This food is known as Pitakhia or Pitachhua. Thereafter they collect all the cooking vessels, laddle, strainer, wood and ashes from oven and throw them near the cremation ground. In the evening a fowl is sacrificed at the place where the person died and some rice, ragi, money, oil and turmeric are given to the pall-bearers who in their turn anoint the oil and turmeric over their body and get themselves purified...On the third day the deceased family arranges a feast and invites all peoples of the village to partake of it. It is the tradition of the Paraja culture that every one in the village should take part in the feast. A family of moderate means arranges a modest feast on the third day as the last ritual of the death rites whereas a family of substantial means arranges a sumptuous feast in the month of Pausa or Magha ...” (*Ulaka, 1976:26-27*)

“The dead are cremated while children below 18 years of age are buried. In few cases, the ashes of

burnt individual are later buried and the grave is marked by a heap of stones. After the death of an individual, the news is sent to all his blood relatives. The body is washed and then castor oil and turmeric paste is applied on the body and wrapped with new cloth. The dead body is placed flat on bier (stretcher) made of bamboo poles. The stretcher is carried by sons, brothers or male blood relatives, usually seven in number... Some possession of the individual along with clothes are also burnt along with the dead. All the villagers will take bath on that day. On the third day after cremation, cooked rice is offered to the dead soul in leaf plates along with mango and 'neredu' leaves at the site where corpse was burnt. They observe pollution for 4 to 10 days (depending on the locality or sub-group) during which the family members should not go out, even to fields. The death ceremony comes to an end on the fourth or tenth day on which all the celebrants anoint themselves with castor oil and turmeric and take bath. Usually, a feast is given and liquor is served to all the relatives.” (*Encyclopaedic Profile of Indian Tribes, 1996, 837*)

“The dead are either cremated or buried, according to convenience. The pollution caused by death is observed for ten days, and ancestor worship is observed. (*Singh, 1994: 998*)

Death is regarded as the most dreadful event in Paroja life. Death pollution is observed for three to nine days. During this period the deceased's family and kinsmen observe certain restrictions in respect of food, sex and other daily activities. Conventional death rites are performed, and a feast is given to the villagers by the deceased's family after the pollution period is over. Poor families may postpone the feast and arrange it within a year, especially during the month of Magh or Pausa, when they have plenty of food and money after the harvest.”(*Mohanty, 2004: 254*)

## 9. Economic Life

Labeled as hill cultivators, shifting and settled cultivation are the mainstay of their subsistence economy. Besides that, they supplement their *livelihood* by share cropping, wage labour, animal husbandry and forest collection. Jhodia settlements are located amidst hill valley in which perennial hill streams are channeled to irrigate their terraced farmlands on the hill slopes. In their uplands they only provide ragi, niger (Alasi), Dangardhan, Bajra (Kedjanna), Kandul, Biri (blackgram), Kating, Kolthi, Kosala, Chana, and mustard but in their irrigated lands they cultivate high yielding paddy, maize and varieties of vegetables like, potato, brinjal, cabbage, cauli-flower, sweet potato, tomato, sesame and chilly, onion and garlic etc.

Cultivable land is in short supply as compared to the growth of their population over period of time and therefore majority of them are landless, marginal and small farmers as per the field data presented above.

All of them rear domestic animals like cow, buffalo, goat, sheep, pigs and fowls. They are skilled in making *khapar* (country made tiles), brick and mat as well as in carpentry works.

“The Parjas are cultivators, and grow rice and other crops”(*Russell, R.V. & Hiralal, 1914:378*)

“The Parajas are primarily cultivators, but the poorer sections are mostly landless labourers”. (*Rout, 1963-64:142*)

“Agriculture is the main source of their livelihood. They practise both shifting cultivation on hill slopes and plough cultivation on flat fields and irrigated terraces. Besides, they continue with food gathering and the collection of forest produce. A large landless section of them work as agricultural and industrial labourers. .. they grow rice, millet and some commercial crops. Their secondary occupation is wage labour. Some of them make baskets and mats also.” (*Singh, 1994: 998-99*)

“Other than cultivation, Porajas depend on secondary occupations namely, agricultural casual labour, animal husbandry, bee keeping, hunting, fishing and collection of minor forest produce. They raise staple grain such as rice, millets (sama, ragi, korra), etc. in their fields. Few people cultivate commercial crops such as potato, turmeric, ginger, oil seeds like 'olusulu' niger and vegetables. They collect 'adda' leaves that are used in making meal plates; honey, tamarind, soap-nuts, etc. Generally, few trees such as tamarind, jack and Jeelugu from joint or common property of all the families, the yield of which is shared equally. The Porajas are exposed to scarcity of land and hence they go for shifting (*podu*) cultivation. They are relatively poor compared to other neighbouring tribes. The Poraja people make baskets and mats with bamboo rapper for their use and occasionally sell them in the market. They sell their produce in the weekly market (shandy) and buy household items. Generally, they sell grains, fruits tamarind, 'adda' leaves, soap-nuts, honey etc.... Always the transactions at the shandy are in cash. But occasionally barter system is also seen. Normally, tribes take loans from the money-lenders (non-tribal men) and hence, they buy the produce at a lower price.” (*Encyclopaedic Profile of Indian Tribes, 1996, 838*)

“The Paroja are seasoned cultivators and agriculture is the mainstay of their economy. Formerly, the Paroja subsisted from shifting cultivation which is nowadays reduced to being a secondary or tertiary means of livelihood. Nowadays they mainly depend on wet cultivation, which is supplemented by shifting cultivation and other allied economic pursuits like the collection of forest produce, wage-earning, animal husbandry, etc.” (*Mohanty, 2004: 255*)

Like the neighbouring tribes –Kandha, Gadaba, Konda Dora, Saora and the main tribe Paroja, they are hill cultivators who traditionally thrive on a subsistence economy based on land and forest and have little occupational diversification. Their economic standards are low and bulk of them are landless, marginal and small farmers

## **10. Food & Drinks**

They are non-vegetarians. Rice and ragi are their staple cereal food. They also consume minor millets like Kangu, Kosala, Khedjanna, maize, mango kernel, tamarind seeds and sago palm powder in lean seasons. Seasonal fruits, roots, leaves and tubers collected from the forest add variety to their food. They relish on fish, dry fish, egg, chicken, crab, snails, lizards, jungle fowls, mouse, insects, snakes, pork and flesh of buffalo. They are fond of eating fish and therefore catch fish from the hill streams, rivers and reservoirs.

Eating of beef is strictly tabooed for them. Violation of this taboo is a sin and the sinner is ostracized from the community.

They are addicted to country liquor (*mohuli*), rice beer (*landa*), millet beer (*pendum*) and sago palm juice (*salap*). Both men and women chew tobacco and males smoke self made *pikkas*.

“The tribe will eat fowls, pig, monkeys, the large lizard, field-rats, and bison and wild buffalo...” (Russell, R.V. & Hiralal, 1914:378)

“The Porajas are... non-vegetarians and their staple food includes rice, sorghum, jowar and millets of local variety such as 'ragi', 'sama', 'Korra', etc... They take locally available pulses (red gram, green gram, black gram) as vegetable protein in addition to meat.... Fish form important component of food for people residing on the banks of river and reservoir. Consumption of seasonal fruits available in the forest- jack, mango, 'neredu', banana, 'pindipallu', and 'boddapallu' is maximum,. Usually, all the locally available vegetables ... are consumed. They extract oil from locally grown 'olusulu', niger and castor seeds which is used as cooking oil. They drink home made rice beer in addition to country liquor and locally available 'ippasara' (*bassia*). They are fond of fermented juice (kallu) extracted from sago palm (*jeelugu*) which is rich of carbohydrates. Porajas consume lot of tubers such as tapioca, sweet potato, 'nagala dumpa', pindi dumpa', etc. They collect stones of mango fruit, the cotyledons are dried and pounded to flour and supplement as gruel. Both males and females smoke loose tobacco, cigar and *ganja* and also chew tobacco along with some local narcotics...”(Encyclopaedic Profile of Indian Tribes, 1996, 833-34)

“The Paraja are habituated to drinking a kind of drink called 'Landa'. Men and women alike are fond of drinking this wine in festivities. ...” (Ulaka, 1976:23)

“Ragi is their staple cereal, which is supplemented nowadays with rice. They are mainly non-vegetarians.” (Singh, 1994: 997)

“Rice is the staple food, supplemented by millets, maize, vegetables they grow themselves and other edible fruits, roots, leaves, and tubers collected from the forest round the year. Non-vegetarian items, cakes, sweets and other delicacies are eaten during festive occasions and whenever available. The Paroja are addicted to alcoholic drinks and beverages. Use of liquor is a customary practice in all magico-religious rituals, feasts and festivals. They drink various kinds of liquor such as *mabua* liquor, millet liquor (*landha*), rice beer, palm wine (*salap*), etc. *Landha* and *salap* are the most favourite drinks.”(Mohanthy, 2004: 256)

## 11. Religious Life

### a) Pantheon

Jhodia follow their own tribal religion. They profess animism mixed with elements of Hinduism. *Patrabudhais* their Supreme deity and *Jakar debta* (the earth goddess) is regarded as his consort. She is represented by a stone placed under a tree in the village outskirts. She is the goddess of agriculture and protects the crops.

*Nissan debta* seated at the shrine of *Nissan mundain* the center of the village street is the female patron deity of Jhodia village and worshipped regularly by the village priest during all important rituals and festivals. She protects the village from wild animals, diseases, calamities etc.

They also propitiate some deities of nature residing in hills, forests, streams and rivers namely, *dongar devta* (hill god), *janikudi*, *khandual* etc.

In course of time, due to culture contact with Hindu castes, they have incorporated some Hindu gods and deities into their pantheon. They are *Hindihuta* (lord *Siva*), lord *Jagannath* of

Shabar Srikshetra of Koraput, *Maa Laxmi*, the goddess of wealth and fortune etc. For their legendary association with the ex- Raja of Bastar and historical subjugation under the ex-Zamindar of Kashipur and the ex- Raja of Kalahandi they worship, Goddess *Danteswari*- the patron deity of Bastar and Goddess *Manikeswari*- the patron deity of Kashipur, Thuamul Rampur and the ex-state of Kalahandi with great devotion.

Like other tribes of this region, they have the cult of ancestor worship and conduct animal sacrifice to appease their deities.

“The Jhodia, Pengu, and Kondhi divisions worship Bhumi Devata (the earth goddess), who is also known as Jakar Devata,... Each village offers a cow, goat, pig, and pigeon to her as a sacrifice. She is represented by a stone under a tree outside the village. A caste man acts as *pujari* (priest), and all the villagers, including the Janni and Mudili, are present at the festival, which winds up with a feast and drink.” (*Thurston, 1909: 215*)

“The Parjas worship the class of divinities of the hills and forests usually revered among primitive tribes, as well as Danteshwari, the tutelary goddess of Bastar. ...ancestors are worshipped by members of the family only inside the house, and offerings of the new crops are made to them.” (*Russell, R.V. & Hiralal, 1914:376-77*)

“At the entrance of the village, under a tree is kept the God called the Nisan-devata. It is a small oval stone installed on an auspicious day even before the village is formed. Over it stones are piled up in the form of a temple. It is believed that this Nisan Devata protects the village from epidemic, wild animals or other dangers....In the middle of the village under a shed is kept the God called Thakurani, of course a female. This is represented by some wooden images under a shed. Near the foot of the hill, is installed the God called Jhakar devata. This is also a female. She is the protectress of the crops....In addition to these, the tiger Goddess is propitiated by offering sacrifices to her in the mountain caves. ...” (*Census of India, 1931:199*)

“The Parajas worship the various Gods and Goddesses, residing over hills, streams and forests. They also worship Danteshwari, the tutelary Goddess Bastar.” (*Rout, 1963-64:142*)

“Poraja follow their own tribal religion. They worship Sun in addition to clan and village tutelary deities. They worship mother earth (Jaakara) which is represented as a stone situated at the entrance of the village for which either a cow, goat, pig, pigeon or chick is sacrificed once in three years....Of late, some of the Hindu gods and deities are added to their pantheon due to culture contact with caste people. The deities are conceived as powerful beings who are sub-ordinates of god....The deities are symbolised by a stone with or without a shape...Every religious functions is accompanied by ritual sacrifice. ...They believe that ancestral spirits have influence on the crops and in every aspect of their life. They offer new clothes, fowl, cooked food and holy water (Guna Kuduru) to the souls of ancestors. Sometimes they name their children after their ancestors...” (*Encyclopaedic Profile of Indian Tribes, 1996, 835*)

“The Ghodia (Jhodia), Pengu and Kondhi divisions worship Bhumi Devati (earth goddess ) who is also known as Jakar Devati Once in three years, each village offers a cow, goat, pig or pigeon to her as a sacrifice.” (*District Gazetteer: Koraput , 1966:108*)

“The Paroja worship gods and spirits who reside at various places on the village boundary. These deities

are appeased regularly to protect the village from epidemics, wild animals, etc.” (*Singh, 1994: 998*)

“The Paroja worship a number of gods and deities for their well-being. The important deities are Danteswari, their tutelary goddess; Laxmi, the goddess of wealth and fortune; Landi, the god in charge of ensuring an orderly social life; Jhakar Debta, the earth goddess; Dongar Debta, the forest god; ...and Nisan Debta, the village deity. Dead ancestors, who are called Duma Debta, receive routine worship and sacrifices at festive occasions. (*Mohanty, 2004: 257*)

“The term used by the Paraja for the soul is Duma....It is the tradition that each Paraja family should solemnly invoke the spirit of the Dumas of the deceased members at the time of feasts and festivals and worship them first and perform necessary rituals on the occasion thereafter.” (*Uluka, 1976:27*)

#### **b) Magico-Religious Functionaries**

The JHODIA have their own magico-religious functionaries designated as Jani - the traditional village priest who conducts rites and worships to appease their gods and deities, Disari -the astrologer who fixes the auspicious moment to celebrate the rituals, Chalan, the village messenger- cum- assistant to Jani. Gurumai is another magico-religious specialist. She is the female shaman and witch doctor who deals with the deities, ghosts and spirits. All of them belongs to their own community.

“Jani is the village headman-cum-priest, and he is the custodian of religious articles....Determining auspicious moments for observing rituals and giving names to new-born babies are the functions of Disari. He is more or less an astrologer in Paraja village. Gunia is a sorcerer-cum-medicine man. He tries to cure the illness of people by uttering incantations and applying herbal medicines. Guru Main is the priest whose duty is to worship the village goddess on the occasion of rituals or festivities. His good offices include offering of prayers to village goddess at the time of illness of some persons of her village for recovery. Generally, a Paraja woman works as Guru Main. Bhatanayak is an important person in a Paraja village. He has to purify those who, are ostracised for having, committed certain socially disapproved acts or for suffering from ritually polluted conditions.” (*Uluka, 1976:22*)

“The Jani functions as the village head priest.... There are other magico-religious functionaries in the village called the Disari Gur-main, Gunia, and Bhattanayak. The Disari acts as the village astrologer and determines auspicious dates and moments for holding marriage ceremonies, communal festivals and rituals, seasonal agricultural operations and so on. He also finds a name for new-born babies and predicts the future of ...matrimony. The Gurumain is the priest-cum-witch doctor whose duty it is to worship the village goddess on the different festive occasions and to ensure the recovery of the sick. The Bhattanayak is an important functionary in the Paroja village, purifying ritually polluted people who have been condemned for committing socially disapproved offences.” (*Mohanty, 2004: 257*)

JHODIA / JODIA PAROJA- Some of their sacred specialists are gurumai, jani and disari who are chosen from among them to perform worship, birth rites, marriages, and ceremonies for curing of diseases and protection from evil spirits. (*Singh, 1998:1390*)

Existence of magico-religious functionaries like Jani, Disari, Chalan, Gurumai belonging to their own community is essentially tribal in origin and in this respect the JHODIA not only



have commonness with the main tribe PAROJA but with the neighbouring tribes like the Kandha, Gadaba, Saora etc.

### c) Rituals & Festivals

Being an agricultural tribe the JHODIA observe a number of rituals and festivals during the year most of which are connected with different stages of agriculture. Among them the important ones are

- i) *Bihan puja* (worship of seeds for good harvest) during *Baisakh* (April-May),
- ii) *Mandia rani, Bagh raju, Ladu chapu* (new eating of mango kernel) during *Ashad* (June-July),
- iii) *Chitalagi* and *Kendumunda topi* during *Shravan* (July- August),
- iv) *Bhada baduani* during *Bhod* (August-Sept),
- v) *Dassara* during *Aswin* (*Durgapuja bheti* to *Kashipur raja*) (Sept-Oct),
- vi) *Diwali/duali* during *Kartika* (Oct- Nov) (new eating of crops for cow),
- vii) *Anaka Kara* (to prepare new gourd spoon to offer wine to ancestors to procure grass such as *piri, dab, sukud* and *chindi* for house thatching) during *Margasira (pond)* (Nov- Dec),
- viii) *Pus parab (dumba puja)* (worship of ancestors by offering of alsi during *pus* (Dec-November),
- ix) *Jakeri Puja/ Mahajatra/ Thakurani Puja* during *Magh* (Jan-February),
- x) *Kandulbhaja* (new eating of *kandul*), during *Fagun* (Feb- March) and
- xi) *Chaita Parab* and *Benta Parab* (ceremonial hunting) during *Chaita* (Mar-April)

Among these festivals *Chaita Parab, Mandia rani, Bhadabaduni, Dusserah, Pus harab* and *Jakripuja* are major festivals in their society which are observed with pomp and ceremony..

In the month of Chaitra they hold the hunting feast and all the villagers—men alone---retire into the forest for a hunt. None of the party should return without an animal...

**The Pus festival.**—This is held on the full moon day of month of Pushya (December and January). They kill a buffalo in the name of all village gods, have a feast and drink and dance the whole day.... (*Census of India, 1931:199*)

They observe festivals to mark first sowing, eating of new rice, eating of mango, and so on. Chickens, rice grains and other *puja* materials are offered to the deities as well as to the ancestors. (*Rout, 1963-64:142*)

The Paraja observe *Jhankar puja* or *Annaka puja* or *Dahani puja* in the month of *Margasira* as the Kandha Tribes do. On this occasion they use new laddles made of gourd in place of old ones which they dispose of as a part of the festival....*Nachuni Parba* or *Bhoda Parba* is observed at the time of *Dashara* in the month of *Bhadra*....The Paraja observe the festival of lights called "*Dipabali Parba*" either two days earlier or two days later than the due date of '*Deewali*'....The *Pusa Parba* comes in the month of *Pausa*. It is observed on the full moon day of this month. The Parajas exhaust in this month all the crops harvested in the month of *Margasira*. *Chaitra Parba* is observed with great pomp ... (*Ulaka, 1976:28*)

In different seasons of the year, various festivals like *Nuakhiya, Push Parab* and other Hindu festivals are

observed. (*Singh, 1994: 997*)

The Paroja observe many seasonal festivals with pomp and ceremony around the year in order to propitiate their deities and ancestors as well as for their own enjoyment. Among these the important ones are Asadhi Parab, Nuakhia, Diali Parab, Baulani Jatra, Pus Parab, Chait Parab, etc. (*Mobanty, 2004: 257*)

## 12. Folk Traditions: Dance, Song & Music

Like other tribes of the region the Jhodia have a rich folk tradition of song, dance and music with which they rejoice in all festive occasions and whenever they find time to celebrate.

They are talented singers, musicians and dancers. Their common form of dance is the famous *demsa* (serpentine) dance which is the common dance of Paroja, Gadaba and other tribes of undivided Koraput district.

They perform *ranikheta nach* during observance of *mandiarani parab*, *bhadani nach* during *bhadabaduni parab*, *jarunanach* during *dassara parab*, *sailori / demsa nach* during *pus parab* and *turulimaga nach* during *chait parab*. Both male and female joyfully dance with the tune of the drum and *mohuri* played by the Dom musician

But undoubtedly the most skilled performers are the Jodia Parojas and the Gadabas from the neighbourhood of Koraput and Nandapur. . (*District Gazetteer: Koraput , 1966:137*)

"At a Paroja dance all the girls and the younger married women of the village form themselves into a chain, each maiden passing lie her right hand behind the next girl's back and grasping the left elbow of the third. The girls arrange themselves carefully according to size, the youngest, who are generally nine and ten years old, at one end and at other the leader of the *corps de ballet* who carries a baton of peacock's feathers in her right hand to mark the time. Three or four young men take their stand in the middle of the dancing floor and strike up song which they accompany on their mandolins while the long chain *of* girls linked together and moving in perfect time, follow the leader with her, swaying baton, through an intricate series of sinuous lines, curvest spirals, figures-of-eight and then unravel themselves back into line again. They wind in and out like some brightly coloured snake, never halting for a moment, now backwards, now forwards, first slowly and decorously, then faster and with more and more abandon, until suddenly some one gets out of step and the chain snaps amid peals of breathless laughter. All the while the young men in the centre continue to sing, improvising the words as they go along and frequently sending the dancers into bursts of merriment by their personal allusions, subtle and poetic. The leader of the troupe varies the step in half a dozen different ways and the dancers now sway to the music with their bodies, now clink their heavy German silver bangles together in time. The chain of comely young maidens dressed in their hair neatly oiled and decked with flowers and all in the height of good humour is a picturesque and pleasing sight.- (R. C. S. Bell, Orissa District Gazetteers—Koraput) (*quoted in District Gazetteer: Koraput , 1966:137*)

"...they are far advanced in respect of dance and music. The inborn histrionic talent with which they are endowed finds expression in dances and songs like Dhemsas dance, Dundunga dance and Laga songs (competitive songs). As soon as the Paraja boys play their stringed musical instruments in accompaniment to self-composed songs, all others, young and old, assemble together and get ready to dance. As a matter of habit, young girls, the matrons and the old women are grouped together separately according to age groups and start dancing. Competitive songs are generally sung at the time of marriage ceremonies and Chaita festival. The Paraja forget their woes of life and feel relaxed after hard work by devoting every

evening to these recreational and cultural activities.

The tune, the tilt of the song and the kinds of dance known to the Paraja community are various. They compose verses and set the tune of the dance and music in imitation of the manner in which the snakes crawl, the frog's jump, and the birds sing. The presence of mind and common sense of the Paraja are remarkable. They compose songs in conformity with different situations and apply rhythm appropriate to the music. The cloud, the wind, the ripples, the sound of the stream have considerably influenced the tune of their music. Living freely under the sky and in the recesses of the hills, the Paraja enjoy, without inhibition singing and dancing all the year round. It is true that the authors of the Paraja songs remain obscure, but their compositions are replete with life and pleasure, the mysteries of the dark hills, the grandeur of the forests and the sublimity of the sky. Their folk songs and indigenous musical instruments are unique contribution. The life of the Paraja is clouded by poverty and indebtedness, on the one hand, and brightened by jollity and the spirit of comradeship on the other. The true charms of community life are enjoyed by them." (*Ulaka*, 1976:24, 32)

"Dancing, song and music are characteristic features of Paroja aesthetic life, without which they feel their mundane life to be meaningless. They are experts in all these arts. Their inborn theatrical talent finds expression in dances and songs like *dbemsa nacha*, *dundunga nacha*, *laga gita*, etc. Songs and dances are performed as an indispensable part of all individual and communal functions and festivals. They also enjoy themselves through song and dance whenever they wish to do so. Whenever the boys start playing their musical instruments and singing songs, the villagers, young and old men and women rush to the *berna munda* and amuse themselves by dancing and singing. As a rule, the women form separate groups according to age and start dancing and singing, while the boys play musical instruments and sing songs. In their dances they imitate the peculiar movements of animals like the snake's crawl, frog's jump, bird's chirping and the like. They compose their own songs suitable to particular occasions and fix the tune and rhythm of the dance and song. The finer and beautiful elements of nature, i.e. the sky, stars, sun, moon, rain, wind, hill, hill streams, trees, flowers, birds, animals, influence and appear in their song and music." (*Mohanty*, 2004: 257-58)

The rich tradition of folk dance, song and music are integral part of tribal life and culture which distinguishes them from others. JHODIA are no exception to it. In this arena of performing arts they are equal to the Paroja and Gadaba and rather excel their other tribal neighbours.

### 13. Socio-Political Life

The Jhodia have their own traditional community council at village level known as *berammunda* headed by the *gauntia/ muduli*. Their traditional priest *jani*, astrologer *disari* and messenger *challan* are respected members and all family heads of the village are members of this body.

All the functionaries hail from their own community. The post of *gauntia /muduli*, *jani* and *disari* are hereditary. They have another inter-village messenger called *barik*. He is from the Dom (SC) caste and carries messages to distant villages. Both *challan* and *barik* are appointed by nomination.

They have inter- village council known as *bisi berammunda* constituted of *muduli*, *jani* and *chalan* of ten to fifteen Jhodia villages and headed by a *naik* whose post is hereditary.

These community councils act as guardian of their norms, customs and traditions and adjudicates cases relating to family disputes, rape, theft, adultery, incest, divorce, extra-marital relationship, formation of maggots in the wound(*bittada*), killing of cow (*gohatya*), death by the tiger attack, slapping with shoe (*chapalmada*) and intra and inter community rifts. The unresolved cases of the village councils are referred to inter-village council. The session of the council sits to decide cases as when required and specially on *pus punei* to organize seasonal festivals rituals. The *naik* is held in high esteem and his judgment is treated as final. He holds the power to excommunicate the offender and readmit him into their society.

“The villagers are under the control of a headman who is nominated by all the villagers and approved by the zamindar. At times, the headman may be appointed by the zamindar himself and the villagers have to accept him. Yet, behind such appointment can be seen the common consent of the people....Whenever a dispute arises in the village, he summons all the villagers and they come and sit, each on a stone lying scattered under the trees or on the ground. Women also attend but remain standing. When all men are assembled, the headman takes his seat on the platform, and the question is discussed. The decision of the assembly must be accepted by all.” (*Census of India, 1931:198*)

“All the sub groups of Paraja will have a headman in every village. Generally, the headman solves the smaller disputes within or between the families of his sub-group...” (*Encyclopaedic Profile of Indian Tribes, 1996, 837*)

“The Paroja village has a well-organised socio-political system, which functions as an independent autonomous unit. It has its own set of traditional functionaries ...in charge of the different internal and external affairs of the village. The Jani is the sacerdotal head..... The Muduli is the de facto chief of the village. He decides civil and criminal disputes, collects revenue, organizes communal functions, receives and entertains guests and officials, and acts as the spokesman of his fellow men with external agencies. He is assisted by a Challan who conveys the decision of the Muduli and Jani to their people. The offices of the Jani, Muduli and Challan are hereditary and carry high social prestige.” (*Mohanty, 2004: 256*)

#### **14. Social Position & Inter - Community Relationship**

Most of the Jhodia settlements are large and homogeneous. In multi-ethnic villages they live in separate wards maintaining their separate identity and distance from other communities like the Kandha, Rana, Gauda, Sundhi, Luhura, Domb etc. In Kashipur area they are numerically dominant in most of the villages.

All their tribal and non-tribal neighbours call them JODIA / JHODIA / JODIA PARJA / JHODIA PARJA or simply as PARJA and treat them as a tribal community.

Since they have been inhabiting a tribal dominated region along with other tribes like Kandha, Konda Dora, Bhottada, Gadaba, Gond, etc. since the hoary past, into which few caste communities like Brahman, Gouda, Kumbhar, Teli, Sundhi, have migrated in not too distant past, the evils and the inequalities of the caste system like the stigma of untouchability

are non existent except a nominal and superficial social hierarchy that is due to the influence of the caste society.

The local social hierarchy in the descending order as gathered from the field is as follows

Brahman  
Paik  
Gouda  
Gond (ST)  
Bhottada (ST)  
Jhodia, Kandha, Konda Dora  
Bareng Jhodia, Penga Paroja  
Pengo Kandha  
Bhandari  
Kumbhar  
Teli  
Sundhi  
Lohara  
Domb (SC)  
Ghasi (SC)

As shown above, they along with other tribal groups hold a respectable middle position in the so called existing hierarchy below the high ranking Hindu castes and above the low castes and Scheduled Castes from whom they maintain social distance in respect of acceptance of cooked food and house entry. On the other hand the castes and tribes ranked above them maintain similar kind of social distance from them. As amongst themselves, they freely interact with the tribes like Kandha, Konda Dora in a footing of equality.

Beeing a tribal community having a distinct culture of their own, they do not need the *jajmani* services of the service castes like the Brahman, Barik, Dhoba which are essentially required by the caste Hindus. In their simple, self-sufficient and autonomous social system they have evolved adequate provisions for these services since ages. As reported earlier, they have their own traditional secular and sacerdotal functionaries like *muduli*, *jani*, *disari*, *challan*, *barik*, *gurumai* to take care of their social, political and magico-religious needs.

*Parangi Poraja*, *Jodiya Poraja* and *Konda Poraja* are considered to have equal status, and dine in each other's house are middle ranked.....They are identified at the local level as middle ranked tribe. According to tribal hierarchy Bagatha, Mali, Kotia and Rana are superior to Poraja. Poraja are equal to Konda Dora, Dulia, Mulia and Nooka Dora tribes that are followed by low ranked Valmiki tribe. (*Encyclopaedic Profile of Indian Tribes*, 1996, 832-33)

Non-existence of the concept and practices of caste based social inequality and discrimination like untouchability in the JHODIA society establishes the fact that they are truly a distinct tribal community –not a caste. The powerful influence of the caste society on their way of life

is very minimal. as the early settlers of their territory and a part of the great PAROJA tribe, they have, by and large, preserved and maintained their own traditions till today.

#### (IV)

##### Summary Findings

- **Paroja/ Parja/ Parajais** a major scheduled tribe (ST) of Odisha where they have the largest concentration. They are also found in Andhra Pradesh, undivided Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra where they have been enlisted as scheduled tribe and in West Bengal and Assam to which they have migrated from Odisha in the recent past but do not enjoy the status of ST.
- They inhabit the hills and valleys of southern Odisha with the largest chunk found in Koraput district followed by Nabrangpur, Malkangiri, Kalahandi and Rayagada districts in the descending order.
- As found in the study and also reported by several ethnographers like Thurston (1909), Yeats (1931), Mohapatra (1985), Naidu (1996), Singh (1994 & 98) etc, the Paroja are socially divided into several endogamous sections among whom JODIA /JHODIA or JODIA PAROJA /JHODIA PAROJA is one. This section is largely concentrated in Kashipur block area of Rayagada district and scattered over the neighbouring areas of Kalahandi, Koraput, Nowrangpur and Malkangiri districts which they regard as their homeland. For centuries they have been living in this remote hill country under conditions of **relative isolation**
- The JODIA /JHODIA or JODIA /JHODIA PAROJA identify themselves as HARJA (Parja) in their own tribal mother tongue. But, their neighbours call them JODIA /JHODIA in short because majority of them bear the surname JODIA /JHODIA.
- As reported in published ethnographic literatures and gathered through empirical field study, it is a well established fact that JODIA / JHODIA / JADIA / JHADIA / JHARIYA / JODIYA / JHORIA / JHORIYA are synonymous to the notified tribe JHODIA PARAJA / PARAJA because they constitute an endogamous section of the PAROJA.
- Linguistically, JODIA / JHODIA / JADIA / JHADIA are same as JHODIA PAROJA which is a section of PAROJA.
- The pattern of wearing dress and ornaments, hair style and practice of tattooing of the JHODIA is same as those of PAROJA and its sections including the JHODIA PAROJA.

- The pattern of Settlement and Housing of JHODIA / JHODIA PAROJA is same as those of PAROJA.
- Existence of exogamous totemistic clans named after villages, mountains, plants and animals is essentially a tribal characteristic common to many Indian tribal communities and possession this ethnological trait establishes the fact that JODIA / JHODIA is an aboriginal tribe. In this respect, they have much similarity with the great Paroja tribe.
- The customs, traditions, rites and observances associated with pregnancy and child birth and later phases of the JHODIA life cycle as revealed in primary empirical data and of the main tribe PAROJA as reported from several secondary sources are exactly the same.
- There seems no difference in the customs of marriage and bride price between the JHODIA and JHODIA PAROJA and these are tribal in character. **Large incidences of marriage between the members of JHODIA, JHODIA PAROJA and PAROJA as recorded during the study leads to the conclusion that they are one and the same tribe.**
- The divorce customs of the JHODIA and JHODIA PAROJA are same
- Their death rites resemble those of the PAROJA and establish their tribal character.
- Like the neighbouring tribes -Kandha, Gadaba, Konda Dora, Saora and the main tribe Paroja, they are hill cultivators who traditionally thrive on a subsistence economy based on land and forest and have little occupational diversification. Their economic standards are low and bulk of them is landless, marginal and small farmers. Thus they are **economically backward.**
- There is no difference in the food and drinks of the JHODIA and the PAROJA.
- The JHODIA has the same kind of religious beliefs and practices, gods, deities and spirits as those of PAROJA.
- Existence of magico-religious functionaries like Jani, Disari, Chalan, Gurumai belonging to their own community is essentially tribal in origin and in this respect the JHODIA not only have commonness with the main tribe PAROJA but with the neighbouring tribes like the Kandha, Gadaba, Saora etc.
- There is a great deal of similarity among the rituals and festivals observed by the JHODIA and PAROJA as well as other neighbouring tribes.
- The rich tradition of folk dance, song and music are integral part of tribal life and culture of the JHODIA which distinguishes them from others. In this arena of performing arts they are equal to the Paroja and Gadaba and rather excel their tribal neighbours.

- The Socio-Political system and traditional leadership pattern of the JHODIA is similar to those of the main tribe PAROJA
- Non-existence of the concept and practices of caste based social inequality and discrimination like untouchability in the JHODIA society establishes the fact that they are truly a distinct aboriginal tribal community –not a caste. The powerful influence of the caste society on their way of life is very minimal. As the early settlers of their territory and a part of the great PAROJA tribe, they have, by and large, preserved and maintained their own tribal traditions till today.

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## DISTRICTWISE DISTRIBUTION OF PAROJA POPULATION (1961 -2011)

Sl.No.	Name of the Districts		YEAR					
	Old	New	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	Balasore	Balasore	-	03	47	67	1	139
2		Bhadrak	-	-	-	-	6	3
3	Bolangir	Bolangir	-	03	08	128	9	60
4		Sonepur	-	-	-	-	-	6
5	Cuttack	Cuttack	340	13	55	-	39	33
6		Jagatsinghpur	-	-	-	-	12	60
7		Jajpur	-	-	-	-	-	19
8		Kendrapara	-	-	-	-	8	0
9	Dhenkanal	Dhenkanal	04	03	23	81	-	3
10		Anugul	-	-	-	-	2	14
11	Ganjam	Ganjam	-	-	82	79	5	106
12		Gajapati	-	-	-	-	6	33
13	Kalahandi	Kalahandi	16 410	12 853	19 451	28 217	21 456	21 250
14		Nuapara	-	-	-	-	38	7
15	Keonjhar	Keonjhar	-	12	19	327	2	12
16	Koraput	Koraput	1 41 694	1 93 736	2 47 304	3 22 545	1 80 446	2 21 828
17		Malakangiri	-	-	-	-	29 272	38 726
18		Nowrangapur	-	-	-	-	65 731	74 253
19		Rayagada	-	-	-	-	19 926	17 099
20	Mayurbhanj	Mayurbhanj	113	-	11	317	11	2
21	Phulbani	Kandhamal	03	-	46	02	44	0
22		Boudh	-	-	-	-	-	44
23	Puri	Puri	08	-	43	759	3	29
24		Khurda	-	-	-	-	120	559
25		Nayagarh	-	-	-	-	20	4
26	Sambalpur	Sambalpur	74	38	34	145	12	23
27		Baragarh	-	-	-	-	9	14
28		Deogarh	-	-	-	-	1	1
29		Jharsuguda	-	-	-	-	8	3
30	Sundergarh	Sundergarh	1220	38	62	669	114	298
		<b>Total</b>	<b>1 59 866</b>	<b>2 06 699</b>	<b>2 67 185</b>	<b>3 53 336</b>	<b>3 17 301</b>	<b>3 74 628</b>

Source : Census of India 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 &amp; 2011

**STUDY AREA, LOCATION, VILLAGES, HOUSEHOLDS, POPULATION, LITERACY, ECONOMIC STANDARDS ETC**

Name of the District	Name of the Block	Name of the Study Village	Ethnic Composition (in descending order of Social Hierarchy)	No of JHODIA Households	Population & (Literacy)			Economic Status						
					Male	Female	Total	Possession of Land Holdings				Annual Household Income (Approx.) (in Rs)		
								Highest (in Acs)	Lowest (in Acs)	Average (in Acs)	Landless HHs (No)	Highest	Lowest	Average
1. Rayagada	1.Kashipur	1. Upar Kodinga	Jhodia/Paraja, Sundhi, Domb	109	211	210	421	12.00	0.50	1.60	33	16000	2000	5750
		2. Malamba	Gouda,Kandha Jhodia/Paraja, Sundhi, Lohara, Domb	76	153	171	324	10.00	1.50	1.94	11	10000	3000	6002
		3. Andrakonch	Gouda, Jhodia/Paraja, Sundhi, Lohara, Domb	132	253	277	530	12.00	0.50	2.44	35	25000	2000	5447
2. Koraput	2.Dasmanthpur	4.Podabagri	Jhodia/Paraja, Domb, Ghasi	117	267	260	527	6.00	0.50	2.19	1	48000	4000	7282
3. Kalahandi	3.Thuamul-Rampur	5. Padadunga	Sundhi, Jhodia/Paraja, Lohara, Domb	61	167	140	307	10.00	0.50	3.47	14	12000	4000	6936
	4.Jaypatna	6. Chatabandhaguda	.Sundhi,Jhodia /Paraja	38	67	61	128	4.00	0.50	1.80	12	12000	2000	4895
4. Nabrangpur	5.Tentulikhunti	7. Naringijhola	Jhodia / Paraja	24	41	37	78	3.00	0.50	1.15	10	12000	3000	4541
<b>TOTAL- 4 Dists</b>	<b>5 Blocks</b>	<b>7 Villages</b>		<b>557</b>	<b>1159</b>	<b>1156</b>	<b>2315</b>	<b>12.00</b>	<b>0.50</b>	<b>2.23</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>48000</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>6054</b>



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