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FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Papers in various disciplines, like Anthropology, Sociology, Economics, Demography, Human Geography, Museology and Museum methods and planning with special reference to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are invited. The papers should be type-written in double space on one side of paper. The contributors should submit two copies of each paper. They may send their brief bio-data. Each paper should contain one paragraph abstract / summary to be printed at the beginning of the paper. No remuneration is paid to the contributors. Only 25 off-prints of the paper published are supplied. Two copies of the books may be sent for the purpose of review. The bibliography/references cited should invariably follow the pattern as in current Anthropology, as follows :—

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BOVILL, E. W. 1933, Caravans of the Old Sahara.
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EDITORIAL

This volume contains seven research articles on diverse themes contributed by various scholars working in the field of tribal research and development.

The paper on "Vulnerable Ethno-Cultural Groups (VEGs)" attempts to redefine the term 'primitive' in the tribal context besides highlighting socio-cultural profiles of some of the so called PTCs and strategies for their development.

In the article "Linguistic Landscape and Literary Cultivation", the author has classified the tribes of Orissa on the basis of the languages spoken by them. Besides, the article deals with typological classification of tribal languages including their structural and genetic relationships.

The paper on "Socio-Economic and Demographic profile of the Bodo Gadaba of Koraput District" is based on empirical data gathered from two Bodo Gadaba villages. The paper briefly analyses various demographic aspects, such as, age, sex, occupation, income, marital status and fertility rate etc. of the community.

The paper on "Status of Tribal Literacy in Orissa with particular reference to Women Literacy" is based on analysis of census data. It deals with growth of tribal women literacy over the years, communitywise comparison of literacy rates and socio-cultural constraints which hinder educational progress among them.

The paper on "A Preliminary Study of Acceptability of permanent Measures of Birth Control of Bhattara Tribe of Orissa", though very brief but quite informative. It provides information about the attitude of the Bhattara women towards permanent birth control measures, besides, discussing on different motivational factors that influence acceptance of such measures.

The article on "Economic Activities among Madia Gond : A primitive tribe of Maharashtra" discusses the distribution and demography of the community in the State with focus on their manner of utilization of different livelihood resources.

The article on "Health and Nutritional Status of the Juang Children" highlights various factors such as food consumption pattern including nutritional value of different types of food in terms of their sufficiency and deficiency as per the prescribed ICMR standard which influence the health status of the Juang children.

We are extremely grateful to the members of the Editorial Board for their painstaking efforts and valuable suggestions in bringing out this volume. Our sincere thanks are also due to our esteemed paper contributors for their contribution to the Journal. It is hoped that these articles will be of much help to our valued readers.

Editor

VULNERABLE ETHNO-CULTURAL GROUPS (VEGs)

N. K. Behura
K. K. Mohanti

PROLOGUE

The term 'tribe' refers to two realities or two fields of facts which are different, but linked. However, everyone uses it to distinguish a type of society from others. It refers to a specific mode of social organization, which is different from other modes of social organization. This does not mean that there is complete socio-cultural unanimity amongst them. Anthropologists employ a set of criteria to define and categorize tribal societies. The other reality is that it refers to a stage of evolution. The link between these two realities is very clear, because according to evolutionist's view point, each stage of evolution is characterized by a specific mode of social organization (Godelier, 1973).

The term 'tribe' comes from the word 'tribus', which designates a particular kind of social and political organization existing in traditional societies of Africa, America, Oceania and Asia. In such societies there is an internal relationship, real or implied, between kinship and political organization. This internal relationship can be understood better if one analyzes the nature of social groups, designated as clan, phratry, gens and tribe. Till anthropology became a scientific discipline, these terms had been used indiscriminately by administrators, missionaries, geographers and others. But it was Morgan, who for the first time delineated tribal forms of social organization in his write up : *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (1871). He demonstrated that the type of social relations which predominate the organization of tribal societies are based on kinship. He showed that the kinship relations could be better understood by studying rules of marriage, descent and kinship terminologies. Morgan typified tribe as a completely organized society. A tribe is an aggregate of clans. A clan is a consanguineal group, real or fictive, of relatives, and all the members believe to have descended from a common ancestor or ancestress. Morgan demonstrated this in his trend-setting contribution, *Systems of consanguinity and Affinity of Human Family* (1871). Each tribe culturally homogeneous and is individualized by a common appellation, by a separate dialect or language, by a law-enforcing mechanism, by professing animism, and by possession of a common territory, which it claims to be its very own. In other words, a tribe may be described as a system of social organization with a common territory, a tradition of common descent, common language, a common name and a common culture.

With the emergence of structural-functional theory tribal societies were no longer considered as representatives of stages of evolutionary order, but certainly as a type of society. Most of the functionalists regarded social systems as wholes. Internal linkages exist through group sentiments, fostering of common ideology, speaking of a common language, and practice of boundary maintenance rules. These criteria together with some others branded an ethnic community as a tribe. Tribal societies exhibit three types of internal political relations, namely, (i) non-segmentary acephalous, (e.g. Eskimo, African Ibo, etc.);

segmentary acephalous (Nuer of Sudan, Dobu of Oceania, etc.) and (iii) the centralized (Tonga, Mossi, etc.) (Honigmann, 1964).

Sahlins (1961) and Service (1962) attempted to redefine tribe as a type of society, and presented a scheme of social evolution in four stages : the band, the tribe, the chiefdom and the State, whereby 'civilization' finally emerged in the historical process. This scheme exemplified evolution of societies from simple to complex. In 1968 Sahlins in his book *Tribesmen* changed this scheme into a succession of three stages ; band, tribe, and state.

Tribal societies have two functioning features in common : (i) the existence of elementary social units- primary segments possessing the form of multifamilial local groups, and (ii) the multifunctionality of kinship relations which shape these familial groups. There is 'structural equivalence' of 'primary segments' in tribal societies; and this means that they are functionally equivalent, that is, economically, politically, culturally and ideologically equal. Each local community or segment is like another, and does for itself what another does. In many cases local communities are segments of lineages claiming descent from a common ancestor or ancestress. The concept of 'tribal society' encompasses a concatenation of features found in the functioning of many simple societies, the segmentary character of elementary socio-economic units, the real or apparent nature of 'kinship groups in these socio-economic units and the multifunctional nature of these kinship relations (Godelier, 1973) : The term 'tribe' is both a structural and cultural concept.

INDIAN SCENARIO

Indian society is a plural one, and hence Indian civilization is a conglomeration of traditions. Indian society consists of three broad segments, namely, folk (tribal societies), peasants (caste communities) and urban conglomerates. In Indian context the term 'tribe' refers to the indigenous *janas*. They are variously designated as *adivasi* (original settlers), *girijan* (hill-dwellers), *vanyajati* (forest-dwellers) *adimjati* (primitive castes), *janajati* (folk communities), and *anusuchit janjati* (scheduled tribes), and also by their respective ethno-cultural nomenclatures. Each tribe has a sense of its own identity, each tribe functions as a distinct socio-cultural entity. Different tribal communities living side by side do not have a sense of communality and a sense of interdependence.

The colonial government assigned a separate identity to the tribes in India and treated them differently. In 1874 the British enacted the Scheduled Districts Act in order to keep large tracts of tribal areas outside the jurisdiction of normal administration (Act XIV of 1874). For these areas special Executives or Agents were appointed with wide powers, who established linkages with local tribal chiefs and appeased them. In 1935 the 'Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas Act' was enacted, which made non-applicable any legislation brought about by the Provincial Governments to tribal areas except without the approval of Government of India. The colonial government categorized all these simple ethnic communities as tribes, and treated them as distinct from caste communities. This categorization reinforced the ethno-cultural identities of the tribal communities. The tribal population is too much differentiated to the lumped together as distinct ethno-cultural category. Linguistically they belong to four language families : (i) Indo-Aryan, (ii) Austro-Asiatic, (iii) Tibeto-Burmese, and (iv) Dravidian. Racially they are at great variance. Different tribal communities exhibit various

Asiatic, (iii) Tibeto-Burmese, and (iv) Dravidian. Racially they are at great variance. Different tribal communities exhibit various racial elements in varying proportions. The racial elements found amongst them are : Negrito, Proto-Australoid, Mediterranean, Mongoloid and Europoid (Alpine, Armenoid, Dinaric and Nordic).

Tribals do not have ethnic consciousness, but have a perception of bio-cultural distinctiveness. But as perception is influenced by mutual interaction, culture and genetic endowment, it takes the coverage of ethnicity. Each tribe has its own boundary maintenance rules. Each lays emphasis on its boundary maintenance so as to promote the unity and integrity of the ethno-cultural entity. Ethnicity refers to a social group with common heredity and cultural tradition. In other words an ethnic group is social group based on common descent and sharing of a common culture. According to Barth (1969) ethnic group refers to a population which is part of a plural society, and yet it is self-perpetuating biologically and shares a common culture and a language. Its membership is ascriptive and is identified by others as a distinct category.

TRIBES AS INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

Niharranjan Ray, the famous Historian and Indologist, in his quest for the meaning of the term *jana* found in ancient literature suggests that it refers to the tribal communities. He says that the terms *jana* and *jati* are both derived from the sanskrit root *jan*, which means 'to be born' or 'to give birth to' and thus has a biological connotation. He states that the term *jana* in ancient times referred to these people who are autochthones and who have been residing in forest and hilly areas. Till independence most of the tribal communities led a life of seclusion. The colonial government tried to keep them separate from others and designated them as 'tribes'. By classifying them as tribe, the colonial government foisted on them a common identity. Of course the category of tribe has today become a part of the established order but more as a political than as a social fact. Having become established, that identity is now in the process of being reformulated, with a distinct tendency to describe the tribal population as a whole and irrespective of its location as the indigenous people of India (Beteille, 1995).

The term "indigenous" has acquired wide currency throughout the world during the present decade at the initiative of I. L. O. and other international agencies. This phenomenon has far-reaching consequences. It is needless to say that any population or part of it is indigenous to some area. In India, the idea of designating the tribe as indigenous people is grotesque because it may lead to controversies. In India if tribes are considered as indigenous people to the exclusion of other sections of population, it would lead to anarchy." As a matter of historical fact, several of the contemporary tribes of India moved into the country across its north-eastern frontier long after the areas into which they moved had been settled by peasants who are not now designated as tribals" (Beteille, 1995). Information on population movements in India is inadequate. Population movements have taken place both among tribals as well as non-tribals. It may be true that movement of non-tribal population has led to the displacement of tribal population, and it is also true that displacement of advanced tribal population has led to the displacement of weaker ones.

Thus the fact that tribes are the primordial people of India is not acceptable, though they are techno-economically backward and have no written literary tradition.

In the past, most of the tribal communities remained shut off from other sections of population and led a life of isolation; whereas some others marginally interacted with caste communities living in their neighbourhood. Tribals were known to the caste communities by their respective ethnic identities, although terms like *adivasi*, *adimjali*, *vanyajati*, *vanavasi*, *girijan*, etc. were in vogue for all of them irrespective of their individual tribal identities. This was so because tribal communities share some common features. Naik enlists seven features, such as, (1) a tribe has least functional interdependence within the community; (2) it is techno-economically backward; (3) it is geographically isolated from other peoples; (4) its members speak a common unwritten language or dialect; (5) it is a political unit under a common authority; (6) its members practise animistic faith; (7) it regulated itself with customary laws (1968 : 84-97).

It is apt here to analyse some definitions of tribe offered by anthropologists. Dube delineates the characteristic features of tribes as follows :-

1. Their roots in the soil dates back to a very early period : if they are not the original inhabitants, they are at least some of the oldest inhabitants of the land.
2. They live in relative isolation of the hills and the forests.
3. Their sense of history is shallow for, among them, the remembered history of five to six generations tends to get merged in mythology.
4. They have a low level of techno-economic development.
5. In terms of their cultural ethos, language, institutions, beliefs and customs, they stand out from the other sections of the society.
6. If they are not egalitarian, they are at least non-hierarchical and undifferentiated (1977 : 2).

Bailey states, "There is no single or accepted criterion by which to distinguish a tribe from a caste" (1960 : 263). According to Sinha (quoted in Vidyarthi, 1971) they are "isolated in ecology, demography, economy, politics and other social behaviour from other ethnic groups". Vidyarthi opines, "The tribals as a whole are technologically and educationally backward" (1972 : 33). Bailey further emphatically states, "Tribal people live in the hills : they are not Hindus, but Animist : they are economically backward ; they are autochthones : they speak tribal languages. But none of these criteria are in themselves satisfactory, and even taken together they will not include all the people who are labelled as tribes by the Administration or by ethnographers (1960 : 263). Professor Ghurye observes that the tribal people are neither aborigines nor adivasis. They are "the imperfectly integrated classes of Hindu society" and may be called 'Backward Hindus' (1959 : 19). According to Professor Majumdar, the tribe may be defined as, "A tribe is a social group with territorial affiliation, endogamous with no specialisation of functions, ruled by tribal officers, hereditary or otherwise, united in language or dialect, recognizing social distance from tribes or castes, but without any stigma attached in the case of a caste structure, following tribal traditions.

beliefs and customs, illiberal of naturalization of ideas from alien sources, above all conscious of a homogeneity of ethnic or territorial integration". (Naik in Vidyarthi (ed) 1968 : 86). Professor Ehrenfels hints on smallness, isolation, common dialect, common belief, common occupational practices, feeling of belonging to a group, own customary laws and practices etc. as characteristic features of tribe (Naik, 1968 : 88-89).

A community to be classified as a 'tribe' should have all these characteristics. But, if all these parameters are applied to all the 'Scheduled tribes' in the country, many, would be disqualified. The Government have categorized 283 communities till 1971 as Scheduled Tribes in accordance with the Provisions of the Constitution of India as laid down under Article 342. In order to overcome this dilemma Stephen Fuchs tones down the qualifying criteria. He writes : "As far as Indian tribes go, the essentials seem to be only a comparatively simple and primitive economy, combined with a certain degree of residential instability, a simple though not always, classless social organization, and especially that feeling of being a different and separate social unit-apart from the majority communities of India. The Social and Political solidarity expressed either by a common name a common distinct language or dialect, endogamy, similar customs and traditions of a social and religious nature appear less important" (1973 : 23-24).

The Constitution of India does not state anywhere as to how a community can be identified as a tribe. However, Government of India stipulates criteria, such as indication of primitive traits, distinctive culture, geographical isolation, shyness of contact with the community at large and backwardness for inclusion of any community in the list of Scheduled tribes. Out of the above criteria, the second, third and the last seem to be appropriate in the context. But no satisfactory definition of term 'tribe' is available anywhere. Oxford Dictionary states that a tribe is a group of people in a primitive or barbarous stage of development acknowledging the authority of chief and usually regarding themselves as having a common ancestor. These criteria are good enough for recognizing a tribal community.

All the tribal communities are not on the same level of the socio-economic parameter. They are at different levels of socio-economic scale. Development of the tribal communities is a national concern and this has been reflected in the Constitution. The country is committed to the allround development of tribal communities. Right from the First Five-year Plan special effort is being made for the development of all the tribal communities. In the Fifth Five-year Plan the instrument of Tribal Sub-plan was developed on the basis of the concentration of Scheduled Tribe population residing in scheduled areas. This ensured the flow of benefits from all sectoral programmes. This enabled various State Governments, with sizable tribal population, to formulate mechanisms for quantifying funds from identifiable programmes, and for tailoring funds to the needs of the tribal people. During this period too 75 Vulnerable Ethno-cultural Groups (VEGs) were identified as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) and micro-projects were launched for each of them. Each micro-project covers about 500 families living in a group of adjoining villages. Funding for micro-projects is done in the form of Special Central Assistance in accordance with Article 275 of the Constitution of India.

VULNERABLE ETHNO-CULTURAL GROUPS

Tribal communities, who carry on pre-agricultural activities for their survival, have been classified as so called Primitive Tribal Groups. Government of India have selected four criteria for identifying Primitive Tribal Groups. The criteria are: (i) pre-agricultural level of technology and economy, (ii) very low rate of literacy, (iii) declining or near stagnant population, and (iv) general backwardness due to seclusion, and consequential archaic mode of living.

The so called Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) are indeed vulnerable and techno-economically backward. Their habitats are natural and serene. Development of infrastructure in their habitats is utterly inadequate. They have perfectly adapted to their eco-system, and lead a very simple life like natural men. However, it is ridiculous to brand them as "primitive". This epithet is value-loaded and means primeval, or aboriginal and archaic. When the mankind is at the threshold of Twenty-first Century there should be rethinking about these Colonial and Imperial jargons. "Primitive" is the word commonly used to describe the tribes with whom anthropologists have been traditionally concerned.

During 1950s Evans-Pritchard, the famous British anthropologist, while attempting to answer three pertinent questions, such as, (i) what are primitive societies? (ii) why do we study them? and (iii) what do we study in them? These questions provide clues for understanding the term "primitive". Evans-pritchard clarifies the meaning as follows: "The word 'primitive', in the sense in which it has become established in anthropological literature does not mean that the societies it qualifies are either earlier in time or inferior to other kinds of societies. As far as we know primitive societies have just as long a history as our own, and while they are less developed than our society in some respects they are often more developed than others. This being so, the word was perhaps an unfortunate choice, but it has now been too widely accepted as a technical term to be avoided" (1972 : 7). As the term conveys inferior and spiteful meaning it ought be eliminated from anthropological literature. "The word" "primitive" came into use when anthropological theory was dominated by an evolutionary approach that equated living peoples, outside the stream of European culture, with the early inhabitants of the earth". These early inhabitants, or primeval men - the first human beings - may justifiably be regarded as "primitive" in the etymological sense of the word. It is quite another matter to call present-day peoples by the same term. In other words, there is no justification for regarding any living group as our con-temporary ancestors (1956 : 70-71). Therefore, the term "primitive" be replaced by the term "vulnerable".

Etymologically the term 'primitive' as an adjectival one is related to the earliest stage of development, implying rude, uncivilized, archetypal, etc. Denotatively speaking the term 'primitive' means ancient, thing of the past, olden, primal, obsolete, ancestral, backward-looking, etc. Therefore, it is fallacious and erroneous to designate them as primitive. They are certainly defenceless against rapacious exploitation and unhealthy cultural invasion. Their traditional natural resource base has been denuded. They are not poor because they do not have the concept of poverty. They through experience know that nature is bounteous and nature will sustain them. Imposition of several restrictions on their free use of natural resources has marginalized them, and has made them defenceless too. Leading a free life

in the ever munificence of nature they used to lead a mirthful life. The tendency to acquire durable assets as a sort of guarantee against food insecurity never entered into their mind. But now the deprivation of resources has made them insecure and vulnerable. Of course the special micro projects, which are in operation, are helping them to overcome their crises. However, they continue to possess those characteristic features which Evans-Pritchard had earmarked for simple societies more than half a century ago. The features are :

1. Small in scale with regard to numbers, territory and range of social contacts,
2. Posses simple technology and economy ;
3. Little specialization of social functions ;
4. Absence of literature, and hence of any systematic art, science or theology ;
5. Structurally so simple and culturally so homogeneous, that they can be directly observed as wholes ; and
6. Otherness in their way of life.

In addition to above-stated basic criteria for the identification of the so-called Primitive Tribal Groups, certain general characteristic features of these groups are to be taken into consideration not only for identification but also for the implementation of development programmes among them. They may be stated as follows :-

1. Such communities are considered as the most vulnerable Ethno-cultural Groups.
2. Some of them are on the verge of extinction.
3. Some groups are struggling hard for their basic survival.
4. Their health condition and nutritional status are extremely low and some groups show internal genetic imbalances.
5. They are living in the most remote, inaccessible and eco-inhospitable areas.
6. They are not poor, but experience relative deprivation causing economic backwardness.
7. They have less command over resources and lack means for resources mobilisation.
8. They are characteristically isolated with unique and simple life-style.
9. They represent small societies with cultural homogeneity.
10. Their economy is purely subsistence-oriented and less monetized.
11. They mostly constitute preliterate societies with shallow history.
12. They still depend upon pre-agricultural modes of production, food-gathering and hunting
13. Some groups are nomads or semi-nomads without any permanent or sedentary settlement.
14. Their material culture status is simple with crude and hand-made tools, implements, weapons and appliances.

15. Their traditional politico-jural mechanism is simple with Headmen, both secular and sacerdotal, who look into the internal and external affairs.
16. The land utilised for swidden cultivation showed communal ownership rather than individual record of right.
17. Their social organisation is simple.
18. They are polytheists and some groups practise magic, witchcraft and sorcery.
19. Notwithstanding all such characteristic features of simple societies, they have their own rich cultural heritage with ethos, ideologies and worldview reflected in myths, legends, tales, riddles, oral literature, art, performing art, song, dance, music, etc.
20. They have their unique aesthetic sensibility, ethno-scientific knowledge, ethnomedicine, ethnolinguistics, ethnomusicology, etc.

The problems faced by each of the vulnerable groups are unique in nature, and therefore, the concerned Micro-Projects prepare ethnic group specific projects so as to assist them to overcome their plight and tribulations.

PROFILE OF VULNERABLE ETHNO-CULTURAL GROUPS OF ORISSA

In Orissa State, as many as 13 vulnerable ethno-cultural groups have been identified as the so called Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) such as the Birhor, Bondo, Chuktia Bhunjia, Didayi, Dongria Kandha, Hill Kharia, Juang, Kutia Kandha, Lanjia Saora, Lodha, Mankirdia, Paudi Bhuyan and Saora. We may discuss their socio-cultural profile briefly as follows :--

Birhor :

The Birhor as a scheduled tribe is not only found in Orissa but also in the neighbouring States of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. In Orissa, they are chiefly distributed in the districts of Sambalpur, Sundargarh, Balasore, Cuttack and Ganjam and their population is estimated at 142 as per 1981 Census. They belong to the Austro-Asiatic linguistic group and the meaning of the term Birhor in their language is *Bir* (forest) and *Hor* (men) i.e. the men of forest. They are traditionally semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers and their economy is subsistence-oriented. They have two sections, such as the *Uthlas* and the *Jagi*, the former is nomadic whereas the latter have settled habitation. The wandering group has temporary habitation, known as the *Kumbha*, made of twigs and leaves and a cluster of *Kumbhas* for 10--15 households gives rise to a temporary camp site, known as the *Tanda*. Besides their expertise in food-gathering and hunting, they have skill in rope-making and basket making. The forest and the Birhor are inter-connected since time immemorial as their basic survival is dependent upon forest eco-system. Their social organisation is simple with a number of clans. Since the *Tanda* is multi-clan, there is no restriction for marriage in a *Tanda*. The *Tanda* membership is not birth ascriptive and compulsory. Each *Tanda* has a headman who plays simultaneously secular and sacerdotal roles. Any breach of customary law results in social excommunication and imposition of fine, in cash and/or kind. The Bihors are polytheists as they believe in and perform rituals for a number of deities and spirits, both benevolent and malevolent. They worship ancestral cults at regular intervals for their safety and social security.

The Birhor is interchangeably known as the Mankirdia and Mankidi, as they are expert monkey catchers. In Kalahandi and Sundargarh districts they are called Mankidi whereas the name Mankirdia is used in Sambalpur and Mayurbhanj districts. Because of their pre-agricultural economy and low literacy, they have been identified as one of the Primitive Tribal Groups and since the Fifth Plan period special efforts are made by the Union Government to bring them under the planned development intervention through cent per cent funding for implementation of various schemes for their all round development by micro-projects managed by the State Government. It is significant to note that although in a limited scale, efforts are made to bring them to sedentary settlement from nomadic/semi-nomadic habitat. Moreover, during the current Ninth Plan period special emphasis, considering their limited population size, has been given on habitation development, a mini-micro approach.

BONDO :

The Bondo, as an ethnic group is only found in Orissa State and nowhere else in India. They are the speakers of the Remo language which belongs to the Austro-Asiatic language family. There are three sub-groups, such as the Bondo highlanders, Lower Bondo and the Gadaba-Bondo group. The Bondo villages are found in hill tops and hill slopes, as well. The Bondo economic life pre-eminently centres round cultivation, both shifting and settled and it is remarkable to note that they practise multi-cropping and broadcasting method in the former and mono-cropping and transplantation method in the latter type of cultivation. Besides, they also engage in collection of minor forest produce, stock raising, hunting, fishing and wage-earning in order to earn their livelihood. In so far as their social organisation is concerned the Bondo constitute a simple society and it consists of social institutions, such as the clans, lineages, extended families and nuclear families. There are a number of village functionaries, both secular and sacerdotal, namely the Bodo-Naik, Naik, Chalan, Pujari or Sisa (priest), Dishari (mediciner), Gurmai (Shaman), etc. to look into the politico-jural and religious functions in their society. The Patkhanda Mahaprabu is their presiding deity and a number of deities and spirits is also worshipped from time to time. Although liquor is prohibited for use in various religious rituals animal sacrifice is not tabooed. They observe a number of rituals and ceremonies throughout the year. The Bondo use scanty clothes and especially the women folk traditionally use country-made *ringa* of *kerang* fibre and a number of coloured bead necklaces hanging from the neck to the naval and in addition there are bangles, neck and head bands, anklets, rings, etc.

The Bondo, both men and women have shown increasing interests in participating in the ongoing development processes.

CHUKTIA BHUNJIA :

The Chuktia Bhunjia is one of the sections of the Bhunjia tribal groups, chiefly concentrated in the Sonabera plateau of Kalahandi district. Currently, the Sonabera plateau which has an altitude of 3000 feet approximately above the sea level, is situated in the Komna block of Nawapara district. The area is full of high and undulating hill ranges intercepted by a number of hill streams. There is tropical dry mixed deciduous type of forest cover in the region. It is a sparsely populated area with dispersed and small villages and

hamlets. Because of the peculiar topographical features there is the absence of adequate road communication. Their erstwhile practice of shifting cultivation have been affected recently and they earn their livelihood through the collection and sale of minor non-timber forest produce. The Chuktia Bhunjias, unlike their plains counterpart, called the Chinda, are hillsmen with low economic status or, in other words, have just subsistence level of survival.

The Chuktia section of the Bhunjia is more conservative, tradition-bound and inward looking. In so far as their social organisation is concerned, beyond the family level they have a number of exogamous units or clans which regulates their marriage. The simple/nuclear family with monogamous form of marriage is found in their society. Their kitchen shed is considered sacred and the entry of married daughters is strictly forbidden.

Traditionally, the socio-political system recognised the village council with elderly members as the basic unit and there existed the inter-village council at the apex. Recently, Grama Panchayats have made inroads and operate with elected people's representatives as ward members.

The Bhunjias worship the Sunadei as their supreme deity and the priest craft is performed by the Pujari. Besides, a large number of deities are propitiated by them for their well-being and prosperity, prevention of and cure from diseases, good crop etc.

DIDAYI

As the denizens of the Eastern Ghats, the Didayi is an ethnic group who occupy chiefly the Konda Kamberu hill ranges interspersed by the Machhkund river. Their habitat constitutes a varitable topographical scenario embracing riverine plains, undulating plateaus and rugged mountainous terrains. Their demographic features are remarkable since they constitute a conspicuously small group with 1,978 souls in 1961 which subsequently increased to 2,164 in 1971 and decreased to 1,977 in 1981 census; during the two decades the growth rate was estimated at (+) 84 per cent (1961-71) and (-) 83 per cent (1971-81); and the percentage of literacy which is proverbially low has been estimated at 272 per cent, 078 per cent and 32 per cent during 1961, 1971 and 1981, respectively. The Bondo, an economically less developed tribal group happens to be their neighbour.

Their economic pursuits, mostly subsistence-oriented, are tuned with the environment and ecology and they earn their livelihood through food-gathering, hunting, fishing, domestication of animals, cultivation, both settled and shifting and wage-earning. In their politico-jural set up, the Naik officiates as the secular chief of the traditional village Panchayat. They believe in a large number of gods and goddesses, demi-gods and spirits and the Palasi is their sacerdotal chief. The Didayis are patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal and their simple social organisation comprises clans, which are characteristically totemistic and include lineages, consisting of a number of families. Although monogamy is the rule, polygynous unions are practised as per need and the cross-cousin marriage is a preferential form of marriage among them. Notwithstanding the marriage by negotiation as the most prestigious one, other ways of acquiring mates, such as the marriage by mutual consent and elopment (udlia), marriage by capture (cubboi), marriage by intrusion (gaisamuddi) and

marriage by service (*garijya*) are also prevalent. The bride-price is, although not uniform in all cases of marriages, paid to the bride's parents. The divorce is socially permissible and remarriages of widow/widower, divorcee/separated are also allowed. They speak a language which is classified under the Austro-Asiatic language family.

DONGRIA KANDHA :

The Dongria Kandha, a section of the Kandha tribe of Orissa are found in the Niyamgiri hill ranges of the Eastern Ghats and their chief concentration is in Bissam- Cuttack, Kalyansingpur, Muniguda and Biswanathpur blocks of Rayagada and Koraput districts. They speak a language, called the *kuvi* which is classified under the Dravidian linguistic stock. The Dongria Kandhas are expert horticulturists and grow jackfruit, mango, pineapple, banana, orange and lemon, ginger, turmeric, etc. Besides, they earn their livelihood through shifting cultivation along hill slopes, collection of materials from forests, animal husbandry and wage-earning. The Dongria Kandhas are patrilineal, patriarchal and patrilocal and they have nuclear families, extended families, lineages and clans. Although marriage by negotiation appears to be more prestigious, other ways of acquiring mates, such as the marriage by capture, marriage by exchange; marriage by service are prevalent.

The *Dongar* (hill) is the environmental niche which is their habitat; their economies centre round the *dongar*; the *dongar* is the abode of their deities and supernatural beings; it provides them the picturesque, sylvan and emotional set up for courtship culminating in marriage and the ethos, ideologies, values and worldview of the people contain the replica of the *dongar*.

It is significant to note their politico-social organisation and various mechanisms of social control and the *Jani* combines the secular and sacerdotal chieftenship roles and traditionally enjoys the confidence and esteem of his fellow villagers. The *Bismajhi*, *Barika*, *Pujari*, *Disari*, *Bejuni*, *Jhateni* and *Gouda* are the other village functionaries with specific roles to play in various contexts. Currently, under the provisions of the Panchayat Raj System there is onslaught of modern leadership pattern with elected people's representatives to look into matters within the decision-making process.

The theological pantheon of the Dongria Kandha has the 'Darni penu', the earth goddess at the apex and in addition there are a large number of village deities, ancestral cult, household deities, spirits, both benevolent and malevolent. They propitiate deities and spirits for their blessings and observe rituals and ceremonies throughout the year. They have the traditional knowledge of the causes and cure of diseases and ailments and follow their *Disari*, the medicineman at the time of need.

JUANG

The Juang is a unique tribal group which is found only in Orissa State and nowhere else in any other State or Union Territories of India. They are chiefly concentrated in the districts of Keonjhar (The *Thaniya* section) and Dhenkanal (the *Bhagudiya* section). *Gonasika* which is situated in Keonjhar district (21° 30' N lat and 85° 37' E long) is said to be the principal seat of the tribe. The *Gonasika* area constitutes sedentary landscape with hills, hill slopes, ridges,

valley bottoms etc. The vegetative cover in the area ranges from barren to thin forest and there is the influence of sub-tropical monsoonic climate. The Gonasika (nostril of a cow) is the place wherefrom the river Baitarani originates.

The erstwhile ethnographers, such as E. A. Samuells (1856), Dalton (1872), Risley (1891), Hunter (1877), N. K. Bose (1929), O' Malley (1941), Elwin (1948), etc. have documented the contemporary life-style, society and culture of the Juangs. Samuells' account identified them as the 'Puttooas' for their leaf-costume in the recent past. They speak a language which can be classified under the Munda belonging to the Austric sub-family of the Austro-Asiatic language family.

They have patrilineal and totemistic septs/clans (b'ok) which have two broad divisions, namely the *Kutumb/Bhai* septs (non-intermarrying/consanguineal) and the *Bandhu* septs (intermarrying/affinal). Their secular and sacerdotal chiefs are the Pradhan and Nagam/Boita, respectively. They are polytheists and the two principal deities are the Dharam Deota/Mahapurub and the Dharti Mata/Basuki. The Rushi (benefactor) and the Rushain (benefactress) are considered as the deified tribal heroes (Elwin, 1948) and there are deities presiding over villages/hills/rivers/forest and ancestral cults. In their society, there is absence of the queer practice of witchcraft and sorcery.

They have a distinct culture of their own and they consider the Bhuiyan, a neighbouring tribal group as their brothers. They observe a number of rituals, ceremonies and festivals throughout the year. Further, they have their distinct ethos, ideologies and worldview.

KHARIA

The Kharias are not only found in Orissa, but in the neighbouring States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal and there are mainly three sections of the tribal group, such as the *Pahari* (Hill) Kharia, Dudh Kharia and Dhelki Kharia. The Pahari/Hill Kharia is considered as the most backward insofar as their economic status is concerned. The Hill Kharias are the autochthonous inhabitants of the Similipal hill ranges of Mayurbhanj district. In 1981, their population was estimated at 1,44,174 and the females outnumbered males (1013:1000) and the percentage of literacy was 17.9. They live in small villages consisting of roughly 20 households and their villages are found scattered in hill tops, hill slopes and foot hills. The subsistence economy of the Hill Kharia centres round the collection of minor forest produce, such as resin, honey, bees wax, lac, tusser-cocoon, etc. and hunting.

The Kharia family is patrilineal, patriarchal and patrilocal and there is preponderance of nuclear families. The marriage by negotiation is considered as the most prestigious one and there is the prevalence of the system of bride-price and widow remarriage and divorce are socially allowed.

The Hill Kharias consider the earth goddess, Thakurani as their supreme deity. Besides, they also believe in a number of deities and spirits and propitiate them through performance of rituals. The traditional socio-political organisation is simple and is headed by the Pradhan and they have both village-level and inter-village level councils to look into the internal and external affairs of the community.

They speak a language which could be classified under the Mundari, i.e., Austro-Asiatic language family.

KUTIA KANDHA :

The Kutia Kandha is a sub-section of the Kandha tribal group of Orissa State and they are mainly concentrated in Belghar area of Balliguda subdivision in Phulbani district. Their habitat is located in the north-eastern fringe of the Eastern Ghats and contains hills, rivers and streams and the area is approximately 3,000 feet above the sea level. The forest-clad hills have tropical evergreen and deciduous tree species, such as Sal, Piasal, Bamboo, Asan, Cane, broomstick, grasses, etc.

The Kutia Kandha villages which were initially unclan have turned to be multi-clan in course of time. In their society there is prevalence of patrilineality, patriarchy and patrilocality. They have nuclear and extended families, lineages and clans and clan exogamy regulates marriage. The secular functionaries, such as the Mutha Majhi, Pat Majhi, Bis Majhi and Chhatia and the Jani, the sacerdotal head are found in their society. They have their traditional village councils and recently there are elected people's representatives under the Panchayat Raj system.

The Kutia Kandhas are polytheists and believe in large number of deities, spirits, supernatural elements, both benevolent and malevolent. They propitiate their deities and spirits through performance of adequate rituals for their blessings. They observe various ceremonies and festivals allround the year and perform magico-religious rituals as per the prescription of the Jani.

The techno-economic base of the Kutia Kandha is very simple and centres round the sylvan forest eco-system. They collect edible and non-edible minor forest produce for their sustenance. The forest provides them food, shelter and the emotional framework for their survival and resources means for achieving ends. They practise slash and burn type of cultivation, otherwise known as '*podu chas*' and grow several crops of short duration in the shifting cultivation plots in hill slopes. Besides, they have wet land cultivation, horticultural plantations, animal husbandry and wage-earning to earn their livelihood. The Kutia Kandha women play a very significant role in socio-economic, socio-religious and socio-cultural nexus.

LANJIA SAORA :

The Lanjia Saora is a section of the Saora, a major tribe in Orissa State, mainly inhabiting Gajapati and Rayagada districts. Among all sections, the Lanjia Saora is considered as the most backward section in so far as their economic status is concerned. They speak a language, known as the 'Sora' which could be classified under the Austro-Asiatic linguistic family (Mundari) and recently they have developed written script of their own. They are the inhabitants of remote, inaccessible and interior areas in forest clad hills. In addition to the shifting/slash and burn cultivation, they also practise settled/wet land and terrace cultivation. The Saoras are noteworthy for their indigenous ingenuity in terrace cultivation. The lower terraces are utilised for paddy cultivation and the upper for growing

biri,ragi and *kulthi*. In addition, they collect various items, both edibles and non-edibles, under minor non-timber forest produce for their subsistence.

The Saora tribe as a whole is conspicuous by the absence of clan system, which is a unique feature of their social organisation. Instead, they have another institution, called the *Birinda*, a patrilineage which performs the functions of the clan. Moreover, the *Birinda* is exogamous and regulates marriage, inheritance and succession. A Saora woman's *Birinda* does not change consequent upon her marriage and it is a remarkable feature and after the death of a woman, her *Birinda* members claim to perform her death rituals culminating in the institution of the *Guar* ceremony, the ultimate passage to the departed soul. They are mostly monogamous, but polygynous unions are not entirely ruled out.

The Saora religion is characterised by polytheism and there is a galaxy of supernatural elements, deities, spirits, both benevolent and malevolent and belonging to both sexes. They have priests and shamans, both males and females. A cursory look into their socio-political and religious organisation reveals that they have secular and sacerdotal chiefs, such as the *Gomango* and the *Buyya*, respectively.

It is remarkable to note that they are very ceremonious and show aesthetic sensibilities reflected in their dance, music, wall-painting and *iditals* (ikons) which have very deep rooted meanings in socio-religious contexts.

LODHA :

In Orissa, the Lodhas are concentrated in two blocks, namely *Morada* and *Suliapada* in the *Sadar* subdivision of *Mayurbhanj* district. As per 1981 census, their population has been estimated at 5,088 and the literacy was only 83 per cent. They are originally a *Mundari* speaking tribe. Their economy is subsistence-oriented and they depend upon the collection of minor forest produce in and around their forest habitat and wage-earning and agricultural labour in plains areas. In addition, stock-raising, petty trade, rope-making, mat-making, weaving, etc. supplement their earning.

The Lodha social organisation has patrilineal and totemistic clans and most of the families are nuclear. Their marriages are usually post-pubescent and monogamous, although polygynous unions are not totally ruled out. The divorce and re-marriage are socially permissible. In the socio-political nexus, the *Mukhia/Sardar* plays the role of headman and the traditional village Panchayat is called, *Desh*.

The Lodhas are polytheists who strongly believe in the *Bhagaban*, *Dharam Devata* and *Basumata*. In addition, there are village deities, tutelary deities, ancestral cult, benevolent and malevolent spirits and all of them constitute the supernatural constellation. They observe a number of rituals and festivals throughout the year with emotional attachment to gain favour of spirits and the blessings of deities for their overall well-being.

MANKIRDIA :

The Mankirdia is another nomenclature of the *Birhor* tribal group inhabiting *Mayurbhanj* and *Sambalpur* district. *Mohanty* observes, "It may be noted that the local people used to call the *Birhors* in different ways. In the districts of *Kalahandi* and *Sundargarh* they are

named as Mankidi whereas in Mayurbhanj and Sambalpur districts they go by the name Mankirdia. In fact both the Mankirdia and Mankidi are one and the same and both types are none but the Birhors" (1990 : 76). We have discussed briefly the society and culture of Birhor elsewhere.

PAUDI BHUYAN :

The Bhuyan is one of the major tribes of Orissa and they are not only found in Orissa State but also in other States such as Bihar, West Bengal and Assam. The Paudi/Paudi Bhuyan is considered as the most backward and primitive section of the tribe. They are found in the districts of Keonjhar, Sundargarh, Mayurbhanj and Sambalpur and chiefly concentrated in the Bhuyanpirh of Keonjhar district and Bonai subdivision of Sundargarh district. Their habitat constitutes hill terrains and valley bottoms.

They practise slash and burn type of cultivation (Kamani) in hill slopes, settled cultivation in wet land and vegetable cultivation in kitchen gardens. The rituals and ceremonies are observed throughout the calendar of agricultural activities. They also collect/food materials, fuel wood, honey, resin, lac, medicinal plants and herbs from forest. Other economic pursuits among them include animal husbandry, basket-making, wage-earning in house/road construction work, mining, plantation activities etc.

Although monogamous union is the common practice polygyny is not entirely ruled out. The marriage by negotiation is prestigious and other forms of acquiring mates among them are marriage by mutual consent and elopement, marriage by ceremonial capture, etc. There is the prevalence of bride-price which is paid to the bride's father in cash and/or kind. Their family which is the smallest social unit is characterised by patriarchy, patrilocality and patrilineality. They have lineages and clans.

The village head among them is called the Naik/Padhan, who presides over the village assembly or Darbar and the inter-village traditional political organisation is known as the 'Bar' in Sundargarh district and 'Pirh' in Keonjhar district.

The Dharam Devta and Basukimata, who represent Sun and Earth, respectively are at the apex of their pantheon. Besides, a number of deities and spirits are also propitiated from time to time for their blessings. The Dihuri is the sacerdotal chief, who performs all rituals connected with worship of deities. In matters of the cure of diseases, they apply magico-religious methods through Raulia, the witch doctor and utilise medicinal plants and herbs.

SAORA :

The Saora is one of the major tribes of Orissa and their population in 1981 was estimated at 3,70,061 and they constituted 6.26 per cent of the total tribal population of the State. The females outnumbered males (1030 : 1000) in 1981 census. Compared to the percentage of literacy of total tribal population (13.96% in 1981) their percentage of literacy (14.47%) was slightly more. They speak a language, 'Sora' which can be classified under the Austro-Asiatic language family. Various earlier ethnographers and recently anthropologists have discussed on the socio-cultural life of the Saora. They are found in

almost all districts of the State, but chiefly concentrated in Gajapati and Rayagada districts. The Saoras have been classified into various sections and according to Thurston (1900) there are Savara, Jati Savara; Arsi/Arisi/Lombo lanjiya, Laura/Muli, Kindal, Jadu, Kumbi, Dudho and according to Sitapati they are sub-divided as Arsi sor, Jadu, Kindal sor, Kumbi sor, Laura sor, Kampu sor, Sudha sor, Kudumbha sor, Jati sor, Bobili sor, Lamba Lanjia sor/Malua sor and other subdivisions are Based sor, Bimma sor, Dandiya sor, Gantra sor, Jara sor, Jurai sor, Kimsod sor, Luang sor, Mala sor, Mara sor, Mani sor Muli sor, Mulfa sor, Sarda sor and Tenkali sor (see Mohanty, 1990 : 249-50). The Lanjiya Saoras are the most primitive group and the Sudha Saoras are a Hinduised acculturated group.

The Saora family is patricial, patrilocal and patrilineal. Unlike other tribal groups the Saora do not have clan system and the 'Birinda' as a maximal patrilineage plays its role in the social organisation. Although monogamy is the rule, polygynous unions are also prevalent. Besides the regular way of acquiring mates through negotiation is considered the most prestigious one, the marriage by ceremonial capture and by service are also prevalent in their society. The sororal polygyny and levitation are socially permitted. They observe various life-cycle rituals as per their customs and the Guar ceremony as a death ritual is significant among them.

They practise both shifting, terrace and settled cultivation and in addition, they collect minor forest produce and also pursue animal husbandry, horticulture, wage-earning to earn their livelihood.

In the traditional socio-political sphere the Gamango and the Buyya are the secular and sacerdotal chiefs, respectively. The socio-religious aspect among the Saora is very elaborate. There are male and female shamans who play their role in magico-religious rituals and some of them also act as Medicinemen-cum-diviner. The Saoras propitiate a large number of deities and spirits, both benevolent and malevolent, in order to have their blessings. The Saoras are also significant for their ikonography, craftsmanship and they possess rich cultural heritage.

The tribal development strategy, envisaged during the Fifth Five Year Plan period paved the path of planned development intervention inculcated new hopes and aspirations and during this period, as early as in 1977-78 micro-projects started functioning for the allround development of the so called primitive tribal groups. We may briefly outline salient features of such micro-projects functioning in Orissa State, as follows :-

1. BONDO DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (BDA) : Mudulipada, Malkangiri district.

The Bondo Development Agency with its headquarters at Mudulipada in Khairput Block of Malkangiri district started functioning as a micro-project in the financial year, 1976-77. A Project leader and other personnel looked into the administrative and management aspects for successful implementation of various development programmes in 32 villages inhabited by the Bondo. The total population of the Bondo in the micro-project area was estimated at 5034 (1985-86) of which there were 2463 males and 2571 females. The total percentage of literacy was 3.61 of which male and female literacy percentage stood at 6.81 and 0.71 respectively. The annual growth rate of population in the micro project area came to (+) 1.04

per cent. The average annual expenditure incurred from its inception till 31st March, 1993 was estimated at Rs. 8,48,866 which comes approximately to Rs. 170 per head. The Bondo still depends upon pre-agricultural mode of production to a large extent.

2. CHUKTIA BHUNJIA DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (CBDA) : Sonabeda, Komna Nuapada district.

The Chuktia Bhunjia Development Agency as a micro-project for the allround development of the Chuktia section of the Bhunjia tribal group started functioning since 1994-95. There is one Special Officer at the apex of the administrative system of the micro-project and he is assisted by a number of other personnel for implementation of various development programmes/ projects in the area under the jurisdiction of the micro-project, which consists of 9 villages. The micro-project is situated outside the tribal sub-plan area of the State. The total population of the Chuktia Bhunjia comes to 1579, which included 304 families. The total percentage of literacy is estimated at 8.01.

3. DIDAYI DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (DDA) : Bayapada, Kudumuluguma, Malkangiri district.

The Didayi Development Agency which was initiated during the financial year 1986-87 covers 38 Didayi inhabited villages with total population of 4460 of which there are 2167 males and 2293 females. The percentage of literacy among them comes to 3.19, of which males and females constitute 5.99% and 0.50% respectively. The annual growth rate of population has been estimated at (-) 0.86%. The average annual expenditure of the micro-project from its inception till the 31st March 1993 comes to Rs. 13,28,031 which approximately comes to Rs. 300 per head. The Didayi still practise shifting cultivation as one of the means of subsistence in the project area.

4. DONGRIA KANDHA DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (DKDA) : Kurli, Bissam-Cuttack and Muniguda, Rayagada district.

The micro-project started functioning during the financial year, 1978-79 with 63 Dongria Kandha villages and the total population of the micro-project area is 5199 of which there are 2115 males and 3014 females. The annual growth rate of population comes to (+) 0.92. The percentage of literacy among the Dongria Kandha of the project area is 16.02 of which the male literacy is 30.92 per cent and the female literacy is 5.57 per cent. They are reputed as good horticulturists and nearly two-third of them practise swidden cultivation. The average annual expenditure of the micro-project from its inception till the 31st March 1993 is estimated at Rs. 8,66,731 which approximately comes to Rs. 170 per head.

5. DONGRIA KANDHA DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (DKDA) : Kalyansingpur, Rayagada district.

The micro-project started during the financial year, 1987-88 with 48 villages and with total population of 2044 souls of which there are 938 males and 1106 females. The average annual growth rate of population has been estimated at to (+) 0.88 per cent. The percentage of literacy in the micro-project area comes to 14.48 per cent. The average

annual expenditure of the micro-project from its inception till the 31st march 1993 comes to Rs. 10,42,265 which is approximately Rs. 510 per head.

6. JUANG DEVELOPMENT AGENCY(JDA) : Gonasika, Keonjhar District.

The Juang Development Agency started during the financial year, 1978-79 with its headquarters at Gonasika in Keonjhar district. There are 32 villages in the micro-project area with total population of 5774 persons, of which there are 2808 males and 2966 females. The percentage of literacy comes to 12.24, out of which the male literacy is 22.29 per cent and the female literacy is 2.73 per cent. The average annual growth of population of the micro-project area is estimated at (+) 2.60 per cent. They are still dependent upon the pre-agricultural mode of production for their livelihood. The average annual expenditure of the micro-project from its inception till the 31st March 1993 comes to Rs. 8,56,637 which is approximately Rs. 150 per head.

7. HILL KHARIA AND MANKIRDIA DEVELOPMENT AGENCY(H.K & M.D.A.) Gudugudia, Karanjia and Jashipur, Mayurbhanj district.

The above-mentioned micro-project was established during the financial year, 1986-87 with 21 villages consisting of the total population of 1568 persons, of which there are 787 males and 781 females. The average annual growth rate of population in the microproject area has been estimated at (+) 1 per cent. The total percentage of literacy was 25.06, of which the male literacy was 28.80 per cent and the female literacy was 21.16 per cent. They earn their livelihood through employment of pre-agricultural mode of production and a majority of them are food-gathers and hunters. The average annual expenditure of the micro-project from its inception till the 31st March 1993 is Rs. 17,39,998 which is approximately Rs. 1110 per head.

8. KUTIA KANDHA DEVELOPMENT AGENCY(KKDA) : Belghar, Phulbani District.

The Micro-project was grounded during the financial year 1978-79 with its headquarters at Belghar in Balliguda sub-division of Phulbani district. It includes 68 villages mainly inhabited by the Kutia Kandha. The total population of the micro-project is 4013, of which there are 1922 males and 2091 females. The total percentage of literacy is 12.00 per cent and that for females is 3.00 per cent. The average annual growth rate of population is (+) 1.36 per cent. They still depend upon preagricultural mode of production for their basic subsistence. The average annual expenditure for the micro-project from its inception till the 31st March 1993 is estimated at Rs. 5,86,238/-, which is approximately Rs. 150/- per head.

9. KUTIA KANDHA DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (KKDA) : Lanjigarh, Kalahandi district.

The Kutia Development Agency started functioning during the financial year 1986-87 with 17 villages and with total population of 2073 persons, out of which there are 1042 males and 1031 females. The total percentage of literacy is 16.82, of which male literacy percentage comes to 28.29 and the female literacy percentage is 5.48.

The average annual expenditure of the micro-project from its inception till the 31st March 1993 comes to Rs. 6,52,778/- which is approximately rs. 315/- per head.

10. LANJIA SAORA DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (LSDA) : Serango, Gajapati district.

The micro-project intended for all round development of the Lanjia Saora, a section of the Saora tribe started functioning during the financial year, 1978-79. It includes 21 villages with the total population of 4707 souls, out of which there are 2333 males and 2371 females. the total percentage of literacy of the micro-project area comes to 19.69 and the male literacy percentage is 27.65 and the females literacy percentage is 11.85. The average annual growth rate of population is estimated at 0.66% (+). The average annual expenditure of the micro-project since its inception till the 31st March 1993 is rs. 7,16,015/- which approximately Rs. 150/- per head.

11. LANJIA SAORA DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (LSDA) : Puttasingi, Gunupur, Rayagada district.

The micro-project was established during the financial year 1984-85 with 19 villages and with the total population of 3544 persons, of which there are 1826 males and 1718 females. the percentage of literacy for the total population in the micro-project area comes to 33.86. The average annual expenditure incurred in the micro-project from its inception, till the 31st march 1963 comes to Rs. 10,06,111/- which is approximately Rs. 285/- per head.

12. LODHA DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (LDA) : Morada, Mayurbhanj district.

The lodha Development Agency started functioning since the financial year, 1985-86. The micro-project includes 8 vilages inhabited by the Lodha with the total population of 2952, of which there are 1077 males and 975 females. The total percentage of literacy is 22.7, out of which the male literacy percentage comes to 25.89 and the female percentage of literacy is 6.77. the average annual expenditure from the inception of the micro-project till the 31st March 1993 comes to Rs. 2,42,346/- per head.

13. PAUDI BHUYAN DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (PBDA) : Jamardihi (Pal Lahara), Angul district.

The micro-project was established during the financial year, 1978-79 with 27 villages inhabited by the Paudi Bhuyan. The total population of the micro-project area is estimated at 4733, out of which there are 2430 males and 2303 females. The total percentage of literacy comes to 31.06, of which the male percentage of literacy is 41.44 and the female percentage of literacy is 20.10. The average annual growth rate of population is (+) 2.80 per cent. The micro-project is situated out side the Tribal Sub-Plan area of the State. The average annual expenditure of the micro-project from its inception till the 31st March, 1993 is estimated at rs. 6,85,961/-, which is approximately Rs. 145/- per head.

14. PAUDI BHUYAN DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (PBDA) : Khuntagaon, Sundargarh district.

The Paudi Bhuyan Development Agency with its headquarters at Khuntagaon in Sundargarh district started functioning since the financial year, 1978-79. It includes 21

villages with total population of 3310 persons, of which there are 1632 males and 1678 females. The average annual growth rate of population of the micro-project area is (+) 1.6%. The total percentage of literacy 18.09 and the male literacy comes to 28.12 per cent and the female literacy is 8.3 per cent. The average annual expenditure of the micro-project from its inception till the 31st March 1993 comes to rs. 6,70,229/- which is approximately rs. 200/- per head.

15. PAUDI BHUYAN DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (PBDA) : Rugudakudar, Barkote, Deogarh district.

The micro-project which was initiated during 1993-94 and which is situated outside the Tribal Sub-plan area of the State, includes 19 villages with total population of 2467 persons, of which there are 1215 males and 1252 females. The total percentage of literacy comes to 14.07 out of which the male literacy percentage is 20.91 and that among the females is 7.43 per cent.

16. SAORA DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (SDA) : Thumba, Patrapur, Ganjam district.

The Micro-project, also known as the Thumba Development Agency started functioning since the financial year, 1978-79 with 56 villages, inhabited by the Saora. The total population of the micro-project comes to 3018 persons, out of which there are 1520 males and 1498 females. The average annual growth rate of population is (+) 0.72%. The average annual expenditure incurred from the inception of the micro-project till the 31st March 1993 is estimated at Rs. 5,97,248/- which is approximately rs. 200/- per head.

17. SAORA DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (SDA) : Chandagiri, Gajapati district.

The micro-project started functioning since the financial year, 1978-79 and includes 25 villages. The total population comes to 3420, out of which there are 1744 males and 1676 females. The total percentage of literacy is estimated at 20.02, of which the male percentage of literacy is 32.11 and the female percentage of literacy is 7.39. The average annual growth rate of population in the micro-project area comes to (+) 1.01. The average annual expenditure for the all-round development in the micro-project area from its inception till the 31st March, 1993 is estimated at Rs. 7,11,093/- which is approximately Rs. 210/- per head.

It is worthy to mention here that the ministry of welfare, Government of India have put much emphasis and taken expeditious steps through an approach of a new scheme, styled as "Habitat Development of the PTGs" during the 9th plan period and the prioritisation of schemes/programmes thrusts on Health, nutrition and drinking water facilities, vocational training for women and pre-schooling for tribal girl children, economic development programmes etc.

RESUME

In India the colonial British Government introduced the term 'tribe' to designate 283 diverse and techno-economically backward ethno-cultural groups who used to lead partial or

completely isolated life from the encysting peasant communities. Their latent objective was to keep these communities separate from the rest and thereby impair the body politic of the country. Their ulterior motive was to keep these ethno cultural groups perpetually backward. The colonial Government prepared a catalogue or inventory of all such communities in 1901, and the list was refined in 1931 on the basis of census enumeration. And further, the colonial Government scheduled these communities under the Government of India Act, 1919 and 1935 only to keep them separate from the rest of population for administrative and political purposes.

After independence, when the Constitution of India came into operation on the 26th of January, 1950 the term "Scheduled Tribe" found enshrined in it under Part XV which deals with Special Provisions relating to certain classes, and Articles 330, 332, 335, 338, 339, and 342 specify the categories of people to whom the provisions will apply. Article 342 lays down that the President may "by public notification specify the tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled tribes.....". The scheduled communities were duly specified by the President through the Scheduled Tribes Order, 1950. The tribes or parts of tribes or of group so specified in the order number 283 till 1971. In Orissa the number of such communities is 62, and the number may be less if the list is rationalized. However, these communities are referred to in the Constitution of India as 'Scheduled Tribes. For legal, political and administrative purposes they are also referred to by this nomenclature. The total population of all these ethno-cultural communities as per 1991 census is 67.8 million constituting about 8 per cent of the total population of the country. They are predominantly found in Madhya Pradesh (154 lakh), Maharashtra (73.17 lakh), Orissa (70.32 lakh), Bihar (66.16 lakh), Gujarat (61.63 lakh), Rajasthan (54.74 lakh), Andhra Pradesh (41.99 lakh), West Bengal (38.06 lakh), Assam (28.00 lakh) and in the entire north-eastern region, and sparsely in other States and Union Territories. Together they comprise an important component of the Indian society. Their culture constitutes a significant dimension of the Indian civilization.

Tribal societies have some special features, such as, society is kin-based, relatively closed, homogeneous, segmentary, isolated from others, simple techno-economy, lack of motivation to generate capital and make profit, ideological order is charged with animistic and fatalistic orientation etc. Therefore, Morgan (1871) looked at the concept of 'tribe' as a form of social organization. Whereas, the Marxists perceive it as a stage in the evolutionary order.

In the spatio-temporal context the folk or tribal societies are found to be in direct interaction with the peasant societies or village communities. They are dependent on the latter for several purposes although they are relatively isolated from others and self-sufficient. The tribal people are primary producers and they either sell or barter their produce, with the peasants for buying their necessities. The peasants on the other hand provide their produce to the urbanites and buy from them finished goods. They too look forward to the urbanites, who are considered as literati, for guidance in the moral sphere and for enlightenment. Thus, the spatial continuum of folk, peasant and urban segments in

Indian society is reflected in its temporal continuum and unity. However, socio-culturally tribal societies constitute a type. However, during the post-independence period through planned development intervention tribal societies are significantly undergoing change. In some cases they have registered more changes than the peasant societies. Therefore, now it is time to rethink and redefine the terms 'Primitive' and 'Tribe'. Along with socio-economic development tribal people are also advancing in literacy and education front. No longer they lead a life of isolation although some of them continue to be small in size.

Tribal societies during the colonial period, were branded as "Primitive", because they were non-literate, lacked abstract thinking, economically self sufficient, lack of motivation to generate capital for commercial gains, lack of rational approach and belief in superstitions, and had a sense of togetherness. Mutuality and reciprocity are not measured by any common denomination of value. The basic sanctions of life are understood by all and deviation from accepted modes of conduct is not appreciated, rather criticism is levelled against the deviant, custom is crucial and central as regards conduct. The social structure is tightly knit and family relationships are vital. The sacred and secular domains are clearly distinguished from one another. Similarly consanguines are discriminated against affines. These are some of the characteristic features of the folk (tribal) societies. There is no justification, whatsoever, for designating folk societies as 'primitive'. Taking their religion into consideration folk societies in India have been classified as 'tribes', but it is true that a clearcut line of demarcation cannot be drawn between some caste categories of the Sudra varna and some so-called tribal societies.

The Indian Census during the colonial administration started classifying them under the religious heading of 'Animism', though some of the Commissioners were not satisfied with the procedure. J. A. Baines, the Commissioner of the Census of 1891, considered the distinction between tribal people, who were Hinduized and those that followed their tribal form of religion as futile (Ghurye, 1959 : 2). Ghurye also writes that Enthoven, the Superintendent of Census of 1901 for the province of Bombay, Gait, the Commissioner of Census of 1911, Tallents, the Superintendent of the Census of 1921 for Bihar and Orissa "acknowledged the difficulty of distinguishing a Hindu from an Animist to be very great and the hopes of demarcating a satisfactory boundary to be very much less. The difficulty of distinguishing the religion of such persons from the lower type of Hinduism has always been experienced at every census" (1943 : 2-3).

A close scrutiny now indicates that several of these communities have lost their so-called aboriginal characteristics. Most of them have undergone a rapid process of modernization as a result of their exposure to electronic media, universal literacy drive, modern transport system and participation in the democratic political process. Apart from these factors, planned development intervention has also accelerated the process of modernization. Economic liberalization has infused a sense of consumerism amongst the youth. Nowadays the well-to do amongst several of them engage Brahman priests and other ritual servants to perform their life-cycle rituals. In several cases they have adopted certain

Hidhu customs and participate in local and regional festivals, and make offerings to certain Hindu deities while adhering to their animistic beliefs and practices.

In the past these ethno-cultural communities had remained in backward condition chiefly for historical and political reasons. The British had colonised the country for about 200 years, and prior to that socio-political situation was also not congenial for all the sections of Indian society to advance at equal pace. In the adverse circumstances the worst sufferers were these small and politically weak ethno-cultural communities. They had been subject to a simple life replete with malnutrition, chronic diseases, illiteracy and exploitation. But after independence things have changed for better so far as these communities are concerned. The Constitution of India has elevated their status to the level of all other citizens of the country and has assured them of protective measures. They are citizens of honour now and not of despise. A member of any of these communities can aspire for and hold the highest political position in the body politic of the country. Such peoples cannot be referred to as 'primitive' or 'tribe' because they are small in scale and possess simple technologies. These terms are not appropriate at the fag end of the twentieth century, because, as Beattie says "in the temporal sense no existing society can be said to be more primitive than any other. nor can we suppose that present day 'primitive' societies represent the rudimentary phases, the infancy and childhood, of human society. It is more plausible to speak of such societies as 'simple' ones" (1964 : 4). In true sense they are not simple as we envisage because their social and cultural institutions are complex as those of others.

In view of the above facts we suggest that these communities be better designated as "simple" 'ethno-cultural' societies so as to eschew ethnocentric attitude and foster greater social cohesion and national fraternity. This approach is culturally appropriate and politically congruent. From the point of view of promoting a healthy national society it is desirable to eschew the derogatory appellations like 'primitive and 'tribe'. These are obnoxious value-loaded terms which imply false vanity therefor, there is no anthropological justification to use these abhorrent terms which alienate rather than forge amity among people.

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LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE AND LITERARY CULTIVATION

K. Mahapatra

(I) LINGUISTIC PANORAMA

Orissa is a prominently visible area in the tribal map of India for having as many as 62 varieties of tribes who with their 70,32,214 people constitute 22-21 percent of the state population. These tribes have their distinct ethnic identity which is overtly marked in their languages besides many other cultural traits and traditions.

Ethno-linguistic Classification :

The tribes of Orissa are ethno-Linguistically classifiable into three groups : Munda (Austroasiatic), Dravidian and Indo-Aryan. A group-wise tentative inventory of the tribal languages and dialects may be drawn up as follows :

Munda Group :

- Gata (Didayi)
- Gutob (Gadaba)
- Juang
- Koda
- Birhor (Mankidia)
- Mundari (Mundari/Munda)
- Santali
- Sora (Saora, Lanjia, Juary, Arsi)
- Gorum (Parenga)
- Remo (Bonda)
- Kharia (Kharia/Mirdha)
- Korwa
- Bhumija
- Ho (Ho/Kolha)
- Mahili (Mahali)

Dravidian Group :

- Parji (Dharua)
- Koya
- Kui (Kondh-Kutia/Dongria)
- Konda/Kubi (Konda Dora)
- Ollari (Gadaba)
- Kurukh/Oraon (Oraon)
- Gondi (Gond)
- Madia
- Kuvi (Kondh, Jatapu)
- Pengu (Pengo Kondh)
- Kisan

Indo-Aryan Group :

DIALECTS

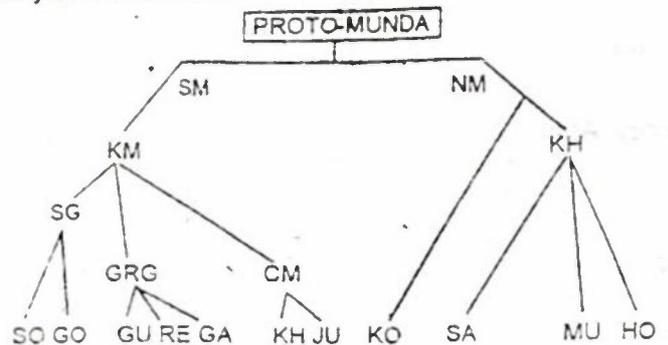
- Desia
- Bhuyan
- Bhatri
- Jharia
- Matia
- Kondhan
- Laria
- Bhulia
- Aghria
- Kurmi
- Soupti
- Bathudi
- Sadri
- Binjhia
- Banjara
- Baiga
- Bhunjia
- Halbi

LANGUAGE AFFINITY

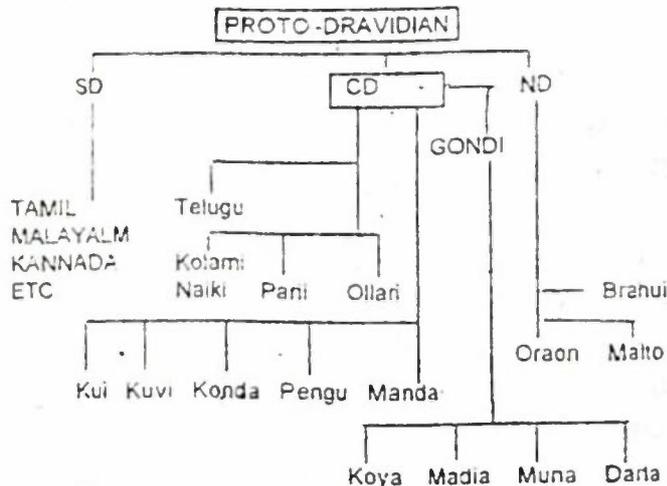
- Southern Oriya
- Western Oriya
- Western Oriya
- Western Oriya
- Western Oriya
- Northern Oriya-S.W. Bengali
- Northern Oriya--S.W. Bengali
- Northern Oriya-S.W. Bengali
- Hindi-Oriya
- Chhatisgarhi-Hindi
- Hindi Dialect
- Chhatisgarhi
- Marathi
- Oriya-Marathi-Chhatisgarhi

Genetic Relation :

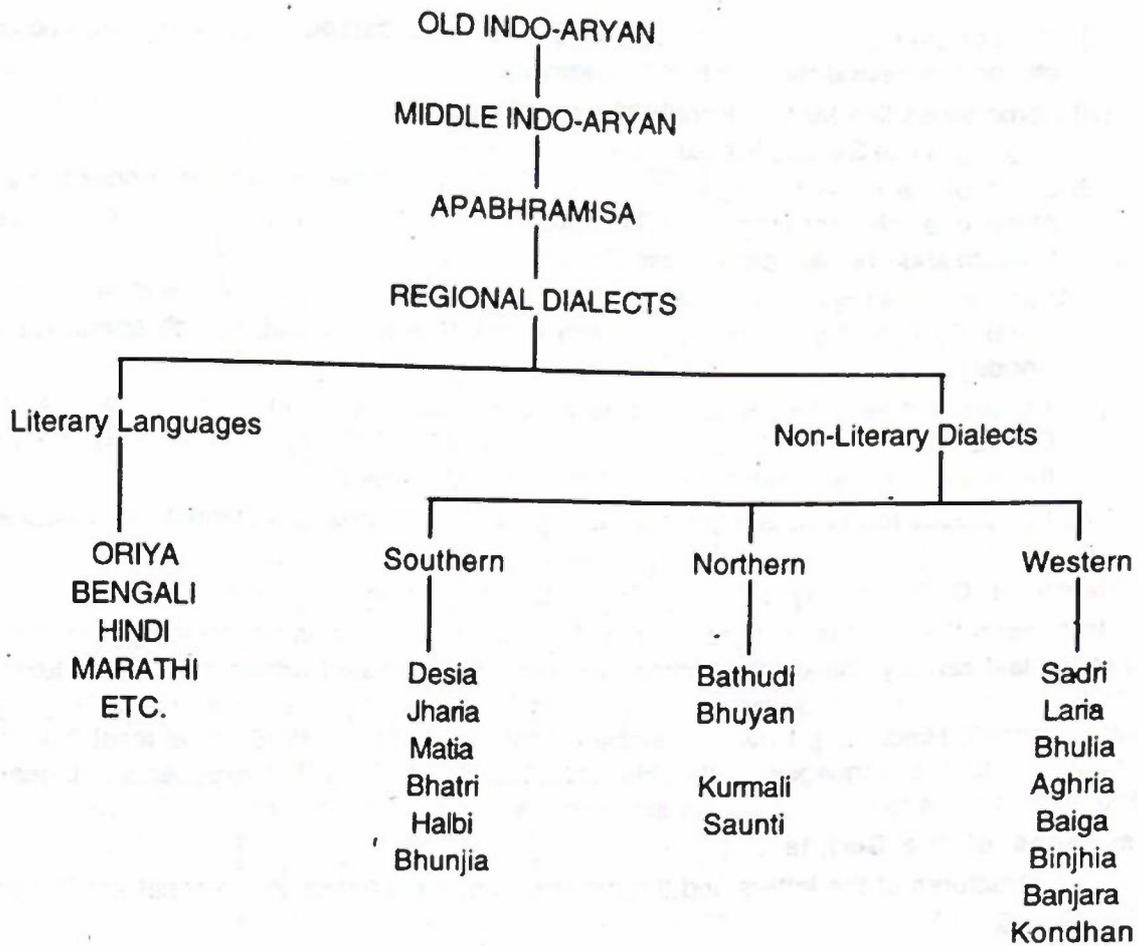
The Languages of each group are inter-related both genetically and structurally. They have a common source, common ancestry and cultural heritage. The relationship among the languages within a group may be schematically charted as follows :



[SM-South Munda, NM-North Munda, KM-Koraput Munda, CM-Central Munda, SG-Sora ; Gorum, GRC-Gutob : Remo ; Gta, KH-Kharia, JU-Juang, KO-Korku, KH-Khewari, SA-Santali- (mahili, Birhor), MU-Mundari (Bhumija, Munda) HO-Kolha]



SD- South Dravidian, CD- Central Dravidian, ND- North Dravidian



All these non-literary I.A. dialects are used by the tribals either as mother tongue or second language. These dialects are based on archaic forms of the modern literary languages and have developed peculiarities in courses of time due to convergence of languages belonging to different families, diffusion of linguistic traits across genetic boundaries and hybridization of language as a result of extensive bilingualism or multilingualism. In multi-familial and multi-dialectical situations there have been lot of inter-mixture and mutual borrowing resulting in development of certain common traits among the dialects of divergent origins.

Typological Classification :

It appears from the above statement and statistics that the sixty-two tribes in Orissa use a variety of languages and dialects. However, all of them are not of equal status. This is conceivable from several aspects, such as, numerical strength of the speakers, primitiveness of the tribe, use of own separate script, richness of oral literary tradition, influence of other languages, prevalence of bilingualism, tendency towards Oriyanization, adaptation of regional Oriya dialects at inter-tribal level, etc. As a result of such considerations tribal languages are being differentially treated now as major/minor, autonomous/semi-autonomous, pure/pidgin, literary/colloquial and recognisable/ignorable. It is better to categorise the languages under some sort of typological classification.

In this context, the following notable facts are to be taken into consideration.

- (i) Some languages have definite tribal identity (e.g. Santali, Bonda, Oraon etc.) and some have no particular community affiliation but function at inter-community level as lingua franca (e. g. Desia, Sadri etc.).

- (ii) Some of the tribes, such as Lodha, Mirdha, Bhumia, Jatapu, Bagata, Pentia, section of Gond etc. do not have distinctive linguistic identity.
- (iii) Some tribes like Mahali, Kondh, Kisan etc. have only dialectal distinction from autonomous languages like Santali, Kui-Kuvi, Kurukh etc.
- (iv) Some of the tribes having scattered settlements in different regions, under the same tribe-name use different languages (e.g. Kondh, Saora etc. living elsewhere outside Koraput, Ganjam and Phulbani districts use Oriya dialects.)
- (v) In some cases the name of the tribe and the name of their language are different (e. g. Dharua speak Parji, Kolha speak Ho, Gadaba speak Gutob or Ollari, Kondh speak Kui or Kuvi or Konda).
- (vi) Larger tribes like Kondh, Saora etc. have several subgroups as there are Desua/Kutia/Dongria/Pengo/Jatapu Kondhs and Lanjia/Juray/Arsi/Sudha Saoras and each of these sub-groups speak a distinct dialect of the language.
- (vii) Languages form cognate groupes having much commonalities at the grammatical level and in vocabulary.

Problems of Orthography : Innovation vs. Adaptation

In general the tribal languages are non-literary. The languages began to appear in written form only in the last century. Initially the christian missionaries produced written and printed texts in Roman script. Subsequently attempts were made for using the scripts of the regional literary languages (Oriya, Telugu, Bengali, Hindi etc.). However, in the recent past between 1935-85, at least five scripts have been devised for the languages-Santali, Ho, Sora, Mundari and Kui. The exponents of these scripts are taking various steps to promote literacy in the scripts at their respective community levels.

Specimens of the Scripts :

The structures of the letters and the organisation of the letters in the script are illustrated in the following diagrams.

TRIBAL SCRIPTS

- (1) Santali (Ol chiki) Devised by Pandit Raghunath Murmu (1905—1982). It is being used by the Santali speakers and a good number of printed texts are available in this script.

ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱩᱵᱤ				
(SANTALI) ଅଲଚିକି				
ᱠ	ᱡ	ᱢ	ᱣ	ᱤ
ᱥ	ᱦ	ᱧ	ᱨ	ᱩ
ᱪ	ᱫ	ᱬ	ᱭ	ᱮ
ᱯ	ᱰ	ᱱ	ᱲ	ᱳ
ᱴ	ᱵ	ᱶ	ᱷ	ᱸ
ᱹ	ᱺ	ᱻ	ᱼ	ᱽ
᱾	᱿	~	ᱛ	-
ᱠ	ᱡ	ᱢ	ᱣ	ᱤ

- (2) Saora (Soran Sampen) Devised by Guru Mangei Gamango (1916—1981) it is being used by a section of Saorā speakers and some texts have been printed in the script at a press established at Damsara (Gunpur).

୧୦୨ ଛତ୍ରାଂଂ ଓପଂ					
ସୋରାଂ ସୋରାଂ (SAORA)					
୧	୨	୩	୪	୫	୬
୭	୮	୯	୧୦	୧୧	୧୨
୧୩	୧୪	୧୫	୧୬	୧୭	୧୮
୧୯	୨୦	୨୧	୨୨	୨୩	୨୪
୨୫	୨୬	୨୭	୨୮	୨୯	୩୦

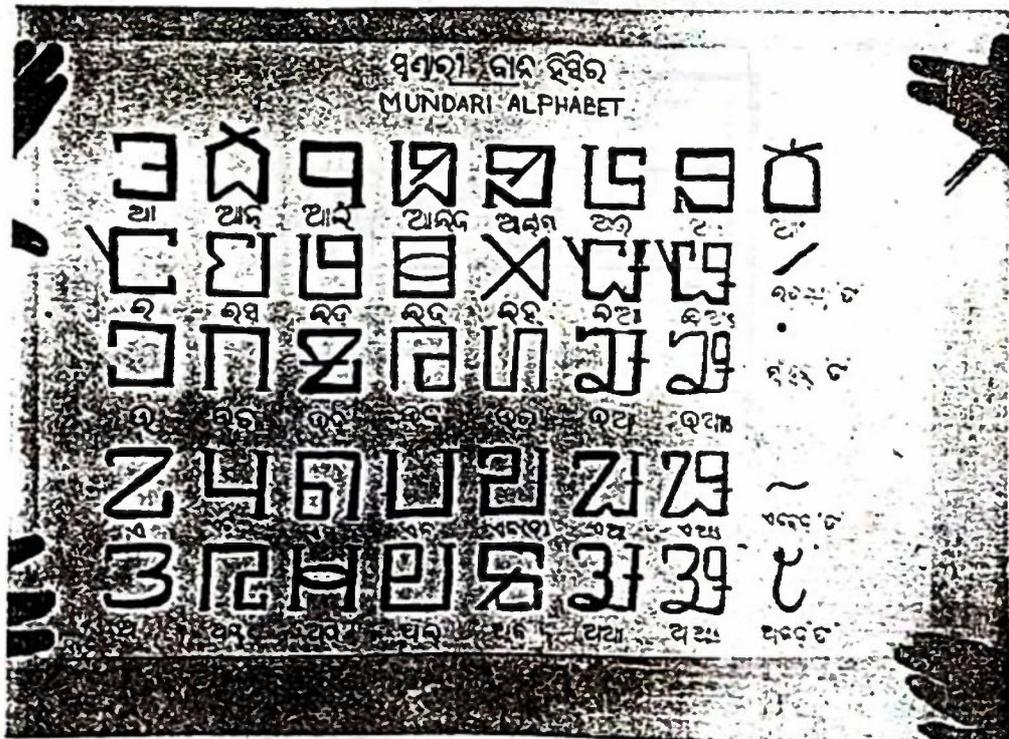
- (3) Ho (Ho chiki) Devised by Kol Lako Bodra (Singhbhum), is being promoted by some Ho speakers of Bihar and Orissa and a few texts have been published in the script.

୧୦୨ ଛତ୍ରାଂଂ ଓପଂ					
HO					
V	୧	F	L	Y	୫
E	୮	୯	Z		
୩	୪	୫	୬	୭	୮
୯	୧୦	୧୧	୧୨	୧୩	୧୪
୧୫	୧୬	୧୭	୧୮	୧୯	୨୦
୨୧	୨୨	୨୩			
୨୪	୨୫	୨୬	୨୭	୨୮	୨୯

- (4) Kui (Kui Lipi Varnamala) Devised by Dayanidhi Malik (G. Udaygiri) is now in experimental stage and no printing press has been set up.

KUI କୁଇ ଲିପି ବର୍ଣ୍ଣମାଳା						
୧	୨	୩	୪	୫	୬	୭
୮	୯	୧୦	୧୧	୧୨	୧୩	୧୪
୧୫	୧୬	୧୭	୧୮	୧୯	୨୦	୨୧
୨୨	୨୩	୨୪	୨୫	୨୬	୨୭	୨୮
୨୯	୩୦	୩୧	୩୨	୩୩	୩୪	୩୫
୩୬	୩୭	୩୮	୩୯	୪୦	୪୧	୪୨
୪୩	୪୪	୪୫	୪୬	୪୭	୪୮	୪୯
୫୦	୫୧	୫୨				
୧ ୨ ୩ ୪ ୫ ୬ ୭ ୮ ୯ ୧୦						

- (5) Mundari (Mundari Bani Hisir) Devised by Sri Rohidas Sing Nag (Rangamatia, Mayurbhanj) is now in formative stage and not yet propagated all over the community.



It is, of course, true that the scripts have been created with the view to upholding the ethnolinguistic identity of the tribal communities, though it is also true that the Oriya script is inadequate to represent such phonetically peculiar sounds as checked consonants, glottal stop, low tone, stress, long or geminate vowels, positionally different articulation of palatal and velar nasals, different qualities of vowels etc.. However, a section of the enlightened members of the tribal communities think that instead of developing separate writing systems for each and every spoken language, a more practical solution could be to employ the existing Oriya graphemes with necessary diacritic marks for standardising the orthography of peculiar phonemes of the tribal languages. Experimentations in this direction are gradually getting both popular and academic support because of the simple fact that the tribals being bilinguals by necessity, they can use a single script for writing their own languages as well as the State language. It is noteworthy that publication of more and more books in many tribal languages during the last few years by adapting Oriya script has greatly expanded literary activities in the tribal languages.

(II) LITERARY EFFLORESCENCES :

(i) Prevalence of Oral Literary Tradition :

The Corpus of tribal literature may be broadly encompassed under two categories : Oral and Written. In general the tribal languages are non-literary, but have rich oral literary traditions comprising of folk literature in the forms of Tales, Myths, Songs, Ballads, Proverbs, Riddles, Incantations etc. Some folklorists and anthropologists have collected and compiled specimen of such texts. But the bulk of the stuff still exist in oral tradition.

The tribal Literatures are mostly in the form of song-poetry. The tribals are great lovers of music. They have songs for every occasion and music for all the sentiments. Almost all the tribal men and women are born composers. Their stories are equally fascinating for depiction of their wit, humour, satire and pathos. The themes, the characters, the style of narration have much socio-cultural and literary values. The tribal folk Literature is a dependable source of cultural history.

(ii) Emergence of Written Literary Trends :

The tribal languages began to appear in written forms only in the last century. The Christian missionaries took the initiative to study the languages and to produce and publish Biblical texts in Roman script. Subsequently attempts were also made for using the scripts of the regional literary language, such as, Oriya Bengali, Devnagari, Telugu etc. However, due to certain historical factors, from 1930's onwards, some tribal leaders and writers attempted to invent scripts to provide indigenous writing systems for promoting literacy and literary activities in their languages. But inspite of their zealous efforts, the authorship as well as readership are till now confined only to segments of the communities as there is very limited scope for learning reading and writing in the tribal scripts in any formal educational institutions. It is rather remarkable that publication of more and more books in many tribal languages during the last few years by adapting Oriya writing system has greatly expanded literary activities in the tribal languages.

Contextually, it may be noted that as regards production and publication of creative literary works, the Santali language is in the forefront with a vast and varied corpus of written literature in its own Ol Chiki script and in other scripts. Next comes Sora followed by Bhuyan, Bathudi, Kurmali, Oran, Kharia, Kisan, Kuvi, Kui, Ho, Mundari, Paraja, Koya, Sadri, Desia and others. An encouraging fact is that the literate tribal youths are gradually getting involved emotionally in creative literary activities and publishing books and journals, forming literary—cultural associations, organising literary competitions and workshops, and honouring the writers along with the leaders. Thus it seems that literary activities in tribal languages are gaining momentum and some sort of renascent climate prevails in the literary sphere along with economic developments.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE BODO GADABA OF KORAPUT DISTRICT

Pranita Sabat
N. C. Das
J. Dash

Demographic study reflects the variation in size and composition of a population. Demography is mainly a Social Science because it deals with the whole population of a Society rather than individuals (Houser 59, Bougue 69). In the present paper an attempt has been made to show the demographic features of the Gadaba population based on an empirical study among two Gadaba villages in Koraput District of Orissa. The study highlights the Socio-Economic conditions, Population composition, Fertility and Mortality of the Gadabas.

India has a great variety of Tribal population. The Gadaba is one of the primitive and colourful Tribes of Orissa. They are mostly found in the Southernmost part of the State in the district of Koraput and particularly they are concentrated in Lamtaput Block. Broadly, there are two main types of Gadabas, one is "Bodo Gadaba" and the other is "Sana Gadaba" or "Ollar Gadaba" (Rout, 90). Two Bodo Gadaba villages have been selected for the present study.

METHODS AND MATERIALS :

The selected Bodo Gadaba villages, Kamarguda and Ridal are situated at a distance of 6 and 18 kilometers, respectively towards Machhakund from Lamtaput. All the head of the households of both the villages were interviewed by canvassing three different schedules such as the household census schedule, schedule for fertility and the schedule for mortality. Every married females were also interviewed for the collection of fertility data. Household census schedules include several socio-economic questions on education, occupation and family income.

Interview technique was mainly adopted for the collection of data. Non-participant observation method was also adhered to. However, a few statistical parameters were effectively used to find out the economic and demographic indicators.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FINDINGS :

In all empirical demographic studies, the findings of population composition is dealt initially.

TABLE-1
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX

Age-Group	No. of Male		No. of Female		Total		Sex Ratio
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	M/F X 1000
0—14	43	14.93	69	23.95	112	38.88	623
15—29	27	9.37	42	14.58	69	23.95	642
30—44	37	12.84	25	8.68	62	21.52	1480
45—59	17	5.90	14	4.86	31	10.76	1214
60+	5	1.73	9	3.12	14	4.86	555
Total 129	129	44.77	159	55.19	288	100.00	811

Table No.1 shows the distribution of population of the Bodo Gadaba villages according to age and sex. It is clear from the table that out of 288 persons 129 are males and 159 are females, showing a low sex ratio (811 males per 1000 females), a typical tribal distribution.

The table reveals that the proportion of young children (0—14) is nearly 39%, which indicates higher reproductive potential in the coming years. The proportion of individuals within the fecund age group (15—44) constitutes nearly 46% indicating high reproductive potentials at present. The proportion of individuals between the age-group of 45 and 59 is nearly 11%. In the higher age-group (60 and above) the distribution of individuals in the two villages is 4.86%. It is seen from the table that when we move from younger to aged groups the number of individuals gradually decreases, a natural biological phenomenon. However, the low distribution of population in the higher age-groups is the indicative of low longevity of the Gadabas. Further, the very high female ratio in the 60 years and above suggests that the females live longer in comparison to their male counterparts.

SEX RATIO :

The sex ratio, i.e., the number of males per thousand females among the Bodo Gadaba (811) shows that there are more females in this two villages. However, the sex ratio favours males (1480 and 1214 males per 1000 females) in 30 to 44 and 45 to 59 age groups respectively. This may be due to the higher deaths during the late fecund period. The overall low sex ratio is an important indicator of the high status of women in the society.

EDUCATIONAL STANDARD :

Educational standards among the tribes of Orissa are low compared to the general population. However, tribal literacy has increased from 1% to nearly 10% during the last four decades (Mahapatra and Das 77, Dash 77 and 89, Behura 90, Mohanty 89). With such a dismal picture it would be interesting to see the educational standards of the Gadabas under study.

TABLE-2
DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATIONAL STATUS BY AGE AND SEX

Age in Years	Sex	Illiterate	Sign only	1—3	4-5	5+	Total
5—14	M	12	0	13	1	0	26
	F	34	0	4	1	0	39
15—29	M	16	5	1	0	5	27
	F	42	0	0	0	0	42
30—44	M	32	3	0	0	2	37
	F	24	0	0	1	0	25
45—59	M	15	1	1	0	0	17
	F	14	0	0	0	0	14
60+	M	5	0	0	0	0	5
	F	9	0	0	0	0	9
Total	M	80	9	15	1	7	112
	F	123	0	4	2	0	129
%	M	71.42	8.03	13.39	0.89	6.25	100.0
	F	95.34	0	3.10	1.55	0	100.0

(Population of 0—4 are excluded).

This table shows that majority of the female population (95.34 %) are illiterate whereas there are 71.42 % illiterate males. The literate percentage (Those who can only sign) among males are 8.03 whereas in case of females, it is zero. The percentage of Upper Primary Education among females (1.55%) are higher than males (0.89). In case of the females none has been educated beyond Upper Primary Stage. Similarly, a slightly higher percentage of males (13.39%) are educated up to Primary stage. In general, the educational condition of the two Bodo Gadaba villages is far below the educational level of the State.

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN :

With so low level of literacy it will be interesting to find out the occupational pattern of the Gadabas.

TABLE-3

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY OCCUPATION OF THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY SEX

Name of the occupation	Primary				Secondary			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Cultivation	59	71.08	63	70.78	10	12.04	11	12.35
Wage Labour	18	21.68	24	26.96	63	75.90	69	77.52
Others (Blacksmith, Carpenter, Govt. Job)	6	7.22	02	2.24	10	12.04	9	10.11
Total	83	100.00	89	100.00	83	100.00	89	100.00

(Some younger women below 15 years who participate in cultivation are excluded from the above table)

In the Gadaba Society cultivation is the major source of livelihood. Almost all households in both the villages possess cultivated land. So majority (about 71%) of the people do give emphasis on agriculture which has become their primary occupation. About 22% male and 27% female population have accepted wage earning as their primary occupation. As large as 77% have accepted wage earning as their secondary occupation. In case of other occupations, only one individual works as a Government servant, one as a mason and two work as blacksmith and carpenter.

TABLE-4
DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALES BY MONTHLY INCOME

Income	No. of Families	Percentage
Below Rs.500	36	52.17
Rs.501—750	20	28.98
Rs.751—1,000	9	13.04
Rs.1000 and Above	4	5.79
Total	69	100.00

(Average family income per month Rs. 557.10 or Rs. 557.00)

Table-4 shows the monthly income of various families in the village ranges from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000. The maximum number of families (53%) earn below Rs. 500 and the next majority of families (29%) have their monthly income between Rs. 500 to Rs. 750. Only four families are able to earn Rs. 1,000 per month and nine families earn between Rs. 750 to Rs. 1,000 per month. However, the average family income is Rs. 557 per month, which is far below the poverty line.

MARITAL STATUS :

Marital status of a community indicates the vulnerability of fertility of that group. Among the Gadabas marriage is the most colourful social function. The following analysis will show the marital status of the Gadabas.

TABLE-5
DISTRIBUTION OF MARITAL STATUS BY AGE AND SEX

Age-Group	Unmarried		Married		Widow		Divorced Separated		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-9	35	57	..	..	..	..	..	..	35	57
10-19	11	13	2	9	..	..	..	..	13	22
20-29	..	..	20	30	1	..	1	2	22	32
30-39	1	2	28	16	..	1	1	..	30	19
40-49	1	2	12	11	..	1	..	..	13	12
50-59	..	..	7	4	4	4	..	..	11	8
60+	..	..	2	1	3	8	..	..	5	9
Total	48	72	71	71	8	14	2	2	129	159
Per cent	37.2	45.28	55.0	44.65	6.2	8.8	1.55	1.2	100	100

The distribution of marital status (Table 5) shows that the unmarried persons are found to be less than the married individuals in case of males and it is more or less balanced in case of females. It is quite interesting to see that among the Gadabas the widows are more in number than the widowers which indicates high mortality among the aged males. Divorce is also found in case of Gadabas, however, the percentage of female divorcees are more or less equal to that of the males in the study.

Age at marriage in a population influences the rate of fertility of that population. The age at marriage among the Gadabas is depicted in Table 6.

TABLE-6
AGE AT MARRIAGE AMONG THE GADABA BY SEX

Age at Marriage	No. of Males	Percentage	No. of Females	Percentage
Below 15	1	1.23	20	22.98
15-19	35	43.20	65	74.71
20-24	43	53.08	2	2.29
25 and above	2	2.46	..	..
Total	81	100.00	87	100.00

The table No.6 shows that the average age at marriage of Gadaba women is 15.69 and majority of the women (75%) marry between 15 and 19 years of age. Some women (23%) also marry below the age of 15 years. However, majority of males (53.08%) marry in between 20 and 24 years of age. Only 1% of male marry below 15 years. But above 25 years it is observed that two males (2.46%) got married while no female was found to have married above 25 years. The average age at marriage of the male Gadaba is 19.61 years. Both males and females show a lower schedule or marriage age, compared to the Government declared marriage ages (18 years for females and 21 years for males).

DEMOGRAPHIC FINDINGS :

The most two important and vital finding of demography are the fertility and the mortality. Fertility speaks of the capacity of a community adding to itself by births whereas mortality refers to the death schedules of a community (Das—79).

TABLE-7
AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATE (A.S.F.R.)

Age Group	No. of Women	No. of Married Women	Live Birth			A.S.F.R.	A.S.M.F.R.
			M	F	T		
15—19	10	9	1	2	3	0.3	0.33
20—24	14	13	2	3	5	0.35	0.38
25—29	18	17	2	2	4	0.22	0.23
30—34	12	11	2	1	3	0.25	0.25
35—39	7	5	..	..	..	..	..
40—44	6	6	..	..	..	..	..
45*+	23	10	..	..	..	..	..
Total	90	71	7	8	15	1.12	1.19

The total live births are 15, out of which 7 are male and 8 are female. Maximum number of children are born in the age-group of 20 to 24 years.

MEASUREMENT OF FERTILITY :

- Crude Birth Rate (C.B.R.)**—It is the ratio of the birth during last year and the total population of the village, the C. D. R. of the Gadaba as during the period is $(15 \times 288 \times 1000) / 52.08$ or 52 per thousand population.
- General Fertility Rate (G. F. R.)**—It is the ratio of the number of live birth to the female population between the age of 15 and 54, the G. F. R. of the Gadaba is $(15 / 90 \times 1000) / 166.66$ per thousand population.
- General Marital Fertility Rate (G. M. F. R.)**—It is the ratio of number of live birth to the currently married females of 15-44 age-group to the total female population. The G. M. F. R. is $(15 \times 61 \times 1000) / 245.9$ or 245 per 1000 population.

- (d) **Age Specific Fertility Rate (A. S. F. R.)**—It is the ratio of births by age of the mother to the women in that age-group (see Table 7) and the maximum number of children born in between 20 and 24 years.
- (e) **Total Fertility Rate (T. F. R.)**—It is the sum total of age specific fertility rate multiplied by size of the class interval. The T. F. R. of the Gadaba is $(1.12 \times 5) = 5.6$.
- (f) **Total Marital Fertility Rate (T. M. F. R.)**—It is the sum of the age specific marital fertility rate multiplied by size of the class interval. It is found to be $(1.19 \times 5) = 5.9$.
- (g) **Gross Reproduction Rate (G. R. R.)**—It is the ratio of female live birth to the women. The G. R. R. of Gadaba is $(5.6 \times 8/15) = 2.98$.

(h) **Child Women Ratio (C. W. R.) :**

- (1) No. of children (0—4)

$$\frac{\text{No. of children (0—4)}}{\text{Women of child bearing age (15—44)}} \times 1000 = 47/67 \times 1000 = 701.49 \text{ or } 702$$

- (2) No. of children (5—9)

$$\frac{\text{No. of children (5—9)}}{\text{Women of child bearing age (19—49)}} \times 1000 = 45/63 \times 1000 = 714.28 \text{ or } 715.$$

Both the ratios indicate a high fertility schedule among the Gadabas.

MORTALITY :

Mortality like fertility, is one of the fundamental determinants of population size, its composition and its future growth. Mortality influences both fertility as well as birth rate. According to the United Nations : "Mortality is the percentage of death in the population".

MEASUREMENTS OF MORTALITY :

- (a) **Crude Death Rate (C.D.R)**—It is the total registered death of the villages during the year of survey (D) to the population of those villages during the same year (P). The crude death rate of the two Gadaba villages is $(10/288 \times 1000) = 34.72$ or 35 per 1000 population.
- (b) **Infant Mortality Rate (I.M.R.)**—Infant Mortality Rate is calculated by taking the number of deaths under 1 year of age which occurred among the population of the villages during the year of survey, to the total live births of the population of those villages during the same year. So the I.M.R. of the villages under study is $(4/15 \times 1000) = 266.66$ or 267 per 1000 live births.

CONCLUSION :

From the above discussion it is clear that the Gadabas have a hand to mouth economy. The low population distribution in the aged groups is an indicator of poor health conditions. The sex ratio shows that the number of women is high in the society, indicating a higher women status. The sex ratio shows that the number of women is high in the society. The educational level of the Gadaba are very poor. The comparative low age at marriage does have an effect on increasing the fertility rates. Both high fertility and mortality with very high infant mortality rates suggest that the Gadabas of Koraput district are still in the beginning of the demographic transition.

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STATUS OF TRIBAL LITERACY IN ORISSA WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO WOMEN LITERACY

B. B. Mohanty

In the Golden Jubilee Year of India's Independence, when we look forward to celebrate the occasion, we must also turn back at the same time to assess the overall progress, the country has achieved, particularly in the field of tribal development during the last five decades. After the Nation attain Independence, in pursuance with the Constitutional provisions and commitment of welfare administration, priority attention was paid for the development of weaker sections of the society, particularly the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes to raise their level of economy and bring them at par with the general population. It was envisaged to carry out development through Five-Year Plans and different strategies were adopted during each of the plans to achieve certain specific objectives keeping in view the problem and felt-needs of the target population and the area. During the earlier plan periods emphasis was laid on programmes relating to economic and infrastructural development, but some of the important social service sectors, like education and health received least priority. But, at a later stage it was realised that unless these two key sectors are developed alongwith others, the ultimate goal of making the end-users self-sufficient, self-reliant and self-sustained can hardly be achieved. However, during the last five decades, in spite of our sincere efforts, which include, introduction of T. D. Blocks, Sub-plan Approach, Modifications in development strategies and switching emphasis from one sector to other from time to time, streamlining the flow of funds, evolving a personnel policy, the overall progress in the field of tribal development could not make much head way. This is, because, we failed to understand and recognize the role, involvement and contribution of the tribal women, which they could have, in making tribal development programmes successful. Unless the women folk who constitutes the better half of their society, are brought up at par with their male counterparts, our endeavour to assimilate and integrate them in the National mainstream within a reasonable time-frame will not succeed. Therefore, though of late than never, some concepts like empowerment of tribal women have been a matter of debate and discussion at various forums and for achieving this end enhancement of educational standard of tribal women is a pre-requisite.

Tribal Situation in Orissa

In Orissa, the Scheduled Tribes comprising 62 varieties of socio-culturally and economically divergent groups constitute 22.21 per cent of the total population of the State according to 1991 census. They inhabit almost all the districts of the State, their concentration being very high, above 50 per cent of the total population, in each of the three undivided districts namely, Koraput, Sundargarh, and Mayurbhanj and portions of six other districts such as, Phulbani, Kalahandi, Ganjam, Keonjhar, Balasore and Sambalpur. In coastal districts and the remaining portions of the above mentioned districts their number is much less. Among the Scheduled Tribes there are very numerically large communities like the Kandha, the Gond, the Santal and the Saora, etc. each having a population size more than one

lakh and among the small communities there are certain groups whose population is less than a hundred.

Broadly speaking, the tribes in common represent simple, homogenous, patriarchal and patrilineal societies with nuclear family structure and neolocal residence pattern. Among them, even today, many speak on their own dialects while others have forgotten their traditional tongue and have become bilingual or multilingual. In dress and style of ornamentation particularly among the women, they differ from one another. The practice of tattooing is still found among the women of some communities belonging to older age-groups. They live in homogenous multi-clan or heterogenous multi-clan and multi-ethnic permanent villages. In tribal social organisation the clan plays a vital role in regulating the societal behaviour and activities in all spheres of life besides maintaining a strong identity, social and territorial cohesion.

The tribes of Orissa practise both monogamy and polygamy in the form of polygyny, the former being most common; and the rules of village/clan exogamy is strictly followed. For acquiring a mate, they have the choice to adopt any method out of many prescribed in the society. They also practise levirate, sororate and cross-cousin marriages as preferential forms. Divorce and remarriage is permitted.

The tribal religion which is basically animistic, also, incorporates nature and spirit worship. They are polytheists and the deities and spirits are worshipped while observing different social occasions and seasonal economic activities. They have enormous faith in the practice of black-magic, sorcery and evil-eye. The traditional religious headman and the sorcerer/magician cater to their religious and magical needs and perform essential rituals required for appeasement of deities and spirits. Animal sacrifice constitutes to be an important activity in each of the rituals irrespective of its purpose.

The tribal villages are administered by their respective traditional village council headed by a secular headman. The headman enjoys highest prestige in the village and his post is ascribed. According to the prescribed principles of customary norms, values, sanctions and the social control mechanisms, the intra-village disputes are settled, offenders are punished, and discipline is enforced in the village.

The economy of the tribes is basically subsistence oriented dependant on land based practices and collection of edible materials including hunting, fishing and animal husbandry. At present, on the basis of their occupational pattern and level of development the tribes of Orissa can be grouped under four broad different categories as, hunters and food gatherers, shifting cultivators, settled agriculturists, industrial and mining workers.

Status of Tribal Literacy vis-a-vis Women Literacy :

Among the States and Union Territories, Orissa occupies relatively a lower position in respect of tribal literacy. Besides, the rank the State was occupying during 1961 Census has gone down further in 1971 and 1981 Censuses. During 1961 Census, as many as eleven States/U.Ts. recorded higher rate of tribal literacy than Orissa and the number has gone up to sixteen in 1971 and nineteen in 1981.

Literacy :

The best way to assess the achievements made in the field of tribal education would be to analyse the literacy rates recorded in different Census years and compare these with total population. A comparative statement is given in Table-1.

Table-1
Percentage of Literacy

Sl. No.	Census year	Total population			S. T. Population		
		M	F	T	M	F	T
1	1961	34.70	8.60	21.66	13.00	1.80	7.36
2	1971	39.30	13.90	26.20	16.40	2.60	9.46
3	1981	47.10	21.12	34.75	23.27	4.76	12.96
4	1991	63.09	34.68	44.09	27.93	8.29	18.10

The table shows that during the period (1961—1991) the percentage of tribal literacy has increased from 7.36 to 18.10. In other words, taking 1961 as the base year when 7 out of every one hundred persons were literate, during a period of 30 years (1961—1991) we have achieved in raising this figure to only 18 in spite of several efforts made in this field. The percentage of female literacy among the Scheduled Tribes was 1.80 in 1961, which further increased to 2.60 in 1971, 4.76 in 1981 and 8.29 in 1991. If the achievements made in the field of tribal literacy is compared with that of the total population a wide gap is noticed in respect of male, female and total literacy between the two categories of people. This gives an impression that very little has been achieved and to enhance the literacy standard of tribal people particularly of the women folk and bring them at par with the general population still there is a long way to cover.

Growth of Literacy among Tribal Women :

The following table gives a comparative growth rate of literacy among the total and Scheduled Tribe women in Orissa during the three inter-census periods.

Table-2
Decadal growth of Literacy among Tribal Women

Sl. No.	Inter Census periods	Percentage growth of Literacy	
		Total women	Scheduled Tribe women
1	1961—1971	61.6	44.4
2	1971—1981	51.9	79.2
3	1981—1991	64.2	74.2

Although the Scheduled Tribes record a very low percentage of literacy in comparison to total population, yet the growth rate of literacy recorded among them is quite encouraging. The data shows

that except for the period 1961—1971 where the percentage of increase among them was on the lower side than the total women, in subsequent periods it was just the opposite. As during the period 1961—1971, the percentage of increase among the Scheduled Tribe women was 44.4 as against 61.6 for the total women and during the subsequent periods of 1971—1981 and 1981—1991, the percentage of increase among the Scheduled Tribe women were 79.2 and 74.2 as compared to 51.9 and 61.2 for the total women respectively.

District-wise Position of Literacy among Tribal Women :

A comparative picture of Scheduled Tribe female literacy in different districts of Orissa as per the Census 1991 is given in Table-3.

Table-3
District-wise trend of Tribal Women Literacy

Sl. No.	Districts above State average	% of literacy	Districts behind State average	% of literacy
1	Sundargarh	20.04	Dhenkanal	8.26
2	Sambalpur	13.33	Bolangir	7.56
3	Puri	11.48	Balasore	5.61
4	Keonjhar	9.37	Ganjam	5.53
5	Phulbani	9.21	Cuttack	5.48
6	Mayurbhanj	8.35	Kalahandi	5.58
7	..	..	Koraput	1.93

The district-wise trend in terms of tribal women literacy as furnished in the statement above shows that Sundargarh with 20.04 per cent tops the list and Koraput with 1.93 per cent lies at the bottom. There are as many as six districts with percentage of literacy varying between 8.35 to 20.04 have secured positions above the State average of 8.29 per cent and the remaining seven districts lie below the State average among which the percentage of literacy vary between 1.93 to 8.26.

Percentage of Literacy among Tribal Women (community-wise) :

The community-wise position of literacy as per census 1981 in different percentage ranges are given in Table-4.

Table-4
Community-wise Percentage of Tribal Women Literacy

Sl. No.	Percentage of literacy (Range)	No. of communities
1	0-2	15
2	2-4	26
3	4-6	9
4	6-8	4
5	8-10	3
6	10+	5

The community-wise percentage of literacy among tribal women shows that among 26 communities, the percentage of literacy vary between 2 to 4 per cent followed by another 15 groups who fall under the category of 0.2 per cent. Thus, the percentage of literacy among each of the 41 communities which constitute 66 per cent of the total Scheduled Tribe groups was below 4 per cent. There are 13 communities whose literacy percentage was in between 4 to 8 per cent. Among the rest 8 communities the percentage of literacy was above 8 per cent. Roughly, out of 62 communities, the percentage of literacy in respect of 21 groups was above the State average of 4.76 per cent for total tribal women.

Socio-cultural and Policy Constraints and Concluding Suggestions :

There are various factors linked with both socio-cultural life of the tribals and current education policy which impede growth and progress of education among the tribes of Orissa particularly among the women folk.

(1) Scheduled Tribes represent patriarchal and patrilineal societies in which the eldest male member of the family is supreme authority in the decision making process. Due to limited world-view, lack of awareness and knowledge about the utility of education, the head of the families are quite averse to send their children particularly the girl child to school. Sending children to school is considered wastage of time and labour.

(2) Formerly, in tribal societies child marriage was in vogue. Now-a-days, although such practice has been abolished, still the girls get married at an early age soon after they attain puberty. Therefore, the girls hardly find anytime to read as they have to learn all the techniques of the domestic chore from their mothers during this period before their marriage.

(3) Among the Scheduled Tribes, most of the families lie below the subsistence level having hardly any surplus produce. The children at a very early age assist their parents in economic and domestic activities. The girl child helps her mother in domestic works, collection of firewood from the forest, fetching water from the hill-streams and above all caring and feeding small infants throughout the day when her mother goes away from home. Therefore, her presence and service at home are considered very essential and her absence from home not only amounts to economic loss to the family but also put other members particularly the mother in a great deal of inconvenience.

(4) In tribal societies, prevalence of payment of bride-price in marriage is a traditional custom which is rigidly followed. Therefore, the parents are always in a haste to get their daughters married whenever they get suitable matches who can pay the bride-price as demanded. To fetch more bride-price, the girl should have certain qualities like, good physique, capacity to work hard, knowledge in household activities etc. but having some education by her is not considered essential. Therefore, the parents attach less importance to the education of the girls. Rather, it is a feeling among them, that, if the girls are given education, it would be difficult to find suitable matches for them.

(5) Apart from these socio-cultural reasons, various other factors relating to educational policy such as inadequacy of educational institutions in tribal concentrated regions, establishment of educational institutions without following National norms, dual type of educational institutions with dissimilar facilities, lack of basic infrastructure facilities in most of the existing schools, multiplicity in administration for management of different type of schools, ecological constraints of tribal areas, selection of right type of teachers, medium of instruction, curriculum, timing and holiday pattern stand on the way of educational development in tribal areas.

Suggestions :

(1) Awareness Development Programmes regarding the utility of education should be organized among the tribal parents.

(2) Participation of tribal women in development programmes should be ensured and financial assistance under Income Generating Programme should be linked with sending the girl child to the school.

(3) The tribal families should be given some compensation in form of cash/kind on weekly payment basis for sending the girl / boy child to the school.

(4) Baby sitters or creches should be opened in tribal villages to take care of the small infants when the parents go away for work.

(5) A thorough review of the existing educational policy should be made and accordingly modified in the light of the recommendations of various committees and experts who have worked in this field.

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A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF ACCEPTABILITY OF PERMANENT MEASURES OF BIRTH CONTROL AMONG THE BHATTARA TRIBE OF ORISSA

Meerambika Mahapatro

Despite the enormous legislative awakening, publicity, and positive advocacy, the population problem retains its acuteness and it is growing at predatory height. High fertility still continues to be the main culprit behind the population explosion. Hence fertility control or check by the birth control devices alone can promise a ray of hope to the desperate human community, though ecological, biological, social, cultural, psychological and economic factors have been found to be the prime determinants of fertility control.

According to Jacobson (1988), family planning is one of the most preventive health care strategies though it is rarely recognized as such. In many developing countries demographic surveys have shown that as many as 50% 80% of married women already want to limit or space future birth (Sadik, 1991).

Family planning programmes, however, slowly may proceed, do exert an influence on the no. of birth and awareness of risk involved in frequent pregnancies. The use of birth control devices is usually more prominent in third world countries.

Several obstacles that fall in the way of family planning are the cultural, attitudinal and other situational circumstances. For example, ignorance, lack of motivation and faith in the natural process formed a part of it. These obstacles can be overcome by use of media and creating a general awareness among people. In Asia and Latin America well designed family planning programmes have increased the use of contraception and made it a more acceptable programme (Potts & Thapa, 1990). In India the lesser use of all the methods is partly due to ignorance and partly due to lack of media intervention particularly in the rural area (Basu, 1984).

The basic mode of fertility control can be categorized into five major types-physical, psychological, bio-chemical and the social and sterilization. The physical practices includes condom, IUD, and all other barrier methods. Physiological ones account for the menstrual identification and the rythm method. Coital practices are the psychological mode of contraception. The bio-chemical types of fertility control are gelly cream and pills. Social practice such as abstinence and ritual taboos have been practised to control pregnancies. The permanent method of birth control (i. e. tubectomy and vasectomy) are more popular in all the communities.

Yet, these methods excepting sterilization are neither reliable nor applicable to all types of couples. However, the ideal contraceptive method has not yet been attained although today we know of methods that are entirely harmless, that give a maximum of protection, and are generally satisfactory.

Though the permanent method of contraception or sterilization has given as a good result, but it has been seen that women after laprascopy or tubectomy have suffered from different health

problems, such as giddiness, weakness etc., besides, some psychological problems too which are more often reported by the men who have undergone vasectomy.

The aim of the present study is to assess the impact and attitude towards permanent method of birth control (Sterilization) of the women of Bhattara tribe of Orissa. The present paper is, however, a preliminary report on the subject.

Methods :—The schedule which probes into marriage history, fertility, mortality, migration and knowledge, and attitude and practice of birth control measures was prepared. The schedule contained both open and close ended questions. Unit of study for the present work was ever married woman in each household, who acted as a primary informant. The schedule was applied through interview to the main informant.

Kosagumuda (in Orissa), one of the largest villages inhabited by the Bhattara Tribe and was selected for the present study.

Materials :—The present study is based on the information gathered from 80 households having 99 ever married women.

Result :—The distribution of acceptors and non-acceptors of permanent birth control measures are set out in the table -I and the reasons for non-acceptance of permanent method of birth control are set out in the table-II. However, the reason that motivated the users to adopt the permanent method of birth control are given in the Table-III.

TABLE-1
DISTRIBUTION OF ACCEPTORS AND NON-ACCEPTORS OF PERMANENT BIRTH CONTROL MEASURES

Age cohort	Acceptors No. of Woman	Percentage(%)	Non-Acceptors No. of Women	Percentage(%)	Total No. of Women	Percentage (%)
15-19	..	..	12	12.12	12	12.12
20-24	1	1.01	17	17.17	18	18.18
25-29	2	2.02	22	22.22	24	24.24
30-34	4	4.04	11	11.11	15	15.15
35-39	1	1.01	3	3.03	4	4.04
40-44	4	4.04	9	9.09	13	13.13
45-49	..	..	6	6.06	6	6.06
50-54	..	..	4	4.04	4	4.04
55-59	..	..	2	2.02	2	2.02
60+	..	..	1	1.01	1	1.01
Total	12	12.12	87	87.87	99	99.99

TABLE- II

REASONS FOR NOT USING PERMANENT BIRTH CONTROL MEASURES

Reasons	No. of Women	Percentage
1. Want more sons	3	3.44
2. Want more children	45	51.72
3. Women not well	2	2.29
4. Husband does not approve	2	2.29
5. Parents-in-law do not approve	2	2.29
6. Against religion and cultural norm	3	3.44
7. Not available that time (No knowledge)	1	1.14
8. Fear about side effects	21	24.13
9. Fear of death	8	9.19
Total	87	99.93

TABLE-III

FOLLOWING ARE THE REASONS THAT MOTIVATED THE ACCEPTORS TO ADOPT THE PERMANENT METHODS OF BIRTH CONTROL (STERILIZATION)

Reasons	No. of Women	Percentage
1. Economic constraint	8	66.66
2. Ill-health of women	1	8.33
3. Fear of labour pain	1	8.33
4. Fear of labour pain	1	8.33
5. To check unwanted female births	1	8.33
Total	12	99.98

From table-I it can be inferred that 12% of women and 1% of men had undergone sterilization, chiefly because of economic reasons. While about 45% women did not want to adopt it for desire of more children, about 29% of them did not want to undergo sterilization for fear of side effects including fear of death.

Conclusion :— It appears that the programme of sterilization may become more acceptable if the people are educated more extensively on the economic well-being as a consequent to this programme besides allaying their fear of the side effects of sterilization. However, more emphasis should be given to the methods may be specifically more reliable to them as per their opinion. In the present study the Bhattara believe on the indigenous method of sterilization and they do practise it. Therefore this method should be developed more scientifically among these people. So that the problem of this natural growing population may be checked effectively.

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ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES AMONG MADIA GOND : A PRIMITIVE TRIBE OF MAHARASHTRA

Renuka Pattnaik

INTRODUCTION :

The State Maharashtra ranks fourth in the size of tribal population and constitutes nearly 8 per cent of the total tribal population of the country. According to the 1991 census the total tribal population of Maharashtra is 73.18 lakhs which is 9.27 per cent to the total population.

Tribal population of Maharashtra is mainly concentrated in two main zones: the Western sahyadrian belt and the North-Eastern Gondwana region. A total of 47 major tribes have been enumerated in the State, but only two major tribal groups are the Bhils in Western ghats and the Gonds in North-Eastern. Out of 47 major tribal groups Kathari or Kathodi, Kelam and Madia Gond are three tribal groups, identified as primitive tribal group in the State of Maharashtra (TRTI, Pune). Among these three primitive tribes Madia Gond is the subject of special study in this present analysis.

CONCEPT OF A PRIMITIVE TRIBE :

Most poor and backward tribal groups should be identified and distinguished from the other tribal groups for better understanding and greater attention for their development. The distinguishing features of primitive tribes are : they are underdeveloped, small and homogeneous, live in remote areas in fragile ecosystem, hilly, heavy rainfall and lands which are marginal from the agricultural point of view. Such groups have their distinct cultural and ethnic individuality and they depend to a large extent on forest resources and on their depletion they are adversely affected, particularly on account of the rapid changes taking place in their habitat. The criterias adopted by the Government for the identification of primitive tribes are;

- (1) Pre-Agricultural levels of technology
- (2) Low level of literacy and
- (3) A stagnant or diminishing population.

The tribal people being the original inhabitants of India, constitute a significant part of this vast nation. They still continue to remain largely underprivileged on account of geographical isolation, poor infrastructure, economic exploitation and illiteracy. The main reason for this is our poor understanding of several issues connected with tribal economy and their environment. This is particularly significant in the case of primitive groups who have still retained intimate links with the natural environment as they are not habituated to modern technology.

In the present study the geographer tries to probe the association between, geographical environment and tribal economy to subsist basically in the changing phase of environment.

Keeping these above considerations as core concerns, the present paper draws attention to the followings :—

- (1) Natural Resource base of the area
- (2) Status of agricultural practices and land holdings
- (3) Various forms of occupation and their categorisation
- (4) Employment pattern in non-agricultural occupations.

CASE STUDY VILLAGES :

Selected villages for case study are—Rompalli, Vijurpalli, Krishnar, Udera, Vennalya, Barsewada, Fodewada, Binagunda and Lahari fall in different talukas of Gadchiroli District, viz., Sironcha Eltapalli and Bhamragad. Gadchiroli district is situated in the eastern part of Maharashtra which forms a part of Gondwana region. Entire district is far out with numerous rivers like Wardha, Wainganga, Pranahita, Indravati and Godavari. It is surrounded by Madhya Pradesh in the Western side, Andhra Pradesh in the Southern side.

Chimur and Mull hill constitute the main hill ranges of the district and serve as a watershed between the valleys of the Wardha and Wainganga rivers. Beyond Indravati lies Bhamragad hill which overlooks the confluence of three mountain rivers and is known as an unrivalled beauty spot of the district. Sironcha, Ettapalli and Bhamragad talukas are surrounded by dense forest having wild animals. Climate is very hot on summer season. In the month of May the temperature is 43°C maximum while minimum is 29°C. Rainfall is very heavy. Soil is mainly black in colour, which is useful for all types of crops.

MADIA GOND :

Madia inhabit the wilder tracts, previously known as Aheri Zamidary which is full of forest and their villages are situated inside the interior of the forest. 'Madi' means a 'forest dweller' who does not like to expose himself to modern societies. Madia Gond is a sub tribe of the main Gond tribe and it has been identified and declared as one of the most primitive tribes in the State.

The Madias are sub-divided into two groups like 'Bada Madia' live in the most interior forests and hills, more backward, practising shifting cultivation and orthodox. Where as 'Chota Madia' live in plain area having the sign of change and more acculturised. The marriage between two groups is a taboo.

The Madias are more handsome than any other tribals. They possess good health, charming physique with tender hair style. Both men and women are stout. Women are more active and charming. Both the Madia men and women are scantily dressed. The men normally wear a longeti tightly around their waist and sometimes put one small turban on the head. The women use a small cloth around their waist and do not cover the upper portion of their body. The breasts are covered only with the ornaments of beads. Now a days they use blouse or a small cloth to cover their breasts when they visit the market or when any outsiders come to their village. Children are normally naked and only school going children may be seen clothed.

Marriages among Madias take place only after puberty. Child marriage is totally absent in this community. There is ample freedom to choose one's partner. In case of Madias there are different types of marriages, like marriage by capture, by mutual consent and by service contract also. The bride price is paid in terms of cash, paddy, goats, hens and pigs etc. Polygamy and divorce are allowed. Widow re-marriage is also allowed in this community.

There are a number of beliefs among the Madia community. Their chief God is 'Persapen' who is worshipped in the form of spear head or, nails. 'Mariaie' is worshipped for prevention of diseases and death. They also worship 'Bhiwasena', 'Waghoba' and 'Todoba'. They sacrifice goats or, hens to the deities on all most all occasions. Ancestral worship is a common phenomenon. They also believe in black magic for which they usually consult the 'Bhagat'.

Madias are very fond of dancing. The 'Reta' dance is most popular among the Madia community.

ECONOMY :

The economic life of Madia Gond mainly depends on agriculture. They were practising shifting cultivation or slash and burn cultivation by clearing a patch of land in the interior of forest area. But now besides the Bada Madia, the Chota Madia of plain area have become settled cultivators. They mostly grow rice, maize, koshari etc.. In addition to agriculture the Madias are also engaged in the collection of edible fruits and roots, hunting and fishing to supplement their livelihood.

The Madias are very good craftsmen. They make baskets, mats, brooms from bamboo and grass for the domestic purposes.

DISTRIBUTION OF MADIA GOND :

According to the 1981 census the Gond population is 11.63 lakhs which ranks first among tribal communities in the State. "But the population of Madia Gond is not exactly available any where. However, efforts have been made to work out the estimated population of Madia Gond in Sub-Plan Area based on Bench Mark Survey 1980 conducted by Tribal Research and Training Institute, Pune, is 66,750. This primitive tribe is mainly distributed in the Gadchiroli district especially in Etopallind Dhanora I.T.D.P. Project areas".

TABLE No.1

Sl. No.	ITDP Project	Tahasil	Population of Madia Gond	Percentage with total Madia population
1.	Etopalli	1. Etopalli (Bhamaragad area).	36,418	54.56
		2. Aheri	7,005	10.50
		3. Sirencha	2,865	4.29
			46,288	69.35
1.	Dhanora	1. Dhanora	11,972	17.94
		2. Chamorshi	5,151	7.71
		3. Armori	118	0.18
			19,424	29.10
	Other areas of Gadchiroli	1,038	1.55	
	Grand Total		66,750	100.00

Source : TRTI, Pune

METHODOLOGY :

Taking in to account the objectives of study mentioned in the foregoing reliance is placed on primary data with additional secondary sources of published information. The tools and techniques used for primary data collection are observations and interviews through schedules. Among the secondary sources of data, census publications, gazetteers, monographs, Bench Mark Survey of the tribes of Maharashtra conducted by the TRTI, Pune, are the major sources for deriving inferences which will be corroborated by micro level case studies on selected villages.

RESOURCE UTILISATION OF MADIA GOND—AN OVERVIEW :

The following analysis is based entirely on the interviews of 167 families from Nine case study villages of Gadchiroli district. The livelihood strategies which the Madias have adopted to sustain themselves have been identified. Though almost all the Madias have agricultural land, still they are compelled to lead a wandering way of life to derive a constant source of livelihood due to lack of irrigation facilities, manure technology. In spite of having agricultural land Madia life is governed, influenced and dependent on forest produce. They do very little agriculture, mostly paddy and koshari cultivation by broadcast method relying on rain water. The production from the land does not support or satisfy the entire family throughout the year. To supplement their annual food supply they collect different fruits like Tendu, Mahua and some edible roots. Taddy and Gorga wines with Tendu fruit forms a major food supply in the respective seasons, i.e., from March to April end. In case of Madias of Fodewada and Binagunda depend upon Gorga juice as Taddy is not available. Gorga juice is available throughout year continuously for 3 years every 25 years. Every day they visit forest to collect wood, fruits at whatever they collect from forest they utilise for themselves. They do not sell these items in the market as it is very far, but preserve them for rainy season. In the month of May they engage themselves for the collection of Tendu leaf on contract basis, i.e., one bundle is 1 rupee. One bundle consists of 70 leaves. This collection work last for one month, i.e., upto end of May.

TABLE No. 2
TABLE SHOWING DIFFERENT SOURCES OF OCCUPATION

Sl. No.	Name of the village	No. of family interview	Land Holdings in Hectors					Total	
			Land	1	1-2	2-4	4-6		Above
1	Rompalli	20 Nos.	—	1	8	10	1	—	20
		%	—	5.0	40.0	50.0	5.0	—	100
2	Vijurpalli	25 Nos.	—	5	8	8	2	2	25
		%	—	20.0	32.0	32.0	8.0	8.0	100
3	Krishnar	21 Nos.	—	1	8	9	2	1	21
		%	—	76.0	24.0	—	—	—	100
4	Udera	19 Nos.	—	—	6	4	5	4	19
		%	—	—	32.0	21.0	26.0	21.0	100
5	Vennalya	20 Nos.	2	4	9	4	1	—	20
		%	10.0	20.0	45.0	20.0	5.0	—	100
6	Barsewada	11 Nos.	—	—	8.0	2	—	1	11
		%	—	—	73.0	18.0	—	9.0	100
7	Fodewada	20 Nos.	20	—	—	—	—	—	20
		%	100	—	—	—	—	—	100
8	Binagunda	12 Nos.	7	—	5	—	—	—	12
		%	58.0	—	42.0	—	—	—	100
9	Laheri	19 Nos.	—	1	7	6	1	4	19
		%	—	5.0	37.0	32.0	5.0	21.0	100
Total	..	167 Nos.	29	12	59	48	12	12	167
		%	17.0	7.0	36.0	26.0	7.0	7.0	100

Source—From Field Survey

From the Table No. 2 it is seen that most (36%) of the Madias are having land measuring 1 to 2 hectares while 26% are having 2 to 4 hectares. Only 7% have more than 6 hectares. In case of Fodewada 20 households having no family was recorded as having any land as they are practising shifting cultivation. Government has tried several times to settle them by giving agricultural land in plain area but they are not ready to leave their traditional way of life. Secondly they are also very lazy to do ploughing, manuring etc. According to them wandering life is more satisfactory than settled life. They like to roam around the forest in collection of food. "Tribals and forests are ecologically and economically inseparable. They have co-existed since times immemorial and will continue to co-exist on a mutually reinforcing relationship".

Although agriculture remains as a permanent source of livelihood still it is not sufficient to support their family throughout the year. To supplement their livelihood they earn money from different source of occupation.

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION :

- I. Cultivators having land
- II. Cultivators having land and forest worker (Contract basis)
- III. Cultivators having land, agricultural labourers and forest worker (Contract basis)
- IV. Landless labourer and forest worker (Contract basis)
- V. Shifting cultivators, forest worker (Contract basis) hunting and fishing etc.
- VI. Shifting cultivators having land, forest worker (Contract basis), hunting and fishing etc.

TABLE No. 3
TABLE SHOWING DIFFERENT SOURCES OF OCCUPATION

Sl. No.	Name of the village	No. of family interview	Category of occupation						Total
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
1	Rompalli	20 Nos.	—	19	1	—	—	—	20
		%	—	95.0	5.0	—	—	—	100.0
2	'Vijurpalli	25 Nos.	—	25	—	—	—	—	25.0
		%	—	100.0	—	—	—	—	100.0
3	Krishnar	21 Nos.	—	16	5	—	—	—	21
		%	—	76.0	24.0	—	—	—	100.0
4	Udera	19 Nos.	—	11	7	1	—	—	19
		%	—	58.0	37.0	5.0	—	—	100.0
5	Vennalya	20 Nos.	—	8	10	—	2	—	20
		%	—	40.0	50.0	—	10.0	—	100.0
6	Barsewada	11 Nos.	—	9	02	—	—	—	11
		%	—	82.0	18.0	—	—	—	100.0
7	Fodewada	20 Nos.	—	—	—	19	1	—	20
		%	—	—	—	95.0	5.0	—	100.0
8	Binagunda	12 Nos.	—	—	—	7	—	5	12
		%	—	—	—	58.0	—	42.0	100.0
9	Laheri	19 Nos.	—	18	—	1	—	—	19
		%	—	95.0	—	5.0	—	—	100.0
Total		167 Nos.	—	106	25	28	3	5	167
		%	—	63.0	15.0	17.0	2.0	3.0	100.0

Source—From Field Survey

In contract basis they cut bamboo which starts from the month of December just after the harvesting of paddy till June. They get Rs.4 for cutting a bamboo bush from the Contractor. Like this if one cuts 10 bushes per day he gets Rs.40. Otherwise on daily wage basis they get Rs.34 per day. Accordingly, annually they earn Rs.2,000 to Rs.4,000 per family. Again it depends upon the size of the family. If the adult member is more they earn Rs.6,000 to Rs.7,000 per family. Most of the family earn Rs.2,000 to Rs.4,000 (table No.4). Those who are landless and have very little land mostly engage themselves on bamboo cutting also.

TABLE No. 4
TABLE SHOWING INCOME FROM BAMBOO CUTTING

Sl. No.	Name of the village	No. of family interview	Income range from Bamboo cutting				Total
			upto 2000	2000 to 4000	4001 to 6000	6001 to above	
1	Rompalli	20 Nos.	—	5	14	1	20
		%	—	25.0	70.0	5.0	100.0
2	Vijurpalli	25 Nos.	9	14	2	—	25
		%	36.0	56.0	8.0	—	100.0
3	Krishnar	21 Nos.	2	18	—	1	21
		%	9.5	86.0	—	4.5	100.0
4	Udera	19 Nos.	5	12	—	2	19
		%	26.0	63.0	—	11.0	100.0
5	Vennalya	20 Nos.	4	13	3	—	20
		%	20.0	65.0	15.0	—	100.0
6	Barsewada	11 Nos.	4	7	—	—	11
		%	36.0	64.0	—	—	100.0
7	Fodewada	20 Nos.	11	9	—	—	20
		%	55.0	45.0	—	—	100.0
8	Binagunda	12 Nos.	2	9	1	—	12
		%	17.0	75.0	8.0	—	100.0
9	Laheri	19 Nos.	4	15	—	—	19
		%	21.0	79.0	—	—	100.0
Total		167 Nos.	41	102	20	4	167
		%	25.0	61.0	12.0	2.0	100.0

Source—From Field Survey

CONCLUSION :

From the foregoing discussion it is seen that Madia is more intimately attached to nature. Though they are economically sound, but still they do not want to change their mode of habitation and food habits. They like Tadi, Gorga Juice and Ambili out of Paddy and Koshari. They are very fond of their

food habit and to wander around the forest. So any development activity should take care of their life style also. Development can be done by integration not by isolation or assimilation. They should be given minimum freedom to maintain their identity and individuality. Efforts should be taken to made to understand about the benefit of education with patience. As Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru once pointed out "we must approach the tribal people with affection and friendliness and come to them as a liberating force. We must let them feel that we come to give and not to take some thing away from them. That is the kind of psychological integration India needs".

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This paper is a part of my Ph. D. work done under the guidance of my Supervisor, Dr. (Mrs.) Jayamala Diddee, Department of Geography, University of Pune, Pune-7.

HEALTH AND NUTRITIONAL STATUS OF THE JUANG CHILDREN

Trilochan Sahoo

Introduction :

This article is based on an exploratory study on health and nutritional problems of the Juang children of Keonjhar district of Orissa. It attempts to make an assessment of the health and nutritional status of the Juang children and suggests remedial measures.

Medical Anthropology surveys reveal that Tribal people of Orissa living in variable eco-system face with health and nutritional problems. Their diet is deficient both in quantity and quality. Most of them suffer from malnutrition which affect their health status.

Objective :

The objective of the study was to assess the nutrition, health and morbidity status of the Juang children by analysing their food habit, calorie and protein intake and other factors which influence their health.

Methods of study :

The study was conducted during the year 1995-1996 by a research team of S.C. and S.T. Research and Training Institute, Bhubaneswar. The study covered all the Juang households of three villages such as Tangarpada, Upper Raidiha and Gonasika of Banspal Block in Keonjhar district. The techniques of applied anthropology like Anthropometric measurements alongwith Rapid Rural Appraisal (R.R.A.) were administered for the problem identification exercise.

Concepts :

The three basic concepts used in this paper are "health", "nutrition" and "nutriture". They are defined below.

According to World Health Organisation (WHO), "Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing and not merely absence of disease or infirmity" (Gupta, 1996).

"Nutrition may be defined as the science of food and its relationship to health" (Gupta, 1996).
"Nutriture refers to the condition of physical health and wellbeing of the body as related to the consumption and utilization of food for growth, maintenance and repair" (Fleak, 1981).

Food and Nutrition :

The Juang believe that food keep their bodies (ini) and souls together and enable them to work and to be healthy (tagala). They are omnivorous and thier diet contain various seasonal food available in the locality in addition to whatever meagre amount of crops they get from their field.

"Food, their fields" yield, feed the Juang only till about March; and since harvesting thereafter starts only in November, they survive on their crops for just four months. During the remaining eight months they have to fend for themselves in other ways. May be there is some crop left over, but mostly

they eat seasonal fruits, roots, flowers and leaves from the jungle. That is to say, they have since centuries fed more on what their forests provide and less on what the fields provide." (Nayak, Boal and Soreng; 161 : 1993).

"The diet of the Juang is neither regular nor standardised. Quantity and quality of the food depend on their availability of the food at the time and seasonal rhythm of agricultural cycle and forest collection" (Patnaik, ed, 27, 1986).

According to the study the following food items constitute the Juang diet. These are *bhat* (Cooked rice), *peja* (Gruel) and *pitha* (Cakes) prepared from rice and millet, dal from pulses like arhar, green gram, horse gram, *barugudi* or *jhudanga* (bean), roots and tubers such as *Bainga aru pitaru*, *Mandearu* etc. wild fruits and vegetables like jack fruit, mango, *chara*, *kendu*, tamarind, *kusum*, *anla*, green leaves, mushrooms etc., fishes from the hill streams and dry fishes from the markets, meat of wild and domesticated animals and birds such as tiger, bear, deer, sambar, kutura, monkey, crow, pigeon, peacock, jungle fowl and pig, buffalo, goat, hen, hare, sheep etc. Mahua trees play an important role by fulfilling their oil, food, and liquor necessities. Besides, these, the Juang diet also include honey, snails, crabs, eggs, tender-shoots, banana, mango kernel, tamarind seeds, jack fruit seeds, beer from rice and ragi, toddy from date palm tree. Occasionally vegetables like potato, brinjal, onion, tomato, cabbage, etc., are also consumed.

As regards distribution and serving of food, the children of either sex are served first, without any discrimination. Mother's milk is given to babies up to six month after their birth. The new born baby is fed when it cries. The colostrum feeding practice among the Juang is a very recent phenomenon. Previously they oozed out colostrum from the breasts and threw them because they believed that, the baby cannot suckle the paste-like undigestible colostrum (in first issue). However, now 60% of Juang mothers use to feed colostrum to their babies. The remaining mothers are still not practising due to superstition.

The children of preschooling age-group are served meals four/five times a day. Each meal is a repetition of the morning one, i.e., cold rice mixed with *peja*, the gruel and little salt. Besides, in between wild fruits, roots and tubers and the likes are given as per their availability and as and when the children demand so. Also, there is no fixed timing for intake of food by the children.

The food and nutrition intake of 100 Juang children (1—6 years) from three villages were observed during the field study. It was found that, against the total requirement of food under different categories, 66.66% is met from staple grain, 25% from pulses, oil and fats, 90% from wild fruits, vegetables and green leaves, 16.67% from flesh foods of their respective balance diet. On the contrary their consumption of roots and tubers is surplus (+66.66%) against prescribed standard. They do not consume sugar, jaggery and milk (except mother's milk).

The daily mean food intake of a Juang child constitute 100 gms. of staple grain, 10 gms. of pulses, 50 gms. of roots and tubers, 45 gms. of wild fruits, vegetables and green leaves (45 gms.), 5 gms. of

flesh food, 5 gms. of oil and fat, 10 gms. of miscellaneous food stuff and 53 gms. of C.S.M. and oil. These mean food intake of the Juang children as compared to ICMR standard is given in table-1.

TABLE-1
MEAN FOOD-INTAKE OF JUANG CHILDREN (1—6 YEARS)

Sl. No.	Food classification according to Nutritive value	Daily mean food-intake of child (1—6 years) (Approximate weight in Grams)	Balance diet per child (1—6 years) as per ICMR norm (In Grams)	Remarks % of deficit (-) surplus (+)
1	Staple grain	100	150—200	66.66 % (—33.34)
2	Pulses	10	40—50	25 % (—75)
3	Roots & Tubers	50	30—50	66.66 % (+)
4	Wild fruits, vegetables and Green leaves.	45	50	90 % (—10)
5	Flesh food	5	30	16.67 % (—83.38)
6	Milk and Milk products	N. A.	200	100 (—)
7	Sugar and Jaggery	N. A.	30—40	100 (—)
8	Oil and Fats	5	20—25	25 % (—75)
9	Miscellaneous foodstuff	10	—	100 (+)
10	Supplementary feedings (CSM—65+oil—8).	53 (73*)	73	72.60 % (—27.40)

(Corn Soya Milk=CSM)

(In Gonasika and Upper Raidiha villages 64 children availed the SNP

*Under ICDS Norm.

and at Tangarapada village 26 children did not avail the facility.)

The daily food consumption of Juang child as compared to the above I. C. M. R. standard indicates less consumption of food by Juang children under all the categories except roots and tubers.

Data regarding the daily mean nutrient composition of food consumed by the Juang children (1—6 years) as compared to ICMR norm is given in table-2.

The food consumption of Juang children is not only quantitatively inadequate, but also qualitatively deficient. Our observation reveals that there is nutrient (quality) deficit in the food of Juang children. The deficiency noticed in the nutrients are energy (—48.03 %), Protein (—6.36 %), Iron (—34 %), Vitamin A (—93 %), Vitamin B-1 (—60 %) and Vitamin B-2 (—14 %). Reversely their food is

enriched with excess Calcium (+226.35 %) and Vitamin C (+20 %). The calorie and protein content in their food are estimated at 701.6 (keal) and 18.26 mg. respectively which are below the ICMR standard.

TABLE-2
MEAN NUTRIENT COMPOSITION OF FOOD CONSUMED BY JUANG CHILDREN (1-6 YEARS)

Sl. No.	Nutrient	Consumed (Mg.)	Nutrient recommended by ICMR (Mg.)	Remarks: Approximate % Deficit (-) Surplus (+)
1.	Energy	701.6 (keal)	1200-1500 (1350) keal	(-) 48.03
2.	Protein	18.26	17.22 (19.5)	(-) 6.36
3.	Fat	0.83		
4.	Minerals	2.59		
5.	Carbohydrate	104.51		
6.	Calcium	90.94	0.4-0.5	(+) 226.35
7.	Iron	9.95	15-20	(-) 34
8.	Vitamin-A (B. Carotene)	70.8	1000-1200	(-) 93
9.	Vitamin-B (Thiamine)	2.412	6-8	(-) 60
10.	Vitamin-B ² (Riboflavin)	0.60	0.7-0.8	(-) 14
11.	Niacin	3.83		
12.	Vitamin-C	35.9	30.50	(+) 20

The above discussion shows that the food of the Juang children is deficient both in quantity and quality. As a result, the incidence of malnutrition is very high among them.

Nutriture :

The anthropometric measurements like, the weights and heights of 100 Juang children (0-6 years) were taken to assess their nutritional status. It is revealed that 86 % of the children were of less weight. About 92 % of the total children below 3 years of age and 81 % of the children within 3 to 6 years of age are found with loss of weight. Thus, the incidence of malnutrition among children below 3 years of age is higher than the children in the age-group of 3-6 years. The Juang children up to 3 years of age generally and within one year particularly depend on their mothers' milk as food. Hence, loss of weight among them may be due to the poor food intake including their mothers' milk.

The height measurements of Juang children within 6 years of age shows 77 % malnutrition cases among them. Age-group wise analysis reveal that the extent of malnutrition is highest (84.61 %) in the

age-group of 0—3 years as against the age-group of 3—6 years where the number of cases reported constitute 78.50 %.

The grades of malnutrition among 62 Juang children (0—5 years) were obtained by measuring their Mid-Upper-Arm-Circumference with the help of tricolour (MUAC) strip. The findings showed 20.98 % of severe and 40.32 % moderate malnutrition cases among them. Only 38.70 % children are reported to have normal health.

From the height, weight and MUAC measurement analysis it is concluded that the nutritional status of the Juang children is far below the recommended standard. Such a state is conditioned by food inadequacy of the children and their mothers. Moreover, the Juang have a wretched economic living condition. They are primitive and mostly thrive on primitive agriculture (Sweeden cultivation), food gathering and sale of fire wood. They are mostly poor and fed far below their bodily needs. The phenomenon of their food inadequacy force them to depend upon such types of food as mango kernel, tamarind seeds, sal seeds, tender-bamboo-shoots, mahua flowers and the like. Inadequate food intake result in malnutrition and other deficiency diseases among them.

The childhood malnutrition among the Juang mostly affects their growth in later stage. Moreover a Juang girl child is not given adequate nutritious food. During pregnancy the expectant mother is underfed. Hence the prospective child, in mother's womb does not met with the desired nutrients. So there is likelihood that the child at birth may inherit malnutrition. After six months up to two years the children are not given proper food, other than mother's milk. The existing provision of supplementary feeding programme is hardly compensating the nutritional gap of the children.

Morbidity :

Poverty is the main cause of food inadequacy which ultimately results in malnutrition among the Juang children. The other influencing factors are lack of awareness and parental care and balance diet. In addition to nutritional problem, the unhygienic surroundings in which they live also adversely affect their status of health. Further among them diseases are believed to be caused by the supernatural powers, malevolent deities, displeased ancestral spirits, evil eye, magic and witchcraft.

The Juang country is highly susceptible to Malaria. Due to unhygienic environment, insanitary living condition and intake of stream water, the Juang often suffer from various diseases which aggravate their health conditions. The survey of morbidity pattern among the Juang shows that malaria (68.00%) is foremost and fatal disease among them. The other diseases found are cold, cough and fever (11.29%), eye infection (5.64%), jaundice (4.43%), allergy (3.22%), rheumatic fever (3.22%), anaemia (2.42%) and sore (1.21%). Besides, diseases like skin infection, stomach trouble and loose motion are also noticed among them.

The Hill-Juang do not view health and sickness as purely physical conditions. They believe them to have religious and social dimensions (Nayak, 1993 : 107). They put forward mainly three reasons to account for their ailments of different types. These are (i) natural causes, (ii) human causes and (iii) supernatural causes (THRTI : 1989 : 30). According to the present study, their responses regarding causes of illness are wrath of evil spirits (84%) followed by physical disorder (9%), wrath of God (4.5%), hot and cold effect (2.5%).

"Illness is believed to be caused by mostly malevolent spirits and unless these spirits are properly propitiated with sacrifices and offerings one may not hope for a quick recovery" (Rout, : 1969 : 22). The Juang ignore treatment of minor ailments. Only when they fall seriously ill, they seek traditional method of curing diseases which include appeasing the deities and/or use of herbal medicines. Recently the traditional practice of the Juang for treatment of diseases has changed partly. A dual method of treatment, both modern as well as traditional for curing and preventing diseases is practised among them. Free distribution of allopathic medicines by J. D. A. and Additional P.H.C., Gonasika and health measures of line Departments have brought some changes in their perceptions about causes of sickness.

Recommendations :

The following recommendations for improvement of health and nutritional status of the Juang are suggested :

1. In order to create awareness among the Juang there is need to display wall posters with visual effects and organise video shows. They are to be made conscious of the hygienic and sanitational aspects of their habitations and food and nutritional intake.

2. Special care is necessary for improvement of nutritional status of women, infants and pre-school-children. Supplementary Feeding Programme should continue with the active participation of J.D.A., Gonasika and C.D.P.O., Banspal, in an integrated manner. New Anganwadi centres may be opened in villages where such facilities are not available, even by relaxing the norm, if necessary. The workers of the centres should be recruited from among the Juang ladies of the respective villages and be given training for effective operation of the centres.

3. Supply of essential food items, like rice at a subsidised rate under Public Distribution System should continue in the Juang area. As desired by the people, "The Juang Swechhasevi Sangha, Gonasika" may be appointed as retailer for distribution of rations.

4. The long term measures to check nutritional deficiencies should include policies for sustainable development through additional income generation. The J.D.A., Gonasika, as the nodal Agency should accelerate their activities so that more employment avenues are created for additional income generation. For example, construction works, such as cross dams, diversion weirs, lift irrigation projects, water harvesting structures, ponds, land development works should be taken up to provide employment to the Juang.

The enhancement of production of cereals, pulses and vegetables etc. will have positive impact on their nutritional status. Along with production of vegetables attempt should be made to educate the Juang to develop their habits of eating vegetables and balanced diet.

The willing landless and marginal farmers among the Juang should be encouraged to take up poultry farming, goatery or piggery and other suitable animal husbandry programmes. It will help them to earn more and have nutritious food.

5. The J.D.A. staff should get in touch with medical staff of additional P.H.C., Gonasika and organise health camps regularly at central villages in the Juang area to provide health check up, immunization and other referral health service facilities. Besides, life saving medicines should be

provided free of cost to the patients as per necessity. The Anganwadi workers or the traditional medicine-men (Raulia) should be trained and involved in all the health development programmes of the Juang. They should be treated as village health workers and be allowed to work for the J.D.A. and be paid some incentive.

6. Due to excess iron content of the tube well water the people are not in the habit of using it. They mostly use water of kacha cystem or hill-stream for drinking purpose, as a result they often suffer from water borne diseases. Hence, one pucca cystem with platform in each village should be dug and the water be disinfected by putting lime and bleaching powder regularly.

7. Special efforts should be made to control and eradicate malaria since most of the people frequently suffer from this disease.

8. The concerned District level offices engaged in the task of eradication of Leprosy, Tuberculosis, Malaria should arrange their respective camps for identification of such diseases and to ensure treatments with the help of the Medical Officer, Additional P.H.C., Gonasika, Specialists and the Special Officer, J.D.A.

Besides, the Special Officer, J.D.A., Gonasika should organise Exhibition-cum-Training Programmes on Health and Nutritional aspects at Gonasika with the help of C.D.P.O., Banspal Block, Chief District Medical Officer and Public Relation Officer.

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