

Volume 47 Number 1 & 2 June & December 2007

Adivasi

PRIMITIVE TRIBAL GROUPS OF ORISSA
& THEIR DEVELOPMENT



Journal of the
Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes
Research and Training Institute, Bhubaneswar

Published by:

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

Editorial Board

Taradatt	Member	Commissioner-cum-Secretary, ST & SC Development Department, Government of Orissa
N.K.Behura	Member	Professor of Anthropology (Rtd.) Utkal University
K.K.Mohanti	Member	Ex-Director, SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar.
V.S.Upadhyaya	Member	Professor, Department of Anthropology, Ranchi University, Ranchi, Jharkhand.
P.K.Das	Member	Professor of Anthropology, Utkal University
A.B.Ota	Member-Editor	Director, SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar

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, Orissa, India. It publishes research papers in the field of social sciences, development studies, and problems of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It also publishes book reviews.

The facts presented and the views expressed in *ADIVASI* are the author's and not those of the Editor and the Editorial Board. The authors are solely responsible for the presentation of data and their opinions.

Information for authors: *Manuscripts must be typed on one side of sheet in double space. *Two copies of the manuscript including abstract along with the soft copy (CD/ Floppy) must be submitted. *Bibliography is to be listed alphabetically by author and chronologically for each author. *References to literature should follow the pattern as in *Current Anthropology* as follows.

BASCOM, W.R. 1951 Yoruba food, Africa 21.

BOVILL, E.W. 1933, Caravans of the Old Sahara, London : Oxford University Press.

DOGETT, H. 1965. "The development of the cultivated sorghums", in Essays on crop plant evolution .Edited by Sir Joseph Hutchinson, pp. 50-69, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Authors should send their brief bio-data.

All correspondences and communications should be addressed to the *Editor*.

Rate of Subscription:

Inland: Single Issue	Rs.15/-	Abroad: Single Issue	\$ 1 (one US \$)
Double Issue	Rs.30/-	Double Issue	\$ 2 (two US \$)
(Annual / Combined)		(Annual / Combined)	

Back Issues are available for sale. The journal is supplied also on *Exchange Basis*.

Cover Photograph: Courtesy: Dr. Gerhard Heller, Germany

ADIVASI

VOLUME 47 NUMBERS 1 & 2 JUNE-DECEMBER 2007

CONTENTS

Name of the Paper Contributors	Title of the Paper	Page
1. L.K. Mahapatra	Status, Hierarchy and Hinduisation in Pauri Bhuiyan Society in North Orissa	1
2. K. K. Mohanti	PTGs and Biodiversity Conservation	13
3. J. Dash	The Society and Economy of the Hill Kharia in Development Perspective	25
4. A.B. Ota	Primitive Tribal Groups of Orissa: An Overview	41
5. B. Chowdhury	Swidden Cultivation : The Pauri Bhuyan Way	48
6. R. N. Sahoo	Bondo Highlanders' Tradition & Development	59
7. J.P.Rout	Culturally Appropriate Housing for PTGs: Case Studies of the Hill Kharia, Mankidia & Paudi Bhuiyan of Orissa.	67
8. B.B. Mohanty	Development of PTGs in Orissa : A Case Study of Saora / Lanjia Saora	79
9. Nishakar Panda	Education: A Cardinal Basic Social Input for Economic Development of Primitive Tribes	89
10.A.C.Sahoo	Life & Culture of the Dongria Kondhs	98
11.K.J.N.Gowtham Shankar	Tribal Indigenous Knowledge - Its Relevance for Endogenous Development	110
12.S.C. Mohanty	Socio Economic Impact of Deforestation on the Juang of Gonasika with Special Reference to their Subsistence Activities	125
13.A. K. Gomango	Ethnic Healers among the Dongria Kondh of Orissa	139
14.Trilochan Sahoo	Mankirdia Quest for Development Interventions	150
15. Harihar Das & Devi Prasad Das	Mutation and Permutation In the Culture Scape of PTGs	158

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

EDITORIAL

Orissa has the distinction of having 13 Ethno- Cultural -Vulnerable tribal groups termed as **Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs)**. Each such group constitutes culturally homogeneous segment of the tribal population in the State.

The PTGs live in their remote mountainous habitats in a state of relative isolation - that has helped them to preserve their cultural identities manifested in their diverse languages, unique style of personal adornments, subsistence activities, magico-religious beliefs and practices, social organization and colourful folk traditions of arts, crafts, songs, dance and music. But their pace of development has been slower than the rest of their brethren belonging to other tribal communities.

Since the 5th Plan with the implementation of Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) approach, 13 PTGs have been identified in different interior pockets in the State of Orissa and 17 Micro Projects are functioning in these areas to bring about their all round development. During 11th Plan period emphasis has been given to effect planned change while conserving the best elements of their pristine culture. Since the Primitive Tribal Groups have become the thrust area of tribal development during the 11th plan period and the state has come up with Conservation cum Development Plan, a special volume on **Primitive Tribal Groups** is being brought out by the institute. The special volume contains a total number of 15 articles. All the articles are based on rich experience of the authors. A brief on each of the articles contained in this special volume are given below:

- **Status, Hierarchy and Hinduisation in Pauri Bhuiyan Society in North Orissa** is based on the empirical study done by the author among the Pauri Bhuiyan PTG in North Orissa and in this piece of paper the author has discussed at length the status, hierarchy and the process of hinduisation among the community.
- The second paper titled **PTGs and Biodiversity Conservation** is an excellent article which is based on the long standing experience of the author in the field of anthropological studies. It has touched upon the need of biodiversity conservation among the PTGs in the state.
- The third paper titled **The Society and Economy of the Hill Kharia in Development Perspective** gives a detailed account of the Society, Culture and Economy of the Hill Kharia - a Primitive Tribal Community of Orissa and this paper also describes at length their development perspective.
- The fourth paper titled **Primitive Tribal Groups of Orissa** gives an overview of the 13 Primitive Tribal Groups of Orissa and the 17 Micro Projects. This paper also focuses on the approach of the State Government for development of the PTGs in the 11th plan period.
- The fifth paper titled **Swidden Cultivation: The Pauri Bhuyan Way** has described at length the detailed account of the Swidden Cultivation practiced by the Pauri Bhuyan Community.

- The sixth paper titled **Bondo High Landers Tradition and Development** is a detailed account by a Social Scientist with rich experience on the Bondo Highlanders who have attracted the attention of researchers in the field of anthropology throughout the world.
- The seventh paper titled **Culturally appropriate housing for PTGs** is an interesting one which describes about the housing pattern of three PTGs of Orissa and suggests what kind of housing should be done for the three PTGs which would be culturally appropriate and acceptable to them.
- The eighth paper titled **Development of PTGs in Orissa: A Case Study of Saora/Lanjia Saora** gives a detailed account of the two PTGs of the state highlighting their developmental aspect.
- The ninth paper titled **Education: A Cardinal Basic Social input for Economic Development of Primitive Tribes** has discussed at length the educational level of the PTGs in the state of Orissa and has stressed on the need of education among the PTGs for sustainable development.
- The tenth paper titled **Life and Culture of the Dongria Kondhs** is a detailed account of the authors rich experience of working with the PTG and this describes in details their life and culture with a development tinge.
- The eleventh paper titled **Tribal Indigenous Knowledge - Its relevance for endogenous development** is paper with a novel approach and this paper deals in details how the tribal indigenous knowledge has got relevance for endogenous development of the PTGs.
- The twelfth paper titled **Socio-Economic Impact of Deforestation on the Juang of Gonasika with special reference to their subsistence activities** is a paper which has discussed at length how deforestation has a telling effect on the life and living on the Juang community who depend a lot on the forest resources for their survival.
- The thirteenth paper titled **Ethnic Healers among the Dongria Kondh of Orissa** has described in details about the ethnic healers among the Dongria Kondh.
- The fourteenth paper titled **Mankirdia Quest for Development Interventions** discusses in details about Mankirdia community and various issues for their sustainable development.
- The last paper titled **Mutation and Permutation in the culture scape of PTGs** gives an overview of the Culture Scape of the PTGs in Orissa.

I extend my sincere gratitude to all the paper contributors for their sincere efforts in contributing the articles for this volume of Adivasi. My sincere thanks goes to Shri S.C.Mohanty for giving a lot of time for a thorough reading of all the articles and giving substantial time and effort for bringing out this volume. I also hope that the articles incorporated in this volume will be of great help to the researchers, academicians, development practitioners and all those who are interested on the subject matter.

26th January 2008
Bhubaneswar

A.B.Ota
DIRECTOR

STATUS, HIERARCHY AND HINDUISATION IN PAURI BHUIYAN SOCIETY IN NORTH ORISSA

(Reprinted from the *ADIVASI*, the journal of SC & ST Research and Training Institute, Bhubaneswar)

Professor (Dr.) L.K.Mohapatra

I had undertaken field work among the Hill Bhuiyan, or Pauri Bhuiyan as the primitive tribal group called itself, in 1953-54 as Research Scholar of the Tribal Research Bureau, now known as Tribal and Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute. Through primarily I had taken up residence on the hill of Bonai in Tasra village in the lower hamlet. I had cultivated familiarity with some other villages in the valley below, like Derula with some lands seasonally irrigated by damming up a hill stream, or Budhabhuin along a hill stream, wedged between hills. Besides, I had undertaken some preliminary studies among the Pauri Bhuiyan resettled in Daleisara and Dhokamunda colonies with forest-cleared land under Government sponsorship. Some families from Tasra village had come down to resettle in a locality called Guhalbandha in Dhokamunda colony. In a way, these Tasra families were coaxed and cajoled to come down the hill village, but were maintaining social, ritual and economic ties with the mother village even in 1957, when I had got the last reports for writing my doctoral thesis on the people at Hamburg University. The status and roles of village functionaries as also the basic dichotomy of the society between the high status *Matiali* and *Parja* or lower status were maintained even when the villagers were resettled at Guhajbandha. Another basic status dichotomy between men and women has also been taken up, as it is forcefully obvious in their society.

In the following pages, I deal with the basic quasi-hierarchical division of the society between *Matiali* and *Parja* and the ascribed and achieved statuses found in the society, besides discussing in general the role of wealth and power at the base of this hierarchy in village society. A discussion is presented on the social position of the Pauri Bhuiyan in relation to other tribal groups and Hindu castes and their orientation to Hindu society in general in the region at the junction of 4 ex-Princely States, namely Bonai (at present in Sundargarh district), Keonjhar (at present constituting Kendujhar district), Pallahara (at present in Dhenkanal district) and Bamra (at present in Debagarh district). The facts and relations described refer to the 1950's and most probably equally well, to the 1960's.

Status, Ascribed and Achieved:

Fifth regards the social status of a person as "his position in a social system, represented by the rights and privileges he enjoys and the obligations or duties he should perform" (Human Types, P. 103). Status may be "ascribed" that is, given by virtue of birth or "achieved" that is attained by virtue of individual merits. The fact that ascribed status may be denied because of ritual, physical or mental deficiencies does not invalidate this important distinction.

The priests, because of their vital roles in the economic life and physical well-being of the villagers, enjoy high social status, as does the Headman for his socio-political leadership in corporate activities of the village. These are the most highly prized positions in the society which are open only to the *Matiali* section as a whole. Others who are not born in this group are debarred from these offices and privileges.

Against these cases of ascribed status are available a wide range of opportunities for achieved social status. Through acquisition of proper knowledge one might attain the very important status of medicineman-cum-shaman, or at least a lower position of diviner-cum-exorcizer. The social status of the witches is not low, perhaps primarily because they come from the wealthiest households, but they also enjoy certain circumspect consideration through fear, which impels villagers to be on good term with them.

We may note that, the offices of Member of *Grama Panchayat* and his assistants have tended to be attained by *Parja* man. Assistants to the priests and priestesses are selected *ad hoc* and the senior *Parja* are usually welcome because of their experience. The messengers of the village Assembly are junior *Parja* elders. Proficiency in singing, beating drums or tambourines, dancing, handicrafts, hunting or other skills, especially in making good speeches, brings prestige and thus contributes to the social status of a person.

Apart from such achieved status but closely allied to it is, the higher status accorded to a married individual, especially to a family having its own household, the head of the household being automatically an elder of the Village Assembly.

Women are accorded a lower social status than that of men in general. They are, however, far from being chattels or repressed. Their contribution in the economic life is indispensable and vital, they may accumulate property of their own and bequeath it as they think fit, have almost as much say as their men have in household affairs and specially on the question of marriage of children, and they worship village deities and demons, and hold festivities of their own and sometimes act as a group. On the other hand, there is male precedence in rituals and festivities and exclusive male control of socio-political affairs of the village, easier divorce for the men and denial to the women of inheritance of important forms of wealth including land. In day-to-day life, however, they appear to be brave and independent and not at all complaining, and they do not have any trace of *purdah* system, which in rural west-Orissa is not so prominent as in the east. However, we have noted that even in food consumption they appear to be under privileged as in other aspects of life in this patrilineal and markedly patrilocal society. But the women proudly referred either to the high status of their parents of *Matiali* lineages of their ancestral villages or to their present incorporation in the *Matiali* clan-section.

The all important distinction of sex, and the fundamental division of the *Matiali* and the *Parja* based on birth in or outside the clan-section of the first-settlers, supplemented by differences of age, holds the key to social status in the village. Added to this are the position in the lineage and even the length of time a lineage from outside has settled in Tasra. The former factor is very important in succession of traditional offices and inheritance and the latter, in the delegation of an important office (Member) to the seniormost elder of the oldest immigrant lineage from Iti village in Pal-Lahasra. Thus viewed ascribed status is of paramount importance in the socio-political life of the village. However, it must be noted that opportunities for achieving status are increasing in the "unreserved" spheres of handicrafts or of new offices like member and his assistants or even of wealth.

The Village Community and *Matiali* and *Parja* Sections:

Firth defines a human community as "... a body of people sharing in common activities and bound by multiple relationships in such a way that the aims of any individual can be achieved only by participation in action with others" (p. 41, 1951). Besides the aspect of living together, the term. "Involves a recognition, derived from

experience and observation, that there must be minimum conditions of agreement on common aims, and inevitably some common ways of behaving, thinking, and feeling" (p. 27, 1951). Obviously Tasra village is a community, into which people are born, in which they live, work, marry and die. Besides its territorial integrity, ritual and economic unity, social and political solidarity and general behavioural conformity, the community has also some local pride and distinctiveness in many ways as against the adjacent villages. The hamlets may be taken as sub-communities.

But this should not cover up certain fundamental divergence of status and roles, power and wealth. In general of interests between the two segments of the community: the *Matiali* and the *Parja*. The *Matiali* are descended from the first settlers of Tasra and formally incorporate the immigrant families of *Parja* on the oath that the latter would recognise the former's authority and obey the "law of the land" including the local rituals and other customs. The very term "*Parja*" means "subjects" and "*Matiali*" stands for "*children of the soil*", who have right as "*Khuntkatidar*" or first settlers who cleared the forest.

As these groups ultimately derive their character from their divergent relations to the village territory, in this sense these are here viewed as territorial groups. The *Matiali* group forms a definite clan section as described above, while the *Parja* group is an amorphous body of immigrant families. The latter's group character is understandable in contradistinction to the *Matiali* group, especially at the time of the ceremony of founding the village (hamlet) site, at drinking of beer with the priests and at the funeral ceremony which I had attended. At the first one an immigrant family is formally awarded the status of a villager, or if already living at Tasra, is required formally to re-affirm his loyalty to the *Matiali* section in the name of the Headman and the priests and is to prepare some native beer for the ceremony. Now in cases of incorporation the incumbent has to feed the village (hamlet) in a ceremony of *Ubura-Sabura* or ritual purification, in the other two cases the *Parja* as a group were entertained apart from the *Matiali* and the *Bandhu* (affinal relatives from outside). At the funeral ceremony the *Parja* were first greeted and welcomed and then the *Bandhu*, the *Matiali* group playing the host. This latter occasion demonstrated the precedence of specific territorial ties with the *Parja* (who may also be *Bandhu* or affinal relatives) over the *Bandhu* which is a pure kingroup.

Formerly, the *Parja* had no claim to any important official functions except being assistants to priest. The opening of the "*Grama Panchayat*" or council of villages has created a new avenue for good orators among the senior members of *Parja*.

Wealth and Power:

While dealing with indebtedness we have noted that there were about 7 households which are considered well-to-do in the sense that they do not go hungry in the lean months. Only one family, a recent immigrant from Khadka where they have agricultural land and fruit-trees, can claim to be wealthy with about 200 Kilo paddy as a saving. There is another well-to-do *Parja* household, also recent immigrant from Khadka with landed property, from which, some share in the proceeds comes yearly, as in the other case. Along with 5 *Matiali* households they also save some money. One well-to-do *Matiali* household has some paddy saved, because there are only two souls in the family and as a priest at Kumudih the remuneration is of some good amount. Moreover, the household is a bit miserly; hence it saves better.

The *Matiali* section claims 18 households and the *Parja* 19. With living houses excluding the livestock sheds and including the sheds for hasking lever where it is separately constructed. We find the *Matiali* have 37 huts between them and the *Parja* 29. The difference becomes more marked when we come to consider cattle and maize-gardens. Thirteen households of the *Matiali* have one or more cattle as against only 7 households among the *Parja*. Similarly, all the 18 *Matiali* households have one and in some cases two plots of maize-gardens while only 8 *Parja* households own a plot. Of course, a few more *Parja* could obtain a plot by standing drinks for the village elders. Kitchen garden is similarly scarce and almost monopolized by the *Matiali* section. One might argue: first come, first served. But the fact is that there is a number of have-nots. Even there are some plots cultivated by the *Parja* with permission of their legal "owners". If we take the wooden husking lever as an instance of capitalization of effort, there are 6 among the *Matiali* and 3 among the *Parja*. Hurricane lanterns purchased more for show than for use were found with 5 *Matiali* households and those 3 *Parja* households who had or have intimate associations with plains people in Pallahara and Bamra. Out of 10 plots of scarce agriculture-terraces 8 belong to the *Matiali* group. They also own the great majority of jackfruit trees.

We may also note that production is correlated with working hands and industry. Though wealth increases social status, wealth by itself hardly leads to power. Of the two *Parja* well to do households, the one wealthiest has little power. Power is shared now only with the oldest and nearest immigrant lineage in the village. Partly the motivation may be to keep the centre of new power at a safe distance in Tal Tasra hamlet, where the Headman does not reside.

It remains just to be pointed out that the *Parja* owe loyalty to the *Matiali* section as a whole, and to the priests and the Headman in particular, and to the deities and demons of the village territory. They have to stand some native beer as something like a yearly tribute. Besides, all the households had been contributing paddy for the *Dehuria Dhana* or *Priestly Granary*, collected and managed by the priests and the Headman. At the time of the dissolution in 1950-51 as an institution of the total village, the paddy was distributed among the *Matiali* families, with a half of the cereals used in feasting the village. On the occasion of occupying swiddens senior priest and the Headman demarcate the shares on the spot.

Thus the *Matiali* group, deriving power ultimately from their descent from the first settlers of the village, are on the whole better off, own greater wealth, and exercise power over the *Parja* as a whole to the material advantage of their group interests. The leadership however, lies in the hands of senior priests and the Headman, and of late is shared in a secondary non-traditional sphere with a *Parja* of an influential lineage. Among the women the older priestesses exercise leadership assisted by elderly *Parja* ladies.

Men and Women:

Men of the village or hamlet act as a group as participants in the village (hamlet) assembly, on hunting and fishing trips, in village (hamlet) rituals when a male representative from each household is required to partake of the offerings in general drinking of beer or feasting on other communal occasions. They also cook and serve all the assembled men and women in funeral and marriage ceremonies. They meet daily in the bachelors' dormitory or on 'Manda Darabara' outside around the fire to gossip and deliberate. The men act and interact as a group almost daily round the year. Of course, here the children are excepted.

The women, however, come together as a group on only a few occasions. The rituals *Udhuni Bhasna* and *Rahani Bhasna* are organized and executed exclusively by the women, when they partake of the offerings. On the day of *Dhuliani* the women play the most important roles in the worshipping of *Baram* deity reciting what appear to be origin myths, besides staging a mock hunting in men's dress. On the occasion of *Pankhira Pitha* day, they as a body cook and offer the cakes and flowers to the men folk in general. Similarly, they also offer cakes to older men and young men on the occasion of *Rahani Bhasna* ceremony. Occasionally, they cook food together out of some village funds and distribute the food household-wise. As the men work under the guidance and leadership of priests and Headman, the women also are guided by elder women of the priestly families, who alone worship in the rituals.

Although the women act as a group on much fewer occasions, they nonetheless fulfil important functions in the rituals and festivities of the village/ hamlet as a whole. However, they never come together from all the households in the whole village as a group-unlike in the case of men, except at the time of funeral and marriage ceremonies when they set together the food cooked and served by men.

In fairness to the women it must be remarked that collecting of tubers and yams, fruits or flowers, etc. does not yield to organised exploitation as hunting or fishing by men, and participation in political life of the village is denied to them. These facts together shut them off from a great many opportunities for collective action. However, in comparison with Hindu villages the participation of women as a body in the village rituals and festivities should be remarkable, partly because there are no caste farmers in tribal society.

The Priests:

The Dehuri *bamsa* or maximal lineage is the seniormost in the *Matiali*, section and provides the priests. On rare occasions, however, some senior members of the Naika *bamsa* may officiate when the regular priests are ill or involved in ritual pollution.

The priest (Dehuri) for *Baram* deity is of the highest rank, that of *Gaenshri* (village mother goddess) and the *Pat* deities and *Nishar* comes in the second position while the priest for the *Sarani Pat* occupies the third rank.

Strangely enough, the priest of *Bharali Pat* the highest deity of the *Batis Bar* organisation, is relegated to a lower rank than that of the priests for the village deities. This might be due to the fact that the village deities have much more important roles in the rituals touching upon the economic life and security system than *Bharaji Pat* has. For the latter, the junior most sub-lineage had always provided the priest, as a rule.

The priesthood is usually hereditary in the sub-lineage, but not strictly so. The eligible *Baram* priest has come not from the senior most sub-lineage, which had, however, taken care of *Gaenshri* and the other *Pat* deities. The eldest son usually takes over the duties. If he is young or incapable, then the next brother has the privilege to serve. The division of the village into hamlets has loosened the succession to priesthood.

The priestesses do not have any emoluments except a sumptuous meal with meat and social prestige. A village priest especially that of *Gaenshri* and *Bahmuni Pat* was once helped by the men of the hamlet in cutting of his new swidden, and had to stand only native beer. Besides this, a priest who worships on the ceremonial hunting days gets a special share of the game.

However, the Tasra priests serving in three valley villages, Kumudih, Barcua and Rengali, got handsome presents including cloth, and the priest of Kumudih had even a few agricultural plots on service tenure. As the Tasra Matiali and lived in these villages in the valley, only they could worship and appease the deities and demons of the neighbourhood villages.

The Village Headman:

The village Headman or *Naika* comes from the *Naika bamas* or (maximal lineage). The eldest son always has the right to this office. But when the would-be *Naika* is a minor the next younger brother of the former *Naika* may manage the affairs. In Derula because the father was quite old (about 90), the eldest son was handed over the office.

The Headman takes active interest in the well being of the village, its cultivation and law and order situation. He is formally recognised by the local police-station at Mahulpada and thus by the Government. All transactions of the Government officials were formerly directed to him alone and at present shared in some minor respects with the Panchayat Member.

But he is far from being an autocrat. He is the most powerful spokesman of the village and the first among equals, though these "equals" are the Matiali people of the village. He first introduces a topic to be decided upon by mentioning the gravity, the urgency or simply the import of the occasion, and then listens to the opinions proffered by senior elders, Matiali and Parja. From time to time he sums up the discussion and puts some critical points of decision for further ratification or clarification. Though he is implicitly obeyed, his approach in commanding people is courteous and cautious, by way of giving indirect instruction. However, I have noted already how the Headman reinforces his authority with sorcery, of which he and his wife are suspected.

Apart from the social precedence shared with senior priests he enjoys no emoluments of any significance. Sometimes the villagers may work for him and get sumptuously fed for that. Formerly he had a special share on the day of successful ceremonial hunting. But he was also to give a suitable counter-present.

A junior Headman was responsible for internal day-to-day affairs in Tal Tasra. After his shifting to Upar Tasra, I found nobody working as such in 1957.

The Panchayat Member:

This new office has been introduced in 1953 when the "Grama Panchayat" (Council of Villages) Act of the Orissa Government came into effect in Mahulpada region. Every village was to send an elected Member to the council which set at least once a month. In a village assembly composed of elders of both the hamlets, a senior intelligent *Parja* elder, known to be a good speaker and a right-hand man of the Headman was also selected as an assistant or *Sipai* to the Member.

After the death of the member a senior *Parja* from old iti lineage, an experienced speaker, having some experience with plains ways, was elected as his successor. The other *Parja* elder and another good speaker, a *Kutumb* of the Matiali group, both from Upar Tasra, were appointed as *Sipai* or assistants. In both cases the Members were from Tal Tasra. As the power and authority of the Member might directly clash with that of the Headman, it was advisable that the new locus of power was kept at a distance in Tal

Tasra. We have also noted that many in Tal Tasra and some in Upar Tasra also suspected sorcery inflicted by the Headman causing death to the former Member. This happened allegedly because of the latter's popularity and rising prospects of his emerging as a rival to the Headman's power. Such motivations might have goaded the Headman to provide for some handy safeguards in nominating assistant (s) faithful to him and under his direct control in Upar Tasra. That his fears are not ill-founded is now somewhat clear. After the junior Headman's shifting to Upar Tasra and as there was nobody from the Naika lineage in Tal Tasra, the Member had been managing the day to day affairs in the informal capacity of a junior Headman.

Diviners, Medicinemen and Sorcerers:

Ordinary diviners are known as Sagunia. They not only divine but also exercise disease-spirits or deities. Diviners of higher order, especially dealing with suspicion of sorcery, are Raulia or medicineman. The latter can work against sorcery and may also prescribe certain herbal medicines. All the Raulia in Tasra are Chedunia or those who may counteract sorcery but cannot inflict. A Rautia also gets possessed by spirits or deities and may be compared to shamans. Shamanism is very widespread in the region, even the Case, a Hindu-caste, employ shamans on serious crises like difficult labour, sorcerers are known as Pangna and sorceresses as Pangni. Diviners, medicinemen and sorcerers (Sorceresses) learn their trade from 'Guru' or teacher-experts and their specialized education is the nearest approach to formal instruction.

A medicineman enjoys high prestige in the village because of his capacity to save lives and cure diseases. A diviner is approached for smaller ailments and is the person of first call and has the tendency to function like a family doctor. There are about 2 medicinemen as against 4 or 5 diviners. It is perhaps not without significance that both the Members of Tasra were either Raulia or Sagunia.

However sorcery is discredited and considered a crime, but the sorcerers and sorceresses are feared and one dare not anger them for nothing. This potential threat of sorcery becomes a good weapon for maintaining power as in the Headman's case. But in extreme cases of sorcery one might be expelled from the village.

Incipient Stratification:

Firth notes: "*When a graded system of statuses is of general operation in a society, affecting many spheres of social activity, it is termed a system of social stratification. Here, each stratum or layer in the grading scheme is composed of people who fill much the same position in the social structure*". (Human Tyhpes, Para, 105). Obviously, there must be two horizontal layers at the least. We have seen how and to what extent the *Matiali* section has social precedence, economic advantages, political power and ritual control over the *Parja*, who are led and guided by the former. The *Matiali* higher social status is always acknowledged by the *Parja*. The lowest occupation that of day labourer, is also resorted to by the *Parja* in great numbers and shunned by the *Matiali* except for the two or three helpless widows. When it comes to carrying something for a visiting official it is the poorer *Parja* who are ultimately prevailed upon to do, so, when erecting my house even old *Parja* men were working while younger senior priests and the Headman were just directing most of the time. Costlier marriages and funeral (cremation) also are consulted by the *Matiali*.

All these and other details described above go to show that there is some sharp break between the *Matiali* and the *Parja*, however relative it may appear in day to day life. The *Matiali* section resembles in many ways a landholding aristocracy and the *Parja*, commoners or second class citizens. The designations even as analogy must be sharply trimmed to have real meaning in the actual situation. Though the *Matiali* were descended from the first settlers they do not expressly claim that all land belongs to them and them alone. On the other hand, they emphasise that every villager has right to get land according to his needs for making sweiddens, and for other purposes when there is suitable land. Under these circumstances I have defined the land-tenure as "*corporate village ownership*". Moreover, both the *Matiali* and the *Parja* must work hard for their subsistence, and there is no *leisure* class. As for the rank of the *Parja* (literally, *subjects*), to compare them with commoners is to disregard the fact that in the recent, or back in the remote, past each of these *Parja* ancestors belonged to the *Matiali* section of their respective ancestral villages. Even today they cherish the memory of their higher social rank in ancestral villages.

Even under such limitations and with free intermarriage between the *Parja* and *Matiali*, it appears there is some sort of loose social stratification between the compact, powerful, numerous, *Matiali* section and the *Parja* from diverse lineages and villages, an odd assortment of affinal relatives owing individually and collectively the overall loyalty to the *Matiali*. That this is a legitimate right of the *Matiali* to be the traditional leaders and loci of power in the village is accepted by all parties.

If the image of such a loose ascent stratification does not conform strictly to the classical module of *estate* (*Stand* in German) or *class*, that is not of fundamental importance. The more significant point of observation is, that in an apparently *egalitarian* society may lie hidden a strong tendency to formation of something like classes or estates. In whatever rudimentary form it may be, Dr. Elwin has already discovered a clearer formation of social classes among the Hill Saora, where the aristocracy prefer their sons to marry within the aristocracy and may accept girls from, but never marry their own into, the commoners called proletariat by him (1955: 50-52).

Status Change in Government Colonies:

As all the colonists have come together to an unoccupied area there are no *Matiali* rights in socio-political status. But the *Matiali* section of the mother-villages retains the posts of Headman and Priests as usual. Although Dihabandhani ceremony (Village Site Foundation day) is still observed, one of the main purposes, that is, admission of new *Parja* and reassurance of loyalty of the old *Parja* has lost its meaning. But the Pauri as a whole have gained some political power over the Cerenga Kolha and the few Banjkar colonists. The Pauri are in majority, the whole scheme was mainly to bring them down and the visiting officers and permanent officials give more weight to the Pauri Bhuiyan in all affairs of colony life. The Cerenga Kolha are untouchable and of lower status. At Ghaibandha colony, where they live away from the Bhuiyan, the domination of the latter is more obvious than in the exclusively Cerenga colonies with their own headman and priests. At Guhal-bandha they are asked to contribute for Debi Usa and perhaps many other festivities of the Pauri Bhuiyan in the name of the village, while the Pauri do not contribute anything in Cerenga rituals. This has been so for three of Tasra who all came in a group, which is numerically the majority and dominant group, supplying the headman and the priests. Secondly, the Cerenga had always acknowledged

the Bhuiyan as the Lords of the land and themselves as their Parja, rather figuratively, so much so that in the Mahulpada valley they would not collect forest tharch-grass before the Bhuiyan do, where the interests clash. Thirdly the Pauri Bhuiyan have always worshipped the village deities in the valley village of Jagati, Mahulpada, Barcua, Rengali and Kumudih, where formerly the Cerenga Kolha lived. I suspect the Pauri Bhuiyan of Daleisara colony have similar status of dominance over the Cerenga Kolha of Rata Khandi colony. Incidentally, Patnaik has always referred to the Cerenga Kolha of the colonies as Munda, as they speak a Mundari language (GRI, 1957). (Cerenga pronounced as Cherenga).

Patnaik has rightly pointed to the weakening position of the Headman and senior priests in the colonies (GRI, 1957, p.-13). But he does not fully explain the situation when he says. "The causes of their ineffectiveness in the village are obviously due to contacts with outside people and the gradual breakdown of the village solidarity after wet cultivation has been introduced" (ibid. P.13).

In the next sentence, he implies, village solidarity is impaired, as in "wet cultivation (agriculture) economic interdependence and constant (frequent) need for co-operation are not necessary as they are in the cultivation of biringa (Kaman) or shifting cultivation. "(Brackets enclose the terms preferred). Sharing cattle and implements and much co-operative labour are not necessary or possible in the colony as the Governmental help and the insistent need for reclaiming land by each household for its private exploitation have made a household autonomous and acquisitive to that extent. On the other hand, the older pattern of celebrating village rituals and festivals, communal partnership groups for arranging them, collective hunting expeditions, however few, and the bachelors' dormitories on the colony basis, and even having the institution of Priests Granary or Dehuria Dhana in Kuutola and Jhinkar Gahira colonies (from Kunu and Kundia hill villages) show that the old village solidarity is still much preserved. However, the custom of joint cultivation of a swidden by the youngmen and maidens of a colony for their own common interests, as in hill villages, was preserved till forest were available to make swiddens. As the forest land was reduced into agricultural plots, privately owned, this automatically stopped, in this instance, the village or colony solidarity of the young persons suffered heavy economic and social deprivation due to conditions of agriculture. The threat to village solidarity came also from two other sources. Firstly, some colonies, Guhalbandha and Ekpadi, are composed of colonists from two or three or even more villages. Moreover, a few colonies like Guhalbandha may be composed of two or more tribes, Pauri, Cerenga and Bentkar. In this condition colonies present different physical composition from the old exclusive Pauri villages. When Pauri colonist from a hill village have stayed in an exclusive colony together they have preserved even Dehuria Dhana, pointing to the solidarity of and surviving allegiance to, the Matiali section of those villages. Secondly, unlike in a hill village the colonists are not bound to pay allegiance to any definite section in the colony for the rights in land and other facilities. All are given equal chances, legally of course, and all owe loyalty directly to the Government, represented by their big local/ visiting officers. There is no solid dominant Matiali section having first rights and no clustering of the Parja round it, and hence the political, composition of the old village solidarity is lacking. Where the fiction of this old Matiali-Parja relationship persist, because of a total transplantation of the village, in that case the village solidarity of the old type appears to hold on in the colony. *Thus, both the decrease in old village solidarity and the weakening of the position of former Headman of a Pauri village, in fact the spokesman and leader of the Matiali section, among the colonists may be rather explained in terms of the altered political and economical status derived wholly from*

outside authority and outside traditional territory, and not merely in terms of settled agriculture and contacts with outside people as such. Fundamentally for this reason, reinforced by direct and daily contacts with the authority of government officers and officials, visiting or stationed at Daleisara colony, the old village solidarity and the old position of the Headman and Priests in the colony will be impaired still more. That my interpretation of the dynamics of this change is basically sound is supported by Patnaik's following observation in 1950, when shifting cultivation was in full swing at Daleisara colony. "The position of Naek (headman) is being lowered and his voice is becoming less and less effective in the management of village affairs. (GRI, 1952, p. 24).

Inter Community Status and Hinduization:

In the Kola valley round Mahulpada the Gond tribals and Pan Scheduled Caste count along with the Pauri Bhuiyan as the earliest settlers. Cerenga Kolha and later on Kissan tribals came before the various Hindu castes and Mundari and Munda Kolha immigrants. The present Headman of Mahulpada, whose grandfather came from Sihiria in the north-west, belongs to the oldest Casa cultivator family in this area. The village servant castes, water-men and cowherds, blacksmiths, oilmen, washermen, liquor-sellers etc. came to join the thriving villages. A Brahman priest comes from a faraway village to serve the Casa, Gour and Gond people. THE Gond, calling themselves as Raj Gond are here completely Hinduized, and count as a clean Hindu caste employing Brahman priest, washerman and barber, although the watermen do not serve them water in rituals or festivities and water from them is not accepted by higher castes like Casa, Gour, (Watermen and cowherd), Barber, and Brahman. The barber family at Mahulpada was brought in 1954 expressly to serve the higher caste people of Mahulpada region.

The Hill Bhuiyan, though not yet served by Brahman and only occasionally by a Barber, require washerman at all important rituals and water is accepted from them by all castes and tribes. In the latter aspect they are in a higher ritual status than the Gond and the Mundari from whom the higher castes do not take water. The Pauri on their part take water only from Casa, watermen and cowherds, and Brahman. However, they will not accept cooked rice from even Brahman, not to speak of other castes and tribes. As in actual life some adjustment has to be made with the numerous Gond clients in Kumudih and Rengali and other villages where Pauri Bhuiyan priests worship village deities, they accept rice-cakes fried in oil, but not boiled in water in an earthen pot, from perhaps the last two castes only in 1954. For the Pauri Bhuiyan, the basketmaker and musician Ghasi, Pan and Cerenga Kolha are untouchable, as also Kamar, blacksmith who use pair of cow-hide. In this bias they identify themselves with all clean castes. The Pan have left Daleisara and Dhokamunda teachers take into consideration this bias of Pauri colonists against Cerenga Kolha ones. The Benjkar tribals are not untouchable, though water is not accepted from them by their co-brethren, the Pauri Bhuiyan. The Mundari who have left eating cattle are sitting by side with the Pauri Bhuiyan at Mahulpada or Derula schools.

The Gond and Pan castes and the Kissan are at present striving hard to raise their social and ritual status. The Gond demand to get their menstruating women's clothes washed by the washermen, who do this only in case of Pauri Bhuiyan, Casa and Gour in the locality. But the washermen did not agree to this demand in their caste council. The Pan have now taken to worshipping Bisri Debi, a locally popular Hindu goddess, separately on their own and are trying to stop their practice of removing dead cattle from the villages including that of the Pauri Bhuiyan colonies. This function will in all

probability be taken over by Ghasi untouchables. Some Kissan have gone so far as to engage good Brahman in their marriage ceremonies and a Gour man serves water at these ceremonies to the Brahman priest, as he would not accept water from the Kissan. It may be foreseen with all probability that the Pauri Bhuiyan in colonies will try to engage Barber and later on even Brahman priest at their marriages, besides accepting cooked rice from the Brahman. The last practices may not come soon, as the Bathudi in Keonjhar, since long Hinduized, would not accept such food from any outsider caste even in 1950.

Of especial importance is the relation of the Pauri Bhuiyan with Magadha Gour, who often live with the latter in his village. Marriages with a Gour man or woman is not rare and as early as 1896 D.A. Mac Millan had already noted them. At Tasra an old man had married a Gour woman (in 17 P.) who was socio-ritually accepted into the Pauri society at a Bar celebration. Similarly, a Gour of Pattamund village in Bonai married a Pauri woman, who was assimilated into the Gour caste in 1957.

We have already seen how the Pauri borrow seed and grains, sometimes even money from Gour, Gond, Casa, Pan, Teli (oilmen) or Shundi (liquor seller) and even a Cerenga Kolha. After coming to the colony some Tasra Bhuiyan had taken loans from Khuntgaon in the north-west. Their credit-worthiness, not only the area of credit operations, seem to have increased. When they would be able to get loans at 25% interest in the valley, and from the Government granary at Kumudih, the bitter feeling against the money-lenders and their castes might disappear.

There is Jajmani system of fixed patronage for washerman, cowherds and blacksmiths in the valley. A washerman or blacksmith served a few villages and no other man conventionally enters into competition by offering the same service. The Barber and the Brahman have the same system. A Gour cowherd has been kept in some colonies to lend cows on payment of grains and rations at a fixed rate per cow, bullock or calf. The Pauri already had such relation with washerman and Gour in Tasra for some time. Thus, there is great probability that the Pauri in the colony will be drawn into the jajmani system of some services as in the valley.

The Pauri Bhuiyan are traditional priests of village deities in Rengali, Kumudih, Jagati, Mahulpada, Barchua and perhaps a few other non-Pauri villages, and they are considered as the oldest occupants of land and hills (excepting specific case of Tasra, where the Bhuiyan came later on). Also their ritual status in the Hindu eyes is the highest among all the tribal groups in the region. For all these reasons, their social status is the highest among all tribals perhaps excluding the Hinduized Gond in Mahulpada region.

However, the Hindus hold the Pauri in contempt for certain of their practices, also found among some other local tribes. They do act wash with water after defecation. They yoke cows to plough, which is considered sacrilegious. The institution of dormitories, dancing of woman, premarital sexual laxity, ignorance and illiteracy, general dirtiness of habits and of person, eating certain rats and birds including one which takes human night soil, rotten meat of dead animals, and brewing native beer, burying the dead, and perhaps a few other qualities and practices are looked down upon. Nonetheless, they highly appreciate their love and truth, steadiness in friendship and promises, engaging hospitality, courage and endurance. Moreover, the people of the valley are also afraid of Pauri Bhuiyan sorcery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Elwin. V.	1965	The Religion of an Indian Tribe, Oxford.
Mahapatra, L.K.	1960	A Hill Bhuiyan village: An Empirical Socio-Economic Study. Dr. Phil Disseriation, Hamburg University (Mimeographed)
Patnaik, N.	1952	"The Pauri Bhuiyan of Daleisara" in Geographical Review of India, Vol. XIV, June.
Patnaik, N.	1957	"Daleisara Revisited" in Geographical Review of India, Vol. XIX, June.
Rath, R.	1951	Elements of Social Organization, London
Rath, R.	1958	Human Types, Revised Edition, Mentor.

PTGs AND BIODIVERSITY CONSERVATION

Professor (Dr.) K.K.Mohanti

Indian society is multiracial, multilingual and pluricultural. It has three broad segments, such as (1) folk (tribal communities) (2) peasant (rural caste communities) and (3) urban (town/city dwellers). Each segment is complementary and mutually inclusive. Each segment has unique characteristic features. People of the first segment interact with the second and both segments interact with the third. Thus, they constitute a continuum, which is known as '*folk-urban continuum*'. Amidst a number of diversities India has preserved its unity over time. Tribal communities scheduled in the constitution as per Article - 342 have recorded their population as 84.3 million which is 8.20 per cent of the total population (2001 Census) of the Country. They were regarded as autochthonous inhabitants of India and were known with different appellations, such as *adivasi*, *adimjati*, *janjati*, *vanyajati*, *vanavasi*, *girijan*, etc. Currently, they are called, *scheduled tribes* or *anusuchit janajati*.

In Orissa there are 62 tribal communities with 112 sub-tribes / sections recognised by Government of India. They are classified under 3 broad linguistic groups, such as Austro-Asiatic (Munda), Dravidian and Indo-Aryan. They constitute 22.13 per cent of the total population of the State, as per 2001 Census. Each tribal community has distinctive characteristic features reflected in their social, economic, political and religious sub-systems. Each possesses its own unique culture which differentiates one from the other. For instance, in economic considerations all tribal groups do not enjoy the same status. They earn their livelihood through settled cultivation, shifting cultivation collection and sale of minor forest produce, food-gathering, hunting, fishing, manufacture of handicrafts and art objects, labour in agricultural as well as non-agricultural sectors, service in government and non-government organisations, petty business, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labour, etc. Therefore, their economic condition is not uniform. Generally, speaking, their economy is mostly subsistence-oriented. Some communities have better economic status whereas others are backward and still others are very backward. Thus, those tribal communities which are economically the most vulnerable, require special attention in the realm of planned development intervention.

During the 5th Plan (1974-79) period Government of India decided to put special emphasis for all round development of the most economically vulnerable tribes. These communities were designated as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs). In course of time, 75 such groups were identified in our country. They are enlisted below:

(A) Andhra Pradesh (12)

1. Bodo Gadaba
2. Bondo Paroja
3. Chenchu
4. Dongria Khond
5. Gutob Gadaba
6. Khond Paroja
7. Kolam
8. Konda Reddy
9. Kutia Khond
10. Konda Savaras
11. Parengi Paroja
12. Thotis

(B) Bihar (9)

13. Asurs
14. Birhor
15. Birjia
16. Hill Kharia
17. Korwas
18. Malpaharias
19. Pahariyas
20. Sauria Paharias
21. Savar

(C) Gujarat (5)

22. Kathodi
23. Kotwalia
24. Padhar
25. Siddi
26. Kolgha

(D) Karnataka (2)

27. Jenu Kuruba
28. Konaga

(E) Kerala (5)

29. Cholanaikayan
30. Kadar
31. Katunayakan
32. Kurumba
33. Koraga

(F) Madhya Pradesh (7)

34. Abhuj Marias
35. Baigas
36. Bharias
37. Hill Korbas
38. Kamars
39. Saharias
40. Birhor

(G) Maharashtra (3)

41. Katkaria
(Kathodia)
42. Kolam
43. Maria Gond

(H) Manipur (1)

44. Marram Nagas

(I) Orissa (13)

45. Birhor
46. Bondo
47. Chuktia Bhunjia
48. Didayi
49. Dongria Kandha
50. Juang
51. Kharia
52. Kutia Kandha
53. Lanjia Saora

54. Lodha
55. Mankirdia
56. Paudi Bhuiyan
57. Saora

(J) Rajasthan (1)

58. Saharias

(K) Tamilnadu (6)

59. Kattu Naickans
60. Kotas
61. Kurunbas
62. Irulas
63. Panians
64. Todas

(L) Tripura (1)

65. Riangs

(M) Uttar Pradesh (2)

66. Buxas
67. Rajis

(N) West Bengal (3)

68. Birhor
69. Lodhas
70. Totas

(O) Andaman & Nicobar Islands (5)

71. Great Andamanese
72. Jarwas
73. Onges
74. Sentinelese
75. Shompens

Out of them the maximum number of groups (13) are found in Orissa. They are the Birhor, Bondo, Chuktia Bhunjia, Didayi, Dongria Kandha, Juang, Kharia, Kutia Kandha, Lanjia Saora, Lodha, Mankirdia, Paudi Bhuiyan, Saora. 4 basic criteria were stipulated by Government of India for their identification, such as 1) Pre-agricultural level of technology and economy; 2) Low literacy rate, 3) Declining or stagnant / near stagnant population and 4) Backwardness, seclusion and archaic mode of livelihood pattern.

It is essential to note in general terms, some basic characteristic features of primitive tribal groups. They constitute simple and small scale societies. A primitive tribal group may be a tribal community (Birhor, Bondo, Didayi, Juang, Kharia, Lodha, Mankirdia and Saora ; a sub-tribe or a segment or a part of a tribal communities

(Chuktia Bhunjia, Dongria Kandha, Kutia Kandha, Lanjia Saora and Paudi Bhuiyan). They are culturally homogenous and have simple social organisation. Each group in its lifestyle exhibits uniqueness and distinctiveness. Their economy is simple and generally subsistence-oriented. Through simple economic pursuits, they struggle hard for basic survival. They live mostly in relatively isolated and inaccessible tracts which are eco-inhospitable. They usually inhabit in the areas full of mountains, hills, forests, terrains and undulating plateaus. In terms of their economic status, they are regarded as the weakest of the weaker section of communities. But they maintain a high profile insofar as their rich heritage, tradition and culture are concerned. They have their own ethos, ideologies, world view, value orientations etc. which guide them for sustenance amidst challenging situations and various oddities. Gradually they are losing their command over natural resources and suffering from relative deprivation and they are neither poor nor impoverished. They do not halt at any economic stage, but possess economies to cater to their basic needs. Amidst existing eco-cultural nexus they develop coping mechanisms for adaptation and need development in situ. Their technology is usually simple. The tools, implements, weapons, utensils, devices and articles, which they utilise for various purposes are either indigenously manufactured by themselves or through local artisans and craftsmen. Their labour is inalienable and division of labour is simple and based on age and sex. The concept of capital is conspicuously rudimentary in their communities. Their economy has been monetized, but barter system also continues in interior areas. The production decision is household or kinship oriented and entrepreneurship is very much lacking. They do not tolerate very long gestation period in the production process. From the very beginning they believe in and practise cooperation, community-orientation instead of individualised way of life. Their social organization is simple and kinship plays the pivotal role. The kinship nexus is also reflected in their economic, political and religious activities. Their communities are replete with segmentary structures, such as clans, lineages, extended families and nuclear families. In addition, they have non-kinship organisations, such as youth dormitories, known as Mandaghara, Majang, Dhangada basa, Dhangdibasa, Dindaghar, Kude, Ingersin, Salandingo, etc. where youths before marriage are organised, socialised and encultured to emerge as responsible persons in future. They have traditional politico-jural mechanisms, tribal councils, village headman, etc. Currently, however, under Panchayati Raj system elected people's representatives have assumed responsibilities and the traditional secular heads are losing their importance. As polytheists, they believe in a number of deities, ancestor cult, spirits and propitiate them at regular intervals for their blessings. Their supernatural domain not only includes religious beliefs and rituals but also magical beliefs and practices. They are the practitioners of indigenous medicine or ethno-medicine and they have traditional healers for diagnosis, treatment and cure of diseases and ailments. Now-a-days, pluri-medicinal practices, such as allopathic, homeopathic, ayurvedic have also entered the interior tribal areas. Earlier they were treated as preliterate, but due to spread of literacy and education the situation is improving. But literacy among women and girl child is proverbially low, compared to their male counterparts. The status of women is not low in spite of the fact that tribal communities are patriarchal, patrilocal and patrilineal. They have their languages for communication, but lack written scripts. They have vast oral literary traditions, such as legends, myths, folk-lore, folk-tales, riddles, anecdotes, songs, etc. In addition, they have a treasure of creative talents reflected through art objects, crafts, dance, music, performing art, etc. Their aesthetic sensibility is of high order. Their cultural efflorescences are transmitted from generation to generation despite socio-economic constraints.

Primitive Tribes celebrate a number of festivals and ceremonies throughout the year to remain little away from sheer mundanity of life. The festivals have manifold objectives, such as promotion of economic pursuits, enhancement of social solidarity, appeasement of supernatural elements and the like. During festivals they rejoice and engage in merry-making in order to make their life colourful. Besides festivals, a number of rituals are observed through ceremonies including life-cycle rituals, such as child birth, marriage and obsequies. Mother earth and the sun god are two significant elements for whose honour festivals are celebrated. Juangs, for instance, observe **Nuakhia** (first eating) ceremonies for paddy and mango, push punei, chait parab, etc. The Juang changu (tambourine) dance is famous. Among the Lanjia Saora a number of festivals are celebrated right from the sowing of seeds till harvesting of crops. On certain festivals the entire community participates whereas some others are performed at the household level. Some special features of festivals are; (1) artistic manifestations through bichrome and polychrome wall paintings (2) making of bamboo and wood crafts with attractive designs. (3) wearing of colourful costumes, (4) beautification of body and personal adornment; (5) use of special costumes in dance including attractive headgears, (6) feasting and consumption of special cuisines including indigenous beverages; (7) playing of different types of musical instruments; (8) performance of dance with songs and musical accompaniments, (9) special offerings to deities and spirits. The Juang wooden comb and wooden pillars are engraved with artistic designs with human and animal figurines, linear diagrams, etc. which show their workmanship. The aesthetic efflorescences of the primitive tribes are really wonderful. The Saora icons in wall paintings are superb. The tatoo marks on the forehead and other parts of the body, hair-style through decorative buns often fitted with flowers, peacock plumes and hairpins, Dongria Kandha embroidered scarfs and clothes etc. are but some examples.

In the contextual frame of integration and mainstreaming of the most vulnerable ethno-cultural groups, the initial contemplation of Government of India was to make intensive efforts through micro project approach, so that they are socio-economically rehabilitated. Besides multi-sectoral package for socio-economic development they were to be protected from exploitation of predators. Therefore, provisions under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution are to be followed meticulously. Further, for the implementation of developmental schemes/ projects cent per cent grants under Special Central Assistance were ensured for primitive tribal groups since the Fifth Plan period.

Planned development intervention for primitive tribal groups gave rise to micro project approach. Its goal was all round development through multi-sectoral socio-economic programmes meant for a small group of people in a limited area. In Orissa, there are 17 Micro Projects for 13 primitive tribal groups identified from time to time, as per government of India norms. The first Micro Project was established for the Bondo/Bonda in 1976-77 in Malkangiri district in the southern part of Orissa. Out of 17 Micro Projects, 4 are found outside the tribal sub-plan area. Out of the 4 Micro Projects 2 are meant for the Paudi Bhuiyan and 1 each for the Lanjia Saora and Chuktia Bhunjia. Rest 13 Micro Projects are established within the tribal sub-plan area. The number of villages covered under micro projects ranged from 8 to 69. The total population in micro project areas ranged from 1579 to 5990. Over the period from the Fifth Plan to the Tenth Plan, there has been positive enhancement of their quality of life, although there is hiatus between our aspirations and achievements. Dispassionately speaking, still path, there are missing critical socio-economic infrastructure in the areas inhabited by primitive tribes. These infrastructures include provision of safe drinking water, housing

facilities, assurance for basic subsistence, educational as well as health care facilities, viable economic alternatives for pre-agricultural pursuit, environmental conservation and mobilisation of local natural resources, upgradation of human resource through capacity building, provision of eco-friendly schemes/ projects for sustainable development by ensuring people's participation, etc. As all humans are cultural beings, primitive tribes are no exceptions. Their culture sets necessary designs for living and ensures cultural continuity and change as every society is static, yet dynamic. In course of development intervention, in addition to governmental efforts, the help of voluntary organizations, who put their endeavour in interior tribal areas, may be taken. In the epistemological context, the advantages of their indigenous knowledge and traditional wisdom may be availed. Promulgation of PESA Act and implementation of the provisions under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution will empower tribals including primitive tribes. Time is not very far, the primitive tribes will gradually become self-reliant and stand on their own and will not require any external help for development. While upholding their socio-cultural identity they will be able to promote their self dignity and ensure freedom from servitude.

Through the passage of time, the primitive tribes have come up to a particular stage when they face challenges through the different processes of socio-cultural change and modernization and they have been showing responses for acceptance and rejection in varying degrees. They have shown positive signs to accept new traits in their way of life to enjoy the outcomes of development. It is also seen that they are eschewing superstitions and embracing rational way of thinking. It may be concluded here that they are generally in favour of retaining essential features of their culture and simultaneously elevate their status through development intervention.

Towards a Definition of PTG:

A Primitive Tribal Groups (PTG) refers to a tribal community or a section/ a part/ a segment or a sub-tribe in our country; designating a stage of evolution of societies (Sahlins, 1968); containing a population which is largely biologically self-perpetuating (Barth, 1969); having a simple mode of social organization with multi-functional kinship relations (Godelier, 1973); a structurally-culturally homogenous group (Behura, 1998); exhibiting a type of socio-political organization (Barth, 1969); a local group with intense interpersonal relationship; having a definite social identity; having an appellation for self definition and another for non-self definition of the group; constituting the most vulnerable group-economically, politically and genetically; possessing all characteristic features of small and simple society; belonging to a linguistic category; representing a distinct religious faith and rituals; a non-hierarchic and undifferentiated group (Dube, 1977) and containing a vast repository of cultural heritage and efflorescence despite relative deprivation, isolation/ seclusion/ encystation and marginalization. The above working definition which is enumerative and descriptive may require refinement from epistemological points of view.

It may be stated here that the maximum number of PTGs are found in Orissa, followed by Andhra Pradesh and Bihar. For 13 PTGs in the state 17 Micro Projects are functioning for planned development intervention. The earliest micro project was established for the Bondo/ Bonda, styled as *Bonda Development Agency* at Mudulipada in Khairput Block of Malkangiri district; whereas the latest one is for the Chuktia Bhunjia, located at Sunabeda in Komna block of Nuapada district. Some details of micro projects are stated below.

List of PTGs & Micro Projects and their Locations with Population & Literacy

Sl No	Name of the PTG	Name and address of the Micro Project	Establishment year of Micro project	ITDA covered (TSP area)	Part of blocks covered	No. of villages/hamlets	No. of households	PTG Population (2001)			Literacy rate (%) (2001)
								Male	Female	Total	
1.	Bonda	1) Bonda Development Agency, Mudulipada, Malkangiri district.	1976-77	Malkangiri	Khairput	38	1493	2563	2967	5530	6.35
2.	Chuktia Bhunjia	2) Chuktia Bhunjia Development Agency, Sonabeda, Nuapada district.	1994-95 dt. 30.9.94	Non TSP area	Komna	12	519	1085	1089	2174	34.87
3.	Didayi	3) Didayi Development Agency, Bayapada, Malkangiri district.	1986-87	Malkangiri	Kudmulguma & Khairput	37	1320	2706	2903	5609	5.84
4.	Dongria Kondh	4) Dongria Kondh Development Agency, Parsali, Rayagada district.	1987-88 dt. 7.12.87	Rayagada	K. Singpur	40	551	996	1379	2375	9.26
		5) Dongria Kondh Development Agency, Kurli, Chatikona, Rayagada district.	1978-79	Gunupur	Bissam Cuttack & Muniguda	62	1253	2462	3115	5577	8.19
5.	Hill Kharia	6) Hill-Kharia & Mankirdia Development Agency, Jashipur, Mayurbhanj district.	1986-87	Karanjia	Karanjia & Jashipur	182	561	919	897	1816	31.1
6.	Mankirdia										
7.	Birhor										
8.	Juang	7) Juang Development Agency, Gonasika, Keonjhar district.	1978-79 dt. 10.3.78	Keonjhar	Banspal	35	1496	3501	3619	7120	19.12
9.	Kutia Kondh	8) Kutia Kondh Development Agency, Belghar, Phulbani district.	1978-79	Baliguda	Tumudi-bandh	67	1148	2527	2714	5241	17.13
		9) Kutia Kondh Development Agency, Lanjigarh, Kalahandi district.	1986-87 dt. 13.8.86	Thuamul-Rampur	Lanjigad	17	557	1240	1202	2442	30.55
10.	Lanjia Saora	10) Lanjia Saora Development Agency, Puttasing, Rayagada district.	1984-85 dt. 1.4.84	Gunupur	Gunupur	21	767	2221	2326	4547	30.99
		11) Lanjia Saora Development Agency, Seranga, Gajapati district.	1978-79 dt. 31.3.79	Parlakhe-mundi	Gumma	21	1241	2502	2612	5114	23.90
11.	Lodha	12) Lodha Development Agency, Moroda, Mayurbhanj district.	1985-86	Baripada	Suliapada & Moroda	8	695	1312	1158	2470	13.68

12.	Paudi Bhuyan	13) Paudi Bhuyan Development Agency, Khutgaon, Sundargarh district.	1978-79 dt. 25.5.79	Bonai	Lahuni - pada	22	918	1873	1893	3766	12.64
		14) Paudi Bhuyan Development Agency, Jamardihi, Anugul district.	1978-79 dt. 17.5.78	Non TSP area	Pallahara	27	1192	2593	2445	5038	29.60
		15) Paudi Bhuyan Development Agency, Rugudakudar, Deogarh district.	1993-94 dt. 1.5.93	Non TSP area	Barkote	32	851	1714	1687	3401	20.46
13.	Saora	16) Saora Development Agency, Chandragiri, Gajapati district.	1978-79 dt. 11.4.78	Parlakhe -mundi	Mohana	32	949	233 5	237 9	4714	27.90
		17) Tumba Development Agency, Tumba, Ganjam district.	1978-79 dt. 20.5.78	Non TSP area	Patrapur	58	850	187 6	184 7	3723	22.13
Total : 13 PTGs		17 Micro Projects		TSP -13, Non-TSP-4	20 Blocks	547	16361	34425	36232	70657	19.08

Source : Baseline Survey of SCSTRTI (2001)

It transpires from the above statement that the maximum number of villages (67) covered in the micro project is in the Kutia Kandha Development Agency (KKDA), Belghar in Tumudibandha block of Baliguda ITDA in Phulbani district and the minimum number of villages (8) in Lodha Development Agency at Muruda in Suliapada and Muruda blocks of Baripada ITDA in Mayurbhanj district. Insofar as the population 2001 is concerned the highest is found in the Didayi Development Agency (5609) and the lowest in the Hill Kharia & Mankirdia Development Agency (1816).

Community Conservation Practices:

There is need to revamp the community conservation practices of PTGs. Their tradition and culture are replete with such conservation practices since time immemorial. It is a dire need to come in intimate contact with them to learn out of their revelations, which contain enlightening experiences in the context of such practices. The zeal for community conservation is reverberant in their way of life or in other words, their customs and manners. It requires a critique's retrospect to get acquainted with such practices for revitalisation and for improvement of well-being of humans. The inherent community capacities are to be taken care of and analysed for further capacity building in tune with emerging challenges. The resource base of PTGs in their habitat requires thorough study for optimum utilisation of resources, so that both over-exploitation and under exploitation are curbed.

The PTGs have shown enough instances of rationality and regulated behaviour in conservation of natural resources and maintenance of biodiversity. The traditional resource exploitation of PTGs, i.e. the methods adapted by them are no less scientific. Since they are intimately interrelated with the ecosystem their approach is eco-friendly and any action leading to ecocide is beyond their imagination. The attitude of conservation by the PTG community is deeply ingrained in their culture and social,

economic, political and religious aspects of life. We are aware of the sacred groves, sacred trees and plants, medicinal herbs and plants, pregnant animals (even-wild) and birds, etc. which are beyond the pale of destruction. Sustainable conservation of biodiversity is reinforced through religious prescriptions and any deviation may lead to supernatural vengeance reflected in crop failure, natural catastrophe, spread of incurable diseases and the like. Further, prevalence of social taboos and sanctions help maintenance of eco-equilibrium. Nature worship, sacralization of plants, trees, animals and birds and installation of deities in nature are practised by PTGs. Deviation of social taboos and non-conformist behaviour often lead to punishments by the community.

In the context of ecological equilibrium, Dr. B.D. Sharma states,

"In the beginning tribal communities are in a state of ecological equilibrium with their environ. The numbers are small and natural resources abundant. The level of technology is low. These communities initially sustain themselves as food gatherers and hunters. As the numbers grow, some primitive form of cultivation like cultivation by burn and slash, is adopted. In the normal course of development, with the growth of population, the group should take to settled cultivation and thus use natural resources more intensively. The stages beyond settled cultivation are well known." (1978:5). Further, according to him, eco-disequilibrium is caused due to some change in group's lifestyle, resulting in over-exploitation of natural resources.

Currently PTGs are no longer isolated and they come in contact with neighbouring populations with different cultures, for more than one purpose. New changes are noticed consequent upon implementation of planned development interventions since little more than three decades. Their limited world view has expanded to certain extent with change in their age-old perception and value orientations. Amidst existing eco-cultural nexus they develop coping mechanisms for adaptation and need development in situ.

There is need to revitalize the traditions of PTGs in the context of biodiversity conservation. Gadgil and Berkes (1991) suggest 4 important aspects, such as (1) provision of protection to some biological communities or habitat patches; (2) provision of total protection to certain selected species; (3) protection of critical life history stages; and (4) organization of resource harvests under the supervision of local experts (c.f. Madhav Gadgil in Kothari, A (eds), 1998: 221-22). The state-sponsored conservation practices and the community-based conservation practices are altogether different from each other. The former is based on codified laws whereas the latter operates through uncoded customs or customary laws. The latter is operated through efforts of local people, whereas the former through centralized bureaucratic machineries. The PTGs are to be relied upon and treated as custodians of biodiversity conservation practices. It will boost their role performance in a desirable manner. However, the experts in the line will be associated with the people in the beginning for providing technical know how. Thus, the biodiversity conservation, maintenance and management will be successful at a relatively low cost. The local communities, who are promoters and not destroyers of their own destiny, and who are intimately interlinked with their habitat and natural resources are to be trusted and empowered. There is need to look into biodiversity conservation with holistic perspective and especially the PTGs are to be motivated for the purpose. With little incentive and rewards the PTGs are to be encouraged for biodiversity conservation in a sustainable manner. Their performance may be assessed annually. The practice will be compatible as they are economically and socio-culturally homogenous.

Biodiversity conservation and life support system in the mother earth are synonymous and also complementary to each other. Biodiversity conservation boosts global economy ensures food security, safeguards, health of all organisms in the living kingdom and holistically promotes lifestyle of all animates. Biodiversity issues are international as they affect all nations. All attempts at destruction of biodiversity are to be curbed at any cost. Both local and global efforts for supporting the cause of biodiversity conservation are to be taken up in a holistic manner. It may be mentioned here that the United State Agency for International Development has developed the Biodiversity Support Programme (BSP) and funded two institutes, such as Nature Conservancy and World Resources Institute. Further, it reminds us of the global awareness on biodiversity conservation crisis giving rise to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro (June, 1992). It, inter alia, states interlinkages of indigenous knowledge, biodiversity conservation and development. It further stresses the importance of local level innovation promoted through indigenous knowledge base. The PTGs in Orissa and elsewhere have expert farmers, ethno-medicinemen, floriculturists, horticulturists, pastoralists, artists, craftsmen, cuisiniers, etc. and their age-old experience and expertise are to be understood and utilised in right perspective.

Policy Issues and Options:

Community based biodiversity conservation has evoked certain matters of crucial concern insofar as the PTGs are concerned and have direct bearing on policy issues and options. In case of PTGs, the erstwhile inaccessibility, encystation, isolation, etc. are gradually on the wane, consequent upon directed socio-cultural change through planned development intervention. They are showing their eagerness to accept higher level of technology and expand their indigenous knowledge base. At this critical juncture, efforts are necessary to help them choose the befitting ones out of a number of alternative choices. In this context, we may briefly discuss the policy issues and options, as follows:-

1. Keeping in view the man-nature relationship and social dynamics of PTGs, the onus of biodiversity conservation shall lie with the community.
2. In consonance with the 73rd amendment to the Constitution of India and with a view to a committed decentralized governance and democratic devolution of power and also promulgation of the Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act, the PRIs shall assume larger role in safeguarding natural resources in PTG inhabited areas.
3. The State-sponsored biodiversity conservation functionaries, especially in PTG areas, shall play catalytic role in monitoring, coordinating and facilitating the activities of the communities.
4. Optimum utilisation of natural resources, rationality in resource harvest and necessary efforts towards value addition shall generate additional income for the PTGs. Further, decentralised and controlled marketing system, shall protect them from predatory market forces and ensure social justice.
5. The PTGs shall be motivated to maintain their prudence in biodiversity conservation practice ingrained in their culture, eg. protection to breeding animals and birds and also to sacred groves.

6. PTG empowerment (realistic instead of cosmetic) shall be ensured and promoted for biodiversity conservation in and around their habitat. Further, empowerment shall boost their confidence in the role performance as biodiversity custodian.
7. State efforts at natural resources mobilization shall create additional resources for human use and restrain them for biodiversity destruction.
8. State may promote eco-landscape / sacred landscape in PTG inhabited areas already in existence or earmark new areas accepted to local people for protection of biodiversity.
9. There is need for capacity building of PTGs and it requires join-handed efforts of experts in forestry, ethno-botany, wildlife wardens, sanctuary managers, bird fanciers, etc.
10. The Task Force in PTG areas for biodiversity conservation may be given some incentives in cash and / or kind in order to ensure decipherable accountability. There shall be provision of prizes and rewards for illustrious performance over a region, so that the Task Force Groups may compete among themselves.
11. The PTGs shall be assured of their entitlements so that their relative deprivations are eschewed and they will have access to basic amenities, like education, health care, housing, etc. for better life style. Thus, bio-cultural diversity conservation will be promoted.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, J.N.	1973	" <i>Ecological Anthropology and Anthropological Ecology</i> " in J.J. Honigsmann (ed, Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Rand Mc Nally, Chicago, pp. 143-178
Barth, Fredrik	1969	Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, George Allen & Unwin, London.
Baviskar, A.	1998	"Tribal Communities and Conservation in India", in Ashish Kothari et al (eds), 1998.
Behura, N.K.	1993	" <i>Tribes, their development and quality of life</i> ", Calcutta, Indian Science Congress.
Behura, N.K. & K.K.Mohanti	1998	" <i>Vulnerable Ethno-Cultural Groups (VEGs)</i> ", Adivasi, Vol. XXXVIII, Nos. 1 & 2, Jan-June, 1998, SCs and STs Research and Training Institute, Orissa, Bhubaneswar.
Behura, N.K. & K.K.Mohanti	1980	"Social Change : A study of Tribe / Caste Integration in Orissa" in Class Relations in Indian Society, Satanetra Publications, Bhubaneswar.
Evans Pritchard, E.E.	1972	Social Anthropology, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London (1951).
Fuchs, Stephen	1973	The Aboriginal Tribes of India, 2 nd , Edition, Macmillan India Limited, Delhi, 1982.

G.O.I., Min. of Welfare (TD), Division, Research Unit.	1990	Compendium of Circulars/ Guidelines on Tribal Development, New Delhi.
Gadgil, M.	1998	<i>"Grassroots, Conservation Practices: Revitalizing the traditions"</i> in Ashish Kothari et al (eds), 1998.
Ghurey, G.S.	1959	The Scheduled Tribes, Bombay, Popular Book Depot.
Godelier, M.	1973	Perspectives in Marxist Anthropology, Cambridge, London, Cambridge University Press.
Hardesty, Donald L.	1977	Ecological Anthropology, John Wiley & Sons, New York.
Harris, M.	1968	The Rise of Anthropological Theory, Thomas Y. Crowell, New York.
Kaplan, D. and R. Manners	1972	Culture Theory, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.
Kothari, Ashis et al (eds)	1998	Communities and Conservation Natural Resource Management in South and Central Asia, Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi - 110048.
Kreg Lindberg & Deonel E. Hawkins(eds)	1993	Ecotourism- A Guide for Planners and Managers, Natraj Publishers, 17, Rajpur Road, Dehra Dun (In two Volumes)
Mohanti, K.K.	2005	<i>"The Didayi Development Perception"</i> , Adivasi, Vol. 45, No. 1, June, 2005, SCs and STs Research and Training Institute, Bhubaneswar, pp - 27-36.
Mohanti, K.K.	2005	<i>"Primitive Tribal Groups : Issues, Priorities and Prospective"</i> , presented in the National Workshop organised by S.C. & S.T. R. & T. I, Orissa, Bhubaneswar (July 21-23, 2005), Unpublished.
Mohanti, K.K.	2006	<i>"Anthropological Economics of Food, Clothing and Shelter : Some Reflections on Tribal Orissa"</i> , Globalization, Economic Growth and Human Development, Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi - 110002.
Mohanti, K.K. & N. Patnaik,	1989	Spatial Distribution of Ethnic Groups in Orissa, Nabakrushna Choudhury Centre for Development Studies, Orissa, Bhubaneswar.
Mohanti, K.K. & B. Chowdhury	1990	<i>"Tribal Society, Culture and Educational Development"</i> , Adivasi, Vol. XXX, Nos. 2 & 3, June-Sept., 1990, THRTI, Orissa, Bhubaneswar.
Mohanti, K.K. (ed)	1996	Development Hand Book for the Bondo of Bondo Development Agency Area, Mudulipada, Malkangiri district, Orissa, S.C. & S.T. R. & T. I, Bhubaneswar.
Mohanti, K.K. (ed)	1996	Development Hand Book for the Kutia Kandha of Kutia Kandha Development Agency, Belghar, Phulbani district, Orissa, S.C. & S.T. R. & T. I, Bhubaneswar.
Mohanti, K.K. (ed)	2005	Development Hand Book for the Juang of Juang Development Agency, Gonasika, Keonjhar district, Orissa, (An Action Plan

		Based on Techno-Economic Survey), S.C. & S.T. R. & T. I, Orissa, Bhubaneswar.
Mohanti, K.K. (ed)	2004	Collection and Sale of Minor Forest Produce among the Tribes of Orissa - A Socio-Structural and Economic Analysis, S.C. & S.T. R. & T. I, Orissa, Bhubaneswar.
Mohanti, K.K., & N.K. Behura	2005	<i>"Tribes of Orissa : An Inquiry into Anthropological Ecology"</i> , Adivasi, Vol. 45, No. 2, Dec., 2005.
Nayak, Prasanna K (ed)	2003	From Bondage to Rural Enterprise- A Situational Analysis and Participatory Strategies with the Bondo Highlanders (An ILO-INDISCO Study), Govt. of India Ministry of Tribal Affairs, New Delhi.
Patnaik, N. et al	1984	The Bondos and Their Response to Development, Tribal & Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute, Orissa, Bhubaneswar.
Patnaik, N. et al	1980	<i>"Hand Book on the Pauri Bhuiyan"</i> Adivasi, Spl. No. Vol. XIX, Nos. 1-4, April, 1979-January, 1980, Tribal & Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute, Orissa, Bhubaneswar.
Ramakrishnan, P.S.	1998	<i>"Conserving the sacred : Ecological and Policy Implications"</i> , in Ashish Kothari et al (eds), 1998.
Rout, J.P.	2005	<i>"Shifting Cultivation and Tribals of Orissa : A study"</i> , Adivasi, Vol. 45, No. 1, June, 2005, SCs and STs Research and Training Institute, Bhubaneswar, pp - 45-55.
S.C. & S.T. R. & T. I, Bhubaneswar	2004	<i>Tribes of Orissa</i> (First Published in 1990).
Sahlins, M.	1968	Tribesmen, New York, Prentice Hall.
Sahlins, Mashall D.	1977	<i>"Culture and Environment - The Study of Cultural Ecology"</i> in Sol Tax and Leslie G. Freeman (eds), Horizons of Anthropolgy, Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago (1964), Second Edition.
Sharma, B.D. (Dr.)	1978	<i>"Development of small Tribal Communities - A Theoretical Frame"</i> , Govt. of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi.
Sinha, Suresh K. (ed)		Tribal Situation in India, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla.
Steward, J.H.	1955	Theory of Culture Change, University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
Vayda, Andrew P. & Roy A. Rappaport	1968	<i>"Ecology, Cultural and Non-Cultural"</i> in Introduction to Cultural Anthropology, edited by James A. Clifton, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, U.S.A.
Vidyarthi, L.P. (ed)	1968	Applied Anthropology in India, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad.
W.W. World wildlife Organization	-	<i>"Biodiversity Conservation"</i> .
WARREN, Michael D.	-	<i>"Indigenous Knowledge, Biodiversity and Development"</i> , Centre for Indigenous Knowledge for Agriculture and Rural Development, Iowa State University, U.S.A.

THE SOCIETY AND ECONOMY OF THE HILL KHARIA IN DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE

Jagannath Dash

The Hill Kharias of Orissa are mostly found in and around Similipal hill ranges of Mayurbhanj District. They put an interesting example of transformation and change following certain local historical incidences. Little more than a century ago they were not in a state of hunting and gathering economy as we see them now. They were inhabiting the forest-plains fringe region depending on agricultural practices. They had occupied a territory of their own in Jashipur under the leadership of Jashu Digar, the Kharia chief. As the local oral history of the people says, the Bathudis attacked their territory several times and ultimately occupied Jashpur by defeating them. The Kharias were driven out of their homeland and they took refuge in the Similipal forest. In course of time they got adjusted to forest based economy and were identified as a hunting and gathering tribe. Thus Hill Kharias set an example of secondary primitivization changing the economy into an archaic primitive type from agriculture. Among the hunter-gatherers of Orissa this is a unique and interesting case of ecological transformation and adaptation.

Historical Background

The tribe 'Kharia' has three distinct sub-groups, namely the primitive Kharia, the Dhelki Kharia and the Dudh Kharia. In Orissa, the Dudh and Dhelki Kharias live in Sundargarh district whereas the so-called Hill or primitive Kharias are confined to Mayurbhanj district mainly. As S.C. Roy (1937) has mentioned, the main habitat of the Hill Kharia is extended from the Similipal hill-range of Mayurbhanj to the hills of Singhbhurri and Manbhum districts of Chhotanagpur. They are also found in Surguja and some other parts of Central Provinces. Sir Edward Gait (1901) has stated about the difference between the Hill Kharia of Ranchi and Similipal. In West Bengal also, they are found in Bankura, Medinapur and Purulia districts and a number of differences can be marked when compared with those of Similipal hill range.

Besides the above stated 3 divisions of Kharia, a few more number of sub-types are also noticed in the writings of Risley. In his 'Tribes and Castes of Bengal', Risley has mentioned six sub-types of Kharia namely, (i) Berga Kharia, (ii) Dhelki Kharia, (iii) Dudh Kharia, (iv) Erenga Kharia, (v) Munda Kharia, and (vi) Oraon Kharia. However, practically Dudh, Dhelki and Erenga or Hill Kharias are mainly found.

As S.C. Roy (1937) has stated, the term Dhelki has been derived from 'del' (to come) which is used by the Dudh Kharias to state that Dhelkis would proceed or surpass them. The 'Dudh' on the other, means milk and Dudh consider themselves as pure as milk. The main concentration of the Dudh is on both sides of Sankh and Koel rivers in Gumla and Simdega sub-div. of Ranchi district which extends to the Gangpur state in the Central provinces. The Dhelki Kharias are mainly found in Gangpur state of Orissa along the valley of Ib towards the Jashpur state of Central Provinces.

As Dalton (1872) in his Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal has written, there is a tradition that the Kharias with another tribe called Purans were the aborigines of Mayurbhanj, one of the Katak Tributary Mahals. "So far as the present state of condition is concerned, the Kharias of Mayurbhanj can be further divided into Hill and Plains-

sections. This is mainly dependent on their socio-economic and religious characteristics. The Kharias in the hill range are mainly foragers (food-gatherers and hunters) whereas the Kharias in the plains are primarily dependent on the agricultural economy. As regards the origin of the term, Kharia, Hiralal suggested that the term has been derived from 'Kharkhaij' which means a 'palanquin' or litter. According to this interpretation, Kharias are said to be Palanquin carriers. But in no circumstance this is proved. As the local peoples as well as Kharias in Similipal say, during the Kingship, when high officials, ministers or the kings visit the hill villages, it is an usual practice that the villagers irrespective of caste or tribe carry them in palanquins to their village.

Earlier in this report, the migration of the Kharias (in the hills) to Mayurbhanj district has been discussed in detail basing on the local sayings as well as oral traditions. In the delineations of Colonel Dalton (1872) who had given the first ethnographic account on the Kharias (in the hills), a different fact has been suggested regarding the coming of the Kharias to the Similipal hill range. To him, the Kharias might have come from their original home in some part of the central hill belt by the same route as the Savaras of Ganjam district and reached Mayurbhanj subsequently.

M.G. Hallett (1912) in the Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers (Ranchi: 1912: 78) has also mentioned about 3 traditions of their origin. According to the first one, the Kharias were originally settled between Rohtas and Patna. After a quarrel with the relatives they fled away and settled at Pora on the Koel river. According to Gagan Chandra Banerjee (1894), they arrived at a place known as Khariaghat while wandering and hence called Kharia. Finally they came to Biru and Kesalpur. The second tradition says that "They came from Mayurbhanj in the south and ascended the valley of the South Koel till they came to the present location". According to Dalton, "they may have fallen back from Gangetic Province, passed through the Vindhya Range and come gradually round to the south-east watershed of Chota Nagpur." (in Hallett, 1917:78).

Among the Kharia (Savara) of Similipal hills, there found a number of myths regarding their origin. They depict themselves as 'Savara' who are primarily foragers (food-gatherers and hunters). They feel proud of being 'Savaras' as the 'Savaras' are depicted in Orissa as the first worshippers of Lord Jagannath in the hill cave. A very common legend of Bidyapati, a Brahmin boy and Lalita, a Savara girl which is popularly associated with the origin of the cult of Lord Jagannath, has been adopted without any drastic change by the Kharia (Savara). As they had donated their daughter to a Brahmin according to the legend, they usually don't receive food from the Brahmins. As the worshippers or sacred servants of the Lord, they also consider themselves as higher to all the tribes and castes in Orissa.

According to the local Kharias (Savara) there are four different types of 'Savaras'.

- i. Lodha Savara (tribe-Lodha)
- ii. Mankidia Savara (tribe-Birhor)
- iii. Ujia Savara (tribe-Ujia)
- iv. Kharia Savara (tribe-Kharia)

From these categories of Savara, it is conceived that in general the primitive communities who are either forest-based or food-gatherers, are usually denoted as Savaras. In another categorisation, the Kharias also make the following divisions of their own community

- (i) *Angarapoda Kharia*'-(*Angarpoda* = charcoal making)

(ii) *Khairamara Kharia* - (*Khairamara* = *Khaira* (catechu) Processing)

(iii) *Tungadhua Kharia* - (*Tungadhua* = washing of 'Tunga' tuber)

Some also add to this:

(iv) *'Pata bandha Kharia'* - (Those who wear the turban of silk cloth during the car festival of Lord Jagannath)

(v) *Lodha Kharia* - (Lodha - an ex-criminal tribe)

In the above classification, it is generally found that the term 'Kharia' has been used as a synonym for 'Savara' or primitive forest dependent peoples. Besides all these categories, all Kharias generally accept that there are four types of Savaras, and Kharia is one among them. They are namely:

(i) *Basu Savara* - Descendants of Biswabasu Savara

(ii) *Ujia Savara* - Ujias

(iii) *Mankidiii Savara* - Birhors

(iv) *Jara Savara* - Lodhas

There are also available a number of myths regarding the origin of the Kharia. According to a very common myth, it is said that both the Bhanja Kings of Mayurbhanj and the Kharia were born out of a pea-fowl's egg. The King was born out of the yoke of the egg, the Purans (another community) out of the white and the Kharias out of the '*Kholapa*' or shell. Dalton has also mentioned about this myth (Dalton, 1872:159).

Russell (1916) has mentioned about a different legend of origin. According to it, "..... a child was born to a woman in the jungle and she left it to fetch a basket to bring it home. On her return she saw a cobra spreading its hood over the child to protect it from the sun. On this account, the child was called '*Nagvansi*' (of the race of the cobra) and became the ancestor of the Nagbansi Rajas of Chhota Nagpur. The Kharias say that this child had an elder brother and the two brothers set out on a journey, the younger riding a horse and the elder carrying a '*kawal*' or '*banghy*' with their luggage. When they came to Chhota Nagpur, the younger was made the king, on which the elder brother also asked for a share of the inheritance. The people then put two caskets before him and asked him to choose one. One of the caskets contained silver and the other only some earth. The elder brother chose that which contains earth, and on this he was told that the fate of himself and his descendants would be to till the soil, and carry banghys as he has been doing" (1916:445:46). Thus the Kharias are said to be the descendants of the elder brother whereas the younger brother whereas the younger brother became the ancestor of the Nagbansi kings, who are actually Mundas. This Kharia legend of origin is resembling that of the Mundas. Basing on this legend, Russel (1916) has also mentioned that Mundas receive in marriage from the Kharia but do not give daughters to them.

As per the traditional practices, in the Kharia (Savara) locality the social hierarchy was maintained as follows:

1. Kharia (Savara) - consider Ujias as equal
2. Bhuiyan
3. Bathudi
4. Santal
5. Kol
6. Birhor

The Kharias (Savara) do not accept cooked food from the Bathudi but may accept raw food materials from them. It is interestingly found that both the Kharia (Savara) and Ujia (Savara) hold their positions at the top in their respective localities. In both the local hierarchies, Birhors are noticed to occupy the lowest position.

Linguistic and Racial Affiliation

According to S.C. Roy (1937), Kharias in general are considered to be a branch of Munda stock on linguistic grounds. Sir George Grierson has included Kharia language as a branch of the Munda language under Austro-Asiatic sub-family of Austric family. In respect of physical features, social structure and religious practices, the Kharias are said to have affinity with other Munda-speaking tribes.

The Kharias (Savara) of Mayurbhanj on the other hand have forgotten their own mother tongue completely and speak a corrupt dialect of Oriya. It is usually noticed that they have adopted the language of their nearest neighbours. From the writing of S.C. Roy (1937), it is known that in Singhbhum, Manbhum, Bankura and Midnapur districts they speak Bengali, in Surguja and other parts of the Central Province they speak mainly local Hindi.

Ritual Kinship or Friendship

Besides the relationships of kinship, there are also existing relationships analogous to kinship ties in almost all societies. Because of its analogous to nature it is often denoted as pseudo-kinship tie. In some cases, such relationships are institutionalized through certain ritual performances and therefore, called as institutionalised kinship or ritual kinship (or friendship), such a relationship is basically, dependent on the factor of mutual need fulfilment of both partners or friends. The ritual friends come to each other's help at the time of need. Because of this, such a relationship is developed mainly outside one's own endogamous society. Among the Kharia (Savara), Ujia (Savara) and Birhor, both ritualised and non-ritualised Kinship are very much found.

Among the Kharia (Savara) ritual friendship relations like-*Phula*, *Sangata*, *Maitra*, *Dharam-Bapa*, *Dharampua*, *Dharam Bhai*, *Makara*, *Jamudal* etc. are mainly found. Similar types are also found among the Ujia (Savara). But among the Birhors only *Saya*, *Phula* and *Makara* relationships are found. The partners choose each other as ritual friends or kins on the basis of the following criteria:

- (i) When two partners have equal age
- (ii) When two partners have same name
- (iii) When two partners have equal height and similar physical features.

As per the above mentioned criteria, the relationships like, *Sangata*, *Maifra*, *Makara*, *Phula*, *jamudal* etc. are possible within the same generation. But among the partners of different generations only *Dharam-bapa* or *ma* and *Dharam-pua* or *jhia* relationships are possible. Among the Kharia (Savara) ritual friendship or kinship has been established with the neighbouring tribes and castes like the Santal, Kol, Bathudi, Patra-Tanti, Cauda, Kamar (Blacksmith), Bhuiyan etc. Similarly Ujias (Savara) have established ritual friendship with the neighbouring communities like the Bathudi, Cauda, Khsatriya, Gonda etc. After two partners enter into ritual friendship, their parents become automatically related to each other. Some major purposes of establishing the ritual friendship are as follows:

- i. Other tribes like Bathudi, Santals, Kols in the neighbourhood try to establish ritual friendship mainly for learning the techniques of arrowroot preparation, honey & sal resin collection from the Hill Kharia.
- ii. Few land-owning Kharias (Savara) also try to get agricultural implements, bullocks and other kinds of help through such relationships.
- iii. In some cases, a few persons who are coming from a distant place at regular intervals for the sake of marketing or business, also develop ritual friendship with the local people mainly for availing proper accommodation facilities.
- iv. In other cases, as mentioned earlier almost all the local traders of business men (called 'Mahajana') for the sake of their business of various forest products, establish ritual kinship with a number of Kharia (Savara) males.

Roy (1937) has mentioned about the practice of cross-cousin marriage among the Kharia (Savara). But the present study reveals that both parallel cousin and cross-cousin marriages are incestuous among that Kharia (Savara) and Ujia (Savara).

Among the Kharia (Savara) seven types of marriages are found in the target villages like Baniabasa and Khejuri (see the Table 2.4). Marriage by negotiation (12+17 cases) is although mostly preferred, love marriage (27+ 16 cases) are found with the majority. In 4(2+2) cases, the family heads have also adopted the son-in-law (resident son-in-laws) after marriage. Although marriage by capture is not preferred by the people in view of promoting their own tribal image, it is found with only two cases in Baniabasa and one case in Khejuri village. Similarly marriage with other caste people is a prohibited type, but still one such exceptional case is noticed in Baniabasa village. Marriage by service is also practised in some villages but in my two study villages no such case is noticed.

Gods and Spirits:

The deities and spirits in accordance with their nature of function are also divided into two broad categories : (i) Malevolent, and (ii) Benevolent. All the three communities in common, pay equal respect to the Sun god and Earth goddess. Although all the three communities believe the sun god as the creator of the Universe and supreme deity, for the Kharia (Savara) and Ujia (Savara) 'Badam' the presiding deity of Simlipal Hills is regarded most. Among all the three communities numerous forest deities are conceptualized. Forest deities are mainly divided into two categories. The first category refers to some major forest deities who are treated as the custodians of Similipal forest resources and the second category refers to a number of deities named after each and every hill (mainly which are known or important) of Similipal. Thus, every hill in Similipal is regarded as a deity. In the village, clan, lineage or family levels, similarly, a number of deities are also propitiated, who are differently named in different target communities. The Kharia (Savara) called the male deities as 'Debta' and female deities as 'Thankurani' where as the Birhor use the term 'Bonga' for all the deities.

Political Organisation:

Among the Kharia (Savara) the village council or panchayat is composed of the following officials:

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Mukhia - Head man | 2. Lataa-babu - Assistant |
| 3. Chhatia - Messenger | 4. Dehuri - Village Priest |
| 5. Gunia, Magician or Shaman | 6. A group of elders. |

Ideally the above mentioned positions (except no. 6) continue from father to son, if the son is capable enough to carry on the responsibilities. Otherwise, a new leader is selected on the basis of personal ability. In my study villages - Baniabasa and Khejuri two different instances are observed. In Baniabasa, one person because of his intelligence and accumulation of property has taken up the village leadership. He is also functioning as the village priest. The post of 'Lata-babu' or assistant is not there in all villages. In Khejuri village, similarly an intelligent person is not there in all villages. In Khejuri village, similarly an intelligent and wealthy person is the village leader. But he is not the priest or Dehuri. He has also no assistant. In his absence Chhatia or the messenger presides over the meeting.

Musical Instruments:

Among the Kharia (Savara) and Ujia (Savara) the accompanying musical instruments are very few and most simple. Both the communities use only one instrument of percussion or tambourine called as 'Changu'. This is a circular shallow drum with tin discs. This is to be held in the left hand and played by the right hand striking with knuckles. A special kind of wooden split is moulded to circular shape by fixing it tightly to the ground for a few days. After this, the hide of Sambara (*Cervus unicolor*), deer or goat is tightly fixed to one side of it. Tin discs are attached for making musical sound while striking.

Territoriality and Nomadism

The concept of territoriality looks into several interrelated parameters like economic dependability, predictability of resource distribution and abundance or density of resource. Such parameters are very much related to resource utilisation and the degree of mobility.

Dyson-Hudson & Smith (1978:26) have presented a table for showing the relationship between Resource Distribution and Foraging strategy:

Resource Distribution and Foraging Strategy

	Resource Distribution	Economic Dependability	Resource Utilization	Degree of Nomadism
A.	Unpredictable and Dense	Low	Info-sharing	High
B.	Unpredictable and Scarce	Low	Dispersion	Very High
C.	Predictable and Dense	High	Territoriality	Low
D.	Predictable and Scarce	Fairly low	Home ranges	Low-medium

As Similipal is declared a National Park as well as Wild Life Sanctuary since 1958 and a Tiger Reserve since 1973, restrictions have been imposed on the collection of minor forest produce in the reserve forest area and hunting has been strictly prohibited both in the reserve and protected forests. Although the Kharias (Savara) have been permitted to collect only minor forest produce on the mutual condition that they would provide such produces to the forest department, practically they enjoy no official right or freedom in the Similipal hill range since independence. Under such circumstances, the Hill Kharias are continuing forest collections mainly on mercy or sympathetic grounds. Forest no more belongs to them and this has greatly regulated the maintenance of territoriality among such communities. However, with reference to past, the tradition of food-gathering activities are still maintained within a defined range or territory for each village. The case of Birhor is little different from this. The Kharias and Ujia (Savara) never go for

communal hunting of big games. While moving in search of minor forest produces in small groups if they come across small game animals, kill them by the help of dogs, axe or stick and consume in the forest itself.

During the rainy season, as the forest becomes dense and inaccessible, collection is minimised and continued in the forest nearest to the residential site. Thus, during the winter and summer, major food collections are undertaken. Among major collections of Kharia (Savara), honey is available more during summer season. Similarly arrow-root is mainly collected during winter and Sal resin towards the end of rainy season and early winter. Other collections of plant resources are similarly seasonally available. Thus, in Similipal, the resources are no doubt predictable and dense, but due to the above discussed factors as well as present circumstances of official restriction and competition among the local communities, no item can be guaranteed regarding its availability or amount or quantity of collection. One may return with a greater amount or much less than that and sometimes also empty hand. Therefore, the economic dependability is rarely 'high' and most often 'fairly low'. Regarding resource utilisation, it signifies little sense of territoriality and more about the 'home ranges', microhabitat or micro-ecological zones. Thus, territoriality which was there to some extent in the past, at present is much more flexible. Similipal environment exhibits some form of zonation and diversity of resources. Further, it is also noticed that in spite of adequate rain, resource sites in forest are having specific locations which are suitable for their growth and abundance, may be because of better soil and other geographic conditions.

Therefore, in consideration with both the fairly low economic dependability and specific location of some sites mainly for the major produces like the Sal resin and arrowroot, degree of nomadism becomes "low-medium." Thus, the Kharias (Savara) under such ecological factors, continue a semi-nomadic way of living.

Among the Kharias (Savara) in the past specifically before the merging of Mayurbhanj state in 1949 with Orissa, that is, during the King's rule, different village groups have been permitted the scope or opportunity to forage within a definite micro-ecological zone or territory around each village. This has been finalised mainly on the basis of mutual division of territories or ecological zones of Similipal hills, among various village units. In the 'Revised Working Plan of Reserved Forests of Baripada Division' (for the period from 1973-74 to 1992-93) it is therefore mentioned that, "It seems the Kharias (Savara) have divided the hill reserves among groups of village for collection of minor forest produce. In order to put stop to their nuisance in the forest, the Ex-Durbar administration Mayurbhanj had expelled the Kharias from Similipal hills in 1940 and In were forced to settle on lands in the villages around the Similipal Hills But the Kharias are now back again in their original domain. At present the exploitation of some of the minor forest produces in Similipal Hill, mainly done through kharias."

Technology of Honey Collection in Similipal Hills:

In Similipal hills honey is a major item of collection. Besides Kharia (Savara), Ujia (Savara) and Birhor, a few othe neighbouring tribes also collect honey occasionally for self consumption. The kharia (Savara) and Ujia (Savara) collect honey mainly for the market whereas Birhor occasionally collect it for consumption.

According to the entomologist in orissa four species of honey bees are found. They are Rock honey bee (*Apis dorsata* Fabricious), Little honey bee (*Apis florae* Fabricious), Medium size honey bee (*Apis Cerana* Fabricious) and Dammer bee (*Trigona*

Species). Both the Kharia (Savara) and Ujia (Savara) categorise the honey bees into two broad types on the basis of their size.

1. Bada (big) Mahu (honey) (as Baghua in Oriya)

2. Sana (small Mahu (Honey)

On the basis of the location of honey combs, they categorise the small honey bees into 3 types. Considering all of them, 4 types of honey bees are found in total.

The Birhor on the other, although do not collect honey regularly, they follow a similar categorization of 4 types of honey in the forest. They never collect the honey of *A. dorsata* bees that are very aggressive by nature. They only collect the other three types mainly for consumption.

Types of Honey-Bees

Sl. No.	Types of Bee	Nest Building	No. of size of Combs	Honey Bee
1.	Bada Mahu (Big-Honey)	In open (on very high tree branch & cliffs)	Single & Big	<i>Apis dorsata</i> Fabricious
2.	Chhatarali Mahu (hollow trunk-honey)	Inside hollow tree trunk & under ground	Several & medium	<i>Apis cerana indica</i> Fabricious
3.	Kathi Mahu (Kharia) stick honey) or Khadi Mahu (Ujia) (Stick honey)	In open (on thin tree branches)	Single & small	<i>Apis florae</i> Fabricious
4.	Kanjia Mahu (Sour-honey)	Inside hollow tree trunk	No comb but honey cells	Dammer bees (<i>Trigona</i> -species)

(According to Kharia (Savara) & Ujia (Savara))

Types of Honey-Bee and Their Collection

Sl. No.	Types of Bee	Size & Colour of Bees	Period Availability	Maximum Qty. Per Swarm
1.	Bada Mahu (Baghua in Oriya)	Big & Brown	Chaitra to Jyestha & Kartik (Mar-Jun. & Oct. - Nov)	10-30 kgs
2.	Chhatarali Mahu	Medium & Brown	All though the year	5-6 Kgs
3.	Kathi or Khadi Mahu	Small & Reddish Brown	Pausa & Magha (Dec-Feb)	500gms

On the basis of the nature and behaviour of honey bees and location of the bee-hives, Kharias (Savara) adopt appropriate techniques for the collection of honey. Except

A. dorsata and *A. cerana*, the other two kinds of bees collect very little honey which are generally consumed on the spot by the gatherer himself and his group members. Therefore, the technology of honey collection here considers only the honey of *A. dorsata* (Baghua or Bada Mahu) and *A. cerana* (Chhatarali) as they are most significant for the market.

The Technology of Arrowroot Collection

Arrowroot is another major collection of the Kharia (Savara). The wild arrowroot has a greater medicinal value than that of the cultivate and therefore, it is of great demand in the market. Unlike the honey and Sal resin, which other tribes are also able to collect, in the field of arrow-root collection no other community has yet attempted to collect. It signifies the highly specialised skill in the collection of arrowroot. But it involves no life risk effort as found in case of honey (from the cliffs) and Sal resin collections. It includes a series of laborious processes for day together and constant as well as careful watching. It needs patience and often needs the shift of the group to a site near by the river stream for smooth operation of the different stages of processing.

Arrowroot is a kind of tuber which is produced at the root under the ground. Arrowroot is called as '*Pala*' by the Kharia (Savara), Ujia (Savara) and the local Oriya people. Kharias (Savara) divide arrowroot or '*Pala*' broadly into two types on the basis of the size. The first category of arrowroot tubers are found to half many off-shoots around the mother shoot. In the second category, arrowroot tubers are found with only a single shoot without any off-shot. Both the categories are finally divided into five major types.

In the forest, as the people say, Bhandua and Chauli type of arrowroot is found in plenty. The botanical name of this arrowroot is *Curcuma angustifolia* Roxb. The Haladia '(yellow in colour) arrow root is called as *Curcuma aromatica* Salisb.

Technology of Hunting

The forest of Similipal is full of numerous plants, animals and water resources which are essential for the minimum maintenance of livelihood. Out of these three, the technology of the collection of plant resources have already been discussed. The animal resources are to be discussed here under the caption of 'hunting'. It is to mention here once again that early hunters were exclusively depending on the hunting where as the modern food gatherers and hunters except those in arctic and subarctic areas are to depend on it only from 20% to 40% (Lee, 1968:7). It is generally considered by most of the modern hunters and gatherers that hunting would not save anybody in the face of starvation. People do consider that hunting may not be a basic necessity, as without it one can survive. The absence of vegetable food may question the sustenance of life. The availability of plants foods are also comparatively more guaranteed than the game animals. Besides these general factors, in specific cases (i) the scarcity of game animals due to reckless and rampant hunting by several communities and, (ii) restrictions imposed on hunting in a National Park, Wild life Sanctuary as well as Tiger Reserve like that of Similipal hills, hunting has become an occasional activity for most of the foragers (hunters and food-gatherers) today. The cases of the Kharia (Savara) in Similipal hills are no exception to it. However, in spite of all such restrictions in Similipal hills, people have developed an additional taste for the meat coming from hunting and hunting for them. Due to above mentioned reasons hunting is mostly considered as a pleasure or leisure time activity.

In most of the gathering activities, Kharia (Savara), usually collect renewable resources some of the are consciously collected along with the practices of replenishment and renewal. Most others are naturally propagated, renewed and conserved. A few other resources which are basically non-renewable, are only to some extent manageable by the natural process of propagation, and mostly accounted for as a loss. A general idea about all such collection of renewable or non-renewable items can be available from the table.

Renewability and Non-Renewability of forest resources

Sl. No.	Items collected	Renewable or replaceable	Non-renewable or irreplaceable	Destroyed or lost
1.	Honey	√	-	Trees (occasionally)
2.	Arrow-root	√	-	No
3.	Sal Resin	√	-	No
4.	Gums	√	-	Tress (rarely)
5.	Mango	√	-	No
6.	Other fruits, Nuts & Berries	√	-	No
7.	Greens	√	-	No
8.	Grasses	√	-	No
9.	Flowers (Edible & Medicinal)	√	-	No
10.	Mushrooms	√	-	No
11.	Roots & Tubers	√	-	No
12.	Sal and Siali Leaves	√	-	No
13.	Broom stick	√	-	No
14.	Bamboo	√	-	No
15.	Timer		-	Trees (often)
16.	Fire-wood Usually Dead & Dried logs used		-	Trees (occasionally)
17.	Catching of birds (a) Hill Myna (b) Horn Bill (c) Jungle fowl (d) Parrot (e) Other birds		- √ √ √ - √	No (Pet birds) Female birds caught and consumed Caught and consumed No (Pet birds) Caught & consumed
18.	Fishing		√	Poisoned & caught
19.	Hunting		√	Mostly small games kill
20.	Chopped Fibres	√		The bark of the creeper or the tree is used

As mentioned in the table in the collection of renewable resources like arrowroot, sal, resin, fruits, nuts and berries, greens, grasses, flowers (edible and inedible), mushrooms, roots and tubers, sal and siali leaves, broom stick etc. only the renewable

natural resources are collected without incurring any substantial loss or destruction to the ecosystem. But in case of honey collection, there are chances of loss or destruction of trees. But in the collection of honey from the cliff, there is no such chance of destruction of trees. In the collection of honey from the *A. dorsata* bees, which build the nest on the tall trees, people never fell down the trees for the purpose of honey collection, as by this process, hives along with the honey are all destroyed by falling down on the ground. But the collection of honey from the hives of *A. cerana* bees which build the nest inside hollow tree-trunks is involved sometimes with tree-felling. Usually such bees build their nests on the trees of medium height and people climb up the tree, open the mouth of the trunk with the help of the axe and collect the hives containing honey and larva. But in some cases where the mouth of the hollow tree trunk is located on a very inconvenient part of the tree to which no one can reach for opening the mouth, people are compelled to fell down the tree. As such trees are of medium height and the hives are located inside the tree trunk, no honey is wasted by this process. However, people try their best not to fell down the tree, as the same tree by the application of a piece of stone on the opened mouth of the hollow trunk, can attract the bees once again. However, under compelling circumstances, such a destructive activity is not avoided. Under such circumstances, it is interestingly found that destruction of such trees although affect the ecosystem, do not cause any substantial loss, financially. On empirical investigation it is noticed that mostly in the miscellaneous trees which are not so costly or useful, such hollow-trunks are noticed. Although, the costly or economically important trees are not free from hollow-trunks, their number is negligible in comparison to the miscellaneous trees. The classification of trees by the forest authorities in respect of their cost and importance, may be useful here to estimate the loss and gain.

THE HILL KHARIA DEVELOPMENT SITUATION

The Hill Kharia society in Mayurbhanj district of Orissa may be divided into three major sections. The first category of Kharias remains in the peasant villages away from the forest and live on the agricultural activities like non-tribal peasants. The second category of Kharias live in the periphery of the forests or in the fringe areas in between forests and plains and depend on both forest collections as well as agricultural activities. But they continue forest collections as primary occupation and get enough opportunities during the lean months to work in the fields of the local peasants on daily wage basis. The third category of Kharias live in the remote forest areas and live on the forest collections. Although they continue little bit of agriculture of their own, usually get few opportunities for working as daily labourers. Here author has considering only the forest dependent Kharias known as Hill Kharias who live in the fringe areas as well as remote forests. Specifically, author has included here the Hill Kharia villages of two Gram Panchayats namely Khejuri in Guruguria Gram Panchayats and Baniabasa in Bholagadia Gram Panchayats for preparing this article.

In these two Gram Panchayats hill Kharia live mainly in multi ethnic villages as a minority group. Till the end of 1986 they were included under general development programmes along with other tribals of the Panchayats. As hunter-gatherers, no specific attention was paid to them. Moreover, most of the general programmes were agriculture-oriented. Bholagadia Gram Panchayat is connected by all weather road communication with the block headquarters. As the Panchayat is situated towards the Similipal forest, government officials occasionally come to visit the interior villages. They usually come up to Panchayat headquarters at Bholagadia. Although the Hill Kharia live in road side settlements, they are very rarely visited by officials as their villages are situated in

interior foot-hill areas. The villages under Guruguria Gram Panchayat are also similarly connected through all weather forest roads and most of the Hill Kharia villages are situated on the road side. As these roads are regularly maintained by the forest department, Hill Kharia inside the forest or in the interior foot-hill regions get all weather road communication with outside markets and societies for economic transactions throughout the year. However, the road side non-Kharia tribal villages nearer to the Block headquarters get more opportunities for the implementation as well as supervision of development programmes.

Hill Kharia Hamlets (1971 Census)

Gram Panchayats	No. of villages	Total population	Kharia Hamlets	Kharia House holds
Bholagadia	13	6107	Two	33 in Banjabasa
Guruguria	24	3310	Six	34 in Khejuri

Besides the general development programmes in the fields of health and education, the most common programmes found implemented in these Gram Panchayats are mainly agricultural programmes which include the provision of bullocks, kitchen garden-cum-cowshed development, supply of seeds, fertilizers and implements for cultivation. There are also other programmes like food for work, irrigation, plantation, dug-well schemes housing, nutrition programmes etc. found operated in these Panchayats. But the Hill Kharias who are primarily foodgatherers and sub-marginal farmers are least benefited by all these programmes. Out of all the Hill Kharias in these two Gram Panchayats, only two households are found to possess a little more than 5 acres of land (Table 10.2).

Category	Villages	
	Banisbasa	Khejuri
Landless	16	17
Less than ½ acre	9	3
Less than 1 acre	1	5
1 to 2 acres	1	6
2 to 3 acres	-	2
3 to 4 acres	6	-
5 to 6 acres	-One household form each village	

A few of them have about 2 acres to 4 acres of land each. Few others have 1/2 or 1 acre of land. As most of these lands are upland, the cultivable land for each Kharia land-owner is totally insufficient for the maintenance of the family. Due to the continuous engagement in food-gathering and hunting activities as primary occupation in the wealthy forests of Similipal, hills, a few Hill Kharias who cultivate their land cannot take proper care of the crop. Therefore, a majority of them usually give their land to the local agriculturist Santals, Kols or Bathudis for share-cropping and try to be content with the ultimate return.

However, after Independence, for the first time two Hill Kharias of village Baniabasa (Bhogagadia Gram Panchayat) received a loan of Rs. 29 each from the local LAMPS for agriculture in the year 1963.

Due to greater dependence on forest collection as well as little interest in agriculture, the loan money was spent other wise and as a result, till June, 1985, both of them have not been able to repay the principal amount. In the year 1968, Kharias namely Sanu, Radha and Haya have been also granted loan of Rs. 100, Rs. 100 and Rs. 200

respectively for agriculture. Except Raya, the other two have not been able to repay the dues till the end of December, 1985. In the year 1980, Sania, Purna, Bhakta and Bina of the same village have been also granted Rs. 400 each for purchasing 4 numbers of sheep. In spite of being granted 50 per cent subsidy, only except Purna, others have not yet cleared up their dues. Besides such short term loans, a few medium term loans also had been sanctioned to some of the Hill Kharia and the result was equally shocking. In no case the basic objectives or purposes of the programme are government.

Despite their illiteracy, Hill Kharias also express their consciousness regarding their development programmes operated earlier and now categorically during the periods of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi as Prime Ministers. They express their satisfaction as regards the continuation of previous programmes and inclusion of some new ones. Although, such programmes are not specifically planned in order to suit their own culture, the Kharias manifest their gratification as they get some kind of ready cash or kind through these programmes.

They are often misinformed that these loans are free gifts donated by the government and in no way, they have to repay the balance after the deduction of subsidy. A number of economic upliftment programmes in this way, are operated in and around the tribal areas under ITDA, ERRP and IRDP development schemes. Scheduled tribes under ITDA schemes get 50 per cent subsidy, under JRDP 50 per cent subsidy and under ERRP 75 per cent subsidy. The ERRP programmes are sanctioned only to landless poor people. Through such development schemes, a variety of small business and trade schemes like leaf-plate making, goat-rearing, rice business, rope making, mobile grocery and stationery shops, etc. have been sanctioned to Hill Kharia and other worthy people both in terms of cash and kind. Eleven Hill Kharias of village Baniabasa (Bholagadia Gram Panchayat) have been granted bi-cycles and cash for starting rice business and mobile grocery and other shops. As in the previous programmes, they also took once again the help of the mediator in order to assist them in fulfilling the required conditions of the concerned bank. They have to also pay some amount to the mediator towards his service. It was finally observed that the rice and other consumable business items were readily consumed; the cash was utilised for purchasing fashionable items and garments. Bi-cycles are now utilised for various personal visits or movements either to the market centres or the relative's village. In most of the cases the bicycles are also given to the local peasants on lease for getting cash loan during festive or ceremonial occasions. A few are also found to dispose of their bi-cycle at a very low price. In Guruguria Gram Panchayat also, most of the Hill Kharias have been sanctioned such small business loans with subsidy and the ultimate consequence has the same story of failure to delineate.

It is empirically enquired that the Hill Kharia, who are food-gatherers, hunters as well as sub-marginal farmers, are basically semi-nomadic by nature and therefore, neither have any acquaintance nor any interest in business making which requires full time personal interest, effort and meticulous attention for achieving success. As they, are misinformed that such loans with subsidy are only a kind of financial help to poor tribals and free of any interest, they come forward to avail such programmes. Although, a few Hill Kharia beneficiaries have tried to repay some amount in the plains area, none has really cleared up the total amount till now. In view of such food-gathering and semi-nomadic nature, and as non-paying tendency of the Hill Kharia in most of the cases, the Baitarani Gramya Bank authorities are now sanctioning only the 75 per cent subsidy amount (under ERRP scheme for small business) to the people of Gurugudia Panchayat

and deducting the loan amount of 25 per cent at the time of sanction. Thus, the account is closed from the beginning and the beneficiary is informed not to repay any amount towards the loan. This, on the other hand, has rightly strengthened the previous misinformation (as spread by the local mediators) that whatever government is providing is a kind of help and if one cannot repay nothing will happen. Because of such conceptions mostly in the interior areas, the Hill Kharia beneficiaries irrespective of their basic need, whatever scheme is informed, they are accepting without any hesitation. Moreover, when almost all are not repaying their 25 per cent or 50 per cent loan amount (as per the scheme) after subsidy, and no action is taken for recovery, the new beneficiaries automatically feel encouraged to continue the old unhealthy tradition of nonpayment of the loan amount. Therefore, such small business schemes although provide bi-cycle and other material benefits to the Hill Kharia for their personal use, in terms of basic objectives, they experience a great failure.

From the above case studies it is learnt that ignorance and illiteracy are two major responsible factors remain at the root of all sorts of problems in life. Educated persons not only safeguard themselves, but also lead the nation towards the prosperity. Therefore, education may be treated as basic to all the development programmes in a developing country like that of ours. In foot-hill or fringe areas, the Hill Kharia boys get the "scope for lower and upper primary education, whereas in interior villages scope for education is limited. Out of all the Hill Kharia settlements inside the forest area only in Khejuri village, one L.P. School is established and because of its situation in a forest village, no teacher is agreed to serve here. Besides the limited or no scope for education for the interior Hill Kharia children, the cultural constraints are equally responsible for their illiteracy. As per the demand of the tradition, when both the parents or only fathers set out for forest collections daily, the children are left in the settlement either to guard the huts or to take care of the domestic animals like goat, cattle and fowls. Often the boys and girls who are capable enough, usually above 10 years of age, accompany and assist their parents in forest collections as well as domestic activities. As a result of such cultural constraints where there are schools, only a few Hill Kharia children comes to the schedule to the personal effort of the teacher. Thus, in Baniabasa L.P. School, Khejuri L.P. School and Guruguria low-cost residential school, only a few Hill Kharia children are coming regularly in comparison to other tribal children. It is also worth-mentioning that rarely any officer-in-charge feels to visit or supervise such interior schools. Thus, in the matter of education, defects or faults are lying with both the sides. But as most of the tribals are illiterate or ignorant and are still not conscious of education, the responsibility of their education is lying with the government. Adult education had not been also properly organised in the interior hill villages. Health programmes too, have no remarkable impact or achievement among the Hill Kharia of fringe as well as interior areas.

As regards the housing schemes for semi-nomadic Hill Kharia, it is observed that only in Guruguria Gram Panchayat, one such scheme has been implemented by the Jashipur Block. In view of the landless Hill Kharias in the interior village of Khejuri, 25 single naria-tile houses (12" X 10" size single room) have been constructed in the year 1978-79 under Integrated Housing Scheme. The cost of each house was at the time of construction was Rs. 1,250. Though the people felt better with the completed houses, because of the single room structure it became difficult to accommodate later when the family size increased. Thus, except a few, some have extended the original structure and most others have shifted their house to a suitable site in the village. On enquiry it is found that, the house structures differ significantly from the traditional Kheria houses

and as a result, most of the beneficiaries wanted to modify them. No such housing scheme has been implemented in other Hill Kharia villages of different Gram Panchayats.

In Guruguria Gram Panchayat, the lady and gent health workers designated as MPHWS (Multi-Purpose Health Workers), hardly come to visit the Hill Kharia villages in the interior forests, although they are appointed for that purpose and paid Rs. 30 hill allowance in addition to the salary. They usually find it convenient to meet the people in the weekly market days and handover the malaria tablets etc. to them. It is a great pity that although there is a dispensary as well as, a mobile medical unit established at Guruguria (nearest hospital on the forest periphery), the concern doctor is coming: only once in a week for the last 5 years and the pharmacist has to maintain the overall hospital duties. As a result of this, people have no reliance on the hospital and the local quacks get enough scope for selling their medicines to these poor tribals. Malaria is the main disease in the locality and almost all the tribals suffer from malaria. Spraying of DDT although has been carried on in the area; it has no beneficial effect to observe. But the drinking water problem have been solved in most of the interior villages except only a few, by installing deep tube-wells. In addition to the problems of communication, physical setting and infrastructural problems, the people have also a significant role to make their own health condition worst by following the traditional belief and magical treatment. In comparison to other local tribes, the Hill Kharias, by nature, are also very unclean or dirty. Only when they fail to get any result by magical treatment, they think of the doctors and, the patient at the worst condition is brought to the doctor. But the Family Planning Programmes (see Table 10.3) on the other hand, have noticed a comparatively better achievement. Normally in the area due to malaria and other magical treatment, infant mortality rate is marked to be high and most of the aged couples for the intention of getting some financial help, come forward to obtain family planning operations.

Specific Development Programmes

In view of the backward conditions of the primitive tribes who are not duly benefited under the general development programmes, specific micro-projects have been constituted for specific or selected primitive communities. Basing on the lists prepared with reference to the reports of Dhebar Commission (1961) and Shilu Ao Team (1969) and guidelines provided by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India to the State Government for the identification of primitive tribal groups, 9 such- groups had been identified in Orissa till the end of 1979-80. The Hill Kharia was one among them. Although various micro-projects for the Pauri Bhuiyan, the Bonda, the Juang, the Kutia Kondh, the Dongria Kondh, the Saura and the Lanjia Saura had been started years before, the micro project for the Hill Kharia in combination with the nomadic Mankidia was started only in the year 1986 which came to function in 1987. Thus, the KMDA (Hill Kharia and Mankidia Development Agency) has been started with 21 sparsely distributed villages in 11 Gram Panchayats of Jashipur and Karanjia blocks. Some of the villages are situated in the interior parts of Simlipal hills whereas others in the fringe or peripheral regions..

Since Independence, though the Hill Kharia had been included under the general development programmes, meant both for tribals and non-tribals irrespective of any specific community, their living conditions have not been changed materially. As gathered from the case studies mentioned earlier, it was because of their ignorance, forest-based economy and semi-nomadic way of life, they were continuing at the mercy of the local leaders, representatives, government officials, mediators and exploiters. However, within only one year of functioning, the HKMDA has achieved tremendously in comparison to the previous achievements.

The HKMDA micro-project has started various development programmes in the fields of agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, cottage industry, business, education, employment, health, entertainment, training, demonstration, housing and land distribution.

However, in addition to the above development programmes it is quite shocking that in the beginning of the Tiger Project Hill Kharias were considered to be an essential part of the forest ecosystem & the Project Directors were trying to involve them in all kinds of forest management activities. But at present the situation has gone against the Hill Kharias in the sense that they have been ousted from the core area of the Tiger Project whereas the other tribals could thrive because of their political influence and generations long inhabitation in such areas. It is needless to say that no tribe other than the Hill Kharia is eco-friendly. Thus the Kharias from Jenabil, Jamuna, & Kabatghai have been ousted to Jashipur area where there is no forest & food gathering Hill Kharias here are just feeling like fish out of water. Maintenance of livelihood is a big question before them all. They are bound to change their forest-based economy to a new unknown type killing an age long tradition and culture for all time to come. Who are then benefited and developed by such programmes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dalton, Edward Tuite (1872). Descriptive Ethnology of Bengale, Office of the superintendent of Government Printing Press, Calcutta, (under the direction of the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal), p. 156-219.

Dash, Jagannath. Human Ecology of Foragers. Commonwealth, New Delhi, (1998).

Dyson-Hudson, Rada & Smith, Eric Alden (1978). Human Territoriality : An Ecological Reassessment, American Anthropologist, Vol. 80, No. 1, March.

Report of the Working Groups on Tribal Development During Medium Term Plan 1978-83 (1978). Govt. of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi.

Report (1983-84). Report of the Commission for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes, 6th Report, (April 1983 -March 1984).

Roy, Sarat Chandra (1937). The Kharias, Man in India, Office, Ranchi.

Russell, R. V. and Hiralal, Rai Bahadur (1916). The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India, Vol. III, Macmillan & Co. Limited St. Martin's Street, London (Published under the Order of the Central Provinces Administration).

PRIMITIVE TRIBAL GROUPS (PTGs) OF ORISSA: AN OVERVIEW

Dr.A.B.Ota

INTRODUCTION:

There are certain tribal communities who have declining or stagnant population, a pre-agricultural level of technology, are economically backward and have low literacy level. Seventy-five such groups/communities have been identified and designated as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) in the entire country. This PTG concept for the first time got introduced during the fifth five year plan period. Most of these groups are small in number, have attained different levels of social and economic progress and generally, live in remote habitats, with poor administrative and infrastructure back up. In fact, the Primitive Tribal Communities are considered as a special category in view of their distinctly different social, cultural and occupational practices and traits. Primitive Tribes are distinguished from other tribal communities with regard to their pre-agricultural economy, extremely low level of literacy, isolated habitation etc. During the fifth five year plan, it was decided by Government of India to plan and implement specific development programmes focused on the all-round development of the primitive tribes. The programmes focused were mainly addressed to deliver packages of services consistent with their cultural, social, educational and occupational background with a view to facilitate and gradually align themselves with the mainstream of society and enhance their social and economic status.

With the vision of comprehensive development of the primitive tribal groups, the concept of micro level planning was introduced in the country in the year 1975-76. This envisages integrated and comprehensive development of the micro-project areas in which various programmes irrespective of the sources of funding can be implemented in unison to achieve the common goal of bringing the area at par with other areas and to improve the quality of life of the primitive tribes.

PTGs OF ORISSA AND THE MICRO PROJECTS (Distribution):

Orissa has the distinction of 13 such Primitive Tribal Communities (which is the highest number in the entire country) namely the Bonda, Chuktia Bhunjia, Didayi, Dongria Kondh, Hill Kharia, Mankirdia, Birhor, Juang, Kutia Kondh, Lanjia Saora, Lodha, Paudi Bhuyan and the Saora. While, Bonda was declared as a PTG during the fifth plan period (1974-78), during 1978-80 as many as 7 tribal communities were declared PTG and they are Juang, Lanjia Saora, Kutia Kondh, Dongria Kondh, Saora, Paudi Bhuyan and Birhor. Similarly 4 tribal communities (namely the Didayi, Hill Kharia, Mankirdia & Lodha) during the seventh five year plan period (1985-90) and Chuktia Bhunjia during the 8th five year plan (1992-97) were identified and declared by Government of India as Primitive Tribal Groups. The PTGs of Orissa are localised groups, which are found in specific compact areas spread over 12 districts of the state namely Kalahandi, Nuapada, Sundargarh, Deogarh, Angul, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Malkangiri, Rayagada, Kandhamal, Gajapati and Ganjam. Ever since the fifth five-year plan during which the concept of PTG was introduced by government of India, a number of special development interventions are being extended for this vulnerable section of the tribes through

the specially set up Micro Projects. There are 17 Micro Projects set up in Orissa for effective implementation and all-round development of the 13 PTGs. While 13 of these special projects are located in scheduled areas, the remaining 4 are located in the non scheduled areas.

As regards their distribution, while 6 PTGs such as Birhor, Mankirdia, Hill-Kharia, Juang, Lodha and Paudi Bhuyan are located in the Northern Plateau, the remaining 7 PTGs such as Bonda, Chuktia Bhunjia, Dongria Kondh, Kutia Kondh, Didayi, Lanjia Saora and Saora reside in the Eastern Ghat region of the state. The PTGs live in their remote mountainous habitats in a state of relative isolation - that has helped them to preserve their cultural identities manifested in their diverse languages, unique style of personal adornments, subsistence activities, magico-religious beliefs and practices, social organization and colourful folk traditions of arts, crafts, songs, dance and music. On the other side, their pace of change has remained slower and their level of development, lower than the rest of their brethren belonging to other tribal communities. This situation calls for special attention in respect of their development. When the geographical distribution of the PTGs are further analyzed on the basis of different geographical regions, it is observed that the PTGs are distributed in 5 districts of Western Orissa (Kalahandi, Nuapada, Sundargarh, Deogarh and Angul); 2 districts of Northern Orissa such as Mayurbhanj and five districts of Southern Orissa such as Malkangiri, Raygada, Phulbani, Gajapati and Ganjam. The analysis of the PTGs on the basis of their distribution in TSP and Non TSP areas further reveals that while only one PTG namely Chuktia Bhunjia reside in Non TSP area and two PTGs namely Paudi Bhuyan and Saora inhabit in both TSP and Non TSP areas, the remaining 10 PTGs are found to be distributed in TSP areas. When the state is taken as a whole, the PTGs are observed to be distributed in 547 villages covering 69 villages, 20 Blocks, 10 ITDAs and 12 districts.

DEMOGRAPHY:

Demographic profile of the Primitive Tribal Communities of Orissa inhabiting in the 17 Micro Project areas show many interesting features. According to a Household survey conducted by SCSTRTI, the PTGs in the 17 project areas are 78,519 in number. One of the most interesting aspects of these people is that the sex ratio favours the female population and in fact, the sex ratio indicates that there are 1069.9 female against 1000 male. Similarly, the total literacy rate among this vulnerable section of tribal population is 26.32 percent, which is very low compared to the average literacy rate for the state or for the country. The female literacy rate, which is so very important an indicator for judging human development, is abysmally low among the PTGs and this stands at a staggeringly low rate, that is 15.92%. When the literacy rate is further analysed among different PTG communities, it is observed that in case of two communities such as Didayi and Bonda, it is even less than 5% and in case of Chuktia Bhunjia and Dongria Kondh, it is less than 10 percent. However, there are some PTGs among whom the female literacy rate is significantly higher than the rest and the statistical figure reveals that among Lanjia Saoras and Saoras, the female literacy rate is more than 25 percent. Since family among the Primitive Tribal Groups, like the other ST Communities gets fragmented after the marriage of the son resulting in small sized household, the average size of the household of the PTGs is around 4.25.

ECONOMIC PROFILE AND EXISTENCE:

This vulnerable section of the community, which are 13 in number in terms of variety can be classified and grouped in to 4 techno economic stages and they are: Hunter-Gatherers, Shifting Cultivators, Terrace Cultivators and Settled Cultivators. While 3 PTGs such as Birhor, Mankirdia and Hill Kharia are included under Hunter-Gatherers group; eight PTGs such as Bonda, Didayi, Dongria Kondh, Kutia Kondh, Juang, Lanjia Saora, Paudi Bhuyan and Saora belong to the Shifting Cultivator category. Similarly, while two PTGs such as Saora and Lanjia Saora belong to Terrace cultivation along with Shifting Cultivator category, Lodha and Chuktia Bhunjia PTGs belong to the Settled Cultivator category. PTGs basically thrive on a land and forest based economy. A good section of them depend on this for their survival. As discussed earlier and as seen at the ground level, the Birhor and the Mankirdia are semi-nomadic monkey catchers & siali rope makers and the Hill Kharia are collectors of honey, resin, arrowroot & other minor forest produce for their survival. On the other hand, the rest of the PTGs are primarily farmers of one kind or the other and depend on this to eke out their living. The Bonda, Didayi, Juang, Dongria, Lanjia Saora, Paudi Bhuyan and Saora as explained above are traditionally Shifting Cultivators, but they have also taken up settled cultivation these days. Among them, the Saora and Lanjia Saora are Terrace Cultivators and the Dongria Kondh is a horticulturist. All of them supplement their livelihood by forest collections. Another interesting aspect of the PTGs as revealed from the empirical survey is that as high as 79.08 percent of the households belong to the BPL category and 37.02 percent households are landless.

ARTS AND CRATS:

Although languishing amidst poverty, the traditional arts and crafts of most of the Primitive Tribal Groups in Orissa are extremely beautiful, rich, artistic and have great potential for sale. But what is pity is that no special effort has been made for a long time in respect of promotion of these products, for marketing and also to ensure income generation for the PTG people from these products. Some of the typical traditional skills possessed, arts and crafts practiced by the Primitive Tribal Groups are indicated below in a tabular form:

<u>NAME OF THE PTG</u>	<u>TRADITIONAL SKILLS, ARTS AND CRAFTS</u>
Birhor/Mankirdia	Basket and Rope making out of siali fiber, sabai grass and jute. Khali stitching and pressing Monkey catching.
Bondo	Weaving of Clothes & Carpet Bead Necklaces making, Broomstick making Vegetable cultivation Archery
Chuktia Bhunjia	Bamboo basketry Settled cultivation
Didayi Archery	Bamboo basketry Weaving, Broomstick making,
Dongria Kondh	Embroidery Wood carving & decorating Wall painting. Comb making, Pineapple cultivation & fruit processing

Hill Kharia arrowroot	Collection and processing of honey, resin, Broom stick making Mat making Khali (leaf) stitching and pressing
Juang	Wood carving, Comb making, Shifting cultivation, Changu Dance
Kutia Kondh	Broomstick making Khali stitching & pressing Shifting cultivation Cultivation of turmeric, mustard, etc
Lanjia Saora and Saora	Icon (wall painting), Wood carving, Stone Terracing & Water Management Cashew plantation & processing
Lodha	Sabai (grass) Rope Making
Paudi Bhuyan	Broomstick making, Mat making, Basketry Litchi cultivation, Tussar rearing, Changu Dance

In recent times, special effort has been made by government through SHGs to promote such vanishing and little known arts and crafts of the PTGs in a manner which can earn them a descent earning and also conserve the cultural arts and artifacts from getting vanished.

ASSISTANCE FOR THE PTGs:

Government of India as well as the state government has taken a number of initiatives for overall development of the PTGs. Ministry of Tribal Affairs (MOTA), Gol is providing assistance under Central Sector Scheme with 100% funding as Grant-in-Aid meant for the over all development of PTGs. The funds provided by MOTA under the scheme are exclusively utilized for various developmental activities of the PTG such as for Health & Sanitation, Education, Drinking water supply, supply of non-conventional energy like solar home light, street light, supply of mosquito nets, construction of WHS/Check Dams etc. One of the important schemes that has been extended for the PTGs is Janashree Bima Yojana (JBY) of L.I.C of India Ltd which was introduced from the financial year 2004-05 under Central Sector Scheme for Development of PTGs with 100% Grant-in-Aid by Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India for insurance coverage of PTG families of the state. Besides many other efforts, through SCs & STs Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), skill up-gradation training is provided to artisans belonging to PTGs so that they can make their arts and crafts market oriented.

CRITICAL AREAS OF CONCERN:

Although several schemes and programmes have been extended for the PTGs through the micro-projects from the fifth plan period onwards, empirical studies have shown that the pace of development has been exceedingly slow and the achievement level is far low than the set objectives. Government of India and Planning Commission has fully realized the situation and accordingly have changed

the strategy during the 11th Plan Period for the development of the Primitive Tribal Groups through an innovative mode captioned Conservation cum Development Plan (CCD Plan).

However, it needs to be spelt out very clearly the various critical issues that plague the people belonging to the Primitive Tribal Groups and which need to be addressed for ensuring sustainable development of these vulnerable groups are indicated below:

- Poverty and consequent malnutrition
- Nutritional Deficiencies and Diseases, especially among women and children leading to high IMR and MMR
- Inadequacy of safe drinking water
- Poor sanitation and poor hygiene
- Inadequate and inaccessible health care services
- Vulnerability to specific and endemic diseases like G-6 PD deficiency, Yaws, Malaria etc.
- Deforestation and loss of traditional rights on forests
- Socio-Economic exploitation
- Land alienation, indebtedness and debt bondage
- Rehabilitation of Displaced tribals
- Decline of Pristine Culture
- Low literacy and alarmingly high drop out rates.

SPECIAL APPROACH OF STATE GOVERNMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT OF PTGs DURING THE XIth PLAN:

In fact after assessment of the progress of development of PTGs and the strategy adopted by the previous plan periods, it was felt that there needs to have a relook at the strategy in vogue and on the basis of this, government of India has taken steps for developing a five year prospective development plan for the PTGs with focus on conservation of culture. As such both conservation of culture and development have been carefully balanced in the development approach during the 11th plan period for the PTGs. On the basis of this, government of India in the Ministry of Tribal Affairs has instructed to formulate a CCD Plan for each PTG. In line with the directives of the Government of India, Government of Orissa also has come up with a CCD Plan.

The CCD Plan during the 11th plan period (2007-2012) is a modest attempt for the holistic development of the PTGs. It aims at addressing the critical felt needs of the PTGs by improving infrastructure and provide basic facilities within their easy reach with a view to eliminate poverty, increase literacy level, ensure improved health status, overcome problem of food insecurity and above all bring improvement in the quality of life and conserve their traditional culture. However, the basic approaches of the CCD Plan are:

- Total development through an integrated approach by pulling resources from Central Government and State Government
- Bring about GO, Gram Panchayats and NGO partnership to address the development needs of the PTG.

- Encouraging people's participation in development process through the involvement of traditional institutions, like labour cooperatives, youth dormitory, SHGs etc.
- Provision of basic infrastructure and amenities like health, education, drinking water and also all weather roads to all the PTG villages
- Restoration of Hill slopes ravaged by shifting cultivation by way of raising horticultural plantations thereby protecting natural environment and providing employment and income to the PTGs
- Assistance for conservation and promotion of PTG traditions, like labour cooperatives, traditional skills, Art and Craft, Dance and Songs.
- Ensuring social security through the provision of fireproof houses, grain banks and coverage of all families under Janashree Vima Yojana.

The five year prospective plan (2007-2012) for the PTGs termed as CCD Plan for Orissa has been done for a total estimated cost of Rs.84.25 Crores out of which Rs.64.46 Crore has been posed to Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Gol for financial assistance over a period of five years. The remaining 19.80 Crore rupees will be placed by various other line departments. Government of India has already released 10 Crore rupees towards the CCD Plan for the 1st year. However, the following are some of the brief approaches envisaged in the CCD Plan for the PTGs:

Education:

The PTGs are very backward, educationally. Their total literacy till today is estimated at less than 20 percent. Their female literacy is very low, which is less than 10 percent. Their children of school going age prefer to do, indoor and outdoor, works rather than going to schools because they are expected to help their family in subsistence activities. Therefore, development of education for the PTGs is imperative to bring them at par with non-tribals. It can be achieved by improving educational infrastructure and persistent awareness campaigning to reduce dropouts in primary and upper primary level. Opening of educational complex for ST girl students is the key to achieve this goal besides giving stress on pre-primary education by strengthening the existing Gyanmandirs.

Infrastructure:

By and large, the interior pockets inhabited by the PTGs are relatively inaccessible, isolated and for that matter, under-developed for want of minimum and basic infrastructures. Therefore this action plan has incorporated adequate provisions to create and up-grade essential infrastructures like roads, drinking water, electricity, educational complex, community center etc. for giving a face lift to the villages inhabited by the PTGs. This will be extremely helpful in improving the quality of living of the people belonging to the PTGs.

Connectivity:

In the CCD Plan, construction of village link roads along with small bridges and culverts have been kept which are expected to provide communication facilities to most of the PTG villages. Similarly, supply of light vehicles and mini trucks to SHGs also have been kept in the CCD Plan, which will provide employment to tribal youths and will facilitate easy transportation of people and goods.

Agriculture and Horticulture:

PTGs are primarily agriculturists. There is scope for introduction of gainful modern agricultural and horticultural practices for optimum utilization of the available farmland. To meet the challenge, a comprehensive programme for development of agriculture in the core sector of income generation has been incorporated in the CCD Plan. Available lands suitable for terrace cultivation will be developed by scientific methods of soil and water management. It has been proposed in the CCD Plan for land development by way of stone wall terracing of sloppy lands along with development of valley lands and to enhance agricultural production and income, modern methods and practices will be introduced through crop demonstration with the provision of required input /assistance in the shape of improved high yield variety of seeds, fertilizers and pesticides.

The geo-climatic conditions provide excellent scope for promotion of horticulture as an alternative to shifting cultivation. Some patches are still available for raising mixed orchards. A number of such programmes for mixed orchard and vegetable cultivation and backyard/kitchen garden plantation have been suggested through SHGs. One of the major highlights of this CCD Plan is that a number of activities to promote and conserve culture of the PTGs have been incorporated and a balance has been maintained in the plan by introducing a development cum preservation approach in such a manner that the development interventions will not infringe the culture of the PTGs, rather they will complement and protect their culture.

It is hoped that the Conservation cum Development Plan will be extremely productive and it will be result oriented and pave the way for sustainable development of the Primitive Tribal Groups in the state of Orissa during the 11th plan period, which is 2007-2012.

SWIDDEN CULTIVATION: THE PAURI BHUYAN WAY

Dr. B. Chowdhury

Introduction:

Orissa is a unique State in the country for having rich natural resources and cultural heritage represented in architectural and sculptural styles in temples, spectacular handicrafts, like filigree works, appliques and stone carving, typical textiles and handloom and distinctive performing arts like Odissi and Chhou dances. Besides it is also a fascinating State in having 62 varieties of tribes consisting of colourful and typical tribal communities not found elsewhere in the country. The tribal communities with a population of 84.3 million constitute 8.20 per cent of country's total tribal population and 22.13 per cent of the total population of the State in 2001. Their concentration is mainly in southern and northern districts of the state. They show wide variation in their economic pursuits which are greatly influenced by ecological characteristics of their habitate and own tradition. Basing on their traditional economy the tribes of Orissa may be grouped under (a) hunters and food gathers, (b) cattle herders, (c) artisans, (d) shifting cultivators, (e) settled agriculturists and (f) mining and industrial workers. Tribal economy still revolves round agriculture in some form or other and as the mainstay of the people as about 90 per cent of them have returned as cultivators and agricultural labourers in the Census reports.

Tribal economy vis-à-vis tribal agriculture has been under the influence of several impinge internal and external forces during the last 50 years or so as a result it has changed to a large extent. Based on this the bulk of tribal agriculturists can be grouped as a) fully dependant on swidden or shifting cultivation (b) partly dependant on shifting cultivation and partly on settled cultivation, (c) fully dependant on settled cultivation by totally stopping shifting cultivation and taking up settled cultivation and (d) progressive cultivators who have and opted modern and scientific techniques. However, tribal cultivators still retained some agricultural features like terraced cultivation, horticulture, mixed cropping, rotation of crops, production of typical crops etc. for which they are famous since long. The salient features of the present day tribal agriculture are briefly presented here.

Traditional agriculture among the tribes in general is characterised by simple technology, simple division of labour, small units of production with very little capital investment and primarily meeting domestic requirement of the small social units, like family, lineage group etc. Crops were exposed to the risk of frost, draught, insects, pest and wild animals. Working knowledge was common to adult members who learnt it through by experience. Agriculture was totally dependant upon the family which provide labour. It is a cooperative group based on sexual division of labour.

Shifting swidden cultivation, an archaic mode of agriculture, commonly known as 'Podu' in Orissa, 'Jhum' in north-eastern States is a traditional practice among several tribes namely, the Bonda, Koya, Paroja, Gadaba, Dongria Kondha, Kutia Kondh and the Saora in southern Orissa, the Juang and Pauri Bhuiyas in the northern Orissa. As per an estimation by Government source in 1948, the area affected by shifting cultivars was 12,000 sq. miles and population involved was about 10 lakh. Shifting cultivation is named differently by different tribal groups. It is known as *Koman* or *Toila* among the Pauri Bhuiya, *Biringa* among the Juang, *Bagad* or *Barun* among the Saora, *Livang* or *Kunda*

chas among the Bonda, *Haru* by Dongria Kondha and *Podu* among the Gadaba, Paroja and Kondha tribe. It is undertaken in forest areas, hill tops and slopes covered with forest.

The salient features of shifting cultivation in brief consist of (a) selection of patches, (b) making clearings by cutting non-fruit trees, trimming fruit trees, clearing shrubs and vines, (c) burning the felled materials after dried up, (d) spreading of ashes all over the patch (e) tilling the soil with hoe or mattock or ploughing with bullock driven plough as among the Pauri Bhuiya before or after, (f) broadcasting, (g) arduous work of debushing and weeding, (h) risky job of guarding the standing crops, (i) harvesting, (j) threshing and finally (K) bringing home the crops. The process starts in May and ends in January. A specific patch is generally used for 2 to 3 years or till good production of crops is seen and left fallow for a period of 7 to 8 years to recoup.

Shifting cultivation is subsistence oriented and hence a number of seeds mixed together sown to meet their consumption requirement. Common crops grown consist of rice (only in northern Orissa) Minor millets, pulses, oil seeds, creeper vegetables, spices, like ginger, turmeric and chilly. These crops which ripen one after another are harvested in small quantity to meet their daily consumption requirement till these are finally harvested, threshed and brought home.

In the past, when tribal areas had not been covered by land survey and settlement operations land and forests belonged to the tribal. At that time there were two traditional systems of land tenure in the tribal areas. In northern Orissa, the Juang and the Pauri Bhuiya had community ownership and land for shifting cultivation was distributed among families by the village leaders in a corporate manner. In southern Orissa, area under shifting cultivation was individually owned by the families and inherited by the younger generation.

The practice of shifting cultivation has mythical foundation. There are myths current among some that the creator of the tribe had advised them to adopt the practice for their survival. There are also rituals associated with the practice of shifting cultivation and are performed with the help of tribal priest. The village secular leaders play a dominant role in ensuring smooth distribution of patches and completing the operation with mutual cooperation and help among all families. Use of simple implements and short duration traditional crops grown under rain fed condition require low investment. Labour is provided by the family members and engagement of outside labour is done not by payment of wages but by providing food and drink. Even in drought situation the short duration crops give a stable yield.

Realising the adverse effects of the practice of shifting /swidden cultivation and specially the low yield rate and knowing about the advantages of terraced cultivation, tribals in certain areas have become conscious. By their own efforts and without taking any external help, they have started terracing activities in hill slopes, especially in south Orissa. Terracing is, no doubt, labour intensive, painstaking and requires hard work, but after it is accomplished it becomes advantageous, because the yield rate is comparatively high.

While undertaking different phases of shifting cultivation, they avail of the opportunity to carry on hunting and collection of different varieties of edibles fuel wood and materials used in house construction with ease. Though yield is low, they are

satisfied with the production of several cereals which are available where there is food scarcity during the period from September to December.

It is observed in tribal areas that farmers are becoming conscious of the adverse effects of chemical fertilisers and pesticides which are cost-effective, destroyer of bio-diversity including decay of micro organisms in the soil and soil becomes infertility prone after continuous use. In lieu thereof, they are pleading for bio-farming or organic farming use of bio-fertilisers and indigenous pesticides etc in order to develop sustainable farming. It is really a boon for the tribal area.

The tribals who have stopped practising shifting cultivation fully or partly, have adopted settled cultivation in whatever quantity of land is available with them. During the last 50 years or so the Government have been allotting land with inputs to adopt take up settled cultivation. But the new practice lacks in many respects to get adequate return. The size of operational holding is generally small and poor in quality. These people are lacking in modern agricultural outlook, continue to follow the past practices in the use of implements and other methods learnt by experience

Orissa Situation:

Shifting cultivation has become a problem of great concern for a wide section of people that include administrators, planners, academicians and the public at large. This practice is viewed as one of the major factors responsible for progressive loss of forest coverage and degradation of land causing ecological imbalances. Earlier efforts to control it did not succeed to the extent desired. The practice is still continued in several countries including India, causing anxiety to the Government and the public. In some parts of our country, where this system has been stopped due to either non-availability of swiddens or Government restrictions, the swiddeners are passing through a crucial period. The Government at the State and the National levels and the international body like UNESCO also called upon to carry on research on shifting cultivation for evolving a suitable strategy to tackle the problem. Studies on swiddeners of various regions have called upon to view shifting cultivation from the twin perspective of culture and environment, to recognise it as a 'way of life' and not a 'necessary evil', Strategy to control it by eliminating its harmful effects are also worked out. Some researchers have observed that the problem of shifting cultivation in all areas/ communities may not be the same but have their peculiarities. Thus, whenever efforts are made to tackle it in any specific area/ community, proper study on various aspects needs be conducted.

Orissa is one of the major States in India where shifting cultivation is still undertaken extensively as an age-old practice by many tribes/sub-tribes, like the Juang, the Pauri Bhuyan, the Lanjia Saora, the Kutia Kandha, the Dongria Kandha, the Didayi, the Paroja, the Gadaba and the Koya spread over nine out of 13 old districts. According to some estimates an area around 30 lakh hectares or so in Orissa is subjected to shifting cultivation and roughly around 5 to 6 lakhs population are involved in it. However, not much systematic study on this system has been conducted to examine the detail, the rhythm and pattern of shifting cultivation and its influence on various aspects of the life of the wideners. In the present micro-study, we have made a humble attempt to find out its historical and socio-cultural ramifications among the Pauri Bhuyan of Keonjhar district. In specific terms, we have attempted to seek answers to questions: whether shifting cultivation among the Pauri Bhuyan is (a) an organic response to the geophysical conditions of the area, (b) a practice resulting out of historical reasons, (c) a mechanism for integrating different aspects of the economy and society, (d) conducive for the

people having simple technology and (e) pivotal to other economic activities. It thus, seeks to outline the extent of interdependence between the shifting cultivation and different aspects of the habitat economy and society of which it is a part.

The Pauri Bhuyan:

The Pauri Bhuyan constitute the primitive section of the Bhuyan enlisted as one of the Scheduled Tribes in Orissa State alone. The name Bhuyan and its other variants, such as, Bhuiyan, Bhuinya, Bhuiyar, Bhuihar, etc. are mostly derived from the Sanskrit word "**Bhumi**" meaning "**Land**" and therefore the Bhuyan hold the view that they were born out of the 'Mother Earth' and became '**Bhumiputra**' (sons of the soil). Several mythical stories current among them and in the neighbouring Juang tribe indicate that they are the original inhabitants of the present habitat, and highlight how they along with the Juang and some other communities were children of a common ancestor. The total population of the Bhuyan in Orissa was 2,77,420 in 2001. they are found in almost all undivided districts with larger concentration in Sundargarh, Keonjhar, Sambalpur and Mahyurbhanj. The percentage of literacy of the population stood at 50.88 in 2001 with males and females registering 66.18 per cent and 35.68 per cent respectively.

The tribe has now several distinctive endogamous sections. These are Pauri Bhuyan, Rajkuli Bhuyan, Rautali Bhyuyan and Khandait Bhuyan. Among them the Pauri Bhuyan, also known as Desi Bhuyan, Paburi Bhuyan and Hill Bhuyan are still regarded as the true representative of the Bhuyan tribe. The Pauri Bhuyan speak Oriya with local assent as their mother-tongue showing racial and cultural affinities with the Kolarian stock.

Adjoining Banspal and Telkoi development blocks of Keonjhar district, Koida and Lahunipada development blocks of Sundargarh district, Barkote development block of old Sambalpur district and Pal Lahara development block of old Dhenkanal district constitute the habitat of the Pauri Bhuyan. The area is full of wild lofty hill ranges and dense forests forming part of the watershed of the river Baitarani and the Brahmani. There are extensive table lands on the mountain summits containing loose stones fit for pasturage and tillage. In between the hill ranges there are valleys with a number of hill streams. The area receives medium rainfall and has medium temperature which is suitable for vegetative growth. Thus, topography, soil type and climatic conditions of the habitat are favourable to shifting cultivation, practised by the Pauri Bhuyan from time immemorial.

The Pauri Bhuyan of Keonjhar in particular are well known for their association with the local royal family. They are also equally known for their rebellion against the rules on two occasions, first in 1868 because of installation of one Dhanurjay Narayan Bhanj as king, and in 1891 against the adopted ***bethi*** System (labour without wage) in the construction of an earthen-dam for water supply to Keonjhar town. The pauri Bhuyan is an endogamous group and their social organization is characterised by extended lineages, minor lineages, nuclear family and territorial units, and absence of totemistic clans, phatries and moieties. The extended lineage is termed as Khilli in imitation of their Mundri neighbours. All members of a Khilli consider themselves as brothers and sisters and there by marriage among them is not allowed. Matrimonial alliance is also not allowed with some other Khillies which are regarded as Kutumba Khillies . Those with which marriage is allowed are called Bandhu Khillies. Previously when villages were uni-Khilli , principles of village exogamy were followed. The villages with which matrimonial alliance can be established are known as Bandhu Villages and those with which it is not allowed are called Kutumba villages. The Khilli is further sub-divided into a number of minor lineage called Kutumba.

Nuclear type of family consisting of the husband, the wife with their unmarried children is very common. Soon after marriage, a son has to live separately in a house constructed by himself and his wife. Ancestral properties, after the death of the father, are equally distributed among all sons with the eldest son getting a little more.

Most Pauri Bhuyan villages are still unilineal in composition. Collective outlook, co-operative attitude and cohesiveness of the villagers are exhibited on many occasions like observances of community rites rituals, economic pursuits like shifting cultivation, forest collection, hunting, fishing intra-village activities, marriage and death rites of an individual etc. The village is a quasi-political unit. The traditional secular headman called Pradhan (also Naek), the village priest known as Dehuri and the Gram Panchayat ward member shoulder the responsibilities of maintaining harmony and peace in the village. They also lead the council of village elders in all socio-economic matters of the village.

The Pauri Bhuyan as Swiddeners:

The Pauri Bhuyan have adopted shifting Cultivation as their principal mode of livelihood since time immemorial, but there has been changes in their economic activities in some localities where shifting cultivation as replaced by some new economic activity consequent to dwindling supply of swiddens, governmental restrictions and developmental efforts. In some other pockets shifting cultivation still continues to be the dominant source of livelihood for the majority. In such cases it is usually supplemented by collection of forest produce, hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, settled cultivation, wage-earning and house industries. These economic pursuits revolve round the principal activity-the cycle of shifting cultivation.

The present study is based primarily on data collected from two villages selected for the purpose. Of these, Sankarai is predominantly a Pauri Bhuyan village where all the 98 Pauri Bhuyan households carry on shifting cultivation. The other village, Bayakumutua, has a mixed population. Only 5 out of the 62 Pauri Bhuyan households in the latter carry on shifting cultivation. In the former, located in a less accessible area, all other economic pursuits revolve round shifting cultivation for which Swidden patches are still available. In the latter which is a roadside village, loss of forest coverage, infiltration of outsiders and restrictions imposed by Government by declaring some areas as reserved forests and some covered with Government sponsored plantation. Majority of the households here have some plain or wet land and have taken resort to other economic pursuits and have stopped shifting cultivation. In addition to these two villages, under the jurisdiction of Banspal development Block, data from the neighbouring villages and from official and non-official organizations were also collected.

Shifting Cultivation has been occupying a distinctive place in the socio-economic life of the Pauri Bhuyan since time immemorial. They use the term Toila Chas for shifting cultivation. It is also commonly referred to as Kamani meaning 'Productive work'. The community claim to be autochthons and as the "owners of the soil". The belief is reflected in their folk tales and legends and even in the official documents of the pre-independent era. A village as a whole was the owner of the area demarcated for its use. The right was recognized by the neighbouring Pauri Bhuyan villages. Although homestead land, plain and wet land are now privately owned in those villages where land survey and settlement operations are conducted, the land under shifting cultivation in particular are still communally owned by the village, and any trespass by outsiders is not tolerated. Ownership of Swidden is still vested with the village community and individual /household has only usufructory rights. Change of the village site within the traditionally

defined boundary, a frequent phenomenon under shifting cultivation, no more takes place except in some exceptional cases.

Swiddens are cultivated normally for a period of two to four consecutive years depending upon productivity. Thus, a Pauri household normally cultivates each year three patches allotted to it for three consecutive years. Each patch is known differentially according to the year of cultivation. Clearings under the first, second and third year are known as Biringa, Koman and Nala respectively. A patch after cultivation is left fallow for a period of 5 to 8 years for recuperation.

Selection of Swidden is based on group deliberation and discussion under the leadership of the village head and other functionaries. Distribution of plots is done in the presence of members representing all willing households. Quarrel or conflict normally does not occur at the time of distribution of patches. The village functionaries, like the **Pradhan**, the **Dehuri** and the Panchayat ward member enjoy preference and the destitute, like a widow or widower are favoured with special considerations in the allotment of the patches. The size of the patches largely depends on the need and manpower of the household, and occasionally on the availability of the forest patches. The village council and the unmarried youths of both sexes are also separately allotted with patches to raise a public fund. The celebration of the **Magh Podoi Parab** in the month of **Magh** (January-February) makes the beginning of the new agricultural session and the distribution of patches. A Swiddening household normally cultivates three patches in a year. The total area of such patches taken together per household on an average was 2 areas in the village Sankarai and one acre in Bayakmutua in the year 1990-91.

The work cycle in different patches show slight variation. The heavy and arduous job like tree felling and bush cutting mark the beginning of the work cycle in a fresh patch. This is followed by piling of felled material and then firing. In the second year Swidden, cutting of foliage and weeding followed by firing are mostly done by women. A third year patch does not have enough growth of weeds and foliage for cutting. Thereafter sowing, ploughing, hoeing and foliage cutting are undertaken in the same manner in all patches. Weeding, watching and harvesting crops are done simultaneously in all patches.

Shifting cultivation among the Pauri Bhyan is motivated by orthogenetic myths and divine sanction. It is believed that the creator Himself directed the first progenitors of the Community to eke out a living by undertaking shifting cultivation. It is also linked with cultural values and religious beliefs and practices. The Pauri Bhuyan consider land as mother Goddess (**Basuki**). Paddy, regarded as a sacred object, is used in all rituals. It also constitutes the staple food. The community believes in a number of Supernatural Powers presiding over the land and forest. In consonance with such a belief system, a series of rituals and observances of taboos form an essential component of the process of shifting cultivation. Before a major operation is initiated, a ritual for seeking blessings and protection of the Supernatural Powers is performed by the traditional village priest. After the **Magh Podoi Parab**, in the month of January-February, fresh patches are distributed among all households for making clearings and firing of felled materials with the new fire rekindled on this occasion by the village priest. Ceremonial hunting, in the month of April- May, gives an indication of good or bad harvest in the coming season. The **Tirtia Muti**, in April-May by individual household to perform ceremonial sowing of paddy seeds, the Asarhi ritual in the month of June- July for good rain and the **Nua Khia** or first eating of new rice in the month of September-October are observed.

defined boundary, a frequent phenomenon under shifting cultivation, no more takes place except in some exceptional cases.

Swiddens are cultivated normally for a period of two to four consecutive years depending upon productivity. Thus, a Pauri household normally cultivates each year three patches allotted to it for three consecutive years. Each patch is known differentially according to the year of cultivation. Clearings under the first, second and third year are known as Biringa, Koman and Nala respectively. A patch after cultivation is left fallow for a period of 5 to 8 years for recuperation.

Selection of Swidden is based on group deliberation and discussion under the leadership of the village head and other functionaries. Distribution of plots is done in the presence of members representing all willing households. Quarrel or conflict normally does not occur at the time of distribution of patches. The village functionaries, like the **Pradhan**, the **Dehuri** and the Panchayat ward member enjoy preference and the destitute, like a widow or widower are favoured with special considerations in the allotment of the patches. The size of the patches largely depends on the need and manpower of the household, and occasionally on the availability of the forest patches. The village council and the unmarried youths of both sexes are also separately allotted with patches to raise a public fund. The celebration of the **Magh Podoi Parab** in the month of **Magh** (January-February) makes the beginning of the new agricultural session and the distribution of patches. A Swiddening household normally cultivates three patches in a year. The total area of such patches taken together per household on an average was 2 areas in the village Sankarai and one acre in Bayakmutua in the year 1990-91.

The work cycle in different patches show slight variation. The heavy and arduous job like tree felling and bush cutting mark the beginning of the work cycle in a fresh patch. This is followed by piling of felled material and then firing. In the second year Swidden, cutting of foliage and weeding followed by firing are mostly done by women. A third year patch does not have enough growth of weeds and foliage for utting. Thereafter sowing, ploughing, hoeing and foliage cutting are undertaken in the same manner in all patches. Weeding, watching and harvesting crops are done simultaneously in all patches.

Shifting cultivation among the Pauri Bhyan is motivated by orthogenetic myths and divine sanction. It is believed that the creator Himself directed the first progenitors of the Community to eke out a living by undertaking shifting cultivation. It is also linked with cultural values and religious beliefs and practices. The Pauri Bhuyan consider land as mother Goddess (**Basuki**). Paddy, regarded as a sacred object, is used in all rituals. It also constitutes the staple food. The community believes in a number of Supernatural Powers presiding over the land and forest. In consonance with such a belief system, a series of rituals and observances of taboos form an essential component of the process of shifting cultivation. Before a major operation is initiated, a ritual for seeking blessings and protection of the Supernatural Powers is performed by the traditional village priest. After the **Magh Podoi Parab**, in the month of January-February, fresh patches are distributed among all households for making clearings and firing of felled materials with the new fire rekindled on this occasion by the village priest. Ceremonial hunting, in the month of April- May, gives an indication of good or bad harvest in the coming season. The **Tirtia Muti**, in April-May by individual household to perform ceremonial sowing of paddy seeds, the Asarhi ritual in the month of June- July for good rain and the **Nua Khia** or first eating of new rice in the month of September-October are observed.

Shifting Cultivation is primarily a labour intensive pursuit with very little specialization and all able-bodied members irrespective of age and gender are free to participate. However, some traditional norms regulate the distribution of different items of work. Adult male members can also participate in the deliberation of the village elders in the selection and distribution of swidden, cutting of big trees, sowing and ploughing and climbing of trees (to collect fruits). These are taboo to female workers for all age groups. Some items of work like firing the felled material, watching the standing crops in the swidden in the night, fashioning and repairing of wooden implements, making straw bundles for storing food grains are exclusively done by male members, although there is no bar for a female member to participate in these jobs. Adult females undertake such items of work which require endurance. These consist of bush cutting, gathering of felled materials and firing, foliage cutting, hoeing, weeding, harvesting, threshing and winnowing. There is no restriction for males, however, to undertake these items of work. Children and adolescents assist their parents in such items of work specified on the basis of gender. Shifting cultivation, thus, requires participation of both males and females. A household having no male or female working hand finds it difficult to undertake shifting cultivation without help beyond the household. Selling of labour in the Swidden of another household is considered disgrace. Thus extraneous labour for a genuinely needy household comes spontaneously from the cooperating kinsmen in and outside the village as a social obligation or a reciprocal basis. Collective labour by the villagers or the village youths is also available with nominal or without payment of wage. According to the calculation made at the time of the study it is seen that 109 mandays are devoted for cultivation of one acre of fresh clearing. In case of the second and the third year patches, the number of mandays required goes down to 67 and 26 respectively.

The Pauri Bhuyan follow a definite cropping pattern which is the same as adopted by their forefathers in the Swidden cultivation. They follow rotation of crops in the Swidden under first, second and third year of cultivation. Diverse crops are grown from the patches under first and second year of cultivation using different portions for sowing different crops excluding the leguminous crops which are grown here and there under the leafless dried trees. Crops, like *jowar* or *arhar* are sown on the boarder which helps to protect the main crop of blackgram in the first year patch and similarly *niger* is sown on the border to protect the main crop of rice in the second year patch.

The crops grown in the Swidden include at least eight varieties of cereals including rice (their staple food), and ragi, Kangu, Kathia, Jowar, Jali, Maize and Suan, three varieties of pulses (*arhar*, Kulthi and blackgram), niger (a variety of oil seed), about eight varieties of vegetables consisting mostly of creeper variety occasionally, chilly, turmeric and several varieties of edible green leaves. The main motive behind this diversity of crops grown in the swidden, as in the case of subsistence cultivators, is to meet the basic requirement of food at the first instance at different times of the agricultural season. Different varieties of cereals, vegetables and edible green leaves become ready for harvest starting from the month of *Bhudh* (August-September) to the month of *Magasira* (December-January).

Shifting Cultivation is economically more viable to the Pauri Bhuyan, because of low capital investment for seeds, manures, implements and techniques employed in production. Apart from land and labour which are available without involving cost they use traditional seeds which they preserve at the time of harvest or obtain from their neighbours mostly on exchange. These fields are not manured excepting spreading of ashes obtained from firing of felled vegetative materials. Implements used are very

simple. The most distinctive practice come across among them is the use of draught animals like cows and bullocks for ploughing the swidden. Techniques of cultivation are acquired through active participation by an individual since early age.

A rough estimate of average yield of different crops from an acre of swidden under each year of cultivation was attempted during the study. It revealed that the average yield of all important crops came to 102 kilograms which is worth Rs.368.00 at the current price during 1990-91. From the second year patch the total yield was 154 kilograms, the money value of which was Rs. 339.00. in addition to these important crops they had obtained different varieties of vegetables in the first and second year patch. The average yield of the lone crop of *jali* (minor millet) grown in the third year patch was only 42 kilograms worth Rs.84.00 only. Swidden cultivation not only provides the crops overtly grown but also brought in a number of other items of essential use without involving extra labour. Collection of items such as, fuel wood, faggot, timber, fodder, thatching grass, fibre and edible green leaves, fruits, shoots, tubers etc. went on simultaneously with shifting cultivation. Further, a variety of food crops ripen one after another within a period of 5 to 6 months, helped them to meet the instant food requirements to a large extent. Thus considering from the utilitarian point of view, shifting cultivation is not uneconomical to these people.

Shifting cultivation is not a lone and exclusive economic pursuit but is the nucleus of an occupational complex around which such other economic activities, as the plain land cultivation, forestry, hunting, fishing, livestock rearing and wage-earning revolve.

Shifting cultivation not only provide employment to all able-bodied persons irrespective of age and gender but also continues to be the main source of livelihood for those who do not have permanent land. It does not run the risk of total crop failure either due to excessive rain or drought as crops ripen one after another at different period spread over about 5 to 6 months.

Family is the most effective production unit as far as shifting cultivation is concerned. All members in a family have to participate ungrudgingly and to acquire the skill. Shifting cultivation is a collective, more or less a sort of cooperative production system in which members of various social units starting from family, mini-lineage group, kin group to village have to participate individually and collectively and cooperate with each other at various operational stages.

In shifting cultivation, the entire village acts as a single production unit. All decisions relating to this pursuit are taken in the meetings of the village elders presided over by the village functionaries, like the Pradhan, Dehuri and Ward Member. The village Darbar, an open space in front of the defunct bachelor's dormitory is the place where almost all formal and informal meetings of the village leaders and all community celebrations are held.

The role of the village leaders is still considered essential and inseparable from the process of shifting cultivation. As mentioned above the traditional secular headman and the ward members of the statutory Gram Panchayat in collaboration with the traditional village priest and with the approval of village elders take decisions associated with the practice of shifting cultivation. Those who do not act in accordance with the decisions and those who violate the taboo and do not honour traditional values and norms linked with shifting cultivation are not tolerated. The village priest, being the spiritual and the ritual head of the village, is the chief functionary to fix the dates of

celebration of communal rituals which precede various major operations of shifting cultivation and also officiates in the rituals on behalf of the villagers. He is the ritual specialist to initiate tree felling, firing, sowing and harvesting in the swidden.

Thus, shifting cultivation is integrated and inter-twined with the political, religious and social system and is more a social activity than an economic pursuit. It ensures unity, collective outlook and cohesiveness of various units of social organisations, like the family, the *Kutumba* and the village. The institutions, like the associations of the unmarried youths and the village political organization exhibit in their behaviour, loyalty and emotional attachment among the members at the time of actual operations.

In short the socio-economic implications of swidden/ shifting cultivation have shown:

1. that the process among the Pauri Bhuiyan is motivated by divine sanctions and was adopted as the means of survival from time immemorial;
2. that it is a spontaneous response to the topography and climatic conditions of the habitat;
3. that it continues till today in less accessible pockets;
4. that at present the recuperation period is reduced to 7 to 8 years instead of 12 to 15 years as in the past;
5. that a clearing is used only for 2-3 years;
6. that clearing of swiddens consists of felling, cutting, slashing and burning the dried vegetative debris;
7. that farming operations from tree felling to harvesting is initiated by the village priest after performing necessary rituals;
8. that ownership of *jhum* land is vested in the village and the individual / household has only usufructory rights;
9. that the selection of the area and distribution of patches among households follow group deliberations and decisions taken in the meetings of the village elders under the village headman;
10. that the allotment is proportional to the need and manpower available to the allottee;
11. that in the allotment, the secular headman, the ward member, the village priest and destitutes receive priority;
12. that it is a nucleus of an occupational complex around which other economic pursuits such as settled cultivation, forest collection, hunting, fishing, animal husbandry and wage-earning revolve;
13. that it is a collective production system with the village at the apex and the household at the bottom;
14. that it is continued as main source of livelihood for those who do not have permanent land;
15. that it is carried through the use of traditional skills and techniques;
16. that it is a hard, arduous and risky job and not the occupation of the lazy and the lethargic;
17. that implements are simple, consisting of bullock drawn ploughs and hand tools;
18. that it is organized with very little investment in seeds, implements and manure;
19. that it is primarily labour intensive with very little specialization though based on division of labour;

20. that it is free from the employment of paid labour;
21. that it is accomplished by household labour complemented or supplemented by mutual help between participating households;
22. that different cropping pattern is carried on in the same patch in different years of cultivation;
23. that a number of crops are simultaneously raised in different parts of the same patch under first and second year cultivation;
24. that certain short-duration crops, like minor millets, maize and paddy are grown primarily for subsistence;
25. that a few specialised crops like *niger*, blackgram, *arhar*, etc., are grown for exchanges;
26. that it facilitates the collection of a number of other items, like fodder, fuel, edible leaves, fruits and shoots, timber, thatching grass, fibre, etc., simultaneously;
27. that edibles collected from and around swidden and food crops grown in swidden help to maintain a balanced diet;
28. that the practitioners do not consider it uneconomical as they obtain several other useful items in addition to the cultivated crops;
29. that the yield per acre/ unit comparatively less than that from the wet land and plain land cultivation;
30. that it is neither oriented towards profit nor for the accumulation of assets and wealth;
31. that it does not run the risk of total crop failure either due to drought or excessive rain as crops ripen one after another at different times spread over about five to six months;
32. that it provides consumable items acceptable to the black-smith, the basket-makers, the oilman, the milkman and the potter in exchange of their merchandise;
33. that it functionally linked with the socio-cultural systems of which it is a part and
34. that it is still a way of life with a number of inherent advantage in the context of its practices.

The swidden/ shifting cultivation continues to be a problem of great concern all over the world in general and Tribal India in particular. On the other hand, the problem of shifting cultivators may vary from community to community. Even in the same community, there may be variation from area to area, and as such all cannot be dealt with common set of programmes. Thus, before preparing any restorative and ameliorative programme for the swidden cultivators, the micro situations should carefully be studied and properly understood. Implementation of any programme should go hand in hand with follow-up action, so that the achievement of the desired goal is fairly achieved.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- | | | |
|---|---------|--|
| Ahmed, M. | 1965 | Census of India, 1961, Orissa, District Census Handbook, Kenjhor, District, Cuttack |
| Bose, S. & Ghatak S. | 1985 | Shifting Cultivation in India in K.S. Singh ed, 'Economic of Tribes and their Transformation' New Delhi concept publishing Company |
| Chaturvedi, M.D pal, B.N. | 1953 | A study of shifting cultivation in Assam |
| Chowdhury, B. | 1966-67 | Forest Economy of Hill Bhuiyan. Adibasi Vol- V I I I, No 1, Bhubaneswar. |
| Chowdhury, B. | 1967-68 | Economic Activities of Pauri Bhuyan , Adibasi Vol-IX, No.3, Bhubaneswar |
| Dalton, E.T.(Reprint) | 1960 | The Bhuiyas in 'Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal', Calcutta, (published in 1872). |
| Dhebar, U.N. | 1961 | Report on Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, Government of India, New Delhi |
| Elwin, V. | 1948 | Notes on Juang, Man in India, Vol-XXV I I I, Ranchi. |
| Mahapatra, K & Debi, K.B. | 1972-73 | Shifting Cultivation in Orissa, Adibasi, Vol-XIV, No.4 Bhubaneswar. |
| Misra, K.K. | 1987-88 | Shifting Cultivation in Orissa - A Rethinking. Man in Society. Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, Utkal University. |
| Mooney, H.F. | 1951 | Shifting Cultivation in Orissa. |
| Patnaik, N. | 1977-78 | Economic life and food gap in Tamera- A Bhuiyan Village in Kenjhor district, Adibasi Vol- XVIII Nos.I-IV. |
| Patnik, N. Chowdhury, B.
Das Patnaik, P.S. &
Mohnty, B.B. | 1982 | Shifting Cultivation in Orissa . T. H. R. T. I. , Bhubaneswar, unpublished Report. |
| Roy, Sarat Chandra | 1953 | The Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa. (With comparative notes on Plain Bhuiyas), Man in India Office, Ranchi. |
| Sachchidananda | 1989 | Shifting Cultivation in India. Concept publishing company, New Delhi. |
| Tripathi, D.P. | 1960 | Shifting Cultivation in Orissa. Its causes and effects. Bhubaneswar, Orissa |

BONDO HIGHLANDERS' TRADITION AND DEVELOPMENT

Shri R. N. Sahu

Introduction:

The "Bondo Poraja" is one of the 62 scheduled tribes and one among the 13 Primitive Tribal Groups of Orissa. They are popularly known as Bonda or Bondo. They are members of Austro-Asiatic tribes. They speak "Remo Sam" a south munda language.

The Bondo is a small community which numbered 2565, 3641, 4677, 5338, 5895 and 7315 in Census 1941, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991 respectively. During the Census 2001 they numbered 9378 including 4598 male and 4780 female constituting a sex-ratio of 1040 and growth rate of 28.20 %.

There are two distinct groups of Bondo, i.e. the 'Hill Bondo' or Bondo Highlanders known by themselves as *Jangaria Remo* and the lower Bondo known as *Lamlook Remo* on the basis of their habitats. The Hill Bondo in the Micro Project area numbered 5530 persons having a sex ratio of 1158 females per 1000 males and registering a growth rate of 9.50 over the decade 1991-2001 (Socio-economic Survey, 2001 by SCSTRTI).

Settlement:

The Bondo Highlanders are the autochthons of Bondo Hills locally known as *Jangara Hills* forming a part of Eastern Ghat Mountain ranges stretching in Eastern India. Their habitat is inaccessible mountains with an elevation varying from 500 meters to over 1200 meters within a geographical area of about 130 sq km. There are number of perennial hill streams, mountain peaks and valleys through out.

The villagers are situated on hill tops, hill slopes and foot hills nearer to some perennial streams. There are no regular streets inside. The individual houses are scattered and spread out with two roomed gabled typed thatched houses with slopes on 4 sides with mud walls. Cattle sheds are constructed close by.

The megalithic platform called *Sindibor* is found in the centre of the village. It serves as a community centre for the meetings/group discussions of the village elders, socio political and religious heads. The village deity resides in *Hundi*, their main shrine. The girl's dormitory is called *Selani Dingo* and that of the boy's dormitory, *Ingersing Dingo*.

Distinguishing features:

Distinguishing appearance of women is seen with shaven heads. It is a traditional practice that one woman shaves the head of the other by a locally made razor. Women wear short self woven cloth, *nodic* or *ringa*. Also Women wear different ornaments made of aluminium and brass metals and heavy mass of bead necklaces covering their neck and throat and upper person of the belly. Men keep hair and put on loin cloth which hang down string around the waist and are always armed with weapons including bow and arrows, knife and axe whenever move out.

Social Organization:

Family is nuclear, patriarchal and patrilocal. Marriage within the village is strictly forbidden. Monogamy is commonly prevalent where as relatively well to do prefer polygamy. In most cases the wife is older than the husband. Bride wealth is

paid in shape of cattle, liquor and rupee in cash. The women are free to accept or reject a marriage proposal in the dormitory attended by the unmarried boys of other villages. There are a number of cases of divorce and widow remarriage.

Political Organisation:

They have their traditional village council where Naik, the village headman, Challan, assistant to headman and Barik, messenger and Šisa, the priest, are the main functionaries responsible for socio political and socio religious rites in the village. Dissari is their astrologer-cum-medicine man. They believe in sorcery and black magic.

There are traditional village councils in every village consisting of the adult male members of each household headed by the Naik, his assistance Challan and Barik, the messenger. The village council seat on the village *Sindibor*, a stone platform erected in a suitable inside the village to decide various matters and settlement of disputes. These posts are usually hereditary within the same lineage group. Adultery, rape, disputes over land, trees, theft, disrespect to traditional norms, taboos, any kind of injury/ attempt to murder are considered as offences. In case of any dispute, the opponent parties/individual are summoned. The village elders try to persuade them to forget their enmity and be friendly by sprinkling water (*waidak*) on them. Usually the culprit for committing the above mentioned offences is fined or asked to offer animals as compensation to the individual found innocent and to the community as fine or punishment towards their interference for settlement of the dispute.

While punishment are given in shape of fine/cattle or domestic animals for committing offences no reward what-so-ever is given by the villagers/council to individuals doing good work for the society except however, giving a specific portion of the haunt (animal or bird) extra as reward to the individual who wounded /hit it first during the communal hunting.

In the old days the Bondos justice is mainly revenge and to a considerable extent it still exists. A Bondo, who kills anybody during a quarrel over a gourd of wine, land or a man who avenges a family or clan on some past foe/enmity does not feel guilty at all. He thinks he has done exactly what he should. There is no Bondo criminal class, the whole tribe is in it, and any one may exceed and may become without warning or preparation of a murder.

Religious Beliefs and Practices:

A sword *Patkhand*, kept hidden in a banyan tree in the sacred grove at Mudulipada, the capital of the Bondo highlands, is a royal insignia that gets worshiped every year in January-February attended by villagers and their headmen and *Barjangar* group of twelve villages by offering goat, cock, un-boiled rice with turmeric and coconut etc. On this day the seeds of different crops are worshiped and sanctified to get a good harvest. The swidden field and the terrace paddy fields are annually worshiped by the respective owner family. At community level the Earth Goddess *Bursung/Hindi* and at individual family level hill slopes and terraced paddy fields are worshiped for fecundity. Springs (*singraj*) are worshiped by the community. Sacred groves and spots in swidden cultivation patch and terraced rice fields are worshiped and it is taboo to trespass it unclean.

Economic Organisation:

The highlanders depend mainly on agriculture both shifting (swidden) cultivation on hill slopes and settled agriculture on foothill, up and dry land and streambed terraced paddy fields, for their livelihood. They raise millets, pulses, oil

seeds and vegetables on the swidden plots under mixed cropping pattern on rotational basis consecutively for three years and allow fallow for vegetative recuperation and addition of fertility in natural process. Scented long varieties of paddy are cultivated through transplantation of seedlings in the terraced paddy fields. In backyards maize and vegetables are raised during rainy season followed chili, tobacco and other vegetables. Collection of various minor forest produce rearing of cattle including cows, goats, pigs and occasionally fishing and hunting provide them supplementary sources of substances. The women weave their scanty waist cloth *nodic* around two feet in length and hardly ten inches in breadth with the help of their traditional loom and mill made yarn of different colours.

Bonded Labour:

Coupled with the economic inequality there is a strong element of social inequality, which is institutionalized in the particular system of indebtedness. In almost every Bonda village there are a few dominant households, which are referred to as SAHUKARS who monopolized the means of production, possesses substantial quality of grains and cattle etc. Against the loans, various income generating assets including jack and *salap* trees, cultivable land and such other means of production including the labours part of the loaners are mortgaged to these SAHUKARS. It may be noted here that almost all loaners depend on their SAHUKARS for their survival as well as for various social obligation. Since the loans are seldom used for production purpose, the SAHUKARS accumulates grains as well as cash while the fellow loaner families remain ever in debt more often leading to debt bondage and the Bonded laborers remain ever exploited even through generations supplying the required labors to the advantage of their SAHUKARS.

Cosmo Vision:

In the remote past the Bondo highlanders had relation with the royal family of Nandpur, who later shifted their capital to Jeypore. On the *Dasahara* festival the *Naik* of Mudulipada and headman of the *barjangar* group of twelve villages accompanied by the *Mandra* on Dantipada used to participate in the *Dasahara* festival at Jeypore with some rice, millets, two cocks and a goat as a token of their *bheti*, annual presentation to the royal family. Both of them were offered one *pata pagadi* each as an insignia of royal patronage to the Bondos. The royal symbol *Patkhanda*, the supreme deity kept on the banyan tree in the sacred grove at Mudulipada settlement is propitiated immediately after the return of the *Naik* and *Mandra* from Jeypore.

The Bondo highlanders because of their isolation since generation are very much less exposed to the outer world. However, some Bondos have the experience of working in tea garden in Assam and Manipur. Further, quite a good number of them have the experience of even life imprisonment or remaining in jail during the period of trial due to the high incidence of homicide in their community and have gained some idea about the world outside their own.

Dependency on nature:

The Bondo primarily depend on natural resources, like forests and forest products including trees, flora and fauna, perennial streams, land including hill slopes for carrying on their age old traditional form of swidden cultivation, up and dry land and well irrigated terraced rice fields for their very sustenance, survival and recreation such as annual hunting and fishing from the perennial streams on different festival and work holidays. The community, lineage/clan groups and individual families control resources. There are forests but Government has declared no part of it as reserved forests. The entire village territory with traditional boundary

is under the control of the village community. The hill slopes, where they practice swidden/shifting cultivation belong to the lineage group/clan. The backyards, some up dry land and terraced rice fields belong to individual family. Traditional ownership rights as such rest with village community, lineage/clan groups and individual family and pass on accordingly inherited. However in some cases swidden plots are owned and inherited by individual family. These resources like land, tree are highly valued as bank balance and a portion of it can be mortgaged by individual family/lineage group or village community to meet contingency like consumption, social obligations, such as payment of bride price, marriage and funeral rights and treatment for injuries and for facing trial in court for committing murder etc. to Bondo creditor against the advances/ borrowings.

Indigenous knowledge:

The economic activities, social obligations and religious rites of highlanders combined in a coherent and dignified way of life, which in many ways is well suited to the people living at this stage of development in such isolated hills with just so much available in the way of natural and material resources. They are adept in providing for their own wants on food, shelter, clothing and primary health care and are an unusually self-sufficient community. For food they depend mainly on agriculture and forest collection. They practised slash and burn method/swidden cultivation on hill slopes, raise various millets, pulses, oil seeds, vegetables almost in a mixed cropping pattern in the first year of the clearing of the hill slopes, follow crop rotation in following two years and allow the patch fallow for vegetative recuperation and adding fertility of the soil in the natural process after the third year. In the foothill dry up land they cultivate with bullock driven rudimentary wooden attached with a ploughshare and raise various crops following mixed cropping and crop rotation methods. In the well-irrigated terraced rice fields they raise varieties of scented and fine rice with comparatively longer duration by raising seedlings and transplantation in the field after proper puddling and levelling. In the backyard kitchen garden they raise maize, beans, cowpea and pumpkin in the rainy season followed by chilli, tobacco, tomato, brinjal etc during the winter with the residual moisture. Tree crops such as jackfruit, mango, papaya, banana, jafra (seeds producing edible colour having commercial importance) and sago palm and sometimes forest crops like bamboo are planted by individual farmers in the neighbourhood and backyards. As manure cow dung and compost are applied in the backyards and sometimes in the dry up lands. They allow the paddy straw to rot in the paddy fields to add fertility in the soil. To protect the standing crops in the backyards against cattle menace dry stonewalls are constructed and sometimes live fencing with sisal and other indigenous species are done. Stone bonding on the hill slopes and terracing in the streambeds and levelling of paddy fields are done to add/retain fertility of the soil and check soil erosion in rainwater.

By experience they know the capability of land or soil and accordingly grow different crops as per the suitability of soil, water retaining capacity etc in different seasons and climatic situation. To maintain fertility they know crop rotation, cropping sequence and allowing fallow period in the cropping cycle. To avoid the risk of climatic failure they practised mixed cropping on hill slopes/swidden plots and up lands. They grow crops of different duration as per the suitability of land, soil and moisture. They know raising chilli and tobacco and winter vegetables in the backyards after harvesting maize in the rainy season by utilising the residual moisture. Their skill and knowledge in terracing and levelling the streambeds for rice production by raising seedlings and transplantation is really unique. They complete transplantation of paddy in the terraced valleys during summer before the onset of monsoon so that the paddy plants can grow and withstand the floodwater after rain sets in.

The Bondo know the art of indigenous wine making. For drinking and cooking purpose water from the near by spring is collected. Liquor is distilled from fermented *mohua* flower, mango and jack pulp, banana, molasses etc and beer is prepared out of cooked corn/milletts, the juice of sago palm tree is taped and collected and boiled before for drinking.

For shelter they select dry up land either on hilltops or foothills and construct low height-thatched houses providing mud walls to protect themselves from rains winter cold and summer heat. For clothing the women are expert and skilful in weaving traditional scanty skirt that they fashion around their waist with their traditional loom and mill made coloured yarn.

The *Dissari* the traditional village medicine man-cum-astrologer knows the utility of some herbs and plants for curing different diseases found in the area.

While collecting various forest produce they always try to give scope for natural regeneration of different species. There are patches of bamboo and other forest, which are not over exploited by them.

Gender Issues:

Traditionally there is clear-cut division of labour between both the sexes. Men and women share various activities. Men usually undertake arduous and more risky jobs like cutting the trees to clear the forests for swidden cultivation, provide watch and to the standing crops in the night, ploughing the agricultural fields, hunting in the forests, tapping the juice of sago palm tree, climbing the jack trees for plucking fruits, collecting bamboo and other household materials etc. both men and women jointly work on the fields for sowing, spading and weeding, harvesting and threshing, storing, lifting various produce to the market for sale/barter. While the men undertake arduous jobs the women labour for longer hours, right from the dawn to the dusk. Women grind and husk grain, fetch water from the spring, cook, take care of their babies in addition to working in the hill clearings, terraced paddy fields and carrying on collection of fuel, fruits, edible roots and tubers, bamboo shoots, mushrooms, leaves etc from the forests, catching fish and crab from the springs and weaving their scanty dress with the help of their traditional loom and marketing of their products in the weekly markets. Women contribute significantly to the family income and try to control the family expenditure and smooth management

The adult male members of the family participate in the socio-political, socio-religious activities in the village. They take part in the village council and religious performances at the community level.

The main issues relating to the men is their bad temper, revengeful attitude, excessive freedom and drinking habit which lead them to commit homicide and spend most of their life time in jail by murdering the opponent.

There is high incidence of vulnerable widows and women headed households and destitute children in the community due to the high incidence of homicides.

Status of Bondo Women:

A female child is equally accepted as an asset by the parents. As she grows, she takes care of her younger brothers and sisters and assists her parents economically by working with them in the agricultural fields including terraced paddy field, hill slopes uplands and kitchen gardens. Besides, she collects edible roots, tubers, mushrooms and house building materials, fruits, broomsticks and firewood etc. from the nearby forests, catch fish and crab from the perennial streams, assists her mother in all household activities including taking care of the

domestic animals and birds and bartering and selling of all marketable agricultural and horticultural, crops, vegetables, forest collections and purchasing their necessities from the weekly markets in the foot hill villages and transporting the articles on head loads. Besides, in a well-to-do family she assists the mother in other transactions like advancing grain loan to needy co villagers and receiving payment back and calculating the interest on advance. Her advice in the family affairs are given due importance.

After the age of about 12 years before she attains womanhood she attends the common dormitory meant for all the unmarried girls where she interacts with her peers, sings, dances and stays in the night with other mates of the village and thus, she spends her early womanhood till her marriage, considerably for a longer period in groups than a male child who usually gets married at an earlier age. As a maiden, she is free to move out and sing songs and dance with young boys from other villages that visit the dormitory. After marriage the groom's party pays bride price in shape of two heads of cattle and a rupee in cash to the parents of the bride. This system adds to the prestige of the woman. Her husband is penalised by her parents and brothers in case she is ill-treated. She is free to live her husband in case she is ill treated or neglected continuously or the husband is found always drunken, lazy or extravagant without hearing the advice and counsel or if he is found impotent and in such cases she can remarry. No man can venture to outrage the modesty of any girl or woman without coming to grief and paying heavily.

The Bonda women are never considered inferior even though the society is male dominated being patriarchal. Rather, for her sincerity in age, experience the managerial skill in almost all household activities, affection, sacrifice and service to the family by being very much industrious and hard working, she is practically full mistress of the house as being supported by her husband literally. She has got considerable control over her household.

She is very simple and joyous having a pleasing personality. She is very conscious of her responsibilities and duties for the well being of the family. Although she is illiterate and more tradition bound by her pleasing personality and affectionate tone she is able to intervene and can bring reconciliation between two warring individuals/groups.

In spite of the above the Bondo women are not traditionally permitted to inherit their share from the parental property nor can she own the landed property of her deceased husband if she is without a male child. Very often she is threatened and compelled to accept to marry a boy much younger to her in age against her will to save her parents and other family members. There are a number of instances where a woman is forcefully captured by another man while her husband is in the jail either serving sentence or under trail for committing murder or any other crime. These destitute women feel helpless as the traditional social systems sometimes fail to provide adequate means of support or protection.

Development Intervention:

During the Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79) under the newly emerged Tribal Sub plan (TSP) approach Bondo Poraja was identified as a Primitive Tribal Group (PTG). For improving socio-economic condition of Bondo highlanders the Government of Orissa with assistance from Government of India started operating a Micro Project named as Banda Development Agency since May 1977 at Mudulipada which concentrated its activities under the following three broad areas:

1. Family oriented income generation from agriculture, horticulture, land development animal and fishing and allied sectors, release and rehabilitation of Bonded Laborers etc.
2. Human resources development such as establishment of non-formal education centers awareness generation through exposure, audio visual aids, medical care and drinking water facilities etc.
3. Infrastructure development including construction of interior village roads, staff quarters, establishment of a Large Sized Multipurpose Cooperative Society (LAMPS) and administration.

As a result of the concentrated activities of the Bondo Development Agency various line department of the Government and voluntary activities of some Non Government Organization including ASRA since 1983, there has been spread up of education, awareness, wider exposure and interaction with various change agents and others communities outside their country.

The Bondo took up various high yielding crops by utilizing natural sources of water including underground water through dug wells. More and more lands are reclaimed, terraced and developed for settled agriculture. Some of them have successfully taken up cultivation of horticulture plants like lemon, orange, litchi, banana, growing new vegetables such as tomato, beans, brinjal, potato, cole crops and other off-season vegetables and spices such as ginger, cardamom, black pepper. Cashew plantation has been gaining popularity in the swidden fields on hill slopes.

The following observations of Prof. Haimenderf (1981) substantiate the above success story. "It is to the credit of the Government of Orissa that this ancient aboriginal tribe has been protected from the incursions of outsiders and is being enabled to persist in its ancestral life style. This respect for the values and tradition of this remarkable people is being combined with an imaginative policy of improving the economic base of Bondo life by the introduction of improved varieties of crops and the active encouragement of horticulture and the cultivation of vegetables previously unknown to the Bondos. New method of land use and the utilization of natural resources of water promise to increase the yield of the land and thereby facilitate the production of surplus, which will enable the Bondos to hold their own in the market economy of the adjoining low lands. I greatly admire the diplomatic skill with which the project Leader Sri Sahu is convincing the Bondos that the adoption of new agricultural methods and some changes in their economic priorities need in no way disturb their life style and will ultimately benefit them and their children. Visiting in his company some of the Bondo villages I could see clearly that he and his staff have been able to gain the confidence of the Bondos. This is a no mean achievement in the first stage of the project, which inevitably confronts the local tribal with many new ideas."

The Agency gave priority in spreading of education and generation of awareness among the Highlanders as hardly any Bondo children attended the village Primary School, although there were already eight Primary schools run by Education Department and one Residential Sevashram run by the Tribal Welfare Department at Mudulipada. Language was the greatest problem for interaction and communication. Only those male persons serving under sentence or under trial booked under criminal offence get an opportunity to learn speaking in Desia-Oriya while interacting with fellow jail inmates. Hardly any Bondo women knew the language of the neighbourhood. An innovative programme was introduced by opening Non-Formal Education centers by posting Lady Teachers or husband-wife team as teachers in different N.F.E. centers. They lived with the villagers, learned Remo language from them, talked to them in their language, gained their confidence and taught them and their children to speak in Desia-Oriya, besides imparting Pre-Primary Education to

children and Citizenship Education and generation of awareness on better health care, sanitation, evil effects of drinking and motivating elders including women for effective co-operation, participation and involvement.

It may not be out of place to mention here that now the parents and children have been showing growing interest for education. There are already two High Schools including one for the girls run by ST & SC Development Department at Mudulipada and a number of Primary schools by Education Department. Besides the above, about 100 Bondo children including 50 girls aging 5-15 years are reading in the KISS Tribal school managed by KIIT Bhubaneswar. Among them, one Hadi Dhangadamajhi, son of Mangala, village Bandhaguda, BONDH HILLS has brought pride to the country by winning Championship in the International Rugby Tournament held at London in September 2007. Miss Kajol Sisa, granddaughter of released and rehabilitated Bonded Labour Shri Lachhmi Sisa of Bandhuguda is reading in class IX in the KISS Tribal school is keenly interested for Computer education. Another Buda Batri, son of Sukra Batri, a released bonded labour from village Padeiguda is serving as a Primary school teacher in the hills after passing H.S.C. Examination along with other educated Bondo youths.

The then Commission for Scheduled Casts and Scheduled Tribes, Government of India visited Bondos during October 16-20, 1984. His tour notes, communicated vide memo No.2768/HTW dated 19.3.85 reveals the following. "We were happy to note that the achievements of BDA were encouraging. Good works had been done in the fields of agriculture, horticulture and Non -Formal Education. We appreciated the dedicated service and right approach of the Project Leader Tangible results in the field of education in Bonda Hills had been achieved only by the Ashram School of the H & TW Department. The Primary Schools of the Education Department were reported to exist in paper only though teachers had been deployed and were drawing salary. All these schools may be placed under the control of the H&TW Department through Bonda Development Agency".

The women have become more responsive and change prone and self confident. There is a change in their traditional outlook and growing resentment against the practice of elderly women marrying boys much younger to them, shaving their heads and decorating with beads and grass turabu and putting on a very scanty self woven cloth nodic against their waist and over loading their necks and hands with heavy mass of ornaments and beads. They have now taken up non-traditional occupation like service, weaving with improved looms, tailoring, hill broom binding with plastic wires etc for additional income. A number of Women Self-Help Groups have been organized.

Boys who have attended schools are not keen to marry at an early age. The propensity of the youth to commit homicide has gone down due to spread up of education, knowledge in the neighboring language for interaction with the outer world and rise in level of awareness among them.

To conclude, there have been remarkable changes in the quality of life of Bondos including their dress, food habit and food preparation, dwelling houses, and health and keeping the village surrounding clean. They are now conscious enough to discriminate between good and bad for them and face exploitation boldly, accept change and participate actively for a better sustainable prosperous and peaceful future with their improved and interpersonal relationship, if opportunities are made available to them. However, the need of the hour is to "train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development (Pt. Nehru)."

CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE HOUSING FOR PTGs:

Case Studies of The Hill Kharia, Mankirdia & The Paudi Bhuyan of Orissa

*J.P. Rout
Kalpana Patnaik
B.N. Swain*

Introduction:

Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) live in diverse eco-cultural settings and therefore their life styles, needs and problems are different. Like wise their pattern of settlement and housing as well as their need for improved housing are also different. In this situation it is felt necessary to understand their housing problems and needs for designing and constructing better houses for them in consonance with their material culture, ecology and environment.

There are seventeen Micro Projects functioning for the development of thirteen PTGs in different areas of Orissa. According to the Socio-Economic Survey conducted by SCSTRTI (2001-02), there are 16,500 Primitive Tribe households covered under these 17 Micro Projects. There is the need to plan improved housing facilities for the PTGs keeping in view of their ecology and environment, technical know-how of house construction, traditional settlement pattern, housing pattern, architectural design, locally available house building materials and most importantly the labour management and their indigenous dwelling habits.

With this background a field study was conducted by SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar during December 2003 in the Micro Project areas. In this paper the case studies of 3 PTGs viz, (i) Hill Kharia, (ii) Mankirdia and (iii) Paudi Bhuyan have been presented.

(I) Settlement Pattern & House Types of Hill Kharia

The Kharia are widely spread over Orissa, Bihar, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh. In Orissa they are found in Mayurbhanj district, Nilagiri area of Balasore district, Keonjhar district, Bonai area of Sundargarh district and Dhenkanal district. The Origin of the name 'Kharia' as suggested by Russell and Hiralal is derived from *Kharkharia*, which means a palanquin or litter. The Kharia's legend of origin resembles that of the Munda who constitute an elder branch of the tribe. Linguistically, Hill Kharias belongs to Mundari language group. The tribe is mainly divided into three sections such as the Pahari or the Hill Kharia or Erenga Kharia, the Dhelki Kharia (early settlers) and Dudh Kharia (original Kharia). Socio-culturally, all the above three sections are distinguished from each other. Besides the above three divisions there are few more minor sections such as Munda Kharia, Oraon Kharia, Berga Kharia and Satera Kharia which are the degraded groups or created on account of intermarriage with Munda, Oraon and other groups. As per the history of migration of Hill Kharias, they dwelled in the fertile river valley on the north of Vindhya and Kaimur range and subsequently they moved to the south of the hill ranges and settled in the hill ranges of Mayurbhanj district. In due course of time they spread to the hills of Singhbhum and Manbhum districts of Jharkhand and other parts of Mayurbhanj district. They practice shifting cultivation for their livelihood. Among the three groups the Hill Kharia is the most primitive and backward. They regard themselves as the autochthones of Mayurbhanj hill ranges and are mainly concentrated in the Similipal

hill ranges of Orissa. They are hunters and the food gatherers. They collect honey, resin, silk cocoon, lac, edible herbs and tubers and other minor forest produce from the Similipal forest. In a Hill Kharia village the senior most male member is selected as priest and he is acknowledged as social leader in all social and religious matters. He is called Dehuri. The inter-village Panchayat is known as "Bhira". This body is composed of representatives of a group of component villages. Their village varies in size from 5 to 6 households to a maximum of 20. The houses are scattered either on hilltops, hill slopes or on foothills.

The Micro Project, Hill Kharia and Manikirdia Development Agency (HKMDA) with its headquarters at Jashipur was grounded during 1987, covering 18 revenue villages. Hill Kharias of two villages such as Kapand and Matigarh have been rehabilitated in colonies. In other villages the Micro Project has provided *pucca* houses to the Hill Kharias. Out of these 18 Project villages, 7 villages are located in plains and rest 2, in the Similipal hill ranges. The total geographical area of the project is 129.78 sq. kms. The total number of Hill Kharia household is 518 and population, 1674 as per the Socio-Economic Survey, 2001-02. The sex ratio is 976 females per 1000 males and the average family size is 3. The traditional Hill Kharia house is a small rectangular structure. The Micro Project has provided the Hill Kharia with fireproof concrete houses in the rehabilitation colonies.

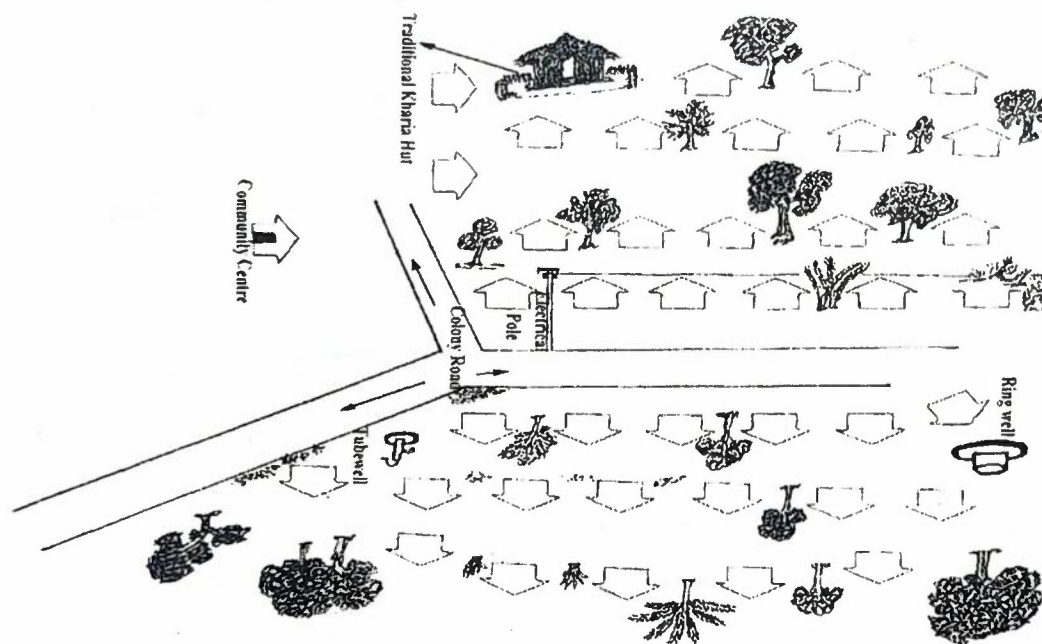
The Study Village:

The Matiagarh Kharia resettlement colony is a hamlet of Matiagarh revenue village of Jashipur block. It is surrounded by village Kapand in the east, village Durdura in the west, village Gudugudia in the north and village Ramjodi in the south. This colony has been established in the May 1987 after the establishment of the Micro Project, HKMDA at Jashipur. It is about 8 kms from the Project Headquarters, Jashipur connected by a semi blacktopped morum road. The village has a Girls High School, a High School, ANM Center, a Sub-Post Office, Revenue Inspector's Office, a VAW Center of Agriculture Department and other institutions. A weekly market sits in the village on every Sunday. The facility of electricity is available in the colony. Two Kharia women Self Help Groups are functioning in the colony. There is a Primary School Hostel of ST&SC Development Department and a Gyanamandir established by the Micro Project running in the colony. The U.P. School and M.E School is located at a distance of half a kilometer from the colony. An Additional Primary Health Centre is established by the Health Department at the main village Matiagarh that is about 2 kms. away from the Kharia colony. One tube well and one ring well is available in the colony to meet the need of drinking water. There are 39 Hill Kharia households rehabilitated in this colony. Each household has independent dwellings houses. Out of this 29 house are in good condition and rest 10 houses need repair. The colony has 128 persons (64 males + 64 females). Out of 39 households 32 households are landless and 5 have land up to 1 acre each and the rest 2 have land up to 2.5 acres. The Hill Kharia of Matiagarh mainly depend upon forest collection and wage earning.

Settlement Pattern:

The Hill Kharia rehabilitation colony, Matiagarh is situated on the plains at the periphery of Similipal forest. The houses built are close to each other and some are scattered here and there connected by footpaths. The elderly people of this colony expressed in Focused Group Discussion that before being rehabilitated in this colony they were living in the Similipal forest ranges. They migrated to the Matiagarh village after establishment of the National Park and settled down there with other tribes and castes. They are socially considered equal with Munda, Santal, Ho and Kolha. The resettlement

colony lies 2 kms away from the main village. The Micro Project constructed fireproof small rectangular single-roomed *pucca* houses with asbestos roof for each Kharia family. As observed initially 40 such houses were provided but at the time of field work 39 families are residing on this colony and one family has left as their house is totally damaged. As reported by other settlers of this colony due to financial constraint for repair of the house, the family left the colony and settled elsewhere. The *sketch drawing* of the Matiagarh Hill Kharia resettlement colony is presented below.



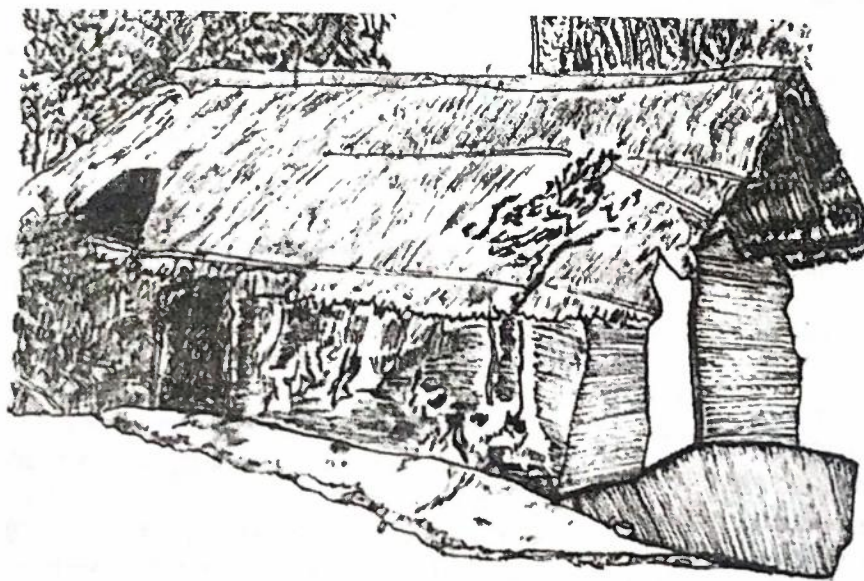
Settlement of Matiagarh Hill Kharia Housing Colony

House Type:

The traditional house of Hill Kharia is known as "Ghar" in their language. Generally it is a small and multipurpose single-roomed unit rectangular in shape. The size is not uniform in all cases. In the colony only one traditional hut is still maintained by Sri Kadakar Dehuri. As measured, the height, length and breadth of the traditional hut of Sri Dehuri is 11ft x 10 ft. x 8 ft. 8 inches respectively. The height of the sidewalls is 6ft. and the thickness is 5 inches. There is no window in the house. The cow shed is built along with the house on the backside covered with bamboo splits, with a small entrance of 3ft. for the animals at one side. There is a single entrance in the house, which is closed by a door made up of split bamboos. The house is constructed at an elevation 8 inches from the ground level. The walls are made up of locally available soil, bamboo splits, stuck vertically to the ground and plastered with mud. The roof is made up of double sloped wooden frame and thatched with locally available grass or sometimes with straw. One room is used for living, sleeping and kitchen purpose. The cooking is generally done on an open earthen hearth at one corner of the house. Dry wood and leaves are used as fuel. They keep the agricultural implements like plough, bamboo baskets etc at the backside of the house. In front of the hearth a mortar is stuck into the floor where the food grains are pounded with wooden pestle. Behind the house there is a kitchen garden where vegetables and pulses are grown. The agricultural implements, hunting implements, tied up paddy seeds etc. are hanged on the walls inside the house. They

keep all household articles, drinking water, foodstuffs and minor forest produce collected from the forest inside the house. The household furniture, tools and appliances include date palm leaf mats, string cots, earthen vessel, guard vessel, metal and silver utensils used for cooking, bamboo baskets, leaf cups, grinding stone, bow and arrow, axe, and spear. The approximate time required for construction of a house is 2 months. Previously, the Hill Kharias hunted wild games like deer, jungle fowls, snipes and squirrels. But now hunting is strictly prohibited. But they collect tubers, roots, herbs, honey, resin and other MFPs from Similipal hills to earn their livelihood.

The length, breadth and height of the *pucca* house are 10ft., 8ft. 8 inches and 11ft, respectively. The houses have provision of one window and door. The facility of cowshed is absent. These houses were initially constructed in two rows. Subsequently, some houses were constructed in a scattered manner. Some hill Kharia families have extended the roof in the front side to accommodate their animals and wooden threshing lever. The size of the houses provided to the nuclear family and extended family households are the same. For house construction implements like crowbar, mattock, spade, bamboo baskets, and bamboo ladder were mainly used. The materials used for construction are bricks, cement, sand, lime and soil and especially for construction of wall and floor, chips, cement, sand and brick *khao* and for construction of roof, asbestos, iron truss, clamps and wooden planks. The concrete houses lacked the facilities of kitchen garden and backyard. There is a community centre in the middle of the colony, where nursery education centre is operating and that is almost equal in size to that of individual Kharia houses. Two women Self Help Groups are also functioning in the village whose meetings are regularly held in the community centre. The sketch drawing of the traditional Hill Kharia hut is presented in the following.



Conclusion:

The Hill Kharia & Mankirdia Development Agency, Jashipur constructed fireproof asbestos roof houses in the Hill Kharia colony keeping in view the size, shape and the interior arrangement of their traditional dwellings.

The consent of the Hill Kharias were taken on the points like the ground plan, the house design, use of house building materials and peoples' participation in the work prior to the construction. The Project did not provide land for kitchen garden

and sheds for domestic animals. Due to scarcity of wild grass and thatching straw the Hill Kharias had accepted the fireproof roofs.

The settlers of this colony said that since the bachelor's dormitory is gone the problem of accommodation of youths has emerged. Hence, they want bigger houses or extension of the present houses by addition of another room.

The Focused Group Discussion and the opinion poll among the Hill Kharias of this resettlement colony revealed that the *pucca* houses provided by the Micro Project have better dwelling facilities and require less maintenance than their traditional huts and thus the houses have been well accepted by the people. The approximate cost of a traditional Kharia house is between Rs.8, 000/- to 10,000/- but the cost of a *pucca* house provided by the Project is Rs.22,000/- during the year 1987.

People of the resettlement colony expressed that 10 houses are not in good condition, which require repair immediately. A sum of Rs.5,000/- may be provided by the project for immediate repair and maintenance of each house for a period of five years, which will amount to Rs. 1, 95,000/- for 39 houses in the colony. The total financial requirement for all the houses and the community center shall be Rs 2,00,000/- (Rupees two lakhs only).

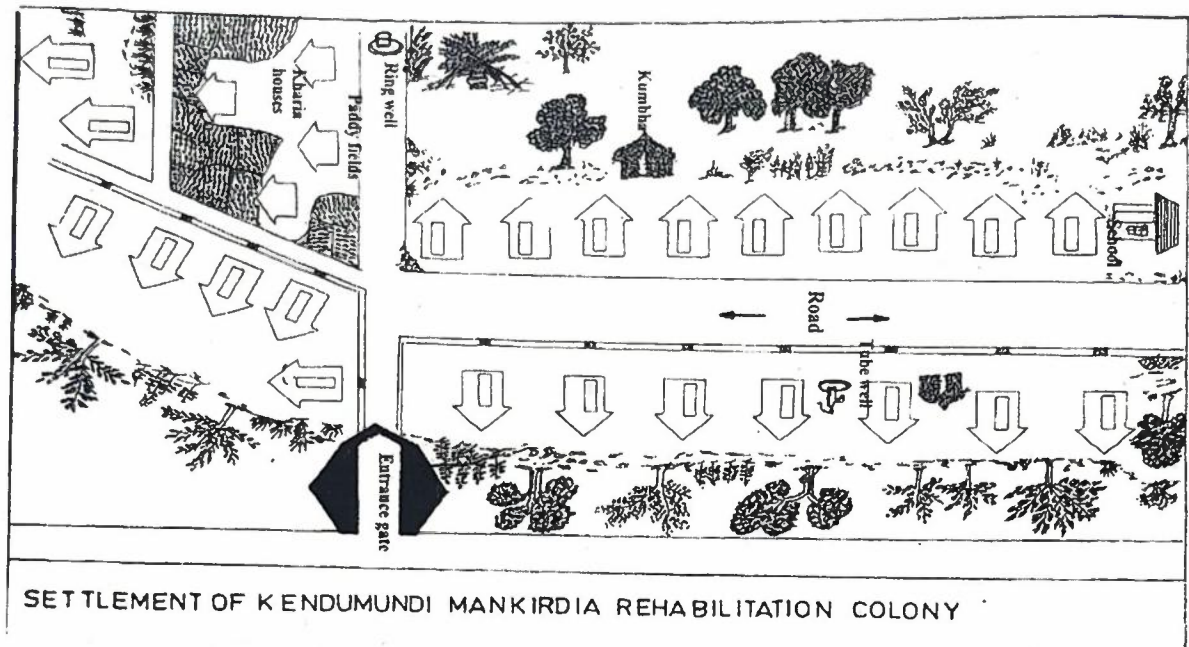
(2) Settlement Pattern and House Type of Mankirdia:

Mankirdias are a semi-nomadic tribe mainly found in the districts of Mayurbhanj and Sambalpur. They are known as Birhor and Mankidi in Sundargarh and Kalahandi districts. They constitute the nomadic section of the Birhor tribe. The Mankirdias fall in the category of hunting and food gathering group having trade relation and exchange transactions with the local peasants. The Mankirdias are skilled monkey catchers. When monkey create havoc in the villages and destroy crops, fruits and vegetables, the villager's employ the Mankirdias to catch them. They belong to Austro Asiatic language group. They do not settle in a particular place permanently and wander from place to place. Each group comprises on an average of 10 to 15 households and some are related to each other. A Mankirdia temporary camp is called *Tanda* set up very close to the forest and near to the market and peasant villages. In the *Tanda* they live in the dome shaped leaf huts called *Kumbha*. In the past one *Kumbha* within the *Tanda* was being used as dormitory. This institution is no longer in vogue.

Study Village:

The Mankirdia Rehabilitation colony at Kendumundi is situated in plain land on the periphery of Similipal forest. During 1989 the Integrated Tribal Development Agency, Karanjia built this colony. It is surrounded by village Kendujuani in the east, village Patabil in the west, village Rengalbeda in the north and village Kulpedi in the south. It is about 550ft. above the mean sea level. The rehabilitation colony has been established in 1989. It is about 49 kms away from the Project headquarters, Jashipur and 10 kms from Karanjia town. This colony is connected by 49 kms black topped road from the Project headquarters. There is an additional Primary Health Center about half a kilometers away from the colony. An Anganwadi Center is present in the main village Kendumundi which is about 1 kms from the colony. One women Self Help Group is also operating in this colony. There are total 27 households, out of which 23 are Mankirdia households and 4 are Kharia households. The total Mankirdia population of the colony is 75 (40 Males + 35 Females) and the Kharia population is 14 (7 Males + 7 Females). The average family size of a Mankirdia household is 3. There is no youth dormitory in this colony. Out of 27 Mankirdia houses 12 are in damaged condition and

the rest 15 are damaged but manageable. Besides, two Mankirdia traditional leaf huts (*Kumbha*) still exists within the colony. The Mankirdias eke out their living from collection minor forest produce and preparation of ropes, slings and halters. Their supplementary source of livelihood derived out of catching and selling monkey is now banned. They were not provided with any cultivable lands. The sketch map of Mankirdia settlement colony in village Kendumundi is shown below.



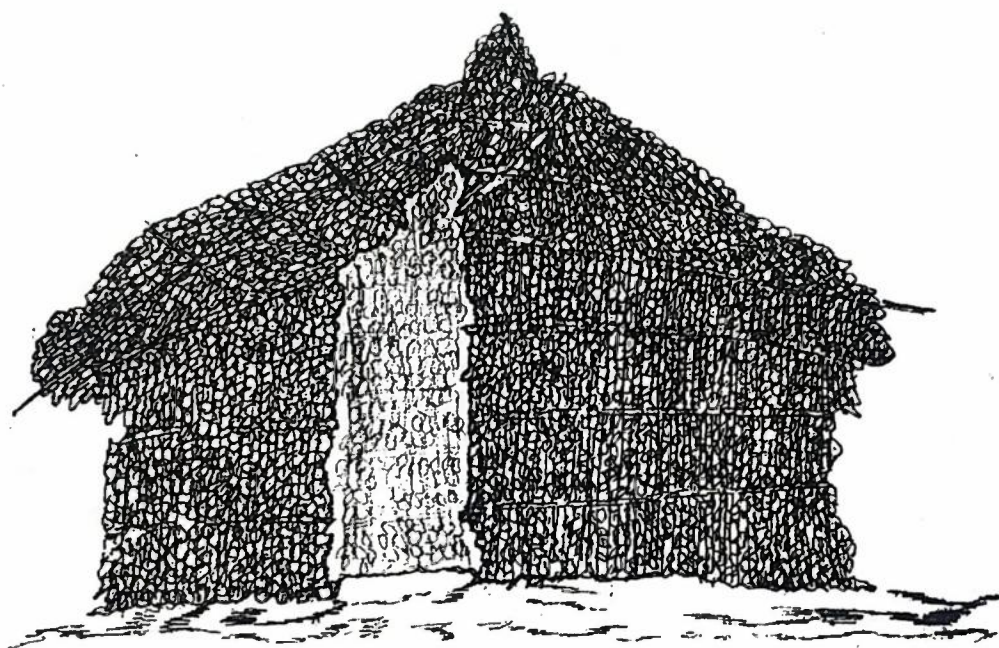
Settlement Pattern:

The Mankirdias of this colony have been provided with *pucca* fireproof houses which is quite different from their traditional tiny and temporary leaf huts (*Kumbha*). 4 Hill Kharia households are also rehabilitated with the Mankirdias in the colony. Hill Kharia houses are built little away from those of the Mankirdias nearer to the paddy fields on the southern part of the colony. The *pucca* fireproof houses of the Mankirdia are close to each other lying in two rows and having a concrete path in between. The colony has an entrance gate. The Mankirdias and the Kharias make ropes, slings, mats, baskets, halters, leaf plates and cups from *Siali* fibers, jute and bamboo which they gather from the Similipal forest. The older people expressed that now a days they do not trap monkeys but collect minor forest produce and sell them in the near by markets at Kendumundi, Karanjia and Jashipur. There are two *Kumbhas* constructed by Shri Jhanjherkali Mankirdia and Shri Gangaram Mankirdia. They are provided with *pucca* houses. Yet they have maintained their traditional *Kumbhas* in the colony. Shri Gangaram Mankirdia and his family are residing in the *Kumbha* as the *pucca* house has a leaking roof, which badly needs repair. He has made the *Kumbha* with a brick lining inside to prevent seepage of water. A Nursery School is running in the colony. The Mankirdias fetch water from the near by pond outside the colony. The Micro Project has provided a tube well and a rings well in the colony. But they do not use the water from tube well for the pungent smell and the ring well is in damaged condition.

House Types:

The traditional Mankirdia hut is called *Adah* or *Kumbha* which is a leaf hut of semicircular or oval shape, made up of twigs and leaves of *Sal* tree, woven in a framework of wooden saplings tied together with *siali* barks. The height of *Kumbha* is

about 5 ft. and circumference, 46 ft. as observed in Mankirdia resettlement colony, Kendumundi. The *Kumbhas* have an opening for entrance and exit. The hut serves multifarious functions like living room, kitchen, storeroom and shelter for poultry birds. Men and women work together to construct the *Kumbha*. Men cut the *sal* leaves and *Siali* fiber; prepare the ground and the wooden framework for construction of *kumbha*. Women collect leaves and fibers and help men in construction of the hut. The *Sal* leaves are so thickly thatched that not a drop of water enters inside the *Kumbha* during the rains. The construction of a hut requires two to three days. Generally, huts are constructed just before the rainy season. A *Kumbha* hardly lasts two years. They rebuild the *Kumbha* in every alternate year. Previously, each *Tanda* had two other types of *Kumbhas* specifically meant for sleeping of unmarried boys, called *Dhugala* and of unmarried girls called *Kudia Ada*. This is obsolete now. Generally, in a *Makirdia Tanda*, the huts are arranged in a circular manner remaining close to each other. The sketch drawing of Mankirdia traditional leaf hut is shown in following.



KUMBHA: THE TRADITIONAL MANKIRDIA HUT

Each *pucca* house constructed in the colony is an independent unit having provisions for living room, kitchen, store and others. The houses are rectangular in shape, having one door and one window. The height, length and breadth of the house as measured are 8ft., 11.6 ft. and 10 ft. respectively. The walls are made of bricks with cement-plastered floor and ferro-cement roofing. There is an open veranda in front measuring 11ft. 6 inches x 4 ft. 6 inches. It used for cooking. The houses are constructed at an elevation of 1 ft. above the ground level. Implements like crowbar, spade, mattock, bamboo baskets etc and materials like sand, cement, bricks, lime, chips, wood and ferro-cement sheets have been used in the house construction. The project has not consulted the beneficiaries before constructing the colony for them.

Conclusion:

The Micro Project constructed *pucca* ferro-cement roofed houses in Kendumundi colony for Mankirdia and *pucca* asbestos roof houses for Kharia. These houses do not

conform to their traditional pattern. During the Focus Group Discussion, they said that initially they could not adjust in these houses. But afterwards they got acquainted when they felt these houses can save them from the rains. The Mankirdias were not involved during the construction of these houses. They were brought from the main village Kendumundi and from the forests after completion of the houses. Like the Hill Kharias, the Mankirdias had expressed that since the youth dormitory or the bachelor's house is not there, the problem of accommodation of grown up girls and boys has emerged. Therefore they want extension of their houses by addition of one room at the least. They also stated that the houses constructed about 15 years back are damaged and require immediate repair. The semicircular ferro-cement roof is broken and causing leakage of water during rains. They had complained about this to the Project authorities in many occasions. Therefore the project should take immediate step to look into the difficulties of the settlers. The ferro-cement roof may be replaced by asbestos sheets.

The focused Group Discussion and the opinion poll among the Mankirdias of this colony revealed that the *pucca* houses provided by the Micro Project have better dwelling facilities but require maintenance. Now days they have accepted to stay in this house in the colony. The Micro Project may repair the damaged houses, so that theist shall not face any difficulty especially in the rainy season. The Micro Project also takes immediate step to provide proper sewerage system in the colony.

The approximate cost of a traditional Mankirdia Kumbha as expressed by Shri Gangaaram Mankirdia is Rs.2000/-. But the cost of a *pucca* fireproof house provided by the project is Rs.25, 000/- during the 1989,

The Mankirdia settlers of this colony expressed that 12 houses are totally damaged which require immediate repair and the rest 17 houses require minor repair.

The Junior Engineer, HKMDA, Jashipur stated that a sum of Rs.25, 000/- will be required for construction and repair of totally damaged houses and Rs.5, 000/- will be required for minor repair of semi damaged houses. Therefore Rs.3,00,000/- will be required for the damaged houses and Rs.85, 000/- will be required for semi damaged houses of the colony so that, for the coming 5 years the Mankirdia settlers will stay in their dwellings without any difficulty.

(3) Settlement Pattern and House Types of Paudi Bhuyan:

Paudi Bhuyan constitute the Primitive section of the Bhuyan tribe. The Bhuyans are widely distributed in many parts of Orissa, Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Chhotanagpur. The Paudi Bhuyan distinguish themselves from other sections of the Bhuyan by adopting *banghy*, a wooden carrying lever as their tribal emblem. Bhuyan is derived from a Sanskrit word *Bhumi* meaning land or earth. The Paudi Bhuyans have abandoned their tribal language and adopted Oriya. They inhabit the Bhuyan *Pirha* of Keonjhar district, Bonai hills of Sundargarh district, Nagira hills of Anugul district and Barkote areas of Deogarh district. For the socio-economic development of Paudi Bhuiyan, three Micro Project such as Paudi Bhuiya Development Agency (PBDA), Khuntagaon (1978-79) PBDA, Jamardihi (1978) and PBDA, Rugudakudar (1993-94) have been established. The population of Paudi Bhuyan inhabiting in three Micro Project areas is 12,205 as per the recent socio-economic survey conducted by SCSTRTI in 2001-02. The Paudi Bhuyan are mainly shifting cultivators and some of them are practicing dry and wet land rice cultivation. Their lineal kins as *Kutums* at a bigger level form a corporate group called *Khilli* and they follow *Khilli* exogamy. Marriage by capture, (*ghicha*) is the most common type and other types include marriage by elopment, (*dharipala*) and love marriage (*phulkhusi*). Bride price is prevalent and it varies depending on the status of

the family. They believe in many gods and goddesses. Dharam devta, the sun god and Basukimata, the earth goddess are regarded as their supreme deities. They also worship the spirits of hills, rivers of their territory. The essential events of life like birth, marriage and death are observed ceremoniously in their society. The village council includes all the adult members of the community headed by Naik or Pradhan. At the inter village level, a group of Paudi villages form a confederacy called *pirha* headed by a Sardar. The new village site is inaugurated ceremoniously affixing a carved wooden post, *khunte*, representing Gaisiri, the village deity in the center to get protection and blessings of ancestor gods. They have dormitories for the unmarried boys that serve as a guest house, elders meeting place and granary of the village and now a days this institution is fading out in most of the Paudi Bhuyan villages.

The Micro Project, PBDA, Khuntagaon in Lahunipada block of Sundargarh district has been working for the all round development of the Paudi Bhuyans since 1978-79, headquartered at Khuntagaon. The Micro Project area covers 21 revenue villages and one colony at Kulipos having 918 households with a population of 3766 (M-1873, F-1893). The sex ratio is 1010 females per 1000 males. The average size of household is 4. The percentage literacy of the Paudis of this Micro Project is 12.64% for total population having 20.66% for males and 4.70% for females respectively. Bonai ITDA established the rehabilitation colony at Kuliposh village in the year 1989-90 under the *Podu* prevention scheme. The Paudi Bhuiyas and Mundas of project villages such as Phuljhar Badajala, Ranja and Susa were rehabilitated in this colony. The Bonai ITDA provided 50 houses out of which 46 are for Paudi Bhuiyas and 4 for Munda families. The houses provided in this colony are not their traditional type of dwelling. Although 46 Paudi Bhuyan households were initially rehabilitated in this colony, subsequently 20 families have left for their native villages as told by other settlers during the field study.

Study Village:

The study village Budhabhuin is situated 15 Kms away from the project headquarters, Khuntagaon and 2 Kms. away from Khandadhar waterfall. The village was established before the inception of the Micro Project. The study village is surrounded by Khandadhar hill in the east, Talabahali village in the west, Kilinda village in the North and the village Ranja in the South. The study village is situated on the periphery of the jungle Khandadhar at an elevation of approximately 1200 ft. above the mean sea level. The village is connected through blacktopped road from the Project headquarters. The study village Budhabhuin has two hamlets such as Belarisahi and Chuanpani about half a kilometre from the main village situated on the foot hills. The study village has a Gyanamandir established by the Micro Project within the village. A Residential Sevashram of ST & SC Development Department is operating about 2 Kms. away from the village. The children of this village are studying in this school. An Ayurvedic Dispensary is present on the roadside about half a kilometre from the village. Micro Project has sunk a tube well in this village. It is in working condition and used by the people for drinking and cooking purposes, but they take bath in the near by Khandadhar jhara. A Self Help Group for males is operating with the financial assistance of Rs. 10,000/- from PBDA, Khuntagaon. At the time of field study, the Micro Project was constructing a *pucca* fireproof community centre in this village. The Paudi Bhuiyas of this village were engaged as labourers in the construction of the community centre. There are 36 households in the study village, of which 20 households belong to the main village and the rest 16 are in 2 hamlets. Each household has separate dwellings. Out of these 20 dwellings, 3 are not in good conditions and require

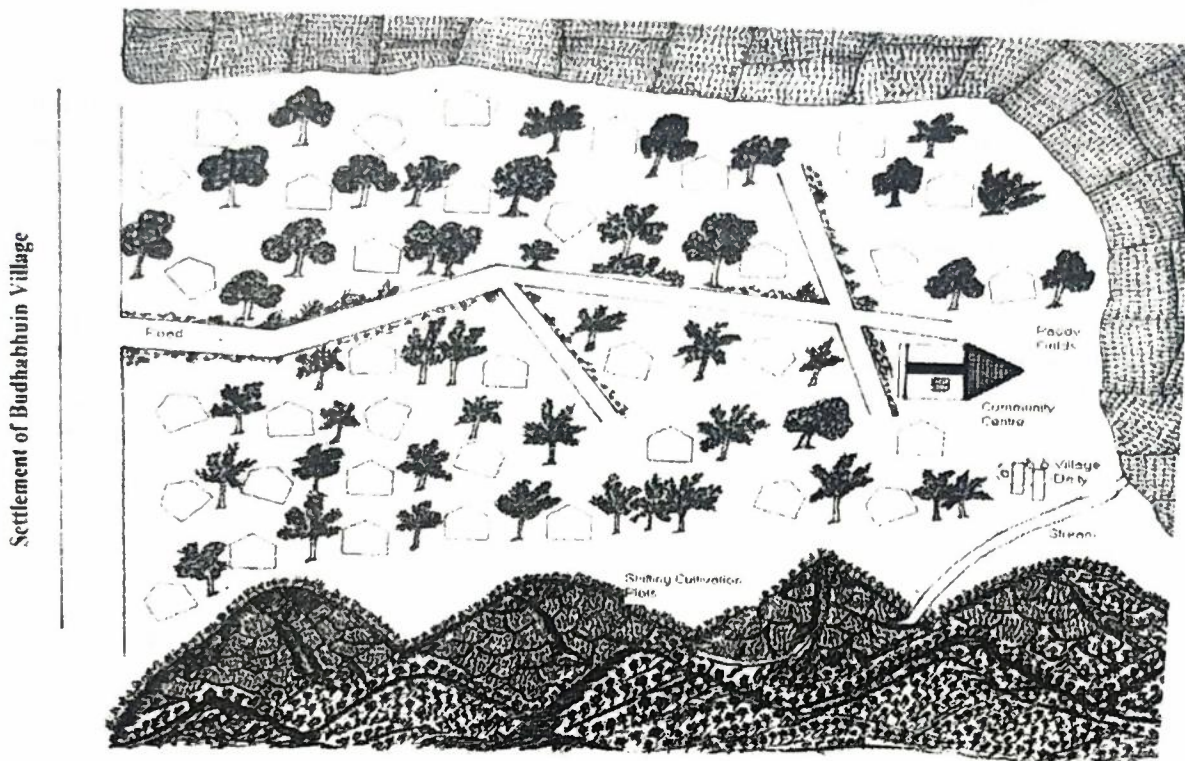
immediate repair and reconstruction. As per the version of Sri Bira Dehuri, the headman of the village Budhabhuin there were 39 households in the study village. 3 households had left and settled elsewhere. Out of 36 households 25 households are practicing shifting cultivation partially and having 44 plots. 24 households are landless. They mainly depend upon shifting cultivation, forest collection and agricultural wage. The total population of the study village is 168 (M-81, F-87). The sex ratio is 1074 females per 1000 males. The average family size is 5.

Settlement Pattern:

The settlement of Budhabhuin, the study village is on the hill slopes amidst the Khândadhar forest ranges. This is a small village containing homogeneous Paudi Bhuyan population. In the village some houses built adjacent to one another either in rows or scattered here and there. Most of the houses have well maintained courtyards in front and some houses have kitchen gardens at the backside. The luxuriant growth of *sal* trees is found all around. The blocks of hills around the study village provide land for slash and burn type of cultivation. Due to non-availability of low lands the Paudi Bhuyan of the village are practicing shifting cultivation in the near by Khandadhar forest since the establishment of village. The old people had expressed in the Focus Group Discussion that about fifty years back more than one hundred houses were located here and there around the foot hills and practicing shifting cultivation. Later on some families had left this village and settled elsewhere. The paddy fields lie near the village. It was also observed that the youth dormitory which is known as Mandaghar or Darbarghar for the unmarried boys are not existing now a days. As per the version of the older people, this traditional institution served the purpose of guesthouse, meeting place of elders and granary of the village. The meeting and important decisions are taking place on the courtyard of the village headman at present. Since no dormitory for the unmarried boys is exiting in this village, a particular place serves as the dancing arena of the unmarried boys and girls. During the festive occasions and leisure times they dance in this open place. On one of the corners of the dancing arena, the sacred shrine of Gramasiri is installed. It is close to the newly constructed community centre.

During the fieldwork another Paudi Bhuyan colony named the **Kuliposh Paudi Bhuyan Rehabilitation Colony** was also studied. 20 families (16 Paudi Bhuyan and 4 Munda) are staying in this colony. It is about 15 kms away from the Lahunipada block and 5 kms away from the Project headquarters, Khuntagaon. At the time of the establishment of the colony 46 houses were constructed to rehabilitate the Paudi Bhuyan and Munda families of 4 Micro Project villages such as Phuljhar, Badajala, Ranja and Susa. The houses in this colony are *pucca* dwellings. The settlers told that they were not consulted during the construction of houses in the colony and they were rehabilitated in the year 1989. They also expressed that the houses provided by the ITDA are very small in size and it is very difficult on their part to accommodate the family members at the initial period and subsequently they have extended their houses. The size of the room is 10ft. x 10ft. and 12 ft. x 10ft. with one main door and another door connecting the two rooms. There is provision of a single window on the front side. The roof is made of burnt tiles. The settlers expressed that the size of the rooms may be increased and facilities of their own traditional pattern may be provided such as - provision of cattle shed and a community centre to accommodate the guests and relatives, meeting place village of elders, sleeping place for unmarried boys as there is no bachelor's dormitory in this colony. All the settlers were provided with agricultural lands nearer to the colony with minimum 60 decimals to maximum of 1.25

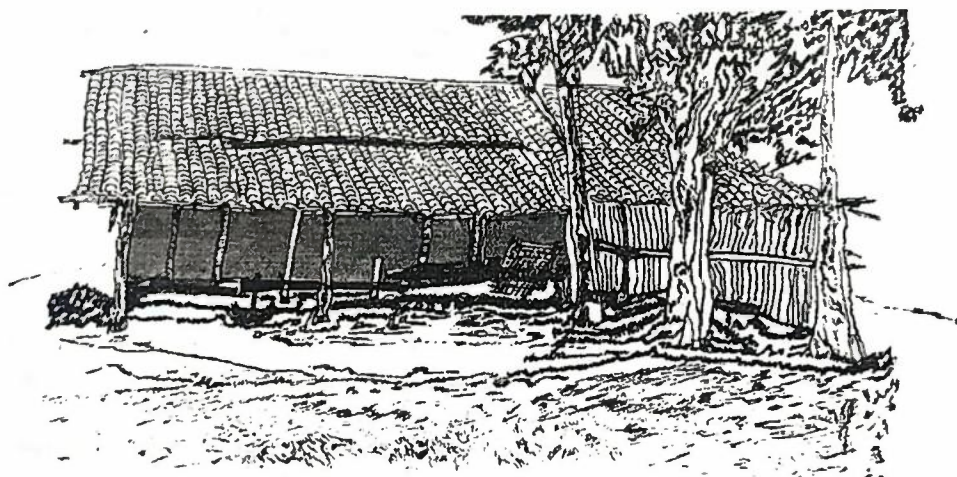
Acres. They said that they are not satisfied with the amount of agricultural land. The sketch of the settlement pattern of Bhudhabhuin village is shown below.



House Type:

The Paudi Bhuyan houses of the study village Bhudhabhuin are rectangular in shape with *naria* tile roof and some are straw thatched. The average size of a sample house is 12ft. 4" inches in length, 11ft in breadth and 8ft. 10 inches in height. The walls are made of logs planted vertically close to each other in front and back sides and are plastered with mud and cow dung. They prepare the floor with chips covered with mud and plastered with mud mixed with cow dung. The rafters and beams are made of logs of wood thatched with burnt tile. The wooden pillars support the roof on all sides. The doors are made of split bamboo and plastered with mud mixed with cow dung. Some Paudi Bhuyan have wooden doors. A piece of rope is used to close the bamboo door with a hook fixed to the doorframe to facilitate locking. The males lay the structure of the houses and the females do the plastering. Most of the building materials like logs, bamboo, rope, burnt tiles and earth are gathered from the forest while the iron nails and chains are purchased from the local market, Lahunipada. They use implements like crowbar, *gainti*, *kodala* and bamboo basket, spade etc. Functionally their houses are divided into 3 portions. The inner most portion of the house is used for storing food grains on a raised platform made of wooden logs. The grains are kept in a straw made container. The other household article is also kept on the platform. There is a front open veranda used for sitting, gossiping and entertaining guests. The husking lever is installed in the open veranda. The agricultural and hunting implements are kept on the walls of the veranda. The chickens and goats are also sheltered in the open veranda. The middle portion of the house is divided into three parts like *chulla* (kitchen). From the hearth a narrow passage leads to a small-secluded apartment called *Bhitar* which is the abode of ancestral spirits. The outer portion is used as the sleeping apartment and called, *Basa*. Usually a wall separates the *Bitar* and *Basa*. At the middle portion a stone

with a hole is stuck to the floor known as *Kutunisal* (husking place) where grains are husked by means of a pestle. An earthen platform is raised close to the walls near the kitchen where water pots are kept. They call the house with *Bhitar* as *Mulaghar* (the main house) and other parts as *Melaghar* (the out house). Sometimes, a group of families belonging to one minor lineage group possesses a common *Bhitar*. Cooking apartment and *Bhitar* is considered as the most sacred place of the house and entry of outsiders into this portion is strictly prohibited. Cows and buffaloes are kept in separate sheds constructed close to the dwellings. The household articles mainly consist of earthen vessels, earthen pots, guard vessels, palm leaf mats, string cot and wooden head rest, bamboo umbrella, leaf rain coat, bamboo hat, broomstick made of wild grass, bamboo basket and winnowing fan, husking lever and pestle, grinding stone and roller, small and big axes, a few knives, plough-share, digging stick, hoe, bow and arrow, kerosene lamp and straw made grain bin. Some well-to-do families have brass pots, brass and aluminum vessels and plates and clothes. Some of these household articles are purchased from the market and others are self-made. Sketch drawings of the traditional house type of Paudi Bhuyan is shown in the following



SKETCH DRAWING OF PAUDI BHUIYAN HOUSE

Conclusion:

The Paudi Bhuyan dwellings are considered as the symbol of their socio-economic status. All the Paudi Bhuyan settlements are raised close to the perennial water sources like the hill streams so that the people do not face any problem of water for domestic consumption. They are Bhuyans are shifting cultivators and they select habitation sites around which lie vast hills and forests which can be cleared for *podu* cultivation. The ITDA has provided *pucca* tile roofed houses in Kuliposh colony which are not the traditional dwellings of the tribe. The settlers of this colony do not like these houses and they have extended the houses. The ITDA did not provide cattle sheds, for which they face difficulties to accommodate the animals. The Focus Group Discussion lesser facilities than their traditional huts. They opined that the size of rooms needs to be bigger. Since most of the Paudi Bhuyans are poor and unable to bear the cost of the periodical maintenance of their houses, there should be financial provisions for the maintenance of their houses @ Rs.5000/- per house for a period of five years.

DEVELOPMENT OF PTGs IN ORISSA: A CASE STUDY OF SAORA / LANJIA SAORA

B.B. Mohanty

The present paper is based on empirical data collected from the field on Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) in which the author was associated and the data gathered from secondary source materials. The paper has two parts, the first part deals with socio economic features of the Saora / Lanjia Saora and the second part development of PTGs in Orissa with particular reference to Saora / Lanjia Saora. In the following paragraphs the most common name of the tribe 'Saora' has been used in stead of 'Saora' and 'Lanjia Saora'.

The Saora and Lanjia Saora are notified as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) in Orissa. The Saora are one of the oldest known tribes in the Country, widely found all over eastern/southern/central India, comprising Bihar, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and West Bengal. In Assam and Tripura, they have a sizable population in the tea plantation zones, where the Saora work as labourers. In Orissa they are found in almost all the districts of the State with higher concentration in Gajapati District and Gunupur sub-division of Rayagada District. They are called by various names such as Savara, Sabara, Saur, Sora, etc. and have proto-Australoid physical features. They speak a dialect called 'Sora' that belongs to the Austric family of languages to which Mundari belongs.

Being one of the most primitive and ancient communities, frequent references on the Saora are found in Hindu mythology and classics. More often, the Saora find mention in the Sanskrit literature, the epics, the Puranas and other religious texts.

The term 'Saora' appears to have two connotations, one derived from the Sagories, the Scythian word for axe, and the other from Saba Roye, the Sanskrit term for carrying a dead body.

Population

The Saora are one of the major tribes of Orissa. Their population in different Census period is given below:

1951	-	1,91,401
1961	-	3,11,614
1971	-	3,42,757
1981	-	3,70,061
1991	-	4,03,510
2001	-	4,73,233

According to 2001 Census they constitute 5.81 per cent of the total tribal population of the State. Within a span of ten years from 1991 to 2001 the tribe has registered a growth rate of 17.28 per cent, the sex ratio being 1007 females per 1000 males. The literacy level among them is 41.13 per cent (excluding 0 - 6 age group) as compared with 37.37 per cent for the total tribal population of the State. The population and other demographic statistics on Lanjia Saora, a section of the Saora tribe are not available separately in the published Census figures.

Physical Features, Dress & Ornaments

In appearance the Saora look like other pre-Dravidian tribes. They have long heads and flat noses with expanded alae. The hair is wavy and curly. Skin colour generally varies from brown to dark brown, though there are quite a number of fair-complexioned individuals with yellowish shades.

The dress of a Saora man, particularly Lanjia Saora, consists of a loin cloth about six feet long and ten inches wide. The piece of cloth may be plain or may be decorated with red tassels at the ends. This is tied around the hips and hangs down in two strips, the one in the rear being longer. Occasionally a man may be found wearing a single bead necklace. The traditional dress of a Saora woman is a waist cloth with grey borders which hardly falls up to the knees. It is about three feet in length and two feet in breadth. In chilly winter a woman covers the upper part of the body with another piece of cloth.

Settlement Pattern

They generally live in small villages; many of them are situated in the most inaccessible areas and lie hidden in forest-clad hills, making it difficult to access them except along steep zig-zag hill paths.

Saora villages do not conform to any particular type of settlement pattern. Houses are often built in rows facing a common street, in some villages there are several rows of houses with streets crossing each other at right angles, in case of others houses facing the same direction are arranged in rows one above the other. In many cases the houses are jumbled up, and there are narrow lanes and small openings on to which the doors of the houses open.

Saora houses are rectangular in shape with fairly high plinth and proportionately low roof. There may be a single door in front or in some houses a back door, right in line with the front door. The walls of the houses are made of stone and mud, while in some areas walls are built of bamboo splits or wooden planks thickly plastered with mud on either side. The walls are coloured red with red earth.

The household articles consist of baskets of various sizes, gourd vessels, bundles of clothes, umbrellas, spears, bows, arrows and earthenware pots, agricultural implements etc. The cowshed is built on one side of the house.

Economic life

The economic life of the Saora revolves round shifting cultivation, terraced/wet cultivation and horticulture to some extent. This is supplemented by hunting, fishing and forest collection round the year.

The Saora are the expert terrace (*sarroba*) cultivators. The terraced fields are exclusively meant for paddy cultivation in which water flows throughout the year. These fields are considered precious possessions of the Saora. Both early and late varieties of Paddy are grown in the terrace fields. The terraces of the upper region are dry and locally called *nyanum* used for cultivation of *ragi* (*elusine corocana*), *biri* (*phaseolus mungo*) and *kulthi* (*dolichos biflorus*). The terraces which exhibit works of great engineering skill of the Saora are built right up the beds of the hill streams and extend many hundreds of feet from the depths of the valleys to the hill slopes, in some places rising up to the hill tops. The terrace beds are flat and the fall of each terrace is packed with stones. The construction of the terraces is so skillfully done that no soil is tickled

down with water that flows from the upper ones to the lower. The terrace lands are privately and individually owned and the ownership rights passes from father to sons.

The Saora also grow pumpkin, cucumber, bean, pineapple, tobacco, maize, chili and ginger in their kitchen gardens.

The Saora worship a deity called *Jatra* and observe certain rituals in connection with terrace cultivation with the belief that the deity will be pleased and protect the plants from pests and ensure a good harvest.

In the recent past the Saora were practising shifting cultivation (*bagada chasa*) quite extensively by slash and burn method. But, now a days such practice has been reduced considerably for various reasons. Every family possess few patches of swiddens, on the hill slopes/ hill tops, wherein mainly minor millets and pulses are grown.

Among the Saora the swiddens are community land but allotted to individual families according to its capacity and the concerned family remains in cultivating possession of the land as long as it is cultivated. These lands are inherited down the male line on hereditary basis as per the customary rule although there is hardly any legal document in support of their ownership rights.

In the Swiddens, mixed crop of cereals, minor millets and pulses such as *elusine corocana*, *penicum liliale*, *penicum italicum*, *sorghum vulgare*, *penisetum typhoideum*, *cajanus cajan* and *dolichos biflorus* are grown in succession. A piece of land is used for cultivation for two to three years, and then it is abandoned for recuperation. A hand hoe called *gubla* is used to work the soil for sowing seeds. Unlike the Juang of northern Orissa, they do not use ploughs in *Podu* fields. The works concerning swidden cultivation are very labour intensive and involves round the year activities beginning with forest clearing in the month of November-December till harvesting in the months of November-January next year.

All activities concerning shifting and terrace cultivation are done on cooperative labour called *Ansir* on reciprocal basis by division of labour along sex lines.

Certain rituals are observed to appease the hill god *Barusim* in different stages of shifting cultivation. On the day of sowing, and before crops like *Jana*, *Kangu*, *Kandula* are harvested, the traditional magico-religious specialists *Buyya*, *Kudan* perform the rituals with sacrifice of fowl /goat and offerings of liquor. The Saora believe that if these ceremonies are performed they will get good harvest from the swiddens.

The Saora relish both vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes. The staple food of the Saora is *gruel* (*pej*) prepared out of rice, *ragi*, *jana* or *ghantia*. They also eat vegetables grown in kitchen gardens and fruits, roots, leaves, tubers and honey collected from the forest. Non-vegetarian food is enjoyed much more than the vegetarian diet, and no festival is observed or no feast is arranged or guest is entertained without non-vegetarian food.

Social System

The hallmark of the Saora social life is marked by their belief in continuous and harmonious relationship between the living and the dead, built in the process of reciprocity that is manifested and exhibited in different social aspects of their community life, ceremonies and festivals.

Saora society is divided into several sub-divisions based on occupation, social status, food habits and many other customs and manners. According to Thurston's (1909) classification the Saora have been divided into two broad classes, that is, the Hill Saora and the Plains Saora. The sub-divisions of the Hill Saora are:- (1) *Savara*, *Jati Savara* (Savaras par excellence) or *Mallah Savara*, (2) *Arsi*, *Arisi*, or *Lambo Lanjiya*, (3) *Luara* or *Muli*, (4) *Kindal*, (5) *Jadu*, (6) *Kumbi* and the low country Saora include two groups:- (1) *Kapu* or *Pallapu* and (2) *Sudho*.

Sitapathi, another noted scholar who had extensively worked among the Saora, noticed as many as twenty-five sub-divisions among them. Some of the important sub-divisions are : *Arsi Sor*, *Jadu Sor*, *Kindal Sor*, *Kumbi Sor*, *Luara Sor*, *Kampu Sor*, *Sudha Sor*, *Kudumha Sor*, *Jati Sor*, *Bobilli Sor*, *Lamba Lanjia Sor*. The other sub-divisions are : *Based Sor*, *Jura Sor*, *Mani Sor*, *Bimma Sor*, *Kimsod Sor*, *Mull Sor*, *Dandiya Sor*, *Luang Sor*, *Mulla Sor*, *Gantra Sor*, *Mala Sor*, *Sarda Sor*, *Jaro Sor*, *Mara Sor*, *Tenkali Sor*.*

The smallest social unit among the Saora is the nuclear family, comprised of parents and unmarried children. They do not have exogamous totemic clan, phratries or moieties. Extended or joint families are rare. Polygynous families are often found. Family is patrilocal, patrilineal and patripotestal. The family acts as an independent socio-economic unit, where the interpersonal relationship among the members is based on mutual love and affection, reciprocal help and economic cooperation.

The Saora are unique in the sense that they lack clan or sib-organization common to most of the tribal communities. Instead the extended families called *birinda* performs all the functions of clan. The *birinda* is not a well-defined structure, but consists of the descendants of a common ancestor traced up to four or five generations back. The *birinda* regulates marriage, inheritance, partition of property and other important matters like distribution of swidden plots among the member households. A remarkable feature among the Saora is that a woman from birth to death belongs to her fathers' *birinda* even after her marriage.

Saora marriage though not an elaborate affair but an important event of life. They perform adult marriages now a days and observe *birinda* exogamy and village exogamy where the village is inhabited by members of one *birinda* strictly. Out of the different forms of marriage prevalent in their society, viz. marriage by arrangement (*Jing Jing Boi*), capture (*Ding Ding Boi*), elopement (*Ding Dung Tak*) or service (*Lu Tap*), the Saora have accepted the first form as the rule and others as exceptions. Polygamy in the form of polygyny is widely prevalent as it increases work force of the family enabling the person to clear more patches of *podu* fields, thus helps increasing the economic condition of the family. Of all types of marriage, marriage by negotiation though expensive is held prestigious in which parents of the boy and girl take initiative but in other types of marriage the initiative is taken either by the boy or the girl.

In arranged marriages generally negotiations are made according to the status of the two parties. Visits are exchanged several times between both the parties for fixation of date of marriage and bride price (*panshal*). Bride price in the form of cash, grain, liquor and clothes are paid. The amount of bride price varies between Rs.60.00 to Rs.80.00 and eight to twenty pots of country liquor, 15 kg. of rice, 70 kg of paddy, few bangles and a new saree for brides' mother. Before marriage bride price is paid.

Among the preferential forms of marriage the Saora practise cross-cousin, sororate and levirate forms of marriage. Divorce and remarriage of widow, widower and divorcee are permitted.

The Saora generally cremate the deads, except that those dying of cholera and smallpox are buried. Then, after a year or two of death the *Guar* ceremony is observed. On this occasion menhirs are planted and a large number of buffaloes are sacrificed. This is generally followed by three successive *Karya* ceremonies every second or third year to commemorate and honour those who have died in that particular period. These death rituals are very expensive.

Religion

The religious beliefs and practices of the Saora are very elaborate and complicated in the sense that every aspect of their life is governed by worship of deities / spirits connected with some religious activity or other. *Sonnum* or *sunnam* is the general name for the Saora deities and spirits. The concept of a supreme God among the Saora is almost non-existent as in different locality different gods are considered supreme. They have strong faith in ghosts, spirits and existence of life after death. They also believe in the acts sorcery and black magic. The Saora gods and spirits differ from one another in composition, function, character and nature. Some are benevolent, some neutral and some malevolent. All these gods and spirits frequently appear in dreams and make constant demands on the living. If their demands are not met they can cause harm either to cattle or to human beings or to crops. Malevolent spirits are therefore dreaded more and appeased timely and carefully more than their benevolent counterparts.

The Saora are very famous for their wall paintings which look like icons. Inside the house on the walls one often finds a group of elaborately drawn sketches, which are of religious significance and therefore called *italons* or icons.

Saora society is full of shamans called *Kudan* (male) and *Kudanboi* (female), the medicine man cum sorcerer. They play a significant role in curing all types of diseases. A shaman is a diviner-cum-medicine man who possesses divine power to establish direct communication with the unseen world in trance and cure all types of illness caused by the wrath of evil spirits. Every shaman has a female tutelary and every shamanin has a male tutelary. The relationship between these two sets of pairs is the same as noticed between husband and wife.

The other religious functionary who caters to the spiritual needs of the Saora is called *Buyya*, who presides over agricultural festivals. The position of *Buyya* is ascribed and that of the *Kudan* it is achieved.

The ceremonies and festivals of the Saora are of two types, one that relate to individual families and the other, to whole community. The ceremonial activities and rites relating to the birth of a child, marriage and death are observed on individual family basis, whereas those concerning agricultural cycle and the biennial or triennial *Guar* (planting of stone slabs in memory of the deceased) are observed at the village level.

Political System

Ideally, Saora villages are self sufficient units and the traditional *panchayat* plays an important role in maintaining law and order and village solidarity. The traditional village chief is called *Gomang* or secular headman and *Buyya* is the religious headman. The offices of both the functionaries are hereditary and occupied by the members of one and the same family. Besides, there is an astrologer called *Disari* in the village, the post is achieved rather than ascribed. Anybody who acquires knowledge about stars and predicts events and fixes dates of events can function as an astrologer.

Development of PTGs in Orissa

On the eve of Vth Plan period while reviewing the Tribal development Programmes, it was felt necessary to identify the extremely backward and disadvantaged groups/sections among the tribes and devise special development programmes for them in order to bring them at par with general tribal population as they needed special attention. On the basis of the guidelines issued by Govt. of India, PTGs were identified for the States having tribal population with the approval of Govt. of India. So far, 75 tribes/ sections of the tribes have been identified as PTGs in the Country. The State -wise position of PTGs reveals that Orissa having 13 PTGs tops the list followed by Andhra Pradesh 12; Bihar 9; Madhya Pradesh 7; Tamil Nadu 6; Kerala, Gujarat & A&N Island (UT) 5 each; West Bengal, Maharashtra 3 each; Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh 2 each and Manipur, Tripura & Rajasthan 1 each.

So far, 13 communities have been identified as PTGs in Orissa. The following table depicts the name of the PTGs and their location.

Sl. No.	Name of the PTG	Location
1	Bondo	Malkangiri district
2	Didayi	Malkangiri district
3	Dongria Kondh	Rayagada district
4	Lanjia Saora	Rayagada district Gajapati district
5	Saora	Gajapati district Ganjam district
6	Kutia Kondh	Kalahandi district Kondhmal district
7	Juang	Keonjhar district
8	Paudi Bhuiyan	Sundergarh district Anugul district Debagarh district
9	Lodha	Mayurbhanj district
10	Hill-Kharia	Mayurbhanj district
11	Mankirdia	Mayurbhanj district
12	Birhor	Mayurbhanj district
13	Chuktia Bhunjia	Nuapada district

Since the Primitive societies are characterized by simple life style, smallness, homogeneity, distinctiveness in culture, economy, eco-settings and confronted with problems like hunger, malnutrition, chronic and endemic disease, illiteracy and ignorance, exploitation and unemployment, it was felt necessary to formulate unique programme for each group which is area and culture specific.

To look after the development of PTGs exclusively, special projects called Micro Project have been set up in each of the PTG inhabited area. In Orissa 17 such projects have been grounded for 13 PTGs, of which 13 are located within the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) area and 4 outside the TSP area.

During the Fifth Plan period 9 Micro Projects, during Sixth Plan period 1, during the Seventh Plan period 5 and finally during the Eighth Plan period 2 were grounded.

According to the base line survey conducted by SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar, in 2001-02, these special projects cover 19 part Blocks, 69 Gram Panchayats, 547 villages/hamlets, 70 657 (Male-34 425, Female-36 232) PTG population and 16 361 PTG households.

Some important statistics on development status of PTGs inhabiting the Micro Project areas as per the findings of the survey conducted by SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar is mentioned below.

ALL PTGs OF 17 MICRO PROJECTS

• Population	70 657
• Population(below 14 years)	29 357 (41.55)
• Population(15 years and above)	41 300 (58.45)
• Unmarried	31 587 (52.27)
• Married	25 041 (41.44)
• Widow/Widower	3 494 (5.78)
• Divorcee(Except CBDA,DDA,KKDA (L)	310 (0.51)
• Literacy rate	13 453 (19.04)
• Illiteracy	57 204 (80.96)
• Work Force (Except BDA,DKDA Chatikona &Parsali)	31 596 (55.26)
• Earners (Except BDA,DKDA Chatikona &Parsali)	31 820 (55.65)
• Dependants (Except BDA, DKDA Chatikona &Parsali)	25 355 (44.35)
• Primary Occupation (Household) Agriculture	7 156 (43.74)
Horticulture	859 (5.25)
Shifting Cultivation	3 987 (24.37)
Wage	2 557 (15.63)
Service	179 (1.09)
Business	41 (0.25)
Forest Collection	870 (5.32)
Shifting Cultivation + Animal Husbandry	379 (2.32)
Others	333 (2.04)
• HH having Land	10 690 (65.34)
• HH having no Land	5 671 (34.66)
• Average Land per HH (Except DDA)	1.13Ac
• HH having Tree	10 366 (78.52)
• HH having no Tree	2 355 (17.84)
• HH having Livestock (Except BDA & CBDA)	10 966 (67.03)
• HH with house& house site (Except CBDA)	13 171 (83.14)
• HH with house& no house site (Except CBDA)	1 686 (10.64)
• HH with house site & no house (Except CBDA)	770 (4.86)
• HH with no house site & no house (Except CBDA)	215 (1.36)
• Average income per household (Rs)	9 177
• Per capita income (Rs)	2 125
• Percentage of expenditure on food (Rs)	59.54
• Average expenditure per household (Rs)	8 311
• Per capita expenditure (Rs)	1 924
• Average value of household assets (Rs)	28 343

Development of Saora/Lanjia Saora

For development of Saora and Lanjia Saora, as many as 4 Micro Projects, one each at Rayagada, Ganjam and two in Gajapati districts were set up during fifth and sixth Plan periods. Their location, area, coverage etc are given below.

Sl. No	Name of the Project	Year of inception	PTG	Area	No.of villages/ hamlets	PTG Popula- tion	Remarks
1	SDA, Chandragiri Gajapati district	1978	Saora	1159 sq. kms	32	4714	Completed 29 years
2	TDA, Tumba Ganjam district	1978	Saora	28.49 sq. kms	58	3723	Completed 29 years
3	LSDA, Serongo Gajapati district	1979	Lanjia Saora	30 sq. kms	21	5114	Completed 28 years
4	LSDA, Puttasing Rayagada district	1984	Lanjia Saora	35 sq. kms	21	4547	Completed 23 years

Present status of development of the Lanjia Saora / Saora inhabiting in above 4 Micro Project areas on some selected indicators as per the base line survey of SCSTRTI, (2001-02) Bhubaneswar is given below.

Sl. No	INDICATORS	SDA, Chandragiri	TDA, Tumba	LSDA, Serongo	LSDA, Puttasing	Average (All PTGS)
1	Literacy rate	27.90	22.13	23.90	30.99	19.04
2	Land holding Per household	1.65	1.89	1.57	1.74	1.13
3	Percentage of Landless household	20.75	29.18	6.36	11.99	34.66
4	Annual income per household	9671	12386	12846	15843	9177
5	Per capita income	1965	2828	3117	2672	2125
6	Annual expenditure per household	9426	11970	12345	14573	8311
7	Per capita expenditure	1898	2733	2995	2458	1924
8	Average value of HH assets	23578	35394	72900	39188	28343
9	Percentage of earners	53.03	58.62	53.61	56.91	55.65

The above table which is self explanatory reveals that in respect of most of the 9 selected development indicators the Saora / Lanjia Saora record a better average than the averages for all PTGs. However, the SDA, Chandragiri records lower averages in respect of per capita income, per capita expenditure and average value of household assets than the averages for all PTGs.

Project wise comparison on the above chosen indicators shows the following:

- The literacy rate is highest in Puttasingi (30.99 %), followed by Chandragiri (27.90 %), Serongo (23.90 %) and Tumba (22.13 %) in descending order.
- The average land per household is highest in Tumba (1.89), and lowest in Serongo (1.57). The second and third position is held by Puttasigi (1.64) and Chandragiri (1.65) respectively.

- The percentage of landless household is highest in Tumba (29.18), the second place held by Chandragiri (20.75), the third Puttasingi (11.99) and the last being Serongo (6.36).
- In respect of annual income per household Puttasingi tops the list (15843) followed by Serongo (12846), Tumba (12386) and Chandragiri (9671).
- Similarly, per capita income is highest in Serongo (3117), next comes Tumba (2828), Puttasingi occupies third place (2672) and the last being Chandragiri (1965).
- Puttasingi records highest percentage (14573) of expenditure per household followed by Serongo (12345), Tumba (11970) and Chandragiri (9426) in the descending order.
- Like-wise per capita expenditure is highest in Serongo (2995) followed by Tumba (2733), Puttasingi (2458) and Chandragiri (1898) in the descending order.
- The average value of household assets is highest in Serongo (72900) followed by Puttasingi (39188), Tumba (35394) and Chandragiri (23578).
- Finally proportion of earners is highest in Tumba (58.62 %) followed by Puttasingi (56.91 %), Serongo (53.61 %) and Chandragiri (53.03 %).

On the whole the above picture broadly reveals that in comparison to Lanjia Saora of LSDA, Serongo and LSDA, Puttasingi, the Saora of TDA, Tumba and SDA, Chandragiri are less advanced although the later two Projects were set up earlier than the former two. On the basis of the development profile of each of the four Projects as depicted in above paragraphs, it is some how clear that LSDA, Serongo ranks first, followed by LSDA, Puttasingi, TDA, Tumba and SDA, Chandragiri in the descending order.

Assessment of impact

Under the TSP Strategy, Micro Projects were funded fully out of grants received from Govt. of India under Special Central Assistance (SCA). Such funding forms an additive measure to State Govt. efforts. In addition to programmes of Micro Projects, the ITDA/DRDA and other line departments of the State Govt. also implementing their schemes in the Micro Project areas. Above all, the efforts of the people themselves including their human and financial resources constitute a major input for improvement of their socio economic condition. Some of the noticeable changes are mentioned below:

- Most of the Project villages which are once located in inaccessible areas are no more inaccessible. The area has been opened up with establishment of connectivity with Project, GP Headquarters and market centres, in many cases with all weather roads. However, a few villages of TDA, Tumba, LSDA, Puttasingi which are located in most inaccessible areas are yet to be provided with road connectivity. Most of the village lanes have been made cement concrete with drains on either side.
- The villages look neat and clean with proper drainage facility for waste water. In case of many, the straw thatched roofs of the houses have been replaced with fire proof asbestos roofs. The people have become gradually conscious about sanitation and cleanliness of the surroundings; therefore, garbage and waste materials are seldom thrown here and there on the street.

- The houses which were constructed in the recent past have more space, may be with more than one room with windows for proper ventilation and lighting.
- Many villages have been provided with electricity, safe drinking water in the form of tube well, well, cisterns and pipe water supply by gravitational flow.
- Dependency on *Podu* cultivation has been reduced considerably, most of the barren hill slopes were now covered with horticultural plantations, particularly cashew crop both by the Govt. initiatives and peoples' cooperation.
- Mono cropping pattern of terraced fields have given rise to double or multi cropping with adoption of improved technology and provision of more and more irrigation facility.
- In addition to agriculture, horticulture (cashew crop) has become a major source of income of the Lanjia Saora of Serongo and Puttasingi area in recent years, as major portion of their income is derived from the sale of cashew fruits.
- Among the Lanjia Saora, with the increase of income, capacity to spend more, particularly on petty luxurious items, modern clothing, treatment of disease and entertainment of guests and relatives has increased. The base line survey data of SCSTRTI (2001-02) shows that the per capita income and per capita expenditure among the Lanjia Saora of LSDA, Serongo are highest among all the PTGs inhabiting other Micro Project areas.
- Any outsider or researcher who has visited the Lanjia Saora area recently and 30 years back will be impressed by the changes that have taken place among the people in their living conditions over these years although the process is slow.

Conclusion

Most of the Projects have completed more than 25 years of existence with the project area and villages remaining unaltered, even some of them are about to complete 30 years. Considering the size of the target population of each of these projects and quantum of money spent for their development the project period appears to be quite long. Plan after Plan from the Fifth Plan to Eleventh Plan the project period is being extended, and the people are still called Primitive. Some of the scholars in the field are of the opinion that the word Primitive be replaced by some other. There fore the major concern is how long such Projects need continuance in order to bring the target groups at par with general tribal population for removal of the term Primitive associated with their name need serious thought and consideration at the appropriate level.

References

- | | | |
|-----------------|---------|--|
| Aiyappan, A. | 1948 | SAVARAS, Report on the socio-economic conditions of the Aboriginal tribes of the Province of Madras, Govt. Press, Madras |
| Census of India | 2001 | Directorate of Census Operations, Bhubaneswar. |
| Thurston, E. | 1975 | Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol. - VI, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, pp 304-47. |
| Mohanty, B.B. | 2004, | Saora, Tribes of Orissa, SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar. |
| SCSTRTI | 2001-02 | Base -Line Survey among the PTGs of Micro Projects (17 reports) (Unpublished) |
| | 2006 | Data Hand Book STs & SCs of Orissa. |

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF PRIMITIVE TRIBES

Dr. Nishakar Panda

*"By sowing seed, you will harvest once.
By planting a tree, you will harvest tenfold,
By educating the people, you will harvest one hundred fold."*

- Kaun-tsu -

The prevalent paradigm of economic development of Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) is not sustainable if social development in the form of minimum level of education is not properly imparted to them. Programmes of economic development for and the spread of education among PTGs should go side by side if both are to succeed. The role of education as an instrument of socio-economic transformation has been well established. This will not only inculcate a sense of urgency and involvement of PTGs for rapid economic development but also ensure bringing them to the mainstream of national consciousness. Education can attack and revolutionize the basic thinking and attitudes of the primitive people. Education is regarded as one of the most effective and forward looking instrument of tribal social transformation. Hence, educational development of PTGs is closely related to their economic development. The very meaning of 'education', which is derived from the Latin word 'educare', means to nourish, to cause to grow. 'And it is this original meaning of the word as a developing agency that most closely corresponds to the transformation of an infant into a full member of a specific human society, sharing with the other members a specific human culture. Education, therefore, gives him the key to a fuller and richer life and helps the primitive tribal communities to satisfactorily negotiate with the transitional phase of socio-economic change. Hence it is considered as a key parameter in generating a new awareness among the people by disseminating the knowledge and information for promoting change. Hence, emancipation from ignorance and illiteracy is the sine qua non for Economic emancipation. It is no luxury, no academic fad and no political stunt. It is necessary to individual happiness and social well-being. It is an inalienable and integral part of their all-round development. In the words of Neal Jacoby (1970): "Education holds the key to development. Development is not just change in terms of saving - income ratio, or export- GNP ratio; development is an enormously complex process involving changes in customs, habits and ways of doing things".

The PTGs, as different from general tribes are at prior stage of economic development and carry on pre-agricultural economic activities like hunting, food gathering and shifting cultivation. Besides these, low level of literacy, declining or stagnant growth rate of population, seclusion of the community are the characteristic features of these primitive groups. Many primitive tribal communities inhabit in remote and inaccessible areas. However, a few more salient features of the primitive groups are: (i) The sole implements used by the primitive tribes for digging roots & tubers and carrying on cultivation are digging stick, bill hook, hoe & axe, (ii) Bow and arrow is the main weapon of chase & snares and traps are used for catching birds & small animals, (iii) Wearing

apparel consists of an apron made of fibers and coarse cotton threads, (iv) Material belongings are very few & simple, (v) A primitive society rests on a communalistic economic base, (vi) The hut is either a wind break or a little better shelter made from locally available materials, (vii) Staying in remote & in accessible areas, (viii) Conservative & slow in adopting change because of face to face nature of interpersonal relationship & high degree of integration in society, (ix) Speaking languages of their own without having any or little knowledge of the neighboring languages.

In brief, a primitive community is characterized by such qualities as distinctiveness, smallness, homogeneity and all pervading self sufficiency. All these qualities with their ramifications are not found in full form in all primitive tribes. They are found in different degrees in different communities. But, illiteracy is the most redeeming and remarkable feature of almost all the primitive tribes. The Level of literacy is one distinguishing feature which indicates the proportion of social development of the PTGs. It is, therefore, generally agreed that the success of any plan for socio- economic reconstruction or for that matter, any endeavor for development of primitive tribes depends on the education and understanding of these masses. Various committees and working groups on tribal development recommended that education should be given the highest priority in the areas dominated by PTGs for the reason that education holds the key to their development. Literacy, to quote Dr. Huxley, 'is a pre-requisite for scientific and technical advance, and for better health, more efficient agriculture and productive industry, for democracy and national progress and for international awareness and knowledge of other nations.'

Present Scenario in Literacy of PTGs:

The 1950 World Census definition on literacy is mere 'ability to read and write a simple message'. According to the latest definition of census of India, persons of age 7 years and above, who can both read and write with understanding in any language, is considered as literate. Let us now have a cursory glance on the literacy scenario of scheduled tribes of Orissa in general and primitive tribal groups (PTGs) in particular.

Table 1
Tribal Literacy Rate in Orissa, 1961-2001

Sl. No.	Census Years	Total			Scheduled Tribes		
		Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons
1.	1961	39.70	8.60	21.66	13.00	1.80	7.36
2.	1971	30.30	13.09	26.02	16.40	2.60	9.50
3.	1981	46.90	21.12	34.25	23.27	4.76	13.96
4.	1991	63.09	34.68	49.09	34.44	10.21	22.31
5.	2001	75.3	50.5	63.1	51.5	23.4	37.4

Source: Collected and compiled from Census reports.

Table No.1 presents literacy rate of Scheduled Tribes vis-à-vis General Population of different categories (male, female, total populations) in Orissa for the last five census periods i.e. from 1961 to 2001 and Table No.2, the same picture for the country as a whole. It is evident from both the tables that Orissa is lagging behind the country average in literacy front for General as well as tribal population.

Table 2
Tribal Literacy Rate in India, 1961-91

Population	Year	Persons	Males	Females
Total	1961	24.0	34.4	13.0
	1971	29.5	39.5	13.7
	1981*	36.2	46.9	24.8
	1991*	52.11	64.13	39.29
	2001	64.83	75.62	53.67
Tribal	1961	8.5	13.8	3.2
	1971	11.3	17.6	4.9
	1981*	16.4	24.5	8.0
	1991	29.60	40.65	18.19
	2001	47.08	59.14	34.75

* Excludes Assam.

Source: Collected and compiled from Census reports.

But still worse is the literacy levels of PTGs as depicted in Table 3 below. Literacy percentage of 13 identified PTGs in Orissa residing in 17 micro project areas in different districts of the State for male, female and total categories can be seen from Table No.3.

Table 3
Percentage of literacy of PTGs in Micro Projects

Sl. No	Name of the micro project	Name of the District	Name of the PTG	Percentage of Literacy		
				Male	Female	Total
1	Bonda Dev. Agency, Mudulipada,	Malkangiri	Bonda	10.69	2.60	6.35
2	Didayi Dev. Agency, Kudumuluguma,	Malkangiri	Didayi	9.46	2.48	5.84
3	Dongaria Kandh Dev. Agency, Kurli, Chatikona,	Rayagada	Dongaria Kandh	15.35	2.53	8.19
4	Dongaria Kandh Dev. Agency, Parsali	Rayagada	Dongaria Kandh	18.37	2.68	9.26
5	Lanjia Soura Dev. Puttasingi	Rayagada	Lanjia Soura	13.80	22.57	30.99
6	Paudi Bhuyan Dev. Agency, Jamardihi	Angul	Paudi Bhuyan	39.30	19.30	29.60
7	Paudi Bhuyan Dev. Agency Rugudakudar	Deogarh	Paudi Bhuyan	27.01	13.81	20.46
8	Tumba Dev. Agency, Tumba	Ganjam	Lanjia Soura	31.98	12.13	22.13
9	Chuktia Bhunjia Dev. Agency, Sunabeda	Nuapada	Chuktia Bhunjia	51.52	18.27	34.87
10	Juang Dev. Agency, Gonasika	Keonjhar	Juang	31.19	7.43	19.12
11	Paudi Bhuyan Dev. Agency, Khuntagaon	Sundargarh	Paudi Bhuyan	20.66	4.70	12.64
12	Lanjia Soura Dev. Agency, Serango	Gajapati	Lanjia Soura	33.77	14.43	23.90
13	Soura Dev. Agency, Chandragiri	Gajapati	Soura	41.84	24.21	27.90
14	Kutia Kandh Dev. Agency, Belghar	Kandhamal	Kutia Kandh	31.74	3.54	17.13
15	Kutia Kandh Dev. Agency, Lanjigarh	Kalahandi	Kutia Kandh	43.47	17.22	30.55
16	Lodha Dev. Agency, Moroda	Mayurbhanj	Lodha	20.81	5.61	13.65
17	Hill-Kharia & Mankirdia Dev. Agency, Jashipur	Mayurbhanj	Kharia & Mankirdia	42.87	18.84	31.10

Source: Collected from SC & ST Development Department, Government of Orissa.

Literacy rate of PTGs, thus presents a dismal picture as reflected in the Table. In almost all cases of primitive tribes, literacy percentage is far behind the literacy percentage of Scheduled tribes in the State (37.4). Among the PTGs, Didayee tribes of Kudumulguma in Malkangiri district has the lowest literacy rate (5.48) and Chakutia Bhunjia has the highest literacy rate (34.87) followed by Kharia and Mankirdia (31.10). However, literacy rate of Lanjia Soura in Puttasinghi area of Rayagada district and Kutia Kandh in Lanjigarh area of Kalahandi district is above 30 percent.

Gender gap in literacy of PTGs:

Wide Gender gap in literacy of PTGs is another important facet which need immediate attention. Tribal Women constitute roughly around 50 percent of the total population of Scheduled tribes. Their role in domestic as well as economic activities can hardly be overemphasized. In tribal societies, women are mainly responsible for maintenance of families and look after Socio-economic activities. But their literacy level is far below the male population. Gap in literacy between male and female among scheduled tribes of orissa is 28.1 percent and for total population it is slightly less i.e. 24.8 percent. All India picture, in this front though much less than our State, is not also very much encouraging. It is 24.4 percent scheduled tribes and 21.6 for total population. In case of primitive tribes of Orissa, the scenario is very much distressing as indicated in table 4.

Table 4

Gender gap in literacy of PTGs

Sl. No	Name of the micro project	Name of the PTG	Gender gap in Literacy
1	2	3	4
1	Bonda Dev. Agency, Mudulipara,	Bonda	8.09
2	Didayi Dev. Agency, Kudumulguma,	Didayi	6.98
3	Dongaria Kandh Dev. Agency, Kurli, Chatikona,	Dongaria Kandh	12.82
4	Dongaria Kandh Dev. Agency, Parsali	Dongaria Kandh	15.69
5	Lanjia Soura Dev. Agency, Puttasingi	Lanjia Soura	-8.77
6	Paudi Bhuyan Dev. Agency, Jamardihi	Paudi Bhuyan	20
7	Paudi Bhuyan Dev. Agency Rugudakudar	Paudi Bhuyan	13.2
8	Tumba Dev. Agency, Tumba	Lanjia Soura	19.85
9	Chuktia Bhunjia Dev. Agency, Sunabeda	Chuktia Bhunjia	33.25
10	Juang Dev. Agency, Gonasika	Juang	23.76
11	Paudi Bhuyan Dev. Agency, Khuntagaon	Paudi Bhuyan	15.96
12	Lanjia Soura Dev. Agency, Serango	Lanjia Soura	19.34
13	Soura Dev. Agency, Chandragiri	Soura	17.63
14	Kutia Kandh Dev. Agency, Belghar	Kutia Kandh	28.2
15	Kutia Kandh Dev. Agency, Lanjigarh	Kutia Kandh	26.25
16	Lodha Dev. Agency, Moroda	Lodha	15.2
17	Hill-Kharia & Mankirdia Dev. Agency, Jashipur	Kharia & Mankirdia	24.03

Source: Compiled from the information of SC & ST Development Department, Government of Orissa.

As revealed from the table 4, there is a wide diversity in gender literacy gap. It is lowest (6.98%) in case of Didayee tribes of Kudumuluguma and highest in case of Chakutia Bhunjia of Sundabeda (33.25%). Kutia Kandh tribes in Belghar as well as Lanjigarh have also wide gender gap in literacy which is 28.2% and 26.25% respectively. But interestingly, Lanjia Soura females in Puttasingi area out strip their male counterpart in literacy front, the difference being as high as 8.77%.

Causes of illiteracy of PTGs:

For a primitive tribal family, to enrol the children in a school is essentially a matter of economics and entails dislocation in the traditional pattern of diversion of labour. Many parents cannot just afford to send their children to school. This is one of the main hindrances in promoting education among them. The children of PTGs are confined mostly to certain interior areas normally inaccessible for any kind of steady and ready implementation of development plan. These areas automatically become backward educationally or otherwise. However, following socio-economic factors account for the illiteracy of PTGs.

Among social causes, the uncertainties of nomadic life of some PTGs are not conducive to any formal schooling. To people who are constantly on the move in search of the primary necessities of life, education offers very little attraction or advantage from the point of view of material gain. These aboriginal tribes here and elsewhere are still found untouched and unaffected by the ever-changing currents of human progress and blissfully oblivious of the value of education. Unfavourable living conditions present yet another stumbling block to the progress of literacy. Wretched living conditions, Lack of transport and communication facilities and Lack of social consciousness like aversion to education is also to a great extent responsible for the perpetuation of illiteracy amongst these communities.

Under economic factors, Poverty and economic insecurity are serious deterrent to the spread of education. It is appropriately said "Chill Penury represses the noble rage and freezes the genial current of the soul". They have no time to think of anything else than his food and the barest necessities of life. All his efforts, time, initiatives and energy centre round his struggle for existence. Education receives but scant attention.

Besides, some cultural factors such as their language, social distance, isolation, secluded ness, conservatism, the level of educational aspiration, lack of sufficient motivation for education are real obstacles to the progress of education among PTGs.

Steps taken so far:

The country had in the past only traditional method of educational system imparted mostly by religious institutions. Formal education was introduced by the British. After independence, Article 46 of the Indian Constitution lays down a Directive Principles of State Policy which provides that the State shall promote with special care, the educational and economic interests of the people and in particular of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Article 47 and Article 30 of the Constitution have some provisions for educational interests of the scheduled tribes. In the first two Five-Year Plans, not much emphasis was laid on education. The policy of government emphasised on providing the immediate basic necessities like food and shelter to people. It was only during the Third Five-Year Plan that the states were allotted good amount of money towards education of Scheduled Tribes.

The question of tackling the problems of the more backward tribal communities has received the attention of the Dhebar Commission (1961) which identified four different layers. At the base, they identified a class of tribals in an extremely underdeveloped stage. The Shilu Ao study team (1969) on tribal development programmes discerned marked development imbalance among the tribal communities. They reiterated the view of the Dhebar Commission that the 'lowest layer' needed the utmost consideration and should be made the special concern of the state governments. The study team included in its report a list of backward tribal communities. At the time of review of tribal development programmes on the eve of the Fifth Plan, it was recognised that special programmes for the PTGs should be taken up on the basis of proper identification on the lines suggested by the Shilu Ao Team. As a preliminary step, a workshop on primitive tribal communities was held in the Ministry of Home Affairs in January 1975. Detailed guidelines were issued for identification of primitive tribal groups. Based on these guidelines, nine tribal communities of the state were identified as primitive tribes by the end of 1979-80 (subsequently four communities were included in the list of PTGs) and Micro projects were started and family-oriented income generating schemes were taken up for their development. On the basis of experience gained, the Working Group on Tribal Development during the Sixth Plan recommended, inter alia, that high priority should be accorded to the programmes of primitive groups; Identification of primitive tribal groups in accordance with the guidelines issued; Completion of project reports for the tribal groups during 1980-81 etc. Accordingly, THRTI of the state government conducted a survey on socio-economic and ethnographic aspects of the primitive tribes and suggested suitable action plans.

A holistic approach aiming at all-round development of the PTGs living in the project areas was made during the Seventh Plan period. The Working Group on Tribal Development during the Seventh Plan recommended important strategy for development of primitive tribes. They include family-wise economic development plans and programmes, spread of education. In accordance with the recommendations of the Working Group, steps were taken to develop road communication, marketing facilities, irrigation resources, drinking water and education facilities in the project area. For spread of education among PTGs, the Government of India sanctioned special central assistance to the tune of Rs. 90.00 lakh, which helped to develop nine educational complexes in micro project areas the apportionment of which is detailed in Table 5.

Table 5
Educational Complexes in Micro Projects

Sl. No.	Name of the Micro Project where Educational Complexes were taken up	Total Amount (Rs. in Lakh)
1.	Lanjia Soura Development Agency, Puttasingi	13
2.	Bonda Development Agency, Mudulipada	13
3.	Dongria Kondha Development Agency, Kurli	13
4.	Soura Development Agency, Chandragiri	13
5.	Juang Development Agency, Gonasika	10
6.	Paudi Bhuyan Development Agency, Khuntagaon	10
7.	Kutia Kondha Development Agency, Belghar	6
8.	Kutia Kondh Development Agency, Lanjigarh	6
9.	Lodha Development Agency, Morada	6
Total:		90 lakhs

Source: Government of Orissa, Tribal Welfare Department, Nov. 1992, Tribal Sub-Plan for Annual Plan, 1993-94, Orissa (Draft).

The strategy adopted during the Seventh Plan period was to a considerable extent successful in highlighting the problems of education of the primitive tribal groups. The Eighth Plan accorded top priority for strengthening the economic base of the primitive tribes in the framework of their socio-economic and cultural context. The local persons having knowledge of tribal language were given preference in the appointment of school teachers. The curriculum was redesigned keeping in view the requirement of the tribal people. Large number of residential schools was opened. Adult education programmes were expounded. Hostel facilities were expanded to give boarding facilities to the tribal students at the primary, middle and high school levels. Besides providing reading and writing materials to these students, Pre-matric scholarships are awarded to students at pre-matric level. Post-matric scholarship is awarded to post-matric students. Graduate students in general courses, medical, engineering, agriculture, veterinary science students etc. are provided scholarships. A scheme has been introduced for giving cash Award to the Head Sevaks for Increasing Enrolment and Checking Dropouts of Tribal Children at Primary Level. During the Ninth Plan, special care was taken for development of education in micro project areas in conformity with the recommendations of the Working Group on Tribal Development. During the Tenth Plan (2002-2007), it has been programmed to invest funds out of the General Education Schemes of the Education Department for education development programmes of ST students including children of primitive tribes.

Thus, efforts were made during different plan periods to provide various facilities for the educational development of students of PTGs in Orissa.

Policy Prescriptions

The primitive tribes have some peculiar characteristic features. The schemes for educational development that are being introduced for the development of the other tribes will not be applicable to them due to their cultural specialities, ecosystems and aptitudes. Around 50% of boys and barely more than a third of the girls belonging to PTGs who enter school make it past after two/three years of schooling. Hence, reduction of dropouts is a major challenge for enhancing the literacy rate of PTGs. According to Olsen (1945): "Ever more clearly it becomes apparent that school education must be projected out of the sheltered class room and into the living community which is the child's primary scene of the present, and future life-activity". Hence, it is imperative that education must reach these people living in inaccessible areas. In this connection the words of Swami Vivekananda may be cited: "The only service to be done for our lower classes is to give them education, to develop their lost individually ----- Now if the mountain cannot come to Mohammed, Mohammed must go to the mountain. If the poor boy can not come to education, education must go to him". However, a few suggestions are enumerated here for spread of education among the primitive tribes.

Village Libraries:

Libraries play an inalienable part in conducting the campaign against illiteracy. It will be an agency for the furtherance of education. They are open-door public institutions meant for all without any regulations and restrictions. It has special boon to offer education to the working children of these communities particularly in remote and backward areas. Besides inculcating a habit of reading, it will spur and act as an impetus for parents to send their children to schools. Books, journals and other materials to be kept in a village-library must be well-selected with a realistic consideration for the interests, reading ability and educational and intellectual level of the people whom these are intended to serve and must also be made easily available to the readers. The

custodian of village-libraries should be a librarian cum teacher. He should serve as a kind of clearing house of useful information for PTGs.

Discouraging teacher's absenteeism:

Government teacher absenteeism is high in the areas predominated by PTGs. In some cases, some teachers run businesses and others skip school in the morning but give paid tuitions to richer students in the afternoon. Stringent rules must be made and strict supervision be introduced for checking the absenteeism of teachers in these areas. Teachers serving in these areas should be compensated with attractive salaries, easier recruitment norms, delayed retirement age etc. This may go a long way in checking teacher's absenteeism.

Privately Managed Schools:

Private sector may be encouraged to invest in elementary education in the areas of inhabited by PTGs. Wherever private sector has been introduced, as experience shows, efficiency has increased. Conversely, both the government and the private sector should work in cohesion to improve the educational system of PTGs.

Pre School/Early Childhood Education:

Early childhood is a stage of education we do not fully recognize. Even the amendment made to the Constitution, making elementary education a fundamental right, leaves out the first five years of life. But pre-school education below five years muzzles imagination and cognition skills. That is when the secret powers of childhood are at their most intense. Besides, in that age the children are not assisting the parents of the primitive communities in earning their livelihood. Hence, education at that level may to be effective in enthusing parents to send their children to schools after wards.

Change in School Timing:

The school timing, as also vacations, should be fixed in these tribal areas with reference to the local conditions which may be at variance with the timings and vacations in the State or in other regions.

Change in the Examination System:

Examination system for the students of PTGs should be changed. It should be simple and aim at enhancing literacy only and should not be a burden for them.

Mass Communication Media:

Mass Communication Media are the informal approach to education which has the power and potentiality of providing stimulus to the senses, feelings and emotions. Various modern media of mass-contact can offer a solution to the problem of illiteracy among PTGs. Exhibitions, Wall-newspapers, Demonstration, Lantern and slide, Epidiascope, Filmstrip, Educational, documentary and commercial films, Television, Gramophone, Wire and tape-recorder, Radio etc. which can be utilized for mass propaganda for spreading the message on utility of education. Besides, Dramatization, Pageant, Pantomime and tableau, puppet, discussions like lectures, forum, conference, Group discussion, excursive technique, panel discussions, counselling, debate, study groups etc. can be utilized for propagation of education in the remote areas inhabited by PTGs.

References:

- | | | |
|-----------------|------|--|
| Durkheim. E, | 1956 | <i>Sociology & Education</i> , Newyork, Amerirwah Book Comp. |
| Bose, A.B, | 1970 | <i>Problems of Educational Development of Scheduled Tribes</i> , man in India, Vol.50; No.1 (Jan.- March, 1970) PP. 29-32. |
| Alan Sable, | 1977 | Alan Sable, <i>Education in Orissa</i> , S. Chand & Company Ltd; New Delhi, |
| Roy | 1953 | <i>Never too late</i> , orient Book Company, Calcutta |
| Patel, S, | 1991 | <i>Tribal Education in India</i> , Mittal Publications, New Delhi |
| Ralhnaiah, E.V. | 1977 | <i>Structural constraints in tribal Education: A regional study</i> ; sterling Publicatiions, New Delhi |

LIFE AND CULTURE OF THE DONGRIA KONDHS

Dr. A. C. Sahoo

Among all the tribes, Kondhs top the list for their numerical preponderance. Considering different levels of economic development and socio-cultural background, the Kondhs can broadly be divided into several sections. Of them, special mention may be made of Desia Kondhs, Kutia Kondhs, Dongria Kondhs, Pengo Kondhs, Sita Kondhs, Malwa Kondhs, Nangala Kondhs, Buhar Kondhs etc. The Dongria Kondhs are a major section of the great Kondh tribe and inhabit the Niyamgiri hill ranges.

The Dongria Kondhs are very simple, happy and straight forward and upright in their conduct. They have a lot of respect for their gods, goddesses, deities, spirits and unseen powers. However, they are very superstitious in nature. They work very hard and enjoy leisurely hours. They derive pleasure by helping others and attach great importance to human life. Basically they are out spoken and occasionally become very aggressive. They love their children and their family members and have strong feeling of togetherness among themselves. They believe in equality and feel proud of their social position and status. They depend on the scheduled caste Domb people for their socio economic affairs. They respect elders and satisfy ancestral spirits at all costs. Both males and females adorn their body in a culture specific style. They are very hospitable and proud of their own village and territory.

The Dongria Kondhs mostly live on high hill-land locally known as Dongar which signifies nomenclature of their community as Dongria Kondh. They have their own language known as Kuvi and distinct culture. They claim as the descendents of Niyam Raja, their legendary ancestral king.

Their area comes under three community development Blocks namely Bissamcuttak and Muniguda of Gunpur sub-division and Kalyanisinghpur block of Rayagada sub-division in Rayagada district. Apart from these some of them are also found in Lanjigarh Block of Kalahandi district. The area inhabited by the Dongria Kondhs is a contiguous rectangular patch over the Niyamgiri hill ranges. Not only by virtue of their habitat but also due to their special cultural characteristic they are clearly distinguished from other Kondh sections.

They are one of the major sections of the great Kondh tribe having about 10,000 population distributed in around 120 settlements. Origin of the Dongria Kondhs is obscure. However, according to their legend and folktales, they claim that they are the brothers of other Kondhs such as Kutia Kondhs and Desia Kondhs who are residing adjacent to their locality and the Niyam Raja had settled them on the Niyamgiri hills since time immemorial. In order to differentiate them from other Kondh groups they keep long hair as an ethnic identity. They also prove through legends that they are the original settlers of Niyamgiri hills since centuries.

The land of the Dongria Kondhs is situated between 20°3' and 17°50' N Latitude and 81°27' E Longitude and over high plateau of Niyamgiri hills ranging from 1000 ft. to 5000 ft above the sea level. The area is comparatively cooler and receives 80% of the total rainfall during monsoon. The Dongria Kondhs enjoy three seasons. However,

the climate is relatively cool and pleasant through out the year. February to June found to be hot. In May the temperature rises up to 33°C. The average annual rain fall vary from year to year. However, on an average, it is found to be 60 inches. They practice slash and burn type of cultivation, which causes depletion of forest.

The humidity is very high in monsoon time. In summer the wind blows from south to west. The periodicity of rainfall is neither uniform nor regular. As the result of which very often drought is a common problem in the area. The topography of the area is very uneven and lowest part of their habitation is situated above 1000 ft of sea level. So far as the water resources are concerned Gadgada Nala in Bissamcuttack Block and Sakata Nala in the Muniguda Block are two major perennial sources. Almost all the Dongria Kondh villages in K. Singhpur Block have natural flow of stream water.

The soils by and large are laterite and land is sloppy which is not suitable for agriculture. Due to practice of shifting cultivation, a number of hills have become barren. There are hills having only large stones and boulders and at the same time a number of mountains have luxuriant growth of forest which indicates that there is fertile soil suitable for different agricultural and horticultural purpose. A very few tracts are there where the soil type is loamy or clay. But a major part of their land has brown colour soil with poor water absorption capacity.

The Niyamgiri hills and forests are full of fruit bearing trees like Jackfruit, Tamarind, Blackberry, Mango, Banana and Citrus variety. Extensive pineapple plantations are the example of potential eco system and efforts of man. Apart from different fruit bearing trees a number of valuable timbers like Sal, Biza, Sisu, Asana and Haladu etc, are abundantly found in the hill ranges.

Animals like tigers, bear, wild boar, deer, *sambars*, wild goats, spotted deer, porcupine, hare, many kinds of poisonous snakes etc roam in the local forest. Birds like jungle chicken, peacocks, pigeon and different kinds of sparrows are found. Different varieties of herbs and shrubs having great medicinal value are available.

The economic life of the Dongria Kondhs mostly revolves round the forest. Forest is their main source of food and raw materials for construction of their house. They get firewood, herbal medicines and raw materials for different tools and equipments from the nearby forest. They go for hunting and trapping of birds and animals for sake of non-vegetarian food items. The hill stream gives them ample scope for washing clothes and cleaning utensils. They also do fishing there and catch crab for relishing with special pleasure. Their favourite sago-palm sap that they collect from the sago-palm trees, are mostly found in the forest. Their swiddens used for shifting cultivation are located in the forest. They work in the forest and learn many things in the forest in the process of their socialization. As a fish cannot live without water the Dongria Kondhs can not live without forest. In the changing economy from shifting cultivators to horticulturist they have to depend on the forest to raise orchards and fruit bearing trees for survival. They strongly believe that forest in and around their habitat is a perennial source to provide them all that they need for survival for all time to come. They love their natural habitat very much and hesitate to come down to the plains. They never like that outsiders should trespass into their area and show their unwillingness to allow further infiltration of outsiders to their area. Each clan as well as sub-clan maintains their territorial boundary within their own group members. Any encroachment in this regards may lead to fatal feuding situation.

For construction of a house a Dongria Kondh has to select a site for which he has to undergo several observances and perform necessary rituals to get approval of the deities. The Dongria Kondh house is rectangular in ground plan and gable shaped to look at. They make the houses like a railway compartment, the front compartment of which is used as store room-cum-rest house, the middle room is the main room used for dining, cooking, sleeping, storing of valuable materials and a corner is used for enshrining family deity. The third and last room is located at back side is meant for the women during their menstruation period and delivery time. The walls are made of bamboo splits or poles or wattle of broomstick over which they plaster mud and cow dung. A coating of coloured earth is plastered over it to enhance the beauty of the wall surface on which on special occasions they make traditional paintings. Some people now-a-days are using mud or unburnt or burnt bricks for making wall. They use doors and shutters over which various designs and motifs are carved.

The Dongria Kondh houses are located in two parallel rows leaving a wide street in between. The Domb houses are distinctly separated from the Dongria Kondh houses as the former are considered lower in social status. Each village is inhabited by people of a single clan or more than one clan. Some of the villages jointly form one territorial unit called Mutha. The dominating or the original clan members may allow members of other clan into the unit with the approval of the headman. But all the clan members living in a village abide by the same customary rules.

The Dongria Kondhs follow prescribed rules for selecting the place of residence. Soon after marriage, the young man constructs his own house with the help of family members and kinsfolk. Mostly he constructs the house in his father's village. Sometimes, he moves to other village to establish a new residence. There are cases that husband and wife after marriage move to bride's parental village with the approval of the parent-in-laws and the village elders. A family may move to a village inhabited by members of other clans provided members of the host clan agree to accommodate them. By and large, rules of residence are strictly followed and any deviation leads to quarrels and conflicts between families, lineages and clans. Migration of the members of a clan from an old village to a new one may take place, but at the time of buffalo sacrifice festival, sacrificial blood is offered to the deities in both the villages.

Mostly in the Niyamgiri hill ranges lands are fertile due to deposit of humus through out the year. Perennial streams provide water flow which is conducive for nourishment of plants and fruits bearing trees which the Dongrias grow in and around of their habitat. Moreover, they are experts in raising orchards on the hill slopes. They manage their horticultural crops in such a manner that they get crops round the year for their sustenance. Thus, they are hardly affected by natural calamities.

The land belonging to a clan is known as *Padar*. The clansmen always own the land and they can lease it to anybody for cultivation. Hence, the ownership rights are never transferred. If a man is issueless his land goes to his lineage brothers. Thus, the sub-clan or the clan, according to the situation exercises supreme rights of possession over land. The clan has not only the right of ownership over the clan territory but also authority to use its natural resources. The traditional land owner has every right to take back his land whenever he wishes. Traditionally, mango and tamarind trees are owned at community level and its fruits are enjoyed by all the people. The land like pasture, forest, dancing ground, community centre, youth dormitory, stream, and shrines are used freely by every individual of the community. The stream bed lands

used by the Dongria Kondhs are strictly prohibited to the Doms. The Dongria Kondhs' great affinity towards clan territory and its socio-economic importance is seriously realized along with their socio-psychological and emotional attachment. The Dongria Kondhs inherit land through patrilineal descent line and women have no right over the land and property. When a man dies all his land and property are shared by his sons.

The Dongria Kondhs are addicted to alcoholic drinks. In addition to the juice of Sago Palm trees which is their favourite drink, they consume varieties of wines. They distil liquor from *Mohua* flower, rice, molasses, banana, mango, orange, jackfruit, pineapple, blackberry and a few other sweet fruits containing starch. Each family is proud of possessing juice giving *Salap* trees. Now a days, some of them sell *Salap* juice to the neighbouring Scheduled Caste people for money. By and large the Dongria Kondhs use *Salap* in traditional socio-religious functions to entertain their guests and friends. Their weakness for drinks very often put them into unavoidable peril that they sell and mortgage their valuable plantations to the neighbouring Scheduled Caste people. Some of them quarrel among themselves due to heavy addiction. On one hand drinks are unavoidable in marriage, life cycle rituals, ceremonies and social functions and on the other it is the major causes of their economic backwardness.

The Dongria Kondhs practice shifting cultivation extensively for production of food and cash crops. They clear forest before summer season and set fire to the dried matter. Spraying of ashes and digging up of the field by hoe and sticks is followed by sowing of seeds in the traditional fashion. They clean the bushes and unwanted plants and watch the crop from the attack of animals and birds. Crops are harvested one after another. But starting from the selection of site upto the harvest they perform several magico-religious rites. They practice wet cultivation near the sides of perennial streams. But this type of land is scarce and a few people own such such kind of lands.

There is division of labour among the Dongria Kondhs on the basis of age, sex and special skills. Some people have specialization in carpentry, thatching of roof and house construction. The women are very hard working and shoulder major economic responsibilities. The male members enjoy drinks and relish buffalo flesh and dry fish very much but ragi gruel and rice of small millets are their usual food items. They also eat pulses and varieties of vegetables, which they grow in their own fields. They remain perpetually indebtedness to the Doms for payment of bride price, to meet expenses of rituals, ceremonies, festivals and sacrifices to appease deities. They save in form of gold, silver cattle wealth and land in the plains as well as utensils, ornaments and hard cash.

The selling of land or trees by pledging is called *jerat*. No document is signed. After the transaction one can not claim ownership on the property again. The seller takes an oath before the Earth Goddess and loudly tells that *I will melt like salt in water, my body will be rotten like the straw, my life will vanish like the ashes go away in the wind, I will die fast like the grass and evaporate like drop of wine, if I claim it again*. The Dongria Kondhs also sell and mortgage standing crops of turmeric, zinger, pineapple, mango and jackfruit orchards. The main reason for selling of orchards is their busy schedule in swidden plots and hesitation to go through the tedious process of marketing of the produce. The local Scheduled Caste traders pay advances much before the fruits ripen, and the Dongria Kondhs also feel relaxed by selling much before.

Now-a-days they derive a good income from their orchards, fruits trees and sale of turmeric, ginger and forest produces. Their economic development is visible in their house construction, use of modern amenities, practice of modern cultivation,

changes in dressing style, use of silver and gold ornaments and standard of living as a whole. No more they are poor but quite extravagant.

The Dongria Kondhs are very cooperative in nature. At the time of strenuous works one can hire the services of village labour cooperative. In this case one member from each household come to work for a needy person and the practice is known as Sahabuti. Some of the lineage members work for some one and it is known as Dutarubuti. When all the youth dormitory members work for some one it is called as Dasabuti. The members rendering services are provided with food, drinks and little money by the host.

Hunting is a traditional pastime for the Dongria Kondhs and they go for hunting individually or in a group. Apart from hunting with bow and arrow they use locally made guns, axe, knife, snares, traps and a few other hunting weapons. They also use indigenous technology and various devices for hunting big animals. They appease the hunting deity before their hunting expedition. The hunted animals are equally shared among the persons taken part and the real hunter gets a bigger share. If the wounded animal moves to the boundary of neighbouring village, the former group has right over the animal. The dogs are domesticated to utilize their services at the time hunting as well as watching the standing crops.

The prestations are in vogue among the Dongria Kandha in several forms. There is prescribed governance pattern for prestations and counter prestations. The major factors responsible for this are social relation and socio-economic interactions between groups and political activities. One's kinship level and social status is determined on the basis of kind of gift. The occasions when prestations and counter prestations made are birth, name giving, marriage, death rites, *meriah* sacrifice, important community level festivals etc. The sharing of prestations and counter prestations bring about unity and solidarity and establish social harmony as well as mutual relationship among the community.

Family is the smallest social unit in the Dongria Kondh society but village forms the most important unit for many of the socio cultural and socio religious activities. Apart from this they have multiple social institutions functioning at their respective levels in very organized manner. They have simple and compound type of families, due to the practice of polygyny. A man can have two wives and their children in one family. There are extended families having unmarried brothers and sisters along with widow mother and divorced sisters. Sometimes, some of the relations from mother's side, wife's side and member of lineage groups live together under a common family head. But usually in all the nuclear families wife manages her own economic activities with the help of her husband and unmarried sons and daughters. Relationships between the uterine brothers are very close even if they live independently in separate houses. The lineage system is very strong. The extended lineages are sub-clans locally known as Punja and named as Mandal, Bis-majhi, Jani and Pujari. The senior most Man of Jani Punja takes charge of worshipping the village deities. The function of the Pujari Punja is to assist the Jani in religious functions. Mandal Punja have right to act as secular head and looks after the over all wellbeing of the village. Bis-majhi Punja is to assist the Mandal. The extended lineage of Dongria Kondhs is so large that it is very difficult to unite them together for all lineage purposes.

Apart from this, the greater social unit called Mutha is an important feature of their social organization. Mutha comprises a group of villages which are treated as one

administrative-cum-social unit. The unit of a clan is very strong. Among important clans mention may be made of Niska, Sikaka, Wadaka, Pusika, Jakasika, Kadraka, Nundruka, Wangesika, Miniaka, Kundika, etc. Among the Dongrai Kondhs two or more clans jointly form a single exogamous unit. They have common origin, common shrine and common occasions and jointly perform certain rituals. Marriage is strictly prohibited between brother clans and they are regarded as Maa- Kuda.

The entire Niyamgiri hill ranges come under the following "Muthas". They are Jakasika, Kadraka, Niska, Wadaka, Pusika, Sikaka and Nundruka. The demarcation of 'Mutha' boundary, their interaction, co-operation and some social restrictions are the striking feature of Dongria Kondh Mutha system. However, village plays an important role in the field of unity and extension as well as for different communal activities. Relationship between different kin groups both in the same family and with other families is quite excellent. After marriage the son lives in his own house constructed in collaboration with all family members.

Role of girls' dormitory (*Adas beta*) and its special function has an immense value in socialization process and for personality formation. Here both boys and girls of different villages meet each other within the limits of cultural restrictions and social rules. Different social sanctions concerned with marriage, pre-marital relationship and interest for acquiring of mates from the boyhood keep the boys away from their formal school education and make them ignorant. Clan feuds, conflicts, quarrels and tensions among the Dongria Kondhs some times lead to fatal result.

The young unmarried boys are prohibited to go the girls' dormitory of the same village as all the girls are considered as their sisters. But the boys from other villages can come and meet the girls and develop intimacy with them and stay there overnight. The girls learn embroidery works, playing musical instruments and dance etc from their elders. Sometimes a boy and girl love each other which may lead to marriage. It is very dangerous for the boy to develop intimacy with a girl when she is already betrothed. In that case it always leads to clan feuds. Two persons of the same sex can be tied up by ritual friendship. A male addresses his ritual friend, as Sai and female addresses as Ade. This relationship may be extended to both the families for generations and marriage between two members of two ritual kin groups is not allowed. This friendship is established through a ceremony conducted usually on a festive occasion and on such occasion presentations are exchanged between each other. Salap drinking friendship groups are very informal, voluntary and flexible. They enjoy drinks moving in group from each other's sago palm trees in turn. Early in the morning they meet, drink and chit chat, around fire beside the *salap* tree.

Another very important institution is Sadar - the village community centre where all the elders gather and discuss matters relating to village. It is usually located on the village streets where the village deities are enshrined and buffalo sacrifice is performed during Meriah festival. This house is very strong as it is constructed using beautifully carved pillars and beams. The walls are also nicely painted with geometrical designs on festive occasions. The boys and girls are assigned works in the construction and maintenance of the centre but it is absolutely used by the elderly males. Each village has its Jatra Kudi shrine- who is the protector of the village enshrined at the eastern side of the village boundary.

The symbiotic relationship between the scheduled caste Dombs and Dongria Kandha is most significant for several reasons. The Dombs serve the Dongria Kondhs as messenger, cattle watcher, street sweeper and weavers. As messenger a Domb is very

influential and feels dignified by establishing himself in the village. He plays very vital role in sale of any produce, giving advance for orchards and fruit bearing trees, purchase of buffalo for community rituals, payment of bride price etc. He acts as a go-between The Dongrias and the police, court, revenue and such other matters. Now-a-days they play unavoidable role in day to day socio economic life of the Dongria Kondhs. They are so intelligent that without having any productive asset, they are comparatively better off economically. In these days the Dombs freely take shelter in Dongria Kondh villages with the help of their Domb relatives and hence, their number is increasing over period of time. Domb people are the all time neighbours of the Dongria Kondhs. Both the groups live in the same village but in two separate wards.

After marriage Dongria Kondh couple eagerly want a child because they believe that one of their ancestors is likely to born. When a married woman does not conceive during a long period, she is looked down upon by her kith and kin and treated with traditional herbal medicines and several magico-religious remedies. Adequate care is taken of a pregnant woman and restrictions are observed with regard to her diets and daily work. Till the time of delivery an expert old woman attends her. She is paid some remuneration both in cash and kind. The new born baby is not given any food other than mother's milk. After 21 days the lactating mother is given her normal diet. Ear piercing and name giving ceremonies are observed in which special food and drinks are relished. Name giving ceremony is observed when the child is about one month. On this occasion the maternal uncle is invited who has special rights to select the name and lead the celebration. He also presents special gifts which depend on the sex of the child. When the child is about 6 months old an experienced old woman is called for piercing the earlobes and specific thorn is used to make about a dozen of holes in both the sides. No specific pubescent ceremony is observed for the girls. However, the girl is considered unclean till the 7th day from the date of her first menstruation.

As the child grows up, he or she goes through different stages of socialization. During the age of 10 to 12 years they start searching for age mates and friends to develop friendship with them.

Marriage is an auspicious occasion and quite expensive affair. Not only higher amount of bride price is paid but also the groom has to work for about 2-5 years in the girl's house. Marriage within the same clan or within the same "Mutha" is strictly prohibited. The minimum age for the marriage for a boy is 20 to 22 years and for a girl it is 16 to 18 years. Marriage of unmarried boys and girls, according to their parents' choice is not uncommon. However, a number of boys and girls now-a-days select their life partner in course of their dormitory life.

They strictly observe village and clan exogamy and are prohibited to marry within the affinal kins and their lineage groups up to two to three generations. Acquiring more than one wife is socially approved. A woman can marry after she is divorced. Similarly a widow can marry even if he has children. Usually a widower gets married if he has no children. Marriage among the Dongria Kondhs is a means of creating alliance between two clan groups. It has important socio-economic implications. Marriage by negotiation is most prestigious and it is practiced by well to do people. This kind of marriage negotiations undergoes through a series of phases. As per the local tradition from the very early childhood boys' father searches for a suitable girl for his son. At the first phase, a group of women under the leadership of boy's mother proceed to girl's village and to the girl's house through a middle woman of the girl's village. As per the usual practice, the girls

relatives usually refuse and they use filthy language and behave in a very rough manner. The boy's party comes back. But subsequently girl's father puts the matter before the traditional village council and everything is discussed in details either to approve or disapprove the proposal. This first phase is known as "Wenga". After about four to five months the boy's male relatives proceed to girl's village. Further negotiations are made. Nothing concrete happens at this second round. However, with patience, the boy's party returns and this process is known as "Sidi Wenga".

Again in the third phase (Dena Wenga) boy's male and female relatives approach the girl's parents to agree to the proposal but with little success. Yet the psychology and sentiments of the girl's relatives are clearly understood. If the indication is in positive side then the boy is sent to girl's family to serve for a period of two to five years. During his stay in the girl's house he tries his best to satisfy one and all. The boy renders multifarious services during his stay and goes through a lot of ordeals to prove his eligibility. If he is successful he is allowed to talk to his would be wife. Subsequently, the boy visits his own village with some of the friends from girl's village. When the boy is found suitable in all respects the girl's kinsmen attend a feast organized in the boy's parents. This function is known as "Wedakodan".

Then a day is fixed for payment of bride price "Modar" at the bride's house (Malan Jhula). On this occasion, maternal uncle of the bride demands his traditional share (Mamawali). Accordingly bride's father's mother demands a Sari (Pinga-hendra). Bride's villagers demand village share (Kutum Kadu). Boy's party and girl's party finalize the bride price. However, both the parties come to a decision after which bride price is paid by the boy's party. After completion of these formalities boy's party come back and wait for some days. Then they send the message to fix up the date of marriage. Before marriage the girl is invited by her relatives and she is presented gifts.

On the scheduled day of wedding a group of boys from groom's side visit the bride's house in advance followed by near and dear relatives of the groom. After reaching the bride's house song, dance, merrymaking and drinking takes place. After completion of prescribed magico-religious rituals the bride is beautifully adorned. In a procession the bride is brought to groom's village. All the way to groom's village both the parties sing songs and entertain each other. On the way bride's clan's villagers, if any, greet them but other clan villagers charge in form of money. As soon as the procession reaches the edge of the groom's village, the women of the village greet them and lead them to village with dance and songs. A chicken is sacrificed at the boundary of the settlement in front of the bride to satisfy village guardian deities. Another two rituals, one in the middle of the village and other in front of the boy's house are performed. Before bride's entrance to the house of the groom a mock fight between the friends of the girl and boy takes place and she is purified with turmeric water. On the fourth day of marriage the boy and girl are taken to river side to conduct a ritual under a mango tree. Thereafter, bride's party is given a good feast and they go back in the same day. However, one of the younger sisters of the bride stays back. In the night bride is taken to a house where the boy waits for her and they are allowed to stay there over night. On the 7th day of marriage the couple pays a visit to girl's parents and comes back after two to three days with rice, hen, pig, goat etc, which are shared by the groom's villagers. Similarly, gifts are brought by boy's relatives, which are consumed by the bride's villagers along with the meat of a buffalo given by boy's parents.

Among the Dongria Kondhs marriage by capture is a common phenomenon. A boy falls in love with a girl in the youth dormitory and kidnaps her to his home.

Sometimes, it leads to difficult situations when the girl's engagement is already fixed with some other boy. If the girl is in close intimacy with the boy the matter is settled by paying heavy compensations to the girl's parents and the villagers of the boy with whom she is engaged. In case of marriage by capture the girl is rendered all possible hospitality and comforts. Often when a boy fails to pay the bride price after negotiation, his friends may capture the girl and carry her to his village. But this may lead to group fight between boy's party and girl's party.

After marriage the Dongria Kondh couple usually lead a happy life. They work together share each others happiness and sorrows. They procreate children and take adequate care of them till they get married. Old parents are respected and their needs are given top priority. At their old age they live together and enjoy life with their grand children. Even in the death bed sons and relatives treat them with utmost care. After death, the dead body is considered defiled and not touched by the family members.

After death within six to eight hours, the corpse is kept till all the relatives arrive and then it is carried to the cremation ground. The purificatory rite is conducted in the next day if the family members of the deceased are economically well to do. Other wise it may be deferred for a few days. It is customary to invite mother's brother, father's mother's brother, father-in-law and all the uterine kins along with agnates. All the invitees usually attend the ceremony with rice, pig and wine. In the death of mother's brother a buffalo or cow is expected to be presented by the nephew. All the near and dears proceed with Pejeni to the cremation ground to know the cause of death. They verify the ashes; if any portion is found unburnt or pebbles, small stones, iron pieces are detected, then it is presumed that the death is due to black magic. All possible attempts are made through a Dissari and Pejeni - the magico-religious specialists to identify the person responsible for the death. On the day of purificatory rite buffaloes, pigs and goats brought by relatives are sacrificed and consumed. Villagers and relatives of neighbouring villages also participate in the feast. Mortuary rites of the individuals died by snake bite, falling from trees and tiger attack are observed on seventh day of the death. In this case dead body is not cremated in the village cremation ground but at the edge of the village. Death due to small pox, chicken pox, diarrhoea, unnatural accident etc is treated separately. In this case the corpse is buried and participation of distant relations and neighbouring villagers are restricted. A series of ritualistic observance and consecrations are performed.

Dongria Kondhs are animists and polytheists. They conceive a large number of supernatural beings who control their day to day life. The whole life of the Dongria Kondhs is pervaded by their religion. Always they remain submissive and dutiful to their religion and supernatural entities. But invariably they also entertain some benevolent and malevolent spirits. They are so much involved with their expensive magico-religious affairs that it is one of the major causes of their poverty. All over the year in one or other way they celebrate some magico-religious functions and sacrifice animals starting from chicken to buffaloes. From the very childhood till the death, a Dongria Kandh goes through different magico-religious rites. Moreover, it stands as a barrier to innovation and change.

The Dongria Kondhs believe in a host of spirits and unseen powers. According to their beliefs and age old socio-cultural practices those spirits and deities are appeased in their respective prescribed manner. One can find the magico-religious centres of different nature inside the house, within the village boundary and inside their clan territory. Specific, rituals are performed in these centres on various occasions.

It is undoubtedly true that role of magico-religious specialists are very much significant and meaningful in different aspects of their mundane life. The Jani is a magico-religious specialist of the village who performs all the rituals at community level. He is very much respected and possesses a high social status. The "Pejuni" is diviner-cum-medicine person. He also functions as astrologer and psychologist. "Gurumai" the women magico-religious functionaries also plays vital role in appeasing spirits at individual level.

They celebrate a number of festivals all over the year. Among them mention may be made of Meriah sacrifice, Kodru Parbu, Ghanta Parbu, Illuarpa, Pungal Pam, Mandia Rani, etc. Among all these, Meriah sacrifice is socio-economically most important. This is also very expensive and people of different age, sex, status and clan participate to celebrate this festival with pomp and ceremony. A number of feasts and festivals are observed at Mutha and village levels and some others, at the individual level. There are seasonal festivals too.

The most important Kodru parbu or Meriah is locally known as Toki Parbu. Now-a-days they offer buffalo sacrifice in place of human being. It is observed in every four to five years for a couple days. The organization of Kodru Parbu depends on the economic condition of the village as it is performed at the village and clan level. All the families contribute for its celebration and the contribution is comparatively very high than other feasts and festivals. The villagers who observe this festival first inform all clans village and finalize the day of celebration. Thereafter, all other clan villagers are invited to participate as they have to sacrifice the buffalo on the last day of the Kodru Parbu.

Installation of Meriah pole and purchase of buffalo is done following all customary prescriptions. A healthy and mature buffalo free from any wound and scar mark is purchased. After sending message to different clan groups the villagers keep themselves engaged in organizing the festivities. The village community -Kudi is repaired, re-thatched and beautifully painted with colourful motifs and designs. The whole settlement is enclosed within bamboo splits leaving only two passages at both the ends. Each family gets ready specially in arranging sufficient food stuffs, drinks and good clothes, birds and animals for sacrifice. The villagers start singing and dancing before a few months of the celebration praising their territory and ancestors. All the relatives arrive during the day time and other clansmen and women arrive singing and dancing. They are given a warm reception.

On the day of Meriah sacrifice or on last day of the Kodru Parbu, very early in the morning the buffalo to be sacrificed is brought to the sacred centre of the village where other clansmen sacrifice the buffalo and within a few seconds the animal is torn into pieces. The head of the buffalo is taken to be offered to the earth goddess of the village. A portion of the flesh of the buffalo is shared by the participating villagers of other villages, which they roast and eat on the way while going back. The remaining portion is shared equally by the host villagers. However, the drinking, dancing and entertainment continue for two to three days.

Ghanta Parbu is observed by a well to do Dongria Kondh families having good harvest. Since all the villagers take part in this festival the intending family has to put forth the matter in the traditional village council for prior approval. All the friends are invited. The festival continues for three days which starts either on Monday or Friday. A number of Pejunis and other magico-religious specialists also participate on this occasion. The home of the organizer is rethatched and walls are given white wash by the dormitory

girls. The rituals start in the evening of the first day when goats and sheep are sacrificed. In the second day morning goat sacrifice is given by the organizing household. In the third day the Pejenis dance and conduct rituals in front of the house of the organizer. Finally a pig and a buffalo are sacrificed. The Pejenis dance and perform rituals all through the village street and they all visit house by house. Finally, all the participants and magico-religious specialists are entertained with drinks and food. This is a very expensive occasion for a family but the Dongria Kondhs do not care for the expenses.

Illu Arpa is celebrated at the household level. All the household deities and ancestors are appeased in the backyard of the settlement. Jani spells incantations in the presence of the Pejenis. All the relatives and kinsmen of the family are invited to attend. Goats, chickens and a buffalo are sacrificed. All the participants enjoy the feast and on the second day afternoon they all return to their respective villages.

The Dongria Kondhs celebrate Pungal Pam - the festival of flowers in the month of January and February. Three leaf bowls are made and kept before Jatrakudi. A buffalo is garlanded with flowers and sacrificed by the villagers. In the Bicha Ha Pam festival, a number of rituals associated with sowing are conducted for seven days. But it is also associated with communal hunting. At the onset of the rains, the Rain God, "Bhima" is worshipped. In the similar way, Pidika Jatra is performed at village level to save the crops from the insects and for first fruit eating. Mandia Rani is celebrated to eat newly harvested millets. Pigeons, fowls, goats, pigs are sacrificed to satisfy the deities associated with shifting cultivation. Likewise a number of rituals are observed till harvesting and storing of the crops. Apart from all these, a number of feasts and festivals are observed at individual and village level where there is bumper crop or when frequent natural calamities take place.

The sorcerers and witches are hated in the community. People are afraid of them and avoid enmity with them because they may be harmful.

Jani is the sacerdotal leader of the village and he has great role to play in the traditional council. Bismajhi is the formal secular head, who was working as representative of the then Zamindar or king of the area for revenue collection. He also decides several cases of secular matters. The fines collected from the offenders are kept with him for future community level expenditures. Bariko is a man from the scheduled caste Domb community who serves as messenger. He resolves disputes relating to women, territory and several such other matters. The disputes inside village are mostly mutually settled and small fines are collected from the offender which is consumed in a community feast. Inter-village feuds are decided by the Mandal, who is the secular leader of the Mutha. His verdict is given due importance in all inter-village and intra-village disputes. The Gaudia and Jhateni, who are from the Domb community, perform functions of cattle herding and sweeping of the village street respectively. They work on annual contract for the villagers and are given food almost daily. The post of Jani, Bismajhi and Mandal are hereditary and in absence of male heir, the post may go to one of the lineage members. But others like Bariko, Gaudia and Jhateni can be changed according to the situation. The traditional leaders of the Dongria Kondh community not only enjoy high prestige and status but also exercise considerable power and authority in the village.

The traditional village council is very powerful. It usually decides cases or discusses community matters in the community house - Kudi. Early in the morning Bariko lights fire around which the village elders sit and discuss different village

matters mostly relating to fixation of dates of rituals and ceremonies, amount of contribution from each household, quarrels and conflicts between individuals and groups, visit of government officials and other important guests. All matters relating to the interest the village are also decided there. The village council plays a vital role for maintenance of peace and harmony in the village. The village leaders are respected. They shoulder the responsibility voluntarily. Before punishing someone attempts are made to reform him and reconcile the matter. Mostly, the culprits are fined and demanded drinks. Serious offenders are ex-communicated. The cases like adultery and anti-clan activities, offences against divine powers etc, are seriously dealt with and the culprit may be driven out of the village. A Dongria Kondh hardly goes against the divinity as he apprehends divine punishment.

References

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------|---|
| Behura, N.K., | 1990 | 'Shifting cultivation: A cause for environmental degradation', Adibasi, Tribal and Harijan Research cum Training Institute, Bhubaneswar, Orissa, Vol. XXVI. No. 2, pp 1-7. |
| Das Patnaik, P.S., | 1972-73 | 'Bejunis: Their initiation into shamanhood', Adibasi, Tribal Research Bureau, Orissa, Vol. No. 1, pp 11-20. |
| | 1976 | 'Liquor among Dongria Kondh of Orissa', Adibasi. Tribal and Harijan Research cum Training Institute, Orissa, Vol XVI, No. 3, pp. 52-57. |
| | 1984 | 'Ownership Pattern, Land Survey and Settlement and its impact on the Dongria Kondhs of Orissa', Adivasi. Tribal and Harijan Research cum Training Institute, Orissa, Vol. XXIII, No. 4, pp. 23-32 |
| | 1988 | 'Concept of debt among the Dongria Kondhs', Adibasi, Tribal and Harijan Research cum Training Institute, Bhubaneswar Orissa, Vol. XXVII, No. 2, pp. 11-15. |
| Nayak, P.K., | 1989 | Blood, Women and Terriroty : An analysis of clan feuds of the Dongria Kondhs, New Delhi, Reliance Publishing House. |
| Padel, Felix, | 1995 | The Sacrifice of Human Being: British Rule and the Konds of Orissa, Delhi: OUP. |
| Patnaik, N
P.S. Das Patnaik, | 1982 | The Kondh of Orissa - Their Socio Cultural Life and Development, Tribal and Harijan Research cum Training Institute, Bhubaneswar, Orissa. |
| Patnaik, N.
F. Bara, A Mall | 1986 | Herbal medicines of the Dongria, Adibasi, Tribal and Harijan Research cum Training Institute, Bhubaneswar, Orissa Vol. XXVI No. 4, pp. 1-4 |
| Rout, Siba Prasad | 1964-65 | 'Dom exploitation in the Kondh villages of Koraput district', Adibasi, Tribal Research Bureau, Orissa, No. 1, 21-8. |
| Routray, S., | 1987 | The Status of Women among the Dongria Kondh', Adibasi, Tribal and Harijan Research cum Training Institute, Orissa, Vol. XXVII, No. 2 & 3, pp. 31-37 |

TRIBAL INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE - ITS RELEVANCE FOR ENDOGENOUS DEVELOPMENT (with reference to primitive tribal groups)

K.J.N.Gowtham Shankar

Introduction:

Tribes of India

Tribes in Indian sub-continent are commonly known as *Aboriginal Tribes*, *Indigenous Tribes*, *Adivaasi*, *Girijan*, *Vanya jati*. As per constitution they are known as *Scheduled Tribes*, who constitute 8.20% (83.58 millions) of the total Indian population (2001) representing from 532 communities and their sub-groups. Broadly, the Indian tribals, belongs to the *Negrito*, the *Proto-Australoid* and the *Mongoloid* racial stocks and their sub-stocks (Guha). They have been categorized into 4 main language speaking groups, such as the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic (Munda) and the Tibeto-Chinese (Sino-Tibetan). The habitat of these tribal communities is broadly confined to the North or North East, the Central and Southern Zones.

The Eastern Ghats

The Eastern Ghats is one of the major natural resource bases of India, which is located between 72° 22' east longitude and 11° 30' to 21° 0' north latitude in the tropical region. These *ghats* lie between Mahanadi valley of Orissa state and Nilgiris of Tamil Nadu touching Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh and a bit of Karnataka in between. These Eastern Ghats is sub-divided into (i) North Eastern Ghats covering Mahanadi Valley in Orissa, Chattisgarh and Godavari and Krishna Valleys in Andhra Pradesh, and (ii) the South Eastern Ghats region covering South of Krishna Valley to Nilgiris of Tamiladu. The Eastern Ghats are rich in various minerals, floral, faunal and water resources.

Tribes of the Eastern Ghats

The Eastern Ghats is the home land of about 65 indigenous tribal communities with a population of 19.6 million (Provisional census of India, 2001), while North Eastern Ghats consists 17.6 million population and South Eastern Ghats consists about 2 million population. A major portion of these tribal communities live in hilly and forest areas. The tribes of Eastern Ghats are mostly from Proto-Australoid, Mongoloid and few Negrito racial stocks. Majority of the tribes speak their own tribal languages, which are classified as the Indo- Aryan, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic language groups.

Tribal indigenous knowledge and worldview

The tribal societies represents a unique and sustainable eco, agri and health cultures and related indigenous knowledge, worldview (cosmovisions) and values, which are the basis for evolution of their animistic religion, social organisations and sustainable subsistence of forest and agro based economy and survival. These elements are in tune with the laws of nature and reflect the wisdom of tribal living in harmony with nature. Their worldview as a product of their belief on the existence of **human, natural and spiritual worlds** and also the product of the interplay, which are the bases for their survival and their surrounding environment and natural resources. For a tribal, the origin of this worldview is the beginning of the **time** and the inter-play and constant interaction between these worlds is the **space** and the outcome of the interaction (both physical, spiritual and cosmic) is the **matter**. This is the simple philosophy of the tribal animism.

The tribal lifestyle is mostly based on their indigenous knowledge, which is intimately connected with nature and its related worldview (also known as

cosmovision) beliefs. They believe that their life is controlled, guided and influenced by various natural, supernatural beings (spiritual), who live around them (in and around village, in forests, hills, trees, rivers and fields etc). Hence, this worldview is the basis for their survival. This is imbibed in them and is passing through generations.

This animistic philosophy is the basis to acquire the indigenous knowledge and technologies (IKT), heritage, history, mythology, language and imagery in varied forms of expression that helped ensure their survival against all odds for several centuries.

They maintain cultural identity and values through their social organizations such as -traditional institutions and dormitories (*Gotul*), animistic practices, languages, customs, traditional norms, values, rituals, folk songs, music and dance etc. Most of them are relevant and complimentary to sustainable development oriented practices.

Specific Tribal Indigenous Knowledge

Ecology and Natural Resources

There is an intimate and symbiotic relation between the tribals, their cosmovision and environment (bio-diversity). They believe on the existence of natural and supernatural forces which influence their life-styles. They strongly believe that all the natural resources are the gifts of these divine forces. Accordingly they have evolved their own eco-cultures. Hence, they can also be called as **eco-people**.

To establish a friendly relationship with these divine forces they perform a variety of rites, rituals ceremonies and festivals. They believe that their ecological life always depends on their interaction with these divine beings of natural origin. Their worldview on the cosmovision beliefs stresses the existence of different divine beings of natural origin, ex: The tribes of Vizianagaram and Visakhapatnam districts of Andhra Pradesh and Koraput district of Orissa believe that the **Konda Demudu** [Mountain god], **Bag Devata** [Tiger- the goddess of Mammals], **Ransula** [Goddess of large trees], **Bongowd** [Goddess of Medicinal plants and edible tubers], **Banbula** [Goddess of sub jungles small animals and micro organisms], **Jalkamini** [Goddess of water resources], **Nag Rani** [Goddess of snakes and other reptiles], to protect various floral and faunal species and other natural resources and also influence their interactions and symbiotic relationship with them. They also believe that some of the trees, wild animals, streams and mountains and forest patches are sacred.

In order to get the blessings in the form of good rain, good forest produce, wild game, fruits and agricultural yields, they propitiate these divine spirits properly. They relate different divine spirits to different natural resources. The establishment of the relation between the divine spirits and physical and natural objects (animate or inanimate), differs from the region to region and sometimes community to community. Following is the example drawn from the tribes of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa border:

Spiritual beings of natural origin (vernacular)

Sl. No.	Local Name	Significance
1.	Konda Demudu	Mountain god
2.	Konda Devata / Dongor Devata	Goddess of nature
3.	Rangowd	Protector of forest
4.	Bongowd	Protector of medicinal plants, edible tubers etc.
5.	Ransula	Protector of large trees
6.	Banbula	Protector of scrub jungles
7.	Nagrani	Protector of Reptiles
8.	Bagrani	Protector of faunal species
9.	Jalkamini	Goddess of rain and water / streams
10.	Jakar Devata	Goddess of sacred mountains and streams etc

- Tribals definition of Devata and Demudu carries the meaning sometimes as god and sometimes as goddess in many cases.

Their well knit socio-cultural systems, strong kinship bonds, totemic concepts, dormitory education and well organized participatory democratic traditional village institutions are all the supporting mechanisms for the stability, equity and sustainability of their life styles.

Tribal traditional institutions / councils - their indigenous knowledge in management of natural resources and bio-cultural diversity

Swidden / jhum or shifting cultivation locally called *podu* is the major concern of the present sustainable eco-development strategies in any region in the world, specially, when it is related to the specific conservation of biodiversity jointly by the states and the local (ethnic or endemic) tribal communities. But the fact remains same as the shifting cultivation is a definite stage in the evolution of human culture and it is also a fact that, for many mountain dwellers, there is no alternative. Knowing the importance of maintaining the symbiotic relations between them and nature, the tribal societies have long back evolved several controlling and regulatory mechanisms.

Tribal traditional institutional functionaries, with their vast indigenous knowledge (IK), are playing a major role in managing the eco-cultural resources. The inbuilt mechanism of these institutions is evolved in such a way that they have prescribed specific cultural norms sanctions and taboos in conserving the natural resources right from the community to clans and individuals. These norms includes - (i) obtaining the prior permission from the traditional village council heads, (ii) involving the traditional village council heads in the selection of area, based on eco-cultural and economic criteria's, (iii) following the guidelines of the traditional heads and senior farmers on the preservation of certain tree species in the patches and (iv) performing the ritual before commencing the operation. It is the traditional practice of the tribals to select specific localities and the extent of the land for each clan. The extent of the location varies depending upon the number of families within the each clan (*kutumba*). Violation of these rules is viewed seriously.

Protection of Clan Totems:

The traditional institutions also have an elaborate arrangement to protect and conserve the natural resources by establishing the concept of totemism in the communities and taboos for the violation of these norms.

Each clan has its totemic relations with some natural objects - animate or inanimate. The concerned clan heads are supposed to watch the preservation and protection of different species / objects with which they have totemic relations. The sacerdotal heads always maintains and watches the observance of totemic relations of different clans in the community. Killing, eating or destroying the clan totem is a taboo, since they believe that this causes the decrease of the population of particular animal or tree species and effects the symbiotic relation and also upsets the nature-man relations and leading to the erosion of bio-cultural richness / diversity. The traditional institutions celebrate different festivals and ceremonies to worship the nature and various natural resources in and around the forest, considering them as community abode of supernatural divine beings. These institutions with the mechanisms of totemism and ritual ceremonies are always maintaining socio-ecological solidarity between the tribal communities and nature. These animistic cultures and totemic orders are also bringing the natural orders within the social and moral order of man and helping the tribals to domesticate the nature on one side, and to live in harmony with it on the other side. This interesting traditional nature resource conservation practice is imbibed in all the tribal communities since generations.¹

Community - natural resources and conservation for biodiversity, food and nutritional security and livelihoods:

Unlike their other non-tribal counter parts, where the competition and the individualism is the order of the day, the tribals have a definite community spirit on the concepts of harmonious living with nature and natural resources. This community spirit leads to communal ownership; communal ceremonies and the community based harvesting of the resources. These concepts are helping them to conserve the biodiversity and to improve the livelihoods, health, food and nutritional securities on sustainable lines. Some the examples of such conservation of cultures / practices are:

- It is a taboo to touch some of the specific natural resources (fruits etc.), by individuals, without performing the necessary ritual and the ceremonial announcement of the beginning of the harvest of these fruits.
- To maintain community ownership on fodder grasses, roofing grass, drinking water resources, and wastelands and grazing grounds.
- Cutting forests or burning around fodder and roofing belts is strictly prohibited.
- Grazing in a specific grazing ground continuously is strictly prohibited.
- Pollution of drinking water sources (washing cloths, bathing of animals) are prohibited.

The community has adopted these mechanisms to preserve these resources with a limited scope against over exploitation. The simple mechanism they have adopted for the resource conservation and to maintain stability, equity and sustainability of the tribal societies is linked up with their worldview practices.

Traditional sustainable harvesting practices

Another interesting conservation consciousness is that, while collecting bamboo clumps, edible tubers, edible leaves etc; for consumption and also for commercial purposes, they shall purposefully leave tender tubers, clumps, seeds, fruits, and leaves to maintain the sustainability of the resources. A tribal, if he does not find the matured or required clumps, leafs, fruits and tubers etc; shall not disturb the tender ones and prefer to walk kilometers together in search of required one. This shows their conservation consciousness.

There are similar examples of different species of trees like Mahwa, Mango, Jack fruit, etc; when the farmer feels that his crops are being effected by these large trees in their plots, they do not remove them totally except pruning the branches.

Storage and dissemination of knowledge:

The tribals have retained this knowledge in their songs, dances, musics, folk tales, proverbs etc., and disseminate them to next generations through dormitory education, ceremonial hunting and forest product collection expeditions, ceremonial dances, songs and music and also by performing rituals and chanting of incantations *Mantras*, and application of symbols known as *Gondas / Chakras* to propitiate spirits to protect community and natural resources at the time of need.

Tribal worldview in conservation of bio-cultural diversity:

There are several interesting facts about the inter relation between the tribal worldview practices and conservation of natural resources and biodiversity as a whole. Inspite of rapid socio-economic changes, still tribals are looking upon the forest and the natural resources as a socially and ecologically relevant living institutions rather than just a habitat of wild life. They are trying to maintain the symbiotic relations and live in harmony with the forest and environment, as much as they can. This can be

evidently seen in many of their rituals and ceremonies connected with the forest and their natural resources by the divine beings and the spirits. These animistic beliefs are the basis for their bio-cultural philosophical thought and concepts. Following are few examples -

- The festivals ranging from "*Konda Demudu Panduga / Kdu pata puja / Sareni vali puja*" (festival to mountain God) to "*Dongor Devatha Panduga*" (festival to goddess of forest) to "*Vippa Poola Panduga*" (Mahuwa flowers, first eating festival) to "*Mamidi Panduga / Aam nua* (Mango festival, first eating festival)" to "*Tenki Panduga* (mango kernel festival, first eating festival)" or to their festival to their "*Nisani Devatha*" during "*Itukala Panduga*" / "*Chait(ra) Parob*" are all environmental related festivals. The names and the presiding deities of these festivals differs from community to community and area to area, depending on the eco-cultural background of the communities. But, the rationale behind the celebration of these festivals, more or less, is similar in all the tribal communities. Each festival has its significance and is being performed to different divine beings residing in the forest. Until and unless they perform this ritual, they don't touch or eat the produce. They believe the violation is seriously viewed by the spirits and inflict the damage to individual and some time to community.
- The "*Chaitra Parob*" known as "*Itukala Panduga*" or "*Bijju Panduga*", which is celebrated in the month of March/April can be considered as the **major environmental festival of the tribals**. This is to appease the god "*Nisani Devatha*" to get good rain, soil, disease resistant to seeds (sacred cosmic power to seed) and fertility to the crops, besides to get good game and food from the forests and to get protection from angry wild animals, over flowing stream, heavy winds, rock sliding in the forests etc. The entire annual life cycle of the tribals commences from this festival. The tribal's informal assessment of the status of the forest and the availability of the natural resources for their livelihood for the whole year will be done during their ceremonial hunting expedition to the forests around the villages.

Agriculture

On the basis of the topography, agro-ecology and their racial and cultural backgrounds, tribals have adopted diverse (sometimes area and community specific) agricultural practices with their time-tested indigenous knowledge and technologies and have integrated several related worldview practices.

Tribal traditional institutional functionaries - the custodians of knowledge on agriculture and related worldview practices - play a big role in the agricultural development and farming practices. The healers responsible for crop health are called *Taas Guniya*, and they help the community take care of crop health by using herbal medicines and mantras and by performing rituals related to crops. The other functionaries and senior farmers help the community in land, soil and crop management.

The tribes of the North-eastern Ghats mainly practice three types of agriculture (specific to the Koraput-Visakhapatnam area of the Andhra-Orissa border).

These are -

1. Shifting cultivation (Podu/Dongor Marbar/Lankapadsenad)
2. Terrace cultivation (Tinn/Jolabedda)
3. Plain land agriculture (Digudu Podha/Pallam/Metta)

Shifting/ Slash and Burn Cultivation

Shifting cultivation is the major subsistence economic base of the tribals, especially the mountain and valley tribes. The fallow period of the shifting cultivation patches were usually last for about 6-7 years has come down to 1-2 years, due to socio -

ecological reasons. However, this practice is not only an academic pursuit, but also it is a way of life for many hill tribes. However, the practice of shifting cultivation is not only an economic pursuit but is also a way of life for many mountain tribes. The practice of shifting cultivation accounts for their social structure, political organization, economy, culture and religious identities, as mentioned in the previous chapter.

These shifting cultivation patches are normally belong to nuclear or joint families within each family, some times they may belong to the entire clan, depending upon the availability of the land and number of working members etc.

Mixed crops are the traditional varieties grown in the shifting cultivation patches. However, depending on the type of design of the plot, a cropping pattern is selected. For example -

- In wider horizontal sloping plots, cereals, millet, beans and vegetables are grown.
- In vertical rising plots, different crops can be grown at different altitudes, for instance, sweet orange (*kamala*), lemon (*nimma*) and custard apple (*seethaphal*) can be grown on the upper part; ginger, sweet potato, turmeric and yam species can be grown in the lower part and cereals, pulses and millets can be grown in the middle part.

Terrace cultivation

Terrace cultivation is carried out in the valleys where perennial or seasonal water is available. Unlike shifting cultivation, the selection process and the ownership of the terrace cultivation is retained with individuals or a clan. The practice of terrace cultivation involves mostly terrace bunding using indigenous technologies, for example, land and soil management practices adopting indigenous knowledge such as application of farmyard and green manure, mulching and weed management practices. Terrace cultivation patches normally belong to either nuclear or joint families.

Crops grown in these lands are mostly mono crops such as traditional rice varieties in the kharif season (monsoon crops) and vegetables and pulses in the rabi season and few short duration crops are also grown as summer crops, depending on the availability of the water resources.

Plain land cultivation

Plain land cultivation is of two types (i) Dry plain or undulated land cultivation (ii) Irrigated or rain-fed wetland cultivation. These lands normally belong to either joint or nuclear families. They grow varieties of mono or mixed crops and vegetables.

Traditional land classification of shifting cultivation

Depending on the soil type, the traditional shifting cultivation patches are classified into:

1. **Arengbur:** A land with large boulders and soil that is very hard
2. **Jalengbur:** A patch with rocky soil but that a hoe can till
3. **Jakupbur:** A land with scattered stone slabs, which are not removable
4. **Takup:** A land dominated by stones and a depth of considerable soil in between two large stones
5. **Ragudibur:** A land characterized by fragile red chips mixed with soil

On the basis of the soil types, crop selection is made. Traditional village council heads such as *Disari* and *Pujari* and senior farmers usually advise farmers on these technical aspects. There are diverse land classifications in different agro-ecological zones in the tribal belts, some are community specific and some are physiographic.

Table 1: Indigenous knowledge and worldviews of tribal agriculture (general picture)

Activity	Indigenous knowledge	Socio-cultural and religious practices
Classification of agriculture	3 types (shifting, terrace and plain land cultivation)	<p>Shifting cultivation: Selection is based on ecological, cultural and economic criterias with more thrust on eco-cultural aspects. Community traditional institutions provide guidance and sanctions.</p> <p>Terrace cultivation: Geographical and ecological considerations are the criterias and water sources are the main consideration. Senior farmers are the technical advisors. Plots are either individual / owned by joint family)</p> <p>Plain land cultivation: Normally ancestral properties or assigned / acquired lands, belongs to individuals / joint families. Senior farmers and traditional institutions provide guidance on cropping systems and technical suggestions.</p>
Types of shifting cultivation	5 types* (Arengbur, Jalengbur, Jakupbur, Takup, Ragdibur). *Area and community specific.	Performing community ritual before selection of area for shifting cultivation
Agriculture implements	Implements for indigenous knowledge for bush clearance, land leveling, dibbling, hoeing, weeding, crop, protection, harvesting, threshing, processing, storing and nursery preparations.	The implements are common and mostly made of wood and few are with iron. Specific woods and fibers from specific tree species are selected for making the implements. Collection of raw material for implements is done based on the specific star constellation movements and as per the advise of tribal astrologers (priests).
Soils suitable for specific crops (General)	<p>Red soil little millet, finger millet, tubers</p> <p>Black soil little millet, finger millet, dry paddy</p> <p>Sandy soil tubers, hill paddy,</p> <p>Rocky soil jowar, red gram, finger millet, niger, blackgram, cowpea, beans, red gram, minor millet</p> <p>Red and black soil paddy and mixture vegetables</p> <p>*Crops selections differs from area to area.</p>	<p>Soil selection is based on the indigenous technical criterias such as - color, weight, smell, taste, texture, moisture, moisture retention and nutritional capacities. This is done by individual farmers with the help of senior farmers and traditional soil testing functionaries.</p> <p>Crop selection for each soil is done based on the time tested knowledges and suggestions of the senior farmers and traditional institutional functionaries.</p>
Soil testing	Soil testing by observation of the health (color, size) of germinated seedlings during <i>Bali parob</i> festival (texture of soil, weight, taste, color etc)	Soil testing ceremony by name <i>Bali Parob</i> (Nov-Dec) for every 2-3 years at community level for both kharif and rabi crops. Soil testing by individual members of some communities for rabi crops (Ex: Malis and Konda Doras)
Seed testing for germination and seed health	Soaking the seed in wild wine called <i>maddi kallu</i> made of herbs (konda dora) or Mixing the seed in the cooked rice and offer to goddess <i>Nisani</i> (Kondh and Kotiya tribes) or Broadcasting the seed around the temple of god <i>nisani</i> during the <i>chait(ra) parob</i> festival and sprinkling of sacred on the seed for the observation of rate of germination, and health of seedlings depending on the colour and size of the saplings within the specific period (7-11 days) (Kondh, Kotiya, Poraja, Konda	Traditional institutional functionaries collect the seed from the community during <i>chait(ra) parob</i> (March-April) for offering to goddess <i>nisani</i> to get sacred cosmic powers to the seed for healthy germination and to get disease and pest resistance. Secondly, to test the rate of germination of different crops seeds to suggest the communities to select the cropping pattern accordingly during the season.

Activity	Indigenous knowledge	Socio-cultural and religious practices
	dora tribes)	
Pest control	Herbal medicines, animal products to control the pest.	Ashad jatra festival (July-Aug) to demonstrate the preparation and application of botanical pesticides mixed with animal parts such as - blood etc.
Intercropping patterns/ systems in mixed agriculture	Cropping of heterogeneous varieties, e.g.: 1) Maize with beans 2) Jowar with red grams 3) Little millet with jowar/maize	Crop calendar (as per astrological calculations) - (Ploughing, land tilling, hoeing, seed broadcasting, harvesting and threshing)
Knowledge on duration of crops (area and also community specific)	Each tribals in each region have adopted different short medium and long term duration crops according to their food requirements	Selection of crops depends on the eco-cultural and geographical criterias.
a) Short duration crops	50-60 days: Little millet - Araku, Koraput Italian millet - Kondhs, Kondareddis of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh Maize - Koyas of Chattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh	
b) Long duration crops	7-8 months: Black jowar (Nalla/kaki jonna) - tribes of Andhra Pradesh-Orissa border 9-10 months: Hill red gram (Kaliya kandi) - tribes of Koraput-Visakhapatnam border	
Seed broadcasting, transplantation and spacing techniques	Number of fistfuls per acre (seed rate) Number of throws for each grip/fistful (to maintain spacing) Song related to spacing techniques for transplantation, broadcasting and dibbling of different saplings of crops and seeds such as millets, cereals, pulses, beans, oil seeds and tubers	Knowledge is vested with male farmers. Songs are mostly vested with senior women
Knowledge on weed management (mostly vested with women)	Weeds for crop health (green manure, mulching) Weeds for cattle health (fodder and medicine) Weeds for human health (medicinal plants) Weeds for nutrition (leafy vegetables)	Knowledge is vested with senior women, and tribal healers.
Knowledge on biological and botanical pest control	Biological: Spiders (social spider), black ants, quails, reptiles, animal products Botanical: About 25 species of major plants (parts used: leaf, bark, stem, tuber, fruit & cakes)	Performing rituals and festivals such as Ashad jatra.
Knowledge on harvesting techniques(women)	Sustainable harvesting techniques	Knowledge is mostly vested with tribal women
Agriculture related songs	Beddaroppa- transplantation Oylee geeth- land management Tode geeth- weed management	Knowledge is mostly vested with tribal women.
Agriculture related Proverbs	Soil related: Puttamannu - gattimannu (meaning: Ant hill soil is best for nursery beds and plants)	

Activity	Indigenous knowledge	Socio-cultural and religious practices
	Weather forecasting related: <i>Uttara choosi - yettara gampa</i> (meaning: after <i>uttara</i> nakshatra there is no use of transplantation) Seed broadcasting: <i>Vadlu okati - visurlu rende</i> (meaning: throw the one fistful of paddy for two times).	
Knowledge of seed storage	Earthen pots, siali leaf baskets, bamboo baskets, application of cow dung paste around the baskets, application of wood ash, fungicidal and insecticidal plant parts in the seeds, storing the seeds above the cooking stove, storing the seeds in the ground (tubers), are some of the indigenous techniques.	Women farmers have the knowledge on the preservation of seed diversity and seed genetic resources.
Food and nutritional security	Conservation of food grains, vegetables, wild leafy vegetables to main food and nutritional security	Community celebrates <i>Nuakia</i> festival before consuming the newly harvest foods and vegetables (cultivated and wild). Eating, the newly harvested / ripened crop or food without celebrating the festival is a taboo. This mechanism ensures the balance of food and nutritional security to the entire community on sustainable lines. Besides, ensuring the healthy biodiversity.
Traditional knowledge and technology transmission practices	Dormitory education known as "Gothul / akada sal" etc. in different forms with different names (songs, dances, music, proverbs, practical demonstrations and participation) are all traditional schools of tribal education. These institutions are not only the socio-cultural centers but also the centers for tribal community development knowledge, including agriculture, ecology, health and livelihood aspects.	Traditional institutional functionaries, senior farmers (men and women), cultural heads, shall teach the tribal youth in different forms.

Health and Nutrition

Indigenous knowledge on health and nutrition

Tribal communities possess a vast indigenous knowledge on the ethno-botanical aspects. This is ranging from the knowledge on the medicinal plants for human, crop and cattle health, and also the health of the women and the nutrition. Tribal's concept of community health is mostly based on the worldview. The belief of the influence of malevolent and benevolent spirits on their health is based on their animistic philosophies. During various phases of evolutionary stages of animistic philosophies, the animistic thought on the existence of natural and supernatural spirits and their influence on their daily life and health has also emerged in the tribal societies. This has forced them to learn more from the nature. Thus, the art of learning on the medicinal herbs and their usages by observation from animals and birds and by trial and error methods is evolved. Thus, the folk medicine is evolved.

The emergence of the cadre of spiritual leaders to communicate with supernatural spirits to obtain the peace and health to the communities is also another stage of evolution of specialists. These spiritual leaders have been gradually developed as magico religious and herbal medical men.

These functionaries have addressed the health problems through their magico religious and herbal health interventions and it is still continuing in many tribal communities. Except for the minor ailments, the tribals main line of treatment consists *mantra*, ritual (puja) and herbal medicine. They prescribe small herbs and some parts of herbs for the minor ailments (Primary health problems). If the problem is an acute one (physical or psychological) or a contagious / communicable disease, they resort to the major treatment, which involves performing a ritual to appease the spirits by establishing communication through *mantras* and other cosmic tools and providing medicines to the patients. They have specific communication tools to communicate with the spirits of good and bad nature, causing the problem. Some of the tools includes specific symbols known as *gondas* / *Yantra* / *chakras*, sacred rings and sticks such as *bethu*, *bhairav* etc.

They possess vast knowledge on different medicinal plants for both physical and psychological ailments, which are classified into medicinal and magico religious plants. Medicinal plants are mostly used for internal and external purposes, and magico religious and sacred plants or plant parts, epiphytes and animal parts are mostly used as external (as talisman / amulet) for psychological / neurological disorders, and offerings to the spiritual beings or used against the bad spirits (wooden nails, roots etc). The healers are generally called as *guniya* / *vejju* and magico religious herbal men are called as *dhisari* and *gurumayi* etc. The names are community or area specific and some times they also perform other functions. There are also specialist traditional birth attendant cum medical women called *sutrani* / *dammuralu* and also women *gurumayis* to attend general health and maternity health of women and also children. On an average there are atleast 3 traditional herbal healers in every tribal village with good amount of indigenous knowledge on herbal health practices, ranging from minor ailments to communicable diseases to nutrition.

Indigenous knowledge of women on wild leafy vegetables, and edible tubers etc; for health and nutrition:

Majority of the tribal women possess vast knowledge on indigenous nutritional practices based on their natural resources such as - wild leafy vegetables, edible tubers, nuts, berries, fruits, flowers, meats etc; Their knowledge is ranging from seasonal foods to specific foods for specific cultural occasions to body and nutritional needs to specific age groups. This knowledge is integrated in their food cultures and food preparations. Each tribal region has its own traditional food cultures and the foods based on local resources and the preparation of these foods based on their indigenous knowledge is not only helpful for them to meet their body requirements, but also to meet their health, nutritional and growth needs. The traditional foods prepared with wild leafy vegetables and edible tubers and from the traditional grains, cereals and pulses provides them the nutritive, health and physical values with flavor, taste and smell, besides they are low cost. The traditional foods of tribals contains sufficient calories, lower in saturated fats, more iron and zinc, sufficient vitamin-E, calcium and other micro nutrients, besides cultural spiritual values.

Present Status of Tribal Indigenous Knowledge & Development Significant Worldview

Agriculture:

Indigenous tribal agricultural knowledge and related worldview are rapidly eroding because of modernization and acculturation. Modernization and the influx of mono crops and other cash crops and new crop management practices are adversely affecting tribal traditional agricultural practices. The functions of the traditional institutional functionaries such as - soil, land and crop management specialists, are also vanishing rapidly owing to modernization and socio-political reasons. The traditional

knowledge is dying on the one side, and on the other - the hybridization process of tribal agriculture has begun, leading to a loss of agro and crop genetic diversity and also the traditional agricultural knowledge in the tribal belts.

Ecology and natural resources

The indigenous knowledge related to traditional nature resource management practices, biodiversity conservation and the custodians of this knowledge - the traditional institutions and the functionaries, eco-cultural based worldview of the tribals have started to vanishing with the advent of alien cultures, acculturation and modernization and also due to eco-political interventions. On the other hand, the population pressure, poverty, indebtedness, land alienation are also forcing the tribals to exploit more and more forest resources. These factors are mainly contributing for the loss of biodiversity and livelihood base of the tribals, besides, the loss of medicinal plants for health and nutrition from the wild. Tribal's attitude towards forest is being changed and the biodiversity in the region along with the eco-cultures of the tribals is dying.

Health and nutrition

Inspite of the dependency of the urban and rural communities on the ethno-botanical knowledge and resources of the tribals, the modernization, environmental degradation and acculturation of tribals are leading to the problems of extinction of the natural resources including the medicinal plant species, the indigenous ethnobotanical / ethnic herbal knowledge in the tribal belts.

The modernization and the modern health development models are forcing the tribals to adopt alien models by keeping aside the indigenous knowledge, which are very harmful in the long run, not only to the tribals but also to the other non-tribal societies. It is the typical tendency of advanced medical sciences, to draw the base ethno-medical knowledges and even the resources and ignore and challenge the folk science application by the healers. Though many folk medical sciences are accepted as time tested and are being practiced from much before the advent of the classical and modern sciences, they are still facing the challenges.

The influx of modern knowledge systems are mostly biased towards their advanced theoretical frameworks, based on their scientific validation. This may be true, but what is lacking is the mutual learning, understanding and appreciations between modern medical sciences / health practices and herbal medical practices of the tribal healers. In the process the tribal indigenous knowledge on ethno-botanical aspects are eroding, but the fact remains that inspite of the advanced modern medicine and Indian system medicine and knowledges, many tribals still depend on their traditional healers and their herbal and nutritional practices.

Missing Links and the Need of the Hour

Quite some research and documentation work has been done by many researchers and development organizations to understand the diverse indigenous knowledges (IK) and worldview practices of the tribals. Most of them have been done and assessed in western perspectives and plans have been prepared for tribal integrated development. However, many of the relevant IK and worldview, functions of various traditional thematic functionaries and necessity for their integration, including traditional customary and cultural practices have been ignored during the planning and implementation of development programmes. The reasons are many. However, belatedly, their importance is increasingly being acknowledged by policy makers,

development planners and organisations, who are contemplating to revive and integrate them with main stream development interventions for sustainability.

In spite of knowing / realizing the relevance of tribal IK, worldviews, local values, customs and traditions, besides local resources, for integrated development, very negligible attention is being given to understand the internal logic of IK and the concepts of worldview (cosmovision), the life and livelihoods of communities, specially the tribals. The conventional integrated development approaches are mostly confined to the integration / convergence of various sectorial modern development programmes and institutions for the tribal development, including livelihoods. These convergence exercises have mostly ignored the convergence of tribal IK, worldviews and traditional institutions with the thematic components in the sectorial approaches for development. This missing link in the planning and implementation is severely affecting the growth of tribal economy, health and nutritional status, besides, the development of biodiversity. This is also effecting the growth of local, regional and national economies.

Therefore, it is the high time that the development organizations, either NGOs or G.Os. of the state, should focus more on the understanding of these tribal practices and initiate actions to facilitate judicious integration of indigenous knowledges, worldviews and traditional village institutions with the modern development knowledges, methodologies and institutions to achieve a comprehensive sociologically acceptable, economically viable, environmentally sound and culturally ethical lines of sustainable development, which is called - the Endogenous Development (ED).

Idea's Efforts for Tribal Integrated Development Through Endogenous Development Approach

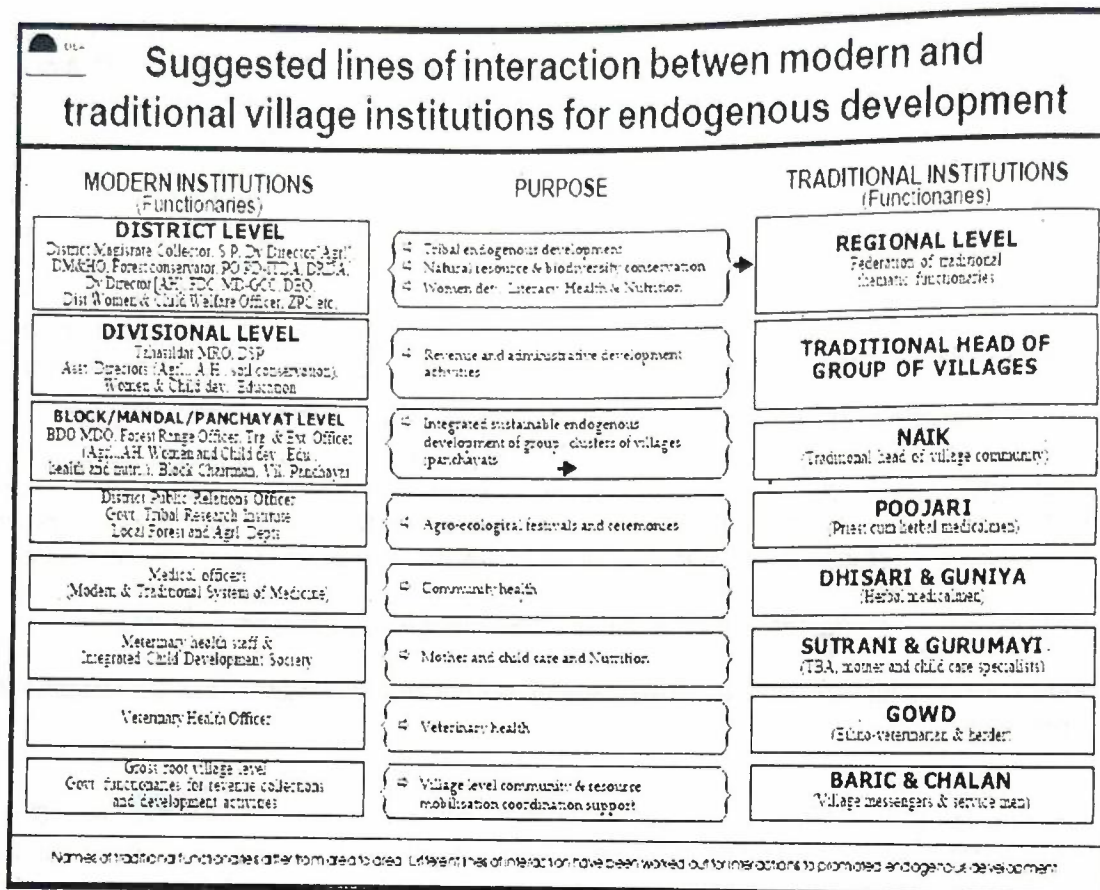
IDEA (Integrated Development through Environmental Awakening), which is working for the endogenous development (ED) of the tribals in Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Chhattisgarh in North Eastern Ghats, has initiated participatory development action programmes for the documentation, conservation and revival of indigenous knowledges (IK) and development significant worldview practices of the tribals. IDEA is facilitating the tribal communities, through ED approach, to improve the agro-forest based livelihoods, health and nutritional securities, since two decades. Based on the experiences gained over the years, by IDEA, it is proposed that the indigenous knowledge and some of the development significant worldviews and functions of the traditional institutional functionaries of the tribals can be successfully and judiciously integrated with modern knowledge systems and institutions to promote sustainable endogenous development.

Unlike the so-called integrated development approaches and methodologies, this Endogenous Development approach, of IDEA, emphasizes the need to integrate conventional development models with IK, so as to ensure the comprehensive development with ensured sustainable eco-agri-cultural and forest based livelihoods, improved health and nutritional status to the tribal communities. This ED also ensures the revival of IK and development significant socio-ecological health and nutritional relevant customary cultural practices of the tribals and helps them to join the main stream development, while keeping their cultural identities intact.

Suggested Strategies:

The endogenous development needs to be promoted through the concepts, called emotional integration and awakening. This entry point approach brings not only the people but also their minds together to promote awareness on the subject. This forms the base for sustainable development.

**SUGGESTED LINES OF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN THE INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGES /
TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND MODERN KNOWLEDGES AND INSTITUTIONS TO
PROMOTE ENDOGENOUS DEVELOPMENT (General Model)**



Methodologies for Integration of Tribal Indigenous Knowledges with Modern Knowledge for Endogenous Development

Ecology / Natural resources

- Govt. forest conservation programmes can be linked up with tribal traditional natural resource management practices and improve the forest based livelihoods on sustainable lines.
- Wild life conservation programmes can be linked up with totemic clan concepts and traditional conservation related song, dance and musics of the tribals.
- The *akhand shikar* - the ceremonial hunting practices of the tribals during *chait(ra) parob* and *bisak parob* can be successfully moulded towards the natural resource assessment survey for the conservation and protection of the biodiversity with active tribal participation.
- Afforestation programmes with natural forest species can be successfully taken up by involving the tribal communities in the collection of diverse forest species during the ceremonial hunting ritual and plantation of the same by direct sowing method on the hills during the first monsoon rains with the involvement of men and women. This would improve the bio-diversity and forest based livelihoods, health and nutritional securities of the communities. Special provisions and enactments are needed to be done by the concerned Govt. development agencies.

- Environment related rituals and festivals of the tribals can be revived and strengthened through the active involvement of department of cultural affairs of the Government.
- First eating ceremonies known as *nuakiya*, which are food security related cultural mechanisms can be revived, so as to maintain the balance of food and nutritional securities to the tribal communities and also to the wild life as a whole, besides re-generation of forests.

Agriculture

- The traditional institutional functionaries can be involved in the selection, planning and for technical suggestions to take up agro-forestry activities in the shifting cultivation patches for the mountain agricultural farmers.
- Dept. of Agriculture, soil conservation and soil testing departments can establish contact with senior farmers and traditional institutional functionaries with knowledge on the soil testing and also on the selection of specific crops on specific soils.
- Traditional seed testing knowledges can be improved by providing the modern techniques and parameters by the department of agriculture.
- The knowledge on the natural pest control, botanical pesticides and application of organic manures can be further improved by providing support to the farmers to conduct on-farm experimentations, further documentations, validations and standardizations of the formulas with the active collaborations with research institutes and agricultural extension departments.
- Traditional land, soil and water management and water harvesting practices can be integrated with modern watershed and water harvesting programmes.
- Traditional weed management practices can be successfully revived through modern scientific methods to improve the agricultural productivity and livelihoods.
- The knowledge of the indigenous crop health healers can be integrated with modern crop health programmes under integration pest management programmes.
- Traditional seed and seed genetic resource conservation programmes can be improved with modern scientific backups.

Herbal health and nutrition

- Tribal herbal health knowledge can be enhanced, through capacity building to the tribal healers by the modern / Indian system of medical disciplines.
- Primary health related problems, at the household and village level can be successfully addressed through a systematic revivals through scientific support by involving the researchers and tribal healers in the participatory planning and implementation.
- The Govt. Ayurvedic personnel can interact with tribal herbal healers for catering the herbal health needs of the communities.
- Govt. Allopathic and Ayurvedic medical personnel can interact with tribal herbal healers and traditional birth attendants to address the communicable diseases, first aid, immunization programmes etc.,

- Promotion of village or cluster based herbal health care centers and village based herbal research centers with the active involvement of tribal healers.
- Integrated child development service programmes (ICDS) can integrate their nutritional improvement programmes with the tribal traditional nutritional practices successfully etc.
- Involvement of tribal healers in herbal health based livelihood activities, wild leafy vegetables, traditional nutritional foods etc.
- The Govt. veterinary health care personnel can closely interact with tribal cattle health healers to improve the health and nutritional status of small and large cattle in the tribal villages, so that animal husbandry based livelihoods of the communities can be improved.
- Encourage tribal healers and traditional birth attendants to promote networks and federations to closely interact with Govt. institutions in the health sector.

(The author is conducting several significant participatory action researches on the tribal worldview and indigenous knowledge system related to community traditional natural resource management practices and promoting endogenous development in this sector, since two decades, through his organisation - IDEA).

REFERENCES

- Eco-people for Endogenous Development; by K.J.N.Gowtham Shankar
- Culture and Agro-ecology in Tribal Areas; by K.J.N.Gowtham Shankar
- Ethnic Herbs; by K.J.N.Gowtham Shankar
- Endogenous Development in Tribal Agriculture; by K.J.N.Gowtham Shankar
- Hand book of Ethno-botany; by S.K. Jan and V.Mudgal
- Forest Tribes of Orissa; Klauss Seeland, Mihor K.Jena, Padmini Pathi, Jagannath Dash, Kamala K.Pattnaik
- Eco-people in Eco-development; by K.J.N.Gowtham Shankar
- Primitive Tribes of Orissa; by N. Patnaik

SOCIO ECONOMIC IMPACT OF DEFORESTATION ON THE JUANG OF GONASIKA

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

***Sarat Chandra Mohanty**

As the denizens of forest tribals satisfy their numerous needs from the forest with the help of most simple implements and without any technological aid from outside. They depend on the forest flora and fauna for their livelihood and collect various kinds of Minor Forest Produce (MFP) in different seasons. So, in the tribal economy forests occupy a central position.

Traditionally the tribal people thrived on a subsistence economy derived out of hunting, food gathering and shifting cultivation. Being forest dwellers they have few viable economic alternatives and employment opportunities. Naturally, they have to depend on subsistence agriculture and on the forest. The extent of this dependence needs to be studied in order to understand its ramifications in the backdrop of deforestation.

In Orissa the standard of living of tribal people is low. What is of primary relevance to our study, however, is the socio-economic condition of the tribals like the Juang as affected by the consequences of deforestation given the facts that a vast majority of them who are predominantly forest dwellers are economically backward, pre-literate and underexposed to the outside world. They lived with the forest for centuries inhabiting clusters of villages mainly in the hilly areas, dependent primarily on shifting cultivation and minor forest produce (MFP) and thus built up a symbiotic link with forest in context of their social, cultural and occupational life. Forest has remained an important resource base for them. Therefore, depletion of forests has not only disturbed the ecological balance but also put pressure on the forest resources as well as the Juang as forest dwellers. Now they find it extremely difficult to sustain their livelihood and to pursue their traditional occupations because their perennial source of subsistence is dwindling over period of time.

Present Study

With this backdrop this study has been undertaken to assess the impact of deforestation among a Primitive Tribal Group (PTG) i.e., the Juang - the autochthones of Gonasika hills of Keonjhar district in northern Orissa who live in a simple society and inhabit remote forest areas in a state of semi-isolation and thrive upon a subsistence economy based on land and forest.

Study Villages:

This exploratory study has covered one hundred households in 10 Juang settlements in Gonasika area of Keonjhar district of which 9 are inside the JDA micro project area and the remaining one i.e., Kuanr is outside the micro project area. These villages come under 5 gram *panchayats* inside Banspal block. In this study an attempt has been made to elicit comparative data on important aspects of the problem as they were in the past, 10-15 years back and the changes, if any, occurred at present i.e., at the time of this study. Relevant secondary data has been elicited from available references.

The Juang

Juang is one of the primitive tribal groups exclusively found in Orissa. In the past, they were being called 'Pattoa' for wearing leaves. The word '*Juang*' means, "Man". They claim themselves to be the first humans on the earth, originating at the sacred Gonasika hills as descendants of their legendary ancestors, the *Rusi* couple. They firmly believe that they are the 'Thaniyas', the autochthons of Keonjhar as compared to their brethren who have fled to the neighbouring Pallahara area in the long past and distinguished as 'Bhagudias', the emigrants.

Linguistically Juangs are Mundari speaking people and racially belong to Proto-Australoid stock. As per 2001 census their total population is 41 339, sex ratio is 1014 and their level of literacy is 25.35 %.

The Hill-Juang villages of Gonasika area are grouped under four *pirhas* - territorially organized confederation of villages, named as Satkhand, Jharkhand, Kathua and Rebena which had received due recognition and patronage of the then rulers of ex-Keonjhar State. Each *pirha* is led by a traditional tribal chief designated as *Sardar*. Each Juang village is an autonomous socio-political unit managed by a set of traditional leaders and a corporate body of village elders called *bhalabhai* or *barabhai*. The village community owns and manages all the productive and useful natural resources like swiddens, forests, grazing land, and habitation sites etc., which lie within their village boundary.

Another striking feature of the Juang society is their traditional youth organization and dormitory called *majang* or *mandaghar*. The unmarried boys and girls become members of this institution and undertake various community services and socio-cultural activities for their village. They sing, dance and make merry in moonlit nights in front of *majang*. The *majang*, a rectangular house standing high in the center of the village serves as a community center for the village, court house for the council of elders (*barabhai*), guest house for visitors, cooperative store for storage of common grains, place for keeping musical instruments, a venue for communal rituals, and cultural center for dance and music.

The other distinguishing features of the Juang are their strong kinship organization dividing them into *kutum* (kins), and *bandhu* (affines) groups. Most of the Juang villages have uni-clan composition; hence, village exogamy is the rule.

The Hill-Juang eke out subsistence pursuing shifting cultivation and collecting minor forest produce. The plains-Juang earn their livelihood by pursuing small-scale settled cultivation and wage earning

The symbiotic link

The Juang are a forest dwelling folk. Since the hoary past, their socio-cultural life developed amidst the forest environment. They regard the forest as a permanent gift of the Basukimata - the Earth Goddess (whom they regard as their Supreme Deity), which they have inherited from their, forefathers. They worship a number of deities residing in the hills, forests, fields, rivers, streams namely Thanpati, Boitaranipat, Gutipat, Rangapat, Kalapat etc. In all major rituals they pay homage to these deities to seek their blessings and protection. Particularly in the *pirha puja* festival held in July-August, they pray the forest and hill deities. Their strong emotional attachment with the forest makes them quite possessive about it and they always treat it as their own property. However they understand quite well that forest resources are limited and they shall be the worst sufferer if forests are destroyed by greedy and irresponsible human beings. They have developed their own cultural norms for the management and protection of their forest resources.

Although there are no strict restrictions for a Juang against exploiting forest resources anywhere within the Juang *pirha* area, the Juang respect the territorial autonomy of neighboring villages and ordinarily collect their requirements from the forests lying within their respective village territories. Only they collect as much forest produces as required for their own consumption but not for hoarding, sale or profit. Over-exploitation of forest resources by any person with selfish motives or for commercial interests is looked down upon as an antisocial act.

Activities like, climbing and cutting trees, hunting, catching birds and collecting honey are tabooed for Juang women. Felling fruit bearing trees and certain useful plants such as mango, jackfruit, *kendu*, *mohul*, *jamu*, *khajur*, etc. are tabooed for all. Certain plant and animal species, which are ritually connected to them either as totemic objects for different clans or otherwise are also left untouched. Even they spare these forbidden plants while felling trees in their *toila* sites. They believe that causing any harm to these forbidden plants, species offends the deities and ancestral spirits resulting in disaster and human suffering.

No one dares to eat the seasonal fruits collected from the forest before offering the same to the deities and ancestral spirits. They observe a number of communal rituals and festivals round the year like Amnua, (February-March), Asadi (June-July), Manchuri Puja (July-August), Kimiyang and Kalart Aba (September-October), Gundadia (October-November) for this purpose. In the Amnua (New mango eating) festival, they offer green mangos to the deities and ancestral spirits and thereafter they eat the new fruit. Similarly in Asadi Parab, they offer *bangur* fruits to the deities before eating the same.

In the good old days, when there were vast expanses of forests crowded with wild animals in the Juang country and the Juangs had full freedom of exploitation of forest resources, regular hunting formed a part of their subsistence. Gradually the forests are depleted and the wild animals reduced considerably. In these days when hunting has been totally banned for conservation of the natural environment in general and protection of wild animals in particular, the hunting activities of the Juangs have become a pastime, perused very occasionally and with this their past skill in hunting has also diminished.

With the receding forest line, environmental problems arise and their struggle for survival becomes intense weakening their traditional economy and affecting their socio-economic existence. In this situation, it becomes imperative to understand the magnitude and direction of the impact of deforestation on their socio-economic living conditions especially with reference to their occupational position, social and cultural life, living standard and economy as a whole.

Socio-Economic Impact

The Juang economy is a typical subsistence economy founded on land and forest. Traditionally they were hunters, food gatherers and shifting cultivators. Over generations, they have been living in hills and forests deriving sustenance from the resource bases of the mountainous country in various ways to meet their small needs and making a bare minimum living. When the hills and valleys were covered with lush green vegetation, the Juang were exploiting the resources with mirth and furry. *Toila* cultivation was their way of life. Today, with the depletion of forest growth and the under-woods and growth of their population, swidden cultivation did not pay dividends, forest collections diminished, wild games disappeared and the Juang are struggling to make both the ends meet.

Skills & Occupational Pattern; Continuity & Mobility

In the study area, rapid depletion of forests has led to deterioration of natural environment. This has squeezed their traditional life support system i.e., their economic resource base. Their dependence on traditional livelihood sectors such as, hunting, shifting cultivation, animal husbandry and other forest based subsistence activities have declined slowly in course of time following the trail of deforestation. Gradually, they have taken up pursuits like settled cultivation to grow paddy in valleys, horticultural plantations, collection and sale of firewood and wage labour in general. Some of them have acquired skills in weaving, rope making, mat making, comb making, masonry, carpentry, basketry and dancing which fetches them some supplementary income. The following Statements show the position in respect of the Study Households.

TOTAL POPULATION OF STUDY HOUSEHOLDS		S K I L L S								
		T R A D I T I O N A L						M O D E R N		
		Comb Making	Mat Making	Rope Making	Basketry	Wood Carving	Changu Dance	Mason	Carpentry	Weaving
Males	280	19	-	12	7	5	23	14	13	2
Females	249	-	11	-	10	-	14	-	-	11
Total	529	19	11	12	17	5	37	14	13	13

- There are still some Juang men who possess skills in their traditional crafts such as Comb Making, Rope Making, and Wood Carving. They exhibit fine workmanship in woodcarving and comb making. Mat Making is women's job. Both the sexes are skilled in Bamboo Basketry and Dancing.
- The characteristic *changu* dance of the Juang with enchantic songs and music is a folk tradition that has survived the test of time. While men beat *changu*, women dance. In all festive occasions they rejoice by performing this dance and it continues non-stop for days and nights.
- Acquisition of modern skills like masonry, carpentry, weaving etc. is a recent phenomenon brought about by their mobility and exposure to the modern world when the decline of their traditional economic base effected by deforestation and environmental degradation pushed them to look for alternatives. It is interesting to note that except weaving, only men possess these new skills.

STUDY HOUSEHOLDS (Percentages in Brackets)			MAJOR OCCUPATIONS (ENGAGEMENTS IN MANDAYS) (Per Capita Average in a Year given in Brackets)				
Break up	Total Population	Working Population (15-59 Yrs)	Settled Cultivation	Shifting Cultivation	Wage & Labour	Forest Collection	Total
Males	280 (100)	127 (45.36)	5 391 (43)	4 942 (39)	4 187 (33)	4 458 (35)	18 978 (149)
Females	249 (100)	123 (49.40)	4 632 (38)	4 185 (34)	4 982 (41)	3 964 (32)	17 763 (144)
Total	529 (100)	250 (47.26)	10 023 (40)	9 127 (37)	9 169 (37)	8 422 (34)	36 741 (147)

- A little less than half of the studied population (47.26 %) belonging to the age group of 15–59 years comes under the category of Working Population.

- Corresponding to the sex ratio and marital status, in the Working Population numerically, men maintain superiority over women, but percentage wise, it is the *vice versa*.
- The average engagement of the Working Population in major economic pursuits like Settled Cultivation, Shifting Cultivation, Wage earning and Forest Collection keeps them occupied for less than half of a year. It means they remain under-employed for the remaining part of the year.
- Sector wise men spend the largest number of days in average in Settled Cultivation followed by, Shifting Cultivation and Forest Collection and the minimum in Wage & Labour. For women it is Wage & Labour -the highest, followed by Settled Cultivation, Shifting Cultivation and the lowest in Forest Collection. Thus forest based subsistence activities, in combination of Shifting Cultivation and Forest Collection, still remains their major economic pursuit in terms of the extent of engagement for their age-old dependence on forest.
- In terms of average engagement in these avocations men work little more than women in all sectors except Wage & Labour.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the mainstay of the Juang economy. Shifting cultivation - the traditional mode of their subsistence no longer remained profitable under the cumulative impact of deforestation, ecological imbalance and decline of land / man ratio due to pressure of growing population. Cultivable plain/wet land is in short supply in their area for undulating nature of the hilly terrain and population growth. Wherever they have found such type of farmland for settled cultivation they have developed it as paddy fields. Yet, they still have to continue with shifting cultivation to supplement their earnings from settled cultivation, forest collection, wage earning, and other economic pursuits. Mainly they grow a variety of minor millets, cereals, and pulses in their swiddens and paddy in their plain lands.

The Juang possess four kinds of farmlands - (i) Bada / Bila: the plain paddy fields for wet land settled cultivation, (ii) Guda: the up and dry land (iii) Toila / Kaman for shifting cultivation and (iv) Badi / Bakdi: the backyard kitchen garden. The Guda and Toila / Kaman are utilised for growing a variety of cereals, pulses, oilseeds and vegetables.

Cultivable Land Holding Pattern

- Cultivable lands include all kinds of agricultural and horticultural lands excluding the swiddens
- 5 % of the Study Households are landless
- Small Farmers form the majority group(41.05 %) among all categories
- Bulk of the landowning households fall under Marginal & Small Farmers category
- Average size of Landholding per Household comes to 2.39 Acs

Trend of Agricultural Production

Settled agricultural practices of the Juang mainly revolve around their Bada or Bila, which they regard to be their valuable productive asset. 83 percent of the study households possess cultivable wetlands in shape of Bada at an average of 0.95 Acres per

farmer household. But Juang farmers hardly raise a second paddy crop in Bada during summer months even though they get irrigation facilities. Guda - the up and dry land is not as productive as the Bada. However, majority (95%) of the study households have pieces of Gudas in an average of 1.56 acres per household, which, they utilize for mixed cropping viz - Cereals like, *gudadhan*, *suturi*, *gangei*, *ruma*, maize, *ragi*, *jana*, *kangu*, etc, pulses like *arhar*, *kulthi*, *biri*, *kathia*, *katada* etc. and oil seeds like mustard, *rasi*, castor etc as they do in their swiddens (Toila)

The comparative picture of agricultural production in the past and present as emerged from the study indicates the following trends;-

- Decline of agricultural production is reported in respect of all categories of crops for both the categories of farmlands @ -20 percent over the decade.
- Production of paddy crop from the Bada in terms of total quantity has come down by -18.35 percent.
- In case of the annual yield from the Guda, the rate of decline is higher than Bada. Among all the different categories of crops grown in Guda as well as the Bada the rate of fall is the highest (-29.49 %) for the oil seeds.

People's Response on the Situation

The Juang farmers are generally aware of the reasons for decrease of their farm output. They mainly attribute the consequences to (i) Deterioration in the Soil Quality, (ii) Uncertain Agro-Climatic Conditions manifested in erratic and inadequate rainfall. Since most of their farmlands lack assured irrigation facilities, they are bound to be dependent on the natural agro-climate to reap a good harvest. Deterioration of the natural environment over period of time has become a matter of major concern for them.

All the Juang farmers (100%) agree on the point that their farm outputs from Bada and Guda lands are shrinking for loss of soil fertility. The soil has not remained as fertile as it has been in the past. In addition to that nearly 60 percent and 30 percent of them have identified other important causative factors like soil erosion and uncertain agro-climate such as inadequate and erratic rainfall for the diminishing returns.

Further opinions emerged on the state of affairs in the group discussion is briefed below

- In the past, when there were of lush green forests all around, the rainfall was abundant and the soil, fertile. Toila cultivation and forest collections provided enough food to feed lesser number of bellies. As these traditional sources started shrinking day-by-day, their dependency on settled cultivation and other sources has increased.
- As their population is increasing, cultivable land holdings are becoming smaller after family partitions.
- There is little scope for expansion of cultivable land area for the undulating terrain of their habitat.
- Now the reduced agricultural yields do not sustain many of them for a full year.
- One third of them know that deforestation and population growth lie at root of the present problems of survival.

Horticulture

The Juang love trees. They take care to preserve the fruit plants like date palm, mango, jackfruit, *mohul*, *kendu* etc in their villages, hills and swiddens. Besides, they raise kitchen garden called Badi or Bakdi in their backyards or in the close proximity of their houses where they grow plants like gourd, pumpkin, pea, maize, green leaves, cucumber, jackfruit, *mohul*, papaya, *saru*, drumstick, *desi alu* beans, chilies, mango, tamarind, mustard, banana, black pepper etc.

Presently, following the gradual decline in agricultural production and forest produce they are being motivated by the development agencies like the ITDA, DRDA and JDA to raise profitable horticultural crops to make up the deficit and supplement their income. Now some of them have started growing many new varieties of horticultural crops including vegetables such as brinjal, cabbage, ladiesfinger, onion, radish, knolkhol, pineapple, tomato, cauliflower, potato, lemon, orange, guava, garlic, zinger, etc.

The study data given shows that, horticultural plantations in shape of kitchen gardens, backyard plantations owned by 98 study households now cover a total land area of 11.03 acres at an average of 0.11 acres per household.

As it is happening to agricultural production, the impact of deforestation is also noticed in gradual downslide of horticultural production (-22. 2%) particularly in their backyards and kitchen gardens where they mostly raise conventional crops.

Formerly they were producing their conventional horticultural crops- mostly cucumber, pumpkin, banana, guava etc in their Badis for their own consumption. After being motivated by the development agencies, now some Juang farmers they have started raising modern HYV of fruits and vegetables. This trend has begun since a decade.

Shifting Cultivation

Traditionally for the Juang, swidden cultivation has been devised and adopted by them as one of the main mode of subsistence. They grow a variety of crops in their swidden fields, called *Toila* using a small number of simple implements. Their methods are crude; the process is labour intensive and the productivity is low. Now the Juang have learnt in a hard way that this age-old mode of subsistence would no longer sustain their growing population. While they are trying hard to find dependable alternatives, they are yet to abandon this practice altogether.

The study reveals a picture of the cycle of shifting cultivation, coverage of area, cropping pattern, on going process of decline of production, people's awareness about the causative factors etc in a comparative way. It clearly depicts the declining trend of their traditional mode of subsistence locally called *toila chas*. Normally a *toila* plot is cultivated for 2-3 consecutive years and left fallow for 5-8 years for regeneration. For first year cultivation the plot is called *Toila* in which no cereal crops are grown and only pulses (*Arhar*, *Katada*, *Bargudi*, *Danka*, Beans, *Kathia*, *Jhudunga*, Black gram, Horsegram, *Greengram* *Senae*, *Ruma*, *Jali*, etc.), oilseeds (*Til*, Castor, Mustard, etc.) and vegetables (*Pumpkin*, *Gourd*, *Cucumber*, *Kankad*, *Janhi*, *Desi Alu*, *Saru*, etc.) are cultivated.

In the 2nd year's plot called *Ekan* only cereals (*Banki dhan*, *Kangu*, *Gangei*, *Suan*, *Ragi*, *Suturi*, *Maize*, etc.), spices (*Turmeric*, *Ginger*, *Chilies*, etc.) and vegetables are grown. As its fertility reduces gradually for erosion of topsoil and its nutrients, the cultivated area between the 1st and 2nd year decreases and so also the number of cultivator families.

In exceptional cases, if the land retains some fertility it can be cultivated in the 3rd year to grow paddy and vegetables. This 3rd year plot is called *Nala*. The fertility depends on the soil quality, agro-climate and the regenerative fallow period. The larger the fallow period, the better is the fertility. Now these conditions are worsening day by day.

- There is gradual reduction in the cultivated area and the number of farmers from the 1st year (*toila*) to the 2nd year (*ekan*) *Toila chas*.
- Over a period of 10-15 years, the over all quantum of production has decreased by -32.40 percent, the rate of decline being the maximum (-35.96%) in the 2nd year.
- Looking at the negative growth rate of yield for all the three successive years of cultivation of different categories of crops it is found that it is the highest (-36.19%) in case of Cereals closely followed by spices (-35.18%) like Turmeric, Ginger, Chilies etc. Next in the descending order come the vegetables (-30.50%), the pulses (-26.97%), and the lowest being oilseeds (-24.74%)
- The highest rate of decline of yield is noticed in the 1st Year *Toila* (-30.14%) and 2nd year *Ekan* (-43.46%) for spices. It shows that spices, vegetables and cereals are the worst affected crops during all the two-year cycle of *Toila chas*.
- For declining fertility of *Toila*, cultivation of certain variety of crops such as *Suan*, *Suturi*, *Danka*, Green gram, Castor and *Kankad*, has been stopped.

Peoples' Response on Causative Factors

The largest number of shifting cultivators (52%) knows that the yield from their *Toila chas* is declining with the decline of soil fertility. 40 percent of them attribute this to soil erosion; 35 percent to uncertain agro-climate with inadequate and irregular rainfall; and 33 percent, to shorter fallow period.

The regenerative fallow period varies with the subsistence need and the socio-economic status of the farmer as it determines the extent of his dependency on *Toila chas*, be it profitable or not. A poor farmer with limited means of livelihood has no choice other than exploiting whatever *Toila* he possesses more frequently to survive. So he cannot afford to leave his *Toila* fallow for regeneration for a longer period. In the past the fallow period for poor Juang farmers were 5-10 years and for the well to do it was 9-12 years as the land man ratio was better for smaller population. The situation has changed over period of time. The fallow period has been coming down to 4-7 years and 6-9 years for both the categories of farmers.

Decades ago, the 3rd year cultivation (*Nala*) of cereal crops could be possible. Now the *Toila* land cannot be exploited for more than two years.

Some hill slopes are now degraded for continuous exploitation and turned unfit for *Toila chas*. The people are aware of the fact that the deteriorating ecological conditions would hardly sustain their traditional *Toila chas* but they are left with little choice.

Firewood Collection

Generally, the Juang procure firewood for their domestic consumption from their *Toila* and surroundings. In the past, vegetations existed in close proximity of their habitations. In an average they were to move within a radius of 1-2 kilometers to gather fuel for their kitchen. With gradual destruction of vegetations and degradation of their

Toila this distance has been increasing day by day. Now it has increased to 2-3 kms for the people of the study villages. Obviously this distance increases in the summer months more than those of monsoon and winter times.

Following the gradual decline of their traditional mode of subsistence i.e., *Toila chas* and forest collection, since 2 decades, the Juang are trying to make up the deficit by selling firewood in the nearby markets and towns.

The study indicates that though both the sexes shoulder the burden of firewood collection and processing i.e., chopping, splitting and slicing the stock in order to make it ready for use, almost equally with small seasonal variations, women work little more than men for collection and for processing it is the *vice versa*.

With depletion of the vegetations, the quantity of annual collections and domestic consumption per study households has come down by -21 percent and - 20 percent respectively within last 10 - 15 years.

Shortage in firewood is substituted by farm refuses e.g., crop residues, dry leaves etc.

It is evident from the above data that after meting their domestic consumption needs, they sale the surplus. Following the declining trend this surplus saleable quantity has also come down by -22 percent over this period affecting their family income.

The Juang are quite aware of the demand-supply gap, which may turn acute in future. They also understand that with the receding tree line and growing population the firewood is going to be scarce in future. Their womenfolk who have to keep their hearths burning are more alarmed than their men about the impending crisis.

Collection of MFP

Being denizens of forest the Juangs derive a part of their subsistence out of forest-based activities. Their consumption needs are met to a large extent from forest collections round the year. The Juang agriculture yields meager output for reasons like primitive methods and technology, unsuitable land, dependence on rain fed cultivation, agro-climatic fluctuations and ravages of wild animals. This small output hardly meets their food requirements for half of a year. Hence they depend on the forest for the remaining part of the year to get their food. Their diet is greatly supplemented by fruits, roots, tubers and leaves collected from the jungle and thus food collection still forms an indispensable part of Juang subsistence economy in Juang *pirha* areas of Keonjhar.

They collect a large variety of seasonal minor forest produce like small timber, bamboo, thatching grass, fodder, fruits, roots, seeds, tubers, mushrooms, leaves, flowers, fibers, leaves, barks, herbs, etc to supplement their diet and other requirements. Items like honey, *mohua* flowers, and edible insects, eggs are collected from the forest for domestic consumption. Surplus items are sold or bartered in the local weekly hats. *Mohua* flowers are eaten raw and the surplus is stored for distilling liquor. *Mohua* seeds are used for extracting oil. They bring head loads of firewood from the jungle regularly for their own use and some Juangs earn a part of their livelihood by selling firewood and charcoal in the nearby markets. They also get timbers, bamboo, *siali* fibre and leaves, palm leaves, *sal* leaves, *kendu* leaves, lac, resin, thatching grass etc. mostly for their own use and often at the time of need they sale these forest produces in the local markets to buy their requirements. All of them depend on MFP for a major portion of their food and for their cattle, fodder and other needs. With depletion of forests these items are in short supply and there are also other difficulties.

The study data thus show the link between deforestation and reduced availability of MFP, additional workload and greater hardship. Because of the short supply of MFP, the forest dwellers require much more human power to collect even the minimum required for survival.

The distance between the MFP collectors and the source i.e., the forest has increased between past 10-15 years and the present for all items. About a decade ago various items of MFP were available at a distance varying between 0.5 to 3.8 kms. Now this distance has increased to 1.5 to 5.8 kms. That brings about the hardship to cover larger distance and spend more time in this activity.

Both the sexes shoulder the responsibility of collecting the MFP almost equally. In average, Juang men and women work for about 78 days each in a year for this activity. But Juang women face the hardship more than men because with the increasing distance between them and the source of MFP and dwindling natural resources they have to walk and work for an additional 3 to 4 hours a day to collect MFP and in addition to that, shoulder the burden of household works. Therefore this section of the population is more affected by deforestation.

The reduction in the procurement of MFP between past and present is visible in all categories. The highest decline is in small timber (-44.4 %), followed by resin (- 40 %) and the lowest, being in grass (- 18.7%). The rate of decline ranges between -30 percent and -35 percent for items like Broomsticks (-35.3%), Fodder (-34%), Fruits (-33.5%), Leaves (-31.3%), Lac (-30.8 %) and Mushrooms (-30.3 %). It is between -23 and -29 percent for items like Barks (29.41 %), Bamboo (-28.64 %), Roots & Tubers (-27.8 %), Flowers (-28.6 %), Plants & Creepers, (-27.3 %), Seeds (-26.7 %) and Gums (-23.8 %) and Herbs (23 %). The overall downslide comes to -30.77 percent for all the categories. As a result their average household consumption of all these items have come down proportionately by -34 percent to -8 percent and created deficits by unbalancing the equation of demand and supply. Likewise their volume of sale of the surplus MFP has shrunk from 66 percent to 14 percent for different categories causing economic hardship to them.

Majority of the respondents feel that the problem itself is the result of deforestation and the consequent lack of access to MFP. The data given above seem to endorse this. The first indication is the difference between the past and present in the collection, consumption and sale of MFP. This is attributable primarily, if not exclusively, to the shrinkage of the available forest area and the consequent difficulties in access to the dwindling resources.

Possession of Livestock

The Juang rear animals to meet their agricultural and consumption needs. When natural vegetations were abundant there were no problems to maintain their livestock. Now the population of these animals is decreasing with depletion of forests and decline in agricultural production. This diminishing trend is visible in the study findings.

- The data indicates that animal population has decreased by -35.62 percent with the average livestock per household shrinking from 12 to 8 animals over last 10 -15 years.
- The highest negative growth rate (-59.46 %) is recorded in case of pigs followed by buffaloes (-56.76 %), bullocks (- 45.73 %) and cows (-36.74 %), the lowest (-23.53 %) being the goats.

- The people have revealed the reasons for this situation. The largest number (87.50 %) of respondents cited about social taboos and prohibition against rearing pigs as a social mobility tactic, which is reflected in the present pig population registering the highest rate of decline among all categories of domestic animals.
- 72 percent of the respondents attribute this decline to shrinking of sources for grazing the animals and 62 percent, to drying up of water sources. Particularly, the populations of buffaloes and bullocks have been affected by these factors.
- Since the past, goat rearing has been a common traditional economic pursuit that fetches supplementary income. It has been affected for shrinkage of grazing sources and shortage of manpower for tending the stock as now the Juang children who generally are engaged for grazing goats are being persuaded to attend schools.

Indebtedness and Bondage

It is a well-known fact that the deficit caused by decline of traditional forest based subsistence activities drives the gullible tribals into the maze of indebtedness and bondage. Once a tribal incurs debt from a local *sahukar*, he is trapped in a net from which he cannot wriggle out very easily. He and his children live in debt and die in debt. Indebtedness in most cases leads to bondage and land alienation. The worst victims are the poorer and landless sections who have no other options.

When the Juang incurs debts from a private moneylender, he almost sinks under the burden of repayment. It leads to land alienation and loss of property. In the Juang area the moneylenders are mostly the non-tribals. Very often the Juang is unable to repay and free himself from the clutches of the lender. In the process he loses all the assets he owns.

This kind of situation was prevailing in the study area till the recent past. But now, thanks to the tribal and rural development programmes, the circumstances have changed. Nationalised Banks and Self Help Groups (SHGs) have come to their rescue. Yet the dishonest private lenders are still there. It is not easy to neutralize their ageold spell on the vulnerable Juangs. The silver lining is that the people's level of awareness is increasing.

Presently, the District Rural Bank i.e., Boitarani Gramya Bank has advanced fairly larger amounts of loans to the people than the local moneylenders. The position of repayment of loans by the loanees is not so good i.e., 36.6 percent only. Large inflow of institutional finance has pushed the greedy private financiers to the backstage, removing their grip over the vulnerable sections. But the application of the concept of Micro Credit through Self Help Groups has not made much headway into the Juang economy so far.

Household Income

The data on average annual household income shows that between past and present, the average income rose by 39.18 %.

The highest part of the income i.e., 40.51 percent in the past and 43.11 percent in the present comes from settled agriculture including wetland (Bila/ Bada) cultivation of paddy and mixed cultivation in up and dry lands (Guda). This marginal rise in the share of income from settled agriculture may be attributed to the Juang farmers' increased

dependence on this sector and popular acceptance of agricultural development schemes following decline of incomes from traditional sectors like shifting cultivation, Forest Collection, Animal Husbandry, Hunting

The second highest income is reported in the past from Forest Collection (23.36 %) and in the present from Service (18.76%). With gradual depletion of forest resources over period of time, the quantum of income from Forest Collection- the age-old perennial source has been reducing day by day down grading its position to the 3rd (15.13 %).

Like that of forest collections another important age-old forest based source of subsistence i.e., the shifting cultivation has been declining. Consequently its contribution to household income has come down from 13.21% to 7.57 % over past 10-15 years downgrading its rank from 3rd to 4th.

Following the decline of forest resources, people are looking for alternatives in other avenues like Wage Earning, Service, Trade & Barter to supplement their income and make up the deficit. Yet due to availability of limited avenues for wage labour the share of earnings from this sector has remained the same but its position has declined from 4th to 5th.

The income from backyards & kitchen garden sector have decreased from 6.60 percent to 3.68 percent reducing its position from 5th to 6th and indicating indifference of the Juang farmers towards horticulture development schemes.

Moreover, deforestation and the ban on hunting have affected the incomes from allied sectors like animal husbandry, hunting and rural industry that is largely dependent on forest resources. While animal husbandry has gone down from the 6th to 8th position and the hunting, from 9th to 10th position, rural industry has retained its rank at the 11th place, but its share has gone down from 0.17 percent to 0.09 percent. In case of hunting the income has reduced to one third making it a mere ritual activity and for animal husbandry the rate of decline is about 50 percent.

Fishing has never been a significant economic activity for the Juang. In terms of its contribution to household income it is negligible. As such it holds the 10th rank in the past and the lowest rank in the present. This too has declined by 60 percent.

Thus it is found that the shares of earning from large number of economic sectors i.e., 8 out of total 12 have declined over past 10-15 years. Sectors like shifting cultivation, horticulture, animal husbandry, rural industry, hunting and fishing have registered major decline - ie 50 percent more or less and that out of remaining 2, wage earning has shown marginal decline and forest collections a moderate decline of about 30 percent. Conversely, significant growth of income has been reported from sectors like service (elevating its position from 7th to 2nd) and gift & exchange and marginal growth, from agriculture and trade and barter.

Household Expenditure

The data on average annual expenditure of the study households as revealed by the study shows that the quantum of expenditure has increased by 32 percent between then and now.

Among all the heads the highest average household expenditure has been made on fooding and the second highest on, house construction and maintenance and as such both

have maintained their 1st and 2nd positions not only in the past but also in the present circumstances. A decade ago the total share of expenditure on both the heads accounted for 57.06 percent of the all-total average household expenditure. This has marginally reduced to 52.75 percent at present. Always it has remained over 50 percent.

The expenditure has been the lowest on payment of land revenue in the past and on rural industry in the present. Their positions have been interchanged between 17th and 18th during this period.

Expenses on majority of heads i.e., 12 out of 18 such as, Shifting Cultivation, Horticulture, Rural Industry, Dress & Ornaments, Rituals & Festivals, Entertainment of Guests, Treatment of Diseases, Education & Training, Construction & Repair of House, Litigation, Fuel & Fodder and Fooding has come down in percentage terms i.e., from 6.17 %, 0.33 %, 0.09 %, 7.75 %, 6.36 %, 2.14 %, 2.77 %, 1.85 %, 11.76 %, 0.26 %, 0.83 % and 45.30% in the past to 5.60 %, 0.17 %, 0.02 %, 6.97 %, 5.49 %, 2.08 %, 2.39 %, 1.65 %, 9.11 %, 0.10 %, 0.71 and 43.64 % respectively in the present.

The share of expenditure has gone up significantly on Repayment of Loan and Purchase of Durable Assets from 2.27% and 0.73% to 6.03% and 2.83% upgrading their places from 14th to 9th and 10th to 5th respectively. It indicates peoples' interest towards modern way of life. Marginal increase is noticed in the remaining 4 heads such as Agriculture (5.38% to 7.21%), Drinks & Intoxicants (2.27% to 2.56%), Land Revenue (0.08% to 0.09%) and Gift & Exchange (3.16 to 3.35%).

Besides Fooding and House Construction, the only other heads, which has held its ranks at the 16th place consistently over period of time, is Litigation. However in percentage terms its share has changed from 0.26 % to 0.10 %.

The pattern of average annual household expenditure of the Juang study households have shown some changes over the past decade. Trends of modernization are visible, in expenditure hike in acquisition of durable household assets, agriculture, gift and exchange and repayment of loans. For agriculture and debt redemption the reason lies in acceptance of modern agricultural development schemes and liberal debt financing by local rural bank under various development schemes. Since some of the studied families have been allotted Indira Awas Houses the overall spending on house construction and maintenance has not increased much.

The annual income and expenditure data of the study households is indicative of the fact that all of them are Below the Poverty Line (BPL).

Conclusion

It is a sorry state of affairs that the receding forest line is not a good sign for sustainable development of forest and tribals like the Juang. The forests are getting depleted under the pressure of heavy demand made by population growth, housing, trade and industry. This has been instrumental in destruction of rich flora and fauna, which sustained the tribal population for ages. This has caused environmental hazards in shapes of irregular, uncertain and insufficient rainfall, degradation and erosion of fertile top soil leading to diminishing farm production and often, crop failure; draught; scarcity of food, fodder, firewood, timber, MFP and water etc.; atmospheric warming; flood for silting of rivers and reservoirs and pushing the wildlife to the edge of extinction. Hence, there emerges an urgent need to restore an optimal vegetal cover to balance the disturbed eco-system.

To the forest dependent tribals, the forest has not been a source of profit but of survival. Therefore, deforestation involved the deprival of their life support system around which they had built their socio-cultural, economic and religious life. For them it is not merely the deprival of MFP but a crisis in their life. Economically, it involved scarcity of food, fuel, fodder, medicinal herbs and small timber on which they depended for ages.

Coming to the consequences of deforestation on the tribe under study, one can find the situation deteriorating but it is not as bad as it is seen in certain other areas. The people seem to be aware of the malady. Yet it raises concern in the context of macro and micro level issues of environmental degradation, ecological imbalances, the peoples' livelihood and culture.

To check the menace of deforestation and revive the natural environment, an intensive and extensive programme of afforestation, reforestation, and biomass regeneration needs to be implemented through active participation of tribals. The programme should provide maximum income generating opportunities for them. It can help in bringing them back to constructive dependence on the natural resources.

Though the subject of forests in general transcends the limited scope of tribals and forestry, it cannot be denied that tribal life is profoundly affected by whatever happens to forest. Hence, forest development cannot make much headway without involvement of tribals.

Forests belonged to tribals in the distant past and as such they have developed a sense of belongingness to forests. With appropriate reorientation, they can be inducted into a more constructive role vis-à-vis the forest and relied upon for its conservation and growth. By building a sound rapport between foresters and tribals the task of conservation, protection and development of forests will be easier. In fact, the forest should be regarded as truly public resource and not as a mere revenue earner for the state.

* * * * *

REFERENCES

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|--------|---|
| Behura, N.K. | (1990) | <i>Shifting Cultivation- A cause of environmental degradation.</i> ADIBASI, Vol. XXX, No.4, pp.1-7. |
| Chandrasekharan, K.S. | (1983) | <i>Forest Policy and Tribal Development.</i> ADIBASI, Vol. XXII, No.3, pp. 16-31. |
| Fernades, W & G. Menon, P. Viegas. | (1988) | <i>Forests, Environment and Tribal Economy,</i> New Delhi, Indian Social Institute. |
| Mohanti, K.K. (ed) | (2005) | <i>Development Hand Book for the Juang of JDA area,</i> Gonasika, SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar. |
| Mohapatra K. and K.B. Debi | (1973) | <i>Shifting Cultivation in Orissa.</i> ADIBASI, Vol. XIV, No.4, pp. 11-28. |
| Rout, S.P. | (1962) | <i>Hand Book on the Juang,</i> Adibasi, Vol. XI, No.1-2. |
| Roy Burman, B.K. | (1982) | <i>Report of the Committee on Forests and Tribals in India</i> |
| SCSTRTI | (2002) | <i>Baseline Survey & Needs Assessment & Action Plan for the 10th Five-Year Plan for JDA, Gonasika, (Unpublished)</i> |

Ethnic Healers among the Dongria Kondh of Orissa

A.K. Gamango

Introduction:

The Dongria Kondh is a primitive and backward section of the Kondh tribe. Through their age-old experience, they have evolved certain traditional mechanisms and institutions to meet their needs in everyday life. There are socio-religious and economic organizations and institutions for achieving different objectives. Religion is one of them, which plays a significant role in establishing peace, harmony, and solidarity in their society and guides them to follow the right path for prosperity.

Their age old institution of shamanism still has a powerful influence on them and their male and female shamans called *Beju* and *Bejuni* (*Pejni*) respectively are among the most distinguished and respected magico-religious functionaries in their society. They can be primarily religious in the sense that they seek help from the divine or spiritual world, or they can be more magical in that they attempt to manipulate the spirit of the supernatural forces. Such people who have special religious knowledge either control supernatural power out rightly to facilitate others in their attempt to influence it. These specialists are called shamans and priests. Though, the priest and the shaman coexist in the Dongria society, the latter serves as a vehicle for communication between human and supernatural. He often establishes a personal relationship with the supernatural beings and/or knows the secret medicines and spells necessary to use supernatural power. On the contrary the priests as religious specialists also mediate between people and super naturals but usually do not have powers to control the supernatural agencies. Thus according to Spradley and Mecurday, "Shamans control supernatural power, has no congregations, and direct rituals only when there is need for them. Priests mediate between people and the supernatural, and lead congregations at regularly held cyclical rites" (1975; 454). "The shaman is a part time magico-religious specialist who is adopt at trance, divination and curing. He derives his power directly from a supernatural source, usually through mystic experience, accompanied frequently by the use of hallucinogens" (Olien, 1978; 378).

As described in notes and quarries in Anthropology. "The term shamanism has been applied generally for spirit possession of priests, and the manifestations have come to be called shamanism" (1952: 174). The shamanism being an archaic religious art is closely associated with religion. It has its own identity, value and jurisdiction in the realm of supernaturalism. The shamanic rituals and processes are mainly concerned with impersonal forces and powers living in natural and artificial objects. Shamanic performers call in the supernatural beings to act through charms and spells and adjurational observances. According to La Barre (1972:267) as quoted by Olien, "... the shamanistic belief system accepts nature as it is, as opposed to large states which transform the environment. The shaman merely manages the changing elements in it, such as life and death, the weather, and so on."

In Dongria Kondh society certain category of religious functionaries such as *Beju* and *Bejuni* (*Pejni*) perform the art of shamanism. They have their own adopted spirits to whom they regularly worship to get their favour and help in occult practices. The experts can communicate with spirits and deities who are believed to be responsible for causing human problems. In order to obtain communication with spirits, they get into trance through divination, prayer, offerings, oblation and certain rituals. In the state of trance the experts tell people about their problems and solutions by communicating

with the concerned spirits. They prescribe the remedy through the rice supplication process called *Puchana*, which is an important part of the shamanic ritual. They advise and sometimes forcibly demand performance of rituals and animal sacrifices to appease supernatural powers.

The most important characteristic of Dongria religion is faith in magic. Both white and black magic are part and parcel of shamanism. The later is rarely practiced openly as it is believed to involve risk of life. As a matter of fact, the Dongria Kondh react violently when they suspect any person practicing black magic. They believe that it is used to harm and cause death.

The Dongria Kondhs strongly believe that shamanism is a magico-religious art, which is gifted to certain persons by supernatural powers. Their success in learning and practicing the art depends upon supernatural will and sanctions. Becoming a shaman can be the result of a mythical experience, such as a vision or a period of special training of both. Thus in a practical sense a shaman requires certain kind of training not in the religious doctrines which he interprets as a priest *would*, but in the methods he uses in his normal religious activities. Though in actual practice they learn the art from the veterans, they deny such learning and training and ascribe supernatural blessings to their taking up of the practice. In reality the shamanic practices of the Dongria Kondh is a learned behaviour acquired by proper training and orientation to the trade by the persons having the interest and aptitude for such work. In the Dongria Kondh society, their shamans continue to retain their stronghold in the supernatural domain despite the acculturative impacts of the modern agencies of change. Hence, the study of shamanism in their society is needed to get some idea about their social system and way of life, which will ultimately help, in effective developmental intervention.

This paper is based on a study of magico-religious beliefs and practices among the Dongria Kondhs at some villages located in the Niamagiri hill ranges touching the Kurli area of Bissamcuttack Block in Rayagada district of Orissa.

The Dongria Kondh:

Like some other primitive sections of the Kondh community, the Dongria Kondh are also shifting cultivators. Fruit bearing trees like mango, jackfruit and tamarind generally surrounds the Dongria kondh villages. The seats of the two village shrines viz, the Dharni Penu (Mother Goddess or Earth Goddess) and her consort, Kotiasal are present in a central place inside the village. There is also an open ground with seats of stone slabs year marked for meeting of their traditional panchayat. The spinsters Dormitory called Adasbetta located near the hill stream at one end of the village is another landmark of the Dongria Kondh village.

"The Kondh villages, ideally speaking are as much social entities as they are politically with huge measures of cohesion and continuity... The head of the village tribal council is also the headman of the village. Parallel to the secular position held by the village headman is the religious head called, Jani who presides over all the of both secular and religious functions organized by the people of the village. In some areas the leadership term Jani. In addition to these secular and religious heads there is a functionary called, Dishari who works as the medicine man in some areas and astrologer in other areas. In every village there is a peon called Barika of Domb community who plays an important role in the village life. He calls the people to the meeting place when the

village assembly sits, contacts officials on behalf of the village and acts as an interpreter of the people. The tribal council enjoys considerable freedom in conducting its day-to-day activities. The Dongrias culturally have many other distinguishing features. One of them is their clan organization...In this case the clan is not totemic as is usual in other tribes. It is rather derived from the Mutha system, a territorial unit that was devised for administrative purposes during the British rule" (Patnaik, 1982;Vi)

For their so many striking features, the Dongrias draw attention of the anthropologists and outsiders. As a tribal folk, they are simple, sensible and quick in observation. "In almost all activities the people of the Kondh community reveal a corporate life. They help each other in economic activities and drink, dance and sing all in congregation. Religious ceremonies and festivals are performed communally. Crime is rare, adultery is common and the individual behaviour is marked by honest and truthfulness. Ideally hospitable, exceptionally candid and remarkably simple, the primitive section of the tribe particularly the Kutia and Dongria live in nature and fade away in its mystery. To the Kondh the nature is the greatest impeller, the scenery around forming the grand arena where the human drama of vicissitudes of the mortal life is staged".

Religious Functionaries Among Dongria Kondh:

There are number of magico-religious and administrative functionaries in a village. They operate in their respective domain of duties and responsibilities. They propitiate deities and spirits through different types of rituals. It is believed that progress, peace and prosperity of entire community is not possible by one deity. Thus they have adopted number of deities and spirits to meet their various purposes and the responsibility of appeasing them also have been distributed among several functionaries. During festivals and functions they perform rituals offering liquor and animals sacrifice, pray and invoke supernatural powers to get their blessings and protection. Among the Dongria the sacred functionaries are called, *Jani*, *Lambajani*, *Ichanjani*, *Pujari*, *Bejuni* (*Pejni*) etc. Besides, there are *Gurumeni* and *Barik* who assist them whenever necessary. In certain occasions the head of the households perform certain rituals to appease ancestral spirit and household deities and spirits at the family level.

In brief, traditionally *Jani* the high priest is also the secular head of a Dongria Kondh village. He plays most important role in both the religious and secular spheres. He is the principal worshipper of *Dharani Penu*, the Earth Goddess and commands great respect in the society. There is an *Ichan Jani* from the *Jani*'s lineage to assist *Jani*. He prescribes and arranges items for rituals and assists *Jani* during worship. The *Jani* who has vast experience and officiates in *Meria* festival is called *Lamba Jani*. *Pujari*, a hereditary, functionary performs special duties in the *Meria* festival. He makes an umbrella out of bamboo and during rituals he joins with *Jani*. He also takes part in other communal festivals and functions. The *Bejus* and *Bejunis*, have special responsibilities in their society. They are expert in magico-religious rituals. *Gurumeni* assists *Beju/ Bejuni* in magic religious performances. Besides, *Disari* is the medicine man of the Dongrias.

Shaman & Shamanin: Shamanism is defined as "Precisely one of the archaic techniques ecstasy mysticism magic and religion in the broadest sense of the term" (Eliade, 1951; xix). As it is commonly believed, shaman is not simply a magician and a medicine man. "But beyond this, he is a psycho pomp, and he may also be priest, mystic and poet.... This of course, does not mean that he is the one and only

manipulator of the sacred, nor that religious activity is completely usurped by him. In many tribes the sacrificing priest coexists with the shaman, ... Magic and magicians are to be found more or less all over the world, whereas shamanism exhibits a particular magical specialty... By virtue of this fact, though the shaman is, among other things, a magician, not every magician can properly be termed a shaman. The same distinction must be applied in regard to shamanic healing; every medicine man is a healer, but the shaman employs a method that is his and his alone. As for the shamanic techniques of ecstasy, they do not exhaust all the varieties of ecstatic experience documented in the history of religions and religious ethnology. Hence any ecstatic cannot be considered a Shaman; the shaman specializes in a trance during which his soul is believed to leave his body and ascend to the sky or descend to the underworld" (Trask, 1964; 4-5).

The Dongria Shaman more or less fits into the above description. But in Dongria society the medicine man is called "Dishari" who practices herbal medicine. There are persons who only practice medicine and there are also persons who combine the work of shaman and medicine man. The female shamanins (Bejunis) do not come under this category as they only conduct preventive and curative rituals for treatment of diseases and other problems but do not prescribe medicines like the Bejus do.

Bejus and Bejunis in Jakasika and Wadaka Muthas: From the study at Dongria villages it is found that there may or may not be any Beju or Bejuni at a particular village. In such cases the Beju of nearby village serves the villagers. In the Muthas, such as Jakasika and Wadaka, the Bejunis outnumber the Bejus. It is interesting to note that there are only four Bejus against 19 Bejunis in Jakasika Mutha. The probable reason behind the Bejunis overwhelmingly outnumbering the Bejus may be that people rely more on the Bejunis than the Bejus. However, the Beju and Bejuni undergo the same process of training and initiation, deal with the same problems and conduct the same rituals. Further, the Bejus go a step ahead of the Bejunis by their practice of herbal medicines. Yet the people are more inclined to avail the services of Bejunis.

The Beju and Bejuni can come from any clan. The remuneration for their services is not fixed. They are paid in cash or kinds comprising a small amount of money rice, meat or head of the sacrificial animals and alcoholic drinks. They donot demand any thing and are satisfied with whatever they get from their clients. Moreover their jurisdiction is not confined to any particular village or Mutha. They can render services anywhere when called upon to do so. The veterans among them who have vast experience in this line are elevated to the status of Pat-Bejuni (the chief shamanin). But among the Bejus there are no Pat-Bejus in Dongria villages of our study area.

The Domain of Beju & Bejuni: Like all other religious functionaries, shaman and shamanin play an important role in magico-religious life of the Dongria Kondhs. They understand their special socio- religious responsibilities and perform both religious and shamanic rituals with utmost care and sincerity. It is because knowingly or unknowingly if they neglect in discharging their duties and responsibilities deviating the age-old traditions, it is believed that misfortune befalls on the society.

Various Kinds of Shamanic Jobs Under taken by the Bejus and Bejunis: In fact shaman and shamanin are the representative of the people to whom supernatural powers have blessed to act as medium of communication between them and humans. In that capacity they propitiate gods, deities and spirits on behalf of people. As they are specialists in divination by rice supplication process, in reciting incantations and in dancing and performing rituals, they try to find remedy to human problems by

communicating with the supernaturals. They play an exceptional role in defense of the psychic integrity of society. They are the champions to encounter the spiritual forces. They not only combat against demons and diseases but also against the black magic.

The Bejus and Bejunis perform large variety of shamanic rites at the individuals' family level and at the community level. While the Bejus combine the works of shaman and medicineman, Bejunis restrict their field of activities to shamanism only, though there is no difference in their shamanic practices. But interestingly people consider Bejunis to be more effective in this art and therefore Bejunis outnumbered the Beju in Dongria Kondh villages. It may be for the reason that the Beju share time between practice of medicine and practice of Shamanism whereas the Bejunis are totally dedicated to shamanic practices.

Diagnostic and Curative Services for Illness:

So far as the diagnostic and curative are concerned the roles, functions and modus operandi of the Beju and Bejuni differ. People accept the Beju as a physician a practitioner of herbal medicine. In this case the Bejuni is rather a witch doctor as well as a mental therapist. Patients come to her when the traditional medicine fails, and involvement of supernatural agencies is suspected. Then it becomes the responsibility of the Bejuni to detect the troublesome spirit or deity and prescribe and also conduct appropriate remedial rituals. The rituals are mostly directed towards appeasement of the deities and spirits by animal sacrifice.

The Dongria Kondh shaman are no exceptions while the Bejus have nothing very spectacular except wearing of red beads and semi red beads, vermillion marks on their foreheads and some heavy ornaments. Then wear a chain of bells around their ankles, which jingles when they dance in trance. They hold a bunch of peacock feathers by waving which they drive out evil agencies. Another important paraphernalia in the winnowing fan with which they vibrate and conduct divination.

Classification of Shamanic Jobs undertaken by the Bejus and Bejunis:

Various kinds of shamanic jobs undertaken by the Bejus and Bejunis to serve the individuals families and the village community have been classified as below. It is evident from the task that their services are more demanded to deal with a multitude of problems at the individual level than at community level. Nevertheless their special role and responsibilities to interact between the concerned supernatural agencies and the village community and obtain the formers favour in the interest of the latter during various seasonal festivals and rituals can not be dispensed with in anyway. But both the Bejus and Bejunis undertake different kind of shamanic jobs as discussed below.

1. For individual family they undertake diagnostic, curative & preventive practices for treatment of various kinds of illness such as to determine cause and prescribe remedy for fever, various types of body aches and pains, small pox, chicken pox, unidentified diseases etc.

- II. By exorcism they deal with Deities and Spirits to prevent and remove various kinds of diseases misfortunes and human sufferings (other than diseases), to ward off malevolent spirits causing trouble (including ancestral spirits), to appease benevolent ones to earn their pleasure and protection and to detect the spirit causing trouble at Individual level.

III. To serve the above purpose Bejus and Bejunis perform shamanic rituals at individual family level in life cycle events.

(1) During life cycle rituals (Pregnancy, childbirth & Marriage) to prevent miscarriage, infant death and facilitate easy delivery, identify the ancestor taking rebirth in the new born baby, puberty rites for girls to ward off evil spirits, preventive rites during wedding to protect the couple from malevolent spirits and detect the cause and agencies responsible for abnormal and unnatural deaths and prescribe ritual remedies to prevent future mishaps.

(2) Agricultural Rites and festivals- They officiate in Dongar Puja (November - December) at Individual family level to get a good harvest, Kuteli Perpa (April-May) (Worship of Lahi Penu Budharaja and Nyamraja) to appease and seek permission for felling trees from the Dongar, Pidika (September-October) (worship of Jatrakudi Penu) to save castor from pests and insects and reap a good harvest and Mendo Puja /Mendo Dakli (December-January) (worship of Lahi Penu and Sita Penu) to start harvesting; and both at individual and community level festivals like, Bicha Hopa/Bihan Puja (worship of Dharni Penu) (March-April) to start sowing and, Mandia Rani (July-August) (Worship of Koteiwali) to get a bumper Ragi crop and Baliko Repa (April-May) (worship of Darni Penu) to prevent Kosla and Ragi crops.

(3) Rituals and Festivals for first eating of seasonal crops and fruits-They also perform rituals in Nuakhia/Marangi Leka (August-September) in which they worship Darni Penu, other deities & spirits to start first eating of newly harvested paddy. and in Punahapadi (October-November) (worship of Jatrakudi Penu) for first eating of Kosla Kandal, Jana, other seasonal crops and fruits at Individual and community level. Besides they also officiates in other seasonal rituals and festivals like, Meriah (Jan-February) (worship of Darni Penu) for allround prosperity and wellbeing of the whole village, Ghanta Parab (April- May) (worship of Takrani Penu, Jatrakudi and Sita Penu) for fulfillment person vows made before deities and spirits by animal sacrifice at village level and Enda Penu Puja (worship of Enda Penu held as and when required) at Village community level. In Salangi (May-June) (ancestor worship)to protect cattle and other live stock from disease and ill health and Male Manji (October-November) (Ancestor worship) the shaman and shamanin perform rituals for the well being of the family- Individual family level.

Service to Individual families -

To find out services of the Beju and Bejunis rendered to individual families data have been gathered from two study villages, viz. Khambesi and Kurli in the year 2001-02.

As evident from data analysis of the shamanic practices (3 Bejus and 5 Bejunis) of Khambesi and Kurli villages have rendered various kinds of shamanic services to a total number of 146 individual clients belonging to both the villages. On an average each functionaries have served 18 clients during the last year. To analyse this information Villagewise separately the four functionaries of Kurli village show a higher average figure of individual client service ie, 21.5 each than that of their counterparts operating in Khambesi that is 15 the reason in Khambesi a large village as compared to Kurli and proportionately larger number of Beju and Bejunis are present in Khambesi. To be specific, there are 10 functionaries including 8 Bejunis and 2 Bejus working in Khambesi and only half of their number ie, 1 Beju and only Bejunis are from Kurli village. Based on the principle of demand and supply, the average figure of client

service of the Bejus and Bejunis of Khambesi has come down as compared to that of their counterparts operation in Kurli.

If one looks data sex wise, the Bejunis of the both villages show a higher record of client service than their male counterparts. That is to say that, while the three Bejus have attended 49 clients in an average of 16 clients each, the 5 Bejunis have served 97 clients with a higher average of 19 clients each. This supports our finding about the higher demand for services of the Bejunis than the Bejus among the Dongria Kondhs since the former is believed to be more effective than their male counterparts.

Difference is also in the level of individual performances of the functionaries. Among the functionaries the highest member of clients ie, 28 have been served by Bejuni named Sonari Jakasika of Kurli and the lowest number 7 has been reported by the Bejuni named Maladi Kadraka of Khambesi. Among the 3 Bejus the highest (25) and the lowest (11) have been reported in cases of Daitari Kadraka of Khambesi and Namu Sikoka of Kurli respectively. Hence individual performances and rate of success of the functionaries matters and the demand for their services are vary accordingly.

The Bejus and Bejunis have rendered various kinds of services to their clients. These classified into four major heads, viz. (i) diagnostic and curative services for illness, (ii) detection of troubling making spiritual agencies and trouble shooting either by appeasement through rituals and sacrifices or by getting rid of them through exorcise, (iii) Conduct of certain life cycle rituals for prevention and protection of mother and child and married couple from harmful supernaturals and (iv) performances of certain agricultural noted associated with stages of shifting cultivation and crop harvesting.

In these four categories of services the highest number of clients (90) have been covered under agricultural rites called Dongar Puja. The next in the order is diagnostic and curative for illness covering 43 clients. The services connected with life cycle rituals concerning child birth and marriage have been delivered only to 7 persons and the lowest number of clients ie 6, have received shamanic services relating to exorcism of trouble making spirits.

Analyzing the data village wise, the same trend is found. The service on agricultural rites covered the largest number of clients in both the villages. But the smallest numbers of clients have been served under exorcism in Kurli and under life cycle rituals in Khambesi. Also in both the cases the second highest number of clients have been served under the diagnostic and curative service category.

Examining the performances of the 3 Bejunis and 5 Bejunis of both the villages comparatively, with regard to these four major categories of shamanic services, one finds that the 3 Bejus have served the largest number of individuals ie, 29 out of total 49 under the diagnostic and curative services category of which they are more relied upon as compared to only 14 such clients (out of total 97) served by the Bejunis. The 5 Bejunis on the otherhand, have the credit of performing agricultural rites for a majority of their clients (75 out of 97) as compared to only 15 persons served by their male counterparts under such kinds of services.

It is interesting to note that; in addition to their greater involvement in agricultural rites, the Bejunis retain their stronghold in life cycle rituals where the Bejus no attendance at all. But the situation reverses when it comes to dealing with the trouble making spiritual agencies involving exorcism. In this field, Bejus have a stronger presence than the Bejunis.

A. Case Studies Beju or Bejuni:

I. Namo Sikoka: A young apprentice Beju of Kurli village-

In the village Panimunda, there is a Disari-cum-Beju named *Ado Sikoka*. When his wife died, there was no one to take care of his young son *Namo Sikoka*. So he was sent to Kurli to stay with his maternal uncle. Now the young child has attained his youth.

Two years ago, *Namo* fell ill and experienced dreams. He shared signs of fear and abnormal behaviour some times. His uncle called a Bejuni to treat the young nephew. The latter conducted divination and announced that two deities namely *Simjodi Penu* and *Taku Penu* are behind this problem. They want this young man to take up the profession of a Beju.

Namo honoured the divine wish. The people of Kurli also encouraged him to do so because, there are four Bejunis in the village but no Beju and so they badly need the services of a Beju. Since last two years *Namo* has started practice as a medicine-man. But he is still an apprentice as he is yet to enter into "Spiritual marriage" with his tutelary spirit.

II. Mandika Nilamani of Kurli village-

She is an old woman of above 60 years. Her parents are ordinary people. They never wanted their daughter, *Nilamani* to become a Bejuni. But she was destined to take up this profession. In her adolescence, she received divine indications; it came in shape of a dream followed by prolonged fever. As usual a Bejuni was pressed into service. The cause was detected. That was *Niyam Raja*, *Kula Kene* and *Panji Guru*, the *Penus* who wanted *Nilamani* to become a shamanin. Her parents did not agree. The Bejuni warned them of dire consequences. They had to agree at last. *Nilamani* started her career by learning the art from the experienced female practitioners and finally got married to her tutelary spirit. In course of time she married *Chaita Mandika* of Kurli village and lived with her husband. There she has been practicing shamanism for more than 40 years.

III. Maladi Kadraka of Khembesi village -

She inherited shamanhood from her natal family. Her mother was a shamanin. Her father was a *Sisa*, the assistant of the village priest, *Jani* and had knowledge of herbal medicines. They lived in the village *Hingbadi*.

From her very childhood *Maladi* was exposed to magico-religious activities due to her family background and developed an interest towards this profession. The supernatural sanction came to her at 14 years of age. *Lodasoni Penu* appeared in her dream land persuaded her to marry and adopt him spiritually. In her dream, she was asked to pass the ordeal of walking over piece of thread connecting to hills. She had to walk to and fro three times carefully avoiding falling down. Falling down means disaster not only in the dream world itself as for the consequent fatal injury and the attack of hungry wild animals waiting on the ground, but also for the imminent misfortunes in real life. She came out of the ordeal successfully but fell ill soon after. As usual, an expert Bejuni was called in and she detected the spirit responsible for this problem. Acting upon her advice, her parents and *Maladi* herself decided to honour the wishes of *Penu*. They performed prescribed rituals to appease the *Penu*.

Maladi learnt the art form her mother as well as from the aged Bejuni. The next step was attainment of bonafide Bejunthood by solemnizing spiritual marriage with Lodasoni Penu. In course of time the girl grew up and got married to Pokru Kodraka of Khembesi. Incidentally, her mother-in-law, Rupeli was the Pat-Bejuni in the village. Due to strong influences of her mother-in-law, Maladi stopped her practice during the life time of the latter. After the latter's death, she filled up the vacuum by starting her practice as worthy successor of her mother and mother-in-law. Now she has reached her ripe old age. Surprisingly her physical activities and agility have not diminished proportionately. She is capable of dancing for hours together in the state of trance.

V. Hundadi Wadaka: A Bejuni of Khambesi village -

She was a charming maiden of 15 years old. Her step mother was a Shamanin. They were inhabitants of the village Kota belonging to Sikoka Mutha.

The influence of step-mother on the girl was negligible. Like any other girl of her age, she was attaining the village dormitory, meeting with her boy friends and dreaming about getting a sensible husband and leading a happy conjugal life. In this time dream came and changed her course of life.

A Penu visited the girl in her dreams and tried to win her heart. The innocent girl was mentally disturbed and confused. At first she felt shy to disclose the dream before her friends and parents. Sometimes she showed abnormal behaviour and also fell ill intermittently. Her parents were worried. They requisitioned the services of a Bejuni. The Bejuni went into trance and announced that Bira or Bhairo Penu is disturbing the girl. The deity wants to marry her so as to make her a Bejuni. The consequence of defying his wish might be disastrous. The girl and her parents were puzzled. Internally they did not want to comply but under the Penu's anger, they had to agree reluctantly. Hundadi was initiated into shamanhood first by apprenticeship and subsequently by spiritual marriage. After some days she was married to Driba Wadaka of Khembesi village and came to stay with her husband. There after she continued her practice as Bejuni in Khambesi.

(B) Cases of personal problems attended by Jakasika Illime- Bejuni

I. Problems Associated With Infant Mortality -

The three months old baby son of Jakasika Syama suffered from fever and passed away. Parents suspected displeasure of spirits behind this mishap and solicited the help of Bejuni, Jakasika conducted 'Thana Puja' ritual near a stream. There she identified the malevolent spiritual agencies responsible for the misfortune and to appease them she sacrificed a goat, a pig and a pigeon supplied by the client

II. Prevention of Crop Failure -

Jasika Illime in spite of being a reputed Bejuni of Kurli village, once suffered from the misfortune of crop failure. Her family members faced hardship for scarcity of food during that year Illime decided to find out the cause of misfortune and detect the spirits and deities responsible for this. Hence she performed the *Malemanji* ritual in her house. There she got into trance and discovered that household deities and ancestral spirits are displeased for being neglected by the family. To please them she sacrificed a fowl and a pigeon and hoped that the misfortune will not visit them again in the next year.

III. Diagnostic & Curative Action for Illness

1. Surendra Kadraka of Kurali village regularly goes to work in his Dongar, one day while working there he felt uneasy and sick. His sickness was prolonged and did not respond to the herbal medicines prescribed by the Disari. His case was referred to the Bejuni Illime Jakasika for diagnosis. The Bejuni and her assistant Gurumeni came to Surendra's house. Looking at the sick man, she suspected mischief of some penus. There she drew a square with rice powder in the main room near the seat of the ancestral spirits, kept rice in three piles in the square and chanted verses. In the mean while the Gurumeni dropped some wine in the square, time and again. There they burnt incense and resin. The Bejuni started the process of divination by putting rice in her winnowing fan to identify the spirits causing trouble. While chanting incantations gradually she got into trance and began answering questions put by the Gurumeni. She revealed that Kalia Sundari Penu was mainly responsible for the problem. The spirit while wondering in the hills hungrily found Surendra alone and entered into his body. Then the Bejuni asked Gurumeni to sacrifice of a fowl, a goat and a pigeon to satisfy the hungry spirit and than request it to leave the patient. It was not possible to arrange the animals immediately. The family members of the patient promised to arrange it at a later date. However to manage the situation they sacrificed a chick to the spirit. The Bejuni waved peacock feathers thrice over the body of the patient and requested the deity to leave his body. The Bejuni was remunerated with ½ kg of rice, Rs.2/- in cash and the head of the chick. Later, the family fulfilled their commitment to the spirit during the next Dongar Puja.

2. Asi, the 8 months old baby son of Saiba Jakasika suffered from high fever for few days. His conditions become acute as he developed feats and fainted due to high temperture. His parents panicked and knocked the door of the Bejuni, Jakasika Sonari to save the baby. The later responded immediately suspecting the involvement of ancestral spirits and she conducted rituals at Tulimunda, the seat of ancestors inside Saiba's house. She announced that the ancestors spirits have taken an interest on the baby and wanted to play with the child. Appropriate rituals and animals sacrifice is required to please them. Saiba vowed to comply after arranging the finance. The Bejuni communicated this to ancestral spirits and swept her peacock feathers over the body of the baby to remove the spirits. After sometime Saiba honoured his commitments made before the spirits with the help of the Bejuni. She performed rituals and sacrificed a fowl and a goat to appease the spirits. He also paid the customary fees to the Bejuni. It was comprised of Rs.5/- in cash, some quantity of rice and heads of slaughtered animals. Now his son is cured.

3. Bangari Kadraka a widow of village Kurli aged 40 years fell ill. Even after taking herbal medicines from Disari she did not get relief. Then she thought that her sickness might have been caused by unhappy supernatural agencies. She approached a Bejuni Sonari jakasika. Sonari went into trance and found that Bangari's deceased husband's spirit has entered into her body and effected the sickness. The spirit will be pleased and leave her body by animal sacrifice. Bangari made promise to arrange the animal sacrifice latter, after arranging funds. After her recovery she fulfilled her promise by sacrificing animal. She offered the blood of a fowl and a pigeon to the spirit.

Conclusion:

Though not within their easy reach, today modern allopathic medicines and treatments are being made available to the Dongrias. They are slowly understanding

the need for modern health care. Of course, in the last stage of diseases, when their magico-religious treatment fails, they go for modern treatment. In this context the fore-going discussions will help the tribal health development administrators and Medicos to know the common health care needs of Dongrias and the indigenous method of magico-religious treatment by their ethnic healers. The knowledge of herbal remedies of the Disari, the medicine-man of the Dongria village, need be documented for its better use. It is also expected that the Dongria ethnic healers may be invited to participate in the modern health projects introduced by Government and different voluntary organizations in preventing and curing diseases of the Dongria Kondh. For this the ethnic healers may be empowered through training on modern health practices and be provided with tool kits. Those, who are suitable among them, may also be given the chance to serve as Village Health Workers or ASHA in different health care projects.

References

- | | |
|--|--|
| Balikci Asen | (1963) Shamanistic Behaviour among the Nestsilk Eskimos, Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol-19, p.p.380-396, The University of New Mexico, Albuguerque. |
| Das Patnaik, P.S. | (1972) Bejuni, Their Initiation into Shamanhood: Adibasi, Vol-XIV, No.1- p.p.11-20. |
| Friedl, J & J.E.Pfeiffer | (1972) Anthropology: The study of people, New Yark, Haper & Row. |
| Majumdar, D. N & T.N. Madam | (1986) An Introduction to Social Anthropology, Mayar paper backs, Noida. |
| Nayak, P.K. | (1989) Blood, Women and Territory; An Analysis of Clan Feuds of the Dongria Kondha. Reliance Publishing House, New Delhi, p.p. 155-171. |
| Olien, Michal D. | (1978) The Human Myth; An Introduction to Anthropology, Newyork Harper & Row. |
| Patnaik, N & Das Patnaik, P.S | (1982) The Kondh of Orissa:- Socio-cultural Life and Development, Tribal and Harijan Research cum Training Institute, BBSR, |
| Patnaik, N | (1981) Primitive Tribes of Orissa & their Development (Report, Unpublished), THRTI, Bhubaneswar. |
| Royal Anthropological Institute:, London | (1952) Notes and Querries on Anthropology, Routledge and Kegan Paul |
| Spradley, J.P. & D.W. Mecurdy | (1975) Anthropology; The cultural perspective, New York, John wily & SonsJne. |
| Trask, W.R. | (1964) Shamanism: Arachaic Technique of Eortary, Princeton University Press (Transtated from Mircea Eliade) |
| Weber, M. (1963); | (1922) The Sociology of Religion, (Translated by Ephraim Fischhoff) Methuem & Co Ltd; London. |

"Mankirdia Quest for Development Interventions"

Trilochan Sahoo

(Abstract: The Mankirdia is a semi-nomadic Primitive Tribal Group mostly distributed in and around the Similipal hills. They are 1050 in number as per 2001 census. Their skill of rope making, trapping and eating monkey identifies them as 'Mankirdia'. They are primarily a hunting and food gathering community. They speak a form of Munda language. They wander inside forests in small bands and stay at different tandas-the make shift shelters, comprising of temporary dome shaped leaf huts, known as kumbhas. A bigger leaf hut in their tanda is used as their youths' dormitory. To eke out livelihood they shuttle between forests and markets for collecting siali fibers and selling ropes respectively. The Hill-Kharia and Mankirdia Development Agency, Jashipur, Mayurbhanj has successfully settled two bands of Mankirdias, one at Durdura village of Jashipur Block and another at Kendumundi village of Karanjia Block / ITDA in Mayurbhanj district as a PTG through a Micro Project specially set up for their all-round development. The Mankirdias are identified as a PTG, and enjoy the benefits of Govt. development interventions and welfare measures. This Agency's area of operation is limited. The Mankirdia people beyond the Micro Project area move to different places of Rairangpur, Karanjia, Baripada, Kaptipada ITDAs of Mayurbhanj district and the adjoining Nilagiri ITDA area of Balasore district and in and around the Similipal National Park. In such areas, they are relatively deprived of the development interventions as a PTG. Today, they lead a life of impoverishment coupled with illiteracy, landlessness, homelessness, relative deprivation etc. The free movements of these nomadic denizens deep inside the forests have been checked by the injunctions of forest and biosphere rules. Such unfortunate surroundings are adversely affecting the Mankirdia people in respect of exploitation of forest resources and collection of raw materials from siali creepers for rope making. Although a Micro Project has been established which covers a few selected families at two settlements in a contiguous area, yet establishment of a separate Micro Project for the dispersed Mankirdia population beyond the existing Micro Project area is not feasible. As a result of this they should be assisted under the "Central Sector Scheme of Development of PTGs" launched by MOTA, GOI, New Delhi in 1998 and also through NGO Interventions. Besides, the concerned ITDAs and DRDA should also extend and prioritize their development programmes.)

Ambiguous identity:

The Tribal World encompasses the Mankirdia tribe as one of the most primitive and little known forest dwelling and wandering communities. They are a semi nomadic and god-fearing tribe. They belong to the Munda linguistic group (Austro-Asiatic sub-family). Some of them also speak in Oriya. A typical Mankirdia has the characteristic features of a short stature, dark complexion with long head; broad flat nose, thick lips, wavy hair, loose arms and bow-like legs. The Mankirdia people are simple and shy in nature. They catch and kill monkeys from the forests and eat monkey meat. Other people call them Mankirdia or Mankidi.

The Scheduled Tribes list of Orissa has included the Mankirdia community as a Scheduled Tribe. All the said three names, like Mankirdia, Mankidi and Birhor are enlisted as Scheduled Tribes. They have been enumerated as such during different census operations.

In the state of Orissa the Birhors are concentrated in the rural areas of Sambalpur and Sundargarh districts. The Mankidi and Mankirdia are concentrated in rural areas of Mayurbhanj district. As per 2001 census more than 97 % people of three tribes

live in rural areas. Their sex ratio is 924 females per 1000 males. Likewise about 99 % of Mankirdia populations are ruralite. Their sex ratio is 937 females per 1000 males. About 23 % Birhor and only 7 % Mankirdia people are literate. The work participation rate of both the communities is 51.1 % and 55.4 % respectively. Statement placed below display figures of population and sex ratio of the said three tribes in 16 districts of Orissa, where they were reported as per 2001 census.

Population Structure of Birhor, Mankirdia & Mankidi

Sl. No.	District/ Area/Gender	Population			
		Birhor	Mankidi	Mankirdia	Total
1	Baragarh	8	-	3	11
2.	Balasore	-	9	108	117
3.	Bolangir	9	-	24	36
4.	Deogarh	35	-	134	169
5.	Sambalpur	208	-	-	208
6	Sundargarh	186	13	24	223
7	Mayurbhanj	1	79	682	762
8	Kendujhar	-	7	31	38
9	Cuttack	76	-	-	76
10	Jajapur	-	9	36	45
11	Jagatsinghpur	1	9	-	10
12	Ganjam	81	-	-	81
13	Kalahandi	71	-	-	-
14	Khorda	22	-	6	28
15	Nabarangpur	4	4	-	8
16	Nuapada	-	-	2	2
T O T A L	Rural	663 (94.44%)	126 (96.92%)	1039 (98.95%)	1828 (97.13%)
	Urban	39	4	11	54
	Males	362	74	542	978
	Females	340	56	508	904
	Total	702	130	1050	1882
	Sex ratio	939	757	937	924

(Source: 2001Census)

An analysis of the contour of their cultures, physical features and dialogue will help conclude that they are the one and the same tribe. My field observations over a period of more than half a decade in the forest areas of Mayurbhanj and Deogarh districts confirm this.

These hunters and gatherers with three different names in Orissa and its adjoining states share one and the same cultural life, speak the same Mundari language and also intermarry. And all these happen within and beyond the territory of Orissa. In fact both the Mankirida and Mankidi are one and the same and both types are none but the Birhor (Mohanty, 1990). I prefer them, as they would like too, to be named as Birhor. An attempt for rationalization of their names as one tribe in the parameters of their way of life and culture invites further anthropological investigations.

Ancestry and origin:

The nomadic hunter-gatherer exemplifies the past life of men in the forest in primitive state of conditions. Bulu Imam observes, "They are an aboriginal group originating from the same Kolarian sources as their more advance brothers, the Mundas,

Santals, Hos and Bhuiyans. However, they themselves believe that they are descendants from the Sun" (1986:73). Roy's observation supports this theory in his monograph "The Birhor" (1925). He puts forth- the Mankirdia/Birhor tribe is an offshoot of the Kol. They frequently changed their temporary dwelling within the forest and eked out livelihood as hunter and gatherer. The scenic Chotanagpur plateau is said to be their place of origin. From there they might have migrated to different parts of Orissa and ultimately chosen temporary habitations around the hill tracts.

Nomadic nature & makeshift settlement:

The Mankiridia is a semi-nomadic tribe. The tribesmen wander in the forestlands of the states, like Orissa, Bihar (undivided), Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal. Generally they are seen moving the forest tracks of northwestern Orissa comprising the districts, such as Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Sundargarh, Deogarh, Sambalpur, Balasore, Jajpur and Dhenkanal.

Sometimes these people wander a long distances in the jungle to take advantages of season's best crops or game, for instance the Birhor wander from Orissa to Hazaribagh district (Prashad, 1961). Often they go out of State and come in after two or three years (Mohanty, 1990). My field observation during 1989-90 confirm the Mankirdias, staying out of State in and around TATA Nagar (now in Jharkhand) for about a year mainly for marital purpose and then returning to the Mayurbhanj district.

Most often their *Tandas*, temporary settlements, are traced in and around the Similipal hills of Mayaurbhanj and Balasore districts. I observed this in the fringes of the Similipal forest close to the areas of the Karanjia, Jashipur, Rairangpur and Thakurmunda blocks in Mayurbhanj district. A recent survey conducted by Anwesana, a local NGO of Mayurbhanj district, displays the locations of Makirdia *tandas* and their populations in Balasore and Mayurbhanj districts in the following table.

Mankirida Population in Balasore and Mayurbhanj Districts

Sl No	Name of District /Block/GP	Name of Village	Total HH	Population			Children (0-14)
				Total	Male	Female	
	Balasore Dist.						
1	Oupada Block/ Rairangchandra GP	Halpur	07	22	10	12	7
2	Sore Block/Singakhunta GP	Sarilia	08	30	17	13	9
3	Oupada Block/ Gadasahi GP	Kusudia	31	110	53	57	53
4	Nilagiri Block/Chatrapur GP	Chhatrapur	20	80	46	34	39
5	Khaira Block/ Baunsagaria GP	Bagiapur	06	21	13	8	8
	Mayurbhanj Dist.						
6	Bisoi Block/Bautibeda GP	Chhatani	16	56	30	26	19
7	Kaptipadai Block/ Jaintipata	Balipasi	12	57	38	19	34
8	Samil Jamadiha GP	Uthanisahi	28	117	66	51	58
9	Khunta Block/Lakhanasahi GP	Dengan	42	169	88	81	76
10	Khunta Block/ Dengam GP	Mhalibasa	27	100	46	54	48
11	Sama Khunta Block/ Bhaluki GP	Ambadali	6	17	10	7	4
	Total	11 villages	203	779	417	362	355

(Source: Survey, 2006 by Anwesana, an NGO in Mayurbhanj District)

The Mankirdia in Karanjia ITDA area put forth the following reasons for their frequent changes of dwellings. They divide themselves into different groups on the basis of kinship ties and move from place to place in search of forest resources, principally abundant availability of the mature *siali* creepers and monkey population and the prospect of marketing of ropes. The other reasons could be short supply of *siali* creepers and disturbed monkey populations at an approachable distance in the forest and diminishing demand of rope among the peasants and other people of the locality. Superstition over the issue of unnatural death of a relation, constant conflict with *tanda* members, seeking for a prospective bride, violation of incest taboo, observation of rites and rituals of a close relation at other *tanda*, etc. often forced the Mankirdia to leave his *tanda* and to join with other groups. During rains the Mankirdia stick to a place to avail the employment opportunity in the agricultural operations of the local peasants.

The temporary settlement of Mankirdia is a small one, called *tanda*, the leaf hutments. Large number of families in a *tanda* affects adversely to their forest and market based economy. So it houses 10 to 15 families comprising about 50 people. After observing the ritual testing of suitability of site by the *Dehuri*, the priest, a new *tanda* is set up at a place close to forest, water source and weekly *hat*, market. Most often the *tanda* is found in the fringe of a village.

House pattern; dome-shaped leaf hut (*kumbha*):

Leaf hut (*kumbha*) of the Mankirdia is a pyramidal or cone-shaped structure made of saplings and dry branches covered with fresh leaves of sal (*shorea robusta*) trees and *siali* creepers. Its ground circumference is about 50' and the height at the center is 5'. It is windowless but has a door (Badgir) shutter of 3'x3' size made of twigs and leaves.

They enter into the *kumbha* by creeping. The *kumbha* accommodates men, domestic animals and birds, and also the kitchen is inside it. A tiny *kumbha* stands behind the main one is the abode of their ancestral god, *Alabonga*. This confirms to their belief that the spirits of the deceased person lives with them in the *tanda*. The main *kumbha* is destroyed before a Mankirdia departs a *tanda* but the tiny one is not. Rather the material in it is carried on shoulder respectfully to a new *tanda*. Still another big *kumbha* of rectangular size stands in the *tanda* serve as girls' dormitory, called *Kudi-ada*. As the Mankirdia people said, "the *kumbha* keeps them warm in winter, cool in summer, and it is wind and waterproof".

Shrinking population

The Mankirdia are a small population of 1050 persons in the State of Orissa and in the District of Mayurbhanj they number 682 persons (2001 census). Surprisingly the populations of Birhor in 1981 and Mankidi in 1971 were missing in the Mayurbhanj District, and from there only one Birhor person returned during each of 1991 and 2001 censuses. The populations of all the three tribes, namely Birhor, Mankirdia and Mankidi, taken together constitute 1882 persons and 762 persons in the Orissa State and Mayurbhanj District, respectively in 2001 census. The populations of the three tribes, in the State of Orissa during four successive censuses, like 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991 show an increasing trend including a sudden three times numerical jump from 1352 persons in 1981 to 3466 persons in 1991, which again reduced to about half of its size, i.e. 1882 persons in 2001. Whereas their population status in the Mayurbhanj District indicate a swelling trends in 1971, 1991 and 2001 censuses except in 1981 census, which indicates a shrinking trend. The said population declined from 486 persons in 1971 to 379 persons in 1981. The population figures of three scheduled tribes over last five successive censuses (1961-2001) in the State of Orissa and Mayurbhanj district are given in the table below:-

Population of Birhor, Mankidi and Mankirdia Tribes in different censuses

Census	Birhor		Mankidi		Mankirdia		Total	
	O*	M**	O	M	O	M	O	M
1961	273	38	627	131	169	2	1069	171
1971	98	3	333	-	876	483	1306	486
1981	142	-	205	123	1005	256	1352	379
1991	825	1	1150	392	1491	321	3466	714
2001	702	1	130	79	1050	682	1882	762

(Source: Census, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991 & 2001), O* Orissa state, M**: Mayurbhanj district

The Census operations during the last four decades show a jumble of swelling and shrinking trends of the Mankirdia, Mankidi and Birhor population. The population growth of Birhor shrinks and Mankirdia swells during 1961-1971 and it is vice versa during 1981-91. The population growth of Mankidi shrinks in two consecutive decades (1961-71 and 1971-81) and swells in the next decade (1981-91). But surprisingly during the decade, 1991-01, the population trends of all the three communities indicate negative growth rate. The population trends of Birhor are growth negative (-) 64.10 % during 1961-71, amazingly growth positive (+) 480.98 % during 1981-91 and again a growth negative, i.e. -14.91 % during 1991-01. The population growth of Mankirdia is amazingly high, (+) 418.34 % during 1961-71, which is reduced, but a positive growth of 14.73 % during 1971-81 and 48.36 % during 1981-91, and finally it is declined with a negative growth rate of -29.58 % during 1991-01. The population of Mankidi is growth negative, (- 46.89) during 1961-71, (- 38.44) during 1971-81 and (- 88.70 %) during 1991-01 decades but only during 1981-91 it indicates a positive growth, i.e. 460.97 %.

It is alarming that the magnitude of population growth of the said three tribes, both, individually and altogether, in the state of Orissa is growth negative during the decade, 1991-01. The population growth of all the three tribes taken together shows a rising trend in 1961-71, 1971-81 and 1981-91 decades but, for the first time, it shows a declining trend (-45.70 %) in the last census of 2001. (See table below).

Decade	Population Growth Rate in Orissa (%)			
	Birhor	Mankidi	Mankirdia	Total
1961-71	- 64.10	- 46.89	418.34	22.26
1971-81	44.90	- 38.44	14.73	3.44
1981-91	480.98	460.97	48.36	156.36
1991-01	- 14.91	- 88.70	- 29.58	- 45.70

(Source: 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 Censuses)

The reason of such fluctuations in the population growth rate among the Birhor, Mankidi and Mankirdia tribes could be due to their similar culture and nomadic habitat, which identify them differently at different places. Needless to say that they not only roam in different places within the state of Orissa but beyond its boundary spreading to the neighbouring areas of West Bengal, Bihar, Chhatisgarh states. They are semi nomadic, live in leaf hutments, eat monkey meat and eke out their living mostly out of making and marketing siali ropes. Local people use the same nomenclature to address them. Their ethnic features and language are one and the same. Further, their faulty enumerations in different censuses can't be dispensed with. It could mislead us to conclude that the Birhor populations were dwindling during 1961-71 and so also Mankidi population in 1961-71, 1971-81 and all of them in 1991-01. Do their populations really decline? My field observations during 1986-1993 on two groups of about 100 Mankirdia

people, one at Durdura village of Jahsipur Block and another at Kendumundi village of Karanjia Block of Mayurbhanj district do not corroborate the fact of the shrinking population. It needs reaffirmation through a synchronic study of demography on Birhor, Mankidi and Mankirdia in Orissa and its adjoining states.

Rope craft- Lifeline of Mankirdias:

The craft of rope making is a significant aspect of Mankirdia economy. They harvest good variety of fibres by chopping and stripping the bark of seasoned *siali* (Lama Bayer) creepers collected from forest. On an open workshop, which sits in front of *Kumbhas* and most often beneath big trees, they tear the *siali* fibres into different sizes and thin threads and braid and twist them to get the finished products of ropes, slings, nets, bags and small baskets (*topa*).

In this craft making they use small tools, like axe, knife, bamboo club and knife-sized bamboo/wooden blade. At times, they use jute as raw material to prepare ropes to meet requirements of local peasants. These products have a great demand among the local peasants. The later use their agricultural implements and cattle and draw water from the wells with the help of the ropes. The *siali* small baskets help contain oil seeds placed between two wooden planks which are pressed for extraction of oil in crude method by the tribals. The women folk preferably the old generation weave mat out of date-palm leave and that is for their own use but not for sale.

Shuttling between forests and markets:

The Mankiridia can't live without forests and the markets. They frequent forest mainly for collection of *siali* creepers /fibres, the raw material used in the craft of rope making. For them, the other MFP collections, which their eyes catch while pursuing the *siali* fibres, are additional, casual and seasonal ones. Monkey hunting inside the forest is a masculine job, planned and done, especially and occasionally. They venerate the natural forest for their safety from the attack of the dangerous wild life and the boon of catching games, collecting *siali* fibres and successful hunting. Annually they have a great religious hunt in the forest, known as *Disum Sendra*. Often they use to live in makeshift hutments in the forest for about half a week or so to perform the forest collections and return to the *tanda* for preparation of ropes and baskets.

In the weekly market days they go to markets without fail for disposal of ropes and procurement of their daily provisions. The other attractions are meeting friends and relations. The bachelors and spinsters seek in the market the possibility of meeting with their beloved ones from different *tanda*. Under the impact of modernization the Birhor minds are tuned with the market economy but they still practise barter. Occasionally, they are seen in village streets trying push-sale of ropes and small baskets in exchange of rice and *mudhi*, fried rice, the popular fast food of Mayurbhanj district.

Forest provides them free supply of raw materials, i.e., *siali* fibres. Their skills of processing fibres help make ropes. The market facilitates their rope selling. The eventual movements from forest to market have a direct bearing with their livelihood round the year. While making movements inside forests in search of raw materials for rope making, they encircle the Similipal forest by supplying ropes according to the market demand of the goods in the adjacent peasant dominated villages. And that causes dynamic of the Mankirdia people; shuttling between forests and markets, in and around the Similipal National Park, in Mayurbhanj and Balasore districts of Orissa. This dynamic force has built their awareness on the injunctions and restrictions of the forest rules and thus they never venture to move into the core area of the Project Tiger. However, instances of infringements of forest rules by the Mankirdia by trespassing into

the interior or core area of the National Park are rare and, when done, they are booked as delinquents, and become victimized with seizure of their simple tools, like axes and small knives inclusive of their forest collections.

Development interventions:

The Mankirdia outside the Micro Project area in Mayurbhanj district cry for action. They suffer from landlessness, houselessness, and joblessness as their forest based traditional livelihood has been declining for stringent forest conservation laws. They live on the edge of starvation. No agencies pull the nomads back to health, as they suffer from ailments resulting from lack of proper nutrition and inaccessible health services. The National Park Authority has strictly implemented forest rules. In the pre-project scenario the Mankirdia had a free hand in exploiting the resources of the Similipal forest. In the aftermath of the National Park the tribals' rights over the forest resources have been snatched away without providing them any alternative source of livelihood and employment. Without being a permanent resident at any place they are being deprived of social opportunities, like a ration card, a voter identity card, and all the governmental development and welfare measures meant for the poor ST people.

The Mankirdia outside the Micro Project area are silently observing resettlement and development programmes of their brethren at villages, Kendumundi and Durdura, who won community houses, tube wells, Anganwadi centers communally and Indira Awas houses, kitchen gardens, possess vote identity cards, ration cards, BPL cards, got old age pensions and also are the beneficiaries of different IGS programmes. Some of them have crossed poverty line; turned literate, sharecroppers, businessmen, tractor drivers and sent their children to schools. All of them have given up their wandering habit and lead a settled life. These observations on the govt. development interventions for the Mankirida at the two villages have been imprinted in the minds of the other Mankiridas and influenced them to claim for availing such benefits extended by the Govt. of Orissa as well as MOTA, Govt. of India.

It is learnt that due to influence of the Mankiridia development programmes experimented by the HKMDA, Jashipur, Mayurbhanj district in 1986-93, some development programmes have been initiated through GO and NGO at Chatani Village of Rairangpur ITDA, Chatrapur village of Nilagiri ITDA and other villages of Kaptipada ITDA. A few Mankirida families have been allotted with 4 decimals of homestead lands, Indira Aawas houses and assisted for development of kitchen garden and their children are admitted in Sebashram and Ashram Schools. Some are reading in non-formal schools /Chatashalis run by an NGO, named Anwesana, in Udal area. The meager and piecemeal development assistances given to the Mankirdias can't fulfill their development needs. Though they are a PTG, due to their smallness size and scattered population, it is not possible to establish another Micro Project, like HKMDA, Jashipur to care of their total development.

Needless to say that the Mankirdia, who are out of reach of the development and welfare programmes, live in extreme conditions of backwardness, poverty and deprivation, educationally, economically and socially. All of them are below the poverty line. The literacy of the Mankirdias found beyond the Micro Project areas is leveled at less than 1 per cent. To add to their plights, the incidence of malnutrition and ill health is extremely high among them. All the Mankirdias are houseless and live in leaf huts. It is high time the district administration with the help of Rairangpur, Karanjia, Baripada, Kaptipada and Nilagiri ITDAs, and also the DRDAs and Similipa National Park authorities may conduct special surveys of Mankirdias found in the area and prepare suitable action plans and prioritize the programmes for total development of the Mankirdia including the Birhor and Mankidi people.

The Mankirdias are small in number, differently developed with respect to their brethren in (HKMDA) Micro Project area and of remote habitat with poor administrative and infrastructure back up. They are characterized with low level of literacy, declining population, preagricultural level of technology and economically backward. They constitute the most vulnerable among the Scheduled Tribes of Orissa State in general and Mayurbhanj and Balasore districts in Particular. Items and activities of total development programmes required for the Mankirdias, which though very crucial for their survival, protection and development, are not specifically catered to by any devolvement agency or scheme. Therefore, they are in need of priority to be accorded for their protection and development.

Ministry of Tribal Affairs, GOI, New Delhi has launched a special scheme, namely "Central Sector Scheme- Development of PTG" in 1998. Funds under the scheme would be available on 100 % basis for the protection and development of PTG, which are not specifically catered to any existing schemes, SCA to TSP and Article 175 (1) of the Constitution. The Funds under the scheme could be used for helping the Mankirdia beneficiaries to cope with extremely adverse situations that threaten their survival. They badly need protection against various form of exploitation. The activities under the proposed scheme may include development measures, like allotment of homestead land, house, land, development of kitchen garden, poultry and goat rearing, skill development training for rope making, organization of Self Help Groups, health, nutrition and education and provision of services and inputs along with awareness generation and confidence building. The district administration should come forward to extend all the opportunities, like old age/widow pensions, ration cards, voter identity cards and other welfare measures meant for BPL families. In absence of a special Micro Project for the total development of these PTG people, who are dispersed in different ITDAs in Mayurbhanj and Balasore districts, there is need for selection and deployment of a suitable NGO and field functionaries who possess a degree of enthusiasm, empathy, integrity, sensitivity and experiences of development programmes with the Mankirdias, and also willingness to take up the hard work under the "Central Sector Scheme- Development of PTG". A proposal for the total development of the PTG need to be prepared through GO and NGO collaboration and the same be sent to MoTA, GOI. through ST* SC Development Dept., GoO for sanction of funds. It is high time, the concerned ITDAs, District Administration and the local NGOs should help assist the Mankirdias, the weakest among the weaker sections.

References

1. Bulu Imam, A.R.H. 1986: "The World of Birhor", The Heritage, February, Vol. 2, No.1, Das, M. (ed.), pp.70-75.
2. Mohanty, P.K.1990: "The Birhor", Tribes of Orissa, 1990, THRTI, Orissa, Bhubaneswar, pp.76-81.
3. MoTA, 2001: Schemes for Tribal development - Handbook, New Delhi, pp. 89-90.
4. Nayak, P.K. & T. Sahoo 2002: "Trend of Tribal Population in the Eastern Ghats Region of Orissa", The Eastern Ghats, EPTRI - ENVIS Newsletter, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 2-3.
5. Prasad, N. 1961: "The Birhor", Land and People of Tribal Bihar, T R I, Ranchi, Bihar.
6. Roy, S.C. 1925: The Bihors, A Little-known Jungle Tribe of Chhota Nagpur, Ranchi
7. Sahoo, T. 1996: "The Changing Life-Style of the Birhor: From Nomadism to Settled Life", Adivasi, Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 1&2, June & December, pp.47-60

MUTATION AND PERMUTATION IN THE CULTURE SCAPE OF PTGs

Harihar Das
Devi Prasad Das

The theory of evolution believes in the mutation and permutation of building blocks of genes, which brings in bewildering biological species from unicellular amoeba proteus to human being with complex structure of genetic arrangement. Adaptability to accompanying eco-habitat sets the tune of genetic configuration of biological species. In this continual process, we see natural selection plays pre-dominant role in accommodating or rejecting the viability of existence of a particular species. The 'One' that fails to closely follow the competitive process of existence vis-a-vis the eco-habitat it is out rightly rejected by the dynamic laws of evolution. Starting from the origin of the living world long ago biological species come and go notwithstanding the changes in the matrix of the nourishing world. It points out the elimination of the Dinoserous and other giant animals once dominated the world.

The same process of accommodation and rejection is found in the components of ethnic cultural moorings of the world that provides the required basis of sustenance to man. The changes set in by different agencies may be cross-fertilization of cultures, changes in geographical and eco-habitat, technological factors and social legislations. The mutation in ethnic society without having an outside window beyond their encysted habitations is influenced by this change provoking agencies. They sneak into the placid ethnic society slowly yet steadily.

The present article is premised upon the micro and macro level changes visible in the Lanjia Saora tribe one of the Primitive Tribe of state. It attempts to make a comparative analysis of the virgin Saora tribe and the acculturated Saora in the matters of language, religious beliefs and practices, life style, family life, economy, occupation, health care, festivals, values and motives.

Virgin Saora Tribe:

Language

Saora language is of Austro-Asiatic type belonging to Munda group (Elwin, 1955). Saoras are one of the principal Munda speaking tribe (Haimendrof, 1982). In this language there is repetition in their speaking of words and the second word as a synonym to the first word is always repeated as 'Tangli - Mangli' (cattle) or Jojongi - Yoyongi (ancestors) and the like. The tribe also use riddles. The Lanjia Saoras speak their original languages though sometimes it has been deformed due to the influence of either Telgu or Oriya languages. Hardly a few of them can speak any languages other than their own languages. The Saora language is flexible, always ready to coin new words, well adapted to the demands made upon it.

Religious Beliefs

Saora religion is largely a matter of personal relationship. Saoras have strong religious beliefs and practices. They call *Sum* to any God. Elwin has counted as many as

171 Saora Gods. Elwin remarked on their religion, "The great advantage of Saora religion is that it enables a man to do something about his worries. It personifies them which in itself makes things easier and tells him that there is a way of putting things right".

Life style:

Saora life is very simple. Basically the males put on a loin cloth hanging down in front and back and the females put on a towel sized cloth to cover their bodies. So far as their food habit is concerned they eat whatever they get at hand. They can kill and eat any animal food in the jungle. Many people have started cultivating rice in their terraced fields. But they grow millets in their swiddens on the hill slopes and it constitutes their staple food.

Social Organisation

Elwin comments "The most remarkable thing of the organization of Saora society is its lack of organization." It has no exogamous totemic clans, no phratries, and no moieties. The only unit of kinship is the extended family or lineage descended from a common male ancestor and called Birinda. The Birinda regulates sex and marriage as an exogamous unit. Saora marriage is a simple affair. The groom visits the bride's home with wine and if the latter accepts and tastes it the engagement is made and a few days after, marriage takes place. Premarital sex is not uncommon but violation of customary rule invite imposition of negative social sanctions through community action.

Economic Life

The Saora possess three kinds of farmlands - (i) *Saroba*, the terraced paddy fields, their valuable productive assets, (ii) *Baseng*- the up and dry land not as fertile as the *Saroba* and (iii) *Bagado*. Mainly they grow rice in terraced fields and a variety of minor millets, cereals, pulses, oilseeds and vegetables in the swiddens (*Bagado*) and *Baseng*:

Saora are experts in terrace cultivation by which they produce paddy only. They grow a variety of cereals, pulses, oil seeds and vegetables in their *Bagado* (swiddens) and uplands (*Baseng*). Besides they supplement their livelihood by raising horticultural plantations, seasonal forest collections and animal domestication.

The land mark of their economic existence is their traditional labour cooperative (*Ansir*) through which fellow villagers, kith and kin come forward to help a needy family for labour intensive works.

Health Care

Saoras have strong beliefs in the efficacy of magico-religious remedies for various kinds of ailments. The Shamman - the magico-religious specialist locally called Kudan (male) or Kudanboi (female) goes into trance, communicates with the aggrieved god or spirit and conducts appropriate ritual sacrificing animals to appease it and relieve the client of his/her trouble. They also administer herbal remedies.

Festivals

They observe a series of festivals round the year connected with their social and economic activities. In these occasions they worship their deities and spirits offering food and animal sacrifices. Festivals are observed with traditional dancing, drum beating and liquor drinking. A common feast is arranged for all after each ceremony that is

enjoyed with either buffalo or goat meat. Village priest, Buyya and magico-religious specialists - Kodan and Kudanboi play an important role in the performance of community festivals.

Values and Motives

Saoras' concept of values, ethics and morality is high. They do not conceal the crime they commit. Generally they regard life as precious gift of god. Killing a woman is an unpardonable sin. They hate a person who is very proud and a person who is a miser. They are proud of their group solidarity and maintain the traditions of mutual hospitality and co-operation. Scandalmongers and greedy people are disliked by all. They disapprove jealousy and love to maintain social equality. Mutual cooperation is preferred to competition. Unlike Hindus they do not believe in ultimate rewards and punishments. Behaviour towards God is extended in the same way as behaviour towards fellow beings.

Saora Tribe under Mutation:

The present generation Saora tribe is undergoing the process of acculturation effected by various agents of planned change and modernisation. Rapid changes are taking place in their life style due to changes in their eco - habitats. Earlier the process of mutation was very slow but the on going process of globalization, the revolution in information technologies, planned development intervention and several other internal and external factors have made their cumulative impact in the transformation of Saora culture. This has caused the tectonic plates of Saora ethnicity to be impacted heavily. It is worthwhile to take note of the changes in the traditional Saora society and ethnicity in all the fields.

The Saora today have been acculturated to an extent. The Shudha Saora and the Christian Saora are more acculturated than their primitive counterparts like the Lanjia Saora. While the Sudha Saora moves towards the Hindu Society, the Christian Saora go by the Christian way. These processes have started centuries ago. In present times globalization brings the two groups of Saora under one platform. The development intervention by the Government brings socio - economic changes in varying degrees among all the Saora.

Mutation and permutation is an indication of the mobility of Saora society. The changes are brought about by planned process. It is mostly directed to make the people to move further from their age-old culture. The sustainability of the development process, the most powerful changing agent is based upon imported ideas. The Saoras by and large lag economic prosperity as compared with the mainstream society. The PTG development approach by the Government with more emphasis on family oriented development approach will bring skewed change in the time to come. It is high time to give adequate safeguard for their cultural base as well as cultural identity at the same time enabling them to make the best of both the worlds.

References

- I) Indian Culture and Personality by S.K.Panda , Published by Discovery Publishing House , Delhi
- II) Understanding Change by S.C.Dube, Published by Vikas publishing house Pvt. Ltd., Delhi
- III) Tribals and their Culture, Volume - I, II, III by G.K. Ghosh, Published by Asish Publishing House, Delhi

CONTRIBUTORS

Name	Address
A. B. Ota	Director, SC & ST Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar - 751003
A. C. Sahoo	Director, Academy of Tribal Dialect and Culture (ATDC), Bhubaneswar
A. K. Gamango	Research Officer, SC & ST Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar
B. B. Mohanty	Former Deputy Director, SC & ST Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar
B. Chowdhury	Former Deputy Director, SC & ST Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar
B. N. Swain	Research Officer, SC & ST Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar
Harihar Das & Devi Prasad Das	Elwin Gabesana Parishad, Bhubaneswar
J. Dash	Professor of Anthropology, Utkal University, Vani Vihar, Bhubaneswar
J.P Rout	Former Deputy Director, SC & ST Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar
K. J. N.Gowtham Shankar	IDEA, Flat 4C, Maharaja Towers, R.K. Mission Road, Visakhapatnam - 530 003 Mobile: 09849342469
K. K. Mohanti	Ex-Director, SC & ST Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar
L. K. Mahapatra	Former Professor of Anthropology, Utkal University & Vice-Chancellor, Utkal & Sambalpur Universities, former Consultant to the World Bank & DFID-UNDP
K. Patnaik	Research Officer, SC & ST Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar
Nishakar Panda	Qr. No.1/008, BDA Apartment, Nilakantha Nagar, Bhubaneswar-751012
R. N. Sahu	Former Deputy Director, SC & ST Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar
S. C. Mohanty	Research Officer, SC & ST Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar
T. Sahoo	Research Officer, SC & ST Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar

INTSTITUTE'S PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Monographs on Scheduled Tribes

- *1. THE KONDH OF ORISSA, N.Patnaik, P.S.Daspatnaik
Dy.-8, p.p. 353 (including bibliography maps, 23 plates), hard cover, 1982, Rs. 55/-
2. LIFE IN SONABERA PLATEAU: ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE BHUNJIAS OF KALAHANDI, ORISSA, N.Patnaik, P.K.Mohanty, T.Sahoo, Dy.-8, p.p. 128 (including bibliography, 20 plates, maps and charts), hard cover, 1984, Rs.50/-.
3. THE BONDOS AND THEIR RESPONSE TO DEVELOPMENT, N.Patnaik, B.Chowdhury, P.S.Daspatnaik, Dy.-8, p.p. 201, (including bibliography, 13 plates), Paper back, 1984, Rs.89/-.
4. HAND BOOK ON THE JUANG, S.P.Rout, Published in Adibasi, Vol. XI, Nos. 1 & 2, April & July, 1969, Rs.8/-.
5. HAND BOOK ON KOYA, Ch. P.K.Mohapatra, Published in Adibasi, Vol. XI, No.4, January, 1970, Rs.4/-.
6. THE KONDH OF ORISSA (Revised and enlarge edition) Dy.-8, p.p. -440, hard cover, 2006, Rs.250/-

Popular Series on Tribes

7. THE JUANG, Ed. N.Patnaik, Dy.-8, p.p.88 (including bibliography, 11 plates, sketches), hard cover, 1989, Rs.74/-.
- *8. THE SAORA, Ed. N.Patnaik, Dy.-8, p.p.77 (including bibliography, 11 plates, sketches), hard cover, 1989, Rs.74/-.
9. THE KOYA, Ch. P.K.Mohapatra, Dy.-8, p.p.65 (including bibliography) paper back, Rs.54/-.

Monographs on Scheduled Castes

- *10. BAURI OF BHUBANESWAR: A STUDY ON THE URBANIZATION PROCESSES IN A SCHEDULED CASTE, M.Mahapatra, Dy.-4, p.p.70 (including sketches) paper back, 1978, Rs.43/-.
11. SAPUA KELA, N.Patnaik, B.Chowdhury, Dy.-8, p.p.136 (including bibliography, 9 plates, maps & charts), hard cover, 1989, Rs.89/-.
12. THE GANDA: A SCHEDULED CASTE WEAVER COMMUNITY OF WESTERN ORISSA, N.Patnaik, S.C.Mohanty, Dy.-8, p.p.274 (including bibliography, maps), paper back, 1988, Rs.114/-.
13. A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE DANDASI: A SCHEDULED CASTE COMMUNITY OF ORISSA, N.Patnaik, A.Malik, Dy.-8, p.p.42 (including bibliography) paper back, 1988, Rs.10/-.
14. THE GHASI: A SCHEDULED CASTE COMMUNITY OF ORISSA, T.Sahoo, Ed. K.K.Mohanti, Dy.-8, p.p.68 (including bibliography, map, chart), paper back, 1994, Rs.45/-.
15. THE JAYANTIRA PANO: A SCHEDULED CASTE COMMUNITY OF ORISSA, Mohan Behera, Ed. K.K.Mohanti, Dy.-8, p.p.116 (including bibliography, map), paper back, 1994, Rs.55/-.
16. THE ADURIA DOM OF ORISSA : A MONOGRAPHIC STUDY, A.K.Mohanty, A.K.Gomango, Ed. K.K.Mohanti, Dy.-8, p.p. 106 (including bibliography, map) paper back, 1997, Rs.75/-.

Other Special Publications

17. ADIBASI ATLAS ORISSA, Vol. I, Contains 16 maps showing some of the basic features of tribes of Orissa, Size 59 x 39 c.m. p.p.65 (maps & tables), Resin bound, 1987, Rs.400/-.
18. TRIBAL EDUCATION IN ORISSA IN THE CONTEXT OF EDUCATION FOR ALL, BY 2000 A.D. A STATUS PAPER, Dy.-4, p.p. 296 (including bibliography, charts) paper back, 1994, Rs.260/-.
19. DEVELOPMENT HANDBOOK FOR THE BONDOS OF BONDOS DEVELOPMENT AGENCY AREA, MUDULIPADA, MALKANGIRI DISTRICT (An action plan based on techno-economic survey), Dy.-4, p.p.195 (including bibliography, maps) paper back, 1996, Rs.200.
20. DEVELOPMENT HANDBOOK FOR THE KUTIA KANDHA OF K.K.D.A., BELGHAR, PHULBANI DISTRICT (An action plan based on techno-economic survey), Dy.-4, p.p.212 (including bibliography, map), paper back, 1996, Rs.200/-.
- *21. BIKAS O SACHETANATA (In Oriya), Dy.-8, p.p.193, 1997.
22. Development Indicator Chart: A Comparative Picture of the ST In Orissa.
23. Tribes of Orissa : Revised Edition 2004, Rs. 350/-
24. Collection & Sale of Minor Forest Produce among the Tribes of Orissa : A Socio-Structural & Economic Analysis, Rs.150
25. Development Handbook for the Juang of Juang Development Agency Area, Gonasika, Keonjhar District, Orissa (An Action Plan Based on Techno-Economic Survey)
26. Data Hand Book on STs & SCs of Orissa. Dy.-4, p.p. -383, paper back, 2006, Rs.450/-

Journal

ADIVASI is the Journal of the Institute published twice a year. It publishes research papers in the field of Social Sciences, Development Studies and Problems of SC & ST.

NB : Publications with * star-mark are out of stock.

Back Issues of Adivasi are also Available for Sale