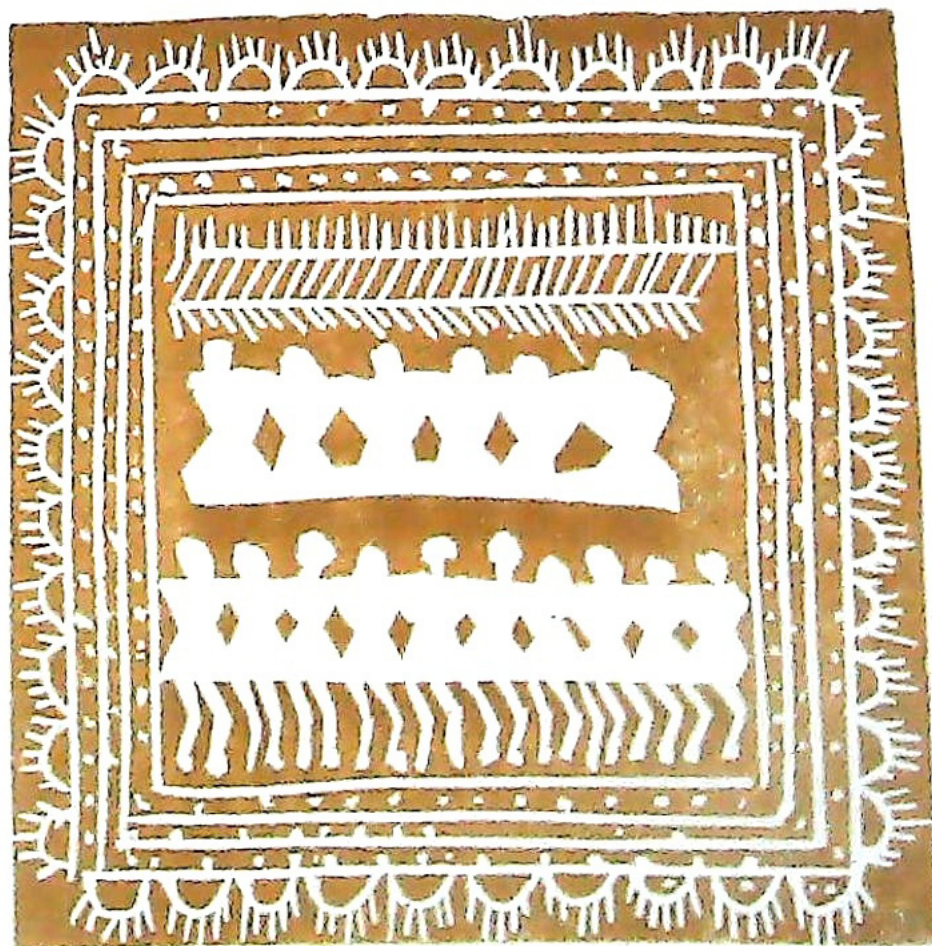


भवान्वितं वसन्तम्

ବନଜା ● BANAJA

SOUVENIR PUBLISHED ON THE OCCASION OF
ADIBASI EXHIBITION 1987



HARIJAN AND TRIBAL WELFARE DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF ORISSA

ବନଜା ● BANAJA
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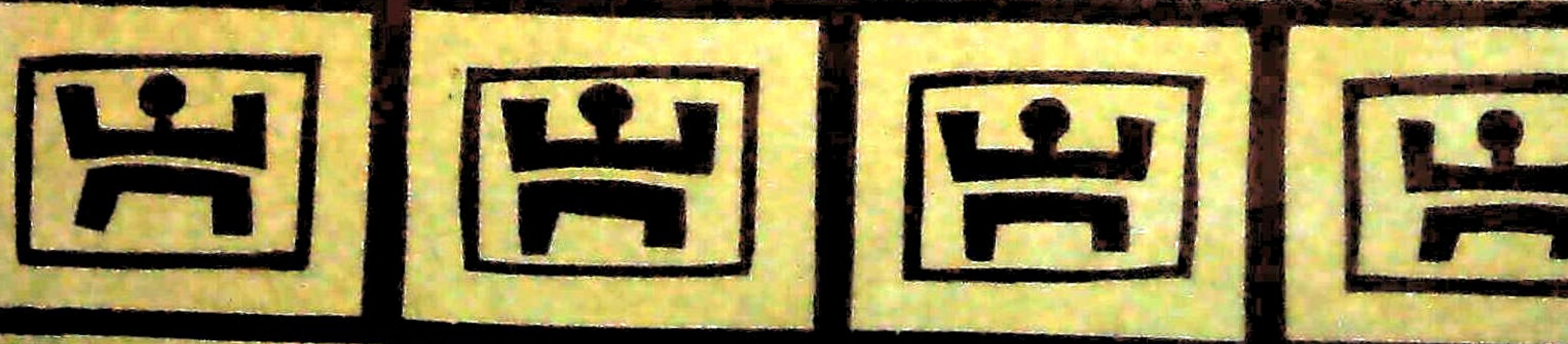
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opinion of the editors or the Government.

EDITORS





MESSAGES



RAJ BHAVAN
BHUBANESWAR
January 14, 1987

I am glad that the Annual Adivasi Exhibition is being held at Bhubaneswar on 26th January 1987 and a souvenir is being published on the occasion.

The tribal community constitute a significant percentage of our State's population. They may appear to be socially and economically backward if judged by the parameters of development which have taken place in a modern society but they are culturally very rich and are totally in tune with their natural habitat and environment. There are many areas of their life and work worthy of emulation by the civilised society.

I commend the effort to organise an exhibition, which I am sure will be of great help to project the tribal population and their problems.

I wish the exhibition all success.

B. N. PANDE
Governor, Orissa

ମୁଖ୍ୟମନ୍ତ୍ରୀ, ଓଡ଼ିଶା
ଭୁବନେଶ୍ୱର
ତା ୧୩ । ୧ । ୧୯୮୭

ଚକିତ ମାସ ୨୭ ତାରିଖ ସାଧାରଣତନ୍ତ୍ର ଦିବସ ଠାରୁ ଭୁବନେଶ୍ୱର ଠାରେ
ରାଜ୍ୟ ସରକାରଙ୍କ ହରିଜନ ଏବଂ ଆଦିବାସୀ ବିଭାଗ ଆନୁକୁଲ୍ୟରେ ଏକ ସମ୍ମାନ ବ୍ୟାପୀ
ଏକ ରାଜ୍ୟ-ସ୍ତରୀୟ ପ୍ରଦର୍ଶନୀ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠିତ ହେଉଥିବାର ଜାଣି ମୁଁ ବିଶେଷ ଆନନ୍ଦିତ ।

ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଉନ୍ନୟନମୂଳକ ଯୋଜନା ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ ରାଜ୍ୟରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଏବଂ ହରିଜନ-
ମାନଙ୍କର ଅର୍ଥନୈତିକ ତଥା ସାମାଜିକ ପ୍ରଗତି ନିମନ୍ତେ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ଏବଂ ରାଜ୍ୟ ସରକାର
ବିପୁଳ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିଛନ୍ତି । ଆଦିବାସୀ ଏବଂ ହରିଜନମାନଙ୍କର ଅର୍ଥନୈତିକ,
ସାମାଜିକ ଏବଂ ବୌଦ୍ଧିକ ବିକାଶ ଉପରେ ହିଁ ରାଜ୍ୟର ସାମୁହିକ ବିକାଶ ନିର୍ଭର କରେ ।
ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଧ୍ୟୁଷିତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳମାନଙ୍କରେ ସମନ୍ୱିତ ଅର୍ଥନୈତିକ ବିକାଶ, ଶିକ୍ଷାର ପ୍ରସାର
ଏବଂ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ପାରିବାରିକ ତଥା ଅର୍ଥନୈତିକ ପ୍ରକଳ୍ପ ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ ଆଦିବାସୀମାନଙ୍କର
ସାମଗ୍ରିକ କଲ୍ୟାଣ ନିମନ୍ତେ ବ୍ୟାପକ ଉଦ୍ୟମ ଅବ୍ୟାହତ ରହିଛି । ଏହି ସମ୍ମାନ ବ୍ୟାପୀ
ପ୍ରଦର୍ଶନୀ ରାଜ୍ୟର ଆଦିବାସୀ ଓ ହରିଜନ ଉନ୍ନୟନ ବିଭାଗର ବିଭିନ୍ନ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ
ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ ଜନସାଧାରଣଙ୍କୁ ଅବହିତ କରିବା ଦିଗରେ ବିଶେଷ ଭାବରେ ସହାୟକ ହେବ
ବୋଲି ମୋର ଦୃଢ଼ ବିଶ୍ୱାସ ।

ପ୍ରଦର୍ଶନୀର ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ ଓ ଅଂଶଗ୍ରହଣକାରୀ ସଂଗଠନମାନଙ୍କୁ ନବବର୍ଷର ଶୁଭେଚ୍ଛା
ନିଶ୍ଚୟ ଏବଂ ପ୍ରଦର୍ଶନୀର ସର୍ବାଙ୍ଗୀନ ସଫଳତା କାମନା କରୁଛି ।

ଜାନକୀ ବରଦାସ ପଟ୍ଟନାୟକ

ଉପମତୀ
ହରିଜନ ଓ ଆଦିବାସୀ କଲ୍ୟାଣ
ଓଡ଼ିଶା, ଭୁବନେଶ୍ୱର
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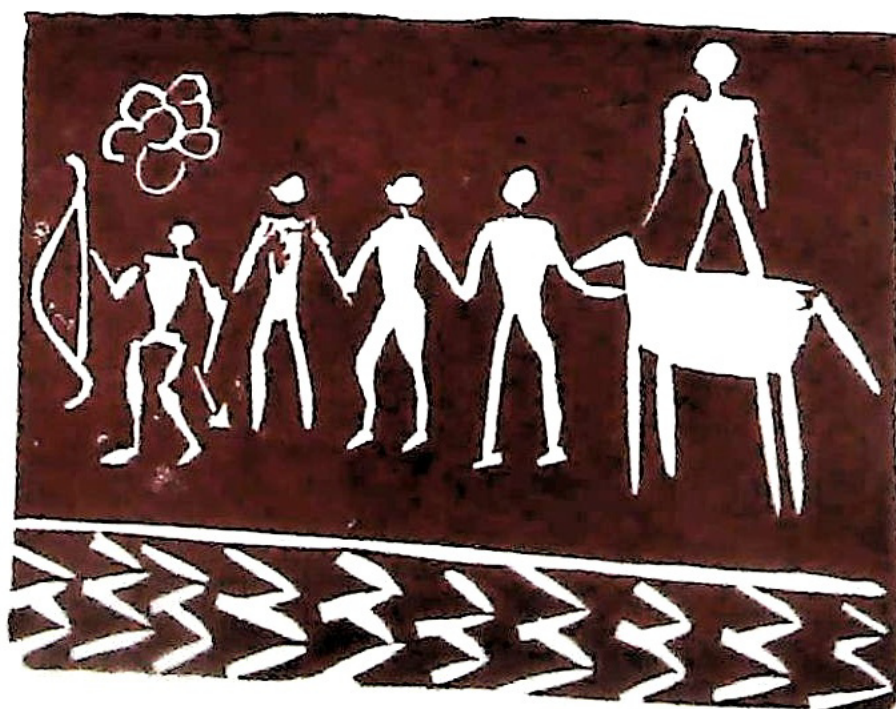
ପବିତ୍ର ଜନରାଜ୍ୟ ଦିବସର ଶୁଭ ଅବସରରେ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠିତ ହେବାକୁ ଯାଉଥିବା
ଆଦିବାସୀ ମେଳା-୧୯୮୭ ଓ ପ୍ରକାଶ ପାଉଥିବା ସ୍ୱାରକାର ସାମଗ୍ରୀକ ସାପ୍ତାହ୍ୟ
ପାଇଁ ମୁଁ ଆନ୍ତରିକ କାମନା କରୁଛି । ଆଶାକରେ, ଏହି ମେଳା ଆଦିବାସୀ ଜୀବନର
ସମସ୍ତ ସାତନ୍ତ୍ୟ ବିଭବକୁ ସୂଚୁଛି ରୂପେ ପରିସ୍କୃତ କରିବ ।

ପ୍ରଦର୍ଶନୀର ଉଦ୍‌ଯୋଗୀ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନମାନଙ୍କୁ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଉଦ୍ୟମ ପାଇଁ ହାର୍ଦ୍ଦିକ
ଅଭିନନ୍ଦନ ଜଣାଇବା ସଙ୍ଗେ ସଙ୍ଗେ ମେଳାର ସାପ୍ତାହ୍ୟ କାମନା କରୁଛି ।

ପରମା ପୂଜାରୀ

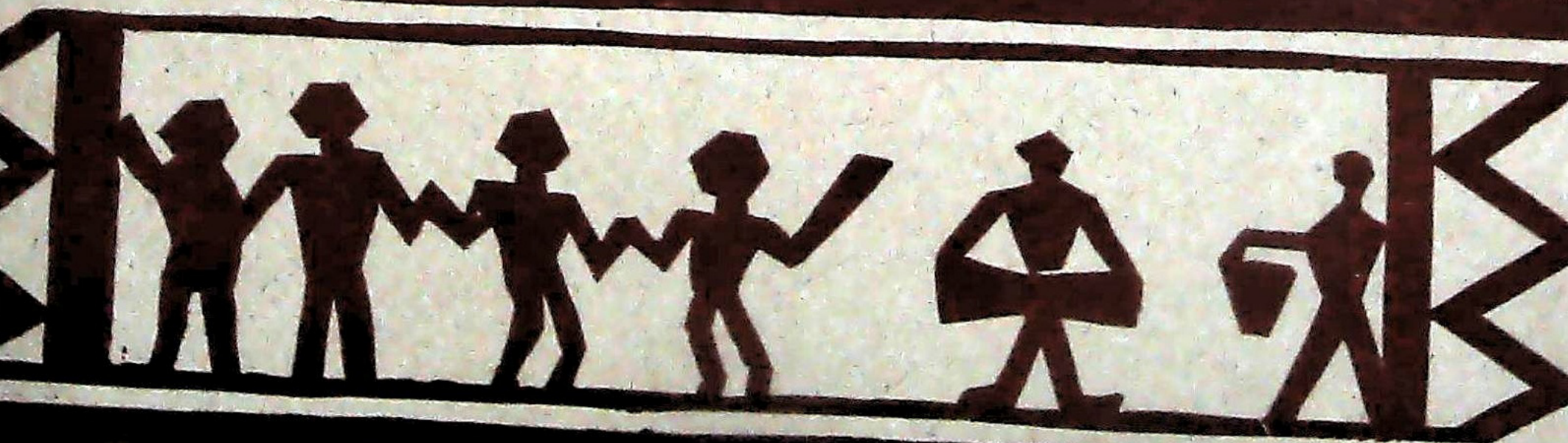
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ARTICLES





Santal house



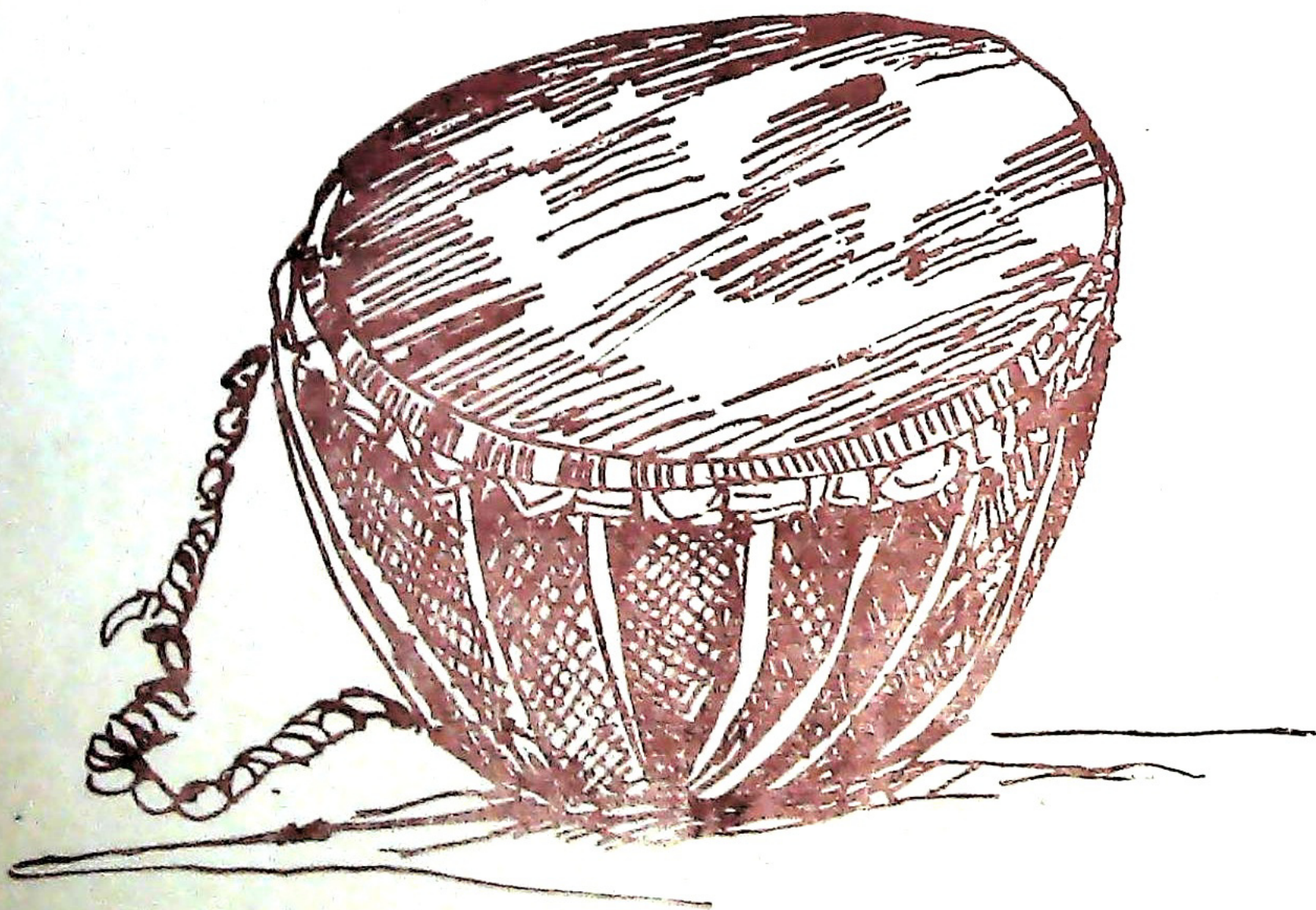
Saora hut



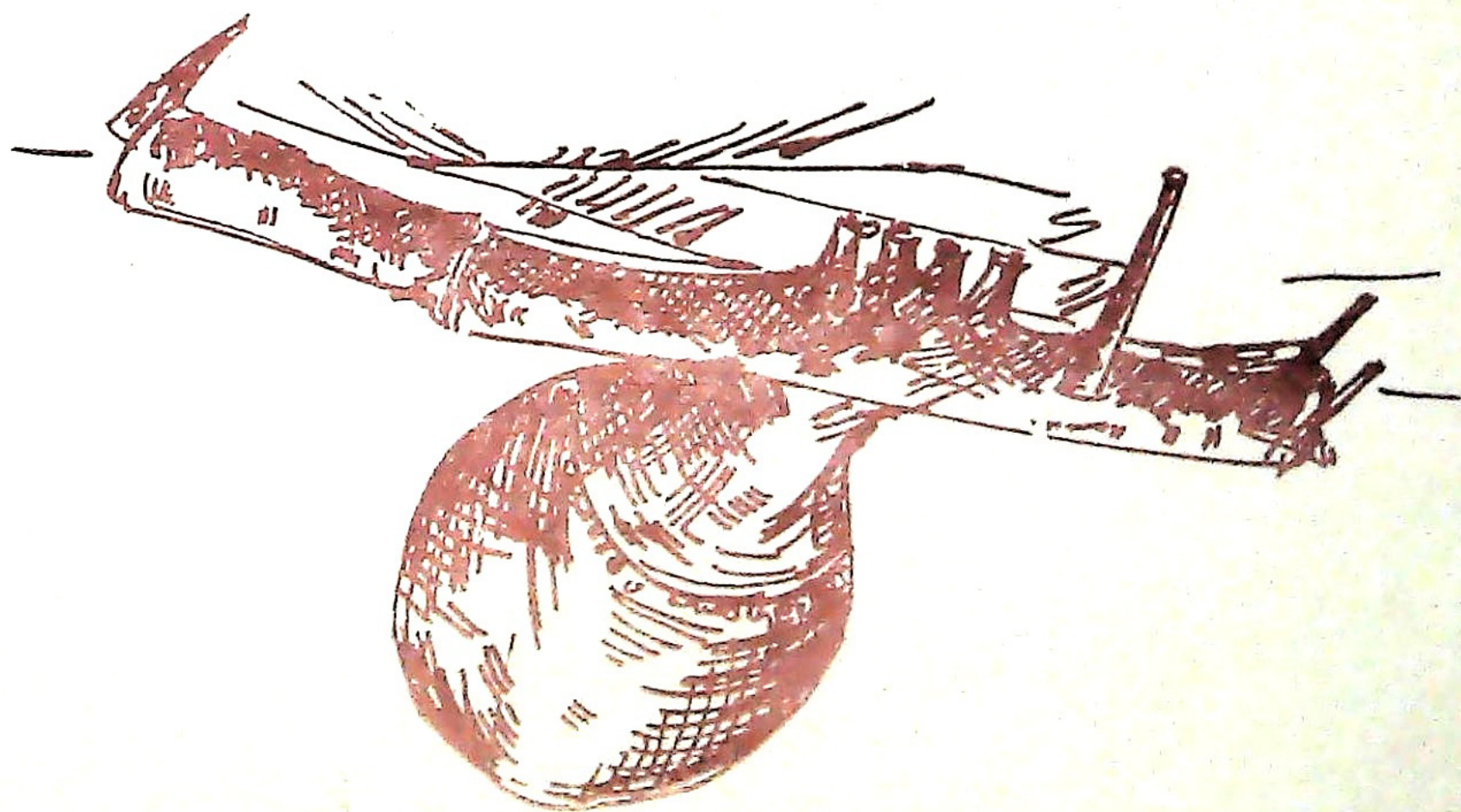
Juang hut and Mandaghar



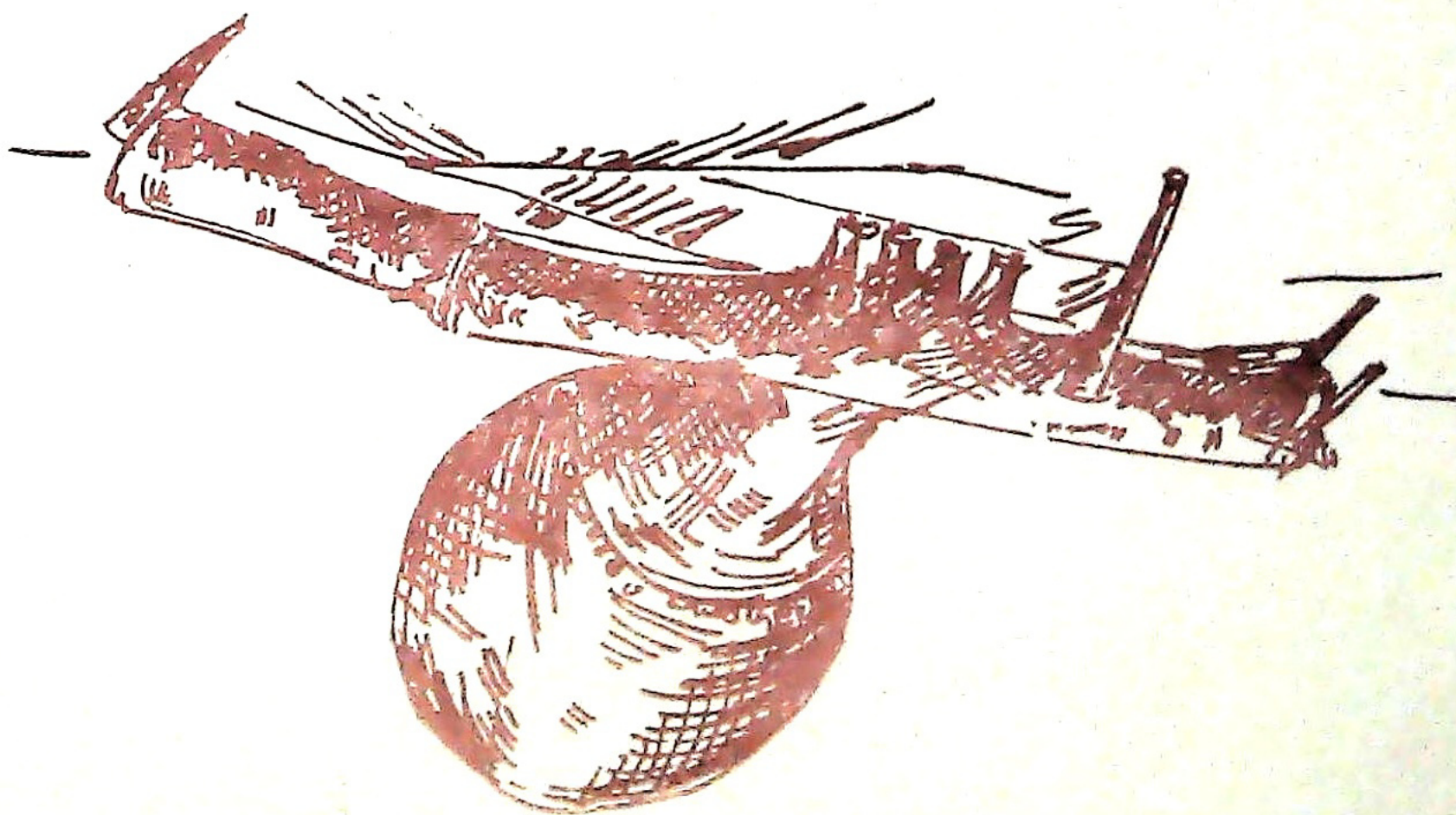
Juang hut and Mandaghar



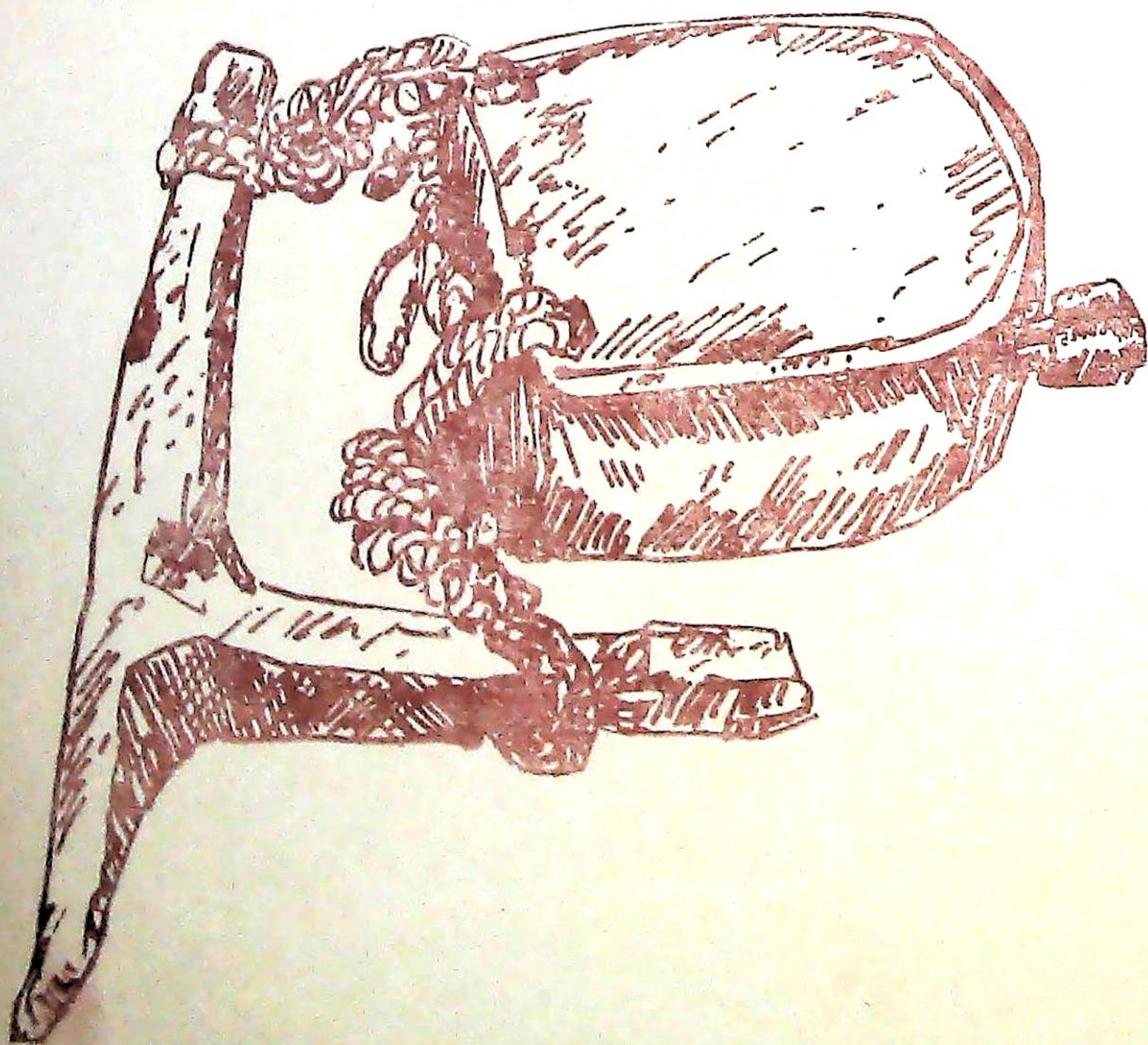
Drum used by Saora



String musical instrument used by Sazra



String musical instrument used by Saba



Cow Bell used by Juang

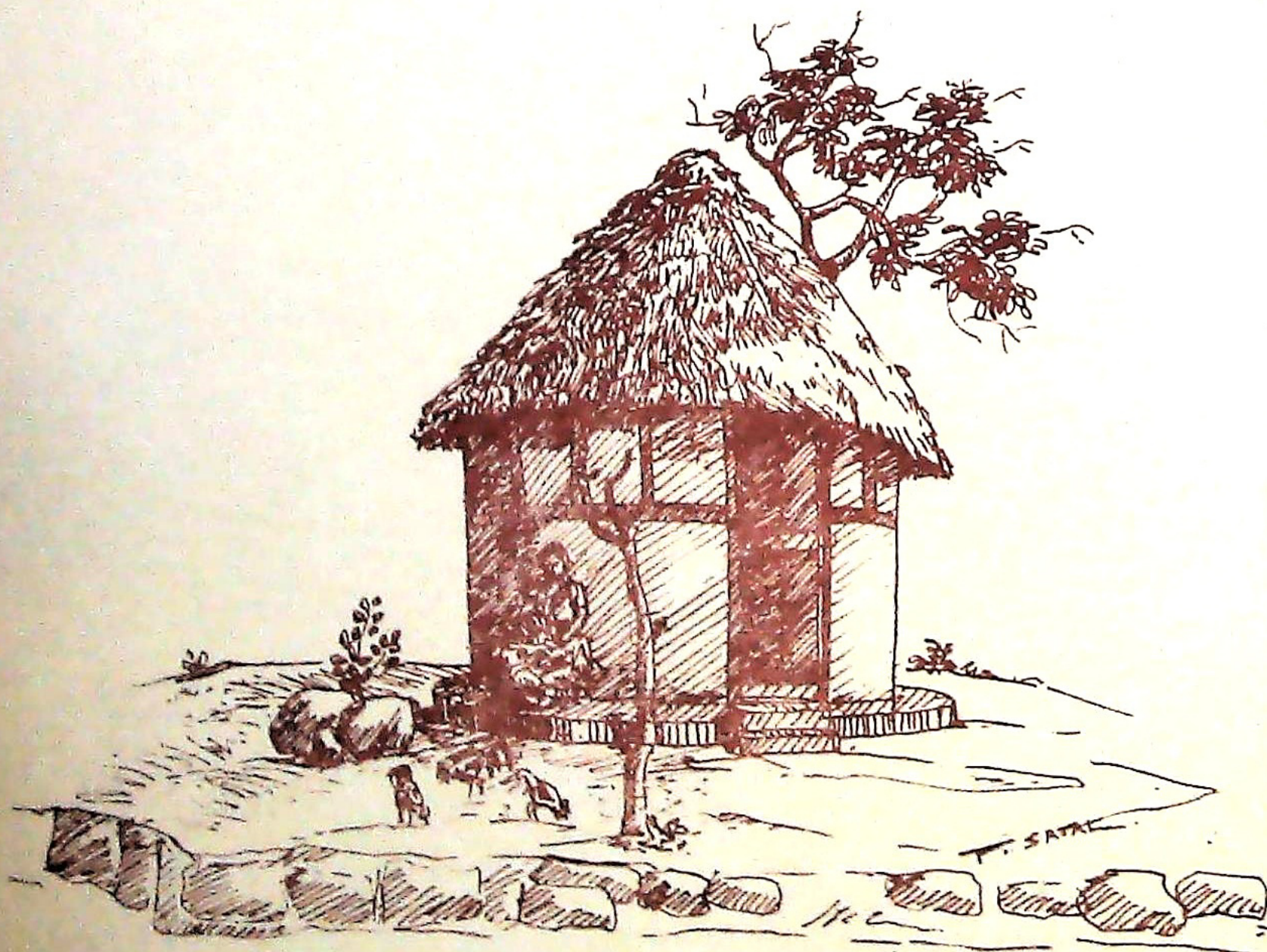
A MUSEUM OF TRIBAL LIFE - STYLES

Sitakant Mahapatra

Ananda K. Coomarswamy once made that telling remark that in a museum we try to keep alive those life-styles which we ourselves have rendered impossible. This may be correct though it is not meant to be an argument against the concept of museum. After all existing and prevailing life-styles are there in society for everybody to see. They are lived in, they are *living*. It is only such of them which are archaic, threatened with extinction or are no more, deserve to be commemorated in a museum. The underlying assumption is that every life-style of man, irrespective of the fact whether it is of a larger or smaller, important or unimportant society, is an integral part of the heritage of men and therefore deserves to be recorded, documented and preserved for posterity.

Human society has always faced the problem of balance between stability and change. Modes of production have sometimes undergone swift and drastic changes affecting production-relations, social structures, value-system and material culture. And culture is a holistic concept embracing in its fold all aspects of life of a community. The way they build their houses, the way they dress, the way they cook and eat, love and die, pray and believe, decorate the human body and the house, face disease and death—every thing is a part of culture. Their songs, dances, their art objects and artefacts, their city-planning and value-systems—every thing speaks of the peculiar identity of a culture. While societies have changed under the impact of new economic forces and relationships, these forces have acted in their turn on a myriad factors that constitute the warp and woof of the social order. Often the forms, the known contours of culture have changed beyond recognition and unless documented, succeeding generations will not be able to get even an idea of what the earlier forms used to be.

The tribal societies of Orissa are undergoing rapid structural change. This is a part of the process of socio-economic transformation designed to bring the tribal societies all over the country into the national main-stream even while endeavouring to retain the important core aspects of their culture. Pandit Nehru had emphasised the seminal importance of preserving the cultural autonomy of tribal societies while designing a pattern of development for them.



Traditional Gadaba hut

economic-change are inexorable and they destroy and distort traditional cultures and their typical identities.

There is no denying the need, therefore, for a proper and systematic documentation of the tribal life-styles in the State. There are sixty-two tribal groups and most of them have distinctive cultural traits. In the Department of Tribal Welfare, we have initiated a systematic documentation programme. Local recording of the musical forms have been attempted and already one disc of tribal music has been made. This was released by the Chief Minister, sometime back. He also inaugurated five tribal house-types built at Bhubaneswar by the members of the tribal communities. These houses contain a complete inventory of all the artefacts and articles of use one expects to see in each such tribal house in its natural setting. The houses have been built as exact prototype of the houses of the particular tribes (Kondh, Gadaba, Santal, Juang and Saora).

The Department has now embarked on the massive task of collecting all available artefacts and objects of art and utility of each tribe. For this a systematic approach had to be devised and a complete format giving all possible details about each article, such as its local name, its pattern of production, use, speciality, village where obtained and all other relevant information—has been prepared for this purpose. The articles have to be coded and housed in a museum of tribal art in the same campus where the five tribal house-types have been put up. The design and architecture of this museum is going to be finalised soon keeping in view the supreme consideration that it agrees with the tribal world-view, integrating the physical landscape with the ritual objects completing the village-scene. To the extent possible we want the museum to look like a much larger tribal house or cluster of such houses in a landscape that is agreeable to such houses. It is a time-consuming activity and calls for systematic imaginative endeavour of a team of workers who have an understanding of the problems involved for without such commitment and understanding it is quite possible to gather together articles and put them together in a life-less setting devoid of the warmth, the elegance and the beauty of tribal life-styles. We are hopeful that when executed this Museum itself will be something for which everybody can be proud as a national institution exhibiting as it will do the fascinating, colourful mosaic of life-styles that is Orissa's tribal world.

TRIBAL LIFE IN ORISSA

N. Patnaik.

According to the 1981 census the Sch. Tribe population in Orissa is 5915067, i.e 22.43 per cent of the total population of the State which is 26370271. As many as 62 communities have been listed as per the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950 (Constitution Order 22), and the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act, 1976 (Constitution Order 106) as Sch. Tribes of the State. Each of these communities differs from one another in culture, language and economic condition.

Besides the schedule which specifies the tribal communities it is necessary to throw more light by asking ourselves what we mean by a tribe. The Constitution of India has recognized 15 major languages. Besides these there are a large number of languages spoken by small communities and the speakers of such language groups as Austro-Asiatic, Tibeto-Burman, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan represent tribal communities.

These tribal communities form socially distinct groups in contrast to their non-tribal neighbours. They are regarded as comparatively isolated and educationally and economically backward. It is because of their backwardness that they have been listed in a schedule for special treatment so that within relatively short time they can come within the main stream of the political and economic life of India.

There are many ways in which the tribes can be classified. The simplest way will be to arrange them into categories based on the manner in which they primarily make their living. Broadly the tribes can be classified into the following economic categories.

1. Hunters, fishers and Food gatherers (Semi-nomadic primitive communities).
2. Shifting cultivators.
- 3 Pastoral communities.
4. Peasants, Artisans & Castes.
5. Industrial Workers.



Bonda woman with her loom

1. HUNTERS, FISHERS AND FOOD GATHERERS

The communities which fall into this category are very small in size and do not equally produce any food and depend upon nature's bounty for their maintenance independently. The best examples of such communities are the Onges, Jarawas and Sentenelese of Andaman & Nicobar Islands. They live in greater isolation and have no trade relationship with any other communities. They fail to understand language of others and technologically very poorly developed. They do not know the use of pottery and techniques of preservation of food. Their homes are nothing but wind-breaks and simple rounded and conical huts. Although they are technologically very poorly developed they are equipped with suitable artifacts and skill with which they are able to earn their living most efficiently in their habitat. A close observation of their ways of living shows that they are ingeniously skilled in spotting the nest of wild bees and extracting honey from the bee-hives. They have learnt how to trail and kill birds on the wing, to lurk in the bush for some shy animals and to watch the fish for the chance to spear. They have been inventors of several mechanical devices which are used to trap different birds and animals. Based on the principles and the forces which are harnessed in such mechanical devices for their operations the traps used by the primitive tribes may be classified as :

- (1) Gravity trap (which works on the principle of weight).
- (2) Snare trap (having the noose which tightens the head of the prey).
- (3) Wheel trap (having spikes arranged in a circle with points meeting at the centre).
- (4) Springing-pole trap (working by the power principle of the inertia of a flexible stick) and
- (5) Torsion trap (principle of twisted elastic string regaining its original form)

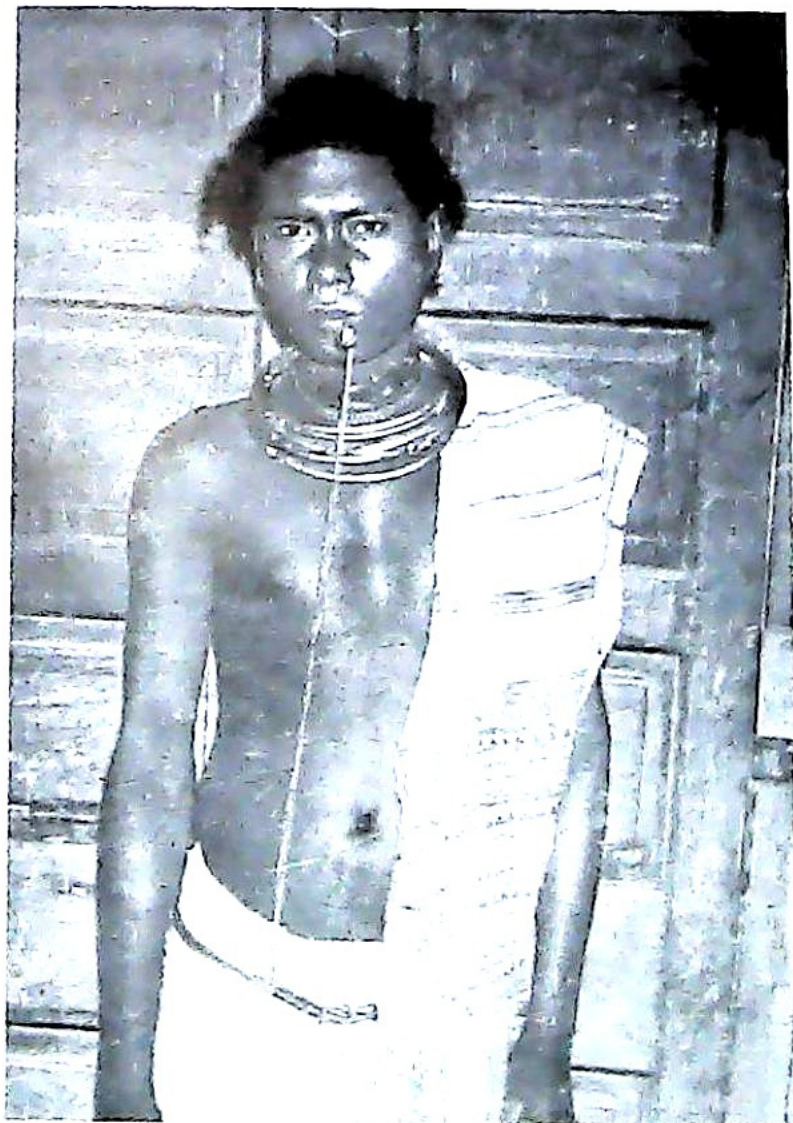
These traps appear to be very simple devices, but they happen to be very effective in catching birds and animals.

Some of these independent nomadic primitive communities have gradually come in contact with neighbouring peasants and have developed a symbiotic relationship with them. These communities barter food-stuff from the peasants with the animals caught and roots and tubers collected and with certain handicrafts turned out by them from forest produce. The best example of such tribal communities are the Birhors and the Hill Kharias. The Birhors are semi-nomadic and change their habitation thrice in a year. A group of 10-20 Birhor families related to one another by blood move together from place to place. Their settlement is called 'Tanda' and each leaf hut belonging to a Birhor household is called a 'Khumba'. Every 'Tanda' has a leader who has the ability of leading the group and reputation of being able to cure diseases by means of herbal medicines.

2. SHIFTING CULTIVATORS.

Many tribal communities such as the Bonda, the Saora, the Kondh, the Bhuinya and the Juang primarily depend upon shifting cultivation for their livelihood. By this method the trees and bushes present in a hill-slope are felled and cleared. When they are sufficiently dried, fire is set into them and the ashes are spread all over the clearing. Seeds of mixed crops are sown by broadcast and each crops are harvested one after another. A patch of land in the hill-slope is cultivated for two to three years after which it is left fallow for a period of four to six years and another plot of land in nearby hill-slope is taken where the same method of cultivation is repeated. Different types of minor millets, cereals, pulses are grown in lands under shifting cultivation.

In many areas gradually the shifting cultivation is given up and more advanced method of cultivation such as terraced cultivation and wet cultivation is taken up in the plains. As a result many shifting cultivators have gradually being affiliated with the productive system current among the neighbouring peasant communities and in consequence are being influenced by life and culture of such communities. Inter-personal and inter-communal relations are recast in a new way so that some of the shifting cultivators inspite of their distinctive identity are being absorbed as a part of the local social order.



Kondh youth of Niamgiri hills



Gadaba woman in traditional dress

It is very interesting to carry on investigation into these processes of affiliation of the tribal communities with the modern productive system. The Santals, the Oraons, the Gonds have largely given up their attachment to more primitive forms of production and have taken into works which have affiliated them with the more prosperous communities living in the neighbourhood. Most of these communities have been drawn into the mining and industrial area where they earn their livelihood by working as unskilled and semi-skilled labourers. These tribes are no longer independent and self contained. The first thing which has attracted them most after their contact with the neighbouring non-tribal Hindu communities in the puritanistic beliefs and practices. The impact of the concept of purity on the belief system of the tribal communities is reflected in their giving up of the custom of men and women dancing together and in the adoption of many socio-ritual practices current among the caste Hindus.

3. PASTORAL COMMUNITIES.

Some tribal communities are fullfledged herders. They have large herds of cattle or flocks of sheep and goats and move from place to place in search of better pasturage for their animals. Their movements are seasonal and some of them also grow crops in the plain lands in addition to cattle rearing and herding. We don't have pastoral people as such among the tribal communities of Orissa. However, most of them have domesticated animals such as cattle, buffaloes, pigs, sheep and goats. The best examples of pastoral communities are the Gaddi of Himachal Pradesh and the Toda of Nilgiri hills. There is an interesting tribe called Bhanjara or the Lambadi who are found in Central India. They were originally carriers of merchandise with the aid of their pack-animals from one part of the country to the other. But when communications were developed along with the development of transport services most of the Bhanjaras lost a large part of their trade and took to other occupations including criminal activities.

4. PEASANTS, ARTISANS AND CASTE.

When the productive system of the shifting cultivators did not meet the requirements of the growing population, the agricultural practices of the neighbouring Hindus have been of great

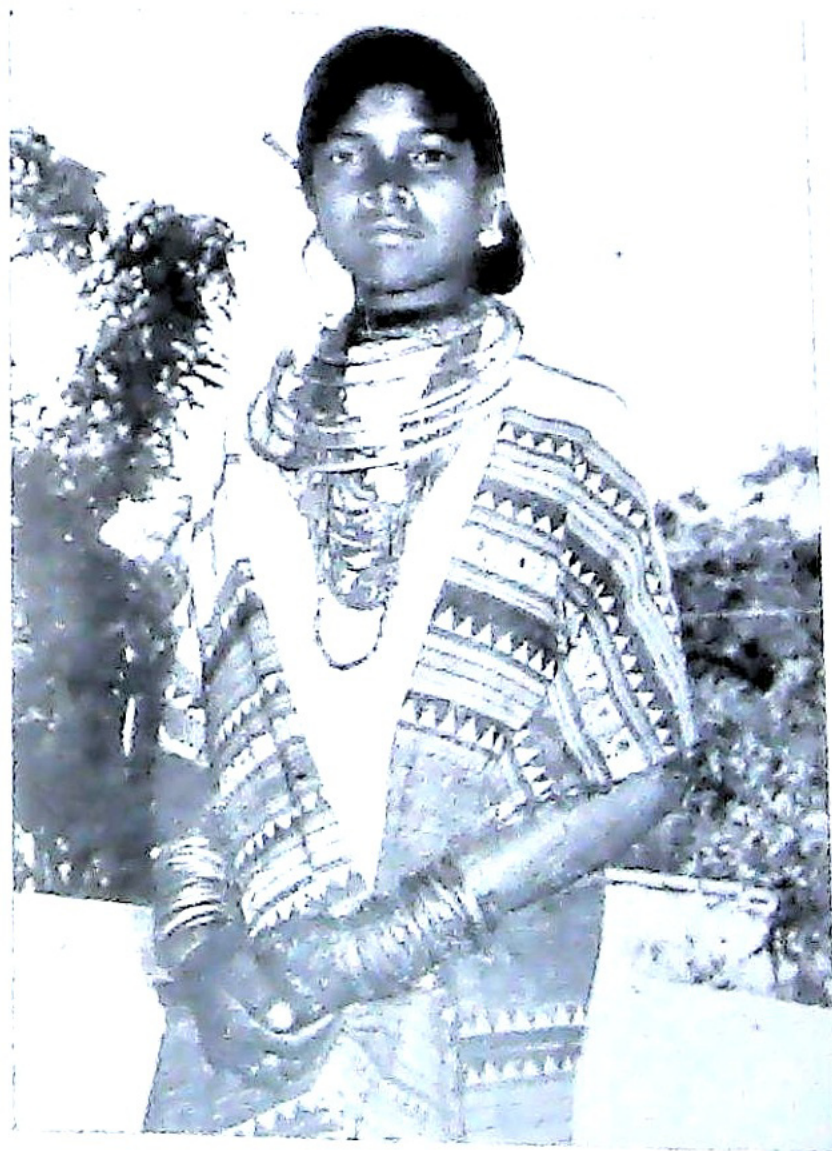
attraction to them. Thus, many tribal communities or some sections of them have eventually come within the orbit of the peasant civilization and are no longer self contained as the hunters and gatherers happen to be. It is through this processes of change of the tribal communities towards the caste-peasant model of society that some of the tribal communities have become cultivators or farm labourers and others have taken to specialized works like basketery, blacksmithery, wood works, etc. The examples of such tribes which are reckoned as artisans are Lohara and Asur of Chotanagpur who are blacksmiths. Similarly the Pertia Bhoi of Western Orissa have become a caste of iron smelters. What is indicated here is that when a tribe gradually adapts itself to a local economic situation by specialization in a particular occupation like that of caste Hindus that occupation is regarded as its monopoly. The tribal communities who have become artisan castes are in permanent economic relationship with other constituents of the local caste system. A settled population of farmers, artisans and labourers is in some areas accompanied by some flying or nomadic communities which surround them at the fringe and draw upon whatever sustenance and work the settled people can offer them.

The tribal communities everywhere in our country are in a stage of under-development. Some of them are in the most remotest corners and in most inaccessible areas. Most of them present a low level of literacy and carry out primitive methods of cultivation. Various new strategies have been adopted for their development. One of such strategies is the Tribal Sub-Plan which was evolved in the Fifth Five-Year Plan period (1974-79). Basically it is a concept of area development with focus on the development of tribal communities. In the first step towards the operation of this new strategy for tribal development the areas having more than 50 per cent tribal concentration were identified in different States and these areas comprised the Tribal Sub-Plan in these State. In the Second step the entire tribal sub-plan area was divided into a number of viable integrated Tribal Development Agencies (ITDAs) as administrative units for the implementation of developmental programmes. There are 21 ITDAs in operation in the area of Tribal Sub-Plan of Orissa.

There are certain tribal communities which have been identified as very primitive and backward. These primitive tribal communities come under Micro Projects under the charge of



Koya girl



Kondh girl of Niamgiri hills

Special Officers who are in direct contact with the tribal communities and give personal attention to their development through implementation of specially designed need-based developmental programmes. Twelve tribal communities have so far been identified as primitive tribes in Orissa and for each of them a Micro project is in operation.

The tribal communities show variations not only in their social, cultural and economic milieu but also in their distribution and concentration in different parts of our country. There are certain pockets where the tribal population is not in the same concentration as they are in areas under Tribal Sub-plan. For the purpose of development of these scattered tribal communities in sparsely populated pockets a different strategy called Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) has been adopted and many special programmes are being implemented for their development in such pockets. As many as 37 MADA pockets have been identified and in each pocket special programmes of tribal development are in operation. With such intensified efforts and investment of sufficient financial resources the tribal communities are being steadily helped for improvement in their economic condition as well as in other aspects of their life.

INTEGRATED AREA DEVELOPMENT APPROACH FOR UPLIFTMENT OF TRIBAL CHILDREN & WOMEN

F. B. Das

INTRODUCTION :

In spite of significant developments having achieved in our country, in the post-independence period, the various problems concerning Child and Mother's welfare continue to exist in fairly large dimensions. The problem is more acute in the case of tribal children and women. Incidence of mortality, morbidity and malnutrition among children continue to be high, coupled with Vitamin 'A' deficiency causing blindness among children, occurrences of diseases due to insanitary living conditions urgently calls for concerted effort, for providing in an integrated manner early childhood services and other schemes designed for women's welfare through de-centralised planning with community participation.

AREA DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME AND UNICEF :

Area specific Integrated Programme for children and women is an important field of UNICEF cooperation with Government of India and State Govt. designed to generate and deliver social services in an convergent manner, concentrating in selected and most problematic areas. Area Development Approach is a major attempt to re-orient the planning process, so that it begins at the community level, and is a continuous process. Basic services approach aims the delivery at the lowest cost, of a package of mutually supporting basic services for children and women living in the community on the basis of expressed community demand and using community talent.

SOCIAL INPUTS IN AREA DEVELOPMENT - WHY ?

Economic growth and National Economic Development are not synonymous. In spite of impressive economic growth, having achieved by some developing countries through increasing gross national product (GNP) and other economic indices like per capita income etc., the *Quality of Life* for the vast majority of the people living in the developing countries continue

to be cheerless struggling below the level of subsistence, plagued in poverty, diseases, mal-nutrition etc. Increase in G.N.P. does not lead to an improvement in such of the indicators that count at the level of the people, like increased purchasing power, reduction of infant mortality and increased life expectancy, skill formation through functional literacy and basic needs of food, shelter and clothing. This naturally calls for re-orientation of priority and our thinking in the planning and development process.

AREA SPECIFIC - SPATIAL PLANNING :

All efforts for human welfare converge into achieving an improved quality of human life. Planning process is a multi-dimensional exercise and area specific planning considers human settlements as necessary channels, through which various socio-economic infrastructures and the appropriate delivery system for social services can be provided, following a principle of equity and efficiency. The shifting approach attempts for spatial planning, i.e., planning for hierarchy of human settlement system into which a hierarchy of socio-economic infrastructure (each having their respective thresholds can be effectively channelised). Post-independence planning in India, has been mostly through sectoral allocation of resources and had, till recently neglected the aspect of spatial development covering the settlement hierarchy. The emphasis, all through has been through allocation of resources rather than location of such resources through appropriate investment decisions into potential settlements.

Area Specific planning attempt at co-ordinating physical and economic development by tying up various investment decisions, corresponding to the provision of socio-economic infrastructure and facilities, into a Human Settlement System, selected in consideration of their potentiality and equity and efficiency, with respect to hierarchy of various social and economic services. The 7th Plan follows de-centralised planning approach through formulation of Block and District plans. Judiciously conceived such plans aiming at various resource investment decisions, should attempt at optimum utilisation of space in relating to the activities of man. In short, making effort for area specific, spatial planning of the Human Settlement System linked with the delivery of socio-economic inputs.

SOCIAL INPUTS IN AREA DEVELOPMENT - FOR WHOM ?

Children and women are the target group population who are most vulnerable, living below the subsistence level. They constitute about 2/3rd of the total population. Unfortunately, in the present planning process they are regularly by-passed by economic programming, though they are the most deserving group for social development benefits. WOMEN AND CHILDREN are generally viewed as "*recipients of benefits*", passive consumers of welfare rather than being recognised as the "*objective of development*" itself. The traditional welfare approach considers them as "dependants" thus degrading them and discourage their participation in the development process. The concept of child as a National resources is to be accepted for economic development.

The problems affecting children are complex, arising out of the background of poverty, illiteracy and uneven growth of economy, having a bearing on controllable and non-controllable causes, macro and micro level determinants and other society and family based situations. However, planning of social inputs in Area Development Programmes can meaningfully be conceived by putting the child at the centre of development and planning activity. The various channels available for development of child, are firstly the family, secondly the community where the family exist, thirdly the Government and other service agencies that provide essential social and economic infrastructure. The fourth channel is that of UNICEF, through its role as a Catalyst in supplementing some of the existing gaps in social inputs, designed for the target groups mostly women and children. Since services are to be essentially maintained, by the beneficiaries, their economic development through improving skill and employment naturally also becomes a programme objective. Through Area Development Programme attempt is made in improving the situation of women and children within the context of area specific comprehensive development programme, rather than through isolated welfare activities by properly recognising the community "*as the planning base*" tapping their resources, in a sense, re-orienting the planning process, so that it begins with the community.

STRATEGY FOR AREA DEVELOPMENT :

The programme designed to generate and deliver social services, ensuring community participation follows some of the under-mentioned basic strategies.

These include :

1. Linking social inputs with economic inputs.
2. Identifying the existing gaps covering various aspects of social inputs like nutrition, health check-up, non-formal education, referral services, employment and economic development, sanitation and environmental hygiene.
3. Defining at a hierarchy of services, in consideration of thresholds of each ; and linking them up to an appropriate settlement hierarchy, basing on the principles of equity, efficiency and potentiality.
4. Creating an institutional base for delivery of such services to the smallest settlements.
5. Increasing the economic viabilities of the poorest families so as to bring the children and women presently considered as recipients of beneficiaries to participants in the economic development process.

Under the ambit of provision of social inputs for the area development programme, in collaboration of the concerned State Government, UNICEF and contribution from the community with participation of voluntary agencies; the main ACTION AREAS to be taken into consideration for design of specific schemes are mentioned hereunder as :

- (a) Child and Mother's care.
- (b) Nutrition.

- (c) Health.
- (d) Sanitation and environmental hygiene.
- (e) Education.
- (f) Employment and economic development.
- (g) Training and institutional development.

Need for Area Specific Plan for development of scheduled tribes does not only lie from the point of their numerical strength but also from the point of their typical socio-cultural setting and economic backwardness. An appropriate understanding of the socio-cultural profile is helpful for evolving a development programme.

The development plan to be designed must give due cognizance of tribal value system, traditional institutional system and culture. The entire planning approach need a blending of the Economists and Socio-Anthropologist's view.

TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PATTERN :

The cultural pattern of any society is dependent on the social system, value system and personality system.

The traditional society in India, with the super imposition of economic system on the caste system had a stability preventing class conflict. Contextually the tribal societies exhibit an unique measure of tolerance (which arises due to indifference and ignorance of outside change). This makes the transition from traditional to developed society difficult and the economic development process etc. are retarded.

TRIBAL CULTURE PATTERN :

The tribal culture has a personality of its own, indicative of the following characteristics;

- (a) Tightly knit social grouping
- (b) Social behaviour based on principle of reciprocity
- (c) Distinct form of social control and governance
- (d) Co-operative organisation for economic pursuits, and
- (e) Age-old value system.

Centuries of isolation, coupled with exploitation and subjugation by outsiders had forced most of the tribals to forest settlement with inaccessible tracks.

In that forest inhabited by tribals the environmental relationship that emerge is characterised by a Nature-Man-Spirit complex. The tribals are generally xenophobic. Absence of strong middle class, the entreprenuring class retards, the process of economic development. Though hard-working, the tribals have a non-competitive spirit, with increasing female participation in works fetching very low wages. The tribal institutions like ' Mandaghar ' dormitory, Akhra etc. are to be suitably tapped through motivation of the tribal youths by strengthening grass root institution.

EVOLUTIONARY APPROACH :

The objective of the programme, i.e. to bring the target groups population to the economic and development process, is essentially a process of *communication*. The " Gyan Mandir " model developed for Juangs in Keonjhar district in the year 1981-82 was very effective and played a key role in promoting motivation and ensuring community participation. This model

besides providing a strong base for motivation and community participation accelerates the process of delivery of socio-economic benefits at the grass root level. This model of development can be adopted in the micro-project areas.

The complex traits of tribal character and personality system call for careful formulation of strategy. Changes must be brought slowly, continuously and in harmony with their traditional institutions, so that they can spontaneously adjust and accommodate the change. The approach must be evolutionary rather than revolutionary and the schemes to be designed for their successful implementation must have a *socio-psychological orientation*. The functionaries in charge of implementation must try to motivate and elicit their cooperation, rather than parentising for them making "Spoon feeding" through the various schemes designed for the delivery of the social inputs.

SPECIAL DEAL TO SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES - CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Debendra K. Mishra

The new Twenty-Point programme 1986, announced recently by the Government of India is a bold attempt to give justice to the Sch. Castes and Sch. Tribes. Point 11 of the programme asserts, "We shall :

1. Ensure compliance with the constitutional provision and laws for the Sch. Castes and Sch. Tribes ;
2. Ensure possession of land allotted to Sch. Castes and Sch. Tribes ;
3. Revitalise the land allotment programme ;
4. Organise and assist special coaching programmes to improve educational standards ;
5. Eradicate scavenging and undertake special programmes for the rehabilitation of Safai Karmacharis ;
6. Provide better direction and adequate funds for the special component programmes ;
7. Pursue programmes for the fuller integration of Sch. Castes and Sch. Tribes with the rest of society ;
8. Ensure the rehabilitation of tribals displaced from their habitat".

This is what it ought to be in view of the provisions contained in the Preamble of the Constitution of India and the Directive Principles of State policy as embodied in Part IV. Article 46 of the Constitution is a direction to the State to promote with special care, the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the Sch. Castes and Sch. Tribes and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

In order to help the weaker sections, even certain fundamental rights guaranteed to the citizens in Part III of the Constitution has been abridged in the interest of ST and SC.

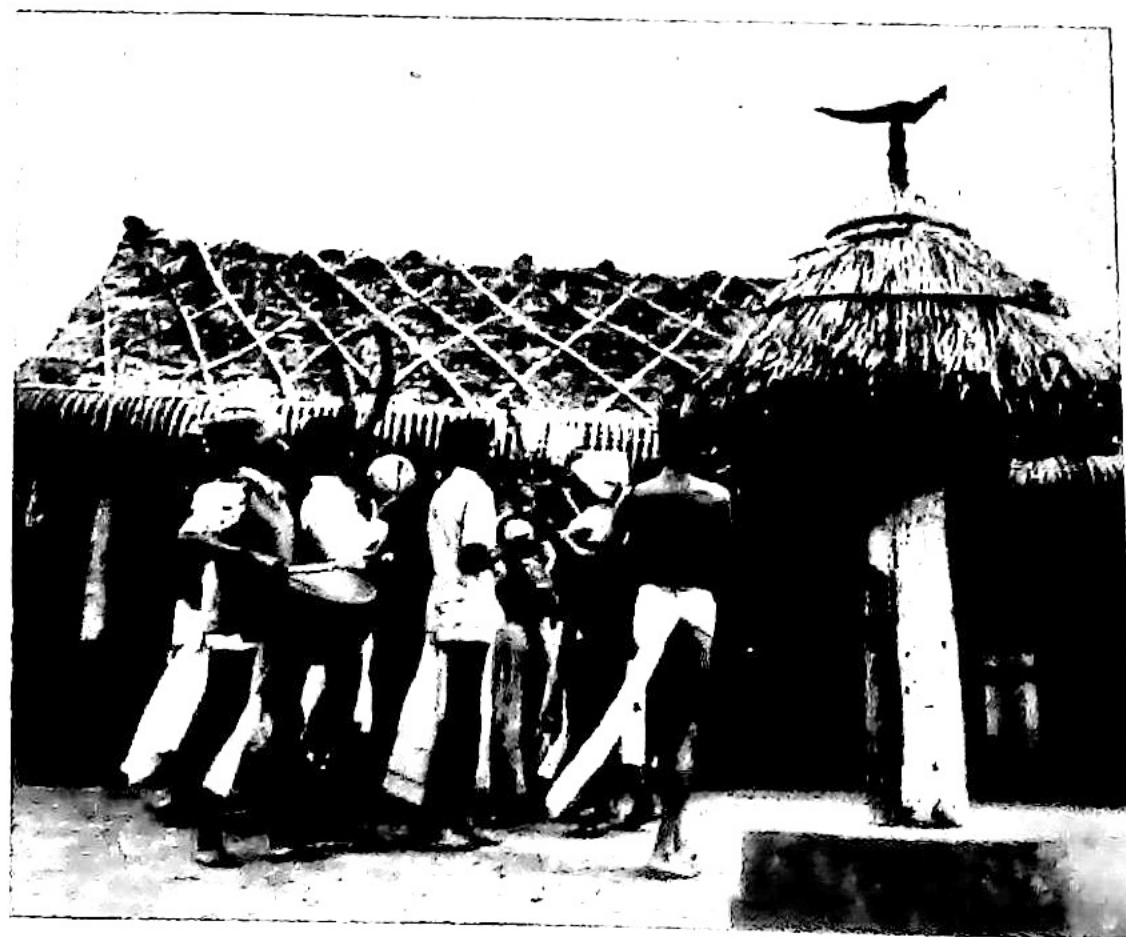
Article 16 (4) of the Constitution provides that notwithstanding the right of equality of opportunity in matters of public employment (Art. 16 (1)), the State is empowered for making reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens (which includes Sch. Castes and Sch. Tribes) which, in the opinion of the State is not adequately represented in the services under the State. It is relevant to mention that according to Art. 335, the claims of the members of the SC and the ST shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration in the making of appointments of services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State.

Untouchability which mainly was practised with relation to the Harijan Community (SC) has been abolished by Article 17 of the Constitution. The enforcement of any disability arising out of "untouchability" in any form is forbidden and has been made a punishable offence.

Certain fundamental rights of freedom have been given to the citizens of India by Article 19 of the Constitution which includes the rights to move freely through out the territory of India and to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India. Notwithstanding these freedoms the State has been empowered to make any law imposing reasonable restrictions on the exercise of any of these rights for the protection of the interests of any Sch. Tribes.

While providing for a council of Ministers in a State, Article 164 (1) of the Constitution lays down that in the States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, and Orissa there shall be a Minister in charge of tribal welfare who may in addition be in charge of the Welfare of Sch. Castes and backward classes or any other work.

First proviso to Article 275 (1) of the Constitution provides for grant-in-aid by Govt. of India to the State Govt. to enable it to meet the costs of development for the purpose of promoting the welfare of Sch. Tribes and for raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas to that of administration of the rest of the areas of the State.



Saora hut with merry-go-round in front

Part X of the Constitution exclusively deals with the administration of scheduled and tribal areas. In accordance with the provision under Article 244, there is a Fifth Schedule annexed to the Constitution which contains provisions as to the administration and control of scheduled areas and scheduled tribes. The Fifth Schedule provides for a annual report by the Governor to the President of India regarding the administration of scheduled areas. The executive powers of the union extend to the giving of direction to the States as to the administration of the said areas. Part-B of the Fifth Schedule provides for a constitution of a Tribes Advisory Council to advice on all matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the Sch. Tribes. Under Provision 5 of the Fifth Schedule, Governor has the power to direct that any particular Act of the Parliament or Legislature shall not apply to the scheduled areas or may apply with exceptions and modifications. The power of the Governor extends to promulgation of restrictions on transfer of land by members of Sch. Tribe, regulation of allotment of lands to the Members of Sch. Tribes and regulation of money lending business in the scheduled areas.

Incidentally, the scheduled areas of the State of Orissa comprise of the entire districts of Mayurbhanj, Koraput and Sundargarh; Khandmals, Baliguda and G. Udayagiri Tahasils of Phulbani district; R. Udayagiri Tahasil, Gumma and Rayagada Blocks, Suruda Tahasil excluding Gazalbadi and Gochha Panchayats of Ganjam district; Kuchinda Tahasil of Sambalpur district; Telkoi, Keonjhar, Champua and Barbil Tahasils of Keonjhar district; Th. Rampur and Lanjigarh blocks of Kalahandi district and Nilgiri Block of Balasore district.

Under Article 330 and 332 of the Constitution seats have been reserved for Sch. Castes and Sch. Tribes in the Lok Sabha and in the Legislative Assemblies.

While Article 341 and 342 empowers the President of India to draw up the lists of Sch. Castes and Sch. Tribes, Article 339 authorises the President to appoint a Commission to report on the administration of Scheduled Areas and Sch. Tribes in the States. The Constitution

by virtue of Article 338 also prescribes for the appointment of Special Officer whose duty is to investigate all matters relating to safeguards provided for the Sch. Tribes under the Constitution and to give a report which is to be laid before both the Houses of Parliament.

The Constitutional provision enumerated above, amply makes clear the intention of the makers of the Constitution that the State must give special attention and a different dispensation to the members of Sch. Castes and Sch. Tribes. All that is being done to-day with greater vigour for the around development of the Sch. Castes and Sch. Tribes, is not something in the nature of a dole given by the State but must be regarded as a sacred duty in discharging Constitutional obligations. How satisfactorily these responsibilities have been discharged over the last three and half decades is a subject matter of another study.



Traditional Gadaba hut

INDEBTEDNESS AND TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

N. K. Behura

The tribal scene in the past was serene, slumberous and slow-witted. Tribal unrest in Orissa was not as conspicuous as it was elsewhere in the country. However, the problems of the tribes of Orissa are as enormous and pressing as they are elsewhere. But within the last 37 years other States have gone much ahead of Orissa with regard to tribal welfare. Comparatively speaking, Orissa lags behind in tackling the problems of minor and primitive tribes. Welfare measures have failed to protect these tribals against usurpation of their lands and a denial to them of due return from their produce by unscrupulous and usurious money-lenders, traders and other non-tribals. The non-tribal settlers in tribal areas have benefited more from the implementation of the special development programmes. The increasing development of the tribal habitats is accompanied by a marked deterioration in the living condition of the poorer tribals who are now fighting a grim battle of survival. It is generally not appreciated that the development process since independence has contributed to this dismal situation. It is, therefore, necessary to have a critical look at our development strategy towards the tribal people. Of course prior to the Fifth Plan period, the effort for development of tribes was mainly concerned with the provision of marginally greater financial resources in the schematic budgets of the Development Blocks while retaining the pre-existing administrative structure and machinery intact. The object was that these resources should be directed for welfare schemes of tribes in what came to be known as Tribal Development Blocks. There were about 75 such Blocks during the Fourth Plan period in Orissa. Towards the end of the Fourth Plan period for quick implementation of economic-oriented projects Tribal Development Agencies were established. Subsequently, at the beginning of the Fifth Plan period, the tribal Sub-Plan was launched. The Sub-Plan approach is the most comprehensive one for the development of tribes. It envisages that all development Blocks having more than 50 per cent of the tribal population should be identified for constituting the Sub-Plan area. In Orissa 118 Blocks have been identified for formation of I.T.D.A. Now 21 I.T.D.A. Projects are in operation. A sum of Rs. 400 lakhs has been provided in the budget of 1984-85 for implementation of income generating schemes in I.T.D.A. areas apart from other investments. The administrative set up is such that it cannot deliver the goods. Only 15 I. T. D. A.s have full-time Project Administrators; 4 I. T. D. A.s (Thumal-Rampur, Nilgiri, Champua and Kuchinda) are being looked after by local S.D.O.s. The Project officer, D.R.D.A., Phulbani looks after the I. T. D. A.,

Phulbani and the Project Administrator, Gunupur is in additional charge of I. T. D. A., Rayagada. However, the I. T. D. A.s are functioning as coordinating agencies and not as executing agencies.

In Orissa at present 9 Micro Projects covering the primitive tribes like Paudi Bhuyan, Bonda, Juang, Dongria Kondh, Kutia Kondh, Lanjia Saora and Lodha, are in operation. Micro level planning is most useful for the overall development of the techno-economically backward tribes. These Micro Projects are no doubt trying to develop the economically vital sectors, such as, agriculture, horticulture, soil conservation and animal husbandry among the concerned tribes as per their cultural norms. In Micro Project areas less attention is being paid to education (both formal and nonformal), provision of drinking water, and to health and sanitation. Birhors and Didais are yet to be covered under Micro Projects. However, some good work is being done in Micro Projects specifically for tribals.

Despite much of government effort and investment of money not much has been achieved in the sphere of tribal welfare. In other words the achievement does not commensurate the investment. The entire tribal region is fraught with certain common problems.

Throughout the tribal region innocent and non-literate tribals are exploited by astute non-tribals and crafty tribals. One category of the victims of this exploitation are tribal women who are not only economically squeezed but also socially abused by traders, money-lenders, contractors and at times even by some unscrupulous public functionaries. Female labourers are the worst exploited. The disintegration of the tribal society has destroyed its traditional strength to resist such exploitation. Each and every tribal society has been transformed from a close to an open one. The fear of reprisals and harassment by exploiters, lack of faith in the public system to dispense quick justice and prevent them from impending adversity, in the absence of any administrative action or concerted social protest, the incidence of exploitation increases. The same is true of different forms of economic exploitation which affects the tribals everywhere.

Corrupt practices of the lower level bureaucracy enhances exploitation. The VAW, Forest Guard, a Police or Excise constable is dreaded by non-literate tribals because his visit may cost

a tribal his chicken, egg, vegetables or even rice. Tribals are always scared by co-operative and other institutional loans because of their memories of fraudulent loans and ruthless recovery of the same. The gradual erosion of the authority in tribal societies has even closed the traditional channel of social protest against atrocities, and the individual tribal is too weak and demoralised to stand up to it.

The traditional rights of the tribal on forest and forest produce have been extinguished. The National Commission on Agriculture was of the opinion that free supply of forest produce to tribal and rural population and recognition of their rights and privileges have brought destruction to the forests and so it is necessary to sever the process. It is too harsh to say that tribal people have not contributed much towards the maintenance or generation of the forests. Is it a fact that it is they who have over exploited the forest resources ? They have been made scapegoats for all the ravages that have perpetrated on forests in the State.

INDEBTEDNESS :

About 70 to 90 per cent of tribals among different tribal communities are in the vicious circle of indebtedness. It is a major problem with all categories of poor, but specifically with tribals. Majority of the tribals are chronically deficit in resources and have to depend upon the money-lender for their consumption, ritual and other emergent needs and in return mortgage their land, labour and other assets, and in the absence of all these, agree to dispose of their produce at a price determined by the money-lender. The alternative sources of credit are non-existent but are difficult to avail of.

Indebtedness is the worst form of exploitation to which tribals in the state have been and are exposed through traditional money-lending. Often the debts descend from father to son and even to the third generation. The tribals of Orissa appear to have accepted indebtedness as a normal, almost inescapable aspect of their existence.

For taking loans tribals by and large prefer private money-lenders who come to their villages and readily offer unsecured loan if needed. The money-lender knows that the tribal is truthful and straightforward. An unlettered tribal also does not betray his familiar money-lender, because he knows that he will have to fall back upon the latter in the event of a future contingency. The relationship between the money-lender and the tribal loanee is not only commercial but also somewhat personal. The average tribal maintains a personal relationship with the money-lender because he does have very little in the way of movable or immovable property to offer as security. All that he has in his possession is his honest desire to fulfil his loan obligations out of his meagre earnings either from his land or other sources. It has been found that money-lenders make no delay in giving loans to tribal debtors because the latter seldom dodge. For making brisk business a money-lender too keeps close personal contact with the tribal debtors (actual and potential both), which is an important factor. He is generally near at hand in tribal villages, and he knows the entire family history and background and the circumstances leading to the urgent need of money. Thus the money-lender is a part of the traditional economy of the village. Government and other institutional loans are available only for productive purposes whereas loans from private money-lenders are available at anytime and for any purpose. The money-lender accepts repayment of the loan in any term, which may be improvised, either in cash or kind.

The transactions between the tribals and the money-lenders are generally oral. It has been noticed that most of the tribal loanees correctly remember the amount of loan in terms of crude arithmetic. In the past, it is alleged, that the money-lenders used to manipulate the interest, but now-a-days with the increase of the awareness of the tribals it is more a metaphor than real. In the 'Dadan' system of loan it is a condition for the advance of a loan that the standing crop of a loanee has to be sold to the money-lender at the time of harvest at a lower rate. This means that even if the market price is higher at the time of the harvest, the tribal is only paid the agreed price, which is lower; and on the other hand, if there is a fall in the market rate than what was agreed upon, the tribal is only paid the then prevailing market price. The tribal is not unaware of this subtle form of exploitation, but he is forced to be a victim of this by his own miserable pecuniary condition.

The tribal returns the loan with interest either in cash or in the form of agricultural, horticultural and minor forest produces, particularly after the harvest. While making payments in kind the tribals are also cheated in respect of weights and measures. Manipulation in weights and measures is a common phenomenon in tribal areas.

CAUSES OF BORROWING :

It has been ascertained by several micro studies that about 88 to 96 per cent of tribals perpetually live in deficit economy. Various welfare measures have not significantly ameliorated their economic plight. There is hardly any saving in case of a great majority of them. Payment of bride-price is an important cause of loans among the tribals. Prevalence of the bride-price system is universal among all the tribes of Orissa, because it is an inseparable part of tribal culture. It has many useful functions in tribal cultures. During the time of marriage both parties incur loans because it involves a lot of expenditure, not because of feasting and drinking, but for meeting a number of kin and village obligations.

Tribals are very meticulous about the systematic observance of their life-cycle rituals and their annual cycle of festivals. Animal sacrifice is an integral part of their rituals and festivals. They consider blood as the highest form of votary offering. Performance of rituals and observance of festivals involve propitiation of their manes, the supreme God, mother Earth and a departmental or presiding deity. They believe that propitiation of Gods, spirits and ancestors is part of their pragmatic existentialism. Timely and proper propitiation of the supernatural entities would bring health, and happiness to them and ensure prosperity of their crop and livestock. All the tribals believe in occultism, and they attribute sickness, calamity and mishap to the machinations of the malevolent spirits. Hence they appease them with blood sacrifice. Offering of votary animals and birds cost a lot of money to a tribal during a calendar year. A tribal cannot extricate himself for a while from his ritual nexus. He firmly believes that crops will not grow in the field and plants will not bear fruit if rituals are not performed and sacrifices are not made on time.

Our studies reveal that consumption loans among the tribals is less as compared to loans for other purposes. Observance of birth, marriage and death rituals involve such expenditure which is normally beyond the existing means of a tribal, and hence on such occasions, he is forced to incur a loan on simple or compound interest to tide over the situation. Similarly, religious rites pertaining to human and livestock health and prosperity of crop are urgent and unavoidable for a tribal; and hence, often he incurs loan to perform such rites, because his conviction is that non-fulfilment of religious duties is not only a moral breach but it also brings adversity.

Apart from the above mentioned factors liquor addiction of the tribals makes them more susceptible to debt. Alcoholic inebriation has indeed ruined many tribals, and this habit keeps them in permanent debt; and often the debtors die in debt leaving loathsome burden to their progenies. There is no readymade panacea for this. It can be controlled if tribal welfare is woven into a package programme.

It seems that no direct measure has been taken for the relief of indebtedness among the tribals excepting prevention of unlicensed money-lending. Unlicensed money-lenders clandestinely continue to operate everywhere in the tribal areas. Promulgation of anti-bonded labour law during the last decade has nullified indebtedness in certain cases, which of course will help in the prevention of exploitation through indebtedness to some extent. In spite of this, bonded labour practice still persists because of the appalling economic plight of the tribals. Their dismal economic condition and traditional outlook make them vulnerable to various forms of exploitation. Income and employment generating schemes, which are being implemented for the economic upliftment of the tribals, need be culture and locality specific, otherwise the gap between the target and the achievement will remain unbridged.

Even if the indebtedness of the tribals is legally nullified, their condition will not be automatically mitigated, because as their resource base is insignificant, they would need loan every now and then to overcome crises. If private money-lenders are completely pushed out of

operation in tribal areas, who would provide loans to the tribals for fulfilling urgent socio-religious obligations ?

The low asset base of the poorer tribals has to be strengthened with special care. Identification of the poorer ones among the tribals has to be accomplished by door to door survey. Because during the last two decades economic differentiation among the erstwhile homogeneous tribals has taken place. Although tribal communities are characterised by a greater degree of homogeneity and equality, role differentiation based on socio-political status, power and wealth are not absent. There is now a definite and subtle social and economic differentiation based on land holdings, educational attainment, degree of outside contact with the larger society. Hence, notwithstanding the fact that tribals in general are poor, it is not irrelevant to identify the poorer sections among them who have particularly remained neglected and to whom the benefits of development programmes have not reached meaningfully.

Now the tribal ecosystems have undergone great changes. Devastations have been carried out in such a measure which is beyond restoration. Ecology plays a great part in shaping the life and life-style of the people settled within its system as it has organic relationship with them. It consists of the infrastructure which nature has provided to the people for sustenance. Now water level in certain tribal areas has gone down, and as a result the vegetational cover is greatly affected. Its impact on human society can be well imagined.

Alienation of tribal land is a major problem. Pronounced public laws have failed to prevent the process of alienation. Land is distributed among the poor tribals with a view to improve their economic condition, but in some cases it has led to indebtedness. The policy is noble but its implementation in some cases is flimsy. The key policy in this field has been to preserve, strengthen, and wherever necessary to enlarge the asset (land) base. This is done by protecting their land from usurpation by non-tribals, and settling surplus good Government land to make their holding viable as well as to reduce the incidence of landlessness.

Tribals lose land not merely on account of usurpation and encroachments by individuals but also through acquisition by Government for purposes of setting up industries and constructing multi-purpose dams. When the evicted tribals are settled elsewhere they are not provided with suitable arable land. As a result of this they are exposed to indebtedness and exploitation.

Low literacy level among the tribes of Orissa makes them more prone to exploitation. Urgent attention need be paid to tribal education. Education is a major factor of modernisation.

Agriculture, being the main prop of rural economy, should be developed in tribal areas. The tribals who possess some land should be helped to improve the productivity of their land. No strategy has been clearly spelt out in the multiple schemes taken up for agricultural development in tribal areas. It seems that the action plan to improve the tribal agricultural economy has the following four features: (i) Improving the productivity of the said by feeding nutrients lacking in it and enlarging the cultivable area by reclaiming the fallow land cultivable waste (ii) By enlarging the area of assured irrigation to enable double/multiple cropping (iii) By modernising the traditional agriculture through inputs like improved seeds, fertilizer, better implements, extension and training services, and (iv) By providing modern marketing facilities to enable produces to get a better return from their produce.

The entire strategy of improving agricultural productivity rests on the availability of adequate and timely credit because lack of capital is the greatest hindrance in the way of agriculture improvement with poor tribals. Institutional credit facilities are now available, but the rapacious private money-lenders are still in operation. Tribals are of the opinion that credit from alternative sources are not available at the time of need. And further they say that government credit systems are cumbersome. And so long they are in operation exploitation in tribal areas cannot be uprooted.

CUSTOMS OF DOWRY Vrs BRIDE-PRICE

Ch. P. K. Mohapatra

The institution of marriage is universal. Yet the custom of marriage payment is a dichotomous phenomenon, so far the tribal and non-tribal world are concerned. The nomenclature for the custom also differs in both these societies which goes by the terms 'Dowry' in non-tribal society and Bride-price in the tribal society. Dowry is a form of marriage payment widely prevalent in all the sections of our society, save the tribal ones, in some form or other. It is money and all other goods given by parents to their daughter at the time of marriage. It is a very ancient custom and main objective was to enable the newly wed couple to start a new household. This economic contribution gave the bride a feeling of security in her new family and also equalled her status with that of her husband. Besides, it also strengthened the affinity between the two families, of the bride and groom.

In the tribal world the position is reverse. Bride-price is paid by the groom's father to compensate the loss, both social and economic, to the parents and other kinds of the bride. A man in tribal society cannot conceive of leading a social life without the active co-operation of his wife. The process of exploitation of natural resources to eke out a living demands arduous and time consuming labour. It is in contrast to a man in modern society doing his job in a furnished official apartment. A bride in a tribal society is not only a companion to satisfy the biological need but more importantly a companion in an inhospitable world where survival is a vital problem.

Most of us are not aware of what constitute the bride-price of tribal communities in general. The custom prevalent among some of the important tribal communities are given in the pages that follow :

KONDH :

In the Kondh society the marriage is determined by the amount of bride-price which is demanded by the bride's parents. Bride-price varies from time to time and place to place. Generally it is demanded in forms of cow, buffalo, rice, paddy etc. Those who are not able to pay is asked to work under his father-in-law's house until his bride-price is repaid.

In case of divorce a new sari and one rupee are given to her by the husband. Then she returns to her father's house. When she wants to remarry the bride-price given by the first husband is demanded from the second one. Among the Dongria Kondh the bride-price varies from Rs. 500/- to Rs. 750/- in cash. Besides this two cows, 30 to 40 Kgs. of rice and five tins of liquor.

KOYA :

In their marriage originally the father of the bride demands compensation in the form of bride-price. The bride's father demands bride-price amounting to rupees three hundred, one she-calf for the girl's maternal uncle, 'Chhadi' or cloth for the mother of the girl. Out of rupees three hundred, rupees eighty are given to the bride's father for his own villagers because they help him in realising the compensation from the other party.

BHUIYAN :

The customary bride-price differs from locality to locality. In Bonai, one cow for the bride's mother, two bullocks, one for her father and the other for her maternal uncle, two goats, five pieces of clothes, one rupee for her mother and some amount of rice and paddy are usually paid.

No bride-price is exchanged in case of widow marriage or divorcee female.

Bride-wealth is same for any type of marriage and is paid within a year or two. But in case of Dharipala it may be paid after 5 to 10 years when the person accumulates enough to pay it. In the case of extremely poor persons, they may be exempted to pay full amount of bride-price. The bride's father, her father's younger brother and mother's brother go to the groom's house and collect their shares of bride-wealths.

The items and amount of bride-wealth are same for all types of marriages. Item-wise detailed list of bride-wealth paid in Bhuinya marriages is given below.



Santal woman adorned with traditional ornaments

- (1) One bullock for the bride's father.
- (2) One bullock for the father's younger brother.
- (3) One bullock for her mother's brother.
- (4) Three rupees and about 12 pai of rice for the Khadrias (middleman).
- (5) About 7½ 'Khandi' of rice for Bila Jan.
- (6) One rupee and a sari for the bride's mother.
- (7) About 5 pai of rice (Gundi Chani) and a goat (Mand Chheli) for the bride's villagers when they leave after marriage.

A piece of cloth or one or two rupees in lieu of cloth is paid to the bride's younger brother (sale Bidha) but this does not constitute an item of the regular bride-wealth.

In the case of second marriage, the bride-wealth is more than the usual bride-wealth.

SAORA :

In case of Saora marriage bride-price is generally paid in kind, such as grains, liquor and cloth. In some localities cash is also demanded. On the appointed day groom's men visit the girl's house for betrothal and bring nine pots of wine, which is treated as bride-price.

KHARIA :

Among Hill Kharias prevails a system of payment of bride-price 'Panorpon'. In this society the bride-price ranged between Rs. 3/- and Rs. 100/- at the most. The sum is always an odd number. In addition to cash and rice, now-a-days saris are also presented for the bride, her mother or her grand-mother, these are called Kanya Sari, Mare Sari or Aji Sari. In almost all cases a Dhoti is offered to the maternal uncle, known as Mama dhoti, the offering of bride-price a traditional drink of rice beer, is arranged by the parents of the bride and sometimes food is also served to the guest party. Bride-price is relaxed or sometimes forgone if the groom lives as Gharjamai or Jamaibabu in the bride's house.

In case of widow marriage bride-price is not given any importance. In case of divorce the bride-price is returnable relating to the offence committed by the husband or wife.

KONDA-DORA :

When a man contemplates taking a wife, his parents carry three pots of liquor to the house of the girl, whose hand he seeks. The acceptance of these by father is a sign that match is agreeable to him and then the bride-price (Jholatanka) of rupees 5 is paid to him.

If a man marries a divorcee he has to pay her first husband 24 rupees of which half is divided among the villagers in certain recognised proportions.

BHUMIA :

Among the Bhumia originally two types of marriages are prevailed (1) Arranged marriage, (2) Forced marriage. Arranged marriage : The bride-price payable is one cock, one ram, one puti of rice.

Forced marriage : Bride-price is payable in shape of fowl and some quantity of rice which is not so enforceable like the other type.

ORAON :

The bride-price is known as Dali Dam. The bride-price can be paid either in cash or kind. Amount of bride-price varies from place to place. In Talsora P.S. they pay Rs. 6/- to Rs. 7/- in cash and four pieces of clothes to the bride's family and Rs 1/- to the village girls for their services during marriage. In Sundargarh P. S. it consists of Rs. 4/- in cash and other pieces of clothes and two to three quintals of unhusked rice to the girls family and Rs. 2/- to village girls. In Bonai area they have to pay according to the rate fixed by their tribal assembly. It includes Rs. 7/- in cash, three pieces of clothes to the girls family and Rs. 0.50 to the village maidens. But all donot follow this and sometimes more cash is demanded. Now one can pay the bride-price in cash only if both the parties agree to a certain amount. It sometimes varies from Rs. 40/- to Rs. 300/-.

JUANG :

The bride-wealth paid by groom's party both in Keonjhar and Pallahara consists of five to six khandi of paddy and rice, a chicken, five to six pieces of cloth for the girl's relatives, a few bottles of liquor, and three to four rupees in cash. All these amount to Rs. 110/- but unless a man is rich enough he cannot pay the full amount of the standard bride-wealth. In their marriage now-a-days, they present some ornaments to the bride but do not pay anything to her relatives towards the bride-wealth. The overall expenses of marriage are borne by the parents, but the relatives and the villagers also give presents of paddy, rice, goat, pig, chicken, cloth, or money. This system of helping in marriage is reciprocal.

When dowry is compared with bride-price with regard to their ethical implications, the present form of dowry presents a vicious picture. In its perverted form it is considered as the easiest and quickest means of growing rich in complete abrogation of the ancient system which implied voluntary presentations made to strengthen the ties between the families involved and enhance the status of the bride. The ethical base of bride-price however, has remained unchanged till the present day. The status of a tribal bride continues to be upheld by the customary practices. It remains to be seen, however, that the process of modernisation does not reverse the process and dilutes the ethics by lowering the status of tribal women like the non-tribal women.

TRIBAL DANCES OF ORISSA

(THEIR FUNCTION AND CLASSIFICATION)

Bhagirathi Chowdhury

Most of the tribal communities of Orissa have retained the rich and varied heritage of colourful dances and music developed and maintained by themselves in a tradition without the aid of the professional dancer or teacher. To them dance and song are group activities forming integral parts of the celebration of religious festivals, wedding and funeral and occasionally for enjoyment and relaxation.

Although every tribe has its unique pattern of dance and song, there are several characteristic features which are common to all. Tribal dances have some accompaniment by means of which the rhythm is maintained. This consists of clapping of hands or beating of a drum or several drums or of an orchestra of different instruments. Further every dance has its associated song which is sung by the performers. Both men and women, young and old dance and invariably sing but the accompanying orchestra or music is usually provided by the male members. Tribal dance is characterised not only by its originality and spontaneity but also for its wide range of movements. Many parts of the body are used; head, back, arms, feet, fingers etc. are brought into play. Some of the tribal groups put on colourful dancing costumes and attire during their performance.

Tribal dances and music which have their roots in the religious and socio-religious ceremonies like marriage and funeral and seasonal festivals are named after such occasions. Among several tribal communities specific dance and music are performed only on specific period, that is before and during the specific occasion of celebration.

Dancing in general means relaxation, rejoicing and enjoyment. But it is something more than this for the tribal communities. Dances are performed along with the rituals observed at different stages of economic activities and more particularly at the time of commencement and closure of annual work calendar. Dances are also performed by the specialists to control the human and divine bodies at the time of treatment of diseases. On the occasions like birth, marriage



Changu dance of Juangs

and death specific dances are performed by the community to affirm their social unity. Apart from these dances which are confined to special occasions, there are other situations for communal dancing and singing. Sometimes a group of girls or boys visit another village and dance with their counterparts. When a group of boys and girls go to work in the field sometimes dances are also performed for the sake of relaxation. When a person is in a gay mood, he may sing in ecstasy to the tune of the music played by himself. Keeping all these functions of dance it may be worthwhile to classify the tribal dances which are now performed by different tribal groups.

RELIGIOUS DANCES :

Tribal communities perform number of religious rituals and observe several festivals mostly connected with their annual cycle of economic pursuits to obtain the blessings of the supernatural powers for their safety and prosperity. On such occasions propitiatory rites are followed by dancing and singing. Each ritual has got specific dance and song. In some tribal societies like the Kondh and the Saora the priests dance in to delirium and induce others to join. But in other tribal societies members present irrespective of age and sex start dancing and singing soon after the rites are performed by the priests.

MAGICAL DANCES :

These dances are performed by the shaman and the shamanin while undertaking the treatment of the patients. In tribal societies, diseases are believed to be caused by supernatural beings, spirit or by witchcraft and magic. In some tribal societies, the priest or the shaman being possessed by his tutelary spirit perform dance in ecstasy to diagnose the specific cause of the disease from which a person is suffering and in some cases to cure it by controlling, appeasing or threatening the supernatural or human agencies causing it. Such dances are special to the performers only.

COURTSHIP DANCE :

Courtship dances are regularly organized among the boys and girls of the Paudi Bhuiya, Juang, Bonda and Kondh tribes who have retained the archaic institution of youth dormitory. Such

dances generally take place during winter and summer seasons. A group of boys of a particular village with their musical instruments and gifts go to dance with girls of another village. Similarly the girls of this particular village pay return visit. In this way they visit different villages one after another. On arrival, the visitors are welcomed and if possible, entertained with food, singing and dancing continue till late in night, sometime for several days. Such occasions provide opportunity to mix with each other to exchange gifts and to select life partner. Sometimes it so happens that a boy may forcibly take away a girl of his choice from the dancing arena and marry.

MARRIAGE DANCE

Marriage is not only an important event in the life of two individuals involved but also a great occasion of rejoicing for the tribesmen living in the area. Apart from marriage-rites and fasting, singing and dancing which continue for several days are inseparable items of marriage among most of the tribes. There are specific song and dance for different steps of the marriage ceremony. They have specific song and dance for welcoming the bridal party, for performing the actual marriage-rites, for bidding farewell to the bridal party and finally for celebration of the final rites in the groom's village. On such occasions all members of the community irrespective of age, sex or status whether invited or not participate spontaneously. Persons even from far away places come in group or individually of their own accord to sing and dance.

DANCE CONNECTED WITH DEATH-RITES :

Along with elaborate death-rites and feasting, funeral dances are performed, when a person dies. In addition to this, on the occasion of bone-drowning ceremony among the Santal, Oraon, Kisan and installation of merhirs or slab of stone in honour of the deceased among the Gadaba, Lanjia Saora, Munda and Kolha and the annual *Sradha* ceremony among the Lanjia Saora communal dances are performed. Through these dances and songs it is intended to convey the message to the departed soul that the living generation has performed the rites whole-heartedly.

Apart from these dances and songs connected with specific occasions, young boys and girls sometimes perform dances for relaxation and enjoyment whenever they find an opportunity.



Koya drummer



Kutia Kondh of Belghar

On the occasion of Hindu festivals like car festival, Sivaratri, Raja Sankranti etc. tribal people not only attend but also perform dances of their own accord at the places where these are observed or in their own village.

This rich heritage of tribal culture as embeded in their splendid dances and music of considerable variety exhibiting group life and tribal solidarity are vanishing under modern influences. It is necessary now to stimulate and revive these in those tribes where it is vanishing and to encourage and develop where these are still popular. Secondly, attempt may be made for proper preservation by the latest audio-visual techniques. One way of stimulating and encouraging the tribal dance and music is through organizing annual cultural festivals on important ceremonial occasions and on the birth day celebration of tribal leaders at the sub-divisional and district levels as well as at the State headquarters.

CHANDRAGIRI FROM AN ARTIST'S SKETCH BOOK

Dr. Dinanath Pathy

Chandragiri is not far off from my native village Digapahandi in the district of Ganjam. As a child in my village I had known of Chandragiri as a dreadful place infested with tigers and malaria. People in my village often were talking Chandragiri as a place of "no return". I grew up and was employed at Bhubaneswar. Then the Tibetan refugees came and settled up at Chandragiri. The Tibetan dogs then made their in-roads into the tiny capital town of Bhubaneswar alongwith colourful woven woolen materials. When I was working with Orissa Tourism Development Corporation and looking after their publicity material the point of destination for a tourist was Taptapani, the place famous for hot sulphur spring and not Chandragiri. Therefore Chandragiri was like any other place not in the tourist itineracy unless some inquisitive tourist could compell his guide to induldge into a kind of discovery of the place around Taptapani for a little more innovative information beyond the tourist brochure. Actually it happened to me while camping with Dr. Eberhard Fischer (Director of the Rietberg Museum in Zurich, Switzerland) at Taptapani. We decided to walk into a few tribal villages nearby, off the main road. To our pleasant surprise after half an hour walk from Taptapani, we encountered beautiful tribal settlements, neat houses, enchanting Saura paintings and wood carvings. That was a very casual revelation.

A few years after this incident Dr. Sitakant Mahapatra asked me to go and explore the area around Chandragiri for tribal artifacts for his Museum of Man in the Department of Harijan and Tribal Welfare of the Government of Orissa. Dr. Nityananda Patnaik, Director of the Tribal Research Bureau promised me the assistance of his Research Officer, Photographer and the zeep. Thus we set out on our exploratory tour to Chandragiri area in the month of October.

Rajendra patnaik, the Deputy Director who was with us knew each tree and hill in this locality. My two student friends, Sajal and Ramesh, were determined even to meet tigers and lions in their first ever tour to a tribal area.

We started the day quite early and not depending too much on departmental cameras and flash lights, started sketching anything we saw around worth preserving for our posterity in the Museum

of Man. We had fully understood the concept of the poet commissioner of the department and as the sun grew brighter the excitement of the team reached at its highest.

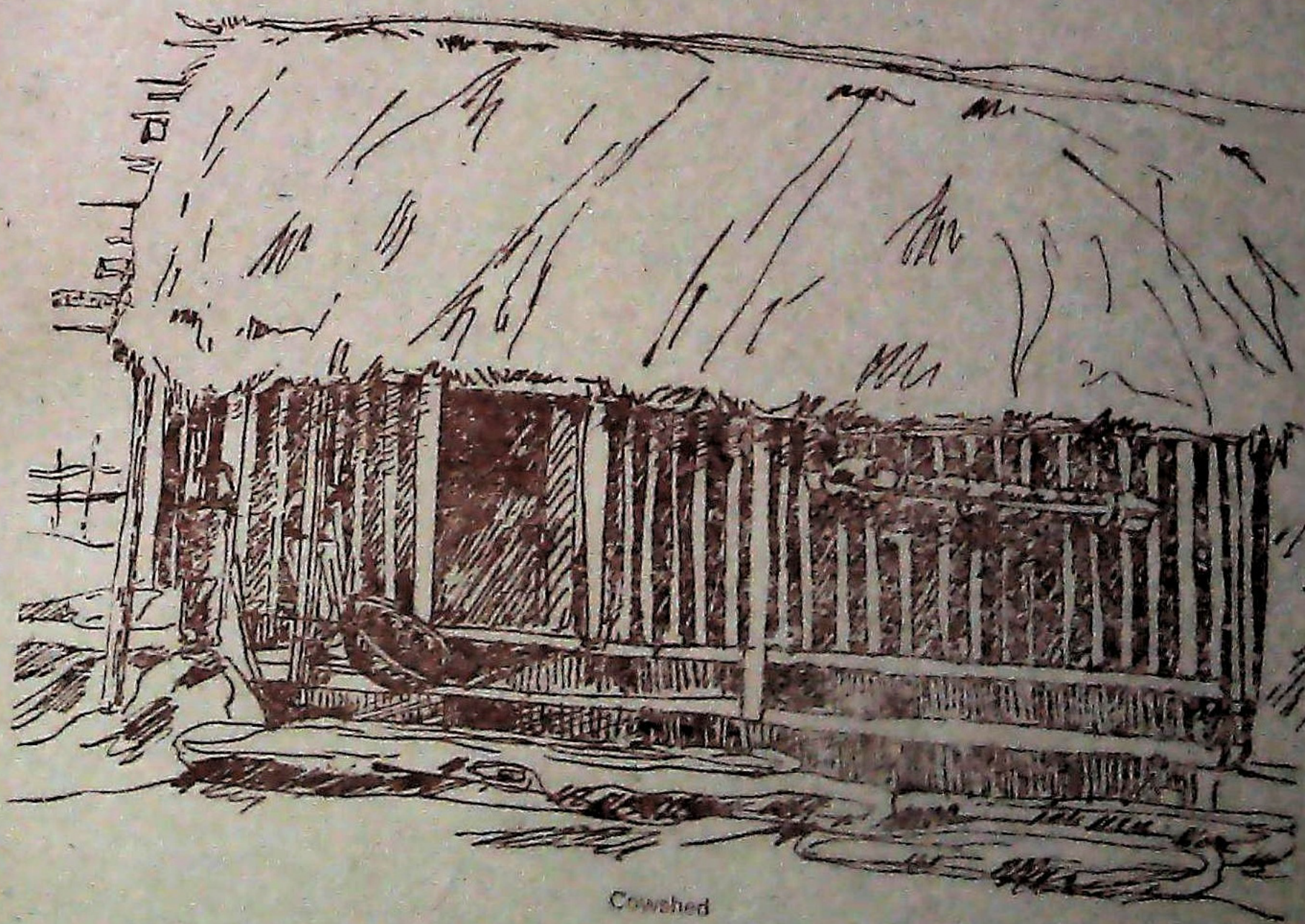
In Jagannathapur village near Chandragiri I met Rupa Savara the noted wall painter whom I had once invited to my college to demonstrate ittals to my students. I had a long desire to see his house with paintings. Rupa is a young but well experienced painter and he commands respect from his fellow villagers for his artistic abilities and achievements. Rupa invited me to his house. He lit a brass lamp and asked me to crawl beneath the loft to have a view of his paintings in his shrine.

But to my utter frustrations and dismay I found in his shrine three glass framed calendars of Jagannatha, Siva and Lakshmi, agarbati stands and coloured tinsels hanging in front of these deities replacing the umbrella, pumpkin and the bunch of rice. There was no trace of ittals at all. On enquiry Rupa told me that he has bought these pictures from the Chandragiri hata and he considers these beautiful and superior to his own ittals. For a while I kept watching Rupa, with what a conviction he was making that statement about good art and bad art.

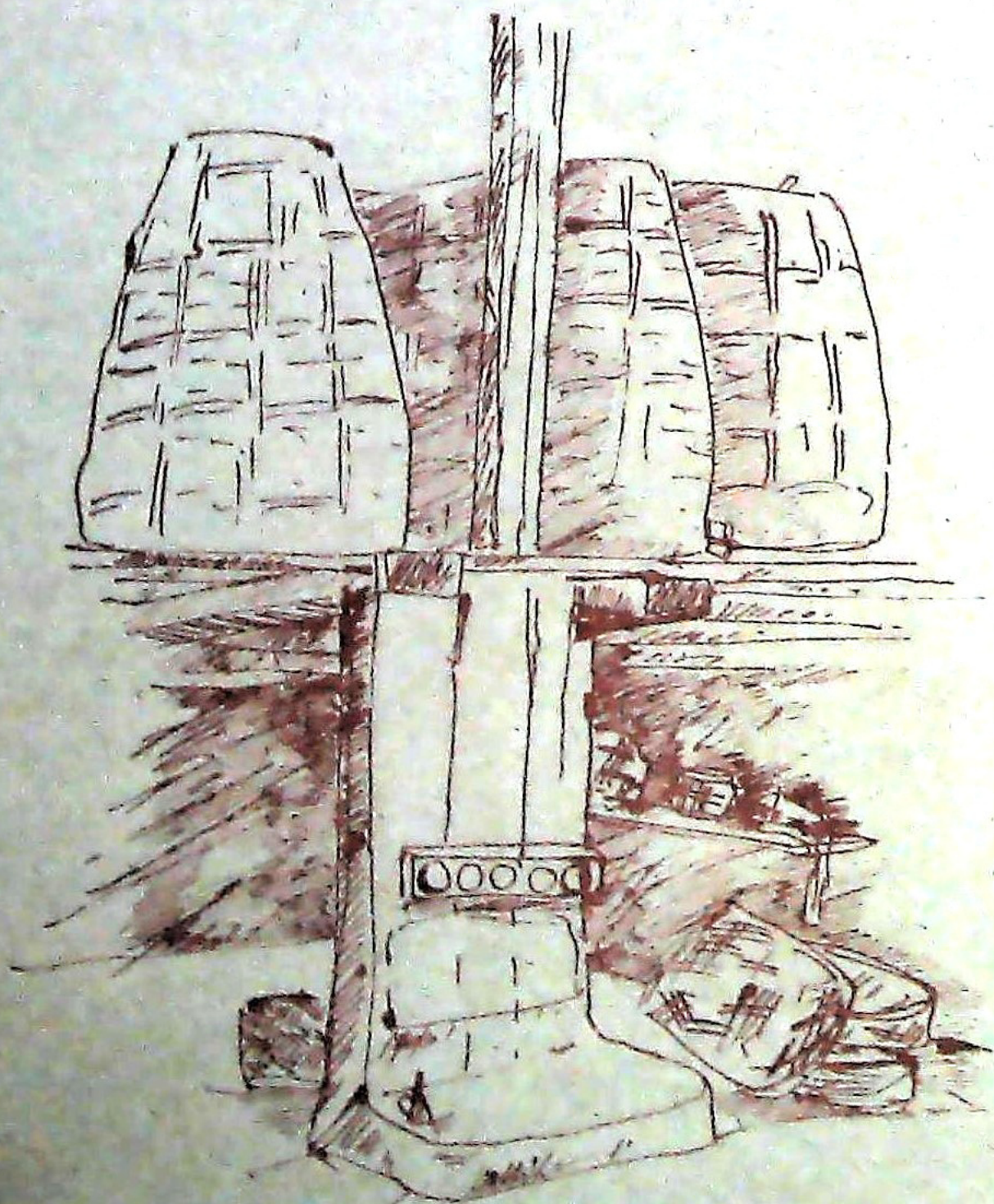
Change is inevitable I understand, but before everything transforms into a non-personal mass produced entity called good art as Rupa explained, something has to be done to document them and to preserve them for the future and the Museum of Man is a timely action by the Department of Harijan and Tribal Welfare.

In the following pages a few drawings from our sketch book are produced to present before you the quality of designing of tribal artifacts.

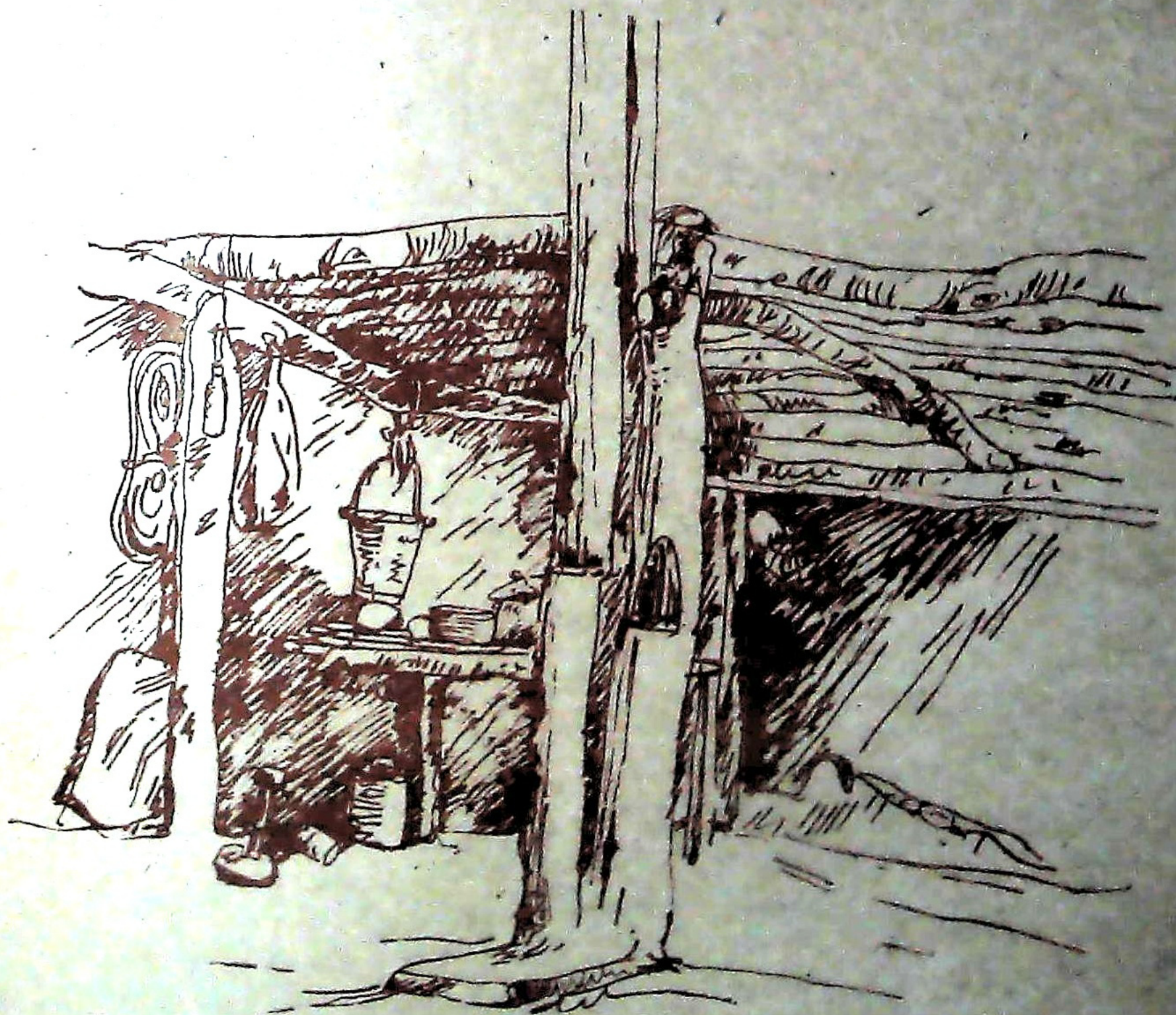
Even a day was enough for me to understand Chandragiri in her multifaceted beauty exposing the richness of tribal life and artifacts. Now when I think of Chandragiri I think of Saura paintings and artifacts.



Cowshed



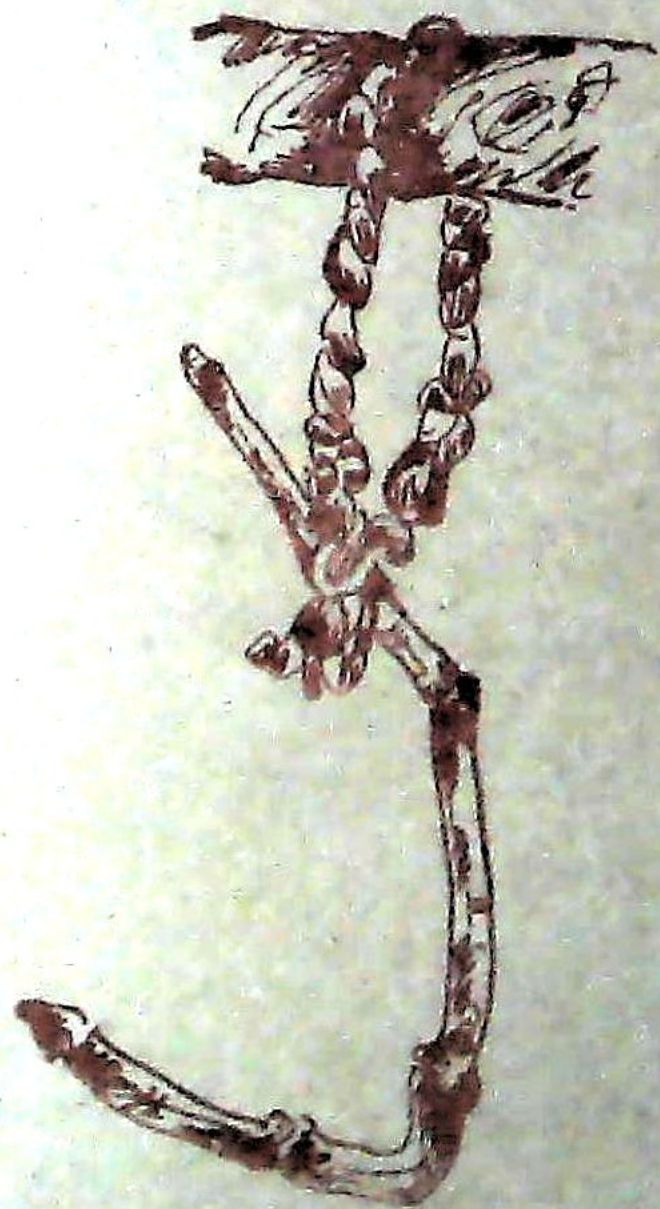
interior of the house



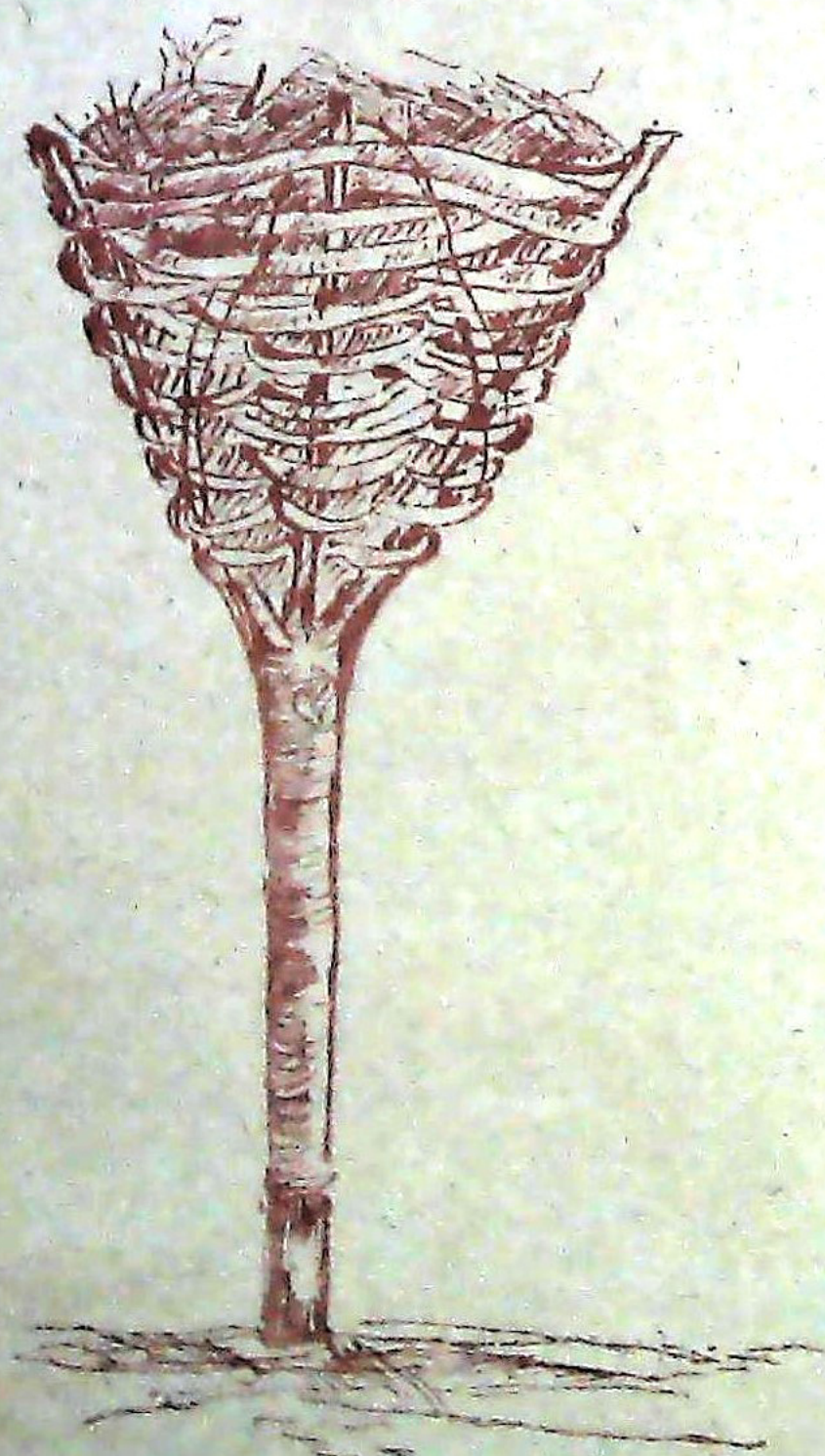
Place of worship under the tent



Cow Bell



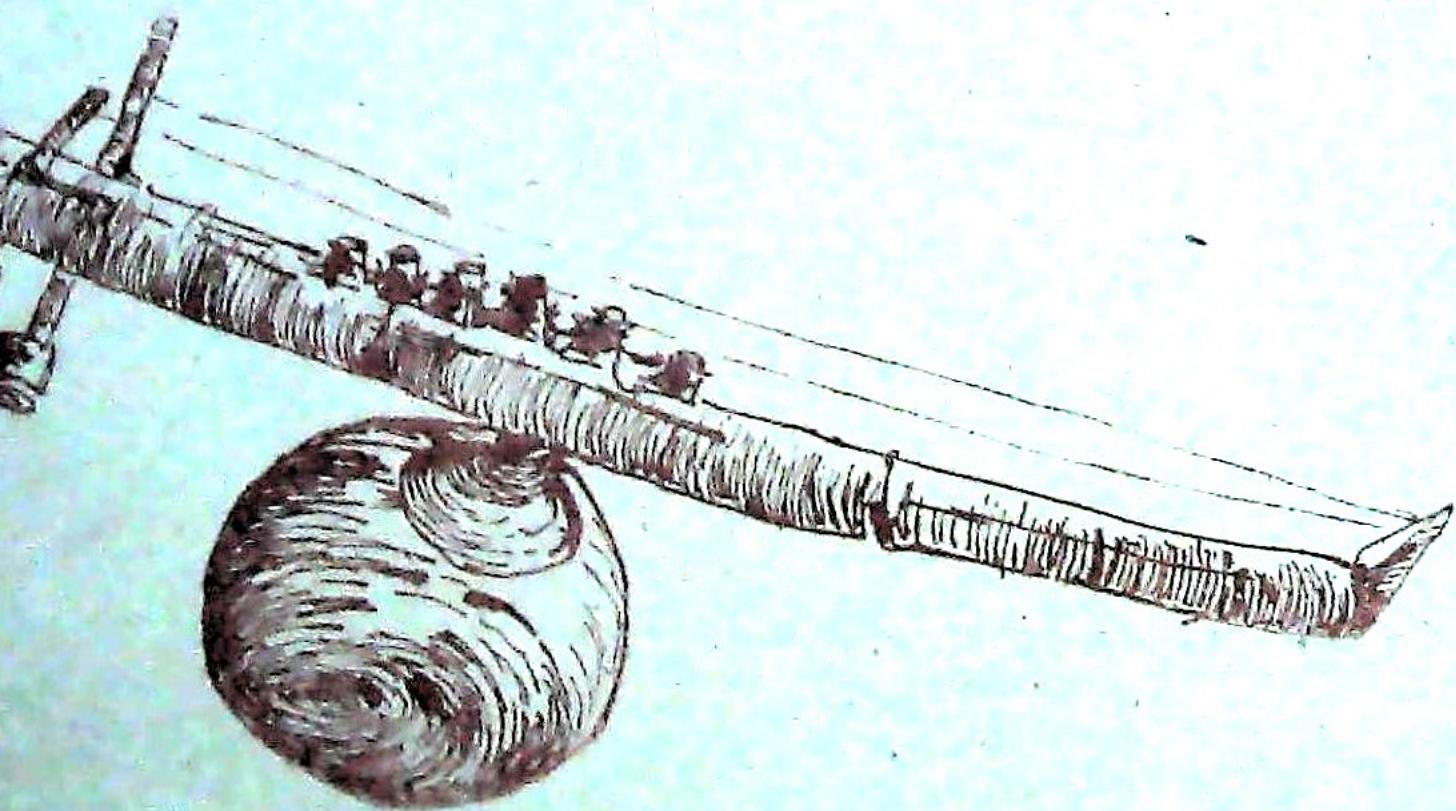
Bamboo hanger



Funnel in which hen lays eggs



Household Derty

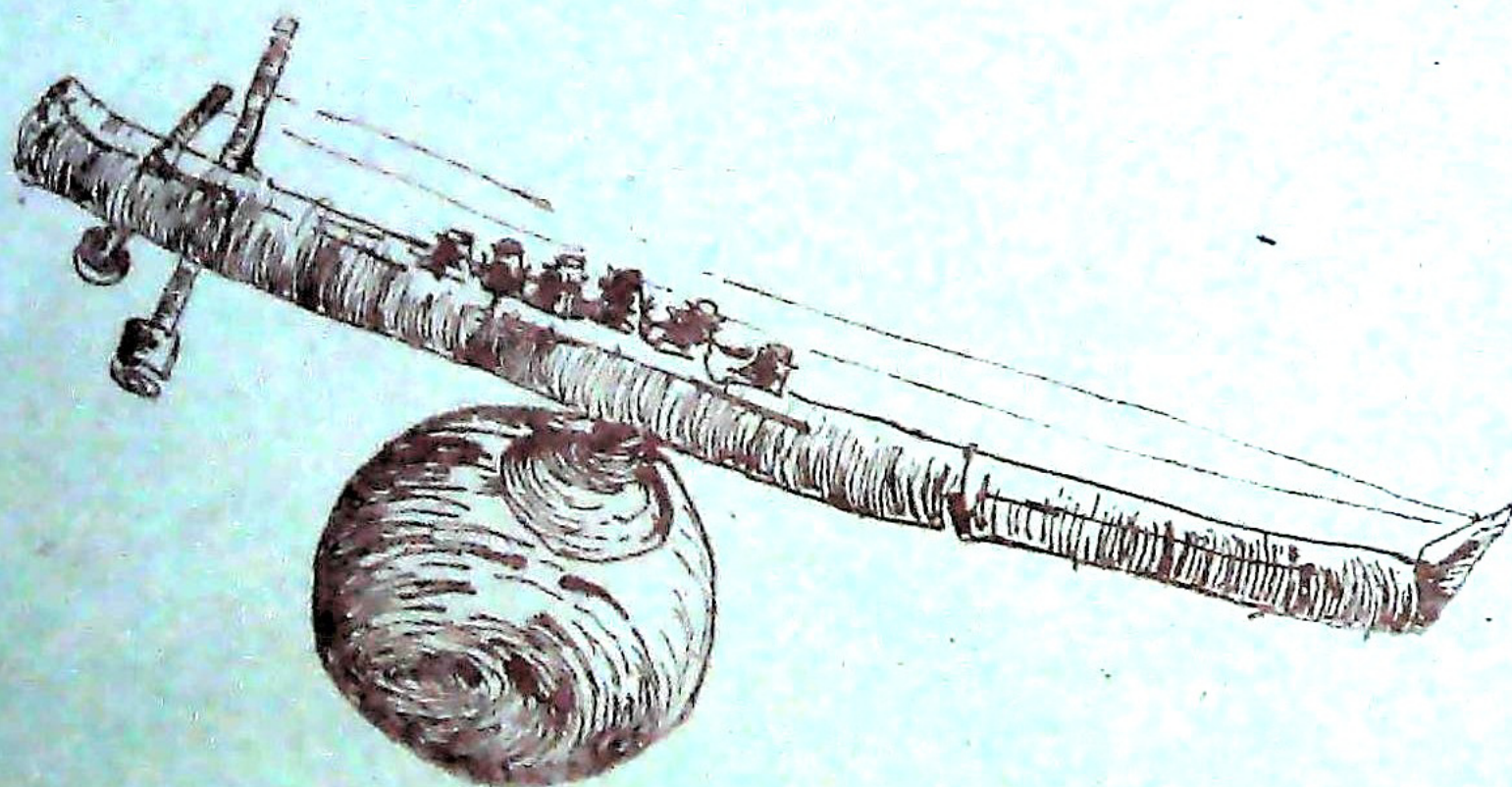


String musical instrument



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String musical instrument



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- During first year of 7th Plan (1985-86), the Corporation released Margin Money Loan of Rs. 59.51 lakhs for 8223 SC families and Rs. 13.81 lakhs for 3198 ST families.
- The Target for 1986-87 Coop. year is to cover 6000 SC and 4000 ST families under MML programme.
- By end of 1985-86 Coop. year, the Corporation released subsidy of Rs. 202.50 lakhs for 53310 SC families.

For details, please contact the Head Office of the Corporation at Lewis Road, Bhubaneswar-751014 or the District Managers of the Corporation at all the district headquarters.

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