Patronage of the arts and culture in India was outside the purview of the British Government until 1947. Just before independence, the central Government administered and financed a few cultural institutions, namely, the Archaeological Survey of India, the Imperial Library (now called the National Library), the National Archives, the Anthropological Survey of India and the Asiatic Society of Bengal, etc. Similar departments of varying quality were sustained by the state Governments. Besides, the Indian princely states themselves maintained and sustained efforts in the fields of the performing and literary arts. Mass media units like the All India Radio (AIR) had been set up primarily for the dissemination of official information and to patronize the arts, particularly music. In the universities there were courses in history and civilization, both of Europe and India, but with little thought to cultural development. There were a few significant all-India institutions of culture which had been established through pure voluntary effort; some with a cultural goal in view, others with a national, political or social goal. For instance, the Ramakrishna Mission and the University established by Rabindra Nath Tagore at Santiniketan, West Bengal. For the rest, cultural activity, individual or collective, participative or professional, was the concern of the people (Vatsayan, 1979: 14-16).
On another level, there emerged from under the surface many distinctly identifiable regional cultures. These traditional cultures, supported by the community or fostered by individuals, had characteristics of different culture-areas. There was the desire of the people for satisfaction on the aesthetic plane. This desire continued to assert itself at community level. People organized cultural activities during several festivals and at the time of the particular agricultural cycles in various culture areas. Naturally the nature of the cultural diversities could not be denied. Cultural evolution continued even during the most bitter periods of freedom struggle. The patronage of the princely states and the rich class of the society helped in many direct and indirect ways in this. Although regional identities and cultures were recognized, these had necessarily to be neglected or ignored for the time being. The idea of a common culture with a unity took precedence in both intellectual and political thought during the struggle for national independence. The energy of the nation at practically all levels were directed towards the one goal of attaining political independence (Vatsayan, 1972:15-6).

Efforts to Promote Cultural Activities after Independence:

The systematic attempts to promote art and culture in India through funding is a little more than four decades old. It is only after independence that one finds some sort of state patronage to culture in India. Notably, extension of state patronage to the regional cultures, at that time and even today,
is to be considered as a political step with the intention to bring people together from diverse culture-areas so as to establish unity and integrity of the nation-state like India (Vatsayan, 1972:33). Undoubtedly, this has also helped people to shift from their traditional/primordial identities like caste, language, religion and region to a political identity. Thereby, it has led to enhancement of their belongingness to the nation-state, i.e. India. In other words change of the people through a cultural policy tends to be seen as the shift from primordial ties to modern rational ties. On the other hand, it may also generate conflicts, tensions and discontentment among various culture-areas on account of unequal distribution of resources and inadequate attention provided to them in relation to other culture-areas.

On account of the limitation of funds, however, cultural activities were restricted during first three decades after independence of India. In the initial outlay, culture received a measly 0.3 percent of the 3 percent allocated to education. Because of the poor state of Indian economy, culture received comparatively low priority when pitted against the needs of a developing nation. Until quite recently, culture was a three-tiered affair. At the apex, there were three central academies (Sangeet Natak, Sahitya and Lalit Kala), in the middle there were various state academies and on the baseline there were numerous local groups both private as well as government sponsored. An important objective of the government is to
transform the existing loose, scattered and underdeveloped numerous folk traditions into a well-knit compact one and its organic integration into the total national culture through various cultural bodies. These bodies exposed many impressive and important structures and varieties of art and culture in India. This process of search and highlights was continued in subsequent years. But because of the general tendency, these cultural bodies focussed their attention mainly on performance and presentation of the art styles in various parts of the country. Very recently, they have also started imparting training and education on various cultural forms to interested people and groups, through these cultural bodies. Following are a few such important organizations.

Cultural Organizations

Visual Arts: Lalit Kala Akademi (LKA)

To promote the understanding of the indian art, both within and outside the country, the Government established the Lalit Kala Akademi (National Academy of Fine Arts) in 1954. The LKA strives to promote this objective through exhibitions, publications, workshops and camps. The LKA sometimes, organizes small number of exhibitions of folk-art (Vatsayan, 1972:40).

Performing Arts: Sangeet Natak Akademi (SNA)

The Sangeet Natak Akademi (the National Academy of Music, Dance and Drama) was set up in 1953 for the promotion of the performing arts of India. It cooperates with its counterparts in
the states and voluntary organizations for the furtherance of the performing arts. It operates a scheme of inter-state exchange of troupes in order to promote national integration through dissemination of culture. It also assists regional festivals to bring rare art forms of the region to the fore and to promote cultural integration. The Akademi has set up a special unit for surveying and documenting many forms of folk, tribal music and dance along with the classical ones. Its disc and tape library has the largest collection of Indian classical, folk and tribal music and dance and theatre items. Of these, some are already extinct, others are threatened (Vatsayan, 1972:42).

Every year SNA organizes Lok Utsava in New Delhi. The Seventh Annual Lok Utsava was held under the auspices of the SNA at Rabindra Bhawan, New Delhi in the first and second week of November, 1990. Over 200 folk artists hailing from various parts of India performed their art-forms in this five-day Lok Utsava (The Hindu, Nov. 30, 1990:5).

National School of Drama (NSD):

The NSD, a premier theatre institution was founded in 1959 by the Sangeet Natak Akademi. In 1975 it was registered as an autonomous body fully financed by the Government. It imparts training in dramatics and propagates theatre in the country. It organises theatre workshops and children's theatre training courses in other regions so as to make available training facilities to local theatre enthusiasts and to facilitate training of its students in folk, traditional and regional theatre forms.
Sahitya Akademi (SA):

The Sahitya Akademi (National Academy of Letters) was set up by the Government in March 1954 for the development of Indian letters and to set high literary standards to foster and coordinate literary activities in all the Indian languages and to promote through them the cultural unity of the country. It awards annual prize and 'Translation Award' to works of outstanding merit in 22 recognised languages. The Akademi also gives importance to Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Apabhramsa and Indian English. It is evident from the publication of 'The Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature' in five volumes by the Sahitya Akademi in 1990. But, only fifteen languages are included in the Schedule VIII of the Constitution of India. The Akademi organizes literary gatherings, workshops, national and regional seminars, symposia and writers' meets to provide opportunities for writers to exchange their views.

Significantly, culture propagated by these Akademies has remained an exercise confined more or less to studios, theatres, galleries and auditoriums. It is alleged that the role of these Akademies is to cater to the urban upper middle class and the elite section of our society (Negi, 1988).

Mass Media: Akashvani (All India Radio) and Doordarshan (Television): Any discussion on the development and growth of the performing arts would be incomplete without a mention of the vital and active role played by the AIR and TV in patronizing, propagating and disseminating music.
Radio broadcast started in 1927 with two privately owned transmitters at Bombay and Calcutta. The Government took them over in 1930 and started operating them under the name of Indian Broadcasting Service which was changed to All India Radio (AIR) in 1936. In 1957 it was renamed as Akashvani. Since then it is operated as a separate department. AIR's network consisted of only six radio stations in 1947. By the end of 1989 there were 96 stations. The programmes which are transmitted from 173 transmitters, of which 137 are medium wave, cover 94.52 percent area of the country (India, 1988-89:241). Music was largely under the patronage of princely courts during pre-independence days. With the abolition of princely states after 1947, the task of preserving the musical heritage and propagation of music in all variety was taken over by AIR. AIR has contributed largely to bring about an awareness and appreciation of all forms of music, from folk and tribal Indian music to light music, modern compositions and highly classical forms of Indian music (India, 1988-89:241; Vatsayan 1972:48).

Folk/Tribal Music:

This form of rich musical heritage of India is not unknown and unappreciated. It has not replaced the classical Indian music or vice versa. Both have co-existed throughout the centuries. AIR plays equal attention to the preservation and development of folk music. AIR broadcasts folk and tribal music of various regions both in the general and special audience programmes. Special funds are sanctioned for production of such music. So, folk music constitutes an important part of AIR's
music programmes. About 11.77 per cent of the total music programmes constitutes folk music. Stations' recording units regularly visit interior areas and do recordings on the spot for broadcast and screening. Folk music collection centres have been set up at 20 centres to systematically collect and preserve the folk music heritage of the country for future generations. (India, 1988-89: 242-3). The music archives of AIR has a huge repertoire of Indian classical, light and traditional music in all its variety and richness. Recently, it has decided to release discs/ cassettes of selected recordings from its archives for widest possible dissemination of various aspects of Indian culture, particularly music amongst the people (Vatsayan, 1972:49; India, 1988-89: 243).

Doordarshan (Television):

Although AIR has been the single most chief patron of Indian music and musicians for quite a long time at the state level since the disappearance of the noble men and Indian princes. It would be unwise to ignore the role played by Doordarshan (DD) in the field of arts and culture, especially after 1980.

Television (TV) was introduced in India as an experimental service in September 1959 with a limited transmission three days a week. The regular service started in 1965. Then TV was attached to AIR. In 1976, TV was delinked from AIR to form an independent organization, Doordarshan. In the third decade of its operational life, it has emerged as a large national net
work and has become more popular than radio, particularly in urban areas (India, 1988-89:251). Introduction of satellite technology and its use for TV in 1982 was a unique experience. In September 1984 DD introduced the second channel of transmission in Delhi, followed by Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. This fulfills the target of the three-tier service to the people: the national, the regional and the local service.

**Directorate of Field Publicity (DFP):**

DFP is the largest rural oriented inter-personal communication medium in this country. It seeks to project the policies and programmes of the Government by bringing its men and materials face-to-face with the people. There are 22 regional offices and 257 field publicity units. Of these, 72 concentrate their activities in the border areas. Notably, these units take the help of folk media: namely folk songs, folk dances, folk-theatres etc. extensively to popularise Government decisions and plans formulated for their benefits and upliftment (India, 1988-89:272).

**Song and Drama Division (SDD):**

Another Government department which must be mentioned in the context of the performing arts is the SDD of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. It is established in 1954. The SDD uses folk media namely puppet, play, dance drama, ballet, ballad, Harikatha, etc. for the purpose of social communication projecting the developmental activities in the country. It has the advantage of an instant readymade rapport with the people.
and the flexibility to incorporate new ideas and convictions.

Its Armed Forces Entertainment Wing was formed in 1967 to entertain jawans posted in forward areas (India, 1988-89:273). Along with the Ministry of Defence, it organizes the folk-dance festival during the Republic Day ceremony. It is an occasion when folk artists from different corners of India are invited to be present at the Republic Day Festival. Music and dances of these folk-artists are presented before large and distinguished audiences in the open-air for two or three evenings. It helps the artists and common people "to witness these authentic folk dances, so as to give them inspiration and an opportunity to draw upon original and authentic sources" (Vatsayan, 1972:51).

The Division has set up a tribal centre at Ranchi during 1981 covering Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa with the intention to bring the tribals of these states into the national mainstream (India, 1988-89:273). Thus, the SDD acts as a central instrument for the promotion of national integration through folk media.

The centre for Cultural Resources and Training (CCRT):

It was set up in 1979 as an autonomous body fully financed by the Government of India. Its broad objectives is to revitalize the educational system by creating an understanding and awareness among the students about the plurality of regional cultures of India and integrating this knowledge with the curriculum activities/subjects. To fulfill its objectives, the centre organizes a number of training programmes for the benefit
of in-group teachers drawn from primary, high and higher secondary schools in different parts of the country.

National Council for Culture (NCC):

The National Council for Culture (formerly National Council of Arts) was set up on 19th September, 1983 by the Government for co-ordination of activities of institutions of arts, archaeology, anthropology, archives, museums and for providing guidelines for future plans and programmes of various institutions.

Zonal Cultural Centres (ZCC)

When Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister, a new thrust was given to culture. Ever since 1985, the Government and its Department of Culture have aggressively taken on the role of dispensing and safeguarding culture. In 1985, seven ZCCs were set up in Patiala, Shantiniketan, Thanjavur, Udaipur, Allahabad, Dimapur and Nagpur. These were conceptualized with the aim of projecting cultural kinships transcending territorial bounds. The idea was to arouse and deepen awareness of the local cultures and how these merged into zonal identities and eventually into the rich diversity of India's composite culture. Besides, these were also intended to document, preserve and to sustain the vanishing folk art forms and oral traditions. Thus, the objective of the Academies and ZCCs was to support the traditional fairs and festivals which provided the continuing link with rich traditions of the past. The seven ZCCs had
presented over 270 major events to an audience of nearly 10 million between November, 1985 to April, 1988. Significantly, it was also believed that these cultural shows remained merely as 'Tamasha' or exhibition (Negi, 1988).

Cultural Relations with Other Foreign Countries:

A culture grows, flourishes and enriches itself through a continual dialogue with other cultures. The rich and varied cultural patterns in India has both assimilative as well as emanative quality which accounts for its permeation to other parts of the world, especially south-east Asia, without even a single political conquest. The Department of Culture has been actively pursuing a policy of cultural co-operation with many overseas countries through a bilateral agreement and exchange programmes. In 1947, there was only a Commonwealth unit to look after educational and cultural exchanges between India and other countries of Commonwealth. But, today international co-operation programmes are also executed through the Indian National Commission for Co-operation with UNESCO (Vatsayan, 1972:93). India has, presently, cultural agreements with 77 countries and 2-3 years' cultural exchange programmes with 52 countries (India, 1988-89:166).

Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR):

The ICCR was set-up in 1950 by the Government of India with a view to promote cultural understanding with foreign countries. The ICCR is an autonomous body financed by the
Government. Its activities include cultural exchanges, welfare of overseas students, presentation of books, international seminars, conferences and exhibitions. It also runs international student's hostels at Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The ICCR has instituted a Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding (Vatsayan, 1972: 93-4).

Festival of India (Bharat Utsav):

During 1980s Government of India envisaged a policy of cultural co-operation with many countries in the world through an innovative idea of Festival of India or Bharat Utsav. A Festival of India was first held in UK in 1982. Its objective was to bring to the outside world, glimpses of the richness and varieties of India's cultural heritage as also to show aspects of contemporary India. Two more festivals were held in 1985-86; one in France and the other one in the United States. The fourth festival of India was inaugurated in USSR on 3rd July, 1987. The festival of India also organised 'India Manifestation' in Sweden in August-December 1987. The festival of India in Japan was inaugurated with a concert of classical music and dance on 15 April, 1988 (India, 1988-89:116).

Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts (IGNCA):

IGNCA was launched on 19 November 1985. It was to be the biggest and largest cultural complex in the world. The academic programmes of IGNCA are convinced as interlocked programmes of its four sub-institutions, namely (1) The Indira Gandhi Kala
Nidhi i.e., the reference library, the national information system and data bank; (2) The Indira Gandhi Kala Kosha, i.e., the Research and Publication Division; (3) The Indira Gandhi Janapada Sampada i.e. the Division of tribal and folk arts; (4) The Indira Gandhi Kala Darshan i.e., Division of seminar and exhibition.

**Trade Fair Authority of India (TFAI):**

As a part of cultural promotion, TFAI plays an important role in dissemination of cultural information of various parts of India. Pragati Maidan in Delhi is the permanent station where the annual fair is held in the month of November. Pragati Maidan serves not only a unique show-window to project sophisticated goods and technology, but also provides a platform for the best Indian performing arts like music, dance, drama and cinema. Open Air Theatres namely Hamsadhwani, Falaknuma, Shringar, Lai Chowk, Kadambari and Aangan Manch are available for performances by eminent classical as well as folk artists.

**CULTURE FINANCING**

On account of the limitation of funds, cultural activities were restricted during first three decades after independence of India. In the initial outlay, culture received a meagre 0.3 per cent of the total 3 per cent allocated to education. Because of the poor state of Indian economy, culture received a little attention. It was the time when India was to match the scarce resources against the needs of developing economy. Even during 1960s government had to do with few limited programmes.
first marked change came about in the Sixth Plan. From an initial outlay of Rs 44 crores the figure increased to a very respectable Rs 265 crores. The government's aggressive policy towards culture and the priority given to it is evident from the resources put at the disposal of the Department of Culture since then. The Seventh Plan looked even rosier with an allotment of Rs. 482.12 crores. Significantly, the amount was believed to have risen to the figure of Rs 700 crores, due to the expenses incurred on the grand cultural shows like Festival of India, Apna Utsav and other such mega festivals. Remarkably, the all powerful Government media like Akashvani and Doordarshan received Rs 700 crores each in the Seventh Plan. In other words spending on arts and culture had come to match this earmarked too (Sinha, 1989:1). During this five years, thousand of folk artists and craftsmen who seldom moved out of the periphery of their villages had the opportunities to go abroad and to participate in the cultural festivals and fanfare in the countries like USSR, France, Japan, UK, USA and Sweden etc. in addition to this, folk artists have been invited to two major 'Apna Utsavs' - inaugurated in Delhi (1987) and conferences in Bombay (1988). Even the last national sports meet at Kerala opened to the beat of the 'Edakka' and 'Theyyam' dances.

Sinha (1989:1) reports: "as a manager that seeks the involvement, the Government has launched a massive diplomatic offensive abroad, and a policy of 'cultural integration' at home." Understandably, funding for the cultural activities had reached an all time high. It is believed that if the same
amount of resources spent on these activities had been made available to the four cultural bodies namely the SA, the SNA, the LKA and the NSD and their affiliates at the state levels then culture would have received the thrust which the Government is suddenly giving to it now (Negi, 1988).

During past five years, there was a new passion of the Government found in the cultural field. Festivals of India, Apna Utsavs, ICCR and IGNCA had marginalised the roles and status of Academies at the apex. Significantly, the total annual grant of the four Academies was around Rs 5 crores during 1988-89. Of this, the SNA received Rs 2 crores and the SA Rs 1.65 crore only while the still nascent IGNCA was able to bag Rs 8 crores for the same period. The LKA has a purchasing budget of only Rs 5 lakhs annually for contemporary arts. But the zonal centres have handsome funds at their disposal. For instance, the North Central Zone (Delhi) has Rs 7 crores. From the interest of this huge sum of money it draws a functioning budget of at least Rs 7 lakhs per month (Sinha, 1989:1). Similarly the state Academies have also been marginalised by the seven zonal centres which will be dealt subsequently.

At present, various cultural centres are quite active and are autonomous bodies, but working within the guidance of the Government. As a result they could not liberate themselves from the influences of the Government machineries, bureaucratic norms and politicians etc. For instance, the ZCCs have been criticised for not doing the kind of grass roots exercise they were meant to perform. Allegedly they are wholly politicised
and "archival conversation, museums and archaeology have all been
forced to take a back seat and that transporting folk artists
across the world will only serve to vitiate their roots"
(Sinha, 1989:4). While the Department of Culture believes in
'culture of, for and by the masses', the Academies at the apex
see in it a gimmick, a 'tamasha' which has serious and adverse
effects on them because their perception on culture is
different. Culture for the masses may sound nice but it cannot
be done merely through exhibitions. It requires detailed
planning and clear objectives. Otherwise, it remains a street
show to be seen and then forgotten. To them 'culture is
culture' and cannot be compromised in this fashion (Negi, 1988).

Notably, these academies are also accused of 'nepotism,
favouritism and suspected moral turpitude'. It is alleged that
these organisations are being turned into the personal fiefdom of
certain individuals. Quite often even well established
professional artistes show their distress over the functioning
and mis-management of these academies. Very recently, Swapna
Sundari, the Kuchipudi and Bharat Natyam danseuse, Odissi
exponent Ms Kiran Segal and Sitarist, Mr Debu Chaudhury, in a
press conference, have accused that the SNA is responsible for
blatantly promoting a few selected artistes only. They alleged
that the Academy secretary, Mr Keshav Kothari was using the
station to promote a few artistes: "It is only 3 dancers, Malavika Sarukhal, Leela Samson and Madhavi Mudgal, who are
always preferred". Significantly, the family of Secretary also
find places in the Executive Board and other committees of the
Academy. They raised the question "why, Mr Kothari was allowed to continue in the office for over 7 years when the Chairman or Vice Chairman of SNA served a term of 5 years only". They also demanded a parliamentary probe into this (The Statesman, Delhi, 13.12.90, 4; TOI, Delhi, 13.12.90, PI, HT, Delhi, 13.12.90, P3). Significantly, the case of Bharat Bhavan at Bhopal in Madhya Pradesh was an interesting example to see how the state interfere in the functioning of such cultural centres. Bharat Bhawan, the multi arts complex at Bhopal was the home away from home to scores of artistes drawn from all over the country. In January, 1991 the BJP Government in Madhya Pradesh amended the Bharat Bhavan Trust Act, by making the Chief Minister, Ex-Officio Chairman of the Trust and Cultural Secretary its Ex-Officio Secretary. The institution of life trusteeship has also been done away with and the trust has now been made accountable to the state assembly. Consequently, almost the entire arts community in the country was up in arms against the erosion of Bharat Bhavan's autonomy (India Today, 1991:129).

Visible Extension of Cultural Policy in Orissa:

Culture is as important as the other necessities of life. This is manifested as a part of conscious and concerted policy to pull culture from its backseat to front forums in Orissa. The last ten years have witnessed creation and strengthening of institutions for cultural development in the state. It means culture has been expanding institutionally. This is likely to be visible in the setting up of autonomous bodies. Moreover,
budget on culture during the succeeding years has increased many times.

In the initial outlay culture in Orissa received little attention. Under cultural programmes, an amount of Rs 30.84 lakhs was spent during the Second Five Year Plan period (1956-61) and during the Third Plan (1961-66) Rs 33.07 lakhs was spent (TPMA:167). The first marked change came about in the Sixth Plan period (1980-85) when the initial allotment for arts and culture was Rs 480 lakhs. The Seventh Plan period looked even rosier when from an initial outlay of Rs 322.50 lakhs, the figure is believed to have touched to a very decent or moderately good figure of Rs 1100 lakhs. Expenditure in the first four years (1985-89) was of the order of Rs 619.56 lakhs. For 1989-90 the approved outlay is Rs 309.00 lakhs. For the year 1990-91 an outlay of Rs 412.00 lakhs has been suggested (APO, 1989:232). It means spending on arts and culture in Orissa has been increasing over the years. 'Whether or not culture merits such spending' is not important; what is more important is the manner in which it has become a visible extension of state policy in Orissa.

In the line of central Academies, there are three state academies in Orissa with the intention to promote art and culture in the state. These are namely (1) Orissa Lalit Kala Academi (OLKA) to look after art and architecture in the state (2) Orissa Sangeet Natak Academi (OSNA) to look after the development of dance, drama and music in the state and (3) Orissa Sahitya Academi (OSA) to look after the development of
Oriya language and literature. These three Academies are situated in the state capital i.e. Bhubaneswar. In order to integrate regional cultures of Eastern states i.e. Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Manipur, Tripura and Nagaland, a zonal culture centre namely 'Eastern Zonal Culture Centre' (EZCC) has been set up at Shantiniketan, West Bengal.

The OSNA looks after development of dance, drama and music in Orissa. It also takes up various development schemes for improvement of folk dances and folk music. The activities comprise of drama festival, theatre workshop and maintenance of a 'Chhao Dance Training Centre'. A new scheme to take up research in Orissa Art and Culture was proposed to be introduced in 1989-90. Further, Utkal Sangeet Mahavidyalaya (USM) at Cuttack was taken over by Government of Orissa with effect from the 1st January, 1982. The Odissi Research Institute at Bhubaneswar was established in the year 1983 to take up the research work in the field of Odissi dance. Subsequently, it was converted into an autonomous body in the year 1986 and renamed as 'Odissi Research Centre' (ORC). It has taken up intensive work for codification, documentation and dissemination of various Odissi forms of dance and music. There is no denying that all these have been achieved at the cost of regional cultures, which have been denied their due share in the limited resources and facilities available in the state. During 1990-91, it is going to operate a new scheme i.e. documentation through 36mm colour film. It has been also proposed to purchase
a mini bus for propagation of Odissi dance in Sub-Divisional as well as District levels (APO, 1990:235). It seems Government of Orissa which started out as an enlightened patron of art and culture has now taken culture to the people telling them what they ought to consume. We find numerous forms of folk culture being crushed under the dominant pressure group and its culture. While cultural conflicts in a pluralist Orissan society are excusable but what is inexorable is the deliberate isolation and marginalisation of these varieties of folk-culture, because the dominant group is well aware of the explosive potentialities of these folk-styles.

Earlier during the Sixth Plan period the OSNA had taken initiative to codify the folk-dance form Chhau depicting its techniques, styles, training presentation, costume, music and rhythm. Cultural elites of Sambalpur town also felt the need of such a research centre for various forms of Sambalpuri dance, music and songs. But the Government did not pay any heed to this matter. During this Sixth Plan period, the OSNA only identified two folk-dances - Ghumura naach and Dalkhai - from Sambalpur area for imparting training students.

In a shrinking world cultural interactions, cultural agreements and cultural exchange programmes are bound to increase among various cultural groups. Recently, the ORC has organised 'Konark Dance Festival' in all India level. It was held at Konark, where the world famous Sun temple is situated. A sum of Rs 5.00 lakhs was proposed by the Government of Orissa to conduct this festival during 1989-90. Also, an outlay of Rs
3.00 lakhs was proposed for Odissi music at Bombay and Madras. With a view to do research in various facets of the link between ancient Kalinga i.e. Eastern-Orissa and South Asian countries a project has been taken up with financial support from the Government of Orissa. The research work is expected to cover archaeological excavations, visit of scholars to south-east Asian countries, holding of international seminars, publications, etc. A provision of Rs 4.00 lakhs was proposed by the Orissa Government for 1989-90 and subsequently Rs 11.32 lakhs for 1990-91.

In view of the above discussion it may be said that the OSNA has been reduced to the status of marginal, with the growth of numerous new cultural institutions in Orissa. Significantly, OSNA received Rs 8.00 lakhs in 1989-90, but the USM, Cuttack received Rs 18.64 lakhs and the ORC, Bhubaneswar received Rs 16.00 lakhs. In other words, while new institutions are created the old institutions are left to moulder. Besides, these government (state) sponsored cultural institutions are also accused of favouritism like that of Sangeet Natak Academi as discussed earlier. Sanjukta Panigrahi, Odissi exponent feels ignored. In a press statement she said "not once in the past six years has the state culture department voluntarily invited me to perform" (India Today, 1991;158). It is also clear from our discussion that cultural identities of Orissa is based on the cultural identity of the dominant pressure group i.e. 'Eastern Oriyas'.
A significant feature of Oriya Society is the unequal sharing of fruits of cultural development by the people of its different regions. While the culture of certain groups have received favourable treatment and they have become privileged others remain neglected. One of the most ill-treated region in terms of cultural development is its western parts i.e. Sambalpur area which even occupies the lowest position on all fronts of development, namely social, economic and political (Mishra, 1984e). It may be noted that not a single major cultural institutions of art and culture of Government of Orissa exists in Sambalpur area. This area gets some benefits out of the grants to cultural associations and sangeet dance schools. Government provides financial assistance to the registered cultural institutions functioning in the rural areas to retain their local cultural activities. It is proposed to provide an outlay of Rs 8.00 lakhs for this scheme in 1989-90. But, surprisingly we did not come across any such Yuvak Sanghas or Mahila Samiti in the interior village like Gainpura or in the sub-urban village like Kainsir which received financial assistance for the above mentioned purpose. Understandably, people are unaware of such scheme of Orissa government. Therefore, it needs to take steps to disseminate government's ideas and plans among the rural masses.

For promotion of dance and music in the state a provision of Rs 1.00 lakh has been proposed for giving grants to dance and music schools during year 1989-90. There are only two cultural associations namely Sambalpur Kala Parishad (SKP) and Sambalpur
Kala Kendra (SKK) in Sambalpur town which received some official grants. It may be noted here that there are other cultural associations namely 'Koshala Kala Kendra', 'Jawan Club', 'Hirakhand Sangeet Sansad', 'Sambalpuri Loka Nrutya Sanstha', 'Samaleshwari Kala Parishad', etc. which impart training of songs and dances to the students. Most of them have to rely on common public for their funding to organise a Sangeet Dance Programme in the town. What is more important is that the SKK which was getting a sum of Rs 3000/- in 1956 is still getting the same amount in 1989. The rate of everything such as tent, light and other decorating instruments/equipments is rapidly rising but cultural grants remain unchanged.

It may be suggested that Orissa cannot build a province by establishing the dominance of a cultural mainstream of eastern Orissa and thereby reducing the other cultures of the periphery to the status of marginal. It should have taken care of the interest of other cultures and cultural groups. A cultural policy is a question of unleashing of creative powers of a people in terms of an ambience conducive to creativity. Government should have emphasised on regional culture, the need to preserve the dying and vanishing cultural forms in various culture-areas of Orissa and to bring to national focus the exquisite diversity and vitality of Orissa's cultural heritage. In these efforts the objective of the Government should be to take culture back to people where it belongs and to upgrade their cultural consciousness; and not to tell them what they ought to consume.
During very recent years folk traditions of various areas have been emphasised because of a shift in orientation and direction for the promotion of folk culture in Orissa. From 1989 the Government has decided to open district cultural centres in each district headquarters. These centres will provide incentives to the cultural activities and encourage the performing artistes of respective areas. It will also provide auditorium and open-air stage. The centre will function as the nucleus for organization of cultural activities at the district level. Training in dance and music can also be imparted in this centre. It is proposed to organize district level cultural competitions in classical dance, folk-dance, vocal music, instrumental music and drama etc. Thus, the attempt is to provide support to the art forms and cultural traditions typical to each district. An outlay of Rs 5.00 lakhs has been suggested for the construction of the auditorium, open air stage at district headquarters. Hence a total outlay of Rs 18.00 lakhs has been proposed for thirteen districts for 1989-90 (APO, 1989-90: 184). It is significant that these cultural centres can represent individually, the cultures from the areas in their districts and will present jointly the culture of Orissa. It may be viewed as a demand and desire manifested in the cultural movement in various parts of Orissa. Without such culture of tradition it would not be possible to retain the tradition of culture either.

In view of the cultural differences in various parts of Orissa and because of growing discontents among the people it
may be said that the establishment of cultural centres in each
district headquarters is a diplomatic move launched for
political integration of Orissa. In the past one decade, people
of Sambalpur have started a cultural movement demanding a
cultural autonomy and identity of Sambalpurias. Very likely the
cultural differences and growing discontentments among the
people all over Orissa has prompted the 'eastern Oriya'
dominated government to take such a defensive measure. It is,
however, important that these centres are highly politicised. The
IAS officers run these centres and the local MP/MLA takes extra
interest in the decision-making.

For the past several years, cultural functions are
arranged on the occasion of various important festivals and
visits of VIPs both from inside and outside the country. The
demand for such cultural functions is increasing from year to
year. A 'Jatra Festival' was introduced during 1989-90 in order
to encourage thousands of artistes living in rural areas. It is
proposed to provide an outlay of Rs 10.40 lakhs in 1989-90 for
the programme. Out of this Rs 3.00 lakhs was to be spent for
the 'Jatra Festival' and the balance Rs 7.00 lakhs was for other
cultural functions. In an urban setting auditorium with the
 provision of the sound and light equipments are absolutely
necessary in order that cultural functions can be held in a
befitting manner in the hall. It has to be noted here that
there is no auditorium in Sambalpur town. Various cultural
activities are held in open air pendal or on temporary stage or
in the cinema halls in the town. There is an auditorium under
construction in Sambalpur town. Orissa government has agreed to finance it partly and the rest of the amount would be raised from the public.

In order to work actively for the development of Oriya language and literature, to co-ordinate literary activities, to organise seminars and to bring out research journals as well as publications, and to promote through them cultural unity of Orissa, the OSA has been established in 1957. It received a grant of Rs 90,731 during 1958-59 (SFP0, 1958:77) whereas the annual plan for 1989-90 proposed a sum of Rs 8.00 lakhs for the OSA (APO, 1989:184). In addition to this, for the development of Oriya language the Seventh Plan agreed outlay is Rs 2.50 lakhs, against which the expenditure in the first four years has been Rs 2.86 lakhs. In 1989-90 the approved outlay is Rs 1.00 lakh and the proposed outlay for the final year (1990-91) has been kept at the same level i.e. Rs 1.00 lakh (APO, 1989:232).

'Konark' is a monthly journal published in Oriya by the OSA. Although it is a research journal the scholars and writers of Sambalpur area feel deprived of selection and publication of articles in this journal. For its normal development, project funds are to be provided by the OSA. It is only recently that the OSA has taken some interest on Sambalpuri language and culture. For Sambalpurias, 1987 is a major turning point. For the first time since inception of the OSA, it has sanctioned a sum of Rs 5,000/- only to conduct a study on Sambalpuri language. Finally, the OSA published the study report of Gopabandhu Ratha in a book form entitled 'Paschim Odisara
Kathita Bhasha' (i.e. spoken language in Paschim Odisa or western Orissa) in 1987. Besides, the Akademy also published a dictionary on Sambalpuri language compiled by Dr Prafulla Kumar Tripathi in the same year.

The government's cultural policy and financing has only aggravated the contradictions between eastern Orissa and western Orissa. It operates in a manner which strengthens the eastern Oriya culture to the disadvantage of the Sambalpuri one. It has thereby created a situation of greater social tension and collision instead of higher social harmonies between east and west in Orissa.

CULTURE MOVEMENT IN SAMBALPUR AREA: A CASE STUDY OF SAMBALBUR TOWN AND TWO VILLAGES:

In our previous analysis, one thing is clear that Orissa government has done little to develop Sambalpuri folk culture i.e. its language, performing arts like songs, dances, music etc. There is no denying that unless the cultural forms of Sambalpur area is provided help by the state, there cannot be a fullfledged cultural development. At the same time it is also true that cultural movement cannot come only from above; it has to come from below. In this part of the chapter our endeavour is to study the cultural movement form below i.e. from Sambalpurias' side: how and what they have done to prop up the image of Sambalpuri culture?

Not so long back the image of Sambalpuri culture was of a somewhat uncivilized for outsiders. The last decade has seen a
sea change take place particularly after in Khariar (Kalahandi district) 'Koshali Bhasha Sahitya Parishad' (KBSP) was born in 1980. Subsequently, 'Sambalpuri Lekhak Sangha' (SLS) was established in 1983 in Sambalpur town. These two organizations are deeply committed to the development of Sambalpuri language as such and to establish its identity and image. Moreover, 'Odisha Sanskritika Samaj', 'Badbazar Yuvak Sangha' and 'Milani Club' of Sambalpur town are also engaged in creating language awareness among the people in one way or the other.

PUBLICATIONS OF PERIODICALS:

Publication of newspapers, journals and periodicals was an important factor for bringing language movement and cultural identity in Sambalpur. There were some privately owned printing press in Sambalpur town engaged in publication of Oriya periodicals. The first Sambalpuri newspaper 'Sambalpurar Katha' was published in Sambalpur town. Subsequently 'Sat Kahale Chhati Phate' and 'Hakua' were published respectively in Sambalpur and Bolangir. They aimed at popularising sambalpuri writings. They also deal with socio-political problems of the area. In subsequent years they took up popular issues and focussed on the events of mass interest. By focussing attention on the condition of Sambalpurias and the Sambalpuri society, it served as a vehicle for ventilating the grievances of the people.

With the simultaneous search for a language as well as Sambalpuri identity efforts of the SLS and the KBSP have become
truly meaningful. There were some cultural associations throughout Sambalpur area working for the promotion of Sambalpuri songs, music and dances such as Dalkhai, Rasarkeli, Chutkuchuta, Maelajada, Danda and Karma etc. Small beginning can have great results. When an old man named Satya Narayan Bohidar was mobilizing Sambalpurias for the cause of Sambalpuri language in 1960s and 1970s he was a butt of ridicule. He instituted an award for best Sambalpuri lyrics writing. After his death it was also stopped. However, he was supposed to be the first man who was able to rouse language awareness among the people of Sambalpur. Even when another old man named Prayagdutta Joshi mobilized some young people and united them together in 1980 at Khariar town in Kalahandi district, Sambalpuri language movement far from emerged. In course of time other parts of Sambalpur area realized to form forums with definite objectives to uplift their mother tongue. In Sambalpur town the 'Sambalpuri Lekhak Sangha' was set up on 28 January, 1983. It was registered in 1986. Then there were very few lyricists writing in Sambalpuri for AIR and TV stations at Sambalpur and for various cultural programmes.

"We usually met at someone's house or at pan (betel) shop or at tea stall and discussed on our spare time about Sambalpuri language, songs, dances and music" - recalls an old man. Since the beginning of 1980s literatures started prose writings. During past one decade a considerable amount of Sambalpuri literature have been produced in the form of short stories, plays, novels and songs. It was the period when the local
newspapers came forward extending their support and played a vital role in the language movement in Sambalpur. It helped in creating wider awareness in the minds of Sambalpurias. The editors of the local newspapers like 'Agnishikha' 'Koshala' and 'Hirakhandan' started publishing Sambalpuri literature in their dailies. Since 1981, 'Kahele Mala' a special weekly column on criticism in Sambalpuri has been coming out in the Agnishikha. Subsequently in 1982 the Koshala introduced a weekly literary page 'Tikchahanra' on every Saturday exclusively for Sambalpuri literature. In 1984 the Agnishikha also devoted a page for literary section where Sambalpuri poems, short stories etc. were published. The Hirakhandan also started giving a 'box-news' in Sambalpuri from 1986. Moreover the Agnishikha has very recently started 'Lok Majlis', a column for news review in 1990. Sambalpuri literature were coming out of a long period of neglect. The challenge was to establish its identity and purity. But people were rarely motivated to continue and inject a degree of professionalism in their works, barring a few.

The organisations namely the SLS, the KBSP, 'Nisan Sahitya Sansad', 'Koshal Sahitya Samaj', 'Tarun Sahitya Sansad', 'Chinmaya Sahitya Sansad', 'Sambalpuri Sahitya Sansthan', 'Sambalpuri Nrutya Geeta Sahitya Akademi' etc. and various newspapers acted as a link between the people and language. Significantly, Sambalpurias were, although, speaking Sambalpuri, they were not conscious of their language or identity. So at the very centre of language movement there was an emphasis primarily on literary creativity. The SLS collected 159
Sambalpuri poems and brought out a compilation titled 'Sambalpuri Kabita Sankalana' in 1986. Subsequently, a short-story compilation and a collection of Children's stories were brought out in 1987. One comes to know the psyche of an artiste or writer or poet through his or her works. And the collection of Sambalpuri poetry is no exception. This collection is an important example to evaluate and understand how the spirit of Sambalpuri nationalism inextricably influenced their creative expression. The themes and objects of these poems are not only familiar but well within the scope of one's experience and understanding. The poets have generously used the characters, events and motifs from Sambalpur area. The Sambalpuri poems reveal how the literary activity of a person is derived from external causes i.e. from gods and goddesses, from an abstracted nature and human nature, from permanent instinctual system etc. A large portion of poems, lyrics published so far in various journals, newspapers and books are on the glory of deities mainly Samaleswari, Pataneswari, Sureswari etc. and on the nature of Sambalpur and its people and culture. More than half of the poems compiled by the SLS deal with this theme. Thus, in these poems the history of Sambalpur has been reflected to a great extent. Besides, the poems reflected the traditional and unique folk festivals such as Nuakhai, Puspuni, etc. in Sambalpur area. In other words the relations of writers to society have taken the form of expressions through Sambalpuri poems and lyrics. Such socio-cultural themes have been responsible in ushering in the Sambalpuri identity.

SAMBALPURI SONGS:

Sambalpuri songs had a conspicuous role in preparing the ground for the language and cultural consciousness in Sambalpur. Sambalpuri songs of Satya Narayan Bohidar were published in book forms namely 'Phul Changri', 'Ghubkudu', 'Ghabghabo', 'Tik Chahanra', 'Sri Panchami' and 'Chautis'. Well before Satya Narayan Bohidar, who gave a new direction to the language movement, there were poets namely Bidhu Bhushan Guru and Gobinda Panigrahi who had composed popular Sambalpuri songs like 'Jhupur Jhupur Paen Barse, Palha Rui Chaire Bahen...', 'Ema Nain Kahana Kala Kanhur Gunar Katha...', Gundiere Tamku Chhin Dele Jaesa Mari...', 'Chhati Chal Karsire bua Chetabanir Katha Suni', etc. during 1940s and 1950s. These songs were compiled in 'Bana Chandrika' and 'Bana Jyotsna'. Notably, 'Ravana Angada Ubacha'
written by Shiba Narayan Deo in the last part of 19th Century was the first available written record of Sambalpuri language.

In subsequent years, a group of lyricists emerged in Sambalpur with the establishment of AIR station at Sambalpur in 1963. The former group of creative artistes were working among the people i.e. they performed before the common people in the field, while the later group of artistes were writing mainly for the AIR, Sambalpur, and subsequently for TV which was established in 1977 at Sambalpur.

A number of Sambalpuri poems, some of them with anonymous authorship have been published in the 'Saptarshi', a monthly Oriya journal of Sambalpur University. It attests the fact that writing in Sambalpuri is not a recent development. Even literary gathering and writers' meets were organised to provide opportunities for Sambalpuri writers to exchange their views before independence. It is evident from the Sambalpuri poetry competition which was held during 1940s and 1950s in Bolangir. Very likely, it was organised under the royal patronage of Patna Maharaj and Sambalpuri writers from all over the Sambalpur area were invited to participate in the competition. Some poems of competition held in 1942 at Bolangir are still carefully preserved by Gopabandhu Ratha of Bolangir. Perhaps, the participants were not allowed to mention their names on the poems submitted for the competition. But one poem bears the name of Mr Balabhadra Sadangi which was later on attempted to be erased. Further, the date mentioned over the leaflet is 28
April, 1942, and is composed on 'Dhap Sur' or tune. It may be suggested that at this time, both the ruler as well as the people, attempted to develop Sambalpuri literature.

As it has been said earlier, a group of neo-folk artists emerged at the functioning of Sambalpur Radio Station in 1963. Thereafter, the love for Sambalpuri songs began to increase not only in Sambalpur area, but also all over the country. Widespread popularity of 'Rangabati Rangabati...' in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal in late eighties brought overnight success to the singers Jeetendra Haripal and Krishna Patel. To date, thousands of Sambalpuri songs have been broadcast through AIR and TV stations at Sambalpur. Some of the approved lyricists of AIR and TV have also published their lyrics in book forms. For instance, Tukra Kanche Chand (102 songs) by Netra Nanda Barik, Gan Maet in 1982 by Parsuram Satpathy, Rasbati Rasbalta (76 songs) by Gopabandhu Ratha, Sarag Mali in two parts having 50 songs each and Kansi Gajra (52 songs) by Sripati Panigrahi, Kuan Tara (1965), Kure Phular Jhupa (1969) with 51 songs, Dhol Muhuri (1980) with 50 songs and Labanga Lata (1980) with 30 songs by Narasingh Prasad Guru.

In view of the above discussion, it may be said that the progress was made in the field of Sambalpuri literature, by the generous steps of some individuals and cultural associations. Gradually a perceptible change was noticed in the minds of the people. With the starting of AIR and TV stations at Sambalpur the writing of Sambalpuri songs began to be re-oriented, with
the neo-folk artistes taking the lead in this field. Gradually, Sambalpuri writers came forward. Vigorous efforts in this direction was made. Individual recognition along with monetary rewards accelerated the process of writing in Sambalpuri. The AIR and TV authorities created a panel of jurists to approve both the lyricists and singers for their organizations.

SAMBALPURI PLAYS:

Among performing arts, Sambalpuri songs and music received substantial attention from artistes and people since the inception of AIR station at Sambalpur in 1963. In recent years, the struggle for language identity has found its most intense expression in sambalpuri plays. The first known play where Sambalpuri was used was staged in Sambalpur town in 1957. The name of the play was Akbar Rai. In it two characters used Sambalpuri language. In the same year a full fledged Sambalpuri play Gauntia Babu, written by Murari Prasad Mishra was staged in Sambalpur. Next year in 1958, 'Gauntia Babu' was again staged at Bhubaneswar on the occasion of 4th anniversary of the OSNA and created a sensation among the Oriyas. Previously there was a general opinion that literature, particularly prose writing, cannot be produced in Sambalpuri. However, it was in fact, the beginning of a new era of Sambalpuri play writing in Sambalpur. But the period of 1959-73 was a dark period in the history and development of Sambalpuri plays. It is difficult to give proper explanation for this. The tradition of writing Sambalpuri plays worked vigorously in the 1970s and 1980s. It
was the period when Sambalpuri plays again came out with renewed strength. Phata Mandal, Phata Kapal, Bhains Age Nagdhuni, Kumna Bhitre Dendu, and Lenjhatara written by Atal Bihari Panda; Budigala God Talke Talke, Muin Nain Maren, Khadia, and Kuili by Bipin Bihari Das; Nuakhai and Gute Garib Ghare Bhanga Danga by Akrur Chand were staged in Sambalpur.

These plays certainly contributed a lot for the growth and identity of Sambalpuri language and literature. In 1981, Ukhi was passed by the Rourkela Cultural Akademi, in the preliminary selection to stage in the Lok Nataka Mahotsava held every year by the Akademi. In that sense Ukhi was the first Sambalpuri play which got entry into the competition. It was written by Binod Pasayat and stage by Srusti, a theatrical association of Sambalpur town. Significantly, it bagged three prizes. Undoubtedly, it was a turning point in the history of Sambalpuri play. In April 1982, this play was again staged for three days in Sambalpur Gangadhar Mandap. Surprisingly, there was a very good turn out. The artists entertained hundreds of people, including people from surrounding rural areas.

Ukhi paved the Sambalpuri plays the way of entry into the 'Lok Natak Mahotsava' in Rourkela and other competitions in and out of the state. In 1983, two Sambalpuri plays namely Alar and Bhukha were to compete in Rourkela. 'Alar' and 'Bhukha' were staged by 'Dharmatma Cultural Association' and 'Srusti' respectively in the 'Lok Nataka Mahotsava', Rourkela. Bhukha captured five prizes in the face of competition from other Oriya plays. Later on Bhukha was made into a film in 1989. It was
the first ever film made in Sambalpuri language (see chapter-VI, Foot Note-7). In the same year 'Bahumukhi Sramamangala Kendra' of Sambalpur went to Allahabad (Uttar Pradesh) to participate in the All India One-Act Play competition. It staged 'Sasemira' and bagged three prizes including best actor and best actress awards. In the next visit, 'Samudra' was staged and received best actor award again. There was a short play competition held by 'Sambalpur Natya Kala Parishad' during 14-20 November, 1984. Four Sambalpuri plays namely 'Baba Uti Gale', 'Ulta Purthi', 'Harigale Sarigala', and 'Bhutiar Hathiar' were staged and received a number of prizes. Then 'Hirakhandar Abhisapta Hira' and 'Harigale Sarigala' were staged by 'Sambalpur Sanskrutika Anusthan' in Cuttack (eastern-Orissa) and received prizes. Thus in subsequent years a strong tradition of Sambalpuri plays has come into force. Besides, one of the major achievements in this endeavour is the integration of two traditions of plays - Sambalpuri and Oriya - in Orissa. Artists of both the regions have come together on one platform which has created a mutual appreciation and enjoyment. In February, 1986 'Ulta Purthi' was produced by 'Ka-Kha-Ga' in a competition at Balasore (eastern Orissa) and bagged three prizes. It was perhaps the first play in Sambalpuri that received first prize for script out of the Sambalpur area. In the same year the 'Pandit Laxmi Narayan Sanskrutika Parishad' of Sambalpur went to Allahabad and presented 'Dadra Darpan' and was awarded three prizes: best actress, best regional play and Presidential award for direction. The 'Bhuti' was staged by 'Srushi Natya Sanstha' in Rourkela.
Therefore, Sambalpuri plays have been highly acclaimed and have received prizes outside their culture-area. All these efforts were to expose Sambalpuri talents and culture. In this sense, during 1980s the struggle for language identity has found its most profound expression through Sambalpuri plays. Some of these plays namely 'Bhuka', 'Sasemira', 'Samudra', 'Bhutiar and Hathiar' and 'Udla Patar Budla Danga' etc. are published in book form enriching Sambalpuri language and literature. Also, some plays namely 'Muin Nain Maren' are available in the form of recorded audio cassettes. Thus Sambalpuri is, today, the most visible aspect of a challenging situation. In India culture has become the preserve of the Ministry of Education and Culture. But the scene in Sambalpur is contrary to expectation. Sambalpur is heavily dependent on private donations and foundation wedded to the preservation of its cultural heritage. Such work has to concern itself not only with the product, but the person. Government should have looked at the needs of the artists. They have the problems of money, raw materials, transportation etc. the problems of these artists are often compounded by celebrity status. Its like an artist getting the award of best director or best actor or best script writer and then nothing. He may go to Allahabad, Cuttack, Balasore, Bhubaneswar or Rourkela on his own; but nothing changes on his return. Finally the entire story ends up with the economic hardship, physical exhaustion and mental tension.
CULTURAL SOCIETIES AND CLUBS:

The growth of education and cultural consciousness created the zeal for acquisition and diffusion of knowledge more and more among the Sambalpuriyas. It resulted in bringing like-minded people together to form associations or organizations for exchanging their ideas on different issues on Sambalpuri culture. The 'Hirakhanda Music Association' was established in 1942 by Rahas Bihari Mishra, a well known dancer, instrumentalist and singer. It was the first of such associations which promoted Sambalpuri songs, dances and music in Sambalpur. What we want to say is that Sambalpuri performing arts received urban patronage for the first time in 1942. Subsequently, 'Chitrotpala Kala Parishad' was founded by Murari Prasad Mishra. According to the local source, the birth of 'chitrotpala' was in response to the growth of 'Hirakhanda'. Rahas Bihari Mishra was a 'Jhadua' Brahmin whereas Murari Prasad Mishra was an 'Oriya' brahmin. These two classes of brahmans have a spirit of rivalry and competition which has been reflected in observing religious rites particularly the Sitalasashthi festival, one of the biggest festival in the district (Senapati and Mahanti, 1971:112). It was this spirit that ushered the idea of 'Chitrotpala'. Later on when Murari Mishra entered into politics 'Chitrotpala Kala Parishad' emerged strongly in Sambalpur. It was renamed as 'Sambalpur Kala Parishad' (SKP) and became a registered body. Then it received financial help from the government under the scheme of financial assistance to the cultural associations in the state. Moreover,
it came up as a premier cultural association of Sambalpur town. Whatever the reason of the foundation of 'Chitrotpala' may be, sub-caste rivalry was certainly a contribution to Sambalpuri culture. Then 'Sambalpur Music Association' was set up in 1957 and became a registered body in 1959. It ran successfully for four years. Due to the financial constraints most of its artists shifted to 'Sambalpur Kala Parishad'. In course of time some other associations established in Sambalpur town were the SKK, 'Koshala Kala Kendra', 'Jawan Club', Sambalpuri Loka-Nrutya Sanstha', etc. These organizations are engaged mainly for the promotion of Sambalpuri performing arts. Besides, 'Veer Surendra Sai Orchestra', 'Sargam Orchestra', 'Sangam Orchestra', 'Rockey', 'Sur Tal Lay', 'Sur Sangit', 'Do-Re-Mi' of Sambalpur are also responsible for popularization of Sambalpuri songs and music. There are a number of associations which are responsible for the promotion of Sambalpuri plays in and outside Orissa. Mention may be made of 'Srujani', 'Sruti', 'Dharmatma Cultural Association', 'Ka-Kha-Ga', 'Yuva Udayana', 'Pandit Laxminarayan Sanskrutika Sansad', and 'Sri Cultural Association' etc. In addition to this, there are some associations which are engaged in language movement in Sambalpur area. For instance, 'Milani Club', 'Badbazar Yuvak Sangha', 'Orissa Sanskrutika Samaj', 'Sambalpuri Bhasa Sanskruti Surakshya committee' and 'Sambalpur Samaleswari Kala Parishad' and so on. Thus, the second part of this century, particularly 1980s witnessed a rapid growth of cultural societies, associations and clubs. The cultural movement led by these groups enabled Sambalpurias to think seriously about their rich cultural heritage. Over the years,
these groups had to face a lot of trouble including financial problems in the organization of various cultural programmes, as they rarely received any assistance from the government. The discussions and debates on such issues highlighted the relative deprivation in the field of culture and broadened the mental horizon of the people. Thus, the efforts put by these associations contributed most to the ushering in of a general cultural consciousness or awareness among the common people throughout Sambalpur area.

Institutionalization of culture in Sambalpur town suggests that its growth has been regular because of the indigenous cultural elites' recognition of its importance for development specially in the spheres of songs, dances, music, plays and language. Compared to those in the sub-urban and interior areas of Sambalpur, the artists of Sambalpur town show a greater degree of interaction through various organisational activities, inter-organizational interaction and are more active in cultural production and professional organization. Within the government institutions namely AIR and TV stations at Sambalpur, however, there exists great dis-satisfaction among artists on account of infrastructural deficiencies, over-bureaucratization, lack of proper care to Sambalpuri culture/language and also lack of opportunities in the matter of production of various Sambalpuri programmes for these centres.

ROLE OF AKASHVANI (ALL INDIA RADIO) AND DOORDARSHAN (TELEVISION):

AIR and TV centres at Sambalpur have played a vital role
in creating people's awareness about their culture and motivating them to be active bearers area. AIR Sambalpur was established in 1963. Apart from its regular national and international programmes, it has contributed largely to bring about an awareness and appreciation of Sambalpuri folk music. The task of preserving the musical heritage and propagation of music of Sambalpur area has been taken over by AIR station at Sambalpur in 1963 and later on by TV centre at Sambalpur in 1977.

Music was mainly under the patronage of princely courts, Zamindars and gauntias of villages in Sambalpur area during colonial period. Then some private cultural associations namely 'Hirakhand' and 'Chitrotpala' came into existence. Finally, AIR and TV took over the charge to some extent. AIR started way back in 1963 some of the major programmes of Sambalpuri music. Since then Sambalpuri music and songs which commands sizeable listening in Sambalpur area has been given due attention by AIR. It broadcasts every day through the morning, evening and afternoon transmissions, of them some are programmes for special audiences like women and children, the youth the students, rural and tribal people and industrial workers.

Both AIR and TV at Sambalpur bring to its listeners the best of musical talents and musical pieces available in this culture-area. New talent is continuously scouted through the regular music auditions. One of the significant achievement of AIR Sambalpur's 'Vividh' programme is the integration of Oriya as well as Sambalpuri popular songs. Songs of eminent singers of
both the culture areas are presented. It enables culture and artists of one culture-area to get exposure in other culture-areas of Orissa. Consequently, it has created an appreciation and enjoyment of Sambalpuri music and songs in eastern-Orissa too. In recent years Sambalpuri music, dance, drama and other concerts are arranged in the eastern-Orissa. Besides, station’s recording units visit interior areas from time to time and do recordings on the spot for broadcast and screening. Folk music collection centres have been set-up at 20 AIR centres in India to systematically collect and preserve the folk music heritage in the country (India, 1989:242). Sambalpur station needs such a centre to collect, index and preserve various types of folk music available in this culture-area. It will then be able to collect and broadcast some rare items of folk music of Sambalpur area.

Various cultural organizations active in Sambalpur town and villages are doing pioneering work in popularising Sambalpuri music. They organise musical concerts and various cultural programmes and seek the help of Sambalpur station, to extend coverage and co-operation to all such important programmes. In this regard mention may be made of the major cultural festival of Sambalpur area namely ‘Paschim Odisa Sanskrutik Sammelan’ organized once in every two years. Such programmes are covered by both AIR and TV centres at Sambalpur and excerpts are broadcast on the regional hook-up.

AIR/TV stations at Sambalpur could have made a very good collection of Sambalpuri folk music in all its variety and
richness rendered by the talented artists approved by the station and the village folk artists. It could have released discs/cassettes of selected recordings from its rich variety of collection for widest possible dissemination of various aspects of Sambalpuri folk-culture, particularly music amongst the people. The 'Cassettes Companies' situated in eastern-Orissa namely Cuttack and Bhubaneswar seek to satisfy this needs of people at large.

Popular Sambalpuri music/songs are broadcast from the AIR station at Sambalpur in the programmes for special audiences like 'Nari Mahal' (women's programme) at 1.30 P.M. on Sun, Mon, Tues and Thursday, 'Juva Vani' (Youth Programme) at 5.30 PM every day, 'Anurodh' (Listeners' Choice), 'Krishi Sansar' (programme on agriculture at 7.30 PM every day), 'Shilpa Karyakrama' (programme for industrial workers) and so on. (Through Rumku-jhuma, the AIR, Sambalpur calnondnces new Sambalpuri Songs as well as new singers to its listeness). Besides, 'Tike Sununta' is a programme which projects the current socio-economic issues broadcast on every Sunday at 7.25 PM. In addition to this humorous plays and skits are also broadcasted. A number of Sambalpuri 'geeti natya', an unique combination of songs, music and dance and dialogues, have been relayed through Sambalpur station, since the beginning of 1980s. Mention may be made of some popular 'geeti natyas' namely 'Manabhanjan', 'Khai Unjla', 'Phaijitia', 'Krushnaatar' and 'Gambhira Bije' written by Mitrabhanu Gauntia; 'Amar Bilasa' by Gokul Naik; 'Bhangdubi' by Netrananda Barik; 'Kanchikundhi'.
'Mahulkunchi' and 'Muin Nain Maren' by some other writers. Some playwrights have also made new experiments. Barala Mahanti has translated Basudev Basu's Bengali play 'Nadir Nam Mahanadi' into Oriya. But, he introduced two characters in Sambalpuri language, and successfully presented through AIR Sambalpur. An all-India competition was held in 1987 for Radio playwrights in 19 prominent regional languages. This scheme has been launched to encourage young writers to write specially for radio (India, 1989:244). Attempts are being taken to include Sambalpuri plays in this competition.

The national programme of features, started in 1956, focusses attention on matters of national importance and interest in political, economic, social and cultural spheres. It is invariably translated into regional languages and broadcast from all the regional stations. Provision should have been made to translate it into Sambalpuri and to broadcast from this station. This way, the task of bringing awareness and disseminating knowledge of national and international importance, among common people would have been easier in Sambalpur area where Sambalpuri language commands sizeable speaking. Besides, Sambalpur station should have started broadcasting news bulletin in Sambalpuri language.

During the 'Shitala Sashthi' festival of Sambalpur, a special commentary of one hour duration is put out for the benefits of the listeners. In the musical programme, every Sunday, Sambalpur station takes up a programme of 'Anurodh'
(listeners' choice) of Sambalpuri songs of half an hour duration. There is a need to project the myriad facets of Sambalpuri life, thought, culture, tradition and heritage. Though the Sambalpur station is assumed to play the role of a cultural disseminator of Sambalpur area to other parts of the state and nation at large, it is allegedly playing/serving the interests of the coastal people in Orissa. Because the production centre lies in Cuttack, 280 Kms. away from the broadcasting centre at Sambalpur. (Also employees are largely from coastal-Orissa.) Its unbiased socio-economic, political and cultural commentary, reportage, coverage and programme have been doubted by the Sambalpuras at large.

However, rural programmes are broadcast from Sambalpur station in Sambalpuri language. Under 'Chasar hal' it provides relevant and problem-oriented technical informations to the farmers of a homogeneous area like that of Sambalpur with similarity of agro-climatic condition, exclusively in Sambalpuri and production centre for Door Darshan at Sambalpur has been demanded by the people. What we want to point out is that the programmes for Sambalpur station is produced in Cuttack, although the relaying capacity of the station at Sambalpur does not allow the viewers of coastal Orissa to enjoy the programmes of Sambalpur TV Station. People in general feel and demand that the cultural programmes like plays, songs, music and dances etc. of AIR and TV centres at Sambalpur should have taken the colour, tone and language/mother tongues of the natives for whom these are composed and relayed.
An Analysis:

As has been said earlier, an important aspect of an urban centre like Sambalpur is the growth of various clubs, unions, friendly societies and cultural associations. The new economic change in rural areas along with the new cultural policy of government for the preservation of folk culture has helped the folk tradition of Sambalpur area to move from the rural/countryside to the urban centres. New cultural associations have sprung up in towns and urban areas and helped the regional folk-culture to grow more or less independently. This growth is partly assisted by the government from outside, but to the extent that it helps to mobilize people for the implementation of its policies. Consequently, the folk art forms are, to some extent, depredatory, distorted and lop-sided.

It is necessary to find out the features of cultural development in Sambalpur. With the consolidation of all the cultural centres and mass media in Sambalpur town, villages are forced to become a folk appendage of urban centre. Villages have become a sure supplier of raw material to the urban artistes and in turn a reply market for its manufactured goods to the same
villagers through TV and AIR and various cultural shows. Folk-cultural sector of Sambalpur has experienced a transformation in its structure itself. The only cultural activity which is active in the villages like Gainpura and Kainsir is its ritual aspect. But, the secular aspects like songs and dances associated with the rituals have moved to Sambalpur town where it has become an urban sophistication or industry controlled by urban artists. Consequently, the urban 'pseudo' folk artists have amassed considerable following and emerged as a new class of folk artists who have come to the fore in recent years, belong mainly to the upper strata of the society. But, they also function under severe financial constraints. At the same time the government, instead of patronizing, has systematically curbed grants to various cultural bodies. For example, the SKP which used to get grants upto Rs.5,000/- from Sambalpur Municipality before 1987 is now getting only Rs.3000/- per annum. As a result the growth of folk-culture has been stunted.

The initial phase of cultural development in Sambalpur is a result of the awareness/culturalization created by some cultural association during 1940s. Subsequently, AIR Sambalpur and 'Saptarshi', a monthly research journal of Sambalpur University, and then TV centre at Sambalpur took some constructive measures in order to generate cultural awareness among the people in Sambalpur during 1960s and 70s. The 1980s was supposed to be the most glorious period which had been some remarkable achievements in the fields of drama, language and literature of Sambalpur. In the mean time demands for the
establishment of studios and production centres of AIR and TV at Sambalpur have been coming from time to time. Artists of Sambalpur have participated in the 'Apna Utsav' at Delhi in 1986 and then at Bombay in 1987, and various 'Bharat Utsavs' in foreign countries, namely USA, UK, USSR, Japan, France and Sweden etc. It seems that invitation to participate in the 'Republic Day Parade' and 'India International Trade Fair' organized by the TFAI at Pragati Maidan in Delhi are other incentives which have attracted various cultural groups to participate in one way or other in the cultural movement of Sambalpur.

The opposition between Sambalpuri-Katki which is almost hostile at times is tense throughout this culture-area. It has its roots in the changing social and economic conditions in this region, where people and artists feel invariably their art forms are being neglected and deprived of poorer attention and care. However, the history of cultural movement in Sambalpur is the history of advancing cultural consciousness and growing mass support for this cultural movement. In recent years, the poets and writers writing in Sambalpuri/Koshali language have well organized themselves to establish this language. Urban based folk artists have formed a number of cultural associations over the years in order to promote Sambalpuri music and dance traditions. Some of them have been receiving financial supports from the government. The association of Sambalpuri handloom industry has also taken steps to promote Sambalpuri handloom outside this culture-area.
Therefore, with its distinctive linguistic tradition, its rich heritage of folk songs and dances and music, fair and festivals, dress and ornaments, rituals and customs, etc. together with the political and economic awakening has led to the formation of a district cultural identity, i.e. Sambalpuri identity in Orissa. In course of time, the active culturalists culture practioners like urban based folk artists, writers, poets, dramatists and singers etc. have tried to give the cultural awakening a mass character. They are skillfully playing the dual strategy of struggle for independent cultural development in Sambalpur viz., separate status to Sambalpuri language, more Sambalpuri programmes in TVs and Radio, etc., and to stop group enchroachment in their cultural field by non-Sambalpurias, and on the other hand, the show their allegiance to the government of Orissa. In other words, their movement is not a separatist movement but a cultural movement for the conservation/preservation of folk-cultural heritiage and tradition of Sambaipur area.

Rural Folk Artists:

The transformation of the Sambalpuri folk cultural section from the subsistence - based to a market - based, profit oriented, commercilaized urban sector in Sambalpur town and the emergence of a complex network of various cultural associations/institutions within a culture-area having close link with and being shaped by urban influences, some important questions strike the mind of any sensible person: what are the basic
trends of development within it? what social strata have been benefited from the growing changes? what type of cultural structure, institutional matrix, associational web, leadership pattern, ideological development have been taking place there?

There are hundreds of folk singers, musicians, dancers and lyricists in the countryside. They are equally or more talented than the urban based folk artists, approved and recognised by AIR station and TV centre at Sambalpur. But, it seems nobody cares for these rural folk artists. The measures adopted by the government for the promotion and preservation of folk-culture have also not been realised. The cultural associations or urban area like Sambalpur who are now the patrons and preserves of Sambalpuri folk traditions were also allegedly interested in big names and indulge in nepotism and not in talents. So, in some cases well known urban folk artists act as 'floating artists' who are invited by various associations from time to time. Some of them having earned fame have managed to earn a decent living too. Besides, such cultural associations have been accused of keeping new and young talent at a discouraging distance, and for doing little to further the cause of Sambalpuri letters. The relative deprivation in cultural field has led to the forming of more and more cultural associations with other young and new talent and challenges. Consequently, inter-group rivalry has become a new aspect of cultural development in Sambalpur. Although, these urban folk artists have made Sambalpuri music and dance traditions big and popular through various mass media and big cultural shows, the rural
folk artists have failed to get opportunities to express their natural talents. It may be suggested that, the urban folk artists feel imminent threat to their status and dignity from the side of rural folk artists.

There is the other side of the coin too. In case of rural folk artists, they cannot afford to build the infra-structure to get a programme from the cultural department or to go even out of Sambalpur to present their shows. Therefore, the offers by government or other sources often end up in the established cultural associations of urban areas namely Sambalpur town. Most of the folk artists, participated in the 'Apna Utsav', 'Bharat Utsavs' and the programmes organized by the Trade Fair Authority of India were drawn mainly from the urban based associations during past five years. Even these organizations were supposed to be politicised in the matter of selection of artists resulting in intra-group feelings. It is alleged that the talented artists have been pushed to take a back seat and 'nijar lok' (close people say, friends and relatives) have been selected to accompany the troupe to various places and reap the benefits of such programmes.

On the issue of sending urban based folk artists through government sponsored programmes a folk artist from the village reacted: 'What is the use of training a team of twenty dancers if they are ignorant of the meaning of this dance and how it is evolved'? He further added sarcastically: 'What is the use of sending a team of forty dancers, four managers, ten musicians if it is not a true folk group'? In sum what is conveyed in the
above statement is the relative deprivation of rural folk artists. Considerating the above facts, it may be said that the rural folk artists alongwith so many other talented artists of urban areas have failed to reap the benefits and opportunities provided by the government in cultural field, resulting in a hierarchy of folk artists. It seems that there is a lack of understanding as to who is doing what and how. Another point is that, folk art and culture have become gradually dependent on the government - both from the view of the artists and the audience. However, it is also held that there is no overall perspective and a piecemeal approach has led to lack of proper co-ordination, duplication and improper utilization of government funds. In this regard, it may be said that measures of government in the field of culture should be properly implemented to realise the objectives. Today, folk-culture has been professionalised which is reflected in the activities of some cultural associations in Sambalpur town. They seriously feel the need of sponsorships both government as well as private and for that the cultural programmes must have TV coverage. Nonetheless, the Sambalpuri folk traditions of music and dances are getting exposure through TV and radio by these associations.

As it is the nature of folk-culture in a changing situation, any form of folk-culture namely dance or song to develop and to get recognition, it is essential to have a professional approach; but the real folk artists should also be given incentives. Unfortunately, this system does not exist in Sambalpur. Some people feel the need in having at least one real
cultural show of Sambalpuri folk tradition at regular interval. Measures can be taken to reshape the cultural policy and ensure the equitable distribution of opportunities and available resources to the real folk artists as well as to the cultural groups/associations instead of being concentrated in urban areas and in certain groups. Folk dances and songs may be staged and not just be concentrated in certain months of the year. It has been generally noticed that most of the cultural programmes are held during winter. There is a severe stress and strain on the artists and other members of the cultural groups and also on the existing infrastructure and human resources during this time, whereas during the rest of the year it is under-utilised. So, the trend can be reversed by shifting the focus from cultural programmes to various seminars, talks and study-circles during this period. Moreover, the private sector namely the cultural associations plays a basic role in Sambalpur in the organization and promotion of folk tradition as discussed earlier. There is no denying that increase in the number of audience at such cultural shows fullfills a basic social needs i.e. social integration by successfully appealing to different segments of Sambalpuri society. Folk tradition cannot survive or flourish on government resources along which are meagre in any case. At the same time grand cultural shows like 'Apna Utsavs' and 'Bharat Utsavs' would have not been possible without government's aid.

There is a new trend in the folk tradition by diversifying the folk songs, music and dances from their traditional ritual settings to holiday and leisurely activities. Generally, the
artists of various cultural associations are students, employees, and other workers. Their associations are students, employees, and other workers. Their participation depends on common holidays or leisure times when they can sit together and work out a cultural show. Consequently, the idea of 'holiday folk tradition' is fast gaining prominence in Sambalpur area.

Any attempt to assess the cultural measures taken by the government of India for the promotion, protection and revival of folk tradition and for the upliftment of folk artists would be incomplete without a reference to the cultural movement in Sambalpur and the launching of a process of Sambalpuri identify throughout this culture-area. The idea of providing government protection to the folk-culture should be given a definite shape in various efforts adopted by the government, which is part of the revival movement. Such measures should involve three important points: safeguards to the traditionally deprived and disadvantaged groups of the folk artists; measures to check further deterioration of folk-culture. The objective of the culture-conservation or protection to the folk artists, revival and development of folk tradition can be integrated to attain a cultural order in the country.

Considering 'Apna Utsav', 'Festival of India' and other grand cultural shows in and outside India, it seems that the government has restructured its idea on culture by transforming it from an elitist policy to a mass based one, so as to accommodate and integrate the deprived folk traditions into its
fold. People like Rajeev Sethi and Pupul Jayakar have tried to give the rich folk traditions of India a distinctive identity through such cultural shows and festivals in and outside the country. These festivals offer one mechanism whereby folk artists from various culture-areas come together for secular activities like entertainment to the audience and the realisation of the rich and varied nature of Indian culture. Another significant contribution of such cultural festivals is to undermine the wide-spread idea that folk tradition is lower form of cultural tradition. So, such attempts have become instrumental in destroying the old ideas and values attached to the folk artists and their tradition. From this it can be assumed that the measure taken by the government to protect the cultural tradition have paved the way for a vertical mobility of these folk traditions and thereby folk groups and folk artists. However, it is also felt that the folk media are used for political propaganda and publicity. It is difficult to ignore the potentiality of the mobilisation and politicisation of these folk arts and artists. In view of this, the big cultural shows mentioned above could be seen as attempts taken essentially to capture their individual loyalty and unequivocal support for the ruling party which spearheaded the causes of the folk traditions and culture. Thus, in a society where the effects of every major policy is unequal it is easy to understand the importance of the cultural policy for the upliftment of folk-culture for any ruling outfit. However, during the past four to five years especially after the celebration of ‘Apna Utsav’, there is a new change found in the different layers of our
cultural structure. It has succeeded in raising the consciousness of the folk artistes particularly the beneficiaries of state policy.

Elite Folk-Artists:

From the above discussions, it is easy to see the emergence of a group of elite folk artists as the consequence of measures taken by the government towards the culture-conservation/preservation/protection. It was definitely not the objective of the cultural policy. Secondly, it seems difficult to provide equal opportunities to all folk artists and folk groups. The policy has benefitted a small minority of the target group of folk artists, and the elite folk artists reap the maximum benefits out of this opportunities. Political connections and other attachments help these 'elite folk artists' to corner the opportunities meant for all. In course of time, they have become the state sponsored 'so called' folk artists. It is they who succeed in achieving better social status and getting better economic benefits. Summing up, the benefits of the cultural policy is confined mainly to the urban based, elite folk artists' instead of trickling down to the deprived rural folk artists.

It has been said earlier that the folk tradition in Sambalpur was more or less caste based. When the question of economic benefits arise some of these lower caste people feel discriminated against their traditional right because most of these new 'folk artistes' are caste-Hindus. But, the folk
artists, mainly rural based, who do not get opportunities are interested to enjoy equal facilities/opportunities to visit places like Delhi, Bombay or other big cities in India and abroad to display their skills. They have the desire to express their artistic urge and talents through their traditional folk music and dances. As a result, the urban based elite folk artists presume a kind of threat that reduces their chances of a share in the 'cultural shows'.

NOTE:

1. Although, Radio is a modern invention, it has become a folk entertainment and thus a real part of folk-culture, widely accepted by the common mass- right from the lower class labourer to the higher class people. It is very general phenomenon that poor rickshaw-wala and construction workers are seen owning bicycles, watches and transistors.