



**Sustaining Democracy**  
*Challenges in the New Millennium*

**Orissa Plenary Session**

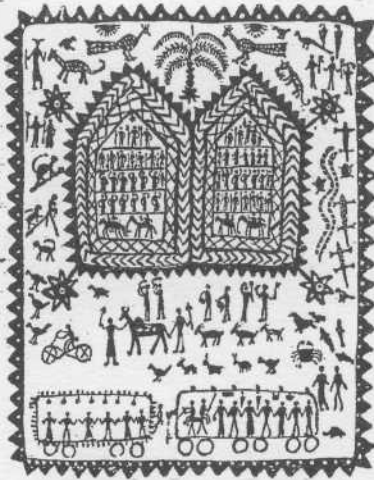
Presentations :

Vidya Das  
Tapasi Praharaj  
Sandhya Nayak  
S. B. Agnihotri  
(Coordinator)

Xth National Conference of the Indian Association for Women's Studies

17th - 20th October 2002

Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, Orissa



## Sustaining Democracy *Challenges in the New Millennium*

# Orissa Plenary Session

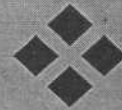
Presentations :

Vidya Das  
Tapasi Praharaj  
Sandhya Nayak  
S. B. Agnihotri  
(Coordinator)

Xth National Conference of the Indian Association for Women's Studies

17th - 20th October 2002

Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, Orissa



# CHANGES IN SEX RATIO PATTERNS IN ORISSA: 1991 -2001 IS THERE AN EPI-CENTRE OF FEMALE DEFICIT?

Satish B. Agnihotri<sup>1</sup>

## ABSTRACT:

Provisional results of the 2001 population census show alarming decline in the female to male sex ratios in the child population (0-6 years). Orissa is no exception to this trend. What is disturbing in Orissa though, is an unusually strong decline in the female to male child ratio (FMR06) in the urban population in a number of districts. Further, the rural segment appears to be responding to this 'urban effect' quite significantly. Both these features are new to the state, where discrimination against girls has traditionally not been strong. In addition, the NSSO data (55th round) for the state also indicate masculine sex ratios among the prosperous households. Orissa may thus have joined the category of states where the urban and the prosperous segments of population are emerging as 'epi - centres' of female deficit. This has important implications for policy, research and activism.

**Introduction:** Sex ratios in the Indian population are becoming rapidly masculine. Any comfort drawn from a marginal increase in the female to male

ratios (FMRs) of the overall population; 933 in 2001 from 927 in 1991, is bound to be short-lived given an 18 point decline in the FMR among children (0-6 years); from 945 to 927 during the same period. This pattern; the RGI warns us, will continue to haunt the society for decades to come (Paper - 1 of 2001), unless of course, corrective measures are taken.

But the child sex ratio patterns for 2001 should heighten our concern for one more reason; these mark a clear change from the hitherto known and discussed 'north - south' divide. Briefly stated, district level analyses of sex ratios among children in the 0-9 or 0-6 years age have traditionally shown a clear division of the Indian landscape into the north-western and the south-eastern parts<sup>2</sup> (Sopher, 1980, Miller 1981, Agnihotri 2000). Sex ratios in the north - western parts have been distinctly more masculine than those in the southern - eastern part; a trend that has been attributed to the regressive cultural practices in the north -western region and relatively 'female - friendly' culture in the south- eastern part (Dyson and Moore, 1983).

<sup>1</sup> Consultant UNICEF, Kolkata, 219/2 AJC Bose Road, Kolkata 700 017; Tel. 033 287 2477 (O) 281 7606 (R), e-mail : sbagnihotri@yahoo.com While UNICEF has facilitated the analysis initiative, Views expressed are author's own.

<sup>2</sup> A rough divide along the Bharuch-Chhotanagpur line or the Narmada-Sone line.

Some scholars have also pointed out and expressed concern over the growing trend of masculinisation of sex ratios in the south-eastern region as well (Miller, 1989; Caldwell 1990). A comparison of the juvenile age - group sex ratios between 1971 and 1981 (Miller, 1989) and between 1981 and 1991 (Agnihotri, 2000) does bear this out. But this trend has become particularly sharp during the 90s and the sex ratio patterns for the 0-6 years age group show this feature unmistakably, especially in the urban segment (Agnihotri 2002). Figure - 1 shows that the pattern of low FMRs has breached the conventional divide and has intruded into different districts in the south - eastern states including a number of districts in Orissa.

Low levels of FMR in some of the districts in Orissa are disturbing. Orissa has traditionally had higher FMRs compared to the national average. Further, discrimination against girl children has not been particularly strong here. Yet FMRs in some of its urban segments are now comparable with those in the districts of Haryana or western UP, known for their adverse female to male ratios. This decline; unimaginable before the publication of 2001 census figures, provides the main motivation for the analysis below.

## II

Table 1 gives the sex ratio figures for Orissa (all age group) from 1901 to 2001. However, as the overall population sex ratios are affected by sex selective migration, it is more appropriate to look at the sex ratios in the child population in the 0-6 age group available from census. Table - 2 provides the relevant details. It can be noticed that the FMRs in Orissa have been consistently higher compared to the national average.

Table - 2

Sex ratio in the 0-6 population: India and Orissa

Year	India	Orissa
1961	976	1035
1971	964	1168
1981	962	995
1991	945	967
2001	927	950

A detailed picture can be seen, however, through the sex ratio figures at the district level. This is provided in Table - 3. Orissa earlier had 13 districts. These were divided into 30 districts. The 1991 census data were available only in respect of 13 districts. However, after publication of the 2001 results, the office of the RGI has made comparable data from 1991 census available for the 30 districts of Orissa.

FMRs for the 06 age - group for the state as a whole declined by 17 points; from 967 in 1991 to 950 in 2001. In rural segment, the decline has been of a comparable 15 points; 969 in 1991 to 954 in 2001. But in the urban segment, the decline has been higher; of 22 points. The FMR06 for urban population was 949 in 1991, it has come down to 927 in 2001.

The spatial pattern of the decline merits further scrutiny. Figure 2a and 2b compare the distribution of the FMR06 in 1991 and in 2001 in 30 districts. In 1991, only two districts, Kendrapada and Jagatsingpur had low FMRs, 942 and 941 respectively. But in 2001 as many as 12 districts had FMRs below this level, lowest being in Nayagarh (901). The contiguity of these 12 districts is striking; low FMRs in 0-6 age group show a remarkable cluster and not a scatter.

A similar contiguity can be noticed in the high FMR end. Districts of Kalahandi, Koraput, Rayagada, Nabrangpur and Malkangiri, having FMRs above 980, form a contiguous belt. Even in 1991, nine out of ten districts having FMRs above 980, adjoin each other<sup>3</sup>. Quite understandably, districts with intermediate IMRs also form contiguous belt.

But it is the contiguity of districts with very low FMR06 in their urban population that is disturbing (Figure-3). First there is a set of three adjoining districts Ganjam, Nayagarh and Boudh where the FMR06 (urban) are below 860; a figure comparable to FMRs in some of the districts of Haryana and western UP. These are flanked by Kandhamal (896), Angul (898) and Dhenkanal (902), Khordha (908) and Gajapati (920). Kendrapada (916) and Jagatsingpur (889) are not contiguous as these are separated by a strip, Jajpur (926), Cuttack (948) and Puri (930). Even these FMRs are not quite high. Another arm of the low FMR belt stretches along the Bolangir (921), Bargarh (938) and Jharsuguda (931) strip.

It is plausible to argue that the low urban FMRs for the 0-6 age group could also be attributed to statistical fluctuations due to the small population size. This is especially so for urban child population of Nayagarh, Boudh and Kondhmal. It is intriguing however, as to why the 'fluctuations' should point out in the same direction. Further, even if we add the urban population of these contiguous districts, FMRs in the 0-6 age group will remain low. The 'fluctuation' argument does not therefore help.

Two points bear a mention here. District-wise FMR06 for 1991 and 2001 correlate quite strongly for the total and the rural population and the association between the two (Figures 4a and 4b) can be described as;

$$\begin{aligned} \text{FMR06}_{2001} &= \text{FMR06}_{1991} - 17.9 \quad \text{Rural population} \\ \text{FMR06}_{2001} &= 1.011 * \text{FMR06}_{1991} - 28.9 \quad \text{Total population (R+U)} \end{aligned}$$

For urban FMRs the correlation is quite weak. It can however be noted, that a sharp decline in the urban FMR06 has come from districts in a more or less contiguous belt. These are Jagatsingpur, Jajpur, Dhenkanal, Angul, Nayagarh, Khordha, Ganjam, Boudh and Kondhamal.

### III

The spatially contiguous belt of coastal Orissa between Ganjam and Baleswar is known to be relatively prosperous region of the state. In a number of analyses, different researchers (Bardhan, 1971 to Premi, 2001) have voiced concern over the pattern adverse FMRs in prosperous districts. In a recent analysis (Agnihotri, 2002), I have expressed concern about emergence of 'epi-centres' of female deficit among the prosperous and the urban segments of our society. What do the Orissa data reveal on this issue?

Data on sex ratios by prosperity are not available from census. However, surveys conducted by the NSSO (National Sample Survey Organisation) provide this information indirectly through details on family composition by MPCE (monthly per capita expenditure) class, a good surrogate for prosperity. There are twelve such MPCE classes and the composition of the families within each class is available in terms of adult and 0-14 age group child population by sex. It is thus possible to estimate sex ratios of the child (0-14), adult and the total population in each MPCE class for different states. This is particularly so in respect of survey rounds that involve fairly large sample size e.g. 43rd, 50th and 55th rounds conducted in 1987-88, 1992-93 and 1997-98.

Table - 4 provides data for the three rounds described above. It provides details of the average MPCE of the households in each MPCE bracket, the number of such households and the number of adult and

3. I have argued elsewhere, however, (Agnihotri, 2000) that such high levels of FMR may not be desirable per se, for, these may be arising on account of higher male infant mortality compared to female infant mortality in a high mortality region.

young (0-14) male and female population. These details are separately provided for the rural and the urban population for each round. Figures 5a to 5c and 6a to 6c give the scatter plot of the sex ratios (adult and children) with the AMPCE levels for the Rural and the Urban areas respectively.

At first glance, the picture is not very clear. Results for the 55th round do clearly indicate that the FMRs for the 0-14 age group are significantly lower for the top three MPCE classes. For adult population this is not so clear. Similarly, for the 43rd round, while the rural data shows a clear decline in the FMRs, 0-14 as well as adults, the urban population does not show this trend for the 0-14 population. For the 50th round, the trend is quite mixed up. One reason for this mixed trend could be the fluctuations owing to the small population size involved. We can therefore have a look at the FMRs by clubbing the population of three MPCE brackets together. If this is done the combined population of the top three MPCE brackets show significantly low FMRs for adult population for all three rounds as well as among the 0-14 year population except for 43U and 50R.

However, a closer look would indicate that the trend in the 50th and the 55th round in urban areas clearly suggests a strong lowering of FMRs in the top three MPCE classes. In rural areas the overall trend is tentative, but in the 55th round, low FMR among the top three MPCE groups is evident. One may have to await the results from the next large survey round of the NSSO before drawing a firm conclusion.

#### IV

Highly masculine FMRs in the urban areas and among the prosperous groups is a matter of concern, for, it indicates growing discrimination against the girl children among these groups. A new and

worrying aspect of this discrimination is the use of technology to curtail the life chances of the girl child even before its birth. This practice of sex selective abortions or female foeticide has gained currency in the country during the 80s and has rapidly spread during the 90s. The sex of the foetus is identified through either amniocentesis or ultrasonography and abortions are carried out either as an 'attached' service' or independently. Compared to female infanticide, this became a more acceptable mode of disposing of the 'unwanted' girl child. Infanticide is an overtly 'barbaric' practice, carried by non - professional and less powerful persons e.g. traditional 'dai's or any old lady in the household. It does not allow parents to distance themselves from the event i.e. killing of the child, and be free of any guilt. Sex selective abortion, on the other hand, is carried out by 'professionals', superior in the power hierarchy. They use scientific techniques, hardware and skills; sanitise the process of eliminating the foetus and reduce the burden of guilt on parents.

Concentration of medical facilities and professionals in urban areas, and, more important, their absence from the rural areas is well known in our society and Orissa is no exception to this trend. Naturally, the facilities for sex selective abortions and other sex selection techniques will be available in the urban areas first. As this practice and the profit<sup>4</sup> pick up, the doctor - entrepreneur starts attracting clients from rural 'catchment'. Gradually, the number of such 'foeticide service providers' increases. Large scale use of such sex selection technique, renders the sex ratio at birth and consequently the sex ratios in the child population more and more masculine.

It is plausible therefore, to anticipate the effects of this interference in urban areas first. In the initial

---

<sup>4</sup> None of these foeticide service providers, who often claim to be rendering 'national service' provide the service free, even for some of their poor clients!

stages, the lowering of urban sex ratios will not show any significant correlation with rural sex ratios as the 'services' have not penetrated deep enough. Hence the demographic effect will become discernible only in the urban areas through child sex ratios. As the scope of the 'services' deepen and widen, the rural FMRs in the 0-6 age group will begin to decrease in tandem with the urban FMRs.

Tell-tell signs of such a response can be discerned by examining the association between the rural and the urban FMRs. Elsewhere (Agnihotri, 2002) I have examined this issue. If the association between the rural and the urban FMRs can be described through a linear relationship of the type,

$$FMR_{Rural} = FMR_0 + k \cdot FMR_{Urban}$$

Then a low value of the constant term  $FMR_0$  and a high value of the slope  $k$ , will correspond to a strong rural response to the urban decline in FMRs, while a weak response will be characterised by a higher constant term and a lower slope value.

While most neighbouring states fall in the category of 'indifferent' to 'weak response' states for both 1991 and 2001 (Agnihotri 2002), Orissa moves from a weak response pattern in 1991 to a strong response pattern in 2001. This can be seen from the figures 7a and 7b.

$$\begin{aligned} FMR_{Rural} &= 419 + 0.583 FMR_{Urban} & R.Sq. &= 0.22 (1991) \\ FMR_{Rural} &= 367 + 0.629 FMR_{Urban} & R.Sq. &= 0.49 (2001) \end{aligned}$$

For 1991 Kendrapada (Urban) and for 2001, Ganjam and Boudh (Rural) have been excluded as outliers. In these two districts the urban FMR06 appear to have declined to unusually low level.

The decline in the FMR06 between 1991 and 2001 for urban segment is clearly discernible when we compare 7a and 7b. Similarly, the increase in the slope and decline in the constant term is also seen clearly. This reflects the declining trend in FMR06 in urban areas and the increasing tendency of the rural FMR06 to respond to this trend.

The reason for low FMR in 0-14 group among prosperous groups in urban and in rural areas is not far to seek. The urban facilities for sex selective elimination are accessible to these groups relatively easily. As mentioned above, none of these services, detection or abortion, come free. Convergence of prosperity and medical facilities thus seem to work against the survival chances of the girl child.

## V

What are the implications of the patterns above? First, it shows that certain urban areas are emerging as the 'epicentres' of female deficit in the state. Among these the top three MPCE groups or the prosperous groups show lower FMRs still. While the urban set-up provides base for the 'foeticide service providers', the prosperous group provide the clientele. In terms of location, the south-eastern districts show a contiguous belt where such tendencies may be sharply rising.

Ganjam needs particular scrutiny. Whether Berhampore urban area which boasts of medical facilities, including a Medical College, have become a centre for provision of foeticide services is worth investigating. It is quite likely that it may be 'serving' a larger catchment area e.g. Boudh town. Emergence of such facilities in Angul and Jagatsinghpur also need to be watched carefully.

Above pattern throws up a challenge to the fraternity of medical professionals as well. They should take suo moto note of the role some of their members may be playing in abetting sex selective elimination of girl children. The fraternity need not wait for the society to establish the case. The onus to set their own house in order is on them and not on the society. The effect these services have on the rural areas also need investigation and efforts stepped up against such trend.

The convergence of urbanisation, prosperity and anti female bias is a matter of worry and raises questions about the pattern of 'development' we

are pursuing. Orissa needs to debate whether it should follow development of the Punjab-Haryana-Western UP type or of the type of its southern neighbours. Sex ratio patterns among children are a powerful barometer of the path we chose.

#### List of references:

Agnihotri 2000, Sex ratio patterns in the Indian population - A fresh exploration, N. Delhi: Sage.

--- 2002. 'Setting daughters' of Urban India: Locating the epi-centres of female deficit' Proc. of the International symposium on Girl Child - January 2002, IIPS, Mumbai

Bardhan, P.K. 1974. "On life and death questions" Economic and Political Weekly, Special Issue No. 9: 1293-1304.

Caldwell, J.C. and Caldwell, P. 1990. Gender implications for survival in South Asia Health transition working paper No. 7, Canberra: NCEPH, Australian National University.

Dyson, T. and Moore, M. 1983. 'On kinship structure, female autonomy and aemographic balance' Population and Development Review 9: 35-60.

\*Miller, B.D. 1981. The Endangered Sex. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

--- 1989. "Changing patterns of juvenile sex ratios in rural India, 1961 to 1971" Economic and Political Weekly 24(22): 1229 - 1235.

Premi, M. K. (2001): "The missing girl child" EPW, 36(21), May 26, 1875-80

Sopher, D.E. (Ed.) 1980. An Exploration of India, London: Longman.

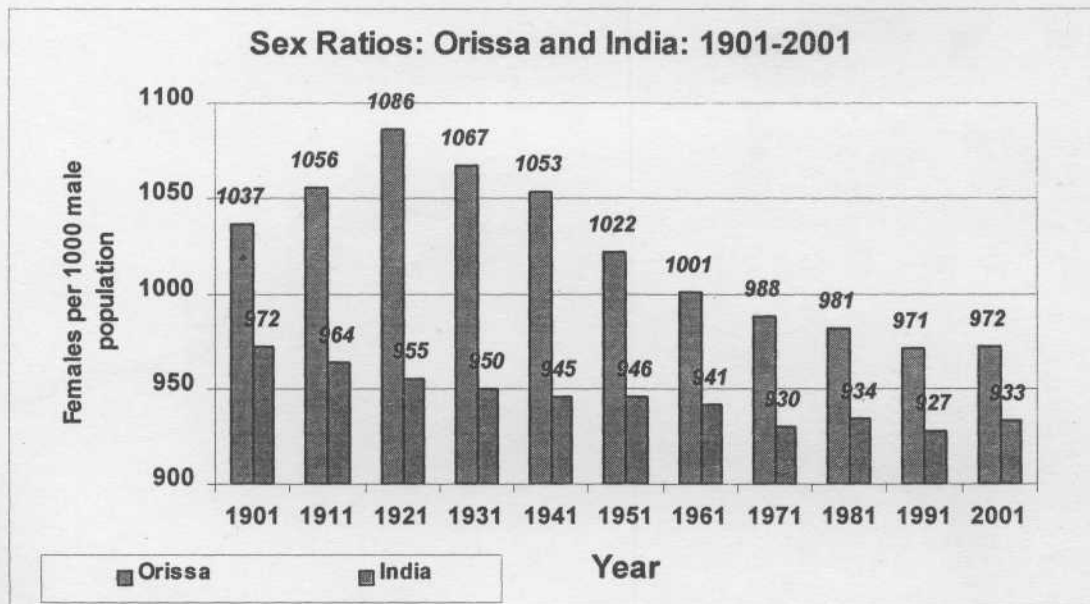




Table - 1

FMRs in India and in Orissa 1901 - 2001

Year	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
India	972	964	955	950	945	946	941	930	934	927	933
Orissa	1037	1056	1086	1067	1053	1022	1001	988	981	971	972



**Female to Male Ratios (Urbans) among children (0-6 years)  
Census 2001**

Figure 1

FMR among children 0-6 years (Girls per 1000 boys): Orissa 1991

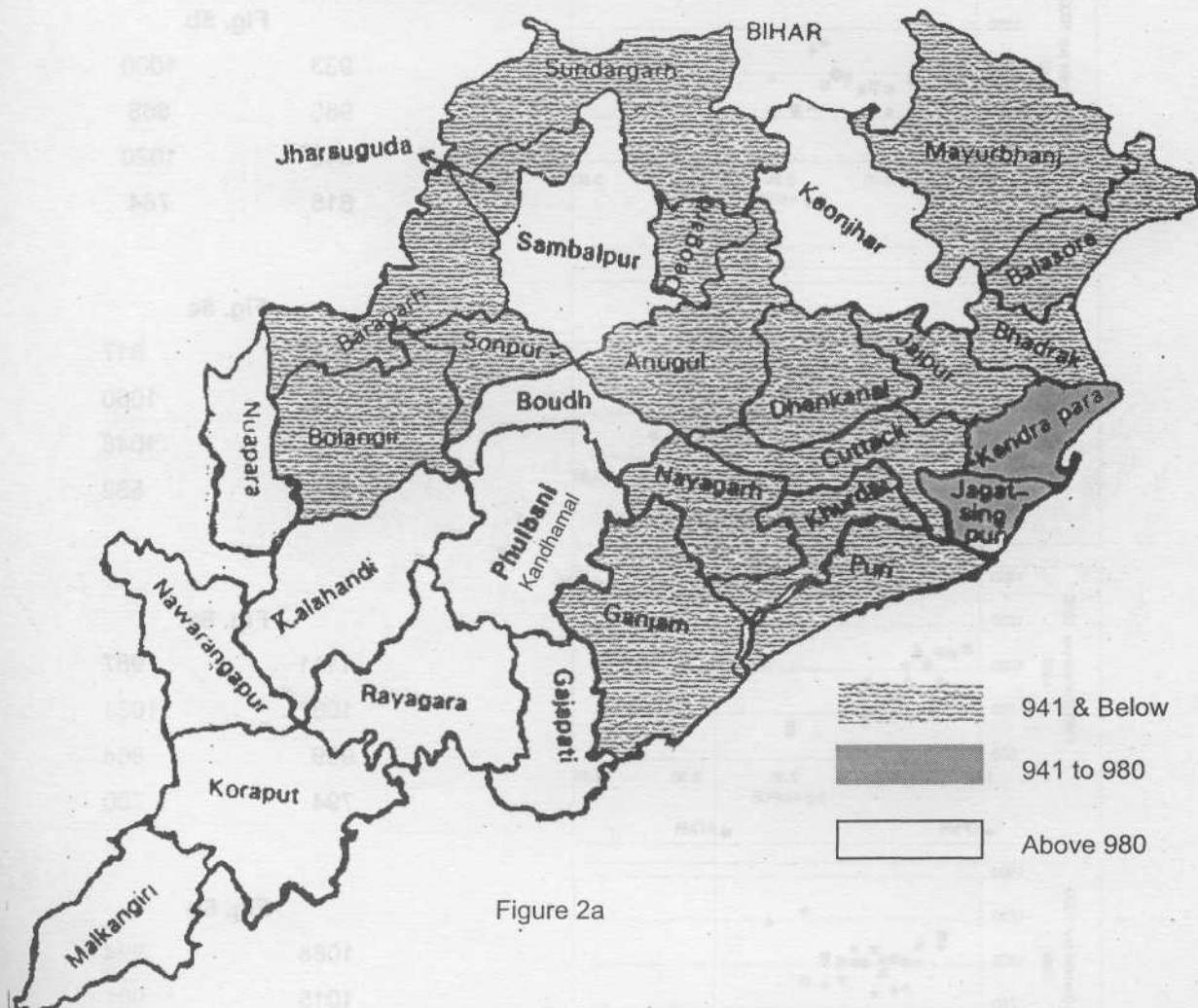


Figure 2a

Note: The boundary and the names shown and the designations used on the maps do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations

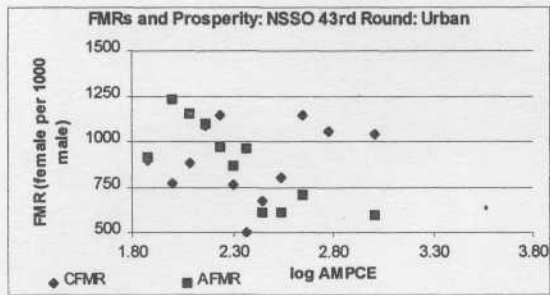


Fig. 5a

Afmr	Cfmrmr
1093	847
970	986
728	624
555	1100

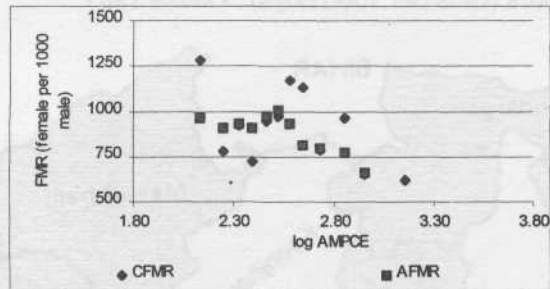


Fig. 5b

933	1000
965	868
848	1020
615	784

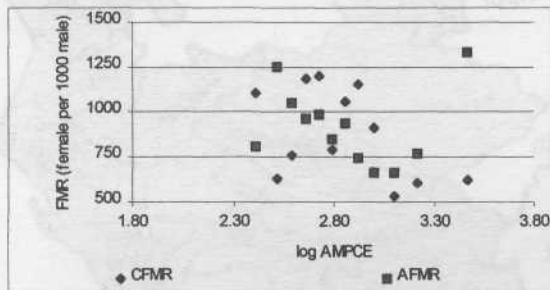


Fig. 5c

1013	817
930	1060
788	1048
862	582

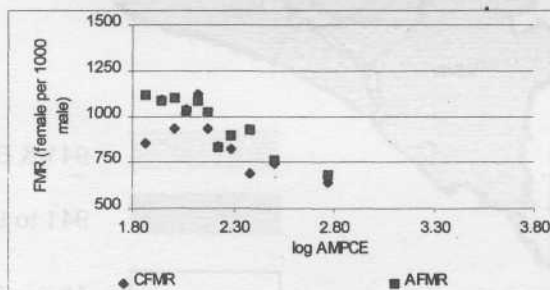


Fig. 6a

1111	987
1067	1031
909	864
794	700

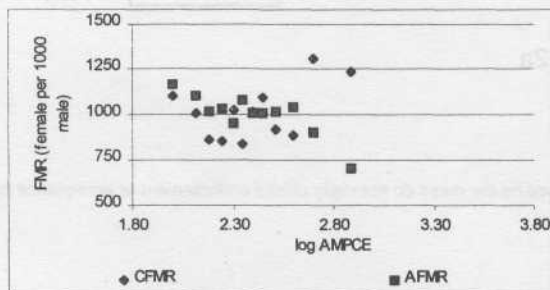


Fig. 6b

1088	994
1015	901
1005	1002
873	1106

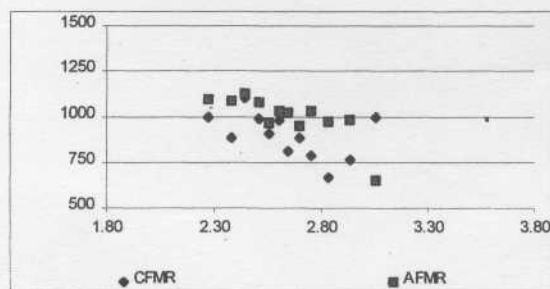


Fig. 6c

1100	985
1021	958
994	828
865	760

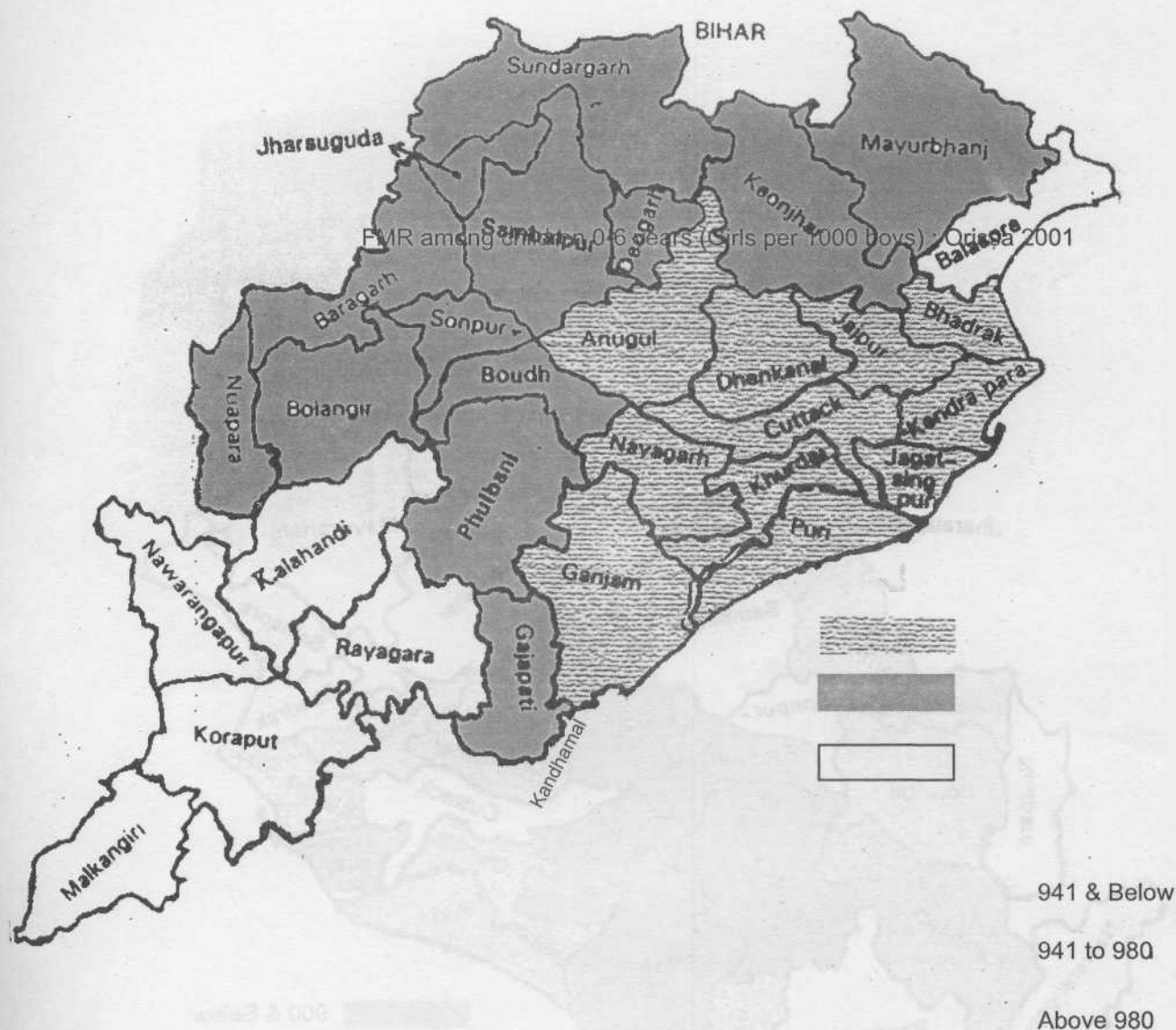


Figure 2b

Note: The boundary and the names shown and the designations used on the maps do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations

Urban FMR among children 0-6 years (Girls per 1000 boys) : Orissa 2001

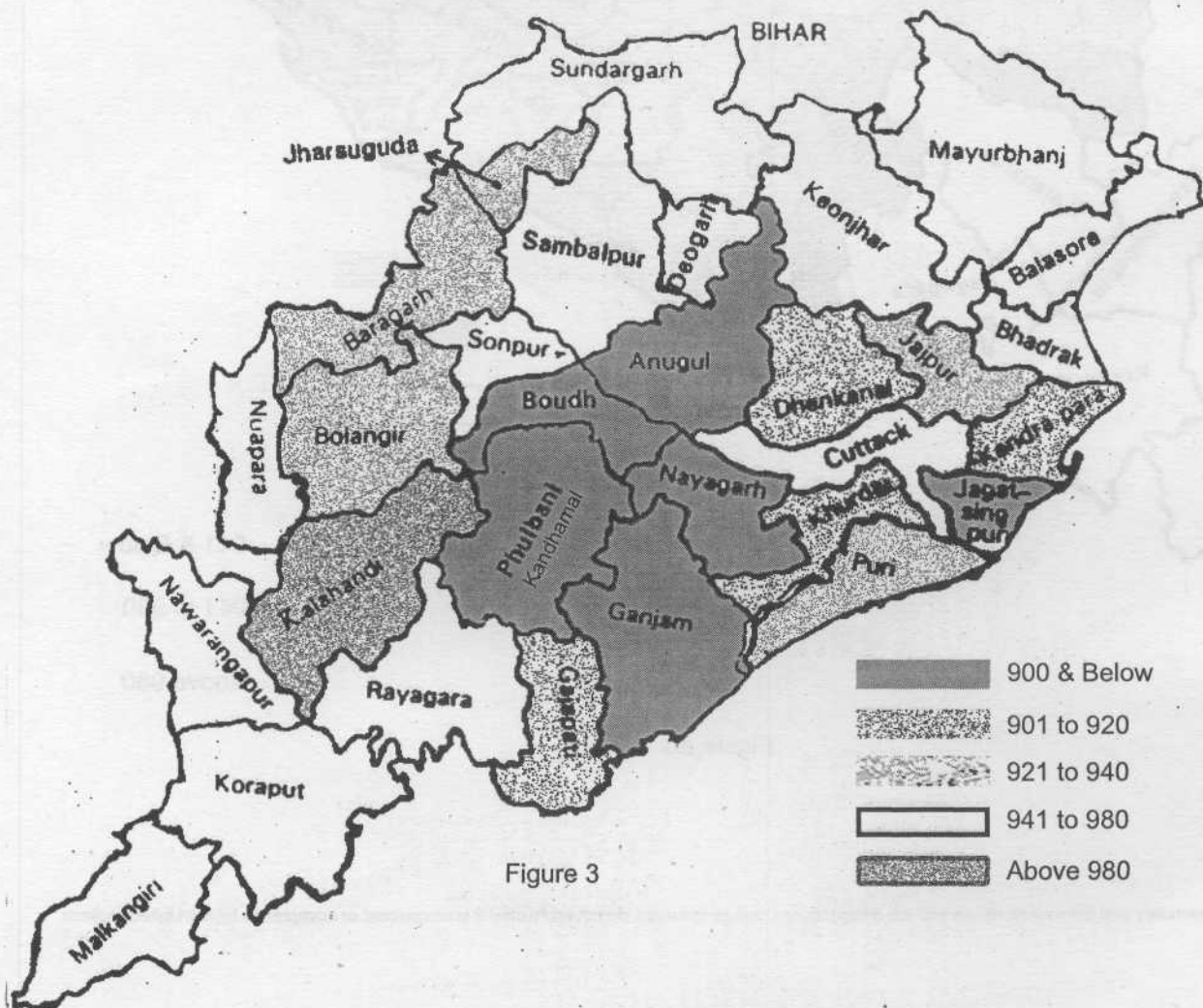


Figure 3

Note: The boundary and the names shown and the designations used on the maps do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations

**Table - 3**  
**FMRs (Females per 1000 males) among children (0-6 years)**  
**Orissa - 1991 and 2001: Urban and Rural**

DistCode	District	FMR06 in 2001			FMR06 in 1991		
		Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
1	Bargarh	938	955	954	957	972	971
2	Jharsuguda	931	960	950	954	974	967
3	Sambalpur	946	969	963	964	977	974
4	Debagarh	952	963	962	946	966	965
5	Sundargarh	947	985	974	930	983	967
6	Kendujhar	959	963	963	964	983	981
7	Mayurbhanj	958	954	954	948	963	962
8	Baleshwar	945	933	934	947	966	965
9	Bhadrak	947	939	940	969	954	955
10	Kendrapara	916	936	935	892	945	942
11	Jagatsinghapur	889	920	917	958	939	941
12	Cuttack	948	939	941	944	946	945
13	Jajapur	926	932	932	961	946	946
14	Dhenkanal	902	920	919	940	958	957
15	Anugul	898	939	934	960	961	961
16	Nayagarh	856	902	901	938	951	950
17	Khordha	908	928	920	945	951	949
18	Puri	930	920	921	930	946	945
19	Ganjam	845	942	928	950	952	952
20	Gajapati	920	966	963	928	983	979
21	Kandhamal	896	977	973	947	992	990
22	Baudh	848	967	962	971	1006	1004
23	Sonapur	963	961	961	914	977	972
24	Balangir	921	972	967	936	981	976
25	Nuapada	974	970	970	972	1000	999
26	Kalahandi	981	990	990	946	1008	1003
27	Rayagada	953	986	983	989	1007	1005
28	Nabarangapur	971	1004	1002	971	1000	999
29	Koraput	968	997	993	990	1024	1019
30	Malkangiri	961	992	990	983	1001	1000
0	Orissa	927	954	950	949	969	967

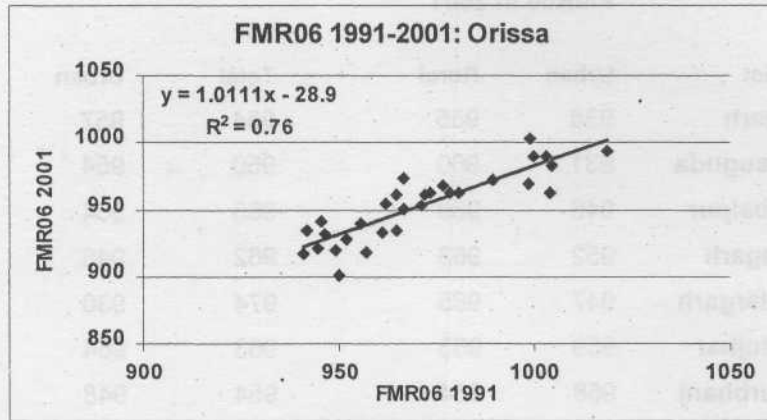


Figure - 4a

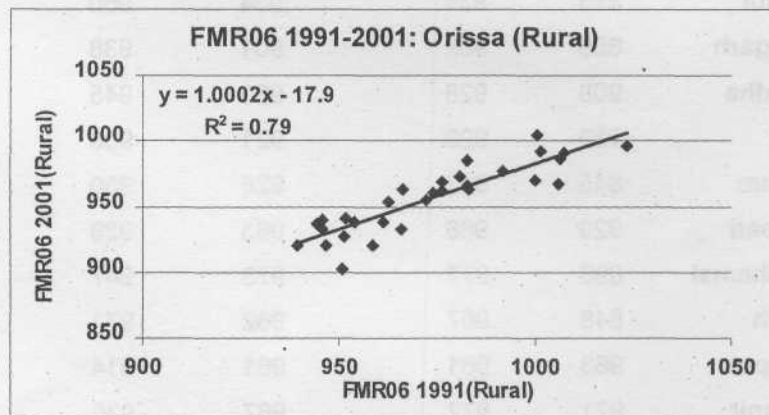


Figure - 4b



Table - 4

Prosperity and FMRs: URBAN Orissa NSSO 43rd, 50th & 55th Round

STATE NAME	Round	PCE CLASS	AMPCE	LgAMPCE	AM	AF	CM	CF	CFMR	AFMR	TFMR
ORISSA	43rd	0-90	75.66	1.88	1367	1251	1573	1414	899	915	906
		90-110	100.83	2.00	1271	1559	1560	1204	772	1227	976
		110-135	121.51	2.08	1190	1374	1128	992	879	1155	1021
		135-160	146.43	2.17	1300	1427	1068	1161	1087	1098	1093
		160-185	172.39	2.24	1596	1545	801	913	1140	968	1025
		185-215	200.40	2.30	1589	1378	1033	786	761	867	825
		215-255	233.84	2.37	1433	1373	847	423	499	958	788
		255-310	281.37	2.45	1487	913	762	514	675	614	635
		310-385	348.18	2.54	1324	804	387	309	798	607	650
		385-520	442.65	2.65	1548	1093	522	597	1144	706	816
		520-700	605.26	2.78	1167	359	171	180	1053	308	403
700& Above	1021.86	3.01	1293	772	224	232	1036	597	662		

STATE NAME	Round	PCE CLASS	AMPCE	LgAMPCE	AM	AF	CM	CF	CFMR	AFMR	TFMR
ORISSA	50th	0-160	136	2.13	1474	1423	1255	1611	1284	965	1112
		160-190	176	2.25	1665	1509	1256	982	782	906	853
		190-230	213	2.33	1795	1673	1066	985	924	932	929
		230-265	246	2.39	1503	1366	937	675	720	909	836
		265-310	289	2.46	1607	1564	925	874	945	973	963
		310-355	333	2.52	1891	1895	653	634	971	1002	994
		355-410	382	2.58	1715	1595	529	621	1174	930	988
		410-490	441	2.64	1716	1400	530	602	1136	816	891
		490-605	538	2.73	1685	1344	616	486	789	798	795
		605-825	713	2.85	1386	1071	438	421	961	773	818
		825-1055	908	2.96	1237	814	329	215	653	658	657
		1055 & Above	1426	3.15	1113	412	206	127	617	370	409

STATE NAME	Round	PCE CLASS	AMPCE	LgAMPCE	AM	AF	CM	CF	CFMR	AFMR	TFMR
ORISSA	55th	00 - 300	257	2.41	1850	1493	1024	1132	1105	807	913
		300 - 350	328	2.52	1382	1727	1247	782	627	1250	954
		350 - 425	389	2.59	1538	1611	1071	816	762	1047	930
		425 - 500	462	2.66	1752	1675	739	879	1189	956	1025
		500 - 575	537	2.73	1749	1720	572	686	1199	983	1037
		575 - 665	622	2.79	1659	1405	650	513	789	847	831
		665 - 775	716	2.85	1776	1658	627	663	1057	934	966
		775 - 915	843	2.93	1626	1207	358	412	1151	742	816
		915 - 1120	1008	3.00	1509	1003	316	289	915	665	708
		1120 - 1500	1258	3.10	1424	947	335	178	531	665	640
		1500 - 1925	1645	3.22	1392	1068	507	305	602	767	723
		> 1925	2928	3.47	883	1173	172	107	622	1328	1213

Prosperity and FMRs: RURAL Orissa NSSO 43rd, 50th & 55th Round

STATE	ORISSA	Round	PCE CLASS	AMPCE	LgAMPCE	AM	AF	CM	CF	CFMR	AFMR	TFMR
ORISSA	43r	0-65	52.46	1.72	1334	1521	1161	1208	1040	1140	1094	
		65-80	72.74	1.86	1353	1506	1264	1080	854	1113	988	
		80-95	87.51	1.94	1474	1595	1006	1099	1092	1082	1086	
		95-110	101.95	2.01	1496	1644	869	814	937	1099	1039	
		110-125	116.84	2.07	1660	1705	898	928	1033	1027	1029	
		125-140	132.91	2.12	1476	1594	864	970	1123	1080	1096	
		140-160	148.56	2.17	1580	1606	800	749	936	1016	989	
		160-180	168.85	2.23	1850	1544	876	732	836	835	835	
		180-215	195.28	2.29	1697	1511	763	627	822	890	869	
		215-280	242.28	2.38	1694	1572	662	455	687	928	860	
		280-385	320.96	2.51	1702	1297	612	457	747	762	758	
		385&ABOVE	586.36	2.77	1557	1066	345	221	641	685	677	

STATE	ORISSA	Round	PCE CLASS	AMPCE	LgAMPCE	AM	AF	CM	CF	CFMR	AFMR	TFMR
ORISSA	50r	0-120	99.87	2.00	1342	1559	1164	1285	1104	1162	1135	
		120-140	130.24	2.11	1438	1585	1136	1139	1003	1102	1058	
		140-165	152.74	2.18	1602	1622	1017	873	858	1012	953	
		165-190	176.87	2.25	1495	1533	1048	891	850	1025	953	
		190-210	200.21	2.30	1662	1576	858	872	1016	948	971	
		210-235	221.8	2.35	1541	1659	753	632	839	1077	999	
		235-265	248.08	2.39	1550	1554	655	662	1011	1003	1005	
		265-300	281.87	2.45	1540	1541	587	640	1090	1001	1025	
		300-355	323.41	2.51	1480	1497	637	581	912	1011	982	
		355-455	396.25	2.60	1350	1402	522	462	885	1039	996	
		455-560	501.9	2.70	1605	1439	411	537	1307	897	980	
		560& Above	770.27	2.89	1494	1043	247	306	1239	698	775	

STATE	ORISSA	Round	PCE CLASS	AMPCE	LgAMPCE	AM	AF	CM	CF	CFMR	AFMR	TFMR
ORISSA	55r	0-225	188	2.27	1352	1481	1225	1216	993	1095	1047	
		225-255	240	2.38	1392	1509	1100	973	885	1084	996	
		255-300	278	2.44	1441	1615	844	931	1103	1121	1114	
		300-340	321	2.51	1424	1534	726	717	988	1077	1047	
		340-380	360	2.56	1737	1676	717	651	908	965	948	
		380-420	400	2.60	1644	1694	633	620	979	1030	1016	
		420-470	443	2.65	1524	1552	696	564	810	1018	953	
		470-525	498	2.70	1729	1635	641	568	886	946	930	
		525-615	570	2.76	1601	1640	552	433	784	1024	963	
		615-775	681	2.83	1559	1516	667	445	667	972	881	
		775-950	861	2.94	1547	1518	388	296	763	981	937	
		950-more	1147	3.06	1658	1085	253	253	1000	654	700	

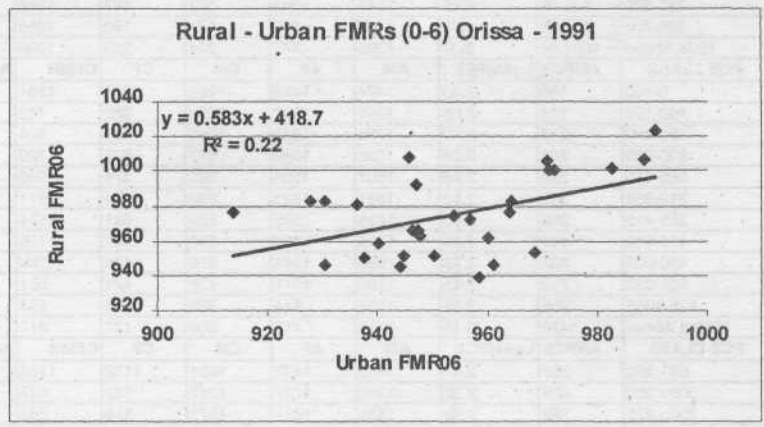


Figure - 7a

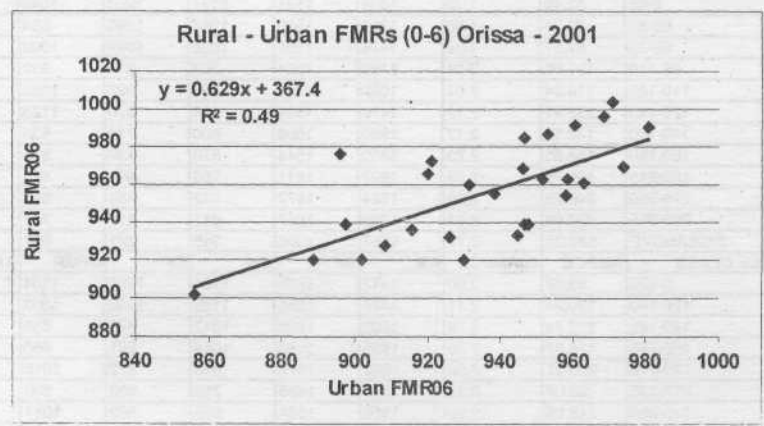


Figure - 7b

Table 2 : Population, population in the age group 0-6 and literates by residence and sex- India, States/Union territories and Districts : 2001

Code No.	India/State /Union territory/Di	Total Rural Urban	Population			0-6 Population			Literates			FMR06	CFMR
			Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		
21	Orissa	Total	36,706,920	18,612,340	18,094,580	5,180,551	2,656,046	2,524,505	20,053,785	12,118,256	7,935,529	950	972
		Rural	31,210,602	15,711,853	15,498,749	4,551,134	2,329,380	2,221,754	16,113,928	9,845,113	6,268,815	954	986
		Urban	5,496,318	2,900,487	2,595,831	629,417	326,666	302,751	3,939,857	2,273,143	1,666,714	927	895
1	Bargarh	Total	1,345,601	681,012	664,589	167,861	85,915	81,946	755,245	463,767	291,478	954	976
		Rural	1,242,101	627,549	614,552	155,991	79,791	76,200	682,124	421,956	260,168	955	979
		Urban	103,500	53,463	50,037	11,870	6,124	5,746	73,121	41,811	31,310	938	936
2	Jharsugud	Total	509,056	261,555	247,501	64,229	32,936	31,293	317,920	189,856	128,064	950	946
		Rural	323,738	163,898	159,840	41,836	21,342	20,494	190,085	114,490	75,595	960	975
		Urban	185,318	97,657	87,661	22,393	11,594	10,799	127,835	75,366	52,469	931	898
3	Sambalpur	Total	928,889	471,555	457,334	117,953	60,085	57,868	543,377	324,515	218,862	963	970
		Rural	674,617	339,420	335,197	89,348	45,388	43,960	371,327	224,647	146,680	969	988
		Urban	254,272	132,135	122,137	28,605	14,697	13,908	172,050	99,868	72,182	946	924
4	Debagarh	Total	274,095	138,425	135,670	41,496	21,151	20,345	141,384	86,535	54,849	962	980
		Rural	254,010	127,913	126,097	38,990	19,867	19,123	127,872	78,715	49,157	963	986
		Urban	20,085	10,512	9,573	2,506	1,284	1,222	13,512	7,820	5,692	952	911
5	Sundargar	Total	1,829,412	934,902	894,510	255,989	129,709	126,280	1,026,220	609,440	416,780	974	957
		Rural	1,200,520	602,043	598,477	181,227	91,308	89,919	566,504	345,936	220,568	985	994
		Urban	628,892	332,859	296,033	74,762	38,401	36,361	459,716	263,504	196,212	947	889
6	Kendujhar	Total	1,561,521	789,826	771,695	237,224	120,870	116,354	791,306	485,224	306,082	963	977
		Rural	1,348,577	678,239	670,338	208,097	105,999	102,098	654,296	404,355	249,941	963	988
		Urban	212,944	111,587	101,357	29,127	14,871	14,256	137,010	80,869	56,141	959	908
7	Mayurbha	Total	2,221,782	1,121,982	1,099,800	355,281	181,818	173,463	978,652	624,088	354,564	954	980
		Rural	2,066,375	1,039,952	1,026,423	337,962	172,973	164,989	863,557	558,403	305,154	954	987
		Urban	155,407	82,030	73,377	17,319	8,845	8,474	115,095	65,685	49,410	958	895
8	Baleshwar	Total	2,023,056	1,037,938	985,118	285,080	147,376	137,704	1,232,838	728,008	504,830	934	949
		Rural	1,802,862	923,220	879,642	257,973	133,439	124,534	1,078,959	640,803	438,156	933	953
		Urban	220,194	114,718	105,476	27,107	13,937	13,170	153,879	87,205	66,674	945	919
9	Bhadrak	Total	1,332,249	675,162	657,087	184,336	95,040	89,296	856,852	495,639	361,213	940	973
		Rural	1,191,299	602,176	589,123	165,144	85,182	79,962	769,323	444,989	324,334	939	978
		Urban	140,950	72,986	67,964	19,192	9,858	9,334	87,529	50,650	36,879	947	931
10	Kendrapar	Total	1,301,856	646,356	655,500	170,005	87,848	82,157	875,212	489,382	385,830	935	1,014
		Rural	1,227,728	608,287	619,441	161,082	83,190	77,892	821,019	459,268	361,751	936	1,018
		Urban	74,128	38,069	36,059	8,923	4,658	4,265	54,193	30,114	24,079	916	947

11	Jagatsingh	Total	1,056,556	538,542	518,014	119,102	62,125	56,977	746,275	423,840	322,435	917	962
		Rural	952,235	480,211	472,024	107,448	55,955	51,493	669,509	377,504	292,005	920	983
		Urban	104,321	58,331	45,990	11,654	6,170	5,484	76,766	46,336	30,430	889	788
12	Cuttack	Total	2,340,686	1,207,569	1,133,117	273,665	140,976	132,689	1,573,646	911,467	662,179	941	938
		Rural	1,699,109	865,051	834,058	209,422	107,995	101,427	1,093,324	636,567	456,757	939	964
		Urban	641,577	342,518	299,059	64,243	32,981	31,262	480,322	274,900	205,422	948	873
13	Jajapur	Total	1,622,868	822,638	800,230	209,370	108,362	101,008	1,020,337	590,647	429,690	932	973
		Rural	1,549,923	784,360	765,563	201,073	104,054	97,019	967,089	560,384	406,705	932	976
		Urban	72,945	38,278	34,667	8,297	4,308	3,989	53,248	30,263	22,985	926	906
14	Dhankanal	Total	1,065,983	543,439	522,544	141,053	73,516	67,537	648,511	382,100	266,411	919	962
		Rural	973,196	494,582	478,614	131,075	68,270	62,805	578,260	342,205	236,055	920	968
		Urban	92,787	48,857	43,930	9,978	5,246	4,732	70,251	39,895	30,356	902	899
15	Anugul	Total	1,139,341	586,903	552,438	158,529	81,979	76,550	680,718	414,163	266,555	934	941
		Rural	980,954	501,012	479,942	140,027	72,230	67,797	561,063	344,239	216,824	939	958
		Urban	158,387	85,891	72,496	18,502	9,749	8,753	119,655	69,924	49,731	898	844
16	Nayagarh	Total	863,934	445,658	418,276	110,112	57,938	52,174	535,385	322,686	212,699	901	939
		Rural	826,882	426,277	400,605	106,242	55,853	50,389	506,849	306,665	200,184	902	940
		Urban	37,052	19,381	17,671	3,870	2,085	1,785	28,536	16,021	12,515	856	912
17	Khordha	Total	1,874,405	986,003	888,402	222,141	115,686	106,455	1,324,892	769,202	555,690	920	901
		Rural	1,069,630	543,066	526,564	136,368	70,738	65,630	696,086	403,020	293,066	928	970
		Urban	804,775	442,937	361,838	85,773	44,948	40,825	628,806	366,182	262,624	908	817
18	Puri	Total	1,498,604	761,397	737,207	181,751	94,615	87,136	1,032,352	591,627	440,725	921	968
		Rural	1,294,802	655,256	639,546	160,360	83,531	76,829	882,236	508,046	374,190	920	976
		Urban	203,802	106,141	97,661	21,391	11,084	10,307	150,116	83,581	66,535	930	920
19	Ganjam	Total	3,136,937	1,568,568	1,568,369	468,557	242,971	225,586	1,679,600	1,039,075	640,525	928	1,000
		Rural	2,598,746	1,291,991	1,306,755	407,181	209,713	197,468	1,303,914	820,527	483,387	942	1,011
		Urban	538,191	276,577	261,614	61,376	33,258	28,118	375,686	218,548	157,138	845	946
20	Gajapati	Total	518,448	255,288	263,160	89,752	45,731	44,021	178,891	115,547	63,344	963	1,031
		Rural	465,675	228,760	236,915	83,770	42,616	41,154	145,120	96,338	48,782	966	1,036
		Urban	52,773	26,528	26,245	5,982	3,115	2,867	33,771	19,209	14,562	920	989



08 Baleshwar	Total	1,696,583	867,641	828,942	297,039	151,202	145,837	965	Bargarh	971 Total
	Rural	1,542,431	786,278	756,153	272,536	138,620	133,916	966	Jharsuguda	967 Total
	Urban	154,152	81,363	72,789	24,503	12,582	11,921	947	Sambalpur	974 Total
09 Bhadrak	Total	1,105,834	557,017	548,817	197,461	100,984	96,477	#DIV/0!	Debagarh	965 Total
	Rural	995,993	499,368	496,625	177,307	90,747	86,560	955	Sundargarh	967 Total
	Urban	109,841	57,649	52,192	20,154	10,237	9,917	954	Kendujhar	981 Total
10 Kendrapara	Total	1,149,501	572,703	576,798	188,518	97,090	91,428	#DIV/0!	Mayurbhanj	962 Total
	Rural	1,086,266	540,061	546,205	178,528	91,811	86,717	942	Baleshwar	965 Total
	Urban	63,235	32,642	30,593	9,990	5,279	4,711	945	Bhadrak	955 Total
11 Jagatsingh	Total	933,789	472,412	461,377	143,178	73,768	69,410	892	Kendrapara	942 Total
	Rural	857,697	429,471	428,226	129,976	67,027	62,949	#DIV/0!	Jagatsinghap	941 Total
	Urban	76,092	42,941	33,151	13,202	6,741	6,461	945	Cuttack	945 Total
12 Cuttack	Total	2,053,192	1,068,469	984,723	308,208	158,439	149,769	941	Jajapur	946 Total
	Rural	1,567,331	799,458	767,873	243,750	125,285	118,465	939	Dhenkanal	957 Total
	Urban	485,861	269,011	216,850	64,458	33,154	31,304	958	Anugul	961 Total
13 Jajapur	Total	1,386,177	701,005	685,172	237,609	122,092	115,517	#DIV/0!	Nayagarh	950 Total
	Rural	1,332,746	672,570	660,176	229,213	117,811	111,402	945	Khordha	949 Total
	Urban	53,431	28,435	24,996	8,396	4,281	4,115	946	Puri	945 Total
14 Dhenkanal	Total	947,870	485,176	462,694	153,744	78,562	75,182	944	Ganjam	952 Total
	Rural	869,758	443,358	426,400	142,229	72,627	69,602	#DIV/0!	Gajapati	979 Total
	Urban	78,112	41,818	36,294	11,515	5,935	5,580	946	Kandhamal	990 Total
15 Anugul	Total	961,037	494,901	466,136	168,763	86,055	82,708	961	Baudh	1004 Total
	Rural	850,914	433,514	417,400	150,386	76,679	73,707	961	Sonapur	972 Total
	Urban	110,123	61,387	48,736	18,377	9,376	9,001	960	Balangir	976 Total
								#DIV/0!	Nuapada	999 Total
								961	Kalahandi	1003 Total
								961	Rayagada	1005 Total
								960	Nabarangapur	999 Total
								960	Koraput	1019 Total
								961	Malkangiri	1000 Total
								960	Orissa	949 Urban
								#DIV/0!	Bargarh	957 Urban

16	Nayagarh	Total	782,647	399,701	382,946	120,244	61,658	58,586	950	Jharsuguda	954	Urban
		Rural	756,403	385,807	370,596	116,758	59,859	56,899	951	Sambalpur	964	Urban
		Urban	26,244	13,894	12,350	3,486	1,799	1,687	938	Debagarh	946	Urban
17	Khordha	Total	1,502,014	789,334	712,680	230,061	118,033	112,028	#DIV/0!	Sundargarh	930	Urban
		Rural	985,733	499,538	486,195	159,843	81,924	77,919	949	Kendujhar	964	Urban
		Urban	516,281	289,796	226,485	70,218	36,109	34,109	945	Mayurbhanj	948	Urban
18	Puri	Total	1,305,365	662,764	642,601	200,421	103,065	97,356	#DIV/0!	Baleshwar	947	Urban
		Rural	1,141,886	576,392	565,494	177,339	91,107	86,232	945	Bhadrak	969	Urban
		Urban	163,479	86,372	77,107	23,082	11,958	11,124	946	Kendrapara	892	Urban
19	Ganjam	Total	2,704,056	1,348,042	1,356,014	464,905	238,216	226,689	#DIV/0!	Jagatsinghap	958	Urban
		Rural	2,280,303	1,129,831	1,150,472	402,477	206,208	196,269	952	Cuttack	944	Urban
		Urban	423,753	218,211	205,542	62,428	32,008	30,420	950	Jajapur	961	Urban
20	Gajapati	Total	454,708	224,329	230,379	84,462	42,687	41,775	#DIV/0!	Dhenkanal	940	Urban
		Rural	407,939	200,738	207,201	78,031	39,351	38,680	952	Anugul	960	Urban
		Urban	46,769	23,591	23,178	6,431	3,336	3,095	928	Nayagarh	938	Urban
21	Kandhamal	Total	546,281	273,234	273,047	103,450	51,995	51,455	#DIV/0!	Khordha	945	Urban
		Rural	510,819	254,240	256,379	98,084	49,239	48,845	990	Puri	930	Urban
		Urban	35,662	18,994	16,668	5,366	2,756	2,610	947	Ganjam	950	Urban
22	Baudh	Total	317,622	159,860	157,762	51,918	25,903	26,015	#DIV/0!	Gajapati	928	Urban
		Rural	302,164	151,888	150,276	49,547	24,700	24,847	1004	Kandhamal	947	Urban
		Urban	15,458	7,972	7,486	2,371	1,203	1,168	1006	Baudh	971	Urban
23	Sonapur	Total	476,815	240,985	235,830	80,622	40,881	39,741	#DIV/0!	Sonapur	914	Urban
		Rural	441,985	222,942	219,043	75,099	37,995	37,104	971	Balangir	936	Urban
		Urban	34,830	18,043	16,787	5,523	2,886	2,637	972	Nuapada	972	Urban
									977	Kalahandi	946	Urban
									971	Rayagada	989	Urban
									971	Nabarangapur	971	Urban
									972	Koraput	990	Urban
									977	Malkangiri	983	Urban
									914			
									#DIV/0!			

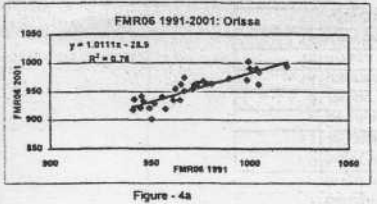
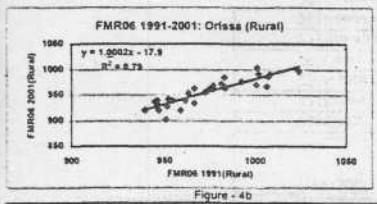
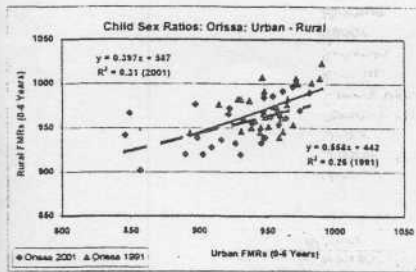
24 Balangir	Total	1,230,938	621,486	609,452	198,514	100,439	98,075	976
	Rural	1,101,518	553,736	547,782	179,224	90,476	88,748	981
	Urban	129,420	67,750	61,670	19,290	9,963	9,327	936
							#DIV/0!	
25 Nuapada	Total	469,482	234,462	235,020	81,891	40,973	40,918	999
	Rural	443,717	221,271	222,446	77,548	38,771	38,777	1000
	Urban	25,765	13,191	12,574	4,343	2,202	2,141	972
							#DIV/0!	
26 Kalahandi	Total	1,130,903	565,595	565,308	182,914	91,309	91,605	1003
	Rural	1,052,740	524,842	527,898	170,642	85,002	85,640	1008
	Urban	78,163	40,753	37,410	12,272	6,307	5,965	946
							#DIV/0!	
27 Rayagada	Total	713,984	354,911	359,073	126,379	63,042	63,337	1005
	Rural	624,658	309,229	315,429	112,842	56,235	56,607	1007
	Urban	89,326	45,682	43,644	13,537	6,807	6,730	989
							#DIV/0!	
28 Nabarangana	Total	846,659	425,759	420,900	168,047	84,057	83,990	999
	Rural	804,542	404,417	400,125	160,813	80,387	80,426	1000
	Urban	42,117	21,342	20,775	7,234	3,670	3,564	971
							#DIV/0!	
29 Koraput	Total	1,029,577	517,074	512,503	186,111	92,198	93,913	1019
	Rural	857,872	428,275	429,597	158,317	78,234	80,083	1024
	Urban	171,705	88,799	82,906	27,794	13,964	13,830	990
							#DIV/0!	
30 Malkangiri	Total	422,326	212,776	209,550	83,309	41,655	41,654	1000
	Rural	387,898	194,921	192,977	77,311	38,630	38,681	1001
	Urban	34,428	17,855	16,573	5,998	3,025	2,973	983



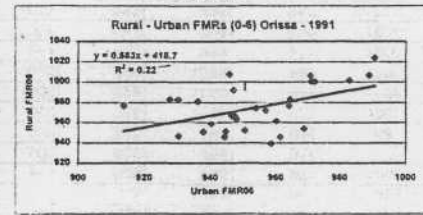
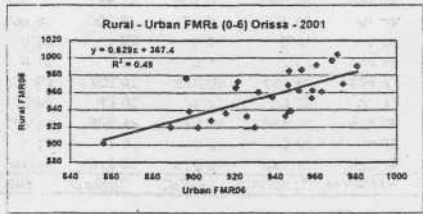
FMRs (Females per 1000 males) among children (0-6 years) :Orissa - 1991 and 2001: Urban and Rural

DistCoIn	District	FMR06U2k1	FMR06ru2k1	FMR06T2k1	CFMRru	CFMRU	CFMRT	fmr0691U	fmr0691R	fmr0691T	%Urban06
1	Bargarh	938	955	954	979	936	976	957	972	971	7
2	Jharsuguda	931	960	950	975	898	946	954	974	967	35
3	Sambalpur	946	969	963	988	924	970	964	977	974	24
4	Debagarh	952	963	962	986	911	980	946	966	965	6
5	Sundargarh	947	985	974	994	889	957	930	983	967	29
6	Kenduihar	959	963	963	988	908	977	964	983	981	12
7	Mavurbhanj	958	954	954	987	895	980	948	963	962	5
8	Baleshwar	945	933	934	953	919	949	947	966	965	10
9	Bhadrak	947	939	940	978	931	973	969	954	955	10
10	Kendrapara	916	936	935	1018	947	1014	892	945	942	5
11	Jagatsinghapur	889	920	917	983	788	962	958	939	941	10
12	Cuttack	948	939	941	964	873	938	944	946	945	23
13	Jajapur	926	932	932	976	906	973	961	946	946	4
14	Dhenkanal	902	920	919	968	899	962	940	958	957	7
15	Anugul	898	939	934	958	844	941	960	961	961	12
16	Navagarh	856	902	901	940	912	939	938	951	950	4
17	Khordha	908	928	920	970	817	901	945	951	949	39
18	Puri	930	920	921	976	920	968	930	946	945	12
19	Ganjam	845	942	928	1011	946	1000	950	952	952	13
20	Gajapati	920	966	963	1036	989	1031	928	983	979	7
21	Kandhamal	896	977	973	1011	928	1008	947	992	990	5
22	Baudh	848	967	962	987	938	985	971	1006	1004	4
23	Sonapur	963	961	961	969	926	966	914	977	972	6
24	Balangir	921	972	967	990	930	983	936	981	976	9
25	Nuapada	974	970	970	1008	969	1006	972	1000	999	5
26	Kalahandi	981	990	990	1006	929	1000	946	1008	1003	6
27	Rayagada	953	986	983	1039	969	1029	989	1007	1005	10
28	Nabarangapur	971	1004	1002	997	928	992	971	1000	999	4
29	Koraput	968	997	993	1009	948	998	990	1024	1019	12
30	Malkangiri	961	992	990	1002	933	996	983	1001	1000	6
0	Orissa	927	954	950	986	895	972	949	969	967	12

	FMR06U2k1	FMR06ru2k1	FMR06T2k1	CFMRru	CFMRU	CFMRT	fmr0691U	fmr0691R	fmr0691T	%Urban06
Mean	929.95	955.97	953.19	988.29	915.05	976.68	951.53	973.66	971.30	11.35
Standard Error	6.66	4.75	4.70	4.19	7.67	5.24	3.88	4.22	4.05	1.70
Median	941.62	960.72	957.68	987.11	925.18	976.46	949.12	973.06	966.70	8.17
Standard Devia	36.45	26.03	25.73	22.97	42.02	28.72	21.25	23.12	22.17	9.30
Sample Varian	1328.94	677.55	662.00	527.63	1766.07	825.09	451.49	534.71	491.35	86.49
Kurtosis	0.28	-0.76	-0.69	0.10	2.51	0.47	1.01	-0.89	-0.85	2.52
Skewness	-0.94	-0.07	-0.04	0.27	-1.28	-0.31	-0.49	0.36	0.48	1.80
Range	135.18	101.75	101.97	99.38	200.90	129.82	98.00	84.48	77.68	35.10
Minimum	845.45	902.17	900.51	939.78	788.43	901.01	892.40	939.16	940.92	3.51
Maximum	980.63	1003.92	1002.49	1039.16	989.33	1030.84	990.40	1023.63	1018.60	38.61
Sum	27898.44	28679.11	28595.80	29648.60	27451.41	29300.48	28546.04	29209.66	29138.92	340.43
Count	30.00	30.00	30.00	30.00	30.00	30.00	30.00	30.00	30.00	30.00
Largest(2)	973.75	996.63	993.14	1035.65	968.99	1028.98	988.69	1007.51	1004.68	34.86
Smallest(2)	848.35	919.77	917.13	952.80	816.91	938.35	913.72	944.52	941.68	3.51
Confidence Lev	13.61	9.72	9.61	8.58	15.69	10.73	7.93	8.63	8.28	3.47



DistCode	District	FMR06U2k1	FMR06R2k1
0	Orissa	927	954
19	Ganjam	845	942
22	Baundh	848	967
16	Nayagam	856	902
11	Jagatsing	889	920
21	Kancham	896	977
15	Anugul	898	939
14	Dhenkana	902	920
17	Khordha	906	923
10	Kendrapar	916	936
20	Galapati	920	966
24	Balangr	921	972
13	Jajapur	926	932
18	Pun	930	920
2	Jharsugud	931	960
1	Bargam	938	955
8	Baleswar	945	933
3	Sambalpu	946	969
9	Bhadrak	947	939
5	Sundargar	947	985
12	Cuttack	949	939
4	Debagarh	952	963
27	Ravagada	953	986
7	Mayuraha	958	954
6	Kenujhar	959	963
30	Malkangon	961	992
23	Sonapur	963	961
29	Koraput	968	997
28	Nabarang	971	1004
25	Nuapada	974	970
26	Kalahand	981	990



fmr0691U	fmr0691R	District
892	945	Kendrapara
914	977	Sonapur
928	983	Galapati
930	983	Sundargarh
930	946	Pun
936	961	Balangir
938	951	Nayagam
940	958	Dhenkanal
944	946	Cuttack
945	951	Khordha
946	1008	Kalahandi
946	966	Debagam
947	992	Kandhamal
947	966	Baleswar
948	963	Mayurbhanj
950	952	Ganjam
954	974	Jharsuguda
957	972	Bargam
958	939	Jagatsinghpur
960	961	Anugul
961	946	Jajapur
964	977	Sambalpur
964	983	Kendujhar
969	954	Bhadrak
971	1008	Baundh
971	1000	Nabarangapur
972	1000	Nuapada
983	1001	Malkangiri
989	1007	Ravagada
990	1024	Koraput
949	969	Orissa

Figure - 7b

Figure - 7a

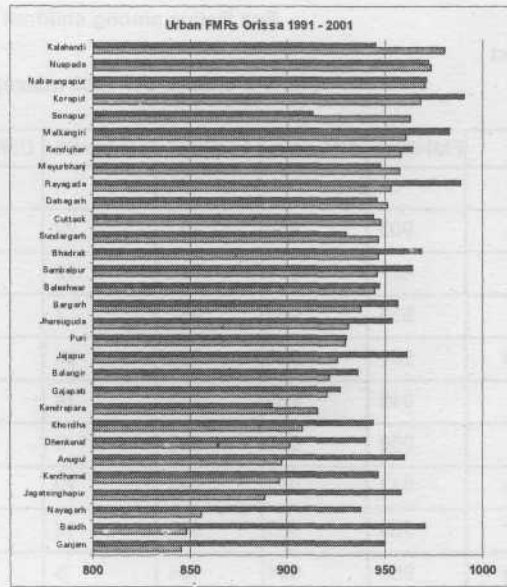
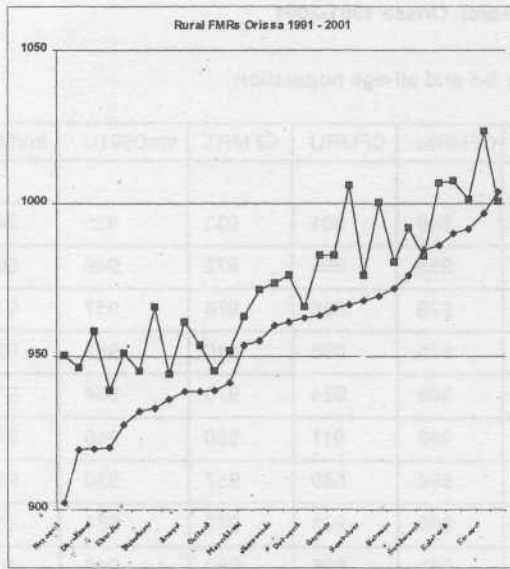
Figure - 4a

Sex Ratios among children (0-6 Years): Orissa 1991-2001

State/District

FMRs (Females per 1000 males) in the 0-6 and all-age population

	FMR06U	FMR06ru	FMR06T	%Urban06	Diff06R-U	CFMRru	CFMRU	CFMRT	fmr0691U	fmr0691R
2										
INDIA	903	934	927	22	31	946	901	933	935	948
Orissa	927	954	950	12	27	986	895	972	949	969
Bargarh	938	955	954	7	17	979	936	976	957	972
Jharsuguda	931	960	950	35	29	975	898	946	954	974
Sambalpur	946	969	963	24	22	988	924	970	964	977
Debagarh	952	963	962	6	11	986	911	980	946	966
Sundargarh	947	985	974	29	38	994	889	957	930	983
Kendujhar	959	963	963	12	5	988	908	977	964	983
Mayurbhanj	958	954	954	5	-4	987	895	980	948	963
Baleshwar	945	933	934	10	-12	953	919	949	947	966
Bhadrak	947	939	940	10	-8	978	931	973	969	954
Kendrapara	916	936	935	5	21	1018	947	1014	892	945
Jagatsinghapur	889	920	917	10	31	983	788	962	958	939
Cuttack	948	939	941	23	-9	964	873	938	944	946
Jajapur	926	932	932	4	6	976	906	973	961	946
Dhenkanal	902	920	919	7	18	968	899	962	940	958
Anugul	898	939	934	12	41	958	844	941	960	961
Nayagarh	856	902	901	4	46	940	912	939	938	951
Khordha	908	928	920	39	20	970	817	901	945	951
Puri	930	920	921	12	-10	976	920	968	930	946
Ganjam	845	942	928	13	96	1011	946	1000	950	952
Gajapati	920	966	963	7	45	1036	989	1031	928	983
Kandhamal	896	977	973	5	80	1014	928	1008	947	992
Baudh	848	967	962	4	118	987	938	985	971	1006
Sonapur	963	961	961	6	-2	969	926	966	914	977
Balangir	921	972	967	9	51	990	930	983	936	981
Nuapada	974	970	970	5	-4	1008	969	1006	972	1000
Kalahandi	981	990	990	6	10	1006	929	1000	946	1008
Rayagada	953	986	983	10	33	1039	969	1029	989	1007
Nabarangapur	971	1004	1002	4	33	997	928	992	971	1000
Koraput	968	997	993	12	28	1009	948	998	990	1024
Malkangiri	961	992	990	6	31	1002	933	996	983	1001



FMRs 1991		FMRs 2001	
Orissa	927	Orissa	954
Ganjam	845	Nayagarh	902
Boudh	848	Puri	920
Nayagarh	856	Dhenkanal	920
Jagatsinghpur	869	Jagatsinghpur	920
Kandhamal	896	Khordha	928
Anugul	898	Jajpur	932
Dhenkanal	902	Baleswar	933
Khordha	908	Kandhamal	936
Kandhamal	916	Anugul	939
Gajapati	920	Bhadrak	939
Balangir	921	Cuttack	939
Jajpur	926	Ganjam	942
Puri	930	Malangiri	954
Jharsuguda	931	Bargarh	956
Bargarh	938	Jharsuguda	960
Baleswar	945	Sonapur	961
Sambalpur	946	Dahalah	963
Bhadrak	947	Kandhamal	963
Sundargarh	947	Gajapati	966
Cuttack	948	Boudh	967
Dahalah	952	Sambalpur	969
Rayagada	953	Nuapada	970
Malangiri	958	Balangir	972
Kandhamal	959	Kandhamal	977
Malangiri	961	Sundargarh	986
Sonapur	963	Rayagada	986
Koraput	968	Kalahandi	990
Nabarangpur	971	Malangiri	992
Nuapada	974	Koraput	997
Kandhamal	981	Nabarangpur	1004
			1000



# WOMEN IN A GLOBALISING WORLD: SATI IN A NEW GARB

Vidya Das

## INTRODUCTION :

The sunshade was the baby cot, in fact, half the family, the two youngest along with the mother slept on the sun shade, the rest of them, a slightly older child, and two men, perhaps brothers, slept on the roof. In the morning, when the mother had to go away for nearly an hour for her ablutions, the infant would be left with a toddler to keep it from falling off the sunshade. There was little other place to sleep, the rooms were half constructed, and full of grit, and cement and splintered boards, and nails. That ofcourse did not affect the play of the children, who happily picked their way in the middle of all the grit and grime, and alternated between the sand heap at the bottom of the building, and the sun shade in their rough and tumble games. Their mother, was joined by another woman during the day, and they did most of the heavy back breaking work including carrying bricks and sand to the top floor of the triple storied house. This, a scene from our capital city of Bhubaneswar, could be repeated with variations in almost every city in the country today. This paper is an attempt to understand the implications of globalisation as it affects the women from the poorer communities and the unorganised sector, which includes by far the majority of women and men in this country. It does not purport to be an exhaustive analysis, but more exploratory in nature, seeking to identify the major concerns.

Globalisation has affected different people in different ways, but perhaps where it has been most successful is in creating a global network of indifference. There are signs of growing disparity all around us. Even as we, the educated elite go around with our hectic schedules, the growing divide hits us in the little children who scrounge around in dumps that make us shudder even to pass by, in the increasingly shabby dwellings, and even the lack of it for more and more people, in the increasing number of famished half starved people who have nothing to look forward that we see everywhere around us. Perhaps this is the ultimate success of globalisation, and those who support it, should be proud: of the way globalisation has ultimately prioritised commerce and material success over almost everything human.

In this race for commerce and economic gains, women are losing out. They are loosing out, as are other classes of the underprivileged and exploited. The women's tragedy is not a unique story, it is going in tandem with the stories of several thousands of other communities, and we need not pity ourselves any more than we pity the others. Within the state of Orissa, reforms and liberalisations have lead to a progressive deterioration of the economy. The state has moved from a revenue surplus in 1983-84 to a revenue deficit of Rs.1583 crores in 1998-99. Orissa

Govt. laments that 'General Education' soaks up 1166.7 crores, but does not look at the fact that its interest payment liabilities on debt siphons of 1292 crores of the states revenue expenditure as per 1997-98 figures. The total loan burden on the state at the end of 1999-2000 was 18100 Crores, which was 46% of the GSDP. By the end of 2001-2002 this is expected to go upto 51% of the GSDP. The interest liability of the state at 2317.60 Crores is 5.6% of the GSDP, as compared to 1.85% during 1985-86. One of the major reasons for the increasing deficit is the poor returns from Capital investment. Government reports admit that Returns from expenditure in irrigation, power projects, water supply is too meagre to meet even the organisation and management costs. Yet more expenditure in such areas is planned as you will see subsequently.

The state has been identified as one of the priority states for DFID support. DFID prioritises reforms and foreign direct investment. One needs to ask if this is what the state needs. DFID admits that their presence in Orissa for around 20 years now has not had much impact on critical development indicators. They hope to continue their interventions in the state, using the lessons from the past. Based on these lessons from the past, the first steps they have taken for the state are the power sector reforms. That they have learnt little from the past is underlined by a GOO report, which points out that the objective to make power available to industries and consumers at a competitive price has not yet materialised, despite the power sector reforms. The uninterrupted power supply by system improvement has totally failed. Despite heavy investment of Rs.2964.66 crores, the GRIDCO which is responsible for power supply is incurring loss from year to year.

In the last decade and more, when the country has embraced the principles of globalisation, and liberalisation, and taken structural adjustment to be its gospel, there is little to show in terms of a human scale of development. The visible signs of affluence are there

for all to see, whether they care to or not, in the surfeit sleek shiny automobiles that clog the urban roads, in the ease of virtual communication even in remote places in the country, in the unending choices that our markets offer us today in almost all things from rice varieties to clothes to electronic equipment that can do magical things. But, equally strident are the signs that things are falling apart. Several economists and sociologists have been insistently pointing out to the writings on the wall, the increasing malnourishment, the increase in absolute numbers of people below the poverty line, the decrease in percapita expenditure on the social sector. In his paper on the impact of the textile mill closures and subsequent policies of deregulation of labour on the poor in Ahemdabad, Jan Breman almost predicts the February carnage in Gujarat as he describes the growing tensions as also the processes which forced women to become part of the paid labour force in the city: "Social ties based on other principles than class solidarity play a leading role in the articulation of identities in the informal sector milieu. Caste and faith operate as signposts in seeking and finding work. Entitlements to favours and protection or support in the event of misfortune are also channelled along these lines. .. The suggestion that these are forms of false consciousness over emphasises their ideological aspect while denying the practical significance of caste and religion to the way in which people try to reduce their vulnerability in daily life. Such identities also permit collective action..Strengthening identities within a closed group can shift the focus of attention away from solidarity with 'others'". (Breman Jan in 'An Informalised Labour System', EPW, Dec.29, 2001). While it is not the intention here to attribute all socio-economic change to globalisation and reforms, it needs to be emphasised that the policies and practices over the last ten years have increased the debt burden of the entire country and of each state enormously, while they have done little if anything to improve the living conditions of the poor, and specially poor women.

## WOMEN & WORK :

Figures indicate, the Indian work force participation rate is 37.7% (1991 census). The rate for women is 22.7%, which is less than half the rate of 51.6% for men. The rural female participation rate is 27.2%, nearly thrice as much as the urban female participation rate of 9.7%. The percentage of labourers employed as main workers is higher among men than among women. In the case of marginal workers, this proportion is larger among women than among men. The majority of the main workers (66.8%) are employed in agricultural and allied industrial sectors. The proportion of women employed in this sector is 80.7%, compared to 62.7% for men. In rural areas 89.5% of the total female employed are engaged in the agricultural and allied industrial sector. (FAO). In Orissa, 27.28% of the total workers are women. Main workers constitute 58.2% and marginal workers 41.8% of the total. The unorganised primary sector absorbs as much as 82.7% of the female work force, and agriculture accounts for 80.9% out of this. This is according to 1991 census. (Economic Survey 1999-2000, Government of Orissa.)

It has been widely argued that globalisation and reforms will increase employment opportunities, and create more jobs, but over the years, one finds that there has been an increasing casualisation of employment, and the percentage of casual workers has gone up significantly for men as well as for women. At the All India level, estimates indicate that casual employment fell by 1.1% per annum in the period from 1983 to 1990-91, and then rose by 3.3% per annum in the period 1990-91 to 1996-97, indicating that the deregulation of labour markets has led to increased casualisation in the post-reform period ('Casualisation of Urban Labour Force' by Jesim Pais, EPW, Feb.16.). The workforce participation figures for 2001 have not been published as yet. But if we look at the organised sector employment figures for women in Orissa, we find that a total of 93276 women are employed in the organised sector in the year 1998 as against, 72301 in the year 1991 (Economic Survey of Orissa, 1999-

2000). The percentage of women employed in the organised sector has gone up by 0.1% in the 1991-98 period, as against a decennial population growth of 15.4%. The decade long commitment to globalisation has done little then to address the question of increasing number of women in the unorganised sector, as in absolute terms, their number would have increased by several lakhs.

This is as far as statistics takes us. But, if we peer behind statistics, into the real life issues of working women, we find the situation more alarming than ever. In the rural and tribal regions, globalisation has led to rise in the prices of essential commodities, including rice and kerosene. Thus even those who have BPL cards are by and large unable to buy food as they do not have the money for it. On the other hand, there has been little corresponding change in the prices of agricultural produce. Wage labour rates have been officially raised, but, there has been no increase in employment opportunities in the rural and tribal hinterlands. In the tribal regions, people continue to eke out a living depending on various forms of migration, within the state or district, often times outside, and slogging it out in a buyers' wage market at pitifully low rates of wage employment.

This, even after the outcry regarding surplus food stocks in the godowns. Thus actual wages earned by the labourer have hardly shown any significant improvement. Despite all legislation, women continue to get lower wages than men. The continuing practise of awarding employment works to private contractors ensures that the landless labourers, or even the small and marginal farmers who depend largely on wage labour never get paid the minimum wages that is due to them. In the processes of globalisation and reforms that have been set into motion, the voice of the people has been weakened more than ever before. The diminishing returns from agriculture forces larger and larger out of state migration on the rural population. Entire families migrate to the urban centres for employment. In the urban centres, wages are higher,

and employment more easily available. But all this is offset by the insecurity of general living conditions. Entire families become mobile colonies of labourers, trailing after a contractor. Their homes are the half constructed buildings that they are employed to construct. The plight of women in these situations is the worst, as they are doubly burdened by their vulnerability, and by having to look after the children. Sexual abuse and forced prostitution becomes rampant in these cases but, entire communities have little options, as they seek refuge from acute situations of scarcity in their own villages.

There are more than 200000 workers in just the textile mills in Surat from Orissa. most of them (85%) stay away from their families for years on end, and work in the most deplorable conditions. 'More than half (of the workforce in the textile industry) is in the 15-25 age group. Only one in ten powerloom operators is older than forty. The labour process is so exhausting that very few are able to perform adequately after middle age. Once the ability to maintain production drops below the required level, older workers are discharged without mercy. Women and children are also present in the workshops in roughly equal proportions, and together represent 12-15 percent of the workforce in the powerloom sector. Working and living conditions are wretched. The workers derive no security at all from their employment. Only a quarter of them are listed in their employer's administration under their true names. They are paid on a piece work basis and their monthly income is dependent on the degree of self-exploitation that they achieve during a 12 hour day or night shift'. (Breman, Jan; Das, Arvind in 'Down & Out' OUP, 2000)

This work in the mills has a predominance of males. But, when one realises that it is the conditions back

home that force young people to such inhuman work situations, in places far away then perhaps one would get a feeling of the acute situation of poverty that people suffer in the villages. Such conditions of poverty would be affecting women, children and men alike. It is not only to Surat that men migrate, from the districts of Gajapati, Bolangir, Kalahandi, people migrate to places as far away as Assam. One needs to really question policies which usher in an age of so-called progress, but force an increasing number of people to seek livelihoods outside their homes in the most dehumanising conditions.

An estimated equal number of women and men (200000) migrate every year from Nuapada and Bloangir, to work in brick kilns, or pull rickshaws or do odd jobs in Raipur and Andhrapradesh. To state that the conditions in the brick kilns are inhuman is to put it mildly. The linking of wages to production in a situation of acute labour scarcity forces the labourers to push themselves beyond all human limits. Often people die before they can return home. Nobody has any count of how many people left, and how many people returned. Even pregnant women and children migrate. (Max Martin from the Inter Press Service, Bolangir, India - November 17, 1999)

When women are left behind, they face multiple burden of looking after the family and the fields, and making ends meet single-handedly, while the money coming in from men in far away places is extremely irregular, and scarcely adequate. In a study on food security, we came across several cases where men had come back from more than 6 months of almost forced labour in places like Assam, with barely Rs.2000. often times, women are forced into debt, and the money brought back by their spouses is scarcely enough for repayment of these loans!



## THE HEALTH IMPLICATIONS :

Sarathi Sabara's wife had gone to lift the PDS rations from Ghati Tala, 8 km downhill from Tilli in the Lailai Panchayat of Gajapati District. Sarathi himself had gone for wage labour and so she had little options. She was 9 months pregnant with her third child. A couple of days after undertaking this difficult task, she went into labour and was unable to recover following the delivery of the child. Sarathi went to Narayanpur, 23 kms away. The private doctor from Narayanpur refused to come and sent his compounder instead. On seeing her condition, the compounder declared that he was helpless, and suggested that Sarathi take his wife to Rayagada, the Block headquarters, 40kms away. However, she was in no condition to be moved, as she was in too much pain, and eventually died.

This is not a unique occurrence. In the tribal districts of Orissa, people suffer, and very often die for want of medical attention. As distances to health centres are high and medical functionaries few and far between, people have little options. One also needs to realise however that the problems of ill-health in the tribal regions are compounded by poverty and, chronic food shortage leading to malnourishment. Health is not just a matter of services at the right time, but of helping to ensure the quality of life necessary for good living. There is little literature on how the policies of globalisation affect the health of populations and of the vulnerable sections in the population. Are displaced communities at least as healthy as they were before displacement, has people's food intake improved over the last decade of globalisation. There are several studies that indicate poverty levels have actually gone up all over the country, as also in Orissa. Infant mortality, considered one of the most sensitive indicators of the well-being of a community also continues to be high in the country, as also in Orissa.

## Trends in Infant Mortality Rate in Different States in India Over Three Years

State/UT	1996	1997	1998
Andhra Pradesh	65	63	66
Assam	74	76	78
Bihar	71	71	67
Gujarat	61	62	64
Haryana	68	68	69
Karnataka	53	53	58
Kerala	14	12	16
Madhya Pradesh	94	94	97
Maharashtra	48	47	49
Orissa	96	96	98
Punjab	51	51	54
Rajasthan	85	85	83
Tamil Nadu	53	53	53
Uttar Pradesh	85	85	85
West Bengal	55	55	53
All India	72	71	72

Source : SRS India.

Orissa is getting significant quantum of external assistance for health and family welfare. The World Bank provides a loan assistance of 348.8 crores for the The Orissa Health Systems Development Project. Nearly a third of the outlay for the project is to be utilised for the building programmes. The third phase of Orissa Health & Family Welfare Reform Project is under implementation in the State with assistance from DFID. With already an overwhelming burden of debt on the state, the wisdom of going in for further loans for its welfare programmes is highly questionable. The stated focus of the health sector in Orissa is to "improve access to health care for the underserved segments of the population." The objectives of the health sector prioritise "provision of adequate and qualitative preventive and curative health care to the people of the State; improvement of maternal and child health and in particular reduction in maternal and infant mortality. In the light of the recent statistics

which indicate Orissa has the highest infant mortality amongst the 15 major states in the country, and this rate has shown a rising trend, the objectives outlined by the Health Sector have an extremely hollow ring. One also needs to examine the role of external aid in this light, and question its efficacy. Apart from the regular programmes, the Health Sector has a multiplicity of programmes for the prevention and control and eradication of communicable diseases including TB, malaria, aids, filaria and leprosy. The regular primary health programme provides for a doctor population ratio of 1:7440 and a bed population ratio or 1:2637, as per 1998-99 figures. With 567 medical institutions functioning in 118 Blocks in 12 tribal districts, the total number of medical institution in the state has gone up from 1448 in 1990 to 1702 in 1999. On the ground, however, there is little succour for the sick. In the tribal regions, apart from the lone ANM running around toting up figures for sterilisation, euphemistically called 'family planning' there is little help in the time of acute health crisis. In such situations, women become doubly vulnerable with complications arising from pregnancy and child birth. There is a continuing emphasis on birth control and 'family planning' in the health programme of the state, and essential programmes of control and elimination of chronic disease is getting lesser and lesser support.

The increasing tendency toward privatisation of health services has also been a major factor affecting the health of vulnerable sections of the population including women and children, specially of marginalized communities in the tribal hinterlands. The present 'trends of not only gradual disinvestments in the public sector, but of subsidising the private sector reveals that the state is abdicating its own responsibility, and by undermining the public sector and strengthening the private is pushing the poor into a more vulnerable position.' This is already visible in the increasingly acute health situation in the tribal regions of Orissa. The inability of the poor to buy the necessary drugs for their treatment, as the prices of more and more drugs are de-controlled is reflected in the reluctance

of people to go to PHCs for treatment, and an increasing return to traditional systems.

## NATURAL RESOURCES :

More than two years back, the State Government conceded a major right to the tribal communities in the 5th Schedule [1] Areas of the State. The tribal women in Kshipur had struggled long and hard for the right to buy, process and sell minor forest produce. In 1993, the Chief Minister, Biju Patnaik had agreed to allow tribal women's groups which had formally registered to buy and sell minor forest produce. However, this right was a long time in being put into practise as the forest department was loathe to concede even this small concession to tribal groups. [2]. Then, in 1997, The Ama Sangathan in Kshipur Block of Rayagada, District, Orissa obtained the lease for the Kshipur Forest range to buy, process and sell hill brooms. Perhaps for the first time in Orissa, a tribal women's group had broken into the domain of what was till then exclusively that of the businessmen. The women of Ama Sangathan valiantly took on the challenge of producing brooms for the market, and struggled against stiff royalties of the forest department, huge delays in permits and slowly learnt the tricks of the trade. Then, on 1st April 2000, under the new Naveen Patnaik Government, the rights over minor forest produce were finally handed to the Panchayats and all systems of royalties, permits, etc. were lifted within the state[3]. This was a major policy change, which seemed to affirm the commitment of the State Government towards the welfare and development of its poorest communities. The policy did have several drawbacks still. It was not supported by any appropriate pricing systems, so tribals were selling their products at as low rates as ever. Moreover, the Panchayats were having the power, and there was apprehension that people would be entrapped by the Panchayats which would take bribes and play fowl.[4] However, in Kshipur, where Ama Sangathan was very much in the race, the prices of minor forest produce went up way beyond the support prices, and stabilised at nearly

double those rates. This was a clear indication of the need for constructive intervention, whereby people could get due supports for their products[5].

Globalisation is primarily about resources. It is an effort by a few institutions, including a some Governments, financial institutions and corporations to have an increasing control over the world's resources. It is a co-option of weaker national governments by this handful of institutions to have un-hindered access to the resources of these nations, whether it be land, forests or water, or oil, and other minerals below the surface. To this end, local governments, steeped as they are in self-interest and corruption are manipulated and coerced into changing laws and policies, subverting progressive legislations that might empower the people, and giving in to international treaties. All this is done in the name of economic development, while we see that the poverty of the people in the country is on the rise. Clearly, economic development does not mean people. But how justified is it for a democratic Government to pursue a path of development that leads to increasing impoverishment of its people?

Women as also the tribal community in general in Kashipur soon realised, that the very same state which had showed some sensitivity on the issue of minor forest produce was quite indifferent when the issue of concern was something as crucial as land and livelihoods. Eager for foreign investments the government was selling away their survival resources to mining corporations. The people were horrified. It was not just a question of their survival either. An entire way of life would be destroyed. The beautiful plateaus from which rose hundreds of life-sustaining stream and which are home to some of the most powerful deities of the tribal people would be dug up, and mined. The people started a collective movement to resist the land acquisition by the mining corporations. Women got together with the men, in an effort to protect their land and forests and homes from destruction. The women did not look at gender specific issues, though as members of a patriarchal community,

they do face discrimination, and injustice. A community has to survive first as a community, if the women have to assert. As women, they perceived much more acutely, the problems of subsistence and survival they would have to face if evicted from this land, which has been their home for centuries. Thus, their voices and energies provided much more strength to the movement. They have gone for public meetings and rallies, addressed public gatherings, and faced the wrath of the police and the administration. The state in its blind high handed fashion has refused time and again to look at the legitimacy of this struggle, and has come down with repressive measures, false cases, arrests lathi-charge, and outright intimidation. The people have met in the Gram Sabhas, and passed resolutions that they would not give up their land for the Utkal Alumina Project, they have appealed time and again to authorities in the state and the central governments to listen to them. The state has come back with accusations: these people are violent, they are criminals, they are dacoits. Joining hands with Utkal Alumina International, it has encouraged criminal elements in the region, and fanned conflict between tribal and non-tribal groups. One needs to ask who is violent: a state that ignores the legitimate demands of a people and provides amnesty to lumpen elements with known criminal records, despite reports and appeals by the people, or a tribal people who have no record or history of violence, except in false police cases over the last two years as the mining companies grow desperate to start work, and try to pump money into the region?

There is no lack of recognition of the issues of displacement. Several studies by various institutions and department to assess the problems of displacement have been taken up, and reports produced on the problems displaced communities face. Leading among them is the World Bank, whose loans have perhaps engendered the maximum displacement in the state and the country. Apart from studies, the tangible suffering of communities is there for all to see.

Even several officers and bureaucrats have commented on the sufferings of the displaced, and produced entire books on the issue. Training programmes initiated by the World Bank and other funding agencies have produced volumes on R&R. There are no clear statistics on the extent of displacement in the country and the state. Even worse is the status of information on resettlement. Studies indicate that less than 30% of the displaced have been resettled. As one can see, even more than the picture of displacement, what is horrifying is the estimate of the backlog of the people who are yet to be settled as of 1994, which include projects which started in the late 1940s.

Studies on displacement indicate a dismal picture of resettlement and rehabilitation. In fact, there is little concrete data on the number of people displaced or rehabilitated. This is even more true of the projects taken up in the undivided Koraput districts, and if one tries to probe the number of people or families resettled and rehabilitated, then one is even more confounded. When the first major irrigation projects were taken post independence, the state did not have a policy of resettlement and rehabilitation. This was the case with the first major irrigation projects like the Machkund hydel project on river Duduma, completed in 1960, the Hirakud river valley project completed in 1957, the Balimela dam project, completed in 1977. It was only with the Rengali Multi-purpose irrigation project in 1973 that an R&R policy was articulated, and any kind of system introduced in the displacement of local communities in the state.

Reports of conditions of local communities of earlier displacements are horrifying to say the least. The following is a description of the situation of the Salandi dam oustees in the border regions of Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj and Baleswar Districts: "The Government rehabilitate the Dam oustees in 7 colonies near and around Hadgarh township (with) assurance that the Government would provide them with houses, reclaimed

land for agriculture, school, medical facilities and irrigation facilities in the new resettlement colonies..

"During occupation at the new resettlement there were high uplands filled with rocks and no irrigation facilities; hence they could not cultivate the little land given by the government. Only 25% of their land was reclaimed against the assurance to reclaim all their land. They had to fall back on day labour for construction of the canals and other government public works. They also took to labour in the chromite mines about 15 kms away. In these days of privation, many sold their household assets like utensils and went to the forest for roots. Tubers fruits etc. in the meantime, these villagers were affected by cyclone. Many people died due to lack of food and due to various types of dangerous diseases. according to our collected data, 1079 people died during 1971 to 1979 (in the new resettlement out of 546 families resettled)". (Mahapatra L.K.; in Development Induced Displacement, 1998, Pg.62).

But even in the projects taken up after the formulation of a clearly articulated policy, things are dismal. "The settlements around the Indravati reservoir are a deprived and marginalised lot. Though, they have sacrificed much for the reservoir, luxuries like electricity, or even irrigation is not their lot. They are still encroachers eking out a precarious living on hill slopes that the state still classifies as Government land, and will not part with even for the sake of the displaced. The worst plight is that of the displaced communities amongst these settlements. More than a decade after displacement, they still have not been recognised for government welfare. The boundaries of administration have been entirely messed up for these settlements because of the reservoir, and several of them are cut off by more than a days's journey to their Block and District Head quarters. Yet, the state has not bothered to look at these people, once it got them out of its way of development. No effort has been made to bring them into the folds of the nearer district and

block units to enable them to access Government facilities and supports. The people cannot even make a complaint to the police station if they have any problems, as the police station they can access will not accept their complaint, as it is in a different district. Hardly any of the displaced families have been able to use the compensation amount for any benefit, as land availability decreased with the huge scale of land acquisition for the dam and the reservoir, and consequent upward swing in land prices made it almost impossible for those displaced to buy land close to the sites of their new settlements. Most of the oustees have been forced to buy land several miles away, with the result, that they have not been able to make proper use of their land." (Das Vidhya in *At the Edge of Development*).

Even in the instance of the Rengali project, which had the benefit of a newly formed R&R package, reports indicate that the displaced communities have been extremely impoverished. "In the old Khemla village, all residents had either a direct or indirect stake in agriculture. There were large land holders who could engage the landless in their agricultural operation on payment of wages.. the landholders in the old village could absorb the unemployed people of the village to a significant extent.

"in the resettlement, every family has been allotted 6 acres of unirrigated infertile and uncultivable land. The yields from these lands is very low, and therefore, there is general deficit in every household. .the scope of wage earning opportunity within the village as well as in the neighbouring villages is inadequate as against the demand. (This) has forced villagers to go outside the village in search of wage-earning. 17 persons have left the village and have gone to distant places for earning a meagre living. (Behura N.K. in *"The Uprooted"*, 1990).

The NALCO project, over the privatisation of which there is so much hue and cry, outlines the callousness of project authorities once they have managed to get

people out the way. The 522 families displaced have all been re-located to Anlabadi colony. One permanent job was supposed to be given for each displaced family. But only 389 families have been given jobs. The worst part of the package, however, is perhaps the deplorable amenities in the Anlabadi colony. The plight of the women in this colony is the most pitiable, come summer. The water supply is one meagre pipeline and two tubewells. The water in the pipelines are at the leakage points rather than the spouts. The scarce supply in the summer leads to several tensions within the inhabitants, who perhaps even after having realised who is the real culprit behind this problem are unable to do anything about it. The arrangements for bathing are even poorer, and drainage is conspicuous by its absence. With no toilets, and no forests near the resettlement site, people are forced to use the open spaces. But, we need to take special note of the women's status in these situations, as the displacement and the package provided by the company have pushed them into a quasi-middle-class situation, without granting them the amenities for the middle-class. Once active contributors to the family economy, they are now devoid of avenues of work, and have become dependent on the sole nominee of the family for the job provided by NALCO. This forced unemployment, has led to a degradation of the importance of women within the household, and created a dependence where none existed before. [10]

Thus the loss to women is much more than a place to live in. That in fact is the least of their worries. But what happens when access to survival resources has been cut off, what happens when one's means of livelihood is taken away. What productive asset can you buy with twenty thousand or even fifty thousand rupees, which you will be able to use in a sustainable manner, when you do not have any experience of entrepreneurship? What productive assets can 5000 people buy at the same time, which will enable them to use it in any profitable manner, all at the same time, even if you do have experience and skills for entrepreneurship, if it is not land? Displacement forces

women to look outside their homes and villages for employment, which goes up in a sudden spurt during the project construction period. With the end of this phase, however, these women are left high and dry. The result: prostitution, destitution, disorientation almost to the point of madness. These are very real outcomes, visible in many a resettled population, but our Government ignores them all.[12]

## AGRICULTURE:

In 1996, Orissa, according to its policy document on agriculture, "adopted a bold and unique Agriculture Policy during the year. for the first time in the country to increase investment in agriculture, bring in a shift from subsistence agriculture to commercial agriculture and accorded status of industry to agriculture." The thrust areas of this policy have been identified as follows:

- ❖ Dry land agriculture on watershed basis
- ❖ Production of commercial crops - cotton, sugarcane, potato
- ❖ Argil. Intensification with water management in irrigation command
- ❖ Quality seed production through seed village approach
- ❖ Small farm mechanization & agro service centre
- ❖ Creation of farmer's market ( Kissan mandi)
- ❖ Information Technology in Agriculture
- ❖ Infrastructure development (Agro-processing, Cold storage, Seed processing etc.)

True to this policy, the state has made giant strides in commercialisation of agricultural lands, and weaning cultivators away from subsistence cropping to cash cropping. A striking example is cotton. In just the last three years, the area under cotton has gone up from 8205 to 10194 in Rayagada, from 5675 to 24010 hectares in Kalahandi, and from 3306 to 16060 hectares in Bolangir. In other districts, agricultural land has been converted to commercial eucalyptus plantations, like the JK Corps in Rayagada, Koraput and Nabrangpur,

taken up for commercial mint and tea cultivation in Keonjhar, ginger has been introduced extensively in Koraput to give just a few examples. The state has also set up an "exclusive organization The Agricultural Promotion & Investment Corporation of Orissa Limited (APICOL)" with the objective of translating the above objectives into reality through undertaking various promotional roles such as providing counselling and escort services, entrepreneurship building, extending consultancy services, disseminating information amongst entrepreneurs and above all act as a single window channelizing agency for various incentives under Agriculture Policy. Capital Investment Subsidy to commercial agri-enterprises @ 20% of the capital cost subject to a limit of Rs.20.00 lakhs is one amongst other incentives under this policy".

In all this, the state seems to have overlooked some of the essential components that should perhaps influence agricultural policy, things like food security, livelihoods, production, and sustainability. The fact of reaching near self-sufficiency in paddy production, has motivated the state to turn away from food crops and promote commercial agriculture. In Bolangir and Kalahandi, where true to this policy, more than 25 thousand hectares have been brought under cotton cultivation, unemployment and loss of livelihoods continues so rampant that people have left their homes in lakhs looking for work elsewhere. In other districts where commercial cropping has been introduced, food stress has gone up manifold. Studies and past experience indicates that commercial cropping does little for enhancing the livelihoods of the local communities. Very often, commercial cropping requires much larger investments, and a scale of operation that very few people in underdeveloped regions can afford. It also involves mechanisation on a large scale, depriving the small, marginal farmer and the land less labourer of supplementary employment as wage labourers. Women would be amongst the most affected groups, as their areas of work would be taken over by mechanisation.

The subsidies that organisations like APICOL would give would benefit the better off, who could once again use it to deny the poorer sections what little benefits they had out of agricultural labour. Such processes have been initiated in almost all places within the state, in a small or big scale with introduction of high yielding varieties of seeds, subsidies for mechanisation, and have caused the alienation of the poorer sections, and minority groups like the tribals more and more. All this would result in decrease in self-employment, and increased casualisation. This is corroborated by macro-level studies which indicates an over-all decline in employment in agro-industries, accompanied by a considerable increase in capital investment. It has been found that in most traditional communities, women play a significant role in agriculture. However, with growing commercialisation of agriculture, the role of women declines, as does the role of labour on the whole, leading to increasing marginalisation of the labour class. The need to seek alternate forms of employment often forces large sections of the community to migrate, with serious implications for women and children

#### ISSUES OF GOVERNANCE AND POLICY :

Tribal communities have traditionally shared subsistence and survival resources, recognizing basic needs as basic rights. The colonial laws made sustained effort to change this and had to face a series of uprisings and revolts from the tribal regions for long periods of time. Toward the end of their rule, they realized the fallacy of trying to impose restrictions and controls on tribal communities, and their laws were modified recognizing the rights of tribal communities. When India became independent, some of the most restrictive laws of the colonial rulers were accepted for governance. The most draconian of them is perhaps the Land Acquisition Act, which has been further modified to render it proof against all human interests. Why should there be a bill that permits a state to acquire people's lands, when the state has never had

a history of providing these people with any benefits. What is public purpose? Who is the public that the state is acquiring the land for? In the four districts which formed the undivided Koraput formerly, more than sixty thousand people have been displaced, through the Land Acquisition Act through dams, factories and mines, how has the public in these districts benefited in anyway from this displacement? Even if we are to forget the displaced for the moment, what have the people who have not been displaced from these projects, got? The Indravati power project has an installed capacity of 600-mw power. The villages around the Indravati have no electricity while power cables stretch overhead to supply power to industries in and around Rayagada. But, then, even the basics of human needs like viable educational facilities, drinking water, access to essential commodities, and health services, even food security have not been met for people in these districts, so why jump to luxuries like electric connections? And of course, they have no entitlements. The land that the tribal people in these areas cultivate is classified mostly as uncultivable wastes, and no record of rights is given to anybody on these lands, even if they have been in possession of the land for the last hundred years[14]. But, that does not stop the state from leasing out these lands over which the tribal can have no rights, other than to cultivate forever as 'encroacher', to private mining corporations, paper mill owners, and other interested parties. At which point of time, even the right to encroach is snatched away from the tribal cultivator, and he has now the sole right to be displaced under the shadow of high sounding policies for resettlement and rehabilitation, which are conspicuous by their non-implementation. Critiquing the Land Acquisition Act, Ambrose Pinto points out that it is the people and not the Government who should be permitted to define what is development for them. "The Public purpose as understood by the state or the business classes or the TNCs . Mega dams, industries and irrigation projects are beneficial to the elite in society, but they are bound to destroy the culture of indigenous people" [15].

As the demands on scarce resources go up, there is enormous anxiety expressed over putting the right sounding policies in place. Policies that would help dispense with the unwanted people, while we get on with the job of nation building. Shut up don't ask what's a nation without people, we want the right kind of people! Thus, even several civil society groups have got into the boat (aeroplane?) and suggest a policy of Rehabilitation and Land Acquisition. These policies have several progressive suggestions like resettlement before the project comes up, land for land, etc. Nobody however has answered two crucial questions: what happens when the policy is not followed? And 2. what is going to happen to those already displaced, can we try out this policy for them first before we run merrily along with further projects that grab the resources and throw the unwanted, in this case local communities of people, out?

In this country, everybody knows laws and policies exist more in their breach, rather than in their implementation. So far, we have had mostly restrictive laws apart from the Land Acquisition Act to prevent

people groups and institutions from destroying, damaging lives and properties and to control other kinds of crimes. The Land Acquisition Act which is an enabling act has come in for much criticism, and is being widely decried as a colonial legacy. Thus, we need this much better sounding reformulation of a Land Acquisition and Rehabilitation Bill which would be an enormously enabling provision that would allow Governments and markets to get away with destruction of livelihoods and entire traditional communities. Once communities have been displaced, and left with an ill-implemented re-habilitation policy, they will have little strength to fight back, and make any kind of effective demands. The situation of the people displaced by the Rengali project, the Upper Indravati project, as also the NALCO indicate that policies have little meaning, other than being nice and convenient pieces of paper.

Globalisation maybe about having local communities to sacrifice to ensure enough, which means endless supply of automobiles and limousines for the rich, and to ensure enough power supply for urban

### A CONSERVATIVE ESTIMATE OF THE DPS PROJECTS, 1951-1990

Total Displaced      Tribals Displaced

No.	Project	Total DPs	Resettled	Backlog	Total DPs	Resettled	Backlog
01.	Mines	2,550.000	630.000	1,920.000	13,30.000	330.000	1,000.000
02.	Dams	16,400.000	4,300.000	12,300.000	63,21.000	15,81.000	47,40.000
03.	Industries	1,250.000	375.000	875.000	331.000	100.000	233.000
04.	Wildlife	600.000	125.000	475.000	450.000	100.000	350.000
05.	Others	500.000	150.000	350.000	125.000	25.000	100.000
	Total	21,300.000	5,380.000	15,920.000	8,539.000	2,116,000	6,423.000

Source: Fernandes 1994, in Involuntary Displacement In Dam Projects,



agglomerates to keep the selected few in a permanent and never-interrupted state of extreme luxury, but, civil society groups should not fall into that trap. The displaced in this state, and in this country have not even been properly accounted for. Till date, exact figures do not exist about the number of communities displaced by the large dam projects. Lost in the wave of developmental history, the numerical precision may elude us, but the communities with their difficult almost impossible living conditions are still there. It is common knowledge now that entire villages in these districts have been displaced not once but several times, as project after project has been planned with no thought for the local inhabitants. The cry of one old woman in a settlement that just has a number now in the district of Koraput, tares me apart:

"why did the van that was taking us to our colony not dump us in the dam, that would have ended our miseries then and there !" the settlements in Koraput are now given numbers. And people identify themselves from colony numbers, rather than villages. If we find this strange in a place where even the hills and groves are given a name and worshipped, it should make us wonder how much stranger must be the weary lives of peasant communities who are not allowed to settle down and build their homes. Who knows when the next project will come and displace them?

There is anxiety to get the gender issues articulated in policy documents on resettlement and rehabilitation. This is understandable given the extreme concern of people who want to and most often get away with doing exactly what they want, to atleast sound right. But, what are the 'gender' issues when people's lives are torn apart. From the cosy laps of high profile financial and multi-lateral institutions, the Michael Cerneas of this world have articulated much more than I can ever on the problems of displaced women and men. It makes me sick in the stomach to add to this verbosity, and I shall not do so.

What we need to look at really are issues of Governance. Everybody knows by now that Governance in the tribal regions is a disaster, that people could happily do without. By the people, I mean the tribal and other poor inhabitants of the tribal regions who live mostly through wage labour, and food gathering in the forests, who are the majority population of the region, and not the handful of vested interests who have decided that they shall for ever be the prime and only beneficiaries of all development and welfare funding. Despite progressive policies and legislations, despite several regulations and facilities Governance in the tribal regions is by and large an anarchy with the rule of the survival of the fittest.

There are already enabling laws and provisions for local self-governance. It is essential that state and national governments which are centralised megaliths which cannot be sensitive to the needs of the people and the situation on the ground devolved power to local bodies and allowed them to make their decisions. This is the women's issue that we need to look at. Budgetary allocation for welfare and health, reservations in various tiers of the Governance are ok to play around with. But, these are just sops to appease a screaming child. If we are really interested to make a dent on the women's situation, then, we have to start looking at much more essential and central issues. Welfare is essential, but, we need to realise that without land, and productive resources, without the right to work, without an education that enables one to learn skills for survival, without the facility to make development decisions, welfare is like trying to keep a starving man alive on vitamins and medicines.

Even at the Ministerial level, it is recognised that the Acts for decentralisations have remained just Acts, and have not empowered village communities, or even Sarpanches. "Most State Acts provide two major significant powers of acting as a 'watch-dog' of the working of the village Panchayat and of facilitating people's participation in development decision-making. However, barring these, in most cases we have stopped

short of the last vital steps towards empowerment. The gram sabha has no doubt been given a statutory entity, but its role is largely advisory" (Yashwant Sinha as Union Minister of Finance in Strengthening Village Democracy, NIRD, 1999). As women who are concerned about the well-being of our communities, and about the well-being of women, we need to ensure that the provisions of these enabling amendments the 73rd Amendment, and the PESA Act are actually a reality on the ground. Women can play a crucial role in functionalising democracy, and ensuring that the crucial needs of the poorest and the most vulnerable sections of the population are met. Where ever, in rural communities, women have been given the room and the space to step out of the confines of their work and homes, they have proved their ability and improved the quality of politics markedly. As educated women we need to ensure more and more such space is provided, not just through reservations, which according to me is more of a subversion of the real issues, but through processes and facilities in which women can hold their own in an equal playing fields. Even today, women in villages are not aware of the provisions and powers of the Gram Sabhas. They think those are forums for position holders, formally, and social tabbos ofcourse debar women from active participation, even if they happen to make their way to these forums.

And again, we need to think how we can lessen the hold of officialdom on processes of self governance. Till today, it is the VLW who controls the meetings and decisions of the Gram Sabha, as most of the funds are routed through the Block, and people have no information of allocations and schemes save what the VLW chooses to let them know.

But ofcourse, in the more important and crucial issues, the higher level officers can also come down to the Gram Sabhas. To circumvent the provisions of the PESA Act, and help private corporations have access to local land, there are instances of very recent times where the district magistrate has organised and attended

Gram Sabhas, and ensured that appropriate resolutions are passed. Needless to say, these forums are completely staged, and have no participation of the actual members of the Gram Sabha in question, neither women nor men. But, then with video camera evidence, who is asking questions!

In a globalising world, subtle processes of disempowerment undermine efforts and strivings of local communities. The Samatha judgement was a land mark judgement for the Scheduled Areas, which effectively checked processes of land acquisition on a mass scale for private corporations. There is a move on the nullify the Samatha judgement by amending the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution. A recent Supreme Court judgement restraining the Central Government from regularising the encroachments in the country has resulted in the MoEF circular for a time bound action plan to evict all encroachments on forest lands and has gone counter to all the outcry about rights of forest communities (i.e. communities living in reserved forest tracts). This juxtaposed to State Governments anxieties to work out policies of industrialisation that will bring in more FDI, while they sell away the rights of local communities should make us all sit up and realise how much globalisation is about denying local communities the rights to their resources. The Government of Orissa Industrial Policy resolution aims at actively encouraging investments in large industrial units by taking steps to 'hasten clearances and eliminate factors causing delays'. Amongst other provisions and facilities, including increasing efforts to provide infrastructure including communication, and power, it hopes to provide 'land banks' which would be lease barred for other purposes and made available to entrepreneurs to establish industrial units. Today, the major obstacle in most natural resource development programmes is the control over land resources by the poor. Watersheds suffer greatly on this account, as a piece of commons cannot be leased in by a community of landless for long-term use. The majority of the displaced in the state are yet to be settled as revenue laws prohibit sanction of private property rights on upland slopes in the tribal regions.

Ofcourse, there is much more to the implications of globalisation for women. As I mentioned earlier, more than anything else, it is the insidious march of the global mind-set that prioritises economic growth and commerce over almost all human values. It is the sacrifice of all things human, including women, and foetuses that will emerge as women. Everybody has noted the alarming, nay horrifying fall in sex ratios of the 0-6 all over the country in the last decade, that is the decade of globalisation. The more modernising the region, the greater the fall in the sex ratios, Mr. Agnihotri's studies on missing women, and girls all underline that. It is inevitable. everyone says. Let us sacrifice, and let us develop. As maybe expected, it is the sacrifice of the other. Those who make the decisions today cannot dream of a sacrifice for themselves. They cannot sacrifice a single air-conditioned trip to air-conditioned conference halls, they cannot sacrifice one bit of their consultancies for ensuring the necessary

luxuries of their lives the list is endless, and one need not go on. Sati was a glorification of the ultimate sacrifice of woman. Today, the glorification of all values that force sacrifice of the lives of women, tribals, voiceless foetuses continues. It is time we all got together to put an end to this sacrifice of the 'other' and began to take urgent steps to usher in a more humane society, where people can decide for themselves the course of their development, and not have development decisions thrust on them by an exclusive few who are too protected by the multiple layers of globalisation to be affected in anyway by any decisions they make; where women too can be an organic part of decision making processes, instead of having to stand on the fringes and cry out for sops, where human beings, women and men can live with dignity as human beings, and not be treated as unwanted rocks and boulders in the path of economic growth.



# ETHNIC CONFLICT AND ITS IMPACT ON THE WOMEN AND COMMUNITY

Sandhyarani Naik

## INTRODUCTION :

Growing trend of communal and ethnic violence particularly in scheduled areas have considerably affected the normal life of women and children in Orissa. In tribal culture and spirituality there is no place of hatred and social discrimination in the name of religion and caste. Every sensible citizen, social scientists and scholars concerned with the issues of tribals, scheduled castes and ethnic communities must try to find out the root causes of violence amongst the peace loving native communities in the name of religion and ethnicity. One who is closely associated with these ethnic communities and observed the socio-economic, political and cultural changes at least for last three decades, definitely of the opinion that the evidence of hatred and conflicts are the recent phenomenon. The hatred and terrorism is engineered by the fundamentalists and their supporters mostly infiltrated from different parts of Orissa, in an uninterrupted manner with an ulterior political motif and vested interest.

Ever since the ethnic fight took place amongst the two major ethnic groups in Kandhamals in 1994 between Kandhas and panos the trend continued and reflected in some form or the other. The mastermind behind all the conflicts were the petty businessmen,

moneylenders and sahuikars coming from the plains very recently. The native Kuing, Domang, Pano, sitarang and Gahing have strong age old pre-colonial bond, socio-cultural harmony, economic inter dependence, symbiotic relation and closeness inspite of their official divisions as STs and SCs by the Govt.

The out side dominant caste populations used to exploit the natives socio-economically, but blame mainly the Dalit panos who were in fact poor, land less and treated as untouchables. Even many universities have come out with research findings that Scheduled Castes exploit tribals. Media also some times played a biased role by projecting the ill feeling and hatred between the native communities without exposing the external forces, those who are really responsible for the problem. Further the egalitarian values of the indigenous communities were slowly being replaced by the alien caste values due to the sanskritisation process resulting in gender and social inequality. Consequently the status of women in the region has been degraded a lot. The freedom of women in the domestic and social life has been restricted.

The 1994 caste and communal fights subjected many Pano families to flee from Khajuripada, Linepada, Bujulimundi and other areas of Phulbani Subdivision.

There has not been any attempt to assess how many such conflict affected families have been uprooted from their native places lost their Kith and Kin, landed property, household belonging and continue to suffer till today. In 1999 series of communal clashes were flared up in all over South Orissa may be because of some obvious social and political reasons.

Whether it is communal or ethnic conflict women and children are the worst victims. It creates trauma in their minds, prevents free movements of women on the roads, forests and work fields. Men flee away leaving women and children behind with all burden. Further, more than 90% of the population in these scheduled areas are steeped in to endemic poverty, loss of livelihood and illiteracy. Here we are reminded of Dr. Amartya Sen who believes that if a country globalizes fast and pays no attention to lack of social opportunities and Health Care it ends up creating serious problems for itself like Brazil and perhaps India.

#### The Kandhamals and different ethnic groups

To understand the whole issue of ethnic and communal conflict, more focus has been given on Kandhamals and South Orissa in this paper.

As we are concentrating on the ethnic conflicts between the inhabitants experienced since some past years, it is worthy enough to briefly narrate the different ethnic groups and their common traits, i.e. belief, spirituality, language, region and race. It is often argued that sharing of biological or cultural traits may not itself give rise to ethnicity. It must also be accompanied by a consciousness of sharing for ethnicity to gain social significance. Ethnic groups are socially recognized as distinct groups.

#### The Kuing (The Kuis)

The aborigine Kuis constitute the Kuis, Kui Domas and Sitaras. They are culturally identified as Kuis, Kui Domang and Sitarang. The Kui Domang and Sitarang share common ancestry with the Kuis and form an

indispensable segment of Kui community. The Kuinga, Kuidomang, and Sitaranga have been traditionally assigned with specific responsibility for over all protection and maintenance of Kui country. The relationship with each other is symbiotic, profound, spiritual and emotional. In the process of scheduling they were wrongly categorized as scheduled castes Pano in spite of the fact that they share common ancestry, totemic culture, spirituality and language. Only recently the Kui Sitarang were treated as scheduled tribes and enjoying reservation facilities. Inter group marriage between these groups is a wide spread phenomena. It is almost difficult task to find pure Kuing, pure Kui Domang or pure Sitarang as almost every household inter group marriage have taken place since long.

Whatever may be the categorization done by the Ghumusara Kings, Britishers and rulers of independent India, culturally they belong to one community and share the territorial identity. The historian Dr. Atul Pradhan in his book titled "The emergence of depressed class of India" mentioned that Kui Domangs were a tribe in Kandhamals, Sambalpur and the areas transferred to Orissa under the provision of Govt. of India order 1936 (Constitution of Orissa) from the Vizagpatnam and Ganjan agency in the presidency of Madras. The Kuinga, Kuidomang, and Sitaranga also inhabit the Koraput, Kalahandi, Ganjam of Orissa, Visakha Patnam, Vizayanagaram and Srikakulum of Andrapradesh, Reigarh of Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra regions.

The legends, folklore, folk tales and verses chanted in the rituals in Kandhamals also widely reflect that the Kuing and Domang have originated from a common root.

The Bhanja king employed the Bisoi and Patros in each Mutas as his representatives mainly to collect taxes from the aborigines. From then onwards the alien system of governance and social values were imposed on these people slowly eroding some of the vital indigenous socio-cultural values. The Kuinga and

Kui domang have different totems. Marriage between same totem is near impossible, if any body violates this is excommunicated from the community.

The Kui Domas are the spiritual leaders having profound commitment towards maintaining the spirituality. The Kui women (both Kui and Kui doma ) were tatoed on their faces to scare the enemies (Kings officers and Marathas) to be protected from the sexual abuse. The outsiders gradually penetrated into the land with caste culture. The Kuingas were made superior to Kuidomangs resulting in social distance from each other. But the natives identify themselves as 'Kuiloku'.

### The Panos

They are distributed in all most all the regions of Orissa. The present study however, The study concentrate on the Panos of Kandhamals and Gajapati who constitute a principal ethnic group next to Kuinga. Panos are the schedule caste community from among the 93 SCs groups in the state of Orissa. They are the Dalits most hated ones, people of low material culture mainly engaged in manual service such as disposing of the corpses. They speak a precursor language of Oriya, practice animism. They are exterior groups to Hindu society. The very touch of them leads to defilement, and pollution of upper caste people. Hence do not have access to Hindu temples and Hindu households.

The Panos are the aborigines of India. They have been crushed to loose their original identity, language and culture by infliction of severe caste rules. Earlier they were identified as Harijans, but now they have a self-asserting nomenclature "Dalit" which is sociologically relevant to their status. The present state of the Pano people can be compared to Masai peoples in Africa who are landless, nomadic tribe and suffer from similar disadvantages as Pano. As they are nomadic in nature and hence cannot claim a particular region as their territory.

The Panos feel very happy, secured and protected

with the Kondh brothers. Their women folk are also engaged in Kandh house hold works. The simplicity, sense of humour, tremendous knowledge on herbs and healing and blessed with capacity to sense impending danger, wonderful sense of music and heavenly skill on artifacts and handicrafts of the Panos have always been an attraction for the Kondh people. Both populations together make a nationality of their own domain, which is understood as Kui Dina. The traditional councils and muttas consist of Kondh and Pan leaders, the Kondh being the head of the councils. Being greatly satisfied with the services and loyalty of Panos, traditional the Kondhs had integrated the Panos in to their territory.

### The relationship of the aborigines

The Kondhs and Panos constantly demonstrate an unfounded fear for the alien populations and hence with a feeling to defend themselves they want to co-exist with other communities equally suffering and wandering in search of a permanent solution to their unending misery. The subjugation, suppression and depression are the under currents constantly passing through the nerves of these people find \_expression in their age old relationship- political, social and symbolic in nature. The ethnic bonds are manifested through rituals, friendship and solidarity and kinship links.

The natives coexisted in Boudh-Kandhamals and Gajapati regions with mutually benefiting terms for centuries and also have become the traditional occupants of the forest and land sharing pre-colonial bond with each other. Kandha and Pano Community have built up a society interwoven with common values and shared feelings for each other. The situation can be compared with the Amerindians and the black slaves co-existed in America maintaining Pre-colonial bond among them. They consider the mainstream communities as alien or Saasinga 'Kaalaprahpa' is a common term in Kandhamals, which gives enough evidence of war long's year back between the Saasinga (alien) and the aborigines. The Kuis sing:  
Gasa maadi drungi drungi saatete

Kui loku treji treji saaterude

Kumuda mrahundi tari juuga bihede

The external people in order to get political control attach undue importance to one group and make responsible for all ills to other group to create ethnic rift deliberately. Over the past decades the external people have been attempting to colour the Dalit Panos as the exploiters of the Kondhs. But if we have a look deep in to the livelihood process of both these groups, we find that it is very much interrelated and if one's occupation gets any set back then the other is affected. The Panos principally give labour for agriculture of Kondhs and contribute in the process of selling of agricultural produces.

#### The outside settlers

The recently arrived population or the Oriya settlers those who came as service holders, contractors, traders, mostly belonging to higher caste category with lot of influence and power in the local administration maintained distance and practised discrimination against the indigenous STs/SCs. They have concrete houses mainly on the road sides with modern amenities. They nurture in them caste ideologies, doctrine of superiority and exhibit hateful sentiments towards the aborigines. Untouchability and discrimination is practiced in schools, marketplaces and govt. officials. They never officiate in any of the functions, rituals or festivities of the natives. The Oriya settlers have progressively appropriated most of the fertile lands suitable for cultivation and allowed more lucrative exodus of youth to infiltrate in to the land. The natives have been pushed back to the forested high lands less favourable for agriculture. Expecting any impending conflict with the Kondhs they introduce permanent settlement and individual ownership in the little republics and autonomous areas. The Kui peoples' lands were declared as Govt. or Anabadi land. As a result of which the Govt. enter to any part of the region to expand its institution and establishment further owned and controlled by the upper caste men.

Inter-marriage between the natives and the outsiders are next to impossible. But on the contrary, the shopkeepers, the moneylenders had been enticed the Kondh and Pano women and Keep them as temporary wives.

During the early 1960s the Phulbani district underwent drastic changes due to government development interventions and more exterior population infiltrated into the land. The flesh trade, immoral trafficking, prostitution and alcoholism grew at an alarming rate victimizing the Kondhs and Panos together. Some parts of Phulbani District (earlier name for Boudh Kandhmals) became in famous as " Prem Nagar " named by the dominant castes. They looked down upon the native women and took them for granted as cheap, exotic, sexually available, and of low integrity without understanding the gender sensitive and egalitarian lifestyle of the indigenous women. During early 70s (1970) under the leadership of Maka Aja an indigenous women leader of Kandhamal women raised voice against the sexual abuse of indigenous native women by the exterior populations including the Govt. officials. Then gradually the survival issues like land alienation, loss of livelihood, extreme poverty, socio-economic exploitation by the outside traders and land grabbing gathered momentum. The bad name "Prem Nagar" was abolished with constantly chasing the miscreants, conducting raids on the hotels, lodgings in Berhampur, Paradeep and Cuttack township, rescuing the girls from the pimps and the brokers.

#### Socio-economic status

The Kui peoples have been divided into two categories as a result of Sanskritisation. The sanskritised groups prefer to be identified as "Kondha" keeping in conformity with the Govt. categorization. But traditionally or in Kui language the term "Kondh" is not used by the Kui people. The western side Kondhs particularly from Khajuripada, Chakapad and Phulbani area maintain that they belong to "Burma Kuing" group. They have fully changed their life styles, rituals and aspire to be assimilated into caste category to escape low status.

They had made continuous effort and rigorous journey to learn Oriya language. They keep distance from the Kuing and Pano community practising Kui Culture. Marriage between Kandhas and Kuing and Kandha and Pano are not generally practiced.

Ever since the VHP took a mission to assimilate the Kui people into Hinduism, there had been increasing feeling for social upward mobility among them. The Kandhas and Panos intended for higher degree of purity in taking the form of a Jati through observance of vegetarianism, by changing their customs, language, rituals and spirituality, abstaining from earlier polluting practices.

Constantly instructing people to forget their own past, accept the alien things results mental depression. Sanskritisation leads to creation of caste society. The natives are increasingly controlled by the caste norms and subjected to caste disabilities. It is not an individual experience, but a collective suffering.

The out side business community invest money as loan during lean seasons and collect the agricultural produces during the harvest with high rate of interest. In the past years most of the Kuing owed to the creditors inspite of selling the produces. The interest against the loan multiplied and the illiterate Kandhas being unable to handle the credit compelled to sold their land to Oriya settlers. This unfair credit system had made the Kandhas socio-economically subjugated for decades.

So they have been able to control the tribal economy and manage to get high profit year after year. The Kui people have become gradually dependent on loan.

**The land & its relationship to the native people**  
According Kui culture land is treated as a free gift of nature, source of energy and fertility and considered as mother earth. All kind of spiritual functions are based on mother earth. Land or Earth is indispensable part of tribal culture and survival system. Traditionally

it is not owned by anybody neither purchased nor sold in strictly commercial terms. Since the indigenous communities are mobile in nature. They make use of the land and shift the place to allow the used land to come up with new fertility. The native people in villages as a group used to make use of the land for agricultural purposes and shared the produce equally. Many of the terraced paddy fields were ancient and needed constant maintenance. The Kondhs and Panos together leveled the ancient fields for preparation of new fields. Both of them followed the traditional pattern of land tenure procedure.

Traditionally some land under individual possession were transferred among themselves by publicly swearing, and exchange of pigs for clearing the land and embankment and brass vessels for the settling the boundary. Fear of supernatural consequences prevents the families to break the agreement in transfer or making any subsequent claim. The traditional methods are exclusively used till today for the Kondhs and Panos not on individual basis but on group basis. But transactions with upper caste and back ward castes involved stamped document. In some cases in selling or transferring the land to higher caste non tribals permissions were managed to obtained as per the provision of Regulation-II.h

The Kandhamal territory is culturally known as Kuidina. It was a self-governed land of Kuis consisting of various indigenous groups. The Kui people have had their own administrative and land tenure system. The oral history and culture of the peoples give accounts of protecting their land against the attacks from Marhathas, Pathans and Britishers.

Mostly the problem started after the 1970s when land survey and settlement started in Kandhamal district. Large areas of scheduled land was alienated to the government, leased out to the companies for commercial plantations used in the name of development and recorded in the name of outsiders particularly the business class people. In the process though mostly the Kondhs managed to get a small piece of homestead



and backyard land. Rather the Panos were the losers and could not record the land in their favour due to their mobility though they have been staying with the Kondhs from time immemorial.

The district statistical hand book of Phulbani 1976-77 observed that "The produces of their land are taken by moneylenders from the threshing floor towards the repayment of loans. All fertile lands of this area are in procession of the outsiders where as Kondhs have taken Podu Cultivation as their hereditary cultivation. The illiteracy, ignorance, indebtedness of the Kondhs lead them to be exploited by local merchants and money lenders. ".. Some cooperative societies and fair price stores have been opened by Government agency which are not sufficient and attractive as a result the exploitation by sahuikars is still continuing"

The Govt. statistics of 1997 maintained that out of total population of Kandhamals, 51.51% belongs to Adivasis, 18.21% Dalits and 30.28% were recently arrived populations from the coasts. The total land holding was 1,68,563 Hector. Out of which 49.26% were under the occupation of 51.51% Adivasis, 9.0% possessed by 18.21% Dalits, 41.73% are under the control of 30.28% other castes.

Owing to the land settlement from 1970-1980, the community ownership of land was changed to individual ownership, altogether a striking contrast to the existing culture of Kondhs. This was a transitional period drifting these communities away from each other.

Traditional the Kuing, Sitarnag and Kui Domang practice sifting cultivation and their principal source of living is collection and gathering of minor forest produces. With the process of land alienation they moved to higher slopes of the mountains for slashing and burning the trees for agricultural operations.

The eminent social scientist and writer Dr. Barbara M.Boal in her book "Fire is easy" narrates that inspite of the Govt. effort to restore the lands lost to the Oriya settlers, the drink loving Kuing have lost their lands for a pot of alcohol. During settlements in early seventies there was a strong move to get back the land. But the illiterate Kuis found it very difficult to deal with even the simplest official correspondence in the post cards, necessarily conducted in unknown Oriya language. They had to run miles to the literate persons for elucidation of the matter. Most of the Kondh and Pano people are poor, possessing no land at all and entirely dependent on labour markets.

As per the standing rule of Orissa Schedule Area Transfer of Immovable Property Act, 1956, regulation 2, the traditionally occupied lands of Kondhs can not be transferred to schedule castes and upper castes. The purchase a land from ST/SC people one has to obtain prior permission from the competent authority. Moreover the loopholes concerning the land laws have made the land grabbing process easier. The external people occupy the tribal land by means of mortgage, lease, encroachment, fraud land settlement, marrying tribal women, recording the land in the name of tribal servants, fake adoption of tribal youths and unlawful land transfers.

During land settlement in 1972 in some parts Pano families got their land recorded in their favour customarily donated by the Kandhas to their past generations / in return of their services to Kandh families. The government officials also have distributed some traditional lands of the Kondhs to the Dalit Panos. In some case the Panos fore fathers have been adopted by childless Kandha couples. The Oriya settlers have challenged this customary practices and deep-rooted social bondage. Now being provoked by the outside upper caste people, the Kondhs want to get back the miniscule holdings of Dalit Panos.

## The Conflict

Ambedkar understood that casteism is an unequal social system and tried his best to elucidate to the innocent Dalit masses. He was emphasizing on the liberation of Dalits and Adivasis from the clutches of unequal caste system. Jyotiba Phule also attempted to sensitise the people on the socio-economic exploitation of casteist forces and wanted to relate class-consciousness with social inequalities. The Adivasi and Dalit population never know about the philosophical discourses of their own leaders but for them they would have enjoyed the constitutional benefits. They join the politics and small movement without collective consciousness consequently falling into the divisive policies of the high caste forces.

Our experience says that in Kandhamal, Kandh and Pano usually run in to conflict over marrying a woman where both the men want to have the woman. Losing the woman becomes a very big insult for both of them. So they keep on fighting involving their kith and clan. The conflict comes to an end when the woman expresses her desire with who she wants to live. During 1957, similar incident occurred and it became a very big issue, but finally it was resolved by the people themselves.

The communal and caste conflict started upon the entry of Digambar, a Dalit into Baruda Balunkeswar Siv Temple on 14 January 1994. The temple was demanded to be the Sanskritised Kandhas of Chakapad area. A Brahmin priest was in-charge of worship and management of the temple. An upper caste political leader of Bihar having his establishments in Kandhamals organised the Kondhs of the western Kandhamals for gaining his political interest and attacking the Pano political leaders of that area. He agitated the Kondhs on the temple entry issue. On 20 May 1994, one innocent Dalit boy was butchered like an animal in Tandiguda on the issue of temple entry and his body was dragged along the Dalit habitations to threaten them. Just after 4 days of these incidents the Kandhas reclaimed the fruit bearing tamarind trees customarily

leased out to Panos. This led to killing of more than 42 Panos and 18 other Kandhas subsequently.

## Contributing factors

Kandhas and Sauras have been subjected to deprivation and injustice even 55 years after independence. This led to frustration

The miseries of Kui Domangs are invisible. Though they share belong to Kuis, they have been categorized as SC Panos. Upon the conversion of Kui people in to Christianity, the Kui Domangs have lost their tribal status and lost their traditional land as they no more remained Kui in Govt. record. They were deprived of the provisions of constitution applicable to tribals. During 1950s, the Kui Domang were persuaded and misled by the government officials to be enlisted in schedule caste category. The complexities involved in the scheduling of these aborigines in alien terms of reference and replacing their original names in Sanskritised way like Kondh and Pano have led to more social distance.

Having been driven to a sense of despair, they wanted to raise their voice against the unjust social order. Knowing this, the outsiders divert their mind from the real enemy. When they attempted to assert socio, economic and political rights there has been backlash from the upper caste trading communities. In fact, the Dalit - Adivasi mass always stand divided by deliberate working of dominant caste leaders. As a result the strength and solidarity required to fight against the real enemy is lacking. The businessmen give them wrong impression against Dalits that they are land grabbers, antisocial, responsible for women atrocities, and prospering at the cost of Adivasis.

On 15th June Late Biju Patnaik, the then Chief Minister of Orissa on his visit to Kandhamals declared reclaiming of Kandha lands from the Pano occupation and on 16th June named the former Phulbani District as Kandhamals. On the pressure he also accused the local Dalits. Soon after this tensions spread all over.

The outsiders framed allegations against the Panos for enjoying the political power in assembly and parliament seats in Phulbani leading to their material and intellectual progress. But the Dalit Panos have not been able to alleviate their lot on account of the political representation of the political leaders.

The Kandhas were brainwashed to avenge the Panos more aggressively for failure of the police to bring back their land to them. Every little matter was fabricated to give communal and caste colour. Sanskritised Kandhas were led to think that Dalit Panos being inferior to them should not get any fair deal either from the society or administration.

#### Allied Push Factors:

There are other important Push factors which are equally responsible for creating social unrest and conflicts in the name of ethnicity and religion in the scheduled areas particularly in Kandhamals which are never taken in to consideration or highlighted by the media and research scholars. Role of different Political parties, local political leaders, social organisations, religious leaders both from Hinduism and Christianity were never been taken in to account. Their actions and sometimes indifferent attitude to the problem contributed a lot in igniting and perpetuating this kind of violence of Socio-Political and communal in nature. For example whether the conflict was due to the longstanding exploitation, deprivation and denial of privileges and rights to the tribals by the govt. machinery. Was it due to the corruption in bureaucracy and non-implementation of welfare and development programs adequately by the Govt.?

In Kandhamals the communal violence and disturbances started in 1980 by some radical Hindutva forces who aggressively attempted to counter the ongoing Christian Missionary activities in Kandhamals.

The origin of the ethnic conflict in 1994 was on the entry of a Harijan young man in to the Shiv temple of

Chakapad which was purely a Socio-religious issue and based on caste discrimination and hatred. This was further aggravated and given a political dimension by the non-ST/SC local politicians. They tried to catch fish out of the troubled water and also take political vengeance on the leaders of the dalit communities. The issue and the situation were handled in different ways and the reasons of the disturbance was projected by the media differently as a outcome of the long standing exploitation. Initially it was created due to Socio-religious reason. But it was colored that due to the criminal activities of Panos like stealing, misbehaving the Kondh girls and harassing the tribals in different ways was the main cause of the disturbances. etc. Since it could not be established properly from the available police records, the issue was further diverted and the harijans were accused as tribal "land grabbers" and "exploiters".

Nearly 50% of Dalits have no land record in their favour where as more than 98% Kondhs have land holdings and pattas in their names. Regarding the question of exploitation by the Dalits, they are the poorest of the poor without many material resources even household properties. They often manage the trading of the produces of the tribal produces for certain amount of commission given by their Kondhs brethren. This dealings of organising the sale of the produce of the tribals was termed as an "act of exploitation". The process does not bring much economic benefit to the dalit with visible result in change in the socio-economic condition and life style. But on the other hand the Sahukars who happen to be the persons from the different districts are the real exploiters enjoying the maximum economic benefit in trading the tribal produces. Finally the issue was turned in to political i.e. claiming the parliament seat for the tribals. The seat reservations are made on the basis of number of population of different communities. Though in Phulbani tribals are a majority, but if other parts of the Parliamentary constituency is included the dalits becomes the majority and also it is a central Govt.'s concern as a matter of policy. Hence it is clear that

all the issues raised during the period 1994 - 1995 were not placed properly by the leaders of agitation. The history and the status of land holding in Kandhamals, ownership and the alienation process, agencies involved in the process and responsible for alienation were not discussed properly and highlighted with adequate revenue data. The religious and the social issues were not at all touched. The main actors of the 1994-1995 tribal unrest never raised the issues of "economic exploitation" genuinely as mainly the higher caste trading community people took the leadership of the so called tribal unrest / movement. Hence purposefully they never raised the issues of trading and land grabbing properly with facts and figures.

On the basis of the report given by the members of the Tribal Women's Advisory Committee to the Chief Minister Mr. Biju Pattnaik on July 15th 1995 through Mr. Aurobinda Behera IAS, the then Principal Secretary to the Chief Minister, the violence and unrest was controlled due to the able leadership of the District Collector Mr. Suresh Ch .Mohapatra and Superintendent of Police, Mr Manoj Chabra. The tribal women were awarded for the report.

After that there was no ethnic conflict of this nature till 1999 until some disturbance again started in Christian dominated areas of Daringibadi and Kotagarh. This time the Churches were divided on the ground of caste and mass attacks were organised on the Dalits and the paddy fields were forcibly ploughed which were under the occupation of some dalits.

One needs to take in to account the allegations and reports given by Mr. Anadi Sahu M.P,(BJP) who had visited the area along with other political members and also Mr. Nakul Nayak former M.P. (BSP) who categorically blamed some social organisations, church leaders and some local political leaders for creating the problem. The NGOs who worked for long to develop the ST/SC people in those area concentrated

on economic issues land and forest issues and use to put all the blame to the local Sahukars and Business men and accused them as land grabbers and responsible for all kind of exploitation till 1999. But strangely some of the social organisations suddenly changed their approach and blamed the dalits as exploiters and land grabbers in the later period. Why did not they equally point their fingers to the non-ST/SC business class people and the Govt. agencies who are responsible for the suffering of the people to a great extent.

Interestingly, many outsiders head some of these organisations. Some of them are church based or indirectly related to the Churches. The church leadership in these areas is mostly controlled and managed by the non-ST/SC and non-Oriya Priests from South India. Generally, it is the Govt. Officials in the administration or the leaders from different people's organisations particularly from higher caste background ventilate their ideas and opinions on behalf of the tribals and Dalits. But no scope was created so far to hear from the affected people and leaders from both the peace loving communities including the local political leaders of the affected areas.

At this point, rightly the ST/SC women delegation of the District who were on the Peace Campaign blamed the third forces and out side organisations responsible for creating the unrest. It may be noted that the statement given by the central ST/SC Commissioner who visited the area commented in the same manner. Further regarding the cultural unity and value system of the tribals of Kandhamal relating to the ethnic conflict of 1994-1995 Prof. Ajit Mohanty of Deptt. of Psychology organised a study in the district. In his paper, "The Psychology of poverty" he had found out that language, cultural degeneration are the important factors in dividing the people of the area and pushing them into social differences and hatred.

The irrelevant education system and development programmes also responsible to a great extent to

perpetuate the poverty in the area. There is no scope of genuine people's participation in planning, monitoring and implementation of the development programmes. They are never involved in decision making process in real sense. Development programmes are not really based on the basic issues of the local ST/SC people. Hence the efforts do not really empower the local native people to combat their own socio-economic and political problems.

The ongoing education system does not address the problems of the local ST/SC child. So far as the language, culture & value system is concerned. Hence in the process the hard working tribal child is alienated from his culture, life style, Knowledge on existing survival system, dependency on forest, nature and environment. An educated tribal youth is finally prepared to work on a govt. job or remain unemployed and idle being a burden to the family without any physical labour. This has created a sense of insecurity, frustration and helplessness in mind of the unemployed youth. Many politicians and antisocial forces engage these youth in creating mass violence, terrorism and instability to satisfy their own purpose and evil design.

#### Leadership crisis

The dominant caste members have been attending the traditional councils. This is such a crisis to Interfere into the internal and private matters of these exterior social groups. Earlier Panos attended it. The upper caste leaders attempt to appropriate the traditional role of the Panos in the tribal councils. Now the upper caste men lead and advice the social organisation of Kondhs. This is an act of infringement into the privacy and confidentiality of the Tribal Councils. The upper caste men say to boy cot Panos into the councils, as they are inferior by caste and responsible for deprivation and all ills of Kandhas.

The symbol of status is not attached necessarily to the traditional headmen, but Oriya men, Govt. officials

and politician who are shrewd enough to exploit the opportunity. They know how to deal with lowborn persons.

The communal riots led to formation of some offshoots with the leadership of upper class people. The Kondh and Pano leaders lacked critical understanding of the issue. The outside leaderships were revivalist and obscurantist. The native leaders did not follow liberational, educative, agitational and organisational approach. This leadership achieves no social goals. There were no conscious efforts to guard against the danger of leadership coming from the upper caste people. Just imagine the upper caste leaders safeguarding the interest of Kondhs.

The people have not started analysing the forces responsible for long socio-economic exploitation .It shows that the dalits and Adivasis have not made any constructive effort for their social development. It is not their fault. Struggling for survival for decades have weakened the back bones of these the peoples. They did not ever have any time for building up their communities.

#### Cultural Imperialism

Cultural imperialism is an instrument for destroying the identity, unity, and strength of the indigenous communities. The bright example is ethnic and communal conflicts in the tribal areas of Orissa. The ethnic groups co-exist together with symbiotic relationship, dependency and social harmony. The infiltrators brought caste culture to these lands. The people were victims of the alien culture. Earlier egalitarian cultures were now on the verge of extinction caste, Birth, Origin and heredity plays an important role in day to day interaction with the outsiders. Adivasis have developed a wrong notion about themselves. They think that they are superior to Dalits by birth and origin. This creates hindrance on the away to Dalit Adivasi unity. For the upper-caste people, the Adivasis are the so called Mlechha , Asura, Banaras and Rakhyasas or semi humans. Condemned by a

social system as impure and polluted, they are economically exploited, politically used as vote banks. Even after 55 years of independence safe drinking water, health and education benefits have not reached to many inaccessible areas they live.

The imposition of alien cultural values on the Adivasi culture and lifestyle is a great issue, which can not be avoided. The struggle for social justice and cultural rights leads to a direction where the Adivasis find their well being. The Adivasis in many parts of the Orissa live in solidarity with other Dalit communities sharing pre-colonial bond between them. The relationship between the Dalits and Adivasis are culturally defined. Feeling of togetherness respect for diversity, co-operation, sustainable development practices one the essence of this relationship. The groups derive morality from these social interactions within their own social positions. Cultural identity and self-determination are the under currents of these relationships. Every social group is conscious of their identity and hence extends support and solidarity for the other suffering groups to strive for self-determination and human rights.

The Dalits ST/SC together lack territoriality and holistic ethnic ideology. They do not have a documented / recorded history about their past. The lack of historical back drop, and clean understanding of the social system of the exterior castes or out caste or fifth colour people will lead to more division and more atrocities amongst themselves inviting all ills to Indian development process. People are more exposed to mainstream belief systems and fundamental religion. Total disregard to democratic egalitarian value is found through the Sanskritisation and indoctrination process. By showing their superiority of race, caste class and religion they dominate Kondh and Pano people. Pano are considered to be the cause of all social ills and against them all hate, aggression and violence is committed. Through the attempt to destroy culture, they introduced an economic system permitting exploitation without obligation.

## Rise in casteism and communalism

The external forces destroys the unity of this people by setting one against the other or by co-opting some people to their side as they need support in their evil intention to exploit the people by cheating and trickery. Whenever and wherever there is any Adivasi Dalit rise for any social cause, the casteist forces try to foil this with their nasty tactics. The men and women activist leaders working on the issues of alcoholism, women atrocities, right to land and forest, right to dignified living is implicated with false Charges. The state never gives any support or respect to the Dalit and Adivasi leaders. Even if the fight is related for their own survival and rights they are dragged into custody.

An article titled "Kanduchhi Kandhamal" published in Sambad, an Oriya daily on 17, December 2000 revealed the interview conducted with the District Administration. The District Collector Mr. Chandra Sekhar Kumar has reported that even the people run into conflict inspite of professing the same religion and expressed that there has been specific allegations against some voluntary organisations and the District administration is vigilant on their activities. The then police superintendent of Kandhamal P.S. Ranpise has also reported to the same paper that behind all the communal riots the outsiders play a major role. They mastermind these marginalised peoples with fundamental religion ideologies. In fact the Adivasis and the Dalits are nature worshipers. The Dalits want to maintain their distinct spiritual identity and therefore subjected to various atrocities.

The conflicts are the manifestations of provocation by external dominant caste people, as a reflection of anti dalit and anti Adivasi mind set. The setting ablaze of the dalit houses, threatening to rape the soft target, the dalit women and preventing access to public places like schools and temples are the strategies of upper caste Oriya settlers to subjugate the exterior castes.

Questions are raised automatically, is the feeling of landlessness among the Kondhs so acute? Are the Panos the only ones to dispossess the Kondhs of their own land? Why don't the people raise single voice against the upper caste men or the Govt., knowing that vast areas have been transferred unlawfully? Why do the media only condemn Panos? Why do the university research findings come out with bias against Panos? Govt has leased out land in Kandhamals, Koraput and Gajapati areas, declared 400 SQ Km area of Daringbadi and kotagarh as sanctuary. Why do the disadvantage people keep fighting against each other? This is indeed a humanitarian and human right question. Adivasi awakening does not means expelling and exterminating Dalit Panos. We also have evidence of Ganda and Kollar tribes of Umarkote set ablaze 23 houses of Kondhs protesting against the practices of shifting cultivation of Kondhs. Can we also call it Adivasi awakening?

Kondhs don't dare to regain their land from the upper caste men least they may be dragged into police custody. This further empowers the Oriya settlers for land grabbing at a greater rate.

The riots are no specific cause than the outsiders engaging the poor people in infighting. This is clear from the incidences happened in many parts of the District. On June 20th 2000, early morning at 5am at about 1500 Kondhs of Godma and Sangadama of Brahmunigaon Panchayat of Daringbadi Tahasil forcibly ploughed 5717 areas of cultivable land of 7 Dalit Panos in Sangodoma village with sixty pairs of bullocks. After ploughing, they posted red flags in the land and warned the Dalits not to enter the land and the land was settled also in their favor, as prominent from the revenue records. As such one Pabitra mantri lodged complaints in Brahmunigaon Police station. The police authority registered the case under section 147, 148, 149, 294, 447 and 506 IPC wide PS No. 17. Police arrested 8 rebellions that resulted into a dreadful scenario. On the way 500 tribals armed with traditional weapons demanding release of 8 people. Obstructed

by the people the district collector, the police and other government officers released the tribals.

On the next day, the Kondh again forcibly ploughed 5019 acres of land in Baghpada village. Since then Daringbadi tehsil became the tense zone. Similarly in Atinibadi village the conflict arose between Catholics Panos and Protestant Kondhs. The Pano Christians were threatened to vacate the villages. Conflicts also surfaced in Shromagudi and Kaalingi village. It was suspected that some local politicians, fundamentalists and naxalites were behind the conflicts.

In another instance the Kondhs of Gajapati hired some Pano families to work in their fields. During settlement in 1975, the panos could know that they had no right over the land they lived so long. After a long process of settling themselves in return of the hard work, naturally the Pano were not willing to move out from their land. Some of them changed their titles to be identified as Kondhs for fear of removal from the village. The Kondhs were organized under the leadership and guidance of the outsiders to expel the Panos. In this incidence 7 innocent tribal lost their lives in police firing and six including women were severely injured. On 31st December 1999 the Kondhs set ablaze all the houses of Panos in Mankadpadar and Majiguda so that they would not return to their villages. The panos from the other village also fled out of fear.

Geographically Adova and Mohna of Gajapati district are adjacent to Daringbadi. The consequences of Pano-Kondh tension of Majiguda and mandrabaju in Gajapati were transmitted to Daringbadi region. It was apprehended that some outsiders caste people in Gajapati were agitating the Kondhs against the Panos. The government claims to have lot of proofs with them.

Further Kotgarh, Tumudibandh, Baliguda and Phiringia were also not free from ethnic tensions. The Dalit Panos also attacked the Adivasis with bombs in

jubaguda village while they were forcibly cutting the paddy of Dalits. The Kondhs destroyed the household things, animal stocks, houses, and shouted anti Pano slogans to threaten them to evacuate the villages or face dire consequences.

Bitterness raised in Sept.2000 when some member of the Hindu Community opposed the construction of a prayer house by Christians in Doblekia Village under Bataguda Panchayat. Hate campaigns were organised in Konia near Phulbani, at Sabaribata, manospadar & Sadanmendi villages due to strong opposition against the construction of churches. Tension erupted in Oct. 2000 when some members of the Christian Community forcibly ploughed the land of one Damodar patra of Bondapipili who was reportedly involved in the series of such incidents including burning of prayer houses and attacking the Christian communities.

Tension again sparked off when Christians were threatened by Hindus not to carry on the construction of a prayer cottage on the Anabadi plot at Doblekia village (under Bataguda gram Panchayat in Baliguda division). The delay in settling disputes between communities by the government, some tribal organisations planned to start an armed revolution to get their rights for their self-protection. Similarly the Christians in the district also started an organisation called Rastriya Surakhya Vahini (RSV) to protect the rights of Christians.

#### The misery of the women and children

SC and ST women constitute about 20% of the total population of the state. As per 1991 census the literacy rate of the tribal and Dalit women was 10.21% and 20.74% respectively whereas the literacy rate of women of the state was 34.7%. The literacy rate of the tribal women in some interior parts of the state was much below the state and district average. The tribal women literacy in Malkangiri was 2.32% only and the literacy rate of Dalit women in Koraput was 9.25% only.

The wide spread poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, hostile environment, absence of sanitary living conditions and

lack of health services the high Infant Mortality Rate and Mothers Mortality Rate have traced out in several studies as possible contributing factors for the deplorable conditions prevailing among the Dalit and tribal groups. The crucial issues were forgotten by all.

The women of these communities enjoy some amount of gender equality who are sanskritised. The forms of marriages, family institutions, finest surviving primordial institutions of the world like Dhangidi Ghar (Youth Institution), Gramsabha, Kula Panchayat (elders council) have always shown fullest respect to its women. Sati, Dowry, bride burning, widow discrimination, child marriage, gender discrimination and various other social evils and black spots of Hindu Society is almost non-existent amongst them. So they enjoy great amount of freedom and equality in their own cultural set-up.

The Dalit Pano women continue to suffer multiple disabilities being born as women, being poor and member of a discriminated society. They are discriminated by the dominant upper caste society on the ground of their birth, origin and descent. Wherever they go discrimination does not end whether they change their spirituality to mainstream religions or not, they are looked down upon as sub humans. Change in spirituality has not made any difference in their lives.

The Kondh women also suffer discrimination in the same manner as a result of the frequent interaction with the upper caste people. They are discriminated on the basis of language, looks and food habit. Moreover, the freedom of Kondh women subjects them various criticism. In spite of their deep suffering they don't get sympathy from any corner. They have always remained a discriminated group in the Indian social order.

In 1994 riots, there is no accurate data with any body as to how many Pano families fled to jungles and other areas, how many women and children suffered during the conflict and post conflict situation. How



many pregnant women delivered their babies in the jungle. How many children were driven out from the school.

The marriage of Kandha and Pano was declared punishable. Panos were accused of rape, outraging modesty of the women although the union of Kandha Pano couple was voluntary. Even the Pano children were not allowed to sit in the schools lest their education will lead to development. The Pano women were not allowed to share the common water bodies which they earlier shared.

In villages where the Panos are a minority, the practice of untouchability is even more severely enforced. They are made to render service in times of death, marriage or any village functions. They perform duty of the messengers in rain and sun whatever may be distance and heights of areas surrounding the villages.

Communal and ethnic conflicts in Kotagarh, Bondapipili and Daringibadi are the worst examples of atrocities against Dalit populations deliberately spearheaded by the outside forces for their vested interest. Large areas of paddy fields were forcibly destroyed, houses were set fire and demolished, live stocks were killed and women were attacked, threatened to be raped and meet with dire consequences if not leave the area. Many conflict-affected families took shelter in Kotagarh Police station in severe cold days of December in 2000 after the tensions erupted there. The affected families including women and children had to leave their houses walking down the ghat areas to Kotghar covering more than 20 kms..

In August 2000 a tribal nun was allegedly assaulted near Bondapipili by a group of miscreants. Jhunu Pradhan and her husband of Kotagarh were beaten up mercilessly by a fanatic religious leader.

The measures taken up by the Govt. and administration to end up the ethnic tensions were not sincere and

affective. Provocative religious speeches and aggressive ethnic declarations were made by the radical non-St/Sc leaders mostly from the out side of the district in open public meetings in the presence of the govt. officials and the police. Many peacekeeping police forces were deployed in these disturbed areas to maintain the law and order were very often reported to have abused the young girls.

The situation of women during conflicts can be compared with war victims. No sincere preventive measures were taken up by the local Govt. authorities to control the violent action and terrorism of these external forces with true enforcement of legal protective measures like the use of prevention of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe atrocities Act 1989 and the Rule 1995.

From the incidences one can imagine the horrible situation that the Dalit women had to encounter with when they were prevented to take water from the water bases and the Dalit children were not allowed to sit in the class rooms. The conflicts in the South Orissa have been pushing the women towards extreme poverty by denial of their livelihoods. Especially the young adolescent girls, pregnant mothers spent their days with the utmost insecurity during tensions and post conflict situations. The big challenge for them was to protect the family from the impending attacks and at the same time collect food to feed the starving children. Physical assaults, out raging modesty and living under constant fear, the situation can be, compared with that of war victims.

The women of Kandhamal have been experiencing socio cultural and religious aggressions aimed at attacking the indigenous value system. Consequently there has been considerable increase in crime in crimes committed against women and conflicts in different ethnic communities in the name of religion and ethnicity. Women and children are the worst

victims of this social unrest organised violence. To add to the misery the social and economical gap between the rich and poor is in increase. The poor There is a policy of divide and rule by the outsiders to perpetuate the exploitation and make the native people more and more helpless.

#### Impact on women and the community

The Dalit Panos with their families left their native places and migrated to adjoining town. There is no account where these people have gone. The women fearing rape and murder escaped to jungles and near by village during the conflict and later moved to town areas. Most of the conflict victims have been engaged in flesh trade in many cities of Orissa.

In Kotgarh the miscreants threatened to rape the Dalit women. It was severe chilly winter. The families including women and children fled into the jungles. With much difficulty they came down the ghats of kotagarh to reach police station. After some days some people wanted to return back their homes But they were not given any entry to the bus running from to Kotagarh to the ghat areas .The Govt relief process was inadequate for the affected people . the Adivasis rallied around Ora and Srirampur village of Kotagarh.

The Pano children have lost their schooling. Many of them have been reduced to child labourers.

Communal forces advocate for vegetarianism as a symbol of high purity. The IMR and MMR have increased alarmingly in these areas according to the Govt. report against the Infant Mortality Rate of Orissa that is 97%.

The women have been gradually deprived of enjoyment of equality with their male counter parts. The radical Hindutva outfit have entered to the spiritual places and started interpreting about the tribal spirituality in Hindutva way. As a result the people is getting to

believe in mysticism and fatalism.

Women are looked down upon. The Kondha and Pano widows are suspected to practice witchcraft. Entire Pano families are driven out from a village called Talarimaha for allegedly practicing witchcraft. Opium and other narcotic drug intake have increased amongst the unemployed youth.

Lot many Pano and Kondh youth have migrated to town areas and other states in search of livelihoods and they did not agree to join the anti Pano outfits. They women and children in Kandhamal went hungry for months together. Yet the casteist and communal forces did not refrain in their attempt to engage them in conflict. These outfits constantly terrorized both Kondh and Pano communities. Everybody thought that Kondhs were very happy for the attacks on panos. In fact the kondhs were extremely concerned for the Pano people.

The present generations was striving towards social development, if not for themselves at least for the generation that would follow.

The Dalits and Adivasis have been fragmented into different groups like Kandha Surakhya Mancha and Pano Surakhya Mancha. The Church organisations have been also maintaining silence in this issue. We have come across many complaints from the Dalits in Christianity. They say there should not be any caste feeling because in the eyes of Church all are equal. Hatred for Dalits is practiced in Church organisations too. The Christian leaders never attempt for peaceful settlement of Kandha Pano conflict. Rather non-Oriya South Indian Church leadership seemed to be biased and taking a divisive stand.

Now a days the small villages are also tremendously influenced by any incidence that take place in any region of India. Radical ideas are being imposed on the people.

In all these scheduled areas Dalit are also equally sufferer like Adivasis. They are the land less ones. Both the groups have been subjected to inequality and cannot take their lawful place in the society. The right to equality is continuously violated in every sphere of life. The people do not enjoy the constitutional provisions because they are all written principles but not made workable and functional.

Article 17 has abolished untouchability and the practice of it is an offence punishable under law. Article 17 has given Adivasis to protect them from indignities and atrocities. The legislation is protection of Civil Right Act, 1955 (PCR) and the schedule caste and scheduled tribe prevention of Atrocities Act., 1989 (POA) The Govt. has not taken any step to popularize these legislation. Even the law practitioners and the police never did any attempt to use the legislation in favor of the Dalits and Adivasis. Article 10 of the POA says that if any non-Dalit Adivasis person is responsible for any disturbance or cause any harm to these people may be expelled from the area and sent to his original place to restore peace and save the lives of Dalits. In the conflicts that we discussed so long, it was evident that a third group is instigating against the others. But they move scot-free and continue their evil action. The people have lost all hopes as the laws for them have failed to give them security. The Govt. brought the reserve forces and police to control the violence. Intervention of police or central reserve force is dangerous for the innocent women moving freely in the forests for their livelihood. The CRP police raped one minor girl in Kotgarh. The case was also suppressed.

In Kui culture, the women enjoy a great amount freedom and equality. This is demonstrated in the merry making and celebration of the birth of the girl child. The Patriarchal society cannot even understand what it means to the aborigines. The egalitarian relationship of women with the men exhibited in all social interactions is of course a matter of astonishment to the Patriarchal communities.

Decades back they have raised their voices to do away with the indignities inflicted on them. The struggle for peace, equality and enjoyment of human rights should not go waste in the hand of the patriarchal and parochial elements. The government acknowledges that the Kondhals women have risen to the course of women and come forward to build their community. This has been exhibited in their formation of association and organisations taking up community issues to assert their right to forest, land and livelihood resources.

### Analysis

Where the upper caste failed in their attempt to engage people in ethnic conflicts, they provoke the non-Christian Kondhs against the Christian Panos. We have never heard of people fighting over caste and communal issue. In every household there are believers in own spirituality and Christianity. The Kuloku have their own distinct spirituality and Cosmvision distinct from the Hindu and Christian religion. Among tribal communities there is no place of hatred and social discrimination in the name of religion and caste.

The political parties have utilised the ST/SC people as vote banks by making rhetoric speeches in election campaigns and manifestos. The casteist forces mainly the traders have been accumulating wealth by using their land.

The natives have entered into Christianity from their own spirituality, the Hindu fundamentalist demand to bring back the Christians into Hinduism. The people resists to this idea. The failure to realise that the Kuis and panos are not Hindus leads to the accusation that the Kuis and Panos have changed their religion from Hinduism to Christianity. The process of Sanskritisation is meant for racially low born and low origin people to purify them. They are recorded as Hindus without their knowledge, but positioned practically outside the caste hierarchy. So they always remain independent of Hinduism by thought and action. Even the native Christians maintain their dual identity as distinct peoples and practiced Christianity with their own cultural norms.

Christianity is connected with transferring into new individual entity forgetting the past, and Hinduism is related to purify the lowborn, defiler, polluted impure person. But the traditional spirituality and belief system is connected with social and biological environment and their social role at home and community inculcating a sense of belongingness or losing oneself in the group of the Kin folks.

The Hindu religion focuses on Kandhas and Panos as two separate caste entities. But Kui consciousness embraces the diverse ethnicities and kinfolk exterior to caste system. The communication in Hindu religion is hardly intelligible to the community loving egalitarian people. Keeping away from community obligations is a dangerous attribute. Spiritual unity between living and non-living things is the core element in their belief system. Spiritual and cultural informations acquired at home is directly related to life in community, where as Hinduism and Christianity consists of changing behaviors, forget about past, accept others as leaders and memorizing matters Quite small unrelated to Kui life and ideology. The fear of getting disqualified from getting govt. jobs, land title deeds, and political seats compels them to accept Hinduism blindly.

The Indigenous Christians and Hindus eagerly respond to the sermons and teachings of different cultural frame of reference. They fail to fulfil adequately the traditional kinship obligations important for solidarity amongst the native populations by changing into different religion practices. Modern education together has eroded respect for the traditional social functions. People run into conflict where solidarity evades.

Though the Dalit Adivasis of Orissa has been enlightened to receive education, literacy and health from Christianity, It is noticed that the lifestyle of the people has been changed. The village system of Adivasis and Dalits are distinct from the mainstream populations. They do not believe in heaven, hell and cause and effect and Karma theory. The essence of their spirituality is related to worshipping sun, trees, mountains and

ancestors. With the advent of modern culture they have been inclined towards Hinduism to achieve social wellbeing. But Hinduism has failed to achieve this goal.

In all the communal conflicts occurred in Orissa was the brainchild of the outsiders to cripple the indigenous peoples socially and psychologically. The burning of churches, killing of Christian preachers, harassing the women have further devalued the natives subjecting them to more lower economic and educational opportunities. The Kondhs and Panos have suffered a irreparable loss of self esteem because they don't have definite accepted spiritual and social status. Conflict in the name of communalism is totally alien concept for them. They are not any way related to any Ayodhya, or Babrimasjid. As they were utilised as vote banks in past several decades, now they are used for radical religious groups for their political power.

The Kondhs were never given a chance to feel how their territory is rapaciously destroyed by the Govt. policies and upon the entry of the dominant communities into the area. They are worried for little amount of produces fulfilling the survival needs of the Pano neighbors. But they are not conscious about the fact that tons and tons of agricultural produces are being sold at a cheap rate, some times on distress sale to the outside trading community.

The ST/SC commissioner, New Delhi visited the conflict affected areas and he gave his note in a press conference saying that the Kandhas have lost their lands to Oriya settlers. The Panos are land less.

Our late Chief Minister Biju Pattnaik visited the Kondhmals soon after the conflict. He made a statement against Pano in a public gathering consequently aggravating the situation. The kondhs and Pano fought more fiercely killing more than 42 lives. Again Mr. Biju Pattnaik ordered for a probe into the matter. He instructed his Adivasi women consultants for a thorough inquiry.

The Dalits and Adivasis have been continuously utilised as Vote Banks by exploiting their leadership. The peoples struggle without any direction. The issues of marginalised peoples and their deprivation always loose its focus in the hands of upper caste politicians and economic policy makers.

The Adivasi and Dalit have never come in good terms. Their relationship has been shattered and reduced to suspicion and hatred. The infighting and conflicts perpetuate the statuesque of the dominant caste people. The Brahminism and casteism have been able to control the mindset of Adivasis and made them to think themselves as higher caste and hate the Dalits. They have been able to break into pieces the great values of community living, caste less society, egalitarian relationship with other communities equally sufferer like them. Therefore these communities can not derive any strength to fight against Brahminical and caste values. They try to perpetuate the hatred against Dalits to accelerate their economic exploitation.

But if we see the history of Kandhamals during post independence period, during 60s the women irrespective of their diverse ethnicities have joined their hands to eliminate the indignities inflicted on them. And they have been continuously making their effort to eliminate their sufferings as well as addressing the serious concerns of the community. This is evident in the organization building and their voices in all community process.

We also find that the conflicts have been resolved by the peoples them selves with great respect for the traditional councils. Had the fight against Panos been organised by the Kondhs alone, the strategies would not have been burning the house, targeting the women and children. This definitely would have been discussion, dialogue and exchange of words and judgement by the traditional leaders. These are the democratic ways of conflict resolution by the tribal councils. The question arises without any past history of ethnic and communal conflict how all of a sudden the Kondhs took and went craze to kill panos.

The conflicts have been an \_expression of severe stress, exposing the victims to a wider range of psychological impairment. Inferior social status, political powerlessness, destruction of culture ,economic slavery, exclusion from right to speak freely, right to practice religion and social exclusion are the major contributing factors to conflict.

The conflict in Kandhamals moves horizontally amongst the poor while the enemy stands vertically with much strength. The Dalits are engaged in infighting and have no time with the real enemy.

### The role of media

It is most unfortunate to say that the media failed to address the realities encountered by the natives of scheduled areas. In many cases the media played certainly a biased role by attaching undue importance to Kondhs and depicting Panos as trading communities, exploiters and antisocial. It also accused the indigenous Christian leaders of forceful conversion even it is a case of the youths of Christian families solemnised for baptism as a matter of Christian religious practice. It never raised questions how caste and communal questions occurred in the minds of the exterior out caste, fifth colour, Antajya people. Never did it attempt to address the history and past discrimination of the Dalits. The conclusive statements were not made basing on adequate survey, study and collection of facts and figures.

The intellectuals even fail to understand the spiritual and cultural crisis of the aborigines - Dalits and Adivasis. Normally the young family members of Christian families have to under go Baptism. But the media put it in altogether different way as material inducement is the principal reason for conversion. After being conversion also the Dalit Adivasi Christians languish at the lowest bottom of the society. In fact the spirituality of the Adivasis are understood to be Hinduism. As Santals have Sarna, the Kondhas have also distinct spirituality.

When they enter into Christianity, they are accused of casting away Hinduism and entering into alien religion. This is not true.

Never the media have attempted to bring back peace in the region, rather the tone was always provocative. Wide spread poverty, gender based discrimination, lack of access to equal opportunities were dealt with mildly. The age-old relationship between the Dalit communities was never attempted to revive.

The studies of different journals dealt the whole issue in their own prospective. There has not been sufficient attempt for in depth study of the root cause of the issues. Anti-Pano feeling was evident through out the analysis. The land less Pano was described as land grabbers and exploiters of Adivasi. It maintained silence on the whole issue and the process of land alienation, nationalization of forests, and land grabbing by outsiders. The Dalit Pano have also never raised any voice to defend them selves seemingly making them selves to be part of the accusations. The accounts of their occupation in Adivasi land were pictured superfluously. The socio-cultural background of the Dalits and their relationship with Adivasis has never highlighted in any of the writings. The earlier criminal tribes or the Panos became mute on the misgivings by the non-Dalit writings.

Coping mechanism between the ethnicity never given importance. Rather helplessness, weaknesses, disharmony amongst the marginalised people became more explicit. The Kondhs joining the negative militia like naxals and taking to arms and Panos fleeing here and there have occupied a major place in the media. This has further encouraged the exploiters to strengthen their base while the poor people keep fighting each other.

Of course some media have rightly observed that during the first settlement from 1970-1982, the Adivasis have been alienated from their ancestral land, and land grabbing by the outsiders was rampant.

Now the question automatically comes to mind whether the Dalits have any land in any part of the country. Do they belong to any part of Orissa originally. Which is their original place? Where should they go back. The media and other writings have never made any attempt to raise public awareness for the rehabilitation of these riot-affected families, women, children or aged.

The roles associated with the traditional forms of agriculture and the transfer of surplus produces for selling and exchange for the daily necessities are performed by the panos. For example when the Kuis walk their cattle herds and buffaloes to the plains down the Ghats covering long miles, the Panos assist them. These duties are culturally bound and obligatory. They have more sharing of life among themselves. The Panos are happy and contented with whatever remuneration they receive from the Kuis. But the depiction of panos as trading communities and middlemen give entirely a wrong picture. This type of obligatory systems has many meaning to the indigenous communities. By using such pragmatic languages for describing any situation lack enormous correct information. This relationship is not only found in Orissa, but in various continents where the indigenous peoples have their presence.

Evil discourse is being produced against the Kondhs and Panos as a result of this conflict. The worlds get a different image about them. The most generous, hospitable and resilient people on earth are increasingly made to involve with criminal activities deliberately. The media has almost neglected all these factors and most often the reality has been twisted. Moreover it never tried to unite this suffering lots together.

Towards reconciliation / peace building

On 14.05.1994 the Adivasi women advisors of Chief Minister Orissa, Late Mr. Biju Pattnaik reported to the government that this conflicts have been provoked by some upper caste businessman and petty politicians. On their recommendation on peace restoration process

the caste and communal riot was put to an end. The history of Kandhamals will remember the women's effort for peace restoration for all time to come.

A 6 member women delegation met His Excellency, Mr. M.M. Rajendran on 15th of March 2001 to urge the Governor for direct intervention in to the conflict affected areas to bring peace.

The article 10 and 11 of the prevention of Atrocities against SCs and STs Act say about removal of persons from the schedule area or tribal dominated areas likely to commit offence. Procedures and actions are mentioned against failure of person to remove him from the area and entered there on after removal. This act could have been used to restore peace in the area.

As indigenous people of India the Dalit and Adivasi are in search of their lost pride and injured glory and want to build up solidarity. Now -a- days the Adivasi and Harijans assert their new identity as Dalits. The people are now looking up for a solution where they can find peace and pride.

Cultural imperialism weakens the solidarity of the people, destroys language culture, and age-old egalitarian values. Let people preserve their own intellectual assets, spirituality and Cosmvision. The Dalit and Adivasi should find oneness in their outlook, attitude and social values. The Dalits panos have lost their primitive language and unable to express themselves in modern Oriya language. They speak a precursor language of Oriya. yet their spirituality remains intact.

Let people condemn the process of converting the people into Christianity or Hinduism and at the same time the earlier converts should not be forcefully threatened to enter into any religion.

People should have their right to practice their own spirituality. The Santals demanded for their spirituality (Sarna). The belief systems should not be assimilated of the Kuis.

Let people demand for their own language to be taught in the schools. The languages contains rich egalitarian Culture in them. People get explorations about their own values free from casteism and communalism. The basic components of the education should be based on the Human Rights Conventions (UDHR), Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Child Right Convention (CRC) and National Educational Policy.

Let people try for their own media literature, and philosophical discourses. The real role models of Dalit / Adivasis in freedom struggle, literature, politics and enterprise may be given a chance to get introduced and disseminated. Let the culture be revived keeping in view the gender sensitive elements in it. The forms of marriages may be given due recognition and further registration be done. The sacred grooves like Dandas and Dabas and the family institutions like Maada and Seedi should be protected. The collective living and symbiotic relationship of Panos with Kondh, Kuing with Kui Domanga and Sitarang and Sauras with Panos may be revived again.

The then minister and Adivasi political leader Shri Duryodhan Majhhi on his visit to Kandhamal made his statement that the Adivasis and Dalit should come out of their narrow thinking. They should get organised along the spirit of sisterhood and brotherhood and engage their potential for building up of social organisations and cultural actions. Some Adivasi writers also express their concern in their writings and try to invoke sense of solidarity to fight back the real enemy responsible for their long miseries.

People should condemn the forces responsible for killing and displacement of innocent peoples. The perpetrators of crime should be nabbed.

Innocent Christian minorities be given a sense of security because they are Dalit people and belong to the own blood of Kondhs and Panos.

The Kuis and Souras have always recognized the simplicity and broadmindedness of the Panos. It is evident from their long co-existence for centuries together in almost all the scheduled areas of Orissa. In the Kondh together and revive this relationship the ill filling will be transferred to mutual cooperation.

Human beings are natural inheritor of earth. Astonishingly the Dalit and Adivasis have no right to inherit the earth. The Dalit Panos have no demarcated territory. But their presence is felt in almost all the scheduled areas and they have been continuously subjected to more disabilities with flaring up of anti Pano feelings all over. They are discriminated in Hinduism as well as in Christianity. A strong sense of hatred towards the Panos is being spread day by day with the conscious effort of anti Dalit out fits. Moreover when the Dalits are converted to any other religion, just to escape from the discrimination, torture and perennial degradation, they are not allowed to enjoy the government reserved quota benefits provided to the scheduled castes.

Let Dalit Adivasi people try to reclaim their land territory and forests. Let people start discussions on the validity and appropriateness of the Nationalization of forest and post implementation consequences.

Any layperson can speculate that the divisive forces will continue to play with the lives and resources of Adivasis. Dalit common persons and intellectuals should start thinking at this point to combat these casteist and communal elements. They should sharpen their intellect to relate such riots at the local level to the national level and understand the nexus between local and national actions. Such riots have local and national dimensions.

The Communal riots have direct connection with the rise in fundamental groups in the country. These groups have chosen these fields, as they have been lying vacant. The political parties also have never given a

thought to prevent the people from the hands of radical religions. Both the secular and communal ideologies are responsible forever increasing communalism in the region. Both the ideologies outrightly disregard the belief systems of the Adivasis and Dalits. More over, with an intention to further utilize them in vote politics they have been dragged into communalism. The public exhibition of religiosity in an organised and spectacular manner has increased in the schedule areas. The Adivasi lack experience to differentiate between the religious action and communal action. Even many educated people fail to understand this basic difference.

The purpose of strengthening the age-old relationship and strengthening the Dalit unity therefore to influence and change the character of the casteist and communal ideas generated by casteist and communal forces. This can only happen by inculcating a sense of belongingness amongst the Dalits and invoking the age-old culture that binds them together in one thread. The Dalit intellectuals are in search of solution but whenever they settle a counter force is operating closely behind them to disturb their action. Their energy and collective action is wasted way in the issues where they are not directly affected. They are not given a chance for prioritizing their own issues. Let the Dalit women and men came along to revive the indigenous culture free from obscurantism or revivalism. Let people talk about their own past own history in about their own past history in their own genius capacity.

### Conclusion

The report of the National Commission for SCs and STs 1996-1996 & 1997-1998 rightly observed "Land is an important factor determining socio-economic status and power in the society. Making the SC/ST people owners of land can be the most important and effective way of empowering them. Possession of land gives status, stability and determines their life style, social, economic and political equation, Land ownership by SC/ST enables them to stand on their own feet and also deprives the rich of their or cheap labour."



The parliamentary and legislative assembly seats for Phulbani have been reserved for dalit Panos from 1974. The Phulbani constituency was extended to Sonpur, Binka, keeping in view the dalit majority excluding the tribal dominated places like Kalahandi and Norla. The Kondhs of Phulbani are greatly disappointed because they wanted the seats to be reserved for Kondhs. In fact late Biju Pattnaik had assured them to change the seats for Kondhs. It may be noted that in the parliament seat was reserved for the Kondhs till 1967 and the legislative seat till 1974. The Kondhs reclaim for this political power.

To days generations are led to think that it is the Panos exploiting the Kandhas. But infact they divisive forces want to diminish both Panos and Kondhs to highly vulnerable wage labours by creating chronic economic dependency. It is not only in Kondhmals, in other parts of Orissa also there are formal societal laws prohibiting ownership of the SCs and STs to cultivate the land by their own account and promote their traditional land tenure system. The Kondhs have been deprived of their own ancestral land and the land tenure system also got lost in the process.

Many Adivasi and Dalit thinkers have come out with their independent views for unity amongst the STs and SCs. They are increasingly becoming aware of the long socio-economic exploitation by the outsiders. Fear of getting exposed as real cause of socio-economic exploitation, the outsiders try to cover up their misdoing by creating hatred and despise against Panos. The Kandha and Pano fighting will lead to further manipulation of the land.

Kondhs and Panos together are brothers and sisters in the millennial suffering. They are only a subject of description by the elites. They have never started the search into the past. Knowing about their own origin will reduce suffering. In 2001 in Durban world conference Against Racism, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance was organised to eliminate racial discrimination in the World. Not only the Dalit SCs

and STs of Orissa keep infighting, Mallas and Madiga in Andrapradesh, Bodo and Santals, Nagas and Kukis also fight for reclaiming land and gaining material prosperity. Conflicting situation is an opportunity for the exploiters. Dalit should understand this. Caste is more dangerous than racial discrimination. By reducing them to serfdom they want them to continue the menial jobs and continue to suffer disabilities for centuries without being heard.

In 1999, a memorandum signed by the Ministers, M.L.As, representatives of PRIs of Phulbani and local leaders of kandhamals to Chief Minister, Orissa Shri Giridhar Gomang on the issues of poverty, illiteracy, sexual abuse of women, alcoholism and particularly the increasing trend of violence in the name of caste and religion by the religious fundamentalists. It said to take stringent action against the external forces responsible for ethnic and communal conflict.

The Governor of Orissa Mr. M.M. Rajendran on his visit to Kandhamals addressed the huge gathering in the Dalit Adivasi Women Convention on 2nd May 2001. He stated that "One of the unfortunate developments in recent years is the violence that is being perpetrated in the name of caste and religion. This is very foreign to our culture and more so, to Tribal culture".

The whites are admitting that their forefathers had given birth to slave system, the Amerindians resisted the 500-year anniversary of discovery of America by Columbus the aborigines of Australia have reclaimed their territories. But the Dalit and Adivasi question in India is a sensitive issue. The state is no way obligatory to them.

The convergence of economic interest of the international economic forces and the dominant class has made an unholy alliance to exploit the last frontiers of natural resources of our country. They control the lives of the local people to explore these resources. Therefore the state action against the criminals behinds

such incidents is negligible. As a result injustice is being meted out to the Dalits. And the perpetrators get acquitted for lack of evidence.

Finally it is realized that conflict can be resolved and it is possible to restore the peace in these disturbed areas provided government in power intervenes into the issues and concerns of Dalits and Adivasis whole heartedly and sincerely involving the peace loving people of the communities and act upon as per their

advice. Further the prevention of SC and ST Atrocities Act 1989 and Rule may be enforced strictly and the vigilance and monitoring committees be constituted in state and district levels taking the local people with their due representation as per the provision. Certainly it is possible to solve all the basic issues of Adivasis and Dalits by capacitating them with correct information, relevant education and creating a scope to take part in descion making process in relating to their development and survival.



IMPACT OF  
GLOBALISATION ON  
WOMEN EMPLOYMENT  
IN UN ORGANISED  
SECTOR AND RURAL  
WOMEN - WITH SPECIAL  
REFERENCE TO ORISSA

Tapasi Praharaj

Workingwomen in India are mainly found in agriculture and unorganized sector. In agriculture rural women formed the major part of work force. The working-women are the backbone of million of house-hold economies across the country. New forms of organization such as women's cooperatives, self-help producers groups and so on have also marked the efforts of women to improve their conditions. The industrial development in India with a narrow base has provided employment only to a small portion of India's working people including women. Out of 25 millions who are working in organized sector, the large majority belongs to the Governments at Centre and State and working-women only form a small portion i.e. less than 10 % in that sector. Thus the majority-working women are without protective legislature. Consequently the general conditions of the women workers have become deplorable, more particularly the situation has worsened due to the recent change in economic policy with the adoption of privatization, liberalization, globalization for which millions of women seek to work at any price and under any conditions. To appreciate the impact of changing economy on the workingwomen, it is necessary to draw the framework within which the changes are taking place with special reference to our State.

As per 1991 census over one-third of India's population is working. Among males, more than half are workers while among females nearly one in four is engaged in some kind of work. The percentage of women workers in the total worker population in urban and rural areas is respectively 9.73 per cent and 27.06 per cent. The majority of women workers are in rural areas and 87 per cent of them are employed in agriculture as cultivators and laboureres. Therefore, 90 per cent of women are in unorganized sector in small trades and services, construction works, etc. In organized sector women work force is 10 per cent, 8 per cent in mines, 51 per cent in plantation work. The average annual rate of growth of employment amongst educated women was 11.08 per cent during the period 1983 to 1987-88, compared to only 6.58 per cent during the period 1977-78 to 1983. However, in the nineties it has come down to below two per cent. Moreover, the women who are even engaged in the productive work within the family are not taken into consideration and are very often underestimated although a large per cent of female population are the main workers within the family and this has not been taken in the official calculation. Women workers working in unorganized sectors most of them used to work in most deplorable condition without having

any basic amenities and are subjected to various harassments.

In Orissa where people mostly depend upon agriculture the percentage of working women is 55 per cent as against 45 per cent of male in the agricultural sector.

A study conducted recently reveals that out of 79,770 central Government employees in the State, the number of women employees is 3,753 and most of them work in Class-III and Class-IV posts. As such, this constitute only 4.70 per cent of the total central Government employees working in Orissa.

At the end of the year 2000 there are 4,03,896 regular State Government employees out of which 67,511 are women, which amounts 16.46 per cent and most of the women employees are Primary School teachers and Nurses/ Mid-wives. Otherwise this percentage of women employees would have been less than 10 per cent. Similarly, in different corporations and Government Undertakings out of 2,07,685 employees women employees constitute a mere 7 per cent i.e. only 14,546. In urban local bodies, out of 90,346 employees, 4,025 are women and this number is decreasing day by day. It is also relevant to note here, as large number of women are engaged as sweepers, the percentage remains 20 per cent, otherwise, the presence of working women in Class-I and Class-II posts is very negligible.

As per the Government statistics by the end of the year 2000 in private sectors there are total 87,916 employees out of which women employees are 10,10,002 i.e. only 11.5 per cent. Despite all declaration for reservation for women the number of women employees in different organizations has been decreasing.

### General Problems

Although the law provides that women are to be given equal wage, even today in the industrial, construction work, agricultural sector and in small

business the women are paid less compared to their male counter-parts.

Women work in production of goods and the services in the family for its own consumption is not considered in the calculation of National income. Even when women are producing for the market their work often does not get computed in the market-oriented concept of income and employment. It is estimated that invisible work of housewives contribute merely 1/3rd of India's gross national product. The most unfortunate part is that the household activities of the workmen are not considered as economic activity and therefore, not counted as employment leaving a large number of workingwomen from the scope of estimation.

There is also reluctance to employ women in different fields and in different works. This is a very common trend with certain employers, resulting in hostile discrimination. A further study has revealed that since a large part of working women are not organized in Trade Unions they fall to insecurity and they lack bargaining power. Although the Government of India has ratified the ILO convention resolution for legislation for home based workers, yet there is no action on the score. A comprehensive legislation promised for agriculture workers which includes a vast number of women work force is yet to see the light of the day.

Another important aspect of the matter is the sexual exploitation of women by the employers, contractors, middleman, forest guards, etc. which is a very serious issue relating to the working women. The role of middleman and traffickers has become rampant in this regard. The landmark judgment of the Hon'ble Apex in the case of Visakha v. State of Rajasthan reported in AIR 1997 Supreme Court, page 3011 with clear cut directions to deal with the sexual harassment and gender discrimination in the work places has not yet yielded much result in the field.

## Impact of globalisation and liberalization of economy on working women

Due to the recent policy of globalization and structural adjustment programmes (SAP) the jobs in the organized sectors are shrinking drastically. The Center and State Governments have declared ban on new recruitment, which is the main source of women employment. This also includes the recruitment in schools and hospitals. Due to privatization of insurance sectors where 40 per cent of the employees are women their jobs are now under threat. Over 5 lakhs of industries have closed down during last few years. Traditional industries like Textiles and Handlooms have faced big crises with thousands of workers losing their jobs and the women workers having lost the jobs are forced to seek employment at low wages.

Last year, large scale of retrenchment of non-formal facilitators in Orissa has rendered many women who come from poor families are jobless. The plight of Anganwadi workers in our State as well as throughout the Country needs no explanation as about 1.2 millions of Anganwadi workers and helpers are getting the wages known as 'honourarium' ranging from Rs.260/- to Rs.650/- a month. Now it is contemplated to handover the Anganwadi projects to N.G.Os. Even women skilled workers like midwives do not get the proper wage.

Liberalisation has also affected adversely. Thousands of fisher workers families with mechanized trawling by big vessels being allowed in many coastal areas monopolizing the catch. Practice of many of the big fishing companies includes fishing during breeding time, which also reduces the catch.

As it is already mentioned that a major part of working women are in the field of agriculture and construction work. The impact of globalisation has adversely affected the agricultural sector and they have suffered due to increased mechanization of agricultural operations as well as due to switch over to cash crops decreasing the work days. The

women workers being out of job has resulted in increase of poverties in their families and the poverty alleviation programmes have not given any remarkable result to mitigate the plight of women workers.

In Orissa due to the Fiscal & Administrative reforms and in presence of the World Bank- D.F.I.D. dictating the terms the women workers are the worst sufferers. The per capital food production has decreased. The situation in the districts of Kalahandi and Koraput is the latest example where the women being the weaker section in the society the food protection is very low for them and about 70 per cent of the women do not get two square of meals for a day resulting in mal-nutrition and anemia. The reduction of food subsidy due to the effect of the policy of globalisation has a greater impact directly on the women leaving the conclusion that structural adjustment programmes adversely affect the majority of women in every sphere at work in the home and in the society.

The policy of self-help group and micro credit though an instrument for the betterment of economic condition of women, but it has yet to take any remarkable position in that regard.

### Remedial measures

It is now the high time to pay attention to the plight of women community and the working women in particular, with reference to the general conditions of the Society and think about the remedial measures which according to me may be summerised as follows :

- Reversal of policies of SAP and protect the workers' interest. Right to work be made a fundamental right;
- Equal wages for women and participation of women's representatives in all monitoring bodies to be set up;
- Provision of social security benefits including child care and insurance;

- Protective legislation for home based worker, agricultural workers and for the unorganized sectors;
- Easy credit to self-employed women & market guaranty;
- Strict implementation of reservation policies for women;

- Effective implementation of Supreme Court guideline against sexual harassment of women by enactment of legislation;
- Formation of self-help groups and micro credit organizations among the women;