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Village Survey Series No. 8

A MONOGRAPH

ON

VILLAGE MANHIRA

(In Sadar Subdivision of Bolangir District)

M. AHMED, I.A.S.

Superintendent of Census Operations

Orissa

VILLAGE SURVEY SERIES No. 8

A MONOGRAPH
ON
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(In Sadar Subdivision of Bolangir District)

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FOREWORD

APART from laying the foundations of demography in this sub-continent, a hundred years of the Indian Census has also produced 'elaborate and scholarly accounts of the variegated phenomena of Indian life—sometimes with no statistics attached, but usually with just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to their conclusion'. In a country, largely illiterate, where statistical or numerical comprehension of even such a simple thing as age was liable to be inaccurate, an understanding of the social structure was essential. It was more necessary to attain a broad understanding of what was happening around oneself than to wrap oneself up in 'statistical ingenuity' or 'mathematical manipulation'. This explains why the Indian Census came to be interested in 'many by-paths' and 'nearly every branch of scholarship, from anthropology and sociology to geography and religion'.

In the last few decades the Census has increasingly turned its effort to the presentation of village statistics. This suits the temper of the times as well as our political and economic structure. For even as we have a great deal of centralization on the one hand and decentralization on the other my colleagues thought it would be a welcome continuation of the Census tradition to try to invest the dry bones of village statistics with flesh-and-blood accounts of social structure and social change. It was accordingly decided to select a few villages in every State for special study, where personal observation would be brought to bear on the interpretation of statistics to find out how much a village was static and yet changing and how fast the winds of change were blowing and from where.

Randomness of selection was, therefore, eschewed. There was no intention to build up a picture for the whole State in quantitative terms on the basis of villages selected statistically at random. The selection was avowedly purposive : the object being as much to find out what was happening and how fast to those villages which had fewer reasons to choose change and more to remain lodged in the past as to discover how the more 'normal' types of villages were changing. They were to be primarily type studies which, by virtue of their number and distribution, would also give the reader a 'feel' of what was going on and some kind of a map of the country.

A brief account of the tests of selection will help to explain. A minimum of thirtyfive villages was to be chosen with great care to represent adequately geographical, occupational and even ethnic diversity. Of this minimum of thirtyfive the distribution was to be as follows :

- (a) At least eight villages were to be so selected that each of them would contain one dominant community with one predominant occupation. e.g., fishermen, forest workers, jhum cultivators, potters, weavers, salt-makers, quarry workers, etc. A village should have a minimum population of 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

- (b) At least seven villages were to be of numerically prominent Scheduled Tribes of the State. Each village could represent a particular tribe. The minimum population should be 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.
- (c) The third group of villages should each be of fair size, of an old and settled character and contain variegated occupations and be, if possible, multiethnic in composition. By fair size was meant a population of 500—700 persons or more. The village should mainly depend on agriculture and be sufficiently away from the major sources of modern communication, such as, the district administrative headquarters and business centres. It should be roughly a day's journey from the above places. The villages were to be selected with an eye to variation in terms of size, proximity to city and other means of modern communication, nearness to hills, jungles and major rivers. Thus there was to be a regional distribution throughout the State of this category of villages. If, however, a particular district contained significant ecological variations within its area, more than one village in the district might be selected to study the special adjustments to them.

It is a unique feature of these village surveys that they rapidly outgrew their original terms of reference, as my colleagues warmed up to their work. This proved for them an absorbing voyage of discovery and their infectious enthusiasm compelled me to enlarge the inquiry's scope again and again. It was just as well cautiously to feel one's way about at first and then venture further afield, and although it accounts to some extent for a certain unevenness in the quality and coverage of the monographs, it served to compensate the purely honorary and extramural rigours of the task. For, the survey, along with its many ancillaries like the survey of fairs and festivals, of small and rural industry and others, was an 'extra', over and above the crushing load of the 1961 Census.

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September, 1959 the survey set itself the task of what might be called a record in situ of material traits, like settlement patterns of the villages; house types; diet; dress; ornaments and footwear; furniture and storing vessels; common means of transport of goods and passengers; domestication of animals and birds; markets attended; worship of deities; festivals and fairs. There were to be recordings, of course, of cultural and social traits and occupational mobility. This was followed up in March 1960 by two specimen schedules, one for each household, the other for the village as a whole, which apart from spelling out the mode of inquiry suggested in September 1959 Conference, introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, movable and immovable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities, forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership, and organization of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'feel' to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to conclusion, at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves to the utmost for the success of the main Census operations, but once the Census count itself

was left behind in March 1961, a series of three regional seminars in Trivandrum (May 1961), Darjeeling and Srinagar (June 1961) restored their attention to this field and the importance of tracing social change through a number of well-devised statistical tables was once again recognized. This itself presupposed a fresh survey of villages already done, but it was worth the trouble in view of the possibilities that a close analysis of statistics offered, and also because the 'consanguinity schedule remained to be canvassed. By November 1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than ever before. There was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general statements and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data as interrelated processes and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land reforms and other laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. Finally, a study camp was organized in the last week of December 1961 when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the survey together. The Social Studies Section of the Census Commission rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of survey and presentation of results.

This gradual unfolding of the aims of the survey prevented my colleagues from adopting as many villages as they had originally intended to. But I believe that what may have been lost in quantity has been more than made up for in quality. This is, perhaps, for the first time that such survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love. It has succeeded in attaining what it set out to achieve: to construct a map of village India's social structure. One hopes that the volumes of this survey will help to retain for the Indian Census its title to 'the most fruitful single source of information about the country'. Apart from other features, it will perhaps be conceded that the survey has set up a new Census standard in pictorial and graphic documentation. The schedules finally adopted for this monograph have been printed in an Appendix.

New Delhi
The 24th May 1962

A. MITRA
Registrar General, India

P R E F A C E

This small monograph is based on a study of the socio-economic structure and the demographic and cultural features of the rural community living in an out-of-the way village called Manhira. The circumstances under which the Census Organization chose to undertake a survey of this kind have been clearly mentioned in the Foreword of the Registrar General, India.

Manhira is a village of multiethnic composition having different communities residing in separate hamlets or sectors. One such hamlet inhabited by the Gandas (S. C.) is known as Gandapara which has been surveyed for the present study. Majority of the Gandas of Gandapara have adopted Christianity, yet weaving of cotton fabric is their main occupation.

Observations contained in this monograph are based on the results of local investigation carried out by the field staff of this office in February 1962 and March 1963. I am grateful to my colleagues who have helped me in preparation of this monograph.

Cuttack
The 25th February 1967

M. AHMED
Superintendent of
Census Operations, Orissa

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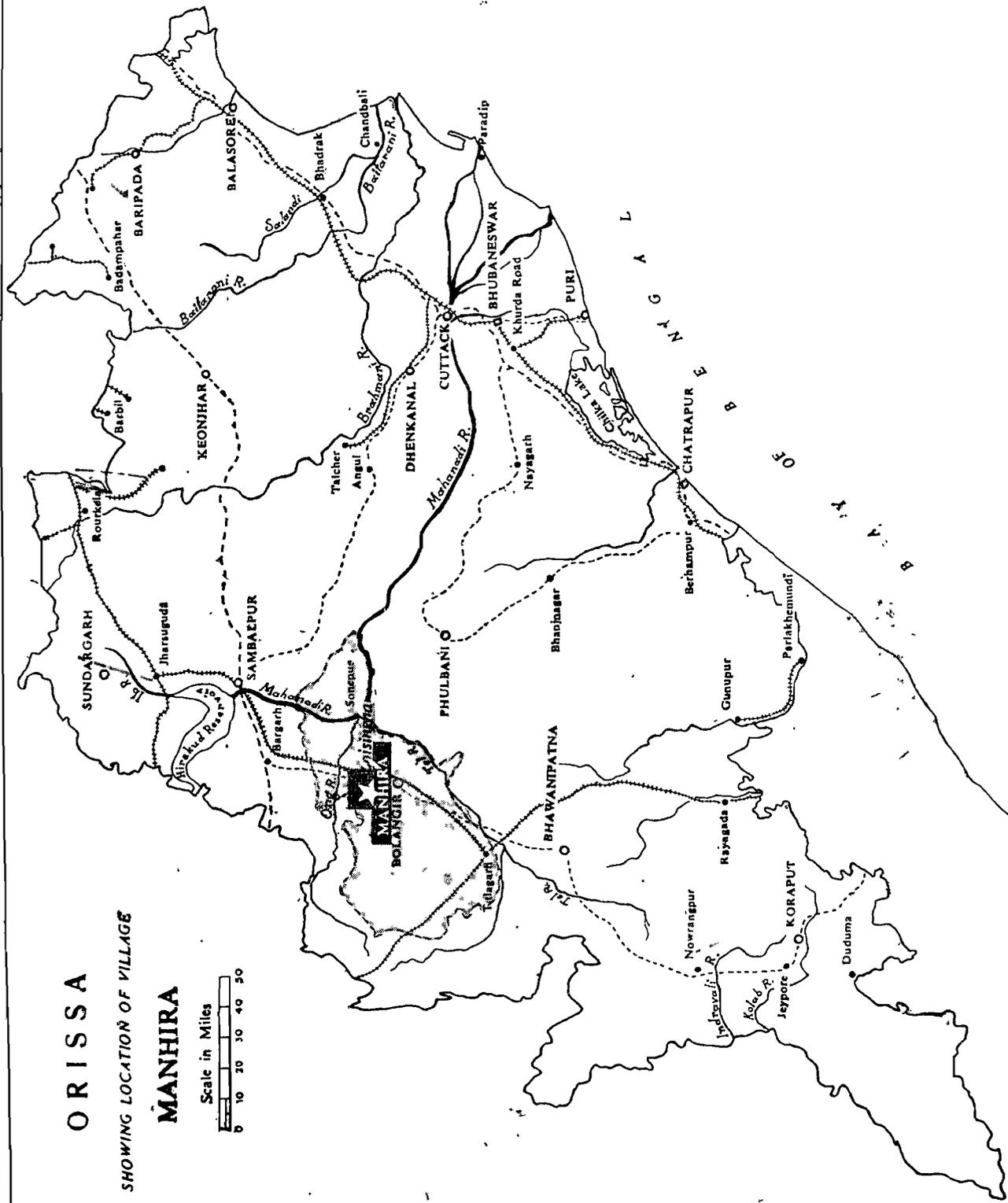
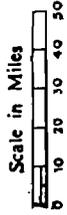
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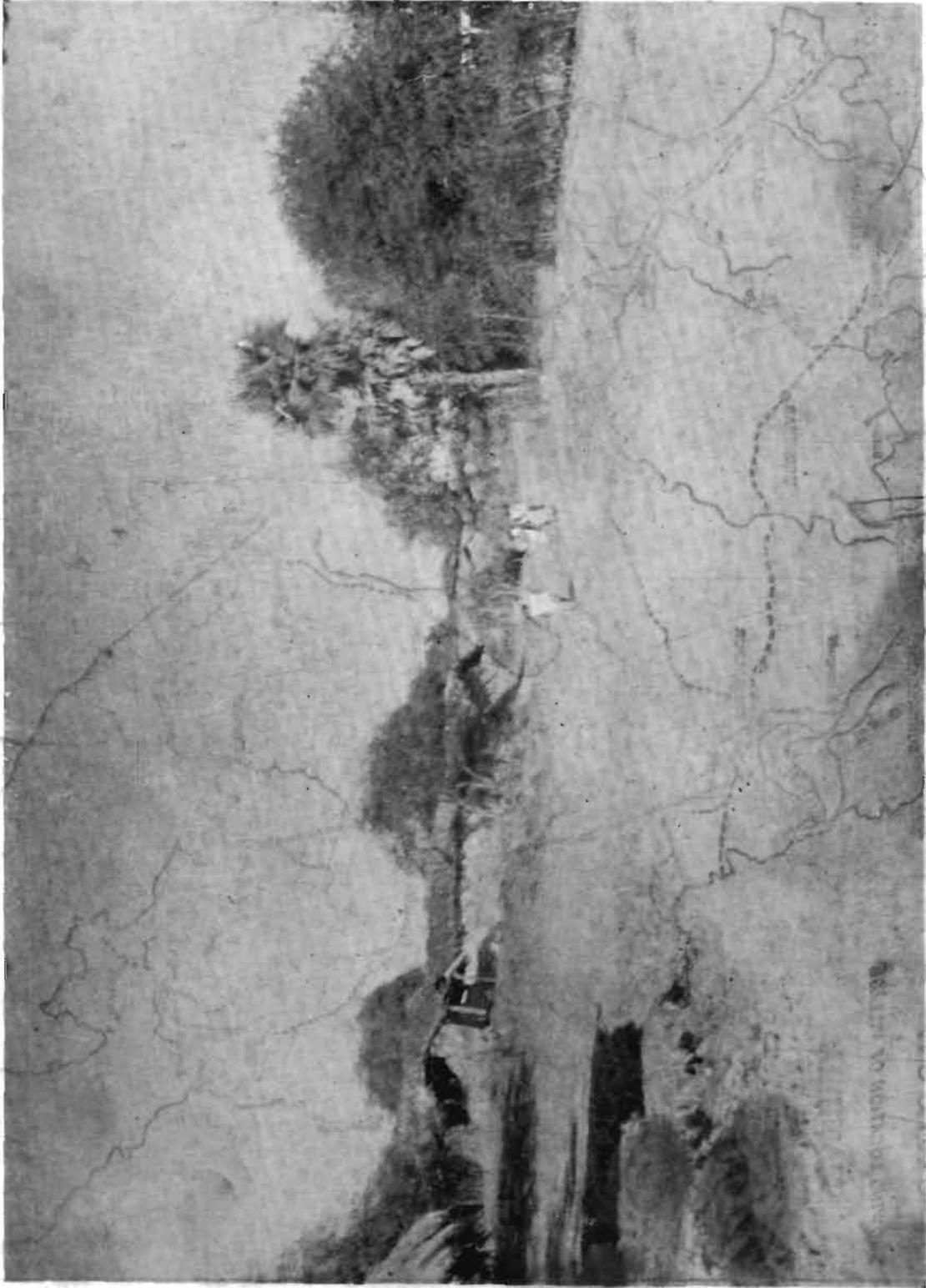
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ORISSA

SHOWING LOCATION OF VILLAGE

MANHIRA





A STREET SCENE OF GANDAPARA

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE

Introducing the village

To the west of Orissa lies the district of Bolangir, comprising the ex-princely States of Patna and Sonepur. The district has two distinct physical zones, namely, the hills of the west and the river-valleys of the east. The western part of the district is an undulating tract consisting of rugged, lofty and irregular hill ranges. The eastern part is flat with slight undulations here and there. Small isolated hillocks appear sporadically in this part breaking the monotony of the landscape. The majority of the eastern part, however, contains the main river system of this district, viz., the Mahanadi and its tributaries Tel. Suktel, Ong and Jira.

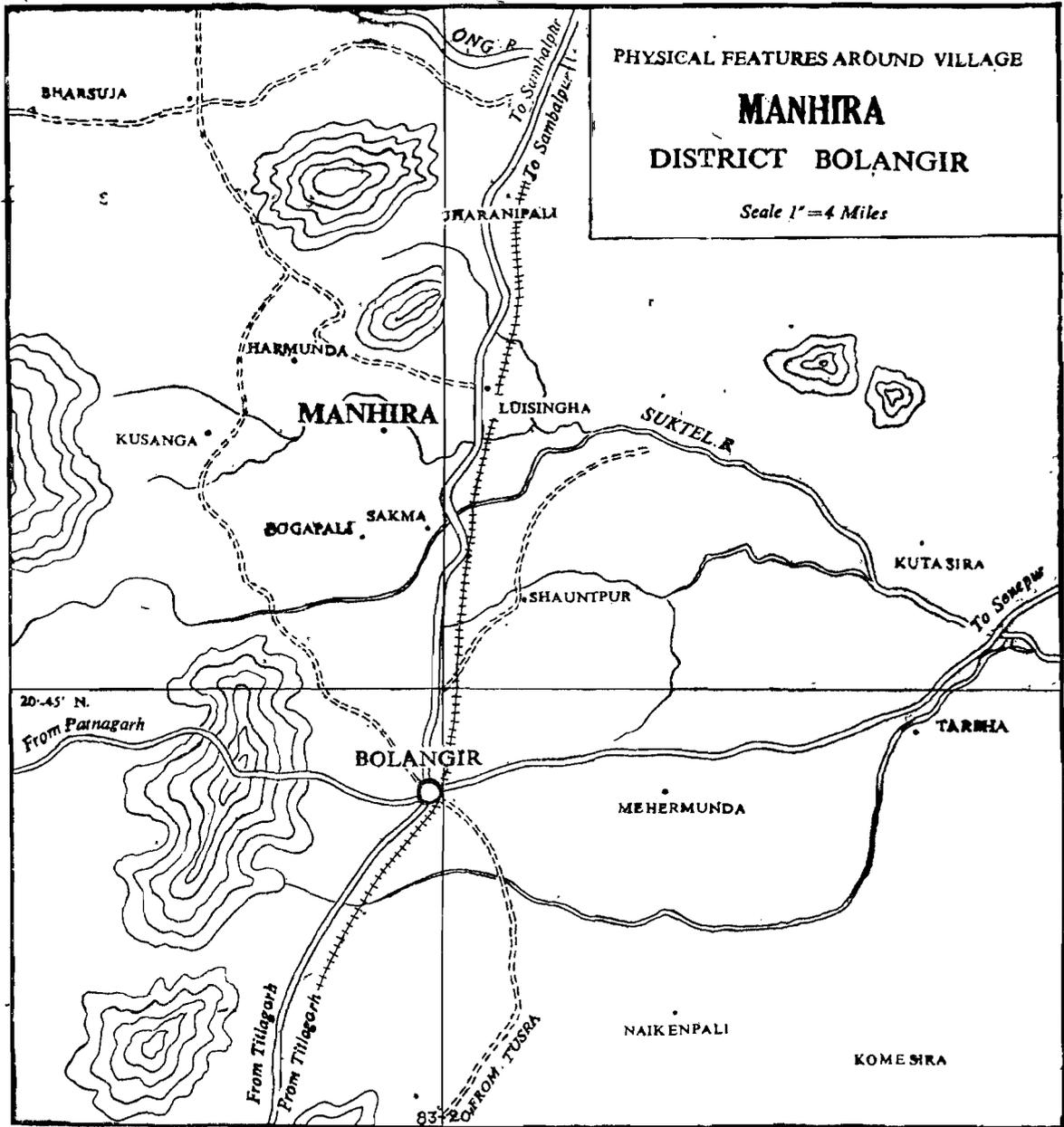
Manhira, a large-sized village, of this district, the subject of present study, lies in the eastern part of the district under the Loisingha PS of the Sadar subdivision. This village once formed part of the Loisingha Zamindari of the Patna State. The headquarters of this Zamindari was located at Loisingha an important rural centre of the district which also happened to be the headquarters of the Loisingha PS. Consequent on the merger of the Patna State with Orissa, the Zamindari continued as such under the State Government for about five years, and the village under survey continued as a Zamindari village paying its land revenue dues to the proprietor of the Loisingha estate. In the year 1952, the Zamindari vested in the State Government when the village came under the direct management of the State Government.

2. The village has four different sectors, each named after the predominant community living therein. These sectors are separated from each other by principal village streets. The largest of these sectors is called Gountiagara, which is otherwise named as Bhalpara. The name Gountiagara is derived from the village headman or the Gountia, who lives in this sector along with his relatives and men connected with him.

The alternative name of Bhalpara, literally meaning a hamlet of the good people, has been designed to give it a dignity in contradistinction to another sector of the village, namely, the Gandapara, or a hamlet of the Gandas who belong to a Scheduled Caste and are untouchables. The other two sectors of the village are known as the Jhankarpara, principally a settlement originating from the village policeman or the Jhankar and the Uparpara, or a hamlet on the upper portion of the village. All these four 'paras' or sectors constitute the village of Manhira. It has a population of 1,596 according to 1961 Census, out of which a comparatively small number of 338 persons reside in Gandapara. The Gandas being untouchables are looked down upon by the other caste men of this village. They are not allowed to habitate in any other sector of the village except in the Gandapara, which has been segregated specially for their abode. In course of time the Gandas have been tending to acquire a more honourable status due to change in their mode of living resulting partly from the general change in their outlook and partly due to their conversion into Christianity. In order to study the socio-economic life of the Gandas, this sector of the village was specially selected for study. Thus the monograph does not cover the entire village but a small sector of it known as Gandapara predominantly inhabited by the Gandas.

Location and Communication

3. Lying in 20° 51' north latitude and 83° 29' east longitude, the village is situated 16 miles north of Bolangir town which is both the district and subdivisional headquarters for the village. Loisingha, the police station headquarters is situated only at a distance of 4 miles north-east of it. The village is bounded on the south by the villages Amamunda and Baghpali and on the west by the villages Bhainsa and Pipli. The northern boundary and some portion of the eastern boundary of the village are formed



by Kusumai Nala. On the north side of this Nala lie the villages of Budelbahal and Pandarani while to the east beyond the Nala lies Sujia village. Manhira is a village under the Sakma Grama Panchayat, the headquarters of which is located at Sakma about 4 miles to the south of it. The village enjoys the privilege of being situated only at a distance of 16 miles from the premier town of the district, viz., Bolangir, which not only is the headquarter town of the district, but is also an important commercial centre, which governs the economy of the district to a considerable extent.

4. The village is linked up with Loisingha by means of a cart track. This track is being improved into a katcha road with a few masonry culverts. The cart track is so narrow at some places that even light vehicles cannot pass over it. During the rainy season the earthen road gets muddy due to black cotton soil and becomes impassable even for bullock carts. The Kusumai Nala forming the northern and eastern boundary is another obstacle during the rainy season. The stream is about 12 feet deep and 50 feet wide without any bridge over it. During the rainy season about 3 to 4 feet of water constantly flows in this Nala and sometimes it overflows the banks during heavy rains. The Nala is a perennial stream and the minimum depth of water here during mid-summer is about a foot. Loisingha is the nearest bus station of this village. It is situated on the Sambalpur Bolangir road. The villagers of Manhira previously used to depend only on this bus station for going out. Recently after completion of the Jharsuguda-Titlagarh railway line, constructed under the D. B. K. Railway project, a station has been opened at Loisingha. This railway station has removed a long felt need of the locality. Thus communication to this village does not pose any difficult problem as the village can be reached easily from Loisingha either on foot or on bullock carts.

Physical aspects

5. This village is situated on a plain land covering an area of 2.9 Sq. miles. The majority of this area has been brought under cultivation. There is no forest within the

limit of the village. Some portion is covered with pasture land and a few tanks, the largest of which occupies an area of about 40 acres. The village site occupies a compact area of about 50 acres, surrounded by paddy fields.

Climate

6. The village is situated little less than 500 feet above the sea level. The climate is extreme being characteristically hot in summer and cold in winter. In the months of March, April and May the heat is considerable, while intense cold is felt during the months of November, December, January and February. The rainy season commences from the month of June and continues till the middle of October with heavy rains during June and July. Rainfall is well distributed and considered sufficient for agriculture. The statistics relating to rainfall and temperature for the year 1961 recorded at Bolangir are quoted below. These statistics also hold good for the village as the distance between Bolangir and Manhira is not much

Month	Rainfall in millimetre in the year 1961	Temperature in Centigrade	
		Maximum	Minimum
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
January	.. 12.6	28.4	14.8
February	.. 114.0	28.2	15.9
March	.. 00.0	37.5	22.8
April	.. 62.2	38.5	24.8
May	.. 21.2	41.3	29.0
June	.. 14.6	34.5	25.5
July	.. 410.8	29.6	24.4
August	.. 204.9	34.0	24.6
September	.. 276.3	30.4	25.6
October	.. 175.0	30.2	22.6
November	.. 09.0	26.8	15.8
December	.. 00.0	25.6	12.2

Sources of water

7. Kusumai Nala and one big tank of the village serve as the main water sources for the entire population of Manhira. Besides the above, there are 17 pucca and 14 katcha wells out of which one pucca well is in Gandapara. The inhabitants of Gandapara mainly depend on this well and the above tank for supply of water as there are no other wells for their use. The other wells are located in the three other sectors which are used only by the Hindu population. The Gandas are not allowed to draw water from these wells. The water of Kusumai Nala is used for bathing, washing and irrigation since a dam has been constructed across it at a cost of Rs. 3,32,000. The tank is used for bathing and washing of clothes as well as cleaning of domestic animals. The supply of water is adequate and scarcity of water has never been experienced even during the summer.

Flora and Fauna

8. There is no forest worth the name within the village boundary. However some specimen of large-sized trees and herbal plants are found scattered on the ridges of the fields surrounding the village. Common among the large-sized trees which are found here are Gohira, Ghanto, Anla, Mohua, fig, Harida, Bahada, Banian, Kaintha and tamarind. Some fruit-bearing trees like jack, mango, palm, date-palm, lemon and orange are mostly found planted on dry lands or on the backyards. There are also herbal plants like Guluḥi, Pasaruni, which have medicinal values and are used for treatment of different types of diseases by indigenous method.

9. The fauna of the village include domestic animals like cows, bulls, buffaloes, sheep. Small animals like hares, jackals, hyaenas and wolves from the neighbouring shrub jungles and hillocks are occasionally seen in the fields. Among the birds found in the village are ducks, pigeons, fowls, storks and hawks.

History of the village

10. The villagers still believe that the original settlers in this village were those

belonging to Gond community. Nobody knows exactly when the village came into existence. In the process of its development other caste people came to this village to serve under the Gonds who were then the cultivating proprietors of the lands situated in this village. The Gonds were then commanding influence as the Gountia of the village and the Zamindar of Loisingha belonged to this Tribe. Even then other caste people were allowed to live there peacefully and pursue their own traditional occupations. The village is believed to be one of the oldest villages in this region. There are as many as 16 communities living here. They are Gond, Christian, Kumbhar, Keuto, Gouda, Sundi, Ghasi, Binjhal, Teli, Mali, Lohar, Mochi, Marwari, Ganda, Khaira and Dhoba.

11. The Gandas being untouchables were allowed to live in seclusion in a compact sector known as Gandapara which is not far away from the main busti. Most of them have accepted Christianity. The survey reveals that this hamlet Gandapara has developed during the last three generations, as majority of the households have settled here during this period. Table I in the Appendix clearly indicates the settlement history of the households in Gandapara. It can be seen therefrom that only 4 households have settled in this hamlet since more than 5 generations while the others have settled recently. Majority have settled between 3 to 2 generations. Four out of the nine households who have settled here since one generation have migrated from outside the district. The village also suffers from loss of population during the last 30 years. It was ascertained that as many as 37 families have deserted the village permanently in quest of employment. Seventeen of them have gone to Bhillai and have permanently settled there in view of better employment facility. It is understood, they are working there as labourers. Similarly six families have left this village and have migrated to Assam to work in the tea gardens. The remaining 14 households have settled within the district and none of them has any economic interest in this village. Social ties are however kept up with those who have settled within the district.

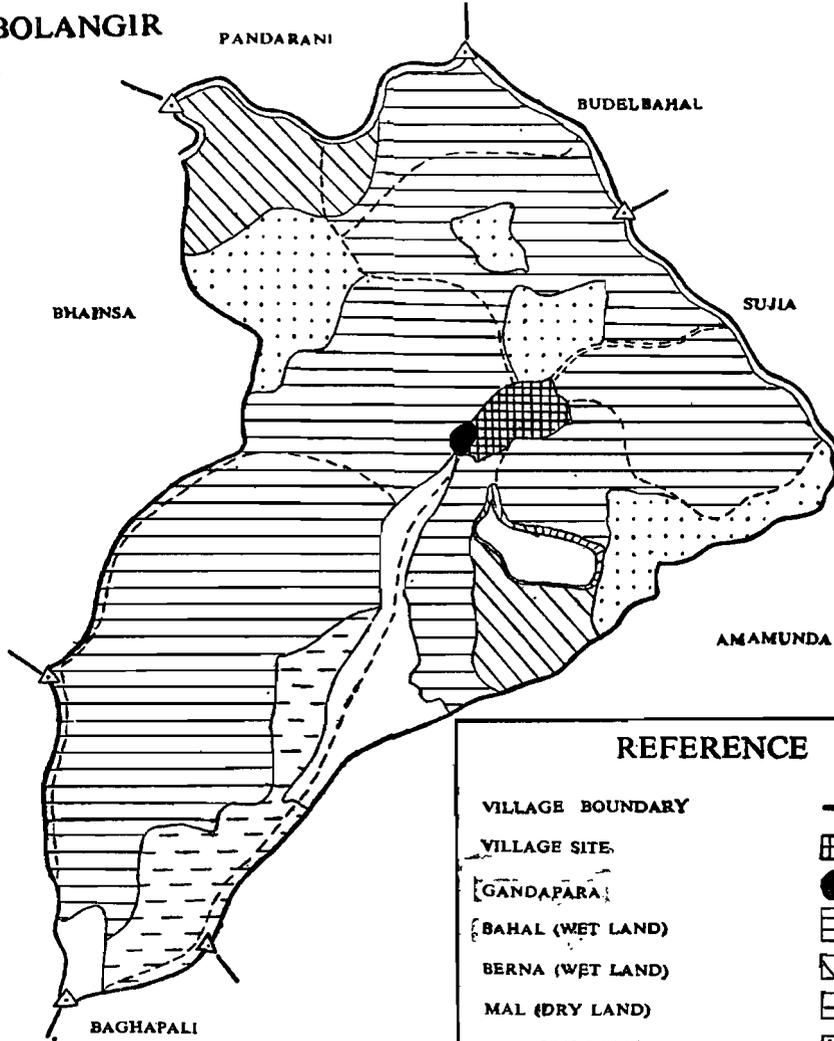
VILLAGE MANHIRA
P. S. LOISINGHA
SUBDVN. SADAR
DISTRICT BOLANGIR

Scale 2" = 1 Mile

N



PIPLI



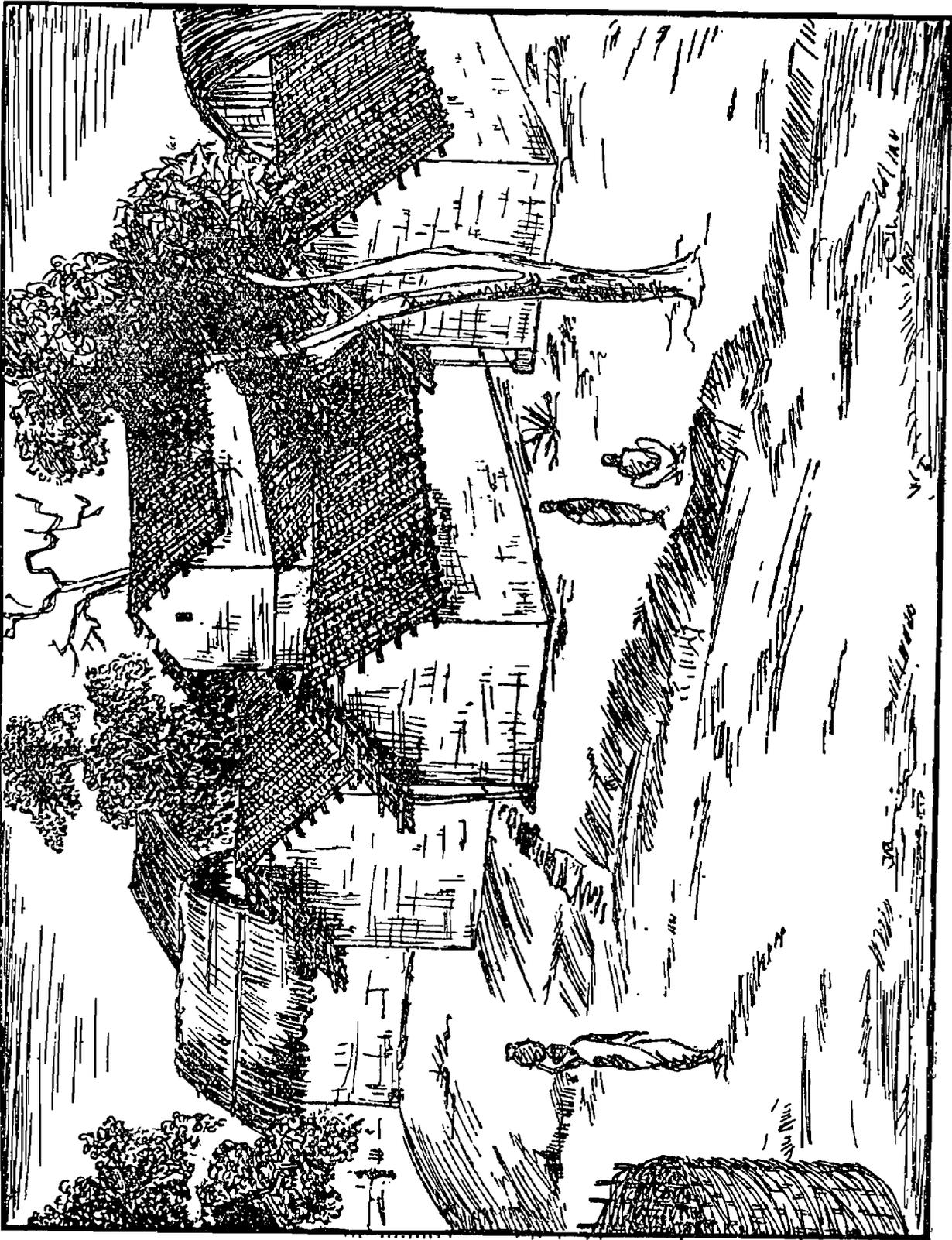
REFERENCE

VILLAGE BOUNDARY	
VILLAGE SITE	
GANDAPARA	
BAHAL (WET LAND)	
BERNA (WET LAND)	
MAL (DRY LAND)	
ATA (DRY LAND)	
GOCHAR	
RIVER, TANK	
VILLAGE ROAD	
FOOT PATH	

Legend

12. It is generally believed that the village is named after the two Gond brothers Mani and Hira about whom there is a common legend. These two Gond brothers once were appointed as Gountias of this village. They were related to the then Zamindar of Loisingha. Naturally they were quite influential in the village. At the same time the two brothers could win the hearts of their villagers as they were kind and benevolent and not oppressive like the other Gountias. Hence the villagers used to respect them very much. As a mark of respect they renamed the village as Manhira. It is how-nutive form of "Manhira" to facilitate easy of the village.

13. This village is also called as Marra by some of its residents as well as by the people of the surrounding villages. Many people of distant villages also identify it as Marra. This second name of the village, it is said, is linked up with an incident in the remote past, namely, an outbreak of cholera in this village which took away a heavy toll of life. 'Marra' in local language means death and in subsequent years this village came to be known as Marra due to large number of deaths which occurred during the outbreak of this epidemic. It may also be quite probable that the name "Marra" is a diminutive form of "Manhira" to facilitate easy pronunciation.



ANOTHER STREET OF THE VILLAGE

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE

Population

The total population of the village according to the Census of 1961 is 1,596 as against 1,569 in 1951. This shows an overall increase of only 27 persons in a decade. The Gandapara, the subject of present study, alone contains 68 households with a population of 338 of whom 149 are males and 189 are females. The following Table 1 shows the population, density, number of houses and households for the entire village as the density of population cannot be shown separately for Gandapara. The other Tables appearing in this monograph, however, relate exclusively to Gandapara and to the two communities, i.e., Gandas and Christians living therein.

Area and density

2. The density of population of this village works out to about 550 per square mile. The village appears to be little congested. This is borne out by the fact that its density of 550 per square mile far exceeds the density of the district (311 per Sq. mile) as well as the State (292 per Sq. mile). The village is very large and it is unable to

sustain any more population. This may perhaps be one of the main reasons why people have left this village with a view to settle somewhere else in the district. This out-flow of population is responsible for the population of the village remaining static during the decade 1951-61.

Table 1

Area and Density

Area	Popula- tion	Density per square mile	Number of houses	Number of households
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1859.79 acres or 2.9 Sq. miles	1,596	550.3	263	343

Age-groups

3. The distribution of population of Gandapara by sex and age-groups is shown in the following Table.

Table 2

Population by sex and age-groups

Persons	Males	Females	0—14		15—24		25—59		60 & above	
			M F		M F		M F		M F	
			(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
338	149	189	57	90	17	25	70	62	5	12

4. 48 per cent of the total population belong to the first age-group while the three other age-groups represent 52 per cent of the population. The females are found to outnumber the males in all the age-groups excepting the age-group 25—59. Gandapara

has many old men and women above 60 years among whom Chamru Nanda is aged about 100 years and Jema Nanda is about 90 years old. They are the oldest residents of the hamlet both belonging to the Christian community.

Religion, Caste and Community

5. 16 communities reside in the village but Gandapara is inhabited exclusively by Gandas consisting of 69 families out of whom

61 have accepted Christianity and the rest are Hindūs. The following Table shows the communitywise distribution of households in Gandapara.

Table 3
Castes and Communities

Caste/Community	Sub-Caste	Number of households	Population			Remarks
			Persons	Males	Females	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Christian	.	61	302	132	170	
Ganda	..	7	36	17	10	

6. The Christians and the Hindu Gandas live side by side in this hamlet. Although their religions now stand as barrier for establishment of marital alliance there is practically no difference in their physical traits, mode of living and profession. The Christians do not worship Hindu gods, yet they observe some Hindu festivals, particularly the Nabanna for eating of new grains just like the Hindu Gandas.

7. The Christians of Gandapara were originally Gandas. It was ascertained that conversion to Christianity took place three generations ago. Some of them have accepted Christianity in the present generation and yet they trace back their conversion to three generations and more in order to assert their status that they are no longer untouchables like the Hindu Gandas. They also think beneath their status being called as Gandas. Hence equating a Christian with a Ganda is enough to create trouble. The Christians think that sociologically they are much above the Hindu Gandas. In spite of this attitude, it is said, in some social functions the Gandas invite the Christians and the latter also reciprocate. Girls from the Ganda families are given in marriage with Christian boys but the Christians do not allow their girls to be married in Hindu Ganda families. The girls from Ganda community have to embrace Christianity before they are allowed to marry in Christian families.

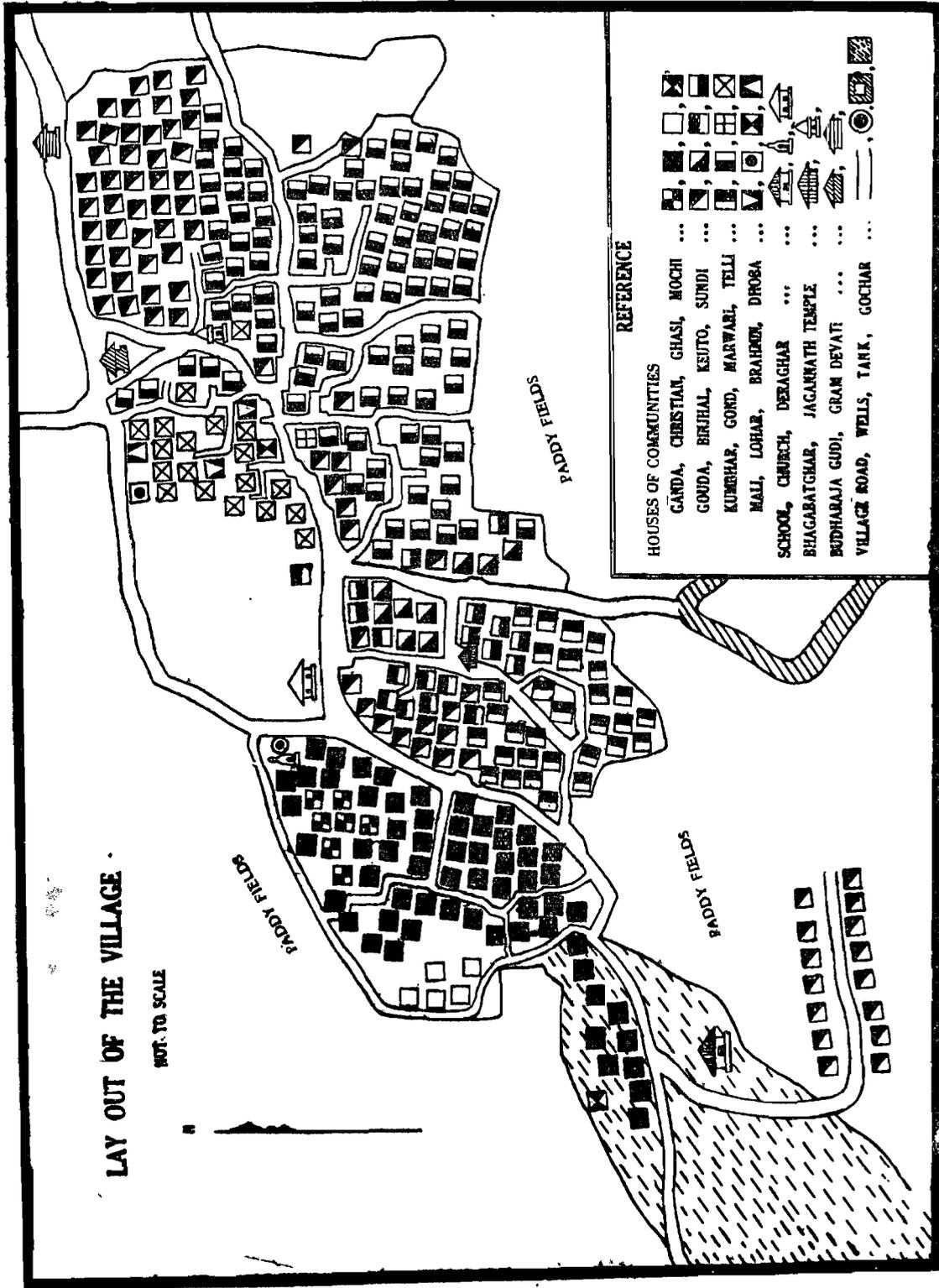
8. It was ascertained that the Gandas living in other villages are employed for the removal of dead cattle. They eat beef and pork and on account of this food habit they are treated as untouchables. The

Gandas of Gandapara pretend to have given up such food habit since some generations. Yet there has been no significant improvement in their position and they still continue as untouchables. Those Gandas who have subsequently embraced Christianity are also not completely free from this disability and they are still looked down upon by those belonging to higher castes who treat them as untouchables.

9. The Gandas think that they are superior in status to the Doms, another Scheduled Caste community who are found in some parts of Bolangir. No social relation seems to have been maintained between the members of the two communities although ethnically both are same.

10. The Gandas also think that they are higher in status than the Ghasis. A Ganda does not accept water or food from the hands of a Ghasi but accepts food and water from the other communities living in this village.

11. It is said that beating of drums and blowing of pipes by the Gandas during social and religious functions in a village was mandatory and this function was accepted as their traditional occupation besides weaving. The Gandas of Manhira however have given up this profession of playing with drums and pipes which service was rendered by their forefathers. The Gandas of the neighbouring village on the other hand still play on such musical instruments in their own villages or in other villages whenever they are required to do so and in lieu of such service they get their wages besides food and other gifts.



12. The traditional occupation of the Gandas and the Christians of Manhira is weaving. Despite the fact that cheap mill-made fabrics are swamping in the interior places the cloths woven by Gandas and the Christians are still popular in the rural areas. Thus weaving still continues as their main occupation although some of them have also taken up cultivation as their subsidiary means of livelihood.

Houses

13. Gandapara lies to the south-west corner of the village. The Christian and Ganda houses are situated in a compact area. The mode of construction and the location of the houses is unsystematic, as a result of which there are no regular lanes.

14. The size and composition of the households in the hamlet is given in the Table 4 below.

Table 4
Size and composition of households

Number of House-holds	Single member			2-3 Members			4-6 Members			7-9 Members			10 Members and above		
	Number of house-holds	M	F	Number of house-holds	M	F	Number of house-holds	M	F	Number of house-holds	M	F	Number of house-holds	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
68	1	..	1	19	25	26	35	75	99	10	34	46	3	15	17

15. Majority of the households of Gandapara is of average size consisting of 4 to 6 members. There are 35 households having 4 to 6 members while still smaller families number only 20.

House Type

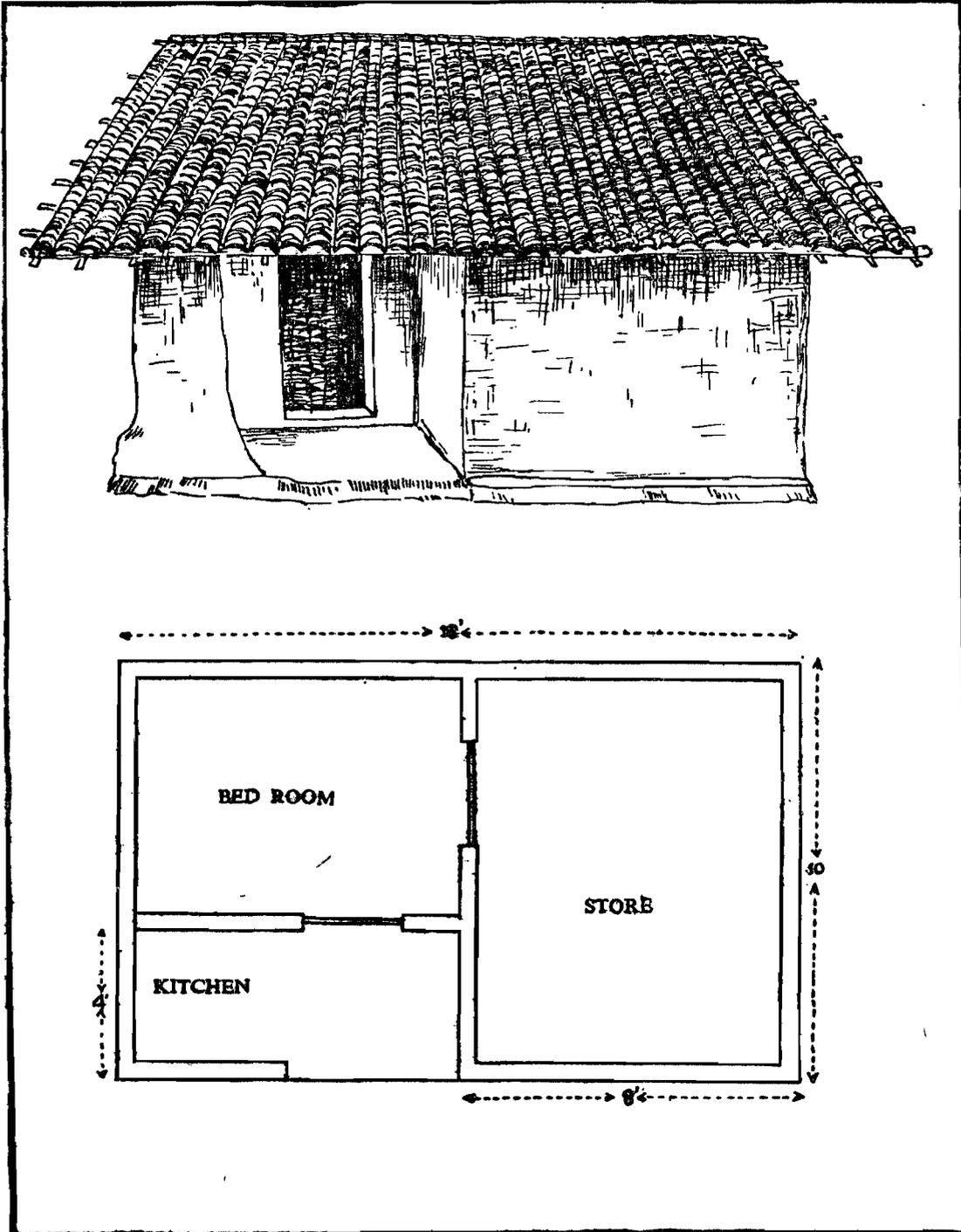
16. All the houses of Gandapara are katcha with roofs composed of split bamboo and tiles. Each house in general contains two rooms of which one is little bigger than the other. The bigger room usually measures 8'×10' while the size of the smaller one is 8'×6'. A verandah is usually provided at the front of every house the size of which is 4'×8'. The small room is used as bedroom, while the other one is generally used as kitchen and store. Each room is provided with one door only without any window. The entrance to the kitchen is through the bedroom. Cooking is sometimes done in one corner of the verandah specially enclosed for the purpose with wattled bamboo. The households owning looms have open sheds adjacent to the living rooms. Some have separate loom sheds the main house. Location of the loom shed

depends on the availability of space. Broadly speaking the residential houses are of two categories.

In both types of houses the lay-out and mode of construction are the same. The difference lies in the direction of the houses. The houses facing north and south are called Jhada Ghar and those facing east and west are called Ada Ghar. In this village majority of the inhabitants have constructed Jhada Ghar. Besides the loom shed, some households owning cattle have separate cattle sheds. Table 5 given below shows the number of rooms in each household and the persons occupying them.

Table 5
Number of rooms and number of members living in the households

Classification of households according to number of rooms	One roomed	Two roomed	Three roomed	Four roomed	Above four roomed
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
No. of households	63	4	1	..
No. of persons..	..	304	22	12	..

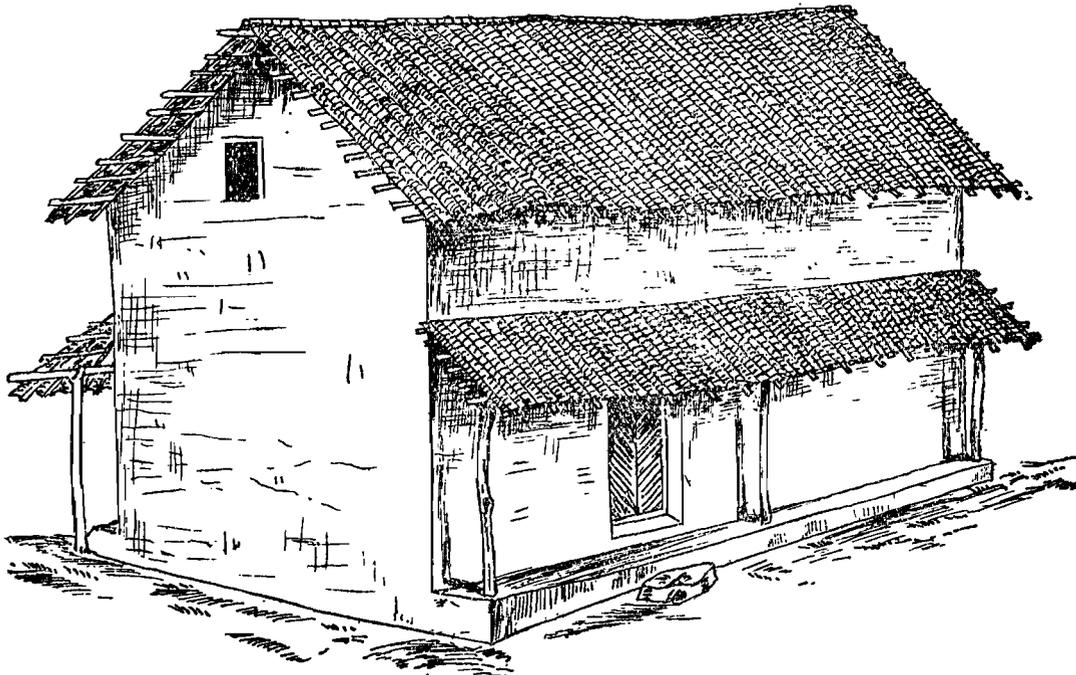


FRONT VIEW AND GROUND PLAN OF A TYPICAL HOUSE

17. Evidently majority of the families prefer two-roomed houses. Thus 63 two-roomed houses of Gandapara are occupied by 304 persons which shows that each room is occupied by 5 persons on the average. Out of the remaining, 4 are three-roomed houses and one house has four rooms. The size of the living room is too small to accommodate an average family consisting of 4 to 6 members. Yet the Gandas and the Christians of Gandapara do live in such rooms without making any separate arrangement for married and unmarried persons. Hence more often the unmarried members are obliged to sleep either in the loom sheds or on the verandahs. For want of space in the rooms, food is taken on the verandah and paddy husking and other household work is also done there.

18. All the houses have gabled roofs. Construction of a house in this part is quite simple. Foundation is not dug very deep and walls are composed of mud. The height of the walls is about 10 feet over which the framework for the roof

is raised on wooden beams. Roof frame is mostly made of split bamboos. Nariha tiles are used for the roof for the main houses. Straw-roofed houses are very few in number. The cattle sheds and loom sheds are comparatively small structures with thatched roofs, majority of them having no walls. Two houses of Gandapara have walls composed of sun-burnt bricks and clay. These two houses are double storeyed. Such type of houses in the district are generally constructed by well-to-do persons and are known as 'Dhaba Ghar'. The ceiling of the ground floor is made of wooden poles and mud. The height of the upper storey is rather low with gabled roof made of Nariha tiles. It is mainly used for storing grains and other household articles. There is an opening of the ceiling of the ground floor through which one has to enter by climbing a ladder for going to the upper storey. The floors, verandahs and walls are plastered and smoothed with liquid mud. All the houses do not have any compound wall or any green fence and as such courtyards are conspicuously absent in the houses of Gandapara.



FRONT VIEW OF A DHABA GHAR

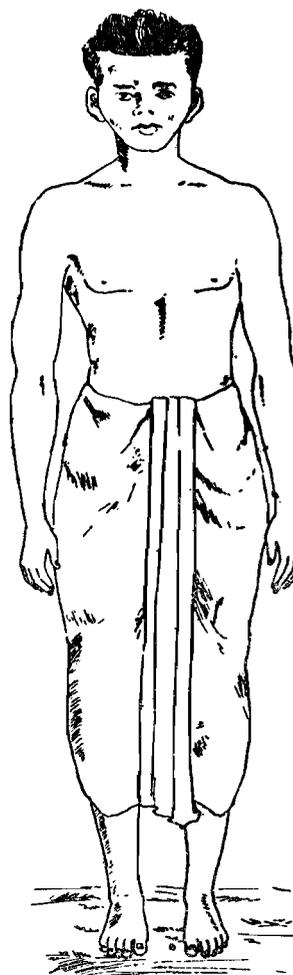
19. The Christians observe a simple ceremony before starting construction of a new house. They consult the Jyotish (Astrologer) to find out an auspicious day and time according to Hindu almanac when the work can be started. On that day a short prayer is offered by the Head of the household craving the blessings of Jesus Christ on the construction work. After completion of the house no ceremony is observed by them for the occupation. The Hindu Gandas however follow the custom of their Hindu neighbours. On this occasion some close relations are invited to the new house site. The auspicious moment for starting construction work is fixed ahead in consultation with the Jyotish with reference to the Panji or almanac. A new wooden pole which should serve as the main prop of the house is brought to the house site. The top of this pole is tied with mango leaves and pasted with vermilion. The pole is then fixed at the centre of the house site amidst cheers and shouting the names of gods and goddesses. Sun-dried rice, Duba (dog grass), coconut and sometimes fowls are offered during the worship held at the foot of the pole. No ceremony is observed, however, at the time of occupying the new house.

20. The cost of construction of a normal two-roomed house roughly comes to Rs. 200 which includes cost of materials, such as tiles, wood and bamboo as well as wages of the skilled labourers. The unskilled labour for the construction is supplied by the members of the household themselves. Sometimes their relations also join them as a result of which the cost of construction is minimised. The bricks and tiles required for house construction are manufactured in the main hamlet by some professional brick and tile makers belonging to potter caste. But timber and bamboo are brought from the reserve forests about 10 miles away on payment of royalty to the Forest Department. Sometimes forest materials for building purposes are also purchased from the forest contractors to avoid the botheration involved in collecting the materials from such a long distance.

Dress

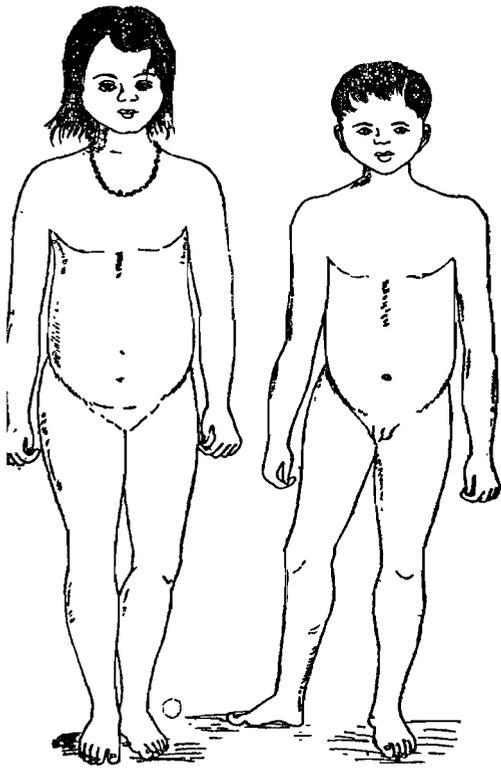
21. The usual dress of Ganda and Christian males, both young and old, consists of coarse

short dhotis or coloured lungis woven in the village looms. Sometimes small napkins are tied around the loins or folded and hung from the shoulders. This is the usual dress of the men. Some young persons who claim to be little advanced than their forefathers occasionally wear trousers, banians and shirts. Many use slippers when they go outside their village.



A MAN IN USUAL DRESS

22. School-going boys put on half pants and occasionally shirts too. Girls going to school wear frocks while those not attending schools wear small saris woven locally. Poverty induces nudity of growing boys and girls. However, some boys and girls up to the age of 7 years wear Langotis.

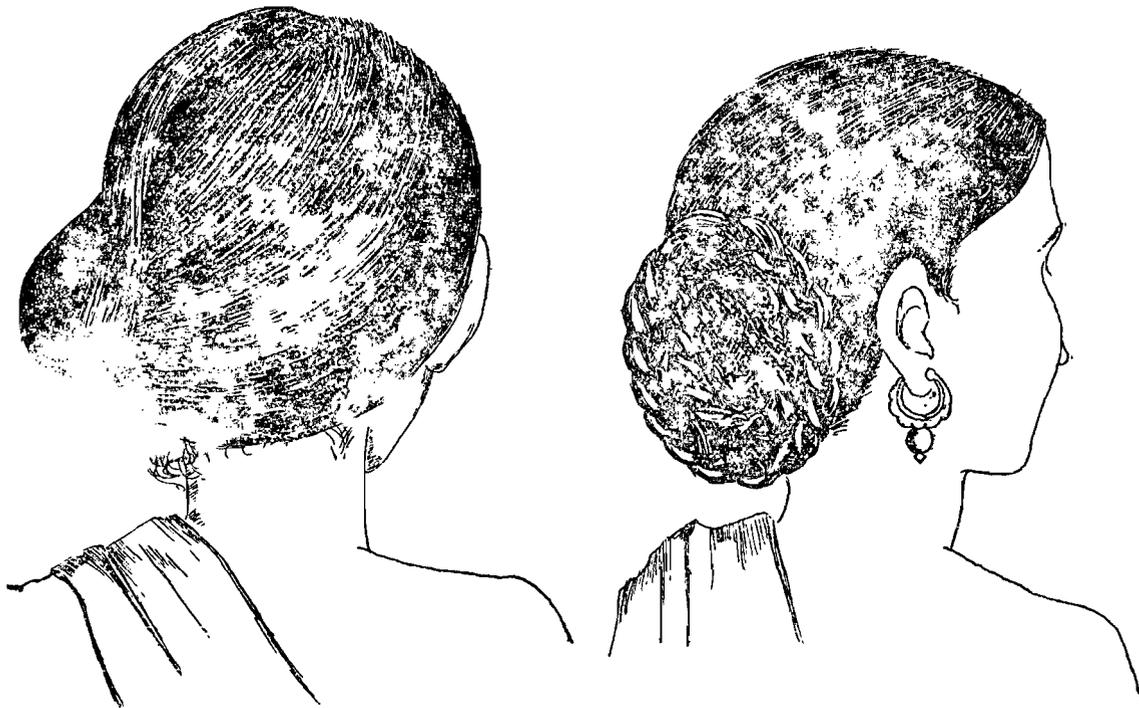


SOME CHILDREN OF GANDAPARA

23. The saris used by the women folk are of local products commonly known as Kaptas. The size of a Kapta is $2\frac{1}{2}' \times 12'$ with anchals at both ends. Kaptas are very popular in these areas as these are quite coarse and strong enough to stand hard labour in the fields. The anchals are woven in coloured threads with different designs and look quite gay. The Ganda and Christian women sometimes wear blouses and sayas even at the time of working in the house or in the field. Some women are seen using mill made saris, but they are very few in number. The younger generation, particularly Christian girls show taste for better standard in dressing.

Hair dressing

24. The following sketch shows the different kinds of hair-do of the women. The grown-ups and the old women prefer to tuck up the hairs to form a knob at the back while the younger generation coil the plaited hair and fix hair pins.



DIFFERENT STYLES ON HAIR DRESSING OF WOMEN



CHRISTIAN WOMEN IN USUAL DRESS

Ornaments

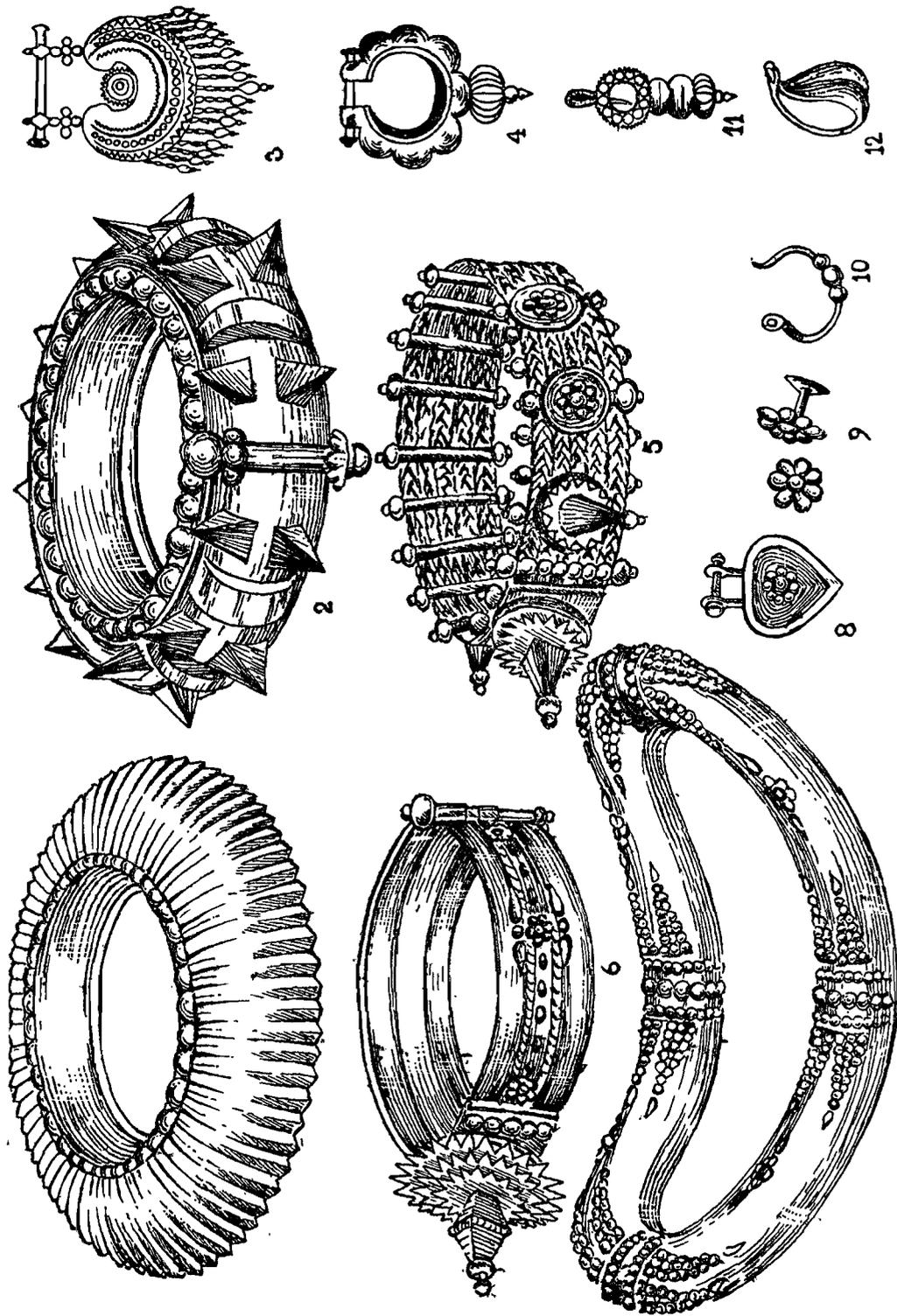
25. Women with little means are seen using various kinds of ornaments either made of pure silver or prepared from an alloy of silver and brass. During survey, the members of the households were reluctant to disclose anything relating to their ornaments with the apprehension that the enquiry was conducted with some ulterior motives. Even though their doubts were

cleared, the information given by them do not seem to be wholly correct. According to them only 23 households have some ornaments made of gold, silver or an alloy of silver known as German silver. All of them belong to the Christian community. Others including the Hindu Gandas, who are poor, do not possess any ornaments. The ornaments used on both legs are made of an alloy of silver and brass which is known as Painri. Of the ornaments used for the



ORNAMENTS FOR THE NECK

1, Khagla, 2. Chain. 3. Chudimali, 4. Jhunta



OTHER ORNAMENTS

1. Kataria 2. Bandaria 3. Jhalaka 4. Gonthia 5. Bahasuta 6. Bahatada 7. Painri 8. Dandi 9. Nakaphutiki 10. P'asia 11. Gonthia 12. Noli

hands Kataria and Bandaria are most common. These are generally made of German silver, i.e., an alloy of silver, copper and zinc. Rich families also possess Katarias and Bandarias made of silver. The weight of a pair of Kataria or Bandaria varies from 20 to 30 tolas. Besides these, Bahasuta and Bahatada are used on both arms weighing from 8 to 10 tolas. Of the neck ornaments Khagla is important which is worth the mention. It is a thick and round shaped ornament made of silver weighing between 8 to 10 tolas. Some Christian women are also found using silver chains on their necks in addition to Khagla. The ornaments for the ears and nose are however light and are made of gold unlike the ornaments for the hands and legs. The ornaments of the ears are called Jhalaka, Noli, Gonthia and Phasia and the ornaments meant for the nose are called Dandi and

Nakaphutiki. The males do not wear any ornament.

Household Equipments

26. Charpai or stringed cot appears to be the only furniture found almost in all the households. One household has a wooden chair and another has a stool. Besides the above, no other furniture is found in this hamlet. But each household possesses varieties of household articles, such as bamboo baskets called Bhoga and Changadi and Kunuli; grain container made of twisted straw rope called Chipiti; tin measure called Ada; Dhenki for husking paddy; palm leaf umbrella called Chhata; fishing accessories called Thapi, Kumona and Dhair.

27. Table 6 below shows the items of furniture in the possession of the households in the hamlet.

Table 6
Possession of Furniture

Castes/ Communities	Total No. of households	No. of households owning						
		Bed- stead	Charpai	Chair	Table	Bench	Stool	Wall shelf
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Christian	61	..	60	1	..	..	1	..
Gnnda	7	..	7	..	..	..	..	..

28. The domestic utensils either in a Ganda or Christian household are very few and these consist of mostly earthenwares for cooking food as well as for storing water. Aluminium jugs, plates and bowls are used in almost all the households. Very few households have brass pitchers (Garia), jugs and bowls.

Table 7
Possession of Consumer goods

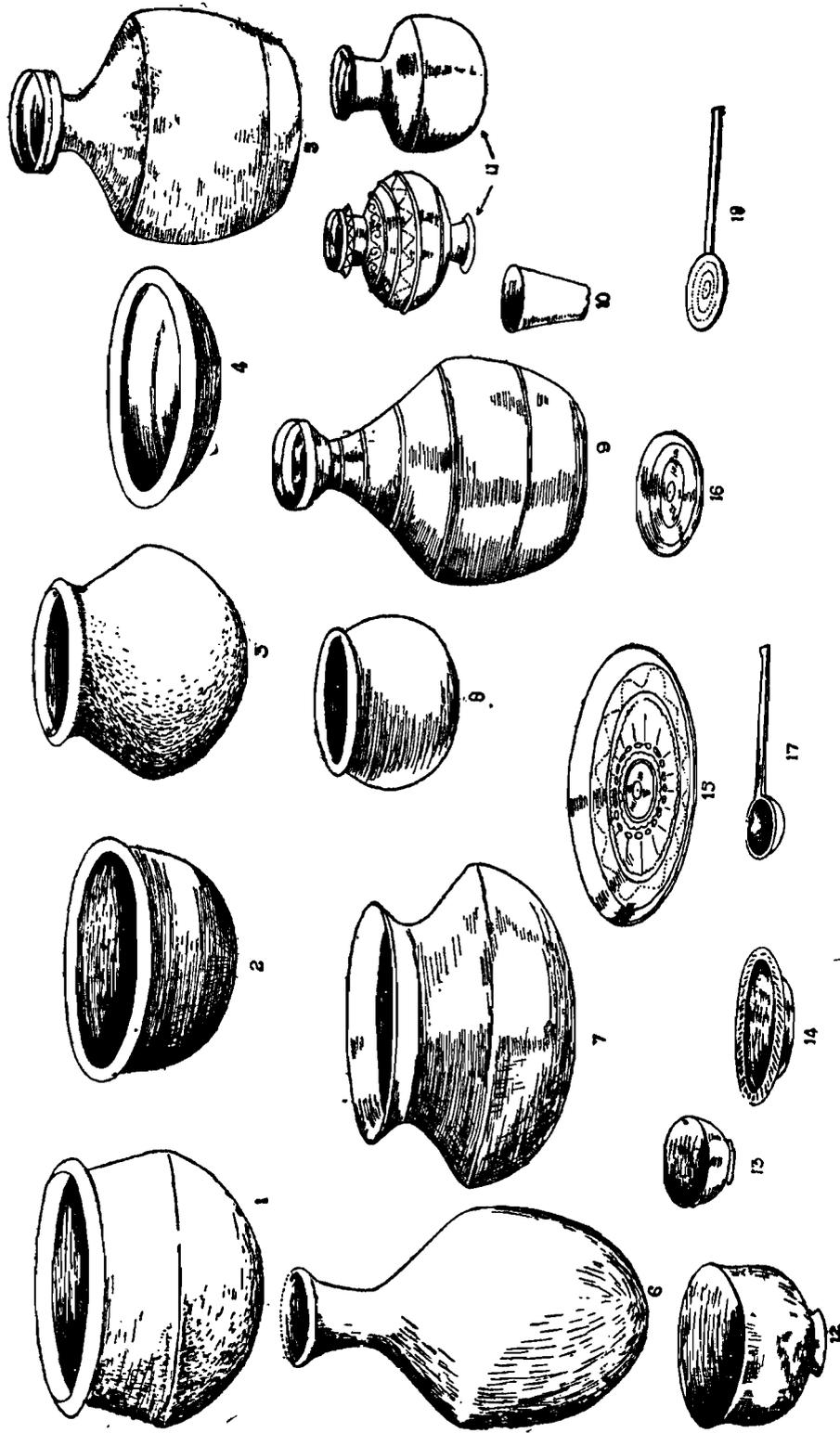
Castes/ Communities	Number of households owning				
	Lantern	Petromax	Torch light	Bicycle	Radio
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Christian	31	..	1	..	..
Ganda	..	..	..	..	..

29. Consumer goods are used to a limited extent. Table 7 shows the possession of consumer goods by the communities.

30. This shows how poor are the people of this hamlet as more than half of the total households do not possess even a lantern. Those who possess lanterns, use them only when something is required to be done outside the house. Lighting inside a house is usually done by uncovered tin lamps. In a place where lanterns are used only by a few, it cannot be expected to find costly goods like petromax, bicycle and radio. The villagers think that these are luxury goods which are beyond their means to purchase.

Food and Drink

31. Rice is the staple food of the people. It is taken either dry or soaked in cold water. Vegetable curry, dal and occasionally



UTENSILS

1. Handi 2. Sarai 3. Kuthulij 4. Palama 5. Mathia 6. Mathia 7. Pital 8. Dekchi 9. Garia 10. Gilas 11. Goda 12. Baithi Khuri
 13. Baithi Gina 14. Gina 15. Thali 16. Tasini 17. Suari 18. Chatu

non-vegetarian curry is also added to these meals.

32. Generally rice is taken three times a day. In the morning at about 7-30 a.m., Basi or cold watered rice is taken with onion, salt and chillies. After the morning feed the children go to the school or play outside while the adult males and females commence their work. The midday meal consists of freshly cooked rice with either dal, Bhaji or vegetable curry. The last meal of the day is taken at about 8 P.M. This meal also consists of freshly cooked rice and one or two preparations of curry. In between these meals the children are sometimes given fried rice or parched rice. Some grown up males also take tea from the tea stall situated in the main hamlet.

33. During religious or social functions, in addition to normal food items, different types of cakes known as Bhajia Pitha, Arisa Pitha, Podo Pitha, rice porridge and mutton curry are prepared. It is a custom among the Gandas and Christians to entertain the guests with rice and mutton curry, irrespective of the economic status. Vegetable preparations may be excluded but omission of mutton curry in the meal is a sort of disrespect to the guests. Meat of fowls, ducks, goats, sheep and pigs are eaten by Gandas and Christians. The Gandas of Manhira say that they were eating beef in the past but they have given up taking this since some generations.

34. Cooking is mostly done in earthen pots. These are purchased from potters of the main village. Aluminium utensils are also used occasionally by some for cooking curries. Ground-nut oil is mainly used as a cooking medium as it is cheaper than the mustard and gingelly oil. Mustard oil is not used in this region and very few people use gingelly for culinary purposes.

35. Drinking is not a taboo in the Ganda community. Both men and women can drink but the women do not drink as frequently as the men do. Some men drink very often, almost daily. It cannot be denied that drinking is one of the root causes of poverty as considerable proportion of the income is spent on liquor. During festivals

liquor is used indiscriminately. Thus both men and women are found heavily drunk during such occasions. Use of liquor is quite common for entertaining guests.

Public Health

36. Manhira has a good climate due to which the people of this village appear to be quite active. The people of Gandapara do not resort to healthy habits like others living in the main village. The dwelling house of a Ganda is ill-ventilated and is not spacious enough to accommodate all the family members. The residents do not give any attention to clean the surrounding of their respective houses; consequently the accumulated filth spreads and gives out bad smell. Yet nobody ever minds to clean it. The children are also not taught clean habits and look shabby. They are often allowed to ease near the dwelling houses.

37. Besides common diseases, such as, cold, cough and fever, the villagers suffer from smallpox every year. The people are vaccinated and the drinking water sources are disinfected every year while at least twice in the year D. D. T. is sprayed in this village. Yet outbreak of pox and malaria in this village has not been completely checked.

38. There are three Baidyas in the main village who are believed to be successful in their indigenous treatment of common diseases. It is said, only serious cases are taken to the dispensary at Loisingha or to the hospital at Bolangir. The Baidyas are very popular in this village as well as in the surrounding villages from where the people come to them for medicines. They also attend emergency cases at the residence of the patients on call. These Baidyas prepare medicines themselves or make over the herbs to the patients with instructions how to prepare and use the medicine.

39. In spite of the medical facilities available the death rate in the village appears to be high. Birth and death figures for this village maintained by the village Choukidar for the years 1957 to 1961 shows there were 201 deaths as against 249 births during this period. The figures relating to births and

deaths for the entire village are exhibited in Columns 2 and 3 of the following statement.

Columns 4 and 5 indicate the corresponding figures for Gandapara.

Year	In the entire village		In Gandapara	
	Birth	Death	Birth	Death
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1957	38	26	14	3
1958	49	59	4	3
1959	55	49	22	4
1960	50	39	6	Nil
1961	57	28	11	4
Total	249	201	57	14

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Economic resources

Cultivation and agricultural labour are the two principal occupations of the people of Manhira. But the Gandas and Christians are mainly occupied in their traditional occupation, i.e., weaving. Few of them, however, are engaged in cultivation, agricultural labour and trade.

Cultivated area

2. The village covers an extent of 1,859.79 acres of land of which 1,615.64 acres are cultivated, 90.00 acres are pasture lands while the rest are village sites and waste lands.

3. The agricultural lands are divided into five classes, viz., Bahal, Berana, Mal, Aat and Bari. Bahal lands are the best lands of the village which are low lying and receive water from the main surface drainage. Berana lands also lie on the main surface drainage but are little inferior in quality than the Bahal. Mal lands lie high on slopes the quality of which is poorer than the other two. Bahal, Berana and Aat lands are best suited for paddy growing. The Aat lands are dry lands which are used for growing early paddy. The Bari or dry lands are situated within the village site, generally attached to the dwellings, and such lands are manured with cowdung and household refuse for the purpose of growing chillies, tobacco, vegetables, etc.

4. The Gochar or grazing ground is adjacent to the village site. The Gochar land reserved for this village is not sufficient for the cattle of such a large village, yet some portion of it has already been encroached upon by the villagers. Towards the northern side of this Gochar land, 10 residential houses and the U. P. School building have been constructed recently. The waste land measuring about 66 acres comprises patches of rocky soil unfit for cultivation. There is no forest within the limit of the village.

Lands held by different communities

5. Table No. II in the Appendix shows that in Gandapara 38 families are landless. Only

30 families own land, out of whom 29 are Christians and 1 is a Ganda. Out of the total extent of 128.50 acres of lands owned by the Christians of Gandapara, as much as 122.12 acres are held by 27 households. One household possesses a choukidari jagir land with an area of 5.73 acres while the other household holds only 0.65 acres of land which he has in his possession on share cropping basis. The single Ganda household has about 1.50 acres of land from a private person on share cropping basis. The average size of the holding is small. This will be clear from the following account. During investigation it was found that 2 households are in possession of lands each varying from 50 cents to 1.00 acre while 5 households own 1.00 acre to 2.4 acres each, 15 households own 2.5 acres to 4.9 acres each, 6 households own 5.00 acres to 10.00 acres each and 2 households own 10.00 acres and above.

Agricultural practices

6. Major portion of the cultivated lands depend upon rain water. It is estimated that nearly 790 acres of cultivated lands will be irrigated by the Kusumai irrigation project when it is completed and the villagers will get the benefit of raising double crops in their fields. At present paddy is the principal crop grown here, but varieties of pulses, oil-seeds and vegetables are also grown. Sugar-cane and wheat are grown in small quantities by some.

7. Paddy cultivation is done by broadcasting and transplantation. In this village broadcasting is known as Kharadi Chas and transplantation is called Palla Ropa. The Bahal and Berana lands are subjected to transplantation. But seeds are broadcast on Mal and Aat lands. The yield of paddy crop in Bahal lands varies from 22 to 25 maunds per acre. The yield from one acre of Berana land is estimated at 15 maunds while the average yield from Mal lands and Aat lands are 11 maunds and 6 maunds respectively.

8. The statement below shows the principal crops grown by the cultivators of this village :

Name of crop and vegetable	Month of sowing seeds	Month of harvest
(1)	(2)	(3)
Kharif paddy	.. June	.. January
Bhodei paddy	.. June	.. Middle of August
Horse gram, green gram and black gram.	August	.. Last part of October
Masuri	.. November	.. February
Arhar	.. June	.. October
Wheat	.. Last part of September	Last part of February
Sugar-cane	.. March	.. Last part of January
Castor	.. November	.. February
Mustard	.. November	.. February
Til (Gingelly)	.. June	.. Last part of October
Vegetables like brinjal, tomatoes, onion, raddish, cauliflower, etc.	October	.. February

Agricultural implements

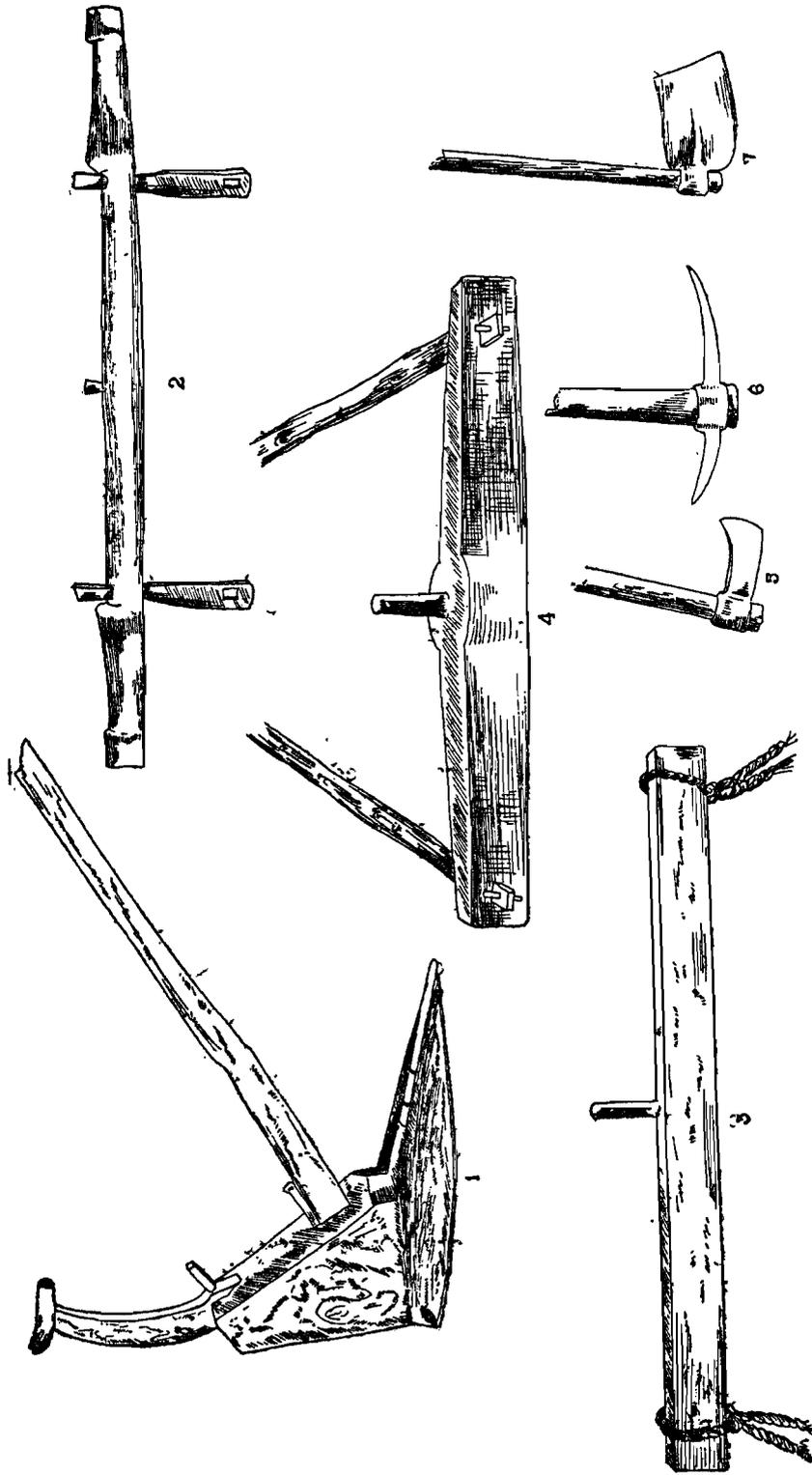
9. Improved agricultural implements are not in use by the farmers of this village. They still are found to use the primitive agricultural implements which consist of wooden plough, Kurdu, Kampar, Gainti, Rapha, axe and crowbar. The Kurdu is an wooden implement used for shifting loose earth from higher level to the lower level. Kampar is also an wooden implement chiefly required for levelling of loose soil. The wooden implements are locally prepared by the local carpenter residing in the main busti. Raw materials required for preparing these wooden implements are procured from the nearby forest by paying the royalty to the Forest Department. The other iron implements are purchased from the market.

Livestock

10. Although the cultivators in the main village own draught animals and some own milch cows as well as goats the people of Gandapara do not seem to evoke much interest in rearing such animals. Table No. III in the Appendix shows that in Gandapara only 13 Christian households own 28 draught animals. In this hamlet there are only 5 milch cows belonging to 4 Christian households. The number of goats reared in this hamlet is far from satisfactory. There is no bar in rearing fowls by the Christians and the Gandas, yet it is quite surprising that nobody takes interest to rear the fowls. In the entire hamlet only one household has reared one fowl. The villagers explain that their poor economic condition does not allow them to rear fowls. On the whole the position with regard to livestock in the hamlet is not at all satisfactory. An important economic resource of this type has had been completely neglected by the villagers. It is a matter for serious thinking by the residents of Gandapara as to whether the present state of affairs should be allowed to continue any further in view of the handicaps faced in their traditional occupation. At least the owner cultivators of lands should own enough draught animals. The present strength of 28 is not adequate enough to till 128.50 acres of land. The 14 pairs of draught animals are owned by 13 out of 30 land owning households. This leaves 17 households who do not have any draught animals, and as such they have to depend on others to plough their lands. Draught animals are hired along with the owner labourer at Rs. 1.25 P. per day from the main village. The owner labourer has also to be hired for tilling as he does not allow the animals to be handled by others. The draught animals as well as milch cows are not properly looked after. These animals are left to themselves for grazing in the fields and in the night they take shelter in small sheds.

Economic activities

11. An analysis of the village population indicates that out of 338 persons 164 are workers which comprise 48.5 per cent of the total population of the village. The remaining 51.5 per cent of the population of the



AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

1. Langa 2. Jual 3. Kampar 4. Kurdu 5. Tangari 6. Gainti 7. Papha

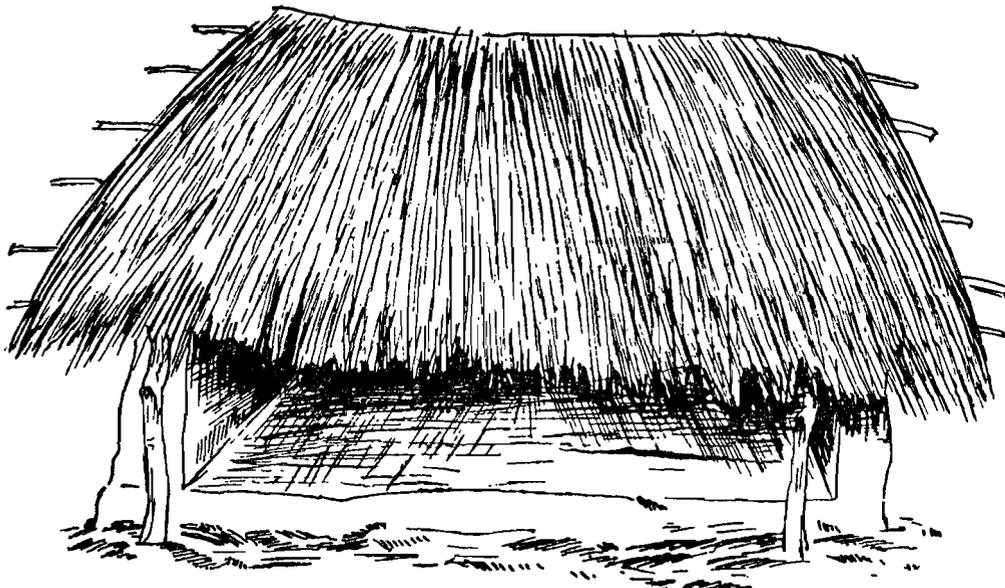
village are non-workers. Among the workers, males exceed females while among the non-workers females exceed the males. This is obvious as most of the females are engaged as housewives. Workers are mostly seen in the age-group 15—59 although few of them are also found in the age-groups 0—14 and above 60 years of age. Similarly, among the non-workers 134 persons are within 0—14 years of age most of whom are infants and children going to school. 28 non-workers are in the age-group 15—59 of whom 26 are females whose main occupation is to attend on household duties. The two non-worker males of this age-group are students. Out of the total strength of 174 persons in this age-group which constitute the working population 146, i.e., 83.9 per cent of them are workers while the rest are non-workers.

12. The classification of workers by sex, age-group and occupation is furnished in Table IV in the Appendix. Majority of the workers are engaged in household industry, viz., weaving while few are engaged in cultivation, agricultural labour and in other services. All the 96 workers shown in category IV of the above table are engaged in weaving cotton cloth. Out of them 56 are men and 40 are women, six among them being children below 14 years. Weaving is actually done by adult males. The women and the children assist the men for boiling

and pulping of yarn and for winding yarn in the pirn. Agriculture keeps engaged 41 persons, out of whom 28 work as agricultural labourers and 13 persons work on their own land. Three persons are engaged in trade. One of them sells cattle while the other two carry on their trade by selling cloths in the weekly markets as well as in the neighbouring villages. Fairly a large number of men and women are engaged in other services. Out of the males 11 are serving under some contractors as assistants and one person is in the army. One person is working as the teacher in the Mission School, and another as the Pastor of the local Church. Two males are working in the C. D. Department, one of whom is a Village Level Worker and the other is a driver. The former is a Christian and the latter is a Ganda. One Christian male is working as the Choukidar of the village. A Ganda-male is working as a mason who also serves as part-time barber of the Christians and Gandas. This man is of great service to the Christian and Ganda communities as they are not shaved by the barber of caste people. Among the 5 females, 3 are working as Village Level Workers, one as a Midwife and the last one as a Dai. All the five women are Christians.

Technique of weaving

13. There are 42 looms in the village all of which are fly shuttle type locally called as



FRONT VIEW OF A LOOM SHED

Khat-Khati. These looms are owned by 38 Christian and 4 Ganda households. None of them has enough capital, space for weaving sheds and above all skilled hands to manage more than one loom. The Khat-Khati loom costs on the average Rs. 16 at Bolangir. It was told that Khat-Khati type of looms have been introduced in this village since 20 years. Prior to that throw shuttle type looms were used by all the weavers.

14. The main products of this village are saris for the women popularly called Kapta which have Anchals on both ends with multi-coloured and attractive designs. Plain cotton sheets, towels and Lungis are also woven here.

15. The weavers purchase 16 or 20 count yarn from Bolangir for weaving Kapta, cotton sheet, towel and Lungi. It was learnt that coloured yarn is generally purchased from the weekly markets or from Bolangir. Sometimes colouring of the yarn is done by the weavers themselves.

16. The yarn is at first soaked in water and dried in the shade. Warping is done outside the house, as this requires sufficient space. The warp yarns are then pulped by applying rice gruel in a brush, after which denting and leasing of the yarns is done. The warp yarns are then drafted and taken to the shed for weaving. In the meantime yarn for the weft is wound in the pirns and kept ready for the weaving. The weaving shed does not require much space as the warp yarns are wound on a wooden rod and the required length is only released by rotating the rod.

17. Some of the weavers claim to have acquired the knowledge in weaving of some design cloths by tie-and-dye method which they called Bandh-Bandhi. But it was told that they have discontinued this method of weaving since long as it is a labourious process and involves a lot of time. Kaptas are woven by tie-and-dye method and also in the ordinary method using coloured threads. The weavers of Manhira follow the ordinary method and turn out simple products taking into consideration the demand of the locality.

18. Weaving is the work of the men. Some children are also allowed to handle the shuttles. But the women do not wield the shuttles although they may do well if they are tried. They merely assist the men or exclusively do some of the preliminary works such as boiling and pulping of yarns and winding of weft yarns in the pirns.

19. All the looms are generally engaged throughout the year. During agricultural seasons however the households owning land suspend weaving for some days in order to look after agricultural operations which they do personally. When the Weaving Co-operative Society was functioning, the weavers were getting enough work and the looms were working almost daily. Then the weavers were not required to waste their time for the purchase of yarn and marketing of the finished products. The Society used to supply yarns to the weaver members and receive the finished products from them. If the yarn was supplied by the Society the weaver used to get wages for the labour. On the other hand if the yarn was purchased by the weaver the Society used to pay the price of the finished product. But since the Society is closed, now-a-days each weaver has to spend a few days for purchase of yarn and sale of the finished products and as such he does not remain engaged in weaving for the whole of the month. In spite of this, the average production per loom is estimated at 30 pieces of Kapta per month. The average price of a Kapta is Rs. 7. A weaver makes a profit of about Rs. 1.50 P. per Kapta but it all depends on how best he fares in the bargain while selling the goods.

20. So far none of the weavers have received training in improved weaving technique. All the skill they have acquired is through observation and occasional participation in weaving in the family weaving sheds from the childhood.

21. Some of the indigenous weaving implements used at Gandapara are shown in the illustration at page 31.

Occupational mobility

22. Weaving is the traditional occupation of the Gandas and Christians and it keeps most of them engaged throughout the year.



A PROSPEROUS WEAVER BUSY WITH HIS HANDLOOM

Even those families whose primary source of income is from agriculture have not abandoned their traditional occupation of weaving. There has been no appreciable change in the occupational pattern because the majority of the Gandas as well as the Christians are not in the least trained to take up other pursuits. The barrier seems to be gradually breaking away with the spread of education. The Christians are showing sincere efforts for the spread of education and a few of them have found profitable employment elsewhere.

Income

23. Table No. VI in the Appendix will show the five divisions of income groups. In Gandapara the income of all the households exceeds Rs. 25 per month. 11 households have income ranging from Rs. 26 to Rs. 50 per month while 39 have monthly income between Rs. 51 to Rs. 75. There are 13 households whose income varies from Rs. 76 to Rs. 100 per month. In the last income group there are 5 households whose monthly average income exceeds Rs. 100. Thus 57 per cent of the households have income between Rs. 51 to Rs. 75 while 26 per cent have income above Rs. 76.

Expenditure

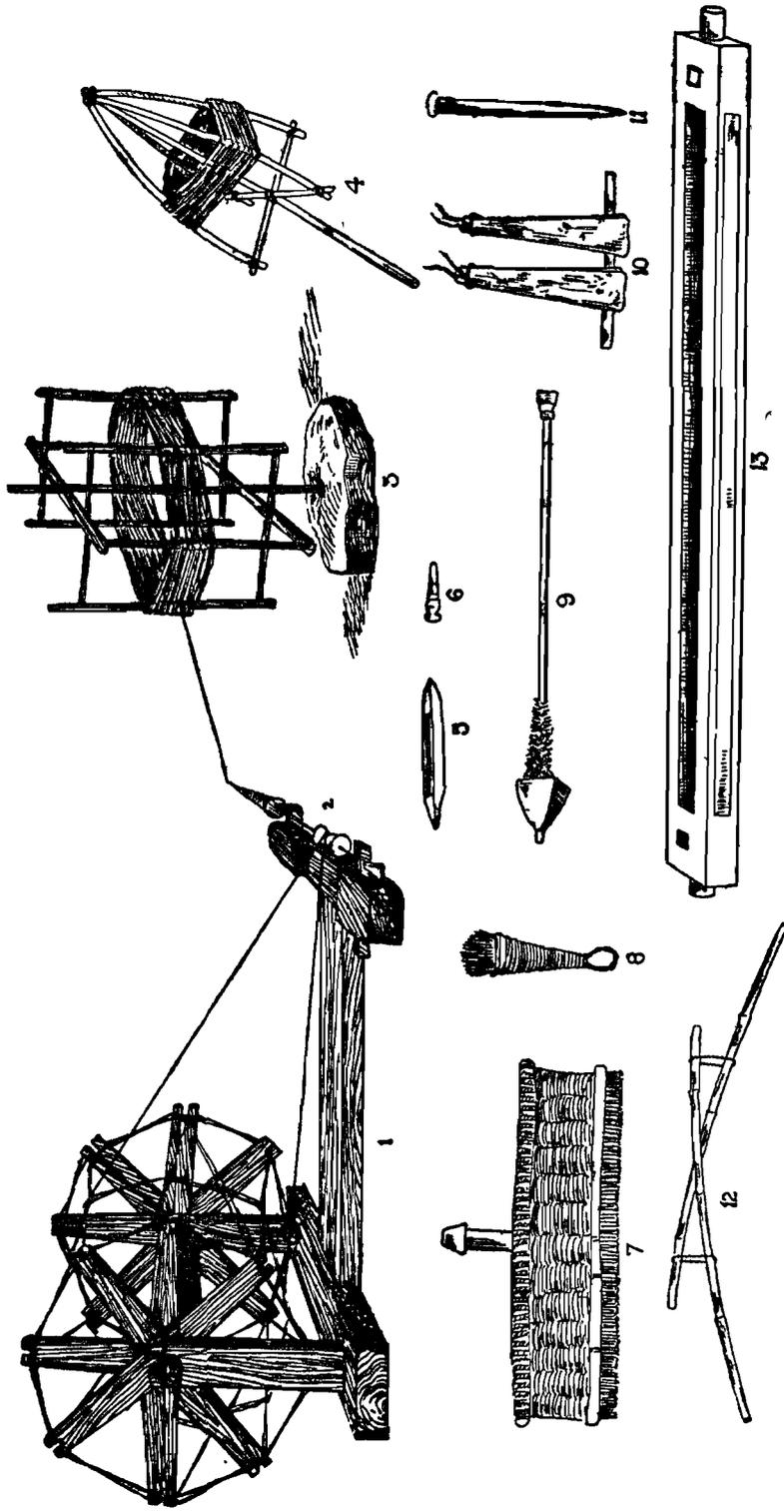
24. Table VII in the Appendix shows the average monthly expenditure per household belonging to different occupation groups. It is seen invariably in all the households the expenditure on food is more than on other items. There is not much difference in the average monthly expenditure of households in the same income groups in spite of the difference in the nature of occupation. This will be more explicit from the following analysis. The average monthly expenditure of the households in the second income group varies from Rs. 43 to Rs. 46 per month, in the third it varies from Rs. 52 to Rs. 64 and in the fourth the expenditure varies from Rs. 74 to Rs. 88 per month. There is, however, wide variation in the average monthly expenditure of the households in the fifth income group. In this income group the households engaged in industry spend Rs. 100 per month on the average whereas the household in other service spends about Rs. 69 per month.

Indebtedness

25. One of the major economic problems faced by the residents of Gandapara is their heavy indebtedness. In this hamlet alone 43 households are in debt out of which 39 belong to Christian community and 4 households belong to Ganda caste. Table VIII in the Appendix gives a picture about their indebtedness. There are only 6 households belonging to the second income group who are in debt and the average debt amounts to Rs. 88. The highest number of debtors can be seen in the third income group. According to the Table the number is 26 and the average amount of debt is Rs. 119. The average debt in the fourth income group is Rs. 182 and this income group has 7 households in debt. 4 out of 5 households in the last income group are in debt with average debt amounting to Rs. 419. Evidently, the average indebtedness is on the increase in each successive income groups. It is also noticeable that the amount of debt in each case exceeds the average monthly income.

26. A little probe into the causes of their indebtedness and its effects on the economy of the residents of Gandapara shows that most of the loans have been incurred either for investment in household industry, cultivation, business or for purchase of land. 24 households have incurred debt for investment in weaving, 7 households for cultivation, 3 households for business, 4 households for purchase of land and 3 households for ordinary expenses and lastly, 2 households for marriage expenses. Thus, 43 households have taken loan, of whom 38 have taken loan for productive purposes and 5 for non-productive purposes. It was ascertained that in some cases the loan amounts were utilised wholly or partly for expenses other than the purposes for which these were obtained. For instance loans obtained for improvement of land were utilised for investment in industry or spent towards normal household expenses.

27. In all, 10 households have obtained loan from the Weaving Co-operative Society for investment in weaving, 27 have obtained loan from private money-lenders, 1 from Christian Mission and 5 from Government. The rate of interest on loan advanced varies



1. Rahanta 2. Takur 3. Ubhrajn 4. Natei 5. Dangri 6. Burey 7. Seli 8. Khunti 9. Pahadi 10. Tasara 11. Kanta 12. Bhatj 13. Bhatj

WEAVING IMPLEMENTS

from source to source. Thus, the cash loan from the Co-operative Society bears an interest of 6 per cent per annum. The Government loan also bears the same rate of interest per annum. The private money-lenders, however, charge 50 per cent per annum for both cash as well as kind loan. The cash loans obtained from private money-lenders are generally for short terms and no security is demanded for advancing such loan. On account of this the rate of interest is high.

28. It was ascertained that most of the households in debt have never been free from indebtedness. In view of their meagre income, it becomes impossible for them to save and invest their savings for expansion of industry and business. Some households have to borrow even for the cultivation of their lands. Thus it would be seen that only 23 households manage without borrowing. For the remaining households the income is hardly sufficient for the maintenance of the families as a result of which they are forced to obtain loan from time to time. The loans are not always repaid in time and this has proved disastrous. Certificate cases have been started against some weavers of Gandapara who could not pay back the loans obtained from the Weaving Society.

Prospects of Industrialization and Urbanization

29. Manhira, in spite of its total population of 1,596 will continue to remain a village as there is no possibility of its industrialization and there is no scope for setting up industries. However, there is scope for reorganization of the handloom industry as the village folk cannot dispense with handloom fabrics in spite of availability of cheap and fine textile mill products. Complete switch over to urbanization is neither feasible nor desirable for the residents until the average income increases considerably.

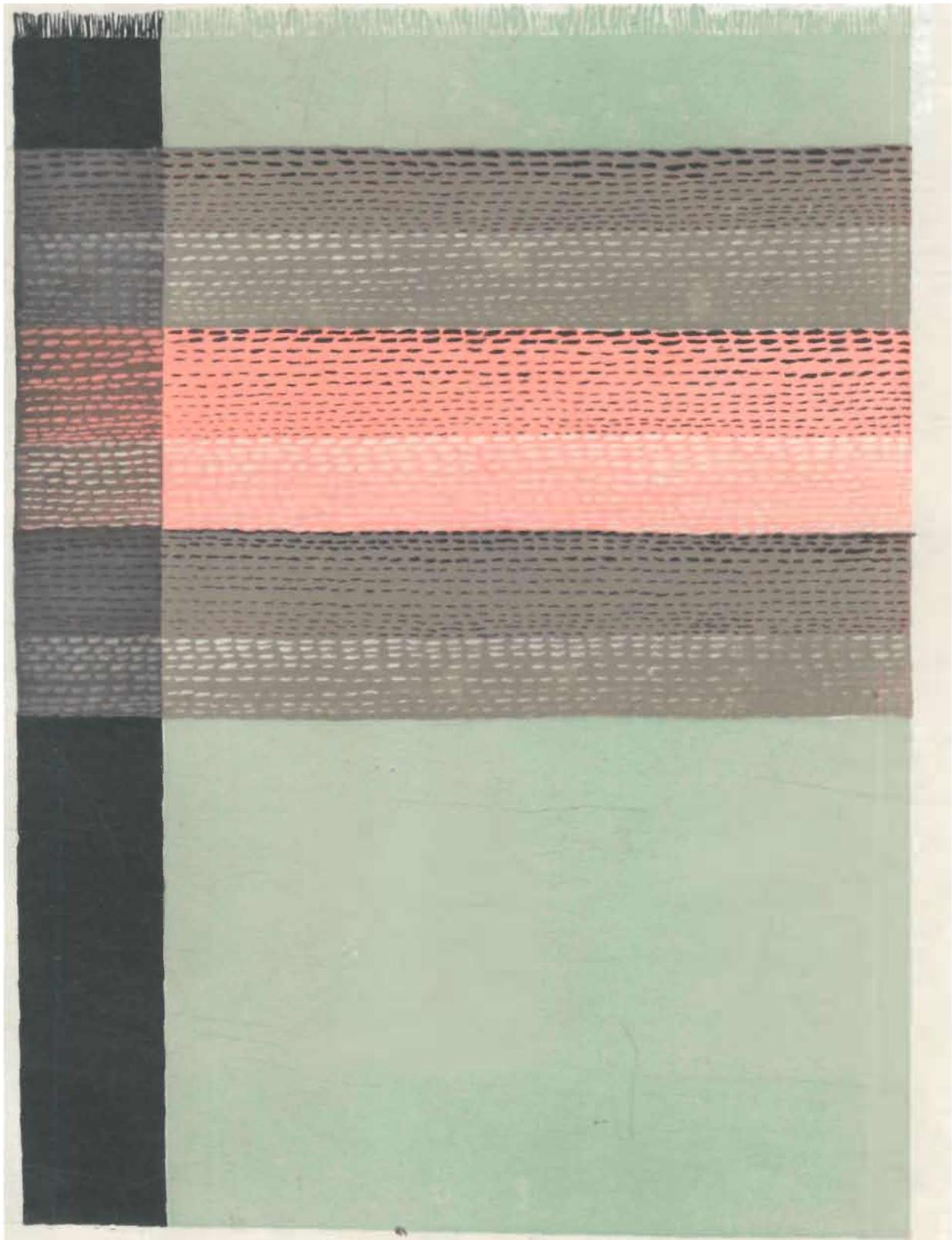
Marketing facilities

30. There are seven weekly markets around this village within a radius of 12 miles. The nearest weekly markets are held at Loisingha and Kusang on Tuesday and Saturday respectively which are frequently

visited by most of the villagers as these are situated at a distance of 4 miles. The remaining five places where weekly markets are held are Bolangir, Saantapur, Chandanbhati, Bheluamunda and Jharanipalli. Excepting Wednesday and Thursday, weekly markets are held on all other days and hence the villagers do not at all suffer for want of marketing facilities. There are also some big shops at Loisingha; but Bolangir with large number of shops is the main commercial centre. Hence, these two places are visited frequently by the residents of Manhira mainly to make purchases rather than for sale of their products.

Land Reforms and other measures influencing economic life

31. As the village once formed part of the Loisingha Zamindari under the Patna state the Patna Tenancy Act is in force in this village. The Zamindar of Loisingha was the landlord of the tenants of Manhira, to whom they were paying land revenue till the Zamindari was abolished in the year 1952. The tenants had full occupancy right and they were able to effect any sort of transfer or partition of land. There was no restriction for inheritance of moveable and immoveable properties. But if a man died intestate his immoveable property vested with the Estate and the Estate used to settle tenants on such lands after proper auction. The Zamindar had granted Patta or the Record of Rights to each tenant in respect of his cultivated land and homestead. The annual land revenue payable by each tenant was mentioned in such Patta. The Gountia was the revenue collecting agent of the Zamindar. He was not only empowered to collect land revenue, forest cess, local cess, Patwari cess and Parva Parvani cess, but also to assign waste land and evict defaulting tenants with the prior consent of the Zamindar. Thus, the Gountia was a powerful man in the village and he wielded much influence outside on account of his position as such. The Gountia generally belonged to the village concerned. The Gountia was collecting land revenue and all other cess in one instalment. The tenants used to pay their dues between January and March. The last date for payment of dues was 31st March every year. Arrear revenue was being collected with



ANCHAL OF A KAPTA (SARI)

interest but the Gountia used to take all possible steps for collection of entire demand for which he was responsible. Each tenant was supplied with a printed book in which the Gountia used to endorse regarding collection of revenue from the tenant as there was no system of granting receipts. After abolition of Zamindari this system has been changed and the tenants are paying rent direct to Government. In the meantime revision survey has been completed and Patta or Record of Rights are being granted to the tenants. The tenants are now required to pay their land revenue dues to the Naib-Tahsildar of Loisingha who is a full-time paid Government servant of the State of Orissa. The tenants are granted printed rent receipts in support of payment of their dues. They are required to pay their dues in one instalment after the harvest but before 31st March.

32. As already stated, there are five classes of lands, i.e., Bahal and Berana which are wet paddy lands, Mal or up paddy land, Aat or dry land and Gharbari or homestead land. The rate of rent for each class of land varies according to classification. During the estate regime forest cess at Re. 0.12 paise and local cess at Re. 0.12 paise were being levied per rupee of the total land revenue payable by the tenants, whereas, Patwari cess and Prava Parvani cess were assessed on each tenant considering the status and economic condition. Since Zamindari abolition, Patwari cess and Prava Parvani cess are no longer paid to the State Government, but other cesses are paid along with the land revenue.

33. In addition to the land revenue and cess each tenant was required to render free labour for construction and repair of the roads, tanks and public buildings, such as, Deraghar, School and religious institutions like Bhagabatghar. Necessary materials for construction and repair were supplied by the Gountia wherever required. The tenants used to take rations for them as neither rations nor wages were given to the men employed for such works. Besides contribution of free labour the tenants were also required to pay at Re. 0.25 paise to Re. 0.50 paise at the time of marriage and other functions held in the household of Zamindar.

Under the Zamindari administration contribution of free labour and cash of the nature referred to above was compulsory and one could deny only on pain of punishment. The Gountia was also taking the advantage of this system by utilising the services of Sukhabasi or landless residents for his personal work without paying wages or ration. This system has disappeared with the abolition of the Zamindari.

Village organization

34. The village administrative set up consisted of the Gountia, Choukidar, Jhankar and Nariha which posts were hereditary. These posts were created solely for revenue and executive functions and instead of cash remuneration jagir lands were granted to the incumbents for rendering such services. The Gountia of this village was enjoying Bhogora land which he inherited from his father. All the Bhogora lands have been settled with him now on payment of usual rent as fixed by Government. He was collecting land revenue from this village and discharging other executive functions, such as, maintenance of roads and public buildings. The Gountia used to supply rations to the officials whoever visited the village on duty as per convention. He belongs to Gond (S. T.) community and lives in the main busti. The Choukidar of Manhira is a Christian and lives in Gandapara. He enjoys 5.73 acres of Choukidar Chakran land for which he pays cess but no rent. In the past he was supplying fuel to the visiting officials. His main duty is, however, maintenance of birth and death registers for the village and to report births and deaths at the police station weekly. He is to report about the movements of suspects and arrival of strangers in the village and occurrence of crimes within the village limit. The function of Jhankar is similar to that of the Choukidar. In addition to this he was supplying cots, etc., to the visiting officials. The Jhankar belongs to Gond (S. T.) community. He enjoys 7.95 acres of Jhankar Chakran land which is also rent-free. He lives in the main busti. The Nariha belongs to Gouda caste and lives in the main busti. He enjoys Nariha Chakran land measuring 4.97 acres which is rent-free. In the past it was his responsibility to look to supply of

water to the officials when they visited the village. In the village administrative hierarchy the Gountia has no official status after merger but the remaining three village servants still enjoy their privileges and discharge their respective functions.

35. Each community in this village has separate Caste Panchayat which is responsible to some extent to safeguard the interests of the community. The Caste Panchayat comprises only caste men to which it relates. The Gandas have a Caste Panchayat whose office bearers are called Sian and Mohananda. The Sian is the caste head in the village. The Mohananda is the caste priest for a single village or a group of villages. In Manhira there is a Sian and a Mohananda who convene meetings in the village for discussion affecting the Ganda community life or for the conduct of social and religious functions. The Sian or Mohananda are not paid anything but they get the honour and privileges of being heads of the community. The head of the larger Caste Panchayat comprising a number of villages situated in the subdivision or the district is called Naik.

36. The Christians, who are more advanced than the Gandas have a Christian Association in the village. It has a Secretary and a Palak or Pastor of the Church. The former post is honorary, whereas, the latter is paid one under the Baptist Mission whose headquarters is at Bolangir. The head of the Baptist Mission lives at Bolangir and exercises general supervision regarding religious activities in this village.

Administrative organization

37. Manhira is in the Sadar Tahsil of Bolangir district. The Tahsil headquarters is located at Bolangir which is also the headquarters of the subdivision and the district. A Naib-Tahsildar with headquarters at Loisingha is the immediate subordinate revenue officer who is responsible for collection of land revenue from this village. This officer visits the village for collection of land revenue and for miscellaneous enquiries relating

to land and allied revenue matters. The police station is also located at Loisingha.

38. Manhira comes under the Sakma Grama Panchayat the headquarters of which is at Sakma, about 4 miles south of this village. This Panchayat comprises 13 villages which are divided into 20 wards, each ward electing one member to the Panchayat. Manhira consists of 4 wards and therefore four members from this village have been elected to the Panchayat. Shri Indra Badi is the member from Gandapara ward and the other three members have been elected from the main hamlet. The Block Office and the Panchayat Samiti Office are situated at Bolangir.

39. A Weaving Co-operative Society was started at Manhira from March 1957 with a total membership of 101 from Manhira and 7 other villages in the neighbourhood. At first the fee for enrolment as member in the Weaving Co-operative Society was Rs. 5 but it was later increased to Rs. 12.50 paise. A sum of Rs. 5,400 was granted to this Society as Government loan. The Society started functioning at Manhira with a Board of Directors consisting of 7 members and a paid Secretary. The Society undertook the responsibility of supplying yarn and weaving implements and collect finished products from the weavers. The weavers used to get wages at Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 per a pair of cloth. The rate varied in accordance with the size and design of the cloth. The members who did not opt for taking yarn from the Society were taking cash loan at the rate of Rs. 100 per share, which was the maximum amount permitted. They used to purchase yarn from the Society. After weaving they were selling all the products of their looms to the Society at the rates fixed by the Society for different kinds of cotton fabrics. Unfortunately the Society could not function longer. In the later part of 1958 the Society was closed due to mismanagement and did not function for the following two years. In March 1961 it was again organized and continued to function precariously for a year and from October 1962 it has been closed consequent to the theft of a large stock of cotton fabrics belonging to the Society which was stored in its office room.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Social and cultural activities amongst the rural folk bring some change in their daily routine and provide them with fun and entertainment although such functions are not held with elaborate arrangements. The Gandas and the Christians of Manhira originally belonged to the same stock and followed the same faith and customs prior to their commission to Christianity. Hence in spite of the difference in faith, there is some evidence of fusion of old and new customs in both the sections. Their customs relating to birth and puberty are almost similar to those of the Hindus. Slight variations in these customs which are noticed are due to social and financial position of the family concerned. The marriage and death customs of the Christians and the Gandas, however, widely vary. The Christian marriages are conducted under the Christian Marriage Act while their death customs are quite different from that of the Gandas. The marriage and death customs of the Gandas are much similar to that of the Hindus.

Birth custom

2. In Ganda and Christian households delivery takes place in the living room for want of accommodation and no separate arrangement is made for this purpose. When labour pain starts the expectant mother is confined to the room and some experienced women attend on her. The umbilical cord is cut with a piece of broken tile and then buried outside the house. The child is then washed with warm water in which Basanga and Narguna leaves are boiled. The leaves are of medicinal value and specially used as preventive from cold and skin diseases. The mother is given water boiled with Kulthi for some days to relieve her of the pain of child birth. The mother observes seclusion for 21 days. She is not allowed to cook food in the kitchen. She washes her own clothes. On the 5th day again all the dirty clothes are washed by her and she takes bath after being annointed with turmeric paste. Fire is burnt

in the room for 21 days to keep it warm for the mother and the child. On the 21st day all the old earthen cooking pots are removed and food is cooked in new cooking pots and served to the family members. No function is held and no one is invited to the house on that day. After the 21st day the mother cooks food in the kitchen as she is no longer considered defiled on account of child birth.

3. When the child begins to walk the parents fondly call the baby as Babu if he is a boy and Nani if she is a girl. When the child attains the age of 2 or 3 years a function is held and the name of the child is given. The child entirely depends on the mother's milk for about 6 months, after which solid food is given gradually. The mother avoids eating meat, fish, eggs, roots and sour curry till the child begins to eat cooked food. Besides this no other restriction is imposed on the mother or the child.

Custom on attainment of Puberty

4. The Christians and the Gandas observe the period of confinement for one day. The girl, on her first menstruation, ceases to do any household work and she is not allowed to touch any household articles. After a few hours the girl cleans her clothes personally and takes her bath and resumes her normal duties as usual. She is not subject to any restrictions with regard to diet or work like the girls of the other communities.

Marriage

5. Both in the Ganda and Christian societies adult marriage is practised. The marriageable age for girls is 18 years and for the boys it is 20 years. Table IX in the Appendix shows the age and marital status of the inhabitants in different age-groups. It is seen that all the 147 persons, i.e., 57 males and 90 females in the first age-group of 0—14 years, 15 males and 15 females in the age-group 15—24 years and 3 males in the

age-group 25—59 years are not married. On the whole 70 males and 70 females are married. Thus the married persons constitute about 41.42 per cent of the total population. Nearly 46.98 per cent of the males and 37 per cent of the females are married and most of them are from the age-group 25—59 years as 65 males and 59 females are from this age-group. 2 males and 10 females from the age-group 15—24 years and 5 males and 1 female from the last age-group are married. There are 16 widowed persons among whom 2 are males from the last group, 3 widowed females belong to the age-group 25—59 years and 11 widowed females belong to the last age-group. Child marriage is completely absent in the village.

6. The marriage customs of the Gandas and the Christians are broadly similar. The difference which needs mention is that the Christian marriage is concluded as per the provisions of the Christian Marriage Act. It was told that the Gandas allow their girls to be married in Christian families in which case the girl is converted to Christianity and she is not allowed to retain her former faith. But the Christians do not give their girls on marriage to Gandas.

Marriage custom of Gandas

7. The Gandas prefer to establish marriage alliance with their relations, hence consanguineous marriages are given preference over other types of marriages. The daughters of the mother's brother, mother's sister or father's sister are given the first preference and marriage beyond such relations is negotiated only when such possibility does not exist. Another type of marriage which is favoured is brother's wife's sister.

8. The father of the bridegroom searches for a suitable bride elsewhere if girls of marriageable age of the abovementioned relations are not available. Generally mediators are engaged for this purpose. The mediator obtains the particulars of the bride and her parents. The bridegroom's father consults a Jyotish as to whether the match would suit. If the Jyotish gives favourable opinion, the bridegroom's father, along with his kinsmen, goes to the bride's father for discussion regarding the marriage. There

the bride's father puts forth his demand for the bride price which ranges from Rs. 50 to Rs. 300 besides Kaptas (Saris) numbering 15 to 20, each costing about Rs. 7, and one gold or silver ornament. If the parties come to an agreement regarding the bride price the bridegroom's father entertains the persons present there with country liquor. Then the bridegroom's father returns home. Later, on an auspicious day, the bridegroom's father, with some male and female relations, goes to the bride's place with the bride price, in full or in part, but takes all the Kaptas (Saris) along with some cakes and large quantity of sweetened fried rice. This visit which is called Bandana, is arranged to be as ostentatious as it could be by taking a number of persons as porters for carrying cakes, sweetened fried rice, goats and rams, etc. The party is entertained by the bride's father with liquor and then in a feast. On that day, the date for the wedding is fixed in presence of some elderly persons of the village. Next day the bridegroom's father along with the party returns to his village.

9. Weddings are generally held after the harvest. The ceremony is held for two days. On the preceding day of actual wedding, Ganaseiba function is held in the houses of the bride as well as the bridegroom. Seven married women bathe the bride and bridegroom after rubbing turmeric and oil. The bride as well as the bridegroom are given new clothes to wear. Next morning two men are deputed by the bridegroom's father to invite the bride. The bride, clad in new Kapta (Sari) proceeds to the groom's village on foot, accompanied with her parents and relations. Country musical party follows them. The relations of the groom receive the bride at the outskirts of the village. During reception, young boys and girls of both sides sing humorous songs and exchange jokes. The bride is then ushered to the house of the groom. After sometime she is bathed and given new Kapta and the girls tie a new thread and some mango leaves on her hands. The bridegroom is also bathed and given a new cloth to wear. A piece of new thread and some mango leaves are also tied on his hands. The couple are then seated on a specially prepared bamboo basket called Karla and carried by 7 married women 7 times around the marriage altar

during which the couple are fed with Arisa cakes. This function is called Dulla Nacha. Then they are taken inside the house. After some time the bride is again brought to the altar. She is completely covered with a new cloth. A little later the bridegroom also comes to the altar. The bridegroom's brother-in-law (sister's husband) conducts the wedding function on the altar by joining the right hands of the bride and bridegroom over an earthen jug and then ties their hands with a piece of new thread and some mango leaves. The new couple are then greeted by their relations. This is called Bondano during which cash and ornaments are presented to the couple. After Bondano the couple retire from the altar, take bath again and put on new clothes. The guests are entertained with a feast. Drinking of liquor and dancing takes place till late in the night. Honey-moon of the young couple is observed on the same day.

Marriage custom of Christians

10. The marriages of the Christians are solemnised at the Church under the Christian Marriage Act. Accordingly all Christian marriages held in this village are registered by the local Pastor of the Church.

11. Divorce and remarriage is permissible in both the sections. Divorce in case of the Gandas is granted by the Caste Panchayat. Whoever is at fault is penalised. If the female is found guilty and wants to marry elsewhere then the second husband is required to pay a reasonable amount to the former husband as compensation. In case the husband is held guilty, he does not get any compensation. Among the Christians, divorce is granted by the Church after which the husband and wife are legally separated. They can marry only after their divorce is sanctioned by the Church.

12. Widow marriage is permissible. The widow normally marries the deceased husband's younger brother or his cousin if the age permits. In such a case no wedding function is held. But, if the widow leaves the family and marries in another family the second husband pays some amount to the widow's parents and holds a formal feast in his house on the wedding day. The widow

leaves her children in the house of her deceased husband unless they are too small. Small children are, however, taken with her and maintained by her till they are sufficiently grown up to return to their deceased father's house. Polygamy is allowed in Ganda society but it is rarely practised.

Death custom

13. The Gandas bury the dead body irrespective of the age of the deceased. The dead body is covered with a new cloth and placed on a Khatia (stringed cot) and carried to the burial ground which is located to the west of the village. A pit is dug in the burial ground by the castemen and the dead body is placed in it with its head to the north and face upwards. The pit is then covered with earth and the party returns home after taking bath. All the persons attending the burial function are entertained with liquor. The members of the deceased's family do not cook food for three days. Food for them is cooked in their house by their castemen. During these three days the mourners take vegetarian food which is called Kasabhat. From the fourth day food is cooked by the members of the family in new earthen pots as the old ones are thrown away on the day death takes place. Each day before the members take their food a morsel of food on a leaf is offered to the departed. This continues for 11 days. On the 11th day relations of the deceased arrive with rice and vegetables. On the 12th day purification ceremony is observed in a simple manner. All the earthen cooking pots used during these 11 days are thrown and new ones are brought into use. The houses of the deceased and the kinsmen are cleaned and washed with cowdung. The women wash the clothes with ash. The men shave their beards and take bath in the stream. In the evening the relations and castemen are served with liquor and non-vegetarian food. In the night after the caste feast a small raised altar is prepared with rice flour in the room where the deceased died. The altar is covered with a new earthen pot and a lighted lamp is placed near it. Then two male members of the family go outside the village, invite the departed soul and come back. After a few hours the pot is removed

and the altar is examined as to whether any marks are left on it by the deceased. It is believed that if the departed soul comes being invited he leaves some marks on the flour. The flour, the pot and the lamp are then thrown away outside the village, and with this the funeral ceremony of the Gandas comes to an end.

Death custom of Christians

14. The Christians have a separate burial ground which is also located in a part of the Gochar to the west of the village. The Christians bury their dead. The dead body is placed on a wooden Khatia and carried to the burial ground. After burial the Christians take their bath and return home. They do not believe in defilement due to death. The period of mourning ends on the same day after a prayer in the village church.

Structure of the family

15. In the Ganda community there is a general tendency to make the household simple so as to run it smoothly. Thus until marriage all the members live in joint mess. But soon after marriage cooking is done separately and whatever paternal property is there, is divided among the sons. All the sons get equal share and if the father is alive and capable of doing physical labour gets an equal share with the sons. In case he is incapable of doing work he lives with one of the sons who enjoys his share of property and maintains the old parents. Unmarried sons also get equal share and live with the parents or with some other sons. The unmarried daughters are maintained by the parents or by some of the sons till they are given on marriage. The daughters do not get any share out of the paternal property. They are not considered as liabilities of the family, as the family, apart from feeding and clothing does not spend much on their marriage just like other Hindus. The girls work and earn for the family till they marry. The marriage expenses are borne out of the bride price. In spite of division of family and partition of property cordial relations exist between the families.

16. It was found that 49 families are of the simple type i.e., composed of the

husband, wife and their unmarried sons and daughters. Intermediate type of families, i.e., composed of the married couple with unmarried sons and daughters or brothers or sisters and one of the parents are 8 in number. There are 7 joint families, i.e., composed of the husband and wife with their married sons or daughters, or married brothers or sisters. Lastly, 4 families do not fall into any of the above categories.

Literacy and Education

17. Table No. X in the Appendix shows the position with regard to literacy in Gandapara. There are 124 literate persons out of whom 78 are males and 46 are females including 7 males and 4 females from Ganda caste. Among these, 62 males and 36 females have no educational standard, whereas, 15 males and 10 females have studied up to primary standard and only one male has studied up to Intermediate. The percentage of literacy works out to nearly 36.7. This percentage is encouraging compared to the corresponding figures for the village and the district of Bolangir which are respectively 12 and 15 as per 1961 Census. This high percentage of literacy has been possible because of the efforts of the Christian Mission. However, the majority are simply literates without educational standard.

18. The Mission L. P. School is the oldest educational institution in this village. It was established in 1919 by the Baptist Mission. The expense was borne by the Mission with some contribution from the Christians of Gandapara and the neighbouring villages. It was upgraded to an Upper Primary School about six years later. At that time there was no other educational institution in the village for the caste Hindus as the Zamindar did not take any steps for the spread of education. Some Hindu residents who were interested in educating their children used to engage a private teacher. The school at Gandapara run privately with a handful of students and it used to receive due attention of the parents and guardians as they contributed in cash and kind towards the pay of the teacher and other expenses. Sometime in 1940 one L. P. School was started in the main village and it was open

for students of all communities. The Mission U. P. School was subsequently downgraded in the year 1958 as the Christian residents could not raise subscription to bear their $\frac{1}{3}$ share of the total annual expenses. On the other hand the Government L.P. School was upgraded to an U. P. School in the year 1961.

19. Although admission to the U. P. School is open to the students of all the communities the Christian students study in the Mission L. P. School and after completion of studies most of them are sent to Bolangir Mission School where they get monetary help besides other facilities for conducting their studies. Consequently very few Christian students take admission in the local U. P. School. During the survey 23 boys and 27 girls from Gandapara were reported attending different educational institutions. Out of them 3 boys and 4 girls belonged to Ganda caste. 2 Christian boys were reading in Bolangir and the rest were reading in the local schools, 40 in the Mission School and the remaining 8 in the Government U. P. School. There are two teachers in this School, one of whom is a permanent resident of Gandapara and the other belongs to a neighbouring village. Both the teachers are Christians.

20. The Mission School is held in the Church building. No separate building has ever been constructed for the school since its establishment. The Government U. P. School has a separate building constructed on the outskirts of the village in the year 1959. With only two rooms it does not accommodate all the classes, as a result of which some lower classes are being conducted in the village Deraghar. The nearest M. E. School and High School are at Loisingha which is 4 miles away, but so far not a single student from Gandapara has gone to these schools.

Social Legislations and Reforms

21. The Gandas are low class Scheduled Castes and they are treated as untouchables even to this day. For this reason they are segregated to a separate sector of the village. Previously it was considered a sin

to touch a Ganda. The Gandas were not allowed to draw water from the wells meant for the Hindus and the Hindus did not draw water from the well meant for the Gandas. The Gandas were allowed to use water from the village tank but a separate area was earmarked for them. Even the converted Christians suffer from these disabilities and they do not receive any better treatment either. Neither the Brahmin priests nor the caste brabers and washerman render any service to the residents of Gandapara. The Brahmin priests, however, do not refrain from giving their advice when they are approached regarding the auspicious time for marriage, etc. But they do not go to Gandapara as it is still considered a sin by many to enter into that quarter. Now-a-days some change is being perceived in the attitude towards the residents of Gandapara.

Religious Institutions

22. In Gandapara there is only one religious institution, viz., the church of the Christians. It is located to the north of the residential houses. It is a brick-walled house with tiled roof. The walls are white-washed with lime and the floor is cemented. This church was constructed in the year 1961. Prior to that, church services were held in a small house. The church is managed by the Christians of Manhira and the neighbouring villages. There is a Palak or Pastor of the church who conducts the church services. He is not a permanent resident of this village, but he has been staying here since one year on his transfer to this place.

23. The Gandas do not have any religious institution of their own in Gandapara or in the main village, and they do not worship any deity except their Home Deity known as Duma which is worshipped during each festival. As the Gandas sometimes take part in the festivals held in the main village, it is worthwhile describing the religious institutions and the festivals held there, namely, the temple of Lord Jagannath, thatched sheds of Budha Raja and Gramdevati, and the Bhagabata Ghar. The institutions dedicated to Budha Raja and Gramdevati are as old as the village itself but the temple of Lord Jagannath and the Bhagabata

Ghar are comparatively new. The Gandas are not allowed to enter into the temple of Lord Jagannath and the Bhagabata Ghar. In the other two institutions also the Gandas are not allowed to enter, but he-goats, fowls and pigeons offered by them for sacrifice are accepted. Vegetables and fruits as well as flowers touched by the Gandas are considered defiled and are not accepted for worship.

Community Festivals

24. The festivals observed by the Christians are very few, namely, Christmas, New year's day and Good Friday. The Hindus observe a number of festivals, important among these being Akshyaya Trutiya, Nabanna, Budha Raja Jatra, Rath Jatra, Trinath Mela, Asta Prahari and Chait Parba. Some of these festivals are also observed by the Gandas and Christians.

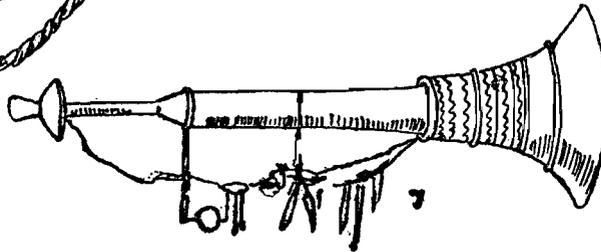
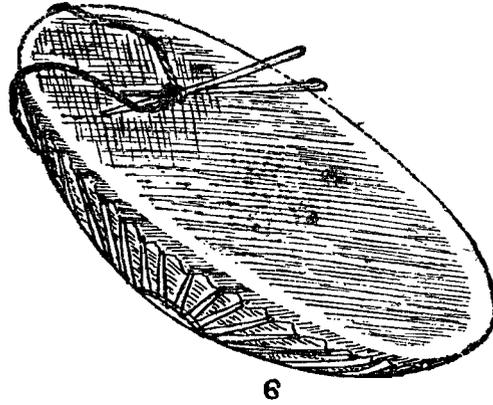
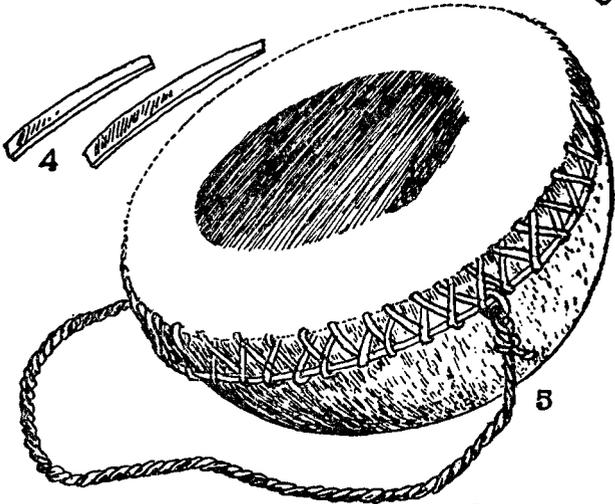
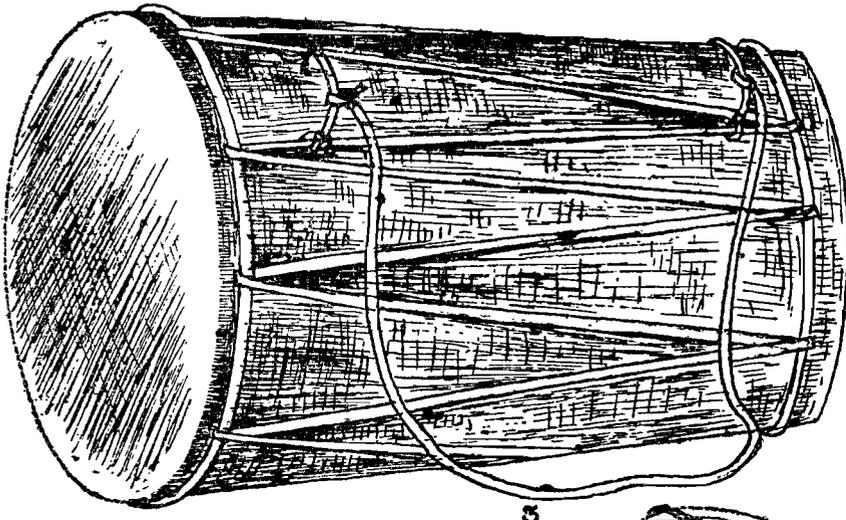
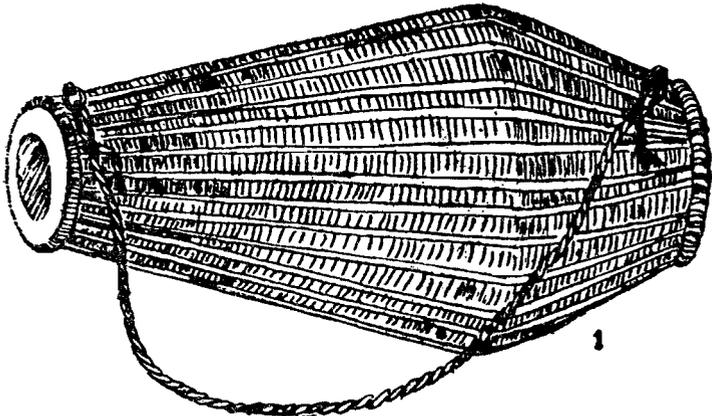
25. Akshyaya Trutiya festival is observed on the 3rd day of the 2nd fortnight of Baisakh. This is a festival for sowing of paddy. It is observed by Hindu as well as Christian cultivators. On the eve of Akshyaya Trutiya the cultivators keep some seed paddy in new earthen pitchers. Incense is burnt before the pitchers. In the morning of Akshyaya Trutiya, Chakuli Pitha (Cakes) are prepared and the cultivators go to their respective fields with their bullocks and ploughs. They take the pitchers containing seed paddy and cakes. In the fields the agricultural implements are worshipped and then the bullocks are fed with the cakes and seed paddy. Thereafter, the fields are ploughed for some time and paddy seeds are sown. Some quantity of paddy seeds are brought home out of which cakes and Khiri (Porridge) are prepared. The year's sowing of paddy starts from this day and no cultivator, not even the Christian cultivator, sows paddy in his fields before the Akshyaya Trutiya is observed.

26. The festival for eating of new paddy is called Nabanna. It is celebrated by Hindus and Christians of Manhira in the month of Bhadra. There is no particular day for the celebration of this function. But any auspicious day in the month as per the almanac is chosen by each community

according to its convenience. On such occasions new paddy grains are collected in each household and the husks are removed by hand as pounding of paddy is prohibited. Cakes, porridge, vegetarian and non-vegetarian curries are prepared in every household. The Hindus offer Bhoga to Home Deities. Food cooked with new grains is served to the family members on plates and cups prepared out of Kurai leaves as eating food on metal utensils on Nabanna day is considered an offence. During Nabanna, it is said, people belonging to all communities drink liquor.

27. Budha Raja Jatra is celebrated on an auspicious day in the month of Aswin. Excepting the Christians all other communities participate in this festival. The ex-Zamindar of Loisingha contributes one he-goat and the Hindus of Manhira contribute for other expenses. Some people send he-goats and fowls, etc., in case they had vowed earlier for offering sacrifice in favour of the deity. The village priest who is called Jani performs the worship. He belongs to Gond caste. The Jani performing the worship goes into trance. He-goats, cocks and pigeons are sacrificed on the altar before the deity. After the completion of worship the Jani, still trembling being possessed of by the deity, goes from door to door during which he is felicitated with lighted lamps and showering of rice and flowers on him. During such time, it is said, men as well as women ask the Jani regarding important events to take place in the family in future. It is commonly believed that the Jani's predictions come true when he is under the influence of the deity. Practically the whole village follows the Jani during this march from door to door. After visiting all the houses the Jani returns to the Budha Raja Gudi, leaves the deity there and returns to his house.

28. On the Phalguna Purnima the festival of Dola is observed in this village for two days. About two to three days prior to the Purnima the young men of the village collect wooden poles, bamboos and thatch grass from every household. Green branches from the trees standing near the village are cut and all these are heaped at a convenient place on the outskirts of the village. In the



MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

1. Mrudang 2. Kubja 3. Dhola 4. Chemeda 5. Nisan 6. Tasa 7. Mahuri

night of the Purnima all the villagers assemble there. After a brief worship the heap is set on fire amidst shouts of joy. Some people also throw plantains, coconuts, etc., to the fire. This function is called Hulapuda. It is said, this function is associated with the incident narrated in the Ramayana regarding burning of Lanka by Hanuman. The young men play Kubja and Mrudanga and dance around the fire. The gathering disperses after the heap is completely burnt. Next morning playing of coloured water takes place for some time in which both men and women join.

29. Ratha Jatra or car festival of Lord Jagannath is another important festival in this village as it attracts a fairly large number of people around. This festival is held on the 2nd day of the bright fortnight in the month of Ashadha.

30. Other festivals held in the village which are worth the mention are Trinath Mela and Asta Prahari. These functions are not held periodically. The former is celebrated by any individual or a group of persons while the latter is held by the entire village or by different communities. The Gandas at times celebrate Trinath Mela and Asta Prahari.

31. Chaitra Parba is another important festival in this part for the Hindus. It is observed in every household on each Tuesday in the month of Chaitra for the worship of goddess Mangola. The festival ends on the last Tuesday of the month with

sacrifices of cocks and pigeons in order to appease her for the safety of the village. The highlight of the festival is feasting in every household.

Leisure and Recreation

32. The leisure hours keep most of the menfolk engaged in playing different types of card games. For this purpose young and old assemble in batches at convenient places as there is no common house in the village for such gathering. Some persons also play country games called Bagh bajari with wooden dice. Women hardly find time for recreation. But a few women occasionally enjoy games of Kauri and Godi with girls. The popular game of the boys is one played with small stone balls called Bati which they roll on the ground aiming each other's ball and derive much pleasure.

33. There is a Pathagar or reading room in the main village started out of Block fund. This Pathagar is open to all but very few literate persons take the advantage of reading story books from it.

34. Varieties of musical instruments are found in the main Busti as well as in Gandapara. These instruments are called Kubja, Mrudanga, Nisan, Dhola, Tasa and Mahuri. Kubja and Mrudanga are played by high and low class people as well as the Christians, whereas, Nisan, Dhola, Tasa and Mahuri are played by low caste people, such as, Ghasis and Gandas.



THE OLDEST MAN OF GANDAPARA



THE OLDEST WOMAN OF GANDAPARA



A CHRISTIAN GIRL



A WOMAN WORKING IN INDIGENOUS SPINNING IMPLEMENTS



THE U. P. SCHOOL

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Manhira is one of the oldest villages in this region. Its economy still rests on agriculture. Weaving of cotton fabrics which is the main occupation of the residents of Gandapara seems to be on the verge of decay due to competition from mill-made cotton fabrics. But financial position of the weavers seems to be the serious drawback for any improvement to this traditional household industry. The industry is run on borrowed capital. The production is low. An attempt for better production through Co-operative Organization was unsuccessful due to organizational deficiency. Unless the causes for the failure of the society are checked and it is reorganised on sound footings very little can be expected of any

improvement to the industry which still continues to be the main occupation of the residents of Gandapara. It seems the Gandas and the Christians, particularly the latter, are alive to this problem and the desire for changing the traditional occupation is noticed among them. Some of them have taken up other profitable employments. This desire seems to have induced them to educate their children.

Of late, this village has been included in a Development Block. Any improvement through the Development Block has yet to be seen. The village, as it is, reflects the backward conditions of the inhabitants to a certain extent.

A P P E N D I X

TABLE I

Settlement history of households

Caste/Community	Total number of households	Number of households settled				
		Earlier than 5 generations	Between 5-4 generations	Between 3-2 generations	One generation ago	Present generation
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Christian	61	4	7	42	..	8
Ganda	7	-	-	3	1	1

TABLE II

Cultivated land held by Caste/Community

Caste/Community	Number of households having no land	Number of households having land	
		Number of households	Area of the land held (in acre)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Christian	32	29	128.50
Ganda	6	1	1.50

TABLE III
Livestock

Caste/Community	Cows, Bullocks and Buffaloes		Draught animals		Milch cows		
	No. of Households	No. of livestock	No. of H. H.	No. of Livestock	No. of H. H.	No. of Livestock	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Christian	..	15	41	13	28	4	5
Ganda

TABLE III (concl.)

Goats and Sheep		Pigs		Fowls		Others (Describe name)	
No. of H. H.	No. of Livestock	No. of H. H.	No. of Livestock	No. of H. H.	No. of Livestock	No. of H. H.	No. of Livestock
(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
2	2	..	..	1	1	..	..
2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE IV

Workers classified by sex, broad age-groups and occupation

(All workers are classified into 9 occupational groups, namely, No. I Cultivator, No. II Agricultural labourer, No. III Workers in mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing, etc., No. IV Household Industry, No. V Manufacturing other than household industries, No. VI Construction, No. VII Trade and Commerce, No. VIII Transport, Storage and Communications, No. IX Other Services).

Age-groups	Total No. of workers			Occupation I Cultivator			Occupation II Agricultural labourer		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
All ages ..	164	95	69	13	6	7	28	11	17
0—14 years ..	13	6	7	..	..	..	6	1	5
15—19 years ..	146	85	61	12	5	7	22	10	12
60 and above ..	5	4	1	1	1	..	..	..	..

TABLE IV (concl.)

Occupation IV Household Industry			Occupation VII Trade			Occupation IX Other Services			The remaining Occupa- tions, namely, No. III, V VI & VIII		
P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)
96	56	40	3	3	..	24	19	5	..	..	..
6	4	2	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
88	51	37	2	2	..	22	17	5	..	..	..
2	1	1	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..

TABLE V

Non-workers by sex, broad age-groups and nature of activity

(All non-workers are divided into 4 groups : Group (i) Full-time students or children attending school, Group (ii) Persons engaged only in household duties, Group (iii) Dependants, such as, infants and children not attending school and persons permanently disabled, Group (iv) Retired persons not re-employed, rentiers, persons living on agricultural or non-agricultural royalty, rent or dividend, beggars, vagrants, persons seeking employment, persons having unspecified source of existence.)

Age-group	Total Non-workers			Students		Engaged in household duties		Dependants		Others	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
All ages ..	174	54	120	23	27	..	33	31	60	..	..
0—14 years ..	134	51	83	21	27	..	3	30	53	..	..
15—59 years ..	28	2	26	2	..	..	26	..	..	..	..
60 and above	12	1	11	..	..	..	4	1	7	..	..

TABLE VI

Monthly income per household by occupation groups

Sl. No.	Occupation	No. of households in the monthly income groups of				
		Rs. 0—25	Rs. 26—Rs. 50	Rs. 51—Rs. 75	Rs. 76—Rs. 100	Rs. 101 and above
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1	Cultivation	..	..	3	1	..
2	Agricultural labour	..	3	1	1	..
3	Household Industry	..	6	24	8	4
4	Trade	..	..	3	..	..
5	Other Services	..	2	8	3	1

TABLE VII

Average monthly expenditure per household by income group and occupation

Sl. No.	Occupation	Income Groups					
		Rs. 0—Rs. 25			Rs. 26—Rs. 50		
		Expenditure			Expenditure		
		No. of H. H.	Food	Others	No. of H. H.	Food	Others
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1	Cultivation	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	Agricultural labour	..	..	..	3	37·00	6·00
3	Household Industry	..	..	..	6	38·00	7·00
4	Trade	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	Other Services	..	..	..	2	38·00	8·00

TABLE VII (concl.)

Income Groups								
Rs. 51—Rs. 75			Rs. 76—Rs. 100			Rs. 101 and above		
Expenditure			Expenditure			Expenditure		
No. of H. H.	Food	Others	No. of H. H.	Food	Others	No. of H. H.	Food	Others
(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
3	45·00	18·00	1	65·00	23·00	..	..	..
1	58·00	4·00	1	58·00	25·00	..	..	..
24	51·00	12·00	8	58·00	16·00	4	80·00	20·00
3	46·00	10·00	..	..	..	..	..	..
8	52·00	12·00	3	65·00	15·00	1	43·00	26·00

TABLE VIII
Indebtedness

Monthly income group	No. of households in the group	No. of households in debt	Average amount of debt per H. H.	Reasons for debt	Source of Credit
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Rs. 0—Rs. 25	..	..	..	..
Rs. 26—Rs. 50	11	6	Rs. 88·00	1 for household expenses 2 for investment in business 3 for investment in industry	From private money-lenders
Rs. 51—Rs. 75	39	26	Rs. 119·00	17 for investment in industry 1 for investment in business 2 for household expenses 5 for cultivation		9 from Co-operative Society, 16 from private money-lenders, 1 from Christian Mission
Rs. 76—Rs. 100	13	7	Rs. 182·00	1 for purchase of land. 3 for investment in industry 2 for purchase of land 1 for marriage	1 From Co-operative Society, 5 from Government and 1 from private money-lender
Rs. 101 and Over	5	4	Rs. 419·00.	1 for cultivation 1 for investment in industry 1 for purchase of land 1 for marriage 1 for cultivation		From private money-lenders

TABLE IX
Age and Marital Status

Age-group	Total population			Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or Separated	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
All ages	.. 338	149	189	75	105	70	70	2	14	2	..
0—14 years	.. 147	57	90	57	90	..	..	..	..	..	..
15—24 years	.. 42	17	25	15	15	2	10	..	..	..	..
25—59 years	.. 132	70	62	3	..	65	59	..	3	2	..
60 and above	.. 17	5	12	..	..	5	1	2	11	..	..

TABLE XI

Range of Information

Caste/Community	Total No. of households	Number of households which know the names of					Remarks
		Panchayat Hqrs.	Thana Hqrs.	Tahsil/taluk Hqrs.	District Hqrs.	Principal rivers of the district	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Christian	61	58	58	58	58	31	
Ganda	7	6	6	6	6	2	